ALBERT RECKITT ARCHAEOLOGICAL LECTURE

AÏ KHANUM ON THE OXUS: A HELLENISTIC CITY IN CENTRAL ASIA

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WHEN in 327 B.C. Alexander set forth from Bactra to conquer India, he left behind him, north of the Hindu Kush, in the vast and fertile plains of Bactria and Sogdia watered by the Oxus and its tributaries, the nucleus of a central Asian Greece.[2] Until now the knowledge that could be gleaned about this oriental Hellas of the third and second centuries B.C. was tantalizingly meagre. As far as its history was concerned, our information, deriving from two sources—on the one hand, a few rare texts by Greek, Latin, and Chinese historians,[3] transmitting for the most part scraps of older, lost writings, and, on the other hand, the abundant coinage of the sovereigns of this Greek

[1] I would like to thank my wife for helping me with the English text.

[2] In Bactria alone he left, under the command of Amyntas, 13,500 soldiers (Arrian IV, 22, 3), not including those he had settled as colonists.

[3] The occidental authors are primarily: (1) Apollodorus of Artemita, author of a history of the Parthians up to the beginning of the first century B.C., known through Strabo and Atheneus; (2) the unknown author who was the Roman Trogus Pompeius's source in his *Historiae Philippicae*, for everything concerning Parthia and Central Asia; these *Historiae Philippicae*, also lost, are known only through a mediocre and late summary by Justin; (3) the source for the *Life of Crassus* by Plutarch; (4) lastly, the *Σταθμοὶ Παρθικοί* of the geographer Isidorus of Charax, a list of the towns and villages which marked the great transcontinental highway from Zeugma on the upper Euphrates to Alexandria of Arachosia (Kandahar). On these authors, cf. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd ed. 1951), pp. 44–55.

The Chinese sources which concern only the latest period of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom are all based on the report of the Chinese diplomat Chang K'ien, who visited Bactria in 129–128 B.C. His report was never published by himself, but it was used by several historians, first by Ssu-ma-Tsien in his *Shi Ki*, finished around 90 B.C., then by Pan-Ku in his *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (206 B.C.–A.D. 9) or *Tsien Han Shu*, and by the author of the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* (A.D. 25–220) or *Hou Han Shu*. The most reliable document is evidently the *Shi Ki* whose author, Ssu-ma-Tsien, was a contemporary of Chang K'ien. I am much indebted to Dr. Michael Loewe, of the University of Cambridge, for information on these Chinese texts.

state[1]—permitted us merely to trace, with much conjecture, its broadest outlines. Through these documents we could form an idea of how Greek Bactria, previously a satrapy of the Seleucid Empire, set itself up around 250 B.C. as an independent kingdom; how its enterprising sovereigns annexed the countries south of the Hindu Kush, including north-west India; and finally how this kingdom, torn and weakened by inner dissension, succumbed to a nomad invasion which swept down from the steppe on the north side of the Oxus around 100 B.C.[2] But what about any evidence of its material and cultural civilization? What about its monuments? Except for the above-mentioned coinage, we had none. How to explain this almost total vacuum? The principal cause is that archaeological research, yielding to the deceptive prestige of a famous name, rushed to Bactra. Actually this site, exposed as it was by its very role of historical capital of Bactria to an uninterrupted series of destructions and reoccupations, offered to diggers but little chance of finding vestiges of the Greek period, for these remains were either deeply buried under later ruins or had all been destroyed. So it was that the acropolis of Bactra became the tomb of the hopes of Foucher, the pioneer of archaeological research in Afghanistan. Six months of fruitless digging (from November 1924 to May 1925), sometimes to a depth of 20 metres, gave him no inkling of the new Persepolis, of the new Palmyra that he had counted on.[3] Nor did the trial-pits opened by his successor, Mr. Daniel Schlumberger, on the same Bala Hissar, strike upon the Greek monuments anticipated.[4] Surface prospecting made elsewhere was also unsuccessful, for it was never conducted systematically. If, moreover, we consider that the prospecting had to stop at the Oxus border-region which is normally closed to foreigners, we will finally understand how Greek Bactria had succeeded in eluding us.

However, the discovery of Hellenizing civilizations at Nisa, in Soviet Turkmenistan,[5] and at Surkh Kotal on the southern

[1] Cf. lastly R. Curiel–G. Fussman, 'Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz', *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, XX (Paris, 1965).

[2] The principal books on the history of Bactria are: Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, and A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (1962).

[3] A. Foucher, 'La vieille route de l'Inde I', *Mémoires DAFA*, i, 1942, pp. 98–115.

[4] The ceramic found in these sondages has been published by J.-C. Gardin, 'Céramiques de Bactres', *Mémoires DAFA*, xv, 1957.

[5] Excavations started on this site before the Second World War:

edge of Bactria[1] could have led us to mitigate the pessimism of Foucher who after his failure at Bactra believed that Graeco-Bactrian art was nothing but a 'mirage'.[2] Indeed, if these non-Greek civilizations of Kushan Bactria and Arsacid Parthia could produce such strongly Hellenizing cultures, how could Greek Bactria, with its Greek kings and Greek colonization of the third and second centuries B.C., have failed to father such a civilization? Such was the opinion of the very man who excavated Surkh Kotal, Mr. Daniel Schlumberger. In 1961, in this same British Academy, he had the opportunity to state before you his conviction that Graeco-Bactrian art, though still unknown, was not an illusion, but a reality whose resilient spirit he detected in the peripheral Kushan and Graeco-Buddhist cultures, and would one day be discovered.[3] His penetrating judgement soon proved prophetic. In 1964 the reality of this Graeco-Bactrian civilization became tangible not only through its posthumous effects, but in its very being, in the form of a great Hellenistic city with its public monuments, its residential quarters, its necropolis, its epigraphic literature, its art. It is the first phases of this discovery made at Aï Khanum, on the eastern edge of Bactria, that I invite you to examine with me now.

I suppose the first question you would ask is 'How did you discover the site of Aï Khanum?'. Actually it was not ourselves but the King of Afghanistan who made the initial discovery. His Majesty Mohamed Zaher Shah, while visiting the area, was shown, in the courtyard of a house in the village of Aï Khanum, two carved stones, a Corinthian capital and a columnar stand. Being well-versed in archaeological matters, he immediately recognized the importance of these stones and was kind enough

A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, i, p. 444. On the excavations which took place after the Second World War, cf. G. A. Pugačenkova, 'Puti razvitija arkhitektury Iužnogo Turkmenistana pory rabovladenija i feodalizma', *Trudy Iužno-Turkmenistanskoj arkheologičeskoj kompleksnoj ekspeditsii*, vi (Moscow, 1958), for the architecture, and M. E. Masson–G. A. Pugačenkova, 'Parfjanskie ritony Nisy', *IUTAKE*, iv, 1959, for the famous ivory rhytons.

[1] D. Schlumberger, *Journal asiatique*, 1952, pp. 433–53; 1954, pp. 161–87; 1955, pp. 269–79; 1964, pp. 303–26; 'The Excavations at Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India' in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xlvii, 1961, pp. 77–95.

[2] On the Graeco-Bactrian 'mirage', cf. Foucher, op. cit., pp. 73–75, 79–83, 113–14.

[3] Cf. n. 1 and the fundamental study, 'Descendants non méditerranéens de l'art grec', in *Syria*, 1960, pp. 131–66 and 253–318.

to notify the French Archaeological Delegation of their existence and of the presence of a huge tepe nearby. With the permission, generously granted, of the Afghan government,[1] our Delegation, at that time directed by Mr. Schlumberger, was able to make in 1964 a preliminary survey and to identify Aï Khanum as a true Graeco-Bactrian site. In 1965 I directed the first campaign of excavation; the second has just ended.[2]

The site of Aï Khanum (which means 'Lady Moon' in Uzbek) is thus named from the village which nestles at the foot of its acropolis, outside of the ramparts. It occupies, at the confluence of the Daria-i-Panj, the Oxus of old, and its tributary of the left bank, the Kokcha, a key strategic position (Fig. 1). The plain which extends north of Aï Khanum from the Oxus to the first slopes of the Badakhshan mountains narrows there to form a passage southward, the west being blocked off by the rocky cliffs of the Oxus's right bank. Aï Khanum kept watch in front of this natural north-eastern gateway to Bactria. The site was remarkably well-suited to the implantation of a military stronghold which could eventually develop into a large city (Fig. 2). The southern extremity of the plain forms here a natural triangle 1,800 metres long and 1,600 metres wide at its base, delimited on two sides by the two joining rivers which it overlooks from a height of 20 metres, and on the third, eastern side by a natural mound of rock, approximately 60 metres high. The fortifications which encompassed the acropolis and closed

[1] Our deepest gratitude, first of all, to His Majesty the King, thanks to whom Aï Khanum was born to the archaeological world, and who, last year, by honouring us with his visit, once more showed the enlightened and passionate interest he brings to all archaeological and historical questions; to their excellencies Dr. Youssof Khan and Maidwanwal Khan, Prime Ministers; Dr. Etemadi, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dr. Qayoum Khan and Dr. Shalizi Khan, Ministers of the Interior; Dr. Mohamed Anas Khan, Minister of Education; Dr. Sidki, Minister of Information and Culture; Dr. Rawan Farhadi, General Director of Political Affairs for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Motamedi, Director of the Archaeological Service. Our thanks also go to Sarwar Nasher Khan, President of the Spinzar Cotton Company, who, through the generous and efficient aid he accords us, shows his interest in his country's past and his friendship for our Delegation.

