

## EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES AT CALYMNOS.

MADE, IN NOVEMBER, 1854, BY DIRECTION OF LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE,  
H. B. M. AMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

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THE little island of Calymnos,<sup>2</sup> lying off the coast of Caria, immediately north of Cos, is almost unnoticed by ancient writers, and but little known to modern travellers. It may be, therefore, worth while to explain why I selected so obscure and barren a spot as the field of archaeological operations. Two years ago, in the summer of 1853, I visited the Sporades with no other guide or companion than that most useful and able work, "The Travels in the Archipelago," of Dr. Ludwig Ross.

In the fourth volume of this book, p. 9, Dr. Ross gives an account of a most remarkable discovery of gold ornaments in a Greek tomb at Calymnos, which took place about twelve years ago. These ornaments, which are now probably dispersed through Europe in various collections, are said to have been of the most exquisite workmanship, rivaling the work of the Etruscan artists. I was also aware that great numbers of terra-cotta figures had been found in tombs at Calymnos. A large collection of these was brought to London about six or seven years ago, and some of the best were purchased, if I remember right, by the British Museum.

My first object in landing at Calymnos, was to visit the localities where these objects had been found. My observations and the information which I received on the spot, enabled me to trace out very distinctly two ancient Greek cemeteries extending over a considerable tract of land.

As in these two districts certain features may be recognised which are characteristic generally of Hellenic burial-places, I will give a brief description of them. The land where

<sup>1</sup> Communicated to the Section of Antiquities at the Shrewsbury Meeting, Aug., 1855.

<sup>2</sup> In antiquity, the name is always written Calymna; in this memoir I have followed the modern Greek form.

the gold ornaments, described by Ross, were found, takes its name from a small church dedicated to the Prophet Elia; but, as it is contiguous to another tract which evidently formed part of the same cemetery, and which is still called  $\delta \delta \alpha \mu \omicron \varsigma$ , I shall, for convenience, consider this ancient Hellenic name as applicable to the whole district. For the position of the cemetery of Damos, I must refer to Dr. Ross's map, which is based on our Admiralty Survey. It will be perceived, on examining this map, that Damos is situated between the modern harbour of Calymnos, now called Pothia, on the Eastern, and Linaria on the Western coast of the island, and that behind it is a range of mountains crossing the island in a direction North-West by South-East. Between these mountains and the western coast is a small and fertile valley, formed by alluvial deposit. The cemetery of Damos lies on the sloping irregular ground intervening between the mountains and the valley; and here I would call attention to the fact observed by Dr. Ross, that the Hellenic cemeteries in the Archipelago are usually situated on the declivities between the mountain and the plain,—the debateable ground, so to speak, between cultivation and barren nature.

There were reasons for the preference for such sites. Lower down, the land becomes more valuable, and would be more reluctantly given up by the cultivator; higher up, the sides of the mountains, difficult of access, and constantly denuded of soil by the torrents, are for many reasons unsuitable for the purposes of a burial-ground.

This general observation may enable the future traveller to discover many sites of ancient cemeteries as yet unnoticed, by examining the lower slopes of hills in the neighbourhood of ancient cities, and looking out for fragments of Hellenic pottery, always apparent on the surface of the soil where there are tombs. The portion of the district of Damos, which most attracted my attention, is a strip of rocky land which evidently formed an ancient stone-quarry. Here the surface of the rock is cut into steps and grooves. In one place is a monolithic base, containing a square chamber, 9 ft. 7 in. by 7 ft. 8 in., entered by a doorway, all cut out of the solid rock. Above the doorway, the rock is cut into steps. This was evidently a rock tomb, in which the type of the Mausoleum on the opposite

coast of Caria was rudely imitated. Near it is another tomb consisting of an underground chamber or vault, cut out of the rock and roofed over by two immense blocks, one of which has been removed. The chamber is 8 ft. long by 4 ft. 7 in. wide. One of the blocks which cover it measures 7 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in. wide, and is 2 ft. 5 in. thick. Adjoining this stone quarry in the north, is a field where a number of graves have been opened. They lie in clusters and have been cut out of the solid rock. This field is bounded on the north by a ravine, beyond which the land bears the singular name of Δραπέτης.

From the stone quarry the district of Damos extends downwards towards Linaria, forming a sort of *lingula* of rock jutting out into the plain in a direction North-West by South-East : on each side is a ravine.

On this isolated tongue of land, are foundations of houses and two Hellenic cisterns, cut out of the solid rock, with steps in the sides, giving access to the water at the bottom. The ground is strewn with the fragments of pottery and painted stucco. It is evident that here stood a town or village. The neck of this little peninsula is separated from the cemetery and the quarry by an Hellenic wall, the foundations of which yet remain. The other cemetery at Calymnos lies between the modern town and the harbour Pothia, nearly opposite the mediæval castle called Pera Castro, and at the foot of the range of hills which has been already described as crossing the island in a direction from North-West to South-East. The general character of the ground in this cemetery is analogous to that of Damos. Where the rock rises above the surface, it has been quarried away for building purposes. Here, a year or two before my final visit, great quantities of gold ornaments were discovered in tombs, which lay in one line in several contiguous fields. It was observed, that the proprietor of part of this Californian territory made frequent unexplained voyages to Smyrna, and after a time suddenly emerged from extreme poverty to comparative competence. In due course, the mystery of his wealth became known. He had found tombs in his field containing gold ornaments ; he kept his own counsel, and taking advantage of the season when nearly all the male population of Calymnos periodically quit the island for the sponge fishery, he explored not only his

