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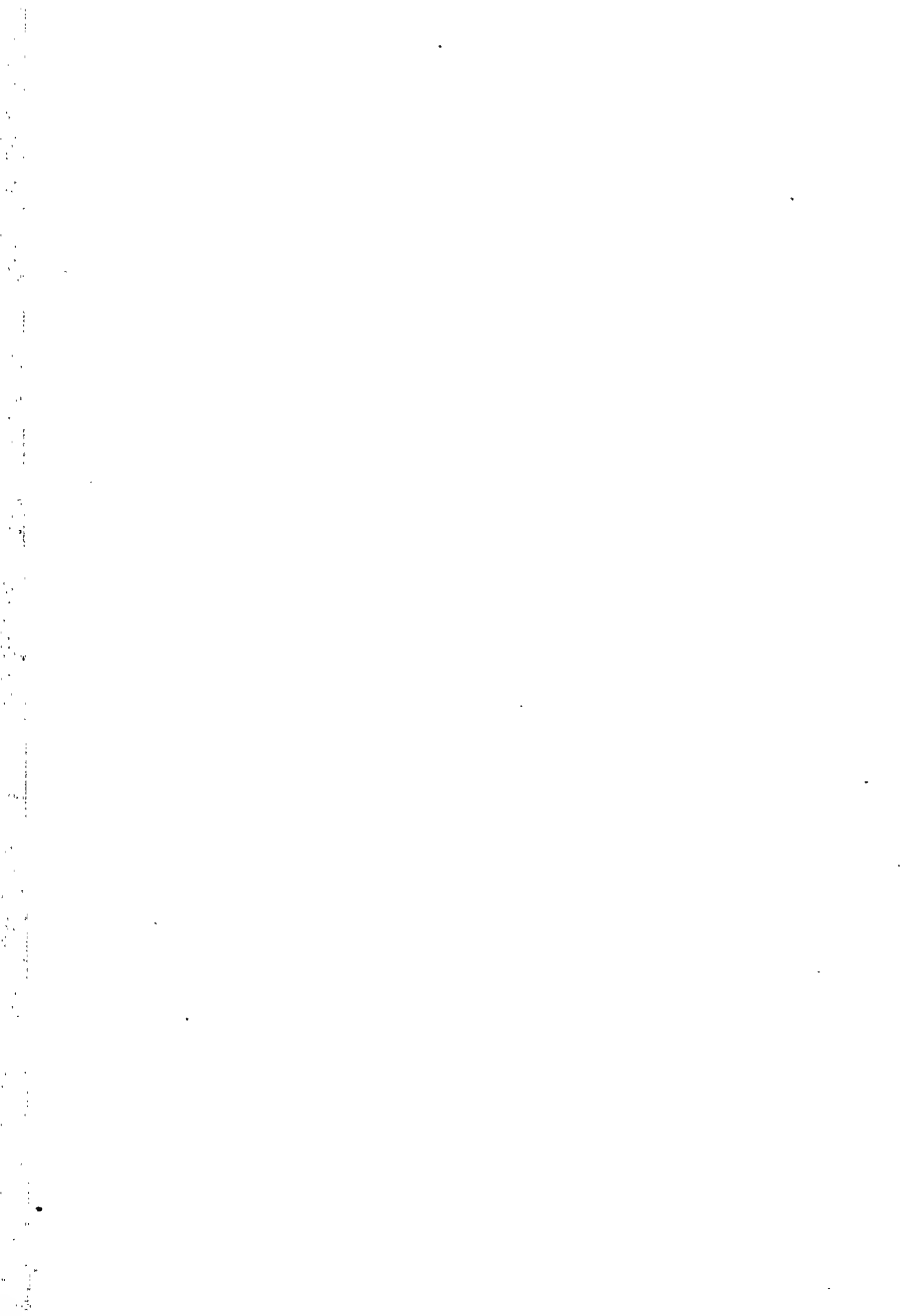
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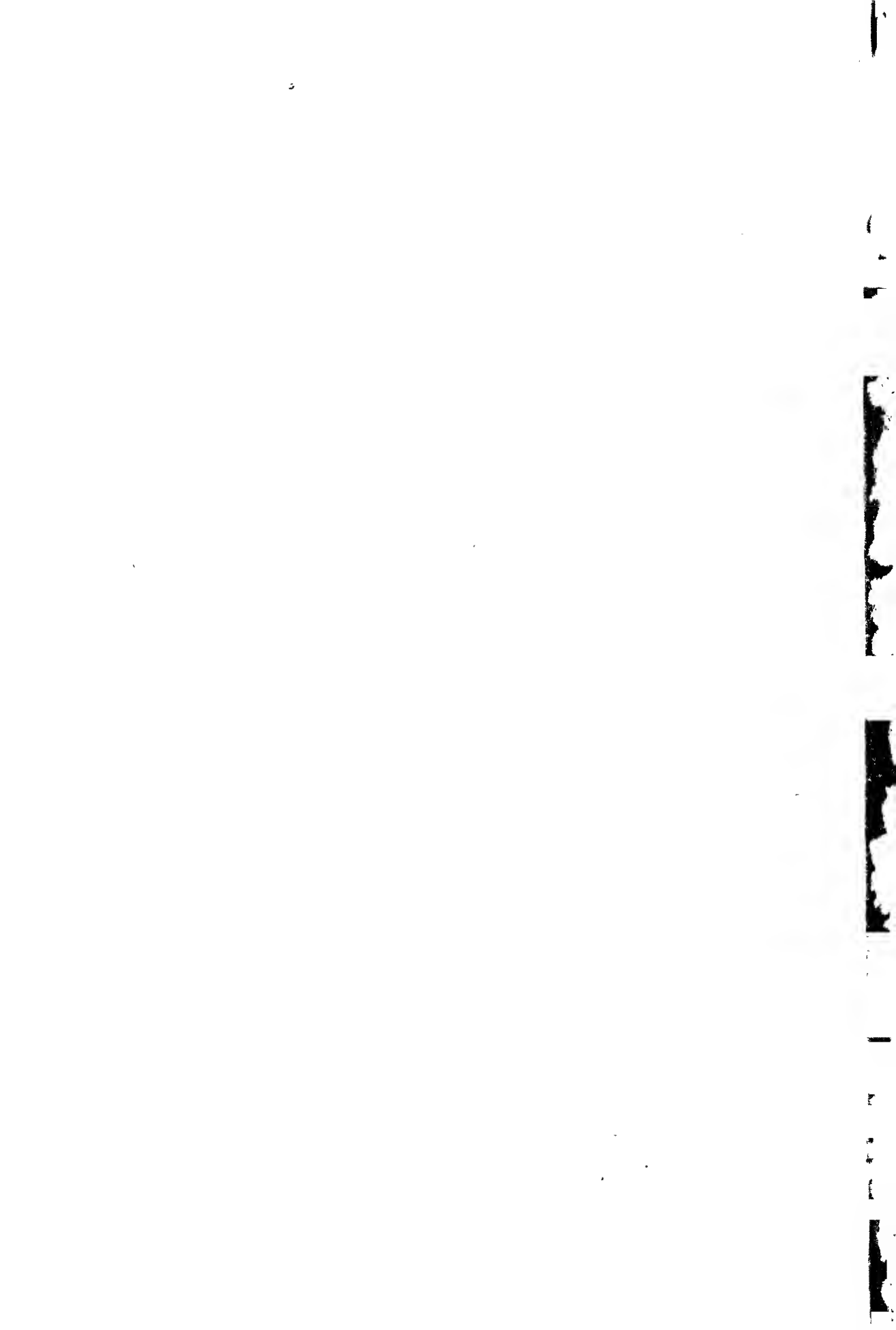
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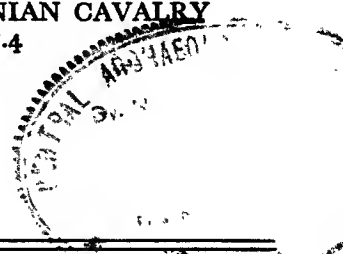
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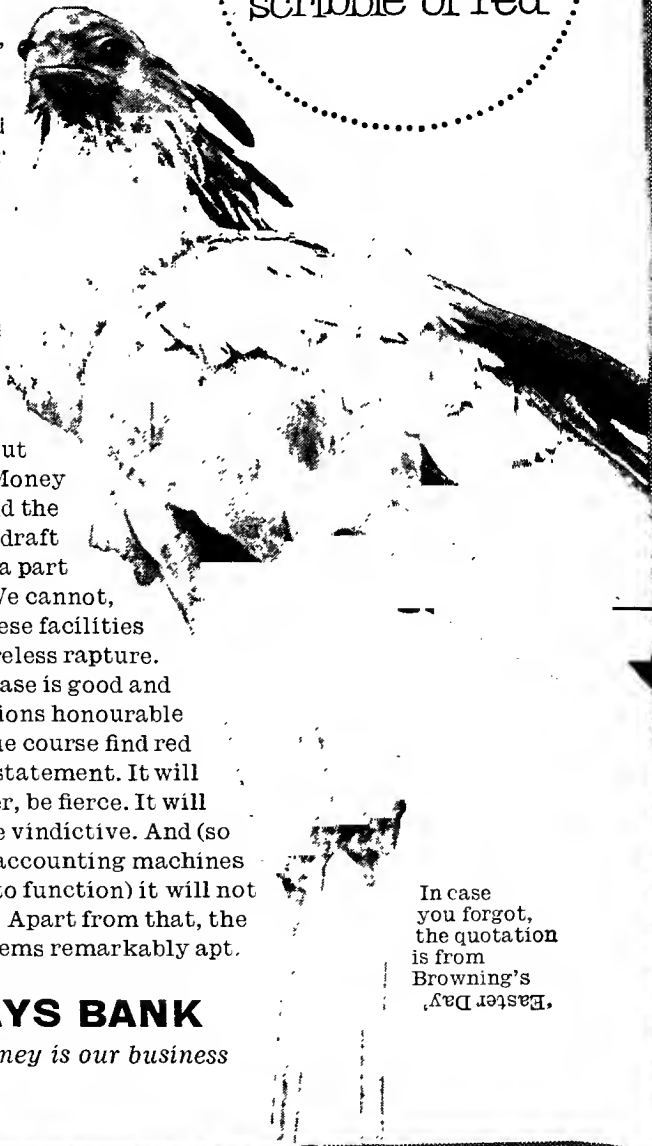
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ANDREAS RUMPF
1890-1966

ANDREAS RUMPF was born at Potsdam in 1890. He was a pupil of Franz Studniczka at the University of Leipsic, where he took the degree of Doctor in 1915, and was Assistant to Studniczka from 1913 to 1928. From 1928 to 1959 he was Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cologne. He served as an artillery officer in the first war; in the second he stayed at home and kept aloof from Nazism. He was made an Honorary Member of the Hellenic Society in 1949.

Rumpf was devoted to Studniczka, and wrote a very good account of his master's life and work (*Jahresbericht für Altertumswissenschaft*, 1934). One of his own early publications was *Die Wandmalereien von Veii*: it showed the interest in Etruscan art which he always retained and which was seen later in his Catalogue of the Etruscan Sculptures in Berlin. His other large works were *Chalkidische Vasen*, a masterly study of that class of vase; *Die antiken Meerwesen*, a contribution to the publication of ancient sarcophagi begun by Carl Robert; and *Malerei und Zeichnung*, a volume in Otto's *Handbuch*. But much of his best writing is in his countless smaller works, of which enough to cite his *Archäologie*, gay and packed with information, and his *Stilphasen der spätantiken Kunst*. His reviews are models.

Rumpf had an extraordinary knowledge of individual works of art and their history since the renaissance and before it. He had a keen eye; and there is hardly any department of ancient art in which he was not an expert. He disliked the ill-founded and the pretentious, and he would oppose these with simple facts and with arguments well arranged and clearly expressed, sometimes not without irony.

He was a kindly man and a great scholar, and he will be much missed.

J. D. B.

ATTIC GEOMETRIC VASE SCENES, OLD AND NEW

(PLATES I-IV)

THE New York crater, 14.130.15 (PLATES I-III), was first published by Miss Richter fifty years ago.¹ Since then it has frequently been accorded illustration and comment both for its figure scenes—notably the prothesis,² the chariot friezes³ and the occurrence of 'Siamese twin' warriors⁴—and for its place in the development of Attic Geometric vase painting.⁵ There are, however, a number of features in the figure scenes which have escaped notice hitherto in publication, and which are of some interest to the student of Geometric funeral practice and iconography.

The prothesis itself (PLATE II a) is conventional enough in most of its details. The child crouching over the legs of the dead man extends his arms over them. The child standing behind the head tears his hair with one hand while the other seems to be stretched towards the dead man's mouth.⁶ Certainly no branch or fan is held—the motif found in some other prothesis scenes. Before the child's leg is a small fish. The gesture and the fish (an odd filling device, if it is one) are not readily explained but may be borne in mind when other features of the frieze are discussed.

At the left of the prothesis eleven mourners approach, all women, naked, with their hands raised to their heads in the usual manner. It is the group of warrior mourners at the right of the prothesis that deserve closer attention (PLATE II b). The first warrior touches the leg of the bier with his right hand, while the other is held immediately above and just touching a string of tangentially linked loops and dots. To this we shall return. The two small animals set one above the other between the first and second warriors might at first sight seem to be only filling ornament, but they are something more. They are suspended from a line or pole held in the right hand of the second warrior. Their limp posture shows clearly enough that they are dead. The third warrior holds a similar pair of small animals suspended from his left hand. When the 'filling devices' between the other warriors are given the same attention we see that the fourth and fifth warriors are each holding a string of fish, shown in the usual Geometric manner, diamond-shaped with sharp fins and tail. A live water bird shows interest in the second string. The sixth and seventh warriors are each holding a string of small birds, the uppermost held by its neck, and all with their heads bent limply back over their bodies—dead. The front warrior holds five birds suspended from his right hand; the second holds six (the last a fledgling afterthought) from his left hand. In his free hand is held what might be a knife with a broad blade. These two (and perhaps the

¹ *AJA* xix (1915) 394 ff., pls. 21, 22, 23.2-3; and in *Met.Mus.Bull.* x (1915) 70 ff., fig. 1, *Handbook* (1917) fig. 22, (1927) fig. 28, (1953) pl. 14a. I am deeply indebted to Dietrich von Bothmer who himself took the detail photographs published here, and who afforded facilities for this study and publication; and to the Department of Art History and Archaeology at Columbia University, New York, where, as Visiting Professor in spring 1965, I had also the opportunity to study several American collections.

² Richter, *Ancient Furniture* 66, fig. 171; Brueckner, *JA* 1921 245; Zschietzschmann, *AM* lmi (1928) 18 f., 38 no. 12; Hinrichs, *Ann.Univ.Saracensis-Phil.* 1955 124 ff., pls. 3, 11a; Marwitz, *Antike und Abendland* x (1961) 10.

³ von Mercklin, *AJA* xx (1916) 401, 404 f.; Hahland, *Corolla Curtus* 124, n.9; Young, *Hesp.* Suppl. ii 59, 182 and cf. 196 n.1, 173.

⁴ Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder* 49, fig. 21; J. M. Cook, *BSA* xxxv (1934-5) 206; Fraser, *AJA* xlv (1940) 461; Hofkes-Brukker, *Bull. van de Vereen.* xv (1940) 3; Webster, *BSA* l (1955) 41; Kirk, *BSA* xlv (1949) 44 (follows Cook).

⁵ Matz, *Geschichte* i 62; Kubler, *Kerameikos* v. 1 173; Marwitz, *Antike Kunst* iv (1961) 44 f.; Villard, *RA* (1949, ii) 1071; Kunze, *Festschrift Schweitzer* 59; Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops* (Yale Classical Studies xvi) 111 f., 117, fig. 139.

⁶ He might be closing it or offering food. The dead person's head is touched on Louvre A552 (C.I. xi pl. 12.1) and the Dresden oenochoe (Müller, *Nacktheit* pl. 5.5; Hofkes-Brukker, *Frühgr.-Gruppenbildung* pl. 1.1). Several black-figure prothesis scenes show the woman at the head of the bier occupied with the pillow; cf. *BSA* l (1955) 57 with n. 43 and pls. 4 misnumbered; it is New York 54.11.5, 5, 8h.

man before them) do not carry a knife or dagger beside the swords at their belts like the warriors in front of them. Finally comes one of the 'Siamese twin' warriors (on whom more below). The two birds before the twins look very alive and are the courtyard creatures that are regularly found in such prothesis scenes.

The animals being carried have no horns and fairly short tails. They are not readily identifiable but resemble the dogs shown on other Geometric vases. Fish are rarely shown on vases until the later Geometric period and these must be among the earliest⁷ (the vase is generally dated in the third quarter of the eighth century). The warriors with the birds recall the scene on the oenochoe in Copenhagen where a man seizes a bird by its neck while others run away. This has been taken for Herakles with the Stymphalian Birds.⁸ Returning to the first warrior the device before him might be reconsidered. It is certainly common enough as a filling device on other Geometric vases, but it is not so used anywhere else on this vase. The warrior could well be taken to be holding it, so it may be that the artist intended here again to show an object or objects being carried: oysters perhaps (see below).

We have then offerings of flesh, fish and fowl being brought to the bier. So far as I know the scene has no parallel in Geometric art.⁹ Excavation in Athens, Phaleron, Eleusis and Thera have made it clear that food was cooked or burnt or both at the pyre or graveside in the Geometric period.¹⁰ The burnt bones may be found with the remains of the dead man in both cremations and inhumations. It is likely that in the cremations the food was burnt with the body to accompany and fortify the dead man on his journey, and that in the inhumations the cooked food was put in for the same purpose. Animal bones, burnt and unburnt, may also be found beside the grave, in the ashes of the pyre or in the trenches ('Opferrinnen') in which other offerings might be broken and burnt. It is arguable here whether the food was cooked for the dead man although not burnt with him, or whether there was a funeral meal eaten by the mourners at the graveside. If the latter it resembles the Homeric feast at the grave rather than the Classical *περίδειπνον* which took place after the burial and at home.¹¹ But if the food is for the dead we may recall the later ceremonies of *τὰ τρίτα* and *τὰ ἔνατα*, with offerings and food brought to the grave on the third and ninth days after burial. In the scene on the New York vase it would seem most reasonable to assume that the food was intended for the man to whose bier it is being carried. This is the point at which to recall the gesture of the child by the dead man's head and the fish beside him, which motifs carry at least the suggestion of feeding.¹² On a Dipylon fragment in Florence a row of dead birds is shown beneath the bier apparently suspended upside down.¹³ When weapons are shown over the bier¹⁴ we may assume that these too were to be buried

⁷ Cf. *Hesp.* Suppl. ii 70, 152. They appear in some ship scenes on Dipylon vases; e.g., *CVI* Louvre xi pls. 1.7 (A517), 7.9 (A536), and the Munich shipwreck, Hampe, *Gleichnisse* pls. 7-11.

⁸ Brommer, *Herakles* pl. 18.

⁹ On the neck of Agora P4990 (Brann, *Athenian Agora* viii, pl. 19.336) three men approach the prothesis from the other side of the vase. The first carries a wreath. The second carries what has been taken to be a sacrificial knife or the sword to be buried with the body, but it has two distinct members and one thinks rather of shears and offerings of hair. Reiner, *Die rituelle Totenklage* 45 f.). The third carries not an incense burner or ointment pot (Young, *Hesp.* Suppl. ii 20, 56; Brann, 69, 112; Webster, *BSA* 1 (1955), 46) but a weeping child, as J. M. Cook saw (*Gnomon* 1962 823).

¹⁰ The basic references are: Athens: *AM* xviii (1893) 141; *Kerameikos* i 181, iv 4, v.1 24f., 35, 237.

vi, 1 83-7; *Hesp.* Suppl. ii 19, 236; *Athenian Agora* viii 112; cf. Hampe, *Ein frühattischer Grabfund* 72; Phaleron: *ADelt* ii (1916) 17; Eleusis: *AE* 1898 89, 98, 1912 37 f.; Thera: *AM* xxviii (1903) 273, 276, 278 f. In Crete the unburnt bones of a goat were found over cremated remains: Brock, *Fortetsa* 3 n. 5, 88. Cf. Wiesner, *Grab und Jenseits* 159-61, and for earlier practice in Greece, *ibid.*, 135 f., 152 f.

¹¹ *RE* s.v. *περίδειπνον*, for Homeric and Classical practices.

¹² There are many references to fish as offerings to the dead in the ancient Near East; cf. Dolger, *Ichthys* ii *passim*.

¹³ *JA* 1963 661 f., figs. 19, 20. Live birds *ibid.*, 659 f., figs. 17, 18. Johansen sees a slaughtered calf on the Lambros oenochoe, *Ajas und Hektor* 21-3, pl. 7.

¹⁴ As on the Benaki amphora, *BSA* xlii (1947) pl. 19. Davison, fig. 50, an amphora in Essen, *AA* 1963 215 f., fig. 3 and p. 219, and *Akr.* 295, Graef, pl. 10.

with the body. The remains of foodstuffs excavated in or near Geometric burials include the bones of lambs, calves, goats, pigs, rabbits and birds, and oyster shells.

At the end of the procession of mourners approaching the bier with food offerings appears a 'Siamese twin' warrior—two heads, four arms, four legs but one torso. Two similar twins are seen in adjacent chariots in the lowest frieze on the vase (PLATES I, III c), to the right as the vase is viewed from the front. And there is a fourth, so far overlooked, it seems, on the back of the vase (PLATE III d) whose situation will be discussed further below. Hampe had identified the twins on this and other Geometric vases and other objects as the Molione who fought Herakles,¹⁵ later preferring to explain them as the Aktorione who fought Nestor.¹⁶ Miss Richter took it that 'the artist's object was merely to represent two warriors standing close together' and J. M. Cook inclined to this view, doubting their identification as the mythical twins because two were shown in the same frieze on our vase.¹⁷ Since they appear so often on this vase it does seem reasonable to suppose that they are an artist's experiment in showing two warriors in rank, using exactly the conventions applied to the drawing of two or more horses in a team. But in some other representations the Aktorione may have been intended, especially on the Agora oenochoe¹⁸ where the two bodies are deliberately and unnecessarily (if not a real Siamese twin) joined beneath a square shield despite the fact that they are doing different things in different directions. The artist's experiment in drawing is thus turned to the service of narrative. That the painter of the New York vase was something of an innovator can be judged from what we have seen already in the prothesis scene.

Other features of the chariot friezes may be noticed here. In the upper frieze are two-horse teams held by warriors wearing swords, except for a solitary chariot with one horse shown (beneath the left handle which seems to be the point at which the artist started painting the frieze) whose warrior is compensated by having a shield and two spears.¹⁹ The warrior in the chariot immediately below the prothesis has before him a child (PLATE III a). This is a clear indication that the frieze was thought of as a procession of guests or mourners and not as a line-up for the chariot race in any funeral games. In the second chariot frieze there are two 'twins', each with two horses, and the other chariots carry warriors with a shield, two spears and a sword, each of them holding *two* pairs of reins, but with only one horse shown. This is a common convention on Late Geometric vases but the reins are not usually doubled. Moreover, these horses have a distinct and sometimes broad reserved band running along the back of their necks within the manes, unlike the other, single horses. It is likely that this reduplication of the neck line, with the two pairs of reins, was intended as a more explicit representation of a two-horse team. Reduplicated outlines are used to suggest teams of horses on Protoattic and Cycladic seventh-century vases, but then the whole bodies are outlined.

The chariot wheels in the friezes are never quite level and the chariots seem to bucket and bounce over the ground. The wheels have eight spokes, not the usual four, and six- or eight-spoked wheels are an eastern feature not otherwise commonly seen in Greek art until the sixth century.²⁰ Eight spokes in *double*-outlined wheels on a vase by the Philadelphia Painter suggested to von Mercklin an artistic convention for showing two wheels side by

¹⁵ FGS 45-49.

¹⁶ *Gleichnisse* 45, n. 17. Schefold, *Fruh Griechische Sagenbilder*, 21, finds representations of both Aktorione and Molione. Cf. Johansen, *op. cit.*, 29-31.

¹⁷ *BSA* xxxv (1934-5) 206: but not *three* in the same frieze.

¹⁸ P4885, *Athenian Agora* viii pl. 17.304 and p. 65 f. for bibliography.

¹⁹ Seen second from the right in *AJA* xix (1915) pl. 23.2.

²⁰ Then especially in East Greek or Etruscan work. A very early example is on the corslet, Schefold, *op. cit.*, pl. 26. Later come the Melian Apollo amphora, Arias-Hirmer, pl. 22, the Rhodian relief pithos, *BCH* lxxiv (1950) pl. 29, the Cyzikos reliefs, Lippold, *Griechische Plastik* pl. 18.3, and the Myus reliefs, Blumel, *Arch.gr.Sk. Berlin* figs. 193-208 *passim*.

On this feature see Åkerström, *Arch. Terrakottaplatten in Stockholm* 64 and *Op. Rom.* i (1954) 200 f.; *Lansa am Hermos* ii 148.

side.²¹ But other vases by this painter²² show six-spoked wheels in double and single outline. When the New York vase was published von Mercklin recognised²³ that the eight-spoked wheels were not artists' devices because they were here in pairs. Of course, four-wheeled carts might be intended,²⁴ but we should probably take these representations as evidence for knowledge of the eastern wheel type in late eighth-century Greece. This is not, in itself, surprising. Returning to the vase, the last chariot (under the left handle again) in the lower frieze (PLATE III b) has its wheels overlapping, high black bodywork with the front edge sloping away, instead of the shallow platform of the other chariots, and the rails treated in the more realistic manner of later Geometric vases, high at the front, low at the back. Having already attempted two different ways of showing two creatures side by side it is almost as though our artist was trying his hand at perspective.²⁵

In the main frieze on the back of the vase are four large circular devices. Miss Richter saw warriors between them, but the central group is more complicated (PLATE III d). At the left stands a warrior with a sword. At the right the fourth of the twin warriors on the vase. Between them is a tripod. The outer parts of the U-shaped cauldron are preserved and part of two of the legs. There is a row of dots between them, such as appear on other tripod representations,²⁶ and between the legs of the bier on the other side of our vase. The single warrior has both his hands on the cauldron; the 'twins' have their right hands on it. On a Late Geometric bronze tripod leg at Olympia two warriors hold a tripod in this manner, but they are threatening each other, and Kunze has seen here an early representation of the dispute between Herakles and Apollo for the tripod.²⁷ Our warriors are quiet, but do seem to be busy with the tripod in some way.

The tripods which are shown on other prothesis vases are usually thought to be prizes for the funeral games, or prizes won by the dead man and displayed in his honour. Whatever the interpretation of the chariot friezes on some other vases may be,²⁸ we have seen cause to believe that on ours no race was intended but a procession of family and guests. And if a man's prize tripods were displayed at his funeral, why were they not buried with him in the Dipylon cemetery or included with other offerings of armour or the like? The basic function of a tripod cauldron is in cooking.²⁹ It is perhaps worth considering whether this is not sometimes the reason for its appearance on funeral vases,³⁰ especially on our vase with its other reference to a ritual funeral feast. Too many hands need not be a positive disadvantage in such an operation.

Another Geometric vase (PLATE IV), offering a different type of funerary scene, may conveniently be added to this discussion. It is an oinochoe in a private collection in England.³¹ The scene on its shoulder can be added to a small group of similar representations which have been most fully discussed by Hahland.³² It shows a man and a woman seated on either side of a rectangular chequered object. In similar scenes the central block may have one or two shields set above it (Hahland nos. 1, 2) or it is replaced by two

²¹ *Der Rennwagen* 73, writing of Berlin 3203 (Davison, fig. 48).

²² Philadelphia MS 5464, Davison, fig. 49; *Bull. Mus. Roy.* 1951 38, figs. 5-7.

²³ *AJA* xx (1916) 405.

²⁴ Cf. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour* 159, 161.

²⁵ Cf. the triangle chair-backs on a cup in London (1950.11 9.1), Davison, fig. 83 with p. 62, n. 17.

²⁶ In Miss Benton's list, *BSA* xxxv (1934-5) 102-8, nos. 1, 3, 15.

²⁷ *Arch. Schuldbander* 115, Beil. 8.1.

²⁸ On this see Hampe, *Ein frühattischer Grabfund* 83 f.; Webster, *BSA* l (1955) 47; Hahland, *Corolla Curtus* 124 f.; Hinrichs, 134-6, 140.

²⁹ Cf. Benton, 74 f., 114 f.

³⁰ On many it is clearly a prize, for boxers or races. Where horses are tethered to it it looks as though it is serving rather as a manger. Cf. Benton, *loc. cit.*; Hinrichs, 138.

³¹ I am indebted to Col. J. R. Danson for permission to study, photograph and publish the vase. Its height is 44 cm. It was shown in an Exhibition of Greek Art at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, Feb. 12-Mar. 10, 1934; Catalogue no. 4.

³² In *Festschrift Zucker* 175 ff. His no. 8 (Athens 17497) can be seen in *CVI Athens* ii pl. 12 and Davison, fig. 129. He illustrates all others in his list.

shields (Hahland no. 3). The seated figures are all male and on the last there are six men on either side of the shields. On Hahland no. 4 the block has two birds on it, and the figures to either side are women. Our vase is unusual in mixing the sexes, unless the breasts were accidentally omitted for one figure. Other scenes do not show the block but have a cauldron (Hahland no. 5) or vessels on the floor or on a stool (Hahland nos. 8, 6) and introduce seated lyre-players. All other seated figures invariably hold the same type of instruments that we see on the new vase.

It is not easy to escape the conclusion that the block-like object is meant to represent a tomb. The shields might indicate a heroon, in which case we deal with a commemorative ritual, possibly involving food (the cauldron and cups). Or this may be one of the post-burial rites at the tomb of a mortal such as have been discussed already. At all events, it seems reasonable to let these scenes explain each other rather than to take them as separate views of different rites, especially as almost all seem to be the work of one artist on one shape.³³

The objects held by the seated figures have been variously explained. Cook suggested 'instruments of rattle or clash':³⁴ Hahland, sprinklers. If they are sprinklers or rattles it is hard to see why they are invariably shown in pairs. It is more likely that they are flat objects of wood or metal which were to be struck together as clappers or cymbals. Cymbals as we know them, and as they were known in antiquity, are discs held by a central grip. On the vases it is unlikely that we are dealing with a Geometric convention for showing such instruments, and these objects are clearly held by a side handle. There is just such a percussion instrument known in Greece in these years—the famous bronze tympanon from the Idaean Cave in Crete³⁵ which, whatever the origins and training of its artist, was surely made in Crete as a cult object with special local significance. Moreover these tympana were used in pairs, as we see from the scene on the bronze tympanon itself where two demous swing them in their hands,³⁶ one up, one down. This, allowing for the obvious Geometric conventions, is exactly what the figures on the Geometric vases may be doing with their instruments. The latter are certainly not quite like the bronze tympanon, which is rather bigger (55 cm. across), and they seem to have been leaf-shaped³⁷ or circular with a projection opposite the handle. They might be of wood or metal, but the bronze tympanon surely gives a clue to the manner in which they might be used. Their purpose is another matter. The massed band with pairs of clappers on Hahland nos. 3, 9, must have made an unholy noise and one can only wonder what they sounded like to the accompaniment of a lyre.³⁸ Probably the harsh, discordant sounds were a proper setting for a wailing lament—mourning sirens may clash cymbals.³⁹ Or the noise might be intended to frighten away possibly malignant spirits—including that of the dead man—from this transit point between the two worlds.

Merton College, Oxford.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

³³ Hahland nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and the vase here are by one hand: the last a narrow-necked oenochoe, not a broad-necked pitcher. Hahland nos. 4 and 8 are by another hand. His nos. 9 and 10 show neither the instruments nor other ritual objects and may be ignored here.

³⁴ *BCH* lxx (1946) 101.

³⁵ Kunze, *Kretische Bronzeliefs* pl. 49; Dumbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours* 41, pl. 10.1; Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* 9; Boardman, *Cretan Collection in Oxford* 151, *Greeks Overseas* 84.

³⁶ In the Near East such tympana were used like tambourines, singly, struck with the hand. That it might be used singly in Crete is suggested by the clay plaques showing a woman with one suspended from round her neck: Dohan, *Met.MusStud* iii (1931) 219, fig. 27.

³⁷ Especially Hahland no. 5.

³⁸ The trio of pipes, lyre and tambourine-tympanon is seen on neo-Hittite and Phoenician monuments. There too we find the seated lyre-player at a 'Totenmahl' resembling in particular the scene on Hahland no. 6 with two groups of seated clapper-player, vase on stool and seated lyre-player. Cf. Bossert, *Altanatolien* fig. 810; *Op.Bch.* iv (1946) pl. 2. Cpriort: Matthiae, *Studi sui rilievi di Karatepe* pls. 1, 17; Frankfort, *Art and Architecture* pls. 165a,b, 167b.

³⁹ On the Metrodoros stele from Chios in Berlin 'fourth-century' they have a tympanon, cymbals, krotala, lyre, harp and pipes: Kekulé, *Beschr.der ant.Skulpturen* (1891) no. 766A, figs. on pp. 289-91.

THE CYCLE OF AGATHIAS

FOLLOWING the example of Meleager and Philip of Thessalonica, Agathias of Myrina, poet, lawyer and continuator of the *Wars* of Procopius, compiled in the sixth century A.D. an anthology of epigrams, generally known as the *Cycle* (κύκλος)¹ which, together with those of Meleager and Philip, was incorporated into the later anthology of Constantine Cephalas and partially survives in the Palatine and Planudean anthologies. But unlike Meleager and Philip, Agathias included only the work of contemporaries,² representatives of that Indian summer of Greek poetry which illuminates the age of Justinian. And it has always been assumed³ that the *Cycle* was published during Justinian's reign, and that the (unnamed) Emperor to whom Agathias' (surviving) preface is addressed is Justinian himself.

But the arguments on which this dating is based are as flimsy as could well be imagined, and neglect moreover a number of material pieces of evidence which point decisively to a later date. P. Waltz, editor of the (alas unfinished) Budé Anthology, observes that the allusions to Italy and Rome in Agathias' preface (*AP* iv 3)⁴ 'permettent d'en dater la publication des années qui suivent la reprise de Rome par Narsès' in 553.⁵ Not a very helpful *terminus post quem*. In 553 Agathias was hardly more than 20. No one, surely, would wish to suggest that he published the *Cycle* before he was out of his teens. P. Sakolowski,⁶ rightly deducing from lines 47 f. that the preface must have been written at a time when the Empire was at peace, proposed as a *terminus* 558, the year of the cessation of hostilities between Rome and Persia. But the confident reference to *Περσὶς ἀνακίς* in line 49 would be more in place after 561 at least, when the Eternal Peace was finally concluded (and 556, not 558, saw the end of hostilities, the years between 556 and 561 being occupied by a temporary truce).⁷ And there is no evidence in support of Sakolowski's further contention, which has been accepted without question by subsequent editors of the Anthology,⁸ that the *Cycle* was published actually in 558, and that the preface was a hymn to Justinian congratulating him on his success. Nor is there any real reason for supposing that the Emperor addressed in the preface is in fact Justinian. He is nowhere addressed by name, nor is there any direct attribution to Justinian of any of the conquests and achievements mentioned in general terms in the preface. To this point we shall return below. We believe that the *Cycle* was not published till a year or so after Justinian's death (November 14, 565), probably in 567 or 568, and that the Emperor addressed in Agathias' preface is therefore Justinian's nephew and successor, Justin II. In this article we propose to adduce the evidence necessary to establish this contention and also to date so far as is possible all other poems both by Agathias and the other contributors to the *Cycle* which contain any chronological indications. It is hoped that this will provide a firm basis for further (and much needed) research.

First a few words on the criteria to be used for distinguishing which poems were included

¹ *Suda*s. s.v. Ἀγαθίας, calls it κύκλος τῶν νέων ἐπιγραμμάτων, the lemma to *AP* iv 3 σύνλογον νέων ἐπιγρ., a scholion on the same poem συναγωγὴ. Agathias himself describes it only in general terms (*Hist.*, pref., p. 6.9 f. Bonn.).

² Of this there is no doubt: Agathias himself says so quite explicitly in the preface to the *Cycle* (*AP* iv 3.115) and in the preface to the *History* (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also *Suda*s. s.v. Ἀγαθίας, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ποιητῶν. G. Highet's claim (*OCD*¹ s.v. *Anthology* p. 56a) that Agathias included 'large sections' of the anthologies of Meleager and Philip is certainly mistaken.

³ See all editions (and translations) of the Anthology; and all the standard handbooks and histories of Greek literature: even E. Stein, usually so cautious

in such matters, adopts the general view (*Histoire de Bas-Empire* ii (1949) 697). The only exception known to us is G. Highet, (*loc. cit.*), who without any reasons gives 'about A.D. 570' as the date of publication: this is certainly too late (below, p. 24).

⁴ All references in this article, unless otherwise stated, are to books of the Palatine Anthology, the 'Planudean Appendix' being cited after the conventional (though erroneous) fashion as xvi.

⁵ *Anth. grecque* i (1928) xxiii n. 3.

⁶ *De Anth. Pal. quaestiones*, Diss. Lips. (1894) 61.

⁷ Stein, *Bas-Empire* ii 517-8.

⁸ E.g. H. Beckby, *Anth. Graeca* i (1957) 67 (though see below, p. 11). K. Preisendanz, *DLZ* lxxx (1959) 183, says 'um 560'.

in Agathias' original *Cycle*. For the Palatine and Planudean Anthologies, which are all we now possess, are two removes away from the *Cycle* itself. Fortunately, however, Cephalas took over large portions of the *Cycle*, and, moreover, without materially disturbing its general layout, for he arranged his own Anthology under the same headings as Agathias.⁹ And the scribes of the *Palatinus*, though renumbering Cephalas' books and adding some new books from other sources (i, ii, iii and viii), did not so far as can be judged significantly modify Cephalas' arrangement inside his books.¹⁰ Planudes, on the other hand, made much more extensive alterations in both selection and arrangement of Cephalas' material,¹¹ and the task of isolating the *Cycle* would be much more difficult if we had to depend on him alone. Cephalas (whose arrangement we will assume to be pretty faithfully represented in the *Palatinus*) worked for the most part mechanically, taking over long sections of the anthologies he was drawing upon. In the case of Meleager's *Garland*, however, where we have independent evidence of the names of the contributors, it can be seen that in some cases he mixed up the extracts, sometimes merely for the sake of variety.¹² And the *limits* of the sections from the different anthologies are not always clear, leaving borderline cases where attribution can only be uncertain.¹³ But in the case of the *Cycle* some sequences seem to be undisturbed. For example, in Cephalas' Book i (ἐρωτικά = bk. v in the *Palatinus*), poems from Meleager and Philip are followed by no less than 87 consecutive poems by Agathias, Paul the Silentiary and other poets distinguished by Byzantine titles like referendary, scholasticus and ex-consul.¹⁴ And when these same names appear in more than one such Agathian sequence we can be confident that they belong to contributors to the *Cycle*, the νέης γενετῆρες αἰοιδῆς as Agathias calls them (iv 4.114). It is reasonable to assume, also, that when the same names occur elsewhere in the Anthology outside such 'Cycle-sequences'¹⁵ they herald poems taken from the *Cycle* but removed from their original context. There remains the possibility that the odd name included in a *Cycle*-sequence does not belong there, but it seems safer to include them unless they can be shown to be intruders. Palladas' name occurs several times, and it is often assumed that he was included in the *Cycle*. This cannot be so. In the first place, since he died c. 400, Agathias cannot possibly have counted him as a contemporary. Secondly, Agathias specifically says that he has included poems hitherto unpublished and difficult of access (τὰ ἀρτιγενῆ καὶ νεώτερα, διαλανθάνοντα ἔτι καὶ χύδην οὕτως παρ' ἐνίοις ὑποψιθιριζόμενα, *Hist.*, *pref.* 6.11). Palladas' poems had been circulating in a separate edition for a century and a half. We can only assume that on occasions Cephalas added poems by Palladas to 'Cycle-sequences' (e.g. vi 54 f., xi 349 f., 365 f.), as elsewhere he added *Cycle* poems to a Palladas sequence (e.g. at x 44-99, twenty consecutive poems by Palladas are followed by a brief sequence of *Cycle* poems interspersed with Palladas, and then twenty-three more by Palladas alone).

It is possible therefore to compile a tolerably complete list of the more important *Cycle* poets—at any rate all who were considered worthy of inclusion by Cephalas in his own anthology. For Cephalas will almost certainly have omitted some of the poems which Agathias had included, and some of the poems Cephalas included are omitted in the *Palatinus*. Here Planudes offers a valuable check: Planudes includes no fewer than 54 poems by the poets of the *Cycle* on paintings and statues which are absent from the *Palatinus* though

⁹ Cf. Beckby 69, Waltz i xxviii.

¹⁰ Beckby 70, Waltz xxx.

¹¹ Beckby 71-2, Waltz xxxi f., A. S. F. Gow, *The Greek Anthology: Sources and Ascriptions* (*Hell.Soc. Suppl. Publ.* ix, 1958), 12 f., 45 f. We are assuming, against Gow (p. 13), that Planudes did use the *Palatinus* directly (among other sources): cf. Alan Cameron, *CQ* n.s. xv (1965), 222, n. 3.

¹² Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* I (1965), xx, xlvi.

¹³ i.e. where 'what precedes or follows is anonymous or ascribed to unknown poets' (Gow, *op. cit.* 22).

¹⁴ v 216-302, 257, by Palladas, is probably an intruder—see below.

¹⁵ Other such sequences—AP vi 54-84, ix 614-81. On the other hand Cephalas broke up and rearranged the *Cycle* poems in ix according to subject-matter: cf. J. Basson, *De Cephalae et Planude* (Diss. Berlin 1917), 21 f.

probably included by Cephala.¹⁶ Among these are two by poets not represented at all in the *Palatinus*,¹⁷ Gabriel and Synesius. All of them will have formed part of Agathias' bk. ii.

Here is as complete a list as can be compiled with any degree of certainty:

Ablabius Illustris	Agathias Scholasticus
Arabius Scholasticus	Cometas Chartularius
Cyrus the Ex-consul	Damocharis of Cos
Eirenaeus Referendarius	Eratosthenes Scholasticus
Gabriel the Prefect	Isidore of Bolbythia
John Barbucallus	Julianus Aegyptius
Julianus Antecessor	Leontius Scholasticus
Macedonius the Consul	Marianus Scholasticus
Paul the Silentiary	Rufinus (Rufus, Plan.) Domesticus
Synesius Scholasticus	Theodoretus Grammaticus
Theodorus the Proconsul	Theactetus Scholasticus
Theosebeia ¹⁸	

It will be observed that a surprisingly large number of these poets were legal men (*σχολαστικοί*), doubtless because they were professional acquaintances of Agathias, himself a lawyer.

Concerning some of them, namely Ablabius, Cometas, Isidore, Theosebeia and Eirenaeus, nothing is known at all, save that their names occur in 'Cycle-sequences' and they probably therefore 'flourished' some time in the second and third quarters of the sixth century. § I will collect what is known about the dates and persons of the others, with the exception of poems which can be dated to the reign of Justin II, which will be discussed in § II. § III will deal with Agathias' preface.

I

AGATHIAS: Agathias was born *c.* 531/2,¹⁹ educated in Alexandria and (probably) Constantinople, and practised as a barrister in the capital. His main interest, however, was in

¹⁶ See Gow, *op. cit.* 54 f.

¹⁷ It may be conjectured that the name Tribonian appeared in the original *Cycle*, though not a single poem by him appears in either Planudes or the *Palatinus*. For *Suidas* s.v. *Ἰβραβίαν* says that Agathias was a contemporary of Paul the Silentiary, Macedonius the consul and *Tribonian*. This cannot be the famous jurist Tribonian, so bitterly attacked by Procopius in the *Secret History*, for he was dead by 542 (Stein, *BE* ii 407), when Agathias was no more than 10. But there was a younger Tribonian, perhaps a son, who wrote, according to *Suidas* (s.v. *Τριβωνιανός*: *Σοφιστικῶς*) a large number of poetical works. And one of his poems was entitled *Μακεδόνιος, ἢ περὶ ἐνδομητορίας*—surely named after Macedonius the consul (below, p. 17). It is not unreasonable to suppose that Tribonian, like Paul and Macedonius, contributed a few of his shorter poems to the *Cycle*. Julianus Scholasticus too should perhaps be added (ix 481: for his sobriquet *μετέωρος*; cf. Bowra, *Byz. Zeit.* liii (1960) 31, ix 647, firmly embedded in a *Cycle*-sequence, is ascribed by Plan. to an otherwise unknown Pompeius (adesp. in *Pal.*).

¹⁸ It will be seen that with respect to the lesser names our list differs considerably from that suggested by Beckby (189-90). As will be shown below, there

is an obvious case for including Gabriel, Julian the Antecessor, Synesius Scholasticus and Theodorus the proconsul, all of whom Beckby omits. On the other hand he does include Diogenes and Phocas, though the one poem of each that is preserved does not really occur in a 'Cycle-sequence' (vii 613, ix 772). It is possible that xvi 313, by Michael Grammaticus on Agathias himself comes from the *Cycle*, but it has the appearance of being an inscriptional poem written for a statue of Agathias, perhaps after his death. Beckby also includes Damascius (vii 553), but again the one poem by him is not in a proper *Cycle*-sequence and Damascius could not easily be called a contemporary of Agathias. As for Eutolmius, his poems belong rather to Palladas' *Sylloge* than to the *Cycle* (cf. Alan Cameron in *CQ* n.s. xv (1965) p. 217): three of his four poems occur next to poems by Palladas (vi 86, vii 608, 611) and the fourth (ix 587) is not in a *Cycle*-sequence.

¹⁹ This is some four years before the usual date of 536 (e.g. Niebuhr, pref. to Bonn ed., xiv), but the dating depends on that of the earthquake which destroyed Berytus, which should be put in 551, not 554 (below, p. 11). The whole question will be discussed in a forthcoming monograph on Agathias.

literature. As a very young man he published poems under the title *Daphniaca*, then the *Cycle*, and later turned to the writing of a continuation of Procopius' *Wars* which was unfinished at his death, c. 580.

ix 677 alludes to a house built by a certain Musonius. According to Planudes it is Agathias' own house, but this may be mere guesswork. Agathias' claim that it is οἶκος ἀγῆτον | τηλικόν, ἀρκτέοις ἀσθμασι βαλλόμενον suggests that it is a mansion or palace, such as might perhaps have been built by the Musonius who was city prefect in 556.²⁰ City prefects frequently beautified the city in this way.

ix 641 is about the bridge Justinian built over the river Sangarios. A passage in Theophanes (*AM* 6052) dates its construction to 559–60, and since the first four lines of Agathias' poem, with their reference to the defeat of Persia (recalling the preface to the *Cycle*, iv 3.47 f.), might seem to date the poem after 561, we might suppose that it was composed only after the completion of the bridge, perhaps well after Theophanes' date. Indeed, we learn from Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Them.* i, ed. Bonn iii, 27 and cf. Zonaras xiv 7) that the poem was itself inscribed on one of the very stone pillars of the bridge to which Agathias refers (though he does not give the name of the author of the poem, nor any sign of knowing that it was written by Agathias). But the evidence of Theophanes here is not above suspicion, and if Procopius' *de Aedificiis*, which mentions the beginning of work on the bridge (v 3.10), dates from 554/5, as E. Stein has persuasively argued,²¹ it may be that it is wrong to press the allusions to Persia, and that the poem was written a year or two before 560.

xvi 41.1–6

Θωμᾶν, παμβασιλῆος ἀμεμφέα κηδεμονῆα,
 ἄνθεσαν οἱ τὸ νέον τάγμα μετερχόμενοι
 θεοσεσίης ἀγχιιστα συνωρίδος, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτῇ
 εἰκόνι χῶρον ἔχη γείτονα κοιρανίης.
 αὐτὸς γὰρ ζαθέοιο θρονουὺς ὕψωσε μελάθρου
 πλοῦτον ἀεξήσας, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐσεβίης.

This poem, according to Planudes (our only authority) refers to a statue erected ἐν τοῖς Πλακιδίαις.²² This is a palace erected by (or at any rate named after) Galla Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius I.²³ κηδεμονεύς (poetical for κηδεμών) is undoubtedly meant to represent *curator*—Agathias naturally avoids using what must have seemed to his purist's ear the singularly uncouth word *κουράτωρ* (he is reluctant to use it even in his history—cf. v 3. p. 284.15 Bonn).²⁴ Many of these Imperial palaces received curators of high rank, and two are attested for τὰ Πλακιδίαις: one Zemarchus, in 562²⁵ and in 610 a certain Photius or Photinus (*Chion. Pasch.* i 700). Thomas then was another such *κουράτωρ τῶν Πλακιδίαις*. The *θεοσεσίη συνωρίς* in l. 3 must plainly be the Emperor and Empress (cf. *κοιρανίης* in l. 4). It is natural to assume that Agathias is referring to Justinian and Theodora, but we cannot rule out the possibility that he meant Justin II and Sophia. Unfortunately the date of the poem, like the identification of Thomas, is quite uncertain. Thomas is often identified with the Thomas *quaestor sacri palatii* from 528–9 who was accused of paganism and tried in 529; he died soon after but since he is referred to in 535 as being *gloriosissimae recordationis*²⁶ he was presumably acquitted. But the name is not uncommon. Another Thomas was city prefect in 547 (*Mal.* 483).

ix 662 styles Agathias πατήρ πόλης and describes how he rebuilt and restored a public

²⁰ Stein, *BE* ii 776.

²¹ *BE* ii 837. But the bridge was certainly finished by 563, for Paul the Silentary mentions it in his *ekphrasis* (*H. Soph.* 930 f.).

²² Du Cange's certain emendation for Planudes' Πλακίδου.

²³ Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*² 1964) 137.

²⁴ For this feature of his style cf. *CO* n.s. xiv 1964. 317 f.

²⁵ Cf. Stein, *BE* ii 799.

²⁶ Stein, *BE* ii 371 n. 2

convenience—in Smyrna, according to the lemma (*cf.* ix 642 and 643). This would seem to support the later dating for the *Cycle*, since Agathias would not, presumably, have held the post of *curator*²⁷ while still in his teens. P. Maas argued on metrical grounds that this poem is not by Agathias.²⁸ But the dating would not be affected by this; if not by Agathias, it is surely a *Cycle* poem, for it appears in a 'Cycle-sequence' and is clearly connected with ix 642–3, certainly by Agathias.

vii 602 bemoans a certain Eustathius, dead at the early age of fifteen years. According to the lemmatist, he was the son of 'Ευστάθιος ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων ὁ μέγας. The only suitable candidate seems to be the Eustathius who was praetorian prefect in 505/6, in the reign of Anastasius.²⁹ The lemmatist may be right in referring to 'the great Eustathius', but he was probably the grandfather rather than the father of the young boy who is the subject of the poem; Agathias refers to the grandfather's *θρόνος*,³⁰ whereas the boy's father had perhaps attained no position of rank, since he is only accredited in the poem with *ὄλβος* (l.7). Even if the prefect of 505/6 was the young Eustathius' grandfather, not father, the poem cannot be much later than 540, supposing it to have been written immediately after the boy's death. This is of course too early for Agathias. Since he refers to *κηρός* (l.1), it is possible that he is writing of some death mask, much later than the actual date of death. Or else the lemmatist, who seems to be wrong in one detail, is merely guessing about the relationship from the coincidence of name.

xi 376 is about a rhetor called Diodorus—in fact a juriconsult, as emerges from the poem, in which a man consults him about the ownership of the children of a runaway slave. He may be identifiable with the Diodorus Scholasticus who was a pupil of Procopius of Gaza and figures often in his letters.³¹ Since Procopius of Gaza died about 530, a pupil of his could easily be in his fifties *c.* 550.

i 36 can be dated to 567 (below, p. 22).

ARABUS: ix 667 is on a palace in a suburb by the sea, as also are ix 663–4 by Paul the Silentiary and 665 by Agathias. This is probably the summer palace, variously known as Heraion, Hieron and Hiercion, built by Justinian for Theodora.³² It is unknown when exactly the palace was built, and since these epigrams do not, unlike the anonymous inscriptional epigrams ix 820 and 821, celebrate the palace as newly built, there is no means of dating them even in principle.

xvi 39 and 314 celebrate a certain Longinus. The Palatine lemma calls him *ὑπαρχον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*: if this is correct, then he must be the Longinus who is attested as prefect of Constantinople from 537 to 539 and again in 542.³³ Beckby, however, following Jacobs, suggests that he is the praetorian prefect of Italy during the reign of Justin II—without apparently noticing that this would date the poems some fifteen years after the date he accepts for the publication of the *Cycle*. But this cannot be right: xvi 39 places Longinus' activity quite firmly in the Eastern empire:

Νεῖλος, Περσίς, Ἰβηρ, Σόλυμοι, Δύσις, Ἀρμενίς, Ἰνδοὶ
καὶ Κόλχοι σκοπέλων ἐγγύθι Καυκασίων,
καὶ πεδία ζείοντα πολυσπερέων Ἀγαρημῶν
Λογγίνου ταχῶν μάρτυρές εἰσι πόνων.

It is true that this impressive list of the various parts of the empire that witnessed Longinus' *πόνοι* suggests a military rather than a civilian career, but not all city prefects were civilians.

²⁷ On the equivalence of the *curator civitatis* and the *πατήρ πόλεως*. *cf.* A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (1964), iii 242 n. 4. The *pater* was particularly occupied with the care of public buildings: Hanton, *Byzantion* iv (1927–8) 114 f.

²⁸ *Byz.-neogr. Jahrb.* iii (1922) 163 f.

²⁹ For sources see Stein, *BE* ii 783.

³⁰ Regularly used in honorific epigrams of any high office—Robert, *Hellenica* iv (1948) 42 n. 4.

³¹ *Epp.* 28, 37, 64, 71, 72 etc.

³² Janin, *op. cit.* 148–9.

³³ Stein, *BE* ii 803.

And there can in fact be no doubt that the prefect of 537 and 542 *was* a military man. He happens to be mentioned on an inscription found in Syria as ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων³⁴ ὑπατος καὶ στρατηλάτης.³⁵ στρατηλάτης is the official Greek equivalent of *magister militum* (cf. Stein ii 755). The inscription dates from 550, and accordingly Longinus is styled ex-prefect (ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων). His two city prefectures and consulate (obviously honorary; see below, p. 17) must have been rewards for his distinguished military career, of which hints are preserved for us in Arabius' poem.

CYRUS: Cyrus' name occurs several times in 'Cycle-sequences'. It is usually assumed that this is Cyrus of Panopolis (author of i 99, ix 156 and xv 9),³⁶ but this is unlikely for chronological reasons. See below, pp. 18 for full discussion.

DAMOCHARIS: According to the lemma to vii 588, Damocharis, a *grammaticus* from Cos, was a φίλος καὶ μαθητής of Agathias. That he was a friend of Agathias is confirmed by the poem he wrote on Agathias' cat, which disgraced itself by eating Agathias' favourite pet partridge (vii 206; there are two poems by Agathias himself on the same subject—vii 204 and 205). Damocharis died young, and we possess a sad little poem by Paul the Silentiary written on the occasion of his death (vii 588).

xvi 43 (acephalous) is addressed to a Damocharis, styled δικάσπολος, who had helped to restore Smyrna after an earthquake. δικάσπολος is one of the standard terms in honorific epigrams of the late Empire for a provincial governor (Robert, *Hellenica* iv (1948) 58, 63). That this is the poet Damocharis, and that he was a provincial governor is confirmed by an inscription recently found at Ephesus and published by F. Miltner in *Anz. Akad. Wien* xcvi (1958) 84-5 (now *SEG* xviii (1963) no. 474, where it is confidently assigned to 's.iv'). It was inscribed on a statue erected in honour of Damocharis, proconsul of Asia, by the 'bankers of Ionia':

Τὸν σοφίῃ κρατέ{ρ}οντα καὶ εὐνομίῃ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
ἐξ ἀγαθῶν πατέρων ἀνθύπατον πρύτανιν
Δαμόχαριν ποθέοντες Ἴήονες ἀργυραμοιβοί
στήλην λαϊνὴν στήσαν ἀγασσάμενοι.

ἀοιδῇ is an allusion to Damocharis' fame as a poet, εὐνομίῃ to his just administration while proconsul, and σοφίῃ to his erudition as a *grammaticus*. It must have been during his proconsulate that he helped with the rebuilding of Smyrna, perhaps after the great earthquake of 551. We now learn also that he came of a good family (l.2). There would be nothing at all strange in a poet and grammarian serving as a provincial governor (for numerous other examples, cf. *Historia* xiv (1965) 497 f.).

ERATOSTHENES: Possibly the Eratosthenes who wrote the argument to Theocritus *Id.* xii. For discussion, see Gow, *Theocritus* i (1950) lxxxiv.

GABRIEL: Gabriel was city prefect in 543: see below, p. 14 under Leontius.

JOHN BARBUCALLUS: John wrote three poems on the destruction of Berytus by an earthquake (ix 425-7). This must be the earthquake of 551. Beckby (*ad loc.*) says it cannot be this earthquake, which he dates, following the common mistake,³⁷ to 554, since the *Cycle* was published in 554 (which is certainly false)³⁸ and suggests instead another in 529. But

³⁴ ἑπαρχος and ὑπαρχος seem to have been used indiscriminately for the urban and praetorian prefectures: cf. Dolger, *Bz. Zeit* xl (1940) 180 f., Robert, *op. cit.* 45 f.

³⁵ Jalabert and Moutierde, *Inscr. grecques et latines de la Syrie* ii (1929) no. 348 (cf. 349).

³⁶ On Cyrus of Panopolis, see *Historia* xiv (1965) 473, 498.

³⁷ F.g. Schemmel, *Neue Jahrb. f. Pädagogik* xii (1909) 450. Downey, *Speculum* xxx (1955) 598 etc.

It is clear however that the earthquake which destroyed the city must be that of 551, mentioned by Malalas p. 485,8 and Theophanes *IM* 6043. cf. Stein, *BE* ii 757 n. 5. The confusion in modern writers concerning Agathias' notice of the earthquake at *Hist.* ii 15, which is crucial for the whole of his chronology, must be reserved for future discussion.

³⁸ And does not square with his acceptance of Sakolowski's 558 at i 67.

the destruction of Berytus was an event which made a deep impression on contemporaries,³⁹ and there can be no question of John alluding in such definite terms (*cf.* 425, l.1 ἀπολις πόλις, l.6 Βηρυτῶ—φθιμένα) to an earlier earthquake which can only have been mild in comparison with the great one of 551; when he says Berytus is τύμβος ἀταρχύτων μερόπων (426, l.2), he can only be referring to a catastrophe of a magnitude such that the city was utterly destroyed, as was the case in 551, when the law school had to move bodily to Sidon (Agathias, *Hist.* ii 15, *init.*).

xvi 38 is on a statue of one Synesius Scholasticus, which, according to the lemmatist, was set up in Berytus. If so, then the poem must have been written before 551. A poem by Synesius is preserved at xvi 267, and it is a reasonable assumption that it comes from the *Cycle*, though Beckby does not mention the possibility.

ix 628 describes, according to a circumstantial looking lemma, a public bath in Alexandria called Ἴππος, not otherwise attested. Though usually taken to be by John Barbucallus, the poem is headed Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ. All the poems of John Barbucallus are either attributed to him by that name or as 'John the poet' or else 'John Barbucallus the poet'. It would be strange to find a man with so common a name as John distinguished by two different titles, and the juxtaposition of 628 and 629 (headed 'John Barbucallus') suggests a conscious attempt to differentiate them. The discrepancy between the two headings troubled Planudes, for he added γραμματικοῦ to the lemma to 629. Furthermore, John Barbucallus' interest in Berytus perhaps indicates that he was a lawyer, in which case he could not be the John the grammarian of ix 628.

JULIANUS AEGYPTIUS: This Julian, represented in the *Anthology* by a considerable number of poems, is sometimes styled Ἀιγύπτιος, sometimes ἀπὸ ὑπάτων (ex-consul) and sometimes ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων (ex-prefect). It is interesting to note that Julian is styled ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων consistently up to vii 561 f.; from there up to ix 661 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, and from ix 738 to the end ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων again. This cannot be mere coincidence, and we must rule out the possibility that there were two Julians, one ἀπὸ ὑπάτων and the other ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων (in any case Ἀιγύπτιος is added to both indiscriminately). Planudes, who had access to other sources besides the *Palatinus* and preserves thirteen poems by Julian omitted by it, never calls him ἀπὸ ὑπάτων at all, and at ix 661 corrects ὑπάτων in the *Palatinus* to ὑπάρχων. It is significant that the section in which he is styled ἀπὸ ὑπάτων was written by a different scribe ('J': *cf.* Gow, *Sources* 10): perhaps he misread an abbreviation.⁴⁰ In any event, we may safely assume that ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων is correct.⁴¹

One common misconception on the subject of Julian's prefecture must be dispelled at once. It is usually stated that Julian was prefect of Egypt. This is simply a mistranslation of Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων Ἀιγυπτίου, which can only mean 'Julian the Egyptian, the ex-prefect'. Ἀιγύπτιος denotes Julian's native land, it being extremely common in the Byzantine period to distinguish among homonyms in this way (*cf.* John the Lydian, John the Cappadocian, John the Scythian etc.). Moreover by the sixth century there was no longer any such title as prefect of Egypt. After c. 380 the old *praefectus* (ἐπαρχός) became known as *Augustalis* (Ἀυγουστάλιος),⁴² and after Justinian's reform of the administration of Egypt in 539, the powers and competence of the *Augustalis* were divided up between five independent *duces* (two of whom bore the title *Augustalis* as well).⁴³ Even if our Julian had been a governor in Egypt, whether before or after 539, though he might on occasions have used the old title ἐπαρχός unofficially (it is still found for example in writers at the end of the century striving to

³⁹ Collinet, *Histoire de l'école du droit de Beyrouth* (1925) 55 f. (who dates it correctly to 551).

⁴⁰ *Cf.* Stadtmueller, *Anth. Graeca* ii (1899) xxii.

⁴¹ It is unfortunate that Beckby accepts Julian's consulate (iv 738).

⁴² C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395* (1962), 146. The Ἰουλιανὸς ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν of *Pap. Cairo* 67060 is probably only an *ex-praeses*, as Maspéro suggests in his note *ad loc.*

⁴³ Stein, *BE* ii 477.

avoid the technical term; e.g. Theophylact. Sim. viii 13.12), he could not afterwards have adopted the *official* title ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων.

ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων can therefore only mean that Julian once held either the praetorian or the urban prefecture. The most likely candidate is the Julian who was praetorian prefect in 530/1:⁴⁴ he was involved somehow with the unlucky usurper Hypatius⁴⁵ in 532, which tallies nicely with the fact that our Julian wrote two epigrams on Hypatius and another on Hypatius' grandson (vii 590–2). Apart from his brother Pompeius, not one of Hypatius' supporters or associates was executed with him, and though some had their property confiscated, all were pardoned and reimbursed by the following year.⁴⁶ It is perfectly possible therefore that a supporter of Hypatius should have survived his abortive coup and composed the inscription for his cenotaph (see below). The other, and less attractive, possibility is the Julian who was city prefect in 565–6,⁴⁷ and whose activity in that office is attested by a number of anonymous inscriptional epigrams (xvi 63, ix 779, 803, 804): but 565–6 is probably too late, since Julian's dateable poems fall well before this.

The poems discussed below all probably come from the *Cycle*, though it has been plausibly suggested that Cephalas, and perhaps also Planudes, drew on a separate collection of Julian's poems (presumably published by Julian himself) as well.⁴⁸

Two of his poems (vii 591–2) are ἐπιτύμβια on Hypatius, who was executed by Justinian after the Nika revolt in 532. Hypatius' body was thrown into the sea immediately after his execution, but a few days later Justinian repented and allowed his relatives to build him a cenotaph.⁴⁹ It is clear that Julian's poems refer to this cenotaph:

αὐτὸς ἀναξ νεμέσησε πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
κύμασιν Ὑπατίου σῶμα καλυψαμένοις
ἦθελε γάρ μιν ἔχειν γέρας ὕστατον οἷα θανόντα,
καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης κρύψε θάλασσα χάριν. (592, I 41.

The natural (though not necessary) assumption is that both poems were written not long after Hypatius' posthumous rehabilitation, perhaps actually in 532.

vii 590 is another ἐπιτύμβιον, this time for a noble called John, who was, we are told, γαμβρὸς ἀνάσσης and descended from Anastasius. He can be identified with certainty as a grandson of Hypatius,⁵⁰ who in 548/9 married Praiecta, a niece of Justinian. Julian does not say that John died young,⁵¹ or very soon after his marriage, so the poem is probably to be dated some little while after 549.

Several others of Julian's epigrams refer to contemporaries: e.g. the singer Calliope (vii 597–8), celebrated as well by John Barbucaulus (xvi 218), and the grammaticus Theodorus (vii 594–5), whose death is also bemoaned by Paul the Silentiary a few poems later in the same book (606). This Theodorus must not be confused with the Theodorus of whom Agathias writes in i 36, or with the author of vii 556. He can be securely identified, and lived till long past the publication of the *Cycle* (below, p. 22).

ix 445 Ἦθελε μὲν βασιλεύς σε βοηθῶον εἰσέτι πέμπειν
ἄστει τειρομένοις δευομένων μερόπων,
Τητιανὲ χρύσειε σὺ δ' ἐν βιότοιο γαλήνῃ
πατρίδα καὶ κληρὸν σὸν προβέβουλας ἔχειν,
αὔξαν ὧν προγόνων κτέρας ἔνδικον ἀρχομένων γὰρ
πλοῦτον ὅτι στυγέεις, σίνθρονος οἶδε Δίκη.

⁴⁴ For sources, see Stein, *BE* ii 784.

⁴⁵ *Chron. Pasch.* p. 624 Bonn.

⁴⁶ Stein, *BE* ii 454 n. 2.

⁴⁷ Stein, *BE* ii 779 n. 4.

⁴⁸ Stadtmueller, ii xxii iii, Waltz, *Anth. gr.* vii

(1957) xlv.

⁴⁹ Stein, *BE* ii 454 n. 2.

⁵⁰ The lemmatist wrongly identifies the ἀνάσση with Euphemia, wife of Justin I.

⁵¹ So that the lemmatist to vii 603 is wrong to assume that the young, unmarried man of that poem is John again.

Tatianus (Julian allows himself the licence of an 'Ionic' η to help out his metre) has apparently refused some office offered him by the Emperor because he preferred to stay at home in comfort and gloat over his ancestral wealth. It is not altogether clear whether the poem is ironic, a lampoon on Tatianus, or praises him for preferring to enjoy his own wealth, justly inherited, instead of raising another fortune by extortion from the province he was asked to govern. But in any case Tatianus was obviously a very rich man. Procopius mentions in his *Secret History* (xii 5) a prominent senator called Tatianus, whose fortune Justinian and Theodora contrived to inherit. The Tatianus *magister officiorum* in 520 and 527⁵² may perhaps be the same man.

vii 587 bemoans a certain Pamphilus, apparently a philosopher, who was drowned in a shipwreck. P-W Pamphilus no. 20 wrote a theological work dating from c. 540, and was perhaps the same Pamphilus who encouraged Cosmas Indicopleustes to write his *Christian Topography*, and to whom books i to v are dedicated.

JULIANUS ANTECESSOR: The three poems by Julian included in the *Cycle* are trivial in the extreme and offer no chronological indications. But a Julian is referred to by another poet of the *Cycle*, Theaetetus:

Τούτων Ἰουλιανόν, νομικῆς φάος, εἶπον ἰδοῦσαι
 'Ρώμη καὶ Βερόη. "Πάντα φύσις δύναται." (xvi 32b)

This Julian is a prominent jurist, saluted by both Berytus and Constantinople (the two leading centres for legal studies in Justinian's day). *Antecessor* is the title borne by professors of law. Plainly therefore it is possible that Julianus Antecessor and Theaetetus' Julian are one and the same. Julianus Antecessor is known to us as the author of a Latin *epitome* of the *Novels* of Justinian. This *epitome* was probably published in 555 (it includes no *Novel* later than that year). Since this work will obviously have established Julian's reputation as a jurist, it is likely that Theaetetus' epigram commemorates it, and was written soon after it was completed. Though the reference to Berytus might suggest that the epigram should be dated before its destruction in 551, Collinet makes the plausible suggestion that Julian was professor at Berytus until 551, when he moved to a chair at Constantinople;⁵³ both cities therefore salute him as νομικῆς φάος, and the epigram will date from the time when he was as firmly established in the capital as he had been at Berytus. If Collinet is right, Julian will have taught law in Constantinople to Agathias.

LEONTIUS SCHOLASTICUS: Several of the epigrams by Leontius can be dated. He is called in some ascriptions Λεοντίου Σχολαστικοῦ τοῦ Μινωταύρου; the latter is usually taken as a nickname but could equally be his father's name (*Suidas s.v. Μινώταυρος* gives ὄνομα κύριον). Similarly with Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαρβουκάλλου.

xvi 32 celebrates the city prefecture of one Gabriel. Gabriel was city prefect in 543.⁵⁴ Gabriel was also a friend of John the Lydian, and John dedicated to him his *περὶ μηνῶν*. A poem by Gabriel is preserved at xvi 208, and it is a reasonable guess that it was included in the *Cycle*.

xvi 33 is on a picture⁵⁵ of the eunuch chamberlain, Callinicus.⁵⁶ He is described as standing by the Emperor's bedside, as though lulling him to sleep:

⁵² Cf. A. E. R. Boak, *The Master of the Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* (1919: 150).

⁵³ Collinet, *op. cit.* 190 1.

⁵⁴ Stein, *BE* ii 441 n. 4.

⁵⁵ In spite of his obvious and well attested importance, Callinicus is nowhere discussed in J. E. Dunlap's monograph, *The Office of the Grand Chamberlain in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* (1924), nor even included in his list of known chamberlains.

⁵⁶ εἰς εἰκόνα, the standard lemma to such poems on works of art. εἰκόν can mean either statue or painting, and in many cases it is impossible to say which is meant. Professor Cyril Mango informs us that in the case of imperial officials represented with the insignia of their office it is more likely to be a statue, but some even of these must be paintings (e.g. i 36: cf. 1.6 γράμμασι). According to Professor Mango the εἰκόν of Callinicus cannot actually have represented him lulling the Emperor to sleep, since the

αἰεὶ δ' ἐν θαλάμοισι κατενάζων βασιλῆα
 πᾶσαν ὑποσπείρεις οὔασι μελιχίην.

(ll. 3-4)

This seems to indicate that Callinicus was actually *grand* chamberlain, *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, when the poem was written. Now the great Narses is attested as grand chamberlain at least until 554.⁵⁷ By 565 Callinicus was definitely grand chamberlain, and alone of all Justinian's ministers was present when the Emperor died.⁵⁸ If our inference is valid, the poem was written after 554, and perhaps several years later, since αἰεὶ in l.3 suggests that Callinicus had held the post some little while. In 566/7 Corippus calls Callinicus an old man (*Just.* iv 332), yet Leontius remarks on his good looks:

Κάλλεϊ μὲν νικᾶς κραδίης τόσον, ὅσον ὀπωπῆς

(l.1)

But this may be no more than a polite compliment to a powerful man; or Callinicus may in fact have weathered well, despite his being a eunuch. In any event, the poem clearly belongs to the end of Justinian's reign.

xvi 37 is on a statue of a high official called Peter:

Πέτρον ὄρᾳς χρυσέοισιν ἐν εὔμασιν· αἱ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν
 ἀρχαὶ ἀμοιβαίων μάρτυρές εἰσι πόνων
 ἀντολίης πρώτη καὶ διχθαδὴ μετὰ τήνδε
 κόχλου πορφυρέης καὶ πάλιν ἀντολίης.

He is obviously an important man. Waltz, followed by Beekby, identified him with Peter the Patrician, diplomat, writer and *magister officiorum* for the unprecedented period of twenty-six years. But the offices Peter held do not square with those enumerated in this poem. ἀντολίη can only be the praetorian prefecture of the East, and the κόχλος πορφυρέη must be the *trabea*, that is the consulate. Only one Peter in the sixth century held the praetorian prefecture of the East twice in addition to the consulate: Peter Barsymes. His first tenure of the prefecture lasted from 543 to 546; his second from 555 at least till 562, and probably till 565, the end of the reign.⁵⁹ Peter was never consul ordinarius, but was created honorary consul in 542,⁶⁰ and could therefore justifiably be represented in a mosaic with the insignia of the consulate as well as those of the praetorian prefecture. The Peter of whom Leontius writes here must therefore be Peter Barsymes, and the poem cannot have been written before 555, when he entered upon his second prefecture.

vii 579 is on another statue of another Peter:

Πέτρον ὄρᾳς ῥητῆρος αἰεὶ γελώσαν ὀπωπῆν,
 ἐξόχου εἰν ἀγοραῖς, ἐξόχου ἐν φιλίῃ . . .

(ll. 1-2).

The poem goes on to describe how Peter was unfortunate enough to fall off a roof and kill himself. Editors usually—and not unnaturally—assume that this is the same Peter as in the last poem. But Peter Barsymes, who started life as a lowly civil servant, would never have been styled *rhetor*. The obvious alternative is Peter the Patrician. Stein dismisses the notion as unworthy of serious discussion.⁶¹ But even the most distinguished personages have been known to meet undignified ends. And Stein misleads when he says that the Peter of this poem was only a 'rheteur'. For in the sixth century ῥήτωρ was used in several senses other than its original meaning, 'teacher of rhetoric'. Agathias, for example, calls

conventions of Imperial iconography would not have permitted such an undignified scene: this detail must therefore be Leontius' own comment on the picture.

⁵⁷ Stein, 599 n. 4.

⁵⁸ Stein, 745.

⁵⁹ Stein, 784, 786.

⁶⁰ Justinian, *Edict* viii 6.

⁶¹ 724 n. 1 *fin*.

Procopius Προκόπιος ὁ ῥήτωρ,⁶² just as Evagrius in turn calls Agathias Ἀγαθίας ὁ ῥήτωρ.⁶³ The word frequently means barrister or advocate. Now *Suidas*' entry for Peter the Patrician is headed, not Πέτρος ὁ πατρικίος nor Πέτρος ὁ μάγιστρος nor ὁ ἱστορικός but Πέτρος ὁ ῥήτωρ; and Peter was indeed by profession an advocate (*cf.* Procopius, *BG* i 4.30 ἕνα . . . τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ῥητόρων), and John the Lydian writes emphatically that he was τοὺς . . . νόμους εἶδως εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, οἷς ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἐνετράφη (*de Magg.* iii 26). Thus there is no reason for refusing to believe that the Πέτρος ὁ ῥήτηρ of this poem could be Peter the Patrician. Line 2 need mean no more than 'a man of outstanding qualities in both public and private life'. As for Leontius' reference to Peter's αἰεὶ γελῶσαν ὀπωπὴν, it is explicitly attested that Peter the Patrician had a gentle winning manner,⁶⁴ which contributed not a little to his success as a diplomat. If Leontius' Peter is indeed the Patrician then the poem can be dated with some precision. For Peter died in 565, probably a month or so before Justinian⁶⁵ (he was still alive in March 565, but dead by 566). The earliest date at which the poem could have been written is therefore the latter half of 565, and it could indeed have been written under Justin II.

Thus four of Leontius' poems can be dated to the last half of Justinian's reign. There is one, however, which would seem to have been written before his accession, xvi 357:

Ἀγχίσην Κυθέρεια καὶ Ἐνδυμίωνα Σελήνη
 φίλατο· μυθεῦνται τοῖα παλαιγενέες.
 νῦν δὲ νέος τις μῦθος αἰεῖσεται, ὡς τάχα Νίκη
 ὄμματα καὶ δίφρους φίλατο Πορφυρίου.

Porphyrus (also known as Calliopus) is perhaps the most famous of all the charioteers who ever packed the Hippodrome at Constantinople.⁶⁶ His heyday was the reign of Anastasius (491–518), but he came out of retirement under Justin I and defeated a new generation of charioteers at the age of sixty. His popularity is attested by more than twenty anonymous inscriptional poems collected by Cephalas or Planudes from the Hippodrome itself. Leontius' poem must date from the period of Porphyrius' comeback, especially since it is placed in a group of inscriptional poems addressed to Porphyrius and stressing the greatness of his achievements in view of his age (*cf.* 356, 358, 359, 360). This is only confirmed by the fact that another inscriptional poem on Porphyrius (xvi 337) is an imitation of Leontius' poem, taking from it the motif of Anchises and Endymion but trivializing it by tearing it from its context and destroying its point. One can only conclude that Leontius wrote 357 while very young; we have no grounds for denying him the possibility of a writing career extending over more than forty years.

xvi 283, in Planudes' version, is addressed to a certain Caramallus. If this were the Caramallus who was an actor in the reign of Zeno,⁶⁷ this would be much too early for Leontius. But the poem is clearly about a girl (*cf.* l. 1: Μουσάων δεκάτη . . . Χαρίτων τετάρτη) and we must accept the reading of Σ⁷, Ροδόκλεια for Καράμαλλε, especially as Planudes' own lemma reads εἰς εἰκόνα ὀρχηστρίδος. So xvi 283 tells us nothing about the date of composition.

ix 614 and 650, the first on some new baths erected next to the baths of Zeuxippus, the second on a house overlooking the baths, might seem to date from before 532, the year in which the baths of Zeuxippus were completely destroyed by fire.⁶⁸ We know, however, from Procopius (*Aed.* i 10.3) that the baths were rebuilt by Justinian, and there is no way of telling whether the poems refer to the restored baths or to the original building. There are

⁶² *Hist.*, *pref.* 11.9 Bonn and *passim*.

⁶³ *HE* iv 24, v 24; *cf.* Zacharias rhetor etc.

⁶⁴ πρῶτος καὶ . . . μεῖζων; according to John the Lydian (*loc. cit.*), and *cf.* Procopius, *Anecd.* 24.23.

⁶⁵ Stein, 725 n. 2 *fin.*

⁶⁶ *Cf.* A. A. Vasiliev, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* iv (1948) 29 f.

⁶⁷ Aristaenetus, *Ep.* i 26, Sidonius Apollinaris *Carm.* xxii 268; *cf.* Vasiliev, *op. cit.* 47-8.

⁶⁸ Janin, *op. cit.* 223.

several similar epigrams on various baths by *Cycle* poets (e.g. ix 618, 619, 621, 622, 625), none of which can be made to give any firm chronological indication.

According to Mackail,⁶⁹ Leontius is 'generally identified' with a referendary called Leontius mentioned several times by Procopius. But even apart from the fact that the MSS of Procopius seem clearly to indicate that this man's name was actually Leo,⁷⁰ if Leontius the poet had been a referendary, why is he not styled Leontius Referendarius (like Eirenaeus Referendarius) instead of Leontius Scholasticus the—or son of—Minotaur? Leontius is a common name in the later Empire—Libanius corresponded with sixteen different Leontii⁷¹—and no identification can be regarded as more than a possibility. A more likely candidate seems to be Leontius son of Athanasius, whom Procopius specifically calls a lawyer in his narrative of the year 548–9 (*BG* iii 32.34). This squares well with the poet Leontius' title *Scholasticus*.

MACEDONIUS: Macedonius, surnamed 'the consul', must, like many other dignitaries of the day, have been an honorary consul, for his name is absent from the consular *fasti* proper.⁷² The only suitable candidate is a Macedonius attested together with a certain Florus as *curatores dominicae domus* in 531,⁷³ with the rank of *vir illustris*. A man of such high standing might well have been granted the honorary consulate (Florus certainly was). And if Florus is the grandfather of Paul the Silentiary (below, p. 18), we would have a connexion between Paul and Macedonius. A further possible connexion is provided by vii 604, a poem by Paul on the death of a twelve-year-old girl called Macedonia. According to the lemma, she was Paul's daughter; if so, then she might have been named after Macedonius. And if she was *not* Paul's daughter, she might have been Macedonius'. It is probable that the younger Tribonian dedicated his *περὶ Ἐβδαμονίας* to Macedonius (see n. 17 above). We learn also from ix 648 and 649 that he had a house in Caria.

The only poem by Macedonius which offers any handle for dating is xi 380, which, as even the Palatine lemmatist realised, is an answer to Arabius' poem on Longinus. Assuming that this was the city prefect Longinus (as above, p. 10), then Macedonius' poem (which was presumably, though not necessarily, written not long after Arabius'), will fall in the period c. 540.

MARIANUS SCHOLASTICUS: Marianus is universally identified with the Marianus of Eleutheropolis who, according to *Suidas*, was consul (honorary), prefect and patrician in the reign of Anastasius. This Marianus wrote paraphrases in iambs of the hexameter works of all the major Hellenistic poets. But since our Marianus wrote a poem which can be dated with certainty to 566 at the earliest (below, p. 21), it is out of the question that he was old enough to be honoured with a prefecture and consulate (even if both were honorary) under Anastasius (491–518).

PAUL THE SILENTIARY: Agathias tells us that Paul came of a very distinguished and wealthy family, and was the son of Cyrus and the grandson of Florus (*Hist.* v 9, p. 296.22 f. Bonn). Unfortunately he says nothing more about Cyrus or Florus. Paul's *ekphrasis* on Hagia Sophia can be securely dated to 563, and for some reason—principally, no doubt, because ix 658 has been taken to refer to Justin I (518–27)—it has always been assumed that Paul was at this date an old man. Veniero, for example, places his birth c. 500.⁷⁴ This would mean that he was some thirty years older than Agathias. F. A. Wright, indeed,⁷⁵

⁶⁹ *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*² (1906) 337.

⁷⁰ Cf. the index to vol. IV of Haurv's Procopius, s.v. *Λέων* 3 (p. 273 of the 1964 reprint).

⁷¹ Cf. O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanios* (1906) s.vv.

⁷² For the honorary consulate, see C. Courtois, *Byzantion* xix (1949) 37 f., and R. Guiland, *ib.* xxiv (1954) 545 f. Many more honorary consuls from the sixth century might be added to Guiland's list.

⁷³ Cf. *Historia* xiv (1965) 482.

⁷⁴ *Paolo Silenziario* (1916) 12. Cf. also C. Corbato, *Annali Triestini* xx (1950) 224. The latest editor of Paul's epigrams (G. Viansino, *Paolo Silenziario: Epigrammi*, Torino (1963)) offers no biographical data whatever. See below p. 210 following.

⁷⁵ *History of later Greek Literature* (1932) 390 f. The suggestion was first made by Stadtmüller, and is repeated by O. Veh, *zur Geschichtsschreibung u*

builds up an idyllic picture on the basis of ix 770 and v 292–3 of how Agathias married Paul's daughter. This is pure fantasy. There is no evidence that the girl of ix 770 is Paul's daughter, nor that she is the same girl as the one mentioned in v 292–3, nor that the latter girl is Agathias' wife or fiancée.

Two poems would at first sight appear to confirm that Paul was a generation older than Agathias. In *AP* v 264, Paul represents himself as an old man (*cf.* l. 1: βόστρυχον ὠμογέροντα . . . , l. 8: ἄψευα γηράσκει . . .) and in *AP* v 234 he calls himself μεσαιπόλιος. But this is slippery ground. In the first the argument is a variation on the theme of the physical effects of love; Paul is *prematurely* aged by it, and only his mistress' kindness can rescue him and restore him to youth (ll. 9–10).⁷⁶ In the second Paul is using the theme of the man who spurns love in his youth only to submit in later life. This theme occurs in several earlier poets, among whom Tibullus offers an exact parallel to Paul's line αὐχένα σοι κλίνω, Κύπρι, μεσαιπόλιος when he writes

'Vidi ego, qui iuvenum miseros lusisset amores
post Vencris vinclis subdere colla *senem*'. (i 2.89–90).⁷⁷

Even though Paul couches his poem in the first person, can we be sure that every word in it can be pressed? There are in fact more positive reasons for supposing that Paul was younger at the time of composing his *ekphrasis* (and when the *Cycle* was published) than usually thought. Most of the other poets of the *Cycle* seem to have flourished in the latter half of the reign of Justinian, and since Paul and Agathias were obviously close friends (*cf.* their charming exchange of poems at v 292–3), the presumption is that they were contemporaries.⁷⁸ Though Agathias seems to speak of Paul as a patron (*Hist.*, *loc. cit.*), Paul's high rank and position alone would be enough to enable him to help Agathias, who seems to have been without any such advantages, and it was no doubt through Paul that Agathias came into contact with the higher-ranking contributors to the *Cycle*. Paul was certainly still alive in 566–7, when he wrote a poem in honour of Justin II (below, p. 21), and Agathias does not say that he was dead in 580, the date of book v of the *History*.

It would help if Cyrus and Florus could be identified. Cyrus is undoubtedly not the Egyptian adventurer, Cyrus of Panopolis, as is usually supposed.⁷⁹ The latter was consul in 441 and died in the reign of Leo (457–74), after being stripped of his honours and banished by Theodosius II on the charge of paganism.⁸⁰ This could hardly be the rich Byzantine noble whose son was still writing in 567. A poem on Sophia, the wife of Justin II (ix 813), left anonymous in the *Palatinus*, is ascribed by Planudes to Cyrus the ex-consul (ἀπὸ ὑπάτων). Planudes' ascription cannot be ignored, though he gives no authority for it. He was a learned man, and cannot have imagined that Cyrus of Panopolis, whose *floruit* was given in reference works (e.g. Hesychius, preserved in *Suidas* s.v.) as the reign of Theodosius II (408–50), could have written a poem on Sophia in 566 or 567. We suggest that Cyrus the ex-consul is to be distinguished from Cyrus of Panopolis, and that the former flourished under Justinian and Justin II. In support of this suggestion it should be noted that ix 813, together with ix 808 and 809 (both ascribed to Κύρου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων by both Planudes and the *Palatinus*), all occur in a sequence of (otherwise anonymous) poems all dateable after the death of Justinian: 803–4 on Justin II and Sophia, 806–7 on a clock erected by Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople from 610 to 638, and 810–13 again on Justin and Sophia. 808,

Weltauffassung des Prokop von Caesarea iii 19, *Wis. Beilage z. Jahrb. 1952/3 des Gymn. Christian-Ernestinum Bayreuth*.

⁷⁶ Veniero, *op. cit.* 147 compares *AP* xii 71 ('Callimachus'), xii 72 ('Meleager') and Propertius i 5.9.

⁷⁷ *Cf.* Meleager, *AP* xii 23 and see K. F. Smith on Tib., *l.c.*

⁷⁸ *Suidas*, for what it is worth, says that Agathias συνέκμασε . . . Παύλου τῷ αἰλενταυρίῳ.

⁷⁹ E.g. Sakolowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6) 63, Waltz, i xxiii.

⁸⁰ *Cf. Historia* xiv 1965–470, n. 2.

by Cyrus, is on the *oikía* of a certain Maximinus: but although the building is frequently mentioned by later writers,⁸¹ it is unfortunately impossible to identify Maximinus himself.

If Paul and Agathias were contemporaries, then Paul, like Agathias, would have been in his early thirties at the accession of Justin II. Paul's father, Cyrus, need only have been in his late fifties or early sixties then, still perfectly capable of writing an epigram in honour of the new Emperor. We know that Paul's father was wealthy and distinguished. An ex-consul would fill the bill on both counts, as the consulate, even when honorary, was an expensive office.⁸²

Now for Florus. The only candidate is the Florus who was *curator dominicae domus* with Macedonius in 531 (above, p. 17), and had been *comes rerum privatarum* from 531-6.⁸³ He is attested as honorary consul in 536.⁸⁴ Again a distinguished and doubtless wealthy man. Now supposing Paul to have been thirty-four in 566 and his father Cyrus about sixty, then Cyrus would have been about thirty in 536, the last occasion on which Florus is attested in office. Florus might then have been in his late fifties. Though the chronology is rather tight, it is by no means impossible, and this Florus and this Cyrus seem to be the only candidates attested in the whole of the sixth century. It follows that Paul and Agathias were contemporaries, and is just possible that Paul was actually the younger, in which case the chronology of his forbears would become a little easier.

RUFINUS DOMESTICUS: Perhaps a student friend of Agathias, who in i 35 refers to a dedication to the Archangel made by four legal students, Aemilianus the Carian, a certain John (John Barbucallus?), Rufinus the Egyptian and Agathias himself, adding a prayer for success in the fourth year of their legal studies and afterwards. The one epigram by him (v 284) cannot be dated (we do not accept Geffcken's view that he is to be identified with the Rufinus—not called Domesticus—who wrote a number of amatory poems in bk. v, none of which occurs in a 'Cycle-scquence'; cf. also Beckby, i 65). B. Stumpo⁸⁵ identifies Rufinus with the Rufinus mentioned in an anonymous funerary epigram found in Prusa (vii 558) as the son of a certain Aetherius. He then identifies this Aetherius with the Aetherius mentioned s.v. by *Suidas* as having a brother called Simplicius, whom he identifies with the famous pagan neoplatonist Simplicius.⁸⁶ This, if true, would be very interesting. But there is no evidence that Rufinus Domesticus is the Rufinus of this epigram, nor that the Aetherius of the epigram is *Suidas*' Aetherius (on whom see *Historia* xiv (1965) 505-6), nor that this Aetherius' brother is the famous Simplicius. Furthermore, Agathias' friend Rufinus was an Egyptian (i 35.2). The Rufinus of the epigram was presumably a native of Prusa, and since the famous Simplicius was a Cilician (Agathias *Hist.* ii 30, p. 131) it is reasonable to assume that any nephews he had were Cilicians as well. Thus the whole of Stumpo's ingenious hypothesis falls to the ground.

That Rufinus should have entered a Guards regiment like the *Domestici* after a legal education (see above) is not in the least surprising. The *Domestici* were a 'purely ornamental corps' (Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii 657), and Menander Protector, a poet and continuator of Agathias' *Histories*, also joined them after first studying for the bar.

SYNESIUS: See above, p. 12, under John Barbucallus.

THEAETETUS SCHOLASTICUS: xvi 32b can probably be dated to c. 555 (above, p. 14) and ix 659 to c. 567 (below, p. 22). Possibly the Theaetetus who wrote a work *περὶ Ἀπτικῶν ὀνομάτων* preserved in *Laur.* 24.9, f. 43^v to 45^r (so far unpublished),⁸⁷ a *περὶ παροιμιῶν* attested

⁸¹ Janin, *op. cit.* 338.

⁸² A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* 1964, ii 533, 705 f.

⁸³ Stein, *BE* ii 433 n. 4.

⁸⁴ Justinian, *Nov.* 22 ad fin.

⁸⁵ Stumpo, *L'Epigramma a Costantinopoli nel secolo VI dopo Cristo* Palermo, 1926 16.

⁸⁶ Agathias himself seems to have had some acquaintance with the last philosophers of the School of Athens—cf. *Hist.* ii 30, p. 130 f.

⁸⁷ Cf. Bandini, *Cat. Cod. Graec. Laur.* ii 1768-368.

by *Suidas* s.v. οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον and the Theaetetus who is quoted several times on points of language and accentuation in the Theocritus *Scholía*.⁸⁸

THEODORETUS GRAMMATICUS: Only one poem by Theodoret is preserved (xvi 34), at the end of a brief 'Cycle-sequence', and he is therefore only a dubious candidate for inclusion in the *Cycle*.

Ἐκ Φιλαδελφείης ξεινίῃα ταῦτα Φιλίππῳ.
φράζο, πῶς μνήμων ἢ πόλις εὐνομήης.

This presumably refers to a statue or picture of Philip presented to him by the people of Philadelphia for his just administration. The lemma, εἰς εἰκόνα ἄρχοντος ἐν Σμύρνῃ does not mean, as Beckby claims, that Philip was prefect of Smyrna (no such post ever existed), but merely that the εἰκὼν was erected there. No suitable candidate for this Philip so far presents himself.

THEODORUS: Theodorus was *magister officiorum* from 566/7 to c. 576: see below, p. 22.

There are besides these poems a considerable number of epigrams by poets of the *Cycle* which contain references to people. Many of them are about actresses or singers with names like Doris (v 230), Chrysis (v 253), Philinna (v 258) and Galateia (v 256) etc. It is often impossible to say whether these are the names of real girls or whether the poems are merely literary creations, and in the cases where the same name reappears in different poems (e.g. Rhodanthe (v 237, 285), Rhodope (v 219, 228, 249), Lais (v 250, 302), Chariclo (v 259, 288)) we cannot identify the girls nor rule out the possibility that the later poems, whichever they are, are developments of the earlier ones rather than possessed of independent value. Apart from these references to actresses, many poems, mainly ἀναθηματικά and ἐπιτύμβια, refer to otherwise unknown and seemingly quite obscure people. Such are e.g. vi 56 (Lenagoras, a vintner), vii 574 (Agathonikos, a law student who died young), vii 589 (another law student and budding poet called Eustorgius who also died young), vi 82 (Meliskos, a musician), vii 605 (Rhodo, a bride who died young) and many similar. Again it is impossible to know whether the existence of poems by different people on the same character (e.g. vi 27, by Theaetetus Scholasticus and vi 28 and 29, by Julianus Aegyptius, all three on a certain fisherman called Baiton) shows that he was a real person, or simply that the poems are dependent upon each other, as might be suggested by the appearance of the name Baiton in Aelian, *ep. rust.* 5. The existence of Maecdonius' old fisherman Amyntichus is rendered less likely when his poem (vi 30) is compared with a Hellenistic epigram on an old gardener of the same name (vii 321). And Julian's disagreeable Timon (vii 577) is probably no more than a literary resurrection of Timon of Athens, a popular subject with Hellenistic poets (vii 313-20).⁸⁹ Most of these personages, being obscure when not fictitious, are unlikely to be identifiable. Others might at least in principle be identified: for instance vii 573, Cheiredius, an Athenian barrister praised for his oratory, vii 575, an epitumbion on Rhode, wife of a professor of law called Gemellus, vii 559, addressed, according to the lemma, to a famous doctor called Ablabius, or xi 354, Nicostratus, a philosopher (perhaps a contemporary of Agathias, and if so not the Nicostratus mentioned by Simplicius as the author of a work on the *Categories*, as Beckby suggests). Here at any rate is scope for more research.

⁸⁸ Cf. Gow, *Theocritus* i (1950) lxxxiii contra C. Wendel, *Überlieferung u. Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien*, *Abh. Gott.* 1920 77 8.

⁸⁹ For the predominance of classical motifs in the *Cycle*, cf. A. Mattson, *Untersuchungen z. Epigrammsamm-*

lung des Agathias, Lund (1942) 46 f. This is especially true of the erotic epigrams. Viansino, *op. cit.*, points out in his commentaries on Paul's erotic epigrams the poetic antecedents of many of the feminine names.

II

- (a) Ὀππόθι τεμνομένης χθονὸς ἄνδιχα πόντον ἀνοίγει
 πλαγκτὸς ἀλικλύστων πορθμὸς ἐπ' ἡμόνων,
 χρύσεια συλλέκτρῳ τὰδ' ἀνάκτορα θῆκεν ἀνάσσει
 τῇ πολυκυδίστῃ θεῖος ἀναξ Σοφίη.
 ἄξιον, ὦ Ῥώμη μεγαλοκρατές, ἀντία σείο
 κάλλος ἀπ' Ἐυρώπης δέρκεαι εἰς Ἀσίην.

(ix 657).

This poem, by Marianus Scholasticus, clearly refers to Justin II and his wife Sophia, and to the palace of the Sophianae which Justin built in the suburb of Constantinople where he had lived before his accession.⁹⁰ According to Theophanes (*AM* 6061), Justin began building the Sophianae in the fourth year of his reign, and Janin accordingly dates it to 568. But Corippus refers to it in his *de laudibus Justinii* (iv 287 f.) as being new in 566, when Justin entered upon his consulship, and it seems likely that Justin began it while still a private citizen and that it was perhaps finished at about the time of his accession. Hence its situation in Justin's old home. 566/7, then, about the same time as Corippus' panegyric, is the earliest possible date for Marianus' epigram, which certainly belongs to the reign of Justin II, and may indeed be later than 567.

- (b) Κόσμον Ἰουστίνου βασιλεὺς ῥυπόωντα καθήρας
 καὶ τὰ μέγιστα Δίκης ἠγλαίσειν τεμένη
 σοῖς δὲ πόνοις, Δομνίνε, κατηφέα νύκτα διώκει
 ἐκ Θέμιδος μεγάρων, ἐκ βιοτῆς μερόπων.

(ix 658, Paul the Silentiary).

ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ παῖς ἐπὶ γήραι· φαιδροτέρους γὰρ
 Δομνίνου θαλάμους μητρὸς ἔτευξε Δίκης.
 λάμπω ἐγὼ διὰ παιδός, ὁ παῖς δι' ἐμεῖο φαίνειν
 κύδεα δ' ἀλλήλοις ἀντιχαρίζομεθα.

(ix 659, Theactetus Schol.).

Θεῖον Ἰουστίνου, καθαρὸν φρουρήτορα θεσμῶν,
 Δομνίνου καθαρῆς ἐν προθύροισι Δίκης.

(ix 812, anon.).

Τῆς Σοφίης τόδ' ἄγαλμα Δίκης προπάροιθε θυράων,
 οὐ γὰρ ἀνευθε δίκης ἔπρεπε τὴν σοφίην.

(ix 813, anon.).

These four poems, all celebrating the Great Praetorium which Domninus renovated and adorned with statues, must clearly be taken together. In which case ix 813 shows beyond any doubt that the Justin of Paul the Silentiary's poem is Justin II, not Justin I, as often supposed.⁹¹ The statues which Domninus set up were statues of Justin II and his Empress Sophia. If this Domninus was city prefect,⁹² as it seems natural to suppose, the poems must date from 567 at the earliest. For Julianus was city prefect in 565 and 566,⁹³ so that there

⁹⁰ Janin, *op. cit.* 153. See also R. Guiland. *Byzantion* xxiii (1953) 192. For Zonaras' erroneous ascription of this poem to Agathias, see a forthcoming discussion by Averil Cameron in *Byzantion*.

⁹¹ E.g. Janin, 167. Viansino, 57.

⁹² Viansino, *loc. cit.*, erroneously takes him to be a jurist, and appears to identify him with the Domninus

who was professor of law at Berytus c. 470 cf. Collinet, *op. cit.* n. 33, 138 — a century too soon! In any case, the poems must refer to some official building activity, not normally the work of professors of law.

⁹³ Stein, *BE* ii 779 n. 4.

is no room for Domninus till late 566 or 567, and we must allow some interval to elapse in which he performed the task which the poems commemorate.⁹⁴ Both Paul the Silentiary and Theaetetus Scholasticus then wrote epigrams which can be securely dated to the reign of Justin II, and probably date from 567 at the earliest.

- (c) *Ἰλαθι μορφωθεῖς, ἀρχάγγελε· σὴ γὰρ ὀπωπὴ
ἄσκοπος, ἀλλὰ βροτῶν δῶρα πέλουσι τάδε.
ἔκ σέο γὰρ Θεόδωρος ἔχει ζωστήρα μαγίστρου
καὶ δις ἀεθλεύει πρὸς θρόνον ἀνθυπάτων,
τῆς δ' ἐὼγνωμοσύνης μάρτυς γραφίς· ὑμετέρεην γὰρ
χρῶμασι μιμηλὴν ἀντετύπωσε χάριν.*

(i 36, Agathias).

The poems by Paul, Marianus and Theaetetus discussed so far in this section all occur in a 'Cycle-sequence' and plainly derive from the *Cycle*. With this poem on Theodorus the position is not so clear. It does not come in a sequence; indeed, in all probability it did not reach the *Palatinus* by a literary tradition at all. For Book i of the *Palatinus* consists of inscriptional poems (mostly anonymous) added to Cephala for the most part from the buildings themselves by the redactor of the *Palatinus*.⁹⁵ This poem was probably copied from the original painting in Ephesus. Nevertheless, it is very likely that it did come from the *Cycle*. Its subject, being a picture, fits perfectly the programme Agathias had laid down for his second book:

*ὅσαπερ ἢ γραφίδεσσι χαράξαμεν ἢ τινι χώρῳ,
εἴτε καὶ εὐποίητον ἐπὶ βρέτας, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλης
τέχνης ἐργοπόνοιο πολυσπερέεσσιν ἀέθλοις . . .*

(iv 4.118 f.).

Agathias' second book is largely composed of such pieces as this, and since, as is now plain from the inclusion of the poems by Paul, Marianus and Theaetetus discussed above, he was collecting the material for the *Cycle* not in 558 but in the first years of Justin II, he will naturally have included a poem which he wrote on the promotion of one of Justin's most trusted ministers (see below).

The poem can be securely dated. It refers to a painting depicting the Archangel presenting a certain Theodorus with the insignia of the *magister officiorum* (the invariable meaning of *μάγιστρος* in the usage of the period).⁹⁶ There is only one candidate—the Theodorus who was created *magister* in 566. There is no possibility of another Theodorus holding the post earlier in the 560's or in the 550's, for during the last twenty-six years of Justinian's reign, from 539, when Agathias was only a child, to 565, one man held the office continuously—Peter the Patrician, Theodorus' father. Peter is last attested in office on March 26, 565. He was succeeded for a brief period of no more than a year by one Anastasius⁹⁷ and then the office fell to his son, as is plainly shown by Corippus, in his panegyric on the accession of Justin II, composed and recited in 566:7:

*'Successorque boni redivivaque gloria Petri
Hinc Theodorus adest, patria gravitate magister'* (*Just.* i 26–7).

He continued as *magister officiorum* until the reign of Tiberius II (Theophylact. iii 15.6), but by 576 was *comes sacraum largitionum*. Doubtless this is the Theodorus mentioned in a sixth

⁹⁴ The palace known as τὰ Ἰουανίον in Constantinople is perhaps named after him cf. Janin, *op. cit.* 346.

⁹⁵ Cf. Waltz, 5 f., Beckby, 70.

⁹⁶ Cf. Sophocles, *Bj* 7. *Lex. s.v.*, Haury's *index verb.* to Procopius, *s.v.*, etc

⁹⁷ Stem. *Studien z. Gesch. des byz. Reiches* (1919) p. 28 n. 2.

century inscription⁹⁸ as *μάγιστρος καὶ ἀνθύπατος*, and almost certainly the Theodorus *ἀνθύπατος* who is the author of vii 556 (a poem which occurs in a 'broken' *Cycle*-sequence).⁹⁹ Probably therefore Theodorus was a contributor to the *Cycle*.

It must be emphatically stated that the Theodorus *magister officiorum* is not the same as the Theodorus *decurio* to whom Agathias dedicated his *Cycle* (so Waltz, Beckby, Keydell and others). Apart from the difference of office, the lemmatist tells us that the Theodorus *decurio* of iv 3 was the son of Cosmas, whereas we know that Theodorus the *magister officiorum* was the son of Peter the Patrician. The *decurio* to whom the *Cycle* was dedicated may well be the Theodorus *silentarius* of Proc., *Aed.* iv 8.24 and the *decurio palatii* of that name who was employed by Justinian as a messenger to Pope Vigilius in the Three Chapters controversy.¹⁰⁰ In *BICS* xiii (1966) we have shown that xvi 72 was written in 566, and have given reasons for ascribing it to Agathias.

It is now surely clear that the *Cycle* was published under Justin II. This accords well with the relatively high number of epigrams in the Anthology celebrating Justin II and Sophia. If the *Cycle* had appeared under Justinian, it would surely have contained a number of epigrams in honour of that Emperor. Yet only seven such poems occur in the whole Anthology. Every one of them is inscriptional, and some may well have been collected later by Cephala from the buildings themselves. For Justin II, on the other hand, there are more epigrams than would have been expected for a relatively unimportant Emperor, and while some at least of the anonymous inscriptional epigrams in the *Palatinus* were indeed collected for Cephala at a much later date by Gregorius Magister, it is reasonable to conjecture that Agathias himself included those mentioning Justin II and Sophia (ix 779, 803, 804, 810, 812, 813) as a compliment to the new Emperor.

III

We come now to Agathias' own preface to the *Cycle*. Though the preface is addressed to Theodorus the *decurio*, the second part (iv 3.43-98) is virtually a panegyric on the Emperor. But *which* Emperor? It has always been assumed that the Emperor in question is Justinian, partly because Agathias devotes this part of the preface entirely to a record of the expansion of Roman power which can only refer to Justinian's *Reconquista*, and partly simply on *a priori* grounds. We now know, however, from the poems discussed in section II above, that the Emperor must be Justin II. A closer inspection will do nothing to disabuse us of this belief.

There is nothing particularly surprising in that Agathias nowhere mentions the Emperor by name. But it might well seem strange that he concentrates so exclusively on the power of Roman arms. When Procopius surveys Justinian's achievements at the beginning of the *de Aedificiis*, in similarly complimentary terms, he includes Justinian's wars only as a parallel to his religious policy, his codification of the laws and his building activity (*Aed.* i 1.6 f.). There is nothing of this in Agathias' preface. Moreover, his references to the wars are not so much a list of specific achievements as a vague and rhetorical exercise on the theme of the extent of the *pax Romana*. He writes of territories won rather than of their winning, of a state of affairs rather than of its achievement. This would admirably solve the difficulty of writing a panegyric on an Emperor newly come to the throne after an undistinguished career to date, of whom therefore there was little to say.¹⁰¹ 'You will never come to a foreign land,¹⁰² says Agathias; 'wherever you go you will find yourself in the possessions of our wise Emperor' (iv 3.94 f.—a graceful allusion to the Empress Sophia, in the style so common to

⁹⁸ Grégoire, *Recueil des inscr. grecques chrét. d'Asie-mineure* i (1922) 100 bis.

⁹⁹ Geffcken, *P-W* no. 21, places him in the first century A.D., on the thinnest of grounds.

¹⁰⁰ *CSEL* xxxv 235.16.

¹⁰¹ Justin's career to date—Stein *BE* ii 744 f.

¹⁰² For the *topos*, cf. e.g. Aristides, *Laud. Romae* 365, Claudian, *Cons. Stil.* iii 175 f.

the poets of the new reign?).¹⁰³ The allusion to *Περσὶς ἀνακίς* (l.3) would in any case date the preface to the very end of Justinian's reign, and the references to Bactria and India (l.73 f.) must surely postdate at least the peace of 561. But we have striking confirmation that Agathias' compliments are in fact addressed to Justin in Corippus' *de laudibus Justinii II*, commemorating Justin II's entry into his consulship on January 1, 566, and written probably in 566-7. Like Agathias, Corippus begins his preface with an account of the vastness of Justin's Empire. Like him too, he gives the impression, without actually stating it, that this is the direct work of Justin himself: 'deus omnia regna | sub pedibus dedit esse tuis, regesque superbos | subdidit, hostilesque manus decrescere fecit' (ll.1-3). Both Agathias and Corippus solved the problem of finding subject matter for a panegyric on Justin II by concentrating on the glory of Byzantine power at the time of his accession. That this was the achievement of Justinian did not worry them any more than it did the author of ix 779, writing in 566, who called Justin II *τυραννοφόνος βασιλεύς*. The *pax Romana* was a convenient *topos*, as was the conception of the Emperor as a subduer of tyrants (cf. *τυραννοφόνος βασιλεύς* of Anastasius, ix 656.1; Agathias iv 3.53 f.: 'Ἐσπερίη θεράπαινα . . . ἀμοιβαίων δὲ τυράννων | κράατα μετρήσασα τεῆ κρυφθέντα κούη . . .'; Corippus, *Just.*, *pref.* 10 f.: 'quis numeret . . . captos stratosque tyrannos?'),¹⁰⁴ especially at the beginning of the reign of Justin II, when the Empire could look back on such glorious and recent achievements.

But if the preface provides a *terminus post quem*, it also provides a *terminus ante quem* for the publication of the *Cycle*. Agathias' reference to 'Ἐσπερίη θεράπαινα (iv 3.53), referring to the Western Empire including Italy, must antedate the fall of Italy to the Lombards which began in 568. The Lombard gains of 568 were not so extensive as to rule out a reference to Italy brought under Roman rule, nor might they even have seemed to presage further Roman losses. But we can at any rate say that the preface (no doubt written last) cannot be much later than 568, and was perhaps written in that very year.

Conclusion

Assuming the datings suggested above (in some cases only tentative), we can assign poems to each decade of the period 530-70 as follows:

530's: vii 591, 592, ?ix 445.

540's: xvi 32, ?xvi 39, ?xvi 314, ?xvi 38, ?ix 628, ?vii 587, ?xi 380.

550's: vii 590, ix 677, ix 425, 426, 427, xvi 37, ?xvi 33, ?xvi 32b, ?xvi 43.

560's: i 36, iv 3 (preface), vii 579, ix 641, 657, 658, 659, xvi 72.

This new dating of the *Cycle* will involve a modification in one aspect at least of the accepted picture of Justinian. When Stein speaks of the poets of the *Cycle* as being men 'qui tous gravitaient plus ou moins autour du trône impérial',¹⁰⁵ he gives the impression that Justinian himself in some measure encouraged this lively poetic activity. But the datable poems so far considered seem to increase in numbers towards the end of Justinian's reign, when he was more interested in theology than the affairs of Empire, when, as Corippus put it (*Just.* ii 267) 'in caelum mens omnis erat: iam corporis huius | immemor hanc mundi faciem transisse putabat'.¹⁰⁶ And once it has been observed that several poems actually date from the reign of Justin II, the picture emerges of a spontaneous development in poetry among the members of the new school of poetry which followed Nonnus (*οἱ νέοι* according to Agathias, *Hist.* iv 23, p. 257 Bonn), and which eventually found its inspiration in the person not of Justinian but of Justin II. It is very striking that the only poems by contributors to

¹⁰³ E.g. *AP* ix 813, 803. Corippus, *Just.* i 55 f., 264 f., iv 280.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. also *ibid.* 39 f.: 'cui vincere fas est indomitas gentes et barbara subdere regna'.

¹⁰⁵ *BE* ii 697.

¹⁰⁶ The same view of Justinian's last years is expressed more scathingly by Procopius, *Anecd.* 18.29, and cf. *BG* iii.32.9, 35.11.

the *Cycle* which refer to Justinian or Theodora are Agathias' epigram on the bridge over the Sangarios, which dates from the latter part of the reign, and a brief poem by Paul which perhaps refers to a *picture* of Theodora (xvi 77). In spite of the many epigrams by *Cycle* poets dealing with buildings, not one specifically celebrates the building activity of Justinian, which surpassed that of any other Roman Emperor. It is hard to believe that no such poems were written at all, and it may be that Agathias, perhaps collecting his epigrams with a specific hope of Imperial favour, deliberately omitted them so as not to detract from those in honour of the new Emperor. Thus Justinian concedes to his less brilliant successor one, though only one, of the many achievements which made his reign so remarkable a period in the history of the Roman Empire.

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SOLSTICES, EQUINOXES, & THE PRESOCRATICS

Diog. Laert. ii 1 (DK 12A1), [Ἀναξίμανδρος] εἶδεν δὲ καὶ γνώμονα πρῶτος καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῶν σκιοθήρων ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι, καθὰ φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, τροπὰς τε καὶ ἰσημερίας σημαίνοντα, καὶ ὠροσκοπεῖα κατεσκεύασε.

Eusebius, *PE* x 14.11 (DK 12A4), οὗτος [Ἀναξίμανδρος] πρῶτος γνώμονας κατεσκεύασε πρὸς διάγνωσιν τροπῶν τε ἡλίου καὶ χρόνων καὶ ὥρων καὶ ἰσημερίας.

Suda, s.v. (DK 12A2), πρῶτος δὲ [Ἀναξίμανδρος] ἰσημερίαν εἶρε καὶ τροπὰς καὶ ὠρολογεῖα, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐν μεσαιάτῳ κείσθαι. γνώμονά τε εἰσήγαγε καὶ ὅλως γεωμετρίας ὑποτύπωσιν ἔδειξεν.

The literature is now full of references to the scientific achievements (so-called) of the Presocratics, and the earlier the figure (and consequently the less information of reliable authenticity we have of him) the more enthusiastically do scholars enlarge his scientific knowledge—a proceeding which, of course, has plenty of precedent among the doxographers and commentators of antiquity. The classic example is Thales, whom I have discussed in an earlier article;¹ it is chastening (but hardly surprising) to find that the views there expressed have had very little influence on the traditional, vastly exaggerated estimate of Thales as the founder of Greek mathematics and astronomy and the transmitter of ancient Egyptian and Babylonian wisdom. Professor Guthrie, in a work obviously destined to be the standard English textbook on early Greek philosophy for decades to come,² can still say (p. 58) '... according to an *unchallenged* tradition, [Thales] had himself visited Egypt' (my italics), despite my demonstration that nowhere in the primary group of sources is Thales' name linked with Egypt, and that the whole story of his introducing Egyptian mathematical knowledge to the Greeks is a mere invention (probably by Eudemus) based on separate, unrelated statements by Herodotus.³ One must, however, be thankful that the uncritical acceptance of Thales' alleged prediction of a solar eclipse is now discountenanced.⁴

Thales is not the only Presocratic philosopher for whom extravagant claims are made concerning scientific knowledge which can belong only to the post-Platonic period. One of the chief difficulties (which should by now be well known, but which still needs emphasizing) in attempting to reconstruct and evaluate the ideas of the earlier Presocratics lies, of course, in the unsatisfactory nature of the ancient evidence; I have already expatiated on this point in the article mentioned above, and most of the standard textbooks include introductory discussions of the doxographical sources,⁵ based ultimately on Diels' monumental *Doxographi Graeci*. Unfortunately, because of the numerous, arbitrary ascriptions of various elementary scientific doctrines (such as the spherical universe, the central position of the earth, its sphericity, the obliquity of the ecliptic, the division of the zodiac, etc.) to many different thinkers ranging indiscriminately from Thales to Anaxagoras, that are to be found in the sources, and the garbled and often contradictory accounts given, it remains true that by a judicious selection and the omission of inconvenient evidence practically *any* doctrine can be attributed to *any* of the Presocratics on *some* ancient 'authority', to suit a particular scholar's own favoured theory.⁶ Thus we have Cleostratus from time to time resurrected as the first allegedly to introduce the zodiac and the zodiacal signs into Greece, and the first

¹ *CQ* ix (1959) 294–309.

² W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*—Vol. i, C.U.P. 1962.

³ *CQ* ix (1959) 304.

⁴ Guthrie, *op. cit.* 47 f.

⁵ E.g. Heath (*Aristarchus of Samos*), Burnet, Kirk & Raven, Guthrie—*cf.* 290 f. of my article.

⁶ In this connexion, Kirk and Raven's sensible remark deserves to be quoted (*The Presocratic*

Philosophers, p. 71). 'Thus it is legitimate to feel complete confidence in our understanding of a Presocratic thinker only when the Aristotelean or Theophrastean interpretation, even if it can be accurately reconstructed, is confirmed by relevant and well-authenticated extracts from the philosopher himself'—a counsel of perfection which one can hardly expect to be exemplified in their own book.

to discover the obliquity of the ecliptic;⁷ the 'authority' here is Pliny, that well-known scientific correspondent whose accuracy is convincingly demonstrated by his ability to pinpoint an astronomical discovery to a period of four years some six centuries back, and by his attribution of a knowledge of the celestial (presumably—or terrestrial? *cf.* Diod. Sic. iii 60.2) sphere to Atlas long before that, even.⁸ And it goes without saying that the omniscient Thales can be credited not only with a knowledge of the division of the circle into 360° , but even with a measurement of the angular diameters of the sun and moon.⁹ Such absurdly anachronistic attributions illustrate two pitfalls into which it is all too easy to fall when the subject of discussion is the scientific knowledge evinced by the Presocratics. The first is a failure to understand what knowledge was possible at a particular epoch of Greek history with regard to the historical development of scientific ideas. As I have already pointed out,¹⁰ in default of reliable, direct evidence (and the doxographical tradition is useless in the case of Thales and not much better in the case of Anaximander) the only satisfactory way to assess the mathematical and astronomical knowledge which Thales may have possessed is by a comparative examination of the Egyptian and Babylonian mathematics and astronomy of his time, these being the only two highly-developed civilisations with which the Greeks were in contact at that period. The attempt to backdate knowledge of the division of the circle into 360° to the sixth century B.C. is a good example of the danger of ignoring historical considerations. The first circle to be so divided was the zodiac with its twelve sections each of 30° , which was needed as an astronomical system of reference for calculation of the courses of the sun, moon, and planets, and this division undoubtedly originated in Babylonia (where a sexagesimal number system was in common use in mathematical texts from the Old Babylonian period—c. 1800 B.C.—onwards), *but not until some time after 450 B.C.* and possibly not until the fourth century B.C.¹¹ The first Greek text in which the zodiac is divided into 360° is the *Ἀναφορικὸς* of Hypsicles,¹² usually dated in the first half of the second century B.C., though it may well be later.¹³ The first Greek astronomer to make constant use of the general division of any circle into 360° is Hipparchus (c. 194–120 B.C.);¹⁴ before him there is no trace of the use of degrees in any extant Greek mathematical

⁷ J. K. Fotheringham in *JHS* xxxix (1919) 164–84; W. Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft*, 1962, 312.

⁸ *Nat. Hist.* ii 31 (DK 12A5), 'obliquitatem eius [sc. zodiaci] intellexisse, hoc est rerum foris aperuisse, Anaximander Milesius traditur primus olympiade quinquagesima octava, signa deinde in eo Cleostratus, et prima arietis ac sagittarii, sphaeram ipsam ante multo Atlas.' In view of the ready acceptance by most modern scholars of the truth of Pliny's statements here, it seems strange that the last five words of this quotation have been so sadly neglected . . . do they not provide 'incontrovertible evidence' for the existence of a fully-developed, pre-historic, astronomical system—in Atlantis, of course? For juster estimates of Pliny's competence in scientific matters, see Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, ii 373 ff. and Kirk and Raven, *op. cit.* 103 n. 1.

The curious ambivalence exhibited by modern scholars in their treatment of the doxographical evidence, to which I have already drawn attention (*CQ* (1959) 305 n. 3), is well illustrated in Burkert's book (which is nonetheless useful for its comprehensive documentation). For example, he accepts Pliny's evidence without question, despite the mention of Atlas, but rejects (rightly—see below Aetius' attribution of knowledge of the planets to Anaximander (*Aet.* ii 15.6 = DK 12A18 which 'beweist nichts, da

Metrodor und Krates von Mallos in das Lemma mit eingeschlossen sind' (p. 289 n. 68).

⁹ A. Wasserstein in *JHS* lxxv (1955) 114–16.

¹⁰ *CQ* ix (1959) 306.

¹¹ O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 2nd ed. 1957, 102; *cf.* 25 and 140. Kahn *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology*, 1960, 91–2, as part of his attempt to justify his thesis of the advanced, mathematical nature of Anaximander's cosmological thought—on the erroneous nature of Kahn's views, see further below—cites the first passage from the first edition (1952) of Neugebauer's invaluable book, without apparently being aware of the significant lowering of the date for the introduction of the zodiac divided into 360° in the second edition, which makes nonsense of Kahn's claim that 'most, if not all, of this science had reached Miletus by the middle of the sixth century'.

¹² Ed. by Manitius, Dresden, 1888—a copy of this doctoral dissertation is very difficult to come by.

¹³ See my *Geographical Fragments of Hipparchus*, 1960, 148–9.

¹⁴ See his *Commentaria in Arati et Eudoxi Phaenomena* ed. Manitius, Teubner, 1894, *passim*, and the quotations from his other astronomical works which I am in the process of editing in Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

or astronomical text, and the method commonly used to denote the size of an angle was to express it as the fraction of a right-angle or of a whole circle or of a zodiacal sign¹⁵—thus Aristarchus in his *On the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon*¹⁶ gives as one of his hypotheses that 'the moon subtends 1/15th part of a zodiacal sign', and Archimedes in the *Sand-Reckoner* states that he found that the angle subtended by the diameter of the sun was less than 1/164th part and greater than 1/200th part of a right-angle.¹⁷ Not only is the 360° division not found before the second century B.C., but we are explicitly told of other divisions of the circle which were in use—e.g. Strabo (113–14) tells us that Eratosthenes (who died about the time that Hipparchus was born) divided the equator into sixty parts, and Cleomedes (*cycl. theor.* i 10 §50—p. 92, ed. Ziegler) says that Posidonius divided the ecliptic into forty-eight parts.¹⁸ For his measurement of the obliquity of the ecliptic, Eratosthenes seems even (on one interpretation of the evidence) to have used an instrument graduated into 83rds.¹⁹ Thus the attempt to backdate the 360° division of the circle to the sixth century B.C. not only ignores the historical origin of the concept, but also disregards the scanty evidence we have from Greek sources.

The second of the two pitfalls mentioned above is a much less obvious one and much

¹⁵ This holds good for all the extant works of e.g. Autolycus, Euclid, Aristarchus, and Archimedes. There is, however, one piece of evidence which might seem at first sight to suggest that the use of degrees was known in the third century B.C. in Alexandria: in *Almag.* vii 3 Ptolemy lists the declinations of a number of stars as observed by himself, by Hipparchus, and by Timocharis and Aristyllus, two Alexandrian astronomers who were active between 295 and 280 B.C., and in each case Ptolemy gives the data in degrees north or south of the celestial equator. This appears to contradict our other evidence (*cf.* A. Pannekoek, *A History of Astronomy*, 1961, 124 *ad fin.*) which all points to the late introduction of the 360° division of the circle, not before the second century B.C. Yet, if degrees were in use at the time of Timocharis and Aristyllus, why did not Aristarchus and Archimedes use them instead of clumsy circumlocutions involving fractions of a certain segment? The latter at least had close connexions with Alexandrian scientists including Eratosthenes (*cf.* Heath, *The Works of Archimedes* xvi), who likewise did not use degrees (see below). It is hardly conceivable that Aristarchus, for example, would have chosen to say that at quadrature the moon's distance from the sun is 'less than a quadrant by one-thirtieth of a quadrant' (ἐλάσσον τεταρτημορίον τῷ τῷ τεταρτημορίῳ τριακοστῷ) if he could have expressed exactly the same meaning by '37' μοίραις πζ'. Either we must assume that Timocharis and Aristyllus knew and used the circle graduated into 360° but that this was not taken up by scientists again until 100 years later—which in view of the obvious convenience of the usage seems incredible; or (and this is the most likely explanation) it was Ptolemy who tacitly converted the observations of Timocharis and Aristyllus originally given in the customary fractions of a segment into degree figures in order to make clearer the comparison with his own and Hipparchus' results. It is noteworthy that Ptolemy emphasises the inaccuracy of these earlier observations, which he characterises as οὔτε ἀόριστοι οὔτ' ἐπιτετρασμέναι

Almag. vii 1—ed. Heiberg, ii 3, 4) and πάντ' ὀλοσχερός εἰλημμέναι (*id.* vii 3—18, 3).

¹⁶ Ed. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos* 352.

¹⁷ §16, ed. Heiberg, ii 226.

¹⁸ *Cf.* Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, 60 n. 2; of the other divisions he mentions, that into 144 parts (*Sext. Emp., adv. astrol.* §9 = *adv. math.* v §9) is simply a variant used by some of the Chaldaean astrologers, most of whom Sextus makes clear used the 360° division (i.e. 12 zodiacal signs of 30° each), for a particular astrological doctrine. A division into eight parts, cited by Bouché-Leclercq (279 n. 2) from Hyginus, *astron.* iv 2, is merely a method of avoiding fractions to express the ratio of the longest day to the shortest night at the summer solstice, i.e. 5:3 (equivalent to a latitude of 36°52', where at the summer solstice five parts of the sun's diurnal circuit would be above the horizon and three parts below), instead of 7½:4½ on a division of the circle into twelve parts; it cannot be taken as evidence for a commonly-used division of the circle into eight. Bouché-Leclercq also cites (475 n. 2) a division of the zodiac into 365 parts from Censorinus, *frg.* 2 (not 3, as in the citation), 5 (p. 57, ed. Hultsch); but Censorinus' account (which, anyway, mentions the 360° division) is very garbled—he evidently confuses zodiacal signs, which are equal segments of 30° each, with zodiacal constellations, which are of unequal size, since he talks of 'signa . . . quorum quaedam minora, quaedam ampliora', and then goes on to say 'sed compensatio in quinque partes creditur adplicari, ut sint omnes signiferi partes CCCLXV', apparently a muddled reference to the fact that the sun takes 365 days and a little more to traverse the full circle. It should be noted that Bouché-Leclercq was writing before our understanding of the methods of Babylonian mathematics and astronomy and their historical interaction with Greek knowledge had reached its present (still imperfect) stage.