[2] On the circumstances of the discovery, and the preliminary survey, cf. D. Schlumberger, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1965, pp. 36–46. D. Schlumberger–P. Bernard, *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 89, 1965, pp. 590–657. On the first campaign of excavations, P. Bernard–D. Schlumberger, *CRAI*, 1966, pp. 127–33. On the second campaign, P. Bernard, *CRAI*, 1967, pp. 306–24.

the open northern end of the triangle protected a lower and an upper city (Pl. I). At the northern and southern extremities of the acropolis the ruins of two citadels are discernible. The lower city is cut through lengthwise by a straight main street which starts at the principal gate in the north ramparts and extends

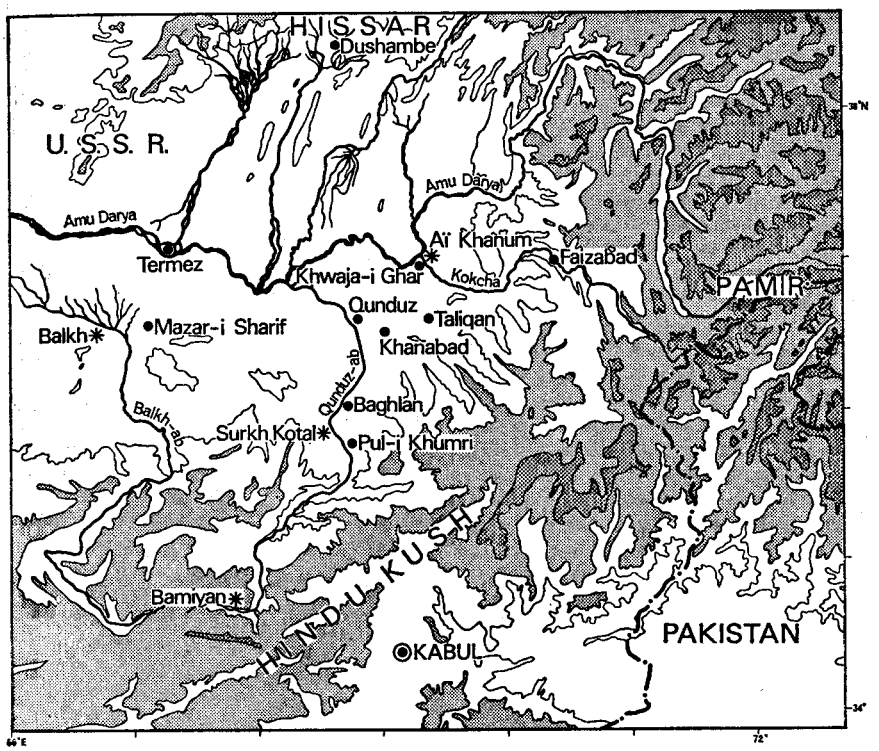


FIG. 1. Sketch map of Northern Afghanistan.

from north to south along the base of the acropolis. All the important ruins of the lower town are situated between this main street and the Oxus (Pl. II): to the south are the vestiges of what must have been the residential quarters; in the middle an important complex of buildings surrounding a huge courtyard; and to the north a zone which, although only sparsely occupied, contained a gymnasium.

The Greek city of Aï Khanum is right at the surface of the soil, never having been covered by later settlements. Under the thin shroud of earth, we hoped to find the dead body intact. What we discovered was a brutally mutilated corpse. First a violent conflagration ravaged the city around 100 B.C. and put a sudden end to its existence, but without really defiling its aspect. The burnt roofs crashed down (Pl. IV*a*), but the

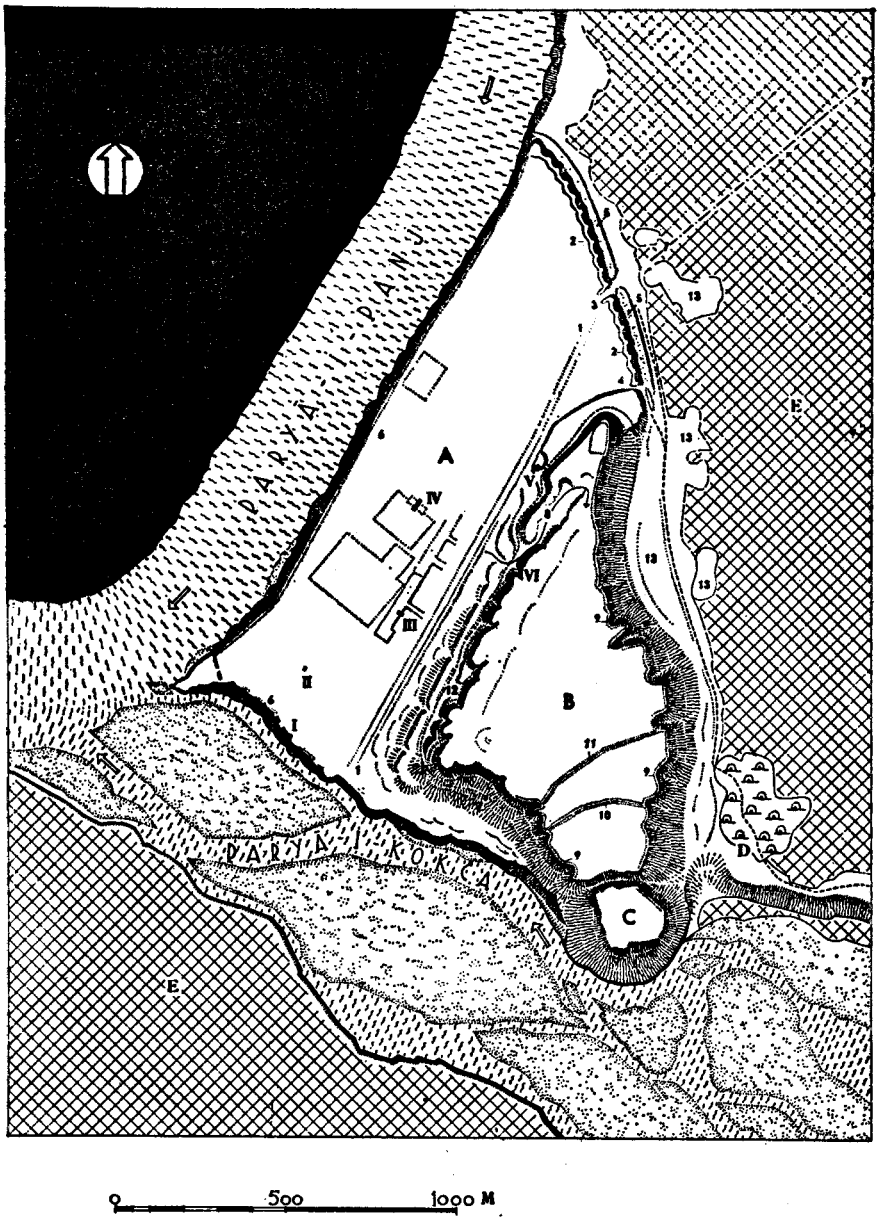


FIG. 2. Sketch map of the site (1964). (Drawing by M. Le Berre.)

A. Lower town. B. Upper town. C. Citadel.
D. Modern village of Aï Khanum. E. Cultivated fields.

In black: Soviet Union.

Roman numbers I-VI indicate sondages made in 1964. IV is on the propylaeum of the peristyle courtyard.

1. Main street.
2. Ramparts NE. of the lower town.
3. Main gate.
4. Secondary gate.
5. Moat.
6. Ramparts along the rivers.
9. Ramparts of the upper town.
10-11. Walls.
12. Main canal.
13. Ruins outside the town.

abandoned porticoes with their stone colonnades still stood erect in the open air. Sometime after the fire, a shattering earthquake flung the columns down and rent the walls, which partially collapsed (Pl. III*a*). But worse was to come. These ruins were, in their turn, systematically pillaged (Pl. IV*b*). The stones were broken in order to recover the bronze cramps and to feed the lime kilns. Whole walls of raw bricks were torn down in order to get at the baked bricks at the foundation (Pl. III*b*). This methodical demolition must have taken place at an early date, for the ruins must have still been clearly visible to the plunderers and the wreckage must have had the time to be covered over by layers of earth.[1] Finally, tomb robbers took their toll too and attacked everything in the form of a tumulus. We owe to them the ransacking of an important funerary monument in the middle of the lower city.[2] Without these post-mortem destructions Aï Khanum would probably still resemble one of those dead cities of Roman Syria whose location is signalled from afar by the still erect stone colonnades, and doubtless it would have been known since 1838 when the English traveller John Wood visited the site. However mutilated, these ruins are those of a great Hellenistic city of central Asia.[3] For although certain oriental features are present, it is first and foremost a Greek *polis*.

It is true that the basic technique of construction, the systematic use of bricks, unbaked or more rarely baked, for the walls is essentially oriental although not unknown to Greece itself. Stone, a soft white limestone, was reserved for elements of support, such as columns and pillars and sometimes for sills. This mixed use of the two materials, dictated by the relative rarity of good building-stone which was quarried some 50 kilometres distant,[4] by the paucity of qualified stone-cutters, all of them probably Greek, and also by the convenience of the local technique of brick manufacturing, is very much in the Achaemenian tradition. The flat roofs which covered certain

[1] The discovery of two Kushan coins near the surface could be related to this plundering.

[2] The puzzling pit discovered in the middle of the passage of the propylaeum (*BCH*, 89, 1965, p. 600), near this funerary heroön, is also very probably a tomb-robber's tunnel.

[3] *A Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Source of the River Oxus by the Route of the Indus, Kabul and Badakhshan, performed under the Sanction of the Supreme Government of India in the years 1836, 1837 and 1838* (London, 1841), pp. 394–5.

[4] On the Afghan side there are limestone quarries both near Imam Sayid, down the Oxus, and near Taliqan, south of the Oxus.

buildings were also inherited from the Orient. For everything else, the architectural techniques were Greek: stone blocks laid dry without mortar, tightly fitted by anathyroses and fastened together by metal dowels and cramps (Pl. V*a*, *b*) sealed by molten lead; flat Corinthian tiles with cover-tiles, and antefixes at the end of eaves cover-tiles.

The plans of this architecture are also inspired, for the most part, by Hellenistic conceptions. The most important complex of buildings in the lower town, at present the focus of our excavation, is a vast peristyle courtyard with its dependencies, which very probably represents the political and administrative centre of the city (Fig. 3). This courtyard forms a rectangle 136 metres by 108 metres, closed on its four sides by porticoes. One entered this courtyard from the north[1] through a propylaeum consisting of a narrow passage between two esplanades. The inner esplanade boasted two Corinthian columns whose elements were found, for the most part, intact (Pl. VI*a*). The ruins of the south portico, in spite of great damage inflicted by the plunderers, remain impressive, heaped up with huge piles of bases, drums, and Corinthian capitals (Pl. VII*a*). Although the colonnades of the eastern and western porticoes have almost completely disappeared, evidence of their existence is given by the foundations of river-stones which run along the back walls (Pl. VII*b*). On the north side of the courtyard, a limited sondage has brought to light a wall which must be the back wall of a fourth portico.[2] This type of peristyle courtyard is one of the most characteristic features of Greek Hellenistic architecture. It is found not only in domestic buildings, as, for instance, in the great Delian[3] houses or the Macedonian palace of Vergina,[4] but also in public architecture, as, for example, in the commercial agora at Pergamum or the Ionian-type agoras, with the closed plan of their last phase.[5] The portico arrangement in Rhodian fashion is another typically Hellenistic feature of this courtyard. In this plan, one of the porticoes, the one turning its back to the prevailing winds and storms, here on the southern

[1] I have simplified the real orientation north-east to north and all the others accordingly. [2] This wall is not shown on the plan, fig. 3.

[3] J. Chamonard, 'Le quartier du théâtre', *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, viii, pp. 121–62, 245–60, 403 f. J. Delorme, *BCH*, 77, 1953, pp. 478 f.