own, but his neighbours' fields, to which he appears to have been *nimum vicinus*. I was assured that a great variety of earrings and other gold ornaments were found in these fields; the greater part were, I believe, sold at Smyrna and are now dispersed. I purchased one specimen at Calymnos. It was an earring, fashioned in the form of one of the Basilicata vases of the late epoch. Traces of a vitreous paste were observable in the interstices of the ornaments. M. le Comte De la Borde was, I believe, the first to point out the fact, that the gold ornaments of the Greeks were originally filled with vitreous pastes. Such is the case with several magnificent necklaces found at Melos, two of which have been published by M. De la Borde, the third is in the possession of Mr. John Maltass, of Smyrna. The tombs in this cemetery were differently constructed according to the nature of the soil. Some were cut out of the rock, others built of squared freestone blocks, forming stone vaults in a soil of deep sand. In one instance, a coffin made of thick clay was found, it was moulded into a form like a slipper-bath. Perhaps these were the kind of coffins called by the ancients *πυελαι*.

Many members of the Archaeological Institute will recollect the "red grave" made of clay, discovered at Aldborough, and examined on the occasion of the York Meeting.<sup>3</sup>

Just at the time of my visit to Calymnos, some interesting inscriptions had been discovered in excavations on the site of the ancient temple of Apollo, where the church of Christos now stands. They contained records of the Manumission of slaves in the time of the Roman empire. An examination of the spot led me to the conclusion, that further excavation here would be worth undertaking.

Various other sites which had yielded antiquities were pointed out to me in the island, and it appeared to me that Calymnos, in proportion to its geographical extent, presented a greater number of promising spots for excavation, than any island I had yet visited.

I took an early opportunity of submitting my views on this subject to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford De Redcliffe. In mentioning that name so long associated with our most important archaeological

<sup>3</sup> Figured in Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, pl. x.

discoveries in the East, it is scarcely necessary for me to add how deeply we are indebted to Lord Stratford for those inestimable acquisitions, the Lycian, Budrum, and Assyrian antiquities, by which the British Museum has been of late years enriched.

Immediately on receiving my report on Calymnos, Lord Stratford, with that promptitude and liberality with which he has ever promoted archaeological enterprise, obtained the necessary firman from the Porte to enable me to excavate, and placed ample funds at my disposal. With these means I set to work in November, 1854.

All the ground where I wished to excavate being private property, cut up into small holdings, I met with some difficulties and delays in obtaining from the proprietors the permission to dig. To avoid endless negotiations, it was necessary for me to choose my ground rather where the contract would be most readily concluded, than where the prospects of discovery were most promising. Hence it was impossible to explore the whole locality in as methodical a manner as I could have wished.

I shall now proceed to give an account of what I found. The first grave I opened was in the field containing the ancient stone quarry and rock tombs. This grave was cut in the rocky subsoil, about 4 feet 5 inches below the present surface, and was covered with a stone lid in two pieces, on removing which appeared the bones in very fair preservation. The head was placed nearly to the east. At the feet was a vase of coarse drab-coloured ware unvarnished, and a plain lamp; upon the centre of the body a glass cup or basin, of elegant form.

On sifting the earth about the head, a small silver coin was found, which had doubtless been placed in the mouth as a *ναῦλον* or *δανάκη*, to pay Charon with. It proved to be an unedited coin of Halicarnassus, with a new magistrate's name. In the next field, to the south, I found another grave, containing similar common pottery, and a cup of very thick well-preserved glass; in the next, in the same direction, another kind of interment presented itself; this was a grave lined with large square tiles with flanged edges, and covered with a stone. Outside the tiles were two rows of deep cups placed one within the other, and lying horizontally on their sides. This grave contained many vases, all broken, two

coarse terra-cotta bas-reliefs, a silver ring, two silver fibulæ, of very ordinary workmanship, a large chalcedon, polished for engraving, and a copper coin as *ναῦλον*. There were layers of shingle inside.

I found in this field a whole cluster of graves, the bearings of which evidently followed no fixed rules. Thus one was E.S.E. by W.N.W., head to E. Another N. by S., head to S. A third, N. by S., head to N. I next tried the field where the celebrated discovery of gold ornaments described by Ross had taken place. This locality I shall call after the name of the proprietor, the field of Janni Sconi. Here I found a number of graves with vases of rather a more interesting character, but no gold, except one small fragment. In this field the vases were found imbedded in the earth, with two or three rough slabs placed over them, but no regular coffin-lids. There were no remains of bones. In one grave, evidently of a female, I found a small marble *pyxis*, with traces of colour on the outside; it resembles one found by Mr. Burgon in an Athenian tomb, and now in the British Museum; in another, I found a lamp on which was painted the head of Leda with the swan.

In the soil, when sifted, were found some beads of a silver necklace, a silver fibula of very ordinary workmanship, and some small beads, which I believe to be pearls. This grave also contained a large two-handled cup, of black ware, a lamp, two vases with covers, and a *lekane* with a cover. All these objects were found about two feet below the surface. I opened seven other graves in this field, several of which were very small, and apparently intended for children. One contained a terra-cotta bas-relief, representing two female figures bidding farewell to each other. The material and execution of this bas-relief were very ordinary; it was so imbedded in the earth that I could only remove it piecemeal. Such terra-cotta works are common in Greek tombs.

