

cation of the paste and scissors technique in the Code at its inception mentioned by Jones (*Historia* V, pp. 232—3). At all events, if Anatolius did remain in office as prefect until 349, his position was very soon removed by the revolt of Magnentius, the murder of Constans and the subsequent activities of Magnentius and Vetranio in the area, as a result of which the Illyrian region again became a centre of civil war.

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THE HISTORICAL DATE FOR THE FINAL MEMNON MYTH

It has escaped notice hitherto that the historical date for the creation of the final version of the Memnon Myth¹), as Greek and Latin authors and some archaeological monuments have preserved it, can now be established from Ancient Oriental sources which have emerged gradually during the last 50 years or so. In this final version of the Memnon Myth we find that Teutamios²), an Assyrian king, is the overlord simultaneously

1) Cp. for the Memnon Myth with bibliography Myth. Lex. art. Memnon (R. Holland), Tithonos (J. Schmidt); R. E. art. Ktesias (2042, 2048, F. Jacoby), Teutamios 2 (W. Goerber), Tithonos (E. Wuest); Oxford Class. Dict. art. Memnon 1 (Th. A. Brady); A. B. Cook, Zeus I—III (1914—1940), Indices s. v. Heos, Memnon, Tithonos; R. Graves, The Greek Myths II (1955), 313 f.; O. Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte I, II (1906), Index s. v. Eos, Memnon, Tithonos; M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion I² (1955), 195; C. Robert — L. Preller, Griechische Mythologie I⁴ (1894), 442 f.; III, 2, I (1923), 1175 f., 1180 f.; H. T. Wade-Gery, The Poet of the Iliad (1952), Index s. v. Memnon.

2) Cp. R. E. Art. Teutamios; F. Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. I (1923), 530 ad 49,6; II A (1926), 441 f.; II B (1929), 1134; II C (1926), 296 f.; II D (1930), 819. It is worthy of note that the two earliest Assyrian kings in the two preserved Cuneiform copies are Tudja and Adamu. Teutamios is probably an erroneous contraction of these two names. They may have filled, as a pair, the same column as they still do in one of the preserved lists and ere read Tudjadamu as one name by a badly informed scribe of the first millennium B. C. Thereafter this fictional name was combined with a similar and genuine mythical Greek name from Asia Minor by a Greek mythological author who probably was the poet of the Aithiopiis or the Little Iliad. Cp. A. Poebel, the Assyrian King List from Khorsabad. Journ. Near East. Stud. 1 (1942), 251 f.; 2 (1943), 85; I. J. Gelb, Two Assyrian King Lists. Ibid. 13 (1954), 209 f.

of Priam of Troy in the north-west of and even in west and central Asia Minor, of Tithonos, viceroy and founder of Susa, and of Memnon, an Ethiopian prince from Upper Egypt³).

In the whole history of the Ancient Orient there is only one period to be found, that from 663 or rather 659 to 656 B. C., during which this very unusual political constellation of Assyrian supremacy prevailed in fact. Assurbanipal, high king of Assyria since November-December 669 B. C.⁴), had reconquered Egypt in 667 B. C.⁵), but lost Upper Egypt again in 663 B. C. to Ethiopian princelings and priestesses most of whom however, exactly as in the Memnon myth, acknowledged Assyrian overlordship in theory⁶). Simultaneously royal refugees from the Elamitic Susiana were acknowledged and restored by the Assyrian king after 663 B. C. and Assurbanipal's claims, of his first decade, to Assyrian sovereignty over Elam were finally acknowledged fully by the reigning Elamite ruler near 658/5 B. C. In addition, the Mannaeans, neighbours of Elam in the north, were fully subjected in a victorious war of 660—59 B. C.⁷).

Most of Asia Minor under king Gyges of Lydia had become an Assyrian vassal kingdom for the first and, which is decisive for our reasoning, the only time in world history near 668—665 B. C.⁸). This enormous and imprudent Assyrian expansion beyond the confines of the Fertile Crescent came,

3) Cp. notes 1, 2 for the constitutional position of Priamos, Tithonos, and Memnon.

4) Cp. Ebeling-Meissner, *Reallex. d. Assy. art. Assurbanipal* (Weissbach); *Cambridge Ancient History*, III (1925), 113 f. (Sidney Smith).

5) F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Aegyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (1953), p. 8; *Cambridge Ancient History* III, 114 f., 282 f.