[4] M. Andronicos, 'Vergina, the Prehistoric Necropolis and the Hellenistic Palace', *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, xiii, 1964, pp. 6–7, fig. 10.

[5] R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'Agora grecque*, pp. 509 f.

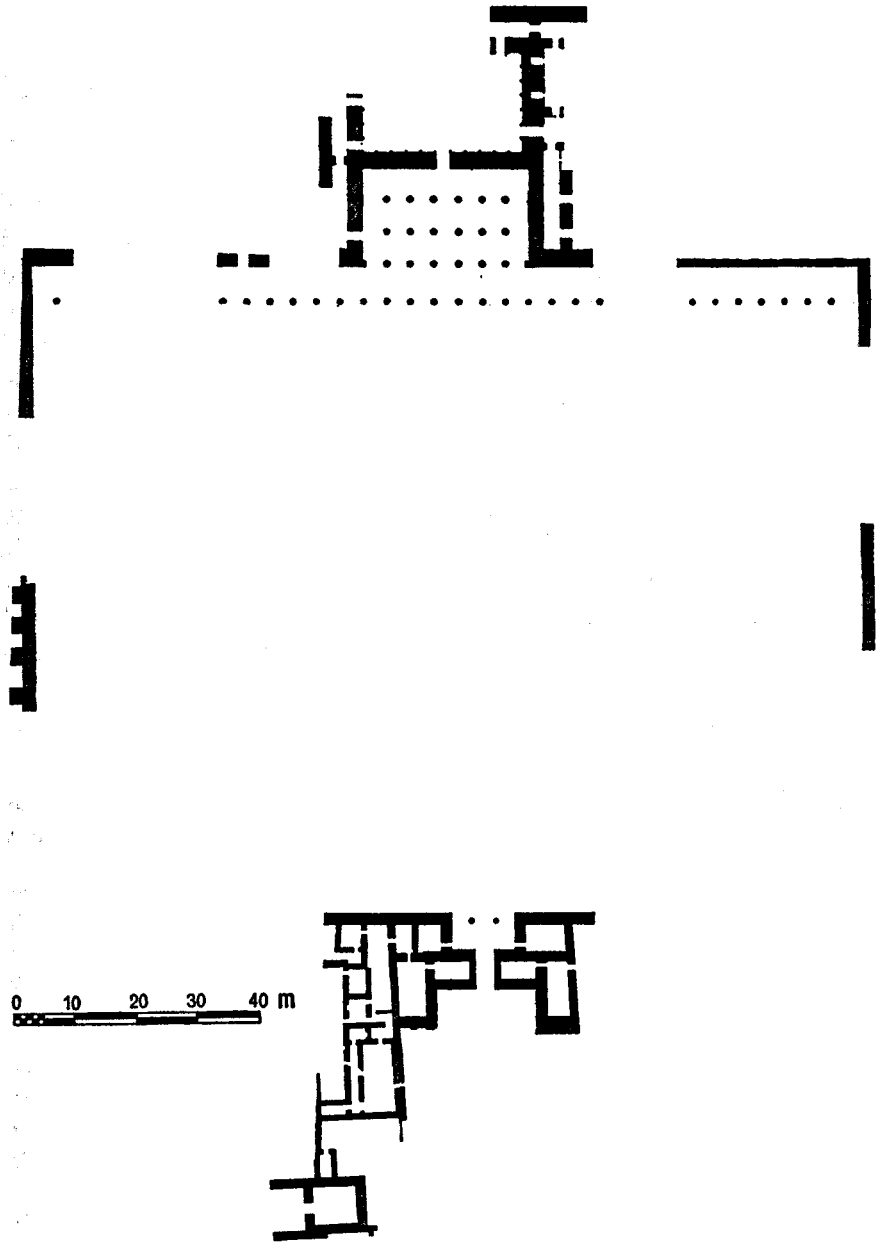


FIG. 3. Lower town: plan of the peristyle courtyard with its dependencies.
(Drawing by M. Le Berre.)

side, is higher and deeper than the three others. This same portico arrangement, which conforms perfectly to Vitruvius's[1] description, is well known through its presence in wealthy homes at Delos[2] and Priene and in other Hellenistic buildings.[3]

The decorative pilasters in slight relief, inserted both in the walls of a large room discovered some 50 metres south of the hypostyle hall(no. 9)[4] and in the backwall of the west wing of the south portico, reflect the vogue of the pilaster in Hellenistic architecture,[5] a vogue of which the most monumental example can be seen at the temple of Apollo at Didyma. Roman influence was to contribute to the success of this fashion in the Orient.[6]

Let us now examine the funerary monument which we discovered about 50 metres north of this peristyle courtyard. This edifice, while passing through three distinct architectural phases, always retained the essentially Greek plan of a cella facing the east and preceded by a pronaos with two supports *in antis* (Fig. 4, Pl. VIII). These supports, undoubtedly of wood, are now lost, but their square stone bases remain (Pl. VIII). Originally the monument stood on a stepped podium (Pl. IX*a*).[7] With this podium the general aspect of this first building reminds us not so much of the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae as of the many Greek funerary monuments which, like the Belevi Heroön,[8]

[1] vi. 7. 3: 'Conjunguntur autem his domus ampliores habentes lautiora peristylia in quibus pares sunt quattuor porticus altitudinibus, aut una, quae ad meridiem spectat excelsioribus columnis constituitur. Id autem peristylum quod unam altiorem habet porticum rhodiacum dicitur.'

[2] Delos: Maison du Trident (J. Chamonard, op. cit., p. 140) and Maison des Masques (J. Chamonard, 'Les mosaïques de la Maison des Masques', *EAD*, xiv, pp. 9–10). Priene: Maison XXXIII (M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*, figs. 118–20); the oldest phase of this house with a northern portico higher than the other sides of the courtyard very clearly announces the Rhodian peristyle of the Roman phase in this same house.

[3] At Miletus the gymnasium north of the great Agora: A. von Gerkan–Fr. Krischen, 'Thermen und Palestren', *Milet*, i. 9, pp. 1–22, pls. ii, iii, v–vi; and the large courtyard immediately west of the Athena Temple: A. von Gerkan, 'Kalabaktepe, Athena Tempel und Umgebung', *Milet*, i. 8, pp. 86–93, pl. xi.

[4] This room is outside the limits of the plan, fig. 3.

[5] For Delos cf. R. Vallois, *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos*, i, pp. 261–3.

[6] Cf., for instance, the Roman temples in Syria, the agora and the temenos of Bel at Palmyra, the iwans of the palace at Hatra.

[7] The restitution of this earliest phase (III) on the drawing, fig. 4, is partly erroneous. During the 1967 campaign we were able to ascertain that the podium did not present a gap on the long sides of the cella but ran continuously all around the monument.

[8] Bibliography in Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie grecque*, iv. 2, p. 1270, n. 3.

stood on a stepped basement. In the second and third phases, our monument, henceforth without a podium, stood at the west end of a large terrace (48 metres long by 18 metres wide) whose filling completely hid the remains of phase one. It is under the

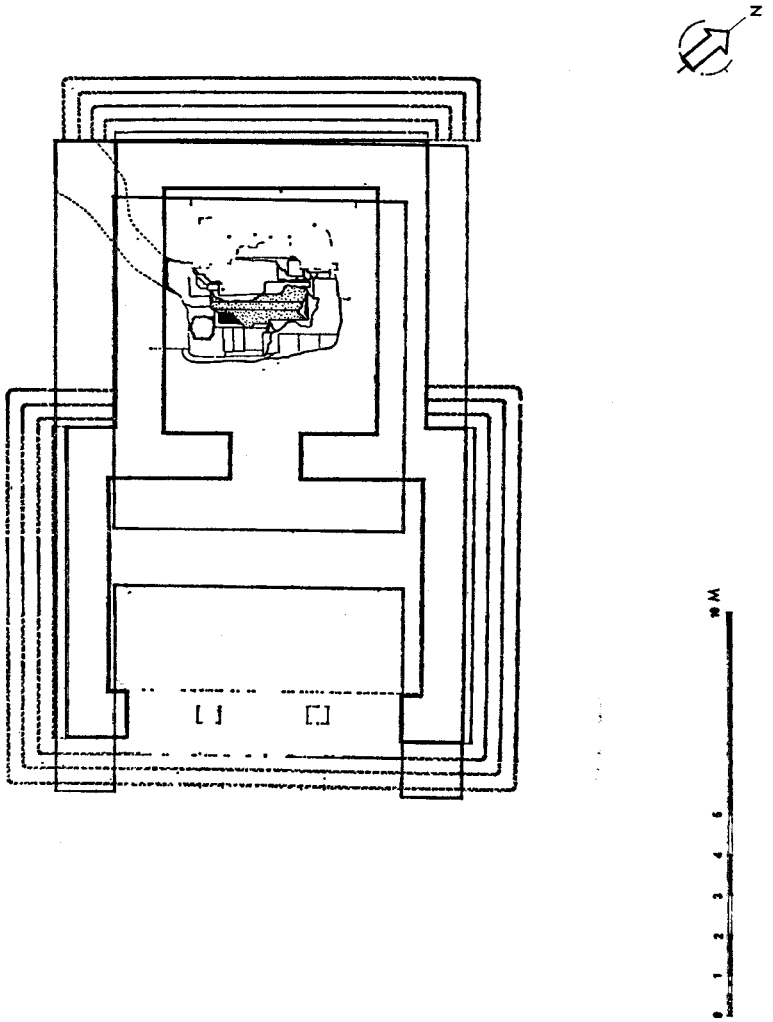


FIG. 4. Funerary heroön (1966): the two earliest phases (III and II). (Drawing by M. Le Berre.)

successive floors of the cella that four burials, two in stone sarcophagi and two in tombs of baked bricks, were discovered (Pl. X). This type of funerary monument with a cult-room above the tombs is well attested in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, principally in the oriental borderlands of the Mediterranean: for instance, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, the Heroön of

Belevi, the Charmyleion of Cos,[1] the Heroön of Calydon,[2] a building at Priene near the theatre,[3] the Heroa of Thera,[4] and the Heroön of Saradschik.[5] A particularity which deserves attention is that these sarcophagi and brick tombs were not in a real funerary chamber, but buried directly in the earth. Except for one of the brick tombs which was found intact but without any object in it, these burials had been pillaged. But in the debris of the ransacking left by the plunderers were found the usual offerings of Greek tombs, alabasters (Pl. IX*b*). A Greek inscription discovered in the pronaos of this heroön makes us think that in the oldest and most deeply buried sarcophagus was inhumed a certain Kineas, obviously a prominent citizen, who could have played an important role in the foundation of the city.