¹⁹ For a full discussion, see my *Geographical Fragments of Hipparchus* 167–8.

easier to fall into. It consists of a failure to recognise the tacit assumptions, based on the scientific theory of late antiquity or even (sometimes) of our own times, that underlie so much of the writing about early Greek science—assumptions for which there is no evidence, but which are almost unconsciously made from our inability to dissociate our views on the thought of this early period from more modern concepts. It requires a considerable effort of imagination to try to envisage a world without clocks and watches, with no universal standards of measurement, where the only sources of power in use were bodily muscles and the wind, and where no systematic attempt was ever made to exploit and control the forces of nature. Conditioned as we are by over 300 years of scientific discovery, by which the circumstances and habits of human life and thought have been ever more radically influenced, we find it very difficult to understand a world where science played in effect a very insignificant part. This is, of course, one of the perennial fascinations of the study of ancient civilisations—but it has its dangers. Not the least of these is the temptation to try to reason backwards from a later standpoint in our efforts to trace the early development of scientific ideas, for this process almost inevitably involves the making of tacit assumptions that are in reality completely foreign to the early stage in question, according to the available evidence, but *are not recognised as such*. The classic example is, of course, Aristotle's account of the opinions of the Presocratic thinkers;²⁰ another example, I believe to have shown,²¹ is Eudemos' account of the beginnings of geometry. Modern examples are too numerous to cite in detail; no dispassionate reader can fail to admire the ingenuity of the gallant attempts to make some sort of scientific sense out of the confused, and often primitive, astronomical notions of the Presocratics, but he should also notice the ominous frequency in these reconstructions of such expressions as 'must have been', 'it must be assumed that', 'this implies that . . .' and the like, which indicate that the writer is making tacit assumptions that can nearly always be shown to be unfounded for the particular period. Two examples, both pertinent to my main theme, must suffice. Commenting on the words *ὠροσκοπεῖα* and *ὠρολογεῖα* in the quotations from Diogenes Laertius and the Suda that I have placed at the head of this article, Kirk and Raven (*op. cit.* 102–3) say that these words 'imply that the ground near the gnomon was calibrated so as to give the time of day, as well as the position of the sun on the ecliptic and so the season of the year'. Such assumptions are totally inadmissible. Observations of the shadow of a gnomon can give only the roughest indications of the time of day, *unless the gnomon is so placed that its axis is parallel to the axis of the earth*, i.e. unless the latitude of the place is known; and the concept of latitude necessarily presupposes knowledge of the spherical earth set in the middle of the celestial sphere (see below). In fact, such observations can be expected to give only the times of noon (shortest daily shadow) and of the solstices (longest and shortest noon shadows in the course of a year), the latter probably to an accuracy of at best some five or six days. There can be no question of the calibration of 'the ground near the gnomon . . . to give the time of day', because, owing to the fact that the altitude and azimuth of the sun are continually altering, no one set of markings applicable all the year round can be formulated to indicate the division of the day into parts; only the midday shadow will be constant in direction at all seasons of the year, though not, of course, in length. Not until the concept of latitude was understood, and mathematicians began to tackle the problem of projection on to a plane surface, could the sun's course be traced in this way so as to give meaningful results, and this did not begin to happen until the fourth century B.C. (*cf.* Vitruvius ix 8.1). Furthermore, despite Herodotus' mention that the Greeks learnt of the division of the day into twelve parts from the Babylonians (ii 109—only partially correct, as it was the twenty-four-hour period

²⁰ See H. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*, 1935, some of the results of which he summarised in *Journal of the History of Ideas* xii (1951); for the inevitable reaction against the criticism of

Aristotle's merits as an historian of thought, see W. K. C. Guthrie in *JHS* lxxvii pt. 1 (1957) and his *History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. 1 41–3.

²¹ *CQ* ix (1959) 301 ff.

that the Babylonians divided into 12), such a division did not come into use in Greece, even in scientific writings, until the end of the fourth century; instead, the time of day was roughly indicated by such phrases as *πρωίας* (Ptol. *Synt.* iii 1, p. 205, 21 ed. Heib.—citing an observation made by Meton and Euctemon) and *περὶ πλήθουσσαν ἀγορήν* or *πρὶν ἀγορὴν λυθῆναι* (Hippocr. *Epid.* vii 25 and 31—Littré v 396 and 400), or by noting the length of a man's own shadow (Aristoph. *Eccl.* 652; Menander *fr.* 364 K.). In fact, the gnomon was not used to tell the time (except perhaps midday) until the Hellenistic period, when astronomical theory had advanced sufficiently to enable the latitude of the place of observation to be taken into account; all surviving examples of sundials are from the Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman periods or later. Still less, in the primitive stage of astronomical thought in the sixth century B.C., could the gnomon give 'the position of the sun on the ecliptic'—a concept that was anyway not introduced until nearly 200 years later—other than by marking approximately the days of the solstices as isolated phenomena whose true meaning was not yet understood.²²

Similar assumptions of Anaximander's knowledge of phenomena which could only have become significant at a much later stage of Greek astronomy are evident in Kirk and Raven's statement (*op. cit.* 137), 'The movement of the sun on the ecliptic, the declination of the moon, and the wanderings of the planets were probably explained as due to wind'. Knowledge of the moon's declination necessarily assumes knowledge of the mathematical ecliptic; in Babylonian astronomy this does not appear until the end of the fifth century B.C., and it is undoubtedly from this source that the concept reached Greece, hardly before the fourth century B.C.; in Greek astronomy the first attempt to take into account the moon's movement in latitude is made in Eudoxus' system of concentric spheres (*c.* 370 B.C.). As for the planets, it is doubtful whether they were recognised as such before the fifth century B.C.; careful observation over an extended period would be necessary to differentiate them from the stars (compare Venus, the brightest planet, as the Morning and Evening Star separately in Homer), and it would seem that this knowledge also came from the Babylonians (*cf.* Cumont in *L'Antiquité Classique*, iv (1935) 7). Certainly, the word *πλάνητες* (in this sense) is not attested until the fourth century B.C. (Gundel in *RE* s.v. 'Planeten'), although, for what it is worth, we are told by Diogenes ix 46 = DK 68A33 that Democritus wrote a book *περὶ τῶν πλανήτων*. A passage in Simplicius (*de caelo* 471.1 = DK 12A19) repeating Eudemos' attribution of the investigation of planetary sizes and distances to Anaximander is regarded as 'confusing' by Guthrie (p. 95)—'nonsensical' would be a truer epithet—and apart from this, the only evidence for any knowledge of the planets in the sixth century B.C. is provided by one dubious statement of Aëtius (ii 15.6 = DK 12A18, mentioning Anaximander in company with Metrodorus of Chios and Crates—*cf.* Kahn 61) and some very unconvincing inferences drawn by Heath (*Arist.* 42 f.) regarding Anaximenes.

The purpose of the present article is to discuss one aspect of the astronomical knowledge commonly ascribed to the Presocratics, and to Anaximander in particular (see the quotations at the beginning), namely, that of the solstices and equinoxes, and to show that, whereas knowledge of the solstices does not presuppose anything other than (relatively) simple observations, the concept of equinoxes is a much more sophisticated one, involving necessarily the complete picture of the spherical earth and the celestial sphere with equator and tropics and the ecliptic as a great circle traversed by the sun—a picture for the existence of which before the time of Philolaus there is not a shred of good evidence, which first appears as

²² On the whole subject of sundials and ancient time-measurement, see G. Billfinger, *Die Zeitmesser der antiken Völker*, 1886; Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Horologium', iii 256–264—which contains a regrettable number of wrong references; *RE*, s.v. 'Horologium', vii 2416 f.; H. Diels, *Antike Technik*,

3rd ed. 1924, (h. 7; E. v. Basserman-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, Bd. i, Lief. E by J. Drecker, *Die Theorie der Sonnenuhren*, 1925; W. K. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung*, 1928; references to Anaximander's advanced astronomical knowledge should be discounted in all the above.

a mathematically developed system in Eudoxus, and which is entirely anachronistic for the sixth century B.C. In the course of the discussion, critical references will be made to C. H. Kahn's book, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (Columbia University Press, 1960) which it seems to me gives a highly imaginative and very misleading account of Anaximander's thought and, by exaggerating his alleged mathematical insight, seriously impairs our understanding of the development of Greek science; it is all the more necessary to enter a caveat against Kahn's opinions, since his book is constantly cited with approval in Guthrie's chapter on Anaximander (*op. cit.* 72-115).

Now the solstices represent the northernmost and southernmost points of the sun's annual path round the earth,²³ occurring in June and December respectively; that is to say, if observations are made of the point on the horizon where the sun rises (or sets) it will be found that these points gradually shift northwards during early summer, until a time is reached when the sun seems to rise (or set) at the same point of the horizon for several days in succession, and after this the rising and setting points shift slowly southwards until they reach a southern limit on the horizon, when again there is no perceptible change for several days—and the sun seems to oscillate between these two limits, six months apart. It is important to realise that knowledge of these phenomena requires only simple observation and a clear horizon with recognisable landmarks by which to gauge the position of the sun's rising or setting—it implies no astronomical theory whatsoever.²⁴ The earth and the universe can be any shape and size, the sun, moon, and stars can be arranged in any order one cares to imagine, and the sun can even be supposed to be extinguished every night²⁵—it makes no difference to the observed phenomena. Hence it is not surprising that knowledge of these 'turnings of the sun' (τροπαὶ ἡλίου) long antedates any theoretical astronomical speculation. It is doubtful whether the single occurrence of the words in Homer means anything more than a vague reference to the far west,²⁶ but Hesiod uses them in the sense of solstices,²⁷ and from this time on, in conjunction with the rising and setting of certain prominent stars and star-groups, such as Sirius and the Pleiades, the solstices play an important part in helping to determine the season of the year for agricultural operations²⁸ and act as fixed reference points for dating historical events.²⁹ Thus there is no reason to doubt that the phenomena of the solstices (as distinct from the true understanding of them) were known to Anaximander; but it must be emphasised that such knowledge belongs still to a pre-scientific stage of astronomical thought.

The case is far otherwise with the equinoxes. These are the two points when the sun's annual course coincides with the celestial equator (in other words where the ecliptic intersects the equator), so that at the equinoxes days and nights are of equal lengths all over the globe as they are at all times of the year for observers on the equator itself; after the vernal equinox

²³ In what follows, a geocentric universe is assumed and the observer is supposed to be situated north of the equator between the tropic of Cancer (23½°N. latitude) and the arctic circle (66½°N. latitude)—for a general description of Greek astronomical theory in its developed form, see my paper in *BICS* xi (1964) 43-53.

²⁴ Another method of recognising the two limits of the sun's movement would be to note that the shadow of a fixed object on the ground is shortest at the northern limit and longest at the southern at the same hour of the day in each case; but this already involves the assumption that the time of day is determinable on a theoretical division of it into equal parts, which is highly improbable for the early stages of Greek astronomy—cf. O. Neugebauer, "The Egyptian "Decans"" in *Vistas in Astronomy*, i (1955), dedicated to F. J. M. Stratton, 51. "It is only within theoretical

astronomy of the Hellenistic period that the Babylonian time-reckoning with its strictly sexagesimal division, combined with the Egyptian norm of 2 × 12 hours, led to the 24 "equinoctial hours" of 60 minutes each and of constant length."

²⁵ As we are told was the opinion of Xenophanes and Heraclitus.

²⁶ *Od.* xv 404—see Stanford *ad loc.*

²⁷ *Works and Days* 564 and 663—even here there is a slight element of uncertainty, since both these lines occur immediately after passages bracketed in Rzsch's text as having been proscribed by Plutarch.

²⁸ E.g. Hesiod tells us (*WD* 564 ff.) that when Arcturus rises in the evening, 60 days after the winter solstice, and is visible all night, the vines must be pruned.

²⁹ E.g. Thuc. vii 16; viii 39.

(March), for observers in the north temperate zone, the days continue to lengthen until the longest day at the summer solstice, and after the autumnal equinox (September) they continue to shorten until the shortest day at the winter solstice. How are the equinoxes to be determined? They are not conveniently marked by an apparent halt in the shifting to-and-fro of the points on the horizon where the sun rises and sets; in fact, the sun's declination is altering comparatively rapidly at the time of the equinoxes, compared with the change at the solstices,³⁰ and there is nothing to show that one day rather than another should be marked as the day of the equinox. Similarly, there is no obvious way of differentiating the equinoctial shadow from those cast by the sun on other days—it is neither the longest (as at the winter solstice) nor the shortest (as at the summer solstice), but intermediate between the two.³¹ Direct measurement of the length of day and night can be entirely discounted; a glance at tables of sunrise and sunset for Greece will show that over the ten days spanning the equinox there is a total change of some eighteen minutes in the length of the day, i.e. less than two minutes a day, and this standard of accuracy is out of the question for the water-clocks and other devices of ancient time-measurement even in late antiquity.³² In fact, *the equinoxes cannot be determined by simple observation alone*, as can the solstices;³³ it is a facile error to assume that knowledge of the solstices necessarily implies also knowledge of the equinoxes. The times of the latter have to be obtained *by calculation*, and such a calculation presupposes considerable knowledge of basic astronomical theory. In particular, it presupposes a spherical earth as the central point of a celestial sphere with equator, tropics, and the ecliptic as the circular path of the sun round the earth inclined at an angle to the equator; it presupposes also sufficient mathematical understanding to envisage the plane of the meridian (the great circle passing through the observer's zenith and the celestial poles) intersecting the plane of the horizon at right angles, and the plane of the equator inclined at an angle to the horizon³⁴—and, of course, it presupposes a knowledge of

³⁰ For example, in Ptolemy's obliquity table in *Almag.* i 15, at the beginning, i.e. near the equinox, 1° on the ecliptic is equivalent to about $0^\circ 24'$ on the meridian, while at the end, i.e. near the solstice, 1° on the ecliptic is equivalent to less than $0^\circ 1'$ on the meridian.

³¹ See the list of shadow lengths at different latitudes (undoubtedly taken from Hipparchus) given in *Almag.* ii 6.

³² Ptolemy mentions (*Almag.* v 10, ed. Heiberg, i 400, 13) that in lunar observations errors of $\frac{1}{3}$ th of an hour could be expected, and this was at the highest point of Greek astronomical development. For the inaccuracies of water-clocks, see J. K. Fotheringham in *CR* xxix (1915) and cf. A. Rome, *Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles* lviii (1938) 11–12.

³³ As Nilsson remarks (*Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalenders*, (2nd rev. ed. 1962) 27–8 n. 3), 'Die Sonnenwenden sind nach den Wendepunkten der Sonne an einem gewissen Ort leicht zu beobachten, die Tag- und Nacht-gleichen können, da die Sonnenbahn kontinuierlich ist, erst durch Berechnung festgestellt werden'.

³⁴ This is clear from the methods used by Hipparchus and Ptolemy to determine the equinoxes (*Almag.* i 12, with Theon's commentary *ad loc.*). Two of the instruments employed, the meridional armillary and the plinth, have to be accurately aligned in the plane of the meridian perpendicular to the plane of the horizon; readings were then taken of the height of the

sun at midday at each of the solstices, and the point exactly half-way between these two readings represented the zenithal distance of the equator, which could therefore be marked on the instrument. The actual time of the equinox could then be determined roughly by noting when the midday shadow of the pointer coincided as nearly as possible with the marked equator; for greater accuracy (since the moment of intersection of ecliptic and equator need not be at midday) several readings were taken on days near the equinox and interpolation carried out by means of the obliquity table—but this was a refinement which was not possible before Hipparchus. A third instrument, the equinoctial or equatorial armillary, consisting simply of a large bronze ring of uniform cross-section, had to be placed exactly in the plane of the equator (previously determined by one of the other two methods), and would then mark the time of the equinox directly by the moment when the shadow of the upper part of the ring exactly covered the lower part: Ptolemy specifically draws attention to the difficulty of ensuring that the ring was accurately set in the plane of the equator, a slight shift in position necessarily causing a large error in the time of the equinox (*Almag.* iii 1, ed. Heiberg 197, 11 ff.). For a detailed description of these and other ancient astronomical instruments, see my paper in *Journal of the British Astronomical Association* lxiv (1954) 77–85. The important thing to realise is the relatively advanced nature of the theoretical knowledge

the length of the solar year and a fixed calendaric scheme. In fact, an understanding of the phenomena of the equinoxes belongs without any doubt to a mathematically advanced stage of astronomical thought, compared with the simple observational stage characterised by recognition of the solstices. There is not the slightest possibility that any of the above concepts were known in the sixth century B.C. (even Kahn does not postulate a spherical earth for Anaximander) or indeed before the latter half of the fifth century B.C. (see below); thus the doxographical attributions of knowledge of the equinoxes to Anaximander are worthless.³⁵

Confirmation of the truth of this is provided both by the late appearance of the word *ισημερία* itself and also by considerations relating to the Greek calendar. Apart from Aristotle³⁶ and the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*,³⁷ the earliest attested occurrence of *ισημερία* is in the treatise *On Airs, Waters, Places* in the Hippocratic collection,³⁸ it is notoriously difficult to date these treatises, but certainly none of them can be earlier than the last part of the fifth century. To the same period belongs the first scientifically formulated intercalation system for astronomical reckoning, namely the nineteen-year cycle connected with the names of Meton and Euctemon and containing 6,940 days and 235 lunar months including seven intercalary months;³⁹ this gives a figure for the mean lunar month accurate to within

that must underlie a problem such as the determination of the equinoxes; without the fundamental concepts of equator, tropics, and ecliptic on the celestial sphere, the equinoxes are meaningless.

³⁵ A minor, but instructive, example of the manner in which the alleged scientific achievements of the Presocratics are gratuitously augmented by the doxographers is provided by the three citations at the beginning of this article. Diogenes Laertius contents himself with saying that Anaximander was the first to discover and set up a gnomon (the word in this context means simply a vertical marker casting a shadow) 'which marks solstices and equinoxes', *σημαίνοντα* (note the *present* participle) giving a generic description of this instrument, thus avoiding stating in so many words that Anaximander himself actually observed solstices and equinoxes. By Eusebius, Anaximander is credited with the 'construction' of more than one gnomon (*γνόμωνας κατασκεύασε*—probably a rationalisation of the otiose addition *καὶ ὀροσκοπεῖα κατασκεύασε* in Diogenes, which reads like a gloss) for the express purpose of distinguishing (*πρὸς διάγνωσιν*) the dates and hours of solstices and (presumably—but why *ισημερίας* in the singular? Another gloss?) equinoxes. In the Suda, finally, not only is knowledge of all the above attributed to Anaximander, but we are assured that he treated the whole subject on geometrical lines! It remains merely for Kahn to put the finishing touches to this imaginary edifice by assuring us (*op. cit.* 93) that '... in the cosmos of Anaximander the orbits of the sun and moon are represented by definite geometric (and probably mechanical) structures'—whatever this may mean—and by citing with approval (95) Diels' unfortunate remark (*Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* (1897) 237) 'Anaximander steht dem Kosmos Keplers naher als Hipparchos und Ptolemaios'—but see below for some more sensible remarks by Diels.

³⁶ E.g. *Meteor.* ii 6.364 b 1; ii 2.371 b 30; iii 5.377 a 12 and 14.

³⁷ 370e—variously attributed to the fourth or first century B.C. according to H. Leisegang in *RE* s.v. 'Platon' col. 2366.

³⁸ *Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων* §11 (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* i, ed. Heiberg, 67, 1927)—the author tells us that the following days are the most dangerous: *ἤλιον τροπαῖ ἀμγότερι καὶ μᾶλλον αἰ θερινῶ καὶ αἰ ἰσημερίῳ νομιζόμεναι εἶναι ἀμγότεραι, μᾶλλον δὲ αἰ μετοπορινῶι*. The words underlined are ignored in Littré's translation (tom. ii (1840) 52) and in Adams' *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, (1939) 31, and rendered 'sogennanten' by R. Kapferer, *Die Werke des Hippocrates* (Teil 6 (1934) 40) and 'so reckoned' by Jones (Loeb Hippocrates i 105). There seems to be no parallel for *νομιζόμεναι* used in this last sense, and 'sogennanten' hardly helps the meaning; one is tempted to read *λογιζόμεναι*, 'calculated', which gives the right sense and might easily have been misread by a scribe. At any rate, it is clear that there is a contrast between the solstices, which can be mentioned without any qualification as well-known phenomena, and the equinoxes, which as a less familiar concept require an explanatory description.

³⁹ The *locus classicus* for Greek astronomical calendars is Geminus, *Isagoge*, ch. 8: this is discussed at length by Günzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii (1911) 366 ff. and Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos* (1913) ch. 19, 284–96. Both these scholars appear to accept a very early date for Homer, and consequently tend to assign knowledge of the basic parameters to an earlier period than is warranted by the evidence as we can now interpret it. I have stated that the Metonic cycle was 'the first scientifically formulated intercalation system'. Geminus describes what purports to be an earlier cycle, the octaeteris, consisting of eight years containing 2,922 days and ninety-nine lunar months including

two minutes, but for the solar year ($6,940 \div 19 = 365 \frac{5}{19}$ days) a figure about half an hour too long. Meton and Euctemon's date is firmly fixed to 432 B.C.⁴⁰ The over-estimate for the solar year was eventually discovered and, almost exactly 100 years later, Callippus put forward a new seventy-six-year cycle consisting of 27,759 days (i.e. four Metonic cycles less one day) and 940 lunar months including twenty-eight intercalary ones; this gives a year of exactly $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days (in fact, the Julian year, which is some eleven minutes too long) and a mean lunar month only twenty-two seconds too long. Two hundred years later still, Hipparchus decided that the correct figure for the solar year was $1/300$ th of a day less than $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days,⁴¹ i.e. 365 days five hours fifty-five minutes twelve seconds, which is only about six and a half minutes in excess of the true figure; Censorinus tells us⁴² that Hipparchus' cycle was 304 years with 112 intercalary months (i.e. four Callippic cycles with 111,035 days instead of $111,036 = 4 \times 27,759$), but this cycle was never used even by astronomers (Geminus does not mention it), and Ptolemy still uses the Callippic cycle in conjunction with the Egyptian system for dating purposes. I mention these cycles and their dates to show something of the complexity of the problem of establishing a luni-solar year, and the long period of time that elapsed before an accurate figure for the length of the year was arrived at. It was the figure for the solar year that caused the chief difficulty (it was casier to arrive at a reasonable estimate for the lunar month, simply because it recurred more frequently, and a lunar year of $12 \times 29 \frac{1}{2} = 354$ days may well have been known in the earliest stages of Greek astronomy),⁴³ and this is precisely what one would expect from inexact observations of solstices at a time before the concept of equinoxes and all that it entails was understood. In the *parapegma* texts, Euctemon is the earliest astronomer to whom equinoctial observations are attributed;⁴⁴ because of the disorder of the Athenian civil calendar in the fifth century, Thucydides preferred to date events in his history not by the archon's calendar (where no systematic scheme of intercalation was ever in use, but intercalation depended on the vagaries of officialdom)⁴⁵ but by astronomical reference points such as the rising of Arcturus and the solstices—not, be it noted, the equinoxes, although he would no doubt have used them had he been familiar with the concept. Another indication of the uncertainties attending investigations of the length of the year is provided by the values adopted for the four astronomical seasons, i.e. the four segments of the sun's course marked by the solstices and equinoxes. According to a papyrus fragment called the *Ars Eudoxi*,⁴⁶ Euctemon made the lengths of the seasons (beginning from the vernal equinox) 93, 90, 90 and 92 days respectively; Eudoxus, some sixty years later, still operated on the assumption that the sun's motion was uniform, since he gave the lengths of the seasons as 91, 91, 92 (presumably in

three intercalary ones; but there are several difficulties in accepting his account at its face value (in particular, it assumes a figure, $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days, for the length of the year, which was not discovered until Callippus—cf. Heath, *op. cit.* 288–92), and according to Censorinus (*de die natali*, 18, 5) the octaeteris was usually ascribed to Eudoxus, although other names (including Cleostratus) were also connected with it.

⁴⁰ Cf. B. L. van der Waerden, 'Greek Astronomical Calendars', *JHS* lxxx (1960), 170, 'This date is given by three independent witnesses and accepted by all chronologists'.

⁴¹ Ptolemy, *Almag.* iii ed. Heiberg i 207, 12 fl. .

⁴² *De die natali*, 18, 9.

⁴³ This was in fact the 'festival year' of the Athenian calendar—cf. B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (1961) 3 f.

⁴⁴ E.g. in the calendar that appears as ch. 17 of Geminus' *Isagoge* (which Manitius includes in his Teubner edition of 1898, but proves—pp. 280–2—

that it belongs to a period 100 years earlier) p. 216 §3, *ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ [sc. τοῦ ζήριου] Ἐδκτιμόνι ἰσημερία μετοπορινῆ*, and p. 228 §10, for the vernal equinox. On the *parapegmata*, see especially A. Rehm, 'Parapegmastudien', *Abh. d. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Abt., Neue Folge, Heft xix (1941), and his articles 'Episemasiai' and 'Parapegma' in *RE*, Bd. vii (1940) cols. 175–98 and Bd. xviii, 4 (1949) cols. 1295–366; cf. also my *Geographical Fragments of Hipparchus* 111–12.

⁴⁵ See especially W. K. Pritchett, 'Thucydides v 20', *Historia*, Bd. xiii, Heft 1 (Jan. 1964) 21–36, with references to the more recent work done on the Athenian calendar.

⁴⁶ Ed. F. Blass, 1887, p. 25—the papyrus (the text of which shows many errors) was written between 193 and 165 B.C. and is, of course, not by Eudoxus himself; it may be a student's exercise with later information added.

order to bring the total up to the required 365) and 91 days; and it was not until a generation later that Callippus gave values correct to the nearest day, viz. 94, 92, 89 and 90 days (the true lengths being 94.1, 92.2, 88.6, 90.4 days to one decimal point).⁴⁷ It is noteworthy also that Hipparchus, in the second century B.C., found himself obliged to make use of *solstitial* observations to define the length of the solar year even though he expressly states that there was a margin of error of a quarter of a day in such measurements, and that *equinoctial* observations would be preferable;⁴⁸ he gives a series of equinoctial observations which he himself had made as accurately as possible (and of which Ptolemy makes full use), but was unable to find any earlier ones of a comparable standard of accuracy.⁴⁹

In the light of all the evidence presented above, it should by now be perfectly clear that even the beginnings of Greek mathematical astronomy cannot possibly be put back to earlier than the fifth century B.C. and certainly not to the sixth century; not only were the basic concepts lacking, but the whole history of the later development shows that several centuries were required before sufficient observations were accumulated to provide such fundamental data as the length of the solar year and an accurate calendaric scheme. It is only by ridding ourselves of misleading preconceptions and by an impartial examination of what knowledge was possible at a particular epoch, that a true picture of the development of early Greek astronomy can be obtained; this will not be achieved by picking and choosing among the tidbits of miscellaneous information (usually inaccurate and frequently false) provided by the biographical tradition. Yet this is just what Kahn does in the work already mentioned. In his misguided determination to paint a picture of Anaximander 'as the earliest known type of a mathematical physicist' (p. 97), Kahn does not scruple to select 'evidence' to bolster his thesis from the least trustworthy sources while feeling free to reject much, from no other reason than personal preference apparently.⁵⁰ Thus he accepts knowledge of the obliquity of the ecliptic for Anaximander on the authority of Pliny (*nat. hist.* ii 31) and the words *κείμενον λοξόν* (referring to the sun's circle) in Aëtius (ii 25.1 = DK 12A22);⁵¹ but in the same passage of Aëtius, the explanation of eclipses attributed to Anaximander is rejected as 'corrupt' because, in Kahn's opinion, it does not agree with another explanation that Aëtius gives a little earlier. Both explanations are equally fantastic and neither deserves serious consideration—why should one be more 'corrupt' than the other? More fantasy is shown in the explanation that the 'turnings of the sun' (*τροπαὶ ἡλίου*) are caused by the vapours produced when the sun evaporates the moist regions of the earth; this theory is attributed to Anaximander and Diogenes by Alexander commenting on a passage in Aristotle's *Meteorology* (353 b 5 = DK 12A27) and, as Kahn points out (p. 67), the remarkable notion that the sun is nourished by exhalations from the earth's surface was common to several of the later Presocratics.⁵² Even Kahn is constrained to remark (p. 103 n. 2), 'The details are very obscure, and it is difficult to see how such an interpretation of solstices is compatible with the description of the sun's circle as "lying aslant" the equator'. Precisely—the two ideas *are* entirely incompatible, and it should be obvious that the words *κείμενον*

⁴⁷ Cf. Heath, *Arist.* 200 and 215–16; Pannekoek, *op. cit.* 111.

⁴⁸ *Almag.* iii 1 (ed. Heiberg, 194–5).

⁴⁹ Ptolemy several times emphasises the approximate nature of Meton's and Euctemon's observations—e.g. *Almag.* iii 1 (Heib. p. 203, 13), *τάς ἕπ' ἐκείνων* [i.e. Meton, Euctemon and Aristarchus] *παράδοδόμενας* (sc. *θερινάς τροπαίς*) *ὀλοσχερέστερον εἰλημμένας*, and again (Heib. p. 205, 15), *τήν ἕπὸ τῶν περὶ Μέτωνά τε καὶ Εὐκτήμονα τετηρημένην θερινὴν τροπήν, ὡς ὀλοσχερέστερον ἀναγεγραμμένην*.

⁵⁰ Cf. his discussion of 'The Doxographv', 23 71, *passim*, and particularly 59 ff.

⁵¹ Cf. p. 88, 'Since the circles of the sun and moon are said to "lie aslant" *λοξόν κείμενον*, Anaximander must have been familiar with the inclination of the ecliptic relative to the diurnal path of the stars. Pliny also attributes this knowledge to him, and other sources speak of his interest in solstices, equinoxes, and the measurement of the "diurnal hours". Needless to say, there is not the slightest indication that Kahn has considered any of the implications of Anaximander's possession of such knowledge.

⁵² Typically, Kahn informs us (p. 103) that 'here the link between meteorology and astronomy is dramatically established'!

λοξόν are a late addition in the doxographical tradition, inserted by someone who was so familiar with the slanting ecliptic of late Greek astronomy that he could not conceive of its not being a well-known concept in this early period; just as Kahn cannot envisage the ecliptic without mentioning the equator, although there is not a word about this in the original quotation. Time and again Kahn emphasises what he alleges is the mathematical content of Anaximander's thought; e.g. p. 77, 'What is most striking in this doctrine is its specifically mathematical character. . . . Anaximander's own use of this geometric idea [the free position of the earth], as a general expression for the principle of symmetry or indifference'; p. 78, 'That this cosmological application of a geometric idea was Anaximander's personal achievement, is fortunately beyond doubt'; p. 80 (the crowning absurdity in this monstrous edifice of exaggeration), 'Anaximander's view prepared the way for a purely geometric approach to astronomy, and hence, indirectly, for the heliocentric hypothesis. This mathematical insight was . . . refused by his more empirically minded successors.' Examination of the evidence on which Kahn bases these sweeping statements shows that, apart from the doctrine of the unsupported earth in the centre of the universe,⁵³ he relies (a) on the attribution to Anaximander of a cylindrical earth, three times as wide as it is deep, and (b) on some conjectural figures for the supposed sizes of Anaximander's tubes of fire representing sun and moon. The authority for (a) is a single passage in pseudo-Plutarch (*Strom.* 2 = DK 12A10); elsewhere (p. 59) in another context Kahn is very properly hesitant about accepting 'the isolated testimony of Aëtius'. As regards (b), the only figures to be found in the doxographical tradition are contained in the statements that the sun's circle is twenty-eight times (Aëtius ii 20.1 = DK 12A21) or twenty-seven times (Aëtius ii 21.1) the earth, while the moon's circle is nineteen times the earth (Aëtius ii 25.1 = DK 12A22); but Tannery⁵⁴ put forward some ingenious speculation purporting to show that Anaximander conceived his universe on mathematical lines according to the series 3 (earth): 9 (stars): 18 (moon): 27 (sun). Kahn admits (p. 62) that 'there is little documentary basis for this attractive result' (my italics), but nevertheless states (p. 88) 'The inherent plausibility of this conjecture is very great'. In fact, of course, the whole thing is astronomical nonsense;⁵⁵ no reliance whatsoever can be placed on the numbers (only 27 in the series has any textual authority, as Kahn agrees) which were in all probability invented by the doxographers.⁵⁶ There is not the remotest possibility that the numbers are based on observational data (even Kahn admits this, p. 96), and Tannery's hypothetical series can hardly be taken seriously as evidence for a mathematically-based universe in Anaximander's thought; even the assumption that the unit of measurement is the earth's diameter⁵⁷ is very dubious—the phrase *ἐπτακαίεικοσπλάσιώ τῆς γῆς* is itself ambiguous—and it is unlikely that the idea of taking as a standard the whole earth could have presented itself before a time when the earth's sphericity had become a familiar concept, and thought was being directed towards measuring it (say, the latter part of the fourth and the third centuries B.C.).

Thus the evidence for Anaximander's mathematical approach, on which Kahn lays so much stress, disappears completely. And this is not the only reason for characterising Kahn's account as highly misleading—his whole treatment of the scientific side of Anaxi-

⁵³ Probably to be accepted for Anaximander and undoubtedly a bold conception for his time, but hardly to be regarded as incontrovertible evidence for his mathematical insight.

⁵⁴ *Pour l'histoire de la science hellène*, 90 ff.

⁵⁵ As Diels remarks (*op. cit.* 232), 'In Wirklichkeit ist diese ganze Zahlenspeculation nur eine dichterische Veranschaulichung', and 'Die Abmessung besagt also nicht viel mehr, als wenn die Inder drei Vischnus Schritte von der Erde zum Himmel rechnen'. Curiously, Kahn cites (p. 95) the last statement as if

it were an original judgment by Heath (*Arist.* 38), whereas it is clear from the context that Heath is summarising Diels' views.

⁵⁶ Cf. my remarks in *CQ* ix (1959) 304 ff.

⁵⁷ This was the unit which later astronomers (e.g. Aristarchus, Hipparchus, and Ptolemy) used in their attempts to estimate the sizes and distances of the sun and moon—see Heath's discussion (*Arist.* 337–50)—and it is undoubtedly recollection of this fact that has led both modern scholars and ancient commentators alike to assume the same for Anaximander.

mander's thought is vitiated by two serious faults: firstly a failure to appreciate the logical assumptions that must necessarily underlie the attribution of various pieces of knowledge to Anaximander (this is the second of the two 'pitfalls' I mentioned earlier on), and secondly a lack of historical sense in dealing with the development of Greek astronomical ideas. Examples of the former are the ready acceptance of Anaximander's knowledge of the obliquity of the ecliptic and of the concept of the equinoxes which, as I have tried to demonstrate above, is entirely anachronistic for the sixth century B.C. One further example may be given: speaking of Thales' alleged prediction of a solar eclipse (about which Kahn is very perverse—see below), he says (p. 77; n. 2 of p. 76), 'Since there is nothing marvellous about a prediction of solstices . . .' But there certainly *is* something marvellous about it, although Kahn fails to realise this; not only does such a prediction (if it is to come true) presuppose accurate observations as a basis, entailing accurate time measurement (and it should be remembered that even Hipparchus in the second century B.C. could not guarantee a greater accuracy than one-quarter of a day in solstitial measurements—see above), but it also assumes the use of a fixed calendaric scheme and a knowledge of the length of the solar year; and there is no likelihood that any of these desiderata existed in Greece before the time of Meton and Euctemon. Examples of Kahn's lack of historical sense are not hard to find. On p. 91 he states, 'Whether or not it is true that Thales was capable of predicting a solar eclipse, it is at any rate clear that the Milesian competence in astronomical matters involved a great deal more than the familiarity with months, solstices, and star risings which we find in the *Works and Days* of Hesiod'. It is depressing to find the hoary fable of Thales' prediction of a solar eclipse still being given currency despite the weight of probability (not to mention the verdict of the most competent modern authorities) against it.⁵⁸ 'The Milesian competence in astronomical matters' is, of course, well demonstrated by solstices caused by evaporation, by eclipses (and the phases of the moon) resulting from the stopping up of fiery vents, by the fixed stars being placed nearest the earth, by a sun and stars revolving round the earth like a cap on a man's head, by—but there is no need to continue. As for Hesiod, only one name of a month occurs in the *Works and Days* (504, Lenaion) and that is probably interpolated,⁵⁹ but the *practical* astronomical knowledge shown in the poem is far more convincing, and was destined to continue to prove useful much longer than most of the speculative fantasies of Milesian 'astronomy'. On p. 80 Kahn envisages Anaximander as the possessor of an 'exalted vision of the harmonious sphere', whose 'mathematical insight . . . was refused by his more empirically-minded successors'; this rejection 'probably constitutes the earliest recorded conflict between mathematical science and common sense'. One can hardly imagine a less convincing approach; as already shown, the 'mathematical insight' is a figment of Kahn's imagination, and it is remarkably difficult to find much 'common sense' in the astronomical notions of Anaximenes, Xenophanes, and Heraclitus. Kahn's view of Anaximander as a mathematical genius whose ideas failed to be appreciated by his successors is entirely unsubstantiated by the available evidence. Heraclitus' bowls of fire (*σκάφαι*) and Parmenides' 'wreaths' (*στεφάναι*) are obviously variations on a theme of Anaximander, a flat earth is a conception common to all the Ionian thinkers up to and including Anaxagoras, the fiery nature of the heavenly bodies became accepted doctrine, and there are many other points of detail in the views of the later Ionians as transmitted to us⁶⁰ which recall those

⁵⁸ To the references I give in *CQ* ix (1959) 295-6, now add Neugebauer, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* cvii (1963) 533-4, where he is even more emphatic than previously: 'even the methods of the Seleucid period would not explain the alleged approximate prediction by Thales of a solar eclipse for Ionia'; 'That Thales had even the faintest idea of the problems involved is out of the question'.

⁵⁹ Cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.* 31 and 45.

⁶⁰ In this connexion, Kahn's statement (p. 75), 'In general, the Theophrastean doxography (where it can be reconstructed) is *fully reliable* for the detailed theories of heaven and earth' (my italics), is open to considerable doubt. It seems to me that it is precisely in the details that one might expect the maximum distortion, since it is here that consciousness of later knowledge would cause the doxographers to interpret the evidence as nearly as possible in

attributed to Anaximander. There is no foundation at all for the supposition of a 'refusal' of his ideas by his successors—in fact, quite the contrary.

Accounts like that of Kahn's which grossly exaggerate the mathematical and scientific content of early Greek thought, as well as rendering more difficult the already difficult task of tracing the development of Greek scientific ideas, also do no service to the study of the Presocratics. These have their own especial glory in the history of western philosophy and I should be the last to underestimate their importance; by abandoning mythological traditions and subjecting external phenomena to a process of abstract reasoning, untrammelled by religious dogma, and even by investigating the actual processes of thought, they opened up a whole new field of knowledge which is virtually inexhaustible. But *they were not scientists*—and actual observation seems to have played a very minor part in their astronomical theories.⁶¹ Attempts to make them out as scientists and astronomers, by manipulating the unsatisfactory evidence which is all we possess, serve only to belittle them for any dispassionate critic with even a smattering of mathematical knowledge and common sense. It may well be that the whole gamut of Ionian cosmological speculation, with its often fantastic notions, was a necessary prelude to the later development of mathematical astronomy. Perhaps it was inevitable that the new methods of thought, based on abstract reasoning and the free expression of imaginative ideas, should be first tried out in the widest possible field to test their capabilities, before having to submit to the discipline of trying to account accurately for the facts of observation. This may well be the case—one of the most striking characteristics of the Greek mind was its fondness for theoretical speculation, in great contrast with what we know of Babylonian or Egyptian modes of thought—and if so, we can readily understand the intellectual intoxication that produced the various extraordinary theories developed by the Presocratics; but this is not to say that we should treat them as though they were scientifically-based hypotheses and read into them a mathematical content that they never possessed. Kahn's view (p. 6) that 'It is, in all probability, his [Anaximander's] work which laid down the lines along which ancient science was to develop' is a travesty of the historical truth as far as ancient astronomy is concerned, which would have remained at a very elementary level if there were any truth in this statement.⁶² In fact, of the two main streams of Greek thought in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., the Ionian and the Western Greek or Pythagorean, it is without any doubt the latter which proved the most fertile for the development of mathematical astronomy.⁶³ Whether one believes that it was Pythagoras himself (and the evidence is just as strong—or as weak—for this view as for any

accordance with the notions of their own time—cf. *Q ix* 1959) 302 ff.

⁶¹ Kirk notes the 'superficial glance which was all that many Pre-socratics seem to have considered necessary' *Mind* lxxix (1960) 329; cf. K. R. Popper, 'Back to the Pre-Socratics', *Papers of the Aristotelian Society*, Oct. 1958, p. 3, '... but most of them [the ideas of the Presocratics], and the best of them, have nothing to do with observation'. However, when he goes on to say (p. 6), 'thus it was a speculative and critical argument... which almost led him [Anaximander] to the true theory of the shape of the earth; and it was observational experience which led him astray', Popper is greatly overstating his case; it was *incomplete* observation, not sufficiently thought about, that was the hindrance—observation *could* and eventually *did* show that the simplest explanation of all the phenomena was to assume a spherical earth.

⁶² As, indeed, it did in the atomist theory of the universe, where the astronomical ideas of Leucippus

and Democritus closely follow the naïvetés of Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Anaxagoras—see Heath, *Arist.* 121–9.

⁶³ Here I am in full agreement with B. L. van der Waerden, *Die Astronomie der Pythagoreer* (1951) as also on the strong Pythagorean influence on Plato's astronomical ideas; but on a number of important points—e.g. attribution of knowledge of the obliquity of the ecliptic to Anaximander and Cleostratus (p. 14), and belief in the Pythagorean origin of the concept of epicycles and eccentrics to represent the movements of the planets (pp. 37–49; the argumentation here is particularly unconvincing), and in the axial rotation of the earth in Platonic astronomy—van der Waerden goes far beyond the evidence and his views cease to be tenable. Burkert, on the other hand, goes too far in the opposite direction in denying Pythagorean influence on Plato's astronomy except for the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres and the spatial ordering of the planets *op. cit.* p. 315.

of the theories attributed to individual Presocratics) or his successors in the Pythagorean school who first put forward the idea of the spherical earth and the celestial sphere, there can be no doubt that this was the really vital step which the Greeks had to take before their astronomy could be developed to its subsequent high level.⁶⁴ Had their ideas been restricted to the level of Ionian speculation, with its disregard for observational experience (at least on the evidence of the doxographical tradition), further development might have been considerably retarded.

The following brief sketch gives, I believe, a truer picture of the development of Greek astronomy than can be obtained by the currently fashionable tendency to overestimate the scientific content of Presocratic thought. Up to the last few decades of the fifth century B.C., Greek astronomy was still in the pre-scientific stage. Observations of astronomical phenomena such as the rising and setting of prominent stars and star clusters, the different aspects of the night sky at different seasons of the year, the changes in the rising and setting points of the sun, and the marking of the solstices, had obviously been accumulating since the time of Hesiod at least; but these were the rough-and-ready observations, unsystematically recorded and imperfectly understood, of practical men, farmers, sailors, and travellers by land, whose main concern was to have some sort of guide for the regular business of everyday life, to mark the seasons for different agricultural operations, to ensure that religious festivals connected with the harvest or seed sowing or the gathering of the grapes were carried out at the appropriate times, to give warning of the months when it was unsafe to put to sea—in short, to be able to tell the time.⁶⁵ Ionian speculation seems to have taken very little note of such observations (some of its wilder flights of fancy might have been avoided, if it had taken more). By the time of Meton and Euctemon (c. 430 B.C.) the accumulation of this material had reached the stage when it was possible to correlate them in the form of astronomical calendars (*parapegmata*), and a much clearer picture, immeasurably helped by the Pythagorean concept of a spherical earth, was being obtained of at least the sun's course with the solstices and equinoxes marking the four seasons of the solar year to which a reasonably accurate length could now be assigned. Also about this time (connected with the name of Oinopides, but undoubtedly originating in Babylonia) appeared the concept of the zodiac as the oblique course of the sun among the stars. In fact, mathematical astronomy had begun. In the fourth century B.C., probably largely thanks to Plato,⁶⁶ who

⁶⁴ I am assuming that a view of the universe which attempts to comprehend all astronomical phenomena within a single, unified mathematical system represents a more advanced stage of astronomy than one where computational accuracy alone makes possible the prediction of the characteristic phenomena of, e.g., the moon and the planets without any underlying cinematical model at all. The latter stage is represented by Babylonian astronomy of the Seleucid period, which (as far as we can judge from the available cuneiform texts) operated without any knowledge of the fundamental concepts of the spherical earth set in the middle of the celestial sphere, of the obliquity of the ecliptic, and of geographical latitude and longitude; these are all *Greek* discoveries and in comparison with their fertility, the arithmetical methods of Babylonian astronomy proved sterile, useful as they were in providing some of the essential parameters in the initial stages of Greek mathematical astronomy. On the whole question, see the works (cited above) of Neugebauer, who remains the soundest guide despite a tendency to underestimate

the importance of Hipparchus, which I hope to demonstrate elsewhere.

⁶⁵ This was the real impetus towards the study of the heavens, and the difficulties encountered in the attempt to measure time accurately by the motions of sun and moon (difficulties which it is all too easy to underestimate) provided the chief problem for Greek astronomy throughout most of its history. It was not until a solution to this problem had been found that other considerations, such as those implicit in the well-known phrase *σφίλει τι γινώμενα* and the working out of mathematical theories to account for the movements of the planets, became of greater moment. The point is clearly brought out in the *Timaeus*, where Plato explains that the Demiurge created the sun, moon, and planets expressly to enable men to grasp the general concept of time (38c); but, as is specifically stated later, very little was known about the periods of the planets *ὅσατε ὡς ἔπος εἶπεν οὐκ ἴσασι χρόνον ὅτι τις τοῦτων πλάνης* 39c.

⁶⁶ Whose influence on the development of Greek

made Pythagorean astronomical ideas respectable, mathematical astronomy developed rapidly, mainly through the genius of Eudoxus, who was the first to work out mathematically (as distinct from adumbrating, as did the later Pythagoreans) a geometrically-based model of the universe, the first to give a systematic description of the heavens, and the first to display a full understanding of the interrelationships of the various circles on the celestial sphere (ecliptic, equator, tropics, solstitial and equinoctial colures, etc.).⁶⁷ To the same century belong the astronomical treatises of Autolycus⁶⁸ and Euclid,⁶⁹ in which the geometry of the sphere as applied to astronomical problems is taken as far as it can be without the help of trigonometrical methods (first developed by Hipparchus). The third century B.C. marks the beginning of the final stages of Greek mathematical astronomy, with observations made by Aristarchus, Archimedes, and the Alexandrian astronomers, Timocharis and Aristyllus, as well as Eratosthenes (whose value for the obliquity of the ecliptic was accepted by both Hipparchus and Ptolemy), and with Apollonius' investigations into the geometry of epicycles and eccentrics (a new development, possibly suggested by the discovery, attributed to Heracleides in the previous century, that the planets Mercury and Venus revolve round the sun). Finally, Hipparchus, in the second century B.C., laid down the main lines of the Ptolemaic system so-called, to which Ptolemy in the second century A.D. added the finishing touches in the way of a more accurate treatment of the moon's motion and a complete theory for each of the five planets—and the Hipparchian-Ptolemaic system was destined to endure until the sixteenth century and beyond.

This is, of course, only a skeleton outline; many details remain to be filled in, some of which we may never know, and new evidence and further research may necessitate minor changes of emphasis, but the main course of development of Greek astronomy is, I believe, substantially as outlined above. Not until Ionian speculation had played itself out and it was becoming increasingly obvious that such presumptive theorising bore little or no relation to the gradually accumulating stock of observational data, did mathematical astronomy even begin to develop. It seems to me singularly unhelpful to attempt to backdate this to the sixth century B.C. by elevating the fanciful, cosmological ideas of the earlier Presocratics to the status of mathematically-based, scientific theories (which can, anyway, only be done by making ill-founded assumptions and ignoring inconvenient evidence, as I hope to have demonstrated). What is required is a more detailed examination of the work of the key figures in the history of Greek astronomy, e.g. Eudoxus,⁷⁰ and investigation into its really puzzling phases, e.g. its relationship with Babylonian astronomy⁷¹—not yet more speculative reconstructions of the supposed ideas of the Presocratics,⁷² and certainly not further attempts to make them out to be 'super-scientists'.

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astronomy has perhaps been underrated, and whose astronomical ideas deserve further investigation—Cornford's *Plato's Cosmology*, 1937) has by no means said the last word on it, as witness recent attempts (to me unconvincing) to deny the sphericity of the earth for Plato; cf. T. G. Rosenmeyer, 'Phaedo 111 c 4 ff.' *CQ* vi (1956) 193–7; W. M. Calder III, 'The spherical earth in Plato's Phaedo', *Phronesis* iii (1958) 121–5; Rosenmeyer, 'The shape of the earth in the Phaedo: a rejoinder', *Phronesis* iv (1959) 71–2; J. S. Morrison, 'The shape of the earth in Plato's Phaedo', *Phronesis* iv (1959) 101–19.

⁶⁷ See the quotations from Eudoxus in Hipparchus' commentary (ed. Manitius, Teubner, 1894) on the astronomical poem (the *Phaenomena*, of Aratus, itself a versification of Eudoxus' work.

⁶⁸ *De sphaera quae movetur* and *De orbitis et occisibus*, ed. J. Mogenet (Louvain, 1950).

⁶⁹ *Phaenomena*, ed. Heiberg (Teubner) viii 1916.

⁷⁰ Whose astronomical work as a whole has not yet received individual treatment—F. Gisinger's *Die Erdbeschreibung des Eudoxus von Knidos*, 1921 (*Στοιχεῖα*, Heft vi) is concerned only with Eudoxus' geographical work; cf. G. L. Huxley in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* iv (1963) 83–96.

⁷¹ Cf. Neugebauer, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* cvii (1963) 534.

⁷² For a beguiling example, see M. L. West, 'Three Presocratic Cosmologies', *CQ* xiii (1963) 154–76, who says confidently about Thales (p. 173), 'his lost cosmology can be recovered by simple inference'!!

ARISTOPHANES' SPEECH IN PLATO'S *SYMPOSIUM*

I. MOTIF AND GENRE

ARISTOPHANES' encomium on Eros (*Smp.* 189c 2–193d 5) is a story with a moral. Once upon a time, all human beings were double creatures, each with two heads, two bodies and eight limbs. Then, by the command of Zeus, each double creature was cut in half, and so humans as we know them came into being. Every one of us 'seeks his other half', and this search is Eros. If we are pious, we may hope to be rewarded by success in the search; if we are impious, Zeus may cut us in two again, and each of us will be like a flat-fish or a figure in relief.

The story is amusingly told, and the comedies of the real Aristophanes are also amusing; but when Sykutris¹ says that the story 'reminds us of the plot of a comedy' and when Robin² constructs a hypothetical comedy out of it, they are confounding essence and accident. The affinities of Aristophanes' story do not lie with his own comedies or with those of his contemporaries, but elsewhere.

The extant plays of Aristophanes are firmly rooted in the present, and each of them explores the possibilities of a fantasy constructed out of the present. Mythology was exploited by the comic poets—rarely by Aristophanes himself, more extensively by some others—in order to present humorously distorted versions of the myths which were the traditional material of serious poetry. Some comic titles point to theogonic myths (e.g. *Polyzelos*, *Birth of the Muses* and *Birth of Dionysos*) or to myths about the era before the rule of Zeus (e.g. *Phrynichos*, *Kronos*, and the younger *Kratinos*, *Giants* and *Titans*). But among all the plays of Old and Middle Comedy which are known to us at least by title there are only two the plots of which seem likely to have had something in common with the grotesque story of the origin of Eros:

(i) *Pherekrates*, *Ant-men*. This play included (*fr.* 120) words addressed to Deukalion, spoken by someone who is tired of eating fish; another fragment (113) is about fish, a third (114) tells a woman to make a mast, and a fourth (117) says that a storm is approaching. The fragments thus suggest a comic version of the myth of Deukalion and Pyrrha, who survived the flood sent by Zeus and created mankind afresh by throwing stones which turned into humans. This myth was known to Hesiod (*fr.* 115 [Rzach]), Pindar (*O.* ix 42 ff.) and Akusileos (B33 and B39 [D.-K.]), and was used by Epicharmos.³ The title of the play, however, suggests that Pherekrates gave the myth a new twist by substituting for the stone-throwing the transformation of ants into men, a phenomenon which already belonged to a myth about the origin of the Myrmidons (Hesiod *fr.* 76 [Rzach], *cf.* Koek, *CAF* i 178).⁴

(ii) *POxy* 427 offers us the ends of three trochaic tetrameters followed by]*φάνους*[]*πογονία* (*Antiphanes fr.* 1 [Demianezuk] = 32A [Edmonds]). Both *Ἀντιφάνους* and *Ἀνθρῶπογονία* are virtual certainties; of the other comic poets with names ending in -phanes, the plays of Apollophanes are listed in the *Suda*, and Euphanes and Alexiphanes (Lexi-?) are each known to us only by a single mention. Irenaeus (*Haer.* ii 14) attributes a *Theogony* to Antiphanes,⁵ to which *Anthropogony* would be a neat sequel (or precedent), and the theoretical

This article is a revised version of the third of three Special Lectures on 'Some Aspects of Plato's *Symposium*' delivered in University College, London, on February 19–21, 1964.

¹ P. 119* of his edition (Athens, 1934); *cf.* Rettig's edition (Halle, 1875–6) ii 21 f.

² Pp. lix f. of his sixth edition (Paris, 1958).

³ *Cf.* Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, ed. 2 (Oxford, 1962) 265 ff.

⁴ Meineke (*FCG* ii 310) considered but abandoned this explanation. It should be noted in passing that a play called *Ant* was attributed to Kantharos and to Plato Comicus, but there are no fragments and no reason to suppose that it (any more than *Wasps*) contained an anthropogonic myth. On Aesop 166 (Perry) *cf.* p. 43, n. 15.

⁵ *Fr.* 105A (Edmonds). Irenaeus's summary of the 'doctrine' of the play so closely resembles *Ar. Ac.* 693 ff. that Meineke (*FCG* i 318 ff.) thought 'Anti-

alternatives *ἱππογονία*, *καρπογονία* and *Φιλιππογονία* also reeede in faee of line 1 of the fragment, *ἄνδρες οἱ γεγεννημένοι*. Antiphanes began his long theatrical career (Anon. *De Com.* ii 13 Kaibel) 'after the 98th Olympiad', i.e. in 387/6 or 386/5.⁶ If, as I have argued elsewhere,⁷ Plato wrote the *Symposium* between 385/4 and 379/8, we are free to speculate that *Anthropogony* was among the earliest plays of Antiphanes and provided Plato with the basic idea for Aristophanes' speech; but speculation of this kind, always a tempting way of filling a vacuum, must not be allowed to displace positive evidence, and I offer now the evidence which leads us away from Comedy.

(1) The theme of Aristophanes' story, the origin of sexual love, is of a type prominent in many different cultures, including preliterate cultures, in the Old and the New World alike. Motifs belonging to this type include: changes in the size and shape of human beings, changes in the position of the genitals and breasts or in the texture of the skin, changes from double people to single people, and the origins of sex differentiation.⁸ In Greek (I exclude for the moment the speculations of fifth-century philosophers) the classic example is Hesiod's story (*Th.* 570 ff.) of the first woman (re-used, with important changes, in *Op.* 54 ff.). Comparable stories are eharacteristieally Aesopie.⁹ In Pl. *Phaedo* 60c 1-7 Sokrates, rubbing his leg to restore the eirculation, is struek by the interdependence of pleasure and pain, and remarks, 'I think, if Aesop had taken note of them, he would have eomposed a story about how the god wished to reeonile them, for they were always at loggerheads, and, when he found he eould not, fastened their heads together' (i.e. united their bodies under one head, as 60b 8-9 shows). Kallimachos (*fr.* 192.15 f.) coneludes with the words 'this is what Aesop said' an iambus which speaks of a time when beasts and birds and fishes eould talk; Zeus took their voices from them and distributed these voices among men.

(2) Actiological stories are to be found at all levels of sophistication. In addition to Hesiod and Aesop¹⁰ we may distinguish:

(a) Tragedy, which, so far as we ean see, eschewed the purely biological in favour of *Kultugeschichte* (A. *Pr.* 436 ff. and Mosehion *fr.* 6—the latter relegates Prometheus to the status of a hypothesis) or *Ideengeschichte* (Kritias *fr.* 25 [D.-K.], on the origins of religion).

(b) The philosophers. Anaximandros made man evolve from an aquatic ereature (A10, A11, A30; Kirk and Raven, pp. 141 ff.), and Empedokles postulated a stage at which eatures eame into being with two faees or with combinations of male and female or of human and animal chaaraeteristics (B57-62; Kirk and Raven, pp. 336 ff.). However grotesque the products of Empedokles' unusual imagination may seem to us, we must remember that he was attempting to explain the origin of species in their present form. Protagoras in Pl. *Prt.* 320e ff. offers a story which is philosophieally serious, in that it is used as an introduction to an exposition of ethieal views which deserve attention, it is systematic, and it is an elegant work of art, but it resembles preliterate myth in representing species of

phanes' a slip for 'Aristophanes', and *Theogony* was excluded from CAF.

⁶ Meineke's tentative emendation *FCG* i 304. of *μετά το κατά* was mistaken: cf. Anon. *De Com.* ii 16 *ἰδιότατε δὲ πρὸ τῆς γενεῆς ἀληπιείδος*, and E. Rohde, *Rh.M.* xlii 1887: 475 = *Kleine Schriften* [Tubingen and Leipzig, 1901] 1185.

⁷ *Phronesis* x 1965: 2 ff.

⁸ Suth Thomson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, ed. 2. Copenhagen, 1955. motifs A 1225.1, 1281.1 2, 1301, 1310.1, 1313.0.2, 1313.3, 1313.4.1, 1316.0.1, 1352, 1352.3, and M. Nøjgaard, *La Fable antique* (Copenhagen, 1964-) 1102 f., 402 ff. Vast though the *Motif-Index* is, it can be augmented annually from anthropological publications. On the other hand, some of the examples cited in it should possibly

be discounted (for our present purpose) as the product of diffusion from the Platonic story: cf. D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1956) 72 f., 79, on the bisexual Adam (I owe this reference to the Rev. R. A. S. Barbour).

⁹ Not all the Aesopic stories known in Classical times, perhaps not more than a minority, should be called 'fables': cf. K. Meuli, *Herkunft und Wesen der Fabel* (Basel, 1954) and especially Nøjgaard (*passim*), whose definitions are strict.

¹⁰ It is hard to refuse a Classical pedigree to some actiological stories which are attributed to Aesop in much later times, e.g. Photius *Ep.* 16, Themistius p. 434 Dindorf: cf. B. E. Perry, *T.A.P.* xciii (1962) 294 ff.

living creatures as being fitted out with their attributes by a supernatural though fallible quartermaster.

(c) What Plato calls 'old wives' tales'; that is, folklore at the subliterate level. Thrasy-machos in *Pl. R.* 350e 2-4 says contemptuously that he will say 'yes' and 'no' and 'well!' to Sokrates 'as to the old women who tell stories'. The nature and scope of these stories is not so easily established as the fact of their existence, but they may have embraced both the remote past and the life after death. In *Hp. Ma.* 285e 10-286a 2 Sokrates compares the pleasure which the Spartans take in the *ἀρχαιολογία* (285d 8) of Hippias with the pleasure of children in the stories of old women; and in *Grg.* 527a 5 Sokrates fears that the story of judgment after death may be dismissed by Kallikles as *μῦθος* . . . ὥσπερ γράος. It is noteworthy that at the beginning of the story Sokrates uses a story-teller's formula and calls our attention to its formulaic character: ἄκουε δὴ, φασί, μάλα καλοῦ λόγου (523a 1).¹¹ Plato's Eleatic in *Plt.* 268e 4-5 introduces his remarkable myth with the words 'now attend closely to my story, as children do',¹² and approaches his main subject by way of the standstill of the sun in the myth of Atreus and Thyestes.¹³

(d) The story told by Sokrates in *Phdr.* 259b 6-d 7, of how cicadas came into being from humans in remote times, suggests that the aetiological story, like the *εἰκῶν* (e.g. *Smp.* 215a 4 ff.) was a recognised genre of urbane invention.¹⁴

(3) The range from philosophy, through epic and tragedy, to fable and folklore is a very wide range indeed, but the categories which I have distinguished are linked together sometimes by community of formula, sometimes by details of content over and above their general community of theme. Protagoras's story, Kritias *fr.* 25, Mosehion *fr.* 6 and Kallimachos *fr.* 192 all begin with variations of the formula 'once upon a time'.¹⁵ Prometheus, the bringer of fire, the 'culture hero' whom we recognise in the folklore of peoples far removed from the Greeks, figures in the antecedents to the story of the Woman in Hesiod;¹⁶ he is already a friend of mankind, for reasons which Hesiod does not give (*Th.* 535 ff., *Op.* 50 ff.). His brother Epimetheus is the intermediary who takes the Woman to mankind (*Th.* 511 ff., *Op.* 85 ff.). In Protagoras's story Prometheus and Epimetheus are the divine stewards who are charged with the distribution of attributes to all species of creature. In the Aesopic story of Kallimachos, again, it is presupposed that Prometheus was the actual maker of mankind (3, *cf. fr.* 493 and Aesop 240 [Perry]). Hephaistos and Athena are the craftsmen who make the Woman in Hesiod (*Th.* 571 ff., *Op.* 60 ff.), and it is from them that Prometheus steals the means of life for the human species in *Prt.* 321d 5-e 4. The agent of Zeus who takes the Woman to Epimetheus in *Op.* 83 ff. is Hermes, it is Hermes who is sent by Zeus to implant shame and justice in men (*Prt.* 322c 1 ff.), and Hermes is commonly Zeus's agent in the later Aesopic corpus (e.g. 108 [Perry]). In Aristophanes' story the agent is not Hermes, but Apollo, as in a minority of later fables (e.g. Avianus 22), and Hephaistos appears, as it were, on the sidelines (*Smp.* 192d 2 ff.).

¹¹ *Cf. Tim.* 20d 7-8 ἄκουε δὴ, ὃ Σόκράτης, λόγον μάλα μὲν ἀτόπον, παντάπασί γε μὴν ἀληθοῦς, beginning a story received (d 1) ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀκοῆς. Because of the formula, I do not take *μῦθος* . . . ὥσπερ γράος in *Grg.* 527a 5 as a mere synonym for 'nonsense', but equally I do not suggest that *Th.* 176b 7, where ὁ λεγόμενος γράων ἴθλος is contrasted with 'the truth', gives us any information about Greek old wives' tales.

¹² This is a more appropriate translation than 'boys' ('like a boy', Taylor), if *Hp. Ma.* 286a 1-2 is any guide. Nøjgaard i 548 ff. rightly emphasizes that fables (as he defines them) are designed for an adult audience, but this does not alter the fact that they (with other stories of a fable-like character) are digestible by children and much adult fare is not.

¹³ *Cf. Wilamowitz, Platon* ii (ed. 3, Berlin, 1962) 175; K. Ziegler, *NJ* 1 xxxi (1913) 550 ff.; A. E. Taylor, *Plato: the Sophist and the Statesman* (Edinburgh, 1961) 211 ff.

¹⁴ On the *εἰκῶν* in general *cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag.* 1629 ff. and G. Monaco, *Paragoni burleschi degli antichi* (Palumbo, 1964). On the story of the cicadas, *cf. P. Frutiger, Les Mythes de Platon* (Paris, 1930) 237 n. 5. Motifs of the type 'cicadas were once men' may have existed in folklore in Plato's time; *cf. Aesop* 166 (Perry) *μῦθός ἐστιν ὅτι τὸ πάλαι ἀνθρώποις ἦν κτλ.*

¹⁵ *Cf. E. Norden, Agnostos Theos*, ed. 2 (Leipzig, 1923) 368 ff. and Nøjgaard 459 f.

¹⁶ *Cf. Frutiger* 238.

(4) Community of motifs between Aristophanes' story and one or more of the works which I have cited, combined with the resemblance of its central motif to non-Greek preliterate stories, suffices to establish the large field within which it falls. But where exactly within this field? To what level of sophistication does Plato mean us to assign it? There are three important indications that he has a low level in mind.

(a) Whereas it was the concern of the philosophers to offer, so far as possible, complete and systematic explanations of evolutionary processes and the origins of things as they are, the biological mechanism of Aristophanes' story is so naïve that it does not bear questioning. The bisection of double individuals in the remote past not only made each of the resulting single individuals at that time seek the other half of himself but also makes each of us, the descendants of those single individuals, seek his or her own complement (191d 3-193c 8), as if we ourselves were the immediate product of bisection. This standstill of time, this gay indifference to the distinction between individual and species, is a universal characteristic of folktales of the type 'how the leopard got his spots', and is also to be observed in Hesiod's first story of Woman. From this unique first woman is descended γένος . . . γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων (*Th.* 590). How then did mankind reproduce itself before her? And are not all men and women equally descended from men and women? Questions of this kind are not only unanswerable; the very asking of them is an anachronistic reaction to Hesiod's story. In *Op.* the deadly gift of Zeus is no longer primeval woman, but a named person, Pandora; this modification removes a biological naïveté which may have come to seem to Hesiod himself out of place in serious poetry, but in the element added to the story, the jar of ills which Pandora brings with her, there is still a degree of indifference to mechanism which has troubled readers and students of Hesiod from Classical to modern times.¹⁷

(b) Aristophanes is made to say (193a 3-b 6) 'there is, then, a danger that if we do not behave as we should towards the gods we shall be cut in two again, and go round like figures in relief'. The warning has affinities with the moral which is normally the point of a fable,¹⁸ the contrition often expressed at the end by a character in a folktale,¹⁹ and, rather strikingly, with the ending of one of Hans Andersen's stories, *The Shirt Collar* ('and this we must remember, so that we may on no account do what he did'). Some kind of warning or threat about the future is attested for at least one Aesopic story of genuine antiquity, alluded to in Arist. *Meteor.* 356b 9-17, where Aesop 'in a rage with a ferryman'²⁰ says that one day Charybdis, which in its first burst of activity had exposed the mountains and in its second the islands and the plains, will in a third and last effort suck down all the water in the world (thereby, one presumes, depriving greedy and dilatory ferrymen of their livelihood).²¹

(c) After the warning, a happier note is struck (193a 7-d 5): 'Each man should exhort his fellows to piety . . . Eros allows us to hope that if we show piety towards the gods he will return us to our original nature' (by enabling each of us to find and abide by his other half) 'and by healing us make us blessed and happy'. To close a story with a wish for our own

¹⁷ Cf. A. S. F. Gow in *Essays and Studies Presented to Sir William Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913) 99 ff., and G. Fink, *Pandora und Epimetheus* (Diss. Erlangen, 1958) 65 ff. My own view is that Hesiod meant to say what Hermokrates says more sophistically in *Th.* vi 78.2: οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἅμα τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς τίγῃς τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ταμίαν γενέσθαι. Man is ταμίαις of his own hopes and fears, because he can choose to hope and fear, but he cannot choose when to be sick or well.

¹⁸ There is an amusing French example in A. de Montaignon and G. Raynaud, *Recueil de Fabliaux* (Paris, 1877-) ii no. 32: cf. R. C. Johnston and D. D. R. Owen, *Fabliaux* (Oxford, 1957) xiii f., xvii f.

¹⁹ E.g. (ed.) F. H. Lee, *Folk Tales of All Nations* (London, 1931) 679, 'Had I not been so wilful and malicious, I had now been empress!' (Italy) and 909, 'O why was I not a better bird when I was young?' (Spain): cf. Nøjgaard i 395 ff.

²⁰ Note πρὸς τὸ ν. πορθμεία; Aristotle assumes that we know the story (cf. *Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt* ix [1963] 107).

²¹ In Aesop 8 (Perry) a similar prediction is made not as a threat in anger but as a response to some shipwrights who had challenged Aesop to make a joke against them.

happiness, or the happiness of the audience, is common in European folklore;²² cf. the modern Greek 'they lived happily ever after, and may we live even more happily',²³ and the last two words of the *Republic* give a deft hint of the story-teller's formula.

For these reasons I suggest that Plato means us to regard the theme and the framework of Aristophanes' story as characteristic not of comedy but of unsophisticated, subliterate folklore. I shall offer below (Section III) a reason for his choice of genre; but let us look first at some of the elements which he has fitted into this framework.

II. ELEMENTS OF PARODY

(1) Certainly at two points, and possibly at a third, Plato has reminded us of the real Aristophanes.

(a) When we read (192a 2-7) 'some say that they' (*sc.* boys who yield readily to their lovers) 'are shameless, but that is not true . . . for it is their courage and manliness and masculinity that make them act so. . . . And this is strongly supported by the fact that boys of this kind, when they have grown to maturity, are the only *men*²⁴ in political life', we cannot help recalling the end of the dispute in *Clouds* (the play of Aristophanes more likely than any other to have imprinted itself on Plato's memory), where the Honest Argument is forced to admit (1088 ff.) that it is from the ranks of the *εὐρύπρωκτοι* that public speakers are drawn. This is, moreover, a stock joke of Old Comedy; cf. Plato Comicus *fr.* 186.5 *κεκολλόπτευκας· τοιγαροῦν ῥήτωρ ἔσει*, *Ar. Eq.* 878 ff., *Ec.* 112 ff. Plato has adopted an Aristophanic joke but has invested it with an irony which is characteristic of his own methods, not of Comedy.

(b) After saying 'if we are on good terms with the god' (*sc.* Eros) 'we shall meet our own *παιδικά*, which at present few succeed in doing' (192b 3-6), Aristophanes continues (b 6-c 2) 'and Eryximachos must not treat my speech as a joke²⁵ and take me to be referring to Pausanias and Agathon—they are perhaps among the successful ones and are both male in nature. . . .' We recall the brutal portrayal of Agathon's femininity in *Th.* 130 ff., cf. *Ar. fr.* 326, *Σ Luc.* p. 178 (Rabe). Here again Plato has taken a typical Aristophanic motif but has transformed it by substituting bland cattiness for vilification.

(c) It is not, I think, wholly insignificant that the striking anachronistic reference in *Smp.* 193a 2-3 to the dissolution of Mantinea²⁶ is located in the speech of Aristophanes. Comedies which presented burlesque versions of myths were full of topical allusions, which must have had an exceptionally amusing effect when uttered by divine or heroic characters (e.g. Kratinos *fr.* 240, Theopompos *fr.* 18, *PSI* 1175 = Philiskos *fr.* 1A [Edmonds]). It is not impossible that Plato is having a joke with us, as it were, on two levels, outdoing at his own game the man whom he is portraying and inserting his own most audacious anachronism into an aetiological story ostensibly recounted by a comic poet many years earlier.

(2) Certain resemblances between the double humans of Aristophanes' story and the monsters of Empedokles B61 are undeniable; the *οὐλοφύεις* creatures of B62 may also perhaps

²² Cf. J. Bolte and G. Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (Leipzig, 1913-) iv 24 f., 34 ff.; R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916) 561, 571. A wish for the happiness of the hearer sometimes implies that the teller deserves material reward for his efforts, just as a beggar seasons his importunities with blessings.

²³ Professor N. M. Kontoleon drew my attention to this.

²⁴ The expression is not coined for the occasion, but occurs in serious contexts, e.g. X. *HG* vii 1.24 *ἐπεμερίλλον τὸν Λυκομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγούοντο*.

²⁵ *κοιμωδῶν τὸν λόγον*, which, out of context, we should take to mean 'ridiculing my speech', i.e. 'criticising my speech by making jokes against it'. But passages immediately before and after Aristophanes' speech suggest that Aristophanes here means by *κοιμωδεῖν* something like 'answer mockery with mockery' (cf. *εἰκάζειν ἀντεικάζειν*, *Meno* 80b 8-c 6): *γελωτοποιεῖς μέλλον λέγειν, καὶ φύλακά με τοῦ λόγου ἀναγκάζεις γέγνησθαι τοῦ σεαυτοῦ, εἴαν τι γελοῖον εἴπης . . . b 4-5 ἀλλὰ μὴ με φύλαττε . . . 193d 7-8 ὥσπερ οὖν ἐδείθην σου, μὴ κοιμωδήσῃς αὐτόν*.

²⁶ Cf. n. 7.

have something in common with the double humans, but the meaning of the fragment is not so clear that anyone can be sure what Empedokles was visualising.²⁷ The judgment that Aristophanes' speech is mainly or primarily designed as a parody of philosophical speculations²⁸ carries little conviction once we take our eyes away from philosophy and poetry and observe the positive affinities between the speech and folklore. Empedokles, like all the early philosophers,²⁹ but to a greater degree than most, was himself influenced by the motifs of myth and folklore, and I am prepared to believe that his evolutionary speculations did not enter Plato's head during the composition of Aristophanes' speech.

(3) Double humans were not wholly unknown in heroic myth, and the story of the Aktorione-Molione³⁰ existed in more than one form before Plato's time; cf. Hesiod *fr.* 13 (Rzach), Ibykos *PMG fr.* 285, Pherekydes *F. Gr. Hist.* 3F 79(b). This story may have helped to determine the direction taken by Plato's imagination in composing Aristophanes' speech, but one could not say more than that; between monstrous individuals and the nature of a whole species there is a world of difference.

(4) The same consideration reduces the relevance of the Orphic belief that Phanes was a double being with his genitals at the rear (*Orphica fr.* 76, 77, 80, 81 [Kern]). There is a more important point of contact in *H. Orph.* 9.4, where the moon is called 'both male and female', as in Aristophanes' speech (190b 3). It should, however, be noted that in *H. Orph.* Athena (32.10) and Mise (42.4) are also bisexual, and Aristophanes' schema, Sun = male, Earth = female, Moon = male + female, is not recognisably Orphic. In default of satisfactory evidence for the antiquity of the Orphic myths which are known to us only from late sources,³¹ I would rather regard Orphic doctrine as influenced by *Smp.* than as influencing it.

(5) Although I believe that Plato's intention to parody Empedokles, heroic saga or the Orphics is highly doubtful, there is another passage in Aristophanes' speech (190b 6-9) which has not attracted the attention which it deserves. The race of double humans was proud and violent and attacked the gods: 'and what Homer says about Ephialtes and Otos, *περὶ ἐκείνων λέγεται*, the attempt to make a way up to heaven'. Editors and translators sometimes import an imaginary *καί* and translate, 'is said *also* about them'.³² But the text as it stands represents Aristophanes as saying that the story which Homer tells of Ephialtes and Otos is in fact a story about the double humans. For the form of the sentence we may compare the document quoted in Thuc. viii 58.7: *κοινῇ τὸν πόλεμον πολεμούντων . . . ἣν δὲ καταλύειν βούλωνται πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐν ὁμοίῳ καταλύεσθαι*.³³ Now, we know that allegorical interpretations of Homer were well established by Plato's time (*Cra.* 407a 8-b 2, cf. *Σ' Il.* xx 67). So far as our direct testimony goes, its whole tendency was to treat what is concrete and personal in Homer as standing for the abstract and general, and the words which Plato gives to Aristophanes differ in that they treat a myth which is already naive in Homer as an

²⁷ Cf. Kirk and Raven, p. 338.

²⁸ Ziegler 533 ff.; Robin lx f.; Sykutris 119*; Frutiger 239; A. E. Taylor, *Plato* (ed. 6) 220.

²⁹ Cf. the implications of Arist. *Meteor.* 365b 9 f.

³⁰ On the possible utilisation of this myth in archaic vase-painting, cf. R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder* (Athens, 1936) 45-49, 87 f. (While I must defer to Professor J. M. Cook on a question of Greek iconographic technique, I cannot feel completely convinced that his interpretation [*IBS*:I xxxv (1934) 5, 206] disposes of Hampe's.) See above p. 3.

³¹ Ziegler 561 ff.; Frutiger 240. I do not suggest that we should treat the evidence for Orphic doctrines more grudgingly and pedantically than the evidence for the history of any other myths and religious beliefs; only that we should not treat them less so.

³² So, explicitly, Rettig *ad loc.*; but the translations

of Robin, Sykutris, Calogero (Bari, 1928) and Ritter (Tübingen, 1931) take pains to avoid the importation of 'also'.

³³ I take *καταλύεσθαι* as passive (cf. Th. iii 115.4), not as middle. Since one of the two parties to any such agreement is likely to want to make peace before the other (even if only by a small margin), the provision which needs to be made is 'if either party wishes to make peace, let him not make it except on terms to which the other party agrees', and this is said in the form 'and if they wish to make peace, let it be made on the same terms'. Thucydides is quoting a document, so that the question of stylistic variation hardly arises—as it does in [Lys.] 20.32 *καὶ μηδαιῶν τοῖς ἐξέροισι βεβαιώσῃτε λόγον τὸν πάντων ποιηρότατον λέγεται γὰρ κτλ.*

allusion to, or an erroneous version of, a myth even more grotesque. Possibly the reconciliation of conflicting myths and the assumption that Homer is the repository of truth, however he disguises it, were a recognisable feature of popular story-telling in Plato's time, and he may have felt Aristophanes' interpretation of *Od.* xi 307 ff. to be an appropriate insertion. Sokrates plays at something similar in *Phdr.* 229c 6-e 7, imagining how the myth that Boreas carried off Oreithyia could be explained by the suggestion that she was blown off the rocks by the wind. This explanation, converting a supernatural person into a natural phenomenon, has some affinity with the conversion of the individuals Ephialtes and Otos into a species; but it must be admitted that the affinity is limited, and Sokrates in *Phdr.* indicates that useless speculation of this kind, although *ἄγροικος σοφία*, is still the province of *οἱ σοφοί*. The speech of Aristophanes may possibly show us how Plato rated this *σοφία*.³⁴

III. ETHOS

If we now ask why Plato decided that an Aesopic story, with or without a seasoning of other elements, was the appropriate contribution for his Aristophanes to make to the laudation of Eros, we can at least be confident that it was not simply because Aesopic and other unsophisticated stories are sometimes related, mentioned or utilised in comedy,³⁵ nor even because a cosmogonic passage occurs in *Az.* 685 ff. (a passage given prominence in modern times because we know so little about early 'philosophical' doctrines and are anxious to remedy our ignorance). Comedy uses, adapts and parodies every genre of composition, from folklore to philosophy, but this does not mean that in its design and conception a comedy resembles either a folktale or a philosophical treatise. Plato himself, as we have seen, uses the formulae and framework of the folktale for Sokrates in *Gorgias* and the Eleatic in *Politeus*; the difference between their stories and Aristophanes' lies in their point and their level of sophistication.

Plato's decision in the case of Aristophanes' speech rests, I suggest, on the values shared by comedy and folklore,³⁶ and these become apparent when we examine the most important contrasts between Aristophanes and the other speakers in *Smp.* Every other speaker argues to some degree in abstract terms, even if the argument disguises itself, in traditional form, as an exposition of the attributes of a supernatural being. Only Aristophanes commits himself whole-heartedly to the particular and the perishable; he takes it for granted that for an individual reunion with his unique, individual 'other half' is an end in itself. This is the issue between him and Diotima.

The extent to which Plato wishes us to regard every speaker in *Smp.* as making at least one positive contribution, one step forward towards the Platonic doctrine of Eros, is not a matter of general agreement,³⁷ and this is hardly surprising. Sexual love is, after all, a real phenomenon with which we are all acquainted. Plato's doctrine, however other-worldly the form it assumes when he has developed it, takes some aspects of our actual experience as its starting-point. From these two facts it follows that it would have been very difficult for Plato to compose for the characters in his *Symposium*, intelligent and amiable Athenians, five

³⁴ Cf. Frutiger 181 n. 2, and J. Tate, *CQ* xxiii (1929) 142 ff., xxiv (1930) 1 ff.

³⁵ Aelian *N.A.* vi 71 tells an aetiological story (anchored to a quarrel between Zeus and Prometheus) about the ass, the snake and old age, and ends: 'Aristeas' (not otherwise known as the name of a comic poet) and Apollonophanes, poets of comedy, sing this story' (cf. Meuli 24 f.). But that a comic poet made the story the *plot* of a comedy is hardly conceivable; we should think rather of something like *Ar. Lys.* 781 ff. Cf. Nøjgaard i 225, 459.

³⁶ Cf. Q. Cataudella, *Dioniso* ix (1942) 6 ff.

³⁷ Cf. Frutiger 196 f. I do not know why Frutiger says 'le véritable but de cette fable . . . ce n'est pas d'éclairer le lecteur sur la cause ou l'origine de l'amour, mais sur sa nature et ses modalités': Svkutris 121*; Robin ix; W. Gilbert, *Ph* lxxviii (1909) 69 f.; J. Stenzel, *Platon der Erzieher* (Leipzig, 1928) 203 f.; R. A. Markus, *The Downslope Review* lxxiii (1956) 220.

different encomia on Eros without attributing to each of them some sentiments reconcilable with his own doctrine and some expressions (e.g. the ἀρχαία φύσις³⁸ of 191d 1-2, 192e 9 and 193c 5) which could actually stand, with a somewhat changed reference, in an exposition of his own. If Plato really meant us to regard Aristophanes' speech as an advance towards a true conception of Eros, he veiled his design impenetrably, for it is the central point of that speech which Diotima rejects explicitly. She says (205d 10-e 7, cf. 212c 4-6): 'There is an argument which says that lovers are those who are seeking the other half of themselves.' But 'individuals do not show affection for what belongs to themselves, except in so far as a man speaks of Good as his own and belonging to himself and of Bad as alien'.

Diotima is directly attacking the assumption without which Aristophanes' explanation of Eros could not have been offered: that each person seeks, loves and cherishes himself and what is or was part of himself. This assumption is attacked again, at greater length,³⁹ in *Lg.* 731d 6-732b 4, where it is regarded (b 6, e 1) as a popular view: 'that every man is naturally dear to himself'. This view is disastrous, τυφλοῦται γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὁ φιλῶν (e 5-6); οὔτε ἑαυτὸν οὔτε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ χρῆ τὸν γε μέγαν ἄνδρα ἐσόμενον στέργειν (732a 2-3); everyone must 'avoid excessive self-love, and pursue always whosoever is better than he is himself' (b 2-3).

The values and assumptions implicit in Aristophanes' speech are essentially popular. The comic hero is, at least in this respect, the common man; he reacts, but reflects little, and his shrewdness and ingenuity are directed to the creation or restoration of circumstances in which he can enjoy to the full all the pleasures except those of intellectual exertion.

Yet to many of us at the present time, who are not ancient Greek peasants, the attitude of Aristophanes is more congenial than anything else in *Smp.*⁴⁰ One reason is religious, the tendency of Christians (from *I John* 4.8 onwards) to treat the divine not only (as Plato does) as an object of love, not even as characteristically active in love, but as identifiable with the relationship, love, itself.⁴¹ A second reason is the romantic tradition in the arts; popular literature and drama often assume that for each individual there exists somewhere in the world one other individual of the opposite sex such that these two individuals are the 'right answer' for each other, and this assumption is to be found, with many reservations and modifications, at all levels of sophistication,⁴² from Romeo's 'Did my heart love till now?' to weekly magazines for adolescent girls. Yet a third reason is that we would rather accept observed facts, however mysterious, than close our eyes to them in order to construct a coherent metaphysical doctrine; and the facts afford us a secure base from which we can assess the issue between Aristophanes and Diotima.

The subject of *Smp.* is Eros; translators (who deserve our sympathy, for they cannot be consistent without misleading us) convey the impression that its subject is love. We must, however, distinguish⁴³ between:

(1) Sexual desire. As a rule, when A desires B he does so by virtue of qualities in B which are generally recognised, in the society to which both A and B belong, as desirable.

³⁸ Cf. *Rep.* 611d 1-2.

³⁹ This is not the only occasion on which Diotima's views are re-stated by the Athenian; cf. *Lg.* 721b 6-c 8 ~ *Smp.* 207c 9-209e 4 *Phronesis* x [1965] 16 ff.

⁴⁰ Cf. Sykutris 123*; Stenzel 203 f.; H. Koller, *Die Komposition des platonischen Symposion* (Diss. Zurich, 1948) 47.

⁴¹ Cf. Sykutris 108*, 121*. I am concerned here not with what the words ὁ θεὸς ἀγαπᾷ ἐστίμ' meant to the writer, but with their influence—whether acknowledged or not—on attitudes to Plato in the twentieth century. Markus 222 emphasises that Aristophanes draws our attention, as none of the preceding speeches

has done, to the *relational* aspect of love; but, of course, to Aristophanes the purpose of a given individual is not to acquire and express a certain disposition towards potential objects in general, nor to promote the well-being of a particular object without creating an erotic relationship to it, but to create that relationship to a particular object.

⁴² Cf. T. F. Gould, *Platonic Love* (London, 1963) 33, 170 ff.

⁴³ The distinction drawn here between three different experiences is not intended to carry any implication for their causation or biological interrelation.

Hence C can understand why A desires B; and when confronted with D, who possesses the objectively desirable qualities in greater measure than B, A is likely to prefer D to B.

(2) Affection, which we may feel for anyone of either sex and any age.

(3) What I will call, cautiously, 'preference'. When A's desire for B amounts to 'preference', it often happens that B is not conspicuous for objectively desirable qualities, that C does not understand why A prefers B, and that A's preference is unshaken by the accessibility of the infinitely desirable D.

We use the term 'love' for (2) and (3), sometimes for the activity which is the expression of (1)—rarely for (1) itself—and the expressions 'fall in love' and 'be in love' exclusively in connexion with (3). In *Smp.*, Phaidros, Pausanias and Agathon use the words *ἔρως* and *ἐρᾶν* of (1) and (3) indiscriminately—and in conformity with Prodikos's definition of *ἔρως* (B 7) as 'desire doubled'. Eryximachos, who quickly ascends to a level of generalisation which deprives his speech of any but an historical interest,⁴⁴ uses *ἔρως* and *ἐρᾶν* not only of (1), (2), (3), but also of compatibility and co-existence. Aristophanes uses the words exclusively of (3).

Here Phaidros, Pausanias, Agathon and Diotima are ranged together against him. To the first three, *ἔρως* is our reaction to beauty; and when they take the trouble to speak of 'beauty of soul' (e.g. 183c 1), they are still speaking in terms of a reaction towards something which is objective in so far as its value is recognised by society in general. To Diotima, *ἔρως* is our reaction to the imperishable, which is the object of knowledge, because it is real, and *pari passu* the object of desire, because it is good. Desire for a beautiful individual is either a step in the right direction, so long as it is recognised as a step, or an error, if it is treated as something more than a step. When A *ἐρᾷ* B, he does so (unless he is guilty of erroneous desire) because B is a medium, a vehicle, for a joint advance towards the imperishable. Thus he can *fall* in love with B; but can he *stay* in love, if he finds that D is a better medium? What becomes, on Diotima's theory, of the observed facts of what I have called 'preference', and what is it *right* for A to do if he finds that he has preferred someone who, as his intelligence tells him, is an inferior medium? Is 'preference' no more than an error?

In *Phaedrus* there is one modification of doctrine which makes a gesture towards *τὸ τὰ φαινόμενα σώζειν*, and one observation which also implies a recommendation. Each soul acquires an affinity with that one of the eleven gods who leads through the heavens the company of souls to which it belongs (246c 4 ff. ~ 248a 1 ff., 250b 5-c 6), and this affinity determines the nature of the choice which is made when one individual *ἐρᾷ* another (252c 3-253c 6). Moreover, two lovers who have lapsed from true co-operation in the search for the imperishable and have made, in an unguarded moment, 'the choice which the majority regard as felicity', feel themselves thereafter committed to each other by 'the greatest of all pledges', which it would be *οὐ θεμιτόν* for them ever to break by becoming enemies (256b 7-d 3).

These gestures are not made by Diotima, from whose doctrine of Eros that subjectivity which seems to us the most singular characteristic of love⁴⁵ is rigorously excluded. Aristophanes' speech, with comparable rigour, excludes objectivity, for he nowhere suggests that A desires B by virtue of qualities in B which might cause C also to desire B. Sexual intercourse is recognised as desirable (191c 6-8), but it is also recognised that the object of desire in *ἔρως* is something beyond sexual intercourse (192c 4-d 2). Modern sympathy for Aristo-

⁴⁴ L. Edelstein, *T.I.P.* I lxxvi (1945) 95 f., seems to me to overrate both the significance of Eryximachos's speech and Plato's respect for doctors: I find it hard not to see an element of unkind parody in 188d 9 e 2. Markus's appraisal (221) is, in my view, closer to Plato's, and cf. G. J. De Vries, *Spel bij Plato* (Amsterdam, 1949) 266.

⁴⁵ Singular because the evidence required for the explanation of an individual case is vast and largely inaccessible, not because the principles involved in such an explanation conflict in any way with our ordinary experience.

phanes' attitude may be a product of romanticism, but the speech which expresses the attitude is not a modern interpolation in ancient text. It was not even composed by Aristophanes as an attack on Plato, but by Plato, as a target for Diotima's fire. Plato believed that popular values, as assumed and exemplified in comedy and folklore, were committed to the individual, the particular and the familiar, and that such a morality was irreconcilable with the practice of philosophy; and, as we watch Dikaiopolis celebrating the Rural Dionysia ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐλθὼν ἄσμενος, it is difficult to deny the accuracy of Plato's observation. At the same time, popular morality was neither the only nor the most formidable enemy; Plato and the comic hero were at one in despising and disliking cowardice, dishonesty and the selfish abuse of power. If a satisfactory reconstruction of the history of Plato's feelings towards the real Aristophanes continues to elude us,⁴⁶ it is because Plato's view of popular values could not, in the nature of the case, be free of complications.

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⁴⁶ Cf. especially G. Daux, *REG* lv (1942) 236 ff.

THE HOPLITE ACHIEVEMENT AT PSYTTALEIA

AMONG the manifest improbabilities in the tale of Aristeides' message to Themistocles on the night before Salamis, most notable, certainly, is that the information Aristeides imparted supplied indeed a lack but effected no response until its duplication by the crew of a Tenian trireme.¹ The rejection with which the episode has been met is thoroughly deserved. But a problem, that of motive, remains, and other questions arise. For unlike the setting of the story, which has some claim to dramatic, though not to historical, validity, the supposititious message cannot, as it neither illustrates character nor exaggerates truth, simply be explained as a fanciful and harmless accretion to the Aristeides legend. How, then, came the story to be told? One possibility is worth considering. As it is likely *prima facie* that Herodotus derived his account of Aristeides at Psyttaleia (viii 95) from the same source that brought him to Salamis with his message,² the message may have been intended to smooth his way to Psyttaleia. The story of his deed on that island, therefore, deserves attention.

The account arouses suspicion. Its context, *the epilogue to the battle*, where Herodotus metes out blame and praise, is not reassuring.³ Whatever information was related to Herodotus about the exploit, it was not embedded, apparently, in the sequence of events of which the battle of Salamis consisted. He seems to have only the vaguest notion of the relation of the exploit to the battle as a whole—*οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίησε*, viii 95; and lightly does he accord to Aristeides, apparently a private person, the leadership of the landing party.⁴ Herodotus appears in fact to be certain only of the leadership of Aristeides and of the identification of his force as Athenian hoplites who until the engagement idly lined the shore: *παραλαβῶν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων οἱ παρετετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρας, γένος ἔόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας*, viii 95. I suggest that these particulars are untrue: the episode as formulated by Herodotus is, I argue, an historical fiction.

Aeschylus would tell us of what transpired at Psyttaleia. He may exaggerate the importance of the affair and, one suspects, even improve the quality of the Persians who lost their lives there. But no one would deny the reliability of Aeschylus in matters where the fact imparted is of a kind unsusceptible to distortion. More concretely, the poet may be expected to heighten the ferocity of the struggle; he will not alter its nature. The valour (or birth) of the combatants may be magnified; their military identity will not be disguised. It is unnecessary poetically. Nor would a certain portion of Aeschylus' audience have appreciated the jest. Aeschylus' word, therefore, counts high. As N. G. L. Hammond has said, 'If there was a discrepancy between Aeschylus and Herodotus we should give the priority to Aeschylus'.⁵

Aeschylus' description of the engagement (*Persae* 454-64) is as follows:

¹ Hdt. viii 79-82. The episode has received a thorough discussion from Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford 1963) 408-11, who concludes it 'may safely be dropped out of the historical record'.

² viii 95 refers back to viii 79, unmistakably and emphatically, a fact which Macan's theory (*ad* viii 95) that one passage was written subsequently to the other fails entirely to explain.

³ viii 93 records the ἀριστία, 94 the cowardice imputed to Adeimantus, 95 Psyttaleia. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion*, 237, considers the story about

Adeimantus to come 'abruptly'. It is, however, quite in place, a kind of negative plaudit balanced nicely by the garland woven for Aristeides in 97 and the honours given the Greeks in 93.

⁴ Bury, *CR* x (1896) 414 ff., suggests that Aristeides was strategos, and this has been generally accepted. But this extemporaneous inference provides credibility to Herodotus' narrative by depriving it of the claim to be circumstantially reliable.

⁵ *JHS* lxxvi (1956) 40.

ὡς γὰρ θεός	454
ναῶν ἔδωκε κῦδος Ἕλλησιν μάχης,	455
αὐθημερόν φράξαντες εὐχάλκοις δέμας	
ὄπλοισι ναῶν ἐξέθρωσκον· ἀμφὶ δὲ	
κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νήσον, ὥστ' ἀμυχανεῖν	
ὅποι τράποιντο. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ χερῶν	
πέτροισιν ἠράσσοντο, τοξικῆς τ' ἄπο	460
θώμιγγος ἰοὶ προσπίτνοντες ὄλλυσαν·	
τέλος δ' ἐφορμηθέντες ἐξ ἐνὸς ῥόθου	
παίουσι, κρεοκοποῦσι δυστήνων μέλη,	
ἕως ἀπάντων ἐξαπέφθειραν βίον.	

These words suggest that the landing party consisted not of a fresh force of hoplites stationed at Salamis, as Herodotus would have it, but of the very men who already had been fighting on the water.⁶ This identification he confirms by his account of the tactics employed, for they tally in every particular with the kind such a force would necessarily adopt (*cf.* Sphacteria, Thuc. iv 32 ff.). The battle was fought by the combined efforts of light and heavy armed men. The group required is not to be found on Salamis Beach but on the decks of the boats in Salamis Strait: the men were marines.⁷

A real discrepancy therefore exists between Aeschylus and Herodotus. Aeschylus speaks of marines, archers and hoplites, who turned from the sea fight to the assault and capture of Psyttaleia. Herodotus tells of a special contingent of hoplites, theretofore inactive, led over to the island by Aristides. The accounts resist combination: Aristides cannot be made a marine or be granted a company of archers. The first way is barred by the one detail Herodotus relates with precision; the second, by the reflection that even if Aristides' prestige is assumed to have cast into darkest shadow the memorable contribution of the archers, Aeschylus, who surely knew, supposed the group to have been marines.

It follows, therefore, that Aristides' action at Psyttaleia is of a piece with his appearance at Salamis, the main purpose of the latter, indeed, being to provide a bridge for his passage to the former. The story is tendentious. Its purpose: to register the claims of the hoplites to an important victory achieved at Salamis independently of the all-triumphant Athenian navy.

That a debate by no means academic was held by men of conservative and liberal opinions throughout the fifth century (and beyond) over the relative merits of land and sea power is well known. The social and political implications of a hoplite army and a sailor's navy entailed for liberals and conservatives the keenest opposition in their evaluation of either arm. By and large, therefore, conservatives viewed the growth of the Athenian navy

⁶ *αὐθημερόν* (456) best refers to the renewed activities of the same body of men whose exploits have already been described. The phrase *φράξαντες εὐχάλκοις δέμας ὄπλοισι* probably is nothing more than a poetical equivalent of the prosaic 'intending a fight on land'; *cf.* our 'gird for battle'. Taken more literally, the phrase remains equally applicable (or inapplicable) to the hoplites of the shore as to the marines on the vessels, for which see Plutarch, *Them.* 14. 2. Finally, *ναῶν ἐξέθρωσκον* (457) should be conclusive. Though the words may be taken to emphasise a rapid disembarkation (Rose *ad loc.*), they seem to suggest that the Greeks disembarked not from 'any boats available', but from the boats already victorious that are mentioned but two lines above. *Cf.* Prickard, cited by Broadhead *ad loc.*: so

also (apparently) the scholiast to 457 ff., ed. Dachnhardt.

⁷ There is no apparent basis to the general assumption that Aeschylus wished 'the hoplites to have their share in the glory of the Greek triumph' (Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion*, 238), if that is to imply any detectable exaggeration of their contribution. Rather is it Herodotus who enlarges their claims. For Aeschylus divides the honours among the light and heavy armed, if, indeed, he has not been guilty of a greater kindness to the *toxotai*, a circumstance that enforces confidence in his accuracy. Such warriors as these would hardly ennoble his theme, particularly as the *τόξον ῥῆγμα* of the barbarian had failed so completely against the opposing *δορυκράνου λόγχης ἰσχύς* (*Persae* 147-9).

with a distrust that was matched by the hostility of the liberal to the hoplite army. Each group will have asserted, indeed, overstated, achievements present and past.⁸ *Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ ὀκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται* : so said Aristeides to Themistocles (Hdt. viii 79.3), and so will their successors have argued. It is in this context that the exploit attributed to Aristeides is to be considered. Conservatives helped themselves to Themistocles' banquet. Even Cimon they dragooned into the battle of Salamis (Plut., *Cimon* 5.4); and a myth of the purest transparency and symbolic point has him smooth the evacuation of Athens (*Cimon* 5.2-3). It does not surprise, therefore, to meet Aristeides at Salamis as the leader of a hoplite force. The fiction can be assumed to have grown by small degrees. The action at Psyttaleia provided a sole opportunity to exploit the hoplite contribution to the victory. The silent disregard of the archers thereby necessitated may well have been the cause of the removal of the episode from its military context. The inference, therefore, that the hoplites acted on their own initiative will have been as compelling as it was attractive. But they will need a base from which to make their advance and a commander to order it. The island of Salamis will have been an inevitable choice for the one; Aristeides, the opponent of Themistocles, an obvious candidate for the other. As a conservative (see the Appendix) of the highest type, a byword for probity, of tried patriotism, distinguished for his leadership of the Athenian hoplite-army at Plataea, Aristeides was the natural choice for the leading role in the conservative version of the battle of Salamis.

APPENDIX

ARISTEIDES AND THE Ἀθῆναι.

Little enough is known of Aristeides, but it suffices to show that he not only appeared to the *γνώριμοι* to be a proper counterpoise to Themistocles but actually was one. This, the common opinion of antiquity, would hardly have been contested before 1891; the few details the ancients transmitted did not suggest that their judgment of Aristeides' conservatism was misconceived. Aristotle, however, evoked, or appeared to evoke in the new-found *Constitution of the Athenians* (cf. 23.3, 28.2, 41.2), another Aristeides, the *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*. Reevaluation of Aristeides' political position followed, and it has since resulted in apparent reluctance to allow Aristeides his rights of succession to Miltiades as leading representative of conservative Athenians.⁹

Such caution is unnecessary. Aristotle does not dispute that Aristeides was the leader of the *γνώριμοι* in the usual sense of the word. What he does dispute is that Aristeides was a True Conservative. Aristotle's language misleads. The case is as with Cimon in 26.1: *κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους συνέπεσε μηδ' ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν προεστάναι Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου, κτλ.* Similarly, in c. 23, quite without warning, new content has been injected into the term *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*. It does not now describe a recognised popular leader (as opposed to a conservative leader), but a politician whose effect it is to extend Athenian democracy. Aristotle (23.4-5, 24.3) held Aristeides responsible for the establishment of the empire because it began with his assessment. It naturally followed from the consequences of that empire that Aristeides had pursued a common democratic policy

⁸ Compare, for example, the statements of pseudo-Xenophon, i 2, ii 1, with Pericles' words, Thuc. i 141 2-143; see the self-justification of the knights in *Eq.* 595-610. Thucydides' 'Archaeology' presents an exaggerated case for sea power and a corresponding denigration of land warfare. On the last see especially i 15.

⁹ See, for example, Judeich, *RE* ii s.v. 880.45-52. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* iii 63. The most comprehensive discussion of Aristeides' political position is offered by Jacoby, *FGH Hist* iii b Suppl. vol. ii (Notes: p. 95 (note 104)). The ancient tradition is evaluated by Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* 2 ii 2 137 f.

with Themistocles, the founder of the fleet.¹⁰ Aristotle (I submit) could no more term Aristeides a (true) leader than Cimon an (effective) leader of the *γνώριμοι*, a faction which by (Aristotelian) definition stands in *essential* opposition to the Demos. He was obligated, therefore, to show that Aristeides and Themistocles, unquestionably a leader of the Demos, were separated by merely *accidental* differences. Hence his remark in 23.4: *τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν τευχῶν ἀνοικοδόμησιν κοινῇ διώκησαν, καίπερ διαφερόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κτλ.* These words are the core of his argument. Aristotle, by showing the consentaneity of Aristeides and Themistocles in the matter of the wall, was enabled to modify the tradition of their political antagonism. He could discount their 'party differences' (though he attests them: *καίπερ διαφερόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους* is hardly a biographical detail) because he was persuaded they were as perfunctory as their common action was essential. Collaboration between the two statesmen, of course, implies political agreement only if it be supposed that difference to be real must be absolute: no evidence indicates that the fortification of Athens had become a partisan issue (*cf.* Thuc. i 89.3 ff.). Yet from Aristotle's point of view, the building of the wall (as Aristeides' assessment of the tribute) would ineluctably bring the Athenians to radical democracy.

Aristotle, therefore, has informed the language of historical description with philosophical content; it contains a judgment of Aristeides' politics, not a statement of his political alignment. Indeed, the latter would have been irrelevant and (for his purposes) even misleading: to call Aristeides a leader of the *γνώριμοι* is to imply precisely what Aristotle meant to deny—a policy inimical to the expanding democracy. Whether or not, therefore, Aristeides was 'really' the champion of the Demos that ostracised him,¹¹ it appears that Aristotle contested not the position but the policies of Aristeides as leader of the conservatives and political opponent of that statesman who joined Athens to the Peiraeus.

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¹⁰ The inference is hardly inevitable. It is worth noting that Thucydides omitted the name of Aristeides in i 96.2; and we may infer no more from Aristeides' acceptance of the commission than a willingness on his part (hardly irreconcilable with conservative politics: compare Cimon's career) to represent Athens in a league designed for self-defence and counter-attack against Persia. Indeed, that he initiated or predicted the consequences of that first assessment is a notion the fifth century would have scouted. Why was he called *ὁ δίκαιος*? The adjective rebukes his successors (*cf.* Plut., *Arist.* 24.3) as completely as it absolves him from complicity in a *πρόσχημα* that until sophistic times incarnated its negative (*cf.* Thuc., v 87 ff.).

¹¹ The fact of the ostracism is usually hedged with inferences. According to Jacoby (cited here above, n. 9), 'The ostracism of Aristeides in 483/2 B.C. (*Ἀθ. π.* 27. 7 (a misprint of 22.7)) *merely* shows that Themistokles saw in him an obstacle to his own naval policy'. (My italics.) The inference (*cf.* Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* ii² 652 n. 1) that Themistocles had Aristeides ostracized because of conflict over the naval policy is attractive because it provides a likely issue for crucial disagreement. But the issue, having been inferred, may not then be cited to extenuate or to delimit the irreconcilable political difference guaranteed by the ostracism.

HOMERIC ΕΔΝΑ AND PENELOPE'S ΚΥΡΙΟΣ

ONE of the features of the Homeric poems which has often excited comment is the marriage system, both in its apparent difference from that prevailing in classical Athens and for its own inconsistencies as they appear on the surface. Dr M. I. Finley in a paper¹ to which my debt will be evident throughout this discussion, despite my disagreement with some of his arguments, has shown that the old theories of 'Bride-Purchase' will not really hold water, and that at a Homeric marriage the bride was part of an exchange of gifts or services between the prospective bride-groom and the bride's father, and that these gifts were called ἔδνα.

What this paper attempts to do is to suggest that (1) there were in fact two different patterns of marriage in Homeric, as in classical times; (2) that ἔδνα belonged essentially to only one of these patterns; (3) that ἔδνα were not δῶρα, although they had many of the facets of gifts, most particularly in that they expressed the giver's quality, and this in turn carried the assumption that to be outdone in ἔδνα, as in gifts, would incur a slur on a man's rank and quality as an ἀγαθός, and this would lead to criticism and ἐλεγχέειν;² and (4) (in a second part) that, if the analysis of ἔδνα attempted in the first part of this paper is acceptable, the apparent confusions and contradictions in the arrangements proposed for Penelope's second marriage disappear. The fact that it is obvious that the *Odyssey* is a conflation of several tales should not—and in my view does not—make it any the more likely that the marriage-customs of Homeric society as a whole would be, and would be seen by Greeks to be, chaotic.³

ἔδνα were gifts, and were frequently—perhaps normally⁴—exchanged between the father or other κύριος of a girl and her successful suitor. ἔδνα were also associated only with one type of exogamous marriage—a marriage in which the bride came into the husband's house. The other pattern—i.e. when an outsider is brought into the bride's house as a husband—is discussed later, along with the one marriage in which a blood-relative is brought into the bride's family as husband (pp. 59–60).

Of the twelve recorded instances of bridegrooms who are said to have given ἔδνα, Echeclus (*Il.* xvi 190), Hector (*Il.* xxii 471–2), Nausicaa's successful wooer (*Od.* vi 159), Penelope's suitor who strings the bow (*Od.* xix 328–9) are all said to 'take the bride to their houses'; Hephaestus (*Od.* viii 287 etc.) and Nereus clearly did so by implication (*Od.* xi 281–6), and there is no good reason to doubt that Borus also ὄπνυε Polydora in his own house (*Il.* xvi

¹ 'Marriage, Sale and Gift in the Homeric World' in *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* ni, vol. 2 (1955). I accept Finley's definition of the value of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as historical documents; p. 169, n. 5. I disagree with him about the validity of the two Hesiodic fragments (94 and 96 Rzach) as evidence for Homer's institutions for reasons given below (n. 12). On the fragments, see Finley p. 179, n. 38.

² A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, uses ἀγαθός for a man who is accepted as of heroic class. For the code of values of the class in Homer, and the need to avoid ἐλεγχέειν, see his Chap. iii. For meanness leading to ill-repute see *Od.* xix 325–34, spoken by Penelope; cf. the 'Beggars' insult to Antinous, *Od.* xvii 454–7.

³ This does not mean I attempt to deny that some of the not-human marriages of the *Odyssey* must have seemed strange to Greek customs: the marriages of

Aeolus' sons and daughters (*Od.* x 5–7) however would not have seemed so strange to them as they do to us, nor would that of Alcinous and Arete even if they were brother and sister and not, as the poet tells us, uncle and niece (*Od.* vii 54–68). A marriage between uncle and niece would not have seemed in the least strange, since it was the normal way of arranging the marriage of an only daughter. We may note that there is no family life at all in many places in fairy-land—Lotus-eaters, Sirens, Calypso, Circe etc., and the Cyclops whom Odysseus encountered had none either.

⁴ In marriage of the 'kingly' class which embraces virtually all marriages in Homer except those of Odysseus' servants; cf. Finley, p. 170. There is no mention of ἔδνα in these servants' marriages (*Od.* xxi 214–15), and I would think it unwise—if not absurd—to seek to stress ἀνδραγαθία in Eumaeus' statement of his hopes in *Od.* xiv 61–5.

178). In the other five instances of the use of the word *ἔδνα*—all more or less connected with the wooing of Penelope—there is prevailing a state of competition in *ἔδνα*. Of these passages, in *Od.* xvi 391 and xxi 161 (*ἔἔδνουσι διζήμενος*), it is clear that the bride will go to the bridegroom's house; in *Od.* xvi 391 Telemachus is recognised as the master of his house,⁵ Penelope is seen as a marriageable widow, and Antinous says that if the suitors are not willing to murder Telemachus they must allow him to have his entire ancestral estate and themselves woo Penelope from their own houses. It is clear that she will go to the house of the successful.⁶ In xxi 161 the phrase is used by Leodes when he had failed to string the bow, and he is speaking of his coming search for a bride elsewhere. In *Od.* xv 18 (*ἐξώφελθεν ἔἔδνα*) Athene, speaking to Telemachus in Sparta, clearly plants in his mind the idea that Penelope might leave with Eurymachus. The remaining two, identical, passages, *Od.* xi 117 and xiii 378 (*ἔδνα διδόντες*), are spoken to Odysseus respectively by Teiresias in Hades and Athene immediately after his landing in Ithaca; Teiresias is speaking of the situation which Odysseus will find on his eventual return to Ithaca, and Athene of the situation actually existing at that time. Neither is speaking of the situation in which it could be expected that Penelope's new husband would become *κύριος* of Odysseus' house by moving into it as her husband.⁷ We cannot in fact cite a single passage in which gifts by the groom are called *ἔδνα*, when it is envisaged that he will move into the bride's house.

There remain the two identical passages in which the bride's family are said to prepare *ἔδνα* to accompany a well-loved daughter (*Od.* i 277-8 and *Od.* ii 196-7); Penelope is the bride on both occasions, and it is envisaged that she will return to her father's house and be married from there.⁸ These lines are in a sense the crux of the problem, as is clear from the ancient commentators' annotations, since here, and only here, are *ἔδνα* used in Homer of things given by the bride's parents. Advocates of the 'Bride-Price' theory have no option but to expel them as spurious,⁹ and the attempt, it must be agreed, is aided by their uncomfortable grammatical composition (note 8 above), but Finley's hypothesis¹⁰ (which I believe to be correct) results in the belief that these lines show that *ἔδνα* means 'things given at a marriage' by both sides, and modern commentators merely deceive themselves by the use of irrelevant technical terms such as 'Bride-Price' and 'Dowry', since there is neither in Homeric society; there are only gifts (*ἔδνα*) to provoke counter-gifts (*ἔδνα*) and personal honour demands that the *ἔδνα* given are worthy of the *ἔδνα* received.¹¹

⁵ On this question and its importance, see below, p. 65.

⁶ *Od.* xvi 387-92.

⁷ This is not to deny that there must have been such a time, nor that the main object of the suitors must have been to obtain Odysseus' *οἶκος* for themselves; what the *Odyssey* does not say, however, is that *ἔδνα* were to be given in this situation. Note that the phraseology of *Od.* xiii 380-81 is identical with that of *Od.* ii 91-2, which forms part of Antinous' speech to Telemachus whose climax urges him to send Penelope away and bid her to marry (*Od.* ii 113-14).

⁸ οἱ δὲ γάμον τεύξονται καὶ ἀπτινέονσιν ἔδνα
πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα εὖκε γέλιος ἐπὶ παιδὸς ἔπαισθαι

It should be noted that in both passages οἱ has nobody to whom it can refer; the previous lines are *ἄρ' ἴτω ἐξ μέγαρον πατρὸς μέγα δναμίνουτο* (*Od.* i 276), and *μητίρ' εἴη ἐξ πατρὸς ἄνωγ' ἴτω ἀπτινέσθαι* (*Od.* ii 195).

⁹ Another alternative is to say that they are a re-use of a formula in an inappropriate context by a bard who was either ignorant or else influenced by

the later custom of dowry. To me this seems a less satisfactory explanation.

¹⁰ P. 178, with bibliography in n. 35 on the custom of giving a gift to provoke a counter-gift. It may be added that the fact that these lines are formulaic itself tends to suggest that they reflect a genuine piece of social custom, and that brides did in fact not come to their husbands empty-handed.

¹¹ So, when Laertes and Anticleia *μύρι' ἔλοντο* for Ctimene (*Od.* xv 367), it was an indication of their status or rank.

If we study the related words, we see that they support this interpretation; *ἐδοτόμια* is used once in Homer for what a bride's father will do for his daughter (*Od.* ii 52-4), in Hesiod for what the husband will do for his bride-to-be (fr. 94.47). Except on the view that the word indicated an exchange of *ἔδνα* these two senses are opposed. Nor, in either context, will the bride remain in her father's house.

ἔδνοται, which appears only in *Il.* xiii 382, is used in a context in which a marriage-settlement is clearly

This last is as true of gifts of guest-friendship as it is of *ἔδνα*; Finley cites (p. 180) Athene's remark in the guise of Mentès the Taphian (*Od.* i 316–18), in which Telemachus is bidden to choose a fine gift to present, and 'he will not lose by the exchange', and points out that in gifts of guest-friendship too there was always the danger of their having been given in vain. This is most clearly expressed by Laertes in *Od.* xxiv 283–6; it is equally clearly underlying the care with which Penelope is represented as examining the credentials of the 'Beggar', and his claim to have entertained Odysseus on the way to Troy; when she is satisfied she can say (*Od.* xix 253–4):

*νῦν μὲν δὴ μοι, ξεῖνε, πάρος περ ἔων ἔλεεινὸς
ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖσι φίλος τ' ἔση αἰδοῖός τε.*

Could *ἔδνα* be given in vain? In Homer this can be regarded as by no means certain:¹² in none of the *ἔδνα* passages in which there is competition is it clear that the *ἔδνα* have actually been, or will actually be, handed over until the bride's *κύριος* has agreed to the match. The implication of other phrases like *πλείστα πόρῃσιν* (*Od.* xvi 77, xx 335) and *πλείστα πόροι* (*Od.* xvi 392, cf. xxi 162) in the context of Odysseus' house in Ithaca is clearly that gifts associated with weddings remained offers—or could do so—until the match had been agreed upon.

Gifts (*δῶρα*) also appear at weddings, but these, I would argue (against Finley), are rarely, if ever, the same as *ἔδνα*, in Homer. *ἔδνα* is a technical term, *δῶρα* a very generalised one, and there does appear to be a distinction between the two in at least one passage (*Od.* xv 17–18), where it is said of Eurymachus that *περιβάλλει ἅπαντας | μνηστῆρας δάροισι καὶ ἐξώφελλεν ἔδνα*. Finley (p. 182, n. 46) understands this as a heroic way of saying the same thing twice; on the contrary it seems to me that if the phrase is put into the whole context, these *δῶρα* and *ἔδνα* must be different. What we are being told is that Penelope's father and brothers are telling her to marry Eurymachus because he outdoes all the suitors in *δῶρα*—*δῶρα* to Icarus himself (outside the *ἔδνα*)—and has increased the *ἔδνα* beyond (the others). He should be seen as adding *δῶρα* to persuade Penelope's father to his offers for the bride (*ἔδνα*), and the *ἔδνα* remained at this stage only an offer.¹³ Gifts given to the father of a girl to persuade him to arrange for her marriage will of course often have been given in vain, and whenever there was more than one suitor that must have been the fate of the unsuccessful.

δῶρα at a wedding, showing good-will, also appear; H. J. Wolff¹⁴ has shown that at Athens Solon's attempt to curb extravagance was in cutting down not a girl's dowry, but elaborate trousseaux given to the bride at her wedding and counted as part of the *ἐγγύη*; subsequent to this time the custom grew up of giving things *ἀτίμητον, ἔνεκα τοῦ νόμου* (Is. iii

being made, in which the bride will be given to the groom to go with him to his house, even if in mockery. *ἔδνωτή*, found only in Hesychius, and defined as *ἐγγυμίστη νεμφίω* suggests that the bride has come into the house of her husband.

¹² In the Hesiodic fragments they certainly could; *δῶρα* and *ἔδνα* are quite indistinguishable in frs. 94 and 96; but in these fragments the poet seems merely to be striving for variety in expression in a quite unhomeric way. It is this artificial, literary, style which makes me doubt their validity as reliable documents for the language of Homer and the social customs to which he refers in the poems. The fragments do, however, make it clear that all the suitors but one will in fact fail, and give their gifts in vain. Another conspicuous difference between the wooing of Helen and the wooing of Penelope in the

Odyssey is the fact that many of Helen's suitors wooed by proxy: Odysseus (fr. 94.21–6), two unnamed heroes (fr. 94.35 and 37.9), and it is stressed that Idomeneus came in person (fr. 96.16–9).

¹³ It has been suggested to me that in some of the *ἔδνα* passages, especially where there is said to be competition, the poet may have used *ἔδνα* where he really meant *δῶρα*. Since the purpose of the *δῶρα* was to persuade the *κύριος* of the bride to arrange for her marriage, the misuse of the more technical term is understandable, but the restriction of *ἔδνα* to its strict technical meaning seems preferable to me, especially when there is never any need to assume its use in a non-technical sense.

¹⁴ H. J. Wolff, 'Marriage Law and Family Organization in Ancient Athens' in *Traditio* ii 57–8, cited also by Finley.

35), which were irrecoverable if the marriage broke up, and were given to the bride by her *κύριος* to show his goodwill; for example, in *Is.* ii 9 Menecles, divorcing his young wife, by consent ἀποδίδωσι (or ἐπιδίδωσι) the προῖξ, δίδωσι clothing and jewellery. Comparable instances are found in *Is.* viii 8, which should be punctuated in this sense,¹⁵ and Demosthenes' account of the four talents supposed to be hidden in the ground (*Dem.* xxvii 53-5), of which he can say his mother was alleged to be κυρία, but would pass into her new husband's power when they marry, and would be irrecoverable at law.

In heroic society, such personal gifts to a bride appear in Penelope's case twice (both gifts of servants, Dolius and Aktoris, *Od.* iv 736 and xxiii 227-8),¹⁶ and perhaps *Il.* xxii 51, in which Priam says that he would ransom the two sons of Laothoe, daughter of Altes, since he has the means, πολλὰ γὰρ ὤπασε παιδὶ γέρον ὀνομάκλυτος Ἄλτης. We should note that these are not called ἔδνα; they should probably be seen as additional gifts given by a relatively insignificant chief to the great king Priam with a girl who is not even to be the chief bride (cf. *Il.* xxi 88).¹⁷ δῶρα, says Penelope to the suitors, should be given by suitors who wish to woo a woman of quality (ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα), and the daughter of a rich man (*Od.* xviii 276-9), but these are not called ἔδνα; their purpose is to persuade, or induce her to marry, and perhaps to influence her choice,¹⁸ precisely as Ares persuaded Aphrodite into adultery by means of gifts (πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκε, *Od.* viii 269). The character of the gifts given to Penelope must surely be significant too, since all are women's things, jewellery and clothing and not what Finley calls 'treasure' (p. 173 and n. 22), or βίσιος.

From the bride's side δῶρα are promised with Penelope by Telemachus (*Od.* xx 342), and such gifts from the κύριος of the bride may be indicated by the word πολὺδωρος, which is used of Andromache (*Il.* vi 394 and xxii 88), and of Penelope (*Od.* xxiv 294); they should be seen as evidence that the bride's father thinks highly both of himself and of his prospective son-in-law, and shows his goodwill and quality by the abundance of these additional gifts.¹⁹ In two passages there is some evidence that there was a liability to repay the gifts given for the bride if the marriage ended otherwise than by the death of one of the parties. These are the protest by Telemachus at the suggestion that he should divorce Penelope from Odysseus by sending her back to Icarus ἀέκουσαν (*Od.* ii 130-3),²⁰ and the claim of Hephaestus on Zeus by reason of Aphrodite's adultery (*Od.* viii 317-20), in which he uses the word ἐγγυάλιξα of the ἔδνα he says he gave, a word which when used of material things implies in Homer giving a thing on trust.²¹

¹⁵ ἐκδίδωσιν αὐτήν . . . σὲν ἱματίοις καὶ χρυσίοις, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μῶς ἐπιδοῦς.

¹⁶ See also Finley, pp. 183-4 and n. 57; Finley lists p. 171, n. 18 the 'dowry' passages in Homer.

¹⁷ Pedasus does not occur at all in the Trojan catalogue: D. L. Page has argued (*History and The Homeric Iliad*, 143 f.) that it is quite an important place, but one very peripheral to the world of the *Iliad*. To Strabo it no longer existed, see Page, 170.

It may be some element of appropriate arrangements being made for each marriage (in the light of the standing of the parties, and their esteem in their own and the other's eyes which lies behind the extraordinary use of the word ἄποινα in *Hymn to Aphrodite* 140, on which see Finley, p. 182, n. 47. 'Otreus' daughter' was in a situation in which it might now be hard for her to get a husband, since she was likely, whether Anchises was prepared to marry her or not, to have to lie with him, and though seduction by a 'god' was venial, there is no evidence that a girl who was not a virgin because she had lain with a mortal retained her value as a bride. Aphro-

dite was pretending to be a mortal, so she had to talk like one.

¹⁸ I do not believe that they were intended to moek Penelope as has been suggested; they were to influence her choice. For the view that she could make a real, though to her adulterous, marriage, see below, p. 65.

¹⁹ As I would regard these δῶρα as outside the ἔδνα I would not accept fully Hesychius' definition of πολυέδνος as πολυέδωρος, except insofar that a girl who was πολυέδωρος would probably have handsome ἔδνα too. I can see no evidence that ἠτιμώδωρος (occurring once, in *Il.* vi 251) has any reference to dowries or marriage. There is no reason to think that the poet was trying to say more than that Hecuba was bountiful. Laodike had been married long ago.

²⁰ On this, see below, p. 64.

²¹ ἐγγυάλιζω is most commonly used of abstract things given by the gods: τιμὴν *Il.* i 353, κράτος *Il.* xi 192, 207, 753, *Il.* xvii 206, κῆδος *Il.* xv 491, 644, κέρδος *Od.* xxiii 140; but also of more concrete things given by the gods: ἔργον, *Il.* ii 436, σκῆπτρόν τ'

The other marriage-pattern which Homer knows is that in which a king takes, or offers to take, a son-in-law into his family by the gift of a daughter to wife, or the promise of a daughter in return for services, whether past or future or both. In none of these cases are *ἔδνα* mentioned, and in two of them *ἔδνα* are specifically rejected. Bellerophon and Tydeus (*Il.* vi 191-5 and xiv 119-25), may belong to an earlier generation, but Othryoneus (*Il.* xiii 363-82) is a 'contemporary' on the Trojan side with Aleinobus' offer to Odysseus (*Od.* vii 311-15) and Agamemnon's offer to Achilles (*Il.* ix 144-8, = *ibid.* 286-90). The one feature that all these heroes have in common is that they are *ἀγαθοί*, whose services the βασιλεύς wishes to obtain or retain in all cases save that of Odysseus for the might of their military prowess.²² The main differences between them lie in the fact that Othryoneus and Achilles, the two who are specifically stated to be able to get their bride *ἀνάεδνον*, are in the king's following only for the duration of the war; both will not get their bride till the end of the war,²³ and when they do get her they will take her off to their own homes, so that when in the end they do marry they will marry in conditions in which *ἔδνα* would normally have been expected; the mockery of Idomeneus when he had slain Othryoneus makes this even clearer.²⁴ Odysseus' case differs from that of Tydeus and Bellerophon in that it is specifically stated that he will not live in the king's palace after his marriage, since he will be given an *οἶκος* and *κτήματα*, though there is also evidence that the other two will have their own sources of income. But in none of these marriages are *ἔδνα* mentioned nor should we expect any, for this is a different marriage-pattern.²⁵

In one marriage, that of Iphidamas (*Il.* xi 221-8 and 241-5), the two marriage-patterns are confused. Iphidamas' maternal grandfather Kisses, we are told, had brought him up, and sought to keep him at home in Thraee; he gave him his other daughter (Iphidamas' aunt) in marriage. Iphidamas had a *γάμος* (*ἔγγημε*, consummated the marriage as we should say) and then set off straight away in pursuit of glory (*κλέος*). But when he fell, he is said to have fallen

οἰκτρός, ἀπὸ μνηστῆς ἀλόχου, ἀστοῖσιν ἀρήγων,
κουριδίης, ἧς οὐ τι χάριν ἴδε, πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκε.
πρῶθ' ἑκατὸν βοῦς δῶκεν, ἔπειτα δὲ χίλι' ὑπέστη
αἴγας ὄμοῦ καὶ οἷς, τά οἱ ἄσπετα ποιμαίνοντο.