The contents of the tombs which I had hitherto examined presented a great sameness, containing always the same coarse pottery. In one instance I found a cup of late black ware, ornamented with Dionysian figures in relief, in the style of the Basilicata vases. In one of the graves in the same field where I had found the tile tomb I recognised a mode of interment which I have observed elsewhere. The body which, it may be presumed, had been burnt, is placed

in a large earthen jar, such as is still used in Greek houses instead of a cistern to hold water, and is called in modern Greek, *Cupa*. With the bones are placed lamps, small vases, and other sepulchral objects; the jar is laid horizontally in the ground, and its mouth closed by a flat stone. About two years ago I took part in an excavation near Renkoi in the Troad, where great numbers of these jars were found in an Hellenic cemetery, lying very near each other, at about three feet below the surface. I have also noticed the same mode of interment in Rhodes, Mytilene, and Crete, and Mr. Finlay has met with similar sepulchral crocks on his estate in Attica. These jars are often found broken, the fractured edges having been anciently riveted with lead. I have not at hand Stackelberg's "Graber d. Griechen," nor any other work on ancient sepulture, to refer to, and therefore am not aware whether this mode of interment in jars has been described elsewhere. I do not know whether it has been already remarked that the discovery of these sepulchral jars settles a disputed reading in Pliny, who remarks in his account of pottery, Nat. Hist., xxxv. c. 46, "Quin et defunctos sese multi fictilibus *doliis* condi maluere," where Harduin reads, *soleis*. What we call the *tub* of Diogenes was not a tub at all, but an earthen jar, *pithos*, of the kind used in sepulture, but on a larger scale.

Another of the graves in the same field contained a number of broad-headed iron nail-heads, and a bronze arrow-head. The nails may have served to rivet a wooden coffin, *λάρναξ*, since decayed.

After these trials of the ground south of the stone quarry, I returned to the rocky part of Damos, and tried a field adjoining the peninsula or tongue of land, where, as I have already noticed, an ancient town must have stood.


Across the neck of the peninsula I observed the foundations of a wall running North and South between the two ravines. This wall I laid bare throughout its whole length. It is about seven feet wide, very solidly faced with squared blocks on each side, the centre being filled up with unhewn stones. The blocks were of considerable size, the largest about 4 feet long, by 2 feet 5 inches wide. The stone appears to have been cut from the adjacent quarry. This wall may be continuously traced for about 165 feet. At the distance of about fifty-three feet from its Southern extremity it throws



out a square tower, probably intended to protect a gateway. On the East side of this wall I dug down to the ancient surface of the soil, and found it strewn with fragments of red coarse pottery, for the distance of some yards. The depths at which this stratum of pottery occurred varied from three to eight feet. This ancient surface had been covered by soil brought down by the rain, to which the wall had acted as a sort of dam. Among the *debris* I found three handles of Rhodian *amphoræ* inscribed with the names of magistrates, three grotesque heads in terra-cotta, which had formed handles of vases, a bronze fish-hook, part of a terra-cotta figure, and portions of stucco from the walls of Greek houses. I take this opportunity of mentioning that it is a matter of great interest to note the localities where the handles of Rhodian *amphoræ* inscribed with magistrates' names are found. Mr. Stoddart has shown, in an interesting paper published by the Royal Society of Literature, how much light may be thrown on the history of ancient commerce in the Mediterranean by the collection of these handles.

Having now established the position of the city wall, I naturally looked for tombs in its immediate vicinity. About 100 yards East of the wall, in the same field, there is a kind of natural platform of rock. Examining this attentively, I found several tombs very neatly cut in the bed of the rock, and closed by large stone lids. In one instance a square aperture, like a tank, had been cut out of the rock, at the bottom of which were two graves, placed side by side. The dimensions of these graves were larger than any which I had discovered. One measured in length 6 ft. 10 in., width 1 ft. 6 in., depth 1 ft. 3 in. On each side of the grave was a ridge, or step, cut out of the rock.

The lids were monolithic, and slightly ridged, thus,

The dimensions of the two graves sunk in the square cutting, were as follows:—Depth from  surface of the rock above to bottom of the grave, 5 ft. 5 in.; depth of grave itself, 2 ft. 4 in.; width, 2 ft. 2 in.; length, 6 ft. 4 in. These graves, though very promising in appearance, from their solidity and neatness, yielded only very ordinary pottery. On the Northern side of the same rocky platform I observed a square opening, like a doorway cut through the rock, at the edge of the platform.

The sides of this opening had been lined with cement in



which were fragments of tiles. The entrance was blocked up with earth, but one of my workmen discovered a small hole through which he thrust the handle of his spade to a considerable depth. I therefore had the earth removed, behind which I discovered the entrance to a natural cavern, carefully walled up. Removing the wall, I found the cavern full of earth, the whole of which I caused to be removed and sifted. After clearing away the soil, I found three small graves cut out of the rocky bottom of the cavern, side by side. The cave itself was about 3 ft. 10 in. high, and 8 ft. by 7 ft. 4 in. in area. The graves measured in length 5 ft. 4 in., depth 1 ft. 7 in., width 1 ft. 4 in. They were filled with earth and stones, and had apparently been disturbed. They contained fragments of bones, of glass vessels, and of ordinary red pottery, a small glass bead, and two fragments of ornaments in thin beaten gold. In one grave were two copper coins, one of which proved to be an unedited coin of Cos, struck in the reign of Caracalla. Altogether, the contents of these graves showed them to be Roman rather than Greek. Another similar cavern, noticed by Ross, was discovered in Calymnos, some years ago, about half a mile w. of the one opened by me. After exploring this field, I next examined one immediately to the East of it, and separated from the tract called Drapetes by a ravine. Here I found two tank-like square apertures, cut out of the solid rock, side by side, at the bottom of each of which were two graves. These pits were filled with earth up to the surface of the field, so as completely to conceal the tombs. In one pit the lids of the graves were monolithic, and very large. One measured, in length, 6 ft. 8 in., width 1 ft. 8 in., depth 1 ft. 8 in. In two graves, side by side, the heads were placed in opposite directions; in one case, towards the East; in the other, towards the West. The bones were exceedingly large. In the grave where the head lay to the East, the thigh-bones were found close to the head, a cup at the other end; in the other grave the cup was at the feet. In removing the earth out of these pits, part of a round altar, coarsely cut out of the ordinary stone of the field, was found; also a fragment of marble, apparently, the leg of a statue, but too much decayed to be intelligible. These may be the relics of an altar and a statue placed over the graves. In the second pit the graves were smaller, measuring in length, 5 ft. 7 in.,

width 1 ft. 8 in., depth 1 ft. 8 in. These two graves were probably of women ; one of them contained fragments of a square bronze mirror, a blue glass bead, three copper coins, and a small *lekkythos* of red earth.