There is no good reason to assign an oriental origin to a vault made of baked bricks and lime cement which covered an entrance opened at a late date in room no. 9, for the vault already existed in the Greek world as early as the fourth–third centuries B.C.[6]

There is, however, one architectural structure which shows strong affinities not with the Hellenic but with the Achaemenian tradition. This is the monumental hypostyle hall (27 metres wide by 17 metres deep) which extended behind the south portico of the peristyle courtyard, and was delimited by two side walls ending in antae and a back wall with a door whose stone sill has been preserved (see plan, Fig. 3). With its open façade and its eighteen Corinthian columns arranged in three rows of six, it is closer to the colonnaded halls of the Achaemenian palaces than to any hypostyle hall of Greek type.

The study of the architectural decoration also reveals an art which, though composite to a certain degree, remains predominantly Greek. The Corinthian columns of the hypostyle hall conform to the occidental canons. The bases of these columns (Pl. XI*a*), as well as those of the corresponding antae (Pl. XI*b*), are of the Attico-Asiatic type (a scotia between two tori). The

[1] P. Schatzmann, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 49, 1934, pp. 110–27.

[2] E. Dygve–Fr. Poulsen–K. Rhomaios, *Das Heroön von Kalydon*, pl. ii.

[3] Th. Wiegand in *Priene*, pp. 277–83.

[4] Dörpfeld in *Thera II*, pp. 240–52.

[5] E. Petersen–F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien* (1889), p. 151 f.

[6] R. Delbrück, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*, ii (1912), p. 64 f. H. Plommer, *Ancient and Classical Architecture* (1956), pp. 244–8.

capital, which we were able to reconstruct pictorially from several fragments (Pls. XII, XIII, Fig. 5), is of major importance. By its rather low acanthus basket with its double row of leaves underlined by the cavetto which terminates the upper end of the shaft, by its *caules* from each of which spring a pair of volutes both tangential to the abacus, this capital closely resembles those of the Olympieion at Athens whose construction, begun

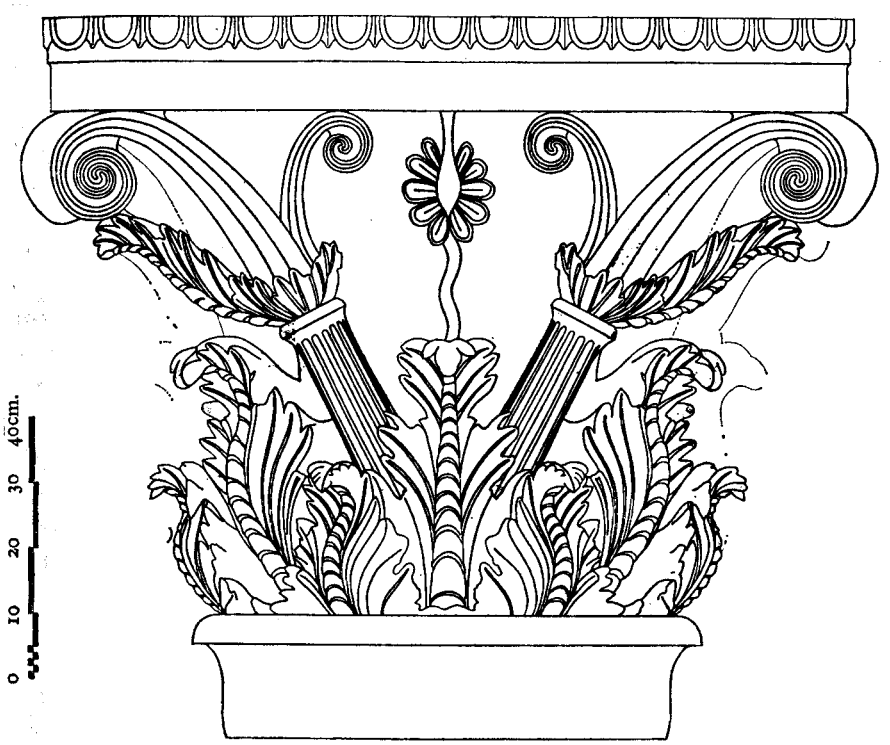


FIG. 5. Hypostyle hall: graphic reconstitution of the capital. (Drawing by J. Bernard.)

under the Pisistratides, was resumed thanks to the munificence of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.) and finished only under Hadrian.[1] The capitals of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion of

[1] Concerning the fifteen remaining capitals on the top of the columns, the existing studies which are based upon observations made from the ground lack accuracy and are not quite reliable. However, in the years 1845–7, F. C. Penrose was able to climb up to the architrave and to sketch accurately one of these capitals: *An investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture* (2nd ed. 1888), pls. 38–39. A Penrose drawing is reproduced in W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, pp. 280–1, fig. 101, and in D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, pp. 160–1, fig. 69. Cf. also in *JdI*, 1921, p. 82, the fragments of a fallen capital, now lost; other photographs, but taken from the ground, in G. Welter, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 48, 1923,

Miletus, built during the lifetime of the same Antiochos IV,[1] present identical characteristics, never seen together in earlier Corinthian capitals: pairs of volutes springing two by two from the *caules*, both volutes rising straight to the abacus. The capital of the hypostyle hall is thus strongly related to a family of Seleucid capitals of the second quarter of the second century B.C. and should be approximately contemporary to them. The ringed central stems of the acanthus leaves, for which the Parthian Nisa[2] and silver pieces of so-called Bactrian style[3] offer parallels, give, however, to these capitals a smack of oriental flavour.

The pilastercapitals of the room (no. 9) discovered south of the hypostyle hall (Pl. XIV) and those of the back wall of the south portico of the peristyle courtyard (Pl. XV*a*) also bespeak a Greek origin. It is a variant of the sofa-type of capital which, first used primarily for the crowning of votive pillars or stelae, was later introduced into monumental architecture, as we see it at the Didymeion of Miletus for instance.[4] But here the channel which should link the two side-volutes together is interrupted by the broad band marking the bottom of the frame and by the floral decoration.

As for the capitals of the propylaeum (Pl. VI*b*), and those of the south portico of the peristyle courtyard (Pl. XV*b*), they give a striking example of the Hellenization of an oriental form. These capitals, deprived of the usual inner volutes, with their wide and strongly convergent corner-volutes springing directly from the acanthus calix without *caules*, are nothing but a traditional oriental type with scrolls, dressed up with a trimming of acanthus leaves to look Greek. This type was already known to us thanks to a group of early Palmyrene capitals of the second half of the first century B.C.[5]

pp. 182–9; A. Schober, *Der Fries des Hekataions von Lagina*, figs. 10–11; A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, pl. 107.

[1] H. Knackfuß, 'Das Rathaus von Milet', *Milet*, i. 2, p. 62 f., pl. ii, fig. 99.

[2] G. A. Pugačenkova, 'Puti razvitija arkhitektury Iužnogo Turkmenistana pory rabovladenija i feodalizma', *IUTAKE*, vi, figs. at pp. 82 and 101 (acanthus in terra-cotta). M. E. Masson–G. A. Pugačenkova, 'Parfjanskie ritony Nisy', ibid., iv, pls. 21, 23, 25, 48, 79, 108 (rhytons of Nisa).

[3] K. V. Trever, *Pamjatniki greko-baktriiskogo iskusstva*, pls. 14, 29, 31. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, fig. 122.

[4] G. Roux, *L'Architecture en Argolide aux IV^e^ et III^e^ siècles avant J.-C.*, pp. 383–8.

[5] H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, iii, pp. 101–7. B. Filarska, *Études et Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des Sciences*, 3, 1966, pp. 124–8.

The antefixes which replace, along the edge of the roofs, the usual oriental merlons, fall into two distinct categories. Alongside the traditional Greek palmette (Pl. XVI*a*), we have another type representing a pair of wings growing out of vegetal motifs in which the oriental taste for hybrid compositions is evident (Fig. 6).[1] Another type with an enormous central bulb, flanked by two atrophied acanthi, is also very foreign to Greek art.

We have too some purely oriental architectural elements. These are first of all the bases with a single thick torus on a stepped plinth which supported the two Corinthian columns of the propylaeum (Pl. XVII*a*). They represent an Achaemenian form[2] inherited from the ancient Near East[3] and subsequently bequeathed to all of Central Asia, where it can be found in a period as early as that of the Parthian Nisa.[4] We also discovered, in the foundations of the south portico of the peristyle courtyard, a puzzling architectural element in stone which has the appearance of a bell adhering to a square tablet (Pl. XVII*b*). If this were a capital, it would be of such an extremely rare type[5] that it seems more plausible to identify it as a campaniform base with the peculiarity of an added plinth. Do these bases simply reflect the survival of Achaemenian influences in the Hellenistic period,[6] or are they actual vestiges of real Achaemenian monuments reused by the Greek settlers? Both archaeological and technical considerations prevent us from dismissing the second possibility.

The mural decoration brings us back once more to the Hellenistic west. In the room dug up some 50 metres south of the hypostyle hall, we have a painted stucco moulding which ran along the top of the wall between the pilaster capitals and

[1] P. Bernard, *BCH*, 89, 1965, pp. 645–54.

[2] For instance, E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* i, fig. 50*c* (Apadana); fig. 61*b* (Throne Hall); fig. 72, etc. . . . (Treasury). F. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient Near East*, fig. 344 (Pasargadae), etc. . . .

[3] Bibliography for the Near East in Th. Goell–F. K. Doerner, *Arsameia am Nymphaios*, p. 181, n. 56.

[4] G. A. Pugačenkova, op. cit., figs. at pp. 62 and 71; *Khalčajan* (1966), p. 132 and fig. 79, 1–3, 4–8.

[5] H. Knackfuß, *Didyma*, ii, p. 155 and pl. 205 (= F 689). This capital was found among the stones assembled for the building of the church. Its exact provenance is unknown.

[6] One example of campaniform bases in the Hellenistic temple of Bel at Si in the Hauran (late first century B.C.): H. C. Butler, *Syria* (*Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909*), ii A (1919), p. 374 f., pl. xxviii.