(*ibid.* 242-5).

Almost all the facts are wrong in these four lines; Iphidamas had had an endogamous

ἰδὲ θέμιστας *Il.* ix 98-9: the sense of entrusting is strong in both passages. One man (Idomeneus) by his death would have given (κε . . . ἐγγυάζειν) *κράτος* (*Il.* xvii 613); the other uses are of Peleus' handing his horses over to Achilles (*Il.* xxiii 278), and Eumaeus' handing over his *ξείνος* to Telemachus (*Od.* xvi 66); in both passages the sense of trust is clear. Cf. *Hymn to Mercury* 497 and 509 for the bargain between Hermes and Apollo.

²² Compare Priam's *γαμβροί* (*Il.* vi 249-50), not specifically mentioned here as warriors, though Imbrius was one (*Il.* xiii 172-6). For the recruitment of warriors without marriage, compare also what Menelaus says to Telemachus about his wishes for Odysseus (*Od.* iv 171 ff.).

²³ For the promise of a bride after the war cf. Menelaus' promise to Neoptolemus (*Od.* iv 37).

²⁴ *καὶ κέ τοι ἡμεῖς ταῦτά γ' ὀπασχόμενοι τελέσαιμεν, δοῖμεν δ' Ἀτρεΐδῳ θυγατρῶν ἕδος ἀρίστην.*
Ἄργεος ἔξαγάγοντες, ἀπέειμεν, εἴ κε σὺν ἄμμιν Ἰλίου ἐκπέσῃς ἐν ναυόμενον προζέθρορ

ἀλλ' ἔπε', ὅθρ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶ συνόμεθα ποταπόρουσιν ἄμφι γάμῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι ἐδόντοαὶ κακοὶ εἶμεν.

Il. xiii 377-82.

Note the implication of agreement with those who arrange *ἔδνα* (*ἐδόντοαὶ*).

In Achilles' case it is even stressed that the gifts which are to accompany the daughter of Agamemnon are *μείλια* such as nobody ever gave with his daughter', and not *ἔδνα* (*Il.* ix 147 8 and 289 90: modern editors read *ἐπὶ μείλια δόσω* following the later Homeric commentators of antiquity. Aristarchus, however, read *ἐπιμείλια δόσω* with the comment *ἐπιμείλια ἐπιγένηται*; Apollonius *Lex. Hom.* *σὺδ μείλια* comments *εἶσι δὲ ἐπιμείλια συνθήκαι ἤκουσαν*. Some Alexandrian scholars evidently saw the element of an agreement in this bargain. *ἐπιγένηται* occur only in the lexica.

²⁵ In other Near-Eastern societies there are plenty of parallels. In the Assyrian law-codes there are provisions for the normal type of marriage, and special provisions for marriages of this type, known to

marriage in the house of his grandfather, in which the *μνηστή ἄλοχος* and gifts by him (whether *δῶρα* or *ἔδνα*) are equally inappropriate, and these particular gifts most of all, since it was his father-in-law's land and not his own which was *μητέρι μῆλων*. Moreover, for this son of a Dardanian who had never lived in Troy²⁶ *ἀστοῖσιν ἀρήγων* is most inappropriate, and as Kisses' prospective heir²⁷ his perfunctory performance of his duty, leaving the day after consummating his marriage, not knowing whether or not his wife was pregnant, is very strange. The most interesting feature, and the most valuable for the understanding of Homeric marriage is the use here of a formula which shows that there were marriages in which the gifts at the marriage consisted partly in promises for the future, an arrangement which contains very plainly the seeds from which formal contracts can very easily spring.

To summarise; the two patterns of marriage may be presented schematically as follows:

1. A father or other *κύριος* could be approached with *δῶρα* and offers of *ἔδνα* for his daughter; the *δῶρα* would be accepted from all the contestants, and on the basis of the offers made and of his own judgment he would select a son-in-law, whose offer of *ἔδνα* would be accepted, and, Homeric society being what it was, this would normally be the largest offer. In due course the bride would be sent off with what *ἔδνα* her father thought fit (or had perhaps agreed to give) in the light of his own self-esteem and that in which he held his son-in-law to be. If the girl ceased to be a wife for cause other than her death or that of her husband there was liable to be a claim for the return of *ἔδνα*. Homeric society, however, with its code of gift-giving, also provided for *δῶρα* as well as *ἔδνα* by which the goodwill of the parties was manifested.
2. A *βασιλεύς* could also bring into his own house or realm a son-in-law by a form of marriage in which the acceptance of a girl, an *οἶκος* or a *τέμενος* or any combination of these attested the acceptance by the bridegroom of a position as man-at-arms whose duty was to fight for the king, whether or not he was going, like Bellerophon or Tydeus, to succeed to the king's estate.

Somewhat intermediate between the two was the arrangement in which, in return for services rendered, a girl would be promised when the terms were carried out.²⁸

The feature common to both patterns of marriage is the mutual valuation of the parties, and, if Homeric marriage may be viewed in this light, there is little change,²⁹ save in the

Assyriologists as *erēbu* marriages; see also Additional Note, p. 67.

²⁶ He is not even counted among Antenor's sons in *Il.* ii 822, though Homer is aware elsewhere of his patrilinear family connexions (*Il.* vi 298-9).

²⁷ Kisses is not recorded as having any sons; it is more than likely that Iphidamas was his chosen heir, who would in a *πόλις*-community have been adopted as well as married to the heiress. Iphidamas is also the only certain example of a husband brought in as husband to a kinsman's house; this might help to explain the confusion.

²⁸ Demosthenes' mother provides in Athens an interesting illustration of a somewhat similar, intermediate pattern. His father on his deathbed promised *ἐγγυῶν* his widow to Aphobus (*Dem.* xxviii 16), with a dowry of 80 minae, in return for which (in Demosthenes' submission) he and his fellow trustees were to guard the children and the whole estate. Obviously the elder Demosthenes could not *marry* his widow to Aphobus since she was not yet a widow—it was only an engagement should he die, as he was sure he would. Note the difference between this arrange-

ment and that with Demophon (*xxviii* 15) for whom the dowry was paid *εἰθίς*. Aphobus took the dowry-money out of the estate and moved into the widow's house, but he did not marry her. Was she unwilling? *Dem.* xxvii 15 shows that there were disputes. Demosthenes' phraseology is interesting too. *Dem.* xxvii 56: *ὅς τῆν μὲν προῖκα αὐτῆς ἤδη ἔχων . . . ὡς συνοικήσων αὐτῇ* (the widow), *τῆν Φιλοπόδου θυγατέρα ἔγγυεν*. He does not use *γαμεῖν* for Aphobus' removal into her house, nor, clearly, did the *ἐγγυῶναι* with the elder Demosthenes, nor the acquisition of the dowry create a marriage. Had it done so, Aphobus would have been an authorised bigamist under the law. Equally, however, the widow was not an *ἐπίκληρος*, subject to *ἐπιδικασία*, because she had a son, and she is stated by Demosthenes (*xxix* 26) to have chosen to remain a widow for the sake of her children. Her position was very much like that of Penelope before the *Odyssey* begins. (See p. 61 below.)

²⁹ Except, of course, for *πολις*-rules about eligibility for citizenship, which limited by law the field of choice for both classes, and at Athens at least required the formal registration of the marriage.

customary valuation put on brides, and hence on bridegrooms, between the gifts given by the givers of Homeric *ἔδνα* and the dowries with which *κύριοι* pledged their womenfolk in classical Athenian society; nor is there a major change in the pattern of what in classical times became an exclusively endogamous pattern of marriage—the act of acquiring an *οἶκος* by marrying an *ἐπικληρος* of the same family; this pattern is found without *ἔδνα* in Homer, and without *ἐγγύη* in Athens.

The object of the second part of this paper is to suggest that, in the light of the above analysis, there is no necessary confusion or inconsistency in the statements made about Penelope's remarriage³⁰ if we remember

1. That Penelope's marital status [i.e. whether or no Odysseus is dead] is always a matter of dispute.
2. That, at least in the early part of the poem, there is in consequence doubt as to who is her *κύριος*, and who is *κύριος* of Odysseus' house.
3. That her own intentions in regard to marriage change during the course of the poem.

All these questions are linked together, the last two especially closely, being dependent on whether or no Telemachus is an *ἀγαθός* and master of the house.³¹

Telemachus' assertion of his mastership forms a typical illustration of the state of the law in Homeric society. The 'law' is based on recognised usage, it is true, but this is made effective only by deeds which assert its validity—that is to say that nobody denies Telemachus' right to succeed to his *οἶκος* when adult,³² and to his father's possessions; that right, however, is only made effective by his assertion of his status as *ἀγαθός* in calling an assembly, denouncing the suitors and raising himself a following with which he mans a ship and sails to Pylos and Sparta in search of information. The ability to raise a following of *ἄριστοι* is to my mind undoubtedly the most crucial of these factors.³³ The calling of the assembly (Books i and ii) is obviously important, since it is clearly implied that in general this was the prerogative of a *βασιλεύς*, if not of the *βασιλεύς* in the first place (*Od.* ii 26–9 with Antinous' reaction (*Od.* i 384–7) to Telemachus' announcement of his intention to call the assembly (*ibid.* 372–5)); Homer also represents this decision as Telemachus' first overt assertion of his right to his ancestral estate, but Telemachus' agreement with Antinous and Eurymachus (*ibid.* 389–404) that his estate and the kingship were not indissolubly linked shows that the ability to command a force was of prior significance.

Penelope's marital status shows a similar pattern. Nobody denies that if Odysseus is still alive he is Penelope's husband so long as she is in his house, but the suitors throughout the poem argue as though he is dead, or at the very least will not return.³⁴ Penelope on the other hand maintains that she cannot marry, in the first place because of her obligations to Laertes,³⁵ and thereafter because she is still seeking information, though the real reasons, as appears in the course of the poem, are her wishes, and the parting instructions of Odysseus himself (*Od.* xviii 266–70: see below, p. 63).

³⁰ Finley, p. 172, n. 19 for an opposite view.

³¹ The poet makes this quite clear in what is in many respects the key passage of the poem—*Od.* xviii 266–70 (Odysseus' parting instructions to Penelope): it is highly probable that a son became *κύριος* of his mother if she were, or said she was, a widow, but not if her husband was merely missing, as happened at Athens when a son came of age. For *ἀγαθός*, see n. 2 above; for *νῆπιος*: as 'one who does not know any better' (Adkins, p. 29, n. 15): it is recognized that Telemachus cannot fully qualify as an *ἀγαθός* in

Adkins's sense since he has to suffer *ἀεικέλεια*: on this, see Adkins, ch. iii *passim*.

³² Claimed *Od.* i 397–8, accepted *ibid.* 402–4, etc.

³³ Cf. the angry incident (*Od.* ii 303–20), the suggestions of the sort of crew he has raised, and the suitors' reactions (*Od.* iv 642–4 and 663–72). See also Adkins, 32–4, though with less stress on the followers.

³⁴ Most clearly expressed by Agelaus, *Od.* xx 326–37.

³⁵ *Od.* ii 94–102; cf. *Od.* xix 138–47.

The arguments about her future thus remain inconclusive—in fact the disputants hardly ever reach a common meeting-point, because they cannot agree upon the question of who is her *κύριος*. There are three possible candidates—Odysseus, Icarius and Telemachus.³⁶ Odysseus as her husband is her *κύριος* as long as Penelope remains in his house, and he is not proved to be dead and she a widow; Icarius will be her *κύριος* if she leaves Odysseus' house and returns to her father's, because by doing so voluntarily she asserts that she no longer wants to wait for the return of Odysseus; she can also be sent back compulsorily by Telemachus if he so decides when master of his house; since Odysseus lacked brothers, Icarius would probably also become Penelope's *κύριος* if she were proved to be a widow while Telemachus was not yet old enough to be master of the house. Telemachus however became her *κύριος* as soon as he asserted his right to the mastership of Odysseus' house by proving himself an *ἀγαθός* with a following; his success in so doing and its effect on Penelope and on the suitors is closely interwoven with Odysseus' return to Ithaca, especially in Books xv and xvi, and changes the whole basis of their discussions and attitudes; see also below, p. 65.

It might be argued by a modern reader that Penelope cannot remarry unless Odysseus is proved to be dead, but this is a quite untenable position, not merely for Penelope, but for Homeric society in general, based as it is on modern, basically Christian, notions of the nature of marriage as a life-long union. Homer, at least in the *Odyssey*, may disapprove,³⁷ but there is no doubt that the marriages of Paris and Helen³⁸ and of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra were proper marriages; *ἔγγμε* says the poet of both, and in the latter case he adds *ἀνήγαγε ὄνδε δόμενδε*.³⁹ In Homer, the state of marriage was the state of living openly with a woman and calling her your wife, installing her as the mistress of your *οἶκος* and acknowledging her children as your heirs. The location of the place in which the couple cohabited was probably as important as it was for assessing the punishment for illegal cohabitation in Gortyn,⁴⁰ and this is the explanation of the promise of Patroclus to Briseis (*Il.* xix 297-9) 'you (Patroclus) said you would make me Achilles' lawful wedded wife, and take me in the ships to Phthia and celebrate my marriage with a feast among the Myrmidons':

Ἀχιλλῆος θείοιο
κουριδίην ἄλοχον θήσειν, ἄξειν τ' ἐνὶ νηυσὶν
ἐς Φθίην δαΐσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσιν.

Briseis was Achilles' *ἄλοχος* ('bed-mate') already, but not 'married' because they were not

³⁶ But never, apparently, Laertes. In the *Odyssey* there never seems to be any possibility of his assuming the headship of the family: Eumaeus in *Od.* xiv 180-2 even states that with the death of Telemachus the family of Arcesias will be extinct (it being assumed here that Odysseus is dead). No complete explanation is possible; it might be argued that Laertes belongs to a different strand in the story (cf. D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* 102 f. on the lateness of the Laertes part of *Od.* xxiv, and 121 and notes on Penelope's Web), but Laertes is mentioned outside the Web and Book xxiv, eight times in contexts where he is assumed to be alive, most significantly in *Od.* iv 738, spoken by Penelope, and in *Od.* xiv 173, in Eumaeus' speech, mentioned above.

A more probable explanation is that by his retirement into an ignominious station Laertes has excluded himself from the class of *ἀγαθοί*, and can therefore be ignored, since claims to status can only be established by appropriate deeds, and only an *ἀγαθός* could claim the *κυριότης* of Odysseus' *οἶκος*.

³⁷ E.g. Clytaemnestra, *Od.* i 33-7: iii 263-75; xi 432-4, etc.

³⁸ See Finley, p. 170-1; for Clytaemnestra, *Od.* i 36.

³⁹ *Od.* iii 272. This did not make them any more creditable, and the fact of them being misdeeds arises not merely from the standpoint of a more sophisticated age, which blamed Helen for a breach of the laws of hospitality—though in *Il.* xiii 620-7 the Trojans are blamed on this ground—and thus made her a suitable subject for epic poetry—Cyrus Gordon, *Before the Bible* 115-6 and 254), but also from the Homeric standpoint that their actions produced disastrous consequences, in Helen's case the Trojan War, in Clytaemnestra's her own doom and that of Aegisthus at the hands of Orestes. For the 'bad' as the unsuccessful see Adkins, Chap. iii.

⁴⁰ Gortyn code, ii 20-24; compare also at Rome *Dig.* 48.5.24.

publicly living together in his homeland and in his *οἶκος*.⁴¹ This being the state of the 'law', Penelope's place of habitation formed an important element in her status. While she remained in the house of Odysseus, and neither her father nor an effective head of Odysseus' family was prepared to insist that her marriage had been terminated by Odysseus' death, and nobody could prove it, she remained his wife. But it was also open to her to leave the house and place herself in Icarus' *κυριεία*, and thereby indicate that her marriage was at an end. I can see no good reason to deny this; *ἀπόλειψις* was a step open to Athenian wives in the Classical Period, Assyrian laws provide for this in precisely such cases as that of Penelope, and moreover even in Homer, Clytaemnestra did it when she married Aegisthus.⁴² Were Penelope to leave Odysseus' house she would be married by Icarus to a man chosen either by him or by her;⁴³ she could also remarry by the even simpler act of leaving Odysseus' house with a suitor of her own choosing. The former would be fairly clearly an indication that she believed herself a widow who was making way for her son who was succeeding to his inheritance, which would thus be conserved for him, the latter that she would not wait any longer for her missing husband.⁴⁴ Doubts about the possibility of her remarrying can surely be finally banished by Odysseus' parting instructions (*Od.* xviii 266-70), 'when you see our son with a beard on his chin, marry whomsoever you wish, leaving your home behind.'⁴⁵ If Odysseus could be represented as envisaging this happening, remarriage without the certainty of Odysseus' death must have been possible for Penelope, and the initiative equally certainly lay with her. We should note that it is associated with the manhood of Telemachus, and with her leaving the house.⁴⁶

If Odysseus were to die, and be known to be dead, the principal result for Penelope's status would be her loss of the right to choose whether or not to remarry; that is, as an established widow, she could have no option. This is very clear from the suggestion of Athene in *Od.* i 289-92, echoed by Telemachus in the debate in *Od.* ii 220-3.⁴⁷ It must be assumed that had this happened before Telemachus was old enough to claim the *κυριεία* of his own house by proving himself an *ἀγαθός*, Penelope's new husband would have become its *κύριος*. It is impossible not to believe that the obtaining of Odysseus' *οἶκος* was in fact the suitors' main motive in coming to Odysseus' palace in the first place. Their violent reaction to Telemachus' successful assertion of his status reveals this (see p. 65); had they really only wanted to marry Penelope they would surely have welcomed Telemachus' initiative in seeking to ascertain the facts about her eligibility.

Yet another situation would arise if Telemachus were to be killed. In this event the

⁴¹ Nor had she borne him a child; it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of getting an heir in establishing Greek marriages.

⁴² Though in her case it was an *ἔργον ἀεικέες* which her *ἀγαθαί γένεαι* resisted for some time (aided by the minstrel left by Agamemnon to look after her) (*Od.* iii 265-81), presumably because she knew her husband was not dead, and she left more or less clandestinely.

⁴³ *Od.* ii 114 and 128, perhaps also *ibid.* 50-54, though it is by no means certain that Penelope is the subject of *θήλειαι*, nor that *οἶ* is feminine.

⁴⁴ But if it were not proved beyond doubt that Odysseus was dead it would be an adulterous, or bigamous, marriage like Clytaemnestra's, and one similarly open to criticism. Cf. what Odysseus says to the suitors who appeal for mercy (*Od.* xxii 35-41, and 321-51), and Penelope, by not remarrying is *ἐννήρη τ' αἰδομένη πόσιος δῆμιό τε γῆμιν*, (*Od.* xvi 75 (= xix 527)); cf. *Od.* xxiii 149-51 for criticism should she not remain in Odysseus' palace.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Od.* xi 177-9; Odysseus asks, without anger, whether Penelope has left home.

⁴⁶ It also reiterates her ability to choose her new husband if she so desired; the fact that, when she decides to act on these instructions (*Od.* xviii 272-3), she decides on selection by means of the contest of the bow, is attributed by the poet to her dislike of all the candidates, by some modern scholars to the variant version of the story, in which it was a plot concerted by her and Odysseus; see e.g. D. L., Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* 122-4.

⁴⁷ These two passages form a virtual doublet. Telemachus' object—to put an end to the period of doubt about Penelope's marital status—shows that her status was a matter of dispute; note that Telemachus will give her to a man *μητρει ἀνέρι δοῖναι δόσσην* in ii 223, and there is no question about *ἔδρα* raised.

suitors, assuming as they do that Odysseus is dead, say that they themselves will divide up Odysseus' movable property and give Odysseus' house to the man who goes to live with Penelope; how this would be decided is nowhere stated.⁴⁸ Penelope is the only woman in Homer to re-marry, or to threaten to do so; no direct parallels for procedure can therefore be drawn (in the *Iliad* remarriage is something that Andromache never envisages as possible — *Il.* xxii 477–514, *cf.* vi 407–65). I exclude here the two adulteresses, in spite of the fact that their marriages were perfectly 'proper'.⁴⁹

Homeric women's marriages are arranged by their fathers, and the fathers continued to take an interest in their daughters after their marriage; Andromache's mother was ransomed by her grandfather (A's mother's father, *Il.* vi 425–8), Anticleia's father came to call on his son-in-law just after the birth of a son to his daughter (*Od.* xix 399–409), and ties of kinship with a wife's own family were not broken by her marriage, as is clear from the story of Meleager (*Il.* ix 565–72). It is therefore in no way surprising that, as long as Telemachus is *νήπιος*, all applicants for Penelope's hand have to apply to her father. Icarius' attitude is clear enough throughout the poem; he thinks that Penelope should remarry, but is unwilling to compel her to do so in the absence of any conclusive proof that Odysseus is dead. He therefore left it to her to choose; hence in all three passages where gifts at Penelope's remarriage are discussed outside the immediate context of Odysseus' house in Ithaca (Teiresias to Odysseus in Hades (*Od.* xi 116–17), Athene to Odysseus on the shore of Ithaca (*Od.* xiii 377–8, where xi 117 = xiii 378), Athene to Telemachus in Sparta urging him not to delay his return (*Od.* xv 16–18)), it is stated that the wooers are giving *ἔδνα*; in the second passage it is also stated that they have pressed their suit three years, and in the last passage it is clearly implied both that the decision will soon be taken and that Icarius and his sons have nominated Eurymachus as most eligible by virtue of his *δῶρα* and *ἔδνα*; this must suggest that Icarius is the recipient (see above, p. 57).

In the scenes on Ithaca itself, since, as has been argued above (p. 62), it is never agreed who is Penelope's *κύριος*, there is no agreement as to what *ἔδνα*, if any, are payable at her remarriage, and to whom. Before Telemachus' claim to his *οἶκος* Penelope's suitors ought to have gone to her father,⁵⁰ and, despite Telemachus' misrepresentations, they appear to have done so, and to have given gifts (see above, p. 57). They must have assumed that he had the power to decide that her marriage was at an end, though he declined in fact to do so, and left the decision to Penelope. After Telemachus' claim to his *οἶκος* is made at the beginning of the *Odyssey*, Penelope can still return to her father's *κυριεία* voluntarily if she

⁴⁸ *Od.* ii 332–6 and *cf.* xvi 384–6.

κλήματα γὰρ κεν πάντα δασυμένα, οἰκία δ' ὠτρε
τοῦτον μητέρι δοίμεν ἔχειν ἢ δ' ὅς τις ὀπίοι.

Dr. John Chadwick has kindly discussed the word *ὀπίειν* with me; in an article by a pupil as yet unpublished it is to be shown that *ὀπίειν* is not synonymous with *γαμεῖν*, since *γαμεῖν* conveys the idea of the action of taking a wife, *ὀπίειν* means living with a wife, legally and openly, equivalent in sense to the Classical *συνοικεῖν*; as Chadwick puts it 'ὀπιόντες' (and *συνοικοῦντες*) mean the same as *γεγαμηκότις*'. It may be added that in the endogamous marriage of an *ἐπίκληρος* the classical Greeks did not use the word *γαμεῖν* normally, but employed either the legal term *ἐπιδικάζεσθαι* or the simple *ἔχειν*. It is only in the event of the death of Telemachus and the extinction thereby of Arcesias' line that the suitors can and do speak of *ὀπίειν* Penelope and not *γαμεῖν* her. The limitation of the patrilinear ancestry of Telemachus

to his great-grandfather coincides exactly with the limits of a *γένος* as given by Isaeus (viii 32).

⁴⁹ The most useful parallel case to that of Penelope is that of the mother of Demosthenes (see above, n. 28), until, that is to say, the heir was ready to take over the mastership of the house. In Attic law this was prescribed with reference to the son's age, in Homeric society it depended on his power to assert himself (see above, p. 61). It would be wrong to see either Penelope or Demosthenes' mother as an *ἐπίκληρος*, though both had a *κλήρος*, an estate, settled on them, whose usufruct they or their new husband would enjoy at least till the heir's majority was achieved. Obviously, there is a difference in that Demosthenes' mother had a living son, whereas Penelope, in the situation envisaged in *Od.* ii 332–6 and xvi 384–6, would not have one.

⁵⁰ *ἄτεργίγισσι* *Od.* ii 52.

despairs of Odysseus' return, and if she were to do so he would arrange her ἔδνα;⁵¹ if, however, she does not wish to remarry (as is the case), believing that in the end Odysseus will return, she can only be sent back to her father's κυριεία by the repudiation of her marriage-contract by the new κύριος of Odysseus' house, who would therefore have to give compensation.⁵² But if Odysseus were to be proved dead by Telemachus' inquiries in the course of his projected voyage, since Telemachus would then become the κύριος of Penelope, a widow, he would be responsible for her remarriage, and no compensation would have to be paid to Icarius, because her marriage to Odysseus would have been terminated by his death, and the widow's possessions would have passed, like those of an Athenian widow, into the κυριεία of her son, since he was now adult.⁵³

Telemachus' proof of his manhood, and of his status as an ἀγαθός, by raising his crew and going to Pylos and Sparta, made clear not merely his right to status and to his οἶκος,⁵⁴ but also his right to dispose of Penelope if, as the suitors persisted in claiming, she was a widow. The importance of this assertion of status by Telemachus is shown by the suitors' attempt to murder him, and their fear of the consequences when they failed (*Od.* xvi 372-86); their only courses, says Antinous (*ibid.* 383 ff.), are to ambush Telemachus in Ithaca, divide up his movables (βίσιον and κτήματα), give his house to Penelope's new husband, or each to press his suit from his own house, competing with ἔδνα—ἔδνοισι διζήμιενος, and Penelope would marry him who gave most (*ibid.* 390-2 = xxi 161-2). The recipient of these ἔδνα is nowhere stated.

This proof of his manhood and of his status as ἀγαθός, and his safe return also stirred Penelope into believing that it was her duty now to marry again; she had, in her view, remained as custodian of Odysseus' οἶκος for as long as she had been instructed by him to remain; Telemachus had now asserted his status, and his wish to become κύριος of the οἶκος, and, as the suitors would not allow her to remain and grow old as a widow in Telemachus' house, she had to recollect Odysseus' parting instructions (*Od.* xviii 267-70). A little earlier in this book she is represented as inspired by Athene with a desire to enhance her value to her husband and son by appearing before the suitors (*ibid.* 160-2),⁵⁵ to inform them of her decision, and tell them that they should woo her in accordance with δίκη, by gifts to her and banquets to her φίλοι (*ibid.* 275-80); though rejecting the latter the suitors agree to give the δῶρα which Homer then describes (*ibid.* 291-303).⁵⁶

After Penelope had declared her intentions, unencouraging though these were (*Od.* xviii

⁵¹ As Athene in the guise of Mentès says; *Od.* i 275-8.

⁵² The fact of expulsion would of itself form a claim to the κυριεία of the οἶκος. That Telemachus could send Penelope away is assumed by all the speakers in the debate in Book ii, implicitly by Telemachus (130 ff.) and Eurymachus (195 ff.), explicitly by Antinous (113 ff. μητέρα σὴν ἀπέπεμπον); it is also assumed in the later argument with Agelaus (*Od.* xx 322-44, esp. 334-5 and 343-4). For compensation see *Od.* ii 132-3. It is usually assumed that this is a return of ἔδνα, and I would tend to agree, but think that there may also be an element of ἀπονα in the gifts, because to send her away ἀέκονσαν must be taken as a measure of disesteem for the family of Icarius, whereas her willing departure would not, and there is no question of return of ἔδνα in that eventuality.

⁵³ Proved most clearly by *Od.* i 289-92 and ii 220-3; see above, p. 62. Note that the funeral-rites for Odysseus are the preliminary to Penelope's remarriage. These two passages are a virtual doublet.

⁵⁴ Both Eurymachus (*Od.* ii 188-91) and Leocritus (*ibid.* 243 ff.) had questioned his ability to make his claim effective. Contrast the speech of Agelaus (*Od.* xx esp. 322-5), and the suitors' acceptance of Telemachus' authority, as in *Od.* xviii 405-11, xx 262-72, xxi 368-79 etc.

⁵⁵ We should note the implications of this thought, which are that Odysseus is still alive, and hence the οἶκος is his if he returns to claim it; see Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* 124-6. It is impossible to think that the 'husband and son' are anyone other than Odysseus and Telemachus. If common sense were not proof enough, the idea was the goddess's in the first place, and she knew who the beggar was, but it must have seemed rational to Penelope also. These lines prove firmly (if further proof were required) that even personal jewels of this sort were the property of the οἶκος, and hence of its κύριος. The only suggestion to the contrary is *Od.* xix 526 whose genuineness has been doubted. See CR 1966 1 ff.

⁵⁶ See above, p. 58 for the view that these were not ἔδνα.

272-3), her marriage was discussed once more by Telemachus and the suitors (*Od.* xx 326-44): it is in this discussion that for the first and only time Telemachus declares that he will give *ἄσπετα δῶρα* with her; he is now master of the house and its possessions. Whether *ἔδνα* would also be exchanged is not absolutely clear; in rehearsing her courses of action to the 'Beggars' (*Od.* xix 528-9), Penelope envisages going away with the successful suitor who is described as *ἄριστος*, and *πόρων ἀπερείσια ἔδνα*, but to Telemachus Agelaus simply says *ὄστις ἄριστος ἀνὴρ καὶ πλεῖστα πόρησιν* (*Od.* xx 335), and Ktesippus, we hear, relied solely on his wealth (*Od.* xx 289). It would be possible, but it is quite unnecessary, to assume that the *ἔδνα* are to be exchanged with Telemachus; if, by consenting to her father's insistence, Penelope remarried without admitting that she was a widow⁵⁷ she could well still be in her father's *κυριεία*, and Telemachus' offer, by using the word *δῶρα*, does not assert his *κυριεία* over her.⁵⁸

If it be objected that gift-exchanges between sensible men were always of roughly equal value (see Finley, p. 174), a possible answer may be that, even on this basis, either Telemachus or Icarius could be meant, since obviously Telemachus' *ἄσπετα δῶρα* plus Penelope could be balanced against *ἀπερείσια ἔδνα* given by the successful suitor who gives most. But equally, if the latter are given to Icarius, mutual gain is still possible, Icarius gaining the *ἔδνα*, the successful suitor the bride, Icarius' *ἔδνα* and Telemachus' *ἄσπετα δῶρα*, and Telemachus himself his *οἶκος* now unencumbered by suitors, which is always represented as a great gain for him. Penelope of course eventually decided to choose her husband not by selecting the highest bidder, but by finding out by means of an *ἄεθλον* with the bow who was *ἄριστος*;⁵⁹ even if she was able to restrict the field so as to exclude the 'Beggars' (*Od.* xxi 314-19), *ἔδνα* do not seem to be envisaged in a marriage by contest,⁶⁰ though they are not specifically excluded.

Penelope's *ἔδνα* do not therefore differ significantly from those of any other heroic personality in the Homeric poems; it is the varying interpretations of her status, and that of Telemachus, which lead to the varying proposals. Until Telemachus is proved of heroic status, if she is willing, and Odysseus not proved dead, her father will arrange her *ἔδνα* and suitors must apply to him; if she is unwilling and Odysseus not proved dead her father will arrange *ἔδνα* if she is sent back to him with compensation from Telemachus. If Odysseus is proved dead Telemachus will give her away, and nothing is said of *ἔδνα*. When Telemachus is proved of heroic status Penelope became willing without admitting that Odysseus was dead, the suitors gave her gifts to persuade her whom to choose, and competed with *ἔδνα*—the recipient is nowhere stated but the implication is always that it is her father, not Telemachus; Telemachus, when he sees her at last ready to go, pretends to be ready to give gifts with her, as it will mean the conservation of the rest of his estate; when, however, it is turned by her into a contest not of *ἔδνα* but of strength and skill, *ἔδνα* do not arise. Such confusion as there is is more apparent than real, and arises from modern critics' failure to appreciate the mutual exchange inherent in *ἔδνα*, and the two different patterns of Greek marriage with their consistent, but different terminologies.⁶¹

ADDITIONAL NOTE

The archaeological evidence for links between Mycenaean Greece and the cultures of the ancient near-East is clear, and well-known (see most recently J. Boardman, *The Greeks*

⁵⁷ *Od.* xix 527 claims she is not a widow.

⁵⁸ He also insisted that Odysseus might still be alive (*Od.* xx 340), and his refusal to coerce Penelope confirms that his attitude on this point is unchanged. He was in any case aware by now that Odysseus was the beggar.

⁵⁹ The word *ἄριστος* is not explicitly used by her,

perhaps because of her low view of the suitors (e.g. *Od.* xxi 331-3).

⁶⁰ Compare the marriage of Pero: *Od.* xi 287-91, xv 230-8.

⁶¹ I must record my gratitude to many friends for their help, especially Professors Page, Kirk and Willcock, Dr Finley and Mr Camps.

Overseas (1964) 39 f.); research on the Linear B tablets has also revealed remarkable correspondences in weights and measures including the division of the main unit of measure (the talent) into sixty parts (information from Dr Chadwick), and the measurement of land by the amount of seed-corn needed to sow it (Ventris and Chadwick *Documents* 236); mythology and story-telling provide further parallels (Cyrus Gordon, *Before the Bible* (1962)); the possibility of shared social practices should therefore not be ruled out, especially in the epic tradition, parts of which passed to the West Semites and the Hittites either directly or through intermediaries such as the Hurrians (E. A. Speiser, *Journal of World History* i (1953) 311), although the latter's social and legal system differed from that of Babylonia and Assyria.

In the Babylonian law-codes (G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (1952)) there is clear evidence of a mutual exchange of gifts between the parties to marriages; in that civilisation which knew writing the terms of the exchange formed a written contract—see 249–65, esp. 262 ff. The bridegroom (or his father) when seeking a bride offers bridal gifts (tirhatum) to the bride's father. Tirhatum was usually silver: Driver and Miles claim that this word is philologically connected with sexual intercourse, though this is denied by Goetze (*The Laws of Ishunna*), who associates it with verbs of hastening, but neither view connects it with purchase. If the bride's father agrees, the tirhatum is handed over, also biblum, which is taken to mean a contribution in kind to the wedding-feast; the girl is then regarded as a bride and tirhatum may be seen as the bridegroom's provision for his bride until she comes to his house. When she does go, she brings with her a dowry (šeriktum), and her going to his house is associated with the start of sexual intercourse.

If the bride dies without giving birth to sons, the husband has no claim to šeriktum if he receives his tirhatum back; if he does not receive it back, he may deduct its value from šeriktum, a provision which clearly implies that this latter (given by the bride's family) is usually the greater. If she leaves sons, the šeriktum passes to the sons, and tirhatum cannot be reclaimed. Šeriktum consisted of land or movable property, the former most usually. These authors also remark (p. 264, n. 3) 'In fact the bride's father seldom got anything, as he gave away in the šeriktum much more than he received in the tirhatum'; we also hear in several contracts of the tirhatum being handed back with the bride 'bound in the (wife's) girdle'.

Mr David Oates, to whom I am much indebted for help in these topics, has kindly pointed out to me that the Code seems to be concerned more with the disposition of the property of the land-owning class of awilum, whose land was owned jointly in the family, than with marriage *per se*; hence, when the daughter of an awilum was entitled to one third of a son's share it was for her maintenance and that of her children, not as her private property (since if she died without sons šeriktum returned to her family—the parallel with the Attic ἐπίκληρος-system is very close) but as property held in trust for her sons when they grew up.

In Assyria (Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, Oxford, 1935) the rules for dowry 'can hardly be understood except in connexion with the Babylonian code' (p. 206), and in Assyria dowry (širku) is again seen as the girl's share in the father's property. These laws also use the phrase 'entering a man's house' as equivalent to getting married, and *cf.* 'if she does not come forth from (i.e. leave) her (i.e. her husband's) house', is used of a widow (pp. 168, 212–3). If a husband had disappeared (pp. 215–16), 'The principle is that a wife may remarry if her husband has left her without support, or can be presumed to be dead, but that she may not do this so long as there is a presumption that he will or may return to her'.

These ideas of mutual exchange, and the coming of the bride to the husband's house are also found at Ugarit, especially in the text of the marriage of the Gods Yarikh (the husband) and Nikkal (the wife). Yarikh says (G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 1956, 125) 'and I myself will give as her bride-price to her father a thousand pieces of silver and ten thousand pieces of gold . . .', and the poet (p. 127) says, 'let her dowry and her wedding gift

be weighed out (?) to her'. Discussing this same text A. van Selms (*Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (1954) 33-4), sees a bride receiving a dowry of some sort when she marries; 'the terms mentioned refer to one and the same thing, a certain sum in movable or immovable property which the family of the bride bestows on her when she marries, and the usufruct of which is allowed her husband as long as he does not divorce her'. For the Hebrews, cf. 1 Kings ix 16, where the word translated as 'present' really means 'dowry' (information from Prof. D. Winton Thomas). J. Gray (*The Canaanites*, Thames and Hudson, 1964), concludes (p. 114) 'It is apparent that (at Ugarit) the bride-price paid to the father of the bride was given to her as a dowry'.

All this evidence of the custom of an apparent 'bride-price' which was not a bride-price at all because it was returned at the marriage must indicate that at least it is not impossible that the Homeric tradition should have recorded it. The point where the Semitic parallels invariably break down is that in all these languages it seems that there are two words for the gifts given by either side, whereas Homer knows only of *ἔδνα*.

For other mythological parallels with Homer, Gordon, *o.c.* 249-50, quotes the tale of Sinuhe (Middle-Egyptian), whose marriage was like that projected between Odysseus and Nausicaa, and which was ended by the departure of Sinuhe for home. Jacob, like Othryoneus, engaged himself to serve for his wife; though Jacob served a specified time in civilian occupation, Othryoneus was to achieve a feat of arms; *Genesis* xxxi shows Jacob's departure as clandestine, and a breach of contract; Jacob's marriages were also endogamous, as his wives were his cousins (*Genesis* xxviii 2, xxix 15). Samson, the mighty man, (*Judges* xiv and xv 1) lived with his father-in-law when he lived with his wife, and when he left the house his marriage came to an end. Cf. also Moses' marriage with Zipporah (*Exodus* ii 15-22), where Moses was acquired as a son-in-law by Jethro to defend his daughters from being unfairly treated by the other shepherds. None of these husbands obtained their wives by giving gifts, the marriage in each case was a matter of an individual arrangement between the parties.

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SHIP-SHAPE AND SAMBUCA-FASHION

IN Book viii ch. 6 Polybius describes the structure and use of a siege-engine, the *σαμβύκη*, so called from its resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. The purpose of this article is to review the evidence for the shape of the musical instrument, and for the structure of the siege-engine, and for possible points of similarity between them.

References to the musical instrument are not uncommon in literature from the fifth century B.C. onwards; there are a number of points on which they agree. The *σαμβύκη* was a stringed instrument,¹ and was generally thought to be of non-Greek, near-Eastern origin.² The alternative view, that it was invented by Ibycus the lyric poet of Rhegium, was probably based on a fanciful etymology, and can reasonably be disregarded.³ The derivation of *λαμβύκη* (probably just a variant spelling) from *λαμβός* is also fanciful.⁴

As regards chronology, the *σαμβύκη* seems to have been introduced into Greece in the late fifth century B.C., and was at that time regarded as something of a novelty by the comic poets.⁵ Some later scholars, however, saw fit to correct this impression, and point out that it was in fact a very ancient instrument.⁶ Its main use was apparently to provide a musical accompaniment for debauchery: in fact, so disreputable was the instrument that the word for a female player of it, *σαμβυκιστρία*, was virtually synonymous with *πορνή*.⁷

So far there is general agreement:⁸ but the five passages which go into more detail do not give a consistent account. The range of pitch of the instrument seems to have been high; if so, it probably had fairly short strings:⁹ according to Porphyrius and Suidas (see notes 1 and 3) it was triangular in shape—Porphyrius identifies it with the *τρίγωνον*, and Vitruvius (vi 1.5) implies the same. Plutarch adds it to the list of ‘multiple-scale instruments’ (*πολύχορδα ὄργανα*) to be proscribed from the ideal Platonic republic; Plato does not name it in his original list.¹⁰ Aristotle thought it undesirable for use in schools, either because it was not used for ‘serious’ music, or because it could only be played by a skilled professional player.¹¹ Finally Euphorion (see notes 6 and 9) says that the *σαμβύκη* is a modified form of the *μάγαδις* (an ancient harp-type instrument which has not been identified with certainty), and that it had four strings, being used by the Parthians and Troglodytes. It must be stressed that there is a serious inconsistency here; instruments of the harp type, unless fitted with a special mechanism (for which there is practically no evidence in antiquity), can play only one note per string.¹² They are described as ‘multi-string’ instruments by contrast

¹ Pollux *Onom.* iv 59; Aristides Quintilianus ii 16 (p. 62 Jahn, p. 85 W-Ingram); Porphyrius, *Comm. in Ptolemaei Harm.* 1 (During, p. 35).

² Strabo x 3.17; Aristoxenus, in Athenaeus iv 182f; Juba, *ibid.* 175d (assuming that the lacuna contained the names of other instruments of Syrian origin); Semos of Delos, in Athenaeus xiv 637b (presumably the Erythraean Sibyl is meant, but the passage is of little value as evidence).

³ Neanthes of Cyzicus, in Athenaeus iv 175d; Suidas s.v. *σαμβύκη*, *Ἴβυκος*.

⁴ Phillis of Delos, in Athenaeus xiv 636b, and Suidas *l.c.*

⁵ Eupolis *fr.* 139 (Kock, *CAF* i p. 294) *cf.* also Philemon *fr.* 44 (Kock, *CAF* ii p. 489).

⁶ Euphorion in Athenaeus iv, 182e (*cf. ibid.* xiv 635a); Lesbothemis’ date is not known.

⁷ Athenaeus iv, 129a; Plutarch, *Antony* 9, *Cleomenes* 35 (Polybius v 37.10); Macrobius *Sat.* iii 14.7; Livy xxxix 6; Plautus, *Stichus* 381.

⁸ I have not discussed Isidorus, *Etym.* iii 21, where *sambuca* has apparently been confused with *sambucus* (elder-wood).

⁹ Athenaeus xiv 633f: *cf.* Aristides Quintilianus, *l.c.* note 1.

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Moralia* 827a (*cf.* Plato, *Republic* 399d). Plutarch also adds to Plato’s list *γαλτήρια πολύχορδα καὶ βαρβίτων*; but the generally accepted view is that the *barbitos* was an enlarged form of the lyre, with seven strings, not a *πολύχορδον ὄργανον*.

¹¹ *Politics* ix 1341a. The context does not make it quite clear which of the two objections applies.

¹² See, however, During, ‘Studies in Musical Terminology in 5th century Literature’ (*Eranos* xliii (1945) 186–94). He interprets *στροβίλον* in Pherecrates (*fr.* 145 Kock) as a device for altering the pitch of the strings.

with the lyre and cithara: these latter are normally shown with seven strings, whereas the harp-type instruments sometimes have as many as twenty. Four strings would be an impossibly small number for a harp-type instrument. Therefore, either Plutarch is wrong in asserting that the *σαμβύκη* was a 'multi-string' instrument, or Euphoriion in thinking that it had only four strings, or Porphyrius and Suidas in thinking that it belonged to the harp family. These possibilities will be discussed in turn.

Next, the siege-engine must be considered. The evidence on its structure comes from several accounts:¹³ of these, Polybius' is by far the best, and must be discussed in detail. He begins by saying that half the oars were removed from two quinquiremes (from the port side of one and the starboard side of the other) and the two ships fixed together. The result was a sort of catamaran structure, with much more lateral stability than a single ship.¹⁴

The account continues (viii 6.4)

κλίμακα τῷ πλάτει τετράπεδον ἐτοιμάσαντες, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀποβάσεως ἰσοῦψῆ γενέσθαι τῷ τείχει, ταύτης ἑκατέραν τὴν πλευρὰν δρυφακτώσαντες καὶ σκεπάσαντες ὑπερπετέσει θωρακίους, ἔθηκαν πλαγίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς συμψαύοντας τοίχους τῶν συνεζευγμένων νεῶν, πολὺ προπίπτουσιν τῶν ἐμβόλων.

The first part of the sentence is straightforward: even when the sea came right up to the walls, as at Achradina, the point being attacked (viii 5.2), the ships could not move up very close, for fear of running aground before the ladder was in position.¹⁵ Where d is the *ἀπόβασις* (the distance between the base of the ladder and the base of the wall) and h the height of the wall, l , the length of the ladder, must be slightly greater than $\sqrt{d^2 + h^2}$. Hence it would project 'well beyond the bows'. *πλαγίαν* in this context appears to mean 'horizontal'; but I have not been able to find any other passage in Polybius where it is used with this meaning.¹⁶

One question remains; whereabouts on the ships did the base of the ladder pivot? There are three considerations involved, and the position was probably chosen by compromising between them.

- (a) The base should be as near the bows as possible; the further astern it is, the longer (and heavier) the ladder must be.
- (b) While the ladder is raised, and before it is placed on the wall, it exerts a strong torsion thrust on the ship, tending to make the bows dip and the stern lift; the nearer to the bows the pivot is placed, the more drastic this effect would be. It could be partly counteracted by making the crew congregate at the stern (as many of them did anyway, to haul up the ladder) but even so, it is doubtful whether the pivot could have been placed very near the bows.
- (c) When the ladder was in position on the wall, its weight and that of the men scaling it would exert a simple downward thrust from its base; at this time, therefore, it should be as nearly amidships as possible.

So far as a land-lubber is able to judge, a reasonable compromise between these conflicting claims would seem to be a point a little forward of the masts of the two ships.

¹³ Polybius viii 6; Vegetius, *Mil.* iv 21; Plutarch, *Marcellus* 14. Biton's account appears in Wescher, *Polynétique des Grecs* Paris 1867 v 57-61; also in *Bau von Belagerungsmaschinen und Geschützen*, ed. Rehm-Schramm Abh. Bay. Akad., Munich 1929).

¹⁴ It is clear from later on in the account that while the ladder was fully raised before being brought up to the wall there were at least four men on the platform plus, almost certainly, some 'replacements';

as they were then higher than the wall, the whole structure must have been extremely top-heavy.

¹⁵ Cf. Vitruvius x 16.9—an account of how the Chians successfully prevented ships with *sambucæ* from approaching.

¹⁶ The ladder was not at right-angles the normal meaning of the word *πλαγίως* to the sides of the ship, or to anything else mentioned in the context. It might be expected to mean 'sideways' cf. *πλαγίως* in 9).

(5) πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἰστοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἄνω μερῶν τροχιλαίαι προσήρτηντο σὺν κάλοις. λοιπὸν ὅταν ἐγγίωσι τῆς χρείας, ἐνδεδεμένων τῶν κάλων εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τῆς κλίμακος ἔλκουσι διὰ τῶν τροχιλιῶν τούτους ἐστῶτες ἐν ταῖς πρύμναις. (6) ἕτεροι δὲ παραπλησίως ἐν ταῖς πρῶραις ἐξερείδοντες ταῖς ἀντηρίσιν ἀσφαλίζονται τὴν ἄρσιν τοῦ μηχανήματος.

There are two minor points here requiring comment:

- (a) How high were the masts? This is obviously an important clue to the appearance of the siege-engine. If the masts were amidships, and the hoisting cables were attached to the far end of the ladder (*κορυφὴν*) there must have been a considerable forward thrust on the tops of the masts:¹⁷ since the whole contraption seems to have been a makeshift arrangement rather than a siege-engine specially designed as such, it is likely that the existing masts were used; but they would probably have to be shortened, and perhaps strengthened, to stand the strain.
- (b) What is the meaning of *ἀντηρίσιν*? Most editors take it to mean props or poles, held under the ladder or wedged between it and the deck, 'to make safe the raising of the mechanism'. The use of the article *ταῖς*, when they have not been mentioned before, is also puzzling: it may suggest that *ἀντηρίδες* were standard equipment on a warship. If they were used as props, they may have been equated with the strings of the musical instrument (see below).
- (7) κάπειτα διὰ τῆς εἰρεσίας τῆς ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν ἐκτὸς ταρσῶν ἐγγίσαντες τῇ γῇ τὰς ναῦς, πειράζουσι προσερεῖδειν τῷ τείχει τὸ προειρημένον ὄργανον. (8) ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κλίμακος ἄκρας ὑπάρχει πέτερον ἠσφαλισμένον γέρροις τὰς τρεῖς ἐπιφανείας, ἐφ' ἧς τέτταρες ἄνδρες ἐπιβεβηκότες ἀγωνίζονται, διαμαχόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς εἴργοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τὴν πρόσθεσιν τῆς σαμβύκης. (9) ἐπὶ δὲ προσερείσαντες ὑπερδέξιοι γένωνται τοῦ τείχους, οὗτοι μὲν τὰ πλάγια τῶν γέρρων παραλύσαντες ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους ἐκβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἢ τοὺς πύργους. (10) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διὰ τῆς σαμβύκης ἔπονται τούτοις, ἀσφαλῶς τοῖς κάλοις βεβηκυίας τῆς κλίμακος εἰς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ναῦς.

Apart from the final sentence this passage requires no comment.¹⁸ The word *βεβηκυίας* seems to have the force of a passive participle, '... the ladder being firmly braced on to both the ships by means of the ropes'. The question now arises—which ropes are these? They might be the main hoisting cables mentioned in (5): but there seems to be no point at all in taking the weight of the ladder, and of the men scaling it, on the hoisting cables after the platform is in position on the wall. Indeed, there is much more to be gained by pulling it down on to the wall, to make it more difficult for the defenders (*τοὺς εἴργοντας* . . . *τὴν πρόσθεσιν* (8)) to prise it off if and when they regained control of the wall. In any case, Polybius' choice of the word *βεβηκυίας* is very strange: it could hardly mean 'supported' or 'held up'. On the other hand, if these are different ropes, hanging down from the ladder towards the forward decks of the ships, by which the ladder was steadied or held down on the wall, it is strange that no mention has been made of them before, especially as they may be analogous to the strings of the musical instrument. It is also strange that the definite article

¹⁷ This thrust would be the vector sum of two forces, (a) that exerted by the weight of the ladder, and (b) that exerted by the men heaving on the rope; while the bridge is held stationary these two forces are equal. The resultant would then be exerted along a line bisecting the angle formed by the two parts of the rope, with its apex at the pulleys. With the ladder just raised from the deck this line would be a few degrees out from the vertical, since the ladder projected beyond the bows: as the ladder was raised, the tension in the rope due to its weight would

diminish, but the deviation from the vertical would increase: so there must have been at all times a tendency for the masts to bend forwards. Shortening the masts would make the initial thrust greater, but more nearly vertical.

¹⁸ *ὑπερδέξιοι* in 9 is usually translated 'above': that is its normal meaning in Polybius' day, but here the context seems to demand that older (etymological) sense, 'when they are in a controlling position on the wall'. Cf. Book v 102.3.

is used (τοῖς κάλοις), which ought to imply 'the aforementioned ropes'.¹⁹ Finally, why does Polybius say 'braced on to the ships', and not 'braced on to the wall'?

(II) εἰκότως δὲ τὸ κατασκευάσμα τῆς προσηγορίας τέτευχε ταύτης· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐξαρθῆ, γίνεται τὸ σχῆμα τῆς νεὼς ταύτης καὶ τῆς κλίμακος ἐνοποιηθὲν παραπλήσιον σαμβύκη.

There are three points here which are crucial in dealing with the comparison: (a) the siege engine looked like the musical instrument 'when it was raised': (b) τῆς νεὼς ταύτης could mean 'two ships lashed together in this way' or, more probably, the engine *seen from the side*, when it would look like a single ship: (c) the musical instrument looked like *the ship and the ladder 'taken together'*.

Plutarch's account of the engine (*Marcellus*, 14) adds little or nothing of importance: his statement (3) that eight ships were fixed together is almost certainly a misunderstanding.²⁰ Vegetius (*loc. cit.*) is describing an engine for use on land, which is different in important respects (see note 26 below). His use of the word *cithara* does not help to identify the instrument, as in his day it was used indiscriminately for any stringed instrument.

The only other account of any importance is given by Biton (see note 13). This, being roughly contemporary, should help to elucidate Polybius, but unfortunately it does not. For one thing, it describes a machine for use on land: for another, the description is very sketchy, and alludes to a diagram (now lost) without which it is scarcely intelligible. But despite severe difficulties, some features of Biton's machine can be established with certainty. Firstly, the ladder was not pivoted at its base: a squat tower (κιλλίβας) 16 ft. high carried an axle on which the ladder was swung, balanced by a counterweight at its lower end.²¹ The exact position of the pivot is not stated, but the ladder was 60 ft. long, and one imagines the pivot about one-fifth (say 10–12 ft.) from the lower end. Secondly, the ladder was not hoisted by means of cables, but raised by some sort of screw-jack—a remarkably sophisticated piece of technology. The screw itself (κοχλίας) was 15 ft. long and about 5 ins. in diameter. Unfortunately, Biton's text does not define clearly the position of the screw, nor the means by which the threaded block (κατακλείς), which moved back and forth along it, was coupled to the ladder.

There are two other minor points to be noted. Biton applies the name *σαμβύκη* to the ladder itself in two contexts, though elsewhere he uses it of the machine as a whole. But it can hardly be argued that the machine got its name because the ladder, with its protective screens and counterweight, resembled a lute-type instrument (see p. 75 below). Polybius makes no mention whatsoever of a *κιλλίβας*, pivot or counterweight in the naval version, to which the nickname was originally applied: and by a curious coincidence he also uses the word *σαμβύκη* to mean the ladder alone, in viii 6.10.²²

¹⁹ I owe this suggestion to Prof. Walbank. The article is used with ἀντιμήσιον in 6, where the poles are not 'aforementioned', but this case is not really parallel. It is omitted (as one would expect) where the hoisting cables are first mentioned in 5.

²⁰ Livy's account (xxiv 34.6) agrees with Polybius on this point.

²¹ A. G. Drachmann, in *The Mechanical Technology of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Copenhagen & Wisconsin, 1963) makes a curious mistake on this point. Although he repeatedly asserts that Biton's work is unintelligible and useless (pp. 11, 186, 191, 200 etc.) he evidently understands the words *πλωθίων ποδῶν ζ' πᾶντοθεν* [τό] *πλάτος καὶ το μήκος*: Biton's description of the counterweight to mean a 6-ft. cube, which it need not necessarily mean. He says (p. 11) 'The scaling-ladder with its large screw is certainly an

armchair invention, for the container for the counterpoise will take 44 tons of lead where 4 tons were plenty'. I assume that the figure of 44 tons is the estimated weight of 216 cu. ft. of lead: but Biton nowhere suggests that the *πλωθίον* is to be filled with lead. He says *ἔχέτω δὲ μολύβδον τὸ πλωθίον τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε ἀντίρροπον ποιεῖν τὸν μολύβδον τὸ ὅλον σήκωμα τῆς σαμβύκης*. It is more reasonable to suppose that ingots or lumps of lead were put into the *πλωθίον* (perhaps in compartments of some sort, to prevent them from sliding about when the ladder was tilted up) until the ladder was exactly balanced. As we have no real knowledge of how much of the ladder or its armour-plating weighed, or of the position of the pivot, it can fairly be said that Drachmann's figure of 4 tons is also an 'armchair invention'.

²² Note also the dimensions of the trolley on which

Before discussing the resemblance between the siege-engine and the musical instrument it is as well to recall that we are dealing, not with a sober historian's terminology, but with something which began as a Services' joke.²³ The R.A.F. used to call a type of life-jacket a 'Mae West'; but it would be unwise (not to say ungallant) to assert that the nickname would not have been chosen unless the resemblance was exact. In this instance, as with the 'snowdrops' quoted by Walbank (*loc. cit.*) it is the ineptitude, not the exactitude of the comparison which really matters.

An attempt must now be made to identify the *σαμβύκη* among the various stringed instruments shown in ancient illustrations, looking at the same time for some resemblance (which may be quite superficial) to the siege-engine. Let us begin by supposing that it was a triangular, harp-type instrument. Two such instruments can be seen illustrated on nuptial lebetes in the Metropolitan Museum, New York:²⁴ they are similar but not identical.

(1) New York 16.73. This harp is held on the player's lap; it is in the form of a right-angled triangle (approximately) with the vertical member near the player's shoulder, and the 'hypotenuse member' sloping downwards away from the player at about 45 degrees. This member is a 'slender cigar' shape.²⁵ The strings, 14 in number, are roughly parallel and vertical.

If this is the *σαμβύκη*, to what extent can it be said to resemble the siege engine? The 'hypotenuse member' presumably corresponds to the ladder with its protective screens (*ὑπερπετέσι θωρακίοις* (4)), and the strings to the 'steadying cables' or props (fig. 1).²⁶ The

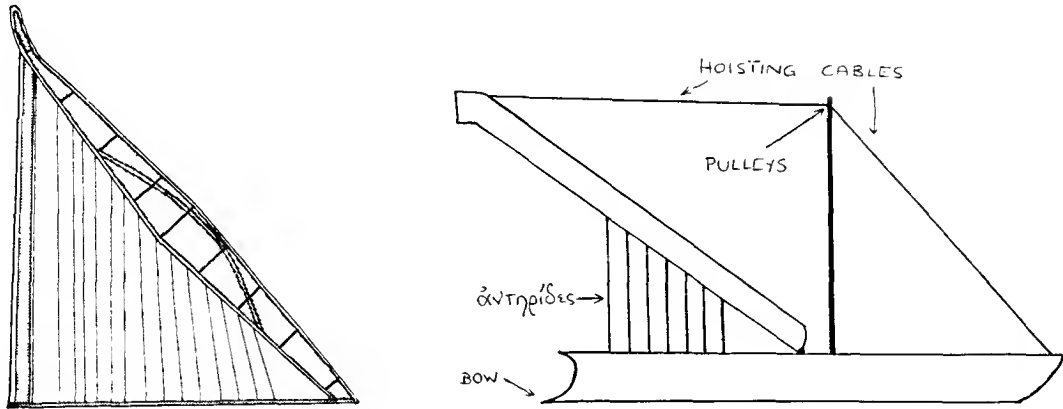


FIG. 1

discrepancies are obvious: there is nothing in the siege engine to correspond with the vertical member of the harp; the forward half of the ship should correspond with the horizontal

Biton's engine was mounted—3 ft. wide, 2 ft. high and 27 ft. long. Presumably the *κιλλίβιας* was at or near the rear end, and the length was necessary to counteract the torsion effect of the 60-ft. ladder (see p. 70 above).

²³ Cf. F. W. Walbank, 'Naval Theory' *JCR* lxxiv (1950) 10-11.

²⁴ New York 16.73; Richter and Hall pl. 146-7 and pl. 174, 144; Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* pl. 23; *ARI*² 1126, 6; New York 07.286.35; Richter and Hall pl. 146 and pl. 174, 145; *ARI*² 1126, 1.

²⁵ More accurately, the shape of an ancient spindle: hence Wegner calls this instrument 'Spindelharfe'. The term was apparently first used by R.

Herbig in his article *Griechische Harfen* *IAM* liv (1929) 164-93.

²⁶ For the problem of the 'steadying cables', see p. 71 above. If the *σαμβύκη* had four strings, they might correspond to four props: but that is virtually impossible if the *σαμβύκη* was a harp-type instrument (see p. 69 above). It is difficult to imagine a large number of props being effectively used, especially as the exact height of the wall might not be known beforehand. Vegetius *loc. cit.* mentions *funes . . . qui pontem de superiore parte trochleis laxant*, pointing out that these ropes correspond to the strings of the *cithara*. But these were clearly hoisting cables, above, not below, the drawbridge.

member, but is neither long enough, nor the right shape, to do so. To see the likeness it is necessary to ignore altogether the stern half of the ship, the hoisting cables and the masts.

(2) New York 07.286.35. This harp differs only in three details: (a) the vertical member (partly hidden by the player's body) appears to be slightly curved, (b) it has twenty strings, and (c) they are not vertical or parallel, but spread out fanwise towards the 'hypotenuse member'. The second possibility is that the siege engine resembled this type of harp rotated clockwise through 90 degrees (fig. 2). The masts now represent the horizontal

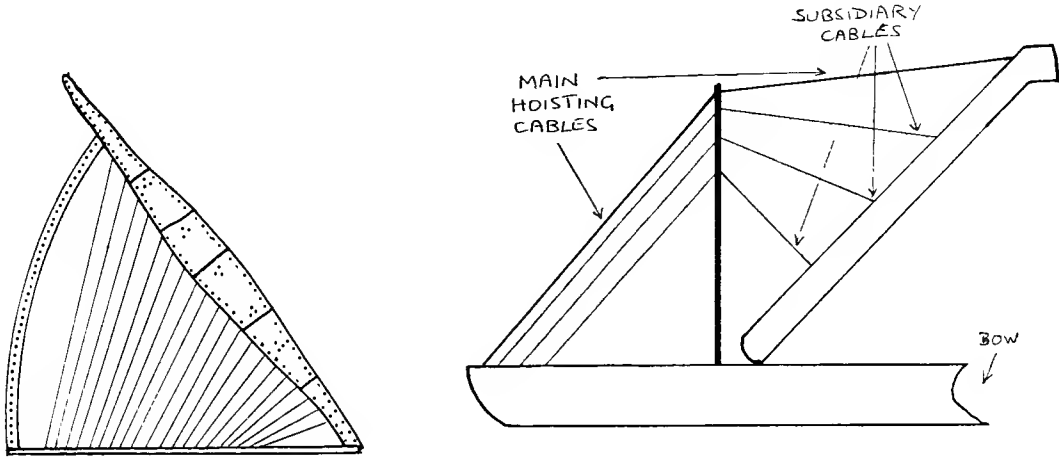


FIG. 2

member, and the main hoisting cables the vertical member. It is necessary to suppose that there were a number of shorter hoisting cables in addition to the main ones, passing over pulleys lower down the mast (of which Polybius says nothing). Equivalentents are thus supplied for the three sides of the instrument and for its strings: but one serious discrepancy remains, which seems fatal to this identification of the *σαμβύκη*. The hull of the ship must be ignored completely, having no counterpart in the instrument: but Polybius explicitly says (11) *τὸ σχῆμα τῆς νεὸς ταύτης καὶ τῆς κλίμακος ἐνοποιηθὲν . . .*

(3) There is another type of harp quite frequently illustrated in vase-paintings which is not triangular in shape, and which has been identified by some authorities as the *μάγαδις*.²⁷ It is usually shown with 14-15 strings. If this is the *σαμβύκη*, it could be compared thus with the siege-engine (fig. 3). This harp has no vertical member, and so the absence of a corresponding part from the siege engine presents no problem: but apart from this, all the objections to the first identification above apply with equal force to this one. It might be argued that a curved ladder would offer certain advantages over a straight one. The platform at the top was protected at the front and on each side (*τὰς τρεῖς ἐπιφανείας*, 8): if the enemy could get control of the platform, or if they could wrench the front screens away, arrows could be shot down the entire length of a straight ladder, and heavy casualties inflicted on the scaling-party; whereas curvature of the ladder, if convex as shown in the sketch, would give some protection to those on the lower part.

(4) There is a possibility that Euphron (loc. cit., note 9) is right in saying that the *σαμβύκη* had four strings. This is not necessarily inconsistent with Plutarch's assertion that it was a *πολύχορδον ὄργανον*, as it might have been an instrument of the lute type, with a fingerboard

²⁷ E.g. London BM E271: CT.1 iii-iv; pl. 12 (177/2; Wegner, *op. cit.*, pl. 19; *ARI*² 1039-40, 13 The Peleus Painter. Wegner calls this type 'Bugelharfe'.

It may or may not be significant that it appears more frequently on Italian vases than on others.

(and possibly frets) enabling the player to produce many different notes from each string.²⁸ If so, it belonged to the same family as the *πανδοῦρα*.²⁹ Illustrations of this type of instrument from the Classical period are rare, but the few which do survive show an instrument about the size of a mandoline, and roughly the same shape.³⁰ The likeness to the siege engine is quite close (fig. 4). The main hoisting cables (possibly four in number) correspond to the strings of the instrument, the masts (perhaps shortened, see above, p. 71) to the bridge, and

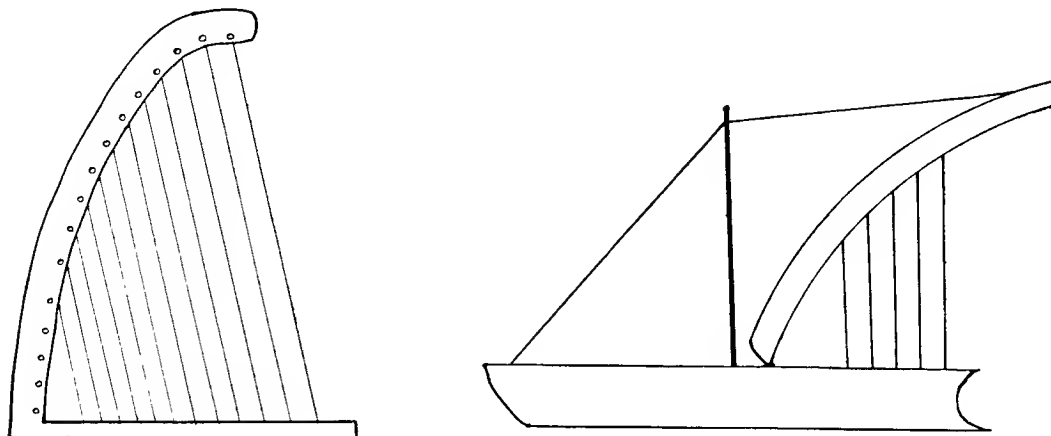


FIG. 3

the hull(s) to the body or sounding-box. It is clear from both accounts that the platform was wider than the rest of the ladder, and on an instrument of this type the neck is usually wider at the end, where the tuning pegs (if any) are fixed. There is only one difficulty, though admittedly it is a serious one: Polybius says (11) *ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐξαρθῆ* and the resemblance shown in the diagram is rather more obvious when the ladder is lowered.³¹

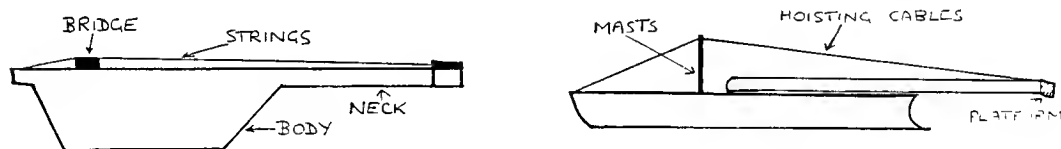


FIG. 4

(5) The fifth possibility is that the *σαμβύκη* was a kind of harp variously termed 'horizontal angular' or 'lower chested'.³² Some forms of this instrument are difficult to distinguish from lutes, particularly when the vertical member forms an obtuse angle with the base, and when the base (originally a flat board) is built up into a 'body' or 'chest'.³³ There are, however, two vital points of difference: (a) the strings of a lute run side by side, and are all at

²⁸ T. Reinach used the convenient term 'instruments à manche' for this type.

²⁹ The remarks on the latter in Athenaeus iv 183f are closely similar to those on the *σαμβύκη*. It is difficult to decide whether this implies identity of the two instruments or merely confusion in Athenaeus' mind (or his text: see the next note).

³⁰ See Higgins and Winnington-Ingram, 'Lute-Players in Greek Art', in *JHS* lxxv (1965) 62-71. Though this list does not claim to be complete, it supersedes T. Reinach, *La guitare dans l'art Grec* in

REG viii (1895). The possible identity of *πανδοῦρα* and *σαμβύκη* is discussed in note 34.

³¹ Cf. also Andreas of Panormus in Athenaeus xiv 634a, who appears to be drawing on Polybius himself, or on the same source.

³² C. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments* 79; H. G. Farmer in *New Oxford Dictionary of Music* i 242-3.

³³ Cf. M. Wegner, *Die Musikinstrumente des Alten Orients*; in the comparative chart following the plates, Mesopotamia item 9 from Ur, Assyria items 75 and 93.

the same distance from the sounding-board, whereas those of a horizontal angular or arched harp are in a plane perpendicular to the sounding-board, the longer strings being further away from the sounding-board than the shorter ones; (b) the strings of a lute pass over a bridge to an anchoring-point at one end of the sounding-board: the bridge transmits their vibrations to the sounding-board. A harp has no bridge, the ends of the strings being anchored directly on to the sounding-board.³⁴

The resemblance between an instrument of this type and the siege engine might be fairly close (fig. 5). The 'post' or vertical member of the harp is often shown jointed to the base a short distance in from the end, and the ladder of the siege engine was probably pivoted some distance from the bows of the ships (see p. 70 above). The masts and pulleys must be ignored in this comparison, and it must be assumed that there were additional hoisting cables, attached to various points along the ladder, which Polybius does not mention.

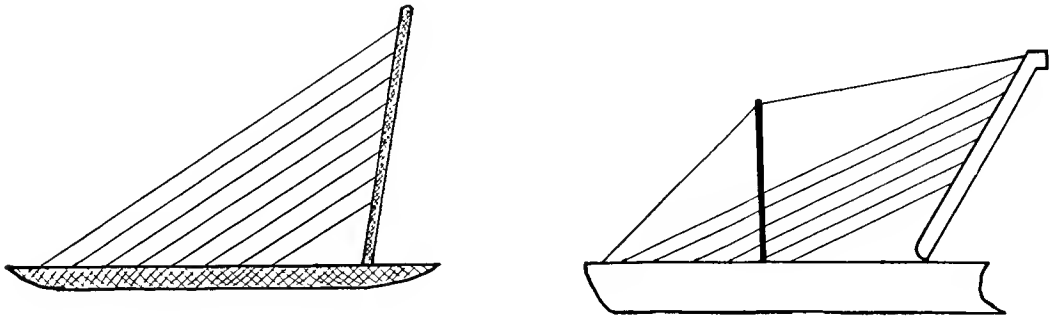


FIG. 5

But there is one important fact which makes it difficult to believe that this was the *σαμβύκη*. That instrument must have been a familiar sight to the troops who nicknamed the siege engine: it must have been in general use at the time, among 'all classes of the community'. But there is, so far as I know, not one single illustration of a horizontal angular harp in Greek or Roman art.³⁵ Its absence from pictures and sculpture of the Classical period might be explained by the fact that it did not achieve widespread notoriety until Hellenistic times: indeed, it is in a Campanian wall-painting, which may possibly owe something to a Hellenistic Greek original, that the one solitary picture of a horizontal harp is to be found: and that is not the angular version shown in the diagram above, but the 'arched' version, which does not show such an obvious resemblance to the siege engine.³⁶ The neck looks like a curved continuation of the body (fig. 6). This fits reasonably well with the evidence on the musical *σαμβύκη*: it is a small instrument (perhaps 18–20 ins. long) and the

³⁴ Sachs' remarks (*op. cit.* 81) are very misleading: 'The stick holding the strings, instead of being erected vertically at the end of the body of the harp, has been shifted inwards and stands a span away from the end. Thus it has become a bridge that communicates its vibrations to the soundboard'. It seems to me that the 'stick' (as Sachs calls the vertical member) is not a bridge in the accepted sense of that word, since the strings are not stretched over it to an anchor point. The 'Assyrian stone reliefs' to which he refers are the Ashur-bani-pal Royal Hunt scenes in the British Museum (Wegner, *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Orients* pl. 4b).

³⁵ Sachs (*op. cit.* 135) referring to the instruments of Greece, Rome and Etruria, says 'the harp was angular and vertical'. Yet on p. 136 he identifies the

σαμβύκη with the *sabka* of Nebuchadnezzar's orchestra: he discusses the latter on p. 83–4, and describes it as a *horizontal* angular harp. Perhaps he assumed that the modification of the *μίζυρας* (see above, p. 69) involved a change from the vertical to the horizontal. It need hardly be added that philological arguments of this sort, based on the supposed identity of Hebrew and Greek words, are hopelessly unreliable. By 'Euphorios' Sachs means Euphorion, in Athenaeus xiv 635a.

³⁶ Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1442; Mau, *Pompeii—its life and art* fig. 268, p. 476; Marcel Brion, *Pompeii and Herculaneum* pl. 122, p. 204. I take this to be the 'painting from Herculaneum' alluded to by Sachs (*op. cit.* 135 *fn.*); according to Brion it is from Stabiae.

strings look very thin (*cf.* note 9 above): in fact, they are so lightly drawn in that it is difficult to tell how many there are supposed to be. This is in sharp contrast to the lyre shown in the same picture, with its strings heavily and clumsily painted in. The body appears to be of wood, with a shiny varnished surface: it is not possible to tell from photographs whether the sounding-board is horizontal or tilted towards the observer. The 'collar' near the end of the neck seems to be merely decorative.

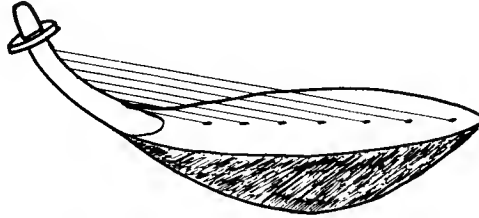


FIG. 6

This instrument can be compared quite closely with the siege engine, with the following important reservations;

- (a) It is most unlikely that the ladder curved *upwards* (see p. 74).
- (b) The masts, and the cables which ran over pulleys (viii 6.5), have no counterpart.
- (c) A number of hoisting cables (without pulleys) must have been attached to points along the ladder: Polybius makes no mention of them.
- (d) It is unlikely that the ladder pivoted at or very near the bows (see p. 70 above).

Thus one must end on a note of regrettable uncertainty. I am inclined to think that the first three suggestions above should be considered but not accepted: the horizontal angular harp seems to be the simplest and most obvious identification of the *σαμβύκη*; but the total lack of pictorial evidence for it, and the survival of only one picture of a different version of that instrument, which resembles the siege engine less closely, presents a serious difficulty. Since no. 4 is my own original suggestion, I am (not unnaturally) inclined to favour it: but it does conflict with some crucial words in Polybius' text, and a possible but tentative identification of an ancient musical instrument is a rather unsure basis upon which to rest a drastic emendation.³⁷

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³⁷ My thanks are due to Professor F. W. Walbank and Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram

peritus hu, Polybio ille both of whom have read this article in draft and made helpful suggestions.

DECISION AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THE TRAGEDY OF AESCHYLUS

IN the paper that I read to the Third International Congress of Classical Studies in London in 1959 I tried to delimit the sphere of human reflexion and freedom of decision, as opposed to the sphere of divine intervention, in Homeric poetry. The conclusion I reached was that there was a mutual and often indissoluble fusion of these two spheres.¹ In trying here to say something about the significance of personal decision in the dramas of Aeschylus, I am in fact continuing my inquiry in a different literary genre. But the problems are basically the same: in both cases the question is what significance the poet ascribes to the personal decisions of the human agent within the frame-work of a basically God-governed 'Welt-bild', how the limitations upon his freedom are defined, and what degree of responsibility is thus entailed.

I began the previous paper with my thanks to Bruno Snell, who was the first to clarify these problems of free human action with which we are faced in epic poetry, and I must now begin by thanking him again. Professor Snell, in his book *Aischylos und das Handeln im Drama*, which appeared in 1928, emphatically placed the personal decision of the human agent in the centre of his interpretation of Aeschylus; he even went so far as to regard a decision based on free choice as the most important element in the development of a genuinely tragic conflict. I cannot enter upon the history of these problems; however, I should like to emphasise the importance of the question and the interest it has recently aroused in scholarly discussion. First, we have the two commentaries on *Agamemnon*, the monumental edition of Prof. Fraenkel,² and that of J. D. Denniston,³ which, in the course of its revision, became largely Prof. Page's. Both these works of scholarship include among their fascinating contents, discussions that bear upon the questions we are concerned with here. Secondly, I should like to mention the essay by André Rivier, *Eschyle et le tragique*, published in 1963,⁴ which, in a very thoughtful and stimulating way, defends a position which differs from that of Snell in some degree.

The only way to clarify these difficult questions, so far as that is possible at all, is by interpretation. And thus, what I want to present here, is an interpretation of four passages from the extant dramas of Aeschylus. Our point of departure will be the text and not any general consideration. I also want to avoid committing myself right at the outset on the question whether we shall have to exclude the idea of personal will from the tragedies merely because we do not find in them a corresponding term for it. I do want, however, to confess to one belief. It seems to me just as wrong to interpret the great poetry of the Greeks out of the ideas of our times, out of that 'Impertinente Nahe' that Nietzsche spoke of, as it is wrong to regard the Greeks as completely different people, severed from our world by an unbridgeable gulf. The Aristotelian μέτρον will here too be the best guide.

Let us begin with a passage from the *Hiketides*, a passage to which Prof. Snell, in the book I have just mentioned, has also attributed particular significance. I would like to emphasise, however, that, if I begin with a scene from the 'Hiketides', this does not mean that I have returned to the old view that dated the play in an early period. On the ground of the well-known papyrus-fragment of a Didascalia, it seems to me on the contrary quite inevitable to date the performance of the play in the middle or in the second half of the sixties. One subterfuge that was considered by some I can only comment on in Prof. Page's words:⁵

¹ Cf. 'Göttliche und menschliche Motivation im homerischen Epos' in *Sitzb. Heidelberger Akad. Phil. hist. Kl.* 1961: 4.

² i Prolegomena and Text: ii-iii Commentary. Oxford 1950.

³ Oxford 1957.

⁴ *Etudes de Lettres* vi (1963) 73-112 (*Bull. de la Fac. des Lettres Lausanne*).

⁵ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* xix.

'It is unlikely that anyone will for long take seriously the suggestion that the play was written in the poet's youth but withheld from the theatre until the later years of his life.'

The situation in the first part of the drama needs no special introduction. The chorus is formed by the daughters of Danaos, who have fled to Argos from the impetuous and repulsive wooing of the sons of Aigyptos. (Incidentally, I shall take it for granted that the twelve members of the chorus represented all fifty daughters of Danaos.) Near the town of Argos they have taken refuge at a large altar, where the images or symbols of a number of gods are combined. The king of the country comes to inquire about the business of the strange crowd. He learns of their desire to be received in the city and given protection against their Egyptian pursuers. The daughters of Danaos point out their relationship with Io, the woman of Argos. The king finds himself facing a momentous decision. The suppliants have sought the protection of Zeus *ἰκέστος*, and regard for suppliants is a religious commandment, which ranks high in the canon of ethical norms. On the other hand, to receive the Danaides means that he will have to fight against the sons of Aigyptos, who will come in arms to force their uncle's daughters to marry them. The king now has to choose one way out of this dilemma. The manner in which he does this and the part that free choice and force respectively play in his decision are important not only for the course of the action in the *Hiketides*; a study of this passage will help our understanding of other, more difficult passages. In a lengthy epirrhematic scene, the chorus in its stanzas entreats the king to grant the requested protection. The king tries to escape by pointing out that the decision rests not with him but with the people of Argos. He inquires about the reason for the flight of the Danaides without, however, receiving a satisfactory answer to his question. It already becomes obvious in this passage that the king has recognised the difficulty of his decision. He expresses this clearly in his first speech which follows the quick movement of the preceding scene. Here we find the magnificent image of the diver, who has to fathom great depths with a clear eye. The city should not suffer damage from a fight, nor should a curse be brought down on Argos by abandoning the fugitives who are seeking protection at the altar of the gods: *μῶν οὐ δοκεῖ δεῖν φροντίδος σωτηρίου*; (417). It is a repetition of its passionate entreaty and its impetuous claim to the right of asylum. To the request of the chorus *τάδε φράσαι* (437), the king at the beginning of his second *ῥῆσις*, which surpasses the first in length and intensity, answers with the assurance *καὶ δὴ πέφρασμαι* (438). In its content, however, this speech brings no advance. The situation seems to be deadlocked, and this is effectively expressed in the image of the ship that is fastened by means of pegs and winches. The hopelessness of the situation becomes evident: *ἄνευ δὲ λύπης οὐδαμῶς καταστροφή* (442). And when the king finally says he had rather be ignorant of the peril than aware of it, this is an attempt—however futile it may be—to evade the decision. And so it is interpreted by the chorus. For now the leader of the chorus announces that their words of awe and reserve have come to an end. New and different things are foreshadowed. The king is horrified to hear in answer to his questions that the girls would hang themselves on the images of the gods if their request were refused. This, however, would bring an inexpiable defilement and great disaster upon the city. The king knows this: *μίασμ' ἔλεξας οὐχ ὑπερτοξέυσιμον* (473). Once more he weighs disaster against disaster, bloodshed against abandoning the fugitives. The girls' threat, however, has turned the scale, the words *ὅμως ἀνάγκη Ζηνὸς αἰδεῖσθαι κότον | ἱκτῆρος* contain the decision, and what follows are simply the measures the king takes to protect the girls. It may be said right away that the theme of a final decision by the people of Argos has lost much of its weight. Later it will cause suspense, above all it will lead up to the song of blessing for Argos, in which the poet was interested mainly for political reasons. The fact, however, is that the decision was reached with the words of the king and that he made it in full consciousness of his responsibility.

But was the choice between two possibilities made in full freedom of will? This is the

central question. First it has to be remarked that the poet presents in a very elaborate scene what is going on in the minds of the persons involved. It cannot be shown in detail here, but at least it should be mentioned briefly that Aeschylus elaborates the psychological development of the characters more fully than his successors. One may compare how in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* the change in Neoptolemos is shown as something completed whereas its development is hardly indicated at all. We may compare Euripides who contrasts Iphigeneia begging for her life and her later readiness to sacrifice herself without developing this change of attitude step by step. And let us compare with that the fully developed scene at the end of *Agamemnon*, when Klytaimnestra in spiritual combat with the chorus step by step changes from her ecstatic admission of her deed to a recognition of the fatal chain of events.

But let us return to the *Hiketides*. We may clearly distinguish two stages, which I should like to call recognition or, as it were, diagnosis and decision. It seems important that the decision does not immediately spring from the recognition. In the interchange between the chorus and the king, as well as in his speeches, the situation is thoroughly analysed. The conclusion is that disaster stands against disaster, that each decision must entail a catastrophe. There is no way out of the deadlock between equally strong forces. But a new element is introduced: the threat of the girls to hang themselves on the images of the gods, the threat of unspeakable desecration. Now the decision is made, but the king adds two expressions we must not neglect: *ἀνάγκη* and *Ζητὸς κότος*. Of course, the decision remains a personal one, and he bears the responsibility for it. It has often been surmised, and in fact it seems very likely, that the full tragic consequence of this decision is the king's death, in the second part of the trilogy, in the fight that arose over the fate of the Danaides. But on the other hand we cannot fail to see that the king's decision was made under heavy pressure. We can anticipate a phrase that will concern us presently: 'He has taken upon him the yoke of *Ananke*.' Freedom and compulsion are united in a genuinely tragic way.

Yet another thing that is extremely characteristic of Aeschylus can be seen from this interpretation. It was Aeschylus who discovered the problem of the uncertainty inherent in every human action. Man through his actions exposes himself to uncertainty. Many human actions have a double aspect—this holds true if not for all human actions, at least for all those which presuppose a decision. To protect the suppliants means disregarding the interests of the city; by giving preference to these the king would prove his sense of responsibility towards the Polis, and yet he would gravely sin against Zeus, who protects the fugitives.

After these considerations let us now turn to a passage in *Agamemnon*, which has in recent years been the subject of lively discussion. It is the report given by the old men of Argos in the initial choral passage about the events before the departure of the fleet from Aulis. The external course of events can be outlined in just a few words. A strange omen appears to the Greeks. Two eagles differing in their plumage rend a pregnant hare. Without difficulty Calchas interprets the omen to signify the capture of Troy by the two Atreidai and the destruction of its possessions. But he adds that Artemis is angry because the two eagles did not even spare the young in the hare's womb. It must be feared that by an unfavourable wind she will prevent the fleet from sailing and demand another sacrifice that could bring about never-ending hatred. And so it happens. The fleet is held fast and the prophet announces that only the sacrifice of Iphigeneia can calm the winds and make departure possible. Agamemnon, after a heavy inner conflict, determines to sacrifice Iphigeneia, and she dies on the altar of the goddess. There is no word of her being saved. We may assume that the poet in the words of the chorus *τὰ δ' ἔνθεν οὔτ' εἶδον οὔτ' ἐννέπω* (247) passes over a tale current at that time which told how Iphigeneia was saved by Artemis. This would have been unsuitable, if Agamemnon's deed was to have its full weight.

The question now is this: Does Agamemnon's decision to sacrifice his own daughter spring from his own will? Is it the result of a free choice? Such eminent interpreters of

Greek tragedy as Dodds⁶ and Kitto⁷ answer the question in the affirmative, whereas such outstanding scholars as Page⁸ and Rivier⁹ deny that there was a choice between two possibilities. Agamemnon could not act differently, he had no choice, for it would be unthinkable that he should stop his campaign and refrain from his punishment of Troy. It is important to point out that Agamemnon himself describes such an action as that of a *λιπόνανς*, with which Prof. Fraenkel rightly compares *λιπόταξις* as a current term for 'deserter'.

But would it have been absolutely impossible for Agamemnon to dismiss the fleet and to discontinue the campaign so that there was no question of a free choice? Must we not remember that Agamemnon's situation is developed in an entirely different way in another drama? I am thinking of *Iphigenia in Aulis* by Euripides, where in the rapid shift of scenes at the beginning Agamemnon and Menelaos one after the other seriously consider discontinuing the campaign and are willing to dismiss the fleet. Of course, we at once have to raise the objection that the dramas by Euripides and by Aeschylus are not the same, just as Euripides' *Herakles* cannot be compared to Sophocles' *Aias* in spite of an externally similar situation. What we have to do, therefore, is to turn back to the text, and we shall there find support for the two contrary opinions. For the text of our choral passage shows a psychological development similar to the one we saw in the king of Argos in the *Hiketides*. As a matter of fact, the two passages have a good deal in common, which manifests itself in verbal parallels, and this can help us in our understanding of the far more difficult lines in *Agamemnon*.

The first reaction of the Atreidai to the prophet's revelation is utter horror. They beat their sceptres on the ground, tears spring from their eyes. After line 205 we hear about Agamemnon only. We see him, like the king of Argos, facing two alternatives which both lead to disaster: *βαρεῖα μὲν κήρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι, βαρεῖα δ' εἰ τέκνον διαίξω* (206). Agamemnon's conclusion *τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ κακῶν* corresponds exactly to the words with which the king of Argos summarises the situation: *κοῦδαμοῦ λιμῆν κακῶν* (*Hik.* 471). The scale at this point is not yet turned, although the necessity of a choice between two equally disastrous possibilities has become evident. In both plays, however, there is at this point a change which quickly brings about the decision. In the *Hiketides* it comes from outside: the girls' threat to commit suicide at the altar forces the king to give in. In *Agamemnon* however, the change takes place in the soul of the hesitant hero: *Πῶς λιπόνανς γένωμαι ξυμμαχίας ἀμαρτῶν*: (212) Agamemnon asks, and as soon as he utters this phrase, by which he envisages the disgrace and shame he would incur by deserting his post, the scales are no longer even. His decision no longer springs from a free choice between equal possibilities: one has to be avoided at any cost. Iphigenia has to be sacrificed. It is still the king's personal decision springing from his will, but the freedom of will is overshadowed by the overwhelming force of the situation which clearly influences the decision. Thus, it is correct to speak of a free choice up to a point; as for the final decision, however, I agree with Rivier that *acte volontaire, nécessité, and perturbation* are united in it. Two more parallels in the text indicate that we have correctly compared the ways in which a decision is reached in the *Hiketides* and in *Agamemnon*. Agamemnon's decision to sacrifice Iphigenia because it was *θέμις* to do so is followed by the sceptical and resigned words *εὖ γὰρ εἴη* (217) which echo the words in the *Hiketides* in which the king expresses his sombre premonition of the things to come: *γένοιτο δ' εὖ, παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν* (454). However, it is far more important still that in both cases the decision is connected with the word *ἀνάγκη*. It is *ἀνάγκη* to the king of Argos to avoid the anger of

⁶ *Proc. of the Camb. Philol. Soc.* clxxxvi (1960) 27.

⁷ *Form and Meaning in Drama* London 1976: 4.

⁸ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* xxvii.

⁹ *Op. cit.* 85. On all these questions, cf. also

H. Lloyd-Jones, 'The Guilt of Agamemnon', *CQ* lvi (1962) 187; his interpretation corresponds in many cases with that developed here and in *Hermes* lxxi (1931) 190.

the Zeus of the suppliants. And Agamemnon, it is said, after making his decision took the yoke of *ἀνάγκη* upon him (218).

Thus far we may confidently draw the parallel, but here it ends and our task now is to examine what is different in *Agamemnon* and what new motives significant for Aeschylus are introduced.

The king of Argos was drawn from outside into a fatal situation. Agamemnon, however, right from the beginning is involved in the fatal series of events that concern the house of the Atreidai, he is a key-figure in a drama 'whose central problem consists in the connexion between guilt and atonement', as Prof. Fraenkel put it. The sacrifice of Iphigeneia is not only a horrible necessity imposed upon him, it is at the same time his personal and his passionately desired deed, for which he is responsible and for which he has to atone. If one makes a clear logical distinction, of course, one will say: 'A man who acts under necessity is not acting voluntarily.' But to insist upon logical consistency would mean that we should have to reject considerable parts of Aeschylus' tragedies, for many of the tragic situations he presents do, in fact, spring from this rationally indissoluble fusion of necessity and personal will. The words of the passage we are concerned with express this in a way that leaves no doubt about this fusion. First of all the way Agamemnon expresses his decision in the monologue reported by the chorus: there is no longer any question of shrinking back in despair from the necessity; *θέμις* must cover not only the deed as such, but also the impetuous desire for it: *πασανέμου γὰρ θυσίας παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὄργᾳ περιόργως ἐπιθυμῶν θέμις* (214). In the following strophe the chorus sings of the *αἰσχρομήτις τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων* (222), which has befallen Agamemnon. This distraction, bordering on insanity, encourages people to horrible deeds: *βροτοὺς θρασύνει*. I must object to the attempt to disparage these words of the chorus as a personal opinion or even a misunderstanding on its part. It is also impossible to interpret the words of the chorus as relating to the irrational sphere only, which has nothing to do with the will that springs from rational considerations. The words in our passage do not permit of this interpretation. First we hear *φρενὸς . . . δυσσεβῆς τροπαία ἀναγνος ἀνιερός* (219). The metaphor taken from wind and seafaring expresses the change that has taken place in Agamemnon, the change by which horror at the dreadful alternatives is replaced by readiness to sacrifice Iphigeneia. The image of 'the turn', incidentally, is also used by the king in the *Hiketides*, though during his state of indecision: *ἄνευ δὲ λύπης οὐδαμοῦ καταστροφή* (442). It is highly characteristic of Aeschylus that in one and the same sentence he speaks of the *ἀνάγκας λέπαδιον* that Agamemnon had to take upon himself and simultaneously calls his change of will, the *φρενὸς τροπαία*, vile and abominable. Thus, what Agamemnon is forced to do under the yoke of *Ananke* is at the same time what he wants to do, the crime that entails guilt and atonement, that he will have to atone for with his own fall. The words of the chorus also clearly indicate that the king is not just carried away by irrational forces but rationally accepts his fatal deed: *τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνων* (221). Thus we are shown from a new angle the double aspect of human action. The sacrifice of Iphigeneia is necessary because of a fatal situation, and at the same time is not only accepted, but passionately desired by Agamemnon, and therefore he is responsible for it. It might seem a rationally acceptable solution to assume that once Agamemnon has surrendered to the necessity, forces are released in him that make him passionately seek to fulfil his aim. But I seriously wonder whether we should not be reading too much of modern psychology into Aeschylus. It seems to me more correct simply to state this union of external coercion and personal readiness; the meaning of this genuinely Aeschylean union is that in this way man, acting out of necessity, has to take upon himself guilt and the need for atonement under the divine order. Logically, this union cannot be analysed, in fact, the stumbling-block in the way of any attempt at logical analysis goes much farther. This was shown by Prof. Page in the introduction to his edition. Is not the campaign against Troy a just punishment inflicted on behalf of the highest god, Zeus, who protects the rights of hospitality? Thus, Agamem-

non acts on behalf of the god who wills this punishment. And yet the price for this punishment is a terrible guilt, for which the king has to atone with his death. Here there is no rational consistency. But the campaign against Troy is obviously another example of the twofold judgement to which human action is so often subject in Aeschylus. The anapaests before the first Stasimon and its first strophe stress that it was Zeus' punishment that came upon Troy: *Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν* (367). But in the course of the Stasimon we are brought to see the other aspect of this victory. Instead of the many warriors an urn returns and the victims of the war are mourned—*ἀλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναικός* (447). And when it is said later on in the Stasimon that the gods do not overlook mass-murderers—*τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ ἄσκοποι θεοί* (460)—and that the Erinyes destroy unjust felicity, we no longer think of Troy, but of the returning conquerors and their king. He will be struck by the lightning from the eyes of Zeus, the same Zeus who as the protector of the rights of hospitality wanted Troy to be destroyed. Agamemnon himself, on his return, speaks with a shudder of the catastrophe which came on a flourishing city *γυναικὸς οὐνεκα* (823). The two contrary conceptions of Zeus we have developed are juxtaposed with epigrammatic brevity in the passage with which we are immediately concerned. In the introductory lines it is said about the Atreidai: *ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει ξένιος | Ζεὺς πολυάνορος ἀμφὶ γυναικός* (61). However, when the chorus tells of Agamemnon's fatal decision and at once marks it as a horrible crime, the deed is described as *γυναικοποιῶν πολέμων ἀρωγά* (225). Let us go back to the *Hiketides* again for a moment, where the king regards it as particularly grave that men should die for the sake of women: *ἄνδρας γυναικῶν οὐνεχ' αἰμάξαι πέδον* (477). Thus, Agamemnon's double fate of victory and atonement corresponds to the double meaning the poet clearly and explicitly gives to the campaign against Troy.

There is one more point we have to take into consideration. Right in the centre of the first choral song of *Agamemnon* we find the *hymnos* about Zeus. In the *Hiketides*, however, a different *hymnos* about Zeus precedes the scene in which the girls fly to the altar and try to win the king's favour. In the Parodos of *Agamemnon* it is said of Zeus that the recognition of his greatness alone can relieve man's troubled mind of its burden. I would like to understand *φροντίς* here in the same sense as in the *Hiketides* 407, where the king says: *δεῖ τοι βαθείας φροντίδος σωτηρίου*. In the *hymnos* about Zeus in the *Hiketides*, however, we hear that the will of Zeus is not easily grasped: *οὐκ εὐθήρατος ἐτύχθη* (87); his ways are dark and unfathomable: *κατιδεῖν ἄφραστοι* (95). The poet clearly shows the ultimate end that Zeus leads man to and which gives to all happenings their ultimate meaning: *πάθει μάθος*. But it lies beyond the powers of our analysing reason to determine how Zeus leads man up to this final end.

We have seen the king of Argos and Agamemnon in situations in which necessity and man's personal decision to act are indissolubly united. The situation is basically the same in two other dramas by Aeschylus. The figure of Eteokles in the last part of the Theban trilogy has in recent years become the subject of a lively discussion. For our present purposes we must focus our attention on a certain scene in the final part. Almost all interpreters regard the speech of Eteokles that begins at line 653 as a turning-point in the course of the action. Eteokles has learned from a messenger that the attacker at the city's seventh gate will be his own brother Polyneikes, and he bursts out in a desperate lament, whose tragic content was impressively expounded by Prof. Fraenkel in his analysis of the seven pairs of speeches. I cannot enter here in detail upon the way in which the poet has left in the dark the time when the defenders were allocated to the seven gates. In any case it was his intention to make us realise that it is Eteokles' fate to face his own brother at the seventh gate and that this is brought about by the curse that the house of the Labdakidai is under, and which took new effect in Oedipus' curse upon his sons. Thus, Eteokles in the words just mentioned recognises the fatal fulfilment of his father's curse. After his first outburst of despair he tries to compose himself and we find him ready to take up the fratricidal fight and thus to fulfil his fate.

But that is not yet all. In the subsequent dialogue with the chorus which presently takes lyrical form, there emerges surprisingly a new theme, which, however, will not be unfamiliar to us after what has been said already. The chorus reminds Eteokles of the inexpiable crime of fratricide, and when the king points out that this is a question of honour the chorus retorts that he is not only accepting the fatal conflict but that he is desiring it out of his own will. In the very first lines of the chorus the word ὄργή (678) is used, which at once reminds us of the ὄργῃ περιόργως ἐπιθυμεῖν spoken in a closely similar situation in *Agamemnon*; in its first stanza, however, the chorus speaks of θυμοπληθῆς δορίμαργος ἄτα, of the κακὸς ἔρωσ of Eteokles. And in the following stanza it accuses the king of being driven too much by the desire (ἵμερος) to commit a murder which will bear bitter fruit, to shed blood he must not touch. Do we not find here again what our analysis of the passage in *Agamemnon* so clearly showed: man being led by fate to a terrible deed, which, however, he not only accepts but desires and passionately undertakes?

My view, however, is in contrast with an interpretation which by now has become something of a *fable convenue*. According to this interpretation the words of the chorus I have cited simply spring from a misunderstanding. It is women who are speaking here, and the heroism of Eteokles, who saves his city, is incomprehensible to them, and thus they misinterpret his attitude. In my view this way of understanding the scene is mistaken because it totally fails to recognise the characteristically Aeschylean union of fatal necessity and personal will. It not only has no support in the text, but contradicts it in a number of essential points. If it had been the poet's intention to confront Eteokles with a female chorus that misunderstood him, he would have indicated this misunderstanding. At least he would have made Eteokles contradict the women, which, however, Eteokles never does. On the contrary, in reply to the sharpest words of accusation: ὠμοδακῆς σ' ἄγαν ἵμερος ἐξοτρύνει he explicitly gives his reasons: φίλου γὰρ ἐχθρά μοι πατρὸς μέλαινα' Ἀρά . . . προσιζάνει (695). More than thirty years ago, before this scene was obscured by a number of misinterpretations, Prof. Regenbogen, in an article in *Hermes* 1933, fully evaluated this γάρ: 'Yes so it is, for the curse of my father sits next to me with dry, tearless eyes.' Regenbogen also correctly summarised the content of the scene in the words 'Eteokles goes because he wants to *and* because he must'. It fits in with this interpretation and with this interpretation only that the chorus, exhorting and advising the king, addresses him as τέκνον, and we must not therefore wonder about his age. Furthermore, the words the chorus speaks about the two brothers after the catastrophe: ὦλοντ' ἄσεβει διανοίᾳ (831), aptly express the degree of free will the poet recognises in Eteokles. Thus, the deed of Eteokles, too, reveals the twofold aspect of human action: the king's defence of Thebes, which proves his heroism, becomes at the same time the terrible crime of fratricide. This aspect reveals Aeschylus' conception of the old idea of a curse lying on a family, to which he gave a new and profound meaning: the effect of the curse consists in a crime renewed from generation to generation.

The most significant traits that our analysis has shown are to be seen very clearly in another Aeschylean figure, in Orestes. I shall try to be brief here because I have dwelt upon the problems concerning this figure elsewhere.¹⁰ Suffice it to say here as much as is necessary to place the figure of Orestes in *Choephoroi* in the context of our analysis. The necessity imposed upon man from without is particularly emphasised in this case by Apollo's command that he should exact vengeance on his own mother. In his speech before the great Kommos he goes to great lengths in describing the horrors with which the god threatened him in case he should refuse to obey. Opinions differ on this great Kommos between Orestes, Elektra, and the chorus. By some it is interpreted as a mere description of the situation with no intention on the part of the poet to reveal what is going on in Orestes' soul. In contrast to that, I have given a dynamic interpretation of the Kommos, not, however, in the sense

¹⁰ *Sitzb. Akad. Wien. Phil. hist. Kl.* ccxxi 3 (1943).

that Orestes only here makes the decision to murder his mother; that decision is made before he enters the stage. I believe I have shown, however, that what goes on in Orestes is the same thing that we have been able to observe with Agamemnon and Eteokles: once they are determined to commit the dreadful deeds under the coercion of necessity, one to kill his own daughter and the other to take up the fatal fight against his own brother, they at once begin to desire the disastrous deed. In this respect I basically agree with Prof. Rivier who says in his study of Aeschylus:¹¹ *'A aucun moment l'acte qu'il doit accomplir ne perd son caractère nécessaire. Mais encore faut-il que le héros l'accepte, qu'il consente à la nécessité.'* May I remind you, without repeating my own line of argumentation, that during the whole Kommos neither Apollo's command nor even the god's name is ever mentioned? May I also remind you how the chorus and Elektra urge on Orestes with their reports of Klytaimnestra's vile deed. When he bursts out in the words *πατρὸς δ'ἀτίμωσιν ἄρα τείσει, ἕκατι μὲν δαιμόνων, ἕκατι δ'ἀμῶν χερῶν* (435), he is no longer acting only on behalf of Apollo, but he wants to do the deed that he must do just as in Agamemnon and in Eteokles compulsion and volition are one.

Once again we can see here the twofold judgment of the deed. Orestes is the obedient servant of the god of Delphi, he is the faithful son of his father, *φίλτατος ἀνθρώπων πατρί* as the chorus calls him (1051), he is the deliverer of Argos, and yet his deed is a terrible crime. Already in *Agamemnon* Cassandra says prophetically that Orestes will be the one to complete the desecration of the family (1283) and she calls him *μητρόκτονον φίτυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός* (1281), giving in a nutshell the two aspects of his deed. It is also characteristic how the chorus immediately after trying along with Elektra to strengthen Orestes' will, speaks of *πόνος ἐγγενής, ἄτας αἱματόεσσα πλαγά and δυσκατάπαυστον ἄλγος*. It is the same chorus that at the end of the drama places Orestes' deed among the crimes in the house of the Atreidai and once more emphasises the duality of its judgment: *νῦν δ'αὐ τρίτος ἦλθέ ποθεν σωτήρ— ἢ μόνον εἶπω;* (1073).

To conclude our observations we may take it as proved that two elements of high significance in Aeschylus can be clearly shown: the close union of necessity imposed by the gods and the personal decision to act. This union leaves a certain space for the will of the individual but at the same time limits it. Secondly, we have seen what an important part in Aeschylus' dramas the ambiguity of human action plays. It can be the fulfilment of a duty, obedience to a divine order and yet at the same time be a dreadful crime. If we had time we could still ask ourselves what *θεοὶ μεταίτιοι* means in Aeschylus and what it means when Dareios in the *Persians* says about the man who is full of passionate desire: *χῶ θεὸς συνάπτεται* (742). We could also ask ourselves how far Aeschylus' ideas are anticipated in earlier poetry, as when in the *Iliad* Pandaros' fatal discharge of an arrow is inspired by Athene and yet is a breach of the treaty which weighs heavily upon Ilium.

What I have tried to show here, of course, touches upon a problem which has recently been much discussed and which is contained in the title to a well-known book by Karl Reinhardt: *Aischylos the Theologian*. Now, Aeschylus certainly was not a theologian in the sense that he wanted to work out a logically well-founded system. But with all the powers of his mind, he wrestled with the problems arising from the conflict between human existence and divine rule. He does not present a solution in the manner of a well-solved mathematical problem, and for this he may be criticised by those who have such a solution to offer. The tragic power of his dramas, however, springs from those antitheses I have tried to show here. We may apply to our subject what Virginia Woolf said about the language of Aeschylus: 'There is an ambiguity which is the mark of the highest poetry.'¹²

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¹¹ P. 101.

¹² This article was delivered to the Joint Meeting of Greek and Roman Societies at Cambridge in

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THE DATING OF FIFTH-CENTURY ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

THE study of Athenian history in the fifth century, and particularly in the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, derives much of its flesh and blood from inscriptions, but most inscriptions lose their full value if they cannot be dated. From the Peace of Nicias in 421 onwards it was customary to include the name of the archon in the prescript of decrees, but before the Peloponnesian War the practice was rare and random. The alliances with Eggesta, Leontini and Rhegium (*IG* i² 19, 51, 52) were dated in this way, but not the treaty with Hermione (*SEG* x 15). The settlement imposed on Chalcis by Athens after the crushing of her revolt is not dated (*IG* i² 39), whereas earlier regulations for Miletus (*IG* i² 22) include the name of the archon of the year. Sometimes a single archon's name will date a whole series of records: the first tribute list, for example, is explicitly dated by archon, but the name is lost and the lists that follow are numbered only in relation to the first; the archon, however, is recorded in the thirty-fourth list, and the name is preserved, Aristion archon for 421/0, and from this we can safely infer that the first list records the payments of 454/3. Similarly the early accounts of the Parthenon, while recording the first secretary of the Boule, do not mention the archon and merely add the number in the series; but from 437/6 at least the archon's name was added, and the survival of the name of Crates, archon for 434/3, at the head of the thirteenth list enables us to date the remaining records in the series.

Even when no form of year-date is recorded some inscriptions can be dated, either precisely or approximately, by their contents. *IG* i² 928 lists casualties who died in Thasos and at various points in or near the Hellespont. We know that war casualties were recorded by the state for each year's fighting, and the collocation in Plutarch's *Cimon* (xiv 1-2) of mopping-up operations in the Hellespont and the Thasian revolt dates the list to 465, the first year of the Thasian revolt. The terms of the settlement imposed by Athens on Chalcis must be closely related to the crushing of the Euboean revolt in 446/5, and the important financial decrees moved by Callias (*IG* i² 91, 92) are seen by their content to come later than the beginning of the Propylaea, before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, and in a year of the Great Panathenaea; they may be firmly dated in 434/3. Sometimes a name will give an approximate date. For most of this period the movers of decrees seem to have been men of standing in the state and their names may be familiar; but it is wise to bear in mind that a name without patronymic or deme can be deceptive. At least four Calliases are recorded in fifth-century inscriptions and many other names of prominent men are uncomfortably common. Sculptors are more easily identifiable and their names on dedications often give a measure of control; we should not be tempted to date any of the bases from the Acropolis which record the sculptors Critias and Nesiotes in the second half of the century.

There remain, however, a considerable number of inscriptions, some of them extremely important to the historian, for which the only dating evidence is the style of the inscription, and in particular its letter forms. In both Latin and Greek epigraphy dating by letter forms has run a varied course between faith and scepticism, and faith has probably done more harm to history than scepticism. But in Latin epigraphy particularly there has been an increasing diffidence among epigraphists; the work of the Gordons has emphasised the dangers of relying on letter forms and their conclusions have won a wide measure of general acceptance.¹ Most Greek historians, however, have continued to accept the authority of the leading epigraphists with surprising docility.

In 1961 Mattingly, under the modest title of 'The Athenian Coinage Decree', launched a vigorous attack on a widespread front.² Not content with questioning the early date

¹ J. S. and A. E. Gordon. *Contribution to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions*.

² *Hist.* x (1961) 148 ff.

accepted by many epigraphists for the coinage decree, where he was in good company, he challenged also the accepted dates for several other important inscriptions. The Athenian regulations for Miletus (*IG* i² 22) were moved down from 450/49 to 426/5, the Hermione Treaty (*SEG* x 15) from c. 450 to 425. Similarly the first appointment of Eleusinian epistatae (*SEG* x 24), generally dated in the early forties, was claimed for the late thirties. In a later article the surviving terms imposed by Athens on Chalcis, for which 446/5 was regarded as one of the firmest epigraphic dates of the century were transferred to 423.³ 'I could urge indeed that it has become vital to date as many fifth-century inscriptions as possible by internal evidence and historical probability. It is . . . arguable that epigraphy has for too long been dominant in the study of fifth-century Athens. The forms of sigma and rho have put many decrees in contexts where they do not really make full sense.'⁴ This bold revolt has not yet attracted others to the rebel standard in print but one may detect widespread ripples of sympathy. Mattingly has performed a very useful service in compelling us to examine more rigorously judgments which we have accepted at second-hand.

There has been no recent systematic examination of the palaeography of Attic inscriptions of the fifth century, and the tables of letter forms given by Larfeld and by Roberts and Gardner have long since been found inadequate. The main purpose of this study is to formulate criteria which have more often been taken for granted than expressed, and to provide the framework within which argument can properly be focused. Such phrases as 'the letter forms suggest a date near the middle of the century' are too often used without definition and not infrequently without justification. When Kavvadias published in 1897 the inscription providing for the appointment of a priestess of Athena Nike and the building of a temple, he noted that while all the other letter forms were of the developed Attic usage the mason's sigma had the earlier form with three bars.⁵ In several modern references to the decree his correct formulation has been seriously distorted: 'The letter forms, and especially the three-barred sigma, suggest a date soon after 450', or 'the letters are typical of mid-century inscriptions'.

In the debate on the usefulness of letter forms as a dating criterion the sceptic is not without impressive ammunition. A decree concerning the collection of tribute (*IG* i² 66) was included by Hiller von Gaertringen among the decrees of the twenties, and its close similarity to a decree moved by Cleonymus (*IG* i² 65), providing for the appointment of tribute collectors in the allied cities, which seemed to be firmly dated in 426, made such a date acceptable to the historian. Epigraphists also were satisfied until a new fragment of the decree was discovered.⁶ When this new evidence showed that a Cleinias had moved the decree it was a reasonable inference to date it before the death of Alcibiades' father, for he was the best known Cleinias of the century; epigraphists at first raised no protest against a date-change of twenty years. Similarly the imperial decree imposing Attic coins, weights and measures on the cities of the empire, which, for what seemed good reasons, used to be dated to the period of the Peloponnesian War, was re-dated to the early forties by distinguished epigraphists when a new fragment was found in Cos.⁷ It is true that the new fragment was cut in Attic script and was reported to be on Pentelic marble whereas earlier fragments had come from copies of the decree in Ionic at widely scattered points in the Aegean; but even so a difference of nearly thirty years is disturbing and Mattingly is not the only historian who finds it virtually impossible to reconcile the epigraphists' date with the historical context.

Similar conflicts had caused trouble early. The lettering on the altar of the Pythian Apollo, dedicated by the younger Pisistratus, is a conspicuous example.⁸ Thucydides had told us that the altar was dedicated by the son of Hippias to commemorate his archonship,

³ *JHS* lxxxix (1961) 124 ff.; see below, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.* 132.

⁵ *Eq. 'Apz.* 1897. 179; *IG* i² 24.

⁶ Meritt and Hill, *Hesp.* xiii (1944) 1 ff.

⁷ M. Segre, *Clava Rhodos* ix (1933) 151 ff.

⁸ Tod, *GHI* 8.

and a fragment of an archon list, first published in 1935, made it virtually certain that this Pisistratus was archon in 522/1.⁹ The letters, however, on the altar were so finely cut and so mature in comparison with other datable inscriptions of the late sixth and early fifth century that hypotheses were developed which would make a later date possible. One solution was to believe that the inscription had been re-cut later; an alternative was to move the archonship of Pisistratus down to 497/6 when there was a gap in the list and an historical context which would not be unsuitable. But the natural interpretation of Thucydides' language is that Pisistratus was archon during the tyranny, and it would indeed be surprising if the Spartans in 510, when they expelled Hippias, had allowed his eldest son to remain in Athens. Fortunately all doubt is or should be removed by the discovery of another inscription. On a dedication in the Ptoan sanctuary in Boeotia by a Hipparchus, son of a Pisistratus, the inscription was almost certainly by the same artist (to call him simply a mason, hand, or cutter would not do him justice); the finely cut, sensitively spaced letters are unmistakable.¹⁰ To date this inscription also downwards, by identifying this Hipparchus with a great-grandson rather than the son of the tyrant Pisistratus, was a counsel of despair. The inscription on the altar of Pythian Apollo should be dated to 522/1 or very soon after, and the mature elegance of its lettering should be explained by the good taste of the Pisistratids. The man they chose was ahead of his contemporaries.

The fine lettering and mature design of the so-called Hecatompedon inscription (*IG* i² 3-4) also raised serious doubts about the date 485/4 which the text seemed to demand.¹¹ It was indeed difficult to believe that there were no more than six years between this gracefulness and the crude letters and style of the memorial of Callimachus, polemarch at Marathon in 490.¹² Lowy found an ingenious explanation.¹³ The surviving inscription, he suggested, was a copy of an original destroyed in the Persian sack; a new copy was set up when Cimon rebuilt the south wall of the Acropolis. Now that more comparative material is available, the Hecatompedon inscription no longer stands out in splendid isolation; but the archaeological evidence should have been decisive. The depth at which the fragments were discovered showed that they belonged to the debris from the Persian sack which was used to extend the area of the Acropolis to the south; and this again explains why the inscription is so very well preserved. Had it been exposed to the weather through the fifth century it would have lost much of its attractiveness.

The fact that false inferences have often been made does not, however, mean that letter forms can be safely ignored. If one compares all the dated inscriptions of the period 500-480 with the dated inscriptions of the period 420-400, it is clear at once that the two series are significantly different and that the difference consists not only in a general impression, which can be dangerously subjective, but in changes in letter forms which can be objectively described. Near the end of the sixth century the Athenians commemorated dramatic victories over the Boeotians and Chalcidians by dedicating a bronze chariot on the Acropolis: on its base a four-line epigram was inscribed. This monument was destroyed when the Persians sacked the Acropolis, but a replica was set up some fifty years later to commemorate a new victory: on the new base the old epigram was copied with the order of the two hexameters transposed. By a lucky chance fragments of both inscriptions have been found; there could never have been any doubt which was the earlier.¹⁴ There are clearly traceable changes in many of the Attic letters between the archaic and developed classical periods; the usefulness of the letter-form criterion will largely depend on the volume and consistency of the evidence.

⁹ Thuc. vi 54.6; Meritt, *Hesp.* viii (1939) 60 ff.: [Hippias]στρατοζ

¹⁰ L. Bizard, *BCH* xliv (1920) 237 ff.

¹¹ *IG* i² 4.26.

¹² Phot. Kirchner, *Imagines*, 17, 19.

¹³ E. Lowy, 'Zur Datierung attischer Inschriften', *Mk. Wiss. Wien Sitzb.* (1937) 216.4.

¹⁴ Hdt. v 77; Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (D.1.1) 173.

Certain general points may first be emphasised. When letter-forms are in a transitional stage we should not expect the older form to be abandoned for the new by all masons at the same time; there would probably be a period of several years before new forms became general. Such pronouncements, therefore, as 'the letter-forms point to a date between 455 and 450' should be strongly suspected unless special reasons are added for the precision of the estimate. One of the more significant letters in the period of transition during the fifth century is rho. In one of the Louvre cases there are three splendid red-figure vases associated with Euphronios as potter or painter, and all have inscriptions on them. The inscriptions are painted by three different hands and three different forms of rho are used. The seventh tribute-quota list is the first of the series to use throughout what was to become the generally adopted sigma with four bars, but the mason who cut the next year's list reverted to the older form. The same apparent anomaly may be seen in one of the earliest series of building accounts to survive (*IG* i² 335); in six of the eight years the later sigma is used, but the earlier form is used once, in the *third* year (there is no evidence for the first year). Sometimes even the same mason will use two forms for the same letter in the same text. This is not uncommon with epsilon, but is found also with rho, as in the Chalcis decree of 446/5. In this case there seems no special reason for the ambivalence; occasionally one can see a deliberate purpose. In the third tribute list and in the decree honouring Sigcun (*SEG* x 13) the four-barred sigma is used in the larger lettering of the heading, the three-barred throughout the main text. Presumably the four-barred form of the letter was regarded as more decorative and imposing. More often, however, except in the case of epsilon and rho, a difference of forms in the same inscription is a sign of different hands, and such clues are most vividly seen in casualty lists. In the long list of Erechtheid casualties from the first year of the first Peloponnesian War, when the Athenians were also fighting in Egypt, the older form of sigma is consistently used, with one exception (*IG* i² 929). Near the bottom of the stone (line 67) there is an isolated use of the later form in the name *Φρῦνος*, an archer. This is surprising, for the first dated four-barred sigma otherwise known is in the heading of the tribute list of 453/2. It is significant that the name also has the later form of phi, in which the vertical extends beyond the circle or oval, whereas the earlier form, in which it is enclosed, is used throughout the rest of the inscription. A close examination of the letters and the relation of the name to the general structure of the text shows that Phrynos was added later. Similarly at least two hands can be seen in a casualty list which has been wrongly associated with the Samian revolt (*IG* i² 943).¹⁵ When he spaced out his original text the mason had not a full list of names and was expecting to record casualties in two areas only, the Chersonese and Byzantium. His original lay-out was compromised when he had to squeeze in a number of casualties in minor actions elsewhere. Further names had also to be added later by a second hand. Two hands can also be clearly distinguished on the stele recording the casualties of 465 in Thasos and elsewhere (*IG* i² 928). The reason for this peculiarity in casualty lists is not difficult to understand. As in a modern war, it was not always easy to know when the missing were dead. It is not too fanciful to believe that the death of Phrynos was first reported or confirmed when the survivors of the Egyptian disaster had returned through Cyrene to Athens some six years after the original list had been set up.

The survey that follows is based on an examination of almost all the fifth century public inscriptions in the Epigraphic Museum at Athens, the British Museum and the Louvre. No distinction is drawn between different categories, for it is highly probable that the same masons who cut decrees might also be employed to cut public building accounts or private dedications. This cannot be proved, for we know very little of the organisation of the workshops in which inscriptions were cut. We can be reasonably certain that at the beginning of the fifth century there would be no specialists who worked exclusively or

¹⁵ Meiggs, *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.* lxxvii, 1963, 17.

primarily for the state, because very few public records were cut on stone. When the Salamis decree (*IG* i² 1), the earliest to survive, was cut the state had to go to a sculptor's workshop and that is why the letter forms of the decree recur on the base of a statue by Hegias, master of Phidias (*DAA* 94). When, after the radical reforms of Ephialtes, the publication on stone of decrees, accounts and inventories became common form there could have been scope for specialisation; but if it was customary to select specialists one would expect the same mason to be employed in successive years on such records as the tribute lists and building accounts; instead the hand normally changes from year to year.

In attempting to date inscriptions a distinction must be drawn between inscribed and painted texts. A skilful painter working in an easier medium is likely to throw off archaic forms earlier than the mason working on stone, and particularly to move from angular to rounded forms more readily. Special caution is needed in the use of ostraka as evidence. More than a thousand ostracism votes can be seen in Athens and the majority of them can be approximately dated from the names on the sherds or from the archaeological context in which they were found. The letters on these sherds, however, whether painted or incised, are the work of individual citizens ranging from the noblest of the noble to the nearly illiterate. But even ostraka can have their value for dating. If the number of contemporary sherds is adequate a statistical classification will show which letter forms are becoming obsolete.

By the end of the sixth century the following Attic letters had reached their developed form and, apart from occasional individual idiosyncracies, were not to change further before the end of the fifth century: gamma, delta, zeta, eta, iota, kappa, pi, tau; in the remainder significant changes were still to be made. The first thirty years of the century are the most difficult to map epigraphically for extremely few of the surviving inscriptions are securely dated, and it is dangerous to draw conclusions from letter forms when there are only isolated points of reference. The wide difference in letter forms and general style between the Callimachus dedication on the Acropolis which cannot be earlier than the battle of Marathon in 490 and the Hecatompedon inscription of 485/4 is a useful warning that among contemporary masons there will be skilled and unskilled, progressive and conservative.

In the present state of our evidence for 500-470 the most useful letters for dating are theta and chi. By the end of the period the early theta, a circle enclosing a cross (cart-wheel theta), has been superseded by the classical form of circle enclosing a dot, and the upright cross of the chi has been turned on its side. The early theta is still found in the Callimachus dedication of 490, but in all our other public inscriptions which can with some confidence be dated between 490 and 475 the later theta is used. Firm dates can be given to two of these inscriptions. The Hecatompedon decree is from 485/4 and the base of the tyrannicides found in the Agora is almost certainly the base of the statue group by Critias and Nesiotes set up in 477/6 to replace the original group by Antenor which was taken to Persia by Xerxes.¹⁶ The inscription on this base has a peculiar form of theta in which the central dot is replaced by a small circle. This form is known in only one other surviving inscription, a dedication to the twelve gods by Leagros, which from what we know of Leagros' life should be dated roughly to this period.¹⁷ Linked with these inscriptions is the first of two epigrams on a monument commemorating a battle or battles against the Persians. When the first fragment was found it was clear that one of the epigrams commemorated Marathon; the other was by most scholars associated with the invasion of Xerxes.¹⁸ When, however, a second fragment was found the editor made a strong case for associating both epigrams with Marathon;¹⁹ but the Marathon hypothesis became difficult to maintain when a fragment of a fourth-century copy was discovered. It was now known that the

¹⁶ *Hesp.* v. 193b. 375.

¹⁷ *Hesp.* v. 193b. 375.

¹⁸ *IG* i² 763.

¹⁹ J. H. Oliver. *Hesp.* ii. 1933. 480 ff.

first epigram commemorated fighting not only on land but also *ἀκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηῶν*, an almost certain reference to Salamis.²⁰ The form of punctuation and the lettering of this epigram, which resemble so closely the Hecatompedon decree that it is thought to be by the same mason, probably date from 479 or very soon after. The anomaly of an epigram commemorating Marathon being added later to a monument commemorating Salamis invites speculation. The interesting suggestion has been persuasively argued that the original epigram reflected the triumph of Themistocles, and that the second epigram was added some ten or more years later in the period of Cimon's ascendancy to remind the Athenians of the glory of the victory won at Marathon by Cimon's father, Miltiades.²¹ All that the epigraphist should say is that there is so little difference in the lettering and style of the two epigrams that the interval between them might be very short indeed. Another inscription is probably close in date to those we have considered. It is cut on the base of a dedication by Callias, son of Hipponicus, probably a victor statue commemorating an athletic victory; it has the later theta.²² The last dated cart-wheeled theta known to me is the Callimachus dedication of 490, but the Athenian Portico at Delphi which also uses the early form may be as late as 479.²³ The evidence here reviewed suggests that the form was being superseded in the eighties; by 475 it should have become obsolete. It is used, however, on one of two marble blocks which have been associated with the Athena Promachos:²⁴ on epigraphic grounds the association should be regarded with strong suspicion.²⁵

The evidence for the change in the form of the chi is less satisfactory, because the letter is considerably rarer. The older form is used in the Salamis decree and the Callimachus dedication; the later form is used in the Hecatompedon decree and in the 'Salamis' epigram. It would be surprising to find the early chi after 480.

Of considerably more importance are the changes that come later in beta, rho, phi, sigma; for if no secure criteria can be found here our reconstruction of the history of the Athenian empire from the disaster in Egypt to the late thirties when Thucydides takes up his detailed narrative will rest on very frail foundations. Fortunately we have for this period a much firmer control in dated inscriptions and these will first be tabulated. Our table is schematic and makes no attempt to reproduce minor variations in letter forms.

	Beta	Rho	Phi	Sigma
1				
2				
3				
4				

²⁰ Meritt, *Studies presented to Hetty Goldman: The Aegean and the Near East* (1956) 268.

²¹ P. Amandry, *Θεοπία*: Festschrift für W. H. Schuchhardt (1960) 1 ff.

²² *IG* 1² 607; *D.I.A.* 111.

²³ Tod, *GHI* 18; Amandry, *Fouilles de Delphes* in. 37 ff.

²⁴ Raubitschek and Stevens, *Hesp.* xv (1916) 107; *D.I.I.* 172.

²⁵ Raubitschek suggests that the statue was begun shortly after the victory of the Eurymedon and

completed in the middle of the fifties. It would be difficult to date the accounts of the Promachos, inscribed when the work was completed, earlier than 455 (*SEG* x 243). If these two blocks come from the pedestal they would presumably not be put in place until near the end of the work. A date in the fifties is too late for the cart-wheel theta and for the epsilon with very short horizontals. The rough-picked surface seems also to have gone out of fashion before 460.

TABLE I

DATED INSCRIPTIONS, 460-430 B.C.