I had now opened about forty graves, and tried the cemetery of Damos in various places. My excavations extended over a strip of land half a mile in extent. The very ordinary character of the vases and other objects which I had discovered, convinced me that I had as yet only met with the graves of the poorer classes.

It may be as well to note here some general facts, the result of my researches up to this point. 1. The pottery was all of a late period, *i. e.*, from B.C. 330 to B.C. 150. The forms of the cups and vases were deficient in elegance. The best were those covered with a black varnish, but this had not been able to resist the action of the soil and weather like the older varnishes. The other varieties were a bright-red ware, and an unpainted drab ware. In only two instances did I find any subject or ornament painted on a vase. 2. A great number of the graves contained a *ναῦλον*, nearly always a copper coin. 3. Except in three or four cases which I have already noted, there was no trace of bones in the graves. 4. The depth at which the graves were found was from 3 to 4 feet on an average. They were cut in the bed of the rock, or rocky subsoil. The labourers whom I employed distinguished this rocky subsoil by the name of *Δῦρικο*. They never considered it worth while to dig through it. I was at first under the impression that the older graves might be in a lower stratum, but, though I sometimes went deeper, never succeeded in finding any. 5. Very commonly a lamp or cup would be found in the soil, a few inches distant from the side of the grave. These were doubtless left there by relations, who came to bring offerings, *χααί*, or *ἐναγίσματα*. In the pictures on vases representing Heroa, or architectural tombs, rows of these cups or vases are seen on the steps of the tomb, at which female figures are seen offering libations. The visit of Electra at the tomb of her father was a favourite subject with ancient vase-painters, because it was in harmony with the sepulchral purpose of the vase itself. To this day the Greek peasant does not forget to make periodical visits to the tombs of relations, and on Saturday evenings, at Calymnos, as I returned from

my diggings in the cemetery of the ancient Calymniotes. I never failed to meet a procession of peasant women on their way to the churchyard, bearing in their hands, not indeed the *oinochoe* and the *lekkythos*, but a small tin can of oil to replenish the lamps which they keep ever burning in the tombs, and a censer containing burning incense. Many of the funeral customs of antiquity are still extant among the Greek peasantry, and should be recorded, before they disappear. The present Archbishop of Mytilene told me that in Macedonia the peasants are in the habit of placing a *ναῦλον* in the mouth of the dead. Wishing to put a stop to this relic of paganism, he explained to them that the coin they used for the purpose being a Turkish para, and containing a quotation from the Koran, was quite unfit to be employed in Christian burial. He also mentioned to me that one day he saw a poor widow place a quince in the bosom of the corpse of a young boy, as it lay on a bier in the church, awaiting interment. He asked the meaning of this, and was told that she wished to convey the quince to a son of her own who had died some months before, and had thought of this mode of transmitting it to him!

As the Damos had proved so unpromising, I determined to explore a new locality—the site and precinct of the temple of Apollo. I have already mentioned that the small church of Christos is built on the actual site of this temple, and in a great measure out of its materials.

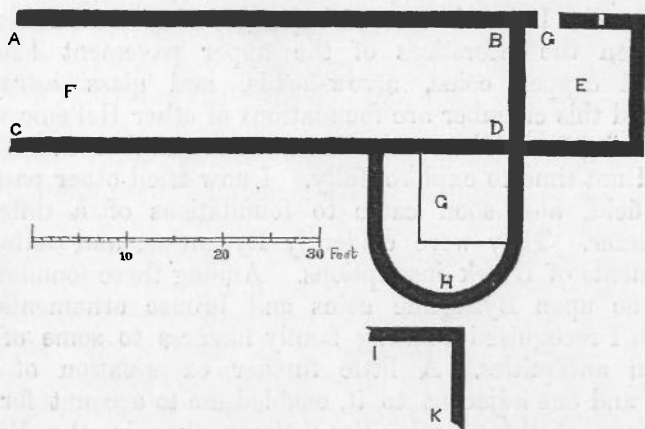
The situation of this church may be seen marked in Ross's map. It is situated about half-way between the harbour of Pothia and Linaria, on the outskirts of Damos, on the South, and about a quarter of a mile from the modern town.

At this spot the cultivated land lying between the two seas is narrowed by the hills on each side, so as to form a kind of neck connecting the valley of Linaria, on the West, with that of Pothia, on the East. In vol. ii. of Ross, p. 196, will be found a ground-plan of the church of Christos, showing the apsidal formation of its East end, which is built of Hellenic blocks with architectural ornaments, which Ross considers to be of the Macedonian period. In the space in front of the West door a Corinthian column is still standing. Ross was informed that there were persons at Calymnos who remember eight of these columns in a row, prolonging the

line of the west wall of the church. On the South side of Christos is the smaller church τῆς Ὑπακουῆς, attached to it like an aisle.

I commenced digging in a field at the back of the church. After a time I discovered the foundations of two walls of Hellenic masonry, running from North-West to South-East, and forming three chambers as shewn by the annexed plan. These foundations were from 7 to 8 feet below the surface.