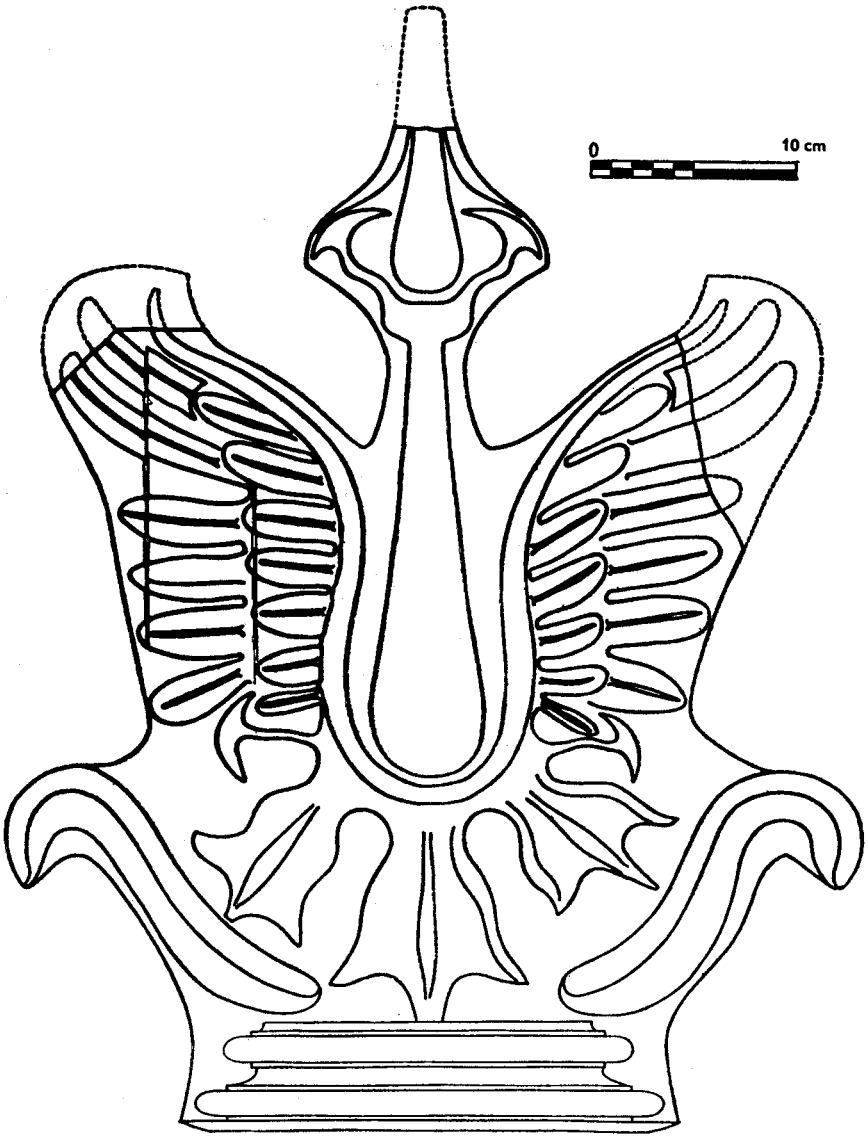


FIG. 6. Oriental type antefix. (Drawing by J. C. Barthel.)

continued the hearts-and-darts motif of their abacus (Pl. XIV). In courtyard 3, situated immediately behind the hypostyle hall, the mural decoration consisted of *appliques* in unbaked clay, of Greek type: Doric regulae with guttae (Pl. XVIII*a*), and lion-heads (Pl. XVIII*b*). All this brings forcefully to mind the painted stucco decoration of the great Delian houses.[1]

[1] J. Chamonard, 'Le quartier du théâtre', *EAD*, viii, pp. 357 f. and principally pp. 384–6.

The ceramic which we have picked up, mainly from dumps, is quite similar to the pottery of Hellenistic sites in Asia Minor and the Near East (Pl. XVI*b*, Figs. 7–8).[1] Except for some rare oriental types (pilgrim bottles,[2] deep bowls with large vertical

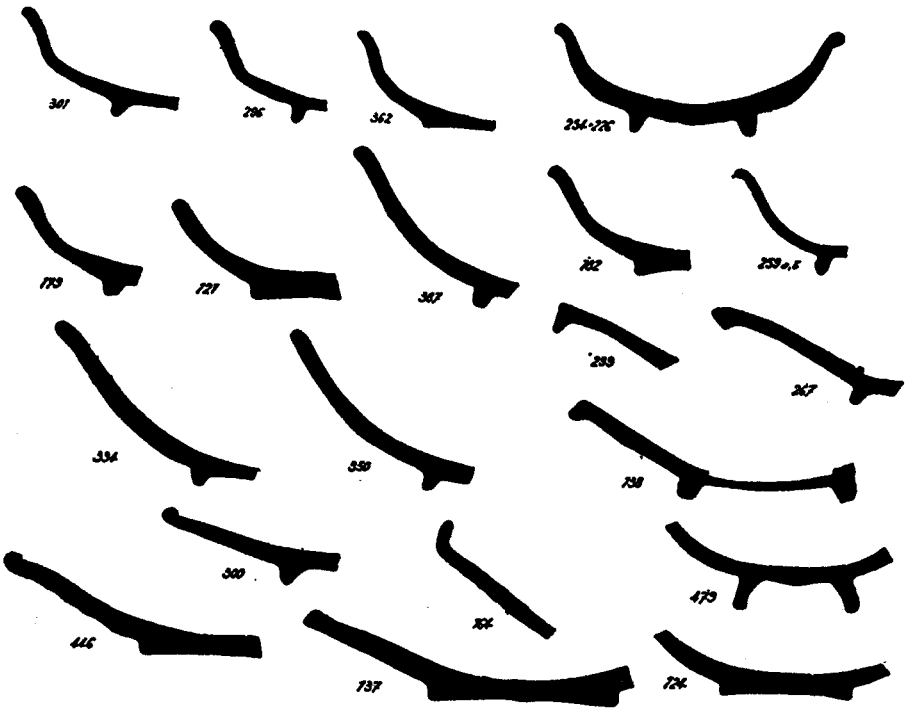


FIG. 7. Profiles of grey wares. (Drawing by M. Le Berre.)

rims of Central Asiatic origin),[3] the forms are clearly Hellenic: fish-plates, plates and bowls with high, ringed feet, often stamped with palmettes, 'Megarian' bowls. Besides the red-slipped pottery, well known in the whole Mediterranean area, the most strikingly Hellenic category is a fine grey ware, often with a black slip, which is obviously a local *Ersatz* for the traditional Greek black ceramic.

Of all the discoveries made up to now at Aï Khanum the most illuminating are the Greek epigraphic documents, the

[1] Cf. my study in *BCH*, 89, 1965, pp. 604–39.

[2] Found in 1965 and not mentioned in the previous study.

[3] *BCH*, 89, 1965, p. 620, no. 47–53. To the references given, add Mundchak Tepe, in Uzbekistan, where a similar, though later, form exists.

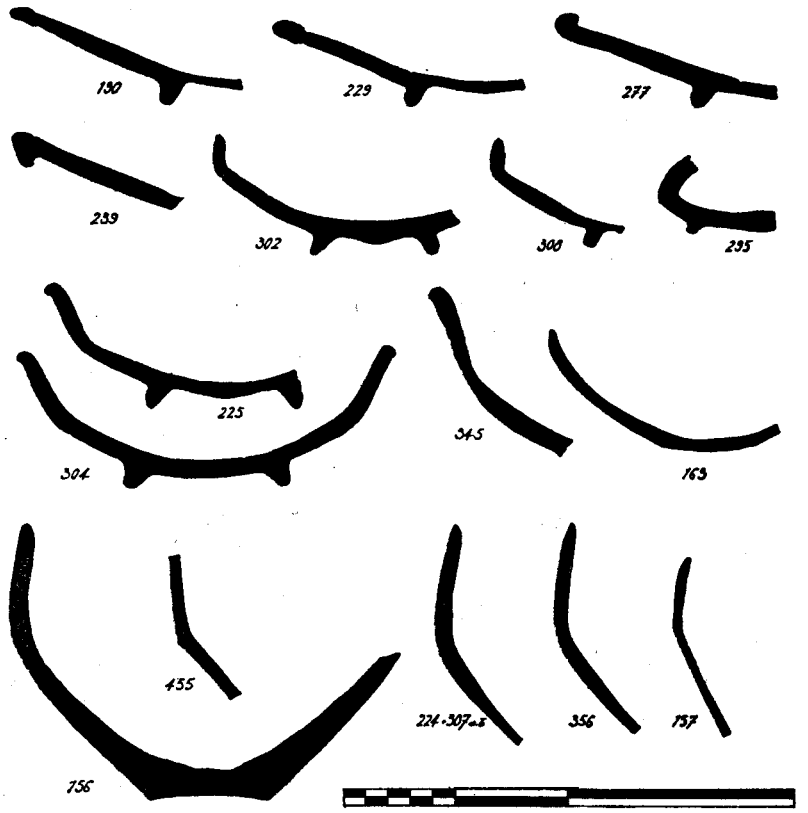


FIG. 8. Profiles of non-grey wares. (Drawing by M. Le Berre.)

first to be found in Bactria,[1] which we had the good luck to strike upon in 1966. These texts offer the first real proof that the official language, the literary culture, and the educational system of the city were all exclusively Greek. The first inscription was found in the pronaos of the funerary heroön in its latest phase. Although it is clear that the stone had been displaced, since its inscribed face was turned towards the left ante, there is no serious reason to doubt that it originally stood in the

[1] Except for coin legends, they are the first real Greek texts. Hitherto only two sherd graffiti were known, one from tepe Nimlik (D. Schlumberger, *CRAI*, 1947, p. 242; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 51, 1947, p. 201, pl. xli*b*), the other from Aï Khanum (P. Bernard, *BCH*, 89, 1965, pp. 633–4); add the Greek signature on a Kushan inscription of Surkh Kotal: R. Curiel, *JA*, 1954, pp. 194–7. South of the Hindu Kush, cf. the two Asokean Greek inscriptions of Kandahar: Graeco-Aramaean inscription: D. Schlumberger-L. Robert–A. Dupont-Sommer–E. Benveniste, *JA*, 1958, pp. 1–48; 2nd Greek inscription: D. Schlumberger, *CRAI*, 1964, pp. 126–40, and E. Benveniste, *JA*, 1964, pp. 138–57.

heroön itself or in its temenos. This inscription, engraved on the front side of a base, provided with a large socket on its upper face, bears two texts which were executed at the same time and can be dated, by the writing, in the first half of the third century B.C. The text on the left is a short poem of two elegiac distichs written in the archaistic literary language typical of Hellenistic epigrams. It states that a certain Klearchos had had transcribed, in the temenos of Kineas, certain precepts of wisdom of the famous men of old, which were exhibited in the holy Pytho, that is to say Delphi, where he, Klearchos, had copied them. The stele on which the famous Delphic maxims were engraved has disappeared, but, fortunately for us, there was no more room for the last maxim on the stele itself and it was engraved in ornamental script on the right part of the base. This second text is an exhortation to acquire the fundamental qualities of man at each stage of life. However short these two texts may be, they are, for the history of oriental Hellenism, of the utmost importance. Leaving to Mr. L. Robert the task of making a thorough study of them, I will content myself here with a few general comments. In spite of the loss of our stele, which probably contained a whole series of them, the Delphic maxims are pretty well known to us through ancient authors and also through an epigraphic copy found at Miletopolis, in Anatolia.[1] Their presence, on the banks of the Oxus, more than 5,000 kilometres, as the crow flies, from Delphi, is a stunning testimony to the fidelity of these Greek settlers of remote Bactria to the most authentic and venerable traditions of Hellenism. This fidelity was doubtless instinctive, born of a community of race, language, and culture, but it was also passionately clung to and fostered. For these Greeks lived in a foreign environment under the perpetual threat of nomad invasion from the northern steppe, and the very existence of the city depended above all on its willingness to maintain its Hellenic identity. Nothing was better adapted to this aim than the education of its citizens in the traditional and exemplary virtues of the Greek ethic, the very virtues mentioned in the preserved maxim, the *εὐκοσμία*, the *ἐγκράτεια*, the *δικαιοσύνη*, the *εὐβουλία*. Thanks to these texts we can also see how during this second wave of Greek colonization, unleashed by Alexander's conquest, Delphi continued to patronize and inspire the Greek diaspora, just as it had in archaic times. It also seems clear to me that if the