Text	Description	Date	Beta	Rho	Phi	Sigma	Photograph
IG i ² 929	Erechtheid Casualty List	?460	1	1	1	1	
.ATL 1	Tribute Quota List 1	453	1	2	1, 2	1	.ATL i figs. 5-7
.ATL 2	List 2	452	1	2	1	1, 2	.ATL i figs. 5, 8, 11, 12
.ATL 3	List 3	451	2	4	2	1	.ATL i figs. 8, 10, 14
.ATL 4	List 4	450	1	2, 3	1	1	.ATL i figs. 15, 19, 20
.ATL 5	List 5	449	1	2	1	1	.ATL i fig. 23
.ATL 7	List 7	?447	1	2, 4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 31, 32, 42, 45-7
.ATL 7	List 7, col. iv 31-9	?447	2	1	2	2	.ATL i fig. 48
.ATL 8	List 8	?446	2	4	2	1	.ATL i figs. 27, 30, 50
IG i ² 339	Parthenon Account 1	446	-	4	-	2	
IG i ² 361	Parthenon Account 1	446	2	-	-	2	
.ATL 9	List 9	445	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 58, 60
IG i ² 340	Parthenon Account 2	445	-	4	-	2	Cavaignac, fig. 15 ²⁶
IG i ² 360	Parthenon Account ?2	445	-	4	-	2	
.ATL 10	List 10	444	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 51, 62, 64
IG i ² 341	Parthenon Account 3	444	-	-	-	2	
IG i ² 359	Parthenon Account ?3	444	2	4	2	2	
.ATL 11	List 11	443	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 62, 69, 71, 72
IG i ² 342	Parthenon Account 4	443	2	4	-	2	Cavaignac, fig. 21
IG i ² 356	Parthenon Account ?4	443	-	4	-	2	
.ATL 12	List 12	442	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 55, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78
IG i ² 343	Parthenon Account 5	442	2	4	2	2	Cavaignac, fig. 22
.ATL 13	List 13	441	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 55, 66, 79, 81, 82
IG i ² 344	Parthenon Account 6	441	-	4	-	2	
IG i ² 358	Parthenon Account 6	441	2	4	2	2	.AFD 36 ²⁷
.ATL 14	List 14	440	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 65, 67
IG i ² 345	Parthenon Account 7	440	-	-	2	-	
.ATL 15	List 15	439	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 22, 35, 37, 41
IG i ² 50	Treaty with Samos	439	2	4	-	2	.ATL ii pl. 11
IG i ² 293	Samian Revolt Expenses	439	2	4	-	2	.AFD, 43
IG i ² 349	Parthenon Account 8	439	2	4	-	2	
IG i ² 355	Parthenon Account 8	439	-	4	2	2	Austin, <i>Stoichedon</i> , pl. 8
.ATL 16	List 16	438	-	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 91, 93, 94
IG i ² 347	Parthenon Account 9	438	-	4	2	2	
IG i ² 354	Parthenon Final Account	438	2	3	-	2	
.ATL 17	List 17	437	2	-	-	-	
IG i ² 348	Parthenon Account 10	437	-	4	2	2	
IG i ² 363	Propylaea Account 1	436	-	4	2	2	
IG i ² 349	Parthenon Account 11	436	2	4	-	2	Cavaignac, fig. 26
IG i ² 364	Propylaea Account 2	435	2	4	-	2	
.ATL 19	List 19	435	-	4	-	2	.ATL i fig. 108
IG i ² 350	Parthenon Account 12	435	-	4	-	2	
IG i ² 365	Propylaea Account 3	434	2	4	2	2	
.ATL 20	List 20	434	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 109, 110, 115, 117
IG i ² 351	Parthenon Account 13	434	-	4	-	2	
IG i ² 366	Propylaea Account 4	433	2	4	2	2	
.ATL 21	List 21	433	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 115, 117, 120
IG i ² 352	Parthenon Account 14	433	2	4	2	2	
IG i ² 232	Inventory Pronaos	433	-	4	-	2	
IG i ² 256	Inventory Hecatompedon	433	-	4	2	2	
IG i ² 276	Inventory Parthenon	433	-	4	2	2	
IG i ² 295	Corcyra Expedition Expenses	433 ²	2	4	2	2	.AFD, 70
IG i ² 51	Alliance with Rhegium	433 ²	2	4	2	2	Austin, pl. 6
IG i ² 52	Alliance with Leontini	433 ²	2	4	2	2	
.ATL 22	List 22	432	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 92, 101, 103, 104
IG i ² 366	Propylaea Account 5	432	-	4	-	2	
IG i ² 353	Parthenon Account 15	432	2	4	2	2	
IG i ² 233	Inventory Pronaos	432	-	4	-	2	
IG i ² 257	Inventory Hecatompedon	432	-	4	2	2	
IG i ² 277	Inventory Parthenon	432	-	4	2	2	
IG i ² 366	Propylaea Account 6	431	2	4	2	2	
IG i ² 266	Military Expenditure	431	-	4	2	2	.AFD 75, 77, 78
IG i ² 234	Inventory Pronaos	431	-	4	2	2	
IG i ² 257	Inventory Hecatompedon	431	-	4	2	2	
IG i ² 278	Inventory Parthenon	431	-	4	2	2	
.ATL 23	List 23	431	2	4	2	2	.ATL i figs. 96, 98, 106

²⁶ E. Cavaignac, *Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siècle* (1908).²⁷ B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century* (1932).

Thus the same number is assigned to all three-barred sigmas, though at least three forms might be distinguished; and no distinction is drawn between circular and oval phi.

In the dated evidence that survives there is clearly a period of transition in these four letters of some ten years in the middle of the century. Apart from a later addition in the Erechtheid casualty list the first four-barred sigma comes in the heading of the tribute list for 453/2, cut in 452. The later sigma is confined to the heading, which suggests that the usage is still rare; but from 449 it becomes the dominant form and the latest three-barred sigma for which we have a firm date was cut in the tribute list of 446. In the case of beta and rho the first dated appearance of the developed rounded forms is in the tribute list for 452/1, but angular forms reappear in the following three years. The last dated use of the angular forms is in 447, but there is an interval before the final form of rho is uniformly adopted. For some years an alternative rounded form with tail is used alone or in the same inscription as the tailless form; the last dated use known to me is in the final account of Phidias' chryselephantine statue in 438.²⁸

The beginning of this transitional period can be only approximately determined since we have so few dated inscriptions between 465 and 452; *c.* 455 would be a reasonable compromise. At the lower end the evidence is very much better. From 445 to 440 (inclusive) we have 16 dated inscriptions; in none do the earlier forms of beta, phi, sigma appear. Between 439 and 431 there are 39 more; in all these the developed forms are consistently used. The angular forms of rho also are obsolete by 445, though rounded rho with tail is still occasionally used, at least down to 438/7. The inscriptions of this table may not all be by different masons but it would, I think, be safe to claim that we have evidence for not less than 50 hands between 446 and 430. It should cause no very great shock if a three-barred sigma, an angular beta or rho, or a phi with enclosed vertical were to be discovered in an inscription dated by archon to 443/2 or even perhaps to 441/0. We should not, however, accept the redating of any public inscription using the earlier forms later than the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, unless the historical evidence is decisive.

These inferences from dated inscriptions should be controlled by inscriptions that are not precisely dated. The following table includes all undated public fifth-century inscriptions seen by me in which the earlier forms of beta, rho, sigma or phi are used. Some private inscriptions which may be of historical importance are also included. The numbers are for reference in the notes on individual inscriptions, below.

For some of these inscriptions there may be other evidence bearing on their date.

7. This decree used to be interpreted as the renewal of an alliance with Phocis first made in 454/3 (e.g. Tod, *GHI* no. 39). Meritt showed that this interpretation was based on a misreading and that an alliance with the cities of the Delphian Amphictiony suited much better what survives (*AJP* lxi (1948) 312-4); he dated the alliance to 458. Such diplomacy is perhaps more likely before the Egyptian disaster than after.
9. These surviving fragments which concern Erythrae are associated by *ATL* with the much larger fragment (*IG* i² 10) that Fauvel copied and is now lost. This decree, by the attractive restoration of an archon's name, has been dated 453/2: ἐπεστάτε, Α[υσι]κ[ράτες ἐρχε. This date fits evidence from the tribute lists, but the restoration is not certain. I gave reasons (*JHS* lxi (1943) 33) for believing that the two surviving fragments might come from a separate decree and I hope to strengthen the argument in a forthcoming study of the Athenian Empire. The date of *IG* i² 10 (depending on restoration) should not be used to determine the date of *IG* i² 11 and 12A.²⁹
13. The original bronze chariot was set up to commemorate the Athenian victory over Boeotia and Chalcis in 506. Its restoration should be associated with a new victory

²⁸ Dinsmoor, *Eq. Art.*, 1937, 507.

²⁹ The mistaking in *IG* i² 10 of kappa for rho suggests that the angular rho with tail (form 1 above)

was used; in the two surviving fragments the form is consistent, angular without tail (form 2 above). See also Meritt, *Hesp.* xv (1946) 248.

TABLE 2
UNDATED INSCRIPTIONS WITH EARLY LETTER FORMS

<i>Text</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>Rho</i>	<i>Phi</i>	<i>Sigma</i>	<i>Photograph</i>
1. <i>IG</i> ² 933	Casualty List	1	1	1	1	
2. <i>Hesp.</i> xxxiii 17	Casualty List	—	2	—	1	<i>Hesp.</i> xxxiii (1964) pl. 1 'no. 1
3. <i>Hesp.</i> xxxiii 17 f.	Casualty List	2	4	—	1	<i>Hesp.</i> xxxiii pls. 1 (no. 2, 2
4. <i>Hesp.</i> xxxiii 20 f.	Casualty List	2	4	2	1	<i>Hesp.</i> xxxiii (1964) pl. 2 'no. 3.
5. <i>IG</i> ² 6	Eleusinian Regulations	1	2	1	1	<i>Hesp.</i> xiv 1945. 64 f.
6. <i>IG</i> ² 8	?Building Decree	—	3	—	1	
7. <i>IG</i> ² 26	?Amphictionic Alliance	2	4	1	1	<i>AJA</i> lv (1951) pl. 37
8. <i>IG</i> ² 188	Decree of the Scambonid Deme	1, 2	1	—	1	
9. <i>IG</i> ² 11 and 12'13a	Regulations for Erythrae	1	2	1	1	<i>ATL</i> ii pl. 3
10. <i>IG</i> ² 12 13b	Regulations for an Ally	—	2	1	1	
11. <i>IG</i> ² 80	Praxiergidae Decree	—	4	1	2	<i>BSA</i> xlix 1954. pl. 3
12. <i>IG</i> ² 335	'Opus incertum' Account 1	—	—	—	—	
	'Opus incertum' Account 2	—	—	—	2	
	'Opus incertum' Account 3	—	1	1	1	
	'Opus incertum' Account 4	—	2	2	1	
	'Opus incertum' Account 5	—	—	—	2	
	'Opus incertum' Account 6	2	2	—	2	
	'Opus incertum' Account 7	—	4	—	2	
	'Opus incertum' Account 8	—	2	—	2	
13. <i>IG</i> ² 394	Restored Chariot Memorial	—	2	—	1	<i>D.A.I.</i> 173
14. <i>IG</i> ² 400	Hipparchs' Dedication	—	3	2	1	<i>D.A.I.</i> 135
15. <i>IG</i> ² 19	Alliance with Egesta	2	3, 4	2	1	<i>Hesp.</i> xvii (1948) pl. 24
16. <i>SEG</i> x 243	Accounts of the Promachos	2	4	—	1	<i>Hesp.</i> v (1936) 363 f.
17. <i>SEG</i> x 13	Praise of Sigum	—	3	2	1, 2	<i>Hesp.</i> v (1936) 361
18. <i>ATL</i> ii D 11	Regulations for Miletus	2	4	2	1	<i>ATL</i> ii pl. 4
19. <i>SEG</i> x 15	Treaty with Hermione	2	4	—	1	<i>Hesp.</i> ii (1933) 494
20. <i>SEG</i> x 210	Accounts of Nemesis at Rhamnus 1	—	4	2	1	<i>Ep. 'Apz.</i> 1934 5. 129
	Accounts of Nemesis at Rhamnus 2	—	4	2	2	
	Accounts of Nemesis at Rhamnus 3	—	4	2	2	
	Accounts of Nemesis at Rhamnus 4	—	4	2	2	
21. <i>IG</i> ² 375	Settlement of Chersonese	—	4	—	1	
22. <i>IG</i> ² 380	Dedication by Epitales	—	4	—	1	<i>D.A.I.</i> 384 facs
23. <i>IG</i> ² 18	Regulations for Aegina	2	4	2	1	Hondius, <i>M.I.</i> pl. 3
24. <i>IG</i> ² 24	Priestess and Temple of Nike	2	4	2	1	<i>'Eg. 'Apz.</i> 1897. pl. 11
25. <i>ATL</i> ii D 14	Coinage Decree (Cos frag.)	—	4	—	1	<i>ATL</i> ii pl. 5-7
26. <i>SEG</i> x 24	Appointment of Eleusian Epistatae	2	4	2	1	K. Keurovrouns, <i>'Ελευσινιακά</i> i (1932) 173
27. <i>IG</i> ² 27	Proxeny Decree	2	3 ²	2	1	Wilhelm, <i>Attische Urkunden</i> iv pl. 1
28. <i>IG</i> ² 28	Proxeny Decree (Achelouion)	—	4	—	1	
29. <i>SEG</i> x 20	Proxeny Decree (men of Parum)	2	4	—	1	
30. <i>IG</i> ² 29	Praise of an allied city	2	4	2	—	<i>Hesp.</i> xiv (1945) 85
31. <i>IG</i> ² 31	Praise of a Theraean	2	4	—	1	
32. <i>ATL</i> ii D 15	Regulations for Colophon 1)	2	4	2	1	<i>ATL</i> ii pl. 8
33. <i>IG</i> ² 34	Regulations for Colophon 2)	2	4	2	1	
34. <i>SEG</i> x 27	Festival of Eros	—	4	—	1	<i>Hesp.</i> i (1932) 43 facs.)
35. <i>IG</i> ² 38	Inscription in Attic and Ionic	—	4	2	1	
36. <i>IG</i> ² 37	?Decree concerning Messenians	—	4	2	1, 2	<i>Hesp.</i> xiii (1944) 228
37. <i>SEG</i> x 410	'Coroneia' epigram	2	3	2	2	<i>AM</i> lvi (1932) pls. 34, 35
38. <i>IG</i> ² 45	Colonisation of Brea	2	3	2	2	
39. <i>IG</i> ² 39	Regulations for Chalcis	2	3, 4	2	2	<i>ATL</i> ii pl. 10
40. <i>IG</i> ² 40 42	Decree concerning Hestiaea	2	3	2	2	

over one or both enemies. On historical grounds the decisive defeat of the Boeotians at Oenophyta in 458 or 457 provides a much more convincing context than the crushing of the Euboean revolt in 446, shortly preceded by the disastrous reversal of Oenophyta when Athens was humiliated at Coroncia.³⁰

14. The hipparchs who made this dedication are named on the base, Lacedaemonius, Xenophon, Pronapes, and the sculptor they employed was Lykios son of Myron.

³⁰ Hauptcite. *Herodote*. 47 ff.; more fully, Raubitschek, *D.A.I.* 173.

- Lacedaemonius was Cimon's son, who was general in 433/2 (Tod, *GHI* 55); a Xenophon was general in 441/0. These men, from aristocratic families, would normally be hipparchs early in their careers. Since the dedication is made ἀπὸ τῶν [πο]λεμίων the context requires fighting in which the Athenian cavalry distinguished themselves. On historical grounds a date in the early fifties, before the Egyptian disaster, or in 446 could provide a suitable context.
15. The archon's name is included in the prescript of the alliance with Egesta. The final two letters can be securely read, ON; whether or not there are also traces of the preceding one or two letters is disputed.³¹ Between 470 and 430 only three archons' names end in ON, Conon in 462/1, Habron in 458/7, Ariston in 454/3. If the inscription is not to be dated in the fifties it must come later than 430. Mattingly (*Hist.* xii (1963) 267 ff.) proposes Ἀντ[ρι]φῶν, the archon of 418/7, shortly before the great Syracusan expedition which was partly instigated by Egesta. But if Egesta had exchanged oaths with Athens so recently it would have been the strongest argument that her envoys could have used in appealing for Athenian help. Instead Thucydides makes them refer only to the Athenian expedition of 427 in support of Leontini.³²
 17. Meritt (*Hesp.* v (1936) 360) restored in line 5: Ἀν[τρι]δοτος ἔρχε . . . |ο]χίδες ε[ι]πεν. Mattingly (*Hist.* xii (1963) 269) prefers Ἀν[τρι]φῶν ἔρχε Ἀντ[ρι]οχίδες ε[ι]πεν, pointing out that an Antiochides was a member of the Boule in 418/7 (*IG* i² 94), when Antiphon was archon. But Μορ| [υ]χίδες, perhaps the archon of 440/39, is a satisfying restoration. The date suggested by the letter forms provides a very suitable context.³³
 18. The generally accepted date, 450/49, derives from the archon's name Euthynos on the stone. This assumes a mistake by Diodorus who calls the archon of the year Euthydemos; but he makes this mistake in 426/5 when a Euthynos is known from another inscription to have been archon.³⁴ However, even if the three-barred sigma is discounted, the earlier date provides a much more appropriate context than 426/5 which Mattingly prefers (*Hist.* x (1961) 176 ff.). By 440 Miletus was a democracy: at the time of this decree oligarchs were still in control.³⁵
 19. The treaty with Hermione was dated by the first editor of the surviving fragment in the middle of the century, primarily because of the three-barred sigma.³⁶ Mattingly advocates 425 (*Hist.* x (1961) 173), but while showing that this later date could provide a suitable context and might explain why Hermione was not ravaged in 425 he provides no argument against the date suggested by the sigma. The coast between Epidaurus and Halicis will have been important to Athens in any war against the Peloponnesians. Troezen had been brought under Athenian control in the first Peloponnesian War; a settlement with Hermione in the late fifties should cause no surprise.
 24. It is now virtually certain that the temple of Athena Nike was not built until the twenties. The decree authorising the temple might be expected, as Mattingly emphasises (*Hist.* x (1960) 169 f.), to be passed very shortly before the building was begun; the traditional date in the early forties leaves a twenty-year gap between the decree and its execution. The earlier date, however, makes good sense if the sculpture of the north and south sides of the frieze was designed to commemorate the fighting against

³¹ Raubitschek (*TAP* lxxv (1944) 10 ff.), recalling Köhler's tentative report of a curving stroke before omicron and noting on his squeeze a vertical stroke in the preceding space proposed Ηα]βρον. Pritchett (*AJ* llix (1955) 58) found no trace of a curving stroke and thought that the vertical stroke was not part of a letter. Meritt supported Raubitschek's interpretation of the vertical BCH lxxxviii (1964) 413. I am doubtful about the vertical, but of the three years, 458/7, when Habron was archon,

offers the most likely context, when Athens was eliminating Aegina and the news from Egypt was still good.

³² Thuc. vi 6.2.

³³ Meiggs, *HSCP* lxxvii (1963) 6.

³⁴ *Diod.* xii 3.1, 58.1.

³⁵ J. P. Barron, *JHS* lxxxii (1962) 1 ff.; Meritt and Wade-Gery, *JHS* lxxxiii (1963) 100 f.; Meiggs, *op. cit.* 24 f.

³⁶ Oliver, *Hesp.* ii (1933) 494.

Persia which was ended by the Peace of Callias. The long interval might be explained by the concentration of the skilled labour first on the Parthenon and then on the Propylaea, or it might represent a conflict between the interests of the Propylaea and the precinct of Athena Nike.³⁷

25. The coinage decree has been dated to the early forties on the strength of the three-barred sigma in the fragment from Cos which has Attic letters and was reported to be on Pentelic marble. All the other fragments are in Ionic and the dating evidence for Ionic inscriptions of the fifth century is inadequate. Pritchett suggested a compromise. Marbles are difficult to distinguish: if the stele was of island and not Pentelic marble, and if the mason had come from Athens in the forties and stayed at Cos, he might have used the letters familiar to him before he left Athens. Historically the early date raises no difficulty for those who believe that the early forties was a period of strong imperialism.
26. The commissioners now to be appointed are to carry out their duties on the model of certain other commissioners: *καθάπερ ἡοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμὲ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[ο]ις ἐπέστ[ά]το[ν] τοῦ νεῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀ[γ]άματι*. Mattingly (*Hist.* x (1961) 171 f.) identifies these commissioners with the two boards responsible for the Parthenon and the chryselephantine statue of Athena. The imperfect tense, he thinks, means that they have completed their work; the decree cannot therefore be earlier than 432. Meritt and Wade-Gery suggest that the tense may be the 'Imperfect of Points Assumed': 'these men shall take charge of the goddesses' property, as those at Athens *were to have charge (as we have seen) of temple and statue*'.³⁸ This, however, is a very rare usage. An easier alternative is to associate the model commissioners with work on the Acropolis in the fifties. The statue may have been the Athena Promachos.³⁹
32. Mattingly (*Hist.* x 175, xii 266) relates this decree concerning Colophon to the occasion in 427 when Athens saved Notium from Persian control; Colophon had already broken away and Notium was threatened (Thuc. iii 34). The date, however, suggested by the letter forms is supported by a reasonable inference from the tribute lists of the second period. No record survives of any payment by Colophon in these three lists, though they are well preserved. The decree reflects the regaining of control by Athens, probably in 446.⁴⁰
36. On the moulding above a relief part of a name survives, possibly the secretary of the Boule, with three-barred sigma. Below in relief is a standing female figure, probably representing Messenia or the Fortune of the Messenians. *Μεσσε*[—] is inscribed in the field, presumably to identify the figure and the two sigmas have four bars (from the photograph one wonders whether this word was added later). The nature of the monument is uncertain, the date of the relief controversial. The case for a date before 445 is set out by Meritt.⁴¹ My judgment on the date of the sculpture would be valueless.
37. The 'Coroneia' epigram perhaps remains controversial and Mattingly has given reasons for referring it to the battle of Delium (*Hist.* xii (1963) 261 f.); but the case for Coroneia (in 447 or 446) strong already is made stronger by the very probable identification of fragments of the casualty list which stood on the base, though not cut by the same mason.⁴²
39. Mattingly (*JHS* lxxxii (1961) 124 ff.) dates this decree in 423 and relates it to an Athenian expedition to Euboea in that year, recorded by Philochorus, but ignored by

³⁷ For the latter explanation, Meritt and Wade-Gery, *JHS* lxxxiii (1963) 109.

³⁸ Meritt and Wade-Gery, *op. cit.* 111 ff.

³⁹ R. Vallois, *RE* l xxxv (1933) 195 ff.; Meiggs, *op. cit.* 26.

⁴⁰ Meritt and Wade-Gery, *op. cit.* 102 f.; Meiggs, *op. cit.* 26 f.

⁴¹ *Hesp.* xliii (1944) 223 ff.; Meritt and Wade-Gery, *JHS* lxxxiii (1963) 115 ff.

⁴² *Hesp.* xxxiii (1964) 21, no. 5.

Thucydides. The explanation of Thucydides' silence by Mattingly is unconvincing: 'It was a purely routine operation and Thucydides may have taken no special note of it, particularly as he was at the time very much involved with his own troubles after the failure to save Amphipolis' (p. 128). The very stringent terms imposed on Chalcis, and presumably on Eretria (for the Eretrians are required to take the same oath as the Chalcidians) implies a major upheaval; and the first clause of the Athenian oath surely refers implicitly to the expulsion of the Hestiacans after the crushing of the 446 revolt: οὐκ ἐχσελό Χαλκιδέας ἐχ Χαλκίδος οὐδὲ τὸν πόλιν ἀνάστατον ποίεσο. The terms of the decree no less than its letter forms point to the earlier date.

If letter forms were ignored it might be argued that a more probable date after 445 could be found for some of the inscriptions in our table, especially among those which have no early form except the three-barred sigma; but an acceptable context can be found for them all without doing violence to epigraphic criteria. The evidence of dated inscriptions between 445 and 430 is too consistent to be ignored. Until examples of the early forms of sigma, beta, rho or phi are found in inscriptions securely dated after 445 we should continue to date all inscriptions using any of the early forms except rounded rho with tail before 445.

There is one particularly important decree which cannot be dated by the criteria so far considered. The decree moved by Cleinias to tighten up tribute collection (D7) assumes that Athenian officials are widespread in allied cities and it refers without emphasis to a decree requiring all the allies to bring standard offerings of cow and panoply to the Great Panathenaea at Athens. It was only when a large new fragment was found in 1936 that the decree's date was moved from the twenties to the early forties, and the new dating was strongly influenced by the mover's name revealed on the new fragment. Cleinias, Alcibiades' father, who died at Coroneia in 446 or 447, is the best known Cleinias of the century, but the identification is by no means certain. Raubitschek, advocating the early date on the strength of letter forms, drew attention to the form of the loop in the rhos, which tends to meet the vertical low down and sometimes with a down-sloping stroke, and the curved upsilons. The first criterion cannot claim very great weight; similar rhos can be found in *SEG* x 81 (= *IG* i² 68/9), very probably to be dated in 424/3. The curved upsilons provide a much stronger argument. Until a epsilon with curving strokes is found in an inscription securely dated in the twenties it is reasonable to insist on a date before 430 for the Cleinias decree.⁴³ To claim a date in the early forties on the strength of letter forms alone is more than the evidence allows. The thirties could not epigraphically be excluded, but a date in the forties is epigraphically rather more probable.⁴⁴

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⁴³ Upsilon with curving strokes continues through the thirties but is extremely rare after 430. The only examples I have found are in Parthenon inventories of 414/3 and 411/0 (*IG* i² 272 and 253).

⁴⁴ Three relevant articles have come to my notice since my text was sent to the printer. Brief comments must suffice. The most important of the three is a review of the Cos fragment of the Coinage Decree (Table 2.25) by Georgiades and Pritchett (*BCH* lxxxix (1965) 400-401). Professor Georgiades, a distinguished mineralogist, after rigorous examination of the Cos stone and samples from various different quarries, concludes that the marble was not

Pentelic, but 'almost certainly Parian'. Professor Pritchett argues that it is very unlikely that an Athenian mason working in Athens would use marble from Paros rather than the local Pentelic for an inscription, and that the Cos fragment should not therefore be dated by reference to inscriptions cut in Athens. This new evidence may shake the confidence of those who relied solely on the three-barred sigma of the Cos fragment for an early date, but before this argument is rejected further enquiry is needed. Is it otherwise known whether Cos imported Parian marble either before or during the fifth century? Is it likely that if the Coans were paying

for the stone they would have used Parian marble rather than local limestone? Is it not possible that a mason working in a sculptor's workshop at Athens should use a spare block of Parian not needed for sculpture? More important, the inscription in Attic letters is in the Attic tradition. Why should an Athenian in Cos in the twenties (the later date for the Coinage Decree) use a form of sigma that had been obsolete in Athens for twenty years, while no other letter in his text suggests that he was old-fashioned?

Mattingly's re-dating of the financial decrees of Callias to 422/1 (*Proceedings African Class. Ass.* iii (1964) 35-55) affects my main argument considerably less. I would still maintain my view (p. 86) that 434/3 is a firm date for these decrees but I would naturally wish to meet Mattingly's detailed objections. However, since I have not included these decrees in the table of securely dated inscriptions, the argument from letter-forms is not affected. A word should, however, be said about his late dating of the Praxiergiidae Decree (Table 2.11). This is a notoriously puzzling script, but I agree with the mid-century dating advocated by Wilhelm and Lewis. Raubitschek is surely right in assigning *DA4* 299 to the same hand. The style of the fragment of relief on this dedication is a compelling argument against a date significantly later than 450.

The third article raises a more fundamental issue. In the course of a stimulating review of the state of Ancient History studies in this country, M. I. Finley has pronounced judgement (*Times Lit. Suppl.*, 7.iv.66, p. 289). "Instead (of exploring seriously worth-while problems) at the moment there is an

astonishingly bitter controversy in the scholarly journals in which, to put it a bit unkindly, the problems and issues of the (Athenian) empire have been reduced to a question of the date when the Athenian stone-cutters began to carve the letter *sigma* with four bars instead of three." No one would like to be convinced that two long summers' detailed work, for which nature did not design him, has been wasted on what a sociologist might legitimately call trivialities. A brief statement is needed, though some justification has been given elsewhere for this study of letter-forms (*HSCP* lxxvii (1963) 29 f.). The main evidence for the *history* of the Athenian Empire (as distinct from an analysis of its character in the period covered by Thucydides and Aristophanes) comes from a long series of inscriptions, the most important of which are not explicitly dated. From the literary evidence (if Plutarch is dismissed as unreliable) two views of the development of the empire, each coherent, are tenable: (1) that strong imperialism developed only after the death of Pericles and is to be primarily associated with the rise of Cleon and his successors; (2) that the vital steps from Alliance to Empire were taken in the early forties. It is no exaggeration to say that the answer to these questions depends primarily on whether criteria based on letter-forms (especially but not solely sigma), first formulated in the late nineteenth century, are still valid. A History of the Athenian Empire which ignored this question should have no authority. Finley has made a molehill out of a mountain.

CYRENE AND PERSIA

ARKESILAS III succeeded to the throne of Cyrene after the royal power had been considerably curtailed. In the reign of the previous king, Battos III, Demonax of Mantinea had carried out a tribal reorganisation and constitutional reform which was, according to Herodotus, democratic.¹ But since the leading opponents of Arkesilas III were the nobility, it is likely that the reforms of Demonax were supported, or at least acquiesced in, by the aristocrats.² As Chamoux argues, the system of tribes created by Demonax will not have diminished the local influence of the aristocratic landowners, although the more recent colonists who arrived from all parts of Greece in the reign of Battos II were given a place in the new constitution. The arrangements of Kleisthenes a generation later at Athens provide both a comparison and a contrast. He added the Athenian *δῆμος* to his aristocratic faction for political reasons, just as the Cyrenaean nobility accepted Demonax, and similarly the democracy of 508/7 was principally a tribal reform. But, at Athens, after the fall of the tyranny, there was a pressure towards democracy which could not have existed at Cyrene a generation earlier, and it was precisely because he had to break down the local influence of the nobility that Kleisthenes devised the system of *trittues*, which is not paralleled at Cyrene. The Demonax reform resulted in constitutional power for the landowning class at the expense of the monarchy.

I shall attempt to show in the second part of this paper that the Battiad dynasty medised to protect itself against the nobility of Cyrene, and that the unexpectedly long survival of the monarchy was due to the fact that it was protected by the threat of Persian force. But Herodotus' narrative raises chronological difficulties which must be discussed first.

I. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF ARKESILAS III

Beaten in his first attempt to recover the royal power and privileges, Arkesilas III fled to Samos and returned to Cyrene with Samian help. At the same time, his mother Pheretima appealed unsuccessfully to Euclthon of Salamis, the leading king in Cyprus. When Cambyses attacked Egypt in 525, Arkesilas medised, and Cambyses, although displeased with the inadequate amount of tribute he offered,³ nevertheless sent home Ladike, the Cyrenaean princess who had cemented the alliance between Amasis of Egypt and Cyrene by becoming one of the Egyptian king's harem.⁴ Cambyses' conciliatory action perhaps converted Arkesilas' half-hearted medism to greater confidence in Persian support. At any rate, Pheretima was later able to claim that her son had been murdered *διὰ τὸν μηδισμόν*, when she asked Aryandes, the Persian satrap of Egypt, to avenge his death.⁵ Her claim was accepted, so the Battiads must have begun to look to Persia for support through Arkesilas' action.

The general picture given by Herodotus is fairly clear. The Battiads, faced by constitutional reform and worsted in *στάσις* with their opponents, tried to re-establish themselves as absolute rulers with help from abroad, from Persia and Samos. But although Herodotus'

References to Hdt. iv are usually given by chapter and section only.

¹ 161.3. *τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεί Βάττω τιμίονα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱεροσίναν, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλῆες ἐξέμεσον τῷ δήμῳ εἴθηκε.*

² For this view of Demonax see Chamoux, *Cyrene sous la Monarchie des Battiades* 138-42 and cf. D. M. Lewis, *Historia* xii (1963) 39.

³ 165.2. *οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρκασίλιος ὃς Κυρήνην*

Καμβύση ἔδωκε καὶ γάρον ἐτάξατο. Cf. Hdt. iii 13.4, which must refer to the same occasion.

⁴ Hdt. ii 181. The alliance was made soon after Amasis' rebellion against Apries in 570 and reversed Apries' hostile attitude to Cyrene. Ladike was perhaps a younger sister of Arkesilas II. She cannot in any case have been much under 70 in 525. See note 19.

⁵ 165.3.

narrative in iv 162–7 and 200–204 contains considerable circumstantial detail, and must, I think, in general be accepted, it raises certain chronological and political questions. It is convenient here to summarise his narrative as follows:

1. Arkesilas and Pheretima appeal to Samos and Cyprus respectively.
2. Pheretima is unsuccessful with the anti-feminist king of Cyprus, but Arkesilas attracts individual Samians to his cause by promising a γῆς ἀναδασμός.
3. He goes to Delphi and is given an oracle,⁶ returns to Cyrene with Samian help, and treats his opponents harshly, against the advice of the oracle.
4. In fear of his opponents he retires to Barka, leaving Pheretima to rule in Cyrene, and is murdered there together with his father-in-law Alazeir the ruler of Barka, by Barkaians and anti-royalist exiles from Cyrene.
5. Pheretima goes for help to Aryandes, now satrap of Egypt, and is given it on the ground that Arkesilas had submitted to Cambyses and been killed for his medism.
6. Aryandes sends a land force under Amasis⁷ and a sea expedition under Badres to attack Barka and avenge Arkesilas' death, with the further motive, in Herodotus' opinion, of conquering Libya. Barka is captured after a nine months' siege and handed over to Pheretima and the Battiad faction. The Persian forces attack Cyrene as well but are recalled by Aryandes. The expedition is synchronised with some care by Herodotus with the operations of Megabazos in the Hellespont after Darius' Scythian expedition, i.e. in 514.⁸

It has been generally held by editors and commentators that Arkesilas III appealed to Samos during the reign of Polykrates, and that this appeal *preceded* Cambyses' attack on Egypt in 525, during which Arkesilas medised.⁹ But on this view of the chronology, Herodotus' narrative, summarised above, would have to cover the years *c.* 530 to *c.* 513, whereas the events recorded, beginning with the Samos appeal, do not appear to occupy more than three or four years at the most. After Arkesilas' return with Samian help, events succeed each other swiftly, the only possible gap being at 165.1, where Pheretima governs Cyrene while Arkesilas retires to Barka for safety. But since Pheretima was necessarily as suspect to the opposition as her son, and there is no indication in Herodotus that Arkesilas remained long under the protection of Alazeir before they were both murdered, it is unlikely that Pheretima's regency lasted long.¹⁰

⁶ 163.2. The Battiads are to rule for not more than eight generations. This is obviously *post eventum*. The rest of the oracle is obscure enough to be genuine, but if ἀποθνήσκω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλίστεόνων refers to the double murder of Arkesilas and Alazeir, which seems likely, this is probably *post eventum* also.

⁷ 167.1. The name 'Amasis' may be wrong, as the Maraphoi were a Persian tribe, Hdt. i 125.3. But this is not sufficient grounds for conflating Arsames' expedition against Barka in *c.* 482 with the Libyan expedition of 513. See p. 108 and n. 48.

⁸ 145.1. It did not take place while Darius was beyond the Danube, *cf.* A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* 112. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησε refers to Megabazos in the Hellespont, and the synchronism is much more likely to be true than if Herodotus had made a schematic connexion between Darius' Scythian expedition and the Libyan expedition. For the date of the Scythian expedition, see Wade-Gery, *Essays*, 'Miltiades', 159 and notes, and Cameron, *JNES* ii 1043–313 n. 32.

⁹ E.g. Macan, *Hdt. iv–vi* i 118 n., Chamoux, *op. cit.*, 147 ff.

¹⁰ Attempts to fill the gap or stretch Herodotus' narrative have not been successful. Macan, *loc. cit.*, notices the difficulty and suggests that Pheretima's rule in Cyrene may have lasted some time. Chamoux, 149, supposes that Arkesilas spent some time in making punitive expeditions from Barka against the aristocrats who opposed him. But his revenge on his opponents and the cruel burning alive of his enemies in Aglomachos' tower *preceded* his exile in Barka (164.2–3). Chamoux also accepts Hiller von Garteringen's identification of the votive *graffito* ΦΕΡΕΤΙΜΑΣ found near the older building south of the temple of Apollo Karneios in Thera, as a dedication by Arkesilas III's mother, perhaps made on her Cyprus voyage. (*IG* xii 3, 369, Hiller *Ephem. Arch.* 1937, i p. 56; *RE* VA, 2293, *RE* xix 2038 f. s.v. 'Pheretima'). Σ has already replaced *san*, which is consistent with a late sixth-century date in Theraean script, but could also be later. See L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts in Archaic Greece*, 33. The single name is

There is, however, no need to assume that Arkesilas' appeal to Samos preceded Cambyses' invasion of Egypt and Arkesilas' medism, or that it was Polykrates to whom he appealed. We know that he medised in 525, but his medism is nowhere chronologically related to the Samos appeal by Herodotus. It is merely mentioned at 165.2 as the ground on which Pheretima could ask Aryandes for help,¹¹ so the Samos appeal could either precede Arkesilas' medism, as has been generally held, or have followed it, as I think must be the case. As we have seen, there is no lapse of time in Herodotus' narrative from the Samos appeal to the Libyan expedition of Aryandes, which was his response to Pheretima's appeal to him after the murder. But the Libyan expedition, because of Herodotus' synchronism between it and Megabazos' operations in the Hellespont following the Scythian expedition, is fairly securely dated to either 514 or 513. This means that Pheretima's appeal to Aryandes¹² must be placed in or shortly before 514, the murder of Arkesilas immediately before Pheretima's appeal, and the appeal of Arkesilas to Samos not more than two years before his murder, that is, in 518 or 517. It is impossible to detach the chronology of Herodotus' account from the Libyan expedition of Aryandes which anchors it at the lower end.

Herodotus' narrative, then, only makes sense chronologically if we suppose that Arkesilas appealed to Samos after, and not before, his medism in 525. The political picture which emerges from this revised dating is different from the orthodox view, but seems nonetheless coherent and convincing. Arkesilas' medism may not have provided him with adequate Persian backing against his political opponents. This is particularly likely in the early years of Darius I's reign when, as we know from the Behistun inscription, he was fully occupied in putting down revolts in many quarters of the empire after the difficulties of his accession.¹³ Egypt herself was in revolt in the fourth year of Darius' reign, perhaps at the very time when Arkesilas needed help. Or it may have seemed tactless to appeal for Persian help directly, although Pheretima did so later when Samian support had failed to protect Arkesilas. So Arkesilas looked for help to Greek states, but prudently asked two powers which after 525 had come under Persian control, namely Samos and Cyprus.¹⁴ Samian support had the further advantage of providing a permanent body of settlers in Cyrenaean territory, whereas a Persian force would return to Egypt.

Herodotus' account in itself suggests that Arkesilas' appeal was made after the fall of Polykrates, either during the régime of Maiandrios, or during the early years of the pro-Persian tyranny of Syloson, in 518 or 517.¹⁵ Arkesilas does not appeal to any tyrant, but to

unlikely to be the record of a royal dedication, and the name 'Pheretima' may have been fairly common in Doric communities, cf. 'Pheretimos' at Teuchiris in Cyrenaica, *SEG* ix 435. Pheretima would be unlikely to approach the Theraeans for aid since they were anti-Battiad: the prisoners sent by Arkesilas to Cyprus were rescued by the Knidians and sent to Thera, where they were presumably welcomed (164.2). So the *graffito* cannot be held to suggest that the voyages of Arkesilas and Pheretima were more extensive, and took more time, than Herodotus reports.

¹¹ ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλειου εὐεργεταὶ ἐξ Κκιμβύσεια τῶν Κύρον πεποιημένοι. οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλειος ὃς Κρήνην Καμβύση ἔδωκε καὶ φέρον ἐτάξατο.

¹² Aryandes was appointed satrap by Cambyses, and served also under Darius until he rebelled sometime after 513. The rebellion is placed ἑστέρω χρόνῳ τούτων in 166.1, where τούτων refers to the Libyan expedition. Herodotus marks his return to the direct narrative with τότε δέ at 167.1.

¹³ See A. R. Burn, *op. cit.*, 96 f. On the Egyptian revolt, which was put down by Aryandes, see Cameron, *JNES* ii (1943) 311 f.

¹⁴ Euelthon will have been an old man, but could still have been ruling in 518 or 517. 569, his accession date according to the Oxford Classical Dictionary, can hardly be right, and seems only to rest on the accession of Amasis of Egypt, who made Cyprus tributary to Egypt, *Hdt.* ii 182.2. Siromos (? = Hiram, king of Tyre c. 550-30) must be removed from Herodotus' genealogy of Onesilas (v 104.1), since even if the earlier dating for Pheretima's appeal to Euelthon were right (c. 530), Euelthon could hardly be the great-grandfather of Onesilas, who was king in 498. If we assume Chersis to be the son of Euelthon and that Siromos, whose name is surely not Greek, has been wrongly inserted into the line of the Greek kings of Salamis, the stemma becomes intelligible. See How and Wells on *Hdt.* v 104, and *RE* suppl. I A col. 1834 s.v. 'Salamis' 2.

¹⁵ The expedition of Otanes is generally dated c. 517. The travels of Demokedes, first to Sousa

Samians individually: *συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῶν*. This phraseology would suit either Maiandrios' quasi-democratic régime,¹⁶ or, better, I think, the confusion which can be conjectured after the Persian conquest of Samos. Herodotus' account of the depopulation and early repopulation of Samos by the Persians is highly suspect and has often been doubted, since Aiakes was present with Samian ships helping Darius on the Scythian expedition a few years later. The Persian netting of Samos may be a story invented to cover up the brutality of Syloson, which, Strabo says, became proverbial and was responsible for lowering the population;¹⁷ no doubt some of his political opponents emigrated to avoid harsh treatment. The régime of Syloson, in fact, much more than that of Polykrates, was a time when many Samians would be attracted by a career abroad. Arkesilas' position as an ally of Persia would make it easier for them to accept this offer, and more difficult for Syloson to object to their departure. On the other hand, an appeal to individual Samians, offering land abroad in return for their services, is surely inconceivable in the time of Polykrates. He needed a large population to man his fleet and provide labour for his building activities, and is in any case unlikely to have allowed Samian citizens to go and settle elsewhere unless under his own aegis. Even if he had sent an expedition to help Arkesilas, he would not have allowed its members to become citizens of Cyrene.

These considerations tell against Chamoux's view that friendship between the tyrant Polykrates and the would-be tyrant Arkesilas III was the context of the appeal. The two states were traditionally friendly, and had been so since the seventh century. *φιλία μεγάλαι* between Samos, Thera and Cyrene went back to the time of Cyrene's foundation,¹⁸ and both Samos and Cyrene abandoned Amasis in face of Cambyses' invasion of Egypt. But this does not indicate that Polykrates was the object of Arkesilas' appeal, and the absence of Polykrates' name in Hdt. iv 162-3, where he *does* mention the much less famous Euelthon of Salamis, suggests strongly that Polykrates was no longer ruling at the time.

It may be objected that Herodotus mentions the appeal to Samos early in his account of Arkesilas' reign in iv 162. But he does not give a full account of the reigns of the kings of Cyrene; he reports briefly the most memorable events in them, and he is mainly concerned with the disasters of the end of the reign of Arkesilas III and the colourful story of Pheretima's revenge. He does not even mention in its place early in the reign the vital change in foreign politics of 525, when Arkesilas abandoned the alliance with Amasis of Egypt,¹⁹ formed c. 570, soon after Amasis' rebellion against Apries, and cemented by the Ladike marriage, for a safer alliance with Cambyses. This suggests that Herodotus did not treat the reign of Arkesilas III chronologically. The link between his accounts of Battos III and Arkesilas III is the constitutional settlement of Demonax, in the reign of Battos III, which Arkesilas III wished to undo. This link is topical, and not necessarily chronological. The earliest event in his reign which can be dated is the medism of 525, but, as we have seen, Herodotus does

after the fall of Orotes and then to the Greek coastlands on his reconnaissance expedition for Darius, all precede the capture of Samos in Herodotus' account (iii 129-39). The Samian thalassocracy is superseded by the Spartan in 517 in the list of Eusebius as revised by Myles *JHS* xxxv (1961) 99 f. . The revolt of Babylon synchronized with Otanes' expedition by Herodotus iii 150.1, cannot be identified with either of the revolts of Babylon which took place in Darius' first year and are recorded on the Behistun inscription, because of the 20-month siege of Babylon in Herodotus' account. Either Herodotus' Babylonian revolt was a later one, or he is giving a highly-coloured and inaccurate account of the first, major revolt and did not know its date.

¹⁶ Hdt. iii 142.3. But *γῆς ἀναδασμῶν* does not necessarily have the revolutionary connotation of redistribution of land which we find in Hellenistic times. Cf. iv 159.2, where Libyan land is being divided. There was plenty of land available, and Arkesilas was not necessarily thinking of dividing up the estates of the nobles to settle his mercenaries.

¹⁷ Strabo p. 638. *ἐκίητι Σηλοσώντος εὐρυχορήγῃ*.

¹⁸ Cf. 152.5 and the Korobios story.

¹⁹ Apries had led an Egyptian army against Cyrene, and was defeated at the battle of Irasa, c. 570. Amasis became the leader of the resulting rebellion against Apries, succeeded him, and reversed the policy of Egypt towards Cyrene by marrying Ladike, Hdt. ii 161, ii 181 and iv 159.

not indicate how this is related to his account of the Samos appeal, Arkesilas' murder or Pheretima's revenge, all of which I would place in the period 518-513.

Revised Chronology of the reign of Arkesilas III

- Shortly before 525 Accession. If he acceded shortly before 525 and not *c.* 530 the earlier Battiad chronology is slightly less compressed.
- 525 Submission to Cambyses. He pays insufficient tribute but Ladike is nevertheless returned to Cyrene by Cambyses.
- 525+ Stasis for several years, resulting in Arkesilas' exile. The stasis, I assume, was made more bitter by the medising attitude of Arkesilas, who hoped to make his rule more secure with Persian backing.
- c.* 518-517 Driven out by the opposition, Pheretima appeals unsuccessfully to Euelthon of Salamis and Arkesilas successfully to the Samians.
- 517 Arkesilas returns, but cannot hold his position in Cyrene. He retires to Barka while Pheretima rules in Cyrene. Murder of Arkesilas.
- 516-515 Pheretima goes to Egypt and wins Aryandes' support.
- 514 Aryandes' preparations for invading Libya, and Libyan expedition. Persians capture Barka but withdraw from Cyrene.
- 514 Death of Pheretima. ?Accession of Battos IV as Persian nominee.²⁰

The redating of the appeals to Samos and Cyprus to 518 or 517 gives them a different political context. On the accepted dating, before 525, Arkesilas would be appealing to other members of an anti-Persian group of powers to which Cyrene belonged, and which looked to Amasis, the old ally of Kroisos,²¹ for leadership. Before 525 Polykrates was a friend of Amasis, Euelthon of Cyprus paid him tribute,²² and Cyrene was bound to him by the Ladike marriage. But as soon as Cambyses won the Phoenician fleet for Persia, none of these powers was protected any longer by the sea. Polykrates played his double game successfully but only for a short time, Cyprus capitulated,²³ Egypt was conquered. Cyrene, Cyprus, and Samos remained on good terms, but within the framework of the Persian empire. To this later context I think the Samos and Cyprus appeals belong. This context is politically intelligible and much more acceptable chronologically than the alternative view.

II. THE ATTITUDE OF THE BATTIADS TO PERSIA

The narrative of Hdt. iv 162-7 and 200-204 raises political as well as chronological difficulties. The position of Pheretima in Cyrene after the murder of Arkesilas III is far from clear. Herodotus never explains how far, if at all, she had control of Cyrene after the murder. Her flight to Egypt,²⁴ in need of Aryandes' help, suggests she was not in power. On the other hand, the Persian attack on Cyrene was stopped by order of Aryandes. This overruled the wishes of the Persian admiral, Badres, who wanted to capture Cyrene, though his fellow-commander, Amasis, said that the expedition was directed only against Barka. Herodotus' account of what happened before Aryandes' message arrived is oddly inconsistent. The Cyrenaeans let the Persians in, 'in deference to some oracle',²⁵ the Persians Amasis and Badres disagree, and the Persians, encamped on the hill of Zeus Lykaios, change their minds and decide to capture the city. But now, surprisingly, the Cyrenaeans are less compliant, and the Persians retire in a panic to a position fifty stades from the city. Then the

²⁰ See pp. 104 ff.

²¹ Hdt. i 77.1-2.

²² Hdt. ii 182.2.

²³ Hdt. iii 19 and 34.4 imply that Cambyses conquered Phoenicia and her fleet before he invaded

Egypt. Cyprus capitulated and joined the Egyptian expedition. iii 19.3.

²⁴ 165.2.

²⁵ 203.1.

message from Aryandes arrives and the Cyrenaeans give them a safe-conduct back to Egypt. This suggests that the Persians were content to leave Cyrene in the hands of a loyal ruler, and hoped to secure the position of Pheretima in Cyrene itself by making a terrible example of her enemies in Barka. Herodotus has a Cyrenacan bias and is trying to clear the Cyrenaeans (who were presumably his informants) from any suspicion of medism. The oracle, the recall of the Persian forces and the safe-conduct granted to them, are all in fact suspect. It looks as though the opposition to Pheretima in Cyrene collapsed after the brutal treatment of Barka and the Cyrenaeans covered up their capitulation with a convenient oracle.²⁶ By the time Herodotus visited Cyrene, the city had broken away from Persia, and his informants seem to have lent respectability to their story by adding the inconsistent and unlikely details of the Persians' intended return, Cyrenaeans' thoughts of resistance, and, although there was no fighting, a sudden inexplicable panic on the Persian side. All this is difficult to believe, but Pheretima evidently did not feel secure in Cyrene, since she returned to Egypt, where she died. How Battos IV came to the throne is not recorded by Herodotus.

There was another version of these happenings current in late Hellenistic times which carried the hint of resistance in Herodotus' account much further and substituted Cyrene for Barka as the object of Pheretima's revenge. Menekles of Barka, writing in the late second century, recorded in his *Libyan Histories*: 'And having set up her grandson as king, she sent those who had plotted against her son Arkesilas to Egypt by sea. Then she went there herself and destroyed them all, after winning over Aryandes, who was satrap of Egypt at the time. She was given a military force by the Great King, and treated the Cyrenaeans harshly.'²⁷ Polyaeus, like Menekles, makes the Cyrenaeans the object of Pheretima's attack, but he agrees with Herodotus on her flight to Egypt.²⁸ He may use 'Cyrenaeans' as a general term, more easily understood by his readers, or it may have come through an intermediate source which garbled Herodotus but was not independent of him. It is unlikely that Polyaeus knew Menekles' account, since essentially he agrees with Herodotus.

Menekles' version, however, is worth considering more seriously as an alternative, and perhaps preferable, tradition to Herodotus. The fragment survives in a truncated form, quoted by an anonymous paradoxographer in a work on the warlike exploits of women, under the heading 'Pheretima, wife of Battos'. Menekles states that Pheretima had already put her grandson on the throne *before* going to Egypt. How could she have done this, and succeeded in sending the murderers of Arkesilas there beforehand, if she was in flight, as Herodotus says? And if she was really in control in Cyrene, she would hardly have needed Aryandes' help, as Menekles' own version suggests she did. Either Menekles is wrong about the time of Battos IV's accession, or else his excerptor has omitted an important link in his narrative. The missing connective would be renewed opposition to Pheretima and Battos IV in Cyrene, *after* the accession of Battos IV and the sending of the murderers to Egypt, on some pretext or other (Jacoby suggests as ambassadors),²⁹ while Pheretima was still in power, and *before* her own visit to Egypt. Herodotus' silence about the accession shows that in his version, it must have happened after the end of the narrative of Book iv, as it would certainly have been relevant to Pheretima's position in Cyrene and the reasons for her flight, which are only related by Herodotus to the murder of Arkesilas. As Pheretima cannot have

²⁶ We do not, however, have to follow Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* i 213-14), in supposing that the opposition to Pheretima in Cyrene was a fabrication, or that she did not have to flee to Egypt, but simply asked Aryandes for help in conquering Barka and Euhesperides.

²⁷ *FGH* 270F5 iiiA p. 84. *καὶ τὸν ὑδοῦν βασιλείᾳ καταστήσασα τοὺς ἀντιτάξιμους τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῆς*

Ἀρκισίλῳ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Ἄγυπτον ἀπέστειλεν. ἐπιπαρευρομένη δὲ αὐτῇ πάντα ἀνείλε. συμπείσασα τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν Ἄγυπτον ἄρχην τότε Ἀρριάνδην. λαβοῦσα δὲ δόναμιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Κυρηναίου πικρῶς ἐξεμύσαστο

²⁸ Polyaeus, *Sbat.* viii 47.

²⁹ *FGH* iii pp. 224-5.

appealed to Aryandes twice, we must agree that Herodotus and Menekles are giving different versions of the same Libyan expedition, and not recounting different episodes.³⁰

Although we cannot be certain about the time of Battos IV's accession, other considerations make Herodotus' account more acceptable as a whole. Firstly, it is much earlier. Would he already have found variants in the tradition as to which city the Persians attacked? He certainly went to Cyrene, and possibly to Barka as well.³¹ If it had been true that the Persians and Pheretima had attacked Cyrene, by now detached from the Persian empire, his informants would surely have told him so. We have already seen that Herodotus' story hints at resistance in Cyrene, and the 'Cyrene' version of the Persians' objective would have suited a patriotic informant much better, if it had been true. Secondly, it is less likely that the less well-known city of Barka has been substituted for Cyrene, as early as Herodotus' visit, than that the more familiar 'Cyrene' came into the tradition later, at some time after Cyrene had become the megalopolis of Cyrenaica under the Ptolemies. Other early sources (Aeneas Tacticus and the Aristotelian tradition),³² know only of an attack on Barka and follow Herodotus, whereas Menekles, although a Barkan, lived in the late second century,³³ by which time Barka had been eclipsed in importance by the coastal town Ptolemais founded on the site of Barka's former harbour. In view of the decline in Barka's prosperity, it is unlikely that a reliable tradition was preserved. In Jacoby's view, Menekles was probably a collector of local 'logoi' in the tradition of Alexandrine scholarship, rather than a writer of local history himself. His date is late for the 'genre' of local logography, and we have no means of assessing the reliability of his source, whereas Herodotus could have reached back to a reliable oral tradition. For example, he reports that Darius deported the surviving Barkans to Baktria, where they renamed the village they were given 'Barka', a name he says it kept till his own time.³⁴ The depopulation cannot have been as radical as he says, since Barka was still independent in the fifth century, but there may have been a partial removal of the population and some repopulation later. On balance, we should, I think, accept the general implication of Herodotus that the terrible example of Barka made the Cyrenaeans capitulate, and, later, accept Battos IV as king with the goodwill of Aryandes.

After the accession of Battos IV as a Persian nominee, we should expect Cyrene to follow a Persian line in foreign policy. In a local context, this would mean that she could not oppose Phoenician or Carthaginian interests in North Africa. She was in fact noticeably absent when the Spartan prince Dorieus tried to found a Greek colony near the fertile mouth of the Kinyros river early in the reign of Battos IV. Dorieus had men of Thera, not Cyrene, to guide him, and received aid only from the Krotoniat Philip, son of Boutakidas, the Olympic victor and adventurer who was living in exile at Cyrene at the time. But Herodotus emphasises that the trireme in which he accompanied Dorieus was furnished at his own expense, so he was presumably not officially backed by Battos IV.³⁵ Herodotus does not

³⁰ Menekles knew Herodotus' account, since in F6 he criticises his story about the foundation of Cyrene as too mythical, and prefers another which is 'more convincing' (*πιθανότερον*).

³¹ Cf. Hdt. ii 181.5 (the position of the statue sent to Cyrene by Ladike and still there in Herodotus' own time). He knows that the Barkan women eat neither beef nor pork, but he might have got this from elsewhere (iv 186).

³² Arist. *fr.* 611.16; Aen. Tact. 37.6. For his date, based on internal evidence from the treatise, see *RE* s.v. Aineios Taktikos, and Oldfather's introduction to the Loeb edition.

³³ For Menekles' date, see Athenaios iv 83, p. 184 b-c. Menekles and Andron of Alexandria are quoted for the fact that the Alexandrian scholars

became the educators of 'all Hellenes and barbarians' after being expelled by Ptolemy Phiskon (146-118). Ptolemais was founded earlier, by Ptolemy III (246-221). Skylax, *Periplus* (ed. Gronov.), p. 109, mentions the *λιμὴν Βάρκης*. Strabo, p. 837, speaks of Barka as one of the *πόλεις* in the periphery of Cyrene, the *πόλις μεγίστη*. Full literary references to the history of Barka are given in Thrige, *Res Cyrenensium* (1828) 138 ff. See also *RE* s.v. 'Barké'.

³⁴ Hdt. iv 204. The story has been doubted, but some Barkans were probably removed to Baktria.

³⁵ Hdt. v 47.1. Philip set out from Cyrene to accompany Dorieus and eventually died with him in Sicily. *οἰκίη τε τρυφῆι καὶ οἰκίη ἀνδρῶν διατάρη* is deliberately emphatic. Cf. Chamoux 162-3. *Contra* Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* 348 ff.

even say that Dorieus himself put in at Cyrene, though it seems likely that he did. Cyrene's reluctance to help Dorieus might be explained by his quarrel with Kleomenes, but this did not deter the Theraeans, and he had permission from the Spartan state for his enterprise. The more likely explanation is that Dorieus was not *persona grata* to the Phoenicians or their old colony, Carthage. He was turned out of the Kinyps in the colony's third year, *c.* 512,³⁶ by Carthaginians and Libyans, and later fell in Sicily fighting against the Egestans and the Phoenicians who were aiding them. Gelo, in 480, refusing to help the Greeks against Xerxes, complained that they had not helped him to avenge the death of Dorieus on the Carthaginians, or to set free the 'emporia'³⁷—presumably Greek trading-posts on the North African coast—and it is likely that Dorieus' first expedition had a commercial objective which Battos IV as a dutiful Persian ally could not support. It would have been impossible for Cyrene, as long as she was in the Persian Empire, to help an independent Greek settlement on a fertile part of the Libyan coast which would threaten the commercial interests of Phoenicians and Carthaginians, though on other grounds we should expect Cyrene to welcome a settlement from Sparta, who had founded her own mother-city, Thera. But Cyrene is absent from Herodotus' account, except for the accidental presence there of Philip of Kroton. The Kinyps settlement was in any case about 500 miles from Cyrene, so, although officially Battos IV must have disapproved, Cyrene need not have been obliged to intervene.

Dorieus' Kinyps expedition was perhaps supported at first by Delphi, who later explained his failure by saying that he had not asked where to go.³⁸ This, however, need not imply that he had not consulted the oracle at all. There was an oracle current in Herodotus' time prophesying that the Spartans should colonise the island of Phla in Lake Tritonis, and a legend told by Herodotus in the same connexion explains why Spartan settlement in Libya was delayed:³⁹ Jason, on his return voyage with the Argonauts, was carried from Cape Malea to Libya by a storm, and was unable to dedicate a tripod at Delphi because he had to offer it to Triton to obtain a safe passage out of Lake Tritonis. The tripod was to have given one of the descendants of the Argonauts the title to found a hundred Greek cities near Lake Tritonis, and was hidden by the Libyans so that this should not happen. This story shows no Cyrenaean elements, although it is evidently a different version of the legend in Pindar, *Pythian* iv,⁴⁰ where the Greek colonisation of Libya is delayed because Euphamos, the Argonaut ancestor of the founder of Cyrene, lost at Tritonis the sacred clod of earth which would have enabled many Greek cities to be founded in Africa. It was washed up on Thera, whence Euphamos' descendant, Battos, founded Cyrene.

Pindar's story is probably the older, and accounts for the delay in the founding of Cyrene, which was necessary if she was to have a heroic ancestry. Although, of course, Cyrene is not in the earlier body of Argo legends, which go back to a time previous to her foundation, the connexion of the Argonauts with Thera and Cyrene *is* in the Theraean account of the colony in Herodotus,⁴¹ and is therefore likely to go back to a time close to the foundation-date. I suspect that the Jason story was invented much later, and explained Dorieus' failure on the model of the Cyrene legend. It, too, connects Greek settlement in Libya with the Argonauts and with Tritonis, but significantly omits Euphamos, Thera and Cyrene. It may reflect a time when Sparta had tried and failed to found a colony inde-

³⁶ For the chronology, see Dunbabin, *op. cit.* 349. Dorieus kept his expedition together, and took his followers to Sicily at the same time as Sybaris fell, i.e. in 511 or 510. So the Kinyps venture can hardly have been earlier than 514. Dorieus was driven out in the third year by Libyans and Carthaginians (Hdt. v 42.3). Presumably the Cyrenaeans remained conveniently neutral.

³⁷ Hdt. vii 158.

³⁸ Hdt. v 42-3.

³⁹ Hdt. iv 178-9. Tritonis was in Libya, not far from Carthaginian territory. The oracle may well be Pythian, since the Jason story, told in the same context, has Delphic connexions.

⁴⁰ *Pyth.* iv 21-99 (Medea's prophecy).

⁴¹ Hdt. iv 150.3. Battos the Founder is described as ἦρος Ἐργηίδης τῶν Μινίων.

pendently of Cyrene, and when Cyrene was not interested in more Greek settlement in North Africa, but Sparta was, which would suit the time of Dorieus and Battos IV.⁴²

After the accession of Battos IV, Persian control of the Greek cities and the surrounding Libyan territory became more direct. The lists of provinces in Old Persian inscriptions first mention Libya in about 513, although Libya, as well as Cyrene and Barka, had given tribute to Cambyses in 525. It is not clear whether they paid regularly from then until 513. Perhaps they stopped after the death of Cambyses, during the confusion of the early years of Darius, or perhaps occasional gifts to the satrap were enough. At any rate, Libya does not appear in the first official list of the subject-peoples, inscribed by Darius I at Behistun before 518. Putaya (*sc.* Libya) appears first in the hieroglyphic list on Darius' Egyptian canal stele of *c.* 513, but is not recorded in the Persepolis foundation-stone list of about the same date. This list, however, does include the Thracian 'lands beyond the sea', which became subject to Persia after the Scythian expedition, but are not included in the canal list. From this, Cameron convincingly argued that the two lists were roughly contemporary, inscribed just after the Scythian and Libyan expeditions, but before the results of both were known throughout the Empire.⁴³ But did 'Putaya' include Cyrene, Barka and Euhesperides? Cyrene and Barka pay tribute as separate cities in 525 and are distinguished from the Libyans by Herodotus. He mentions them separately again in Book iii as parts of the Egyptian satrapy.⁴⁴ This arrangement was probably made by Darius and lasted down to Herodotus' time. There never was a separate satrap or military organisation for Libya, and the separation of Putaya from Egypt in the lists is best explained by assuming that the Old Persian lists are not satrapy-lists but lists of the subject-peoples under Persian rule.⁴⁵ The alternative view that Herodotus gives the satrapies as they were in his own time, but not as Darius organised them, presupposes too much reorganisation on a large scale within Herodotus' own lifetime, whereas the latest of the inscribed lists, set up at Persepolis in the early years of Xerxes' reign, is very similar to Darius' lists, and there is no reason to think that either Xerxes or Artaxerxes altered the satrapial organisation of Darius on any substantial scale.

The parallel with the Greek cities of Asia Minor, whose position under Persian rule was similar in some ways to that of Cyrene, would suggest that the Persians, like Roman imperialists later, left the internal structure of the Greek cities alone, on conditions of loyalty to Persia and payment of tribute. From Herodotus' careful listing of the two Greek cities as a separate contributory group in iii 91, it is certain that the Persian administration dealt with them separately, although the tribute from them and from Libya is included in the Egyptian total of 700 talents. Politically, the Persians probably relied on the Battiad dynasty, whom they supported, to keep control over Barka and watch over the Libyan tribes. Battos IV, as a Persian nominee, was in much the same position as, say, Aiakes of Samos or Strattis of Chios during the years preceding the Ionian revolt. A Greek city under a single ruler was more reliable than looser tribal organisations, especially in the parts of the Empire which were remote from direct central control or a long distance from the nearest satrap and his army.⁴⁶ The Libyans were less reliable: they hindered the homeward march of Amasis, although the Cyrenacans gave him a safe-conduct, but they sent a contingent to Xerxes' army in 480. In 460 it was a Libyan king, Inaros, who started the Egyptian revolt.⁴⁷

⁴² Bowra, *Pindar* 140-1, holds that Pindar, too, was apologizing for Delphi, and that the Cyrene legend, like the Jason story, was incidentally part of the excuse for Dorieus' failure.

⁴³ Cameron, *JNES* ii (1943) 307. *cf.* Wade-Gery, *Essays* 159 note 2. For the identification of Libya with Putaya see Posener, *La Première Domination des Perses en Egypte* 48 and 186. *cf.* Kent, *JNES* ii (1943) 302 and Cameron, *ibid.* 309, note 12.

⁴⁴ Hdt. iii 13-3 and iii 91.2.

⁴⁵ *cf.* A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* 108 ff.

⁴⁶ Compare the conditions described in Xen. *Anab.* iii 15: the Kardouchoi or Kurds.

⁴⁷ Hdt. iv 203; Hdt. vii 71 and 86: Libyan infantry and chariots with Xerxes. Thuc. i 104.1: Inaros.

Barka, after Pheretima's savagery, can have liked neither Cyrene nor the Persians. In 482 she refused to provide chariots for the war against Greece and was reduced by the Persians for the second time.⁴⁸ Cyrene was not called upon to provide a force.⁴⁹ Perhaps the Persians were tactful towards a city which was known to be friendly to them, or possibly Battos IV was reluctant to force his aristocratic subjects into a war against mainland Greece. Had they revolted, he would not have been able to call in military help from Egypt, as Pheretima had done, since Egypt had been in revolt at the end of Darius' reign and it would have been dangerous to remove troops from there. Even in 514, at a time when Egypt was secure, Aryandes, after putting the whole of his forces at Pheretima's disposal, had ordered them home.⁵⁰

There is no literary evidence for the internal history of Cyrene during the long reign of Battos IV. Evidently his quietism was successful, since he was neither forced to accompany Xerxes nor punished for his absence. Ample coinage and new buildings⁵¹ suggest that his rule was peaceful and prosperous, and although it is likely that increasing prosperity made the aristocrats more eager for freedom, there is no record of further opposition from them until after the accession of Arkesilas IV, at some time before 462.

In 462, Arkesilas IV, still a young man, sent a team to Delphi which won the chariot-race in the Pythian games. He afterwards dedicated a chariot at Delphi, and the victory was commemorated by Pindar in *Pythians* iv and v. His aim was to win renown and prestige, and at the same time to recruit mercenaries for a garrison at Euhesperides which would be a permanent protective force. The two leaders of the enterprise were close to the throne: Euphamos, the 'manager' of the team, may have been a Battiad, since he was the namesake of the Argonaut ancestor of Battos I, and Karrhotos, the charioteer, who took over the leadership on Euphamos' death, was the king's brother-in-law.⁵² This was not the first Cyrenaean victory at the games, for Telesikrates, also celebrated by Pindar (in *Pythian* ix), had won in the hoplite race in 474.⁵³ In itself, taking part in the games does not suggest that Arkesilas IV had abandoned his links with Persia. Competitors had to show that they were of Greek birth, but political disqualification was unusual, and the Persian factor was probably irrelevant.⁵⁴ It is also unlikely that he would have given up a not uncomfortable position

⁴⁸ Polyaeus, *Strat.* vii 28.1. Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* i 213-14) disbelieved in the double capture of Barka by the Persians and associated this Polyaeus passage with Pheretima's attack, identifying Amasis with Arsames. But Polyaeus mentions Pheretima's attack in viii 47, whereas vii 28 refers to an expedition occasioned by the Barkan refusal to provide chariots for Xerxes' invasion of Greece and must therefore be dated to c. 482. Chamoux 164 ff. gives good reasons against the identification of Arsames with Amasis. Aesch. *Pers.* 36-7 calls him ὁ τῆς ἑρᾶς Μέμφιδος ἄρχον μέγας Ἀρσάμοις, and Herodotus says he commanded Arabians and Ethiopians (vii 69), but he was probably a subsidiary governor, not the satrap. Herodotus says Achaemenes was appointed satrap by Xerxes early in his reign after the end of the Egyptian revolt and he remained in office until he was killed by Inaros (vii 7; cf. iii 12.). Arsames was the son of Darius and Artystone, a daughter of Cyrus (Hdt. vii 69), and Achaemenes a full brother of Xerxes (Hdt. vii 7).

⁴⁹ She is absent from Herodotus' catalogue of Xerxes' forces in Hdt. vii.

⁵⁰ Hdt. iv 167.1.

⁵¹ Coins in *BMC* iii Cyrenaica (E. S. G. Robinson). For the temple of Zeus, see Chamoux 320 ff.

⁵² *Pyth.* iv 64-5 (Arkesilas is in the flower of his youth), and *Pyth.* v 34 (his wisdom is greater than his years). The date of the victory, the 31st Pythiad, is given in the *inscriptions* of the scholia on *Pyth.* iv and v. (Drachmann, *Scholion vetera in Pindari carmina* ii 92 and 171). For Euphamos, see schol. *Pyth.* iv 256 (455c). On his death and Karrhotos' leadership, see schol. *Pyth.* v 26 (34).

⁵³ For the dates of his victories, see schol. *Pyth.* ix *mscr.* a and b. His father's name was Karneades (*Pyth.* ix 71-2), but he need not be related to the Battiads, who were Aigeidai and brought the Karneia to Sparta and thence to Thera and Cyrene (*Pyth.* v 74 ff.). There is no evidence that 'Karneades' was a Battiad name. It could have been given to a child born during the festival.

⁵⁴ It is not possible to give an exact parallel for a Persian subject competing at the games, but Alexander of Macedon (though probably before 490), had to prove his genealogy, not his politics, before competing at Olympia, Hdt. viii 137 and v 22. An Argive δημόσιος κέλης won at Olympia in 480, when Argos was neutral (*Ox. Pap.* ii 222, Hill² p. 151). It would be odd if no member of Diagoras' family, which won so many Rhodian victories in and after 466, had even competed in the generation before, and

as a distant subject of Persia without first securing firm support from the Greek mainland, which was exactly what he hoped would be the result of his victory. It is clear from Pindar's odes and the scholia on them that his throne was insecure, and that he needed extra, or alternative, protection. It is reasonable to suppose that he already foresaw trouble in Egypt after Artaxerxes' accession, remembering the accession troubles of Darius I and Xerxes as well as the serious rebellion of Egypt at the end of Darius' reign which Xerxes had to suppress.⁵⁵

The victory was celebrated by Pindar in two odes, which is unusual, and only paralleled by the two odes on Theron's victory at Olympia in 476 (*Olympians* ii and iii). *Pythian* v, the official epinikion, must have been performed first. It contains praise of Arkesilas and of the victory of Karrhotos, and a description of the race (in which forty chariots crashed), which is fuller and more exciting than Pindar usually gives. There is a hint at the beginning and end of the poem that Arkesilas has had trouble in Cyrene. In an ode which was publicly performed in Cyrene, Pindar could hardly say more.⁵⁶ In *Pythian* iv, however, at the end of the long poem on the foundation-myth of Cyrene and the story of Jason, Pelias and the Golden Fleece, all of which caught Pindar's imagination and sense of Cyrene's long past, the poet returns to the present and pleads with the king, advising him to heal the state by pardoning his enemy Damophilos. This exiled Cyrenaean noble had been a guest of Pindar in Thebes, and had found in him a 'fountain of poetry' for Arkesilas.⁵⁷ It is often assumed that Karrhotos commissioned both odes,⁵⁸ having met Pindar at Delphi, and hoped through his advocacy to bring peace to his city. But the end of *Pythian* iv suggests that Pindar wrote this poem, at any rate, at the request or commission of Damophilos. The urgency of the appeal, revealing as it does the poet's own sympathies, surely indicates that when Pindar wrote it, Damophilos had not yet been pardoned.⁵⁹ The poem was probably sung privately before Arkesilas, and we do not know whether Damophilos was restored or not.⁶⁰

The circumstances of Arkesilas' victory in 462 and his subsequent victory at Olympia in

other Cyrenaeans may have competed before Telesikrates. Competitors, as distinct from victors, have not survived in the records.

⁵⁵ Hdt. vii 7.

⁵⁶ The literal interpretation of *Pyth.* v 10-11, which led Chamoux, 182, to date its performance to spring, 461, after the winter storms, seems to be excluded by the end of the poem, where Pindar prays to the Kronidaei to keep Arkesilas safe in his deeds and counsels

μη̄ φθινοποριζ ἀνέμων
χειμερία κατὰ πνοὰ δαμαλίζου χλόων. (v 120-1)

The end of the poem is clearly metaphorical, and must explain the sense of *χειμῶν* in line 10. Pindar thanks Kastor for protecting Arkesilas in the past (10-11), and prays to both the Dioscuri to protect him in the future (116-21). The metaphor of the ship of state in the storms of civil war is familiar and older than Pindar, cf. Horace, *Odes* i 14 and its model, Alcaeus, fr. 46A, discussed by Fraenkel in *Horace* 154 ff.

⁵⁷ *Pyth.* iv 299-300.

⁵⁸ Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 376-7 and Bowra, *Pindar* 137-41. Bowra argues that Karrhotos, who is praised for his wisdom in *Pyth.* v 109-14, as well as his driving, is hinted at in *Pyth.* iv 277-9 as the source of the good advice given by the poet to Arkesilas to pardon Damophilos:

τῶν δ' Ὀμήρον καὶ τότε συνθέμενος
ρήμα πόρσεν. ἄγγελον ἐσθλὸν ἐκα τιμῶν μεγίστων
πράγματι παντὶ φέρειν
αἰῆεται καὶ Μοῖσιν δὲ ἀγγελίας ὀρθῶς.

But the Homeric proverb can be taken as a parallel, to show how the poet's Muse is enhanced by the rightness of his message. It seems simpler to connect *ἄγγελον* closely with *δι' ἀγγελίας* and to take the messenger to be Pindar himself.

⁵⁹ Lattimore, *Classical Weekly* xlii (1948) 19-25, argued that Pindar's main reason for writing *Pyth.* iv was to plead for Damophilos, since here are two odes on Arkesilas' victory, and that Jason's delayed homecoming is a subtle illustration of the Arkesilas-Damophilos situation.

⁶⁰ Damophilos, though an enemy, may have been related to Arkesilas, but the scholiast's remark on *Pyth.* iv 467, ἦρ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρός γέγονε, is obscure. It could refer, more reasonably, to Pindar's own remote connexion with the Aigeidaei (ἐμοὶ πατέρης, *Pyth.* v 76), which made him specially fitted to reconcile Arkesilas to Damophilos. If the subject of ἦρ is Pindar himself and not Damophilos, there is a logical connexion between this and the preceding sentence on Damophilos' commission of the poet.

460 show that his participation was a move in the direction of closer relations with mainland Greece, and we may guess that he was finding Persian support inadequate after the troubles of Artaxerxes' succession. The policy of settling mercenaries was perhaps modelled on Arkesilas III's introduction of the Samians, ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῶ. In the earlier situation, if, as I have argued, 518 or 517 is the right date for the appeal to Samos, Arkesilas III, having medised in 525, was not getting all the help he needed after Darius' accession, especially as Egypt was in revolt sometime during 518 and Aryandes' troops were required to put down the rebellion. The accession troubles of Artaxerxes and the lack of any necessary continuity of policy between one Great King and the next may have suggested a similar move to his grandson. But by his time, Persian prestige did not stand so high in the eyes of any Greek city as it had done before Salamis, Plataea, Mykale and the Eurymedon, and most of the Greek cities which had been within the Persian Empire had by now been freed and had joined the Delian League. Persian control of North Africa must gradually have become weaker as trouble came closer in Egypt, where the revolt broke out before Arkesilas' Olympic victory in 460.⁶¹

The *rapprochement* with mainland Greece did not save the monarchy for long, and it is doubtful whether the mercenaries at Euhesperides were of much avail, since Arkesilas was murdered there, probably during the Egyptian revolt, when Persian help would certainly not have been available. The murder is recorded by the Pindar scholiast and by the Aristotelian epitomator Herakleides, who gives more details but calls the murdered king 'Battos'.⁶² The 'Battos' who, according to Herakleides, died at Euhesperides, and whose head was thrown into the sea after a democratic revolution, is probably a mistake for 'Arkesilas', since Herakleides is recording the end of the dynasty, and there were only eight Battiad kings. To judge by Damophilos, the opposition to Arkesilas IV earlier in his reign had been aristocratic,⁶³ and the sudden appearance of the democratic faction is surprising. We wonder what sort of democrats they were, and whether Cyrene was still within the Persian Empire when the monarchy fell. Was the constitution which replaced the monarchy oligarchic or democratic? Only tentative answers can be given to these questions, but some speculation may be worth while.

Herodotus quotes the *post eventum* oracle on the eight kings of Cyrene. There are also clear signs of personal observation in his account of Libya. So we may conclude that he visited Cyrene at some time after the fall of the monarchy. Unfortunately, we cannot date his visit. He need not have gone there on the same journey as his Egyptian tour, even if we could date this with certainty. Indeed, he is less well informed about the region between Cyrene and Egypt than about western Cyrenaica.⁶⁴ This would be consistent with a separate visit to Cyrene, perhaps after 443, when he joined the colony at Thurii. But he could equally well have gone to Cyrene earlier, from Asia Minor or Samos. The account of Libya would appear to belong to an early period in his work, when he was more interested in ethnography than in the Persian war, but clearly we cannot use Herodotus' visit to date the fall of the Battiads.⁶⁵

Chamoux argues for a late date, c. 439, for the fall of the monarchy, and dissociates it by

⁶¹ For the dating of the Egyptian revolt, see Gomme, *HCT* i 410 ff.

⁶² Schol. *Pyth.* iv *inscr.* b: ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος 'sc. King of Cyrene οὗτος Ἀρκεσίλαος, δολοφονηθεὶς ἐπὶ Κυρηναίων ἀπέβαλε τῶν Βαττιαδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτη διακόσια διαμύνασαν. *Arist. fr.* 611.17, Hill² p. 42: δημοκρατία δὲ γενομένης Βάττος εἰς Ἑσπερίδας ἔθου ἀπέθανε, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ λαβόντες κατεπόρτισαν. Just conceivably, this Battos was a son of Arkesilas IV who died before becoming king. See Chamoux 206.

⁶³ See Chamoux's convincing arguments against Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* 195-6. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 376. Wilamowitz, however, took the 'demos' at Cyrene to be different from the demos at, say, Athens or Syracuse, since it was composed of landowners.

⁶⁴ See Jacoby, *RE* ii Suppl. col. 254.

⁶⁵ It is not possible to discuss here the composition of Herodotus' history. I am assuming that he began by collecting material for 'logoi' of an ethnographical kind.

many years from the liberation of Cyrene from Persia, which he would place soon after the Greek victories of 480–79, in the reign of Battos IV.⁶⁶ He calculates the 200 years, attributed to the Battiad dynasty by the Pindar scholiast,⁶⁷ from 639, when the colonising expedition left Thera, instead of 631, the Cyrene foundation-date in Eusebius, and is thus able to accept the figure. But 200 years sounds like a round number, and the Eusebius foundation-date, on which the date 639 depends, may be wrong by a few years and cannot be pressed too closely. Further support for a late date has been found in the small Cyrenaean bronze head of a young bearded man wearing a diadem, which has been taken to be a portrait of Arkesilas IV.⁶⁸ It is close to the Parthenon sculptures in style and may belong to the mid-440's. But although it cannot be earlier work, its small size (it is only 10 cms high) makes it difficult to date exactly, and it could be much later. The identification of it as a portrait of Arkesilas IV, which would show that the dynasty lasted until the development of this style of sculpture, is in any case doubtful. We cannot be sure that it is the portrait of a living man, and not the vivid representation of a god. Nor is it likely that the diadem, on which the identification largely rests, was at this time restricted to gods or rulers, as it was in Hellenistic times. It may in this case be a victor's crown.⁶⁹

The numismatic evidence is likewise unhelpful. The disappearance of the Ammon-silphion coins of the last two Battiad kings can only be dated within wide limits and cannot help to date the fall of the dynasty.⁷⁰ Conversely, the assumed date of the fall of the dynasty has been used to date the end of the coin-series. Nor can the fine second series of these coins be taken as evidence of freedom from Persian oppression at the time they were minted, since a transitional coin, bridging the gap between *BMC* series I and II has now been

⁶⁶ Chamoux 202–10.

⁶⁷ Quoted in note 62.

⁶⁸ The head was discovered in 1926 during the Italian excavations of the temple of Apollo at Cyrene. Pernier (*Afr. It.* ii (1929) 70) took it to be a portrait of Arkesilas IV and tentatively explained the diadem as the result of Persian influence at Cyrene. Chamoux 386 compares it to the Parthenon sculptures in style and also identifies it as a portrait of Arkesilas IV, which fits with his late dating of the end of the monarchy. He is followed by Gisela Richter, 'The Greek Portraits of the Fifth century BC' in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archaeologia* xxxiv (1961–2) 37. The head was among precious objects from the Cyrene museum removed to Rome by the Italians during the war, but has now been returned to Cyrene.

⁶⁹ Diadems or crowns of various kinds were worn by the victors at Greek festivals and at banquets, weddings and funerals. They were not specifically royal until Alexander the Great adopted the practice of wearing one from Persia, after he had conquered Darius III. How long the Persian kings had worn crowns is uncertain. They seem to have adopted the diadem from Egypt, but presumably not from the time of Cambyses' conquest of Egypt in 525, since Darius wears a tall cap in the Behistun relief, c. 520. If Arkesilas IV was still a vassal of Persia he would be unlikely to have worn the same insignia as the Great King. On the other hand, if, as Chamoux thinks, Cyrene had broken away from Persia earlier, in the reign of Battos IV, he would be unlikely to have worn a Persian headdress at all.

⁷⁰ Chamoux 166 ff. suggests that the Ammon-silphion coin-type, classified by Robinson as *BMC* series II, is indicative of the liberation of Cyrene in the reign of Battos IV, c. 480, because of the superiority of these coins to the earlier types minted there. G. K. Jenkins, *Num. Chron.* xv (1955) 150, has more recently published a coin to which Dr Colin Kraay has kindly drawn my attention. It is a fine example, probably, according to Jenkins, not earlier in date than the Persian wars, but slightly earlier stylistically than the coins of *BMC* II, and transitional between *BMC* I and II in the Cyrene coin-series. The obverse shows the head of Zeus-Ammon, the reverse *KTR* with the head and neck of a bridled horse and the silphion plant. Jenkins suggests that this issue, rather than the coins of *BMC* II, is the symbol of freedom from Persia. Surely the discovery of the transitional style suggests that neither issue is political? Both show the sources of Cyrene's wealth (this explains the horse as well as the silphion on the earlier coin), and Cyrene had been coining independently since about 525 with no sign of Persian influence in her issues, even after 514, when she was most firmly under Persian control. The development of the fine *BMC* II coins (which Jenkins wishes to attribute to Arkesilas IV's reign, since the transitional coin, on his dating, now occupies the 480— period) seems to be due simply to improved technique and increased prosperity, and does not require a political explanation.

discovered. The fine quality of the later coins is easily explicable as the result of increased prosperity and improved technique during the peaceful reign of Battos IV.

No literary, archaeological or numismatic evidence is conclusive for a date as late as 440 for the death of Arkesilas IV. On the other hand, we cannot be sure that he was no longer ruling in 454, when the Cyrenaeans helped the Athenian refugees on their way home after the disastrous Egyptian expedition.⁷¹ The Cyrenaeans would probably have helped them out of common humanity, under the monarchy or any other régime. On balance, it seems likely that Cyrene remained within the Persian Empire till the monarchy fell. If she had really broken with Persia soon after 480, we might expect to find some attempt by Athens to bring her into the Delian League, but there is no sign of any change in Cyrene's foreign policy before 462. The Persians probably kept a loose control over her, and collected tribute, for many years after 480. They had shown by reducing Barka again in 482 that they were ready to use force against a rebellious Greek city, and they would probably have treated Cyrene in the same way if she had tried to revolt at any time before the satrap of Egypt had trouble of his own to settle, between 460 and 454. It is tempting to think, too, that the rôle of the Libyan Inaros in the Egyptian revolt encouraged revolt against the Persian-backed monarchy in Cyrene.

The constitution which replaced the Battiads is generally thought to have been a democracy, on the testimony of the Aristotelian tradition that a 'democracy' was responsible for Arkesilas' murder. But the Aristotelian tradition is not consistent, and democracy may have come about in two stages, the first not as radical as the second. From Aristotle's evidence in the *Politics*, the demos does not seem to have been very large, which is not surprising in a prosperous country with plenty of land. In *Politics* 1319b, speaking of the excesses of demagogues, Aristotle accuses them of including as many as they can in the franchise, even those who are illegitimate or only one of whose parents is a citizen. The right thing, he says, is to include only as many of humble birth as there are nobles and middle class. In Cyrene, however, there was a 'stasis' when this number was exceeded. Aristotle must mean that the additional enfranchisements took place shortly before the 'stasis' which they caused, and this is almost certainly the 'stasis' recorded by Diodorus in 402/1.⁷² It is therefore difficult to believe that the democracy which was in being before 402/1 was at all radical. The Aristotelian tradition could have classified it as a moderate democracy, which may explain why the 'democrats' appear in this tradition as the murderers of Arkesilas IV. If Aristotle is thinking of Cyrene throughout the whole passage 1319b 1-19, the natural inference is that, shortly before 402/1, the democrats enfranchised many who in most Greek states would not have been eligible as citizens.

This is consistent with what we know of the society and economy of Cyrene. The availability of land and the system of using it mainly for ranching and pasture would naturally uphold a large and wealthy upper class. Cyrene was more famous for its cavalry than its hoplites,⁷³ which suggests that the land did not support a large number of small farmers. Nor were the Cyrenaeans particularly interested in sea-faring, so as to produce a ναυτικός ὄχλος with democratic ambitions.⁷⁴ So the movement towards democracy probably came from those engaged in trade and industry in Cyrene itself. Under the monarchy, they surely looked to the Battiads for protection and patronage. The silphion trade was a

⁷¹ Thuc. i 110.2.

⁷² Ar. *Pol.* 1319b 17; Diod. xiv 34.

⁷³ Though she had her hoplites as well. The 7,000 hoplite casualties in the battle against the Libyans in the reign of Arkesilas II (Hdt. iv 160) seem too large to be credible, but show that Cyrene fought hoplite battles. Telesikrates won as a hoplite at Olympia in 474.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Pyth.* iv 17-18, where Medea prophesies that the Theraeans who are to found Cyrene will exchange sea-faring for horses and chariots:

ἀντὶ δελφίνων δ' ἐλαχρ' περὶ γούρον ἵππων
ἀμείψαντες θοάς
ἀνία τ' ἀντ' ἐρετμῶν δόρυρον τε νομίσουσιν
ἀελλόποδοις.

royal monopoly, and possibly wool was exported in the same way.⁷⁵ The great temple of Zeus Ammon was probably begun under Battos IV. With the fall of the monarchy, its monopolies are more likely to have fallen into the hands of the nobles than to have been appropriated by the demos. It is likely that the demos did not become fully politically conscious for some time, but was ready to set up a real democracy by 402/1. This must then be the context of the increase in numbers of the tribes and phratries, which Aristotle attributes to οἱ τὸν δῆμον καθιστάντες at Cyrene. Meanwhile, in foreign policy, Cyrene had cemented her traditional friendship with Sparta, for in 413 she sent two triremes as guides to a Peloponnesian force on its way to Sicily which had been blown off course to Libya in a storm. On the way, they helped to put down a Libyan attack at Euhesperides.⁷⁶ Friendship with Sparta, which had not been emphasised since 525, was the natural foreign policy for Cyrene, especially if the aristocracy was still influential up to 402/1.

After the 'stasis', in which 500 δυνατώτατοι were killed, many of the χαριέστατοι fled, to return with 3,000 Messenian refugees as mercenaries. After a fierce battle, in which the Messenians were the main casualties, the two sides agreed to live in the city together.

We know little of the working of this constitution, but one document known to have been passed by the Cyrenaean assembly in the early fourth century is the famous 'Founders' Stelc', where the first part of the decree has the formula δεδόχθαι τῶν δάμω[ι], introducing provisions to secure the citizen-rights of certain Theraeans in Cyrene.⁷⁷ This, again, sounds like an aristocratic move. The democracy probably lasted continuously till Aristotle's time, since he refers to only one 'stasis' in Cyrene and notices no further changes after the democratic revolution. But at some stage after the date of the *Politics*, and before the arrangements made by Ptolemy I in 322/1 or a little later, it seems to have given way to a narrow oligarchy of 1,000. Ptolemy's constitutional arrangements for Cyrene set up a citizen-body of 10,000, based on a low property qualification, who were to perform the same functions as 'the thousand' had done before.⁷⁸ Ptolemy's *diagramma* is a fairly liberal document, but the constitution was based on property and so presumably preserved the influence of the land-owners. As Chamoux has shown, the opposition to the Battiads was essentially aristocratic, and forced the monarchy into reliance on Persia. Even after the fall of the monarchy and the severing of links with the Persian Empire, the system of land-tenure in Cyrene did not change, and the influence of the aristocracy survived under the forms of democratic government. The aristocrats were strong enough to enforce a narrow oligarchy shortly before 322 and the influence of property was duly recognised in the Ptolemaic constitutional settlement.

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⁷⁵ Aristophanes, *Plut.* 925 mentions τὸ Βάττων σίλφιον. The scholiast *ad loc.*, quoting Aristotle, says that the Libyans gave the silphion plant to the first Battos (Arist. *fr.* 528). The famous Arkesilas cup, Laconian ware found at Vulci, may illustrate Arkesilas II exporting silphion, but this has been doubted. See B. Shefton, *BSA* xlix (1954) 309 n. 14, and P. E. Arias, *A History of Greek Vase-Painting* pl. xxiv and pp. 309-10. The material being weighed under Arkesilas' supervision may be wool and not silphion, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the 'Arkesilas' in the vase-painting is Arkesilas II of Cyrene and not another Arkesilas, otherwise unknown.

⁷⁶ Thuc. vii 50.

⁷⁷ *SEG* ix 3, line 11. A. J. Graham, *JHS* lxxx (1960) 95, and L. H. Jeffery, *Historia* x (1961) 139, discuss the problem of the 'Founders' Oath' quoted in the document. The lettering is early fourth century.

⁷⁸ *SEG* ix 1, line 6: προσόντων . . . οἱ δὲ μέγιστοι αἱ οἱ χίλιοι. See M. Cary, *JHS* xlviii (1928) 222 ff., esp. 234 ff. For other references see *SEG* ix. The constitution described in the document was referred by De Sanctis (*Riv. Fil.* liv (1926) 145 ff.) to the foundation of the κοινὸν of Cyrene by Ptolemy II, c. 250, but most now think it is the work of Ptolemy I and place it in 322/1 or a few years later. Cf. Cary, *op. cit.* 222-3.

Note: The chronological problem discussed in the first part of this paper was first raised for me by some unpublished work of Mr Oswyn Murray. I should like to thank Professor H. T. Wade-Gery, Professor A. Andrewes, Mr A. J. Holladay and Mr W. G. Forrest for reading earlier drafts of this paper. They have given me much helpful advice and criticism.

HORNED-HEAD VASE HANDLES

(PLATES V-IX)

THE purpose of this article is to present some of the available evidence for the persistence from late Mycenaean times into the early sixth century of 'bull's-head' vase handles, as first exemplified on the Warrior Vase from Mycenae (Athens 1426; PLATE V). The very similar handles on certain Cypriote vases now dated to around 700 B.C. suggest that a continuous tradition culminated, in this area, in a revival. For convenience I shall speak throughout of bull's-head handles, though in many cases it is open to question whether a bull or calf's head, or the head of a mountain sheep or goat was intended;¹ and the same handles have been differently interpreted at different times.² Generally when they appear on Cypriote vases it has been thought that a wild goat is intended, this being the principal wild animal on the island.³ In fact of course the modelling is often so perfunctory that nothing very convincing zoologically is achieved.⁴

All the handles that I shall be discussing are set horizontally on the body or the shoulder of the vase. But of much earlier date, from Palaikastro, there are two Minoan rhyta with vertical handles in the form of a goat's head and horns.⁵ These goat's heads are quite

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¹ For further convenience I have been tempted to call all these handle-formations boucrania, but have reluctantly resisted. In general the term is taken to describe not a bull's head but a horned bull's skull, whether used as a decorative motif, or as a feature in a temple or shrine, e.g. Beazley, *JHS* lix (1939) 36 ff. The complete head, and the horned skull, were treated as distinct hieroglyphic signs by Sir Arthur Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, 196. Napp, however, *Bukranion und Guirlande* 4, includes a 'complete' bull's head in his three categories of boucrania (for an example see *Altertumer von Pergamon* Bd ii pl. 30) and V. E. G. Kenna uses the term of a fairly complete-looking ox head on a late Minoan gem in the Ashmolean, K 356 (*Cretan Seals* 139), defending this on the grounds of the talismanic character of this seal, the ox head being a symbol rather than a representation of a head. The ancient meaning is not very clear. *Et. Magn.* 207.55.

² Ohnefalsch-Richter in *Kypros. Die Bibel und Homer* 36, describes the handles of the Tamassos vase (BM C 736) as consisting of a bull or calf's head. In the *BM Catalogue* of 1912 they are assigned to a moufflon. Myres (*Handbook to Cevnola* 51, no. 403) with reference to such handles on a Cypriote vase of the early post-Mycenaean period suggests an ibex.

³ The creature on the Ashmolean pot fragment from Geoi Tepe must be a goat or ram: Burton-

Brown *Excavations in Azerbaijan* pl. xiv no. 25, 156 from Period A, representing his top level, where the pottery is said to be relatable to the wares of the beginning of the Iron Age in other lands. Pl. xiii no. 23, 156 shows a very summary rendering on a small 'alabastron' placed near the rim, and scarcely a handle, since the horns are not detached. Both these are compared to the bull's-head handles on the Warrior Vase, *op. cit.* 165. Pl. x no. 1045, 98 from Period D, a fragmentary pithos, has a similar very stylized version high up near the rim.

⁴ Mackenzie in *BSA* xiii (1906-7) 433 draws attention to this. I note that in some very recent publications the terms 'ram's-head' and 'goat's-head' are used of our handles.

⁵ Marinatos, *Crete and Mycenae*, pl. 89 dated LM I about 1530 B.C. The other *JHS* Archaeological Reports 1962-63 32 fig. 35, from an LM I B context.

Since completing my text I have become aware of a sherd from a large deep vase, of EH III date, on which is crudely modelled a ram's head, having the widely arched horns marked with deep slanting incisions, as if to suggest twisted horns: a non-functional handle. The excavator has described this sherd as unique; see G. Mylonas, *Aghios Kosmas*, fig. 143, no. 510 and pp. 79 and 126.

naturalistic. While I have no chain of evidence to link them with the horizontal handles on the Warrior Vase, it would appear that the idea of making a handle in the form of a horned animal's head is a very ancient one.

The bull's-head handles on the Warrior Vase (PLATE Va-b) are my point of departure, and they have long since been associated both with comparable handles on Cypriote vases of a much later date, and with those on the big Attic Geometric grave vases. Pottier was, I think, the first to attempt to bring all these three phenomena into a relationship. What precisely this relationship should be, is the question.

One has to consider first whether the Warrior Vase handles are a freak, or whether it is fortuitous that nothing else like them from the same period has ever turned up.⁶ The answer is rather negative. Miss Helen Thomas (Mrs Waterhouse) mentioned a little clay bull's head from Crete in the collection of the British School at Athens as having clearly once been part of such a handle.⁷ This little object has been lately traced by Mr Mervyn Popham who has very kindly sent me drawings and particulars but says that there is nothing in the break of the neck to indicate that this little head was attached to the wall of a vase. Moreover, what remains of the horn stub springs too horizontally from the side of the head to have formed a handle arch. Although I have not seen it, I must agree with him that it is more likely to be the head of a figurine, comparable to the little bull from Haghia Triada (Zervos, *L'Art de la Crète*, pl. 795). He suggests an LM III B or III C dating.

For anything else of late Mycenaean date there is only, as far as I know, a sherd with a very stylised bull's head from a fountain on the Acropolis.⁸ Pottier indeed gave as one of his reasons for refusing to accept the Warrior Vase as Mycenaean at all, the fact that its handles were without parallel in Mycenaean ceramic. He believed, and others with him, that the prototypes are the double-arched Dipylon handles, and that the idea of modelling the junction of the twin handle-arches into an animal's head was a subsequent seventh century orientalisising development, exemplified by the Warrior Vase and by certain Cypriote vases.⁹ While I presume that a seventh century date would nowhere now be suggested for the Warrior Vase, the idea that 'double-handles' preceded 'horned-head' handles still persists.¹⁰ Perhaps this must remain a matter of opinion. Personally I can only see the phenomenon as initially a plastic horned-head affixed to the vase as a sort of handle, the organic forms later becoming so stylised and blended as to produce in the end what might well be accepted as merely a double-arch formation if considered without reference to what has gone before and what comes after. I have, moreover, searched in vain for examples of straightforward double handles on late Mycenaean vases from which the zoomorphic variety could have developed. The problem is how to relate the various manifestations. If incorrect in placing the Warrior Vase in the orientalisising period, Pottier was, I think, the first to draw attention to its connexion both with the stylised Dipylon handles and with the naturalistic version found on numerous Cypriote vases.¹¹ I use the term 'naturalistic' meaning that the animal's head is immediately recognisable as such, not that it is zoologically accurate.¹² On the best known of these Cypriote vases, the Tamassos Vase in the

⁶ The shape of the Warrior Vase is not common till near the end of the Mycenaean period. Fragments of similar kraters have been found and a few nearly complete specimens, but no double handles. See Oscar Broneer *Hesp.* viii (1939) 351 ff. and n. 28; *Hesp.* ii (1933) 369 f. 42.

⁷ *BSA* xxxix (1938-9) 69, n. 8.

⁸ Oscar Broneer, *op. cit.*, 353 fig. 279. Mrs Smithson has sent me a drawing of this object and reports that there is a real feeling of bony structure beneath the surface modelling.

⁹ *BCH* xxxi (1907) 247 and Dummeler in *BS.* I xiii (1906-7) 433.

¹⁰ Gotsmich, *Studien zur ältesten griechischen Kunst* 39, describes the Warrior Vase as an example of two handles being bound together by an animal's head. Much earlier Dummeler held this view, which is refuted by Mackenzie *op. cit.* 433.

¹¹ Gotsmich, *op. cit.*, 40 also points this out, and in addition gives examples from Crete and Rhodes.

¹² In contradistinction to the bull's head handles on Geometric vases, which are described as 'stylised', 'schematised', or aptly with Doro Levi 'geometrised'.

BM C736 (PLATE VIa-b), the rendering of the animals' heads while naturalistic, is perfunctory, and less ambitious than on the Warrior Vase—no ears, no indication of hair at the forehead and no striations on the horns. The whole vase indeed, both in construction and decoration, is rather crude and clumsy. When Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1893 published the Tamassos vase, which he had himself excavated in 1885, he illustrated the Warrior Vase handles for comparison.¹³ At that time, and in the *BM Catalogue* of 1912, the Tamassos Vase was assigned to the ninth century.¹⁴ But the Swedes have now placed it in Bichrome IV,¹⁵ the Cypro-Archaic period, around 700 B.C. and have grouped it with several other vases showing comparable handles (one of which is the example given by Pottier in *BCH* xxxi (1907)). So the gap between the Cypriote products and the Warrior Vase, to which they are typologically closest, has widened. What are the conclusions? In the vast context of the question of the survival of Mycenaean art traditions into historic times, these handles are but one small pointer. If one thinks of a Mycenaean revival in Cyprus, one can reflect that horned-head handles of the stylised variety existed there long before the Tamassos Vase group,¹⁶ and also at the same period.¹⁷

I must now explain more precisely what I mean by the stylised variety of the bull's-head handle. Though it might seem logical to suppose that stylised versions were derived from the naturalistic renderings and are therefore always later in date, it appears in fact that both varieties existed, more or less contemporaneously. In the non-Greek world there are the two versions from Geoi Tepe¹⁸ and, more relevant to our problem, the sherd from the Mycenaean fountain on the Athenian acropolis already mentioned. But the fully 'geometricised' version of the eighth century carries the process of stylisation a step further. No one could see the Mycenaean fountain sherd as anything but a very schematised animal's head. The handles on Geometric vases have not been, and are not now, always recognised as such. As far as I know the earliest illustration from a geometric vase in which the handles are described as taking the form of an animal's head and horns is in Perrot-Chipiez vii (1898) 167 fig. 20.¹⁹ Having caught on to this idea, the French seem to have stuck to it.²⁰ Many fine Attic geometric examples may be seen in the National Museum at Athens, a selection of which I am able to illustrate through the kind assistance of Madame Karouzou (PLATES VIIa-c and VIIIe).²¹ Though such handles are now usually described merely as 'double-arched', I think it impossible to doubt that they are a schematised version of the bull's-head handles exemplified on the Warrior Vase. Many of the past generation of archaeologists certainly thought so. In more recent times, as far as I know, it is Doro Levi who most consistently refers them back to Mycenaean bull's-head origins,²² including some that are so debased they could scarcely be accepted as zoomorphic, without reference to better examples. (I say 'really debased' when the muzzle and the horns are the same length and are more or less parallel, with no feeling for the spread of the horns, and often no forehead formation.)

On good quality Attic vases the connexion is to me immediately apparent, and sometimes

¹³ Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, 63, figs. 74, 75. Other similarities, besides that of the handles, are mentioned. A detail not easily seen from a photograph is the similarity between the stylised rendering of curly hair down the muzzle of the Warrior Vase bull, and the fringe of loops bordering the outer edge of the horns on the Tamassos Vase where they adjoin the vase.

¹⁴ *BM Catalogue* vol. ii 140, where it is stated that the vase shows hardly any signs of Mycenaean influence. But see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, 37.

¹⁵ *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* vol. iv pl. xxxii. These illustrations are not from photographs and the handles are mostly in profile. But two in the Louvre are usefully figured in the Corpus with the

handles in frontal view: *CVI* v (viii) pl. 18 (341) 2 and 5.

¹⁶ BM C751: *CVI* ii (ii) pl. 1 (45) 22.

¹⁷ *Salamina-Cesnola* pl. xix, no. 28.

¹⁸ These two pots are not from the same pit and there is some difference in level, but both are from his A period: i.e. top level; see n. 3.

¹⁹ This picture is taken from an earlier publication, Rayet-Collignon, fig. 20. But here attention is only drawn to the boat beneath the handle arches.

²⁰ E.g. Sèvres *CVI* (xiii) pl. 12 (541) 1 and 3 and several in the Louvre Corpus.

²¹ Athens 990, 804, 805, 216.

²² *Ann. della R. Scuola*, x-xii (1931) 148, 371 (fig. 487, 464, fig. 620) 590 (fig. 639).

a slight swelling in the area of the bull's forehead can be felt with the hand. The forehead is, moreover, in some cases carefully demarcated (805: PLATE VIIc). But all trace of eyes or ears has quite disappeared. Pottier describes the two principal forms of stylisation adopted.²³ Either the central member (in our view the 'head') takes the form of an inverted triangle which at a later date may melt away into the body of the vase, or the extremity may be up-turned and cut off short.²⁴ The resulting small, flat, circular surface may be decorated with a rosette or other linear device.²⁵ So it is only really in the general form and modelling that these handles retain the traces of their animal-head origin. Their decoration conforms to the style adopted for the rest of the vase. On high grade pieces, the horns may be covered in fine hatching, corresponding in quality to similar brushwork on other parts of the vase. The forehead is demarcated and the muzzle may be decorated with diminishing chevrons, or with horizontal lines. The hatching, or barring, or billeting of the horns is usually continued on the body of the vase after they have joined it, and reaches down to the base line (below the handle figures) forming a frame for the picture or linear decoration that may lie beneath the handle arches; on some later 'Melian' vases a large eye is painted in the space below the horns. Mostly, as already mentioned, the muzzle is decorated with horizontal lines or chevrons, or both, but it is sometimes reserved, as on two vases from Thera,²⁶ and the space filled with a X (PLATE VIIe and f). Occasionally there is a multi-pointed star on the bull's forehead which might be thought reminiscent of the rosettes on the forehead of Minoan bronze bulls, but that similar stars appear elsewhere on the vase as part of the general decoration.²⁷ Whatever scheme of decoration is chosen for the horns (and sometimes they are simply painted black) they are always as it were outlined with one, or two, thickish black lines, which may end off neatly when they meet the next horizontal boundary line at right angles, or may be tapered off into a point. On the Warrior Vase this seems the obvious way of finishing off a pair of horns. But the temptation to see this in the later examples has to be resisted, since such 'streamers'²⁸ are equally common on single handles from very early times, and can therefore only be thought of as a handle pattern.²⁹ 'Streamers' on handles both single and double are very common on sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric pots.³⁰

It may now be convenient to glance backwards at these earlier periods. There are sporadic examples of derivative horned-head handles throughout the Protogeometric period, but I do not know that hitherto any special mention has been made of them. They are sometimes described as 'double-loop'. Heurtley and Skeat, however, speak in one instance of the plastic terminal of the central area.³¹ Our point of departure in the field of Attic Protogeometric is the Munich krater (PLATE VIIg-h).³² In certain respects this is a backward-looking vase and it would perhaps not be too derogatory to speak of it as of a transitional nature,³³ transitional that is between Mycenaean and Geometric. Of *whole* Protogeometric vases bearing horned-head handles, it is the nearest in shape we have to the Warrior Vase, from which it has been said to be directly descended.³⁴ Two kraters from Kephallenia³⁵ to

²³ *RA* (1896) (i) 20.

²⁴ This is an ancient form of stylisation: see a bull's head rhyton in Rhodes: *Clara Rhodos* i 63, fig. 44; *CVI* ii (x) pl. 7 (463) 1.

²⁵ E.g. Athens 804, 805, 824 (PLATE vii b. c. f); Louvre A517.

²⁶ Athens 899, small neck-amphora: *Thera* ii 144, fig. 344 a and b (Dragendorff refers the handles to an animal's head); and Athens 824⁷, pyxis-amphora.

²⁷ E.g. Athens 219; *CVI* i (i) pl. 7 (7) 3; Louvre A527; *CVI* xi (xviii) pl. 2 (778). Mr Boardman has pointed out to me that the rosette, or star, on a bull's forehead may derive from the natural way the curling hair grows at the forehead centre.

²⁸ Heurtley, *BSA* xxxi (1930) 31.

²⁹ Furtwangler and Loschcke, *Mykenische Vasen* pl. xxii, 160, pl. xxix, 248. This was pointed out to me by Mrs Waterhouse.

³⁰ E.g. numerous examples in *Kerameikos* i and iv.

³¹ *Op. cit.* 32, no. 140.

³² Munich 6157; *CVI* iii (ix) pl. 104 (386) 2; Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* (hereafter *PP*) 94 pl. 12; Schweitzer, *Rom. Mitt.* lxii (1955) 82 and 85, pl. 36.

³³ R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* 5.

³⁴ Schweitzer, *Rom. Mitt.* lxii (1955) 82 and 85.

³⁵ *Delton* v (1919) 101 ff., figs. 17, 19, 20

which it has also been compared, are assigned to the sub-Mycenaean period (but these have single handles). The handles on Munich 6157 (PLATE VII*g-h*) are very debased indeed, and it would be hard to say how far the potter was conscious of the underlying animal forms. By the courtesy of the authorities of the Munich Antiken-Sammlungen I am able to publish them in a frontal view, but Schweitzer's illustration *RM* lxii (1955) pl. 36 where they are seen in a three-quarter view, perhaps shows the bull's-head formation more convincingly. One special feature will be noticed. A 'loop' in dark glaze has been painted behind the handle attachment reaching down in two parallel lines on either side of the snout to below the horizontal boundary lines between the upper and lower zones of the pot. This same 'loop' appears on a handle fragment (Agora inv. P 26934) from a very large krater from the Agora. The context, Well N 12: 3, is earliest Protogeometric. Mrs Smithson to whom I am indebted for knowledge of this fragment tells me that too little is preserved to estimate the diameter accurately, but a guess would put it around 0.40 m, that is one-fifth



FIG. 1. Athens. Ker. inv. 532.

smaller than Munich 6157. Other details from a drawing she has sent me, suggest a fairly close relationship between these two kraters. The snout of the handle-fragment is considerably upturned, and in this respect may be compared to the snout of a krateriskos fragment, Agora P 17251 (PLATE VII*d*), from Well L 11: 1 (also a very early Protogeometric context). A new fragment from a similarly early context, P 26925, Well J 14: 2, also has the 'loop' already mentioned, but this time it is closed, i.e. it runs all round the snout. The snout in profile is rather flat (even allowing for the tip having worn away). In this respect it is perhaps more like the krateriskos from a very early Kerameikos grave, Inv. 532 (*Ker.* i pl. 63), whose horned-head according to Mrs Smithson who has recently handled it, is not very convincing viewed head-on. But it is interesting to note that these handles have been referred back to Mycenaean times.³⁶ This little vase is from Grave I and is therefore very early indeed. As can be seen from my illustration (fig. 1) it has the 'closed loop'. This feature also occurs on Bronceer's fountain fragment, so would appear to be a late Mycenaean tradition.³⁷

³⁶ *Ker.* i 143, n. 2; pl. 63. The reference to Furtwangler and Loschke *op. cit.* pl. 44, 75, is to a very small drawing. Is this meant to illustrate a general type of Mycenaean vase (and if so where are other examples) or is it meant to illustrate the Warrior Vase?

³⁷ Mrs Smithson has kindly sent me a drawing of this fragment, since the 'loop' is not easily discernible

in Bronceer's illustration. She has pointed out to me that this 'loop' is very much like the loop connecting the false and true spout on late Mycenaean and Submycenaean stirrup jugs, and therefore more probably a survival of a general Mycenaean convention than something specifically associated with boucrania. The 'open' variety persists into Geometric times, e.g. Athens 216 (PLATE VIII*e*).

From these very early examples we can now pass on to two amphorae from the Kerameikos, from graves south of Eridanos. I am able to publish frontal views of their handles through the kindness of Dr Ohly. They are *Ker.* i pl. 55, Inv. 569 and *Ker.* iv pl. 10, Inv. 2027 (PLATE VIIIa-b). Of Inv. 569 Desborough says that it is the first Protogeometric amphora to show the double-handles, and this with some reason, since it is larger than most.³⁸ Whether a double-handle could really facilitate the lifting or carrying of a largish pot, I feel to be debatable. It would appear to be distinctly more difficult to catch hold of since the handles lie so close to the body of the vase. But I must admit that of all such handles known to me, this one has the least claim to be considered a derivative bull's-head. There is really no attempt to suggest that the central member is a muzzle. Yet I find it difficult to reject it altogether. In the case of Inv. 2027 the modelling is equally perfunctory, but an attempt has been made to indicate the outline of the snout in glaze paint. If a gap of some 4,000 years is no obstacle, these handles can be compared to a schematised bull's head formed by a combination of relief and incision on a pottery fragment from Hacilar IV (Late Neolithic 5590, \pm 180, B.C.).³⁹

This vase (Inv. 2027) is one of the last in Desborough's series of Attic Protogeometric belly-handled amphorae, very close to the transition to Geometric.⁴⁰ Also late in the series, but pure Protogeometric in style is Agora P 6685, a very large fragmentary belly-handled amphora,⁴¹ the handle unfortunately broken away at the bridge of the nose so that it is not possible to say how realistic the snout was, but the decoration is exactly like P 17251. The very sparse formation and decoration of the handles on these Protogeometric vases accords with the sober character of the general style. As we glide into early Geometric, we shall find the horns and muzzle enhanced with barrings and hatchings and other forms of geometric decoration.

Before proceeding to the Protogeometric evidence from Crete, we can add from Thessaly a set of standed kraters from Marmariani; eight out of the eighteen appear to have very debased horned-head handles,⁴² and these with one exception have a lower foot than those fitted with strap handles. Knowing these kraters only from photographs (all but one having the handles in profile), there is little I can do beyond drawing attention to them, and to the statement made by Heurtley and Skeat that the Protogeometric style of Marmariani is Mycenaean in essentials.⁴³ There are also two in the Volos museum from Kapakli.⁴⁴

There is also a very large belly-handled amphora from the Agora, P 14819, which is of uncertain fabric, and while Protogeometric in style, the date cannot be guaranteed. The handle and snout are solidly glazed, somewhat as on Athens 824^v (PLATE VII f), but here the head is reserved, though heavily backed with glaze. Athens 824^v is from Thera which Mrs Smithson tells me is a good possibility as a fabric for P 14819. I owe my knowledge of this vase entirely to her.

The vases assignable to the Protogeometric period that are known to me from Crete come in the main from Knossos and its immediate neighbourhood, in particular from the excavations at Fortetsa.⁴⁵ Otherwise, I only know a very interesting early piece from Karphi.⁴⁶ This is a large standed krater with a very debased bull's-head handle (illustrated

³⁸ Desborough, *PP* 22.

³⁹ *ILN* 8 4 61, 591, fig. 24.

⁴⁰ Desborough, *PP* 26.

⁴¹ Desborough, *PP* 30 and information from Mrs Smithson.

⁴² *BSA* xxxi (1930-31) 30 ff. pls. x and xi and fig. 13, nos. 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150. Desborough, *PP* 142, pl. 23.

⁴³ *BSA* xxxi (1930-31) 49. For the possibility that a Protogeometric style arose in Thessaly independently of Athens, see Desborough, *The Mycenaeans and their*

Successors, 158 and Verdhelis, *ὁ Προτογεωμετρικὸς Πρωτόμοδος τῆς Θεσσαλίας*: 49 ff.

⁴⁴ Verdhelis, *op. cit.*, pl. 7, 43 and 44.

⁴⁵ Brock, *Fortetsa* (1957).

⁴⁶ M. Seiradaki, *BSA* lv (1960) 22 pl. 9 c and f. There are also moulded goats' or bulls' heads on two sherds, *op. cit.*, pl. 12a, too small to be assigned to any shape, and not, in my view, necessarily to be intended as handles. These may be compared to the formations already cited from Geoi Tepe: Burton-Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. xiii, no. 25 and pl. x, no. 1045.

in three-quarter view). Mrs Seiradaki compares this pot, as regards shape, size, and character of handles (albeit not suggesting they represent bull's-heads) to the Marmariani kraters already mentioned. She also compares it to the Warrior Vase, though I am not certain whether a comparison of the handles is actually intended.⁴⁷

This vase is important for our purpose because it is so early, Karphi having been deserted before 900 B.C. Mrs Seiradaki says, moreover, that it may be contemporary also with the 'Horseman' krater from Mouliana.⁴⁸ If this is accepted, and if the Karphi krater handles are accepted as derivative ox-heads, this vase gives us a sort of 'missing link' for the dark ages. The objects found at Karphi can be dated with certainty, according to the excavators, between 1100 and 900 B.C.⁴⁹ Pendlebury points out the absurdity of describing any of these finds as Protogeometric⁵⁰ since only one or two sherds that are Protogeometric in style have been found. There being objections to the applicability there of the term sub-Minoan, he uses the phrase 'Intermediate Period' for the dark centuries that followed the break-up of the Bronze Age. If the Karphi krater is really contemporary with the Mouliana krater, it may belong nearer to the beginning of its occupation period than to the end. But as I am not competent to judge of this, and to avoid too many categories, I have for convenience included it among my Cretan Protogeometric examples. The rest of these range from Middle Protogeometric to Protogeometric B, that is, according to Brock's dating from 920-820 B.C. Pithoi, amphorae and standed kraters are represented. The earliest is a round-bellied pithos.⁵¹ The bull's head on this vase is painted solidly in black and the formation, judged from the profile illustration, is primitive. Three others, all from Fortetsa, and described with the foregoing as 'necked pithoi' (Brock retaining the name given by Payne) are described as Protogeometric B, that is, according to the excavator's dating, 850-820 B.C.⁵² Of the two from the same tomb, 1016 is distinctly uncouth, the large, clumsy horned-head handles painted black on a reserved panel; 1029 is slightly more careful, and the horns are barred, the barring reaching at least as far down as the broad belly stripe. 691 has a rather small formation, set high on the shoulder, as on a number of round-bellied grave amphorae from Thera, to be mentioned later.

With two standed kraters, a krateriskos and three amphorae we are in a sort of no-man's land between Protogeometric B and earliest Geometric.⁵³ Boardman describes the krater from Hagios Ioannis as Protogeometric B and while mentioning the handles does not refer to bulls'-heads, but they seem to me to qualify. The one from Knossos he mentions as a later Knossian example of the shape. It is partly restored and may perhaps not be accepted. The Oxford krateriskos is very much restored, only half of one handle being original.

The three amphorae are all from Fortetsa, two coming from the same tomb.⁵⁴ 269 is described by the excavator as very early Geometric and an import, probably Cycladic rather than Attic. Though the illustration shows the handles only in profile I think that the horned-head formation is fairly clear. The illustration of 301, described as a Cretan imitation of the type of Attic vase from which 269 ultimately derives,⁵⁵ scarcely shows the format of the handles, but reveals that they were barred. The strange 339, described as Protogeometric B is also a Cretan imitation of Attic. The handles are low set, with the horns barred and a very pronounced snout. The excavator thinks its Attic prototype is probably not dateable before 800 B.C.

The evidence from this rather limited material if, as I think, conclusive, is nevertheless

⁴⁷ Seiradaki, *op. cit.*, 22, n. 54.

⁴⁸ *AE* 1964 pl. iii.

⁴⁹ Pendlebury, *BSA* xxxviii (1937-8) 136.

⁵⁰ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, 134.

⁵¹ *Fortetsa* 222 pl. 16 = Desborough, *PP* pl. 31.

⁵² *Fortetsa* 1016 pl. 60 p. 93; 1029 pl. 60 p. 94; 691 pl. 40 p. 147.

⁵³ *BSA* lv (1960) 130, pl. 31, Tomb I no. 11, from Hagios Ioannis; *BSA* xxix (1927-8) 247 pl. vii, 4, from Knossos; Oxford 1927. 4611; *CVA* ii (ix) 1 (381) 11.

⁵⁴ *Fortetsa* 269 pl. 19 p. 32 (Cycladic?); 301 pl. 19 p. 33; 339 pl. 24 p. 36.

⁵⁵ *Fortetsa* 31.

best expressed negatively. We can say that potters from several different localities whose work has been assigned to Protogeometric periods, have not entirely lost the habit of occasionally adopting a very debased ox-head as a handle formation. We can also surmise that if we had more Protogeometric kraters, there might be more such handles. We are dealing here with a 'holding operation', almost a tactical retreat. The following lists of Protogeometric examples make no pretence of being complete.

ATTIC PROTOGEOMETRIC

Kraters

Munich 6157, *CVI* iii (ix) pl. 103 (385) and 104 (386) 1-2; PLATE VII*g-h*
 Agora P 26934 Well N 12: 3 (fragmentary)
 Agora P 26925 Well J 14: 2 (fragmentary)

Krateriskoi

Ker. Inv. 532 *Ker.* i pl. 63
 Agora P 17251 Well L 11: 1; PLATE VII*d*

Amphorae

Ker. Inv. 569, *Ker.* i pl. 55 (early); PLATE VIII*a*
 Ker. Inv. 2027 *Ker.* iv pl. 10 (late); PLATE VIII*b*
 Agora P 6685 (very large, damaged)

ISLAND PROTOGEOMETRIC

Belly-handled amphora, very large, possibly Theran
 Agora P 14189

Neck amphora, presumed Theran

AM xxviii (1903) 174 pl. xxii, 2; Desborough, *PP.* 31

CRETAN PROTOGEOMETRIC

Standed krater, very early, before 900 B.C., not really to be called P.G., see my text.
BSA lv (1960) 22 pl. ix e, f (from Karphi)

Pithos with lid, described by excavator as Middle Protogeometric and dated 920-870 B.C.
Fortetsa 222 pl. 16

Amphorae

Fortetsa 301 pl. 19 (described as late Protogeometric and dated 870-850 B.C.)
Fortetsa 339 pl. 24 (described as Protogeometric B and dated 850-820 B.C.)
Fortetsa 1400 pl. 106 (miniature; described as Late Protogeometric A or Proto-geometric B)

Necked Pithoi

Fortetsa 1016 pl. 60 p. 93 (described as Protogeometric B)
Fortetsa 1029 pl. 60 p. 94 (described as Protogeometric B)
Fortetsa 691 pl. 40 pp. 147 and 61 (described as Protogeometric B)

PROTOGEOMETRIC B OR EARLIEST GEOMETRIC

Standed kraters

BSA lv (1960) 130, pl. 31 (from Hagios Joannis)

BSA xxix (1927-8) 247, pl. 7.4 (from Knossos)

Krateriskos

Oxford 1927.4611 *CV4* ii (ix) pl. 1 (381) 11

Amphorae

Fortetsa 269 pl. 19 p. 32 (Cycladic?)

Fortetsa 301 pl. 19 p. 33

Fortetsa 339 pl. 24 p. 36

In the geometric period, the material of course is far more abundant, and the character of the handles usually more interesting. In general, there is a dearth of illustrations showing them frontally. The lists that I submit make no pretence at being complete, and contain many examples that I only know from photographs. We can begin with Attic Geometric.

Most of the examples are from funeral vases, large standed-kraters or neck-amphorae. Our handles are less common on the smaller vases. Many belong to what is called the Dipylon Group,⁵⁶ within which there has been a further subdivision into workshops, and attributions to individual hands. All the kraters in Davison's Dipylon Group list have our handles, except some that are so fragmentary that no parts of the handles have been preserved, making it unjustifiable to include them. The most notable handles are to be seen in the National Museum at Athens, and in the Louvre. The Louvre Corpus illustrates several of the handles frontally. The handles on three important standed kraters in New York are much restored. On 34.11.2 one pair of handles is entirely restored in plaster, and of the other, while part of both horns is genuine, the junction is modern, as may be clearly seen in *Antike Kunst* iv (1961) pl. 17, 3 and 4; see also *MMA Bull.* xxix (1934) 169, n. 1.⁵⁷ On 14.130.14 (Davison fig. 26) one horn is ancient and enough remains of the muzzle to show that it conforms to a normal formula and is very like Athens 804 (PLATE VIIIc). On 14.130.15 (Davison fig. 139), here PLATE VIII d, only a part of the muzzle has been preserved. It is rather elaborately decorated with various patterns.

Of the kraters assigned to the Dipylon Group,⁵⁸ Louvre A 527 has the most distinctive handles, chevrons on the lower part of the muzzle, horizontal lines to demarcate the forehead and a rosette on its summit. The handle on Louvre A 552 may have been similar, but is very defective.

Apart from this important group there is the upper part of a krater from Eleusis,⁵⁹ and a small one from an Agora well, Agora P 21706, described as having 'goat-head' handles.⁶⁰ The horns are decorated right across with dots, the muzzle outlined and barred.

Turning to Attic neck-amphorae, my earliest example, from the Kerameikos (*Ker.* v pl. 46, Inv. 2146), is dated to the first half of the ninth century and is a fine careful piece, but

⁵⁶ Davison, *Yale Classical Studies* xvi (1961) pl. xvi (referred to hereafter as Davison).

⁵⁷ I am indebted to Mr Brian F. Cook for these references.

⁵⁸ Kraters. Athens 806 Davison, fig. 18, handles modern; Athens 990 (pl. vi, a); Met. Mus. 34.11.2: Davison fig. 138 (handles modern); Met. Mus. 14.130.15: Davison fig. 139; Met. Mus. 14.130.14: Davison fig. 26; Sydney 46.41 (handles much re-

stored; Louvre A517 frag.: *CV4* xi (xviii) pl. 1 (777, 1 and 7; Louvre A522 frag.: *CV4* xi (xviii) pl. 4 (780); Louvre A527 frag.: *CV4* xi (xviii) pl. 2 (778); Louvre A552 frag.: *CV4* xi (xviii) pls. 11-12 (787-8); Dipylon Museum, Ker. 290 Davison fig. 142 (handles much restored).