The wall A B appears to be nearly on the same line with the south wall of the church of Hypakoe. It was composed of two courses of large squared blocks. The upper blocks were 3 feet 10 inches long, by 1 foot 10 inches deep and 1 foot 8 inches wide. The blocks of the lower wall were 3 feet long, by 1 foot 2 inches deep. The distance from A to B is about 44 feet; the width from A to C, 12 feet



4 inches. The space marked by the walls A, B, C, D, was paved with rough stones as if it had formed a court. I had these stones removed, one by one, with great care. In the interstices were found many Greek coins, bronze arrow-heads, glass astragali, small glass counters of different colours, bone hair-pins and other small objects such as might naturally have been dropped there from time to time. At F I found under the pavement a Greek sword-handle of bronze in the form of a gryphon's head in a very fine style of art. The sockets for the eyes were empty. They had once pro-

bably contained precious stones or some vitreous composition. Hence Virgil's expression :—

“ Stellatus iaspide fulvo  
Ensis.”

I do not remember ever to have seen so fine a specimen of a sword-handle as this one. The smaller chamber, E, was about 11 feet 2 inches by 14 feet 10 inches. The pavement was like that of the larger chamber, but raised about 10 inches above it. At H was a doorway with the stone sockets for the hinge and the bolt, and a window about 6 inches wide. The third chamber, marked G, branches out from the long chamber, in a south-west direction. It terminates in an apse; its length, the apse H, included, is 18 feet; its width from 14 feet 8 inches. The semicircular end, and one side of the chamber, were paved with large squared blocks very firmly fitted together; on removing which, I found a second pavement of similar blocks. Between the interstices of the upper pavement I found several copper coins, arrow-heads, and glass *astragali*. Beyond this chamber are foundations of other Hellenic walls stretching far to the south-west from the angle I, K. These I had not time to explore fully. I now tried other parts of this field, and soon came to foundations of a different character. They were evidently Byzantine, and contained fragments of Greek inscriptions. Among these foundations I came upon Byzantine coins and bronze ornaments, in which I recognised a strong family likeness to some of our Saxon antiquities. A little further examination of this field, and one adjacent to it, enabled me to account for the presence of these antiquities. Some time in the Middle Ages, perhaps about the XIVth century, two large monasteries were built on the site of the Temple of Apollo and out of its remains. Time had in turn destroyed the work of the Byzantine all but the churches of Christos and Hypakoe, themselves the remnants of a much larger church. After the buildings had been razed nearly to the ground, the soil brought down by the mountain-torrents gradually filled up the interstices of the foundations till the field assumed a level surface.

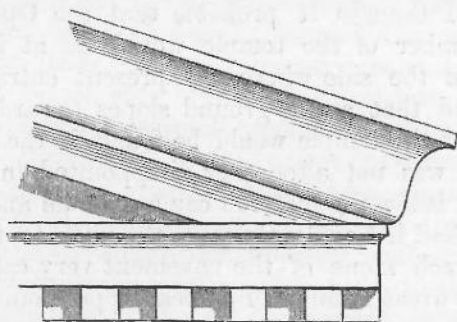
Continuing to find fragments of sculpture and inscriptions in these walls, I dug, in hope, on for many days

remembering how the precious fragments of the Temple of Victory on the Acropolis at Athens were found in the centre of a Turkish bastion. The labour of this work of demolition was very considerable. "It would require," said one of my Greek workmen, unconscious that he was employing an Homeric metaphor, "it would require a brazen man with iron hands," *ένα μπακίρινον άνθρωπον με σιδήρινα χέρια*, "to break through these walls." In this manner I got together a great number of fragments of inscriptions, and some very small pieces of statues, evidently of a very good time. After I had bestowed a certain number of days on the fields at the back of the church, I commenced digging in the front of it, where the ground slopes down towards two wells. I thought it probable that the Opisthodomos, or back chamber of the temple would be at its Western extremity, on the side where the present entrance to the church is, and that as the ground slopes towards the wells, some relics of the temple would be found in the soil of this declivity. I was not altogether disappointed in this hope.

A few feet below the surface I came upon an ancient paved road, which had led evidently from the wells to the temple. I removed each stone of the pavement very carefully, and thus found a great number of Greek copper coins, several of which were from distant places, such as Miletus, Sigeum in the Troad, Macedonia. These were probably dropped by strangers who visited the temple. I also found a netting-needle and other small objects in bronze, and such a number of bronze arrow-heads as to lead me to suppose that a shower of arrows had fallen here. The points of some of them were blunted. Along the side of the road were traces of an ancient watercourse, in the bed of which I found two or three interesting terra-cotta reliefs; and higher up the slope the tooth of a horse, or some graminivorous animal, bound with a bronze loop by which it had once been suspended; a tress of hair in bronze; a colossal thumb in marble; all these had evidently been votive objects offered in the temple. In the upper part of the field I found some interesting fragments of sculpture; a male head in the Æginetan style, but greatly defaced; part of the thigh and knee of a draped colossal male figure in a very grand style, and the body of a female statuette, perhaps a Venus tying her sandal. I also found here a stone which had formed

one corner of a pediment, doubtless from the temple—of this I subjoin a rough measurement. (See woodcut.) At the top of this field, on the south side of the temple, and in a direct line with the Hellenic foundations at the back of the church, which I have already described, I came upon the angle of another Hellenic building very solidly constructed of squared blocks. I had so much to explore elsewhere, that I was unable to ascertain the further direction of these walls. Within the angle the building was not paved; I found no antiquities except a large ball of lead, too heavy to have been used in a *sphæristerium*.