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[3], 1268. Cf. also J. Bousquet, *BCH*, 80, 1956, pp. 565–79; G. Daux, *BCH*, 81, 1957, p. 395.

temenos of Kineas—that is to say the funerary heroön and its enclosure—was chosen as the ideal spot to exhibit this credo of Bactrian Hellenism, it was because it represented not only a central point in the topography of the town but also a most significant place in its history. Who was this Kineas to whom was granted the privilege of being buried in the very heart of the city? He could have been simply some important *euergetes*, but I wonder if he might not have been the founder of the city? If so, it is probable that he acted not on his own initiative, but as the lieutenant of his sovereign, just as Perdiccas had founded Gerasa and Samaria in the name of Alexander, and Nicanor Dura-Europos in the name of Seleucus.[1]

The second inscription, a dedication to Hermes and Heracles, discovered in a sondage in the northern part of the lower town, near the Oxus, reveals to us the very spot where the Greek *paideia* was taught. The joint dedication to these two gods who were in the Hellenistic period the traditional protectors of gymnasiums and palaestras, and the position of the discovery, on the edge of a large courtyard which appears to be surrounded by rooms, make it fairly certain that we have found here one of those establishments for physical and intellectual education, a gymnasium or a palaestra.

In the same sondage, the first Graeco-Bactrian statue in stone was discovered. It is a hermaic pillar whose shaft supports the cloaked bust of a bearded old man, crowned with a diadem[2] (Pls. XIX, XX). The right hand grasped the cloak from underneath while the left arm, half bent, held some metal rod, now lost. Who was this old man with an abundant and softly curled beard, closely cropped hair receding at the temples, his brow marked by a furrow, his cheeks slightly hollowed by age? The diadem betokens a priest or a person of kingly rank.

Whatever may be our uncertainty as to the identity of the statue's subject, we have none as to the Greek identity of its author. Not only is its typology Greek, but also its conception of portraiture, a conception in which the sensitivity of the sculptor to the individual features is counter-balanced by his reserve toward the model and his reluctance to over-emphasize his idiosyncrasies. Therefore, to date this statue, I feel entitled to consider it in relation to the general development of Greek

[1] H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, vi, pp. 141–4.

[2] It is the type of the 'Mantelherme' according to the classification of R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* (1931), pp. 78–84.

sculpture, and in this context I am inclined to keep it to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, that is to say to the third century B.C.

Above and beyond its artistic value, this statue has the great merit of permitting us to envisage the plastic art of Greek Bactria in its true perspective. It is tangible proof that the superb flowering of Graeco-Bactrian coin-engraving was not an isolated flower in a cultural desert, but merely one manifestation of a multiform and highly developed plastic art.

In addition to this stone sculpture, we also found vestiges of statues in stucco and unbaked clay, of which numerous fragments were picked up in room no. 9. If the use of stucco reminds us of Alexandrian Egypt, the modelling in raw clay evokes Central Asia, where this technique was very much in favour.[1] The fragments are unfortunately too mutilated to give us a clear idea of this sculpture. All we can say is that the details of drapery and anatomy which we were able to piece together are rendered in the Greek manner.

The over-all impression that these two campaigns of digging give us is that Aï Khanum was first of all a Greek city whose colonists strove to maintain the integrity of the civilization they had brought with them. The official language was Greek, as were Greek the gods and in all probability the institutions, as can be gathered from the presence of a gymnasium and from the mention of an *agoranomos*, that is to say an inspector of the markets, on a stamped amphora-handle, which we have every reason to believe is of local origin.[2] This would tally very well with what we

[1] Statues of Nisa: G. A. Pugačenkova, 'Puti razvitija arkhitektury Iužnogo Turkmenistana pory rabovladenija i feodalizma', *IUTAKE*, vi, 1958, pp. 91 ff. with fig. Cf. also the statues of Khalčajan which G. A. Pugačenkova considers to be contemporary to the Kushan King Heraios, in the second half of the first century B.C.: *Khalčajan*, pl. 5; 'Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques', *VIII^e Congrès international d'Archéologie classique* (Paris, 1963), pp. 597–601, pls. 146–7 (in French); *Iranica Antiqua*, v, 1965, pp. 116–27, pls. xxxii–xxxv (in French).

[2] *BCH*, 89, 1965, pp. 636–9. Since the date of publication of this article, I was able, thanks to the obliging kindness of Mrs. Krouglikova and Mr. Brashinskii, to examine the Sinopean amphora handles which are at the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow. Their clay speckled with tiny black particles is quite different from the very fine, pure clay used for our amphora handle, which, therefore, cannot come from Sinop. The Graeco-Bactrian handle is very probably of local origin.

know of the Greek cities of Mesopotamia which, like Seleuceia on the Tigris[1] or Seleuceia on the Eulaios,[2] retained, even under Parthian rule, the organization of a Hellenic *polis*.

As for the chronology of the city, its finer points still escape us. The few bronze coins we have[3] are of little help, not only because they are so rare, but also because most of them are visibly older than the archaeological context in which they were picked up. What we do know about the foundation of the Greek settlement is that it already existed in the first half of the third century B.C., when Klearchos made his consecration in the temenos of Kineas. So it could have been established under Antiochus I (281–261 B.C.), or Seleucus I (312–281 B.C.), or even under Alexander; the further possibility of a refoundation by one of the first two Seleucids or by one of the Graeco-Bactrian kings is not to be excluded. For the moment we would seem to be at a dead end here in our search for a solution to the problem of chronology, but I think we can learn more if we consider the exceptional strategic importance of the city. The control of Aï Khanum, which commanded one of the oriental gateways to central Bactria, was necessary to whoever wanted to keep a strong hold on Bactria itself. And it would be surprising that Alexander, who had spent two years on the consolidation of his rule in Central Asia, would have omitted to take advantage of this site. If we are willing to accept that he did, then there is a good chance that Aï Khanum is the *Alexandria Oxiana* mentioned by Ptolemy.[4]

[1] G. Le Rider, 'Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes', *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran*, xxxviii, 1965, pp. 38–39.

[2] G. Le Rider, op. cit., pp. 286–7.

[3] The earliest coin found up to now is a bronze quarter of Antiochus I, mint of Ecbatana (E. T. Newell, *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, group C, 523–7). The latest one, except for the two Kushan coins found near the surface (cf. above, p. 77, n. 1), is a bilingual square Eucratides (R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Pandjab Museum, Lahore*, type η [87 f.]). Among the others, Euthydemus coins predominate.

[4] Alexandria Oxiana is mentioned only by Ptolemy (VI, 12, 6). According to him this Alexandria Oxiana was in Sogdia and not on the bank of the Oxus, but in the region 'comprised between the Oxus and the Iaxarthes and higher up' (*μεταξὺ δὲ καὶ ἀνωτέρω τῶν ποταμῶν*). This placement seems to me unreliable, for a town named from a river should be situated right on the river, as is the case for the Sogdian Oxiana which is actually *παρὰ τὸν Ὦξον*. Could not Ptolemy have mistakenly made two cities of one? Only two sites, situated on the Oxus, are important enough to claim the name of Alexandria Oxiana: Termez and Aï Khanum. Tarn had proposed Termez (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1940, pp. 89 f.; *The Greeks in Bactria and India* [2nd ed.

In regard to the great fire which sealed the city's fate, it is probably related to the generald estruction of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom by a nomad horde from the right bank of the Oxus. The traditional date of this destruction, which, as it had been deduced from the Chinese texts on the subject, was 129 B.C.,[1] should be somewhat lowered if we are to judge from the archaeological evidence of our excavation. In courtyard 3 we have been able to identify several phases of construction, all of them posterior to the hypostyle hall which, because of its capitals, can hardly be dated before the beginning of the second century. It is rather difficult to suppose that these numerous modifications, one of which completely transformed the appearance of courtyard 3, can have taken place in less than seventy years, as would have to have been the case if we maintain the date of 129 B.C. Actually I contest the conventional assumption of what happened on that date. It is generally thought that in the Bactria of 129 B.C., which Chang K'ien visited and briefly described for us, all trace of Greek civilization with its Greek stock had disappeared. Although it is certain that at this time the Yüe Chi had already made several successful forays into Bactria, it is equally certain that they remained settled on the north bank of the Oxus, where they retained their capital.[2] As for Bactria, it kept its own capital and could receive foreign ambassadors.[3] This state of affairs could only exist in a country which had preserved a certain degree of autonomy. Economic prosperity apparently had not suffered a major setback: the country had more than a million inhabitants; it still possessed walled cities and the bazaar of Bactra was such that its wealth could strike Chang K'ien.[4] It

1951], p. 525), but, of course, he did not know of the existence of Aï Khanum, and any clear-cut evidence of a large Graeco-Bactrian settlement at Termez is yet to be found. The recent Soviet excavations at Termez are concerned with Kushan vestiges: T. V. Grek–E. G. Pchelina–B. I. Staviskii, *Kara Tepe* (Moscow, 1964).

[1] Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period* (1949), pp. 31–33.

[2] *Shi Ki*, 123, 29: '. . . they (the Ta-Yüe-chi) attacked Ta-hia (Bactria) and conquered it. Subsequently they had their capital north of the K'ui-shui (Oxus) and made it the court of their king' (trans. Fr. Hirth, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 37, 1917, p. 97).

[3] *Shi Ki*, 123, 72.