⁵⁹ *IE* 1808 pl. 3.

⁶⁰ *Hesp.* xxi (1952) 110, pl. 29 a, b; *Hesp.* xxx (1961) 116, K7.

the handles are not illustrated frontally. Another, Inv. 256 (*Ker.* v pl. 47), is later and considerably restored. A fine fragment, Inv. 1214 (*Ker.* v pl. 49), also from the Kerameikos, shows particularly well the careful demarcation of the forehead, and the spring of the horn. From such a piece it can clearly be seen that the restorer of the handles on New York 34.11.2 had not appreciated the character of the forms. Were these handles genuine, they would go a long way towards invalidating my contention that all these handles derive from an animal's head and are not merely twin handles conjoined.

Of the two monumental grave amphorae, Athens 804 and 805 (PLATE VIIb-c), the latter has the finer handles, really splendid examples, showing the same careful brushwork as Kerameikos fragment 1214, and with a palpable swelling at the forehead, altogether a far nobler accessory than the naturalistic prototype on the Warrior Vase. A neat but less ambitious handle appears on Brussels A 1506: *CVA* ii (ii) pl. 1 (54) 1.

We may next consider some neck amphorae listed by Kondoleon.⁶¹ They include Kerameikos Inv. 2146 (already mentioned as my earliest example). They are smallish, rather sober pieces, with the decoration confined to the handle-zone and neck. Athens 216 (PLATE VIIIe) has the old Mycenaean open loop painted on the wall of the vase behind the snout. Others may also have it, but it is not possible to judge of this from the illustrations available. Two rather similar amphorae from Thera, have been classed as Attic imports,⁶² but while such pieces are obviously inspired by Attic, when found on the Cyclades it is now believed that they are of island fabric. They will appear later in my island lists. The dating of these amphorae is also in question, and I will revert to this later.

ATTIC GEOMETRIC

Standed Kraters

- Ker. Inv. 290 *Ker.* v pl. 20; Davison fig. 142
- Ker. Inv. 1255 *Ker.* v pl. 23
- Louvre A 517: *CVA* xi (xviii) pl. 1 (777)
- Louvre A 527: *CVA* xi (xviii) pl. 2 (778)
- Louvre A 522: *CVA* xi (xviii) pl. 4 (780)
- Louvre A 552: *CVA* xi (xviii) pls. 11 (787) and 12 (788)
- Athens 990 Davison fig. 25; PLATE VIIa
- Agora P 21706 *Hesp.* xxx pl. 17
- Eleusis (frag. only) *AE* 1898 pl. 3
- New York 34. 11. 2 Davison fig. 138
- New York 14. 130. 14 Davison fig. 26; PLATE VIIIc
- New York 14. 130. 15 Davison fig. 39; PLATES I-III and VIII d
- Sydney 46. 41 (handles mostly restored)
- Cyprus Museum *AA* lxxviii (1963) 200, fig. 40

*Neck amphorae*⁶³ (* = on Kondoleon's list)

- * Ker. Inv. 2146 *Ker.* v pl. 46
- * Ker. Inv. 1256 *Ker.* v pl. 47
- * Ker. Inv. 1214 *Ker.* v pl. 49 (handle frag. only)
- * Athens Inv. 219: *CVA* i (i) pl. 7 (7) 3
- * Athens Inv. 216: *AJA* xlv (1940) pl. xxiii, 3; PLATE VIIIe
- * Athens Inv. 217: *JdI* xiv (1899) 200 f., 68
- * Eleusis Museum: *JdI* xiv (1899) 200 f., 67
- * Aigina 1327 Kraiker pl. 3, 45
- * Thera HI. 1 *AM* xxviii (1903) 179, pl. xxiv 3 and 7 others similar but only 2 well preserved.

⁶¹ *AE* 1945, 7.

⁶² Johansen, *Acta Arch.* xxviii (1957) 86 8.

⁶³ Mr Coldstream tells me that some of these are Attic and some Cycladic. HI. 1 is probably Attic.

Large neck-amphorae

Athens 804: *CV4* i (i) pl. 8 (8); Davison fig. 1; PLATE VII*b*

Athens 805: *A7A* xlv (1940) pl. 24; Davison fig. 135; PLATE VII*c*

Brussels A 1506: *CV4* ii (ii) pl. 1 (54) 1

Large Pyxis with cover

Munich 6234: *CV4* iii (iii) pl. 105 (387)

Dresden ZV 1995: *AM* xliii (1918) 102, fig. 22

Turning next to the islands, our handles appear on pots that have been ascribed to the fabrics of Thera, Melos, Delos, Naxos and Paros. The greatest number happen to be Thera, and we can begin with this fabric. Earliest is a neck-amphora,⁶⁴ Protogeometric in style but certainly to be dated after the expiry of the Protogeometric style in Attica, though its inspiration derives from it.⁶⁵ The illustration does not permit any discussion of the handles. Next I take three small neck-amphorae, in Athens, the British Museum, and Leiden, clearly all from the same workshop.⁶⁶ The small illustration of the one in Leiden does not show the handles frontally. The handles on Athens 899 (PLATE VII*e*) are very like those on the BM vase. The horns on both are hatched right across, but the muzzle is reserved and marked with a large X. The snout is very upturned and on the BM vase is decorated with a star. If there was something similar originally on Athens 899, it has worn off. On both these vases the sides of the head are painted black and heavily and clumsily outlined in black on the body of the vase. A larger neck amphora is illustrated in *AM* xxviii (1903) 101, pl. iv. Also from Thera come a number of round-bellied grave amphorae, with our handles set high on the shoulders. None of the illustrations shows these handles frontally.

We now revert to Kondoleon's lists. Following the six Attic neck-amphorae already mentioned, and which I have implied are of an early date, he lists a further six of very similar style, but of island provenance, all of which have our handles. To these I have added two more, one of unknown provenance and one from Crete. The decoration on the handle zone of these vases is characterised by metopes containing a circular motif with small stars in the four corners. There was found at Exochi in Crete a fragment from a large belly-handled amphora showing the same scheme of decoration.⁶⁷ This could either be a Cycladic import or a local imitation—most likely the former. But no material from Exochi is earlier than 750 B.C. If we wish with Kondoleon to equate the island series of amphorae with those of Attic manufacture that are usually dated to the ninth century, then we must assume with Johansen that this style lasted on the islands till deep into the eighth century.⁶⁸

I have seen too few of these island vases to be able to offer any useful discussion of the handles. My lists will perhaps be of use to someone who can visit them. That the bull's head formation could remain basic is clear, for instance, from the Naxian neck-amphorae *AE* 1945, 1 ff., figs. 1-3. One might compare this to a handle fragment from a large vase in Ithaca,⁶⁹ where the zoomorphic origin is scarcely discernible. Munich 6166 has the 'open loop'.

⁶⁴ *AM* xxvii (1903) pl. xxiii, 2.

⁶⁵ Desborough, *PP* 31.

⁶⁶ Athens 899: *Thera* ii fig. 344 and *Jdl* xiv (1899) fig. 10; BM 62.2-5.24 (A409): *Thera* ii 144, no. 41; Leiden S. V. L. 8; Brants, pl. v, 10; *Thera* ii 144, no. 2.

⁶⁷ *Acta Arch.* xxviii (1957) 86-8, fig. 144.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 88.

⁶⁹ *BSA* xliii (1948) 74, p. 140, 402 (possibly a Cretan import).

THERAN GEOMETRIC

Three small neck-amphorae

- Athens 899 *Thera* ii fig. 344; PLATE VIIe
 BM A 409 (now 62.2-5.24) *Thera* ii 144, no. 41
 Leiden S. V. L. 8 Brants, pl. v 10; *Thera* ii 144, no. 2

Larger neck amphorae

- AM xxviii (1903) 101 pl. iv, 1 (another similar from same grave but quite broken)

Round grave amphorae with handles set high

- Thera* ii 147 (there are six)
Thera ii 48, fig. 155 and sherds of another
 AM xxviii (1903) pl. vii (Pfuhl lists eight and illustrates three)
 Leiden S. V. L. 4 Brants, pl. v 8
 Athens 824^r, PLATE VIIIf

ISLAND GEOMETRIC

Neck amphorae (* = from Kondoleon's list)

- * *Thera* ii figs. 107 and 379a = K 11 (from Thera)
- * Louvre A 266 Pottier, pl. 10 = K 10 (from Thera)
 Leiden R. O III 68 Brants, pl. viii 55 (prov. unknown)
- * *Delos* xv pl. xlii 1. 14 = K 13
- * Munich 6166: *CVA* iii (iii) pl. 141 (423) 1-2 (from Melos)
- * Sèvres 1419: *CVA* (xiii) pl. 12 (341) 4-5 = K 8 (from Melos)
Fortetsa 269 pl. 19 and p. 32
Thera ii 35, fig. 107

Krater on perforated stand

- Munich A 852 Sieveking, *Die Königliche Vasensammlung zu München* 37, fig. 49
JdI xl (1925) 140 f., 34 (upper half of a krater with bull's-head and support handles)

PRESUMED NAXIAN

Standed Kraters

- Amsterdam, Mus. Scheurleer Inv. 3284: *CVA* i (i) pl. 1 (8) 4 (provenance unknown)
Exochi 106, n. 78 (very frag.)
Delos xv pl. xlv; *BCH* xxxv (1911) 369 figs. 27 and 28, *AE* 1945, 13, fig. 5

Neck amphora

- AE* 1945, figs. 1-3 (from Naxos)

PRESUMED MELIAN

Standed Kraters

- Athens 841: *JdI* xiv (1899) 34, fig. 11; PLATE VIIIIf (from Melos)
 Sèvres 1419. 2: *CVA* (xiii) pl. 12 (341) 1-3 (from Melos)
 Leiden R. O. III 84 Brants, pl. viii, 56 (probably from Melos)

ARGIVE

Small krater without stand

Athens 877: *JdI* xiv (1899) 34, fig. 12 (from Melos)

'PARIAN'?

Amphora

Delos B.4.213 *Delos* xv pls. xviii, xix; *BCH* xxxv (1911) 377, figs. 38 and 39

I do not propose to say much about Cretan geometric. I have not seen any of the vases in question. My list is simply picked out from *Fortetsa*, with a few additions. Of those illustrated in *Fortetsa*, only one early example, 764 on pl. 47, shows the handles frontally. Doro Levi's krater-handle fragments are shown frontally, as also the handles on his two late-geometric fragmentary amphorae. From the very fragmentary handle on a pithos from Knossos (*BSA* xxix (1927-8) 235, fig. 6) it is just possible to see that the muzzle was demarcated from the horns. The pithos illustrated on pl. 8 of the same volume gives a very good frontal view. Our handles are most prevalent in the mature geometric period. I have only found one example on the many elaborately decorated orientalisising pithoi from *Fortetsa*, and it belongs to an early phase, 735-680 B.C., according to Brock's dating.

CRETAN GEOMETRIC

EARLY

Pithoi

From Anopolis. *JdI* xxii (1897) 241, fig. 10 and Desborough, *op. cit.*, 324 (round bodied)

From *Fortetsa*.

Fortetsa 764 pl. 47 (frontal view)

„ 770 pl. 47

MATURE

„ 693 pl. 41

„ 426 pl. 30

„ 837 pl. 50

„ 596 pl. 39

„ 530 pl. 30

„ 512 pl. 30

„ 608 pl. 39

} all have pair of vertical support
handles as well as bull's-head
handle

} much of handles restored

„ 441 pl. 31

„ 423 pl. 31

„ 1391 pl. 79

„ 841 pl. 50

„ 665 pl. 41

„ 642 pl. 41

} all have vertical strap handles
and a round support handle
linking the bull's-head handle
to the rim.

„ 440 pl. 30

„ 867 pl. 53

} support handle but no strap handle
bull's-head handle only

Kraters

From Arkades

Doro Levi, *Annuario della R. Scuola* x-xii (1931) 432, fig. 580 (two fine handle fragments)

LATE

- From Fortetsa. Lidded pithos on high foot 1424 pl. 80
 From Vrokastro. Neck amphora, E. Hall, *Vrokastro* 100, fig. 54
 From Kavousi. Two fragmentary neck amphorae, D. Levi, *op. cit.*, 563, fig. 620
 From Knossos.
 Neckless lidded pithoi
 Inv. 6401: *BSA* xxix (1927-8) 236, fig. 6 (handle very fragmentary)
 Inv. 6395: *BSA* xxix (1927-8) 238, pl. viii 8
 From Arkades

Neck amphorae

1. *JdI* xiv (1899) 39, fig. 21; D. Levi, *op. cit.*, 590, fig. 639; D. Levi, *Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete* 19, pl. iii, 3
2. D. Levi, *Annuario*, 371, fig. 487

EARLY ORIENTALISING

Lidded Pithos

- Fortetsa* 1402 pl. 87; Doro Levi, *Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete* pl. vii, 1

Oenochoe with plastic deer's head

- From Arkades
Annuario x-xii (1931) 148, fig. 147; Doro Levi, *op. cit.*, pl. xxii, 3

Our survey takes us now eastwards to Rhodes. I have two possible examples of our handles on vases of Protogeometric style, both neck-amphorae.⁷⁰ The illustration that shows the handle in frontal view is not very convincing, and the other, seen from above, does not allow of much discussion. They both appear to be painted black. Of the Geometric period I know of two standed kraters and three amphorae.

Standed kraters

- BM* 61.4-25.51 (A 430) *Acta Arch.* xxviii (1957) fig. 203 (from Camiros)
 Rhodes Inv. 14734, *Clara Rhodos* vi 193, fig. 233

Neck amphorae

- Clara Rhodos* viii 162, fig. 149 (from Ialysos)
 Inv. 12.513 *Clara Rhodos* iv, 350, fig. 394; *CTA* i (ix) pl. 1 (406) 1 (from Camiros)
 Inv. 12.512 *Clara Rhodos* iv, 350, fig. 393; *CTA* i (ix) pl. 1 (406) 2

The amphora from Ialysos may be early.⁷¹ It has the old handle streamers. The other two are smaller, rougher and very provincial-looking. In addition to the bull's-head handle, they have vertical handles from the shoulder to about the middle of the neck. They are described in the *Corpus* as of Cypriote style. The two standed kraters are of good quality. 14734 has a notable decoration, but I cannot say whether the handles are of special interest.

BM 61.4-25.51 (A 430) has the horns and muzzle painted black, and while the muzzle is long, reaching down lower than the horns, it is fairly carefully modelled, and the end of the

⁷⁰ *Clara Rhodos* vi, 204, fig. 244 and *Clara Rhodos* ix
 fig. 133.

⁷¹ Desborough, *PP* 35.

snout cut off short. The general formation is sparse, but careful and well-planned. This vase is mentioned by J. N. Coldstream in his review of Exochi (*JHS* lxxx (1960) 240) as being a fairly close imitation of Attic Middle Geometric.

A standed krater from Myrina, once in the collection of the French School at Athens, was classed as Rhodian when published in 1912,⁷² but is better described as Æolic. Its whereabouts is now not known to me.⁷³

Before considering Bœotia, I mention a few oddments. From Ithaca two large vases, probably pithoi, seem to have our handles.⁷⁴ The possibility is suggested that they might be Cretan imports. Only one is illustrated. The formation is very debased.

From sites in Etruria there are twelve examples of vases with our handles, of late geometric style. All are published in Åkerström *Die geometrische Stil in Italiens*, hereafter referred to as Åkerström. Some had previously appeared in Montelius *Die vorklassische Chronologie Italiens*, hereafter referred to as Montelius. I have numbered them for convenience.

Wide-mouthed standed kraters

	<i>Provenance</i>
1. Åkerström 61 pl. 11, 4	Bisenzio
2. „ 61 pl. 11, 6	„
3. „ 59 pl. 14, 1, 1a	„
4. „ 59 pl. 14, 4	„
5. „ 57 pl. 12, 3; <i>N. Sc.</i> 1928, 445 pl. ix	„
6. „ 97 pl. 27, 5 = Montelius 66, pl. xxxvi, 1	„
7. „ 97 pl. 27, 7	„
8. „ 97 pl. 27, 6; <i>JRS</i> xxv (1935) 131, pl. xx, C2	Chiusi

Bell-shaped standed krater

9. Åkerström 59 pl. 14, 2, 2a

Amphorae on high feet (some with lids)

10. Åkerström 72 pl. 17, 4, 6 = Montelius 66 pl. xxxvi 10, also Blakeway <i>JRS</i> xxv (1935) 130, n. 3; pl. xx, A2	Vulei
11. Åkerström 72 pl. 18, 1, 2 = Montelius pl. xxxvi 7, also Blakeway, <i>op. cit.</i> , pl. xx A1	„
12. Åkerström 72 pl. 18, 3, 4	„

Most of the above cited illustrations only show the handles in profile, and some are not very good. That the double handles are in every case actually conjoined, cannot from study of the illustrations only, be an absolute certainty, but I take it as probable. From frontal views of the handles of nos. 5 and 9 (for 5 see the illustration in *N. Sc.*) it will be seen that the formation is very debased. But Paribeni (*N. Sc.*, 1928, 454) referred the handles of no. 5 to a goat's-head.

The horned-head origin is quite clear on nos. 10 and 11, and presumably also on no. 12, of which I have no frontal view. A frontal view of no. 10 is only available in Montelius. There is a lozenge-shaped lattice pattern in the centre of the snout. The origin is clear, but presumably unrealised by the potter. These pieces have all been considered as deriving from Greek prototypes, and as closest in style to Bœotian-Cycladic ware. Payne and Blakeway thought that nos. 10 and 11 were actual Greek imports. No. 12 they did not know. Åkerström in his more recent appraisal, reckons that nos. 10 and 11, on the evidence

⁷² *BCH* xxxvi (1912) 507, pls. ix and x.

⁷⁴ Robertson, *BSA* xliii (1948) 72, nos. 402, 403,

⁷³ I am much beholden to the authorities of the French School at Athens for very kindly searching for this vase.
pl. 40.

of the clay used, are the work of a Greek potter established in Etruria, but concedes that no. 12 might perhaps have come from Greece.

The evidence from Bœotia is not impressive. I know of no example of our handles on any vase of Protogeometric style. In any case Bœotia has yielded few of these. A few geometric can be cited, but of all provincial fabrics known to me, the Bœotian have the least convincing handles. It would often be difficult to maintain that the potter, in forming the handle complex had any notion that this had once represented an animal's head.⁷⁵ There is a tendency for the junction of the arches to take the form of a roughly shaped rectangle. The whole formation may be peppered with dots. Munich 2234 shows another form of debasement; the two arches appear to have been affixed separately and the junction has no significance.

BŒOTIAN GEOMETRIC

Standed krater with support handle

Munich 2333 Sieveking, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, 406 (from Bœotia)

Krater with fenestrated foot

Munich A 852 Sieveking, *op. cit.*, 37, fig. 49

Neck amphorae

Copenhagen Inv. 7314 *CVA* ii (ii) pl. 68 (69) 2a-b

The bull's-head handles, which were hatched, are almost entirely missing. The vase is round bellied.

Munich 2234 Sieveking, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, 400

Lack of frontal illustrations and mutilation of handles on Copenhagen 7314 preclude further comment.

There is, however, a group of neck-amphorae and a round-bodied krater, of later date and somewhat orientalising style, on some of which the bull's head origin is more convincing.

Neck amphorae

Athens 5893 (220) Collignon-Couve, pl. xix, 462 (from near Thebes); Hampe,

Frühgriechische Sagenbildern, pl. 18, 1, p. 21, v 1; PLATE VIIIg

Copenhagen *CVA* ii (ii) pl. 68 (69) 1a-b (from Thebes); Hampe, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, 2, p. 21, v 2

Athens 15300 Hampe, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, 3, p. 21, v 3

Nauplia Museum Johansen *Vases Sicyoniens* 33, fig. 13 (from Tiryns)

Nauplia Museum? *Tiryns* i pl. xx, 4 (from Tiryns)

Heidelberg, Hampe, pl. 19, p. 23, v 15

Univ. of Michigan *CVA* i (iii) pl. 12 (97) 1a-b

Round-bodied Krater on low fenestrated foot

Athens 237 Collignon-Couve, pl. xix, 463 (from Thebes)

JdI iii (1888) 352, fig. 30

Standed ovoid Krater

Athens 228, Collignon-Couve, p. 111, 465; *BCH* xxii (1898) 274, fig. 3; *JdI* xiv (1899)

82, fig. 37; PLATE VIIIh (from Thebes)

The most useful of these illustrations are of Athens 237 (*JdI* iii (1888) 352, fig. 30), which show the handles in three-quarter view, and of the neck-amphora in Michigan in the *CVA*.

⁷⁵ E.g. Athens 15300 and Univ. of Michigan *CVA* i (iii) pl. 12 (97) 1.

Here the handle is shown frontally, and features the rectangular 'head', if head it be. The way in which it is demarcated from the horns inclines me to believe that it is. On the well-known Athens 5893 (220), PLATE VIIIg, the head is roughly triangular in shape and a slight moulding of the forehead can be felt. This vase has been dated by comparison with engraved Bœotian fibulae and with Proto-Attic ceramic, to around 700 B.C. Hampe suggests the first quarter of the sixth century for the vase in Copenhagen, and the first third for Athens 15300. Such dating is later than anything we have so far considered, except on the Cypriote vases, and leads us on to consider how far it may be claimed that the tradition of the bull's-head handle survives into the seventh and sixth centuries.⁷⁶

I think that the well-known series of 'Melian' amphorae leaves the question in no doubt.⁷⁷ My illustration of the handle of the Herakles vase, Athens 354 (PLATE IXa) shows the old bull's-head formation quite clearly. All these 'Melian' vases have eyes beneath the handle-arches, leading Conze (1862) to think of the arches as eyebrows. Penoyre, however, called them goat-handles.⁷⁸ With one exception all are neatly decorated with chevrons, the lower part of the muzzle differentiated by horizontal bars. Alone Athens 911 has heavy billets (PLATE IXb). The basis for the dating of these 'Melian' vases is complex and a discussion would be beyond the scope of this paper. It will suffice to remember that Boardman suggests that the series probably flourished from about 630-580 B.C. or even later.⁷⁹

'MELIAN' ORIENTALISING

Kraters

Thasos, Ghali-Kahil, *Études Thasiennes* vii, pl. vi, 21 and 22 (two fine fragments)

Amphorae

Athens 912, Conze, *Melische Thongefässe*, pl. 1 and 2; Pfuhl, *MuZ* iii, fig. 105; Arias, Hirmer, Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase-Painting*, pl. 23

Athens 911, Conze, *op. cit.*, pls. 3-4; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 108; Arias, *op. cit.*, pls. 22 and 23a; PLATE IXb

Athens 914, *JdI* ii (1887) pl. 12

Athens 354, *AE* 1894, pls. 12-14; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, figs. 109 and 110; PLATE IXa

British School at Athens, *JHS* xxii (1902) 69, pl. 5

Athens 913, Conze, *op. cit.*, pl. v and title page

It will be convenient here to consider the evidence from Eretria. I use Boardman's article, *Pottery from Eretria* (*BSA* xlvii (1952)), as a framework.

Fragments of footed kraters of geometric style appear sometimes to show double handles, but I know of no illustrations.⁸⁰ The later series of grave amphorae, excavated by Kourounotes in 1897, are divided for convenience by Boardman into five groups. Groups A and B are described as sub-geometric. No firm dating is insisted on, but the earliest pieces are thought not to be much, if at all, earlier than 700 B.C. From this sub-geometric series two examples concern us.

⁷⁶ I am not here including Cyprus, where, as already shown, a quite naturalistic rendering of the animal-head handles appears in the period Bichrome IV, i.e. about 700 B.C. according to the Swedish dating.

⁷⁷ This could not perhaps have been maintained until quite recently from illustrations of these vases, since the older reproductions are not from photographs and a further simplification of the handle

formation seems to take place when it is reproduced in a drawing, with a rather deceptive result. But see Arias, Hirmer, Shefton, *History of Greek Vase Painting*, pls. 22 and 23.

⁷⁸ *JHS* xxii (1902) 68.

⁷⁹ Boardman, *BSA* xlvii (1952) 23-26 and *Island Gems* 90 where an earlier upper date is suggested.

⁸⁰ Boardman, *op. cit.*, 6.

ERETRIAN

Groups A and B, Sub-geometric

Grave amphorae

Athens Apotheke. *BSA* xlvii (1952) 19, AI

Athens 12078. *AE* 1903, 29, fig. 11; *BSA, op. cit.*, 19, BI

From the orientalisising series, Group C, are several examples of double handles. But none of these is conjoined and so they do not concern us.⁸¹ A word of warning. From a profile illustration it is possible to misinterpret the handle formation. I fancied that C2 Athens 12128 (*BSA* xlvii (1952) pl. 5), had our type of double handle, but Mr Popham has kindly checked for me that the arches are separated. From the sixth-century group there are also three examples.

Group D, sixth century

Athens 12436⁷ D1 *BSA* xlvii (1952) pl. 8; PLATE IXc

Athens 12436² D4 *BSA* xlvii (1952) pl. 8

Athens 12436⁵ D5 *BSA* xlvii (1952) p. 29; PLATE IXd

It may seem fanciful to see in these rudimentary formations any persistence of the old bull's-head formula. But I illustrate them for consideration.

Referring back to the aforementioned cases where the two handle arches are completely separated (e.g. Athens 12077, PLATE IXe) the tempting conclusion that the divided version developed from the conjoined, has to be resisted, since these 'Group C' amphorae are all earlier than those contained in Group D, which Boardman suggests belong probably to the opening decades of the sixth century.

If my contention that the old Mycenaean bull's-head handle formation can be traced through the centuries to the point that we have reached, there will not, I think, be any rejection of the 'Melian' examples. With Proto-Attic the case is not perhaps so obvious. The important collection in Berlin from the so-called 'Aegina Find', dating from the end of the eighth century to the beginning of the second half of the seventh, first published in 1938, consists largely of vases made up from fragments. In many cases only the stumps of the handles remain. Some have been restored as double-arched, e.g. Berlin A 30 *CV*A i (ii) pl. 16 (62) 3, but such examples, with the central member lacking, can hardly be pressed as evidence.

The use of drawings for illustration of the Aigisthus vase, Berlin A 32 *CV*A i (ii) pls. 20 (66) and 21 (67), showing the handles in frontal view, has resulted in a certain formalisation and symmetrical enhancement of the handles. From this version a bull's-head origin could not be easily accepted. I have not seen this vase. But the photographic reproduction *CV*A i (ii) pls. 18 (64) and 19 (65) gives a very different impression, the impression, in my view, of an uncouth boucranium.⁸² The same holds good for the handles of a slightly smaller krater of comparable shape (egg-shaped, on a fenestrated foot) Cambridge Fitzwilliam G. R. 7.1925 (PLATE IXf) and for those on a round-bodied krater, Munich 6090. The earlier kotyle-krater, Munich 6077, if accepted, is a good example of the potter's insouciance for origins. Wriggling snakes ornament the horns, and continue down the muzzle in two parallel lines. The *reductio ad absurdum*.

⁸¹ Boardman, *op. cit.*, 26 ff. C2 Athens 12128; C4 Athens 12077 (PLATE IXc); C6 Athens 12129.

⁸² Here I say 'boucranium' advisedly but without

pressing the point. If these handles do convey any feeling of an underlying animal-head form, they suggest a horned skull, Napp's 'Nacktschadel'.

PROTO-ATTIC

Standed Krateriskoi

Berlin A 12 *CVA* i (ii) pl. 6 (52) 3-4

Berlin A 13 *CVA* i (ii) pl. 7 (53) 1 (fragmentary)

Berlin A 37 *CVA* i (ii) pl. 27 (73) 2-3

Krateriskos fragment

Berlin A 38 *CVA* i (ii) pl. 27 (73) 4

Round-bodied standed krater

Berlin A 18 *CVA* i (ii) pl. 8 (74) 2

Kotyle-Krater

Munich 6077 *CVA* iii (ix) pl. 130 (412) 1-2

Krater

Munich 6090 *CVA* iii (ix) pl. 131 (413) 2, pl. 132 (414) 1, pl. 133 (415) 3

Standed ovoid Kraters

Cambridge Fitzwilliam G. R. 7.1925. *CVA* i (vi) pl. 2 (240) 7; PLATE IXf

Berlin A 29 *CVA* i (ii) pl. 14 (60) 2

Berlin A 32 *CVA* i (ii) pl. 18 (64) 2, pl. 19 (65) 1-2, *cf.* pls. 20-21 (66-67)

It is obvious that I have only skimmed the surface of my subject. There must be countless more examples of these handles in many localities.⁸³ I have, moreover, done no more than allude to the question of their survival, or possibly revival, in Cyprus in the original Mycenaean form. This is a feature of great interest that others must elucidate.

Oxford.

NOËL R. OAKESHOTT.

⁸³ There is a very interesting example in the Museum at Eleusis, unnumbered and unlabelled when I heard of it in 1961, and I do not know the shape. The style was described as Geometric. The muzzle is splayed out and decorated with a hatched swastika. Behind it, where it meets and joins the wall of the vase, is a raised square rectangle. Perhaps compare a late eighth century Urartian bronze cauldron, decorated with bulls' heads which are

affixed to a plaque that is riveted onto the bowl (Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, pl. 30).

Mrs Ure has just sent me some particulars and a sketch of a geometric standed krater seen in the Musée de Cherbourg in 1934, having our handles (joined to the rim by support handles). This vase is perhaps Melian, *cf.* Sèvres 1419.2, *CVA* (xiii) pl. 12 (541) 1-3.

GREEK EXPRESSIONS OF THANKS

THE purpose of this article is to examine the meaning and function of certain expressions used for conveying thanks in Greek. It does not pretend to be an exhaustive survey of all the expressions which are used in this connexion, but is restricted in scope to the Greek of the classical period and to those expressions which were in common use *in conversation* to convey thanks when an offer, gift, etc., was being accepted or declined. These expressions it will be convenient to call 'responsive formulae'.

The ordinary expressions for feeling or conveying thanks combine *χάριν* with a verb such as *εἰδέναι* or *ἔχειν*, but as readers of Greek literature will have become aware, if only subconsciously, these combinations are not to be found used responsively in the prose or verse of the classical period. Before this sweeping generalisation provokes outright contradiction, let it be freely admitted that cases of the responsive use do exist. There is a case of responsive *χάριν ἔχειν* in Plat. *Prot.* 328d, ὦ παῖ Ἀπολλοδώρου, ὡς χάριν σοι ἔχω ὅτι προὔτρεψάς με ὧδε ἀφικέσθαι, and a diligent search would probably produce a few more examples of the same sort. But one or two swallows will not make a spring; and our bird in the *Protagoras* will appear on closer inspection to be a bird of dubious plumage. Socrates' words of gratitude, nominally addressed to Hippocrates, are directed uncringingly towards the ears of Protagoras, to compliment the great man for the *ἐπίδειξις* on the teachability of virtue which he has just delivered. The tone is effusive and, of course, heavily charged with irony in the Socratic manner. Here we may be sure that Plato, far from reproducing the standard usage of ordinary conversation, has deliberately abandoned it in favour of something more formal, which will contribute to the special effect. Other factors which point in the same direction are the formal address ὦ παῖ Ἀπολλοδώρου, the exclamatory ὡς and the replacement of the natural *δεῦρο* with ὧδε, which had dignified precedents in the epic and the choral odes of tragedy. Whether there exist any straightforward, non-ironic instances of responsive *χάριν ἔχειν* etc. in the Platonic dialogues I do not know; I have not succeeded in finding any in the more obvious places, but, for lack of a concordance, must allow for the possibility. Nevertheless, if such was the established idiom at Athens, it would surely have left its mark on tragedy or on Old or New Comedy; and no examples of the responsive use are cited by *LSJ*⁹ or the other available 'aids' for any of the authors concerned.

So much, probably, would be generally conceded. And if we asked what were the responsive formulae of thanks, we should find a fair measure of agreement again, that the relevant expressions are *καλῶς*, *κάλλιστα ἔχει* and *αἰνῶ*, *ἐπαινῶ*, *ἐπήνεσα*, etc. Xanthias' refusal of an invitation to dinner with *κάλλιστ', ἐπαινῶ* in Ar. *Frogs* 508 is familiar to everybody. It is when we ask what precisely these formulae meant and how they operated that the consensus of opinion amongst the commentators, at least, begins to evaporate. Here there is much confusion and some outright error, as we may see by taking a preliminary sample of two of our more substantial authorities, *LSJ*⁹ and Wilamowitz.

If we ask the lexicon the question, what was the Greek for 'Thank you', it will supply us with several formulae for grateful refusal, viz. *αἰνῶ*, *ἐπαινῶ*, *καλῶς*, *κάλλιστα* [*ἔχει μοι*], and one verb for grateful acceptance, *αἰνεῖν*. For the refusal formulae it has a fairly wide repertoire of examples, but for the acceptance formula offers only Eur. *Suppl.* 388-9. *κἂν μὲν θέλωσιν, αἰνέσας παλίσσυντος|στείχε*. In this latter case let it be conceded that Cobet's correction *θέλωσιν, αἰνέσας* for the manuscripts' *θέλωσ' αἰνέσαι* may well be right; and let it be conceded that *αἰνέσας*, though not itself a case of the responsive use, testifies to the feasibility of a responsive *αἰνῶ*. Yet, we may ask, where are all the other cases of responsive *αἰνῶ*? And, since we may reasonably expect to find a close correspondence in sense between *αἰνεῖν* and *ἐπαινεῖν* for acceptance as for refusal, where are the examples of responsive *ἐπαινεῖν* for acceptance? Or, if *ἐπαινῶ* was reserved for refusals, what formulae were used for accept-

ance? For no one will believe that the Greeks had a natural propensity for refusing gifts or for maintaining a stony silence when they accepted them.

If we turn away to Wilamowitz for guidance we shall not fare much better. In his commentary on Eur. *Her.* 275 he gives the formulae of refusal as αἰνῶ, ἐπαινῶ, ἐπήνεσα, καλῶς λέγεις, κάλλιστα and the formulae of acceptance as εὖ σοι γένοιτο and εὐδαιμονοίης ('Danke ja'). Here for refusal we have a list which differs in one item from LSJ⁹, καλῶς λέγεις instead of καλῶς ἔχει μοι, and for acceptance two completely new items. On the score of frequency of occurrence Wilamowitz's two acceptance formulae perform rather better than LSJ⁹'s αἰνεῖν. For the formula εὖ σοι γένοιτο he cites only Eur. *Telephus* fr. 707 N. (in the form in which it is quoted by Athenaeus *Deipn.* 186c), but this could be supplemented with the example in Plato *Com. fr.* 30 K., εὖ γέ σοι γένοιθ', ἡμᾶς ὅτι | ἔσωσας ἐκ τῶν σίγμα τῶν Εὐριπίδου.¹ For εὐδαιμονοίης he cites Ar. *Ach.* 457, *Frogs* 1417 and Eur. *Alc.* 1137, to which should be added the examples in Eur. *El.* 231 and *Phoen.* 1086.² Thus, if εὖ σοι γένοιτο, with only two attested examples, remains something of a disappointment, εὐδαιμονοίης emerges with a total of five examples; and the distribution is satisfactorily shared, it would seem, between tragedy and comedy. In all of these examples it can be reasonably maintained that the Greek has been properly interpreted and that these expressions, while retaining their basic sense, approximating to 'God bless you!', are functioning as formulae of thanks. What I think must be disputed is the notion that either of them was current in ordinary usage. The three examples from comedy would indicate, at first sight, that this was so, but we shall find on closer inspection that they derive from tragedy and not from everyday life. In the fragment of Plato Comicus we must suppose that the speaker, who is ridiculing the sigmatism of Euripides, has borrowed his thanking formula εὖ γέ σοι γένοιτο from Euripides himself, in order to heighten the humorous effect (*cf.* Kock). The two Aristophanic instances of εὐδαιμονοίης stand in contexts where the influence of tragic usage is strong. In *Frogs* 1417, where Dionysus thanks Pluto for granting him permission to take a tragic poet back to Athens, the formula seems to have been selected to suit the dignity of the personage addressed and also the solemnity of the occasion, while in *Ach.* 457, where Dicaeopolis addresses Euripides, εὐδαιμονοίης is ironic and stands in a context which is heavily paratragedic, and must itself have been imported from tragedy (though not, I believe, from any specific passage of the *Telephus* or the *Medea*). Since no further instances of this formula are cited from the prose-writers or the other dramatists, it seems that responsive εὐδαιμονοίης was not an established idiom of ordinary speech but a Euripidean mannerism; which is why Aristophanes fastened on to it, certainly in the *Acharnians* and probably also in the *Frogs*. And Euripides would appear to have been inordinately fond of couching his good wishes in the optative of εὐδαιμονοεῖν, for further instances occur in non-thanking contexts at *Med.* 1073 and *Hipp.* 105. In short, from the evidence which we have been able to muster, neither of the acceptance formulae given by Wilamowitz can claim to be standard usage. The average Athenian was no more likely to use εὖ σοι γένοιτο or εὐδαιμονοίης for expressing casual thanks than the present-day Englishman is to use 'God bless you!' for the same purpose. The currency of ordinary life must have slipped through the fingers of Wilamowitz as surely as it has through the capacious net of LSJ⁹.

In the survey which follows I shall be primarily concerned with two categories of responsive formula, both of which are given by Wilamowitz and LSJ⁹, καλῶς ἔχει and αἰνεῖν/ἐπαινεῖν. At some points, however, it will be necessary to glance at some comparable expressions found in comedy and in prose, and some variations and developments of common

¹ In Eur. *Alc.* 626-7, γαῖρε κἄν Ἄιδου δόμοις|εὖ σοι γένοιτο, Phères is evidently blessing, not thanking, the dead Alcestis.

² I discount εὐδαιμονοίης in Ar. *Ach.* 446, since this, the traditional reading, plays havoc with the

syntax without any corresponding gain in comic effect. It has been irregularly imported from 457; see A. Müller (Hanover, 1863) and Van Leeuwen (Leiden, 1901).

usage which are found in tragedy. The material which is presented in the various sections cannot pretend to be exhaustive. Expressions of this kind were in constant use on the literary as well as on the spoken level, and it is scarcely possible to marshall all the available specimens from classical literature or, if that were possible, to subject them all to analysis here. I am confident, however, that the specimens which have been produced are representative of standard usage, and that the picture which they give of the distribution of these formulae is not appreciably distorted.

A. *καλῶς ἔχει* as a refusal formula.

Expressions of this type are familiar enough as formulae of polite refusal, and seven examples are cited by *LSJ*⁹ s.v. *καλός* C II 6, all of them from Attic comedy with the exception of one case from Theocritus. From the list given by the lexicon I should delete Ar. *Frogs* 532; here *ἀμέλει, καλῶς ἔχ' αὐτά*, said by Xanthias to Dionysus as he hands over the Heracleian club and lion-skin, must be classified as a formula of surrender rather than refusal, although in origin and in sense it is identical (see below). To the lexicon's list I should add two other instances of the refusal formula, Clearchus *fr.* 4 Kock and Men. *Dysc.* 828–9. The resultant eight examples are set out here:

(1) *καλῶς ἔχει μοι.*

In Antiphanes *fr.* 165 Kock,

—βούλει καὶ σύ, φιλότατη, πιεῖν;
—καλῶς ἔχει μοι.—τοιγαροῦν φέρε — —
μέχρι γὰρ τριῶν δεῖν φασι τιμᾶν τοὺς θεοῦς.

two women are conversing and one of them refuses the offer of a drink of wine with *καλῶς ἔχει μοι*. Athenaeus, who is responsible for the preservation of the fragment, does not give the second line in complete form, but G. Hermann's supplement *φέρ' ἐγὼ πῖω* probably gives the general sense of the missing words.

In Men. *Dysc.* 828–9 (unknown, of course, to *LSJ*⁹)

Γο. τὴν δὲ σὴν λαβεῖν
καλῶς ἔχει μοι. Σω. πῶς καλῶς;

we find the same formula with the dative of the pronoun expressed and an apparently dependent infinitive, which is not paralleled in any of the other examples. Here Gorgias is dissenting from the proposal, which he has overheard Sostratus making to Callippides, that he should marry Sostratus' sister: 'As for taking your sister as my wife, I must decline with thanks.' 'How do you mean "decline"?'

(2) *καλῶς* or *κάλλιστα* with *ἔχει*.

In Men. *Perik.* 266–7 Körte,

Πο. τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς εἰ θεωρήσῃς— Πα. καλῶς
ἔχει.

we find Pataecus using the formula without a dependent dative to decline Polemon's request that he should look at Glycera's trinkets. The same form is found in Clearchus *fr.* 4:

—λάβ' ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός.—μηδαμῶς· καλῶς ἔχει.
—λάβ', ὠγάθ'· οὐδὲν χεῖρον.

and in Theocritus xv 3 the superlative *κάλλιστα* without *μοι*:

Πραξ. ἔμβαλε καὶ ποτίκρανον.
 Γο. ἔχει κάλλιστα.
 Πραξ. καθίζευ.

In this last passage the offer of a cushion and its refusal finds a remarkably close parallel in Plaut. *Stich.* 93 (see Gow), which suggests that we are being given a glimpse of 'Etiquette for Hostesses and Their Visitors' in operation. We may cautiously infer that, despite the refusal, the cushion would be supplied, as, indeed, the hostess's καθίζευ would confirm.

(3) καλῶς or κάλλιστα without ἔχει.

In this section are listed three examples, all of them from Aristophanes' *Frogs*:

- (a) Ξα. κάλλιστ', ἐπαινώ. (508)
 (b) Θε. ἀλλ' εἴσιθ' ἄμ' ἐμοί. Ξα. πάννυ καλῶς. Θε. ληρεῖς ἔχων. (512)
 (c) Δι. ἐπίθες λαβῶν δὴ καὶ σὺ λιβανωτόν. Εὐ. καλῶς.
 ἕτεροι γάρ εἰσιν οἷσιν εὐχομαι θεοῖς. (888-9)

On the evidence presented here it may conceivably be argued that the refusal formula is basically personal. In the *Dyscolus* passage we find a subject for ἔχει actually expressed, apparently, in the infinitive clause τὴν σὴν [ἀδελφὴν] λαβεῖν, and in the other examples a substantival subject could easily be supplied from the immediate context; in the Antiphanes fragment, for instance, it could well be τὸ πιεῖν, and in the *Perikeiromene* ὁ κόσμος or τὸ τὸν κόσμον θεωρῆσαι. On this view the dative of the pronoun which is expressed in the first two examples would fall into the 'person judging' category, and the whole formula would yield the sense 'I think it is nice' (sc. 'but I do not want it!'). This would be an unusually oblique form of refusal; well suited, no doubt, to those awkward occasions when the offer of a sister as prospective bride had to be gently turned down, but rather stilted and remote for commonplace dealings. But it is not beyond the bounds of possibility for a people as sensitive to the demands of politeness as the Greeks were. Feasible as it is, this view has never, to my knowledge, found a champion. Those scholars who have touched upon the question have generally agreed that the formula is basically impersonal. They have all shown, however, greater readiness to subscribe to the assumption than to demonstrate it by appeal to actual usage, and it was left to A. S. F. Gow (on Theoc. xv 3) to relate it to the impersonal expression καλῶς ἔχει τινί found in two passages of Lysias (i 23 and 39). This expression is more widely distributed than Gow's note would suggest, and since it is particularly liable to misinterpretation, owing to the co-existence of *personal* expressions from καλῶς ἔχειν, it may be of value to append a list of all the available examples:

(1) ἤδη καλῶς ἔχει σοι; Ar. *Ach.* 946.

Most editors read this as a statement, probably supposing that it is personal, with 'your goods' supplied as the subject. If we interpret it as impersonal, however, we may read it as a question ('Are you satisfied now?') and thus retain the affirmative γέ, with RA, against Blaydes' 'correction' γά, in the response which follows in the next line.

(2) ἀμέλει, καλῶς, ἔχ' αὐτά, Ar. *Frogs* 532.

Supply ἔχει μοι with καλῶς: 'All right, take them!'

(3) ἔτ', ὦ ξέν', ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν—ἢ καλῶς ἔχει—
 πλεύσωμεν;

Eur. *Hel.* 1579-80.

Supply σοι: 'Or will this do for you?'

(4) συνεδείπνει καὶ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ, ἀπιὼν ὄχετο, Lys. i 39; cf. 23.

(5) τὸ γὰρ τῆσδ' οὐ προτιμήσω κακὸν

τὸ μὴ οὐ παρασχεῖν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐμοί

δίκην τοσαύτην ὥστε μοι καλῶς ἔχειν. Eur. *Hipp.* 48-50.

- (6) *κἀγὼ ὁμολογῶ μὴ καλῶς ἄν μοι ἔχειν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦτον ἀποκτεῖναι*. Xen. *Hell.* vii 3,10.
Here we find a development: a prolate infinitive is expressed. In this and the following example the speaker's choice of the cautious *καλῶς ἔχει μοι* represents a nice piece of diplomacy.
- (7) *ὑμῶν οὖν, ἔφη, βούλομαι τὸν ἕτερον ποιήσασθαι, ὁποτέρῳ ὑμῶν καλῶς ἔχει* Isaeus ii 11.
Here a prolate infinitive is implied: 'whichever of you is content [to become my son and heir]'.³

This impersonal expression 'I am satisfied' provides us with a prototype for the refusal formula which is plausible both in distribution and in sense. We may notice first, on the score of distribution, that the contexts in which it occurs stamp it as a mild colloquialism rather than an acceptable feature of the elevated literary style. We have listed two specimens from Aristophanes, four from the prose-writers and two from Euripidean tragedy. In the Aristophanic passages it occurs naturally as an everyday idiom; there is no hint of parody. In the prose instances the stylistic standard is that of the *ἰσχνὸς χαρακτήρ* of the *λογογράφοι*, with the conversational tone predominating. Of the tragic instances, that from the *Helen* seems attuned to the status of the speaker and the urgency of the context (a sailor shouting a request for orders), and that from the *Hippolytus*—although this is a harder case—seems adapted to the easy familiarity of a deity addressing the audience in a Euripidean prologue. The distribution of the refusal formula indicates that its stylistic value is roughly the same. Examples from tragedy or from elevated prose are not, apparently, forthcoming, and of the eight available examples seven are drawn from comedy and one from Theocritus. The latter case looks likely to destroy the uniformity, but will, in fact, confirm it; this idyll is cast in dramatic form and reproduces the conversational tone of ordinary life, thus exhibiting a close affinity with the mime. There is, therefore, no reason to believe that there is any significant stylistic disparity between these two expressions.

Secondly, an argument on the score of sense. We may observe that Attic Greek had another refusal formula available in *πάντα ἔχομεν*. It is true that its formulaic character must be assumed, for the only two instances known are *ἔχομεν ἅπαντα* in *Hibeh Papy.* i (1906) 29 no. 6³ and *πάντ' ἔχομεν* in Men. *Dysc.* 612; but the assumption is probably justified, and the rarity of this expression in surviving texts may be ascribed to the fact that it was considered boorish. Certainly the use of it in the first of these two comic passages provokes the comment "Ἀπολλων, ὡς ἀγροικὸς εἶ, and in the second, where Webster is surely right to assign the words to Gorgias,⁴ it is credible enough that Menander has put such an expression in Gorgias' mouth in order to exhibit his *ἀγροικία* in contrast with the *savoir faire* of Sostratus. This refusal formula, then, if such we may safely call it, evinces the speaker's satisfaction with his actual condition, though in terms which are more direct and therefore more crude, and thus constitutes a welcome parallel to the sense suggested for *καλῶς ἔχει μοι*.

One slight difficulty remains to be met, though a few years ago it would not have existed. If the above identification is sound, it will follow that the refusal formula *καλῶς ἔχει μοι* did not require a substantive or infinitive to complete its sense but was genuinely impersonal. We have seen, on the other hand, that the text of *Dyscolus* contains a specimen of the refusal formula with a dependent infinitive *λαβεῖν*. How is this conflict to be settled? One resource is denied to us: we are not at liberty to parallel *λαβεῖν* with the infinitive *ἀποκτεῖναι* in Xen. *Hell.* vii 3,10 (example no. 6 above). In the Xenophon passage the negative *μὴ* is expressed with *ἔχειν* and *ἀποκτεῖναι* thus enabled to function as a simple prolate, but in the *Dyscolus* passage the verb is positive and the prolate relationship therefore excluded. The solution of the problem must be that the *Dyscolus* example represents a deviation from the norm. Gorgias has commenced his sentence with a prolate infinitive preparatory to con-

³ Demianczuk, *Supp. Com.* 102; Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* i 288.

⁴ See *PACA* iv (1961) 4-5.

tinuing with οὐ βούλομαι or the like, and then, since that would be altogether too rude, has substituted a formula of polite refusal. The proper course, then, is to mark an anacoluthon with a dash after λαβεῖν, as Lloyd-Jones has done in the Oxford text.

So far we have been dealing with material which has not provoked serious dispute (although we may notice that Wilamowitz did not list *καλῶς ἔχει μοι* as a refusal formula and did list *καλῶς λέγεις*, which we shall see shortly is used for acceptance). We pass now to a group of expressions whose function has frequently been misunderstood by the commentators, the use of *καλῶς ἔχει* and *καλῶς* as formulae of gratitude in acceptance contexts.

B. *καλῶς ἔχει* as an acceptance formula.

(1) *καλῶς ἔχει*.

In Men. *Perik.* 435-7 Pataecus gives his daughter in marriage to Polemon:

Πα.		ταύτην γνησίῳν
	παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ σοι δίδωμι . . .	
Πο.		λαμβάνω . . .
Πα.	καὶ προῖκα τρία τάλαντα.	
Πο.		καὶ καλῶς ἔχει.

λ[αμβάνω and καὶ καλῶς ἔχει are supplements made by Grenfell and Hunt, but it is hard to conjure up any alternatives which would improve upon them. The editors place a full stop after λαμβάνω and interpret καὶ καλῶς ἔχει as *approval* of the offer of three talents as dowry; Allinson in the Loeb edition renders 'And to that agreed' and Goldschmidt⁵ 'Auch dies ist gut'. Responsive *καλῶς ἔχει*, however, is not introduced with καί elsewhere, and to take καί in the sense 'also' with τοῦτο to be supplied seems impossible. I take it, therefore, that Polemon, like Pataecus, is continuing his own syntax, and that καί is the copula connecting λαμβάνω with καλῶς ἔχει. *καλῶς ἔχει* thus serves to acknowledge the gift of both the girl and the dowry; which frees us from the painful necessity of supposing that Polemon signifies non-committal acceptance of the bride and positive approval of her dowry. The function of the formula *καλῶς ἔχει* here is to convey thanks. *καλῶς ἔχει* (?) in Menander *Kol. fr.* 1 may be functioning in the same way; here the cook seems to be using the formula to thank Sosias, but we cannot dismiss the possibility that he is expressing his satisfaction at completing the three ritual libations.

A more problematic case occurs in Eur. *Med.* 776-9:

μολόντι δ' αὐτῷ μαλθακοὺς λέξω λόγους,
ὡς καὶ δοκεῖ μοι ταῦτα καὶ καλῶς ἔχει
γάμους τυράννων οὓς προδοὺς ἡμᾶς ἔχει
καὶ ξύμφορ' εἶναι καὶ καλῶς ἐγνωσμένα.

Here Medea confides to the Chorus her intention to delude Jason into believing that she is ready to give her approval to his marriage with Creon's daughter. The syntactical difficulties presented by these lines are formidable. As Page says, it is certain that *καλῶς ἔχει* (*sc.* Ἰάσων) γάμους is impossible Greek. The first step towards a solution of the difficulty, though Page is unwilling to take it, is to bracket 778, with Reiske. This line has three suspicious features: first, it ends with ἔχει, after ἔχει in 777;⁶ second, the masculine γάμους has neuter complements in ξύμφορα . . . ἐγνωσμένα; third, the whole line constitutes a blatant and enfeebling lapse from *oratio obliqua* into *oratio recta*, for clearly Medea cannot be proposing to say οὓς προδοὺς ἡμᾶς ἔχεις or anything like it, to Jason (see 884-5). The line must therefore

⁵ *Menander: Die Komödie und Fragmente*. Zurich 1949.

⁶ The repetition of *τέμνω* at the end of ll. 749-50

of the *I.A.* provides no parallel; there is rhetorical point there.

be condemned as an interpolation. It may have been inserted by an actor who either misunderstood the idiom *καλῶς ἔχει* = 'I thank him for it', or felt that in tragedy and in *oratio obliqua* the sense of the idiom would not be self-evident within the limitations set by a theatrical performance, and therefore supplemented the sense. It must be conceded, in view of what we have seen of the refusal formula *καλῶς ἔχει μοι*, that *καλῶς ἔχει* for acceptance is formally ambiguous; but a good actor could have brought out the sense here by proper attention to tone and gesture.

If this line is deleted, we are left with something which *may* pass for tolerable Greek, a *καλῶς ἔχει*, in the sense 'I thank him', intervening between *δοκεῖ* and its attendant infinitive.⁷ However, the string of *καί*'s remains stylistically awkward, and so, too, the repetition of *καλῶς*—ironic, of course, but rhetorically ineffective, since the first *καλῶς* qualifies a verb and the second one a participle. Although Page sees no reason why 779 should have been interpolated, as Porson thought it was, it may well have been inserted to supplement the sense of *δοκεῖ μοι ταῦτα* (or *ταῦτά*), just as 778 probably was to supplement *καλῶς ἔχει*; and the supplement was equally unnecessary if the actor knew his business.

It would be idle to pretend that there is any certainty to be attained here. But I believe it would be a step in the right direction to recognise that *καλῶς ἔχει*, probably with *ταῦτα* as the subject, means 'I thank him for it'. This interpretation is substantially confirmed in 884–5, where Medea duly executes the intention which she has previously declared to the Chorus, saying

*νῦν οὖν ἐπαινώ, σωφρονεῖν τ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς
κῆδος τόδ' ἡμῖν προσλαβών.*

Here *δοκεῖς* looks back to *δοκεῖ μοι ταῦτα* and *ἐπαινώ*, a standard formula for 'Thank you', to *καλῶς ἔχει* in 777.

Finally in this section we may notice a slight variant of *καλῶς ἔχει* which also is found in *Medea*. In 533 Jason grudgingly admits that Medea has conferred benefits on him in the past with *ὄπη γὰρ οὖν ὤνησας, οὐ κακῶς ἔχει*, 'I am not ungrateful'.

(2) *καλῶς* without *ἔχει*.

Instances of responsive *καλῶς* where an offer is being accepted or a service acknowledged are to be found in Ar. *Wasps* 785, Eur. *Ion* 417, Or. 1216,⁸ Men. *Epitrep.* 117 and 178 Körte. At *Epitrep.* 117,

Συ. εἴρηκεν; Σμ. οὐκ ἤκουσας; εἴρηκεν. Συ. καλῶς.

καλῶς is rendered 'All right!' by Allinson and 'Good!' by Murray. Either rendering, however, would attribute to the speaker rather more self-assurance than his status or his circumstances would allow. Syricus is a slave from the country, while Smicrines whom he is addressing is a free-born old man, who is, furthermore, filling the office of arbitrator. What is indicated here and again in 178, where the other slave acknowledges the arbitrator's verdict with *καλῶς*, is surely a polite 'Thank you!' It should be noted that, like *καλῶς*, *εἴρηκεν* is formulaic (cf. *Epitrep.* 135, Eur. *Or.* 678).

(3) Variations with *καλῶς*.

I list in this section three instances of *καλῶς* used for thanks which are anomalous for one reason or another. All three are from Euripidean tragedy.

⁷ A rather more violent case of misplaced *καλῶς*: *ἔχει*, but more easily accounted for, has already been noticed in Eur. *Hel.* 1579–80, *ἔτ', ὃ ξέν', ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν—ἡ καλῶς ἔχει—πλείσσοιμεν*; see also Eur. *Cycl.* 121.

⁸ *LSJ*⁹ assigns this example to the category of 'Well said!', and this may be right; cf. 1212–13.

In *Hel.* 1272-3,

Θε. Φοίνισσα κώπη ταχύπορος γενήσεται.

Με. καλῶς ἂν εἶη Μενέλεώ τε πρὸς χάριν.

we find *καλῶς* combined with *εἶναι* when Menelaus, passing himself off as an ordinary sailor, thanks Theoclymenus for the promised loan of a ship. Such combinations are not unparalleled—*καλῶς εἶναι* occurs in *Ar. Plut.* 1188, *Men. Dysc.* 570-1, and *εὖ εἶναι* in *Aesch. Ag.* 217, *Eur. Med.* 89—but for an expression of this sort to do duty for thanks seems to be unique. The form of phrase has evidently been conditioned by the dramatic situation and by striving for ironic effect: Menelaus, in concealing his true identity from Theoclymenus, cannot thank him outright with a plain *καλῶς* or *καλῶς ἔχει* but must use a prospective optative with *ἂν* on behalf of the 'dead' Menelaus. The choice of *καλῶς εἶναι* is due not merely, I think, to the metrical inconvenience of *καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι* but to these same exigencies. Since the speaker must present his thanks as hypothetical only, he feels obliged to amplify his thanking formula with *πρὸς χάριν*, and this impels him to use *εἶναι* instead of *ἔχειν* as the common verb. Although the other two instances of *καλῶς εἶναι* cited above are from comedy, it would be a mistake to regard Euripides' expression as more colloquial than *καλῶς ἔχειν*. Both comic contexts have a noticeable solemnity, and *εὖ γὰρ εἶη* in *Ag.* 217 is a formula of prayer.

The other cases both belong to the scene between Medea and Aegeus in the *Medea*. In 731-2,

ἔσται τὰδ'· ἀλλὰ πίστις εἰ γένοιτό μοι
τούτων, ἔχοιμ' ἂν πάντα πρὸς σέθεν καλῶς.

Medea asks Aegeus to confirm with an oath the promise of asylum which he has given to her, and when Aegeus has duly taken the oath which she prescribes, she bids him farewell in 756 with *χαίρων πορεύου· πάντα γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει*. These two expressions are evidently related in function, the second being the fulfilment of what is hypothetically envisaged in the first, and while neither of them is strictly responsive, they both carry the implication of thanks, concentrated chiefly in the word *καλῶς*. Page points out that *ἔχειν πάντα πρὸς τινος καλῶς* is unexampled elsewhere, and sees in it a combination of *πάντα ἔχω* and *πάντα ἔχει καλῶς*. This may be right, since, as we have seen, *πάντα ἔχομεν* is established in thanking contexts to express satisfaction, though in the two known cases for refusal only, and *πάντα καλῶς ἔχει* turns up in 756. Alternatively, the basic ingredients may be *πάντα ἔχω πρὸς τινος* and the regular acceptance formula *καλῶς ἔχει*; these two expressions in abbreviated form are found side-by-side in an acceptance context in *Ion* 417, *καλῶς· ἔχω δὲ πάνθ' ὅσων ἐχρήζομεν*, and it would have been but a short step to allow them to coalesce.

However this may be, Page's further suggestion that the combination *ἔχειν πάντα πρὸς τινος καλῶς* is a colloquialism should be treated with reserve. The expression seems to be unique in surviving literature, and the presence of the archaic *πρὸς σέθεν* would argue that Euripides is here cultivating an artificial formality which would be deemed well suited to a conversation between a foreign lady and Athenian royalty.

It is a striking feature of the acceptance formula which has been exemplified here that it has broad areas of overlap with the refusal formula. For both formulae *καλῶς ἔχει* and *καλῶς* are standard versions. Can we go further and assert that the two formulae are identical in origin and sense? The basic meaning of the refusal formula, 'I am satisfied', renders it tolerably serviceable for the function of acceptance, and we have already seen two cases, one from Xenophon and the other from Isaeus (examples 6 and 7 on p. 137) where the satisfaction formula is being pressed into service, with a prolate infinitive, to convey approval or rejection of an available course of action rather than to evince the speaker's intrinsic feeling. With the modern analogy of the ambivalent 'Merci!' before us, we may well find it credible

that the Greeks applied one and the same formula, suitably amplified by tone and gesture, to diametrically opposite functions. And if we hesitate to believe that the Athenians, with their high sensitivity to good manners, conveyed their gratitude at acceptance by brutishly signifying their satisfaction, we must remember that expressions of this sort, based on ἀρκεῖν and ἄλις, were apparently in use at Athens as responsive formulae for this purpose. Since these expressions have been given less attention than they deserve, I list here briefly the four examples known to me. They are all from tragedy, but well-worn terminology of this kind must have been found in spoken usage.

- (1) ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει καὶ ταῦτα, Soph. *Trach.* 1216.
- (2) ἀρκεῖ· πέποιθα γάρ σε μὴ ψευδῆ λέγειν, Eur. *fr.* 773.9.
- (3) ἀρκεῖ· τί δ' ὄρκω τῶδε μὴ 'μμένων πάθοις; Eur. *Med.* 754.
- (4) ἄλις μοι, Eur. *Hel.* 1581.

The evidence collected here, however, will not carry us very far along the road to proof. In every case, where we can assess the context, the function of these formulae seems to be to convey qualified gratitude. In the *Medea* passage, for instance, while the speaker professes to feel satisfaction at the oath taken by Aegeus, she is urgently pressing for a further concession which will complete the protection she seeks, a penalty clause which will involve Aegeus in dire ruin if he transgresses the substance of the oath. ἀρκεῖ simply marks an intermediate stage on the way to the ultimate objective; it carries a patent request for more. It seems clear that responsive formulae of this type were not universally serviceable, but conveyed grudging acknowledgement when the beneficiary had received rather less than he was looking for. On the other side, none of our examples of the acceptance formula seems to belong to a context of this kind; the circumstances of Polemon in the *Perikeiromene* and of Medea in her interview with Jason call for more positive demonstrations than 'I am content'.

There are further indications that the acceptance formula does not bear this fundamental meaning. In the majority of the examples listed we find no subject for καλῶς ἔχει expressed and there is nothing decisive to show whether it is personal or impersonal, but in two of the cases there occur mild variations which seem to presuppose that the basic formula was personal. In *Med.* 756 πάντα καλῶς ἔχει is most easily explained as a more formal amplification of a personal καλῶς ἔχει, and in *Med.* 533 Jason's grudging gesture to Medea ὅπη γὰρ οὖν ὠνησας οὐ κακῶς ἔχει becomes syntactically easier if we can supply a substantive to act both as subject to ἔχει and as antecedent to ὅπη. But more cogent than either of these considerations is the absence of the full form of expression καλῶς ἔχει μοι from our list of examples. If the acceptance formula were identical with καλῶς ἔχει μοι, = 'I am satisfied', we should be hard pressed to explain why, out of a dozen instances, not one has the dative of the person expressed,⁹ when in the case of the refusal formula two instances out of eight (Antiphanes and Menander) give us the μοι expressed. If, on the other hand, the formula is basically personal, the absence of μοι is fully accounted for. The expression means 'It is all right' and calls for no further qualification; the effect of adding 'to me' or 'from my point of view' is to detract from the impression of gratification which one is trying to convey. Such expressions, to be effective, must be unrestricted.¹⁰

It is one consequence of adopting this view that the difference of distribution between the acceptance and refusal formulae can now be adequately accounted for. This difference will be apparent from the following table, where the examples of the formulae are listed according to the authors who use them:

⁹ The dative Μενέλαῳ in Eur. *Hel.* 1273 has been entailed by the addition of πρὸς γάρην.

¹⁰ Hence we must reject Dobree's conjecture ἔχοι μοι

in Eur. *Telephus fr.* 707 (as given by schol. Ar. *Ach.* 446). καλῶς ἔχοιμι Τιγλέφω δ' ἀγὼ φροῦδ'—that is, if ἔχοι μοι purports to be a formula of acceptance.

ACCEPTANCE
 καλῶς ἔχει Eur. 2, Men. 2
 οὐ κακῶς ἔχει Eur. 1
 καλῶς Eur. 2 Aristophanes 1
 Men. 2
 καλῶς εἶναι Eur. 1

REFUSAL
 καλῶς ἔχει μοι Antiphanes 1, Men. 1
 καλῶς ἔχει Clearchus 1, Men. 1
 κάλλιστα ἔχει Theoc. 1
 πάνυ καλῶς Aristophanes 1
 κάλλιστα Aristophanes 1
 καλῶς Aristophanes 1

Here we see that while the acceptance formula occurs six times in the tragedies of Euripides out of a total of eleven known instances, the refusal formula is not attested once for any tragedian. This factor cannot be discarded as insignificant. When due allowance has been made for the possibility that tragedy had less occasion to use refusal formulae, one might reasonably have expected one or two instances to occur, in view of the total of eight instances produced by comedy. If, however, the two formulae are basically distinct the difficulty disappears. Since both classes of expression occur in Old and New Comedy they both evidently belonged to the language of everyday Athens, but while the acceptance formula was deemed by Euripides worthy of an established place in tragic dialogue, the refusal formula was excluded as too colloquial.

To summarise, these two formulae have an interesting history. In origin they are fundamentally distinct; the refusal formula has as its full form καλῶς ἔχει μοι, impersonal, in the sense 'I am content', and the acceptance formula has as its full form καλῶς ἔχει, personal, in the sense '[Your gift etc.] is good, all right'. Both formulae are found variously abbreviated, and there is a broad overlap between the two classes and some formal ambiguity. The relative frequency of such ambiguity indicates that in ordinary conversation the speaker was content to rely on tone and gesture to convey his meaning. Both classes of expression belonged to everyday Attic, but only the acceptance formula was considered dignified enough to be admitted to tragedy, and then only by Euripides, apparently, amongst the three surviving tragedians.

APPENDIX: καλῶς (εἶ) in other expressions of thanks.

The acceptance formula with which I have been chiefly concerned above is καλῶς ἔχει, but it is necessary to draw attention here to the existence of other thanking formulae involving καλῶς and also εἶ whose function is often misunderstood. These formulae occur at all stylistic levels and with much greater frequency than καλῶς ἔχει, and the only reason for relegating them to an appendix is that once the *modus operandi* of καλῶς ἔχει has been established, these related methods of conveying thanks call for little further argument. They function in exactly the same way: they express gratitude by conferring praise.

We have seen that the thanking force of καλῶς ἔχει subsisted chiefly in καλῶς and that the adverb was capable of operating alone. It was thus theoretically possible for the Greeks to turn a wide variety of verbs into expressions of thanks by the simple addition of καλῶς, κάλλιστα. And this has happened much more frequently than the commentators suspect. In drama and in the dialogues of Plato, I believe, the reader must be perpetually on his guard against the use of καλῶς or εἶ with any verb to express not simply praise but praise due for a service rendered, i.e. thanks. When, for instance, in *Politicus* 311c, at the end of the dialogue, Socrates the Younger says to the Stranger, κάλλιστα αὐτὸν βασιλικὸν ἀπετέλεσας ἄνδρα ἡμῖν, ὃ ξένε, καὶ τὸν πολιτικόν, the adverb κάλλιστα standing in emphatic position must be interpreted as a gesture of thanks, which would be due to him here for his contribution to the dialogue as a whole.¹¹ It would be an arduous task, and a profitless one, to explore all the

¹¹ See J. B. Skemp, *Plato's Statesman*, p. 234 n. 1. The instances of responsive καλῶς, ὀρθῶς and ἀληθῆ in the *Sophist* and the *Statesman* have been examined by S. Benardete, *The Right, the True and the Beautiful* a

singularly inept title. *Glotta* xli (1963) 54-62, but the thanking function of καλῶς here and at 279c, κάλλιστ' εἶπε, has eluded him.

possibilities here; I confine my attention to two of the commonest expressions whose thanking function has frequently been overlooked, *καλῶς λέγειν* and *καλῶς ποιεῖν*.

(1) *καλῶς λέγειν*.

Here the common formulae are *καλῶς λέγεις*, *καλῶς ἔλεξας*, though *εὖ* is also found, for example in Plato *Apol.* 24c. These formulae may, of course, serve in any context where praise is merited, and in such cases stock English renderings such as ‘Well said!’ are adequate. There are, however, numerous instances in poetry and prose where they are used by an actual beneficiary to discharge an obligation, and in such cases it would be best to render the Greek ‘praise’ with English ‘thanks’, idiom for idiom. A representative example is Soph. *Aj.* 92–4:

Αι. καί σε παγχρύσοις ἐγὼ
 στέψω λαφύροις τῆσδε τῆς ἄγρας χάριν.
 Αθ. καλῶς ἔλεξας.

Jebb renders *καλῶς ἔλεξας* ‘Tis fairly spoken’, but Athena is evidently not simply praising Ajax but thanking him for the promise of a portion of the spoil. Other clear-cut examples are to be found in Eur. *Alc.* 1104 and *Hipp.* 715; in the latter passage Barrett’s rendering, ‘Thank you for your words’, goes to the point.

Expressions of gratitude are not a stock feature of the dialogue of Old Comedy, but there are two examples of *καλῶς λέγεις* for thanks in Ar. *Frogs* 169 and 643. In both cases the formula makes a positive contribution to the humour of characterisation; in the first Dionysus thanks his own servant Xanthias for consenting to carry the baggage, thus betraying his own weakness, and in the second Xanthias thanks Aeacus for the proposal to strike him and Dionysus with alternate blows, thus advertising his own courage in contrast with his master’s cowardice.

Among tragic variants of the idiom should be listed *κάλλιστον εἶπας μῦθον*, Eur. *Med.* 1127 and *καλῶς τελευτᾶς*, Soph. *Trach.* 1252. It is likely that Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 931–2, *ἄξιος γὰρ εἶ|τῆς εὐεπείας οὐνεκα*, should be added to the list; *τῆς εὐεπείας οὐνεκα* seems to be a more dignified version of *ὅτι καλῶς εἶπες*. Rhys Roberts in *CR* viii (1904) 19–20 proposed to interpret *εὐέπεια* here as the technical term of rhetoric and see in it a reference to the *ἀναδίπλωσις* in II.929–30, *ἀλλ’ ὀλβία τε καὶ ξὺν ὀλβίοις ἀεὶ|γένειτο*; but as a critical term *εὐέπεια* means either euphony or elegance of diction,¹² and *ἀναδίπλωσις* is a *σχῆμα λέξεως* which is not exclusive to or characteristic of either. It seems much more likely, therefore, that Jocasta is simply thanking the messenger for his sentiments (‘welcome words’, *LSJ*⁹).

(2) *καλῶς ποιεῖν*.

The function of this formula is well illustrated by Ar. *Ach.* 1049–50:

Πα. ἔπεμψέ τις σοι νυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα
 ἐκ τῶν γάμων.
 Δι. καλῶς γε ποιῶν ὅστις ἦν.

Dicaeopolis’ reply to the gift of some meat from the marriage-feast means ‘Thanks to him, whoever he was’. And so in *Plut.* 863, *νῆ Δία καλῶς τοίνυν ποιῶν ἀπόλλυται*, we should reject *LSJ*⁹’s suggestion ‘rightly, deservedly’ for *καλῶς ποιῶν*, which would spoil the little joke, and render instead ‘Thanks to him for getting himself ruined!’ Other examples occur in Xen. *Cyr.* i 4.13, vii 4.13 and vii 5.48, where the verb denoting the service goes into the participle and *ποιεῖν* into the indicative.

In Men. *Dysc.* 629, *καλά γ’ ἐπόησε νῆ τὸν Οὐρανόν*, we find a neuter plural *καλά* which

¹² Plat. *Phaedr.* 267c, Hermeias’ schol. p. 192 Ast, Dion Hal. *De Comp.* 23.

appears to be unparalleled in this type of expression. Since the confusion of $\omega\varsigma$ and $\alpha\gamma$ is fairly easy in some kinds of script, the correction of $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma'$ to $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$, which was proposed by the present writer in *Notes on the Dyskolos of Menander*, p. 8, should be entertained.

For examples of $\epsilon\delta\ \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ in this sense see Eur. *Med.* 472, Ar. *Peace* 271, Plato *Phaedo* 60c, *Theaet.* 185c, *Hipp. Mai.* 303c, and for $\epsilon\delta$ combined with other verbs to express the speaker's gratitude see Soph. *Aj.* 92, $\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\delta\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$, 'Thank you for having stood by me'.

C. Expressions of thanks with $\alpha\upsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\nu/\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$.

In this section I shall be concerned to explore the responsive use of $\alpha\upsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\nu/\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$. We have seen already that these verbs are listed by Wilamowitz and LSJ⁹ amongst the formulae of polite refusal, and the belief that the sense 'refuse' existed in classical Greek will be found to be fairly widespread amongst the commentators. The evidence upon which this belief has been based will here be examined, and additional evidence presented for the responsive use of these formulae in poetry and prose.

It will be convenient first of all to present a conspectus of the evidence which has been adduced in various quarters for the sense 'refuse', in the order in which it will be discussed here:

(1) The ancient lexicographers.

Hesychius: $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omega$ · $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\mu\iota$, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\upsilon\omega$. $\Sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$ 'Αλκμαίωνι.

Photius: $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omega$ · $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\upsilon\omega$. $\Sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$.

The stop after $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ is omitted by Rcitzenstein, *Der Anfang des Lexicons des Photios*, 55.5.

Suda: $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omega$ · $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$. $\Sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\upsilon\omega$. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omega$ $\sigma\epsilon$.

Cf. Bekker *anecd. Graec.* 358.28 (without $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omega$ $\sigma\epsilon$).

(2) Hes. *W.D.* 643, $\nu\eta'$ $\delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ δ' $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ $\phi\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, as interpreted by the scholiast and Plut. *Mor.* 22f–23a. See also schol. Arat. *Phaen.* 152, *EM s.v.* $\alpha\upsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$.

(3) Xen. *Symp.* i 7, *Anab.* vii 7.52, Ar. *Frogs* 508, Aesch. *P.V.* 340–2 (given by LSJ⁹ *s.v.* $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$) and Eur. *Her.* 1235 (given *inter alia* by Wilamowitz on *Her.* 275; the other passages to which he refers will be examined in the appropriate section later).

(1) The lexicographers.

We may turn first to the evidence provided by the ancient lexicographers. Here it will be evident that when due allowance has been made for the intrusion of an additional lemma $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omega$ $\sigma\epsilon$ in the Suda from an independent source, the testimony of Photius and the Suda is identical with that of Hesychius and is derivative from it. The verbal correspondence is close, and such differences as they exhibit can be satisfactorily explained: in both Photius and the Suda the synonym $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\mu\iota$ and the reference to the *Alcmaeon* have been suppressed for reasons of brevity, and in the Suda misunderstanding or carelessness has resulted in the misplacing of $\Sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$.¹³ We therefore owe the substance of the main gloss and the reference to Sophocles' *Alcmaeon* to a single lexicographical tradition for which Hesychius should be regarded as the sole authority. This tradition would have derived from the lexicons which were compiled at Alexandria by Didymus and Diogenianus with copious material from tragedy.

Pearson, entering the lemma $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omega$ amongst the fragments of Sophocles' *Alcmaeon* (*fr.* 109), concluded from the evidence of the lexicographers that in the *Alcmaeon* $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omega$ was used in the sense 'I refuse'. In arriving at this conclusion he would seem to have discounted the testimony of Hesychius, which he presents with the stop after $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ duly inserted,

¹³ The careless habits of the Suda are well illustrated in a recent note by A. D. E. Cameron in *CR* n.s. xiii (1963) 264.

and to have set undue store by the Suda's inversion of the traditional word order and by Photius, as punctuated by Reitzenstein. This is a patent mistake. Hesychius' testimony should not take second place to the vagaries of these *epigoni*; and Hesychius intended the words *καὶ ἔπαινω* not as an appendage to the preceding gloss *παρίημι, παραιτοῦμαι* but as an additional gloss.¹⁴ He is thus giving us two citations of *ἀνῶ*, one from an unknown work or works in the sense 'refuse' and the other from Sophocles' *Alcmaeon* in the sense 'praise' (for the lexicographers of Alexandria, of course, would not have used *ἐπαινεῖν* in the sense 'refuse' in a gloss). If we ignore the second item, as being of no significance for our present purpose, we are left with two instances of *ἀνῶ* for refusal from the ancient lexicographers, i.e. an unattributed *ἀνῶ* which is attested by Alexandrian scholarship and an unattributed *ἀνῶ σε* which is attested by Byzantine scholarship.

Of the two synonyms for *ἀνεῖν* supplied by Hesychius, the one, *παραιτεῖσθαι*, is found in the senses 'decline' and 'ask to be excused', with an accusative object of the thing declined or the person asked (*LSJ⁹ s.v.*, II 2 and 3). The former sense, however, is the one well established in the classical period; the earliest instance of *παραιτεῖσθαι τινα* in the sense 'ask to be excused' which is cited by *LSJ⁹* is that in Polyb. v 27.3. The active of *παριέναι*, in contrast, seems to be unknown in either of these two senses (which may help to account for its omission by the lexicographers after Hesychius), but the middle voice has fifth- and fourth-century authority in the sense 'beg to be excused', with an accusative object of the request (*LSJ⁹ s.v.*, VI 2); we may either regard the active as a variant for the middle in this sense or, with much more reason, correct *παρίημι* to *παριέμαι*. In either case, it is safe to conclude that *ἀνῶ* is interpreted by Hesychius in the sense 'decline', although we cannot determine whether it stood in its original context with its object expressed or implied. On the other side, the Suda's citation has a personal object expressed. The lexicographers' testimony is therefore both for *ἀνεῖν τι* and for *ἀνεῖν τινα* as formulæ of refusal.

This testimony cannot, of course, be rated as conclusive proof. In the case of both of these alleged uses we are denied access to the original context and cannot determine the issue for ourselves; and no one, I believe, would place blind trust in the competence of Alexandrians or Byzantines to pronounce authoritatively on a question of semantics or even to interpret a difficult passage aright. But both of these expressions are theoretically possible Greek. We may, perhaps, say with greater accuracy that both of them functioned as expressions of refusal, and not that they meant 'I refuse', but once this proviso has been entered, there would be little cause for complaint. Both expressions would be perfectly explicable in terms of social convention; the refusal function would have stemmed from *ἀνεῖν/ἐπαινεῖν* = 'praise', and constitute one more convenient euphemism dedicated to the cause of politeness.

It is, however, precisely these considerations which keep the lexicographical tradition within the reach of our criticism. If we were confronted here with the idiosyncrasy of a poet, which generated one or two passing abnormalities of expression, destined to excite the curiosity of a grammarian in due course, further speculation would be idle. But *ἀνῶ* for refusal cannot be idiosyncrasy; it must be idiom. It is explicable only by reference to conversational usage; it presupposes an *ἀνεῖν*, in poetry, and an *ἐπαινεῖν*, on a broader level, established in the language of polite formulæ. It is therefore reasonable for us to expect, even though we have but a fraction of the literature which was available to the scholars of Alexandria, that this usage will have left its mark on the literature which has survived to us. The lexicographers' assertions may still be put to the empirical test.

In the brief survey which follows I present all the instances of responsive *ἀνεῖν* which are to be found in tragic dialogue, which is the obvious hunting-ground for poetical usage of this sort. Observing the strict terms of reference I shall confine my attention to *ἀνεῖν*,

¹⁴ Occasionally extra lemmata are added in this way in Hesychius, as is *καὶ ἀνῶ σε* in the Suda; but as Prof. G. P. Shipp has pointed out to me, these are

usually rare words or unusual forms cognate with the original lemma, and there is no reason why an extra lemma *ἐπαινω* should have been provoked by *ἀνῶ*.

reserving the analysis of responsive *ἐπαινεῖν* for a later point in the argument. I classify the examples roughly according to the kind of object or dependent clause with which they are found.

(a) *αἰνεῖν* with accusative of the person.

In Eur. *Alc.* 1107–9,

Ηρ. εἰδώς τι καὶ γὰρ τήνδ' ἔχω προθυμίαν.
Αδ. νίκα νυν' οὐ μὴν ἀνδάνοντά μοι ποιεῖς.
Ηρ. ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὄθ' ἡμᾶς αἰνέσεις. πιθοῦ μόνον.

we find an instructive example of the way in which Greek conventions operated. Admetus is portrayed throughout the play as characteristically hospitable and, therefore, polite to guests, while he has also sworn eternal loyalty to his dead wife (328–35). The two principles for which he stands are now brought into open conflict, for Heracles, his guest, presses him to take 'another' woman into his house, hinting that he may find consolation with her. Before Heracles' importunity, or, as the hero euphemistically calls it, *προθυμία* (a routine word in thanking contexts), Admetus yields with a grudging *νίκα νυν*, 'Have it your own way, then!' To which Heracles, noting the absence of a normal expression of thanks, replies, 'You will *thank* me, sooner or later'. The expression has a close parallel in 1036, *χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ σὺ μ' αἰνέσεις ἴσως* ('You will live to thank me'). Two other examples of *αἰνεῖν* with a pronominal object will be found in Eur. *Phoen.* 614 and *I.A.* 506–7; in both cases Wilamowitz (commentary on Eur. *Her.* 275) gives the sense 'refuse with thanks', but 'thank' is the sense.

In Eur. *Phoen.* 1683–5,

Οι. ὦ θύγατερ, αἰνῶ μὲν σε τῆς προθυμίας . . .
Αν. ἀλλ' εἰ γαμοίμην, σὺ δὲ μόνος φεύγεις, πάτερ;
Οι. μὲν' εὐτυχοῦσα, τᾶμ' ἐγὼ στέρξω κακά.

we find *αἰνῶ* used in a context of refusal. Antigone has just declared that she intends to go into exile with her father, and now Oedipus replies that he will bear his afflictions alone. His refusal of the offer, however, does not subsist in *αἰνῶ . . . προθυμίας*; we must infer from *μὲν* and also from *τῆς προθυμίας* (*προθυμία* was never refused) that these words are intended as a concessive acknowledgement of Antigone's goodwill and that the actual refusal is to follow in antithesis. Since the dialogue is stichomythic, the refusal is necessarily delayed until 1685, by which time the expected form of expression has been modified in the light of Antigone's reply, and the antithetical *δέ* suppressed. On this interpretation we should delete the stop placed by the editors after *προθυμίας* and take Antigone's reply in 1684 as being prompted by a refusal which she has not actually received but which she has anticipated by inference from Oedipus' *μὲν* clause.

(b) *αἰνεῖν* with accusative of the gift, offer, etc.

In Aesch. *Eum.* 1021, *αἰνῶ τε μύθους τῶνδε τῶν κατευγμάτων*, we find Athena thanking the Chorus for their good wishes for the future prosperity of Athens with *αἰνῶ*; Thomson renders 'I thank you for these words of benison'. Other examples occur in Soph. *Aj.* 526, *αἰνοῖης γὰρ ἂν τὰ τῆσδ' ἔπη* (cf. *ἐπαῖνον τεύξεται* in the following line), *Phil.* 889, *αἰνῶ τάδε*, Eur. *Med.* 908, *αἰνῶ . . . τάδε* and *Hel.* 1232, *αἰνῶ . . . τάδε*. In all of the five examples noticed here it is the words of the preceding speaker which are being acknowledged, and the formula *αἰνῶ τάδε* etc. is thus akin to *καλῶς ἔλεξας*. But this phenomenon, in all probability, only reflects the special conditions of tragedy, where gifts more concrete in substance than words would be the exception, and it would be wrong to imagine that the formula was restricted to contexts of this sort; certainly *ἐπαινεῖν* could be used to convey thanks for what was given or done, as well as what was said (*ἐπαινεῖν*, sections 2 and 3 below).

(c) *αἰνεῖν* with a *ὅτι* clause.

In Eur. *I.A.* 821-4,

Αχ. ὦ πότνι' αἰδώς, τήνδε τίνα λεύσσω ποτέ
 γυναικα, μορφὴν εὐπρεπῆ κεκτημένην;
 Κλ. οὐ θαυμά σ' ἡμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, οἷς μὴ πάρος
 προσήκες· αἰνῶ δ' ὅτι σέβεις τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

Clytemnestra thanks Achilles for the modesty of his words and also, presumably, his demeanour on meeting a strange woman in the Greek camp; one may also suspect that her word of gratitude is intended as an acknowledgement of the compliment which he has paid to her beauty, although, from modesty, she does not say so. For other tragic examples of this construction see *I.A.* 506-7 and *Bacch.* 944.

(d) *αἰνεῖν* used absolutely.

Instances of *αἰνεῖν* used absolutely will be found in Eur. *Suppl.* 388 (the only case of *αἰνεῖν* = 'thank' given by LSJ⁹), *I.T.* 1486 and *Her.* 275-8. In this last passage,

γέροντες, αἰνῶ· τῶν φίλων γὰρ οὐνεκα
 ὄργας δικαίας τοὺς φίλους ἔχειν χρεῶν·
 ἡμῶν δ' ἕκατι δεσπότηις θυμούμενοι
 πάθητε μηδέν.

Megara thanks the Chorus with *αἰνῶ* for their offer to help her and then, after the explanatory parenthesis *τῶν φίλων . . . χρεῶν*, declines the offer with the words *ἡμῶν . . . μηδέν*. After *αἰνῶ* we should supply *μέν*, answered by *δέ* in 277. A close parallel to the antithetical form of refusal, involving a similar parenthesis which states the reason why thanks have been conferred, occurs in Aesch. *P.V.* 340-2:

τὰ μὲν σ' ἐπαινῶ κούδαμῆ λήξω ποτέ·
 προθυμίας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπεις· ἀτὰρ
 μηδὲν πόνει.

I have listed here a total of fifteen instances of responsive or virtually responsive *αἰνεῖν* from tragic dialogue. In thirteen of the instances it stands in an acceptance context and approximates in sense to the English 'thank'; in the other two instances it stands in a refusal context, but likewise approximates to 'thank', being used to acknowledge the goodwill etc. which lies behind the offer. While, therefore, it must be allowed that the sense 'refuse' for *αἰνεῖν* could theoretically have co-existed with the sense 'accept', in view of the ambivalence of the responsive formulae *καλῶς ἔχει* and *καλῶς*, there is no practical basis for believing that it did.

What, then, are we to make of the glosses in Hesychius and the Suda? How did the belief that *αἰνεῖν* meant 'refuse' ever arise? The origin of the error is, I believe, to be found in the use of *αἰνεῖν* (and, as we shall see, *ἐπαινεῖν*) to acknowledge the generosity of an offer concessively before actually refusing it. Usage of this kind, particularly when it was elliptical, was liable to misinterpretation. The passage from the *Phoenissae* noticed in section (a) above is a case in point. I have given what I believe to be the correct interpretation of these three lines; but if one places a full-stop after *τῆς προθυμίας*, as the editors do, one is half-way to convincing oneself and others that *αἰνῶ σε* is Greek for 'I refuse your offer'. And there must be a strong probability that it is precisely this passage of the *Phoenissae* that the Suda was interpreting in this way. In extant tragedy—and there is no reason to suppose that the author of the Suda had access to any more than we have—there seem to be only two other instances of responsive *αἰνῶ σε*, viz. those in Eur. *Phoen.* 614 and *I.A.* 506. Neither of these two cases would have offered the Suda much inducement to suppose that *αἰνεῖν* was

being used in the sense 'refuse'. In the first there is no question of acceptance or refusal but only of thanks, and in the second, although Agamemnon is leading up to a refusal of Menelaus' offer, the refusal begins to emerge only at 511-12 and not at *αἰνῶ σε* in 506. Although this latter passage cannot be altogether dismissed, the instance in the *Phoenissae* is the more likely, intrinsically, to have provoked the theory; and this play is one of the triad of Euripidean tragedies, *Phoenissae*, *Hecuba* and *Orestes*, which were most popular in Byzantine times.¹⁵

The passage of the *Heracles* which has been cited in section (d) above would have provided an even easier pitfall for the unwary. The structure of the refusal formula is so elaborate, with an explanatory parenthesis separating the two parts of an implicit antithesis, that an ancient scholar might well be forgiven if he misunderstood it, as Wilamowitz among modern scholars has, and mentally supplied the *μέν* after *τῶν φίλων* instead of after *αἰνῶ*, and construed: 'Old men, I gratefully decline; for it is meet for friends to feel righteous indignation on behalf of friends, but I would not have you come to harm by displaying anger against our masters.' This interpretation does not do any violence to the Greek or to the context; on the contrary, it closely reflects the way in which Megara is reacting to the Chorus's offer. Only it is wrong. For us to take the further step and assert that this was the identical passage from which the Hesychius lemma was taken is scarcely permissible. In the larger number of tragedies which survived to Alexandrian times responsive *αἰνῶ* used absolutely in a refusal context cannot have been a rarity. All we can safely say is that a passage of this sort probably gave rise to the mistake and it is conceivable that the *Heracles* passage did.

(2) Hes. *W.D.* 643, *νῆ' ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλη δ' ἐνὶ φορτία θέσθαι.*

I turn now to the alleged instance of *αἰνεῖν* = 'refuse' in Hes. *W.D.* 643. The interpretation of Hesiod's *αἰνεῖν* in this sense derives from Plutarch's treatise entitled *πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν*. I quote here the relevant passage in *Mor.* 22f-23a as it is given by Babbitt in the Loeb edition; the traditional text is unfortunately unsound at one or two points, but the argument will not be materially affected: *χάριεν δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆν χρεῖαν τῶν ὀνομάτων συνοικεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν, ὡς οἱ γραμματικοὶ διδάσκουσιν, ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἄλλην δύναμιν λαμβάνοντες, οἷόν ἐστι*

νῆ' ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλη δ' ἐνὶ φορτία θέσθαι.

τῷ μὲν γὰρ αἰνεῖν σημαίνεται τὸ ἐπαινεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἐπαιεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ παραιτεῖσθαι νῦν κέχρηται, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ καλῶς φάμεν ἔχειν καὶ χαίρειν κελεύομεν, ὅταν μὴ δεῶμεθα μηδὲ λαμβάνομεν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῆν ἐπαιεῖν Περσεφόνηϊαν ἐνίοι φασὶν ὡς παραιτητῆν εἰρῆσθαι.

The title of this treatise looks harmless enough, but its subject-matter is not such as to inspire the reader with any great confidence in Plutarch's merit as a literary critic. His object is not to make an honest or valid contribution to the appreciation of poetry, but to demonstrate how poetry which appears to be morally neutral or even deleterious to character may be 'interpreted' for young students in order to serve as a propaedeutic to philosophy. The methods which he advocates are twofold: the 'pruning and nipping' of those passages which exhibit licentious growth (*ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κολοῦμεν καὶ πιέζομεν*, 15f), and the 'introduction and infusion' of philosophy into those passages where the substance is more tractable (*εἰσάγωμεν καὶ καταμιγνύομεν*, *ibid.*). Some of the more deplorable results of these procedures are to be seen in 22b, where *διζυροῖσι βροτοῖσι*, *Od.* iv 197, and *δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι*, *Il.* xxiv 525, are forced into a sense which one suspects (and hopes) Plutarch knew to be impossible, and 23d-24e, where the Homeric and Hesiodic concepts of Zeus are manipulated with considerable sophistry.

The interpretation of the passage with which we are concerned, however, is not a product of these sinister methods. The line from the *Works and Days* is not one of the specimens which Plutarch is subjecting to moral re-interpretation, but a stock example, drawn from the schoolroom, of the way in which the precise sense of a word is determined by its context. It

¹⁵ I am indebted to Dr W. Ritchie for this point.

is intended to illustrate, in a modest and uncontroversial way, the method which will subsequently be applied in the re-interpretation of passages where the content is of crucial importance from Plutarch's educational point of view; so much is stressed by Plutarch himself, when he continues, *ταύτην δὴ τὴν διαίρεσιν καὶ διάκρισιν τῶν ὀνομάτων* (i.e. such as *αἰνεῖν* = *παρατεῖσθαι* and *ἐπαινῆν* = *παραιτητῆν*) *ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι καὶ σπουδαιοτέροις παραφυλάττοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχώμεθα διδάσκειν τοὺς νέους κ.τ.λ.* The interpretation of Hesiod's *αἰνεῖν* in this way derives from the *γραμματικοί*, schoolmasters, but ultimately, we may suspect, from the scholarship of Alexandria. It is accepted by Plutarch without any hesitation (one may discern, in contrast, an element of caution in the way he handles the alleged derivation of *ἐπαινῆν* from *ἐπαινεῖν*), and was in due course taken over from him by Proclus and incorporated in the Hesiodic scholia.¹⁶

Does this interpretation rest on a basis which is wholly literary and traditional, or did Plutarch find it supported by the conversational usage of his own time? This is a straightforward issue which can easily be settled, but it has been somewhat confused by Babbitt, who renders *αὐτῷ . . . κέχρηται*: 'And the very expression of "recommend" to another is used nowadays instead of deprecating for one's self.' This, of course, does outright violence to *κέχρηται*. In his literary citations Plutarch frequently uses the perfect of *χρῆσθαι* for 'the poet has used' (see *Mor.* 22c, 23f, 24f and 25a) and sometimes leaves the subject of the verb to be supplied from the context. The subject of *κέχρηται* is *Ἡσίοδος*, and *νῦν* means 'in this passage', the temporal adverbs being naturally pressed into service to designate a literary context.¹⁷ Thus Plutarch means: 'For *αἰνεῖν* is (*sc.* generally) equivalent to *ἐπαινεῖν*, and the poet has used *ἐπαινεῖν*, in its turn (*αὐτῷ*) as an equivalent of *παρατεῖσθαι*, just as we, in ordinary conversation, say *καλῶς ἔχει* and *χαίρειν κελεύω* or *χαίρέτω* when we are offered something which we do not need and will not accept.' It is clear, then, that the conclusion which has been drawn about Hesiod's *αἰνεῖν* rests on two propositions: first, that *αἰνεῖν* = *ἐπαινεῖν*, and second, that *ἐπαινεῖν* = *παρατεῖσθαι*. The first proposition has not been demonstrated by Plutarch, because he regarded it as self-evident, and the second has been demonstrated by reference to the formulae of contemporary society *καλῶς ἔχει* (*sc.* *μοι*, impersonal) and *χαίρειν κελεύω*, etc. This latter point is vital. The contemporary formulae which Plutarch has cited do not carry the basic sense 'praise' and are not, therefore, sufficient to demonstrate his point; they are merely parallel instances of euphemisms which illustrate his point in a general way. Contemporary evidence for *ἐπαινεῖν* = 'refuse' would, in contrast, have settled the issue beyond all dispute. Since he has not cited *ἐπαινεῖν* from contemporary usage, we may surely take it that it was not current in this sense. And the same conclusion may be drawn from the scholium on *Ar. Frogs* 508, *παραιτούμενοι οἱ παλαιοὶ ἔλεγον 'κάλλιστ', ἐπαινώ καὶ ἐπήγνον*; in ascribing the use of *ἐπαινεῖν* in the sense 'refuse' to *οἱ παλαιοί*, the scholiast necessarily implies that it was not in evidence in the language of his own day. What was established in the *Κοινή*, I think, was something rather different. In Hellenistic and Roman times the verb *ἐπαινεῖν* is found doing duty in responsive formulae, but always in the sense 'thank'. I give here three representative examples, one taken from an official decree and the other two from letters:

- (a) *δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπαινεῖσαι μὲν Εὐμένη, διότι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖται τῶν τῷ δήμῳ χρησίμων καὶ τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα συναντιλαμβανομένους τῶν πολιτῶν τιμῆ τε καὶ στεφανοῖ, O.G.I.S. 267* (Pergamum, third century). *LSJ*⁹ gives the sense 'compliment publicly' for *ἐπαινεῖσαι*, but the natural English equivalent is 'pass a vote of thanks'. It would appear from *Thuc.* ii 25.2 that this sense of *ἐπαινος* goes back at least to the fifth century. For other examples see *LSJ*⁹ s.v. *ἐπαινώ* 2 and some of the references in Dittenberger *S.I.G.* iv s.v.

¹⁶ A. Pertusi, *Schol. Vet. in Hes. Op.*, 205. For Plutarch's commentary on Hesiod, see O. Westerwick, *De Plutarchi studiis Hesiodicis* (Munster, 1893).

¹⁷ Cf. *ἄλλοτε* in the passage cited. We find *νῦν κέχρηται* in *Mor.* 47b of a lecturer and not a writer, but the principle is the same.

(b) ἐγὼ οὖν ἐπινθανόμην τοῦ Σανῶτος, εἴ τι βούλοιο ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς τόποις, ὁ δὲ ἐπήγει μόνον, ἐπέταξεν δ' οὐθέν, *Pap. Eleph.* 13⁴ (223/2 B.C.). Witkowski, *Epp.*² (Teubner) p. 43, renders ἐπήγει 'approbat, assentiebatur', which seems a peculiar way to respond to a favour; substitute 'gratias agebat'.

(c) ἐπαινῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε, St Paul, I *Cor.* 11.2.

The evidence examined here would point to the conclusion that the interpretation of Hesiod's αἰνεῖν which is put forward by Plutarch was not supported by the conversational usage of his day but rather controverted by it, and, further, that this is the reason why his defence of this sense of αἰνεῖν is at once so laboured and inconclusive. What Plutarch is presenting is simply the view accepted amongst the γραμματικοί; and that, even if its pedigree ascended to Alexandria, cannot claim immunity from criticism.

The reasons for rejecting the traditional view were advanced long ago by Graevius¹⁸ and more recently summarised by Gow in an article in *Classical Quarterly*,¹⁹ but since they have made no impression on editors of Hesiod or on *LSJ*⁹, it will not be superfluous to restate them here. The line is a γνώμη; whether it is Hesiod's own creation or a traditional piece of wisdom does not matter for our purpose. Like many Greek γνώμαι it is cast in antithetical form; the exigencies of the metre have led to the suppression of μέν, as, for example, in the γνώμη at 356, δὼς ἀγαθὴ, ἄρπαξ δὲ κακὴ, but the antithesis is sustained by the natural opposition of ὀλίγην and μεγάλην, just as it is in 356 by ἀγαθὴ and κακὴ. If the antithesis be granted (and I am not aware that anyone has seen fit to deny it), it follows that αἰνεῖν cannot carry the sense 'refuse' or any implication of refusal. It must carry the full value of its ordinary sense 'praise': 'Praise a small ship but put your cargo in a big one.' Substitute 'refuse' for 'praise' and the point of 'but' has vanished.

One question remains, and it is the fundamental one: why does Hesiod advise the merchant to praise a small ship before choosing a large one for his cargo? What is the point of praising the very article for which one has no use? In the sphere of moral action hypocrisy may be represented as profitable; this, without doubt, is the import of the advice given by one character to another in Sophocles' *Aιθίοπες* fr. 28 (a passage which has sometimes, and quite unaccountably, been cited to support αἰνεῖν = 'refuse'): σὺ δ' αὐτός, ὡσπερ οἱ σοφοί, τὰ μὲν δίκαια ἐπαινεῖ, τοῦ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἔχου. The advice which is given here exemplifies the doctrine, common enough in fifth-century literature²⁰ but most familiar to us in its elaboration by Glaucon in Plat. *Rep.* 365a-c, that the complete wisdom consists not only in pursuing one's own profit but also in paying lip-service to virtue, in order to derive added benefit from a fair reputation. In the context which is envisaged by Hesiod, however, no such consideration seems to be relevant. The merchant who loads his cargo on to a big ship has nothing to gain by recommending small ships to others or professing to use small ships himself. In the ancient world the export trade was exposed to such hazards, natural and human (see 663-94), and rewarded with such profits that these refinements of the competitive factor would have been unnecessary.

An alternative approach which looks rather more promising would be to entertain the possibility that the merchant who places his cargo in a big ship is constraining himself to forgo certain advantages offered by the small ship, i.e. that smallness in a ship either commands praise *per se* or entails praiseworthy features. One virtue of such a solution would be to lend greater significance to the parallelism between Hesiod's line and the formal imitation of it by Vergil in *Georg.* ii 412-13, *laudato ingentia rura, | exiguum colito*. In the context envisaged by Vergil the husbandman will naturally express admiration for a large estate owned

¹⁸ Cited by Gaisford, *Poet. Min. Graec.* 1 40 n.

¹⁹ *Miscellaneous Notes on the Works and Days*, CQ xi (1917) 117.

²⁰ E.g. Antiphon the Sophist fr. 44 Diels-Kranz⁹ ii

346-7 and the tragic passages cited by Pearson on *Soph. fr.* 28. Pearson's idea that ἐπαινεῖν means 'damn with faint praise' is untenable.

by someone else,²¹ even if in choosing one for himself he must allow productivity and the available labour to impose a limit. May it not be, in the Hesiodic context, that a small ship is considered to be *prima facie* praiseworthy in the same way? Modern commentators seem to have discounted this solution because the smallness of a ship is not a self-evident virtue like the largeness of an estate; but there still remains the possibility that behind Hesiod's *ὀλίγην* there lie certain virtues which a reader familiar with ships would readily discern for himself out of his own experience.

This possibility was not without a champion in antiquity. Amongst the ancient scholia to *Works and Days* 643 we find, alongside the interpretation favoured by Plutarch and taking preference over it, the view that the small ship would be more suitable for taking passage and the large ship for merchant trade: *τὴν μὲν μικρὰν ναῦν εἰς τὸ πλεῖν . . . τὴν δὲ μεγάλην εἰς τὸ ἐμπορεύεσθαι*. The precise factors which underlie this distinction have not been specified by the scholiast, but they can easily be supplied from common sense. The small ship, being light and using either oars or sails according to the vagaries of the weather, would be fast,²² while the merchant ship being heavy and therefore wholly dependent on sails and the weather, would be slow. Thus Hesiod's merchant, being required to pursue profit on a large scale (644-5), would have to forgo the small and swift in favour of the large and slow.

This explanation of Hesiod's meaning would seem to have enjoyed a considerable popularity in Alexandrian circles, for we find it ascribed also to no less a person than Aratus by the scholiast on *Phaen.* 152-4. In this passage, describing the onset of the etesian winds, Aratus writes

*τῆμος καὶ κελάδοντες ἐτησίαι εὐρέϊ πόντῳ
ἄθροοι ἐμπίπτουσιν, ὁ δὲ πλόος οὐκέτι κώπαις
ᾧριος. εὐρεῖαί μοι ἀρέσκοιεν τότε νῆες.*

and the scholiast comments *παρηκολούθησε δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ, Νῆ' ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλη δ' ἐνὶ φορτία θέσθαι*.²³ Such allegations of 'imitation' or 'influence' are notoriously difficult to prove, even when there are striking correspondences of subject-matter present; here, where there are no such correspondences, formal or verbal,²⁴ there is nothing to compel assent. A comparison of the two contexts tells rather against the theory. While Aratus is concerned with a change from oars to sail which is necessitated by the seasonal break in the weather, Hesiod speaks, in his context, of the weather as a perennial danger to the merchant-trade (*εἴ κ' ἄνεμοί γε κακὰς ἀπέχουσιν ἀήτας*, 645) and recommends large ships categorically for use throughout the sailing season, for the sake of large-scale profits. On the whole, the verdict must go against the scholiast; the onus of proof rests with him, and there is no argument which he has adduced or could have adduced which would have demonstrated his case.

Nevertheless the *Phaenomena* passage is not without relevance for the interpretation of Hesiod's *γνώμη*. Aratus has drawn a distinction between the *oared* vessel and the *broad* vessel, leaving the reader to supply from his own experience the factors of speed and safety which are relevant to the argument; and this would provide a parallel to the sort of ellipse which would have to be postulated for Hesiod. Unfortunately in the Hesiod passage the ellipse would be much greater; neither in 643 nor in the lines which follow do we find any mention of speed or oars or sails, and it would not have been so easy to make instant inferences from the opposition of *ὀλίγην* to *μεγάλη* as it was from *κώπαις* and *εὐρεῖαι*, or to conjure up mental

²¹ Paley's view that *laudato* means 'refuse' is rightly rejected by Gow as unparalleled. We should likewise reject the view put forward by A. La Penna, *Esiodo Nella Cultura e Nella Poesia di Virgilio, Fondation Hardt Entretiens* vii 241, that Vergil was here attacking Hesiod; see the discussion *ibid.* 269-70.

²² For speed as a characteristic of the oar-driven vessel see e.g. Eur. *Hel.* 1272, *κώπη ταχύπορος*.

²³ For assistance over this scholium I am indebted to Dr K. J. McKay of Melbourne University.

²⁴ Apart from traditional epic vocabulary, common to the two poets, the only verbal correspondence is *πλόος . . . ᾧριος* with *ᾧριον . . . πλόον*, *W.D.* 630. and *ᾧριος . . . πλόος*, *W.D.* 665, and neither of these passages lies close enough to 643.

images of ἄκατοι and γαῶλοι on the strength of them. Our decision must be that Hesiod *may* have meant this, just as Aratus *may* have taken him to mean this, but granted that 643 is elliptically expressed, an interpretation which rested less heavily on the ellipse would have to be preferred.

There remains one possibility which would fulfil the requirements: it may be that Hesiod is telling the merchant to praise the small ship simply because it has been offered to him for his use, i.e. that αἰνεῖν is equivalent to 'thank for'. In this case we should suppose him to be envisaging a context in which the merchant is enquiring amongst his friends for the use of a ship to carry his goods. This supposition has the drawback of raising a minor conflict with an earlier passage, 622 ff., where Hesiod addresses the farmer who has a surplus for export in such terms as to suggest that he actually owns his own ship; but that may be no more than a provisional assumption made for the sake of convenience and economy of argument, and in any case 643, being a γνώμη, either traditional or Hesiodic, could be pardoned for manifesting a slight discrepancy in a loosely knit didactic poem. If this theory is accepted, it will still be possible to regard the small ship as being *prima facie* praiseworthy for its speed, but unnecessary; the merchant *might* appreciate the ship for such qualities, but, being the recipient of a favour, would have sufficient reason for conferring 'praise' in common politeness. This would be the earliest hint of the responsive use of αἰνεῖν for thanks, for there are no examples to be found in the Homeric poems. There are no Hesiodic parallels, either; but it may not be fanciful to see in *W.D.* 682-3, οὐ μιν (sc. τὸν πλόον) ἔγωγε|αἰνήμ'· οὐ γὰρ ἐμῶ θυμῶ κεχαρισμένος ἐστίν, a further sign that αἰνεῖν was not so remote in sense from the verbal associates of χάρις and might itself operate in thanking contexts.

The explanation advanced here has the further virtue of accounting plausibly for the error of Plutarch and his γραμματικοί. While αἰνεῖν in itself carries no implications of acceptance or refusal and in Hesiod's line the refusal subsists in μεγάλη . . . θέσθαι, 'Be grateful for the offer of a small ship, but put your cargo not in it but in a large one', it was an understandable error to read the refusal into αἰνεῖν itself, just as Wilamowitz did into αἰνῶ at Eur. *Her.* 275.

(3) The alleged use of ἐπαινεῖν in the sense 'refuse'.

We may now deal with the five instances of ἐπαινεῖν = 'refuse' which are cited by *LSJ*⁹ or Wilamowitz (section 3 on p. 144). First, Xen. *Symp.* i 7, which describes the reaction of Socrates and his party to Callias' invitation to dinner at the Piraeus: οἱ οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σωκράτην πρῶτον μὲν, ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλήσιν οὐχ ὑπισχρόντο συνδειπήσειν· ὡς δὲ πάνυ ἀχθόμενος φανερός ἦν, εἰ μὴ ἔψοιντο, συνηκολούθησαν. Here the sense 'refusing' for ἐπαινοῦντες would surely be in open conflict with the writer's intention as declared in οὐχ ὑπισχρόντο. Since Socrates and company ultimately accept the invitation (συνηκολούθησαν), Xenophon has not represented them at the earlier stage as *refusing* but as *not promising* to dine. It follows that ἐπαινοῦντες cannot mean 'refusing', for that would foreclose an issue which the main clause has been designed to keep open, the acceptance or refusal of the invitation. ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλήσιν means, therefore, 'thanking him for the invitation', implying in itself neither acceptance nor refusal. The parallel passage cited by the lexicon is Xen. *Anab.* vii 7.52, ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν· Ἄλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινῶ· ἐμοὶ δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἶόν τε, where Xenophon is replying to an invitation to dinner which he has received from Seuthes. Here it will be clear that if we read the sense 'refuse' or any implication of refusal into ἐπαινῶ, we destroy the antithesis and at the same time convict Xenophon of blatant rudeness. What he said, surely, was that he *thanked* Seuthes for his forethought (or, as we should say, his 'kindness' but was unable to stay. This antithetical form of refusal was characteristic of polite usage at Athens, and, as we have seen already, the example in Aesch. *P.V.* 340-2 (the third example given by *LSJ*⁹) is of the same type. In Ar. *Frogs* 508, κάλλιστ', ἐπαινῶ (the lexicon's fourth example), the two elements of the antithesis have been abbreviated and

transposed, but the basic form is the same again; we have here not just one formula of refusal or two distinct formulae of refusal, as has sometimes been supposed, but a formula of refusal followed by a formula of thanks, i.e. *κάλλιστα* <ἔχει μοι, impersonal>, *ἐπαινώ* <σε>, 'I am content as I am, thank you'.

The last passage which must be considered here is one at which not only Wilamowitz but the consensus of editorial opinion has run off the rails. It is Eur. *Her.* 1233-7:

Ηρ. φεῦγ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἀνόσιον μίασμ' ἐμόν.
Θη. οὐδεὶς ἀλάστωρ τοῖς φίλοις ἐκ τῶν φίλων.
Ηρ. ἐπήνεσ'· εὖ δράσας δέ σ' οὐκ ἀναίνομαι.
Θη. ἐγὼ δὲ πάσχων εὖ τότ' οἰκτίρω σε νῦν.
Ηρ. οἰκτρὸς γάρ εἰμι τᾶμ' ἀποκτείνας τέκνα.

To summarise the context, Heracles, after killing his wife and children, covered his head for shame (1159-60), but Theseus now removes the covering and raises him to his feet (1226), refusing, in view of benefits received from Heracles in the past, to be deterred by thoughts of pollution. *ἐπήνεσα*, 1235, is interpreted by the commentators as a polite rejection of Theseus' readiness to converse, and *οὐκ ἀναίνομαι*, in consequence, is taken in some sense other than 'I do not refuse'. The view prevalent amongst early editors, that *εὖ . . . ἀναίνομαι* means 'I do not deny that I have benefited you' is properly rejected nowadays; while the participial construction would be unexceptionable, *ἀναίνεσθαι* never means 'deny'. The only possible sense left for *οὐκ ἀναίνομαι* is 'I am not sorry', the construction with the participle being paralleled by Aesch. *Ag.* 583, Eur. *Bacch.* 251-2 and *I.A.* 1503,²⁵ and this is how the line was interpreted by Wilamowitz ('Hab' Dank. Was ich an dir tat, reut mich nicht'). This is a perfectly possible way of understanding the Greek, but there are two considerations arising out of the context which compel us to reject it. In the first place, the notion of regret which is apposite enough in the three parallel passages cited above, is irrelevant to the issue between Heracles and Theseus. If Heracles is politely rejecting the offer out of consideration for Theseus, the latter would have no reason whatever to suspect that Heracles is regretting his past services and Heracles would have no reason whatever to reassure him on the point. A man who is declining a favour has no need to deny any regret or, indeed, to feel any regret. In the second place, we may notice that Heracles carries on the stichomythic dialogue with Theseus for 17 lines more, in the course of which he ignores the question of polluting Theseus by talking with him but dwells on the theme that life has become unbearable, and finally (1255-1310) launches into a set *ῥήσις* not on the theme of pollution but again on the theme of the unbearable plight in which he is placed. The refusal to be uncovered and to converse with Theseus is thus clearly revealed for what it is, the dramatist's way of raising and settling a minor difficulty which impeded the further development of the dialogue. Euripides cared nothing for the question of pollution in this context; but he could not afford to ignore it. It follows that, somewhere in the five lines which have been cited above, Heracles has accepted Theseus' gesture of friendship. Where else but in 1235? And once we are rid of the hallucination that *ἐπήνεσα* means 'I refuse', we may construe *εὖ δράσας* causally and restore the ordinary sense to *οὐκ ἀναίνομαι*: 'Thank you; and since I conferred a benefit on you, I do not refuse'. For further proof that this is what Euripides meant we may look to the two lines which follow. The successive echoes *εὖ δράσας*—*πάσχων* *εὖ τότ' οἰκτίρω*—*οἰκτρὸς γάρ εἰμι* are surely symptomatic of the agreement which the two old friends have just reached, not of a continuing dispute.

This ends the examination of the passages in which *ἀνέειν* and *ἐπαινεῖν* have been alleged by various authorities to bear the sense 'refuse'. In order to complete the picture, I

²⁵ See *LSJ*⁹ s.v. and Fraenkel on *Ag.* 583. *Θιωδοῖσα* account for the aor. part. by the speaker's aspect: she *δ' οὐκ ἀναίνομαι* in *IA* 1503 is a hard case. I should contemplate her life as a thing terminated.

present in the following section a brief survey of all the other examples of responsive *ἐπαινεῖν* which are known to me in fifth- and fourth-century literature. Some of the examples are listed by *LSJ*⁹ under the heading 'commend', 'compliment'.

(1) *ἐπαινεῖν* with accusative of the person.

Examples are numerous in poetry and prose. In *Soph. Aj.* 1401, *εἰμ' ἐπαινέσας τὸ σόν*, Odysseus thanks Teucer before he leaves the scene, having been thanked himself by Teucer in 1381-2, *πάντ' ἔχω σ' ἐπαινέσαι | λόγιοι*. See also *Soph. El.* 1044, *Xen. Cyr.* iii 2.14, *Anab.* vi 6.25, [*Dem.*] liii 13.

The favour for which thanks are being tendered may be expressed in a variety of ways:

(a) With a participle in the nominative case.

Ky. *σὺ δ', ὦ ξέν', εἰπὲ τοῦνομ' ὅ τι σε χρῆ καλεῖν.*

Od. *Οὐδτιν' χάριν δὲ τίνα λαβῶν σ' ἐπαινέσω;*

Eur. Cycl. 548-9

ἐπαινῶ δ' εὖ παθοῦσα πρὸς σέθεν.

[*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 648

(b) With a participle in the accusative case.

οὐ σ' ἐπαινῶ, Μυρρίνη,

ἤκουσαν ἄρτι περὶ τοιούτου πράγματος.

Ar. Lys. 70-1

(c) With a clause introduced by *ὅτι, διότι*. See the third-century decree from Pergamum, *O.G.I.S.* 267, quoted above on p. 149, and [*Dem.*] xlix 27 and liii 7.

(d) With a causal genitive.

μεταπεμφάμενος τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν εἰς τὸ Παράλιον τῶν τε προὔπηργμένων εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπήνει

[*Dem.*] xlix 25.

(e) With a causal dative.

πάντ' ἔχω σ' ἐπαινέσαι | λόγιοι, *Soph. Aj.* 1381-2. This is a more dignified tragic version of the common formula *καλῶς ἔλεξας*, discussed above.

(2) *ἐπαινεῖν* with an accusative of the feeling, etc. and, sometimes, an additional accusative of the service rendered.

We frequently find *ἐπαινεῖν* with an accusative object not of the person but of the feeling, attitude or motive which underlies the service. In tragedy, for instance, we have such responsive formulae as *ἐπήνεσ' ὀργὰς ἠπίους*, *Eur. Tro.* 53 and *ἐπήνεσ' αἰδῶ*, *Tro.* 718. The qualities most commonly found, however, are *πρόνοια* and *προθυμία*, combined with a further accusative of the service rendered:

(a) *ἐπήνεσ' ἔργον καὶ πρόνοιαν ἣν ἔθου*, *Soph. Aj.* 536. Ajax thanks Tecmessa for having removed his son out of harm's way while the fit of madness was upon him.

(b) *ἐπαινῶ σου τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ τὴν διέξοδον τῶν λόγων*, *Plat. Prot.* 361c. Protagoras thanks Socrates for his contribution to the dialogue now that it is finished, echoing Socrates' expression in 361c, *πᾶσαν προθυμίαν ἔχω*.

In both of these two examples there is no question of a refusal; the goodwill is acknowledged and the service accepted. In other cases, however, the acknowledgement of the goodwill paves the way for a refusal in antithesis; we have seen one example of this sort in *Xen. Anab.* vii 7.52, *ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινῶ, ἐμοὶ δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἶόν τε*, and there are others in *Aesch. P.V.* 341-2 and *Eur. Phoen.* 1683. A further development of this, the

standard usage of polite society at Athens, is to be found in Plat. *Prot.* 335d-e, ὦ παῖ 'Ιπποῦκου, αἰ μὲν ἔγωγέ σου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀγαμαι, ἀπάρ καὶ νῦν ἐπαινῶ καὶ φιλῶ, ὥστε βουλοίμην ἂν χαρίζεσθαι σοι, εἴ μου δυνατὰ δέοιο· νῦν δὲ . . . Here we are in a slightly different type of context, a refusal of a request and not an offer, but the same procedure has been observed, with φιλοσοφίαν substituted for the conventional προθυμίαν or πρόνοιαν.

It is important to notice that even when ἐπαινεῖν is used in a refusal context, there is no question of it meaning 'refuse'. Such qualities as προθυμία were always acceptable, even when the favours which they prompted were being declined.

(3) ἐπαινεῖν with an accusative of the offer, service, etc.

In one passage already examined on p. 152, Xen. *Symp.* i 7, ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλήσιν οὐχ ὑπισχνούντο συνδειπνήσειν, ἐπαινεῖν with an accusative of the offer is used concessively to pave the way for non-acceptance of the offer. It would appear, however, that this construction is more frequently used in acceptance contexts:

- (a) καὶ λέκτρ' ἐπήνεσ', ἦνίκ' ἂν διδῶ πατήρ, Eur. *Or.* 1672. Here Orestes replies to Apollo's pronouncement that he must marry Hermione. A close parallel is provided by Pylades' expression in 1092-3, ἐμὴν γὰρ αὐτήν, ἧς γε λέχος ἐπήνεσα, | κρίνω δάμαρτα.
- (b) καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός ὁ ἐμὸς ἀκούσας ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ προὔτιμησεν αὐτοὺς πάντων, ἐπήνεσέ τε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι δέοιτο ἢ τε ἡλικία καὶ ἡ παρούσα ἐρημία ἐκείνου τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιδημήσοντος, Isaeus ii 12. Wilamowitz (on Eur. *Her.* 275) cites this passage as an instance of ἐπαινεῖν = 'refuse'. This sense is, however, wholly inappropriate to the context. While the ἀδελφός does in fact refuse the offer of adoption which has been made to him, the cited passage down to ἐπιδημήσοντος expresses his substantial agreement with the arguments upon which the offer has been based. ἐπήνεσε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ means 'Thanked him for what he had said'. Cf. Soph. *El.* 1051, 1057.
- (c) ἐπαινῶ, Μάλακε, τὸ τάχος, from an anonymous mime, *Pap. Oxy.* iii (1903) 41 n. 413. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* 358, translates 'Thank you, Malacus, for being so quick'.

In some of these cases, particularly in the two Euripidean instances given in section (a), ἐπαινεῖν evidently approximates in sense to 'gratefully accept'.

(4) ἐπαινεῖν used absolutely.

- (a) ἐπήνεσ', ἀλλὰ στεῖχε δωμάτων ἔσω, Eur. *I.A.* 440. Agamemnon thanks the messenger for the good wishes which he has expressed for the coming marriage of Iphigenia and then dismisses him. Cf. Eur. *Her.* 1235, discussed above on p. 153, and, probably, Soph. *Inachus fr.* 282 P.
- (b) νῦν οὖν ἐπαινῶ, σωφρονεῖν τ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς
κῆδος τόδ' ἡμῖν προσλαβών.

Eur. *Med.* 884-5.

Medea conveys her feigned gratitude to Jason for his decision to marry Creon's daughter. She supposes that gratitude is expected of her, because Jason has maintained (547 ff., 876-8) that he is contracting the second marriage out of consideration for Medea and her children.

- (c) πρόβαινέ νυν, ὦ θυμέ· γραμμὴ δ' αὐτή.
ἔστηκας; οὐκ εἰ καταπιὼν Εὐριπίδην;
ἐπήνεσα.

Ar. *Ich.* 483-5.

Dicacopolis says 'Thank you!' to his *θυμός* for consenting to move, and follows this with a similar absurdity in 488, *ἀγαμαι καρδίας*, 'There's a good heart!' *ἀγαμαι* is not uncommon in formulae of thanks. Aristophanes is here parodying Euripides, perhaps the *Telephus*²⁶ or *Medea* 1056-8, 1242-3. For another example of absolute *ἐπαινεῖν* in Aristophanes see *Frogs* 508.

Although no prose instances of the absolute use are available, it seems certain that responsive *ἐπαινω*, *ἐπήνεσα* was established in ordinary conversation. If Aristophanes yields very few examples, that would be due to the fact that one of the main ingredients of Old Comedy was a kind of boisterous *ἀγροικία* which elbowed aside the ordinary courtesies of polite society. It is significant that in all cases where such formulae as *ἐπαινω* and *καλῶς ἔχει* are admitted by Aristophanes they make a substantial contribution to the humour of situation, characterisation, etc. Aristophanes is usually credited with little capacity or inclination for humour, but if we could appreciate fully the finer nuances of his style and language, we should probably have to qualify such categorical judgements.

(5) *ἐπαινέτης*.

ἐπαινέτης οὖν εἰμι σοῦ καὶ τῆς τέχνης
ἔγωγ' αἰέ ποτ'—οὐχὶ πιστεύω δ' ὅμως.

Men. *Dysc.* 425-6.

ἐπαινέτης is found elsewhere only in the sense *laudator*, but since these words are Getas' immediate response to Sicon's promise of a square meal, *ἐγώ σε χορτάσω κατὰ τρόπον τήμερον*, their function must be to convey thanks for the offer. The expression is thus roughly equivalent to *ἐπαινω σέ καὶ τὴν σὴν τέχνην οἷ ἐπαινω σέ τῆς τέχνης*. The elevation of a specific expression of thanks to the level of habitual attitude (here effected by *αἰέ ποτε* and the *nomen agentis*) has Attic parallels in Aesch. *P.V.* 340, *τὰ μὲν σ' ἐπαινω κούδαμῆ λήξω ποτέ*, and Plat. *Prot.* 335d-e, *αἰέ μὲν ἔγωγέ σου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀγαμαι κ.τ.λ.* In both of these cases, however, there are special factors at work to produce a heightened formality; in the former case we may notice the operation of irony as well as striving for tragic dignity, and in the latter case the strong tension which has developed between Socrates and Protagoras. It would be safe to conclude that everyday usage at Athens was scarcely as elaborate as this, and that Getas' phraseology does not reflect the ordinary speech of either slave or master. It is, rather, a piece of exaggerated politeness which is designed to accentuate the resounding thud in *οὐχὶ πιστεύω δ' ὅμως*, where the speaker comes down to his practical prospects for a meal.

The words *οὐχὶ . . . ὅμως* were probably intended by Menander as an 'aside', for Getas would not jeopardise his chance of seeing the promise realised by saucing the cook to his face.²⁷ Sicon is probably intended to make his exit into the shrine at *αἰέ ποτε*, leaving Getas to pick up his baggage and communicate his misgivings *sotto voce* to the audience. If this is so, the correction of the manuscript's *οὖν* to *μὲν*, proposed by several scholars, should be rejected. The effect of *μὲν* would be to betray to Sicon the fact that his offer was being received with incredulity and thus ruin the comic effect. That such an inference could be made from *μὲν* is manifested by Eur. *Phoen.* 1683-5, discussed above under *αἰνεῖν* (a).

Whether the manuscript's *οὖν* can be defended under these circumstances is another matter. *οὖν* is paralleled in thanking formulae (see Eur. *Med.* 884), but this scarcely disposes of the difficulty that while Getas' *οὖν* accords with his specific intention, to convey thanks for a particular offer, it conflicts with the temporal extension of *ἐπαινέτης* and *αἰέ ποτε* (see van Groningen *ad loc.*). On the whole I do not think that *οὖν* will stand, and should accept

²⁶ See, however, Handley and Rea, *The Telephus of Euripides* London, 1957, 24.