I regret that my limited time and means did not permit me to complete the excavation of this building, which, I



have little doubt, formed the termination of a series of chambers extending along the whole south side of the temple, and beyond it to the Hellenic foundations in the upper field which I have already described. I now determined to explore the field in which the church itself stood. About half of this, immediately west of the church, had been dug over last year, when the inscriptions relating to the Manumission of slaves had been found. I commenced digging nearly opposite the South-West angle of the church where the column stands, and dug across the field northward in a direction parallel to the West wall of the church. I was enabled to carry my excavations within about 12 feet of the western wall. I found here several large squares of marble which had formed part of the original basement of the temple, and had been laid down a second time in the Byzantine church, but irregularly; the chasms where slabs were missing, being filled up by Mosaic pavement. The marble squares were beautifully polished and wrought.



Among these squares I found, built into Byzantine walls, a wrist and part of a hand, part of an arm, and fragments of two feet of a colossal male figure. These fragments all appear to me to belong to the same colossal statue as the knee in the lower field.

They are in the finest style; the portion of a hand is quite worthy of Phidias himself. Indeed, I have never seen any fragment so entirely in the style of the Elgin marbles as this. If we suppose these remains to belong to a colossal statue of Apollo himself placed in the *naos* of his temple, the position in which I found the fragments would be the natural place to find them in, supposing the statue to have been dragged from its base and broken up by the early Christians. The trunk was probably pounded into small pieces, the extremities would lie where they first fell till they were picked up by the masons and incorporated in the rubble of the walls. I dug on beyond the northern wall of the church, and found an inscribed *stèle* and some interesting fragments of inscriptions and sculptures.

I then dug on the opposite side of the field a narrow strip, lying south of the church of Hypakoe, and in a line with the long chamber which I had laid bare in the upper field. Here I was so fortunate as to find four very well preserved inscribed *stèle* lying in the soil, two on their edges, two on their sides, like books just taken down from their shelves. The Byzantine masons must have left these slabs here, intending to break them up and build them in their foundations. By some accident they were forgotten or exempted from the common destiny. By a singular chance, I began to dig under the roots of a fig-tree exactly where the proprietor of the field had terminated his excavations the year before. He had desisted from digging, out of regard for the roots of his young fig-tree. Having no such feeling, I excavated just six inches below his mark, and so found a most interesting collection of decrees of the Calymniote people. I continued my operations along the outside of the south wall of the church, and found, a little further on, a very large *stèle* covered on both sides with a deeply-cut inscription. This marble contains the record of a trial between the people of Calymnos and the heirs of a certain Cleomedes. The sum of money at issue is very considerable, being no less than 300 talents, about 73,125*l*.

On one side of the *stele*, the mode of procedure in the trial is set forth, with the form of the oath to be administered to the witnesses ; on the other side is the sentence, which is decided by a court of Dicasts. The number of votes for the plaintiff were 78, for the defendant, 120. In the case of some of the witnesses who resided in the neighbouring island of Cos, and could not therefore appear in court at Calymnos, it is ordered that their depositions be taken before certain magistrates, *prostatæ*, in Cos, and sent over to Calymnos, sealed with the public seal of the people of Cos. The length of time for the pleadings is measured by the klepsydra, ποτὶ χροῖς ; for the first pleading each party is allowed eighteen of the measures called χροαί, for the second, ten. Such a trial was technically called δίκη πρὸς ὕδωρ.

It is a point of some interest to state how far the excavation to the West of the church has thrown light on the question as to the extent of the temple in this direction—a point which Ross thought might be determined by digging. Unfortunately, the proprietor of the field had anticipated me as far as regards the North side of the temple, and had here destroyed every trace of foundations ; but on the South side I found some remains, which may form part of the two parallel stylobates or walls.

Immediately in front, *i. e.*, West of the single column still standing, are two enormous blocks. One of these measured 3 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. in width, and 1 ft. 9 in. in depth. On one face was in very large characters ΝΙΚΟΚΛΗ ; below, in smaller characters, <sup>[N] ΝΙΚΟΚΛΗΣ</sup> ΑΠΑΤΟΓΕΝΟΤ. Side by side with this was placed a second block, extending to the single column. These blocks may be part of the stylobate still remaining *in situ*. South of this row, at the distance of 6 ft. 10 in., is a parallel row of blocks, one a cube of 3 ft., next to it a threshold stone 3 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. This appeared to be the threshold stone of a doorway in the original temple. This doorway was 14 ft. 9 in. to the West of the single column. In giving these details, I would add that I think it doubtful whether any portion of the original foundations of the temple remain *in situ*. The builders of the church of Christos appear to have dislocated and rudely re-constructed all that they found.

I was unable to carry my excavations any further round the church of Christos. Indeed, the site could not

have been thoroughly explored without pulling the church down and making a careful collation of all the architectural fragments and inscriptions. Many of these have been carried away at different periods to supply materials for the building of the other churches in the island, so that the investigation would not be complete without the demolition of many of these edifices. I have made a small collection of architectural fragments which may serve to show the character of the ornaments.

The excavations on this site, show very clearly what has been the fate of the greater part of the Greek temples in the Archipelago, once so rich in the works of the great sculptors of antiquity.

They have been sacrificed in the first onslaught of Iconoclastic zeal. Statues of matchless beauty have been broken up into small fragments, and mixed in the rubble of monastic walls. *Stelæ*, containing the archives of many an ancient city, have been remorselessly imbedded in the lowest layers of foundations, or inserted in pavements on which, through long generations of fanaticism and ignorance, the dull and listless footstep of the Byzantine monk has gradually trodden out the deeply graven record of Hellenic times.