6) Kienitz, *op. cit.*, 8 f., 14 f. One of these princes was called Montemhet, a name pattern which may well have recalled the Memnon of earlier Greek myths to contemporary poets, especially as its bearer and other local Ethiopians with similar names, in the first half of the seventh century B. C., were as strongly dependent of the good will of a powerful priestess of Thebes as Memnon was supposed to have relied on his mother Eos.

7) Cp. note 4; *Cambridge Ancient History* III, 120; G. G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (1936), 180 f., 187 f.; R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (1954), 98, 121.

8) Cp. R. E. art. Gyges (Lehmann-Haupt), *Kimmerier* (Lehmann-Haupt); J. B. Bury — R. Meiggs, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*³ (1951), 111 f., 146, 860 f.; *Cambridge Ancient History* III, 116 f., 268 f., 506 f.

not by chance, into jeopardy very soon. In 656 B. C. both Psammetichus I, Assyria's vassal king in Lower and Middle Egypt since 663 B. C., and Gyges of Lydia rebelled⁹). Gyges, it is true, was defeated and killed by the Cimmerians in 652 B. C. and his son Ardys had to acknowledge Assyrian overlordship again until 633 B. C. or so. Furthermore, after some rebellions, Elam was completely subjected in 642—39 B. C. Elamitic Susa, which had been made the capital of Tithonos, Memnon's father in the mythology of the Greek cyclic epic, was destroyed and remained uninhabited until Nabopalassar restored it in 625 B. C.¹⁰). But Egypt remained independent for all the future, and, after the conquest of Thebes and the whole of Upper Egypt by Psammetichus I in 655 B. C., the last Ethiopian princelings and locally powerful priestesses of Upper Egypt vanished from history completely after a few years¹¹).

That the Memnon myth was completed in its final version, which incorporated at least seven allusions to contemporary history, as late as between 663/659 B. C. and 656 B. C. is, I think, irrefutable from the foregoing. With similar arguments has been established convincingly long ago that Genesis X, 13 where Lydians, Libyans, and perhaps Cretan Greeks are presented to us as „children of Egypt“ against all racial and linguistic appearances, cannot be earlier than 656 nor later than 652 B. C. when for a few years Lydian, Greek, and Libyan officers held high positions in the army of Pharaoh Psammetichus I¹²).

Furthermore, all these findings will agree with the present evidence of vase pictures and other representations from the 8th/7th centuries B. C. which allude to the concluding events of the Trojan War¹³). In this early imagery the Mem-

9) Cp. note 8 and especially Kienitz op. cit., 12 f.

10) Cp. D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings in the British Museum* (1956), p. 36.

11) Kienitz, op. cit., 14 f.

12) Cp. especially A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*⁵ (1895), p. 134 f. and now for the existence of Libyan generals of Psammetichus I, H. D. Meulenaere „Trois personnages saïtes“, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 31 (1956), 294 f.

13) The following pertinent pictures are known to me:

1. ca. 750 B. C. Trojan Horse. Boeotian Geometric fibula. Cp. R. Hampe, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit* (1952), p. 30, note 21; N. Yalouris, in *Mus. Helv.* 7 (1950), 70 no. 1.

non myth has not appeared so far, quite different from most other dramatic themes of this cyclic tradition. As Memnon is supposed to have been defeated completely by Achilles, representative of Hellenic against Oriental valor, the author or the authors of the final Memnon version may have been Greeks from Asia Minor whose *polis* or that of relatives or friends had been involved in a difficult defensive, but in the end successful war against a dependent ally of the Assyrian world king of these days, that is in all probability against Gyges of Lydia himself during the very time when this king received Assyrian assistance¹⁴). That unreliable Ethiopians from Upper Egypt and unruly Elamite refugees were sent by Assurbanipal to take service with Gyges in Asia Minor with preference can well be imagined.

As a rule either the Aithiopsis of, perhaps, Arctinus of Miletus or the Little Iliad of, perhaps, Lesches of Pyrrha on Lesbos¹⁵) are considered to have been the literary sources for

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- 2—4. ca. 700 B. C. Aias with corpse of Achilles. Samian clay relief, Naples clay relief, Perachora ivory seal. Hampe *op. cit.* p. 30 and note 22.
 5. ca. 690 B. C. Achilles kills Penthesilea. Clay shield from Tiryns. Hampe *op. cit.*, p. 30, 38 f., note 23, plate 21; H. L. Lorimer, *The Hoplite Phalanx*. Annual Brit. School Athens 42 (1947), 133 f.
 6. ca. 690 B. C. Trojan Horse. Relief-pithos from Tinos. Hampe *op. cit.* p. 30 and note 28.
 7. ca. 680 B. C. Paris kills Achilles. Perachora, Proto-Corinthian aryballos. Lorimer, *op. cit.*, 93 f.
 8. ca. 660 B. C. Paris kills Achilles. Proto-Corinthian aryballos. Lorimer *op. cit.*, 100 f. no. 5.
 9. ca. 630 B. C. Suicide of Aias. Bronze, Corfu. Hampe *op. cit.*, p. 30, and note 32; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 137 plate 45,3.