²⁷ Van Groningen 62.

the correction γοῦν²⁸ rather than the more drastic change to ἐπαιπέτης σου τ' εἰμί καὶ τῆς σῆς τέχνης (Jacques, after Griffith). γοῦν is not infrequently found with 'a *pro tanto* reason for following a suggested course' (Denniston 452-3), particularly in Euripides, and Γ could easily have dropped out of the tradition after ζ. But at any rate the proper basis for argument here is that ἐπαιπέτης εἰμί reflects the responsive ἐπαιπεῖν = 'thank'.

In conclusion I survey the ground which has been covered in this article and add a few further comments.

At the outset we found that the accounts of thanking expressions given by Wilamowitz and the lexicon offered a fair variety of formulae used for refusal and only one or two for acceptance, and those, too, sparsely attested. One result of the survey which has been carried out here is to redress the balance and leave us with an account which is much more credible. Attic Greek, it seems, was well equipped with formulae for both refusal and acceptance. For refusal it commanded πάντ' ἔχομεν, καλῶς ἔχει μοι and a wide variety of more stilted formulae, of which we may regard Aesch. *P.V.* 340-2 as a kind of Attic prototype. For acceptance it commanded ἀρκεῖ, καλῶς ἔχει, καλῶς λέγεις, καλῶς or εἶ with other verbs, αἰνεῖν, ἐπαιπεῖν and formulae of the εὐδαιμονοίης type.

The Greeks' habit in accepting an offer, service etc. was to confer praise and not thanks. The difference between their usage and ours is not just a verbal one but reflects a fundamental difference of outlook. The Englishman with his 'Thank you!' is content to express his feelings, the Greeks, although no less sensible of the force of χάρις, saw an obligation created by a favour received and sought, in their practical, direct way, to discharge it. And since praise was a commodity of which all men had an infinite supply and which all men valued, the obligation could always be discharged immediately. A service rendered in the ordinary world of business might need to be recorded with a 'μέμνησο' and a 'κέισεται σοι ἡ χάρις'; the debt created by a service between friends could be settled on the spot with ἔπαινος.

One of the simplest illustrations of the Greek point of view is provided by the passage which describes the disagreement between Socrates and Thrasymachus in Plat. *Rep.* 338b: Ἀπὴρ δὲ, ἔφη, ἡ Σωκράτους σοφία· αὐτὸν μὲν μὴ θέλειν διδάσκειν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων περιϊόντα μανθάνειν καὶ τούτων μηδὲ χάριν ἀποδίδουαι. "Ὅτι μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μανθάνω παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀληθῆ εἶπες, ὦ Θρασύμαχε, ὅτι δὲ οὐ με φῆς χάριν ἐκτίνειν, ψεῦδη· ἐκτίνω γὰρ ὅσην δύναμαι. δύναμαι δὲ ἐπαιπεῖν μόνον· χρήματα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω. In Thrasymachus' phrase τούτων μηδὲ χάριν ἀποδίδουαι there is a patent suggestion that when a man takes lessons from a sophist, he should be prepared to pay his fees, μισθὸν ἀποδίδουαι. To Socrates the suggestion is repugnant; his statement that he has no money must be taken seriously enough, but it also involves a gentle hint that payment between friends for services of this sort is unseemly. Nevertheless Socrates does not counter Thrasymachus' suggestion with the thesis that χάριν εἰδέναι, 'feeling gratitude', is an adequate return. He accepts the propriety of some kind of repayment, χάριν ἐκτίνειν; only, he asserts, it should be a repayment of 'praise'. And Thrasymachus takes the hint: it is for 'praise' that he looks, but looks in vain, when he has unburdened himself of his definition of δικαιοσύνη in 338c (ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἐπαιπεῖς; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐθέλησας). The Greek here is simple, but not altogether guileless; it operates on two assumptions, the first, that a favour calls for immediate recompense, and the second, that the normal recompense between friends is 'praise'.

If we discount the Euripidean εὐδαιμονοίης and the doubtful εἶ σοι γένοιτο, all the acceptance formulae which we have noticed are of the praising type. The commonest seem to be those of the αἰνεῖν, ἐπαιπεῖν group (αἰνεῖν for poetry, ἐπαιπεῖν universal), in which the speaker states that he confers praise; after them in relative frequency come expressions combining καλῶς with λέγειν, ποιεῖν etc., in which the thanks are actually conferred.

²⁸ Proposed by several scholars, including the present writer in *AHRC* ii.

Of the refusal formulae which we have listed, the two which are most brief, and therefore the most likely to have been in frequent use on the level of ordinary conversation, are πάντ' ἔχομεν and καλῶς ἔχει μοι. Both of these evince the speaker's satisfaction with his actual case and are, therefore, strictly speaking, formulae of refusal without being formulae of thanks. Both of them, theoretically, would have needed the addition of ἐπαινῶ, as in Xanthias' κάλλιστ', ἐπαινῶ at *Frogs* 508, in order to bring them up to the standard of courtesy which was maintained by the Greeks; but in practice καλῶς ἔχει μοι must have developed a higher 'courtesy rating' through borrowing from καλῶς ἔχει, which was a formula of thanks as well as of acceptance, and thus contrived to operate independently without incurring the charge of boorishness which was laid against its fellow πάντ' ἔχομεν. A remarkable circumstance, which enabled a man to praise himself and still appear polite! On the more formal level ἐπαινεῖν was in regular use to convey thanks concessively for the goodwill etc. which lay behind an offer, but the notion that it served *per se* as a formula of refusal is simply not borne out by the evidence. When they are used by themselves ἐπαινῶ, ἐπήνεσα, etc. always convey grateful acceptance.

Owing to the basic difference in outlook the responsive formulae which we have been examining are not completely co-extensive in meaning with the corresponding formulae in English. καλῶς ἔχει functioned as a formula of grateful acceptance but also as a general expression of approval. καλῶς ἔχει μοι functioned as a refusal formula but kept its general use for conveying satisfaction. Formulae based on αἰνεῖν, ἐπαινεῖν were used not only for grateful acceptance but also for congratulations (*Eur. Alc.* 1093, 1095, *Med.* 707). In such circumstances it would be impossible to frame hard-and-fast rules for rendering the Greek formulae into English, but the instances which have been listed here and the analysis of their function may at least help readers of Greek to recognise the idioms when they meet them.²⁹

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²⁹ I am greatly indebted to Messrs F. H. Sandbach and M. W. Frederiksen for the helpful suggestions which they have made to me during the preparation

of this article; but it should not be assumed that they agree with any of the views expressed in it.

TWELVE NEW BRONZE AND IRON AGE SEALS

(PLATE X)

THE ten Minoan and two Island seals, which are here published for the first time (PLATE X), form part of the Bosanquet Collection of the City of Liverpool Museum.¹ Although there exists a card-index for the collection, the entries for these twelve seals give no indication of their provenience: apart from No. 9 below which is described as having been 'bought in Athens' there is no record of whether they were found in the course of excavation or were purchased by Professor R. C. Bosanquet.² Bosanquet was himself, with R. M. Dawkins, one of the original excavators of the site of Palaikastro, but there is no evidence to show that the Minoan seals were discovered on or near the site; and in the absence of any indication, their origin must remain unknown.

The seals themselves are in varying states of preservation. No. 7 is perhaps the least satisfactory, showing signs of extreme wear, although several of the others are by no means negligible additions to the Corpus. Nos. 1, 3 and 5 in particular are excellent representatives of their type. Indeed these ten Minoan stones offer a surprisingly wide sample of the total range of Minoan Glyptic, from the three-sided prism seal of MM IA (No. 1) to two LM III lentoids (Nos. 9-10), and including on the way examples of hieroglyphic, architectural and talismanic designs. Of the remaining two, No. 11 is a good and characteristic example of the Melian winged creature type, while No. 12 is a curious and enigmatic seal, probably also to be regarded as an Island gem.

There follows a descriptive catalogue of the seals in approximate chronological order based upon technical and stylistic parallels.

No. 1 (B.C. 210) MM IA (PLATE Xa-c)

Shape Three-sided prism bead.

Size L. 14; W. 11, 9, 11; S.H. 3.

Material White steatite.

Engraving (a) Horse running; bird above.

(b) Quadruped grazing—the body that of a boar with bristles, but with calf-like legs.

(c) Swastika design, composed of four dogs' heads(?).

Of all these twelve seals, this first one is perhaps the most interesting, showing as it does what appears to be one of the earliest Cretan horses. The presence of horses in the LM period and their place in the Minoan way of life is fully attested both by sealings and by the Chariot tablets of the Linear B archives. These animals were characterised by a tufted dressing of the mane, depicted on the sealings and graffito tablets alike; and I have elsewhere drawn attention to the care with which the various forms of the mane are distinguished.³ Evans suggests that the horses of this period were brought to Crete by sea from Syria,⁴ but gives no indication of the presence of horses at an earlier date. The present example, therefore, antedates these horses of the last Palace Period by over five hundred years.

It is not possible to be certain whether this carving of a horse suggests that already by this

¹ The seals are published here by kind permission of the City of Liverpool Museum, and I am grateful to Mr T. Hume, the Director, and his staff for providing impressions. I must also acknowledge a great debt of gratitude to Dr V. E. G. Kenna, who has given both detailed advice on matters of chronology and help and suggestions on a number of points throughout the preparation of this paper. I have also had the benefit of Mr John Boardman's

advice on several matters. The less obvious abbreviations are as follows:

S.H. diameter of the string hole.

D.F. diameter of the face.

All measurements are given in millimetres.

² Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool, 1906-20.

³ *Kadmos* ii 2, 1963, 151.

⁴ *Palace of Minos* ii 244, fig. 141a.

time the animal had been domesticated in Crete. There is possible fossil evidence for the keeping of horses before 3000 B.C. from Level I of the Rana Ghundai site in northern Baluchistan;⁵ but the first pictorial representations of domesticated horses do not appear in the east until the first half of the Third Millennium;⁶ and even though by this time domestication of the horse had presumably taken place in the areas north of the Persian mountains, the subsequent spread westward appears to have been a slow process. It seems unlikely that horses were much in use for drawing chariots before the first quarter of the Second Millennium.⁷ But if its presence on this seal can be taken to demonstrate that horses were both known and used by the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age, face (a) shows the earliest picture of a domesticated horse in Western Europe.⁸

There is, of course, evidence of the use of asses in Crete before the LM period: it seems likely that vehicles like the Miniature Painted Wagon from Palaikastro⁹ were drawn by asses or oxen. But the animal on this seal appears to be a specimen far superior to the humble ass. In spite of the lack of detail in the carving, the length and shape of the legs, particularly the rear pair, the form of the tail and the elegant line of the body are clearly characteristic of the true horse. A comparison with the small terra-cotta vessel in the form of an ass¹⁰ shows the superiority of the animal on this seal (fig. 1).¹¹

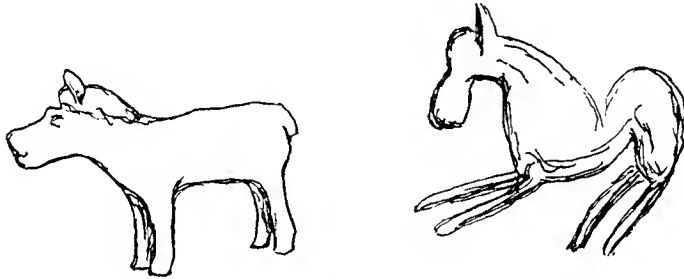


FIG. 1

An early three-sided steatite prism bead, K 50,¹² shows an animal that appears to be midway between the two, although Evans describes it as 'probably an ass'.¹³

For a boar 'nosing in the earth' cf. K 49, although the legs of the animal on this seal are more like a calf's than a boar's.

The significance in Minoan art of the swastika sign appears to be purely decorative; and with the exception of a sealing from Knossos¹⁴ it is found only in the pre-Palatial and first Palatial periods.¹⁵

No. 2 (B.C. 211) MM IIB-MM IIIA (PLATE Xd-f).

Shape Three-sided prism bead.

Size L. 17; W. 9.2, 9, 9.2; S.H. 4.

⁵ Cf. *JNES* v (1946) 284-316.

⁶ Cf. the rider from Susa (R. de Mequenem and V. Scheil in *Mem. Mus. archéol. Iran* xxix (1943) and the Khafaje Vase.

⁷ For a full discussion of this subject see F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (1963) 299-337. Cf. also *JHS* lxxxiii (1963) 197.

⁸ If Childe's later dating of the Tripolye culture is accepted, this is the first domesticated horse in the whole of Europe.

⁹ *Palace of Minos* ii 156, fig. 78.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 157, fig. 79.

¹¹ The drawings for figs. 1 and 2 have been made by Jonathan A. Robertson.

¹² V. E. G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals* (1960) 94; pl. 3. All seal numbers prefaced by the letter K refer to this work.

¹³ *Palace of Minos* iv 520, n. 4.

¹⁴ *BSA* ix (1902) 88, fig. 59.

¹⁵ The problems of the swastika are discussed in: A. Xenaki-Sakellariou, *Les Cachets minoens de la Collection Giamalakis* (Études crétoises x (1958)) 7. Cf. also Higgins, *BSA* lii (1957) 51.

Material Dark green steatite.

- Engraving* (a) A single-masted ship: two crooks, one on each side of the rigging, facing in reverse directions. Oars are depicted on the hull. A small cross in the top right-hand corner.
- (b) Two C-spirals conjoined by a broken line: in the centre two shoots (?), one on each side of the line.
- (c) S-spiral with two C-spirals attached: hieroglyphic Branch sign¹⁶ in bottom left. Three small objects in the field, possibly diminutive branches.

The signs are incised with exceedingly shallow cuts, making it difficult to secure a clear impression.

The seal can be closely paralleled by K 71¹⁷ (fig. 2).

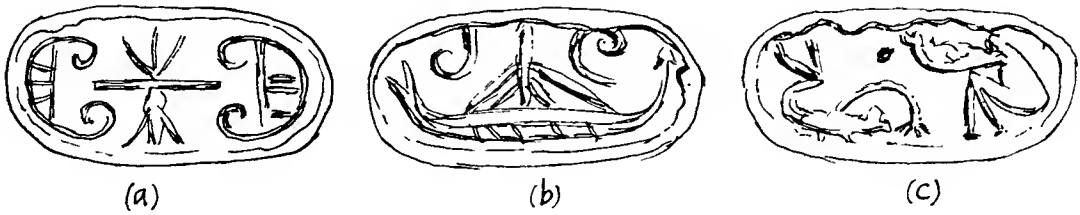


FIG. 2

Clearly K 71 (b), apart from the substitution of small C-spirals for crooks and the absence of a small cross, shows exactly the same design as face (a) of this seal; and it is possible that the crooks are merely simplified versions of the C-spiral. The oars and rigging are almost identical in both cases.

K 71 (a) and face (b) above both show the two C-spirals joined by a line and the centre design is not dissimilar. On the third face, however, the two seated men on K 71, placed round 'a small object in the field which they appear to be beating' are replaced by a combination of S- and C-spirals and the Branch sign.

Seals of this type do not belong to the regular Hieroglyphic series, but it seems not unlikely that the conjunction of the Ship and the Branch seen here has a significance greater than that of mere ornament. The combination is found on several purely hieroglyphic inscriptions of all classes. On the four-sided steatite prism seal P 26¹⁸ the Ship occurs on face (a) with six Tree signs, while the Branch is found on face (d): on the signet impression P 63a¹⁹ the Ship is found with two Branch signs: on the four-sided clay bar with graffito inscription P 100²⁰ the Ship and Branch occur on face (d).

It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that although this seal does not show a fully developed form of the Hieroglyphic script, the use of the signs combines an element of meaning with their original purely decorative significance.²¹

No. 3 (B.C. 209) MM IIIA (PLATE Xg).

Shape Signet. For shape cf. K 139.

Size H. 9; D.F. 7.5; S.H. 2.

¹⁶ Evans, *Scripta Minoa* i (1909) no. 99, p. 218.

¹⁷ Kenna, *op. cit.*, 98, pl. 4.

¹⁸ *Scripta Minoa* i 154.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 161.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 170.

²¹ In connexion with this subject it is worth pointing out that the Spiral sign, which appears on faces (b) and (c) of this seal, may itself be more than a simple

ornament. In several inscriptions, notably P 74a 1 (*Scripta Minoa* i 162) and K 172 (Kenna, *op. cit.*, 113) it occurs as the sole qualifying sign of a common formulaic group. These and other similar examples may suggest that the Spiral was used with a definite significance instead of—or in addition to—being used as a decorative element.

Material Green Jasper.

Engraving Small cross, hieroglyphic Gate and Leg signs;²² hatching in the field.

The carving and positioning of the signs are very fine. The angle of the Leg, in particular, is perfectly adapted to the shape of the seal-face.

The Gate and Leg combination is one of the most commonly recurring sign-groups throughout the Hieroglyphic Script: the writer has collected twenty-six examples of its occurrence (including the present one), in sixteen cases of which the Silphium sign²³ is also present. It seems likely that a single common formula of this type would be used in combination with other signs, either added to a clay sealing in the form of graffito signs or impressed with a further seal: *cf.* P 71,²⁴ where the Gate and Leg preceded by a cross, as here, and with the Silphium added, are found in conjunction with the impression of a Portrait Head described by Evans as that of a 'Minoan Dynast';²⁵ leading him to identify the Gate-Leg formula as perhaps an official title.

The style and technique employed here is similar to that of K 138, 139 and 140.²⁶

No. 4 (B.C. 215) MM IIIB (PLATE Xh).

Shape Lenticular.

Size D. 13; S.H. 2.

Material Rock crystal.

Engraving Architectural design.

The stone is chipped and cracked.

The group of seals from this period showing architectural patterns or wall designs,²⁷ of which this is an example, can be related to two sealings from the Temple Repository²⁸ and to the small faience house-front tablets from the 'Town Mosaic';²⁹ a further example of a similar sealing was found in the North-East House at Knossos.³⁰ The hoard of sealings found at Zakro contains a number of impressions showing a similar concern for features of architectural design.³¹

The workmanship of several of the seals of this type seems less careful and thoughtful than that of other contemporary stones,³² but this may be accounted for by the extreme hardness of the materials used; often rock crystal, as here, and in the case of K 160, obsidian.

No. 5 (B.C. 218) MM IIIB-LM IA: 'Second Transitional Period'³³ (PLATE Xi).

Shape Glandular.

Size L. 13; W. 11; S.H. 2.3.

Material Cornelian.

Engraving Bird (eagle?) flying with outstretched wings—Talismanic.

The so-called 'Talismanic Gems' that are a feature of this period derive their designs from common everyday subjects, stylised and treated symbolically.³⁴ The frequent repetition of these standard subjects—ewers, vases, marine motifs or the flying eagle, as here—without a great regard for details of style or technique, suggests that the stones enjoyed a general usage, and that precise identification of the design became less important than their universally-accepted talismanic properties.³⁵

²² Evans, nos. 44B, 11.

²³ Evans, no. 92.

²⁴ *Scripta Minoa* i 162.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 272.

²⁶ Kenna, *op. cit.*, pl. 6.

²⁷ For other examples of similar seals see Kenna, *op. cit.*, 110, K 152-64.

²⁸ *Palace of Minos* i 565, fig. 411a, b.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 304 ff.

³⁰ *Ibid.* ii 421, fig. 242.

³¹ *JHS* xxii (1902) 88, nos. 130, 131, 133; pl. x.

³² Especially K158 and K163, and to a lesser extent K160 and K161; but *cf.* by contrast K155 and K156.

³³ *Cf.* Kenna, *op. cit.*, 44.

³⁴ Further examples of Talismanic Gems showing the flying eagle can be found in: A. Xenaki-Sakellariou, *Les Cachets minoens de la Collection Giamalakis* (Études crétoises x (1958)) 70, nos. 418-25; pl. xxx.

³⁵ For a full discussion of the development of the Talismanic Gem, see Kenna, *op. cit.* 68, Appendix III.

Although the flying eagle is characteristic of the beginning of the Late Minoan period, it is foreshadowed by similar motifs on earlier seals. An early steatite prism seal shows a simplified version of the same subject.³⁶ In addition, the form and position of the bird on these Talismanic seals is not dissimilar to that found on certain Mesopotamian cylinder seals. The scene on a cylinder of the Second Early Dynastic Period³⁷ includes an Eagle with outstretched wings and fanned tail, although the details of both wings and tail are represented more naturalistically.

No. 6(B.C. 217) LM IB (PLATE Xj).

Shape Amygdaloid.

Size L. 25; W. 14.5; S.H. 1.5.

Material Red cornelian with black markings.

Engraving Winged griffin with head turned back over shoulder. Plant (grass?) to the right.

The stone is chipped at the top, with the head and part of the outstretched wing missing. The legs are thin and elongated, and the claws are shown. The griffin is frequently represented in this pose, with the head turned in profile: *cf.* K 327³⁸ showing a similar position, with a dead water-fowl in the field above. A further seal,³⁹ however, shows a griffin with both wings outstretched.

The use of the tubular drill on the neck and upper part of the wing is reminiscent of that seen on the bird with outstretched wings on K 223.⁴⁰

No. 7(B.C. 213) LM II (early) (PLATE Xk).

Shape Lenticular.

Size D. 18; S.H. 2.5.

Material Haematite.

Engraving Bull running with acrobat leaping over his back.

This stone is exceedingly worn.

The most outstanding representations of bull-games and bull-hunts in Minoan glyptic art are found at a somewhat earlier period. Kenna places two fine lentoids, K 208 and 209, in the Second Transitional Phase at the end of the Middle Minoan Age,⁴¹ and four other seals showing similar scenes in LM I.⁴² But in spite of the presence of LM IB characteristics, it seems more reasonable to place the present seal after the naturalistic examples of LM IA and B, and before the geometrical and schematic versions of LM IIIA. The use of haematite tends to confirm the late date.

No. 8(B.C. 216) LM II (PLATE XI).

Shape Lenticular.

Size D. 19; S.H. 2.2.

Material Dark green steatite.

Engraving Lion seizing bull (wild goat?) by the throat.

The stone is much worn. The lion is placed above his victim in a somewhat distorted position, with the head and neck twisted downwards. The head itself is enlarged, giving an effect of perspective. In spite of the imperfect condition of the seal, the engraving clearly possesses much vigour, if without the finesse and care for proportions that are characteristic of the work of this period.

³⁶ *BCH* lxx (1939) 81, fig. 3 (2b).

³⁷ H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (1939) pl. xig.

³⁸ Kenna, *op. cit.*, 135; pl. 13; *cf.* also K368, p. 141: pl. 14.

³⁹ Xen. Sak., *op. cit.*, 51, no. 335; pl. xxvi.

⁴⁰ Kenna, *op. cit.*, 121; pl. 9.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 118, pl. 9.

⁴² *Ibid.* K246-9, p. 124; pl. 10.

No. 9 (B.C. 214) LM IIIA 1 (PLATE X*m*).

Shape Lenticular.

Size D. 19; S.H. 2.5.

Material Cornelian.

Engraving Young bull running with head looking back over his shoulder in profile: ground indicated by two horizontal lines. Cactus plant on each side.

The style is sure, and the legs are firmly moulded, but the front right leg is curiously bent, and the carving is lacking in a certain finesse. Even so, the workmanship is superior to several other seals of the same period showing similar scenes.⁴³

A seal in the Ashmolean, K 389,⁴⁴ shows a young bull running to the right with a branch in the field, and several other seals in this collection show various animals in similar running positions; two young calves (K 383), bull (K 384, 385), wild goat (K 386), 'maned animal' (K 388): *cf.* also no. 10 below. The presence of varying plants or branches in some of these examples may indicate different regions or types of country in which the animals would be found—and, perhaps, hunted.

The presence of the ground lines in this example permits a more exact dating.

No. 10 (B.C. 212) LM IIIA 1 (PLATE X*n*).

Shape Lenticular.

Size D. 14; S.H. 2.

Material Yellow-brown cornelian.

Engraving Antlered stag running to the left with head turned backwards. A shrub to the left.

For details of scenes of this type, see no. 9 above. The style here is slightly less refined: the head is bent far back in order to leave a space for the antlers, and the legs are less naturalistic than in the case of the previous seal. The shrub or tree is curved to follow the line of the neck and thus to match the shape of the seal-face. There is no ground-line.

No. 11 (B.C. 219) Island Gem (PLATE X*o-p*).

Shape Lenticular.

Size D. 20; S.H. 2.8.

Material Pale greenish-yellow steatite.

Engraving (a) Forepart of a winged goat: saw pattern as ground line.
(b) Winged horse.

This seal is characteristic of a group of stones, most of which derive from Melos showing winged creatures and other monsters.⁴⁵ The only other example with both winged horse and winged goat, one on each side, is a fine light green steatite lentoid in the New York collection.⁴⁶

The carving of the present stone is, in Boardman's classification, Class D early.⁴⁷ In the case of both creatures the ribs are shown; and the presence of the eye suggests that the engraving is not the work of the artist whose seals are collected in Boardman, *op. cit.* 6 j,⁴⁸ but can perhaps be placed with the seals listed in 6 k. *Cf.* the saw pattern on face (a), the simpler linear representation of the farther back leg and the presence of the ribs. Furthermore, in spite of the fine quality of the work, it lacks the boldness characteristic of the artist responsible for the former group.

As Boardman has pointed out⁴⁹ there is no justification for identifying the winged horse as

⁴³ *Cf.* especially Xen. Sak., *op. cit.*, nos. 237, 238. 249, pl. xxiv. No. 237 also appears to show a plant or shrub in the field.

⁴⁴ Kenna, *op. cit.*, 142, pl. 15.

⁴⁵ J. Boardman, *Island Gems* (1963) 54-68.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* no. 253, pp. 63, 66; pl. ix.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 19.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 87.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 64.

Pegasos, since creatures of this type are a common feature of Island art, on occasions shown drawing divine chariots.

No. 12 (B.C. 220) Island Gem (?) (PLATE X q - r).

Shape Disc with flat face and domed back.

Size H. 4; D.F. 11; S.H. 1.

Material Pale green steatite.

Engraving (a) Flat face—Insect or marine creature with two arms—cuttlefish(?).
 (b) Domed back—A circle of eight drilled holes surrounding a central area which contains a filling between two parallel lines. The whole design is bordered by a circle of shallow cuts.

This seal is remarkable both for its shape and for its carving. The majority of disc-shaped stones are either flattened discs with one or both sides carved⁵⁰ or discs with one flat face and a low conical or domed back with only the flattened face carved.⁵¹ A seal of this type is Boardman no. 321 which shows a crab and fish on its engraved face, providing a possible point of contact with the marine creature (?) on face (a) of the present seal. A similarly-shaped steatite gem from Melos⁵² appears to show a meander pattern, perhaps based on a cross.

The closest parallel to face (b) is provided by K 392,⁵³ a fragment of an LM III gem, which shows a series of drilled holes not unlike those found here. Does face (a) therefore show a levelling and re-engraving of an earlier stone?

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⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 76, nos. 324-9.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* nos. 321-3.

⁵² Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly* (1912)

165, fig. 112c, Boardman no. G22.

⁵³ Kenna, *op. cit.*, 142; pl. 15.

NOTES

Apology and Correction

In the recently published *Corpus Vasorum Ferrara I* there are two errors for which I may be held partly responsible. Pl. 43, 1 and p. 17, right, below. In my manuscript in the Ferrara Museum I called the artist 'the Painter of Ferrara T.512'; but later, perceiving that I had already used the term for a minor cup-painter, I changed the name of the artist of stemmed plates to 'Painter of Ferrara T.13'. Pl. 43, 1 is by the Painter of Ferrara T.13 (*ARV*² p. 1306, foot, no. 1), not the Painter of Ferrara T.512. *CV* pl. 44, 3: this I have never attributed to the Painter of Ferrara T.101 as stated in *CV*, but always to the Painter of Ferrara T.143A. Two plates were discovered in Tomb 101: one by the Painter of Ferrara T.101 (*ARV*² p. 1306, top, no. 1) and one by the Painter of T.143A (*ARV*², p. 1307, no. 7). I should not, however, have described the subject as head of Dionysos, but as a female head.

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Aeschylus, Agamemnon 984-6

χρόνος δ', ἐπεὶ πρυμνησίον ξὺν ἐμβολαῖς
ψάμμος ἄμπτα, παρήβησεν, εἴθ' ἐπ' Ἴλιον
ὄρτο ναυβίατα στρατός.

984 ἐπεὶ F: ἐπί Tr ξυμνησίον FTr: corr. Casaubon
985 ψαμίμας FTr: corr. Wecklein ἀκάτα F: ἀκάτα Tr:
corr. Wilamowitz παρήβησ' Tr.

The above is the text of Wilamowitz and Fraenkel, which I believe correct, requiring only interpretation.¹ Wilamowitz translated (*Gr. Trag.* ii 85), 'Die Zeit ist grau geworden, seit der Sand von Aulis aufflog, da zur Troiafahrt das Heer die Taue loste'; Fraenkel similarly but more literally, 'Time has grown old since with the throwing-in of the mooring-cables the sand flew up, when the naval host set forth to Ilion'. Denniston-Page make the linguistically correct objection the 'sand does not "fly up" when mooring-cables are "thrown in"'. But this misses the real point, viz. that no one ever throws in a cable when a ship is leaving—it is pulled in: throwing occurs only when a ship is coming in to land. A few minutes at any harbour will prove this for the present day; for antiquity cf. Polyaen. iv 6.8 ἄλλοι μὲν ἐνέσπων τὰ πρυμνήσια, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀγκύρας ἀνιμῶντο (quoted by Torr, *Ancient Ships* 73 n. 166).² Aeschylus must have known this.

A solution can be found from an examination of the last clause, εἴθ' ἐπ' Ἴλιον|ὄρτο ναυβίατα στρατός. It seems to be almost universally³ referred to the fleet leaving Aulis. But ἐπὶ is not the preposition one would expect for such a context (rather ἐπί, as

Casaubon conjectured).⁴ ἐπὶ here cannot be separated from such Homeric phrases as ἐπ' Ἴλιον ἦλθεν (*Il.* ii 216), cf. also Xen. *Cyrop.* v 4.43 ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἄγειν; it will therefore mean 'beneath the walls of Ilion', and the reference would seem to be to the expedition's arrival in the Troad. ὄρτο is no obstacle to this: if one wishes to insist on the idea of 'starting' (though I find little of this in passages such as *Sept.* 89 ἐπερ τευχέων ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνεται λαός), one may think of the force beginning the advance from the beach to the city. In fact the idea of 'rushing furiously', which is so prominent in this verb, is more appropriate if it refers to the actual assault on Ilion, not preceded by the long sea voyage. Either reference suits the general context (it might be objected that the following words, πένθομαι δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων νόστον, favour a reference to the initial departure, but should an exact correspondence of that nature be demanded of Aeschylus?).

On this view then, the ships were coming to land, therefore their mooring-cables were thrown ashore—and ψάμμος ἄμπτα, which, we may now say with Fraenkel, is an *emendatio palmaris*. It gives perfect sense and metre; paleographically it is close to the transmitted text. The same cannot be said of any of its rivals.

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National Library of Scotland,
Edinburgh.

¹ The assumptions behind it, that χρόνος is the subject of παρήβησεν and that the verb of the ἐπεὶ-clause is hidden in ἀκάτα, seem certain: otherwise the unparalleled χρόνος ἐπεὶ 'it is a long time since' is introduced and/or violence is applied to innocent words, see Fraenkel. Cf. also n. 3—Triclinius' conjectures are the merest trifling.

² In his commentary Fraenkel seems to realise this, as he speaks of 'the hauling-in of the mooring-ropes': but ἐμβολή 'hauling-in' is impossible. Ahrens' comparison with ἐμβολή and ἐμβάλλω used of the loading of cargo proves nothing: that is merely one facet of the frequent development of βάλλω from 'throw' to 'place': it is a very long way from there to 'haul'. This sense, 'stowing away', would in itself be appropriate here, but the difficulty of the following line would still remain.

³ The only explicit exception I have noticed is B. H. Kennedy, who translates 'as 'neath the walls of Ilion advanced the naval army', without comment: his treatment of the preceding words requires no criticism. D. C. C. Young (*CQ* n.s. xiv (1964) 11-12) also places the action on the Trojan beach (and thus gets the nautical matters correct, though he does not mention this), but I do not find his text and translation credible. Prof. H. Lloyd-Jones now tells me

that he has so taken the clause for several years in his lectures.

⁴ To follow Casaubon, however, would be wrong, as it means tampering (however slightly) with words unobjectionable in themselves, and leaving the difficulty in the previous words unsolved, and apparently insoluble.

Alexander's Macedonian Cavalry and Diodorus xvii 17.4

In this chapter Diodorus is specifically giving the numbers of the various contingents who actually crossed into Asia with Alexander in 334 B.C. (*οἱ μὲν οὖν μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κτλ.*), that is to say, the numbers of the advance-party sent over by Philip in 336¹ are not included in his totals. If this fact is borne in mind, a possible emendation and solution can be offered to the much disputed clause *Θράκες δὲ πρόδρομοι καὶ Παιόνες ἐνακόνται*.

Now the Thracians were not identical with the *πρόδρομοι*, who were also called *σαρισσοφόροι*; these latter being almost certainly native Macedonian light cavalry;² and various emendations to Diodorus' text usually involving unnecessary ingenuity, have been suggested. Thus Berve³ thinks that *πρόδρομοι* should be transposed after *Παίονες*; and Beloch⁴ believes that a reference to the Macedonian lancers and their numbers has dropped out of our text.

Now Diodorus says that 30,000 infantry and 4,500 cavalry altogether crossed with Alexander; but his totals add up to 32,000 infantry and 5,100 cavalry, this latter figure being in agreement with that given by Ptolemy.⁵ Anaximenes of Lampsacus,⁶ a contemporary of Alexander, gives the figures for the army in 334 as 43,000 infantry and 5,500 cavalry. These figures represent, in all probability, the total forces of the army after its conjunction with the advance-party, whose numbers were in the region of 10,000.⁷ P. A. Brunt points out⁸ that there is reason for believing that even Anaximenes' total for the cavalry is too low. For by subtracting the 5,100 of Ptolemy (and Diodorus) from the 5,500 of Anaximenes, we are left with the figure of only 400 cavalry for the advance-party; and as Brunt points out, 'it was well known that the enemy strength lay in cavalry; so small a contingent would have been inadequate, and bears no relation to the resources in cavalry at Philip's disposal'. Hence the number of cavalry in the advance-force should probably be reckoned at 1,000, and the total number of cavalry in 334 at 6,100. Brunt suggests that Anaximenes arrived at his figure of 5,500 by neglecting or overlooking a contingent of 600 cavalry in Alexander's own army, and then adding the 1,000 cavalry of the advance-force to the resulting 4,500 who crossed with Alexander.

Now Diodorus says⁹ that the advance-party was a mixed force of Macedonians and mercenaries, but gives no indication as to the proportion of mercenaries

to Macedonians. However, it seems to be a reasonable conjecture that in the cavalry arm of this force, at least, the mercenaries were outnumbered by the Macedonian troopers; for Philip had an abundance of native Macedonian cavalry at his disposal, who were no doubt cheaper to maintain than mercenary cavalry—an important factor in view of the depleted state of the treasury at the end of Philip's reign. But, on the other hand, it seems likely that the mercenaries were not too heavily outnumbered by the Macedonians, since Alexander appears to have disposed of a considerable force of mercenary cavalry at Gaugamela,¹⁰ though Diodorus mentions no mercenary cavalry as having crossed to Asia in 334, and only a few are recorded as having reached Alexander between 334 and 331. I suggest a proportion of 400 mercenary cavalry to 600 Macedonian, whose identity I shall leave for the moment.

Now, the numbers of the *σαρισσοφόροι* is a much disputed point. However, we know that at the Granicus they were divided into four *ilai*, or squadrons;¹¹ that is to say, they were grouped into half as many squadrons as the Companion cavalry. The average strength of an *ile* of the Companions at this time, exclusive of the *agema* of 300, was about 215 men.¹² A similar strength for the *σαρισσοφόροι* would give 860 men, or on a 'round figure' 900.¹³ The numbers of the Thracian and Paeonian cavalry are also disputed. Berve¹⁴ puts them at about 700; Brunt,¹⁵ with more probability, at about 600.

We may now turn back to the identity of the 600 Macedonian cavalry in the advance-party. I suggest that they were *σαρισσοφόροι* (or *πρόδρομοι*), a view hinted at by Brunt, who adds that it may be of significance in this context that at the Granicus they were under the command of Amyntas, one of the generals of the advance-party. This will mean that on my reckoning only 300 *σαρισσοφόροι* crossed into Asia with Alexander in 334. This number, when added to the 600 Thracian and Paeonian cavalry, gives 900—the figure given in Diodorus' text at the disputed point. If my arguments are correct, then no drastic alteration need be made of the text, the only necessary emendation being the insertion of *καὶ* between *δὲ* and *πρόδρομοι*, to give the reading *Θράκες δὲ καὶ πρόδρομοι καὶ Παίονες κτλ.* The omission of *καὶ* is easily done, and by its restoration, Diodorus is proved correct, since there were in fact a total of 900 Thracians, *πρόδρομοι* or *σαρισσοφόροι*, and Paeonians who crossed into Asia with Alexander; though after the conjunction with the advance-party the *σαρισσοφόροι* totalled nearly 900.¹⁶

Finally, why does Diodorus not include the *πρόδρομοι* among the Macedonian cavalry in his list? Two possible answers suggest themselves. Firstly, to Diodorus, as to all the other sources, 'the Macedonians' in the case of cavalry signified above all the Companion cavalry, just as the term in the case of infantry means almost exclusively the Hypaspists and Pezhetaeri; thus one would never suspect, for example, that among Diodorus' 1,000 Agrianians and archers

there was a contingent of native Macedonian *toxotae*.¹⁷ Secondly, despite Berve¹⁸ who maintains that the Thracians, as distinct from the Paonians and *πρόδρομοι*, were a heavy cavalry unit, all three contingents that make up Diodorus' 900 were in all probability light cavalry.¹⁹ Diodorus is being quite logical in grouping the Macedonian *πρόδρομοι* with two non-Macedonian contingents. For after grouping together and describing the army's heavy cavalry (the Companions, the Thessalians, and the cavalry of the Hellenic League), he then goes on to group together and give the contingents of the light cavalry; though it would certainly have been clearer to us if he had given the separate contingents in the order *πρόδρομοι δὲ καὶ Θράκες καὶ Παίονες κτλ.*

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¹ Diodorus xvi 91.

² For the identification of *πρόδρομοι* as *σαρισσοφόροι*, see H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, i 129 (henceforth cited as Berve i). For the *πρόδρομοι* as Macedonian cavalry, see Berve i 129; P. A. Brunt, *JHS* lxxxiii (1963) 28. Both refute Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, ii 158), who maintains that 'the lancers were not Macedonians at all but Balkan troops'.

³ i 134.

⁴ *Griechische Geschichte* iii² 2.235.

⁵ F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 138, F4.

⁶ Jacoby, no. 72, F29.

⁷ Polyaeus, v 44.4.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 35.

⁹ xvii 7.10.

¹⁰ Arrian iii 12.3.

¹¹ *Cf.* Brunt, *op. cit.*, 27.

¹² Probably overstrength because of the need for cavalry in the war against the Persians.

¹³ There seems to be no reason for not believing that an *ile* of Macedonian *πρόδρομοι* was of the same size as an *ile* of Macedonian Companion cavalry; *cf.* Berve i 106, who makes this assumption; though he erroneously includes both *σαρισσοφόροι* and Companions in Diodorus' figure of 1,800 Macedonian cavalry, thus giving each *ile* a strength of 150 men.

¹⁴ i 134.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 35.

¹⁶ This will mean that there were three *ilae* of *σαρισσοφόροι* in Asia, and the fourth crossed with Alexander. The extra 100 or so troopers who crossed with him would be intended for distribution among all four *ilae* after the conjunction of the forces.

¹⁷ *Cf.* Berve i 131; and see Arrian iii 12.2 (Gaugamela) for a specific reference to this force.

¹⁸ i 134.

¹⁹ *Cf.* Arrian iii 12.4: at Gaugamela the Thracian cavalry fulfilled on the left wing of the army the same function as the *σαρισσοφόροι* on the right wing, namely that of protecting the exposed flank of the heavy cavalry.

CORRECTION

By an unfortunate error a line of type was omitted from page 103 of Axel Seeberg's article 'Hephaestus Rides Again' in *JHS* lxxxv (1965). After line 1 of section (3) on that page, the line 'and stationary pair. In the former, lay figures as on the krater, but bearded' should be added.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LESKY (A.) **A history of Greek literature.**

Trans. J. Willis and C. de Heer. London: Methuen. 1966. Pp. xviii + 921. £5.

Professor A. Lesky's *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* appeared first in instalments between May 1957 and February 1959, and was at once recognized as of first-class importance, but it did not satisfy its author, who set about revising it at once, for a second and much enlarged edition, which appeared in 1963. The first edition was reviewed in this *Journal* in 1961 (LXXXI, 157-8); a review of the second edition has not yet appeared (February 1966). The present publication, apart from some small mistakes, such as '1948' for the date of the original publication of A. Nauck's edition of the fragments of Aristophanes of Byzantium (p. 74, n. 2; the right date is '1848', as in Lesky² 94, n. 2), is an exact reproduction of Lesky's second edition, without any supplementary matter at all.

This has one advantage for those who already possess the original and know enough German to use it—they need not trouble themselves to buy the English version; but it leads to the foolish position that works which Lesky rightly described (in 1961, when his bibliography to all intents and purposes stops) as 'in Vorbereitung' are still 'forthcoming' in the English translation, though in fact they appeared in 1962. This is hardly good enough; and it is unfortunate that no hint is given that there has been a new edition of R. A. Pack's *Greek and Latin Literary Papyri* since Lesky carefully provided all his references to papyrus fragments with the appropriate numbers in Pack,¹ hardly any of which are now correct. (There would clearly not have been time to correct them all before the book was published; but room might have been found for a warning, and for some additional bibliography, on the blank p. xvi.)

The translation is accurate where I have checked it, but it reads at times rather stiffly and it is not entirely exempt from what experience makes me identify as 'Batavinity': 'The Lesbian Lyric' as a sectional heading on p. 128 is certainly not English—'Lesbian Lyric' would be better, but pedantic; perhaps 'The Lyric Poetry of Lesbos' would have been satisfactory. By using a larger page than in the Swiss edition, and less bulky paper, the publishers have produced a rather more manageable volume, with a much more satisfactory *mise en page*; but they have sacrificed some of their advantage by not using smaller type for all the bibliographies, and a good deal more by not providing a stout enough binding; in the review copy there is already an unsightly crack between the endpapers and the half-title—and since the book will certainly be in great demand in the Societies' library it will soon have to be rebound. This is a point which all University and College librarians should note: the book is certainly

the best handbook for Classics students which we have, but its price means that few copies will reach the students' hands except on loan from libraries.

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GIL (L.) *Ed. Introducción a Homero.* By F. Rodríguez Adrados and others. Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama. 1963. Pp. 558. 48 illus. Price not stated.

Adrados reviews the arguments of the Homeric Question with an approach that seems at first unduly reactionary. Thirty pages survey the Analysts, four (in a chapter on the Unitarians) the devotees of oral and comparativist theories, even fewer the impact of archaeology. But multiple authorship, even with editorial curtailments, entails repetition, and vital though such matters are to the evaluation or dissolution of the Question, they have been appropriated for fuller treatment by other contributors: Gil will deal with the formulae in his concise section on language and metre; Galiano with the archaeological background; Adrados himself with the Linear B texts. Thus is starkly lit the absence of Index or regular cross-referencing. Not so amplified, however, is the rather slender treatment of the Kakridis-Pestalozzi-Kullmann-Schoek school of neanalysis (the last two not mentioned at all), and I am doubtful if the arguments for oral composition are adequately communicated. Galiano sketches the transmission of the text and appends a most welcome chapter on the literary influence of Homer on the early modern literatures. Lasso de la Vega, Gil, and Adrados describe at length the World of Homer. This is the core of the book, and rather more than half its bulk. The style becomes more expansive and emancipated from the charting of modern opinion. Reference to the poems, as always, is copious and in the text. It would be well, however, if the reality in time and place of this World were more prominently discussed. Only Adrados keenly feels that Homeric heroes may fight in a world as composite as their dialect. On other current questions the authors maintain: the historicity of the Trojan War; a Mycenaean base, linguistic, social and material, for the poems; an Aeolic stage in the evolution of the poetic dialect; a late eighth century date for the poet(s); a role for writing in the final composition of the Grossepos; the impossibility of proving the Chhorizont position; the recitation of the poems at early festivals.

The authors, as is proper, confine themselves to report and description. They contrive on the whole to be both brief and inclusive, difficult ideals in the face of Homeric scholarship, to which the graces of style must sometimes be sacrificed. Annotation is mostly confined to authorities for the assertions of the

text: consequently one's favourite authors are passed over where one expects to meet them and some recondite papers fulfil a problematical need in a work of this sort. Short bibliographies are provided for some chapters. These expect proficiency in French, German, English and Italian. Greek would be useful, but is hardly *sine qua non*, since terms are generally translated as well as quoted, except in the linguistic section. If this book comes into anyone's hands, it will not be too hastily compared with the Wace-Stubbings *Companion*. The editor's team, though a tribute to the vigour of Hellenic studies in Spain, is smaller and less scintillating, his publisher nowhere so luxurious, the weight of his emphasis often different, but in some respects his book is more comprehensive, consistent and balanced than the *Companion*, and makes a worthy member of the publisher's series.

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LEE (D. J. N.) **The similes of the Iliad and the Odyssey compared.** (Australian Humanities Research Council monograph no. 10.) Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, for Australian Humanities Research Council. (London: Cambridge U.P.) 1964. Pp. vii + 80. 15s.

The thesis of this short study is that, as the similes of the *Iliad* are cumbersome and of a workmanship inferior to that of the surrounding narrative, they are later in date and sometimes the work of Homerids, while those of the *Odyssey*, being simple and consistently excellent, are contemporaneous with the narrative. 'The *Odyssey* remains a Nausicaa, *simplex munditiis*, while the *Iliad* is dowdy with an excess of pearls (many of them cultured) and diamonds (many of them only glass)' (p. 16). Though there is much denigration of the similes of the *Iliad*, this work is not a mere essay in debunking. A series of numbered short sections on various literary and linguistic topics are followed by an excursus on *λίς*, and there are also three lists cataloguing length of simile, words of introduction and subject-matter.

Lee accepts Shipp's view that the similes of the *Iliad* are late, but one may not conclude from Shipp's close linguistic analysis that they are post-Homeric; see Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, 201 ff.

He believes that there are many more similes in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey* because increasingly sophisticated audiences found the fighting scenes intolerable without similes (p. 5). But while it is true that similes belong particularly to narrative of battle, they sometimes so far from relieving descriptions of fighting intensify them as in the struggle over the body of Patroclus (*Il.* xvii 735 ff.). Lee finds clusters of simile in the *Iliad* 'monotonous and mechanical' (p. 13); he includes in this judgment the rich variety of *Il.* xi 62-73, where there are four similes of widely differing subject-matter, all well suited in different ways to the immediate action. The series of similes

at this point emphasises that on this morning the fighting begins again with a new intensity.

Some of the linguistic notes are perhaps of greater interest, e.g. the examination of *τε* in similes (pp. 27 f.). But in the linguistic discussions too some doubts arise. It is, for example, unnecessary to suppose that *ὄρεσφι*, which occurs in similes only in a locative sense, is a 'false archaism' (p. 25) created by a late composer, for, contrary to Lee's view, the metrically equivalent *ὄρεσσι* could not have been substituted, since it is not used in Homer locatively without a preposition; on *ὄρεσφι* see Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique* I³ p. 499. Nor is it true to say that similes lack traditional formulae (p. 26), for Adam Parry has shown that even the famous comparison of the camp fires to a starry sky (*Il.* viii 555 ff.) is made up of numerous formulaic units (*TAPH.A* 87, 1956, 1 f.). Lee advances the theory (pp. 40 ff.) that *λίς* in the phrase *ὧς τε λίς* was a non-existent word arising out of a misinterpretation of an original *ὧς τέλλις*, 'like a crustacean', on the grounds that a late singer or rhapsode judged it unseemly that such a comparison should be used of the hero Agamemnon at *Il.* xi 239 (the only place where the word is found in the nominative without an epithet), and so reinterpreting the words by misdivision, produced the word *λίς*, which acquired the meaning 'lion'. The theory is enterprising, but there are objections. In his violent grabbing (*μεμαώς*) at the thrusting spear that failed to find its mark Agamemnon may properly be compared to a lissome beast of prey rather than to a lumbering crab. Further, there could have been no objection to 'unpoetic' similes in archaic times; see e.g. the simile of the mosquito at *Il.* xvii 570. It was in Alexandrian times that the propriety of homely similes in the *Iliad* was questioned; see e.g. A Scholia on the gossiping women (*Il.* xx 252) and further *BICS* 8, 1961, 64 f.

Perhaps the least attractive aspect of Lee's work is his almost obsessive polemic against Hermann Fränkel's *Die homerischen Gleichnisse*, which he states that he did not use until his own work had been prepared. The main cause of the attack is Fränkel's belief in a multiple correspondence between the long simile and the immediate context. It is true that some of Fränkel's interpretations invite disagreement, e.g. the statement that the rock in the simile of a waterfall (*Il.* ix 14 f.) is to be taken symbolically of Agamemnon's inexorable will (Fränkel p. 21; cf. Lee p. 9). But we could have been spared the scornful vilification of this important work by a most respected scholar. Here a general point arises. The abandonment by Wilamowitz and Fränkel of the old doctrine of a simple *tertium comparationis* in favour of complex interpretations of the relationship between simile and context added much to the understanding of these problems (e.g. Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, p. 168 f. on *Il.* xviii 219 and Fränkel p. 9 on *Il.* vi 506). Recently there has been a reaction against their sometimes oversubtle search for symbols and overtones, and Jachmann, *Der homerische Schiffskatalog und die Ilias*, pp. 267 ff., has advocated a return to the

single point of comparison. But such a doctrinaire approach will not suffice. *Tertium comparationis* is a necessary point of departure, but some similes correspond to their contexts in a much more complicated way than others; cf. *AJPh* 78, 1957, 117 ff. It should also be noted that apparent lack of correspondence may be due not to the poet's incompetence but, as Kirk says (*Songs of Homer*, p. 346), to 'the exploration of extreme possibilities in a medium which is completely mastered'.

Lee's catalogues of similes are a useful ready-reckoner on problems of length of simile, words of introduction and subject-matter. One possible omission is the expression to denote time of day, the wood-cutter (*Il.* xi 86) and the judge (*Od.* xii 439). The expression of likeness at *Od.* iv 74 and the paratactic simile at *Od.* vi 162 should also have been included for completeness.

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BECK (G.) **Die Stellung des 24. Buches der Ilias in der alten Epen-tradition.** Brunswick: the Author. 1964. Pp. 257. Price not stated.

Twentieth century analysis has proved almost as durable an old soldier as nineteenth-century unitarianism. Since it will not die it is worthwhile, at least at the level of the present work, to argue the matter on its own ground. It has seemed possible at various times to dislodge Ω (and Ψ) from the *Iliad* on structural grounds and to confirm the hypothesis with linguistic points and the Ω -poet's background assumptions. Beck methodically probes the structure and the background, using principally the methods of Schadewaldt. Architecturally, he maintains, a wrath-poem must end with a reconciliation, and since the wrath of Achilles bifurcates he must be reconciled not only with Agamemnon but with his new personal foe, Hector: Ω is properly foreshadowed and is a proper climax to the stories of Hector and Achilles; or so we think as good humanitarians. Yet it is equally plausible, if less edifying, that wrath should be consummated in vengeance, a climax for which it would not be difficult to find adequate foreshadowing in the *Iliad*. The general aesthetic statement, shorn of all temporal dimension, cannot be more than statement of faith. The evaluation of Ψ - Ω would benefit from criticism based on the outlook of the post-Parry school of Homerists whose comparativism forestalls the application of rigid absolute standards, and whose methods offer some insight into the normalities of Homeric style and ethos. There is little question that the funerals, in which the reconciliations are implicit, are not only a regular theme but also the climax of a regular thematic sequence, cf. the *Aithiopsis* and its obsession with obsequies. Beck makes no use of comparative method, not even against analysis, for which purpose D. C. Young's satire *G. & R.* 6.96 ff. conceals some very valid points. Beck steps beyond the *Iliad* only in the matter of the

chronological relations of Ω and the Cycle, Hesiod, and *Odyssey*. He believes, rightly, that nothing in the last two is a source for Ω (apart from the athetised Ω 45), but that Ω is implied in β : a very literary standpoint, as if we were as well informed about early heroic poetry as about, say, Roman epic or stylistic mimesis behaved in the same way as in literate times. On the relation of the Cycle to Ω Beck refuses to commit himself. A long appendix forms a commentary on the problems of specific passages. There is no index.

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HOEKSTRA (A.) **Homeric modifications of formulaic prototypes: studies in the development of Greek epic diction.** (Verhandelingen der k. Ned. Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. letterkunde, n.r. lxxi, 1.) Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co. 1965. Pp. 172. £2 5s.

Too many scholars have been lured to destruction by a Siren song enticing them to peel off the later 'contaminated' layers of Homer; happily, Dr Hoekstra has put the right amount of wax in his ears, and steered clear of prehistoric fantasies.

His book is a loosely connected collection of essays, rather than a systematic treatise, in which firstly, he demonstrates that decomposition of the epic style started long before the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reached their final form; secondly, he argues that this decomposition was a creative process which enriched an earlier poor and stereotyped formulaic system.

His method is to examine, in reverse chronological order, certain linguistic features (quantitative metathesis, loss of initial digamma, movable $-v$), and to see how their presence in the Homeric language affected epic formulae.

Quantitative metathesis and loss of initial digamma are examined in chapters 2 and 3 respectively. Dr Hoekstra's conclusion is that very few new formulae, if any, were engendered by these two phenomena. This, he suggests, was because oral composition came to an end so soon after their occurrence that hardly any new expressions had time to achieve formulaic fixity. He demonstrates, however, that both played a part in epic decomposition, and brought about certain modifications of existing formulae. For example, their presence meant that accusative formulae such as *Τριδείδην Λιομήδεα* and *Ποσειδάωνα (-ς) ἄνακτα* could be declined to form the new genitive formulae *Τριδείδω Λιομήδεος* and *Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος* (which previously would have been metrically impossible).

Hitherto, scholars have spoken of the replacement of ancient formulae by newer forms: Dr Hoekstra places the emphasis rather on the enriching and increasing elaboration of an originally simple system in which the possibilities were more limited. 'In a period not too distant from Homer's the formulaic

diction may have had a more poor and stereotyped character than its Homeric descendant' (p. 48).

The importance of movable ν increased dramatically with the disappearance of initial digamma, argues Dr Hoekstra in chapter 4. Used to obviate hiatus, it became a modifying tool of great versatility. Its use enabled bards to decline ancient formulae, to replace an archaic constituent with a new one, to split a formula or remove it from its traditional place in the line, and to employ enjambement.

Dr Hoekstra's arguments are convincing but not always conclusive. He himself says that his book is 'of a very provisional character' (p. 5). Consequently, it would be unfair to criticise it for its incompleteness. One feels that the author has bitten off more material than he can satisfactorily chew in 172 pages. Perhaps one day he will expand this collection of work papers into an opus of permanent value.

Meanwhile, he has provided us with a treasure trove of ideas and signposts for future research: the important thing is, all the signposts are pointing in the right direction.

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LIVADARAS (N. A.) *Ἱστορία τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ Ἡσιόδου.* ("Ἀθηνᾶ", σειρά διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 1.) Athens: Myrtilidis. 1963. Pp. xvi + 267. 9 plates. Price not stated.

This is supplement no. 1 to the periodical *Ἀθηνᾶ*. It surveys the history of the Hesiodic text in the ancient world and then discusses papyri and manuscripts. Of the latter there is a long list, amounting to 284 items. The author naturally found it difficult to consider collating all these; but the fact remains that to disregard numerous late books is not a safe procedure, since the maxim *recentiores, non deteriores* is well established; and so the stemmata offered on pp. 218–220 are to be regarded as no more than provisional.

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DETIENNE (M.) **Crise agraire et attitude religieuse chez Hésiode.** (Collection Latomus, lxxviii.) Brussels: Latomus. 1963. Pp. 64. Fr. b. 100.

In the first part of the book Détiénne studies the economic crisis in eighth-century Boeotia; in the second he examines Hesiod's religious attitude and attempts to relate this to the contemporary situation. These are two difficult problems, and Détiénne's work is, in its author's own words, a 'bref essai', and one which is made slighter by the inclusion of lengthy footnotes and generous quotations from the *Works and Days*. As a result, its treatment of the first problem seemed to the reviewer to be superficial. The infor-

mation offered by Hesiod must be supplemented by comparative evidence, such as that relating to Attica a century later or to conditions in modern Greece. It is true that Détiénne does refer to both these other sources, but only in passing and not in sufficient detail: thus, in the case of present-day Greece, Détiénne refers to the short article by Harry L. Levy in *TAPhA* 87 (1956), pp. 42–6, but ignores the much more important book by Levy's wife, Ernestine Friedl, *Vasilika, a village in modern Greece* (New York, 1962). The evidence from Vasilika, itself at the foot of Mount Parnassos, supplies a better commentary on the *Works and Days* than some editions of that poem. The author has some interesting suggestions—a 'college of kings' in eighth-century Boeotia (p. 18), and 'la famille des frères' as an economic unit (pp. 23 ff.)—but otherwise adds little to what has already been said. Was life in Boeotia really as depressing as Détiénne argues? Apart from the poet's idyllic description of summer (382–96 we have the crowded *lesche* (493) and more than one reference to the feast (e.g. 342). And was Hesiod as isolated as Détiénne would have us believe? Several times Détiénne cites the work of A. A. Trever, who in *CPh* 19 (1924) spoke of Hesiod as 'a poor peasant farmer, a deadly conservative, embittered against society by a personal pique against his brother, living in a backward section of Greece, off the main highways of trade, and largely out of touch with the contemporary current of economic and cultural life' (p. 165). In spite of the archaeological evidence collected since 1924 by Hampe and others, and in spite of the widespread trade of Chalcis and Eretria, the first being a city which we know that Hesiod visited, Détiénne paints the same kind of picture of Hesiod and the region he inhabited.

The argument becomes increasingly esoteric when Détiénne goes on to consider what constituted the 'homme divin' (731) for Hesiod as compared with the Greeks of the sixth century, and then the concept of *aletheia*, where he stresses the significance of memory for the poet and those whom he sets out to instruct. Détiénne is surely right to reject any idea that Hesiod was a revolutionary, but he is wrong, in the opinion of the reviewer, to deny the 'enrichissons-nous' attitude of the poet. One wants to eschew the use of labels, however convenient, but there is much of the bourgeois about Hesiod both in his social status and in his outlook on life. To call Hesiod, as Détiénne does, 'un petit paysan' is misleading; Hesiod can certainly thunder in defence of the justice of Zeus, and yet an element of self-interest is not absent from his instructions (e.g. 340–1 and 602–3). I find Hesiod the religious reformer more convincing than either Hesiod the political visionary or Hesiod the advocate of a new technique of agriculture, but all the relevant passages must be taken into account. When it comes to the significance of agriculture among the Greeks, our evidence is thin, and Détiénne has to turn from Hesiod to Xenophon centuries later.

Perhaps a book of this length does not need an

index, but a list of the passages discussed with a reference to the appropriate page would be a great help.

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GUILLON (P.) **Études béotiennes: le bouclier d'Héraclès et l'histoire de la Grèce centrale dans la période de la première guerre sacrée.** Publication des Annales de la faculté des lettres, Aix-en-Provence, n.s. 37. Aix-en-Provence: University. 1963. Pp. 101. 1 map. Price not stated.

The Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* belongs, of course, to some historical context. Professor Guillon believes that he can identify the context and that the poem itself is a vital piece of evidence for our understanding of it. An unkind critic might say that it was our only piece of evidence, but, even if this were true, both context and interpretation would be, to my taste, attractive.

With its insistence on the triumph of a Theban Herakles in the cause of a Delphian Apollo over a local hero of Pagasai the poem must belong, he argues, to the same period of Theban expansion in N. Boiotia which saw the occupation of the Ptoion (i.e. for him c. 600; but see J. Ducat, *REG* lxxvii (1964) 283-92). The first Sacred War was then, among other things, a northern counter-attack which took Delphi out of the Theban (and Phokian) sphere of influence and, through the Amphiktion, attached it to the Thessalian cities and their southern neighbours. The Pythian section of the *Hymn to Apollo* at once celebrated the northern victory and threatened (in the Telphoussa episode) the sort of further northern pressure which led to Keressos and later Hyampolis. And to tell this wholly convincing story it is only necessary to shift the *Shield* from its currently fashionable context between 590 and about 560 to about 600, a move which it is hard to believe can be ruled impossible on literary, historical or archaeological grounds.

But a plausible guess is, perhaps, not all we need. Early Greek history may not be much more than a series of guesses, however much we wrap them up in detailed argument, but even if much of the detail is superfluous, some is not; nor is precision. 'Il est probable que . . . les positions que Thèbes a été amenée à prendre . . . aient été suscitées par la fin de la Guerre Lélantine qui s'est terminée, probablement, dans la 2me moitié du vième siècle.' A 'probable' war not too long before 600 (ending incidentally in a Thessalian Chalkidian victory) makes a reasonable motive for Theban interest in the north. A less vague war between 735 and 700 ending in a Chalkidian defeat (J. Boardman, *BS* l (1957) 27 ff.) would not be quite so useful. Again it is instructive to compare the admirable clarity of Parke and Boardman, *JHS* lxxvii (1957) 276 ff., with Guillon's sensible but very brief note 84 on Herakles and the Delphic tripod—there is too much that is relevant and important here

for it to be brushed aside. Again Stesichoros in his *Kyknos* departs from the *Shield* story. Is it enough to point out that Herakles wins an easier victory in the latter, or justifiable then to advance, even as a 'hypothèse' that 'c'est de Delphes qu'est venue l'inspiration, voire la commande, du *Kyknos*' so that Stesichoros wrote 'pour effacer la souvenir du *Bouclier*'? Surely it would be more profitable to ask if more could be discovered about the difference between the two, to ask, for example, if the artistic representations of the Herakles/Kyknos struggle (on which see F. Vian, *REA* xlvi (1945) 5-32) do, as Sir Maurice Bowra suggests (*GLP*² p. 122), derive from Stesichoros, or perhaps, some of them, from the *Shield*, and, if they do derive from Stesichoros, to wonder if this has any implications for the date of the *Shield*.

This is not to say that I do not believe Professor Guillon. Only that I think I could be made to believe more firmly.

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FONDATION HARDT. **Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique. x. Archiloque.** Vandocuvres-Geneva: Fondation Hardt (Cambridge: Heffer). 1964. Pp. viii + 307. £2 10s.

The darkness enshrouding the great figure of Archilochus has been so far lightened by recent papyrological and archaeological discoveries that it was fitting that the tenth session of the Fondation Hardt should review the present state of our knowledge. Seven papers were read, of which two are archaeological, one linguistic, two philological, and two examine Archilochus' influence on later writers. The ensuing interesting, if rather muddled, discussion, in which the chairman and two other scholars joined, is also printed.

Prof. Pouilloux treats of *Archiloque et Thasos: histoire et poésie* from the standpoint of the excavations in which he has played a prominent role. First, he sums up the literary evidence—for Telesicles' settlement in about 680 B.C. and A.'s arrival a generation later, for his friends, hardships and adventures. Turning to the excavations, he adduces finds in the sanctuary of Artemis to show that Telesicles encountered a people far from savage and participating in the culture of the north Aegean; some ivory lions are identical with those found at Zenjirli. The initial settlement was made peaceably and cemented by intermarriage; and the Bellerophon plate bears witness to increasing Cycladic influence. Excavation suggests that it may have been the arrival of A.'s own wave of settlers which led to violence in this settled community. At one moment they were besieged in the acropolis, at another fighting to possess the Thracian Peraea; the tomb of Glaucos, their general, was found in 1954. Pouilloux adds some remarks about Thasian cults; and derives from Pausanias'

account of the Cnidian *lesche* a dubious theory of 'missionary' activity in Thasos at the end of the eighth century. The theme *Archilochos und Paros* is treated by M. Kontoleon, formerly Ephor of the Cyclades, under two heads: 'The Honours Paid to A. on Paros' and 'Paros in the Time of A'. The honours are exemplified by a fourth-century sepulchral inscription and by the later Archilocheion of Mnesiepes, for which the *Monumentum Archilochi* and the Elitas inscription were prepared; and more widespread interest in the cult is shown by the Boston pyxis, fashioned at Eretria about 460 B.C., and depicting the young A's encounter with the Muses. For the time of A. Kontoleon envisages an 'orientalising' group of Eretria, Paros and Miletus and a westward-looking group of Naxos, Chalcis and Corinth. He makes Paros the dispersion-centre of so-called Melian ware; and associates it also with sub-geometric Siphnian. 'Can the fact that the representations on Melian ware are so closely woven into their decorative context, and that the decoration does not appear as subordinate, fail to remind us of A. who sought to present nature in its entirety?' Kontoleon's paper is even more exciting than Pouilloux's, but probably less sound. Beazley has not, as he supposes, been convinced by his view that the Boston pyxis shows the A. legend; and I think it highly unlikely. The 'Muses', as Kontoleon himself says, are standing or sitting—there is nothing to suggest the meeting of two parties both on the move—and neither by night nor by day is black the *Wevensgestalt* of Muses any more than of women.

In *Archilochus and the Oral Tradition*, Professor Page illustrates the continuing effect of traditional forms on A.'s language, structure and thought—overwhelming in the dactylic poems, and predominant even in the cretics, though here an element of selection and novelty may betray the use of the pen. Page argues with his usual energy; and there is a recent translation of A. to show that his warnings are not superfluous; but it must be said that he sometimes gets carried away by his own enthusiasm. If we have no idea what is meant by *ἀργυμένη σκντάλη* (163), how can we know that it is an echo of *ἀργυμένη κραδίη* (142)? Is it not more significant that A. fails to use *ἀλώε* than that Homer once uses *τιφλόε* (140)? *μᾶζα* may well be 'dignified enough for Aeschylus' (133), but its only appearance in tragedy is as a *varia lectio*. There is no good reason to doubt the authenticity of *fr.* 15 D which was probably in Menetor's collection; and there are other things here, which might be reconsidered in the light of Dr Scherer's interesting paper *Die Sprache des Archilochos* and of Snell's comments on both occasions. Professor Dover contributes an excellent paper on *The Poetry of Archilochus*. He demonstrates the similarity in history, language and sentiment of early elegiac and cretic poetry; and argues from the fact that Tyrtæus is linguistically nearer to the Ionians than is either Homer or the Laconian vernacular to the conclusion that mainland elegy is an importation from the East. That A.

belongs to a primitive tradition, independent in large measure of the Epic, is shown by the fact that his mode of utterance, dramatic, emotional, obscene and embroidered with fable is common in primitive cultures elsewhere. The same comparison suggests that we cannot be too sure of the actuality of his statements; the squire of Enyalios may never have thrown away his shield after all.

Dr Buhler's paper should have been entitled *Hippanax und Kallimachos*—even so it is rather slight. He compares the *Iambi* of Callimachus with earlier work in the genre, and makes a number of points—catholicity of theme, milder and more philosophical tone, strictness of choliambic metre—which might escape the careless reader. Professor Wistrand's study of *Archilochus and Horace* is much more distinguished. I think he establishes that what Horace says about his poetic beginnings in *Ep.* II, ii, 41 ff. is not that poverty made him think of a literary career, but that it made him such a desperado that he sank to the level of verse composition—which *happened* to make his fortune. Wistrand also proves that Bentley's construction of *Ep.* I, xix, 28 is correct: 'Sappho and Alcaeus blend their poetry with Archilochus' metre—Horace is following a metrical theory, then current, that the Lesbian metres were composed of elements found already in the verses of Archilochus. This is deeply interesting in itself and preserves the logic of the context.

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BOWRA (C. M.). **Pindar.** Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1964. Pp. xvii — 446. £2 10s.

In a topical adaptation of the ballad of Lord Rendel which he contributed to the Christmas Soirée of the Manchester University Classical Society in 1929, E. W. V. Clifton assured us unforgettably that passages for unseen translation from 'Plato and Pindar' are 'strong poison'; and most of the books about Pindar which have been published since 1945 have done little or nothing to remove the impression that Pindar is a very difficult author, and that to interpret him requires a very rare combination of qualities: that these qualities must be even rarer than the authors of these books would have us believe, their own productions have in too many cases demonstrated beyond any possibility of refutation. So one opens Sir Maurice Bowra's laconically titled book in a state nicely balanced between hope that here, if anywhere, will be the proof that Pindar is not quite as inaccessible or as unrewarding as his would-be interpreters have sometimes made him appear, and apprehension that the alleged difficulties of the task (I had almost written 'ascent') may have defeated even his Oxford editor. But the preface, with its calm but clear-sighted words, is reassuring: Bowra is not daunted by the difficulties, whose existence (not forgetting those caused by what he charitably describes as 'much

specialized work . . . on him which calls for consideration in a wider scheme') he neither denies nor exaggerates. 'I have been forced,' he writes, 'to give considerable space to my own opinions', and the level on which those opinions are to be sought is clearly shown by his refusal to repeat the work done already by Wilamowitz in his *Pindaros* (the only work of Pindaric interpretation named in the Preface) or to spend much time on textual criticism or metric, subjects on which he claims to have little to add to what has been said by others. The names of these others (Irigoin for the text, Maas and Wilamowitz for metre) will be found in the very extensive bibliography ('Abbreviations', pp. xi-xvii).

After these preliminaries the book is divided into nine chapters, supported by three appendixes and two indexes. With sure judgement, Bowra begins with 'The Theory of Poetry' (1-41), in which Pindar's own reflections on the craft of poetry are collected and translated and set in an illuminating commentary, so that we may see Pindar as a really systematic thinker (one of the very first in history) about the literary profession. The next three chapters deal, in the same mingling of Greek text, translation and commentary, with the world which provided the subject-matter for Pindar's poetry: 'Gods, Heroes and Men' (42-98), 'Echoes of Politics' (99-158) and 'The Athletic Ideal' (159-91), after which we return to Pindar the poet, with chapters on 'Manner and Mannerisms' (192-238), 'The Scope of Imagery' (239-77), 'The Treatment of Myth' (278-316) and 'Unity and Variety in Structure' (317-54), followed by a summing up in 'The Poetical Personality' (355-401). The appendixes deal with 'The Date of Pythian II' (402-5), making a strong case for 454 B.C. rather than 474, with 'Pindaric Chronology' (406-13), ending with a 'List of Dates' in which the lavish use of question-marks reveals the shakiness of the foundations, and with 'Olympain 5' (414-20), concluding that this poem was composed by an author who knew Pindar's work well but lacked his inspiration. The indexes are of passages from Pindar (421-9) and of general topics (430-46), the second being confined to classical names and subjects dealt with, followed by a few Greek words.

It cannot be said that the picture of Pindar which emerges from Bowra's account is an entirely attractive one: the man was evidently proud and difficult beyond the ordinary wont even of poets, and his attitude of mind was intensely old-fashioned, even for his own day (Bowra remarks that 'though he saw himself as a Panhellenic poet, he was less worthy of the title than Simonides, who had a keener insight into the new forces at work in Greece'—400). What does come through with staggering force, even to those who believed themselves to know something about Pindar already, is the sheer brilliance of the man's poetry both in its verbal artistry (and we could have done with more examination of this from the point of view of metre and speech rhythm) and in his power of evoking with a few words a whole scene in all its

colour and dimensions and play of emotion (think of Pelops praying to Poseidon, 'alone in the darkness', of the birth of Iamos, of the sleeping eagle, or of the gay voices of the sailors ringing across the Saronic Gulf); it is hard to think that any poet ever exemplified more perfectly the dictum ascribed to Simonides (of all people!) that 'poetry is vocal painting'. This is a picture of Pindar and his poetry to set the readers' imaginations aflame, and to inspire a resolve that any difficulty of language (and Bowra shows in passing that such difficulties may not be by any means as great as has often been supposed) would be worth overcoming if the end were that they could read Pindar's poems as he wrote them.

Bowra intended, he tells us (p. vii), 'to provide an introduction to Pindar', and in this he seems to me to have succeeded beyond anything which he can have hoped for—and indeed beyond anything which might have been expected even by those who valued at its true worth his Harvard study of Pythian 2, first published in 1937. I am not going to claim that what he has written is entirely flawless (*τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κείται*), but this is not the place for minor cavils. The impression which this book, taken as a whole, leaves upon my mind is that of a really monumental achievement, establishing Bowra once for all as a member of that small band of scholars in whom the union of *φρόνα* and *διδαχὴ* have produced the power of truly creative criticism. Pindar's poetry now lies before us as a new found land, which we may all explore profitably in company with this splendid guide.

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KNOX (B. M. W.) **The heroic temper: studies in Sophoclean tragedy.** (Sather classical lectures, 35.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (London: Cambridge U.P.). 1964. Pp. ix + 210. £2 5s.

The first two chapters discuss 'that extraordinary figure' the Sophoclean Hero, for Sophocles' drama always presents 'the tragic dilemma of a single personality facing the supreme crisis of his life'—except the *Trachiniae*, which 'does not conform to the pattern'. The hero is always of the same general type: passionate, defiant, rejecting compromise even to the death, for he will never surrender. He 'longs for death'. For consider: in the seven plays of Aeschylus there is not a single suicide; in the nineteen of Euripides, only four; but in the seven of Sophocles, as many as six. The list follows. Some may think that Deianeira, Eurydice, Haemon and Iocasta kill themselves out of despair, not defiance; that Antigone hangs herself not to defy Creon but because she prefers a swift to a lingering death. But apparently we should be wrong. Ajax? What Sophocles seems to say is that when the umpires decided against him his instant response was to murder them; that now,

having failed, he can only kill himself, since he cannot face his father and will not seek a glorious death in battle, because that might help the Greeks. But no, for he is a Hero: therefore, he scorns the compromise that Sophocles does not say much about, 'decides for death rather than submission' (p. 8), 'crowns with a final magnificent act of violence a long saga of prowess in battle' (p. 140), and so is one of those heroes who 'in their failure achieve strange success'.—Very strange. Again, Athena treats Ajax 'almost as an equal'—where 'Ajax' is not a misprint for 'Odysseus'. He shows 'aristocratic intransigence', in contrast with Odysseus who, on p. 122, shows (in securing Ajax' burial) the 'adaptability' which marks 'the new democratic ideal', but, on p. 152, his own 'tragic sense of life'. Take your choice—unless you think the tragic sense of life and democratic adaptability are pretty much the same. Sophocles does not actually say that Ajax was showing aristocratic intransigence: indeed, he suggests twice (761, 777) that Ajax could not *κατ' ἀνθρώπων γροεῖν*, and once (131 f.) that the gods do not really admire such men. However, he is a Sophoclean hero, and so it must be.

Some readers may have received the impression that the chorus and Tecmessa make a point of this, that by his conduct Ajax has put them in dire peril from which he cannot protect them; that Sophocles wrote 485 f. to suggest that Tecmessa, who had suffered something far worse than Ajax, was able to take it much more wisely. The impression would be wrong: 'unrelenting concentration on the hero' is the Sophoclean hallmark; 'the attention of the audience must be focused exclusively on the hero' (pp. 3, 120); he 'acts in a terrifying vacuum' (p. 5). The primary function of the secondary figures, among whom Tecmessa and Iocasta are listed, is to advise the hero and fail to bend his inexorable will (p. 120). Therefore, when Iocasta, in her intense relief, declares that there is nothing to fear, since all is random, and ten minutes later goes in to hang herself, we take no particular notice, since her primary function was to fail to stop the hero. The argument is a perfect circle: if you have already decided that nothing in the play is to be noticed but the hero and his inexorable will, you naturally reach your conclusion, or starting-point, that nothing else is there.

These two chapters contain an exhaustive examination of the hero's vocabulary, one interesting outcome of which is the observation that Deianira uses 'anti-heroic formulas' until the moment when she resolves to die; then, 'heroic formulas appear'.

The last two chapters, on the *Philoctetes* and *Colonus*, contain much that is sensitive and interesting, the two on the *Antigone*, on the other hand, provoke almost total dissent. The conflict is one between Creon and the continually defiant heroine who will never surrender—though what she would gain by 'surrendering' is not made clear either by Sophocles or Mr Knox, nor indeed how she *could* surrender, except by being convinced that she had been wrong—and she comes as near to that as editors will permit.

But we are to see a deeper conflict, one between two conceptions of religion and politics. Her loyalty is exclusively for the blood-tie and the dead; the only gods whom she reveres (as Creon helpfully explains) is Hades, no city-god. True, she says something about Zeus, but he is obviously *Καταχθόνιος*. For her, the *polis* is nothing. When she calls Creon *στρατηγός* she is actually emphasising his lawful authority, for the audience would at once think of their own elected *στρατηγοί*. (So, I conclude, when the chorus calls him *βασιλεύς*, the audience would at once think of their *ἄρχων βασιλεύς* and be puzzled.) Creon is for the *polis* and its gods, as the audience would note with enthusiasm. We are shown what is virtually a meeting of the Assembly, called by Creon to discuss the matter, *σύνκλητον προῖθητο λέσχην*. (It is true that the discussion does not amount to much; also that when Haemon asserts that the common people were all for Antigone—if there is any truth in this at all', p. 72—Sophocles was clumsy enough to call them 'the *polis*'. But it is unfair to expect a theory to explain what, in terms of the theory, is inexplicable.) Antigone 'expresses the mood of the past; Creon, of the present'. He asserts the right of the *polis* to cut across family ties (Cleisthenes putting in an appropriate appearance), just as the Court in the *Eumenides* asserted the supremacy of democratic institutions over the ancient blood-tie (where Aeschylus clearly got his facts wrong, in making six vote for Apollo and six for the blood-drinking Erinyes). It is true that Creon becomes a tyrant, and that the gods punish him for it; but we are bidden to notice that never do the gods signify approval of Antigone. The world moves on, and she is left behind.

It is difficult to think that the current fashion for Sophoclean Heroism will long survive this attempt to prove it.

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POHLSANDER (H.) **Metrical studies in the lyrics of Sophocles.** Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1964. Pp. viii + 224. Fl. 28.

Mr. Pohlsander has shown good judgment in choosing A. M. Dale as his principal authority. The extent of his debt to her is best illustrated by quotation: for example, from his comments on *O.C.* 694-719 (p. 78):

'703-704 716-717: Pearson's lesser asclepiad and glyconic have been effectively refuted by Miss Dale.

'704 717: Metrical difficulties are increased by textual problems, all treated in detail by Miss Dale. I am following Miss Dale in reading *ὁ γὰρ εἰσορῶν κύκλος* in the strophe and in leaving the antistrophe open to question.' This quotation also illustrates Pohlsander's reluctance to tackle textual or even metrical problems on his own account (his one emendation, *πίθη* at *O.T.* 1330, was anticipated by

Elmsley) and the limited usefulness of his commentary unaccompanied by A. M. Dale's *Lyric Metres of Greek Drama and Lyrical Clausulae of Sophocles*.

Another metrician on whom P. relies heavily is Walther Kraus, whose numerical theory of strophic structure, expounded in *Strophengestaltung der griechischen Tragödie*, he accepts. I have discussed Kraus' theory elsewhere, but it may be remarked here that Pohlsander's tables (p. 178 ff.) reveal that out of ninety-nine stanzas nineteen are constructed of numerically unequal periods and so do not fit the system at all, although Kraus' and Pohlsander's practice of numbering the periods in these stanzas with Roman numerals might leave an unwary reader with the impression that, in some way or other, they do. For a further seven stanzas Pohlsander can only offer a query. So, though ready and willing, he is unable to impose Kraus' patterns, numerous and fluid as they are, on over a quarter of Sophocles' stanzas.

The book is in two parts, of which the first is a play-by-play metrical commentary, providing for each stanza a list of references, scansion and comments (of which a specimen has been quoted above). Part II consists of chapters on 'Colon-caesura', 'Determination of Period-end' and 'Strophic Construction', in which Pohlsander asserts and lists, but does not discuss. Consequently, his unquestionable industry in counting and classifying has yielded results of questionable value. His attention has been chiefly directed to the extremely delicate problem of the incidence of particular cola. However, in dealing with questions of colometry he is hampered, in the first place, by general inattention to prepositives and postpositives (which causes him frequently to mark non-existent diaereses and to elision. He mentions these phenomena without, apparently, grasping their significance. Secondly, he is not sufficiently conscious that in order to prove that the catalectic trochaic tetrameter, say, is not found in Sophocles' lyric it is necessary to discuss any apparent or possible examples, since in Greek lyric metre there are possible examples of almost everything. Simple assertion is worthless. Thirdly, Pohlsander assumes without discussion that there is some essential difference between stating that two or more cola are linked by 'colon-caesura' and saying that they constitute a single 'verse', and that printing such cola on the same line instead of on two or more implies a different metrical interpretation. Thus, on *Ant.* 806-16=823-33, he remarks 'Jebb, in a desperate effort to eliminate every colon-caesura, reduces the entire strophe to six lines'. What Jebb actually eliminates is hyphens. Again, on *El.* 122-3=138-9, he says: 'These two cola are combined by Jebb in a verse of frightening length', and, on *Aj.* 625-6=636-7: 'These two lines are combined by Irigoin in a "verse" of astonishing length.' More careful consideration of what 'colon', 'line' and 'verse' really mean and of when and why, say, four metra in synaphaea are to be regarded as two dimeters rather than one tetrameter would have saved Pohlsander this astonishment and fright.

There is no need to take seriously Pohlsander's claim (p. 2) that 'for every metrical phenomenon which appears unusual, rare, or difficult, numerous parallels are given in the commentary'. Greek metre offers many phenomena which not only appear but actually are unusual, rare, and difficult, and P. is no more capable than any other metrician of finding 'numerous parallels' for every one of these. In fact, he tends simply to reject the unusual (e.g., on *El.* 855-7: '[the colometry] of Pearson, with its unusual clausula, must be rejected'. Cf., on *El.* 472-3=488-90, *O.C.* 1082=1093). Nor does he always offer comment where it is necessary. He has nothing to say, for example, about *Tpoia* (unparalleled, I believe, in tragedy), which is required by his scansion at *Aj.* 424; nor on the substitution of double short for anceps in dactylo-epitrites (p. 30. The remark on resolved long in Pindar is irrelevant); nor on verse-end after prepositives, especially in 'enclosed phrases' like *Phil.* 184 *λασίων μετὰ || θηρών* (Cf. *Aj.* 425, *Trach.* 510). This last in particular, which may be analogous to Sophocles' peculiar fondness for enjambement between iambic trimeters, should have engaged the attention of a metrical commentator on the poet.

Finally, *O.T.* 867=877 and *Trach.* 654=662 may serve as examples of how Pohlsander treats really problematic passages. In both he accepts the MS text and in neither does his scansion show the full lack of correspondence. At *Trach.* 654=662 he falls back on the belief that any monstrosity can be called a dochmiac. At *O.T.* 867 lie does not observe (although Kraus, p. 144, to whom he refers, makes it perfectly plain) that the free responsion involved is not merely between $\cup-\cup\cup\cup$ and $\cup\cup\cup\cup-$, but between $-\cup-$ and $-\cup-$. In neither passage does he show any interest in the meaning, or lack of it, of the Greek he is scanning.

In conclusion, this book provides a generally sound scansion-crib, a rather superficial conspectus of the metrical work of others and indexes which might yield useful material if used with caution. Metrical problems are not solved, nor indeed always correctly stated, nor even noticed. Any worthwhile and original results Mr Pohlsander's researches may have produced are submerged in a mass of second-hand and trivial observations. A distillation of them (like his article in *AJP* 84) would have been of greater interest and value than this compilation.

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EURIPIDES. **Medea and other plays [Hecabe, Electra, Heracles]**. Trans. P. Vellacott. (Penguin classics.) Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. 1963. Pp. 205. 4s.

Mr Vellacott's first translations of Euripides' *Alceste*, I.T., and *Hippolytus*, were published in Penguin books in 1953, with a general introduction.

This new volume in the series contains *Medea*, *Hecabe*, *Electra*, *Hercules*, to give the plays the Greek titles he rightly prefers, though he might perhaps have gone one stage further by writing 'K' for 'C'. Three of the plays, Mr Vellacott remarks, *Medea*, *Electra* and *Hercules*, look to Athens for the solution of the dilemmas they propose, and he implies that, with all his despairing sensitivity to the horrors of the human situation, Euripides could still find pride and stimulus in the ideal of Athenian greatness, however tarnished the reality. His notes on the plays are designed simply as brief comments on construction and message for the Greekless reader and perhaps overstress the didactic element in Greek tragedy. The *Medea* is, like the *Bacchae*, a lesson in the dangers of ignoring the instinctive and irrational and a warning that the universe is not on the side of civilization. The *Hecabe* deals with the hypocrisy with which man justifies cruelty by political necessity and the loss of sympathy which follows the excesses of revenge. *Electra* turns on the recognition scene, where Orestes shows a Hamlet-like reluctance to involve himself in matricide by declaring his identity and *Electra* is consciously reluctant to abandon her image of a heroic avenger for the real Orestes, who lacks the moral courage to defy the oracle and spare Clytemnestra. The play is, in short, for Vellacott a critical study in revenge. The *Heracles* descants on the inevitability of suffering to be met at best with serene despair and the encouragement of human friendship. The common factor seems rather to be the psychological interest of Euripides in the characterisation of violent emotion, especially in the female; and the element of melodrama in the later plays needs to be brought to the attention of the reader interested in the development of drama.

Of the translation itself there is little new to say. The sense is for the most part well and clearly rendered and with due regard to modern interpretations of the text and the commentaries of recent editors. Vellacott's version of *Electra* 370 ff. is a good example of plain style doing justice to a disputed passage, where Denniston's argument is very clearly maintained, though not his text. Mr Vellacott's use of his loose five stress line in the iambic sections of the plays allows him a good deal of freedom to maintain dramatic pace and emphasis. Though the right stress is not always obvious at first reading, reference to the context usually clarifies the emphasis, so that a competent speaker of verse drama should be able to use it to convey both dramatic and poetic feeling. On the other hand, the Greekless armchair reader making his first contact with Greek tragedy may well find the poetic element in the original elusive, though he will certainly benefit from the fluency which comes with freedom and the comparatively unmannered diction. A few colloquialisms and neologisms strike a false note to my ear: e.g. *Med.* 1319, when Jason is battering at the gates he is told by *Medea*, 'Stop that fuss'; but this is very much a matter of individual preference. Euripides, with his

taste for anachronism, was not averse to modernisms himself and seems little concerned at inconsistency, though the vernacular of 1960 is perhaps, despite Eliot and his successors, further from poetry than was that of Euripides' own day from the language of tragedy.

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MATTHIESSEN (K.) **Elektra, Taurische Iphigenie und Helena (Hypomnema, 4.)** Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 199. DM 28.

Matthiessen's book is a revised version of his 1961 Hamburg dissertation (briefly mentioned by Lesky, *AHG* 14, 1961, cols 24 f.). The first half of it (pp. 16-92) is devoted to an analysis of the structure of Euripides' later plays (in the tradition of Kranz and Walter Nestle, and, more recently, of Ludwig and Strohm), and to an attempt to draw chronological inferences from this analysis. For the plays in which he is interested, those roughly from 420 to 410, Matthiessen arrives at the sequence: *Electra* (accepting Zuntz's arguments against the traditional dating, and adding new ones), *Heracles*, *Troades*, *I.T.*, *Ion*, *Helen*.

A work of this kind depends on two things: the perceptiveness of the analysis, and the strength of the argument. If one objects to Matthiessen, it is not because he is speculative, opaque or over-abstract; on the contrary, the analysis is thorough, usually interesting, often acute. But the methods of argument, and the premisses from which Matthiessen starts, are dubious. The two most important premisses are (a) that, in writing his plays, Euripides had as 'Vorbild' his own or another's work constantly in mind, even in the construction of individual scenes, to the extent that each scene can be viewed as an attempt to better existing models (see, for *I.T.* and *Helen*, pr. 12f: the premiss is implied *passim*); (b) that therefore where dramatic structure is more involved, more sophisticated, or simply more successful in one play than in another, then the former is later than the latter (the phrases 'entwicklungsgeschichtlich früher/später' recur, and the premiss is constantly applied, e.g. at pp. 24, 28, 34, 40, 48; though it can be dropped, as when Matthiessen counters Macurdy's arguments for dating *Ion* before *I.T.*, arguments not very different from those he himself uses elsewhere, by saying 'there was no necessity to compel Euripides to advance from a form of recognition scene marked down by Aristotle to one more highly valued by him': p. 141). Of Matthiessen's criteria, 'more successful' is of course the most slippery: on p. 163 it is invoked in a form that threatens to conflict with judgments expressed elsewhere (e.g. p. 73), in order to support a conclusion that one suspects Matthiessen has arrived at on other grounds.

It is method rather than results that seem objectionable: on the point which occupies much of Matthies-

sen's attention, the relative chronology of *I.T.* and *Helen*, he is likely to be right. But for the wrong reasons: the formal structures that Matthiessen analyses are neither so independently existent nor so much like functional objects that we can really afford to think in terms of prototypes, and earlier and later 'models', as Matthiessen at times appears to do. Moreover M. underestimates the effect of the organic nature of the play in shaping structure in a way quite different from the car designer's efforts to improve on basic design. The mood, the dramatic possibilities, and what Lattimore has recently called the 'story-pattern' of the particular piece of dramatic matter often have more influence than a desire to improve a particular 'Erkennungstyp' or 'Beratungsszene'.

But happily, the book's value is largely independent of the assumptions that M. makes. His observations on dramatic lay-out and the shape of a scene are often perceptive and rewarding, and lapses into excessive formalism are relatively infrequent. Moreover, much of the second half of the book (pp. 93-166) comprises valuable surveys of two important dramatic motifs, *ἀναγνώρισις* and *μυζάνημα*, and the type of scene of violence 'within the house' which first occurs in extant tragedy in the *Oresteia*. M. traces the *ἀναγνώρισις* motif back to the *Odyssey* (with some interesting remarks, even if uttered in the context of a subjective aesthetic Unitarianism: Schadewaldt, not Parry, is the starting point here), and his discussion of it in tragedy is weakened only by his continuing assumption that successive treatments provided 'Vorbilder' for their successors. (An extreme case of this can be found on p. 114, where M. argues that the type of 'recognition through a third party' is more developed in *O.T.* than in *Kresphontes*, since in *O.T.* two 'third parties' are used, and that therefore *Kresphontes* is likely to be the earlier play.) But for the most part these chapters are good. There follow a chapter on metrical evidence for chronology (based mainly on Krieg, Zielinski and Ceadel, but containing some useful observations on lyric astrophal), and a last on 'man and god' in later Euripides: the level of interest rather falls off here. Though not silly, these very general remarks on theodicy and *τέξις* do not represent M. at his best.

This is a work worth reading, in spite of inadequacies of method, and less heavy-going than some of its predecessors in this line of country: it is so because M. shows himself to be an intelligent and acute reader of Greek drama. Misprints are few: only two may surprise the unwary. For 'Überlieferungsszene' (p. 51) read 'Überlistungsszene'; for '*Andromache*' (p. 90 n. 2) read '*Andromeda*'.

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EURIPIDES. **Zes verloren tragedies: studie met kritische uitgave en vertaling der fragmenten door H. Van Looy.** (Verhandelingen van de k. Vlaamse Academie, klasse der letteren,

jaargang xxvi 1964, 51.) Brussels: k. Vlaamse Academie. 1964. Pp. xx + 337. Price not stated.

It would be a great pity if the Flemish language prevented this careful, useful, and up-to-date book from being as widely known as it should be: twenty-five pages of summary in French make the main points clear. The first part of the book gives bibliography, number of Euripides' plays, transmission of the text, and discusses the sources of the fragments: the account of ancient authors who quoted Euripides and of the principles on which they quote is admirable. Then a list of papyri containing fragments of lost plays is given, and finally an account of editions and discussions of the fragments dating from 1597 to 1964.

The second part deals with the two Alcmaeon plays, the two Phrixus plays, and the two Melanippe plays. For these six plays we are given full texts with critical notes in Latin, translation, commentary and introduction: hypotheses, mythographers, adaptations in Latin tragedy and illustrations are included. All is done with exemplary care and caution, and the author makes it entirely clear that his own suggestions, which are often very attractive, are conjectural.

The two Alcmaeon plays are firmly dated 438 B.C. and posthumous. (The irrelevance to the *Alcmaeon in Psophis* of the Paestan hydria (British Museum F.155) is rightly noted; but the inscription Agrios according to A. D. Trendall (*Paestan Pottery*, 59) does not exist. The major difficulty of identifying the Apulian vase in the Vatican with the *Alcmaeon in Corinth* is, as Trendall says (*Vasi Dipinti del Vaticano*, II, pl. 52a-c), that the date-palm should indicate a scene outside Greece.) The chief problems here are which fragments to assign to which play, and whether the *Alcmaeon in Psophis* dealt with his first or second visit. Schadewaldt's reconstruction depends on the Florentine papyrus and on the identification of *fr.* 83 'if you care nothing for your father' with Accius, *Alphesiboea*, *fr.* 4, 'if you are afraid of your father, say'. This identification is worthless. The papyrus is more difficult: the beginnings of lines at the end of an act are presented: someone is sent into a house: a woman must not be told: a female chorus must be silent. For Schadewaldt Phegeus sends off the slave, who has told him that Alkmaion wants the necklace for his new wife and not for Delphi. For Van Looy Kreon sends off the slave, who has recognised Tisiphone and Alkmaion, having originally been responsible for selling her to Alkmaion. Schadewaldt's interpretation fits with the text of Apollodorus. Van Looy has to invent a trusty slave, a perfectly possible invention but why should he (rather than Kreon) recognise Tisiphone? The evidence seems to me stronger for Schadewaldt: and if so, the *Alcmaeon in Psophis* dealt with Alkmaion's second visit to Psophis.

But Van Looy rightly stresses the connection between Tatian's description of the Euripidean mad Alkmaion (quoted N², p. 380), Ennius *Alcumeo* (*frs.* II-III), and Euripides *fr.* 73, 78a. He rightly says that a mad scene in the second sojourn at Psophis is

unlikely. (Add also that Alkmaion would not *feign* madness in tragedy.) But is a mad scene in the *Alcmaeon in Corinth* impossible? According to Cicero, in Ennius' mad scene Alcmaeon *virginis fidem implorat*; the girl may be the unrecognised Tisiphone, and the scene recalls the opening of the *Orestes*.

Some minor points: *fr.* 65, *not* paroemiac but choriambic enoplian; *fr.* 74, *ᾠδὴ* compare also *Alexandros fr.* 6 Snell.

A minimum of light is thrown on the Phrixos plays by the new Oxyrrhynchos hypotheses. Van Looy naturally puts together *fr.* 819, 827, and the Florence papyrus to get the main lines of B. The main lines are surely right; I am not sure, however, that Dionysos can tell the whole story from the saving of Ino to the escape on the ram; it seems to me probable that this long and complicated story was divided between messenger speech and *deus ex machina*. Van Looy thinks that A was very like B, but that Phrixos did not offer himself for sacrifice voluntarily in A. His chief evidence is 1 *fr.* 830, the *πενέστης*; should be a Thessalian and should play the same part in A as the *satelles* in B, 2) in the hypothesis *συνκαλέ*—may refer to Ino collecting the women to roast the grain (other restorations are clearly possible), (3, the person who sets in motion his father's thunderbolt is Dionysos, to whom Van Looy gives the Epilogue as in B. I am not completely convinced that Euripides uses terms like *πενέστης*; technically, and therefore *fr.* 830 may belong to B. The end of the hypothesis may mean that Phrixos sacrificed the ram to some other god than Dionysos. There is the further embarrassment that Tzetzes switched the numbering of the prologues. We now know that hypotheses were sometimes arranged in chronological order of subject matter

M. Papatomopoulos, *Récherches de Papyrologie*, iii, 37 ff.). If Tzetzes used a collection so arranged and numbered, it would follow that the play usually called *Phrixos A* (but which he calls B) dealt with a later stage of the story than our *Phrixos B*, i.e., with Phrixos' fortunes in Kolchis. This seems to be a possibility to be considered.

The outline of the *Wise Melanippe* is fairly clear, but there are difficulties about individual fragments and about the date. Wilamowitz gave *frs.* 500, 504, 508-10 to the debate between Aiolos and Hellen; Van Looy gives 500 and 504 to Hippo; 508 and 509 to the *Desmotis*; Von Arnim gave all except 510 to the *Desmotis*. I am not clear that the shepherd of the *Desmotis* (of whom we know little) is likely to have come into such sharp opposition with the sons as 508-9 imply; but 504 with its contrast between poverty which runs smoothly and the evils of riches does fit more easily in the *Desmotis*. 500 is simply a father's flattering approach to an unruly son and therefore belongs to Hellen, as Wilamowitz saw. What is not clear is why so much anger is apparently generated between father and son. (The reference on 235 n. 5 should be to *fr.* 38.)

The bottom date is given as 412 B.C. by quotation in the *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*. Gilbert

Murray (*Euripides and his age*, 27) derived Aristophanes' theory that Euripides' mother was a green-grocer from Melanippe, which would date the play before 425; but Medeia rather than Melanippe may be Aristophanes' original, since the metrical statistics seem to put the *Melanippe* later than the first period. Grégoire (*Ion, Euripides* iii, 158) approved by Van Looy wanted to date the *Melanippe* with its mention of Xouthos and Ion between the *Erechtheus* (which he dates 423 B.C.) and the *Ion*. But in the first place, we do not know that Xouthos, Ion, and Kreousa were not mentioned in the *Erechtheus* (who is the 'child' addressed in *fr.* 362?); in the second place, Euripides' mythology is not consistent from play to play; in the *Erechtheus* one daughter was sacrificed but in the *Ion* all three; the *eidolon* story of Helen is *only* used in the *Electra* and *Helen*, not in the *Troades* or *Orestes*.

The *Melanippe Desmotis* remains extremely unclear. Hyginus, fab. 186, is certainly based on Euripides but equally certainly diverges from Euripides at least in that Melanippe's sons are attacked by their putative uncles in Euripides instead of by their putative brothers. Van Looy convincingly argues that the Queen was called Siris (*fr.* 496N²) and that Poseidon announced at the end that the town would be called after her (*cf.* the spring called after Dirke in the *Antiope*). The messenger speech shows that the sons of Melanippe in fact believed themselves to be sons of Siris and discovered that they were not from their uncles (this restoration in ll.20-1 seems certain). She must therefore have plotted with her brothers before the messenger speech and the sons must discover their identity and free Melanippe after the messenger speech. (I miss references here to P. Maas, *Studi U.E. Paoli*, 505, n. 4; H. Friis Johansen, *General Reflection in tragic thesis*, 152.)

Van Looy argues that Siris had no children and therefore had passed off Melanippe's children as her own (*fr.* 491). She took advantage of the King's absence to imprison Melanippe, who held some menial position in the palace, and to plot with her brothers. After the failure of the plot Melanippe is revealed to the sons by a good slave (*fr.* 511) and Siris is given to the sons by the King to punish (*fr.* 497). The King's hatred of women is met by Melanippe's defence (*fr.* 498; 499 and papyrus), and the King marries Melanippe.

This reconstruction involves two difficulties. *Fr.* 491 does not prove that Siris had no children, only that she now repents of having passed off the twins as her own: the most likely reason for her now plotting against the twins is that, as Hyginus says, she had subsequently had children of her own; hence the emphasis on primogeniture in the messenger speech. Secondly, *fr.* 498 'I hate the whole female sex except my mother', which has been regarded as the cue for the defence of women, is much more natural in the mouth of one of the twins than the mouth of the King (whose mother is unlikely to be alive or, if she is, to be significant). Possibly Boiotos, who is likely to have been the speaking twin, based his decision to go

hunting on his hatred of the Symposium (*fr.* 492, 1-5) and his hatred of women (*fr.* 498). At that moment he still believed Siris to be his mother. Melanippe answered with her defence of women. This, I think, was a debate early in the play, before Siris made her plot.

Van Looy dates the play in 414-13 B.C. because Metapontum was friendly to Athens at that time. This would agree with Zielinsky's ascription to his 'free style'; but Zielinsky's 26% for resolutions appears to be a misprint for 23%. He also includes *fr.* 500, which seems to belong to the *Wise Melanippe*. On my reckoning 19.2% is a more likely figure, and the play should belong late in Zielinsky's second period, between 428 and 415.

Many problems remain in these six plays, but Van Looy has given us a most useful tool for further work and has himself cleared many difficulties out of the way.

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HOUMOUZIADIS (N. C.) **Production and imagination in Euripides.** Athens: Greek Society for Humanistic Studies. 1965. Pp. xi + 180. Price not stated.

In this book the author sets out to analyse some of the familiar and unsolved problems in fifth century theatre production in the light of how these may be interpreted and conditioned by a detailed examination of the texts of Euripides' plays. He dates the period of so-called 'Periclean' construction within the last thirty years of the fifth century.

Hourmouziades sees the scenic space as representing two main areas, the area of production and the area of imagination, and the book is accordingly divided into two parts corresponding to these categories. The first deals with the visible acting space, that is skene façade, orchestra and parts of the parodoi in full view of the audience: the second treats parts of the invisible offstage area which must either be totally imagined by the audience or which are only made visible by such conventional devices as the ekkyklema. It includes therefore interiors and off-stage continuations of the parodoi, but not imagined areas of country or town beyond the immediate vicinity of the stage buildings, that is, what messengers usually describe.

Part I consists of a thorough and detailed discussion of passages in Euripides which give some clue to staging and from these H. is led to assume a basic movable set which entails permanent skene façade with movable painted panels, central door and low stage. Dramatic texts however do not present clear cut evidence and H. in the course of his argument is scrupulously fair in doing justice to difficulties in the way of the assumptions he finally adopts. Yet just because of this one is left wondering whether the

final formulation of those assumptions should in all cases sound quite so unwavering. In the chapter on 'the door' for instance, there are at least four plays (excluding the Andromache which is discussed in another context on p. 50 but which surely also deserves mention here) mentioned by H. for not fitting well into the pattern of 'central door only'. The Phaethon particularly presents great difficulties. If the chorus come through the central door at their first appearance as H. seems to suggest (he rules out parodoi on the grounds that they say they are coming *ἔξω δόμων*) then the congestion at this point must be considerable. Clymene and Phaethon who refers to the appearance of the chorus at the end of his speech

ἀλλ' ἔρπ' ἐς οἶκους . και γὰρ αἰδ' ἔξω δόμων
 ἠμοαὶ περῶσιν, αἱ πατρὸς κατὰ σταθμῶν
 σαίρονσι δῶμα . . .

must wait to go back through the door until the chorus, presumably ignoring their presence, have taken up their places in the orchestra. At *Troades* 153 sq., in the gap before the entrance of the second semi-chorus, the first semi-chorus implies that the rest of their number are inside the palace weeping, (157-8). Does this therefore mean that the second half of the chorus came on from the central door? Surely, in spite of references to the palace, the chorus must come on from the parodoi. Quite apart from the question of symmetry, Hecuba who is already on stage should be alone as a central figure before the door, and one need not necessarily assume that all the women referred to as being in the palace are the chorus. There are difficulties of a slightly different order at *Helen* 1180 where Theoclymenus calls for doors to be unlocked through which several lines earlier servants had entered (or had they?) and at *IA* 855 sq., where there is possibly a case for the servant entering from somewhere other than the central door, although his use of the dual at 862 suggests that he finds Achilles and Clytemnestra both together in front of the central door and not separated as H. suggests.

Apart from the question of subsidiary doors which has long been debated, the issue raised by these examples seems also to be whether the chorus and actors could use the parodoi even when coming from or going towards the palace. H. (p. 23 n. 1) denies that they can, although later, on pp. 129 and 136 he admits that the convention of parodoi representing two distinct directions mentioned by Pollux, was not yet established in Euripides' time (in view of this the phraseology on p. 133 'a similar deviation from Pollux' principle' is unfortunate). But is it in fact so unlikely that the parodoi were always used for the entry of the chorus even when they were coming from the palace and said so? Why otherwise do they have to mention this? There is no reason why such a convention should be any harder to accept than for instance allusions to steep slopes which are invisible (*HF* 119 see p. 65) or the necessity to ignore visible

parts of the stage set which did not apply to the play currently being acted (p. 57).

The stage set, H. argues, is basically the same for all plays, palace, temple or house being the commonest background in Euripides and the recipients of the same general descriptive words indiscriminately applied, as *δόμος*, *δόμοι*, *δόμα*, *δόματα*, *οἶκος*, *οἶκοι*. Such words are 'repeatedly used for the background building in all the surviving plays no matter what its particular character might be: Electra's rustic hut, Admetus' palace and Apollo's temple as well as the Cyclops' cave'. The plays whose setting required a different kind of scenery as the *Andromeda* or *Philoctetes* he suggests were adapted to look different by the addition of painted panels. It is virtually impossible to glean from the texts themselves any indications about actual scene painting, although vases (presumably influenced from drama or there would be no point to it) depicting Andromeda tied between two posts or pillars instead of to a rock suggest that in this play at least, the adaptation of the set did not extend very far. H. suggests that the discrepancy between verbal local colour and what the audience actually saw is revealed by Euripides in the way in which he describes the Cyclops' cave. After referring to Euripides' detailed descriptions of the surroundings he writes (p. 49) 'But all these details did not prevent the author from calling the cave: *δόμος*, *οἶκος*, *μέγαρον*, and his persistence in speaking of *θύρα* and *πέδη* may suggest that after all, the opening of the cave did not look very different from the gates of Proteus' palace'. Although Euripides' vagueness in such description does differ from the greater precision of Sophocles, it is rash to make too much of this argument since the plural of *θύρα* and *πέδη* are perfectly normal words for entrance or opening without doors as early as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. At *Odyssey* ix 243 in an exactly similar context of the Cyclops' cave occurs the phrase *πέτρῃ ἐπέθηκε θύρησιν* and at 417 *εἰνὶ θύρησιν καθέζετο*. All the examples in the *Cyclops* are also in the plural except for one which does not concern the cave entrance.

The contrast between Euripides and Sophocles in descriptions of scene raises interesting questions only marginally relevant to the scope of H.'s book. But there is another question bound up with these and relevant to Part II. Why is Euripides so negligent of stage convention as to draw attention to its inadequacies? In his excellent discussion of the use of the *ekkyklema* in Part II, H. contrasts Euripides' treatment of it in the *HF* unfavourably with Sophocles' handling of a similar scene early in the *Ajax*. 'The poet seems to follow his own technique, in this case notably marked by a complete disregard for realism or vraisemblance and by acceptance of the convention for what it is'. When he shows for instance how Euripides violates the spatial relation between indoors and outdoors, H. comes close to saying that Euripides was deliberately underlining the discrepancy between dramatic illusion and actual scenic representation although he does not pursue the point,

preferring to take it as a fault and he is reluctant to see traces of it anywhere else. (p. 33 for instance 'The poet would not emphasise the discrepancy etc. etc.,' and p. 38 'to underline this gap would only render a considerable part of the realistic aspect of his work meaningless'.) Yet this might not be true if Euripides were trying to do something new. H. implies in several cases that he changed the function of the *ekkyklema* scenes by reducing them to a mere tableau, and in the *HF* particularly it is a sort of token tableau at that, with only some of the actors from the previous scene actually on it. Yet it is arguable that in the *HF* the main weight of the action is centred not in the *ekkyklema* scene but in the messenger speech which precedes it and which is the real *tour de force*. It is possible, therefore, that here Euripides was quite deliberately undercutting the usual convention to throw emphasis on all the imaginative force poured into the messenger speech.

This book is full of interest for students of Greek drama both in the questions it raises and in the clear way in which the evidence is set out and discussed. The division into two parts gives the well-worn subject a new shape and apart from the treatment of *parodoi* which would perhaps have benefited by having all the evidence grouped in one place has distinct advantages by this arrangement. At the end there is an index of passages discussed in the text, and in Appendix I a very useful discussion of the way in which formulae for entrance announcements work in Euripides. Errors and misprints are few and the print good, although it is doubtful whether the small type in the main text which serves as a kind of intermediate stage between text and footnote is a real gain, since in several cases passages printed small (for example on pp. 37, 46, 76, 84) seem germane to the main argument.

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WHITMAN (C. H.) **Aristophanes and the comic hero.** (Martin classical lectures, xix.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for Oberlin College (London: Oxford U.P.), 1964. Pp. xi + 333. £2 8s.

This is a book to provoke strong reactions: in this reviewer they ranged constantly between delighted approval, baffled incomprehension, and (increasingly) strong dissent. Stressing the need, as yet hardly met in English, to explore Aristophanes as a creator of poetic fantasy, W. proposes to study the comic hero, 'the master of a transcendent fantasy', who 'most of the time, if not always', provides the central figure. The two fourth-century plays are excluded because 'Pref. p. viii' 'the poetry of these plays is different, and far more understandable in the light of later theories of comedy': but might not this debatable contrast have been usefully examined in terms of the presence or absence of this 'central heroic figure'?

Chapter I (Criticism and Old Comedy) perceptively despatches various false or distorted opinions on Ar.'s dramatic qualities and relation to his society, and illustrates the essentially Greek nature of Ar.'s heroes by comparison with Karaghiozes, the rascally hero of the modern Greek shadow theatre (discussed further in an appendix). Chapter II (Comic Heroism) describes (pp. 23-4) the comic hero's achievement as 'an assertion, in one way or another, of boundlessness, a dethronement of limit, of reason, and even of the gods themselves', a characteristically sweeping statement but one more intelligible than many throughout the book, e.g. (p. 25) 'He (*sc.* the hero) is, one might say, consistent with himself, but since he creates himself as he goes, the result cannot be foreknown, even perhaps by himself'. More comprehensibly the rest of the chapter treats the hero under the three headings of *alazoneia*, 'impostorship', *poneria*, 'the unscrupling seeking of advantage (as in Mod. Gk)', and 'the grotesque' or 'the beast-man-god structure'; all three he finds present to a greater or lesser degree in all the heroes, even if at times it needs the eye of faith to see them (*vid. inf.* on *Knights* and *Peace*). The following five chapters trace these themes through the plays one by one, with a lively but not always convincing account of the images recurring in each play: e.g. *Wasps* is found significantly full of circle-images, but one could find as many in *Birds*. Only some of the most questionable statements can be mentioned. *Ach*: p. 60 'Within the space of the prologue the hero has been given, if not exactly a character, at least a significant name': but his name is not given until v.406 and we do not know that cast-lists were provided. *Knights*: pp. 102-3 W. seems to think he has established a superhuman element in the Sausage-Seller by 'to be that bestial requires genius', and the nearest Greek word for genius is *daimon*. *Peace*: p. 116 (on the supernatural element in Trygacus) 'The theme of humbling the gods is played only lightly': would it not be more candid to admit that it is not played at all? *Clouds*: p. 134 W. revives Rogers' suggestion that the wording of Hypothesis VI implies that only the speech of the Dikaios Logos was altered (or rather added), not both speeches; but this presupposes a degree of precision not shown by the preceding clause about the parabasis, and his conclusion that it was an innovation of the second version to give the Adikos L. an adversary seems inherently improbable, though there is more to be said for his related suggestion (pp. 135-7) that in the first version Strepsiades was worsted by Pheidippides but Socrates left unmolested, and that it was this 'immoral ending' that displeased the audience. *Wasps* is for the most part admirably handled, but the *petitio principii* lurking throughout the account of Philokleon's possession of the 'beast-man-god structure' is seen most clearly in the strange sentence (p. 165) about the scattered animal and divine motifs 'as if left adrift when the heroic core vanished'; was it ever there? *Birds*: p. 169 the parabasis does not tell how the world was 'created by birds', nor need we see any influence of

Gorgianic subjectivist relativism (pp. 172-6) in the airy insubstantiality of the new city, if we remember, as W. does elsewhere (p. 252) that 'to a poet of the Old Comedy all things were possible'; it is absurd to comment on vv 156 ff. that 'nature is here again (as in *Clouds* 1075 ff.) invoked as an anti-moral force', and indeed most of what is said about *nomos* and *physis* in the play is vitiated by failure to notice that what the two Athenians want at the outset is not 'to return to nature' but to settle in another *city* (48). *Thes*: p. 225 W. infers that the ineffectiveness of Euripides' attempts to rescue his relative by enacting some of his own rescue scenes is intended to demonstrate 'his failure as myth-maker'; are we to imagine that Aeschylus or Sophocles in the same situation would have been more successful? *Frogs* is treated, with disastrous results, as (p. 231) 'a tragedy in comic form', a thesis which is defended by (a) impressively sweeping statements which do not bear close scrutiny and (b) constant refusal to see the most natural sense of a passage; for (a) see e.g. p. 231 'it is not without meaning, certainly, that Dionysus is wearing the cothurnus, the boot of tragedy, as he sets forth', when vase-paintings abundantly show this to be D.'s normal footwear; for (b) see e.g. p. 235: the boat fare across the Styx is not the usual one obol but two 'which is the entrance fee for the theatre. The *Frogs* thus becomes a play within a play' etc., with references to Pirandello; even if the inference were sound the premise collapses when we reflect that the *theorikon* was not, since Kleophon's *diobelia*, the only 'two obols' familiar to the hearers, unless we are prepared, as W. (n. 18) clearly is not, to identify the two: the famous Euripidean tag at 1477 is predictably enriched with a 'poignant force' and doubt is even cast upon the complete frivolity of 1478.

The last chapter (A Discourse of Fantasy) contains some not very illuminating comparisons with the surrealist paintings of Dali, and some more rewarding discussion based on Baudelaire's distinction of the significantly and the absolutely comic.

The translated excerpts contain several errors, e.g. *Lys* 512 (p. 205) and *Birds* 1222-3 (p. 192), but the only instances found of mistranslation supporting misinterpretation were *Frogs* 852 (p. 251) where *πονηρός* is not 'wicked' but 'wretched, poor' and *Frogs* 1466 (p. 256) where *καταπίνει* is ludicrously taken as 'will swallow, i.e. believe'. Misprints are few and, except for some wrong line-references in the notes, should cause no trouble. There is a useful index.

For those who know their Aristophanes this book provides a frequently stimulating and sometimes enlightening experience, but it is alarming to think of its being read by non-specialists and innocent undergraduates who may be led by the august names of the publishers to assume that it is a more scholarly work than it is.

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KOMORNICKA (A.M.) **Métaphores, personnifications et comparaisons dans l'oeuvre d'Aristophane.** (Archiwum filologiczne, 10.) Warsaw: the Author. 1964. Pp. 210. zł 35.

This dissertation provides further evidence of contemporary interest in Aristophanes as a creator of images. Dr. Komornicka's study of his metaphors and personifications attempts to survey them from all angles. Her first chapter deals with definitions of metaphors and allied figures and with their origin, her second with their classification as applied to Aristophanes, her fourth with their grammatical aspect and her fifth with their function (comic, expressive, etc.) and subject-matter. Chapter Three, which occupies almost half the book, takes the plays in chronological order and examines dominant images. The chronological method adopted, perhaps inevitably, has the disadvantage of obscuring (in spite of some cross-references) the metaphorical connections between early and late plays such as *Nub.* and *Ran.*

Dr. Komornicka's approach to individual plays may be exemplified from her analysis of *Nub.* Three types of personification form the play's point of gravity: the Cloud-chorus has two functions, to ridicule certain religious rites, natural science and modern theogonies, and to attack the new dialectic and oratory. The *Logoi* represent a second type of personification, the impersonal. 'On a beau chercher dans tout le texte, on n'y trouvera pas une mention, pas un trait distinctif qui aurait permis de s'imaginer de quoi ils avaient l'air.' (p. 59). Thirdly, Socrates is, as personification, part type (the sophist) and part individual ('Socratic' in manner and appearance). It will be seen from this summary how wide are the boundaries of personification as defined by K. To speak of the chorus's 'two functions' is to obscure the essential fact that they unify the attacks on intellectuals: they are the air of the cosmologists and the vapourings produced by poets, seers and sophists. If the *Logoi* are ageless abstractions (in spite of *Nub.* 908, 961 etc., to say nothing of the Scholiast's fighting cocks) we lose the parallel between their quarrel and that of Strepsiadēs and his son later in the play. (And how were the *Logoi* masked?)

Much work remains to be done on the placing and frequency of 'small' metaphors within different types of scene: K. gives more attention to the recurrent metaphors which dominate a play, and particularly to the relationship between metaphor and 'reality'. To elucidate this relationship she herself uses a metaphor, that of 'background' which (is 'reality') and 'foreground'. This metaphor helps to simplify her exposition of the dramatic action but is not strictly valid since fantasy and reality shade into each other imperceptibly and individual characters are not consistently 'realistic' or 'fantastic'.

Dr. Komornicka has two lists of metaphors, the first according to subject-matter, the second showing their occurrence in the plays. For the former, K. could not take account of J. Taillardat's full treatment

in *Les images d'Aristophane* and her selective method, which often denotes a metaphor by a single word, is insufficient and sometimes misleading. In the second list, the existence and extent of particular metaphors may be disputed. A partial check of the lists produced the following: *Ran.* 846 *χολοποιός* (of Euripides) is not a metaphor, nor is the mention of Phrynichus at *Ran.* 1299 (not 1490), nor of Thales at *Nub.* 180; the 'building' of literary works is misplaced under 'technique militaire'. It is misleading to speak of six metaphors at *Nub.* 50-2; *ἀναγεῖσαι* at 523 and *σκαλι θυρμάτια* at 630 are missed. There are a number of misprints in the Greek; on p. 61 for 'Eschyle' read 'Euripide'.

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MONTGOMERY (H.) **Gedanke und Tat: zur Erzählungstechnik bei Herodot, Thukydides, Xenophon und Arrian.** (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, vi.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1965. Pp. xvii + 266. Sw.kr. 50.

This study is concerned with the nature and the part played by mental processes ('seelische Vorgänge') in the promotion of action in the narratives of the four named historians. In particular, the author proposes to examine the extent to which each author uses the description of mental processes to provide material that is not present in the plain narrative of events. The successful accomplishment of such a formidable task requires not only an intimate acquaintance with a considerable portion of extant Greek historiography, but also a comprehensive knowledge of the scholarship which exists on many literary and historical subjects e.g. literary portraiture, rhetoric in history, the importance accorded to the gods and to the individual in history, and historical veracity. Montgomery has equipped himself thoroughly, as a glance at his excellent bibliography shows. His acquaintance with this great volume of scholarship has led him to devote more space to Xenophon, and more especially to Arrian, than to the two fifth-century historians.

The conclusions reached concerning Herodotus and Thucydides, if not original, are generally acceptable, and receive added interest by being juxtaposed. Herodotus' characters are actuated by purely personal motives, such as revenge, but the freedom of action which his kings and tyrants enjoy is impaired by their own temperaments. Montgomery rejects the extreme view of Stahlenbrecher, that Herodotus intends to convey the idea of a consistent divine plan at work, but contends that the failure by leading men to master their own temperaments means that ultimately a divine force, *ἄτη*, governs their actions. In general, men who do not enjoy absolute power are of less interest to Herodotus than those who do: hence

the relative infrequency with which the thoughts of Greek leaders are portrayed. Herodotus' characters bear a strong resemblance to the heroes of Homer; but while in Homer the opposing sides have basically similar civilisations and codes of conduct, Herodotus underlines for the first time the utterly different outlooks of Greeks and barbarians.

In Thucydides, political not personal factors dictate men's decisions. In the individual states freedom of action is restricted by the necessity of party allegiance. There is much psychological interplay, but while recognising this Montgomery allows himself a dangerous generalisation: on p. 71 he writes 'Nach Thukydides hat die Moral keinen Platz in der Politik'. This is no doubt true in the context in which the statement is made, viz. that Thucydides saw nothing wrong in power-politics provided that proper calculations were made to ensure their success. But on the question of the importance to a state and an individual of a good moral reputation, in the widest sense, Thucydides views are clear; and Montgomery does them less than justice.

In dealing with Xenophon Montgomery finds himself in a less numerous company, though the work of H. R. Breitenbach compensates for the comparative lack of recent scholarship. In this section Montgomery betrays a certain incompleteness in his choice of illustrative passages. Thus we find no reference to the famous description of the demolition of the Long Walls (2.2.23) in Montgomery's list of passages in which joy is expressed (pp. 107-8), or to the important statements concerning Persian policy in 1.5.9 and 4.8.14 in his list of statements of political belief and opinion (pp. 100-104). He also assumes Xenophon's pro-Spartan bias to be uncontested ('unumstritten', p. 113, cf. p. 239), apparently discounting the moderating arguments of Cloché, Colin and McKay, whose articles are not listed in the bibliography. It is, however, refreshing to see full credit given to Xenophon's portrayal of Epaminondas.

Two factors place Arrian apart from his three predecessors: his dependence on exclusively literary sources, and his preoccupation with the life of a single man, Alexander the Great. The first of these raises the question of whether he follows his sources when he describes Alexander's thoughts. The matter is not susceptible of conclusive proof; but Montgomery suggests that, while Arrian may have relied for his explanations of tactics upon his sources, especially Ptolemy, the *πρόβλεψις*-formula, (which, one suspects, was used whenever the historian could think of no rational motive for a character's behaviour) is traceable back to Herodotus, and is actually a manifestation of Arrian's desire to write in the classical manner. In reaching this conclusion Montgomery sees Arrian as divesting Alexander of much of the mystical quality which he had acquired, and attributing his obsession with mythology and divinity to propaganda motives. This is perhaps taking matters too far, but it does illustrate the fundamental difference between Arrian and his predecessors. Alexander's monopoly of the

stage enables Montgomery to trace, through a study of his mental processes, a steady growth in his self-confidence and ambition. It is difficult to reconcile what amounts to portrayal of character-deterioration with a general reluctance (with a few exceptions) on the part of Arrian to censure Alexander; and the encomium of the king with which the work ends seems artistically inapposite if the historian's overall purpose has been to trace a moral decline. But since Montgomery is able to show convincingly, by comparison with Alexander's earlier ratiocinations, that pure vanity became an increasingly important motive for his actions, the blame rests with Arrian rather than with Montgomery.

Among the few misprints two could perhaps be troublesome: in footnote 6, p. 42 Gallie should read Gellie; and on p. 45 the passage of Thucydides discussed should read 6.1-26 instead of 6.1.26. Montgomery has provided a most useful comparative study of the *Arbeitsweise* of four very different historians.

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GOTTLIEB (G.) **Das Verhältnis der ausserherodoteischen Überlieferung zu Herodot.** [Diss.] Bonn: R. Habelt. 1963. Pp. xii + 158. DM 16.

A good subject—what was it possible for Herodotus to know and hence what may he have left out?—and the right conclusion—that he knew a great deal more than he chooses to say and that he omitted by totally different criteria in the two main divisions of his Histories (i-vi and vii-ix). But we might be happier with a shorter or a longer demonstration.

If Dr Gottlieb wished to show that Herodotus left out much that he knew, he need only have contrasted Hdt. v 55 with Thuc. vi 54 ff. and *Ath. Pal.* 18 on the murder of Hipparchos. There is no need of seven pages to analyse the Thucydidean and Aristotelian versions. But, if he really wished to disentangle the variants, seven pages is mere frivolity. He mentions (p. 16) without explanation that Aristotle enlarges the conspiracy but does not mention the vital clue to the origin of this enlargement—ὥς μὲν οἱ δημοτικοὶ γασιν (ch. 18.5) nor does he face the whole problem of the liberation of Athens or (what is much more relevant to Herodotus) the question of Alkmeonid activity at Delphi where at least four distinct traditions can be seen, two in Hdt., one in Demosthenes and Isokrates (?Kleidemos), one in *Ath. Pol.* (?Androtion) and perhaps a fifth in Philochoros. Again, do three pages on Polykrates' *τροπή* from Alexis, Klearchos and Klytos do anything to reinforce the belief that Hdt. knew much about Samos that he chose to omit? Thirteen recent pages by Mr. J. P. Barron (*CQ* xiv [1964] pp. 210 ff.) show what can be done with the non-Herodotean tradition if we try.