It is recorded in the legend of Christodulos, the founder of Patmos, in the XIth century, that his first act in arriving in that island, was to crush to pieces, *συντρίβειν*, a statue of Diana, a beautiful work. Perhaps he lent a helping hand to his neighbours at Calymnos.

The fragments of sculpture found in the temple of Apollo are a contribution to the history of Ancient Art. They show that this little island could afford to employ sculptors who certainly belonged to one of the great schools of antiquity. Probably the sculptors of Cos and Halicarnassus contributed works to the neighbouring temple of Apollo at Calymnos.

It is worthy of note, that of the inscriptions belonging to this temple, two contain names of artists; one of these records a dedication to Apollo by Nicias, the son of Thrasymedes. Ross conjectures that this Thrasymedes may be the Parian sculptor of that name who made the Chryselephantine statue of Æsculapius at Epidaurus—a celebrated work, of which we have a representation on a silver coin in the collection of the British Museum. If that is the case, we may, approximately, fix the age of that artist, hitherto

undetermined. The inscription is certainly, from the form of the letters, of the same period as the majority of the inscriptions from the temple of Apollo, that is, from B.C. 350 to 200.

The other artist named in a Calymniote inscription is Antamos, the son of Theodoros, of Cnossus. I cannot find this name in Sillig's list of artists. The inscription is of the Roman time. This is all we know at present of the sculptors of Calymnos.

The fragments of inscriptions collected in the course of this excavation have occupied me for several months. I have now sufficiently arranged and deciphered them to be able to give a general account of their contents. There are eighteen decrees granting the *politeia* or citizenship to foreigners for services rendered to the Calymnian people; ten decrees granting *proxenia* to foreigners for similar reasons; thirteen decrees relating either to *politeia* or *proxenia*, but of which the precise import cannot be decided from their mutilated condition; two decrees relating to judicial proceedings; two conferring crowns; two bestowing honours on physicians; two, honours for military services, and eleven fragments of decrees, the subjects of which cannot be ascertained. The whole of these inscriptions are of the period between Alexander the Great and Augustus. If the king Antigonus mentioned in one of them is, as is most probable, Antigonus the Great, the date of most of the inscriptions would be B.C. 350 to 250.

There were also several inscriptions and a number of fragments of the Roman period. Of these the most interesting were the dedication of a statue to Caligula; a dedication to Apollo by Publius Servilius Isauricus, when consul; the date of this inscription is therefore fixed to B.C. 79. I found another dedicatory inscription, by the same Servilius, built into the Western wall of Christos.

There were also eight records of the manumission of slaves, two other dedications, and a variety of fragments, some of which appear to relate to grants of lands.

I also copied at Calymnos the following unedited inscriptions, which I was unable to bring away:—One list of citizens and *metoikoi*, contributors to some tax, one decree of *proxenia*, one of *politeia*, one honorary grant of land, seventeen records of the manumission of slaves, two dedications.

All these I know to have belonged to the Temple of

Apollo. The whole list of inscriptions discovered in this temple is as follows :

MACEDONIAN PERIOD.		2 decrees conferring crowns.
19 decrees of <i>politeia</i> .	2	" honours to physicians.
11 decrees of <i>proxenia</i> .	2	" honours for military services.
13 decrees, either <i>proxenia</i> or <i>politeia</i> .	1	" honorary grant of land.
	11	" subjects unascertained.
2 decrees of judicial proceedings.	1	" list of citizens and <i>metoikoi</i> .

In all, sixty-four inscriptions. Of the Roman period there were twenty-five forms of Manumission ; six dedicatory inscriptions, probably of statues ; and a number of miscellaneous fragments too small to be taken into account.

This *catalogue raisonné* will enable us to form some idea of the rich collection of historical and municipal records which once existed in the Temple of Apollo. I have elsewhere observed, that "it is in the marble and the granite, in the market-places, the temples, and the sepulchres of the ancients, that we must search for their records ; these were their archives and libraries, their heralds' college, their muniment-rooms."

It may be remarked that in this list the number of grants of *politeia*, or citizenship, are far more numerous than those of *proxenia*.

The full citizenship was granted very liberally by the Asiatic cities, but we have no instance of the concession of such a right by any of the states of Greece Proper. The privileges of *proxenia* were granted very generally throughout the Hellenic world. *Proxeni* were agents appointed by Greek cities to protect their merchants and commercial interests generally in foreign states. In this respect the duties of a *proxenos* resembled those of a modern consul, with this difference, that he was a citizen, not of the state by which he was appointed, but of that in which he exercised his agency.

One of the inscriptions conferring honours for military services makes mention of a maritime war between Calymnos and the city of Hierapytna in Crete, of which I have not discovered any record elsewhere.

The inscription, containing an honorary grant of land, acquaints us with the fact that there was a Theatre at Calymnos, which, if I have rightly decyphered a very ill preserved line in the text, was actually within the precinct of the Temple of Apollo.

The land is granted by the state to Aratocritos, the son of

Aristias, to enable him to build on it, at his own expense and for the public benefit, a *proscenion* and scenes, and to surround the *temenos*, or sacred precinct, with a wall. These buildings are most probably the very foundations which, as has already been stated, I found in two fields on the South side of Christos, and which probably run in a continuous line on the south side of the church. At the end of this decree the form of the dedicatory inscription to be placed on the *proscenion* by Aratocritos is given: Ἀρατόκριτος Ἀριστία τὰν σκανὴν καὶ τὸ προσκάνιον στεφαναφορήσας Ἀπόλλωνι.