[4] *Shi Ki*, 123, 47–51: 'The people have fixed abodes and live in walled cities and regular houses like the people of Ta-Yüan (Ferghana). They have no great king or chief, but everywhere the cities and towns have their own petty chiefs. . . . The population of Ta-hia may amount to more than a million. Their capital is called Lan-chi, and it has markets for the sale of all sorts of merchandise.'

seems plausible, therefore, that whatever Bactria may have lost in the way of national independence to the Yüe Chi, its Hellenistic urban civilization had survived beyond the supposedly fatal date of 129 B.C. How long did these towns survive before succumbing completely to a final nomad attack? From the excavation itself no precise information is at present forthcoming, but from external numismatic evidence it seems that the Graeco-Bactrian presence maintained itself, in certain parts of Bactria, at least down to *c.* 100 B.C.[1]

The importance of Aï Khanum as a Hellenistic city surpasses its geographical and chronological limits, for, thanks to these discoveries, a new light has been shed on the complex and vexing problem of the origins of the Kushan and Graeco-Buddhist arts. In 1963, in a paper where he summed up the present problem with his usual concision of thought,[2] Sir Mortimer Wheeler wrote that the art of Gandhara, born suddenly around A.D. 100, 'was planted in a vacuum', 'in an artistic blank, devoid of any living local tradition on the grand scale', and that 'this vacuum had to be filled by importation, from the Indian plains, from the Graeco-Roman and Parthian West and from the Iranian Middle East'. He made it quite clear that by Graeco-Roman West, he meant the contemporary Roman Empire alone, rejecting, for lack of archaeological evidence, any possibility of Graeco-Bactrian influence. The discovery of Aï Khanum has changed all this. The contribution of Rome and of the romanized Near East cannot be denied, but it is henceforth clear that the fundamental source of Western inspiration in Kushan and Gandharan art is to be found in the Greek culture which flourished in Central Asia during the third and second centuries B.C. as a result of the Macedonian conquest. In the light of these new finds, it can be said that these twin arts did not spring, parentless and mature, by some sort of Minervan miracle, out of an artistic blank, but that they were born

[1] The recent appearance of Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms in the name of Hermaios has revealed that this king, the last Indo-Greek dynast, also reigned in Bactria or at least in a part of Bactria: R. Curiel–G. Fussman, 'Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz', *Mémoires DAFA*, xx, pp. 60–64. The chronology of this king fluctuates between a date around 100–90 B.C. (A. D. H. Bivar, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, xvii, 1, 1955, pp. 42–44) and the years 50–30 B.C. (Tarn, op. cit., p. 326).

[2] 'Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques', *VIII^e Congrès international d'Archéologie classique* (Paris, 1963), pp. 555–65.

and fostered in a cultural milieu where Hellenistic influences lingered on. At Surkh Kotal, the peristyle courtyard of the temple, the Attico-Asiatic bases, the corner pilaster bases of the cella obviously derive from the sort of Hellenistic architecture we have in Aï Khanum. Our sofa-type capitals are clearly the ancestors of the Kushan capital of Cham Qala.[1] It is difficult not to consider the capitals of our hypostyle hall as the original forerunners of so many Buddhist Corinthianizing pilaster capitals, where double volutes spring from *caules*.[2] It is just as difficult not to recognize the parentage of the stucco statues of Aï Khanum and the stucco techniques of Gandhara. And when we are confronted with the Western aspects of Gandharan sculpture, how can we imagine that they were never influenced by such works of art as the head of our bearded man? It is true that between the last Graeco-Bactrian monuments and the first Kushan and Gandharan monuments, there is still a gap of more than one century. However, the same kind of continuity that exists between the Greek alphabet of the Bactrians and that of the Kushans must also exist in the domain of art. And I am confident that some day the missing link will be found somewhere 'between Oxus and Jumna'.

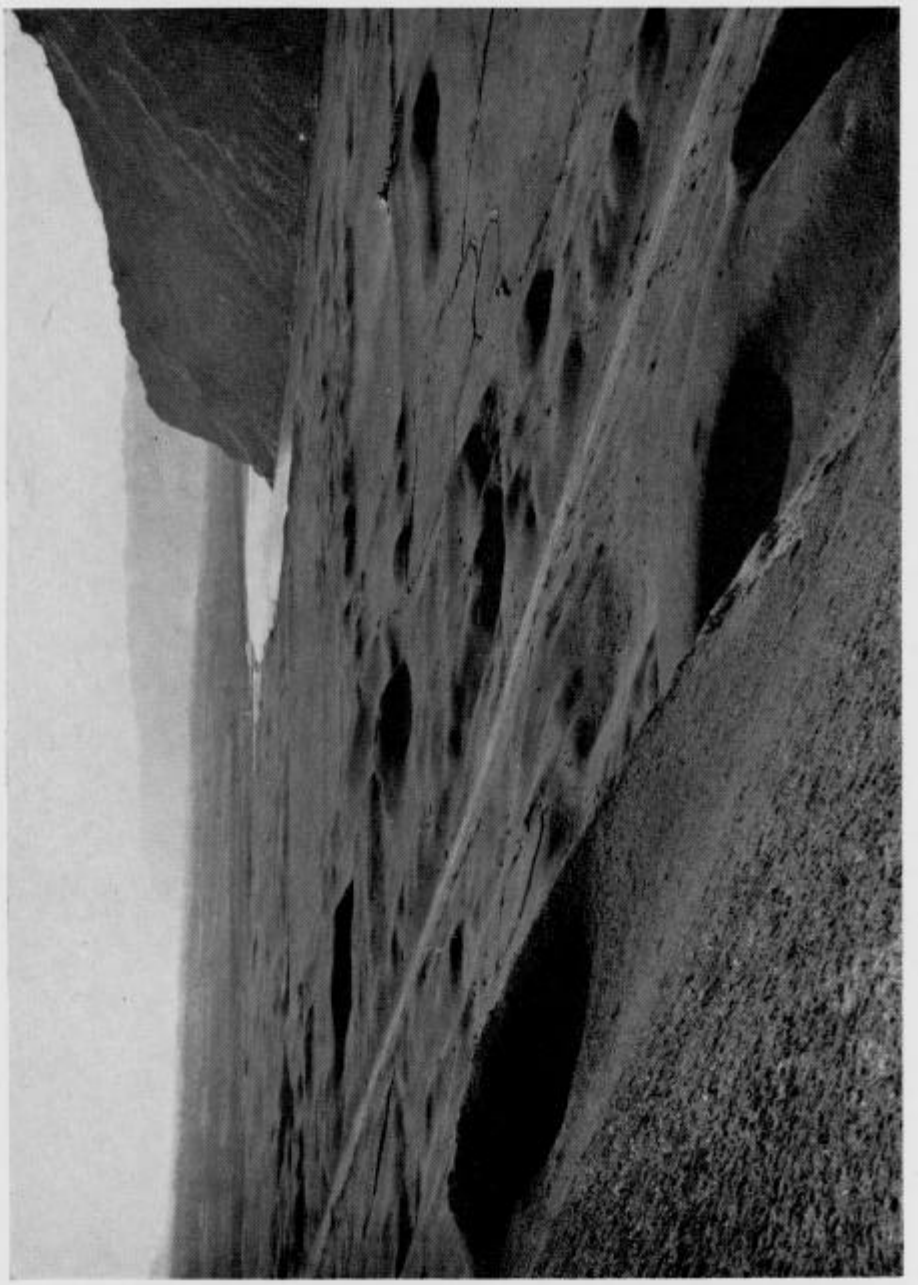
[1] Br. Dagens in 'Monuments préislamiques d'Afghanistan', *Mémoires DAFA*, xix, 1964, p. 38 and pl. xxvi.

[2] For instance, D. Facenna, *Sculptures from the sacred area of Butkara*, i. 3, pls. Dxlvii f. For acanthus with a detailed central stem see Barthoux, 'Hadda I', *Mémoires DAFA*, iv, 1933, fig. 6.

PLATE I

Ai Khanum seen from the north. The Bala Hissar and the northern ramparts of the lower city with the main gate at the extreme right

PLATE II

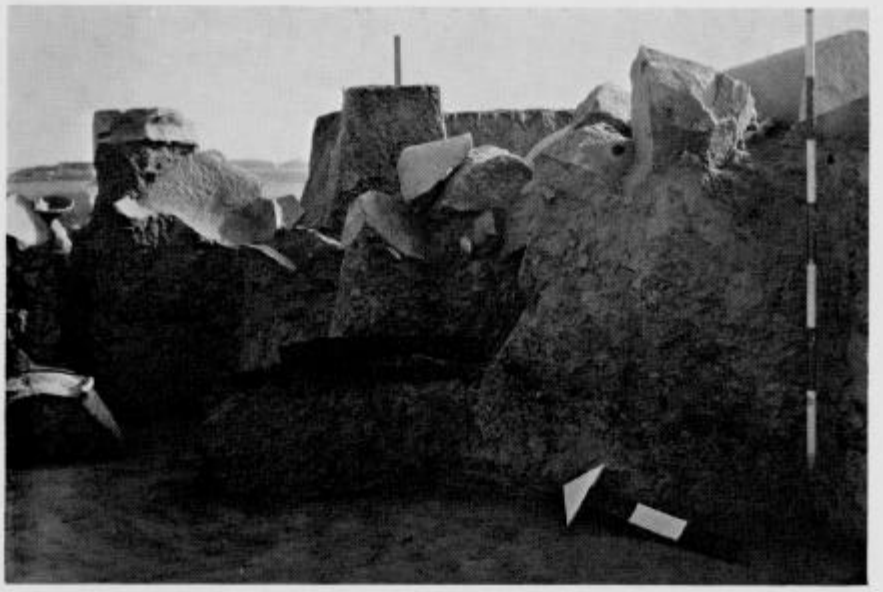


Lower town seen from the Bala Hissar. On the right, sondage on the gate of the peristyle courtyard (1964)