For the first half of Herodotus G. rejects the idea of any personal bias, specifically re the freeing of Athens, and it is true enough that personal bias plays a far smaller part than a sense of relevance. But he makes the same claim for the second part. 'Diese Erkenntnis sollte helfen, Herodot vom Vorwurf der Parteilichkeit zu befreien' (p. 136). This is absurd, and consequently much of what G. says of Pausanias or Themistokles, for example, is absurd. Herodotus was not a dishonest man but he did have opinions and to list alternative versions without trying to understand them (or him) is pointless. It does not help to be told that later authorities on the regent Pausanias concentrate on his disgrace and virtually ignore Plataia while Herodotus redresses the balance; it is more to the point to notice that where Herodotus does speak of P. after Plataia he tells a totally different story from Thucydides. Contrast Hdt. v 32 and viii 3,2 with Thuc. i 129 ff. And note perhaps the Herodotean doubt of Aristotle *Politics* 1307 a2 (δοκεῖ).

A good subject—but not the subject for a doctoral thesis.

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Thucydides. Book vii. Ed. K. J. Dover. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1965. Pp. xxxviii + 78. 1 map. 18s.

A distinguished historian and parliamentarian, not himself a teacher of the Classics, told me that the one essential for any would-be student of history was to read Thucydides, especially his account of the Sicilian expedition, whether in the original or in translation. Professor Dover's introduction (it is the same in each volume, except for a section on the Sicilian expedition in the introduction to Book VII) strikes a much less enthusiastic vein in declaring his dislike of those who believe Thucydides 'omniscient, dispassionate and infinitely wise' (Book VI p. iv) or regard him as 'a recording Angel' (Book VI p. xiii). Fair enough: *μηδὲν ἄγαν*. But in his efforts to crush these hypothetical worshippers of Thucydides he fails to bring out the greatness of Thucydides as a historian, and in my experience as a teacher it is the greatness of Thucydides which needs to be explained to the schoolboy. The sections on the life, language and style of Thucydides are admirably clear, succinct and stimulating of thought: the only thing one may miss is an appreciation of Thucydides' narrative style and of his meticulous precision in the use of such matters as hiatus and juxtaposition of rough consonants which Dionysius appreciated so well. What is said of the content of the speeches will prepare the schoolboy for an understanding of Thucydides' aim in including speeches. While the text and the apparatus criticus are printed from the Oxford Classical Text, Professor Dover has added an important section on the history of the text for these books, which takes account of more recent work. His note of the other sources

available to us for the Sicilian Expedition is an excellent one, and he gives a useful summary of the historical antecedents to and the course of the Sicilian Expedition. And enough is said in the section on Books VI and VII to make the reader aware of the problem of the composition of the history and to give him some idea of a possible solution.

The topography of Syracuse is shown in a clear map, which unfortunately has no scale, and an account of the various fortification walls is given in the introduction to Book VII. The novel feature of this account is that the city wall of Syracuse when the Athenians arrived in Sicily is shown as being about one and a half miles in length and the extension of the wall which was made in the winter of 415–414 B.C. was over two miles in length and ran across the plateau of Epipolae to the coast by Santa Panagia (Trogilus). It is however difficult to believe that the Syracusans were able not only to man and hold so great a length of wall across Epipolae but also to defend an unfortified coastline of equal length. The essence of a walled fortification for the Syracusans was that it would not be turned (Grote, for instance, who put the Syracusans on the plateau showed fortification walls on the coast also in his plan at the end of his seventh volume); but in summer 414 B.C., as the Athenians possessed naval supremacy, and as they had won an initial victory on land, they might easily have landed troops in the rear of the wall as Professor Dover shows it. Once this wall was in their hands there would have been no need to build a wall of circumvallation across Epipolae. But we must await Professor Dover's arguments when they are published in his continuation of Gomme's *Commentary on Thucydides*.

The commentary is clear, concise and appropriate. At times the brevity may raise a doubt as to the intended meaning. For instance at VI 1.1, commenting on Thucydides' implication that the conquest of Sicily was 'an impossibly large and difficult undertaking', he refers the reader to Thuc. II 65.11 where 'he (Thucydides) expresses the opposite view'; but in the latter passage Thucydides leaves no doubt that he regarded the Sicilian expedition as an outstanding blunder and one based on a miscalculation of the strength of Athens' opponents. The linguistic side is particularly good. Neat translations are given throughout the commentary. The historical side is well proportioned and there are substantial notes on such matters as the end of the tyranny at Athens. References are not made to the works of scholars; thus the note on the colonisation of Sicily does not refer to Dunbabin and resurrects the concept of calculating by generations which Dunbabin (I think wisely) omitted in this connexion. Misprints are very rare—I noticed Tautomemion for Tauromemion (Book VII p. xxiv), 'placid' for 'placcd' (Book VI p. 30), 'thi' for 'this' (p. 33)—and the volumes are beautifully printed. There are excellent indexes. Altogether Professor Dover is to be congratulated on these up-to-date and stimulating editions. Where we disagree it

is in matters of opinion. As he himself says of Thucydides' digression about the tyrants 'all historians and commentators are by their very nature weak . . . before the temptation to correct historical error wherever they find it' (or think they find it).

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KLEINLOGEL (A.) *Geschichte des Thukydides-textes im Mittelalter.* Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1965. Pp. xv + 186. 4 plates. DM 42.

The elegant book of A. Kleinlogel rests on the firmest palaeographical bases. I had the privilege to see his beautiful collations for his planned edition of the Thucydidean scholia, and I have great esteem for the carefulness and the accuracy of his work.

The most striking feature of his book is that he uses eighteen Greek letters (six capital and twelve small letters) to symbolise lost MSS. In fact, his lost MSS are more numerous than eighteen: we have not only β and ψ , but β^1 , β^2 , β^3 and β^{31} , ψ^1 , ψ^2 , ψ^3 and ψ^{31} (pp. 84 and 132). I must admit that I am baffled by the exponent ³¹.

Now most of the Greek letters used by Kleinlogel must represent mythical entities, since the manuscript tradition of Thucydides is the most contaminated one can imagine. Evidence of general contamination is provided by three facts.

- (i) Variant readings *supra lineam* or in the margin of extant MSS.
- (ii) *Recentiores non deteriores.* Recent MSS present against the *antiquiores* genuine readings which are not due to conjecture but to subterranean infiltrations.
- (iii) Instability of constellations. The *apparatus criticus* is to a certain extent a kind of kaleidoscope, the cleavage of the *codices* changing from one place to another.

Kleinlogel is, of course, perfectly aware of this situation.

In such conditions, it is impossible to reconstruct with certainty lost MSS. That is why, in my *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* (Paris, 1955), I proposed tentatively a *stemma* which aimed to be primitive and unambitious, with only four Greek letters (plus the *Decurtatus* and the Archetype) to symbolise lost mediaeval MSS (see especially my Introduction and the *stemma* at the end of my essay). On the contrary, for Kleinlogel, as well as for the other recent students of Thucydidean MSS, the more complicated a *stemma*, the better it is.

On the other hand, in spite of the approval, claimed in the Preface, of O. Luschnat and G. B. Alberti, it is hard to agree with the innumerable innovations of Kleinlogel in the list of symbols representing extant MSS (one or two Latin letters for each *codex*). I doubt that the decisions of this learned triumvirate will be definitive. For instance, I think it pernicious to attach the symbols *Pl Ms To* to

codices which J. E. Powell, their principal collator, had styled *l m n*. It is a pity to waste single capital letters like *P T Y Z* on fragments. I admit I used *T* with the same meaning as Kleinlogel, but my aim was not to establish a complete list of the MSS.

Moreover, the use Kleinlogel makes of his symbols is needlessly complicated. In his book, B_{II} means any or all of the secondary hands in *B*, when B^{II} means the second part in *B*, from 6.92.5 onwards. *H* enjoys a special status: H^{II} means the second part in *H*, from 7.5.1 onwards; 2H the second hand in *H*; H_2 any or all of the secondary hands in *H*. Kleinlogel distinguishes six hands in *H* where I saw only one, an unstable one. The result is that, according to Kleinlogel, on the folio 21r of *H* (*Tafel* I), lines 1-2 of the text are by the first hand, the lines 2-5 by the third hand, and the lines 5-21 by the fourth hand. I confess I continue to prefer my theory of a hand unique and unstable.

In some places, the style of Kleinlogel is quite hieroglyphic: '*Pl₃ wartet zwischen VI 92.5 und VII 5.1 ausser mit H₂-Lesarten auch mit solchen von B^{II}H auf, desgleichen nach VII 5.1 mit ξH^{II}- und B^{II}H^{II}-Lesarten, jedoch nie mit B^{II}-Lesarten, die H^{II} nicht kennt*' (p. 35).

One is surprised that no mention is made of the Latin translation of Lorenzo Valla, the original of which is the *Vaticanus lat.* 1801. From 7.50.1 onwards, this translation has to be considered as one of the most important MSS of Thucydides (*cf.* my essay, pp. 58-60).

According to Kleinlogel (p. 38), there is no evidence for an Alexandrian edition of Thucydides. But I think I have proved many years ago that the ternary book-division of Thucydides is typically Alexandrian (one can conveniently consult my recent note in *Scriptorium* 17 [1963] 314). In fact Kleinlogel is only interested in the mediaeval period of the textual history.

In conclusion, in spite of my objections, some of which will not be shared by those who think that a detailed *stemma* is possible in every case, we have to be grateful to Kleinlogel for his strenuous and fruitful research.

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MÉAUCIS (G.) *Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien, suivi d'un choix d'études.* Neuchâtel: La Baconnière. 1964. Pp. 141. 1 plate. Price not stated.

Without wishing to be more than customarily insular, I cannot forbear remarking that there is something oddly foreign about this little collection of essays, ranging in date from 1926 to 1955, which includes two historical, one philosophical and three literary papers on Classical subjects, with an appendix on Switzerland, two French writers, and two German painters. Perhaps it is the very breadth of the *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* which leads sometimes to the feel-

ing, that some of the most convincing generalisations seem to be derived from unconvincing arguments.

The title essay was the inaugural address Méautis delivered as Rector of the University of Neuchâtel in November, 1939. It is an interesting essay, in view of its date; but there is something wrong with the general comparison of Athenian imperialism and Athenian barbarity with Napoleon and Hitler. If the Athenians behaved barbarously it was not perhaps surprising: they were only a couple of centuries out of barbarism—and in some respects, in religion and perhaps in personal relationships, were still pretty barbaric. Napoleon and Hitler were products of and were working in a Europe which had been civilised, on and off, and Christianised, at least partly, for a very long time. One may also have doubts as to whether 'the growth and fall' of Athens is really all to be explained by their *πλεονεξία*, their keeping up with the Joneses: it is perhaps *trop simpliste*. Yet the analysis of the behaviour of tyrants of all times is acute and telling. The second historical essay, on Pericles' opponents, is a little out of date now (it was written in 1926), but it raises some interesting reflections on the Greeks' ambivalent attitude to *ἀτραγμοσύνη*, and makes the *Philoctetes* of Euripides rather dubiously into a 'pacifist manifesto' on the basis of lines (*πῶς δ' ἂν προνοίην κτλ.* Dindorf *fr.* 1) which to me illustrate just that ambivalence. But the French talent for historical insight is shown in a foreshadowing of the 'cold war' in the address of 1939:

Hélas! l'optique des temps de guerre n'est pas l'optique des temps de paix . . . comme il est de règle après toute guerre menée par des alliés contre un seul adversaire, les conflits d'intérêts remplacèrent rapidement l'idéal du temps de guerre, la 'croisade' se termina par d'aigres dissensions.

The one philosophical paper, on Orphism in Aristotle's (now fragmentary) dialogue, *Eudemus*, raises the whole problem of the importance or otherwise of Orphic thought in Plato and later Greek philosophy, and indeed the larger problem of the real nature of their apparently so rational thinking. There is an odd remark about the style of the *Eudemus*, 'tres différent des œuvres postérieures d'Aristote; il est beaucoup plus soigné, fait preuve de préoccupations littéraires'. What kind of later works? What of Aristotle's reputation in antiquity?

Of the three literary essays, two are on plays of Euripides, the *Alcestis* and the *Bacchae*. They are perhaps a little out of fashion now, with their rationalist Euripides and their subjective, psychological analysis. Méautis insists on the importance of 'certains "mots-clefs" qui nous ouvrent le sens caché de la pièce', 'certains termes, certaines appellations qui, par leur emploi, révèlent les intentions du poète. Il y a là toute une direction de recherches qui devrait intéresser les philologues, ouvrir un champ nouveau à l'activité scientifique.' But this principle is not in fact applied fully or strictly enough, and there is much that seems dogmatic, but depends on

on the personal interpretation of the critic: only let another take literally and seriously what Méautis considers 'comic' or 'ironic' (irony is particularly hard to pin down) and the play changes its meaning. Does 'tout le drame, le tragique de la pièce (the *Alcestis*), réside dans les vaines efforts de la femme héroïque pour arracher à son mari une promesse qu'elle sait, hélas! être vaine'? Is Pentheus led to destruction because of his prurient, but subconscious desire to see the Bacchants at their debaucheries?

Of Druon's *Mégarée*, the peculiarly French subject of the third literary essay, I know nothing beyond what Méautis tells me; it seems to have been a very dull play. But the essay is in a way the most fascinating of all, for it illustrates most clearly a characteristic part of the foreignness of the French: for them, *le pays, la France*, means very much what the *πόλις* meant to the ancient Greek. It has something of the same religious significance. It may be for this reason that the French writer can think himself into ancient characters more easily than we can. One might also suggest that this may be why neither the French nor the Greeks succeeded in making democracy work, because the *πόλις*, the state, is always above and greater than the individual. There is, in the title essay, a beautiful description of a university:

Il importe grandement à la vie d'un pays qu'il existe un foyer de culture désintéressé où les jeunes gens apprennent les règles strictes de la probité scientifique, de la recherche studieuse qui ne se laisse pas égarer par la passion. Il est si facile de haïr, et si difficile de voir clair.

But only a Frenchman, perhaps, could go on:

La tâche essentielle d'une Université . . . est de servir la vérité et, par conséquent, de servir le pays.

Although I am not competent, nor is this the place, to review the Appendix, there is in it a most interesting essay on the due de Lévis, Marshal of France, who died at the age of sixty-two in 1830, having produced, among other things, a book of *Maximes et Réflexions*, of which one has found common currency—*noblesse oblige*. The duke has a piece of advice for all those concerned, as I am, with interviewing candidates for university entrance:

Voulez-vous juger relativement à la culture de l'esprit, de l'éducation d'un enfant? Ne vous informez pas de ce qu'il sait. Vous pourriez être dupe de sa mémoire ou de la charlatanerie du maître (!), mais examinez si on lui inspire le goût du travail ou du moins si on lui en donne l'habitude.

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MOORE (J.M.) **The manuscript tradition of Polybius.** Cambridge: the University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii + 192. £2.

This study is basically a Cambridge doctoral thesis. It establishes a stemma of the manuscripts of Polybius, but does not deal with the secondary or

indirect tradition and only very briefly with the reasons for his survival and influence on later writers. The author made a full collation of the leading manuscripts A and F, and then constructed a list of over six hundred passages to be collated in all the remaining manuscripts; this procedure was necessary in order to reduce his task to manageable proportions, and in general it seems to have yielded adequate evidence. As far as possible the manuscript affiliations have been determined by errors of omission, which are the most satisfactory type of evidence. The tradition falls into three parts, books I-V, the *excerpta antiqua* of VI-XVIII and the *excerpta Constantiniana*. After indicating how unsatisfactory the basis of previous editions is Moore deals with these parts in a systematic manner, first giving brief descriptions of the manuscripts and then quoting the readings that prove their relationships.

The argument is concise and to the point; most of the relationships can be proved beyond reasonable doubt from a few important errors or omissions. Occasionally some difficulty arises, as on pp. 29 ff., where the evidence points in two directions, and it has to be assumed that an omission of one whole line of text by MS. Z₂, which is shared by two other MSS., arose by coincidence; this is not an easy hypothesis, but I think that Moore is right in regarding it as easier than any other which will explain the facts. In some cases one might wish that a little more evidence were given; for example on p. 23 the fragmentary MS. J is assigned to a stemmatic position on the strength of two comparatively minor errors. We are told that the MS. B₃ omits three tiny scholia (p. 25); I think it would be unwise to rely much on this fact. More difficult is the case of F (p. 31); three readings run counter to Moore's argument, and two of them he correctly disposes of as insignificant, but his way of dealing with the third did not convince me; he holds that the omission at 5.11.5 of the words *ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ οὕτω μᾶλλον* in F might have arisen from a marginal comment suggesting that they were spurious. Manuscripts often have notes indicating that certain words belong to the text, but I do not recall one conveying the opposite message. More likely perhaps is that the words were badly written or damaged in the hyparchetype, so that not all succeeding scribes were able to decipher them. On p. 97 the MSS. H₂₋₅ are linked by a single common error only, and as it is a mistake of one letter the reader would welcome further evidence; on p. 98 the facts stated about H₄ to prove its derivation from H₃ are all insignificant; on both these points further evidence is necessary, especially in view of the author's doubts expressed on pp. 104-5.

There are a few places where corrections or additions, chiefly of a palaeographical nature, may be made, but they do not appear to affect the validity of the stemmatic arguments. P. 16: MS. D is assigned to the 14th century, but a glance at the illustration of it in plate 4 shows that this is wrong. P. 20: if the traces of the scribe's name are correctly read he was

presumably called Michael Palaeologos. Pp. 91 ff.: in the section on the hyparchetype of H₂₋₁₅ one might infer something about the appearance of the book from some of the errors, e.g. p. 101 on confusion of sigma and delta, p. 104 confusion of sigma and gamma; these could point to a book in the scholarly hand of c. 1300 (Cf. G. Zuntz, *An inquiry into the transmission of the plays of Euripides*, pp. 180-1). Pp. 145 ff.: if all the later MSS. of these excerpts are copies of X, perhaps it was not necessary to discuss the relation of the copies, at any rate in the printed version of the thesis. In the index one is surprised to find reference to two 'convents' on Mount Athos.

In the scheme of the book there is one omission which is perhaps to be regretted: it would have been interesting to know whether any inference can be made about the manuscript(s) used by the compilers of the Suda, especially as they were working at much the same time as the *excerpta Constantiniana* were made.

However, it would be ungrateful and unfair to end this review with complaints: the fact is that this book contains the results of much useful work and is a substantial step towards a new edition of this important author.

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KENNEDY (G.) **The art of persuasion in Greece.**

London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.

Pp. xi + 350. £2 5s.

It is many years since J. F. Dobson published his study of *The Greek Orators* and the only subsequent review, in English, of work in this field appeared in *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship*. The present book provides a timely re-appraisal of Greek rhetoric in the light of modern criticism.

Professor Kennedy, addressing himself to a wide-reading public, sets out 'to plot a course between a broad survey of culture and a narrow history of technicalities' (v). He wisely omits any detailed analysis of the poets but includes a discussion of the Attic orators insofar as they are the practical exponents of rhetorical theory. Limitations of this kind cannot be avoided if the vast subject-matter is to be kept within a manageable compass. The presentation of material differs significantly from that in Dobson as the main chapter headings illustrate: (1) The Nature of Rhetoric, (2) Techniques of Persuasion in Greek Literature before 400 B.C., (3) Early Rhetorical Theory, Corax to Aristotle, (4) The Attic Orators, (5) Hellenistic Rhetoric to the Arrival in Rome of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. While such an arrangement involves a certain amount of repetition and additional cross-references, it does make possible a more interesting and constructive approach to the subject.

The introductory chapters give a preview of the whole field of rhetoric and its inherent problems while also affording an opportunity for the definition

of the divisions of rhetoric. There is, of course, much that is familiar especially the well-known references from Homer (*Il.* ix 442 f., xxii 281, *Od.* iii 212 ff. and others) illustrating the epic interest in good speaking (pp. 36 ff.). Such repetition is inevitable, however, because of the limited amount of evidence available.

Two main features are characteristic of early oratory namely the excessive use of antithesis—an ingrained habit in Greek writing and thought—and argument from probability. The earliest example of the latter occurs in *Hom. Hymn* iv where Hermes replies to Apollo when challenged about the theft of his oxen: this type of argument is extensively used even today. The next evidence is provided by the well-known trial in the *Eumenides*, the predecessor of the Euripidean *ἄγῶναι*. One further element which contributed much to the expression of Greek oratory was the developed sensitivity of the Greek ear which led naturally to an interest in rhythm.

Isocrates considered speech the basis of civilisation (cf. *Nicoles* 5 ff.) and Socrates (*Gorgias*, 452c 9 ff.) attributes the definition *πεθοῶς δημοσιονοῦς ἐστὶ ῥητορικῆ* to Gorgias. Rhetoric, according to the present terms of reference, is the theory or technique of speaking. It owed its birth both to the unsettled political conditions in Sicily and to the emergence of the professional politician at Athens and elsewhere. In other words an ability to speak well was an essential requirement both in the lawcourts and for the advancement of one's career.

The Greek interest in rhetoric is reflected in the elegiacs of Solon: his exhortation to the Athenians to conquer Salamis is rhetorical in spirit although in verse. Kennedy rightly stresses the fact that rhetoric was not dramatically and suddenly introduced into Greece by Gorgias in 427 B.C. He makes a number of sweeping generalisations and accepts the view that the oratory of the fifth century B.C. was not unlike what Thucydides puts into the mouth of his speakers: *τὰ δέοντα* might less ambiguously have been translated as 'what was appropriate to the occasion' (p. 48). Plato, *Phaedrus*, 266d 5 ff., gives the best general account of the contribution of the early orators to the form, content, character, and development of rhetoric (pp. 54 ff.). The main part of ch. 3 is devoted to an examination of Aristotle, *Rhetoric* iii and the more typical fourth-century handbook the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* which 'represents better than anything else the tradition of sophistic rhetoric' (p. 115).

The Attic orators (ch. 4) are examined in the context of the main divisions of oratory following the categories of speeches defined by Aristotle namely (1) Judicial, (2) Epideictic, and (3) Deliberative: the life of each orator, a description of his speeches, and a brief general comment on the nature of his contribution to the development of oratory is included. The earliest example of epideictic oratory is the Gorgian *Encomium on Helen*: the *encomia* are elaborate exercises more akin to the tetralogies of Antiphon where the arguments are allowed to stand out in relief un-

hampered by unnecessary detail. Demosthenes and Aeschines are examined in greater detail and Kennedy provides some commentary on the significance of the main speeches eliciting from them their attitude to rhetoric which is inextricably bound up with their political outlook. Not surprisingly the *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs* show an intensity of feeling unknown to Isocrates. 'Demosthenes knew all the tricks and rules of rhetoric, but they were to him only means to a far more important end' p. 236,—this being the defence of his country. 'Aeschines was a self-made man, exceedingly proud of the culture he had acquired, not thoroughly conscious of how to use it' (p. 245). The chapter concludes with a brief account of the lesser orators of the fourth century—Apollodorus, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Dinarchus.

The final chapter (5) on Hellenistic rhetoric provides a particularly valuable survey of material which is perhaps less familiar to the general student. There are two main sections (1) Peripatetics (2) Stoics. Much of Theophrastus, *περὶ λέξεως* is repeated in Cicero, *de Oratore*. 'He gave Hellenistic rhetoricians a usable system which preserved the essential requirements of a good style and did not over-emphasise adornment' (p. 275). The main virtues are *ἑλληρισμός*, *τὸ σαφές*, *τὸ πρεπον* and possibly *κατασκευή* (a term later used by the Stoics). Particular emphasis was laid on the importance of delivery. Demetrius, a pupil of Theophrastus, published works on rhetoric of which only fragments are extant: the *περὶ ἐρμηνείας* is probably incorrectly attributed to him although it apparently bears his name. The Stoics' system was substantially the same as that of Theophrastus and the Peripatetics with the addition of brevity as a necessary quality. Three further topics conclude the chapter—Asianism, the quarrel between rhetoric and philosophy, and Atticism. The latter is interesting for its reaction against the excesses of Hellenistic prose which were paralleled by the exaggerated art of the period.

There is an appendix containing the introduction to Dionysius of Halicarnassus' work on the orators: limited bibliographies appear in some footnotes and an adequate index completes the work.

The present book contains a mine of information including critical references to innumerable modern treatments of outstanding problems in the field of Greek rhetoric. Professor Kennedy has not only filled a gap with his modern *ἑξήγησις*, which avoids the pitfalls outlined by Aristotle, but has given the student and general reader alike an excellent guide to further study.

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LOSSAU (M. J.) **Untersuchungen zur antiken Demosthenesexegese.** (Palingenesia, 2.) Bad Homburg: M. Gehlen. 1964. Pp. 151. Price not stated.

Allusions in such writers as Didymus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the views of earlier (almost

invariably unnamed) commentators on Demosthenes make it clear that our earliest extant writers on the topic were not first in the field. Lossau has gallantly attempted to reconstruct the earlier exegetical tradition under two main headings, the Peripatetic contribution and the Alexandrian.

He knows his subject thoroughly and his argumentation is so close and subtle that the reviewer had better confess forthwith that he is not at all sure that he always grasped it. But enough is quite clear to make one feel that Lossau's approach belongs to a past age. As an exercise in Quellenforschung, Lossau's work is often sophisticated: he is obviously conscious how little of his reconstruction can be regarded as certain, for there are simply too many gaps in our knowledge. Yet his methods equally often reveal why unhappy associations becloud that notorious term. To get as far as he does, he has to rely implicitly on the well-worn postulate that the Alexandrians did all the work and did it perfectly, and that the records in our papyri and scholiasts, whatever their date, are but fragmentary, abbreviated and often garbled remains of a comprehensive Alexandrian achievement, that in short, nobody did any original research after c. 150 B.C. and nobody ever got anything wrong before that date. But there is surely evidence that in the field of prose-writing, whatever be true of Homer, the Alexandrians left a good deal to be done.

With the evidence fundamentally inadequate for the task in hand, it is not surprising to find some straining in the interpretation of details. If an early source has *ἔνοι φασιν* Lossau begins his inquiries on sure ground; but he also alleges that phrases like *ὑποτομήσεις (στοχίσματα) δ' ἄν τις ὄτι . . .* are evidence for earlier views. One might guess that usually they are not. Again if a papyrus contains a gross blunder (p. 220), that must be the work of a copyist. Here it probably is, but authors too make the most unlikely and scandalous mistakes. A different kind of over-subtlety is to be found in Lossau's strange attempt (pp. 68 ff.) to distinguish between Dionysius' discussions of two speeches attributed to Lysias (*Lys.* 12). Dionysius says of each that the style was not Lysian, and on working out some dates he found that they must have been written after Lysias' death. I can see nothing in the language to support, and much to controvert, Lossau's view that in the first instance, but not the second, 'die Chronologie *nur* die Aufgabe einer *zusätzlichen* Bestätigung für das . . . stilistische Echtheitsurteil habe' (reviewer's italics).

To say all this is not to deny that there is considerable interest and value in Lossau's work. He throws much light on the way ancient commentators went to work. On individual points he is often acute, for instance in detecting and stressing Theophrastus' divergences from Aristotle (pp. 36 ff.), and in interpreting two recently published papyrus fragments of commentaries on Demosthenes (pp. 129 ff.). Furthermore, there are indications in the work that it may be an *opus iuvenile*. If it is not, the author should,

of course, know better, but if it is, it is important to say that its promise is unmistakable: its faults arise from the choice of a subject which could be attacked only by methods unlikely to yield satisfying conclusions.

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WARTELLE (A.) **Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et ses commentateurs.** Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1963. Pp. xxi + 198. Price not stated.

Bekker used almost exactly 100 MSS for his Berlin edition of Aristotle; to judge from Gigon's appendix to the reprint of Bekker's edition, more recent editors of individual works have used roughly 100 more. M. Wartelle now presents us with a list of over 1,000 Greek MSS containing some part of Aristotle. Of these only thirty-six are said to be earlier than the thirteenth century; but for many works MSS of the thirteenth and later centuries are no less important: e.g. the *Politics* and the *Eudemian Ethics* are not represented at all before the thirteenth century, and a primary source for the *Poetics* is Riccardianus 46 of the fourteenth century. So a vast task of *eliminatio* seems to face future editors. For certain works this has already been done, e.g. by Lobel for the *Poetics*: Wartelle seems to add only one MS (at Ravenna, sixteenth century) to Lobel's list; and for e.g. the *Organon*, where early MSS are numerous, it seems unlikely that detailed investigation of the later MSS would much improve our texts. But some works have been less fortunate in their transmission or their editing, and many intending editors will have to make much use of Wartelle's finding-list.

What Wartelle claims to have done is to perform the mechanical but laborious and useful task of searching page by page (not trusting their indexes) the published catalogues listed by the Abbé Richard in his *Répertoire des Catalogues de Manuscrits grecs*. Wartelle warns us that standardisation of the information provided by these varied and often elderly catalogues is impossible. The information Wartelle can give about MSS accordingly varies from library to library, or even (as with the Vatican) within a single library. He attempts to give press-numbers, date or conjectured century, size, material and contents of each MS; where possible he gives the folio-number for the beginning of each separate work contained in a MS. But often this last information is not available, and one is reminded that from an editor's point of view many catalogues mislead either by omitting parts of a MS' contents or by exaggerating the extent of a work contained only in part. Short of years of work in the libraries themselves this cannot be checked. (But there are some signs that intending editors might still be well advised to go back from Wartelle's list to the original catalogues before they go to the libraries: e.g. Bandini recorded correctly that Laurentianus 85.5 contains only books v and vi

of Simplicius in *Phys.*, whereas Wartelle implies it is complete, and the new Vatican catalogue is much more precise than Wartelle in describing the contents of Vaticanus 250. Perhaps Wartelle has tried to be concise; but in listing contents this could be disastrous.)

Besides Aristotle himself, Wartelle's 2283 entries include a thousand-odd MSS of Aristotle's commentators, including a large number of sometimes very late MSS of Blemmydes, Corydalleus and other Byzantine scholars. A swift comparison of Wartelle's list of MSS of Simplicius on the *Physics* with Diels' lists in the Berlin edition shows a considerable number of items Diels missed, though it is of course impossible to tell how valuable they might be. But my colleague Mr A. H. Coxon points out that Wartelle himself has apparently missed Monacensis 428, which was one of Diels' primary sources for books v-viii, and also Marciani iv 14-18, the existence of which, at least, was known to Diels, though he was not aware that iv 14 contains Simplicius' commentary not on the *Physics* or part of it but on the *Categories*. Also Neapolitanus 323 contains, according to Diels, Simplicius, not (or not only) Philoponus. Elsewhere Diels identified as Simplicius much that Wartelle merely describes as 'Phys. cum schol.' (e.g. in Vaticanus 1028). One can only hope that clusters of omissions are rare. But it seems to emerge that Wartelle has not sought the extra information that might be obtained by consulting editors' prefaces in addition to catalogues.

Unlike Mioni in his recent book on the Venice MSS of Aristotle, Wartelle does not consider the possible filiation of any MSS. Nor does he record any signatures or evidence of former ownership, even though the better catalogues sometimes mention these. One should perhaps not condemn Wartelle for not having set out to do more. One must stress that his book as it stands is a 'finding-list' and no more; its virtue as such would be exhaustiveness, if that were attainable; Wartelle himself warns us that it is not. But at worst we must not be ungrateful for the listing of the frightening number of MSS that are accumulated here, whatever may perhaps come to light in the future when better library catalogues are made. Before Wartelle there was no short cut at all to *inventio*, and no means for an editor to guess at the magnitude of his task.

The MSS are listed first by libraries, then there is an index showing which MSS are said to contain any given work of Aristotle or a commentator. An index of MSS according to their centuries would have been useful even if hazardous. There is no bibliography; Wartelle does not even reprint short titles of catalogues. There is no reference to non-Greek translations or commentaries; but the Latin translations, of course, now have an admirable catalogue to themselves.

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ARISTOTLE. *Analytica priora et posteriora.*

Ed. W. D. Ross and L. Minio-Paluello. (Script. class. bibl. Oxon.) Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1964. Pp. xii + 197. £1.

This is a photographic reprint in the 'Oxford Classical Texts' format of the text, apparatus and *index verborum* originally printed in Sir David Ross's large edition of the *Analytics* with introduction and commentary published in 1949. The 1949 edition was widely praised by reviewers and need not be treated in detail here; see (e.g.) D. A. Rees in *CR* lxiv (1950), 114-16. In this reprint the text and apparatus stand as they were apart from a few corrections (e.g. in the *sigla*, where Bekker's MS D has recently been correctly identified). A Latin preface on the evidence for the text has been provided by Dr. L. Minio-Paluello, partly condensing, partly adding to Ross's statements in section viii of his 1949 introduction. M.-P. has also added an appendix recording additional evidence on the text of the *Prior Analytics*, some from sources already used by Ross, some from a new source.

Ross's text was based on five Greek MSS of the ninth, tenth or eleventh centuries, supplemented by readings derivable from the Greek commentators on the *Analytics*, and also by readings inferred from two Syriac translations, one made about A.D. 700 by Georgius Syrus of the *Prior Analytics*, one perhaps made in the fifth century by Proba of *An. Pr.* I i-vii. Ross only cited Syriac readings where they supported one or more of his other sources. These readings were originally communicated to Ross by M.-P.; M.-P. now adds further Syriac readings, especially readings that now turn out to support Boethius' readings against Ross's five Greek MSS. It is perhaps worth noting that some of the appended readings of ?Proba seem to coincide with Waitz's reports of the Greek MSS. i. m and u. not collated by Ross (see 24b17, 26b28, 28a18.).

The source added by M.-P. that was not used at all by Ross is the Latin translation of *An. Pr.* made by Boethius in the early sixth century, which exists in two versions both probably issued by Boethius himself. This translation was admirably edited recently by M.-P. in *Aristoteles Latinus* vol. III, where he discussed its relation to Ross's Greek MSS. Frequently it confirms the antiquity of a variant found in one only of Ross's five MSS; not infrequently M.-P.'s appendix shows it producing readings of its own which at least require consideration, (though M.-P. does not discuss whether any should be put in the text). Occasionally, as we saw, Boethius is supported by a Syriac version; and at 43a10 Boethius has a reading ascribed by Ross to Waitz but not claimed by Waitz as a conjecture; this may mean that Boethius supports a Greek MS used by Waitz but not by Ross.

M.-P. in his preface lists, and gives references for, a number of other sources for the *Analytics* which he has not made available here (some of them have not yet been adequately studied anywhere): there are also Latin versions of *An. Pr.*: a tenth century Arabic

version survives (other Arabic versions are perhaps lost); Boethius' *An. Post.* is lost, but there are five surviving later Latin versions; a tenth century Arabic (via Syriac) *An. Post.* survives and there is some evidence for readings of another. Add to this that according to Wartelle's recent inventory there are all told about 140 Greek MSS mostly uncollated: in particular A. Colonna. in *RFIC* 93 (1965). 318-20. calls attention to Vat. Barberini 87. which is of the tenth century but was unknown to Ross. (M.-P. should perhaps for completeness' sake have mentioned the Fayyum papyrus of *An. Post.* published in *Philologus* 44 (1885).) Thus the position, technically. is that much potential evidence for the *Analytica* has neither been systematically employed nor 'eliminated'. On the other hand in this O.C.T. volume we now have the full evidence of eight early primary witnesses for *An. Pr.* and five for *An. Post.*. and also that of the Greek commentators. The tradition of these works is not only abundant but also good; many of the variants clearly go back to antiquity but do not much affect the sense. There may be signs that later Greek MSS preserve ancient variants. but Ross admitted only fifteen readings (some of them very easy corrections) from the later MSS as reported by Waitz; collation of these might only confirm M.-P.'s belief that early contamination makes a stemma impossible; and the investigation of the other translations will perhaps be of more interest for history than for the text (though one must remember that other works of Aristotle are far less well transmitted. and for them elaborate researches might be rewarded).

Finally Ross's judgment as editor. especially on points turning on philosophical understanding. was masterly. We can therefore use this reissued text with the assurance that much improvement is not likely to be attainable.

The reduced page-size of the reprint has led to very small (and slightly fuzzy) type. which is hard on the reader of a difficult work; resetting would have permitted inclusion of M.-P.'s appendixes in the apparatus; but in principle it is excellent to have good texts cheap.

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ARISTOTLE. **De arte poetica liber.** Ed. R. Kassel. (Script. class. bibl. Oxon.) Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1965. Pp. xiv + 79. 15s.

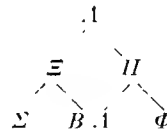
Après un règne de plus d'un demi-siècle dans *Scriptorum classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, la deuxième édition de I. Bywater vient d'être remplacée par la nouvelle édition de la *Poétique* d'Aristote. préparée par R. Kassel (de Berlin). Cette nouvelle édition, comme on s'y attendait, après les études et les éditions de J. Tkatsch, A. Gudeman, J. Sykouris, D. de Montmollin, G. Else et d'autres. diffère sensiblement de celle de I. Bywater de 1911.

Elle a d'abord une *Praefatio* (pp. V-XIV) où

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l'auteur donne en abrégé une étude de la tradition manuscrite de la *Poétique* (A = *Par.* 1714, B = *Ricc.* 46, Lat O et T = *cod. Etonensis* et *cod. Toletanus*. Ar = la traduction arabe et rec = mss grecs des ss. XV-XVI; pp. V-XI), le *stemma* (p. XII) et quelques explications concernant les mss, le texte grec, l'app. crit. et les deux index (pp. XII-XIV). A la page 2 se trouve un aperçu des sigles; les pp. 3-49 contiennent le texte et l'app. crit., les pp. 50-52 comprennent les mêmes *fragmenta* (I-VI) différemment disposés. Les pp. 53-77 l'*Index Graecus* (au lieu de l'*Index nominum* de Bywater et les pp. 78-79—l'*Index locorum*).

On pourrait, en général, tomber d'accord avec l'examen critique des mss quoiqu'on ait l'impression que la parenté de B et de Σ ne soit pas suffisamment soulignée, ce que fait ressortir le *stemma* où Σ est séparé de B. Cette impression risque d'être superficielle, étant donné que les sigles .I, Ξ et Π de R.K. ne désignent pas des mss imaginés ou perdus mais des parentés de deux ou de plusieurs mss. Pourtant, nous croyons que la parenté entre Σ et B est telle, qu'on puisse joindre par le sigle Ξ plutôt ces deux mss, si l'on considère, outre les accords indiqués par R.K. (p. XI), surtout 49b 28 (παθημάτων contre μαθημάτων de tous les autres mss), 55b 31 (αἰτήσεως contre αἰτιάσεως de tous les autres; la leçon de Σ, était en effet. selon toute apparence αἰτήσεως, la même que celle de B, à en juger d'après la traduction arabe qui a, dans la version latine de Tkatsch, 'ab Augi usque ad' = αἰτήσεως de αἰτήσεως, v. M.D.P. dans *Ζ.Α.* XII, 88 et 320), 48b 36 (τὸ . . . σχῆμα contre τὰ . . . σχήματα des autres), 50a 28 (πολύγλωστος, A et les autres. que B et Σ ont omis), 50b 15 (πέντε II ou πέμπτον rec, qui manque en B et Σ) etc. etc. D'après nous, donc, le *stemma* devrait être conçu comme suit:



La nouvelle édition de R.K., comparée avec celle de Bywater, a dans le texte grec environ 150 leçons différentes. Les différences dans l'app. crit. sont beaucoup plus nombreuses et plus remarquables. Les nouvelles leçons représentent, dans la plupart des cas, un pas en avant. En voici quelques exemples:

R. Kassel

1447a 17-	.. ἡ γὰρ τῶ ἐν ἐτέροις ..
1447a 26s	ἡ τῶν ὀργιστῶν (scil. τέχνη)
48b 22	ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ πεφροκότες
49a 7	.. εἰ ἄρα εἴη ..
51a 3	.. ἐπὶ τῶν σομμάτων ..
52a 16s	.. πεπλεγμένην δὲ ἐξ ἧς ..
58a 28	.. τὴν τῶν <ἄλλων> ὀνοματῶν σ
58a 30	τά δὲ ἐκ τῶν γλωσσῶν β.
59a 33	.. ἐμελλεν ἔσεσθαι ὁ μῦθος. .
62b 94	.. καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια, <ᾧ> καὶ .

I. Bywater

1447a 17—	ἡ γὰρ τῶ γένει ἐτέροις
1447a 26s	αἱ τῶν ὀργιστῶν
48b 22	ἐξ ἀρχῆς περφοκότες
49a 7	... ἄρ' ἔχει ...
51a 3	... ἐπὶ τῶν συστημάτων ...
52a 16s	... πεπλεγμένη δὲ φλέξις† ...
58a 28	... τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σ.
58a 30	ἐκ τῶν γλωσσῶν β.
59a 33	ἐμείλεν ἔσεσθαι, ...
62b 94	... καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια. καὶ ...

Il y en a tout de même quelques unes qui ne signifient, malheureusement, aucun progrès, comme par ex. : 50a 12s— ... †οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἀντὶ τῶν ὡς εἶπεῖν ... καὶ γὰρ †ὄψις ἔχει πάντ' ... οὐ Byw. avait ... ὄψις ἔχει πάν ... et dans l'app. crit. il proposait la conjecture '12 ὡς εἶπεῖν fortasse post ὄψις ἔχει πάν collocandum', qui est très probable; plus bas (50a 17ss), R.K. propose l'athétèse de la proposition [καὶ εὐδαιμονία ... ἢ τοῦναντίον]. οὐ Byw. avait ... καὶ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἢ κακοδαιμονία ... ἢ τοῦναντίον, qui est plus vraisemblable, car il fallait marquer la lacune ou la vorruption du texte et non pas en effacer une partie importante et nécessaire. Nous avons, de notre côté, proposé la leçon conjecturale ἡ γὰρ τραγωδία μίμησις ἴσταν οὐκ ἀθροῦσαν ἀλλὰ πράξεως καὶ βίον καὶ εὐδαιμονος καὶ <κακοδαιμονος, ἢ δ'εὐδαιμονία καὶ> ἢ κακοδαιμονία ... Il faut même que les remarques de R.K. 'non exstant in Ar', citées dans l'app. crit. et concernant les mots εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἢ κακοδαιμονία, ne soient pas acceptées sans réserve (v. Tkatsch I, 233 n. 36). Citons aussi un exemple de l'app. crit. où l'édition de Byw. offrait un meilleur aperçu des variantes du texte et des conjectures; il s'agit de 48a 15; ὡσπερ **γῶ: Κέκλωπας ... Elle apportait 6 versions du texte (3 des mss et 3 conjectures) dont, d'après nous, celle de Castelvetro (ὡσπερ Ἄργῶ: Κέκλωπας), qui fait défaut chez R.K., serait la meilleure. Il y a, néanmoins, chez R.K. un détail de la version latine 'et timotheus', qui nous semble précieux, étant donné que notre conjecture, s'appuyant d'ailleurs sur Castelvetro, suggérerait la conj. καὶ entre Κέκλωπαι et Τιμόθεος (v. Ζ.Α. XII, p. 84), écrite, selon toute apparence, par son sigle et mal comprise comme ζ.

R.K., rendant compte de Ar (pp. X–XI), critique les études de J. Tkatsch et de A. Gudeman concernant la traduction arabe d'une manière trop sévère en s'appuyant sur l'opinion de R. Walzer et sans présenter des arguments convaincants. Le fait seul que la version arabe n'est pas une traduction directe du texte grec mais qu'elle est traduite d'une version syriaque invite à la prudence; cependant, il ne suffit pas de réprover, presque a priori, le travail des deux savants pleins de mérite. Nous sommes de même conscients que Gudeman a commis quelquefois des fautes, mais là où il a montré le texte exact, où il a introduit une meilleure expression ou bien un mot plus convenable de n'importe quel ms. ou d'une bonne conjecture, il est injuste et erroné de

ne pas le reconnaître et de restituer ou de retenir un texte moins convenable. Voici quelques exemples d'une telle pratique:

R. Kassel

47b 14— ... τὸ ποιεῖν ἐλεγειοποιούς ... (app. crit. : pas un mot!)
 49a 32ss— ... ἡ δὲ κομωδία ἐστὶν μίμ. φων. μ. οὐ μ. κ. π. κ. ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἔ. (app. crit. : '34 τὸ Π: om. B.' Sur αἰσχροῦ pas un mot!)
 56a 2— ... τὸ δὲ τέταρτον †ομε †οῖον ... (app. crit. : οης B: ὀης A: spat. vac. in Lat: ὄψις; Bywater coll. 1485a 5, sed obstat 1459b 8–9 ...) — S'il y avait, par rapport à οης, qui est évidemment un texte gâté, chez les philologues et les éditeurs, une série de conjectures, nous ne voyons pas la raison pourquoi R.K. ne nous en donne que ὄψις de Bywater).¹

A. Gudeman

47b 14— ... τὸ ποιεῖν <τοὺς μὲν> ἐλεγειοποιούς ... (app. crit. : 14. <τοὺς μὲν> ἐλεγειοποιούς: Σ (Gryphius). Cf. Tk. II 136. ἡ δὲ κομωδία ἐστὶν μίμ. φων. μ. οὐ μ. κ. π. κ. ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ <οὐ> (app. crit. : 34 αἰσχροῦ <οὐ> Σ P², om. AR^{1ω} per haplographian.)
 56a 2— ... τὸ δὲ τέταρτον <ἢ ἀπλή>, οἶον ... (app. crit. : 2 ... τέταρτον <ἢ ἀπλή>). Bursian. hic iam Morelius ἀπλοῦν inserendum iussit. τέταρτον οης Aω. τέταρτον ὁ ... οἶον TVGP². τ. οἶον ὁ ... M^{VU}, spatiis relictis. οἰκεῖον L²M¹ ὀμαλόν A^m quae tentamina lacunae supplendae aequae repudianda sunt atque coniecturae τερατική vel τερατώδες vel ὄψις Cf. Tk. II 85.)

Si Aristote dit, dans le texte précédent, qu'il y a quatre espèces de tragédies et s'il en a énuméré déjà trois (1° πεπλεγμένη, 2° παθητική et 3° ἠθική), il ne reste pour la quatrième, conformément au chap. 24 (59b 8ss), que la ἀπλή (v. le commentaire de Gudeman, 317). Notre émendation du texte en question est identique en ce qui concerne le sens mais un peu différente par rapport à la paléographie (ἢ δὲ τετάρτη ἀπλή, v. Ζ. Α. XII, 88).

Il y a dans l'app. crit., en outre, un certain nombre de petites omissions et inexactitudes, comme dans 49b 29 ('καὶ μέλος: Ξ del. Tyrwhitt'). R.K. y a omis la conjecture καὶ μέτρον de Vettori, ce qui n'est pas essentiel, mais son indication que les mots καὶ μέλος ne se trouvaient que dans les mss désignés par le symbole Ξ, qui ne comprend pas le Σ, ne correspond pas à la vérité, ce qu'on voit de la traduction arabe (cp. Tkatsch I, 230 set n. 37). Au lieu du symbole Ξ il faudrait écrire Δ, d'après la notation de R.K. Une inexactitude presque identique se trouve dans 49b 3 ('3 λεγόμενοι Ξ ... pour 'λεγ. Γ').

R.K. transmet d'ordinaire le meilleur texte des mss et les plus probables des conjectures et émendations évitant l'intervention personnelle, sauf dans quelques cas, le plus souvent, sous forme de sug-

¹ Cp. maintenant encore celle de G. Else: ἡ δὲ ἐπεισοδιώδης.

gestions dans l'app. crit., et très rarement, immédiatement dans le texte. Voici les deux endroits où R.K. a directement changé le texte des mss: 49b 9s—*ἡ μὲν οὖν τῇ τραγωδίᾳ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ μετὰ μέτρον λόγῳ μίμ.* etc. (app. crit.: '9 μὲν τοῦ Tyrwhitt: μόνου Ξ 10 μετὰ μέτρον λόγῳ scripsi (non obstat Ar): μέτρον μετὰ λόγου B: μέτρον μεγάλου A: excidit in Lat') et 54a 22s—*ἔστιν γὰρ ἀνδρείαν μὲν τὸ ἦθος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἄριμ. γυν. οὕτως ἄ.κ.δ.* (app. crit.: '22 τὸ B: τὰ A ἀνδρείαν (sc. εἶνα γυναικα) scripsi: ἀνδρείον Ξ'). Cependant, les deux conjectures de R.K. n'offrent pas un texte tout à fait probable. L'expression *μέχρι μὲν τοῦ μετὰ μ. λόγῳ* est douteuse à cause de la répétition de la particule *μὲν* et de l'ordre des mots (cp. notre conjecture *μέχρι τοῦ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ λόγῳ*, dans *ζ.Α. XII*, 85, approuvée par C. Georgoulis (*Platon XV*, 336). Et le texte *ἔστιν γὰρ ἀνδρείαν . . .* du point de vue syntaxique et stylistique, n'est pas plus probable. Il nous semble que le texte primitif y avait *ἔστιν γὰρ ἀνδρείον μὲν τι* (Hermann pour *τὸ* des mss) *ἦθος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἄριμ. γυν. ὁύτως* (M.D.P. pour *οὕτω* de B ou *τῶι* de A) *ἀνδρείαν ἢ δεινὴν εἶνα*.

Toute fois quelques unes de ses suggestions dans l'app. crit. sont plus vraisemblables. Les voici: 47b 14 (app. crit.) ' . . fort. *οὐ χωρίζ* opp. *ἀλλὰ κοινῇ* 15' (pour *οὐχ ὡς* des mss), 48a 16 ' . . fort. *αὐτῇ δέ <ταύτῃ > τῇ*' (pour *ἐν αὐτῇ δέ τῇ*), quoiqu'on y puisse avec autant sinon plus de vraisemblance lire *ἐν δέ τῇ αὐτῇ*, 51a 17s ' . . 18 fort. *ἐξ ὧν ἐνίων* (pour *ἐνίων* dans la phrase *ἐξ ὧν ἐνίων*, ce qui est du moins intéressant sinon convaincant; 55a 14 ' . . fort. *<αὐτῶν>, ἄλλον δέ'* représente une suggestion presque meilleure que *<ἐκείνων>*, *ἄλλον δέ* de Sykouris. La note de l'app. crit. 60a 35 ' . . *τὰ ἐν II: ἐν, tum in charta lacerata* fort. *τῇ (?) B'*, qui est trop critique, doit être signalée.

Il faut particulièrement marquer les mérites de R.K. dans l'enrichissement de nos connaissances concernant le travail critique sur le texte de la *Poétique* de Ellebodus et de Sophianos, deux philologues du XVI^e s., qui a fait l'objet d'une étude spéciale de l'auteur dans *Rhein. Mus.* CV 111–121, dont nous voyons les résultats utilisés non seulement dans l'app. crit. (48b 18: *οὐχ ἢ Ellebodus, Hermann*; 52a 3: ' . . *καὶ μάλλον* de Ellebodus, Spengel'; 55b 18: ' . . *ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ olim Vahlen, malim ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ cum Ellebodus*; 59a 21s: *ἱστορίας τὰς συνθέσεις Sophianos, Dacier*') mais aussi immédiatement dans le texte, comme dans 49a 18 *πρωταγωνιστεῖν* (pour *πρωταγωνιστήν*; cp. l'app. crit. '18 *πρωταγωνιστεῖν Sophianos . . .*') qui aurait la chance d'être authentique bien que *πρωταγωνιστήν* des mss donne le même sens.

Quoique le texte grec et l'app. crit. de la nouvelle édition de R.K., qui est de 5 pages plus long que celui de I. Bywater, donne à peu près l'image de l'état actuel de la critique du texte de la *Poétique* d'Aristote, nous serions plus satisfaits si les défauts, grands ou petits, pouvaient disparaître de la prochaine édition.

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THEOPHRASTUS. **Der syrische Auszug der Meteorologie des Theophrast.** Hrsg. und übers. E. Wagner. Eingel. und erkl. P. Steinmetz. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abh. der geistes- und sozialwiss. Klasse, Jg 1964, 1.) Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. 1964. Pp. 58. DM 5.60.

In 1918 G. Bergsträsser published a brief Arabic compendium of meteorological doctrines purporting to be a shortened version of a Syriac work attributed to Theophrastus. In 1955 part of this Syriac work was discovered on three badly mutilated leaves of a Cambridge MS. This fragment has now been edited jointly by the Orientalist E. Wagner and P. Steinmetz, the editor of Theophrastus' *Characters*, who have also provided an introduction, German translation, synopsis and commentary. Their text is a line-by-line reprint of the MS, apart from a few trivial corrections. The translation is based on a composite text assembled from the Arabic and Syrian versions—both have something to contribute, for although the Syriac text is fuller, the MS is damaged and dates from the fourteenth century, whereas the Arabic version was made in the tenth—deviations from the Syrian text being indicated by italics and brackets and explained in the commentary. The textual commentary, by Wagner, is careful and sound, as far as a non-Orientalist could judge.

The explanatory part of the commentary is by Steinmetz. It suffers from a failure to make full use of the Aristotelian and other Peripatetic parallels to elucidate the meaning of the text, and from a tendency to attribute to Theophrastus without question all the ideas found in this compendium; this in spite of the fact, which Steinmetz admits, that the Theophrastean work from which it is ultimately derived included a good deal of discussion of the views of other thinkers, and at least one of these has demonstrably found its way into the Syriac work. (These points are discussed more fully in my review in *Gnomon* 37 [1965] 758 ff.) As a result this edition does not advance our knowledge of Theophrastus' meteorology as much as one might have hoped, but it is useful to have the text generally available.

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MENANDER. **The Dyskolos.** Ed. E. W. Handley. London: Methuen. 1965. Pp. x + 323.

£2 15s.

The publication in 1959 of the *Dyskolos* led to a flood of articles and editions of very varying merit. Handley has done well to produce so soon a commentary that has so much that is original and overlooks so little that is valuable in the work of others. This edition, which will long be indispensable, was originally intended to be on a more modest scale, and directed to a less advanced kind of student. Here

lies the explanation of its treatment of the text. All gaps, except 650-4, 703-11, 756-60, 887-8, are completed by supplements that are often admitted to be speculative, and all recognised corruptions are emended. Part of the commentary is enclosed in square brackets as 'ancillary to the main body'. Almost all discussion of textual problems is thus isolated, while the 'main body' gives a commentary on the reading actually adopted. This is not always the best method of approach for the scholar, nor indeed for the editor, who sometimes seems to defend a thesis in which the ancillary note suggests he has little faith. I am not even sure that it is good for the undergraduate, for whose sake this arrangement may have been adopted, not to have to face alternatives.

The introduction is in four parts. The first contains a judicious discussion of Menander's relation to the political ideals of Demetrios of Phaleron and to the ethical views of the Peripatos and an examination of what should be meant by saying that he 'represents life'. The second, entitled 'The Dyskolos in the Theatre', cautiously explores the problem of the assignment of parts to actors, and has more than five pages, which acknowledge a heavy debt to Professor Webster, on the topic of masks. The third, on the sources and constitution of the text, includes a good account of the whole question of the distinction of parts in ancient MSS. The fourth section, on metre (pp. 56-73), is rigorous in statement, but the beginner will not make much of the unexplained notation, which will be novel to all but experts. The appended notes, which collect and discuss split anapaests, divided resolutions, and abnormal substitutions from the whole of Menander, are important.

The *apparatus criticus* meticulously records the corrections made in the Bodmer papyrus to *lapsus calami*, but not the punctuation. It gives no alternatives for doubtful letters, nor any proposed supplements or corrections except those adopted in the text above. For others we have to go to the ancillary notes. These record, as a matter of principle, all the readings of the *editio princeps* and of the O.C.T., thus preserving a certain amount that would be better forgotten. On the other hand, a few important suggestions get no mention, e.g. 214 ff. the assignment of parts by E. Grassi, *Atene e Roma*, 1961, 144; 681 *εἰς ἀπολώλεκα* (Kraus); 727 *ἔτερ' ἄν* (Eitrem); 776 *οἱ δὲ* (Gallavotti); 939 *ἡλίγηματ'* (Quincey, cf. Aristainetos i 27). Jacques' *ἐνθαδί* at 89 and *θ' ἄλλῃ* at 581 may have been too late for inclusion. At times the phrase 'ali alia' conceals conjectures that could face the light of day. There is often no discussion of the merits of rival conjectures, but we are spared that kind of 'critical' comment that is satisfied with labels like 'much more probable' or 'inferior'.

In constituting the text Handley generally chooses between alternatives as I should myself: *inter alia* it is good to see 98 *ζητεῖν*. 448 *κοίτας φέρονται*. 930 *μὰ τὸν Δι'* not *πακτροῖδιον*. 955 *τί ποτε* not *τίποτε*: in the last two passages he has the strength of mind to

resist the palaeographically simpler remedy. But in places he adheres to the papyrus, in spite of its 'heavy layer of superficial corruption', without a convincing defence: 76 *ἤρμουσ'*, 164 *τοιούτου τὸ μέρος χωρίου*, 267 *δοκῶ διαλέξασθαι* (a form as dubious as the construction), 845 *ἔχεις μηδ' αὐτὸν λίαν*, interpreted as 'Surely you're not too well off yourself'. More, but not I think enough, can be said for following the MS at 212, 230, 568. Yet more often Handley makes a good case for retaining what has been widely abandoned, as at 39, 152, 187, 386, etc. At 195 he rehabilitates ed. pr.'s *κακῆν κακῶς*. At 727 a defence of *ὅπερ ἂν ἄλλος* suggested by Professor Dale (*ὅπερ*=whereas) may be too recondite to be true. Handley incorporates of course the many excellent suggestions he made in *BICS* 1959; of his novel proposals none seems to be more than possible, but I note as attractive the idea that 612 *πάντ' ἔχομεν* is reported speech, and that 754 *καὶ μάλ' ὃ πάτερ* is spoken by Sostratos.

The commentary is a mine of information: it has very good observations on Menander's dramatic craftsmanship, a valuable collection of literary and linguistic parallels, and an unusual amount of archaeological material. The standard of accuracy is high. By way of exception I mention the following: 5, *Georgos* 1 ff. is, for a variety of reasons, not likely to be a prologue; 392, 'comic cooks never seem to have what they need' would be hard to justify; 517 on *σφαιρομαχεῖν* repeats the common misrepresentation of *Laws* 830a-b; 878, Lucian's *Dial. Mort.* 10.10 cannot be quoted in support of *εὐ πάθους*, since we must there read *εὐπλοῶμεν*, with *rec.*

The notes contain so much, including handy collections of references on many subjects—cooks, dowries, dreams, and so on—that one must not over-emphasise omissions. More could be said about the adaptation of the language to the characters (cf. *Plut. Mor.* 853 E-F), narrow though the basis for such remarks still remains. And the humbler reader, whom it is so difficult to keep in mind, is not always provided for. Thus at 536 he would welcome a plain description of a 'well-beam' instead of a set of references to vase-paintings, and at 599 he will not know for what a cook used a *ἀρπάγη*. At 587 he needs warning that *ὃ πονηρὰ* is not 'you wicked woman', and at 608 to be told the exact meaning of *ἐπικλήτους*. Who at 680, 685 is *ἐκεῖνος*? And what at 794 is the force of *ἀισχρὸν*? As a sample of the many notes from which I have derived instruction, I may mention 57 on the part of Chaireas, 297 on the supplement *ἔβρω*, 525 on the *δίκελλα*, and 880 on the accompanying piper, who I am now convinced is not Donax of 959. As with all editions that show imagination, some notes will arouse doubt or dissent. Does the play really gain 'in effect from the audience's familiarity with the patterns of Classical tragedy' (639-65, cf. 574 ff.)? Or again, is it not against first dramatic principles to suppose that Getas at 881 is not telling the truth when he says he is acting under orders, but that he invents an excuse

for coming to take revenge on Knemon? But to make one think about such questions is a service and one can only welcome warmly and gratefully a full-scale commentary on Menander such as has never yet been available on any part of his work.

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ZUCKER (F.) *Ed. Menanders Dyskolos als Zeugnis seiner Epoche.* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft, 50.) Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1965. Pp. 254. DM 36.

This is a series of studies dealing with the *Dyskolos* from very different angles (ranging from sociology to metre): the volume will, therefore, interest a number of specialists. I shall confine myself to mentioning only a selection of the contributions offered.

The sociological papers (Brozek: Menander and the influence of the *Peripatos* concerning the question of the 'ökonomische Gleichstellung der Menschen'; Luria: Menander's attitude towards democracy; Schottländer: the problem of social *αὐτάρκεια*) are interesting because of their laudable efforts at avoiding generalisations and sticking to the texts. Two fatal flaws, however, limit the value of such investigations. On the one hand, Menander operated with traditional 'types', so that it is not always clear whether a given character is speaking as the poet's *porte-parole* or simply conforming to the rules of the 'Typik' as seen by Menander (cf. e.g. the *feinsinnig* discussion in Handley's edition, p. 215, on Knemon's attitude); on the other hand, as Webster has rightly emphasised (*Studies in Men.*, p. 217; cf. Handley, p. 9) it is impossible to make Menander adhere consistently to one specific politico-philosophical doctrine: he was a poet, no less so than Aristophanes, and, just as one has now abandoned attempts to put Aristophanes into a clearly defined political straitjacket, the same freedom should be granted to his colleague Menander. New Comedy was a mirror of contemporary bourgeois society, a society which (Aristophanes' *Ploutos* is the significant milestone in the *genre*) was chiefly interested in private problems (to put it bluntly, in money-making and in the preservation of one's wealth: the relevant passages in the *Dyskolos* are now conveniently listed in the *Index* to Handley's edition, s.v. 'Wealth and Poverty') rather than in the political vicissitudes of the state (as was the case in the old days of the *polis*): within the limits of this narrow horizon, Menander gave 'general exhortations to mildness' and expressed 'the general sentiment "make the best of things"' (Webster), thereby echoing Peripatetic-Stoic ideas that were very much in the air. In this respect, a point that has not been noted, and that I should like to submit to the attention of sociologists, is the fact that *Tyche* is, in Menander's world, explicitly seen in terms of social mobility: whereas the 'cycle-motif', e.g. in Soph.

Trach. 112-40 or Pind. *Ol.* i 35 ff., remained on a general ethical plane (joy *versus* sorrow) and is seen as working both ways, in *Dysk.* 271 ff. the function of *Tyche* is envisaged on an overtly economic plane (poor who may become rich) and the stress is on *upwards* mobility: 'the poor man claims respect because he may one day rise in station' (Handley, p. 183, where the 'positive workings of Fortune' are discussed: italics mine). Alexandrian society—whose resemblance to ours has justly been defined as astonishing—was—very much like ours—one of much greater socio-economical upwards mobility than had been the case in the previous centuries.

That it would be inappropriate to try to systematise the generic social utterances of Menander into a political creed is best demonstrated by the fact that attempts at doing so have resulted in people obtaining exactly opposite results (e.g. Barigazzi *versus* Luria). The *Dyskolos* does not fundamentally alter the conclusions reached by Korte, who has shown that Menander's characters, far from being *engagés*, are in the final analysis 'dénusés de tout intérêt politique' (Préaux, *Chron.d.'Eg.* 1957, p. 100).

G. Devecseri and W. Strzelecki study certain aspects of Menander's metre within the framework of the *Umgangssprache*: these contributions integrate F. Perusino's paper (*Riv.di cult.class.e medioev.* 1962, p. 45 ff.).

A. Tacho-Godi offers a most welcome analysis of 'Die Alltagslexik in Menanders *Dyskolos*': it is to be hoped that such investigations may be extended in the future, also with regard to syntax: what exists now¹ is far from sufficient and is in any case outdated.

The survival of Menander in Byzantine times is studied by Irmscher in an exhaustive paper: he convincingly shows how, in a process conditioned by social factors, the knowledge of Menander's plays progressively waned, until what remained in circulation were only his *gnomai* (on the 'Fortleben' of the poet cf. also Dain, *La survie de Mén., Maia* 1963, p. 278 ff.).

The figure of the *Dyskolos* as a dramatic 'type' in literature is studied by J. Zanowski; to his considerations we may add that *ὁ δύσκολος*, as a clearly defined psychological type, is established in Aristotle, *Eth.Nic.* 1108a 30 ff., 1126b 15 ff., 1127a 10 ff. (useful material now in Handley, cf. his *Index*, s.v. *Misanthropie-theme*).

The *pièce de résistance*—and a very succulent one!—of the volume is the new fragment of an Alexandrian

¹ I offer a selection for the convenience of prospective research students: L. Galante, *Caratteri della lingua di Menandro*, Pinerolo 1914; D. B. Durham, *The Vocab. of Men.*, Diss. Princeton 1913; S. Zini, *Il linguaggio dei personaggi delle commedie di Menandro*, Diss. Firenze 1938; C. Bruhn, *Über den Wortschatz des Men.*, Diss. Kiel 1910; K. Klaus, *Die Adjektiva bei Men.*, *Klass.-phil.-Stud.* 8, 1936; H. Teykowski, *Der Präpositionsgebr. bei Men.*, Diss. Bonn 1940. The best description of Menander's diction still remains Korte's (*RE*, s.v. *Menandros*, 751 ff.).

epyllion (Philitas?) published, in *editio princeps*, by G. Scheibner. For the convenience of future commentators I offer the following observations: (1) ἐρίδροσος replaces the 'trivial' εἶδροσος and πολύδροσος: cf. Buhler, *Europa*, p. 145 and Rebmann, *Die sprachlichen Neuer. in den Kyneg.*, Diss. Basel 1918, pp. 38 ff.; ἄνθεα τέρσαι: for the *exitus*, cf. Theocr. xxii 63; cf. also Nic. *Ther.* 693; (2) καρφοῖατο: on this optative ending in Alexandrian epic cf. Boesch, *De Apoll. Rhod. eloc.*, Diss. Berlin 1908. p. 12 and Meineke, *An. Alex.* p. 97. 158. Because of the plural ποῖαι (cf. Callim. 44.1 Pf. *κάρητο ποῖαις*, already noted by Scheibner, cf. Meineke, *op. cit.* p. 193 n. 2) one expects a numeral in the line (or in the context): the editor's reconstruction must be accordingly modified; (3) ἀνὸρι δαῖναι: for construction and *exitus* cf. Ap.Rh. ii 311 and iv 1306; (4) μνηστή of a παρθένος (on *Περίβοια* = παρθένος cf. schol. *Od.* x 6) = prospective wife cf. Ap.Rh. i 780 and Allen-Halliday-Sikes on *Hymn Ap.* 208 (the μνηστή is a κόρη, cf. line 209); (6) ἀπειθήης with gen.: cf., apart from attestations given in *LSJ*, Callim. 176 5 Pf.; Ὠρομέδοντος (same case and same *sedes*) is in Theocr. vii 46; (8) possibly τερούωσι θάλασσαν, cf. ἀγάλλον in line 5 = *Od.* vi 272 ἀγαλλόμενοι . . . περὶ ὡσι θάλασσαν; (9) ἐφεύσαντο: same *sedes* as Callim. *Hymn.* i 7 (this form is neither Homeric nor Apollonian nor Bucolic); (10) παῖρα δαεῖη: cf. Ap.Rh. ii 470 ὄφρα δαεῖη (optatives of this type seem to be confined to Apollonius and Q.Sm. xi 494, cf. Veitch s.v. δάω: did Apollonius follow Philitas?); (11) alternative possibilities like ἀλῶνισαν ἀμητήρες might be explored (ἀλωνίζω is preserved in Hesychius, and the epyllion under discussion has several words preserved by this lexicographer, as Scheibner has noted); (14) probably ἐφορήσατο κρωσσόν: cf. Theocr. xiii 46 and *Ephigr.* Kaibel Add. 697 a 1 ἐκρήφατο κρωσσός; (15) Scheibner's ἀμαλδύνοντο θαμ[ε]ῖαι is supported by the *exitus* Ap.Rh. iv 524; (16) τετυγμένα φάρμακα [δόσω: a verb of giving is supported by Ap.Rh. iii 768, 983; on the verb τεύγω of liquids cf. *Il.* xi 624; the participle τετυγμένος is neither Callimachean nor Apollonian, but is Homeric (τετυγμένα δώματα *Od.* x 210. 252) and Bucolic, (e.g. Theocr. xvii 21); (17) γίνω—neither Homeric, nor Apollonian, nor Bucolic—is Callimachean (*fr.* 267 Pf., *Ephigr.* xxvi 4 Pf.): it now becomes clear that in Callimachus *fr.* 267 Γαῖα is addressed (cf. Pfeiffer *ad loc.*), as is the case in the epyllion (Scheibner's hypothesis p. 107 is therefore made improbable by Callimachus' fragment); (20) ἔτης is found in Alexandrian epic: cf. Ap.Rh. i 305, iii 1126, and already Dionys. *Bass.* 19.9 v 29. 25 (p. 65) Heitsch²: (22) before ἐπικλείουσι, perhaps an accusative, cf. Ap.Rh. iv 571 (= 'they called it the "X" sacrifice'; *θυσίη*: same *sedes* and case as Callim. *fr.* 7.20, cf. also 200a. 4 Pf.); (23) βασκαντήρ is an orthodox epic formation (cf. ἀπολγμαντήρ, σημαντήρ, ραντήρ, κερδαντήρ; (24) ἀμείψαι): neither Homeric, nor Callimachean, nor Bucolic, but cf. Ap.Rh. i 125; (25) χίμαιραι: the plural is Bucolic, cf. e.g. Theocr. i 151, v 41; cf. *AP* ix 317.4; the substantivised plural

μηκάδες is Theocritean, cf. *LSJ* s.v.; (26) οὐ πατέουσιν: cf. Callim. *Hymn.* i 25 μη πατέουσιν; (27) ὄρθριος: the Homeric (*Hymn. Merc.* 143) ὄρθριος survives, in Alexandrian epic, in Theocr. vii 123 (its successful Alexandrian rival was ὄρθρινός); ἔλθοις: *sedes* = *Il.* xxiv 556; the form occurs in Theocr. xxii 60.

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MENANDER. **Sicyonius**. Ed. C. Gallavotti. (Quaderni Athena, 1.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo for Istituti di Filologia Classica. 1965. Pp. 32. Price not stated.

Less than three months after the publication in Paris of papyrological fragments belonging to the Ptolemaic Period, offering us about one-third of the *Σικωνίους* by Menander, Mr C. Gallavotti has just published a new edition improving the earlier text in many respects.

Most of these improvements originate from metrical considerations: thus ταῦτα in IV/B/15 (p. 11), προνόησα<ν> in X'A/10 (p. 15), ἀ<ι>ρ' οὐκ in VI/C/7 (p. 22), αὐτό σοι in XI C'12 (p. 26); and above all from a thorough investigation on the meaning: thus τούτου(ι) in VII'B/13 (p. 13),]θα; ὄς; ὡ<ι>ς ἔοικεν in X.A/20 (p. 16), ἀπολειτέ μ' οἶ in X/C/4 (p. 17), ἐλπίσαντα in XXI B 6 (p. 30).

Yet meaning and metrical facts may sometimes be poor guides. In X B/2 it is possible to hesitate between ὄφελ' {ε}ν (p. 16) and ὄφ {ε}λεν; in X/B/14 between π<ά>ραγε (p. 17) and πρ<ό>αγε. In VI/C/14 (p. 23) ἐ[ξ] ἀληθ[υ]νοῦ and in XI/B 3 (p. 24) λάμπρ' ἀ<πό> are little convincing. In III/6 (p. 8) ἀπ' κα<ι>ρίας is ungrounded and we believe together with Mr N. Evangelinos the correct reading to be τῆς Κα<ι>ρίας. In XI/B'17 (p. 17) the first iota in δειξείς, which the editor claims to have added, is indeed of scribal origin; in X B, 18 the correction μεστό(ν) is of no avail since the first word of the line is ὄγλος as shown by Mr A. Oguse and Mr J. Schwartz; likewise in XI.D/10 (p. 27) to the correction (indicated in the critical apparatus only) ἐντεύξομ' ἔντος we prefer the reading of N. Evangelinos ἐντεύξομ' {ε}αὐτό.

Nevertheless the palaeographical study—inasmuch as the *editio princeps* presented a complete photographic replica of the manuscript—has not been neglected by Gallavotti; it is shown by many of his readings: ἐκκρατεῖς in III 3 (p. 8, critical apparatus), ἐγρῶντ' in III 7, κ]αυοῖς in X/Λ'19 (p. 16), ὕμέ<ς> σχεδόν in X B 21 (p. 17); it is highly preferable to interpret the second sigma as missing, which the author has done with <γ>ραῖς <σ>φῶρ' in X.A'17), μέσ[ο]ν in VI C' 8 (p. 22), τοῦ τίνος in XI B 7 (p. 25) το τ' ἐπιδακρύνει in XI B'18, ἅπαντα, in XI D, 3; we shall take particular notice of the original reading of the difficult beginning in V.B'14 (p. 20) ὀξήτ' ἐραστο[ῦ] τί]νι. Yet let us mention two mistranscriptions: in X.A 17 the papyrus has τέθνηκε, not τέθνηκεν; in XI B 1 ἦσθα ἀποφθαρε, not ἦσθ' ἀποφθαρε.

Another interesting point in Gallavotti's edition is the new order he has chosen in presenting the fragments of the *Σικυώνιος*. In that respect the most important amelioration seems to be in the close connexion he has established between X, V and VI. This new way of presenting V and VI seems to solve the problem of the two *coronides* marking the beginning and the end of Stratophanes' speech in the long narrative, act IV. As to sequence X-V it now seems to be substantiated by the convergency of three clues: (1) the stichometric signs H and Θ following each other (supposing a skipping of some ten lines on the scribe's part)—(2) Menander's imitation of the narrative in Euripides' *Orestes* (as Mr E. W. Handley has kindly pointed out to us)—(3) the very meaning of X and VI (especially X B 16-17 and VI B 12-13) showing clearly that X should come before VI. Therefore we must definitely discard the sequence X-XI suggested by earlier editors who had admittedly based their arguments on rather indecisive palaeographical presumptions. At any rate we shall easily understand how interesting is this almost complete sequence of 177 lines we have now.

Finally, Gallavotti has attempted to circumscribe cues and sort them out. Some results this process yielded seem beyond doubt (thus in the dialogue between Stratophanes, Theron and Pyrrhias in X A and B; between Cichcias, Dromon, Theron and Stratophanes in XI B and C; again Moschion's monologue in XI D 11 and sq.). Others seem the more questionable (thus at the beginning of act IV in X/B and C), as the editor does not give his reasons anywhere.

The outcome of all these attempts is summed up in the brief notes going with the list of *personae dramatis*, p. 6, giving a rough idea of the plot. The idea is very likely but also discloses the extent of the problems to be solved. Finally, Gallavotti's short edition, a useful stage in the course of the collective studies which various countries are devoting to the new Menander, allows for some further progress to be hoped and wished.

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[This review was written in June 1963. Any structural parallel with papers printed since that date (particularly Professor E. W. Handley's in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, no. 12, pp. 38-62) is therefore fortuitous. It must also be pointed out that Professor Gallavotti acknowledged the hasty and provisional character of the reviewed edition and that he published at the end of 1965 a new edition which, on many points, contained the proposed corrections.—June 1966]

Anthologia Graeca. The Greek anthology: Hellenistic epigrams. Ed. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page. 2 vols. Cambridge: the Uni-

versity Press. 1965. Pp. 1 + 264, v + 719. £12 12s.

This work is infinitely welcome, and we now have a superb text and commentary on the Hellenistic epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*. That was expected, and the finished product justifies the expectation. No praise can be too high for the industry, care, taste, and sound judgment which have gone into it. Page's major contribution is the poems of Meleager (excluding the preface to the *Garland*), but 'there is now very little in the book which we should not both endorse'. The problems of compiling such a collection are lucidly set out in the introduction. The chronological limits are the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. and the compilation of Meleager's *Garland*, which is here dated about 100 B.C. Pre-Hellenistic epigrams from the *Garland* are, of course, omitted. Poems by authors named in the *Garland* but quoted elsewhere than in the *Anthology* are included (they add an extra forty poems). Anonymous poems from the *Anthology* which are either likely from their context to have belonged to the *Garland* or are plainly Hellenistic are included (they number sixty). Here the problem of selection must have been particularly difficult, but even in the case of named authors ascriptions are sometimes doubtful, particularly where two authors, one Hellenistic and one post-Hellenistic, share a name.

The poets (except for Meleager) are arranged in alphabetical order, then the anonymous epigrams, then Meleager. The poems of each author are given roman numbers, and the lines are given arabic numbers from the first line of Aeschylus to the last line of Meleager (4749). (If it becomes normal to quote the poems by Gow-Page rather than by their *Anthology* references, the arabic line numbers are perhaps less likely to be corrupted than the roman poem numbers.) A concordance from the *Anthology* to the new numbers for poems and first lines of poems is provided.

The text occupies Vol. I and the commentary Vol. II. Little need be said about the text, which is admirable. Rather a high proportion of lines is obelised, but with these short poems this is surely right: emendations are fully discussed in the commentary, and the editors usually express their preferences as well as stating their objections. The commentary which averages about seventy lines a page, is masterly in its conciseness, lucidity, and relevance, and impeccable in scholarship and learning. Each of the sixty or so poets is given a full introduction discussing, with full modern references, his life and works and problems of ascription and style; and the individual poems have longer or shorter introductions as needed. The discussions are admirably balanced and judicious, and one only occasionally feels inclined to query an emphasis or add a point.

Alexander 155: Perhaps recalls Archilochos: the reference is quoted on Leonidas 2437 but a reference here also would help.

Antipater. Distinction between the two Antipaters is difficult. *AP* vii 15 is omitted as not obviously by the Sidonian. But as it is also found in the Pergamene Library (*Pergamon* viii no. 199) is not the ascription likely? *AP* xvi 220 is also omitted, but is it not very like *AP* ix 603, which is accepted and admirably interpreted?

Asklepiades. Perhaps the possibility that Asklepiades was mentioned in an inscription at Delphi (Trypanis, *CR*, 66, 1952, 67) should be mentioned (*cf.* also now P. M. Fraser, *Berytus*, 15, 1964, 73). 876-9: the fascinating sequence—this poem, Poseidippos 3070 f., Asklepiades 888 f.—with echoes in Kallimachos and Theokritos is not made explicit here, but can be found by pursuing the references.

Kallimachos 1173 (49 Pf.): A mask with the two sides differing in complexion becomes more probable with the discovery of the *Dyskolos* (754); Mair's *ὄχ' ἔρ'* is attractive. 1203 f. (2 Pf.): Snell's analysis, *Glotta* 37, 1958, 1, might have been quoted. 1297 (27 Pf.): Ludwig, *Hermes*, 91, 1963, 425, was presumably too late to be included.

Damagetos. Friedlander's ascription of an inscribed poem might have been mentioned (*AJP*, 63, 1942, 78).

Dioskorides 1473: The suggested *εὐτελέλιος* is good sense, but does not the succeeding *δὲ* imply a negative expression before? 1597 f., 1607 f.: not an actor dressed as a satyr, but a satyr in each case. Satyrs are immortal so that Sositheos' satyr is the brother of Sophocles' satyr and both started by being Pratinas' rustic satyrs (who could surely be described as 'tough' and 'treading caltrops'); then Sophocles civilised them and one stayed on his tomb; Sositheos archaised the other again, bringing back Phleious into memory (is not this hyperbaton the easiest interpretation of 1611-12?).

Hedylos, p. 289, cleruchy in Samos, surely 'fourth' not 'third' century. 1827: did not Nikonoe 'drink away' her clothes and then win a prize in a beauty competition?

Nossis is perhaps dated too early: 2795 f. is dated (without evidence) to the first twenty years of the third century but is also said to be later than Leonidas 2179 f., which there is no reason to date so early. The Rhinthon epigram 2827 f., is not unlike Dioskorides' epigram on Thespis. (To say that the so-called Phlyax vases are 'usually dated before the end of the fourth century' is an understatement when they run from 400-325 B.C.)

Perses 2883 f. It is easiest to suppose that *ἡραττοῦ τόπος* is a painted relief. Neotima lies dying in her mother's arms and Aristoteles stands near (*cf.* Conze, no. 309).

Poseidippos. The introduction discusses the inscriptional evidence, the Berlin tablet (Page, *GLP*, 470), and the London papyrus (*p. Lit. Lond.* 60) with references to Lloyd-Jones and Lasserre. In spite of the uncertainty it is perhaps a pity that the two poems were not included in the collection.

Theodoridas 3562 ff. *πλάθαι* is rightly taken in the

sense of 'moulding'. But it should be noted that Quincey's interpretation of the following lines (*CQ* 43, 1949, 42) added to it gives a continuous and consistent meaning: Mnasalkas' poetry is a fragment of a bronze by Simonides poured into a melting pot and blown up to drum-size.

Meleager. The compressed introduction on language, style, and metre is extremely good. The only general question is whether, while granting Meleager's immense ingenuity and his continual quotation and adaptation of his predecessors, we must also deny him genuine emotion; but this is not perhaps the place to argue about the elegy for Heliodora. We can only be grateful for the wealth of information based on acute observation of the poet's practice.

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MACHON. The fragments. Ed. A. S. F. Gow. (Cambridge classical texts and commentaries, 1.) Cambridge: the University Press. 1965. Pp. x + 161. £2 2s.

Mr Gow's services to Hellenistic poetry are already considerable. He adds to them by collecting and interpreting the remains of a contemporary of Callimachus whose name will be unfamiliar to many and has probably never before appeared on the spine of a book. The twenty verbal fragments, all preserved by Athenaeus, amount to 477 comic trimeters. Only fifteen of these lines come from comedies; the rest are from the *Χρῆται*, a book of witticisms attributed to famous courtesans, parasites, and others.

As a poet, Machon falls far short of his models. Some of his stories are funny (especially the bawdier ones), but he did not invent them, and they gain nothing from his telling: *Atticus lepor* entirely eludes him. The anecdotes have, however, a certain intrinsic interest, and deserve the thorough commentary they have now received. Gow's text is judicious, and admits the reasonable emendation as readily as it does the obelus. The introduction gives the reader all he needs to know about the life and work of Machon, the nature of *ἡρῆται*, and the manuscripts and editions of Athenaeus. The value of the book is further increased by a complete word-index.

A few points of detail. P. 22 n. 1, the credit for the word-index to Meineke's edition of the Comic fragments belongs to H. Jacobi. Pp. 23-4, the problem of the purpose of Machon's *Χρῆται* is difficult, Gow's answer not entirely satisfying. The book cannot really have been of much practical use to anyone; and it is not obvious that jokes are more easily remembered when in verse. The reference to an audience in 188 is mentioned, but not followed up. The suggestion that the title *Χρῆται* may itself be a joke (24 n. 1) is attractive; or the word may have come to be used for any collection of anecdotes. Verses 6-9: it does not seem right to insist on the persons involved being named, though it is possible

that the citharode was named in a line preceding 6, missing in the text used by Athenaeus (τις then as in 137). The simplest correction of 8 would be *ἄντοισω*: the word does not appear to be attested in this sense, but it is natural enough. 53, it is stated in the note that the quantity of the first syllable of *Μέλασα* is unknown; but see Kassel on Men. Sic. 6. 157, the girl's presence would be explained, and Stratonicus' remark more pointed, if it were she who trod on the almond; †τὴ γῆς in 159 might conceal this information. 162, drowning in the sea is an odd punishment, and the middle of the night an odd time for it: *πελέκει* (perhaps with a pun on the Cyprian coin of that name)? 192, there is no emphasis on *ἑταίραν*: it is slipped in for fun. 199, 423, unnecessary emendations adopted. 238, *σφόδρα* surely cannot go with the adjectives in 237; perhaps with something following. 240, the ellipse of a verb of speaking is possible, cf. 49. 310, there is no suggestion that the butcher is a Carian. 312-13, the smallest alteration that would restore sense is perhaps *συνάλλμωνος ἐπισυναρτύνειν δοκῶν καὶ δίψαν ἔπολειπόμενος*, 'thinking to prepare salty dishes as well, and endeavouring to leave them with a thirst'. 326, it deserves a note that *νῆ τῷ θεῷ* is a woman's oath. 332, the last line of the note is mistaken. 334, *σατράπης* is probably not literal, but used as in Alexis 116.4 etc. Possibly it has come in here from 345, displacing *σαπρός*. 345, 'interpreted him as . . .'? 348, there must be a pun of some sort. 385, Gow makes heavy weather. There is no question of Andronicus being called *τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς στέγας*: *τὸν*, of course, goes with *θέλοντα*. 394, †*ἐπιμελῶς*: *πιμελῆς* would be an easy change, giving more point to the story and especially to *τότε* in 395. 410, it should have been said that other sources for the Euripidean line give *ἦν . . . δοκῆ*. 427, I suspect a *double entendre*, since both *χειλῶν* and *σκιῆ* can stand for *rudenda muliebria* (admittedly there are countless Greek nouns of which this is true). 474 ff., for a connexion between *μαγειρική* and *μουσική* see also [Hp.] *Vict.* 1.18. 477, the text may stand. "Then when you judge everything to be in tune, bring it in, in octaves."—"The man's a Myconian Nicoladas!" If this is right, we learn that Nicoladas was an ephemerally famous musician, who did not come from Myconos.

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FEELDMAN (L.) **Scholarship on Philo and Josephus (1937-62)**. (Studies in Judaica, [1].) New York: Yeshiva University. 1963. Pp. vi + 62. \$2.00.

As the editor of the series (L. D. Stutskin) states in his introduction, the work has above all the purpose of bridging the gap between the annual bibliographies in Marouzeau's *L'Année Philologique*, which cover the classical periodicals, but are less complete on

theological and Judaistic periodicals, and the bibliographical lists of *Biblica* which deal well with the theological journals, but are hardly exhaustive in their treatment of the classical ones. A need for a comprehensive listing of work done in recent decades on Philo and Josephus has been urgently felt, because the last systematic bibliography of Philo was published in 1938 (by Goodhart and Goodenough as an appendix to the latter scholar's book *The Politics of Philo Judaeus*), while the last critical survey of the work done on Josephus goes back to Reuss in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, who surveyed the research done till 1908. Indeed few scholars seem to be so well qualified as F. for such kind of work. Himself a writer of a Harvard thesis on *Cicero's Conception of Historiography* (1951), he has also published a number of interesting papers on Jewish history and culture in the Roman period. He is equally at home in Graeco-Latin literature and in ancient Jewish sources.

F. has conveniently divided his survey into paragraphs according to the subject-matter. Thus his treatment of Philo falls under the following headings: editions and translations, manuscript studies and textual criticism, the philosopher's biography, book-length studies on Philo, shorter general accounts, studies of individual treatises, the Greek sources of Philo, his Jewish sources, his metaphysics and epistemology, theology and religion and so on. A similar arrangement has been applied to the survey of Josephus. Here, however, F. lists a large number of works prior to 1937 and special attention has been paid to the Slavonic version of the *Bellum*, which gave rise to so much discussion during the 1920's and 1930's. Also the problem of the Essenes and the Dead Sea Scrolls, which bulks so large in recent scholarship, is given its due place.

The bibliography of F. is very full in the collection of material. It includes almost everything published in the period it is supposed to deal with. It even refers to articles printed in popular journals which commonly are not allotted a space in works of that kind. It seems to me that only few items escaped the careful scrutiny of F. Among those I miss *A. Alt*, 'Galiläische Probleme' published in *Palästina-jahrbuch*, 33-6 (1937-40) and re-published in his *Kleine Schriften* II, 1959, 363 ff.; this outstanding contribution refers to and elucidates many passages of Josephus; E. Stauffer, 'Zur Münzprägung und Judenpolitik des Pontius Pilatus', *La Nouvelle Clío* I-II (1949-50) 495 ff., an article which interprets the policy of Pilate in Judaea, as revealed in the respective chapters of Josephus and Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*; E. Z. Melamed, 'Josephus and Maccabees I', *Eretz Israel* I (1951) 122 ff., who argues that Josephus also used the Hebrew original of 1 *Maccabees*; A. Fuks, 'Notes on the Archive of Nikanor', *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* V (1951) 207 ff., a study which has a bearing on the social surroundings and economic conditions of the family of Philo; E. Bammel, 'Die Bruderfolge im Hochpriestertum der herodianisch-

romischen Zeit', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* LXX (1954) 147 ff., a study of some importance for the last books of the *Antiquities*; C. Rabin, 'Alexander Jannaeus and the Pharisees', *Journal of Jewish Studies* VII (1956) 3 ff., who interprets not very convincingly the chapters of Josephus relating to that subject.

In fact, one may look on Feldman's work as on a general bibliographical survey of Jewish history in the Hellenistic and Roman period, indeed the first big bibliographical undertaking in this field since the publication by the late Ralph Marcus of his 'Selected bibliography (1920-45) of the Jews in Hellenistic-Roman Period'. (*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* XVI (1946-7) 97 ff.) Unlike Marcus, however, F. gives concise summaries of the works listed by him and carefully evaluates their contribution to scholarship. Quite often he proposes solutions of his own, making a number of good points (cf. e.g. p. 40 where he suggests that Josephus in *Ant.* XIV 66 means by the 'Fast Day' neither the Day of Atonement nor the Sabbath, but rather the fast of the ninth of Ab).

Considering the enormous bulk of material summarised and criticised by him, F. is conspicuously accurate and the number of slips and errors that crept into the survey is remarkably small. One should, however, note that the Elulaios of *Ant.* IX 284 is not an Assyrian king, but a king of Tyre (p. 38).

In general one gets the impression that Josephus is principally in need of some book-length study which will interpret his personality and literary methods against the background of the Roman empire and the Jewish society of his time. It is true that Josephus got his crop of tolerably good German dissertations in the later part of the nineteenth century and the years preceding the First World War. Since then many good special studies have been dedicated to Josephus. What we still miss is a full, many-sided introduction to the historian. Those published hitherto, with the exception of Thackeray's admirable but rather too short lectures (1929), are rather disappointing (among them is to be found one of the worst books ever written about an ancient author, namely that by L. Bernstein, *Flavius Josephus: His Time and his Critics*, New York, 1938). Another need felt, it seems to me, is that of an historical commentary on the whole or on part of Josephus.

To sum up, the immense collection of material so well set out and presented to the world of scholarship by F. will be of much help to students and will stimulate further research.

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[LONGINUS] **On the sublime.** Ed. D. A. Russell. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1964. Pp. lv — 208. £1 15s.

The nature of the treatise *περι ὑψους*, transcending as it does literary criticism in the purely academic

sense, requires from an editor above all the power of clear, sober analysis: without this he may find himself merely echoing the unknown critic's judgments without elucidating them, such is his power to persuade the reader of the infallibility of his literary taste. Russell shows himself to be admirably equipped for his task. Perhaps the best part of his edition is his discussion of *ὑψος* in the introduction, in which he indicates as clearly as the evidence allows the relationship and the fundamental difference between *ὑψος*, which he shows to be primarily a moral quality in the writer, and the *ὑψηλός χαρακτήρ*, which is a kind of style used to create an effect. The same balanced judgment is to be found in his discussion of the authorship of the treatise which, while necessarily inconclusive, states succinctly the arguments for all the most likely candidates. He favours Mommsen's view that our author (referred to henceforth as L.) may have been a Hellenised Jew.

Russell provides a fuller apparatus than his English predecessors, Roberts and Prickard. His ability to justify most of his conjectures exposes the excessive conservatism of these earlier texts. Thus at 2.2 *παρίσαι*, introduced from the margin of *P*, is a distinct improvement on *παρορίσαι AB*, as is seen from the awkwardness of Roberts's translation; likewise Riske's *προεγνωσμένοις* at 9.12 is much more comfortable than *προεγνωσμένων*; *P*, which requires an unattested meaning of the verb. Wifstrand's *ὅτι ὅτε P* at 10.1 is also an improvement, though *ὅτε* is not impossible. Imagination is everywhere tempered with caution: Wilamowitz's attractive *κεκλινομένην* at 31.1 is rejected perhaps because the immediate context is not clear owing to a lacuna; there seems less reason, however, for not adopting Petra's *ἐπερθέσει* at 42.2, since the text appears impossible as it stands.

Russell exhibits the same high standard of scholarship in the Commentary, and it is hoped that the following small criticisms will not create an adverse impression of its quality. Russell does not make clear his attitude to L.'s criticism of the historian Timaeus in 4.2. Here L. seems to have missed the point of the passage he is criticising, which is a witty comparison of the strategically effective speed of Alexander the Great with the futile academic *ἀκρίβεια* of Isocrates. Russell, in his footnote to p. xxxiii, shows that he has understood this, but says nothing of L.'s error in the commentary. Again, he is not as helpful as he might be on rhetorical questions when, in ch. 18, L. fails to distinguish clearly between the different kinds, and when L. falls into the common fault of comparing writers in different genres (32.8, 35.1), he elicits no comment from Russell. It may be argued that destructive criticism of this kind is outside a commentator's scope; but Russell shows himself by no means uncritical of L. elsewhere, and by the thoroughness of his treatment of almost every problem raised by the text invites criticisms which might otherwise seem punctilious. Thus his note on *ἐνάργεια* may be said to be incomplete because he fails to

mention the attribution of this quality to Lysias and Isaeus (Dion. Hal. *De Lys.* 7, *De Isae.* 3): by describing it as 'particularly important in the criticism of historians' he seems to discount its desirability for the narrative sections of speeches. His description of the use of verbs of violent action in asyndeton as 'a mannerism with Xenophon' (p. 134) is an exaggeration: the reviewer knows only the four examples which he cites. More characteristic of Xenophon is his use of polysyndeton to portray confusion or lively action (e.g. *Anab.* 2.3.28, 3.4.35, 5.2.15). Russell does not include this effect of polysyndeton in his note on p. 136, though it is found in many passages of vivid narrative (e.g. Demos. *De Corona* 169, Lysias 1.17). In his discussion of the Sicilian origins of rhetoric (pp. 185-6), he quotes Aristotle's explanation, that it arose through the development of democracies there, but does not quote Cicero's additional suggestion in *Brutus* 46 (though he cites it as a parallel passage), that it may have received stimulation from the large number of lawsuits concerned with the restitution of property that followed the expulsion of the tyrants. It is surprising to find no reference in the notes on ch. 41 to Dion. Hal.'s illustration of effeminate style in *Comp. Verb.* 18.

When a bibliography is described as 'selective' it is perhaps unreasonable to note any but the most glaring omissions. None of the following can be so called, and they are noted only because Russell's selection is otherwise so comprehensive. They are Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores*, Ernesti's *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae*, D. L. Clarke's *Rhetoric in Graeco-Roman Education*, Denniston's *Greek Literary Criticism* and Roberts's *Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism* (the last two containing useful, if short, chapters on L.); and the new *Orationis Ratio* by A. D. Leeman.

All the above criticisms are of a minor character, and some may perhaps be discounted as subjective. This edition is a most important contribution to the study of ancient literary criticism, and one which no library or individual who is interested in this increasingly popular branch of classical studies can afford to be without. Misprints are negligible, and the presentation is in the best traditions of the Clarendon Press.

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BÜHLER (W.) **Beiträge zur Erklärung der Schrift vom Erhabenen.** Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 159. DM 19.80.

Bühler's book on 'Longinus' both demands and repays careful reading. The reader who works patiently through sentences and paragraphs labyrinthine with parenthetical reference, cross-reference, and quotation, will find that it has important things to say. In his detailed and learned analysis of the thought and language of a number of crucial passages,

about half the work being concerned with ch. 9, Bühler generally deals with thought and connexion of argument first and linguistic, textual and other details thereafter, an arrangement which will be followed in reviewing his work.

For most English readers 'Longinus' is an exceptional phenomenon, isolated in content and approach as in time. Many who have read 'Longinus' have not read much else of late Greek, and the little ancient literary criticism commonly read is very different in tone and manner from 'Longinus'. But Bühler is familiar with not only the highways but also the byways of Greek criticism and of late Greek writing, and from Byzantine scholars and commentators in particular, and from many other sources too, he shows that much of 'Longinus' material was commonplace, his quotations and examples, though not always his application of them, often being traditional. Bühler employs painstaking analysis to show precisely where 'Longinus' is original, e.g. 10.6: the Aratos passage was much used, but only 'Longinus' censures it (p. 78), or, more important for the understanding of 'Longinus' attitude to literature, 13.2: 'imitation' is for 'Longinus' not copying what earlier authors said but by imaginative insight writing as they would have written in the circumstances of the imitator (p. 86). Sometimes Bühler unearths an element of originality which is scarcely significant. Thus on the Homeric theomachy (9.7), even if it were certain that, as Bühler maintains, 'Longinus' rejects allegorisation of Homer (p. 29), that interpretation, while putting him out of line with other ancient commentators on the passage, merely puts him in line with Plato. Again in 13.2 (p. 91) *πλησιάζονσα* 'of the Pythia and the tripod' is only a politer alternative for the explicit 'sitting on' of other writers; the word can imply very close contact and its use here is stylistically, not factually, significant.

On two broad questions touched on by Bühler, his views possibly call for qualification. First, the idea of artistic or other development was not so rare or rudimentary as Bühler (pp. 49-50), following accepted beliefs, makes out: it depends where you look for it. To the detail that Accius ap. Aul. Gell. xiii 2.5 refers to the ripening of fruit, not the maturing of wine, should be added that Bühler would find the wine-metaphor elaborately worked out in Cicero *Brutus* 287, and of course the idea of development pervades that work. There is also the question of Latin influence on late Greek, mentioned by Bühler on pp. 115 and 125. He rejects the notion. The reviewer, claiming no expertise on this topic, would yet record a strong impression that, whether detailed Latinisms can be proved or not, there is often a Latin flavour in late Greek, most noticeable in those writers who would naturally have close acquaintance with things Roman, and a consequent conviction that when 'Longinus' arouses such suspicions it is no refutation of them to cite parallels from Polybius or Dionysius.

We pass to the smaller details. Here again Bühler is sometimes over-elaborate. To take one

example, his interpretation of 10.4: *πλέον ἄνθος ἔχει τὰ λεγόμενα ἢ δέος* (p. 77) is so obviously right (*πλέον*=*μᾶλλον*, and the meaning is that the utterance has *ἄνθος*, *not δέος*) that he scarcely needs so much space to prove earlier commentators on the point wrong. But generally the complexity of argument and elaboration of references is helpful to readers who know 'Longinus' but little of the kind of Greek writing with which in thought and language he is to be compared. Thus even the brief demonstration of the odd abruptness of 13.3: *Στησίχορος ἐτι πρότερον καὶ ὁ Ἀργίλοχος, κτλ.* is a useful reminder of one feature of 'Longinus' style.

Buhler's textual comments are judicious. While his own conjectures are sometimes pleasing, e.g. 27.3 (p. 130): read *καὶ <τοὺς κριτὰς v.s.q.> ἀπολαπεῖν*, he is on the whole a conservative critic. He makes, however, a less convincing case for *ἐρρημιονμένον* (9.13) (p. 65) than for an apposition at 20.1 (p. 124): *τὰ εἰς τὸν Μειδίαν . . . τὰ ἀσύνδετα*.

It will be clear that Buhler's book represents a type of exact and detailed scholarship often criticised in our day. But Buhler shows that it can be valuable and exciting. The reader soon comes to realise that Buhler's 'Longinus', the perceptive and gifted worker within a traditional field, is an even greater critic than the isolated and somewhat freakish genius of the conventional picture, and certainly a more sharply defined personality.

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GRUBE (G. M. A.) **The Greek and Roman critics.** London: Methuen. 1965. Pp. xi + 372. £2 10s.

A replacement for J. W. H. Atkins' readable but often strangely misleading *Literary Criticism in Antiquity* (1934) has long been overdue. Professor Grube now follows up a series of notable translations and articles in connexion with literary criticism by giving us 'a clear and reliable account of what the Greeks and the Romans said about literature' (ix). Where possible, Grube keeps close to ancient critical texts, and reduces background material and comment to a minimum. That is not to say that he ignores secondary sources—there is an excellent bibliography, and much helpful sign-posting in the footnotes: but he does not pander to them, and shows a healthy scorn for elaborate theories that form 'an inverted pyramid of scholarly conjectures resting upon one point which is a fallacy' (p. 341). Hence, for example, the exceedingly cautious treatment of Theophrastus, who is perhaps rather unlucky to have the canon of the four stylistic *ἀρεταί* denied to him (p. 107). There is a lot to be said in this field for such care, though it tends to make a sombre rather than an exciting book: especially as Grube shows exemplary courtesy to critics old and new. But while his assessment, for instance, of Dionysius of Halicarnassus may be less

entertaining than the onslaught by Norden (*Antike Kunstprosa* pp. 79 ff.), it is appreciably more useful. No less disarming is Grube's recognition of the difficulty of drawing the boundaries of his subject; he is inevitably diverted from time to time into discussion of education, rhetoric and literary trends: perhaps he might even have gone further, and told us something, for example, of Cicero's own assessments of Lucretius and the Neoterics. But in general Grube talks about the right things, and in general he says the right things about them.

What is a little disappointing is that this reliability does not extend to detail. It is particularly important in a book not requiring any knowledge of Greek and Latin (ix) that the translations should be accurate. Yet every now and then (e.g. Cicero *Brutus* 51 on p. 122 and Suetonius *Gramm.* 1 on p. 150) we are given exceedingly casual versions: and inaccuracies of translation have sometimes led Grube to point to difficulties that are not there, as at p. 290 n. 2 (*novissime* in Quintilian ii 10.1 means 'last': see Austin on xii pr. 3). A technical term is badly misunderstood on pp. 285 and 295: 'appropriateness' is not discussed in Quintilian viii 2—it is *proprietas* that is in question there, under the heading of *perspicuitas*. The schema of the four virtues of *elocutio* steps beyond the eighth book, for *ornatus* covers ix and *τὸ πρέπον* comes in xi 1 (as Grube himself says on p. 303). And the context of Quintilian i 5.56 shows that he does not contradict himself (see p. 295 n. 1) on *Pataivinitas* (any more than he uses of Livy the collocation *clarissima candor* attributed to him on p. 302).

On further detailed points: p. 42 'All we have of that kind . . .' There is a good deal more evidence for the contents of the *τέλμη* of 'Isocrates': a reference to L. Radermacher's *Artium Scriptores* would be useful here and elsewhere. P. 141 *τὰ πρᾶγματα* in the schema of the *Tractatus Coislinianus* hardly = 'situation'. The contrast *ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως/ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων* is the *verba/res* contrast elsewhere correctly explained by Grube (p. 189 with n. 3). P. 155 'Elsewhere [Terence] says that the flatterer and the braggart in his own *Eunuch* do not derive from Naevius' or Plautus' comedies of the same name, but from the *Colax* of Menander'. The plays of Naevius and Plautus were surely both called *Colax* also (*Eunuch.* 19 ff.). P. 178 'A truly startling change . . . occurs in *De oratore* 1,130 where the three duties are said to be *decere, movere, delectare*'. But Cicero is there finding parallels between excellence in oratory and acting: *docere* is therefore not mentioned. P. 184 Was rhythm in Latin prose 'largely developed by Cicero himself'? P. 232 Horace does not quote Ennius at *Sat.* i 4.60-1 to prove that 'great poetry remains great when its metre is broken up'. P. 233 n. 3 The eight lines prefacing Horace *Sat.* i 10 do not 'occur in all the manuscripts'. P. 234 'Lucilius himself, and Ennius as well, never hesitated to criticise their predecessors'. But Horace *Sat.* i 10.53-5, here paraphrased by Grube, is saying that Lucilius criticised Ennius. P. 301 '[Quintilian at x 1.99] goes on to say Terence

would have been better if he had written in iambic trimeters'. No comment. P. 306 The agreeable Greek letters mentioned by Quintilian xii 10.27 are not φ and ν , but ζ and υ (see Austin's note).

Despite these criticisms, the book remains valuable, particularly for its scrupulous care to let the ancient critics have their say. 'I have, to a large extent, let our author speak for himself because his meaning is always clear and he expresses it better than I could possibly do.' Grube says this (pp. 352-3) of Longinus, but he applies the principle throughout: and his words are typical of the modesty and quiet enthusiasm of his book.

There are rather a lot of misprints; the repeated spelling of the author of *Das Spätwerk des Horaz* as Bekker rather than Becker might mislead.

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PLUTARCH. **Vies. Tome iii. Périclès-Fabius Maximus, Alcibiade-Coriolan.** Ed. and trans. R. Flacelière and E. Chambry. (Assn G. Budé.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1964. Pp. 254. Fr. 21.

The third volume of the Budé *Vies* follows much the same pattern as the previous two and is equally successful. It contains the *Lives* of Pericles, Fabius Maximus, Alcibiades and Coriolanus. Both the text, edited by the translators, and the translation are good, and there are excellent introductory essays to the several *Lives*.

The text contains little that is new, but Flacelière's *καλὸν ὄν* in *Cor.* 21,5 (p. 197) is commendable, producing as it does the syntax characteristic of Plutarch, and *πράττομεν αὐταί* in *ib.* 33,7 (p. 211) gives good sense and is an improvement on the reading of N. In the same *Life* (29,1; p. 205) Palmer's *Βολλας*, which is certainly correct, is printed in the text, but the translation unaccountably renders this as 'Bola', which is altogether a different place. Conversely, the *ἡγνῶει* of the MSS is retained in the text of *Fab.* 3,3 (p. 72), whereas the translation appears to follow Reiske's more probable reading, *ἡγροεῖτο*.

Generally speaking, the translation is accurate and readable. At *Fab.* 3,6 *οἱ λογισμοί* is hardly 'les esprits'; the words 'par une fuite précipitée' (*ib.* 16,3) are a gratuitous addition, and *ἐν μέσῳ* (*ib.*) refers to the position of the Romans trapped by the encircling movement of Hannibal's troops and does not mean literally 'au milieu du champ de bataille'. At *Alc.* 20,8 the French idiom 'de gaieté de cœur' adds something which is not expressed by the Greek and is out of keeping with the grim context. These, however, are small points and they do not detract from the general excellence of the translation. More serious is the fact that 'douceur' (e.g. *Per.* 2,5; 39,1 and 3 etc.), however convenient a general term it may be, does not adequately convey the complex of meanings in *πραότης*.

With regard to the notes and introductions, it is pointed out several times that Plutarch's names for the women of Coriolanus' family differ from those given by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but nothing is said about the fact that Plutarch, like Dionysius, writes *Γάιο;* as the *praenomen* of Coriolanus himself, whereas Livy calls him Cn. This fact could have been mentioned in the discussion of Plutarch's sources (pp. 166 ff.). There are good discussions of various aspects of Plutarch's treatment of his material, but on p. 165 one reads: 'on voit mal pourquoi il (sc. Plutarque) a placé Fabius Maximus en face de Périclès, mais l'on aperçoit aisément la raison qui lui a fait joindre Coriolan à Alcibiade: c'est que l'un et l'autre, bannis de leur patrie, n'ont pas hésité à combattre contre elle avec les ennemis d'Athènes ou de Rome'. While it is true that Plutarch noted similarities in the careers of distinguished men and was quick to point out corresponding details in the external events in which they were involved, he was equally impressed by the characteristics of an individual, which he tried to relate to an inner principle. It is this which gives the *Lives* their main value as character-studies. Thus the basis for comparison between Pericles and Fabius Maximus is made clear in *Per.* 2,5, where Plutarch describes the two men as *ἀνδρῶν κατὰ τε τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ὁμοίων. μάλιστα δὲ πραότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνη* (al. *πραότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνην*), *καὶ τῷ δένασθαι φέρειν δήμων καὶ συναργόντων ἀγρομισύνας ὀφελιμωτάτων ταῖς πατρίσι γενομένων*. He then invites his readers to judge his interpretation and comparison of the characters of Pericles and Fabius by reading the two *Lives*. Incidentally, here again 'douceur' fails to convey all that is meant by the word *πραότης*, which is of considerable importance in these works.

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STADTER (P. A.) **Plutarch's historical methods: an analysis of the *Mulierum virtutes*.** Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1965. Pp. xii + 159. £1 12s.

The author's aims are expressed as: 'These accounts are of interest for the historical information they furnish, and especially for the opportunity they provide to study Plutarch's handling of isolated anecdotes.' They thus provide 'a clearer understanding of the materials used by Plutarch in his historical accounts, where he found them and how he treated them' (p. 1). There is an introductory chapter on the relationship of the treatise to other writings (including Plutarch's own) on the subject; chapter two is on the question of the hypothecated common source underlying this treatise and Poly-aenus' *Strategemata*; chapter three analyses each of the stories in the treatise, relating them to their historical setting and investigating their sources (as also promised on p. 1), and the last chapter, four, sets out

the findings. These are that Plutarch did not use an anthology in compiling the work (which springs from the background knowledge amassed to produce his work in general); that Polyaeus did use the treatise; that Plutarch read the sources he claimed to have read, was interested in minor local antiquities, used his memory (rather than an elaborate reference system) and reworked his sources rather freely, on occasion, to produce a better story. There is a bibliographical index of just over three pages and an index of (primary source) names, both personal and bibliographical.

This is a work that analyses somewhat dated problems with only partially up-dated tools: e.g. on p. 2 the discussion of the authenticity of the work is something of a parade of the *sententiae* of great scholars. We have a lexicon to the *Moralia*: analysis of a cluster of key concepts is a current rapid solution to this type of problem. The 'common source' hypothesis (pp. 13 ff.) is argued against by the same method that got scholars into the present morass, i.e. argumentation on balances of probabilities (analysis of the vocabulary of the passages involved, comparing this with the vocabulary elsewhere in the works of their respective authors would be one less subjective method of assessment). Some special pleading is inevitably involved: e.g. Polyaeus is made never to cite details not in Plutarch (pp. 18, 23 and 24), though this involves explaining away a succession of passages (pp. 20, 23, 24 and 27): in arguing the case it is assumed throughout that Polyaeus did in fact use the treatise, and the evidence is presented on this assumption before the conclusion is reached (e.g. p. 21); the possibility that both Polyaeus and Plutarch are based on a much more compendious account is scouted without considering the implications of the fact that elsewhere (pp. 104 and 138) Plutarch is shown to have expanded some of these accounts rather freely; at pp. 25-6 Polyaeus 8.31 and *Public.* 19 and *Mul. Virt.* 14 are contrasted to show that 'there is far greater divergence between these two versions than between *Mul. Virt.* 14 and Polyaeus', when the 'similarity of vocabulary' test employed shows that *Mul. Virt.* and the Polyaeus passage have twenty words in common, the passages from *Publicola* and *Mul. Virt.* fifteen. The concluding argument that 'The *Mulierum Virtutes* was excellently suited for the needs of one trying to assemble a vast collection of stratagems in the shortest possible time' (p. 28) hardly seems compelling. In chapter three the surviving source material is too meagre to allow of the 'investigation' attempted: on the other hand, with it, the treatise does allow of analysis which would trace the stages leading to Plutarch's romanticization of history or suggest how he thought of the political culture of antiquity. Yet more obvious is the possibility the treatise allows of analysing either for the ancients' conception of 'love' as it had evolved in Plutarch's time or for Plutarch's conception of female virtue (never defined by Stadter—see p. 11) and of character—seen as a need by Stadter (p. 140). Clear evidence

of the cluster of attitudes regarded as typical of the constrictive personality in a traditional culture emerges (cf. pp. 5, 58, 67 and 78—as well as something of the author's own preconceptions at p. 76). Rigorous sophisticated analysis of either of these issues would have told us something new; the actual findings of the book replicate what is already known.

Stadter clearly wishes to eschew subjective interpretations of his data and restricts the scope of his interpreting accordingly, but the techniques of analysis deployed in chapter four are in fact applications of content analysis, and only a limited range of possible applications at that. Further analysis of this material could be carried out without any loss of objectivity. As things stand, the title gives a misleading impression; a book detailing how Plutarch used his sources only *partly* describes 'Plutarch's Historical Methods' (*inter alia* Stadter touches on, but does not follow up the implications of, Plutarch's literary aims in structuring his material for presentation: pp. 84 and 111).

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PLOTINUS. **Opera.** Ed. P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer. Vol. 1. *Porphyry Vita Plotini. Ennéades i-iii.* (Script. class. bibl. Oxon). Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1964. Pp. xxviii + 382. £2 2s.

Cette nouvelle édition de la *Vie de Plotin* par Porphyre et des trois premières *Ennéades* n'est pas une simple réduction de la fameuse édition dont deux tomes déjà ont paru à Bruxelles. Sans doute le format est ici moins ample pour s'aligner sur la présentation si appréciée des *Textes classiques* d'Oxford. Sans doute l'apparat critique est allégé, mais, plus concentré, il demeure considérable. L'apparat des Sources de Plotin, au contraire, a été augmenté. Le texte ne reproduit pas exactement celui de la grande édition. Car, sans renier les principes qui ont présidé à son établissement, et qu'ils résumant dans leur brève préface latine, Henry et Schwyzer ont remis en question de nombreuses options de détail. La liste en est donnée sur deux colonnes et elle tient six pages. Une bibliographie de huit pages groupe les documents et travaux, anciens et modernes, qui ont été utilisés par les éditeurs.

C'est dire que cette édition devra être consultée par les plotinisants après celle de Bruxelles, s'ils veulent comprendre les problèmes que pose le texte des *Ennéades*. Peu d'auteurs eurent bénéficié autant que Plotin d'efforts aussi persévérants et aussi érudits. On ne peut que s'en réjouir si on songe à l'importance du néoplatonisme plotinien dans l'histoire des idées. Les philosophes commencent à le découvrir et à s'apercevoir que les rapports de la pensée hellénique et de la pensée chrétienne, de la philosophie antique et de la philosophie moderne, s'en trouvent bouleversés. Il est temps de refondre

des antithèses fatiguées, et particulièrement de comparer sur de nouvelles bases *procession et création*.

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WIFSTRAND (A.) **Eikota: Emendationen und Interpretationen zu griechischen Prosaikern der Kaiserzeit. 8. Galenos zum dritten Mal.** (Scripta minora, 1962-1963:3.) Lund: K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet, 1964. Pp. 58. Sw.kr. 11.50.

This volume is concerned with various works of Galen that have been published in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, namely *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum lib. VI* (ed. Wenkebach), *Adversus Lycum et adversus Iulianum* (Wenkebach), *De affectuum dignotione* (de Boer), *De sanitate tuenda* (Koch), *De alimentorum facultatibus* (Holmreich), *De bonis malisque succis* (Holmreich), and *De victu attenuante* (ed. Kalbfleisch).

Wifstrand often emends, and among many neat and convincing examples one may cite *καθιζομένον* (p. 34; *καθεζομένον* MSS.); but often he staunchly defends manuscript readings, for example on pp. 10-11 (*ἴνα* used as a consecutive), pp. 13-14 (the omission of *τις* with a verb in the third person singular after an impersonal expression), and pp. 32-3 (the omission of *ἢ* in conditional clauses). His readings are defended with a wealth of documentation. For instance *τῆς <τῆς> οὐσίας σιτισίως* is the text for a long discussion (pp. 30-42) in which Wifstrand shows that such a repetition of the article was, surprisingly enough, not uncommon in scientific prose from Aristotle onwards, although it was generally avoided in the Classical period and sometimes in later periods as well. It will be a pity if this and other valuable contributions such as the note on *ὁ αὐτός* meaning 'likewise' (p. 8; a Latinism?), remain embedded in a context where few will think of looking for them.

Some doubts are bound to arise in a work of his kind, however judicious it is. On p. 17 Wifstrand proposes *περὶ <τῆν> τῶν ὕδατων παρασκευῆς* for *περὶ τῶν ὕδατων παρασκευῆς*. The accusative is right ('with regard to'), but the order is suspect. One would like to know if Galen uses this order elsewhere with an objective genitive. Other writers are not always consistent. Theophrastus in one and the same paragraph (*CP* 1.14.3) uses *αἱ δὲ τετρασσεῖς τῶν καρπῶν* and *ἡ τῶν καρπῶν τετρασσεῖς* with no apparent difference of meaning apart from the change from plural to singular. I suspect that the irregular order of the second phrase is occasioned by the relative clause that immediately follows *τετρασσεῖς* and defines it. In the Galen passage there is no such restriction. One would hesitate to suggest the omission of both *τῆν* and *τῶν* without knowing more of his practice, though such an omission of articles is common enough with *περὶ* when it is used with an accusative in a temporal sense, e.g. *περὶ λέγων ἁγίας*. Here is a point that needs investigating.

On pp. 46-7 Wifstrand's solution is for him unusu-

ally violent, and perhaps unnecessary: the passage is intelligible, although compressed. Finally on p. 53 the objection raised by Wifstrand to *μῆτε πολλάκις ἰδροῦντες ἐν ἀναγκαίαις πράξεσι κατατρέχονται* seems groundless. According to Galen, a man who chooses a quiet life will *not* have to leave home before daybreak in order to pay his respects to his patron, will *not* get continually overheated and chilled while performing duties which he cannot avoid, and will *not* attend his patron at the baths and finally escort him home before he hurries off to his dinner. Galen is describing briefly a day in the life of a Roman *cliens* and providing, as elsewhere, a footnote to Martial and Juvenal. The client would have to wear a toga, and the toga was certainly stuffy, and probably draughty:

dum per limina te potentioiorem
sudatrix toga uentilat, uagumque
maior Caelius et minor fatigant . . .

(Martial 12.18, 4-6) is a passage that describes Juvenal's plight at the same period in the day. If with Wifstrand we change *μῆτε* to *ὥστε*, we make the client perform *his own* chores before visiting his patron (which seems highly improbable) and, far more important, we leave a substantial part of the client's working day unsketched.

It is regrettable that in a study of correct readings there should be a number of obvious misprints (p. 8, line 16; 14, 1; 22, 9; 23, 20; 24, 25; 45, 9; 50, 6; 55, 22). Nevertheless, this book is a thoroughly enlightening exercise in textual criticism.

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JULIAN. **Oeuvres complètes.** Tome ii, 2. **Discours: Les Césars, Sur Hélios-roi, Le misopogon.** Ed. and trans. C. Lacombrade. (Assn G. Budé.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres', 1964. Pp. viii + 209. Fr. 15.00.

With this volume the Budé edition of Julian is brought to completion and a term set upon the project begun by Bidez. The works here included—the *Caesars*, the address in honour of Helios the King, and the *Misopogon*, all composed during Julian's last three months in Antioch—are those for which an independent MSS tradition survives. It may appear churlish, considering the undoubted merits of the whole edition which, under the inspiration of Bidez and his successors, has signally advanced our knowledge of Julian, to stress the gap that editorial policy leaves in this final volume. It has, in fact, prevented any full reference to Julian's last, and in many ways most important, work—the *Contra Galilaeos*. Apart from passing mention in the introductions to the several orations (e.g. pp. 76, 145) and its paradoxical appearance in the *testimonia* (pp. 104 ff.), the reader of the Budé text remains uninformed about its contents. The editorial policy may be strictly logical and knowledge of the work may be merely derivative,

but it seems quite inconsistent in an edition of Julian's complete works to find *dubia* and *spuria* included in Vol. I ii because of their appearance in the MSS, while extensive and important extracts of Julian's work are excluded from Vol. II ii because of their appearance in the diatribe of Cyril. In consequence, Julian's personal confession of faith receives full emphasis, but the equally characteristic criticism of Christianity that underlies his religious policy as emperor is allowed to go largely by default. There is surely room for the publication of the Julianic material embedded in Cyril's discourse as some kind of appendix to this edition. In this respect, Wright's Loeb edition showed more sympathy with Julian, and Hertlein's definition of his work more accuracy.

This consideration apart, Lacombrade shows mastery of his widely-ranging material. If he confesses to uncertainty—as he does in examining Julian's historical sources for the *Caesars* (pp. 10 ff.)—he has the very good reason that certainty is impossible of attainment. His introductions are well-documented and closely argued. His dating of the work to December 362, in which he follows Bidez and contradicts Rochefort (p. 18) is quite convincing, but more important is his discussion of its political, religious and literary implications—in particular of its conclusion, and of the Lucianic influences observable throughout. In the prose hymn to Helios, in addition to presenting long-established views upon the work, Lacombrade does well to emphasise its position in Julian's practical policy of religious reform (p. 95 f.). The psychological tensions apparent in the *Misopogon* are well stressed and due weight given to Julian's final, barely concealed threat (370 b), which sets his motive for the appointment of Alexander as *consularis Syriae* into its proper context.

The translation and handling of works so dissimilar in character is one of tactful sympathy. This, with the ample notation and cross references provided throughout, is best revealed in his treatment of Julian's conception of Helios. The treatment of the historical background of all these speeches is equally valuable and pointed, though an incautious statement does occasionally appear (e.g. the reference to Tarsus, p. 141).

As in the previous volumes, the basic MSS are V and U, with supplementation of their errors and omissions coming from a rather mixed bag for the various orations. The principles of selection are those laid down by Bidez, whose magisterial authority is acknowledged in each discussion. This is not to imply that Lacombrade himself has assumed a minor role in the establishment of the text. A rather rueful tone in the introduction indicates his difficulties as heir to this task, for his problem seems to have been rather an *embarras de richesses*. It is noticeable, however, that the later Greek forms, dutifully preserved by the tradition, appear more often in the *Caesars* (e.g. 310 d 6, 318 b 5, 320 c 3) than in the other two works where V and U receive fuller supple-

mentation. Lacombrade, in fact, is prepared to treat the tradition without excessive deference, for he adopts numerous conjectures by various hands. On the other hand, in several cases the readings of Wright and others receive no mention in his apparatus, and his own conjectures are few—less than a dozen all told, and these mostly of minor importance. The most valuable is perhaps 155 a 3 *κατὰ τὰ ἀδιαφθόρους Ὁρα;* ('comparable aux Heures incorruptibles') which, linked with Hertlein's following suggestion *ἔπεὶ τὴν σελήνην* is most convincing.

Proof-reading is of better quality than in the previous volume, misprints being noted only at 307 b 5, 342 d 6, 343 b 6, 354 c 1. Confusion surrounds *τά κ'* in the text of 314 a 5, where there is either an error in the text or a deficiency in the critical note (e.g. *τά τ'* corr. Schneidewin), but, in general, the accuracy is such as should properly be expected of an edition of this quality.

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LIBANIUS. Autobiography (oration i): the Greek text. Ed. and trans. A. F. Norman. London: the Oxford University Press for the University of Hull. 1965. Pp. xxxiii + 244. £3 3s.

Owing to the writings of Libanius, we have more information about fourth century A.D. Antioch than about any other provincial city of the Empire. But the style of these writings obscures the contents, and much information only becomes conveniently accessible with the help of a commentary, in which knowledge of Libanius' writings as a whole is used to illuminate successive obscurities of a particular speech. Such a commentary Dr Norman has now provided for Oration I. It is founded on a thorough knowledge of Libanius, and should prove of considerable use to future students of the Later Empire.

In Oration I Libanius relates the story of his life in chronological order to an imaginary audience. Dr Norman shows that a long first section, ending with paragraph 155, and written between 378 and 380, is followed by seven further instalments. The later instalments, only loosely attached, are neither in style nor in philosophy entirely consistent with the earlier parts.

The speech throws some light on the great episodes of the period, notably the rule of Caesar Gallus, Julian the Apostate and the Theodore affair in the reign of Valens. It is perhaps more valuable for its picture of the life of a prominent citizen of Antioch. Above all, it presents the life of a sophist. It describes his education at Antioch and at Athens, his early struggles at Constantinople and Nicomedia, the circumstances of his final establishment in his native city and the many occasions when his actual position fell short of that to which he felt entitled, as a leading exponent of literary culture. On the reduced range of this culture Dr Norman has some informative pages in the introduction.

The commentary draws attention to the fact that Libanius consistently relates incidents of his own life in a way that recalls comparable incidents in the lives of predecessors in the rhetorical tradition. Attention is also drawn to the succession of allusions to situations or language found in earlier authors, and to the liveliness and variety which Libanius often achieves by this device.

Translation and commentary explain many difficulties of a text which P. Petit describes as 'déroutant et souvent difficile à suivre', and of which L. Petit, the only previous translator, felt unable to translate the last three chapters at all. Occasionally more information would be helpful. Perhaps a reference to A. D. Nock's *Deification and Julian* (*JRS* 1957 xlvii 114-23) would have been relevant to c. 131. The comment on c. 133 might have mentioned that Ammianus gives a totally different account of Julian's death.