Now it is a curious coincidence that over the doorway of the church at Christos is a fragment of architrave, on which is inscribed in very large characters . . . ΝΑ . . . ΠΗΣΑΣ ΑΓΟΛΛ . . . Ross, although unable to restore this fragment, remarks that it was probably part of a dedication inscribed on some monument in the vestibule of the Temple of Apollo. With the aid of the other inscription the restoration is obviously στεφανα(φο)ρήσας Ἀπόλλ(ωνι) and I have little doubt that *this fragment of architecture actually formed part of the proscenion dedicated by Aratocritos.*

The fields on the south side of Christos having been, as I stated, only partially explored by me, perhaps some future excavation there may bring to light remains of the theatre.

The magistrates, whose names appear at the head of the decrees of the Macedonian period, are always the *prostatae*, a title which occurs elsewhere in inscriptions, though rarely. In the Manumissions the Eponymous magistrate of Calymnos is the *stephanaphoros*—this title was adopted in many Asiatic cities, and is frequently met with on coins and inscriptions of the Roman period.

In the Manumissions occur some curious names of Greek months, which I hope to compare with the series of Doric months published by Mr. Stoddart, and to which I have already alluded. At Calymnos one of the months was called *Kaisar*, as a compliment to some Roman emperor. In the grants of citizenship we get the names of several *Demi*, or burghs, and tribes, *Phylæ*, in Calymnos, to which the new citizens were assigned by lot. Among the names of the Demes is that of the *Pothæi*. The principal harbour in the island is, as has been already stated, still called Potbia, and I am assured that in the island of Telindos, lying opposite the Western side of Calymnos, is a place called Potha.

Having concluded the excavations in the precinct of the Temple of Apollo, and having still a few spare days before me, I returned to the tombs. I tried two fields in the lower cemetery near the harbour, but with no success, and therefore made one more experiment in Damos.

Having already examined all the district North of the church called Prophet Elia with so little result, I determined to try a field lying between that church and the Temple of Apollo, very near the field of Janni Sconi, where the celebrated discovery of gold ornaments had taken place.

Fortune favoured me at last. On the foot-path in this field were the marks of two graves, which had been opened some years ago ; one contained, it is said, a vase ornamented with silver, the other I was recommended by a by-stander to examine again. The workmen had hardly broken the ground with their pickaxes, before they found a small circular ornament in bronze, so finely wrought, that I was at once led to hope for some work of art. I very soon found three more of these circular ornaments, the handle of a large bronze vase with rich floral ornaments, and lastly, at the very bottom of the grave, but not more than eight inches below the surface, a most exquisite bronze alto-relievo representing a male figure, bearded, and with large wings, carrying off a youthful female figure who is looking back as if to a world from which she is snatched away. Her attitude at once recalls the Eurydice of the beautiful episode in the fourth Georgic :

“Invalidasque mihi tendens, heu ! non mea, palmas !”

This subject may represent Boreas carrying off Oreithyia, as the bearded male figure has wings and buskins like a Wind God.

The selection of such a subject probably commemorates allusively the untimely fate of the person in whose grave it was found ; in the same manner we find the Death of Meleager, the Rape of Proserpine, and other kindred subjects, commemorating the death of the young, frequently repeated on ancient sarcophagi, and probably chosen for those who were snatched away by an untimely fate.

There is no doubt that the tomb at Calymnos, which I am describing, was that of a female, because I found in it the relics of a gold necklace. The bronze alto-relievo is executed in the finest style. I know of nothing in ancient *repoussé* work superior to it, except perhaps the bronzes of Siris. The



general style reminds me of that of a beautiful composition not so well known as it deserves to be, the Ficoroni Cista at Rome, on which is engraved the contest of Pollux with Amycus, King of Bebryces. In that composition we have a winged bearded figure very similar to that in the Calymnos bronze, and who certainly represents Death, as he appears in Etruscan Art.

With this discovery I closed my excavations at Calymnos. On a review of the whole of the facts ascertained with respect to the cemetery of Damos, I am inclined to the belief that the rocky fields on the northern side formed a public cemetery, lying immediately outside of the walls of a small town on the rocky peninsula; that the fields on the south, in the district now called Prophet Elia, were private burial-grounds reserved for rich individuals. This side of the cemetery has not yet been sufficiently explored. I regret that circumstances compelled me to quit Calymnos just at the moment when I appeared to be on the right track. It is remarkable that all the vases found in the tombs should be invariably of the same ordinary late character; because in the precincts of the Temple of Apollo I dug up several fragments of very fine vases with red figures on a black ground, which date probably from the time of Phidias. The tombs containing these earlier vases have yet to be discovered: perhaps they lie in a lower stratum of soil, to which modern cultivation has not penetrated. Almost all the antiquities as yet found at Calymnos, whether coins, vases, or inscriptions, are either of the Macedonian or of the Roman period. The only objects that can be referred to an earlier epoch are, an unique archaic coin in the Payne Knight collection, British Museum; the archaic head in marble, which I found below the temple; perhaps some of the other fragments of sculpture, and the fragments of vases with red figures on a black ground.

There is a third cemetery in Calymnos, in a valley in the north of the island called Vathy; this I did not explore, but the vases found in the tombs there are of the same character as those of Damos. Tombs have also been found in the high ground south of Damos, called Argos. These I imagine to be of the Roman period. Near the harbour of Pothia are caves called *tholi*, hollowed out of the rock in a conical

form, with a small aperture at the top. These are filled with late Roman and Byzantine lamps and vases, and bones. Many of these lamps have Christian emblems. I have made a large collection of them. I purchased some very interesting coins and antiquities at Calymnos, among which was a large gold ear-ring found with a number of Byzantine coins of the Emperor Heraclius. I hope to give a more detailed account of these antiquities in a future communication.

C. T. NEWTON.