(*b*) Hypostyle hall: back wall after systematic destruction

(*a*) Courtyard 3: a wall brought down by an earthquake

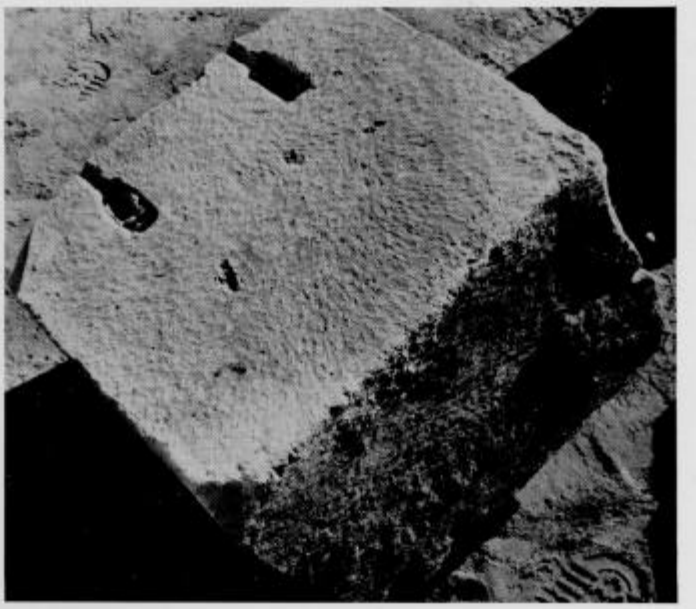
PLATE IV



(*a*) Hypostyle hall: burnt rafters under vestiges of plundered columns

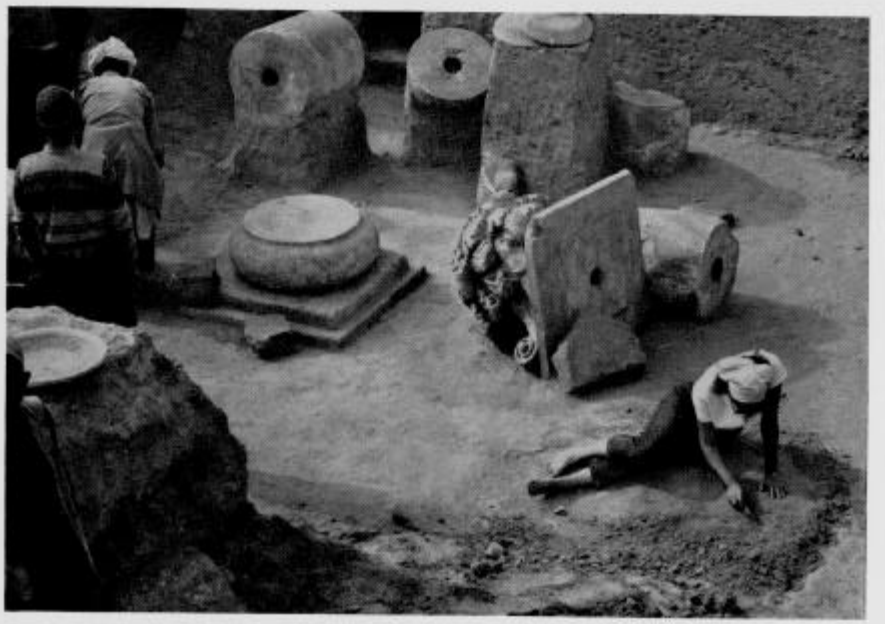
(*b*) Hypostyle hall: vestiges of the colonnade as the earthquake and stone-plunderers left them

(*a*) Room no. 9: remains of stone pilasters dismantled by metal-plunderers



(*b*) Room no. 9: detail of a pilaster block with sockets for dowels still full of molten lead

PLATE VI



(*a*) Propylaeum of the peristyle courtyard: ruins of the inner esplanade

(*b*) Propylaeum: Corinthian capital

(*a*) South portico of the peristyle courtyard: ruins of the west wing

(*b*) East portico of the peristyle courtyard: river-stone foundations of the colonnades

PLATE VIII

(*b*) Funerary heroön: pronaos of the earliest phase (III)

(*a*) Funerary heroön: pronaos of the latest phase (I)

(*b*) Funerary heroön: a reconstituted alabaster vase

(*a*) Funerary heroön: stepped podium of the earliest phase (III)

PLATE X

Funerary heroön: the two plundered stone sarcophagi under the successive floors of the cella

(*a*) Hypostyle hall: Attico-Asiatic base of a column

(*b*) Hypostyle hall: base of the right anta pilaster

PLATE XII

(*b*) Hypostyle hall: fragment of Corinthian capital

(*a*) Hypostyle hall: fragment of Corinthian capital

(*a*) Hypostyle hall: fragment of Corinthian capital

(*b*) Hypostyle hall: fragment of Corinthian capital

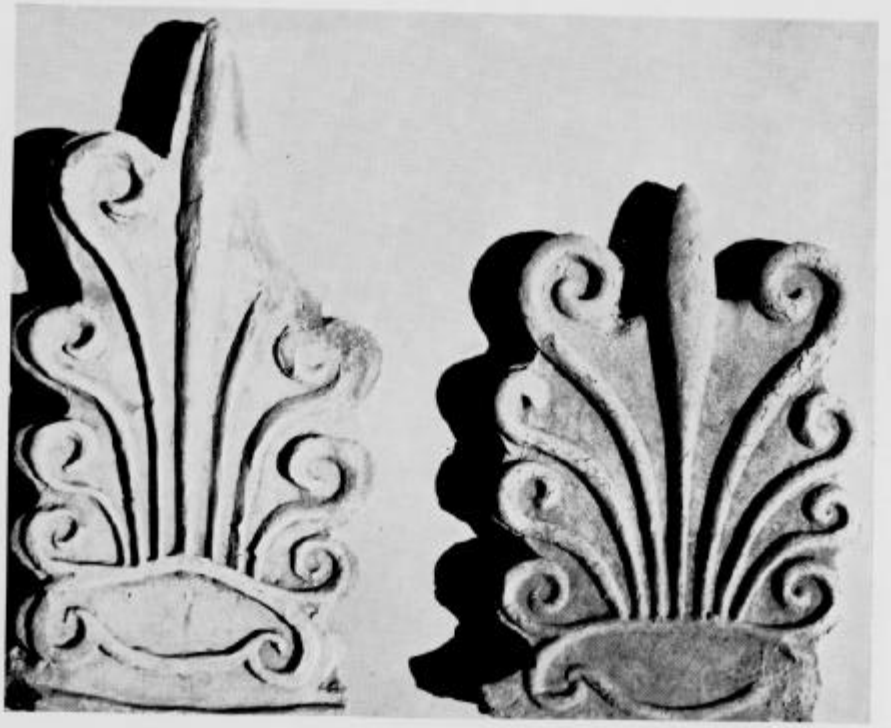
PLATE XIV

Room no. 9: painted sofa-capital

(*a*) South portico of the peristyle courtyard: pilaster capital of the back wall

(*b*) South portico of the peristyle courtyard: Corinthian capital

PLATE XVI



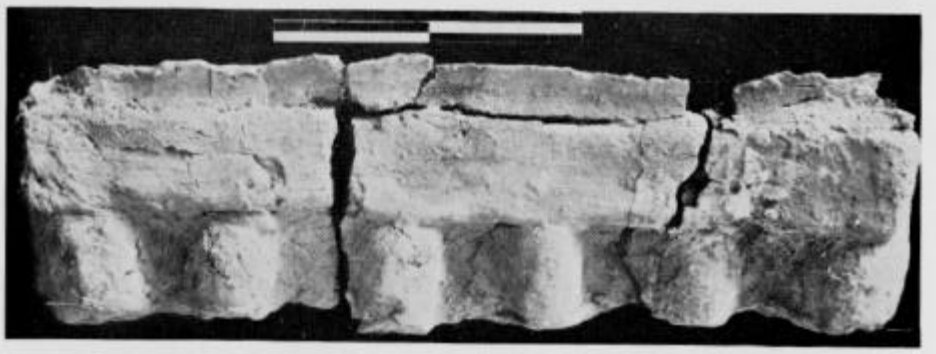
(*a*) Palmette antefixes

(*b*) Fragments of local 'Megarian' bowls

(*a*) Propylaeum: oriental torus base

(*b*) South portico of the peristyle courtyard: campaniform base re-used in the foundations

PLATE XVIII

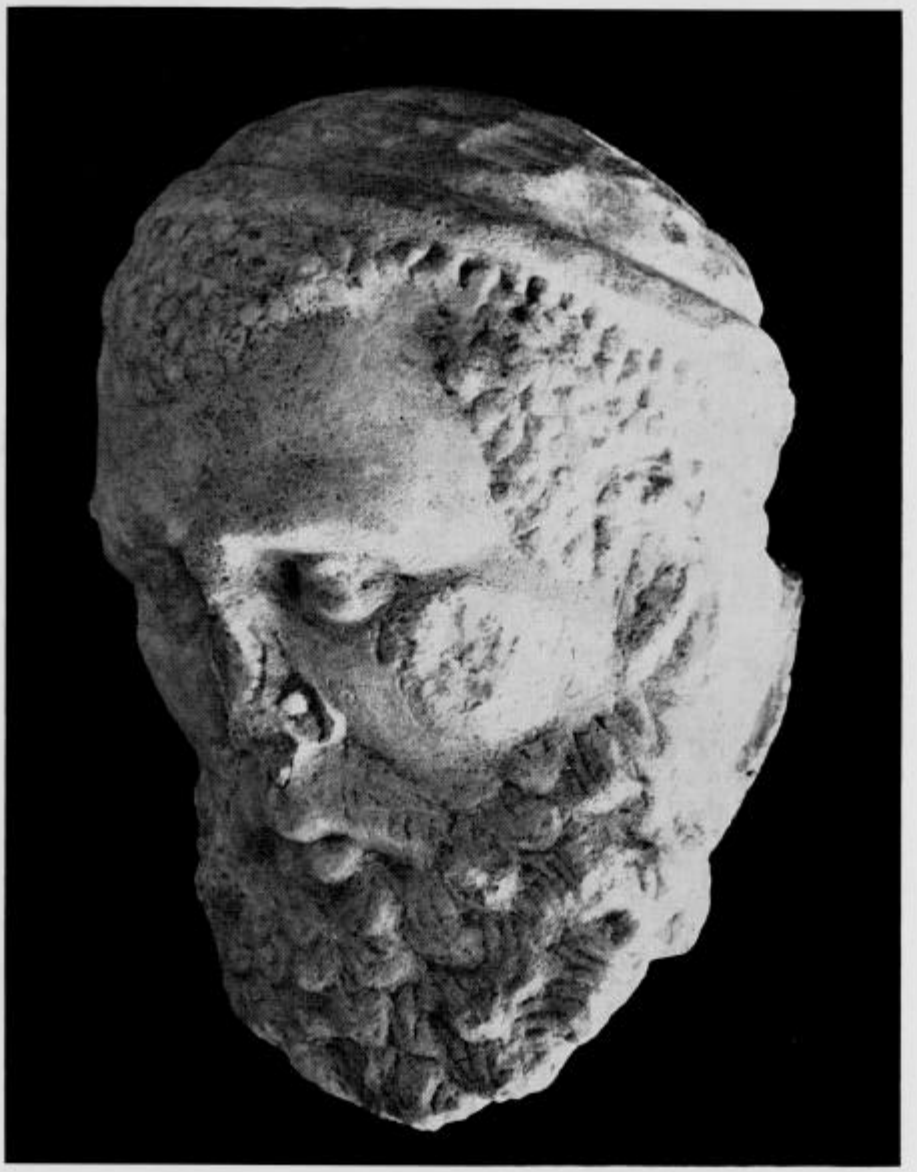


(*a*) Courtyard 3: *applique* in the form of a Doric regula

(*b*) Courtyard 3: *applique* in the form of a lion-head

Gymnasium: Hermaïc pillar

PLATE XX



Gymnasium: head of the Hermaic pillar