The earliest Memnon imagery of which Greek authors report is recorded for the chest of Cypselos (Paus. V, 19, 1) and the throne of Amyclae (Paus. III, 18, 12), both monuments not being earlier than Alcman frgm. 77 (Diehl) of the time of the Lydian king Ardys, the earliest certain literary allusion to the complete Memnoneia.

14) Cp. Cambridge Ancient History III, 506 f. for such *polis* wars of Gyges.

15) Cp. with extensive bibliography R. E. art. Aithiopsis (Bethe), Arktinos (Bethe), Kinaithon (Rzach), Kyklos (Rzach, especially col. 2396 f., 2410 f.), Lesches (Bethe), Oxford Class. Dict. art. Arctinus, Epic Cycle (W. F. Y. Knight), Memnon¹ (Th.-A. Brady), Lesches; Erich Bethe, *Homer II 2*² (1929), 167 f., 169 f., 212 f., 247 f.; III (1927), 32; G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque I* (1925), 501 note 101; 532; Gruppe, *op. cit.* Index s. v. and s. v. Aithiopsis; Robert-Preller, *op. cit.* III 2 I, 970 f.; H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Literature*⁴ (1950), 48 note 84; 49—51; W. Schadewaldt, *Von Homers Welt und Werk*² (1951), 155 f.; W. Schmid — O. Staehlin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur I*, 1 (1929), 205 f., 210 f.; Wade-Gery, *op. cit.*, Index s. v. Aithiopsis.

later authors who inform us about the Memnon Myth. The Little Iliad is supposed by some distinguished scholars to have integrated an earlier independent Aithiopsis or Memnoneia. Whichever of the two poems, however, the main source for the later Memnon Myth may have been, we are now able to ascertain that it was completed in its final version between 663 and 656 B. C., a date which is a century or so later than the much doubted and often discussed traditions about Arctinus, but is well in agreement with the Greek chronology for Lesches, the latter fact being an additional and interesting indication that our date is correct.

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KRITISCHES ZUM HISTORIKER HERODIAN

Hier möchte ich einige Stellen aus Herodians *Geschichte* besprechen, einem Werke, das uns, vom Gesichtspunkt der *recensio* aus betrachtet, dank den grundlegenden Untersuchungen von Mendelssohn keine größeren Probleme mehr bietet, aber so jämmerlich überliefert ist, daß sich die Kritiker öfters genötigt gesehen haben, zu den Waffen der *emendatio* — leider nicht immer erfolgreich! — zu greifen.

I,7,5. Es wird die Schönheit des jungen Kommodos beschrieben: ὁ Κόμοδος . . . τὴν ὄψιν ἣν ἀξιοθέατος σώματός τε συμμετρία καὶ κάλλει προσώπου μετ' ἀνδρείας. ὀφθαλμῶν τε γὰρ †ἀρθμῖαι καὶ πυρώδεις βολαί, κόμη τε φύσει ξανθὴ καὶ οὐλη, ὡς, εἴποτε φοιτῶν δι' ἡλίου, τοσοῦτον ἐκλάμπειν αὐτῷ πυροειδές τι, ὡς τοὺς μὲν οἶσθαι ῥίνημα χρυσοῦ προϊόντι ἐπιπάσσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ κτλ. Aus Stavenhagens Apparat können wir leicht ersehen, daß, während die Korruptel ἀρθμῖαι in einem der zwei Subarchetypi beibehalten worden ist, die Abkömmlinge des anderen sich aus der Schwierigkeit auf eine mehr oder weniger gewaltsame Weise herauszuhelfen versuchten (αἰθμῖαι, αἰθμῖαι, γλυκύτητες). Ἀρθμῖαι gibt keinen guten Sinn; im LSJ wird die fragliche Stelle als der einzige Beleg des Adjektivs im Sinne *calm* angeführt, aber diese Bedeutung ist eine unleugbar erzwungene. Irmisch z. St. möchte