The circumstances of the two trial episodes, related cs. 62-72, are not made altogether clear. Surely the second attack is also an accusation of murder by magic, rather than of fraud. The penalty threatened is death and even Libanius' advocates were afraid to speak for him. Perhaps the unsuccessful first accusation was being renewed before a higher instance, the vicar instead of the consular.

On a related point Ammianus xviii 1, 27, cited in the note on c. 158, is sufficient to clear up the obscurity of the cause for the charge against Martyrius if we assume that wrestlers, like charioteers, had a reputation for expertise in magic with which to influence the result of their contests, but available also for other purposes—for instance, predicting the next emperor. In the atmosphere of 371 (*Cf.* Amm. 29,2, 1-28)—the arguments for putting the trial in 365 seem insufficient—this reputation would be enough to put a man who associated with the wrestlers under suspicion of criminal purposes.

In c. 170 the harsh change of subject between δ δὲ and ἡγούμενος can perhaps be avoided if δ δὲ is after all taken to be the governor and οὕτω δὴ τι ἐνεργῶς ἦν understood in a limiting sense: 'The governor was sensible to the extent that he was prevented from carrying out the flogging by his (Olympius') outcry, but nevertheless continued to regard and describe . . . etc.'. Olympius, (*cf.* Alexander in 57,12) incidentally, could well be, not the governor's assessor, but one of the παρακαθήμενοι attacked in *Or.* 52,4 and 51,25 for abuse of the privilege of *consessus*, which later laws (e.g. *CT* 1,20,1 of 408) allow to honorati and certain officials, and which Libanius himself seems to have enjoyed (*Or.* 54,20: *ibid.* 43).

In c. 7 a reader of the translation, who omitted to look at the notes, might miss an important element of τὸ σὺν παρησίᾳ ζῆν; the possibility of speaking frankly to his pupils and to high and low alike, which Libanius felt was essential for him as a sophist and which depended on having an unblemished reputation himself.

But these points do not significantly diminish the

usefulness of the book. To mention only the study of Libanius, Dr Norman's work should assist future workers in defining more closely the differences between the outlook and position of Libanius and that of his predecessors of the second sophistic, and to improve on Misson's account of Libanius' paganism. Perhaps it may now be possible to place Libanius' *τύχη* in a context of late-pagan views of providence, or in assigning *Or.* I its place in the evolution of Ancient Autobiography, to progress beyond the stimulating chapter of the late Professor G. Misch. (*A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, transl. E. W. Dickes, London, 1950, 2. pp. 554-63.) Perhaps Dr Norman's work will induce a scholar to write a modern biography of Libanius to replace G. R. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius*, which is still useful but dates from 1868.

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GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS. **Lettres.** Tome i. Ed. and trans. P. Gally. (Assn G. Budé.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1964. Pp. xlvii + 134. Fr. 18.00.

In 1957 the Budé series began to publish the Letters of St. Basil the Great; up to now two volumes have appeared (see my reviews in *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 123-8 and 35 (1963) 262-4). It is now a pleasure to announce the publication, in the same series, of another contemporary body of correspondence, that of St. Gregory of Nazianzus. The first volume contains letters 1-100 (in the same order as in the Benedictine edition of 1840, reprinted in Migne. *P.G.* 37, 1857).

It is evident that the editor, Paul Gally, was very well prepared for his task. For over thirty years he has been publishing works on Gregory—the most important of which is perhaps the biography, *La vie de saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, 1943—and in 1957 his book *Les manuscrits des lettres de s. Grég. de Naz.* appeared as a preparatory study for the present edition.

G's edition is based on thirteen MSS, divided into six families. No less than ten of these MSS also contain a corpus of letters written by St. Basil. When I reviewed his above-mentioned work of 1957 (*Gnomon* 31 [1959] 615-18) I noted with regret that G. had hardly noticed the extensive research that has long been pursued on Basil's letters (by Bessières, Cavallin and the reviewer). As a matter of fact, two of G's families (*f* *g*) correspond to the *Aa* family of Basil's letters, the oldest and most original among the seven families. Now, in establishing his text, G. seems to have taken into consideration the good readings of the *f* and *g* families also.

Before examining the text itself, I would like to say a few words about the Introduction. First, G. gives a survey of Gregory's biography followed by a characterisation and estimation of his letters. The largest section (XX-XLIV) dealing with the textual

problems is on the whole a summary of the book of 1957. Now a few details:

P. XXXIV. Letter 184 is missing from the stemma.

Pp. XLV–XLVI (Sigla). An editor should not use Greek capital letters mixed with Latin ones as sigla. Furthermore bold types are desirable also in the critical apparatus to designate families of MSS.

And now let us turn to the edition itself. As space is limited, I shall have to pass over a number of examples and concentrate on the most important facts. It is regrettable that references have not been given (in the margins) to Migne's *P.G.* which would have been of great help to the reader. In more than forty cases G. has adopted his own readings (*nos* in the apparatus). In half the number the changes only concern the form of address, and in most other cases they are very trivial. I shall just mention one of the few more important cases.

XXXII, 41, 10 *ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ τῷ σώματι*: so the MSS majority and the previous editions. G. changes to *ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ τῷ σ*: quite unnecessarily in my opinion. The first reading is excellent Greek and, moreover, I have found no example in the letters now edited, of Gregory making use of the enclitic forms.

Five of the 'families' are composed of MSS of the 10th and 11th centuries, one (*h*) is recent, the two MSS of this family dating from the 12th (*B*) and the 14th (*E*) centuries. Now G. has in fifteen cases derived his text from the *h* family alone; more than one of these readings, however, is wrong in my opinion. I think there is in several *h* readings adopted by G. a tendency to 'atticise' the syntax, e.g. XIII, 20, 2 γρηῖν *h*, ἐγρηῖν *wdf* (γρηῖ *g*); XXV, 33, 1 εἰ αἰτοῦμεν *h*, εἰ αἰτούμεν *cell*. In these as in other cases there is no doubt that the readings of all the oldest MSS are most likely to be authentic.

In conclusion the text seems to be on the whole well established although I would like to draw attention to the great number of errors of various kinds that diminish the value of this edition (and, I am glad to say, are not all typical of the Budé series). I have noticed about seventy cases of omitted words, incorrect division of words, wrong accents etc. in the Greek text. A few examples. (a) Omitted words: IV, 5, 10 Ἄ μὲν οἶν ἡμεῖς [σύνισμεν] ταῖς τῶν Μακάρων νήσοις . . . (b) Incorrect division of words: XLIII, 55, 2, ἀποσ-πουδάζοντες, XLVIII, 62, 6 ἐποσ-τήσομαι, (c) Wrong accent or breathing is very common; a few cases taken from the first pages: II, 2, 3 κατηλοῦς (also in note 3!); IV, 2, 3 ἐσχατίαν; IV, 4, 7 λιμνήν. (d) Other errors (selection): VII, 9, 5 ἀκοόντες for ἀκοόντας; XXXII, 42, 12 ἐσόμενος for ἐσόμενον; XCVIII, 116, 1 Σιωπίσιος for Σιωπέσιος.

In short, the text itself seems to be sound with a few exceptions; the translation is true to the original, as far as I can judge. These good qualities, however, are marred by too many errors, especially in the Greek text. In a new edition a thorough revision must be made.

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PAULUS SILENTIARIUS. **Epigrammi. Testo, tradizione e commento a cura di G. Viansino.**

Turin: Loescher. 1963. Pp. xx + 197. Price not stated.

The idea of this work was admirable: a full commentary on the poems included in Agathias' *Cycle* is much to be desired, and in the case of Paul himself, A. Veniero's *Paolo Silenziario* (Catania, 1916) still left room for further discussion. We must regret, therefore, that Viansino has not given us a more workmanlike contribution.

V. provides a brief introduction with remarks on the poems in general, then on their connexion with Latin elegy (see below) and on their language and style. Nothing about the publication or composition of the *Cycle* (for which see above, p. 6 f.), nor even about Paul's own life and chronology. The poems follow, text and comment first, and then, in a separate section, an Italian translation. They are, however, rearranged and renumbered (by subject-matter, according to V.) on a system which corresponds neither with their order in the present Anthology nor with Agathias' own general arrangement (*AP* iv 3, 113 f.), to which V. adheres in the introduction. As there is no table by which to locate poems by their common numeration, nor even an *index locorum* (which would have cost V. less labour than the *index verborum* which he does include), the book is infuriating to use. There is no bibliography, and V. seems unaware of work done on Paul since Veniero; one might pardon ignorance of the articles by F. Santucci (*Atene e Roma* N.S. 10 [1929] 161 f.) and B. Stumpo (*Rend. Ist. Lomb.* ser. 2.57 [1924] 241 f.) but not of C. Corbato's useful paper (*Annali Triestini* xx [1950] 223 f.). In general, V.'s references to other works often give insufficient detail to be of use.

Although V.'s text gives the appearance of having a critical basis, it has nothing new to offer. He says that he used Stadtmüller's collation of the *Palatinus* as far as it went (ix 563), then Preisendanz's photographic reproduction; why not Preisendanz throughout? There is no mention of the source of V.'s text of the Planudean epigrams, but since he seems to be quite unaware of Beckby's edition of the *Anthology* (Munich, 1957), it presumably goes back to Jacobs. The statement (in the *Conspectus Siglorum*) that the *lemmata* in the *Palatinus* are *a manu recentiore adscripta* is seriously misleading—see Preisendanz, *Anth. Pal.* i (1911) lxxviii. The critical apparatus is generally less full than Beckby's (e.g. on *AP* v 268, vi 71, xi 60). To each apparatus is appended a list of ἀπαιε λέγόμενα a useful, if hazardous procedure (ἀβρός, for instance, marked as ἀπαιε λεῖ at *AP* ix 764.5 = V. no. 12, p. 27, occurs at Agathias, *Hist.* ii 31, p. 134.16 Bonn). It is to be deplored that V. fails to discuss or even to mark disputed attributions (e.g. vii 609 = V. no. 9, p. 20 xvi 78 = V. no. 28, p. 53; vii 600, though ascribed to Paul by Planudes, is not mentioned).

In common with all other editors of the *Anthology* V. is deficient in interpretation where it touches upon historical points, e.g. on the poems which celebrate

the refurbishing of the Great Praetorium in the reign of Justin II, not Justin I (*AP* ix 658=V. no. 31, p. 57, see above, *art. cit.* §2); Domininus was not a jurist, but probably city prefect under Justin II (above, *loc. cit.*, see also L. Robert, *Hellenica* iv [1948] 99). V. accepts the unfounded idea that Agathias married Paul's daughter (V. p. 148, see above, *art. cit.*). He calls the interest shown by the *Cycle* poets in writing poems about dancing girls 'sicuramente un atto di omaggio verso l'imperatrice Teodora' (p. 54); hardly, especially as Theodora was dead twenty years before the publication of the *Cycle*.

The most useful part of the work is the assembly in the commentary of a large number of parallels and illustrative passages from earlier *Anthology* poets, from late Greek poetry in general, and especially from the erotic epistolographers (though there was surely no need to quote, largely in full, whole pages of 'testimonianze'—references made by earlier writers to subjects mentioned by Paul, though not necessarily having any connexion with him). There is rarely any attempt, however, to decide whether parallels are proof of Paul's knowledge of other writers, or are merely illustrative. On *AP* V. 264.7 *φλόγος ἀνθευ*, V. cites (p. 94) Aesch. *P.V.* 7; it would be interesting if Paul had been influenced instead by the occurrences of the same image in the Chaldaean oracles (Kroll, *De oraculis Chaldaicis* [1962] pp. 22, 24, 24).

Though V. rightly rejects the idea of a hypothetical Alexandrian model as the explanation for the many similarities between Paul's erotic poems and the Roman elegists, he is too cavalier in assuming (after Veniero, *o.c.*, 92) that Paul used the Latin poets direct. I am not convinced that a full and detailed knowledge such as V. postulates would have been anything but unusual in sixth-century Constantinople, and the resemblances are not so compelling as to force V.'s conclusion upon us. He allows no possibility of indirect borrowing, nor does he sufficiently consider Paul's debt to the *Garland of Meleager* (see Corbato, *art. cit.*, 237 f.), to comedy (*cf.* A. A. Day, *The Origins of Latin Love Elegy* [1938] 92 f. on the Roman elegists) or to rhetoric (see Legrand, *Rev. des ét. anc.* xiii [1911] 16). The difficulty of postulating direct dependence in a case such as this where the imitation is largely thematic rather than linguistic is obvious (see Day, *o.c.*, 114); moreover, by providing a host of parallels from all kinds of erotic literature V. often finds himself clinging to his dogma of direct dependence on the Roman poets in the face of evidence which would seem to show that the theme in question was in fact an erotic commonplace (*cf.* Day, *o.c.*, 52 f.). Two cases suggest themselves where closer attention to the interdependence of *Cycle* poems themselves provides a simpler explanation of Paul's subject-matter than any appeal to the Roman elegists. In *AP* v 248 (=V. no. 53, p. 97), V. traces the theme to Ovid, *Am.* i 7; but Paul's poem is immediately inspired by Agathias, *AP* v 218 (he actually picks up Agathias' words—v 248.1/v 218.4), and since Agathias is thinking of Menander's *Περικειρομένη*, neither poet need have

known Ovid at all. If so, Paul's use here of the address *δέσποινα* (which V. regards as derived from the Latin *domina*) may be quite fortuitous; it is significant that there is no further development of the idea of *servitium amoris* in Paul's poems. Again, V. regards *AP* v 293 (=V. no. 79, p. 148) as proof of dependence on the Roman (but see Day, *o.c.*, 92 f.) theme of the *ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος*. But the didactic tone is suggested to Paul by Agathias' words in the preceding poem, to which this is an answer, and indeed, he actually picks up Agathias' words here also (*AP* v 293.1 *Θεσμὸν Ἔρωτος οὐκ οἶδε . . . v 292.11–12 ἀλλὰ με θεσμοὶ εἰργονσιν ῥαδινῆς τηλόθι δορκαλίδος*). Agathias had apologised for staying behind with his legal work in the city rather than enjoying himself in the country with Paul and their respective ladyloves, and Paul, very naturally, claims in protest that love should have precedence over all. He did not need to seek this reply among the themes used by the Latin poets.

In the erotic epigrams of the *Cycle* as a whole V. detects an ethical and didactic tone which he attributes to Christianity; in Paul, he says, it more often gives way to unrestrained eroticism. But V. does not tell us how it was that Paul, the author of the Christian *ekphrasis* on St Sophia, could at the same time show himself the least restrained of the *Cycle* poets when it came to eroticism. The flowering of the pagan epigram in Christian Constantinople is in itself the most interesting feature about Paul's poems, and in avoiding any discussion of the epigrams in reference to their social and historical context, V. has deprived himself of the opportunity of producing an important and illuminating work.

There are several minor slips e.g. *βρυχητῶν* for *βρυχητῶν*, p. 40, last line; *πικρός* for *πικρός*, p. 80; Reitzenstein, p. 119).

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MONACO (G.) **Paragoni burleschi degli antichi.** (Bibl. di cultura moderna, 66.) Palermo: Palumbo. 1963. Pp. 99. Lire 1,600.

This book traces the history of that form of humour which rhetoricians of Roman times (unobserved by LSJ) called *εἰκασμός*. The ancients wielded humour as a weapon more often than we do—the sequence of thought in Pl. *Lg.* 934c–936a is extremely revealing—and there is no sharp division between *εἰκόνες* inspired by hate and those inspired by affection.

It is useful to have a more extensive collection of material than the hard core of Classical examples given by Fraenkel, *Elementi Plautini*, 162 ff. Monaco begins his survey with the Homeric simile and Achilles' abuse of Agamemnon in *A* 225, and his postclassical examples, especially (67 f., 76 f.) Diod. Sic. xx 63.2. Plu. *Sulla* 2.1 and Dio Chrys. viii 2 f., are noteworthy. There are, however, some surprises and disappointments. On the one hand, Monaco includes passages where only an undisciplined imagin-

ation can detect any *εἰκόνι* at all; on the other hand, he is so far from offering us a *corpus imaginum* that he makes no mention of many passages of Classical poetry which spring to mind.

I include in the former category: *H.Herm.* 56 *παραιβόλα κερτομέουσι* (23 f.), on which see Radermacher *ad loc.*: *Pl. Chrm.* 154a (24), where the young men *λοιδορούμενοι ἀλλήλοις* are surely just behaving like energetic young men in any culture, and there is no reason to say 'il motteggiarsi reciproco avviene verisimilmente per mezzo di paragoni'; and Theocr. 1.32 ff. (72), which can reasonably be supposed to imply something like 5.80 ff.

In the latter category I miss especially: *Ar. Nu.* 559, which is highly relevant to the ancient valuation of *εἰκόνας*; *Ra.* 905 f., which should have been mentioned at least on p. 15, in connexion with *Pl. Smph.* 215a; *Av.* 1202, which has an important formal resemblance to *V.* 1509; and Pindar's enigmatic but polemical images of apes, foxes, crows and jackdaws.

The book is well produced and printed, but one species of *vitum italicum* appears in *καρακτῆρες* (78 n. 15) and two in *Κτεσσίβιος ὁ Καλκιδεύς* (73 n. 5).

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BOLELLI (T.) *Ed. Per una storia della ricerca linguistica: testi e note introduttive.* (Collana di storia, 4.) Naples: Morano. 1965. Pp. 598. Lire 5,500.

This book consists of extracts from works on language and linguistics by authors from the seventeenth to the twentieth century: the earliest is Giambattista Vico, the most recent Leo Spitzer. Living authors, with the exception of J. Chadwick as Ventris's collaborator in 'Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives', are excluded. Each extract is preceded by a short account of the author's career, explaining his position in relation to the linguistic thought of his time, noting his contributions to the subject and listing his chief works. The extracts are so chosen as to illustrate not only the views and methods of their authors but also most of the important developments in linguistic study. The number of authors and the range of subjects and theories represented is great enough to make it pointless to criticise the editor's selection, though British linguists will be disappointed to find no passage from the works of J. R. Firth.

Apart from a somewhat abridged version of the paper by Ventris and Chadwick, there is little of direct concern to Classical scholars. The book is, however, as the Introduction states, intended to be of interest not only to linguists but to any who are interested in the history of thought and scholarship. This intention, to which in itself no exception can be taken, and the fact that proportionately so little of each author can be reproduced, have the consequence that most of the extracts are largely theoretical,

methodological and programmatic. This, if unavoidable, is still regrettable to the extent that the meaning and cogency of linguistic theories and methods often cannot be fully brought home to non-linguists without some degree of detailed illustration. It would have been excellent, for example, if the exposition of Structuralist phonology contained in the passages from Trubetzkoy's 'La phonologie actuelle' could have been followed by extracts illustrating its practical application to the description of phonological systems from, say, the same author's 'Anleitung zu phonologischen Beschreibungen' or 'Grundzuge der Phonologie'. Limitation of size would no doubt have made such a policy impossible.

Many linguists, whose struggle to keep abreast of a vast and increasing flood of contemporary books and articles leaves them no time to read the earlier classics of their subject, will be grateful for a book which gives them easy access to a first-hand acquaintance, however limited, with some of the most important earlier literature. It is good to learn from the Introduction that the editor is planning a similar collection from the works of living authors.

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THOMSON (G.) 'Η ελληνική γλώσσα, ἀρχαία καὶ νέα. Athens: Athens Publishing Institute. 1964. Pp. 123. Price not stated.

No doubt the publisher's claim on p. 10 is strictly true, that this book was composed directly in Modern Greek. I think, though, that its substance is but slightly different from matter which its author has presented in English. This may account for some touches which seem more suited to a British public, such as the allusion to the obsolescence in standard English, under Scottish influence, of the distinction between *shall* and *will*.

There is an obvious slip on p. 44, when it is said that the genitive, in its basic use, denotes the part of a whole. It denotes the whole of which a part is part; or, as its name implies, the class to which a member belongs.

Some puzzles and omissions may be the fruit of abbreviation, in itself a virtue. On p. 41 it is said that the verb is inflected to show number, person, mood, tense, and voice. On p. 45 appears another category, aspect; very properly, and it is well explained; but it should have been included at the start.

On p. 41 it is explained that gender was originally the same thing as sex, early man attributing sex to inanimate objects. Whatever we now may know about ants, bees and wasps, early man distinguished two sexes, I suppose, not three. Yet on p. 43 it is implied that the neuter gender is as old, and arose as naturally, as the other two. It is remarked that neuter plurals resemble feminine singulars in termination, and govern singular verbs; but the argument is not completed, nor the fairly obvious inference drawn.

Nor is there any reference (though room is found elsewhere for the Albanians, and the Australian aboriginals) to the usage of Semitic languages in regard to collections of inanimate objects; nor even to such phenomena in Greek itself as the femininity of most infinitives and abstract nouns, and of many adverb equivalents (*κοινή, ἰδίᾳ, κατ' εὐθείαν, ἀπ' ἐναντίας* κ.τ.λ.).

In the chapters on Hellenistic and on Byzantine and Modern Greek (which might have been amplified a little, in a book aimed at the Greek reader, without spoiling the compactness which is such an asset) I saw no mention of the Hellenistic analogical formation *ἐπιλοῦσθαι* for *ἐπίλουν*, parent of the usual type of past imperfect from periphrastic verbs in Modern Greek. But I am not quite sure that there was no mention, for there is no index. I lately noticed an historical novel which had a careful index. It is anomalous that a work of scholarship and reference has none.

For me, as for Professor Thomson, Modern Greek is only a second language, however long and lovingly studied. I hope this does not rob me of the right to praise his handling of it, and to say that I have seldom read a piece of technical writing in demotic which so successfully avoided the twin pitfalls of affectation and over-colloquialism. I once learned much about the history of artistic technique from a man whom I respected, because I had seen him sit on a stool in the National Gallery and paint an indistinguishable copy of an Italian primitive. He knew what he was talking about; for look, he could do it. Professor Thomson has my admiration for allied reasons.

This book, if it finds the right public, could do great good by letting in a breath of fresh air to the stuffy gymnasium atmosphere which still surrounds much teaching of Greek in Greece. It has the length and format of a French novel, and is equally lucid and readable.

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SCHRECKENBERG (H.) **Ananke: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Wortgebrauchs.** (Zetcmata, 36.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1964. Pp. viii + 188. 8 plates. DM 36.

The object of this book is to find the original significance of the word *ἀνάγκη*, from which all its other meanings are derived. It is divided into chapters each dealing with one group of contexts. The first, entitled 'Yoke, bond, slavery' is followed by others on 'Situationsgegebene Bindung', 'Naturzwang', on Ananke as a theological and cosmological concept, and on magic. A final chapter is devoted to the etymology of *ἀνάγκη*; S. argues for a derivation from the Semitic root *hnk* which underlies such words as Arabian *hanaqa* (throttle) and Akkadian *hanagu* (constrict, strangle).

Starting from the Homeric expression *δαμῶν*

ἀνάγκη, ἄγειν ἀνάγκη, and ἰσχεῖν ἀνάγκη, S. argues that *ἀνάγκη* originally meant 'yoke' and then, by a natural extension, 'bond' or 'fetter'. The abstract meaning 'necessity' developed out of a metaphorical use of the word; this happened quite early—some instances of the abstract use already occur in Homer (pp. 29, 62 n. 23)—but the root-meaning was never entirely lost. According to S., every writer of Greek to the end of antiquity was at least subconsciously aware of it, and this awareness conditioned their use of the word to such a degree that it is not always possible to draw a clear line between contexts in which it has the abstract and those in which it has the concrete sense.

There are some passages of ancient literature in which S.' interpretation has a certain plausibility. Pindar *Pyth.* 4.234 for example, and possibly Soph. *Trach.* 832, both quoted on p. 2. But many of the instances adduced by S. are not even plausible, as when he tries to gloss Hes. *Theog.* 517 by Aesch. *PI.* 425 (p. 2). On p. 5 we are told that in passages referring to forced sexual union (*Cypris fr.* 7.3 Allen, Bacchylides 14.96, Pindar *Pyth.* 12.15, Arist. *HA* 576b21) *ἀνάγκη* retains its sense of 'yoke' and is used metaphorically, in the same way as *ζειγυρνῆναι* is often used with reference to wedlock. Another use of *ἀνάγκη* which S. regards as metaphorical occurs in connexion with slavery; this would explain some obscure phrases, e.g. *ἡμᾶρ ἀναγκάϊον* of *Il.* 16.836, but S. spoils his case by claiming *ἀνάγκην* in Bacchylides 11.72 as a parallel (p. 25). Perhaps the weakest part of the book is the chapter on the philosophical uses of *ἀνάγκη*. It begins with a long and involved discussion of the cosmological section (616b-17c) of the Myth of Er, with the aim of establishing the identity of Ananke in the myth with the *σύνδεσμοι* which holds the universe together; S. refers to *Tim.* 31a ff to support his argument (pp. 91, 97 ff.), but neither here nor in his later (pp. 119 ff.) treatment of the *Timaeus* does he explain how the concept of *ἀνάγκη* found in *Tim.* 47e ff. is related to the goddess of the Myth of Er. His comments on the Presocratics are unhelpful. His treatment of the Stoics (pp. 122 ff.), in whose system Necessity played a larger part than in any other, is brief, but he claims that they also knew that the root-meaning of *ἀνάγκη* is 'bond'; for they identified *ἀνάγκη* with *εἰμαρμένη* and explained the latter as the 'concatenation (*εἰρμός*) of causes'. This argument is characteristic of S., but the mistakes are more palpable than usual. It is correct that the Stoics identified *ἀνάγκη* and *εἰμαρμένη*, but these were only two of a much larger number of epithets applied to their supreme being; since each epithet was thought to represent a different aspect of that being, it is probable that the Stoics did not regard them as semantically equivalent. Moreover the Stoics were very interested in etymology, using it to justify their terminology wherever possible. The fact that they never refer to any etymological connexion between *ἀνάγκη* and the notion of 'binding' can only mean that they knew nothing of the existence of any such connexion.

S.' mistake seems to spring from a failure to distinguish between denotation and connotation. It is undoubtedly true that the Greeks often thought of *ἀνάγκη* as binding and constraining, but it does not follow that this is the basic meaning of the word *ἀνάγκη*. S. makes a great deal of the fact that *ἀνάγκη* is often coupled with words which signify 'binding'. But there is no reason to suppose that each of the words composing a phrase such as *ἀνάγκης ζυγόν* means the same thing individually, any more than in the phrase *δοῦλιον ζυγόν*; otherwise these expressions would be mere tautologies, and lines like Aesch. *PV* 108 (*ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ' ἐνέζευγμαί τάλας*), quoted on p. 75, would lose much of their power.

The weakness of S.' book is that the point at issue is decided in the first twenty pages. The rest is not so much an objective study of the significance of *ἀνάγκη*, as an attempt to force upon the word a meaning inferred from very limited evidence. Some uses of the word are not discussed at all. Many of the quoted texts are misinterpreted, and S. appears to have no understanding of the way in which phrases and sentences are built up out of words. In view of this, there is little point in mentioning the incidental defects of his book, the indiscriminate use of authorities of all *genres*, periods and nationalities, the failure to name the sources when quoting reports about the Presocratics, the misprints and misspelling of the names of some non-German scholars. These faults only increase the reader's impatience; even without them the book would be worthless.

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CHADWICK (J.) and KILLEN (J. T.) **The Knossos tablets.** 3rd ed. (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, supplement 15.) London: Institute of Classical Studies. 1964. Pp. vii + 218. £1 10s.

The series of Linear B texts from Knossos has shown no sign of coming to an end, and this newest in the series of editions of romanising Mycenaean texts will soon give way to its successor. In fact, a 'fourth' edition may not even wait for the exhaustion of stocks, which was the signal for the preparation of the present edition. It is a pity to predict such a brief span for what is, all in all, a very good publication.

This edition, *KT*³, has in fact been produced at the beginning of a period of renewed intensive work upon the texts. The natural condition of the Linear B tablets is fragmentation, and the natural result of the conditions of excavation, study, storage, and renewed study is that the fragments of single tablets are dispersed and often unrecognised. Ever since they were discovered, the effort to rejoin the scattered fragments has continued, now less, now more intensively. But since 1950, when the tablets were again made available for study after the war, it has been apparent, as the editors say, that the most important task in

Mycenaean epigraphy is the joining of Knossos fragments. Whenever occasion offered since then, search for joining fragments has been continued. Between 1959 (for the second edition) and 1964 (for the present edition), 212 fragments were joined to become 103 less fragmentary texts, while considerable numbers of minor fragments were for the first time copied and published. Since this edition went to press and up to January, 1965, some 400 more fragmentary texts were reduced to 200 joined texts. The work of joining and copying is being actively pursued, and the results of this work show, not that *KT*³ is deficient, but simply that it is rapidly going out of date. The elements of almost all these improved texts are to be found in *KT*³, and in most cases the new text can be constructed by the reader in his study, if he is but given the list of joining fragments. But this involves a good deal of labour, and some risk of inaccuracy. A copy interleaved and marked to show these joins is already far less attractive than one fresh from the press, and considerably less convenient to use.

Except for the fact that it is necessarily obsolescent, this is an excellent and useful work, and worth a lot as an improvement upon *KT*². The readings of the texts have been rechecked and are generally to be relied upon. The textual apparatus has properly been reduced in bulk, and rearranged. The use of the critical signs to give some indications of the state of the texts is now standardised. The classification of the texts has been revised, and their order is simplified. The printing is far clearer, and typographical errors are not many. But the most conspicuous and valuable change is that the transcription of the non-phonetic signs has been translated from the (abbreviated) English of the earlier editions into an (often abbreviated) Latin transcription, which, it is intended, will become the standard form. It may be that some who are accustomed to WOMEN, EWES, WOOL, OIL, and QT will be reluctant to give these up for MUL (i.e. MULIER), OVIS^f, LANA (i.e. *145), OLE (i.e. OLEUM), and V. All the more it is an advantage that the editors have applied this system throughout the whole set of texts. For this feature alone one may recommend that those who are using an earlier edition of Knossos inscriptions now replace it, and that those who want a text get this edition.

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STELLA (L. A.) **La civiltà micenea nei documenti contemporanei.** (Incunabula Graeca, vi.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1965. Pp. xx + 308. 6 maps. 87 plates. 6 text figures. Lire 7,000.

Thirteen years after the decipherment of Linear B there is need for a book which will bring together the evidence of archaeology and the contemporary documents and present a coherent picture of Mycenaean

civilisation. The study of the texts has reached a stage at which cautious conclusions can be reached, and the wealth of archaeological finds in recent years has much increased our knowledge of the period, while at the same time the references to Greeks in the documents of other civilisations add further depth to the picture. No true history is possible; but at least some facts about the economic situation can be gleaned from the tablets, and economic facts are equally to be deduced from the durable artefacts.

The exploitation of Linear B tablets for this purpose is making good progress: we now know that Knossos derived a great deal of wealth from trade in wool; that Pylos had a sizable metal goods industry; that Mycenae practised such highly specialised crafts as perfume-making and the manufacture of *cyanus*. But it is only gradually being realised that the element on a Mycenaean tablet most important to its writer was the numerals; the remainder of the text is merely a heading to which the figures refer. Properly and cautiously analysed these figures are often significant, and those who ignore these when writing on Mycenaean civilisation do so at their peril.

There are too, as is well known by now, two methods of interpreting Linear B words. One, which I will call phonetic resemblance, but is often dignified by the name of etymology, is to scour the lexicon for a classical word which will fit the sound pattern, after making due allowance for the differences in dialect. The second is to study the contexts in which the word occurs, and so far as possible extract from them the meaning, or at least class of meanings, which fits. Both methods have their limitations, and ideally we should rely on a combination of the two. But Professor Palmer's strictures on 'etymological' method, even if excessive, should at least have alerted others to the risks of too heavy reliance on it.

When we deal with personal names, the contextual method yields no further information; the identification of a Linear B spelling with a Greek name depends entirely upon phonetic resemblance. This does not prevent the identification of some of the longer names being virtually certain: *e-u-ru-po-to-re-mo* could hardly be anything but *Ἐϋρυπότορεμος*. But the shorter names are usually ambiguous, and the presence of a proportion of non-Greek names is certain. Thus extreme caution is needed in the use of names as evidence.

It is upon this methodological rock that Professor Stella's brave attempt at a synthesis founders. She has not learnt the importance of contextual analysis as a control on resemblance; and her use of onomastic is a parody of scholarship. A few examples will illustrate this criticism.

A man at Knossos is named *ma-ti-ko*; he appears in a tablet of the *Vc* set whose function has not yet been determined, and may never be since each tablet contains nothing but a personal name and sometimes the numeral one. Miss Stella, interpreting *ma-ti-ko* as a derivative of *μάστιξ*, uses this as evidence that the whip to be seen in the hands of Mycenaean charioteers

in frescoes was already called *μάστιξ*. But the same name has also been interpreted as *Mantiskos*, a derivative of *μάντις*, and it might therefore be used as evidence for the practice of divination. Miss Stella does not weigh these alternatives; had she done so, she would have been compelled to reject this name as a usable piece of evidence.

The same attitude vitiates her account of the political geography of the states ruled by Knossos and Pylos. The man's name *za-ki-ri-jo* is cheerfully presented as evidence for the Mycenaean name of the site now being so fruitfully excavated at Kato Zakro. Not only does she extend the kingdom of Pylos to embrace the Isthmus and the Ionian islands; she has even contrived to confuse the two rivers which I believe to form the borders of the kingdom, the Neda and the Nedon.

From time to time Miss Stella ignores the consensus of opinion among Linear B scholars and substitutes an interpretation of her own: *ku-na-ja* is an adjective from *κύων* not *κυρή*, because dogs are more common than women in art. She is evidently unaware of any linguistic obstacle; and the same is true when she informs us that *ki-te* (found once in a totally obscure context) is to be interpreted as *κίστη*, or *ma-ke-ra* (a man's name) as *μάχαιρα*. As an account of the contents of the tablets this book is completely unreliable, and should therefore be prohibited reading for any student or archaeologist unable to make his own judgment on the interpretation of Linear B.

The experts, who can easily ignore the rubbish of this kind, will find in the copious footnotes many useful references to archaeological discoveries and the contemporary documents of the Near East and Egypt. It is hardly safe to regard the book as itself a guide to archaeology, for our confidence is quickly shattered by the statement that Troy VI is Schliemann's Homeric Troy.

Miss Stella's competence in Anatolian languages is also called into question by her suggestion that the Hittite rebel *Piyamaraduš* (whose name contains the Hittite verb *ḫiya-* 'give') was a Cretan, because one man (in fact several) at Knossos has a name formed with the same element. In these circumstances it is superfluous to complain of the frequent minor errors and inaccuracies.

A book on this subject is needed; but can it be achieved except by the close collaboration of a team of experts in the relevant fields?

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LEVIN (S.) **The Linear B decipherment controversy re-examined.** Yellow Springs, Ohio: the Antioch Press for State University of New York. 1964 (1965). Pp. xvi + 255. 2 folding tables. \$7.50.

Il est exact qu'aucune théorie (fut-elle, comme le déchiffrement de Ventris, au bout d'une dizaine

d'années, acceptée par la très grande majorité des savants: p. 7) ne doit être à l'abri d'un ré-examen critique. Peut-être cependant pourra-t-on, sur ce point, objecter à Saul Levin que si le nombre des adhérents n'a pas de valeur en soi, il n'en est pas entièrement de même de leur *expérience*; d'une manière générale, et sans viser qui que ce soit en particulier, on peut dire, objectivement, que ceux qui, jusqu'ici, ont mis en doute le déchiffrement sont loin d'avoir la même familiarité avec les textes que ceux qui l'acceptent (cette familiarité que, loyalement, Saul Levin reconnaît, et admire, chez Ventris: p. 58). Disons tout de suite que l'ouvrage de Saul Levin n'est pas polémique, dans le sens péjoratif du terme; c'est certainement un travail qui se veut de bonne volonté et de bonne foi. Mais qui, précisément, à notre avis, démontre ce qu'il tente de réfuter. Saul Levin se pose, essentiellement, les questions suivantes: (a) la méthode de Ventris, telle qu'en donnent une idée les *Work-notes*, était-elle correcte?; (b) avons-nous actuellement (c'est à dire avec l'aide supplémentaire des textes que Ventris ne connaissait pas) un moyen de contrôle valable?; (c) le déchiffrement permet-il réellement de lire les tablettes B comme des documents écrits en grec?

(a) Ventris a élaboré son déchiffrement: d'une part, à partir de procédés combinatoires, indépendants de toute hypothèse sur l'identification de la langue; d'autre part, à partir de présomptions tirées des syllabogrammes cyprotes; enfin à partir de l'hypothèse de travail à laquelle il a fini par arriver, qu'il s'agissait de grec. Reprenant pas à pas ces diverses démarches, Saul Levin estime que certaines d'entre elles étaient bien étayées, les autres plus hasardées, et que l'intuition a eu sa part dans la découverte, à côté du raisonnement ('extraordinary insight', p. 56). Mais, précisément, dans la mesure même où l'intuition a joué un rôle, c'est finalement aux résultats (c) qu'il convient de juger le travail: même si je sais mal pas comment le serrurier a fabriqué sa clé, ou encore si je suppose qu'il a deviné, faute de pouvoir les constater, certaines des particularités de la serrure, ce qui importe, en définitive, c'est que la clé permette de faire fonctionner la serrure.

(b) Le second point est, semble-t-il, plus important. Saul Levin essaie de vérifier les valeurs des syllabogrammes proposées par Ventris à partir de cas où le sens du mot est évident, c'est à dire pour le mot signifiant 'total' et pour les mots qui annoncent, en graphie syllabique, un idéogramme lui-même parlant (trépieds: vases à divers nombres d'anses; amphores; casque; cheval; etc.), dans l'hypothèse, bien entendu, où le vocabulaire serait grec.

Nous le voyons, par exemple, partir de *ti-ri-po-de* . . . TRIPOD 2 et de *ti-ri-po* . . . TRIPOD 1, conjugués avec *ti-ri-jo-we-e* . . . THREE-HANDLED JUG 2, *ti-ri-jo-we* . . . THREE-HANDLED JUG 1, *qe-to-ro-we* . . . FOUR-HANDLED JUG 1, (PY Ta 641); rapprocher ensuite le troisième signe de *ti-ri-po* et le premier signe de *po-ro* . . . FOAL 2 (KN Ca 895);

procéder ainsi ensuite de proche en proche, pour, finalement: 1°) reconnaître qu'un certain nombre de mots se lisent à l'évidence comme des appellatifs grecs; 2°) admettre (sans même les discuter) un certain nombre de principes établis par Ventris quant au syllabaire (existence, inattendue, d'une série *d-* distincte de la série *t-*; confusion, inattendue, des deux séries liquides en une seule; existence d'une série labiovélaire distincte des autres séries occlusives; etc.) et quant à l'orthographe (par exemple, non-notation de la sifflante finale; sans quoi Saul Levin eût dû rejeter en doute *ti-ri-po*, et par voie de conséquence, *ti-ri-po-de*); 3°) tenir pour sûres ou probables, ou possibles, la moitié environ des identifications de Ventris. Pourquoi la moitié seulement? Parce qu'il applique une méthode de contrôle extrêmement restrictive aux résultats d'une découverte qui a été obtenue à l'aide d'une méthode plus variée et plus large. Mais, chaque fois que cette méthode a pu être appliquée, grâce à l'existence d'un pictogramme parlant, elle a confirmé donc les résultats de Ventris (et, par là, validé le principe de la méthode de Ventris): pas une seule fois, pour un syllabogramme quel qu'il soit, Saul Levin n'est en mesure de proposer une autre identification que celle du déchiffrement. Et encore, même avec sa propre méthode, Saul Levin eût pu aller plus loin; par exemple, il a hésité à identifier *pa-ka-na* . . . SWORD 50 (KN Ra 1540) avec *πάκνω*, à cause de la sifflante finale de la première syllabe, dont la non-notation le gêne; mais il a bien accepté *ti-ri-po* comme *τήριος*; alors, pour garder *τήριος* il restreint artificiellement le problème orthographique à celui d'une sifflante finale (p. 220 sv.); cette position l'empêche de compter *pa* et *ka* dans les signes dont la valeur est, à son avis, contrôlable (p. 127 sv.). Pas davantage n'a-t-il (à cause sans doute de la non-notation de *r* implosif) utilisé *a-no-tu* . . . WHEEL PAIR 5 (KN So 4437), etc.

(c) Tout bon esprit jugerait, à ce point, que Saul Levin va s'estimer perdant, et donner raison à Ventris. Mais il conserve une autre arme: s'il s'agissait de grec, nous comprendrions tout; or il subsiste un grand nombre d'obscurités; donc, il y a, à côté du grec, autre chose que du grec; nos tablettes sont écrites dans un jargon comprenant des énoncés en une langue préhellénique non identifiée. Et le grec même, puisque grec il y a, est parfois bien étrange.

Un mot sur l'étrangeté du grec, d'abord. Cinq siècles séparent notre linéaire B des premiers textes alphabétiques; par surcroît, il n'est pas prouvé que le mycénien ait un descendant direct parmi les dialectes connus de nous au premier millénaire, et sa position dialectale demeure controversée; dans ces conditions, il serait, non pas rassurant, mais inquiétant pour la vraisemblance du déchiffrement, qu'on lût en linéaire B un grec identique à une quelconque des formes de la langue attestées au premier millénaire. Mais ne faisons pas dire à Saul Levin ce qu'il ne dit pas. Il admet, certes, que le grec du second millénaire soit archaïque et puisse être différent de ce que

nous connaissons par la suite. Mais il pense que, plus d'une fois, les lectures de Ventris ont pu déformer pour nous la réalité. Par exemple, on pourrait douter que *o-no* 'ânes' soit un nominatif pluriel de type grec (*ὄνοι*), et préférer lire **ὄνωσ* avec la vieille désinence indo-européenne; car l'absence de notation d'un *-i* second élément de diphthongue est bien étrange; ou bien il faut admettre que le dialecte mycénien tendait à la monophthongaison des diphthongues en *-i* (p. 230 sv.); dans le première hypothèse, on aurait du grec plus archaïque, et des règles orthographiques plus vraisemblables. On n'entrera pas ici dans cette discussion, sauf pour signaler: que l'alternance entre *ra* et *ra₃*, qui s'observe dans le nom de l' 'huile' *ἐλαιον* (*e-ra-wo e-ra₃-wo*) s'observe de même dans les *nominatifs pluriels* des noms en *-ā* ou *-pā* (*di-pte-ra/di-pte-ra₃: διπθέραι*); que ces nominatifs sont donc en *-ai*, ce qui implique que les nominatifs thématiques sont en *-oi* (puisque le point de départ de la formation analogique est là); que, par conséquent, il s'agit bien, dans *o-no*, de *ὄνοι*, et que la règle orthographique reconnue par Ventris est exacte. de quelque façon qu'on essaie de l'expliquer.

Plus important est l'argument du 'jargon'. Saul Levin donne ce nom à ce qu'on ne comprend pas, ou à ce qu'il ne comprend pas. Or il est évident a priori: (a) que le sens des noms propres (qui constituent les quatre cinquièmes de notre matériel) est par définition incontrôlable; (b) que la majorité des toponymes et une notable partie des anthroponymes est d'origine préhellénique et de structure non explicable par le grec; (c) que ce qui relève proprement du vocabulaire (et qui peut contenir d'ailleurs aussi des éléments préhelléniques, que ceux-ci nous soient connus au premier millénaire, comme *a-sa-mi-to* 'baignoire', ou non) contient des mots ou des formes qui ont pu sortir de l'usage entre le treizième et le huitième siècle; (d) que les ambiguïtés du syllabaire et de l'orthographe, qui sont pour nous fâcheuses, mais qui sont ce qu'elles sont, ne facilitent pas l'identification et l'interprétation. Ce qu'on ne comprend pas n'est donc pas nécessairement du 'jargon'. Au reste, Saul Levin ne met pas toujours beaucoup d'élan dans la compréhension; sur la tablette *KN V 52*, on lit *a-la-na-po-ti-ni-ja* [.] *e-nu-wa-ri-jo pa-ja-wo-ne po-se-da-[o-ne]*, et on reconnaît 'Αθῶναι Πορνῆαι, [.] 'Ενναλίου, Πυῶναι. Ποσειδα[ῶναι], avec cette seule réserve que *a-la-na* pourrait, avec moins de vraisemblance, être un génitif de toponyme ('la déesse *πότνια* de 'A): qu'au terme de sa discussion (p. 203 sv.), Saul Levin conclut: 'there is at best a small balance of probability in favour of taking the four words to be names of gods', laisse le lecteur assurément un peu surpris.

Comme pour se racheter d'avoir reconnu du grec dans la tablette des trépieds, Saul Levin ajoute aussitôt (p. 94) que pour *ti-ri-po e-me po-de o-wo-we* 'we are left with the uneasy feeling that the text may not be Greek, even though the one word *ti-ri-po* passes so well for Greek by itself': ici, encore une fois, cette idée a priori que ce qu'on ne comprend pas n'est pas

grec; or il est bien exact qu'on n'est pas arrivé encore à un sens satisfaisant pour ce membre de phrase; mais il est probable que *o-wo-we* est un adjectif (au nomin. masc. sg. p. ex. en **-εντις* ou en *-ωσγῆ*) décrivant une particularité soit de structure, soit, accidentelle (*cf.* dans la rubrique précédente *τριπτος . . . ἀπυκεκαμμένος κέλευα*), relative à un des pieds du trépied (*ἐμεῖ ποδεῖ*, locatif): rien, absolument, qui ne puisse pas être grec, même si le terme ambigu *o-wo-we* doit nous demeurer obscur.

Nos inventaires sont essentiellement composés de rubriques à construction syntaxique sommaire ou inexistante. On ne s'étonnera donc pas d'avoir peu de phrases grecques cohérentes; bien entendu, on n'y trouverait pas davantage de phrases cohérentes en quelque autre langue que ce soit. On en a pourtant quelques unes, dans les intitulés des tablettes. Saul Levin les récuse toutes sauf une (*PI Fr 1184*), c'est à dire se déclare impuissant à y reconnaître du grec (même dans quelque chose d'aussi manifestement grec, par exemple que *PI Vn 10, o-di-do-si du-ru-to-no a-mo-te-jo-na-de . . .* 'comme quoi les bûcherons fournissent à l'atelier de charron . . .'). Revenons à *Fr 1184*; il admet (p. 141) que *ko-ka-ro a-pe-do-ke e-ra₃-wo to-so e-u-me-de-i OIL+WE 18* 'can be normalised into passable Greek: *Κόκαλος ἀπέδωκε ἔλαιον τόσ(ς)ον Ἐνμήθει*'. Mais il ajoute aussitôt que les trois mots de la seconde rubrique (*pa-ro i-pe-se-wa ka-ra-re-we 38*) 'do not get into Greek except by violent and arbitrary manipulation'. Voyons de plus près cette violence arbitraire. Chacun sait que *pa-ro* figure plus de deux cents fois dans nos textes, toujours suivi d'une désignation de personne (presque toujours nom propre) au datif: c'est une préposition où l'on doit voir une forme dialectale *παρὸ* de *παρὰ* (d'ailleurs attestée dans l'éolien d'Alcée); dès lors, *i-pe-se-wa* a toutes chances d'être un anthroponyme (donc, une chance sur deux d'être un nom propre préhellénique), qu'il n'y a pas à chercher à 'comprendre', avec le même suffixe que d'autres anthroponymes masculins comme *a-e-se-wa, a₃-me-wa, a-ne-te-wa, da-te-wa, e-te-wa, ke-re-wa, ge-re-wa, wo-ne-wa, 8₅-ke-wa*, etc.; reste un mot obscur, *ka-ra-re-we*; ou bien il est apposé à *i-pe-se-wa* (et est alors un ethnique ou un nom de métier ou de fonction), et rien n'empêche que ce soit alors un datif en *-ῆφι*; ou bien l'idéogramme *OIL+WE* (au lieu de valoir, comme il arrive souvent, pour les deux rubriques, en étant exprimé seulement avec la première) ne vaut que pour la première rubrique, et *ka-ra-re-we* désigne les objets qui sont comptés au nombre de 38, et peut fort bien être alors un nominatif pluriel en *-ῆφις* (par exemple, type de vase à huile, avec la même finale que dans *ἀμυγγοπέλις*). Ici encore, comme pour *e-me po-de o-wo-we*, absolument rien ne donne à croire que nous ayons autre chose que du grec, mais du grec avec quelques éléments de vocabulaire (*o-wo-we, ka-ra-re-we*) qui se sont perdus entre le treizième et le huitième siècle, ou qu'une graphie ambiguë nous empêche de reconnaître.

Le seul cas où Saul Levin essaie de définir positive-

ment (non négativement) le 'jargon' est un cas où Saul Levin se met lui-même en bien mauvaise posture. Les tablettes E—de Pylos concernent des attributions de terre. On a environ deux cents de ces tablettes (dont environ soixante-dix dues au scribe 43); le mot *o-na-to* y figure environ deux cents fois (dont une trentaine de fois sous la main du scribe 43). Tous les scribes font, ici ou là, des lapsus; on a *une fois* (sous la main du scribe 43) *na-to-to* au lieu de *o-na-to* (Ea 305). 'Mycenaean scholars have racked their brains for a Greek interpretation of *o-na-to*' (p. 184). Allons, allons! L'effort n'a pas été si terrible. Ce mot est *ὀνάτων* (plural *o-na-ta*, cinq exemples); même si *ὀνήτωρ* n'était absolument pas attesté en grec postérieur (il l'est, en fait, dans une glose; et *ἀνώνητος* est chez Sophocle), ce serait, a priori, une formation grecque parfaitement correcte en regard de *ὀνήνημι*; et on a, de plus, pour désigner ceux qui ont un *o-na-to*, le mot *o-na-te-re* (huit exemples) qui est *ὀνάτηρες* (et, à défaut du nom en *-τηρ*, le doubler en *-τωρ* est chez Pindare); il s'agit de la 'jouissance' des terrains concédés.—On a (sans compter les très nombreux exemples de l'abréviation *o*) une quarantaine d'exemples de *opero*, dont la méthode combinatoire établit le sens à l'évidence: 'déficit', ce qui rend probable la lecture *ὄφελος* (bien entendu révoquée en doute p. 184 'the identification with *ὄφελος* was always unpromising'). Or, sur ces quarante exemples, il y a *une fois* un lapsus, *pe-ro-ro*; cette fois, à Mycènes, en Ge 604 (tablette enregistrant des déficits dans des fournitures d'épices), où le scribe 58 a écrit quatre fois *o-pe-ro*, une fois *pe-ro-ro*.—Saul Levin se jette sur cette occasion pour dénoncer (p. 184), derrière ces deux prétendus mots grecs, les témoignages d'un autre système linguistique où la flexion se faisait indifféremment par adjonction d'un préfixe *o-* (*o-nato*, *o-pero*) ou par redoublement de la syllabe finale (*nato-to*, *pero-ro*). Il néglige de citer les chiffres, que nous avons donnés, et qui l'accablent. Imaginons que, dans l'impression de son livre, Saul Levin ait laissé passer sans la corriger une faute comme *ad* pour *and*; irions-nous dire (en oubliant qu'il y a des centaines de *and* et un seul *ad*, que l'ouvrage n'est pas écrit en Anglais, ou ne l'est qu'en partie, et qu'il y apparaît une autre langue (inconnue) caractérisée par un infixe nasal, susceptible de faire défaut à l'occasion?

En somme, nous avons dans cet ouvrage un essai de doute systématique qui n'aboutit pas.—Il y a, d'une part, ce que Saul Levin est obligé de concéder explicitement à Ventris: toutes les identifications de signes qui ont pu être contrôlées par une certaine méthode, très restrictive, de Saul Levin sont ou peuvent être exactes, et en aucun cas la dite méthode ne mène à d'autres valeurs: les tablettes contiennent des mots grecs et des phrases grecques; etc.—Il y a, d'autre part une tentative de mettre en évidence, à côté du grec, une autre langue X: mais sans que Saul Levin puisse finalement en apporter un commencement de preuve.

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Hermopolis papyri. Papyri from Hermopolis and other documents of the Byzantine period. Ed. B. R. Rees. (Graeco-Roman memoirs, 42.) London: Egypt Exploration Society. 1964. Pp. xii + 127. 6 plates. £4 4s.

Eighty-five documentary texts from Egypt, almost all of the Byzantine period. Most of them, inevitably, are routine pieces. But some will have a wider interest for historians and jurists—**7-10** the anchorite John, intercession temporal and spiritual; **11** purchase of *solidi* (cf. PRyl. 643, POSlo 162, PSI 823; Jones *LRE* iii 115 n. 84); **16** clerical correspondence about putting away a wife; **18** interrogation of a slave, to establish his status (he cannot be sold without this preliminary: the same officials, and presumably the same procedure, in Mitteis *Chrest.* 171 i 15 f.); **29** and **40** mention Samaritans; **30.15** and **35.10** refer to the *notellae*, the second with a single word of grecised Latin ('intercessionos *παραιρησις*'). And as always there is much to observe in the language: Professor Rees gives interesting notes, for example, on **8.18** *Θεοῦ ἁθροῦτε* and **20.10** f. *ἐξ ἁθροῦτων γενέσθαι*.

The volume contains one plum: the private letters **2-6**, which the editor recognised as part of the Theophanes Archive, PRylands 616-651. Theophanes came from Hermopolis; he was an advocate, in government service. His private accounts reflect an ample establishment. His official accounts show him travelling on public business to Antioch and back—a journey of five months, conducted in some style and dignified by letters of introduction from the *rationalis* Vitalis. His preserved correspondence consists now of eight pieces: four letters to Theophanes, love and good wishes from friends and from his sons; two letters from Theophanes; and two letters which mention Theophanes—Anatolius to Sarapion and to Ambrosius. (It looks as if Theophanes failed to despatch his own letters, and failed to deliver those of Anatolius: hence they remained among his papers.) This was an exceptional group. The people: Theophanes, prosperous and responsible; Anatolius, devoted to Hermes Trismegistus (**2.10** ff., **3.22**); Ambrosius, 'champion of the wisdom of the Greeks' (**3.4** f.). The writing: all the letters to and about Theophanes are in more or less literary hands (**4** and **5** really choice); most have breathings, accents, punctuation and regular iota adscript; professionals were at work—the same scribe wrote both **6** and PRyl. 624, and another both **4** and **5**. The style: here too something selfconsciously literary, an elaboration of manner and sentiment generally incommensurate with the matter. All in all, a fascinating glimpse of an educated, perhaps pagan, clique, and of the social ritual of the 320s A.D.

The edition provides photographs of these pieces; from which the printed text can sometimes be amended. **2.10** λ]ύσειεν: the trace doesn't look like *v* (possibly σ]ωσειεν). **2.12** ε]δωρ is inexplicable; read σ]δωι (J. D. Thomas). **2.18** f. try σφ]ει|ξεως α[πε]σχε-. **2.31** π]αρειεν: read δειεν... **3.6** χρηστον

seems short for the space: possibly *χρησιμον*. 6.4 *εκαστηρι* seems short: try *εκαστο[τε]*. 6.8 *τω τω[ε]* suits space and usage. 6.10 *ου[τω]*: [*ε*]γω is more to the point. 6.11 *θεωρειν*: read *το θεωρειν*. 6.16 *μοι νυν*: read *και νυν*.

Some miscellaneous marginalia. 7.18 in the context we might consider *στραγεύομαι*, 'malinger'. 8.12 *μεθ' ἡμέραν* should not be corrected (a literary gem, Schmid *Atticismus* i 127); we expect not [*ἀει*] but [*νυκτός*]. 10.2 perhaps a mistake for the dative, if this letter belongs with 7-9. 11.20 f. the writer must have intended *ὀλῶ τῷ ἀργυριῶ*, or perhaps a genitive. 12.10 f. sense joins *τῆς καθαρᾶς το κροκῆδια*- the nap of the wool thus washed. 14.6 the note implies that *ὀλιγορεῖν* 'despair' is uncommon: but see *CPJ* iii 505-13 n. 19.5 *εἰς κλῆρον δίδόναι* would be more to the point. 19.16 after *ἀπολαύσω* a comma, not a full-stop. 20.12 *προσφώνησις* 'official judgment': rather 'a (medical) report'. 21.26 *ὀμῶμεθα*: *ω* points to *ἐγγυῶμεθα* (e.g. 55.7), and perhaps *ἐγ[γυ]ῶμα* in 21. 21.9 a Hermopolite Busiris SPP xx 83 iv 15; *B. Συναρχήβωσ*; PRyl. 204 etc. 31.13 *παρὰ τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ]*: rather *τοῦ μέρου*; μιν. 48 there is no lady, the pronouns refer to *δεσπότης*; in 5 perhaps *τὸ οὐν δοκοῦν αὐτ[ῆ] περι τοῦ[το]*. 52.7 *ἐνθα ἔσται*? 58.2 at first sight this has to do with the shipping of corn, and the piece is therefore of interest. 85 introd.: note that the two offices can be combined, PWurz, p. 99.

This volume makes available substantial texts and informative notes: we are much in Professor Rees' debt for it.

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STRASBOURG. **Papyrus grecs de la bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.** Ed. J. Schwartz and others. (Publications de la bibl. nat. et univ., 1.) Strasbourg: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire. 1963. Pp. v + 258. Price not stated.

In this volume are collected Strasbourg papyri nos. 169-300, that is, all those which were first edited in the *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*. Tomes 28-40. The texts are accompanied by a list of corrigenda, an index, both of them covering also items 126-68 from the previous volume, and a concordance of inventory and publication numbers. They are all non-literary and all but one of the Roman and Byzantine periods. They come from various sources so that they have no unified archival interest, but they do contain strays from other well-known archives, such as those of Zenon (228), Apollonius the strategus of Apollonopolis (178, 187), and Aurelius Sakaon of Theadelphia (177, 211?), and they have some connexions with the Leipzig papyri (246, 272, 243?). Nothing of great importance is revealed, but minor novelties are the mention of the Feast of Tabernacles (300.15 = *CPJ* 452a), more precise dates for Avidius Heliodorus (281.15) and

Valerius Victorinianus (296.1), and a praenomen for Decimus Veturius Macrinus (198.1).

It is indeed convenient and satisfactory to have all these texts together in one small book instead of having to seek them in thirteen issues of the *Bulletin*, and the inconvenience of having papyri published in periodicals is illustrated by the sad neglect that has been suffered by No. 296 (see below). Nevertheless it is a disappointment to find that the greater part of this book is the work of scissors and paste only, the texts being reprinted, as is blandly announced on page 183, together with the original misprints and wrong references. The list of corrigenda is alleged to be the result of a systematic revision but it certainly has no claims to thoroughness, as is shown by the elementary nature of some of the corrections that I have been able to make below.

180.1 *κνρίω μου ἀδελφῶ Ἐρμοδόρω ιερ . . . χαιρειν* n. 'lire probablement *ιερεῖ*'. A name, such as Hierax, in this position would produce a very much more common type of address, cf. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*, pp. 33 ff.

190.9 *Μαχαμᾶ* n. 'le père de Μαρία'. It is much more likely that it means 'swordsmith, cutler', read with a small mu. Very many new examples of nouns in *-α* denoting occupations have appeared in the papyri, including this one, see Palmer, *Grammar of Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, p. 50.

197.3 ff. *ὁ πραι[κων]/τῆς πρηκ[τορίας]*. Both the expansions are unlikely; *πραι[πόσιτος] τῆς Πρήκ[τωσε]* is perhaps possible. *Πρήκτις* is a village in the Hermopolite nome. If right, the title would presumably be a military one, cf. π. τῆς Διονυσιᾶδος P. Lond. 454.3 (II p. 320).

221.4 *τοῦτο ὀδ.* n. 'L'ordre s'adresse sans doute au porteur du billet'. But the phrase means 'grant this' and shows that the document is a request for an oracular response and not just a 'billet', cf. P.Oxy. 1149.9, 1213.5. Two more parallel documents have recently been edited in an Oxford D.Phil. thesis by Dr R. A. Coles. The main body of the text should be a question and the address of Dr Coles's texts to *κνρίω* 'Ἄμμι suggests that the present one might be revised to read *κνρίω* 'Α. εἰ,' 'Lord A. (tell me) if . . .' (I owe the idea of this note to my colleague P. J. Parsons, who had a hint from Professor Youtie that all was not well with this document.)

230.13 ff. *κατὰ μῆνα . . . αὐτ[οκε]φαλα[ίη]ε [ριθ]εκ* and 26 *μῆνα . . . α[υ]τοκεφαλαίηε κριθ[ῆ]ε*. The note confesses that this has no known meaning. Common form requires *ἕκαστον* after *μῆνα*; after *ἕκαστον* I suspect *καὶ ἐν γένει*, 'and in kind', to link together the money loan and the loan of barley, see P. Strasb. 143.14, as corrected by Professor Youtie in *BICS Suppl.* no. 6 p. 21.

232 Wrongly described as a 'plainte'. Though the remains are scanty the officials involved (comogrammateus to strategus) and the construction (*ἀντι Ζωσίμου . . . δίδωμι* [sc. τὸν δεῖνα]) plainly indicate that it is a nomination to a village liturgy, cf. P. Leit. 1.

233.3 *ἡξιλησα* n. 'forme incorrecte de *ἐξιλάσκομαι*'.

But it is a question of 'escaping' from a band of robbers and it is apparently from ἐξελέω, cf. P. Amh. 142.9, *WB* and *LSJ* s.v.

241.22 . . . ἤσυχάζειν l. καθ]ησυχάζειν (corrected in P. Strasb. 311 in *Bull. Strasb.* 42me année, fasc. 3, p. 222).

242.4 οὐδένι [. . . ω γρησάμενος l. [κ]όσμω, which is common form, v *WB* s.v. (3).

259.8 τῶν πρὸς σε γεινομένων l. γεινομένων for γν-.

10 ἐπιδειγτ[αι is impossible. ἐπιδέχγτ[αι might possibly be right, 'do whatever it (sc. the job?) admits of', or the verb may be used impersonally here, like ἐνδέχεται.

15 ἐν ταχείᾳ. [l. ἐν τάχει α. [. . .]

α. [. . .] It is not at all certain that a short verb governing πέμψαι is lost. The inf. can be used as an imp. (Mayer II i 36). ἀν[τι]:πέμψαι has the right sense, being the equivalent of ἀντιγράψαι, but it is a rare word, and πέμψαι can bear the same sense alone.

17 τοιῆ ἤτησας. Possibly προηγουμένως μ[έ]ν[τι] τοι ζήτησαι ἐκμισθῶσαι, 'but first of all try to lease (it) out'.

260.3 ἐπόβροχον n. 'ficelé par un fil'. So also *WB*, but the tenor here, which is slightly more complete than in the only other place where the word occurs (*BGL* 531.4), seems to show that it means 'damaged by wet'. It runs 'τὸ γραμματίον . . . ὑπόβροχον ἠρέχθη ὥστε μηδὲ εἰδέναι με μηδὲν . . . γραμματίων'. It is hardly possible that he should say to his correspondent, 'Your letter arrived sealed so that I don't know anything of what was in it'.

262.2 ἐπ[ι]τροπος Θηβαίδος ἄνω n. 'certinement celui des domaines impériaux'. Almost certainly not, as we now learn from P. Beatty Panop., v. *Intro.* p. xv ff. Perhaps read ἄνω[τέρω] cf. *ibid.* index VII s.v. ἐπίτροπος. For this procurator and the rationalis together caring for the shipment of gold see *ibid.* 2.215 ff.

268.5 τ[ῆ] φροντισ[α]μένη ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. A passive form is required; l. φροντισ[ο]μένη.

279.6 ἐνωχ[Probably the proper name Enoch, though the note shows that the possibility had not occurred to the editor.

281.9 ἐπὶ κριτήν. In view of the ἐπαρχος στόλον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεκριμένων (1-3) and his connexion with the epicrisis (*BGL* 1033), ἐπικρίτην seems more likely. Perhaps εἰς [τὸ κλη] or εἰς [το κυ]ρῶσαι ἐπικρίτην, for example.

286.14 f. ἐρρωμένος ε.θυμ[.]διατελοίμ n. 'lire ἐν θυμ[ῷ]?' Almost certainly this is a single word with the stem εἰθυμ-.

287.1 τῶν Καλαίνου μέρονε n. 'serait . . . un cours d'eau'. But it no doubt refers to the circus function of the Blues, cf. *Tab. Defix. Aud.* 15.5 (and p. 25); 16.3, καλαίνος is the equivalent of the more usual βένετος (v. *Lyd. Mens.* 4.30).

295.12 διὰ στίλκωνος n. 'Le nom n'est pas attesté dans le *Namenbuch*'. 1. στίλβωνος?, which is in NB; κ and β are easily confused in some hands of this period.

296 is crucial evidence for the career of Valerius Victorinianus, praeses Thebaidos, and though first published in 1961 has been missed by Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets* (1962) and Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte* (1964). Both believe that Victorinianus was prefect of Egypt on the evidence of P. Lond. inv. 2226, not published but described most fully by Lallemand, *op. cit.* p. 265. This is a petition from Oxyrhynchus dated September A.D. 308, addressed to the prefect and referring to an earlier judgment made, according to Miss Lallemand, παρὰ τῷ διασημ[ό]τατα (sic) ἡγεμό[ν]ι Οὐδαλ' Οὐκτωρεῖν[ιανῶ]. The Strasbourg papyrus shows Victorinianus acting as praeses in A.D. 326, and would no doubt have caused a revision of this view if it had been more conspicuously published. In fact an unpublished fragment among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri containing part of a document addressed Οὐδαλερίῳ Οὐκτωρίνῳ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπ[ι]ρχῳ Αἰγύπτου and dated in the seventh consulship of Galerius, A.D. 308, shows that the London papyrus is wrongly restored. Read παρὰ τῷ διασημ[ό]τατα ἡγεμο[ν]εύσαντι Οὐκτωρεῖν[ω]. διασημότατα is correct and guarantees ἡγεμονεύσαντι, v. P. Oxy. 2104.20, cf. *CPHerm.* 64.8. So Victorinianus was a praeses in office in A.D. 326 (P. Strasb. 296), while Victorinus was a prefect in office in A.D. 308 but succeeded before September by Aurelius Hyginus (P. Lond. inv. 2226 and P. Oxy. ined.).

The absence of plates will leave the specialist unsatisfied and incredulous, as usual, but much more deplorable is the absence of translations. No doubt rapid and inexpensive publication of papyrus texts is a great good, but it is much more important nowadays to make sure that they are published in a form that is intelligible without a superhuman effort by the reader, who will be in some cases, we hope, an expert in some wider branch of ancient studies. Almost every fresh document contains among the mass of common form something that is new or at least unfamiliar. It is absurd that each reader should have to take as much trouble to understand it as the editor did.

In conclusion it ought to be said again that the existence of the book will bring some welcome comfort to the papyrologists.

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OXFORD. Greek ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and various other collections.

Ed. J. G. Tait and C. Préaux. Vol. iii, indexes. Ed. J. Bingen and M. Wittek. (Graeco-Roman memoirs, 43.) London: Egypt Exploration Society. 1964. Pp. xviii + 246. £4 os.

The first part of this series appeared in 1930; it was edited by J. G. Tait and contained the Ptolemaic ostraca. The second part, containing the Roman and Byzantine ostraca, followed in 1955 and was edited by Claire Préaux, who had taken over Tait's

transcriptions and notes and revised them for publication; the volume appeared under the joint names of Tait and Préaux. The Indexes of both volumes are the work of Jean Bingen and M. Wittek. These cover 2588 ostraca from the Bodleian collection and 735 from other collections, the largest being those of the Ashmolean Museum and the Cambridge University Library and the Flinders Petrie Collection at University College, London. The divisions are of the conventional kind, the largest being that devoted to proper names, and they have been sub-divided by periods. There is also a list of corrigenda and addenda to the first two volumes.

B. R. R.

Recherches de papyrologie, iii. (Travaux de l'Institut de papyrologie de Paris, 3; Publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Paris, série 'Recherches', xix.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. 176. 13 plates. Fr. 28.

Classical scholarship has suffered a severe loss through the untimely death of André Bataille soon after the publication of the third number of the periodical which he had founded and inspired.

The most important contribution to the number is that of Bataille himself and A. Blanchard, 'Fragments sur papyrus du Σικυώνιος de Menandre'. The seven new fragments were recovered from mummy cartonnage obtained in Jouguet's excavations of 1901-2 in the south-west Fayûm and belong to the same roll as the seven published by him in 1906; they are datable to the last third of the third century B.C., contain some 400 wholly or partly preserved lines, and are here reunited with P. Ghoran 1, P.Oxy. 1238, probably from another copy of the play, and fragments in Kock and Koerte-Thierfelder. The *Sikyonios* has already acquired a considerable bibliography, and a comparison with E. W. Handley's notes in *BICS* 12 (1965) 38-62, suggests that the definitive edition, when it appears, will show many differences from the *editio princeps* in text and interpretation. Several readings can now be seen to be incorrect, and there must be grave doubts about the order in which the fragments have been placed. Handley changes this by placing X after IV and XII after VI for several cogent reasons; largely by this means he is able to give a sharper and more convincing outline to the plot and to bring the rôle of Stratophanes out of semi-obscurity into the foreground of the picture. Scholars everywhere are now searching their brains for fresh ideas about the *Sikyonios*; but to Bataille and his colleagues at the Sorbonne will go the permanent credit for having successfully completed the intricate task of dismounting the fragments and for having had the courage and unselfishness to publish them before they themselves had had time to offer more than tentative solutions to the problems involved.

In 'Un argument sur papyrus de la *Medee*

d'Euripide' M. Papatomopoulos lists the hypothesis of tragedies and comedies preserved on papyrus, which are few in number, and introduces a new fragment of unknown provenance from the first half of the second century A.D.—part of a roll apparently containing a collection of hypotheses of plays by Euripides, since it has the last two lines of the hypothesis of another play and the first twenty-five of that of the *Medea*. If the first two lines are correctly identified as belonging to an hypothesis of the *Peludes*, it follows that the collection cannot have been set out in alphabetical order but was arranged according to cycles of legends. Furthermore, the detailed exposition suggests to Papatomopoulos that such hypotheses as this may have been intended as substitutes for the actual plays and as works of reference for mythographers and others, the reading of whole plays being no longer a popular practice. It is doubtful if so much ought to be assumed when our total evidence for hypotheses is so scanty and our evidence for the persistent appeal of Greek drama, especially Euripides, to the educated population of Egypt is comparatively strong.

Though admitting the danger of criticising a transcription on the sole basis of an accompanying photograph, your reviewer feels justified in warning readers against a too easy acceptance of this text and the reconstruction based on it. Possibly it is the photograph which is misleading when it makes one doubtful of the *iota* at the end of line 10 (? read *η*), the *eta* at the beginning of 12 (? read *ν*), the *pi* at the end of 16 (? read *τ*), and the *tau* at the end of the fragment (? read *εστ*). In line 19 both *ρ* and *ρ* are legible but *ρρ*θρρ (ίω a little far-fetched; *εποκριθεισαι*, or even *εποκριθεισαι*[[*ν*]] *λατρρρ* [ένεω might appeal more. *εγενη* is strange in 16, nor is *αποστάν* in 24 as certain as it is made to appear: it would give good sense if followed by an accusative, but the *sigma* is doubtful, and *αποτ* is possible. If an infinitive is needed—as is suggested by the terminal *μ*—*αποτ*αίεν is just possible but not convincing, especially as *ατω* might be read at the end of the line. For the establishment of a definitive text a thorough re-examination of the original papyrus is necessary.

P. Chantrains, 'Grec *αἶθριον*', investigates the etymology of *αἶθριον*, used from the third century B.C. to designate the open-air courtyard of the Hellenistic house. He concludes that it was derived from *αἶθριος*, itself derived from *αἰθήρ*, and was not, after all, a transliteration of *atrium* by popular etymology (pace the lexica). The Greek transliteration of *atrium* (*ἄτριον* or *ἄτριον*) is rare and reserved for official buildings like the *Atrium Magnum* of Alexandria. Chantraine thus confirms the view expressed by E. G. Turner in his introduction to P.Oxy. 2406 and suggests that *ἄτριον* was used there because the house belonged to a Roman citizen or a Romanised veteran.

N. Lewis contributes 'Four Cornell Papyri'. The first (A.D. 154) attests the existence of a Caesareum at Antinoopolis. The second (A.D. 171) confirms the

name Praeclus in P.Oxy. 2134, 45-6, and gives information about the administration of the Small Oasis, of which Praeclus was strategus. The third (A.D. 193/4) is only the ninth document from the reign of Pescennius Niger and has Niger's name crossed out and Severus' substituted. The fourth (A.D. 388) provides *addenda lexica* in *καλλιεργικός* (from *καλλιεργία*), *δίδυρον* (= 'jube') (from *ζίζυρον*), *ὄραντλητικός*, and *ἀναφύττω* (= 'keep up the growth'?).

In 'Une famille de chepteliers au III^eS. p.c.' J. Schwartz edits twenty documents, ten already published, concerning the affairs of two brothers and their two sons from A.D. 255 to 306. There is a detailed commentary, followed by prosopographical and chronological essays.

The remaining two articles are by A. Świderek, 'Deux contrats de bail de la collection de l'Université de Wrocław', and the late J. Ste Fare Garnot, 'Les noms des déesses Mout et Neith'.

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LENGER (M.-T.) *Ed. Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées (C.Ord.Ptol.)*. (Académie royale de Belgique, mémoires, classe des lettres, 8^e, lvii, 2.) Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique. 1964. Pp. xxiv + 368. 2 plates. Fr.b. 260.

In this book Miss Lenger has made a collection of all known *prostagma* issued by the Ptolemies, and has thus completed a task which has been the principal object of her research for several years. Her work will prove very useful to all students of the period, who will especially welcome the thoroughness and efficiency with which the editing has been carried out. Some idea of the trouble Miss Lenger has taken over the production may be gauged from the fact that most of the ninety-one texts the volume contains have been re-edited, approximately half of them from the originals—a task that has taken Miss Lenger halfway round the world. Each group of texts is provided with an introduction, exhaustive bibliography, critical notes and a translation; in a few cases there are also brief notes on the subject-matter. In addition to the texts there is a fully documented list of 123 passages in which reference is made to *prostagma*, some of them as late as the Roman period. The volume is completed by a general bibliography and comprehensive indexes.

The limits within which the work is conceived are clearly set out and justified in the introduction. All texts included are in Greek and are taken from epigraphic or papyrological sources. Forms of legislation other than *prostagma*, such as *πολιτικοὶ νόμοι*, *διαγράμματα* or *προγράμματα*, have been excluded. *Prostagma*, however, is understood by Miss Lenger in its widest possible sense, so as to include (p. xxiii) 'toute la gamme des ordres émis par les Ptolémées en vertu des pouvoirs absolus dont ils jouissent, pourvu que l'expression de leur volonté leur soit clairement et

nommément attribuée'. She therefore rejects the view held by some scholars which would restrict the use of *prostagma* to documents of a certain format, and which would exclude several of the texts in the present *corpus*, e.g. *ἐντολαί* such as 47 and 62, and twelve texts which are mere *apostilles*, giving the sovereign's instructions in answer to petitions. Though the inclusion of the latter may be formally justified, I cannot help feeling that Miss Lenger was mistaken to print them without the accompanying petitions. The result is texts like 66, which reads merely *Ἀσσανία ποιεῖν* plus the date, and is meaningless as it stands.

Of the texts that fall within Miss Lenger's definition of *prostagma*, 1-76 are classed as certain and the remainder as doubtful. Most of them, as would be expected, are from Egypt, but a few documents from other lands within the Ptolemaic empire are included. There is considerable variety in both content and importance. There are no new documents, but Miss Lenger has been able to make a great many minor alterations to the texts in earlier editions, and here and there to suggest substantial improvements. She has often already published elsewhere the fruits of her re-examination of the originals, but among those documents to which improvements are first proposed in this volume the most noteworthy are SB 8008 (=21-22), *P. Grad.* 1 (=25), SB 5675 (=30-31), *P. Teb.* 699 (=43), *P. Teb.* 5 (=53) and SB 9520 (=85-87). Attention may also be called to the judicious way in which Miss Lenger has relegated to the notes or omitted altogether supplements by earlier editors which were purely hypothetical. I have only two criticisms to offer of the general method of presentation: (i) when giving a *prostagma* that is part of a longer document, Miss Lenger has not kept to the line numbers of the original. The confusion this can lead to is shown on p. 112 where in the first paragraph the lines she refers to are those of the *ed. pr.*, but in the last two paragraphs those of her own edition. (ii) There is no comprehensive list of alterations proposed to the texts (since Index VII falls a long way short of fulfilling this purpose), and the changes are not always indicated in the critical notes. Apart from the general usefulness of such a list it would, *inter alia*, permit one to decide whether Miss Lenger's ἀντιγρα() at 53. 113 for the original editors' ἐπιγρα(αφή) is a slip or a correction.

A few minor points may be mentioned. The dating of 29. 43 and 80-83 is perhaps less secure than Miss Lenger would imply. It is somewhat strange to find 85-87 and 90-91 classed among the doubtful texts, since it appears to be certain that they are *prostagma*. *P. Har.* 61, II, 1-12 occurs among the *allusions* only (no. 38); yet is it different in kind from other quotations from *prostagma* such as 19 and 54? There are few misprints, but the following, which occur in the texts themselves, should be noted: 18. 2 insert τοῖς before ἡγεμόσι; 22. 31 read ἐκάστου; 53 bis, 4 read κατανοουσιμάτων; 67. 2 read Πηθήτω.

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SCHWARTZ (J.) **Les archives de Sarapion et ses fils: une exploitation agricole aux environs d'Hermoupolis Magna (de 90 à 133 p. C.)** (Inst. français d'archéol. orientale, bibl. d'étude, xxix.) Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale. 1961. Pp. viii + 381. 9 plates. Price not stated.

Owing to other preoccupations of the reviewer this notice has been delayed beyond due time. The reviewer would be sorry if his dilatoriness led to the neglect of a first-class piece of work. A group of Greek papyri, found together at some date before 1895 in the neighbourhood of Eshmunein (Hermopolis), was divided by its finders and released in small parcels to the dealers in antiquities. Schwartz has located 122 texts belonging to this find. They are now in seven different collections (Berlin, Pierpont Morgan—formerly Amherst—, Vienna, Heidelberg, Strasbourg, Wurzburg, and the British Museum). They are reassembled (ninety or so edited for the first time) in this book, which has been dogged by bad luck. The manuscript was in print in 1956, but was put under sequestration. Consequently the awkward form (texts, supplement of texts, appendix of additional texts) is not the author's fault. No doubt the reader's convenience would have been helped if the book could have been introduced by a conspectus of its contents (i.e. subject-matter), if each individual text had been summarised for content, and more use made of tabulation to set out the results. But the material is all there for those who will search: and the book ends (pp. 335 ff.) with a short survey of the activities of Sarapion and his family, which can be supplemented by the lively summary given by the author in *Chron. d'Ég.* 1959, pp. 342 ff. To the edition of the texts the author has added two excursions, one on the topography of the Hermopolite nome in the Roman period, a second on the price of corn related to wages and goods.

The archive contains the (mainly) private transactions of Sarapion, his wife Selene, five sons and one daughter, and covers the forty years from c. A.D. 90 to 130. Information obtainable from these papers is no longer an isolated datum, but gains historical perspective and significance from its relationships to what went before and followed after—the papers of Zenon in the third century B.C., those of Heroninus and Aurelius Isidorus in the third century and the third and fourth century after Christ. The accounting terms, indeed, of the Zenon papyri help one to interpret an account here. In no. 55. 49 (formerly P. Amh. 126) the words at the end of a ledger of expenditure printed ἀπὸ Μαρκεῖα () δραχμαὶ 600 do not refer to a payment from an unknown place (Grenfell and Hunt had thought of an otherwise unknown person); they should be read ἀπὸ μαρκεῖα (των) or μαρκεῖα(πίου), 'from the purse' (compare e.g. P. Cairo Zeno 59794, and elsewhere). The money is a 'float' of 600 drachmas from a different account, transferred to the subsidiary one of receipts and expenditures of one member of the family. The

family was 'on the make'. Tracts of land taken on large-scale lease from landowners resident in Alexandria, were let in small parcels to villagers, and when the rent was in default the amount outstanding was capitalised as a loan. Information about the value of gold is transmitted to Sarapion from governmental circles. The famous letter P. Baden 37 on the fall in value of the *aureus* proves to be part of this archive, and is republished by Schwartz without its first editor's hazardous supplements (damned by the reviewer in *CR* 1953 p. 186), with a new date (which excludes all earlier interpretations) and a thoroughly sensible exegesis (no. 90).

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Parmenides. Ed. and trans. L. Tarán. Princeton: University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1965. xv + 314. £4.

So much work has been done on Parmenides in the last fifty years that an edition of the fragments which cleared away palpable misconceptions and evaluated the possible interpretations could be useful. Tarán, in publishing his Princeton dissertation, clearly has this object in view. He divides this book into a detailed line-by-line commentary and four critical essays. Both parts show considerable knowledge of ancient and modern explanations, and the critical essays deal with such crucial topics as Parmenides' concept of Being and the significance of the cosmogony. The scheme looks promising but the result is disappointing. Too often Tarán is polemical and dogmatic when a judicious appraisal of different possibilities is required. The commentary tends to be highly discursive or excessively brief; it allots too much space to philosophical interpretations, which thus lose a continuity they might have acquired by filling out the critical essays. The latter do not convince me that Tarán's generally uncharitable treatment of other scholars is justified either by the arguments he uses to refute them or by those with which he supports his own position.

Tarán treats Parmenides with greater respect. He regards Parmenides as a philosopher who raised the question of identity and difference, and in doing so settled the whole course of Greek philosophy down to Aristotle. (This is only one of a number of curious generalisations.) Certainly, Parmenides bequeathed a legacy of problems to his successors, though once Democritus had asserted the existence of τὸ κενόν the problem of plurality was soluble for physicists. But as a logical puzzle about predication and negative statement ἔστι ἢ οὐκ ἔστι had a longer history, as we know from Plato's *Sophist*. According to Tarán, Parmenides' point of departure is the undeniable proposition, 'there is existence'; he finds this stated in ἔστι . . . εἶναι B 6, 1, opposing the general view that this means 'it? can exist'. The premise of the argument, however, is ἔστι, to be translated 'exists'. This premise (in spite of the latter part of B 2; B 3; B 6,

1-2) requires no demonstration by Parmenides 'since he was not interested in *what exists*', though he can, apparently, say, 'Being exists'. 'Being' is not a material entity then but 'the first attempt at the abstract'. Hence Tarán treats the epithets 'homogeneous', 'indivisible', and 'motionless' as metaphors, which refer to the 'changeless continuity' of Being. The more troublesome words, *πείρας*, *τετελεσμένον*, *ισοπαλές*, and the comparison with 'a sphere's bulk' are also interpreted in such a way that they do not have any physical connotation. Even the *σήματα* of Being are found to be nothing more than negative predicates, a good point, since time and space were not Parmenides' concern. The crucial point in all this is to disprove 'the reality of difference.'

This argument reduces Parmenides' positive vocabulary to one word, *ἔστι*. Some of what Parmenides says supports Tarán but can we be so sure that the Way of Truth handles abstract concepts as easily as Tarán makes it? In trying to understand Parmenides we need to keep in mind how Greek thought developed after him. The fact that Being is described in language which has spatial associations needs more careful handling. Nor does Tarán consider how Being can be *spoken* and *thought*. These words are highly relevant to Parmenides' argument, whether or not one accepts Owen's suggestion (*C.Q.* 1960) that 'what can be spoken and thought' is the subject of *ἔστι* in B 2. If, as Tarán holds, B 8, 34 asserts that without Being one cannot find thought, yet Being is the only thing that is, we require some discussion of the status and meaning of thought in the Way of Truth.

Tarán's interpretation of the Way of Truth determines his treatment of the poem. The journey to the goddess and her revelation are not allegory but only a 'literary device', introduced to 'emphasise the objectivity of Parmenides' method', p. 31. Tarán may well be right about the purpose of the poem, but it is surely over-simple to use arguments from the Way of Truth to discredit the goddess's existence and to insist on such rigid distinctions between literature and logic. Justice and Destiny appear in the Way of Truth. They may, as Tarán says, be nothing more than 'traditional figures' to denote logical necessity. Yet if we take the uniqueness and homogeneity of Being as far as Tarán does there is no room for logical necessity nor 'the determinations established by reasoning' which Being does possess.

Tarán regards the *Doxa* as entirely fallacious and based upon the belief, common to all cosmogonies, that difference is real: a particular account is given by Parmenides to serve as a model of reference. This accords with my own interpretation, and I am glad to see it confirmed. But Tarán does not establish, as he seems to think, that the theories described are a hotch-potch of contemporary beliefs, arranged by Parmenides.

The book makes a number of new suggestions about the text and meaning of particular passages. Few of these will be accepted as confidently as they

are expressed and some are perverse, if not impossible. e.g. translating B 6, 1 by 'it is necessary to speak and think Being'—no parallel for ignoring *ἔμμεναι* with *γρή* is cited: positing a lacuna after B 6, 3 on the grounds that it is the 'true way' which is temporarily abandoned; taking B 7 to be a criticism of the 'second way' distinct from the condemnation of the mortals in B 6, while denying that there is a 'third way'. Tarán does better in the chapter on Parmenides' Conception of Being, and his argument that Parmenides did not envisage atemporal eternity is worth attention. But throughout this book the reader is confronted with peculiarities of English idiom which sometimes 'outstrip' Parmenides in obscurity, e.g. 'someone realised that it is not-Being the one that would need all', p. 115; 'once the two elements with its own characteristics have been defined', p. 226. These and a number of misprints should have been corrected, e.g. 'axes' for axels, p. 9, 'important' for important? p. 270; 'it' omitted, pp. 67, 189.

In short, Tarán has given an interpretation of Parmenides which is sometimes challenging, and always well documented. He has not succeeded in writing a book which is scrupulous or pleasant to read.

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VERSÉNYI (L.) **Socratic humanism.** New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii — 187. £1 17s. 6d.

The relationship of Socrates to the Sophists is very debatable, particularly as we are preconditioned by Plato to view the Sophists in unfavourable comparison with Socrates. To a large extent Versényi upholds such a comparison. He prefaces his exposition of Socratic thought with a valuable discussion of the ideas of Protagoras and Gorgias in which he rightly emphasises the stress which both placed on relativism, that is the recognition that what is good can only be judged in relation to the particular circumstances and object of an action. Moreover as he himself points out, 'In undermining time-honoured institutions (the Sophists) initiated the reflection necessary for correcting their shortcomings and pointed the way to reform'. Nevertheless Socrates is considered to have 'developed, perfected and overcome Sophistry', and the Sophists accused of having given the student 'a superficial polish and outward-directed ability to influence, persuade and overcome others. . . without helping him to perfect, complete and overcome himself'. Not only does this statement echo the well-known charges of Plato that the Sophists did not teach ethics, but expresses an idea which gains more and more prominence, namely that Socrates is searching for 'human excellence' considered as the 'fulfilling' of man's 'needs, nature and function', since man is only 'a symbol, a fragment, something fundamentally incomplete . . . which . . . strives for what could make it into that which by

nature it must be in order to fulfill itself'. This view of 'human excellence' being a 'fulfilment' of man's 'function' seems to derive from the notion drawn from the *Republic* that 'whatever is able to attain its proper end or good we call a thing of virtue or excellence'. For it is then assumed that Socrates' position too is that 'if we want to define human excellence, we must look to the final end, aim or good of human existence'. But since, as Versényi himself points out in an appendix, the final development of Plato's theory of forms runs entirely counter to Socratic thought, it may well be that in even the earliest dialogues Plato's private conception of Socratic thought is already colouring his presentation of it, making it an unreliable guide to Socrates' own position. Moreover to suggest that Socrates surpassed the Sophists by teaching that man has some abstract 'good' or 'function', as the eyes have to see, and that the knowing and fulfilling of this constitutes the 'excellence' of man is not only to adopt a very Platonic interpretation, but thereby to obscure the vast similarities between Socrates and the Sophists. For in failing to examine the full implications of such key value terms as '(human) excellence' and the varying traditions and norms which they sanctioned in Greek society at this time, Versényi underrates a very important part of the background and purpose common to Socrates and the Sophists. For they did not only react against their predecessors' preoccupation with physics, but were products of the same general *Zeitgeist* which was characterised by criticism of tradition. Just as the Sophists pointed out that the good is relative to the circumstances and object of an action, that one should do 'what is necessary when necessary', and not follow tradition blindly, so Socrates in asking for 'definitions' of holiness etc. tried to make men think about the purpose of their actions, and ask whether that purpose was necessarily achieved by following tradition. Thus the relativity of Protagoras and Gorgias, the emphasis of Socrates on *ἀρετή* (success) being *ἐπιστήμη* (knowledge) and his reduction of all 'virtues' to knowledge of good and evil (i.e. 'ends'), all express the same realisation that the success of any human society depends on its members being aware of the purposes of their actions and being critical of tradition. 'Human excellence' for Socrates as for Protagoras was not the fulfilling of some abstract 'human good', but the expertness of men in living in society. Socrates like the Sophists sought the good of society, but, as Versényi does not acknowledge, he must also share with them any blame for consequent subversive attacks on society, since he too 'undermined' traditional practices.

I have noticed one misprint: 'has' for 'his', p. 161, line 2. The style is generally prone to superfluity, and one sentence appears grammatically unsound: p. 141, line 23. 'Because of this negation, i.e. because, from the point of view of ecstatic religion, man was "ecstatic"—out of his essential nature, separated and exiled from his native realm—not in

what we call ecstasy but in the everyday normalcy of life.'

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KAMLAH (W.) **Platons Selbstkritik im Sophistes.** (Zetemata 33.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1963. Pp. viii + 63. DM 10.80.

This is a concise and lucid book by the Professor of Philosophy at Erlangen, arguing a strong thesis but free from polemical rhetoric.

KamlaH's title and introduction state his firm rejection of the kind of 'unitarianism' that refuses to allow Plato to change his mind and attempts to interpret the later dialogues entirely in terms of the middle-period version of the Theory of Forms. But his own exposition does not err in the direction of that other kind of unitarianism which tends to play down aspects of the middle-period metaphysics in the light of the later logic. He accepts a whole-heartedly metaphysical interpretation of the 'classical' Theory of Forms, and takes it to be a measure of Plato's insight that he could move on to make the critical modifications logically necessary to his own theory. KamlaH nevertheless argues always in the light of his own cautious remark that the difficulties of late Plato arise because while much is changed, much is also preserved of earlier views.

KamlaH's main contention is that while not ceasing to contrast Forms as *αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτ' ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα* with the world of objects as *γεννόμενα καὶ ἀπολλύμενα*, Plato after his analysis of 'not-being' in the *Sophist* ceased to treat the world of objects as falling *μεταξὺ οὐσίας τε καὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι* and so being necessarily a realm of deception and falsehood. The main achievement of the *Sophist* is to argue that the 'not-being' that causes deception and falsehood arises in *λόγος*, not in the world. Linked with this explicit result of the *Sophist*, KamlaH argues, is Plato's silent abstention in the late dialogues from his formerly insistent depreciation of the objects of the world as *μιμήματα*. The most striking silence is in the *Sophist* itself, where the repeated discussions of *μιμίσις* nowhere revive the suggestion that *μιμίσις* is the relation of objects to Forms. Images in mirrors or in words are *μιμήματα*: the world of objects is referred to by contrast without qualification as *τὰ ὄντα, τὸν πραγματικὸν ἢ ἀληθινόν, τὰ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἴργα* 234b e'. The creation of objects in the world by god or man is referred to 226j b' without echo of the earlier hints that objects in some way 'owe their being' to Forms. The earlier argument that objects of *δόξα* necessarily partake of not-being is disproved when it is shown that falsehood is due to the combination of 'not-being' in *λόγος* and *δόξα* in such a way that even false *λόγος* is about *ὄντα*. Moreover the late dialogues accept the truths of statements about the world; 'Theaetetus is sitting' is about the world, and, quite apart from Theaetetus' perishability, it is only true until Theaetetus stands

up, but at a given moment it can be a conveniently indisputable example of truth. Deception need no longer be blamed on an imperfect world, nor a changing world held to prevent truth.

Kamlah builds this main contention round a concise and critical analysis of the *Sophist*. He reminds us, *inter alia*, that Plato analysed statement solely in terms of predicates ascribed to a subject; all subjects and all predicates must be *ὄντα*, but *τὸ μὴ ὄν* can combine with *λόγος*, and so a statement can be false, if the predicates alleged of Theaetetus, while still being *ὄντα*, are *ἕτερα τῶν ὄντων περὶ Θεαιτήτου*; this seems to require to be interpreted as meaning 'incompatible with predicates which are true of Theaetetus'. Kamlah notes that (1) this does not analyse false statements of the form 'S is not P', nor of the form 'S is P' where P though not true of S is not incompatible with any true predicate of S; (2) Plato is imprecise in his concept of *τὸ ἕτερον*; sometimes he means 'the different', sometimes 'the contrary', but about the relation of *τὸ μέγα* to *τὸ ἴσον* (257b) and of 'flying' to 'sitting' something stronger than 'different' but weaker than 'contrary' must be meant; (3) Plato nowhere discusses what it is for a predicate, as well as being an *ὄν* in the sense (apparently) that 'there is such a thing as sitting', to be *ὄν περὶ Θεαιτήτου*. Kamlah argues that Plato did not have clear concepts of incompatibility or of truth, and that he had not fully disentangled the notion of a predicate from that of a true predicate. These criticisms certainly touch on severe difficulties in the *Sophist*. But Kamlah goes too far when he asserts that the 'combination of not-being with *λόγος*' in the end is merely a *metaphor*: Plato was replying, in its own terms, and with some degree of success, to the argument that a *λόγος* which 'said what was not' *literally* could not exist.

Kamlah's main service, however, is to show that however limited in the eyes of modern critics, Plato's achievements in the *Sophist* were revolutionary in terms of his own previous epistemology and metaphysics. Kamlah discusses other late dialogues rather too briefly; he accepts a late dating for the *Timaeus* on the argument that for the objects in the world to be *μιμήματα* made by God is different from their being 'mere' semi-non-existent *μιμήματα* as in the *Republic*. But other passages in the *Timaeus* perhaps suggest that an earlier dating would be more consistent with what seem to be convincing inferences from the *Sophist*. However, much work on these topics is still to do, especially on the *Timaeus*.

Kamlah makes many interesting points in the course of his taut exposition. His main thesis may alarm some contemporary scholars rather more than it would have surprised Grote or Lewis Campbell.

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HAGER (F.-P.) **Die Vernunft und das Problem des Bösen im Rahmen der platonischen Ethik und Metaphysik.** (Noctes Romanae,

10.) Berne and Stuttgart: P. Haupt. 1963. Pp. xii + 261. Sw.fr. 22.80.

This Bern Dissertation attempts to carry further certain themes already touched on in an article entitled 'Die Materie und das Böse im antiken Platonismus', *Mus. Helv.* xix (1960) 73-103. The controversy is a considerable one and has ranged modern scholars into rival camps. Aristotle, *Met. A.* 6. 988a 7 stated clearly enough that for Plato matter was the source of all evil, and in this he has been followed by Zeller, *Philos. d. Griechen II* 15 (1922) 973 nn. 3-4, and in recent times by Vlastos, *CQ* xxxiii (1939) 80-82, and others (see in this journal the discussion by O. M. Meldrum, *JHS* lxx [1950] 63-74). Such a view of matter is not agreeable to most modern thinkers and it has been denied for Plato in one way or another by Wilamowitz, A. E. Taylor, Cornford and Cherniss (see e.g. *Lustrum V* [1960] 375), most of whom find a source of evil as well as good either within soul, or at least in the use it makes of matter.

Aristotle's evidence is sometimes discounted by supposing that it refers to Plato's 'unwritten doctrines' which may or may not have been held by Plato in the form asserted by Aristotle. Hager, who writes as a pupil of Professor H. Gauss, proposes to devote a separate work to this question—in the present undertaking he is concerned with the evidence of the dialogues. These are divided into the usual three groups and each of the main dialogues is carefully discussed for the evidence it may offer on the problem of evil, a summary of conclusions being placed at the beginning of the book, not at the end. While agreeing that it would be a mistake to look for a clear scheme in every discussion which Plato offers, Hager none the less sees certain basic attitudes to which, with the possible exception of *Laws X*, Plato adheres throughout his life without any underlying inconsistency. In the earlier dialogues reason as distinct from desire and the emotions emerges ever more clearly as the guide to what is good. In the middle period, above all in the *Phaedo*, the materiality of the body is the cause of evil, but not the body as such, and certainly not the body seen as a shape imposed upon matter. In the later period matter is unquestionably the source of evil, but not matter as such, only to the extent that it is disorderly and so in opposition to mind, and, while the motion is imparted to matter by mind, the disorderliness is not to be imputed to mind. As early as the *Laches* it is soul as principle of living activity which first gives to inert body the possibility of working against the soul by enabling it to work at all. The apparent alternate explanation of evil in terms of ignorance is not a true alternative in that *Phaedo* 82e shows that ignorance itself only springs from the union of body with soul. The body can hinder the soul but when it does so it is because the relationship between the two has gone wrong. When the relation is right then the body is not a source of evil at all.

Such a defence of matter and the body is easy for moderns to accept, and, if Plato held it, so much the better for Plato's reputation with the moderns. But

one may be forgiven for certain general doubts, without entering into the discussion of detailed passages by which alone the question can be really settled. If body in right relationship with soul is not a source of evil, there is always the possibility of the relationship changing from right to wrong, and on Hagen's analysis it would seem that the source of such a turn for the worst must be in the body. Moreover, in the *Phaedo* the doctrine of the need to free the soul as far as possible from the body is not put forward as the need to free the soul from the body when the relationship is disordered, but is expressed as a need without qualification, if the soul is to reach the true, the pure, and the beautiful. Nowhere, so far as I know, does Plato suggest that the soul is better off in a body than when free from it, however excellent the relationship may be. The relationship is always potentially a source of evil and we are, for Plato, better without it.

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PLATO. **Oeuvres complètes.** Tome xiv. **Lexique de la langue philosophique et religieuse de Platon.** 1 (A-Λ). By E. des Places. (Assn G. Budé). Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres.' 1964. Pp. xv + 316. Fr. 25.

PLATO. **Oeuvres complètes.** Tome xiv. **Lexique de la langue philosophique et religieuse de Platon.** 2 (M-Ω). By E. des Places. (Assn G. Budé.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres.' 1964. Pp. 319-576. Fr. 25.

The title is slightly misleading, since it is a lexicon not of all, but of the 'most significant' philosophical and religious terms. In addition to words excluded by reason of their lesser importance (these appear to be quite numerous), all proper nouns and many adjectives in *-ικός* are omitted. The reader is directed for the former to J. Zurcher's *Lexicon Academicum*, for the latter to A. N. Ammann's *ικός bei Platon*.

The text referred to is that of the Budé edition, including the more important variant readings, some emendations resulting from the author's own collation of P for the *Timaeus* and O for *Letter VII*, and occasionally readings of Burnet's O.C.T. and Dodds' *Gorgias*. The lexicon excludes eleven works of the Platonic corpus which are generally held to be unauthentic (*Alcibiades II*, *Amatores*, *Axiochus*, *Definitions*, *De Iusto*, *Demodocus*, *De Virtute*, *Eryxias*, *Hipparchus*, *Minos*, *Sisyphus*), includes three which few would consider genuine (*Alcibiades I*, *Clitopho*, *Theages*).

The format of the lexicon is: indication of the meaning(s) of the Greek word by translation (French); quotation of selected contexts to illustrate each of these meanings: where appropriate, selected 'synonyms' and 'antonyms' of the word in its different meanings, as well as words related to it in sense (apparenté) and others commonly used with it (associé). Why,

in the quotation of contexts, some references are in parenthesis is not explained: some appear to be occurrences of the word in a non-philosophical or non-religious sense. Within each article the occurrences of a word are given according to the chronological order of the dialogues, which is assumed to correspond to their order in the Budé collection, except that the *Phaedrus* is placed after the *Republic*.

Judged by the standard of modern linguistics the lexicon is wholly unsatisfactory, because it attempts to define the meaning of words by translation—an unscientific method leading to imprecise and often misleading results. By the standard of past practice too it is open to criticism on several counts.

(a) The distinction between a philosophical and non-philosophical or religious and non-religious use of a word is frequently a fine one, and where the line should be drawn a matter of personal opinion. This being so, it would be preferable for the reader to have the whole evidence from which to make his own decision or verify the author's; by its selective nature the lexicon precludes this.

An undesirable result of this distinction can be seen in connection with words of infrequent occurrence. If in these occurrences a word is used in a non-philosophical or non-religious sense, it is not included in the lexicon; yet it is reasonable to assume that its use in this sense may be merely an accident arising out of its infrequency. Thus *εἰννοεῖν* (*Epist. VII* 349 e.9) is ignored, while *εἴνους* is admitted (including incidentally instances which are no more 'philosophical' than that of *εἰννοεῖν*, e.g. *Lach.* 181 c.1); similarly *εὐδοξία*, but not *εὐδοξεῖν* (*Epist. XIII* 360 c.3), *ἀκουώνητος*; but not *ἀκουωνία* (*Epist. III* 318 e.6) and others.

The distinction is applied inconsistently. Apart from examples like *εἴνους* above, words which occur in both a literal and a figurative sense are sometimes included only in their figurative ('philosophical') sense (e.g. *πλούσιος*), sometimes in both senses (e.g. *πλουτεῖν*, *θηρνεῖν*).

(b) The distinction between more and less important philosophical terms, likewise subjective, is made unsystematically and disregards the usefulness of retaining without discrimination words which form a semantically related group. For example, *θηρνεῖν* (though it is hard to see how in its literal sense it can be regarded as philosophical) is included, and one instance quoted is that at *Laws VII* 824 a.19; yet its synonym *κρηγετεῖν* in the same passage (a.13) is passed over, although the noun *κρηγετής* is included in the lexicon.

Similarly *ἀελζωος* (*Epist. VIII* 356 a.6, qualifying *τιμή*) is excluded, its opposite in the same passage *ἐφήμερος* (qualifying *τιραννίς*) included. Again the reason for the discrimination is difficult to understand. It can hardly be the frequency of the one and the infrequency of the other, since *ἐφήμερος* itself occurs only thrice, nor that *ἐφήμερος* here has a 'more philosophical' sense than *ἀελζωος*; the adjectives themselves are antonyms and the noun qualified in

each case is included in the lexicon as a 'philosophical' word.

Another pair of words with a close relationship (cf. *Laws* IX 866 e, where they denote opposite effects) *μεταμέλεια* (3 occurrences) and *ἀμεταμέλητος* (*Laws* IX 866 e.7, *Tim.* 59 d.1) also suffer opposite fates. Other examples briefly (excluded word second) are *ἀγαθός-πανάγαθος* (*Epist.* VIII 354 e.5), *ἀληθεύειν-ἀληθῆ λέγειν* (passim), *ἀντιπύθνοσ-ἑπιπύθνοσ* (*Epist.* VIII 355 e.2), *ἀπεργασθαι-ἀπεκτός* (*Epist.* VIII 353 c.2, *Laws* I 628 c.10), *κακός-πάγκακος* (*Epist.* VIII 354 e.5, *Prot.* 334 b.4, *Laws* V 743 b.4, 7, XI 928 e.4), *πᾶς-ἅπας, σέμπας, συνάπας* (passim).

(c) The meaning of a word is interpreted inconsistently, leading sometimes to a confusion of categories, sometimes to an unnecessary proliferation of 'senses'. *σοφία*, for instance, is given three 'senses': (1) *habilité*, (2) *sagesse*, judgement, (3) *savoir*, science. In a passage of the *Apol.* it occurs three times with no perceptible difference of meaning (22 c.1, 22 d.8, 23 a.7); each is ascribed to a different sense category. Likewise, although the instance at *Apol.* 22 c.1 is listed under sense (1) and that at *Ion* 542 a.2 under sense (3), there is no difference between them. In both cases *σοφία* = conscious art; in both cases it is related to *τέχνη* (for the *Apol.* instance cf. *Epist.* 975 b.5 οὐδ' . . . *τέχνη ἀλλὰ γίγνεται κατὰ θεόν*; in the *Ion* example *διωτός εἰ τὴν περὶ Ὀμήρου σοφίαν* is immediately continued by *εἰ μὲν οὖν τεχνικός ὢν . . . περὶ Ὀμήρου*), and in both cases the purpose is to distinguish rational from irrational or inspired skill:

Apol. 22 c.1 οὐ σοφία ποιοῦν ἃ ποιοῦν, ἀλλὰ γίγνεται τι καὶ ἐνθουσιάζονται . . .

Ion 542 a.3 εἰ δὲ μὴ τεχνικός εἴ, ἀλλὰ θεῖα μοῖρα κατεχόμενος . . .

In the case of *τέχνη*, which has three 'senses': (a) art, science, (b) *connaissance*, methode, (c) *fraude*, the third is presumably due to the derogatory tone of *τέχνη* in some instances. But derogatoriness is a matter of degree and of interpretation; hence no safe basis for a separate category. The division into senses (a) and (b) seems to result from a misconception of the relationship between *τέχνη* and *ἐμπειρία*: at all events for *τέχνη* in sense (a) *ἐμπειρία* is listed as an antonym, in sense (b) as a word related in meaning. The basis for establishing antonyms, related words etc. is usually to be found in the illustrative contexts: here probably for (a) οὐκ ἔστιν *τέχνη ἀλλ' ἐμπειρία καὶ τυμὴ* (*Gorg.* 463 b.3), for (b) *ἐμπειρία . . . ποιεῖ . . . πορευέσθαι κατὰ τέχνην* (*Gorg.* 448 c.5). That the two words are not antonyms but rather bear the relationship of egg to chicken may be seen from the sentence immediately preceding the latter context: *πολλὰ τέχνη . . . εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν ἐμπειριῶν ἐμπειριῶσ ἠρρημέναι*. The meaning of οὐκ ἔστιν *τέχνη ἀλλ' ἐμπειρία* is not that an egg is the opposite of a chicken, but that some eggs are by nature addled.

Such inconsistencies are to be found throughout the lexicon and are too numerous to list, but for

further examples cf. *μνήμη, ὀμιλεῖν* and *ὀμιλία, σπουδάζειν, πονηρός* (the 'sense' of 'socialement inférior'—after *Liddell and Scott*—applying to only one instance is not justified by anything in the context).

(d) When an adjective has several 'senses', there is no indication whether the corresponding adverb is used in all or only some of these.

(e) The contexts quoted to illustrate the meaning(s) of a word are often too short to be useful.

(f) The abbreviated titles of the dialogues are unnecessarily short (e.g. Ph. = *Philebus*, not *Phaedo* or *Phaedrus*, Cr. = *Crito*, not *Critias* or *Cratylus*).

The only good thing about the lexicon is that the references are to line numbers as well as Stephanus pages and sections.

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KLEVE (K.) **Gnosis theon: die Lehre von der natürlichen Gotteserkenntnis in der epikureischen Theologie.** (Symbolae Osloenses fasc. suppl. xix.) Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 1963. Pp. 142. Price not stated.

This study of the theology of Epicurus, or of one aspect of it, is planned as the first of three. Following the threefold division of the Epicurean system into Canonic, Physics, and Ethics, this study comes under the head of Canonic and asks simply how men acquire their knowledge of the gods. The inquiry is further restricted to men's 'natural knowledge', which is defined as that knowledge which can be attained without the help of philosophy. Part two, when it comes, will discuss the physical structure of the gods. The subject of the third part will be the consequences for life and happiness and for religious behaviour of the theological teaching.

The rigorous logical consistency of the Epicurean system is now generally acknowledged. Basing himself on this K. lays down three principles which the inquirer must not transgress: (1) Pleasure is the highest good; (2) no theory must contradict sense-experience; (3) atoms and void are the ultimate reality. These principles hold in every part of the doctrine and were maintained so long as the school survived. They must not be forgotten when we come to the main problem of this part of our inquiry, namely, the relation between the images (*εἰδωλα*) which come to us from outside and the inner concepts (*προλήψεις*) which they occasion in us. Here K. claims that in spite of all that has been done by Philippson, Bailey, Diana and others something still remains to be said. It is here, so far as this part of his inquiry is concerned, that he hopes to make his contribution.

The starting-point for this investigation is supplied by Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* I.44. Here the statement of Velleius, *intellegi necesse est esse deos, quoniam insitas eorum vel potius innatas cognitiones habemus*, has been a stumbling-block. De Witt (*Epicurus and his*

Philosophy, pp. 145 ff.), basing himself on this text, argued, disturbingly if not convincingly, that we must abandon our inveterate opinion of Epicurus as an empiricist and accept him for the intuitionist the well-instructed Cicero shows him to have been. It was easy to suspect that De Witt had interpreted these *usitae vel potius unatae cognitiones* with seventeenth-century eyes, not so easy to determine what precisely the words meant in their original Epicurean context.

It is this context K. attempts, I think successfully, to restore. Anticipations (*προλήψεις*) of the Gods cannot, he insists, be formed in the soul without an influx of images (*εἰδωλα*). But equally certainly they cannot be formed in every kind of soul. Animals, for instance, do not have them. For the images of the gods are not perceptible by sense, but make their way directly into the mind. The gods, being made of smaller atoms and fewer atoms than sensible things, have a *textura rara* and emit images of a corresponding fineness which are incapable of stirring up the atoms of soul and producing sensations. Only those souls which are endowed also with the finer structure of mind can perceive the images of the gods. There is then both a subjective and objective element in the formation of the *προλήψεις* of the divine being. It does not anticipate experience, but it is the response to experience of a particular constitution of soul. Neither is the full concept of the divine nature attainable without an active effort of the mind. It is possible to receive the images of the gods and make a wrong use of them, as do those misguided philosophers who monstrosously seek to unite the anthropomorphic images of the gods with the dead matter of the stars. To understand their true nature, their blessedness and immortality, special insight and special effort is required. But the victor will have his reward. *Tum maximis voluptatibus in eas imagines mentem intentam infixamque nostram intellegentiam capere, quae sit et beata natura et aeterna* (Cic. *op. cit.*, 49). H. Diels extracted from the fragments of Philodemus *On the gods* an even more passionate passage: 'The wise man marvels at the nature and disposition of the gods, tries to draw near to them and yearns as it were to touch and mingle with them.'

There is much more in this masterly study than I have been able to indicate in these few words. One eagerly awaits the completion of such a thorough and penetrating re-examination of the available evidence.

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MUGLER (C.) **Les origines de la science grecque chez Homère.** (Études et commentaires, 46.) Paris: C. Klincksiek. 1963. Pp. xi + 242. Fr. 36.

The author's purpose is to give a conspectus of Homer's views about the external world and man's relation to it, and to trace the connexion between these ideas and the doctrines of later Greek thinkers. In the first four chapters he deals with particular

phenomena. He succeeds admirably in documenting the variety and accuracy of the observations of natural processes found in the Homeric poems, and the richness of the vocabulary used to describe them. But his discussion of the conceptual framework in which Homer placed them is often unconvincing. This side of M.'s work suffers from a tendency to read later ideas into Homer and to attribute greater precision to his views than they really possess. Thus when Homer says (Ξ 18) that the sea remains calm until a *κεκρμένος οὔρος* stirs it up, M. sees in this a 'poetical expression of one aspect of the principle of causality, according to which determinate effects correspond to determinate causes' (p. 18). The fact that Homer's men knew how to build and sail ships proves, according to M., that 'they had an empirical knowledge of the interaction of forces, the force of the wind (or other moving agent) interacting with the resistance of the rudder' (p. 22). Again, M. shows great interest in the interaction of winds and clouds, and attributes to Homer the notion of a 'reciprocal causal relationship', clouds giving rise to wind, wind causing the formation of clouds (pp. 55, 66 f., 158 f.). He arrives at this result by combining *II* 364, where a cloud appears out of the *aither* after Zeus had sent a gust of wind, and *B* 144, where winds are said to leap out of the clouds. In reality these passages show that Homer had not analysed the causes of these phenomena, but simply described how they appear to a naive observer. It may happen that clouds suddenly appear on a clear but windy day; alternatively clouds may form before a storm breaks. Homer pictures both scenes, and his descriptions are complete in themselves. A few of M.'s interpretations verge on the grotesque. On p. 8 he suggests that Sisyphus' task in Hades was to solve a practical problem of statics by balancing a large rock on the tip of a conical hill; on p. 52 the bag in which Aeolus had imprisoned the winds becomes a compressed-air reservoir from which Odysseus could direct a controlled jet of air onto his sails to propel his ships; Aeolus himself is described as 'un savant astronome et météorologiste'.

The last two chapters contain a discussion of causation and divine interference in the world. M. would clearly have liked to establish that Homer recognised the existence of autonomous natural laws operating independently of the gods, and he goes so far as to suggest (p. 59, quoting *γ* 335, *ε* 451) that the gods could not control natural processes but simply made use of events which happened spontaneously. In ch. 5 he largely abandons this view, and admits that Homer only speaks of short chains of cause and effect with a god at the head of each. Thus the happenings of the physical world are governed at every turn by the volition of the gods; but the actions of the gods themselves are often provoked by an event on earth, a prayer or a crime calling for vengeance, and so become part of a cycle of cause and effect reaching from earth to heaven and back again. In these cycles M. sees an anticipation of the cycles (of elemental change, etc.) which played an important

part in later Greek cosmology. Since, however, the Homeric cycles depended on the whims of personal gods, natural events were unpredictable; no man could be sure that his plans would not be frustrated by a divine act, or that a phenomenon he observed had not been sent by a god to punish him for some offence. The result is a fatalistic attitude which, together with the extreme susceptibility to external impressions characteristic of Homer's heroes, makes them play a largely passive role in face of the powers by which they were surrounded. Their actions are responses to an immediately given situation, they are unable to conceive and carry out a long-term plan, except perhaps when directly inspired by a god (M. makes an exception in the case of Odysseus). This passivity also prevented Homeric men from systematising their observations of nature and *a fortiori* from performing experiments, which would have amounted to an illicit interference with nature. It is reflected in some of the stylistic peculiarities of the epics, in the vividness of the similes and the disjointedness of the battle-scenes.

We can accept M.'s account of the interrelation between gods and heroes. But in attributing cosmological significance to these cycles, M. seems to misunderstand Homer's purpose. This is to tell of god-like men, often sons of gods, who accomplish superhuman deeds with divine help. Natural phenomena only interest him in so far as they cause them to modify their actions or can be used in similes to enhance their effect. Homer's world is fragmented, because he is always concerned with particular situations. Whether he could conceive of climatic and other such phenomena as part of an ordered process is doubtful. But in any case such questions were not relevant to what he wanted to say. It is a mistake to look for cosmology in the Homeric poems.

M.'s book is valuable as a collection of material, as long as it is used with caution; I hope it will never fall into the hands of writers of popular books on Greek science. For the rest, it demonstrates how right the Greeks were to begin the history of scientific thought with Thales. Perhaps it is time we returned to their view.

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MUGLER (C.) **Dictionnaire historique de la terminologie optique des Grecs: douze siècles de dialogues avec la lumière.** (Études et commentaires, liii.) Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1964. Pp. 459. Fr. 160.

This is the fifth volume that M. Mugler has contributed to the series 'Études et Commentaires', and the second 'Dictionnaire historique', the first being on Greek geometrical terminology. The present volume, after a brief introduction, lists a selection of Greek words that might occur in an

optical context (interpreted in the widest sense to include sources of light, meteorological phenomena, and colours, as well as the more specific vocabulary of theories of vision, reflexion, refraction, etc.), provides a translation of each word in four languages (Latin, French, German, and English), gives an explanation of its meaning, and appends a number of examples of its usage drawn from Greek poetry (from Homer to the Greek Anthology) and prose (mainly Plato and Aristotle), each of which is translated. Any such selection is bound to be subjective in character and likely to seem inadequate to some users; a detailed analysis is impossible within the limits of this review, but the following seem to the present reviewer to be points where M. lays himself open to legitimate criticism.

There are no entries for *ἀήρ* or *αἰθήρ*—these omissions are indefensible in view of the obvious importance of these two media for the propagation of light. Neither under *πνεῦμα* nor under *ὄρατικός* is Cleomedes' expression τὸ ὄρατικὸν πνεῦμα (*cycl. theor.* ii, 6, 125) mentioned. Of the six entries under *I'* all are connected with *γλαυκός* (*γλαυκῶπις* is translated as 'blue-eyed' without any hint that other meanings are equally possible, and why does *γλαυκῶψ*—which appears with a wrong accent—rate a separate entry but not e.g. *γλαύκομα*?); surely *γνώμων* deserves inclusion and *γωνία* as a term in geometrical optics? Of the six entries under *N*, four are compounds of *νόξ*, but neither *νιφά*; nor *νέφος* appears, nor any of their compounds, despite M.'s claim (p. 11) to cover 'des phénomènes célestes et météorologiques'. Under *ὄμη*; there is no mention of the meaning that Rome notes from Theon (*Comm. de Pappus et de Théon d'Alex. sur l'Almag.*, tom. iii, p. 815 n. 2—'Équation personnelle de l'observateur'). Under *διόπτρα*—accented wrongly—reference is made in a citation from Geminus (*isag.* p. 46, 15 ed. Manitius) to 'les deux cercles polaires'; this is misleading, because for the Greeks *ἀρκτικός* and *ἀνταρκτικός* denoted circles defining the always-visible and always-invisible stars at a particular latitude and were not fixed circles on the globe like the modern polar circles (Geminus himself explains this and see my *Geogr. Frags. of Hipparchus*, p. 165-6); cf. under *θεωρία* where the same passage of Geminus—here spelt Geminus—is quoted, this time with a reference to 'le cercle arctique et le cercle antarctique'. To illustrate the use of the dioptra in observing the rising and setting of the zodiacal signs, Euclid, *phaen.* p. 10, 16-19 (ed. Heiberg and Menge) might well have been cited. The Homeric *τείρεα* is listed (with no indication that it is a form of the much commoner *τέρας*) but not *ζῳδιον* or any of its derivatives. It is doubtful whether the translation 'to a long distance' for *τῆλε* adds any further clarity to the normal English 'far', and it is irritating to find numerous quotations given with letters referring to geometrical diagrams that are never reproduced (e.g. pp. 23, 31, 79, 107, 201 *et al.*).

A notable absentee in the somewhat exiguous list of sources on pp. 12-13 is Simplicius, whose commen-

taries on Aristotle's *de caelo* and *physica* M. does not seem to have used at all. Had he done so, he could have substantially improved his explanation of *πόρος* by referring to Simplicius on *de caelo* 289a19 (*Comm. in Arist. graec.* vol. 7, p. 441, ed. Heiberg) where, speaking of the sun's rays, he says *ἀλλὰ δι' αἰέρος μὲν διὰ τῶν πόρων διαίασιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν στερεμνίων ἀνακλῶνται πρὸς ἴσας γωνίας*, thus showing that the pores are envisaged as existing in the *air* as well as in material objects (cf. *op. cit.* p. 598, 16)—this part of Simplicius' *Commentary* would also have provided M. with more vocabulary (in the above citation alone, as well as *ἄηρ* and *γωνία*, *στερέμνιος* finds no place in this dictionary). Similarly, a reading of Simplicius on *phys.* iv, 217b27 (vol. 9, p. 693), where an interesting extract from Strato is quoted (*εἰ γὰρ τὸ ὕγρον μὴ εἶχε πόρους . . . οὐκ ἂν αἱ μὲν τῶν ἀκτίνων ἀνεκλῶντο πρὸς τὸν ἄνω τόπον, αἱ δὲ κάτω διεξέκπιπτον*), would have provided the verb *διεκπίπτειν*, 'to be refracted'.

M.'s brief Introduction shows the same tendency that is discernible in his earlier volume *Les origines de la science grecque chez Homère*, namely to classify as 'science' any and every mention in Greek literature (especially poetry) of the commonest physical facts of everyday experience; this enables him to make such remarks as (*op. cit.* p. 79), 'Elle [la notation des sons] nous montre, d'une part, quel haut degré la sensibilité auditive des Grecs avait atteint à cette époque'—or, in the volume under review (p. 8), 'on peut dire que chez les Grecs l'optique scientifique élaborée par une élite de penseurs est fondée sur une optique populaire faite de l'ensemble des observations et des intuitions de toute une nation'. Such pointless exaggerations of the obvious (how else could any 'science' arise except on the basis of man's possessing organs of sense and a brain that can coordinate sense impressions?) serve merely to alienate the reader's sympathy, which is a pity, because in other respects M. has some very sound observations to make—see, for example, his excellent remarks on the later transformation of the divine forces that underly all manifestations of Nature in the Homeric poems into cosmic laws and cycles (*op. cit.* pp. 224 ff.), and his eminently sensible view of the Greek conception of experimentation (pp. 228 ff.). The fundamental requirements for a dictionary are that it should be as exhaustive and as accurate as possible; regrettably, the present volume falls short in both respects. Evidently in this series brevity is no object: the print is large, spacing is generous (there are no inhibitions about leaving large portions of pages blank), and proper names are rarely abbreviated. It is difficult to absolve M. from the charge of not having made the best use of these undoubted advantages. What is the justification for having separate entries for *μαρμάρειος* and *μαρμαροεῖς*, for *ὄξωπειν*, *ὄξωπιής*, *ὄξωπία*, and *ὄξωπός*, whereas *ἀστήρ*, *ἄστρον* is treated as one entry and so is *ἀστραπή*, *ἀστεροπή*, *στεροπή* (quite properly so)? Is it really necessary to have the word 'blond' three times in the translation of *ξανθός*, and the word 'dioptra' three times in the translation of *διόπτρα*?

Numerous other such instances could be adduced, the pruning of which and the consultation of more sources would substantially have improved the work. There is a misprint in the dedicatory line (Eurip. *I.A.* 1250-1).

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BECK (F. A. G.) **Greek education, 450-350 B.C.**
London: Methuen. 1964. Pp. 381. 16 plates.
£2 5s.

This is a disappointing book. As its author says, there is no satisfactory up-to-date account of this central period of the history of Greek education; and it seems suitable that a Classical scholar turned educationist should write it. Unfortunately for a number of reasons his work fails to fill the gap: the modern replacement for Freeman's *Schools of Hellas* still remains to be written.

As preface to his main subject Beck provides an unnecessarily long and often dubious account of early epic and its origins. Homer, it seems, had a 'deliberate educational outlook', revealed 'by his treatment of the mythic material and in particular by his expurgations'. It would have been better to omit much of this first chapter—the account of Mycenaean poetry, for example, or the dreary summary of modern views on catalogue poetry—and to say more of those features of the social context of fifth- and fourth-century education which make it strikingly different from our own: the dependence on slavery, the importance of homosexual relationships, the ignorance of foreign languages or literatures, the absence of applied science; above all, perhaps, the use of the spoken rather than the written or printed word. Beck makes some reference to all these features; but his general attitude is that 'the human conditions of education remain much the same today as they were in Ancient Athens'. The use of modern educational jargon confirms the impression that the Greeks were only doing what we now do better. When Phoenix tells Achilles 'I reared thee with my heart's love', Beck comments: 'the method he adopted was that of individual tuition, working through the close association of pupil and tutor'. 'The need for pupil-effort in the learning process', we are told, 'is especially emphasised by Protagoras and Xenophon.' If the reader wonders how the *Bacchae* or the *De Corona* emerged from a society with what we should consider a low level of literacy and numeracy, he will find no answer here.

After a second chapter devoted to the traditional practice of Athenian education, Beck turns to the 'Theory and Practice of the Great Educators'—the Sophists, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates. For each thinker some account is given, item by item, of the teaching methods which he advocated or adopted. But the reader who uses this book as an introduction to Greek educational thought may well

ask, 'Was this all?' Beck describes Socrates' rejection of the 'transmission' theory of education as 'an educational revolution of the first magnitude'; but he entirely fails to explain Socrates' importance or his influence on later thought. 'In his view of education as an affair of innate gifts to be developed by a teacher', we are told, 'he shows himself a strong reactionary and at one with the old aristocratic attitude of a Pindar or a Theognis.' The account of Plato is still more inadequate. *Republic* and *Laws* are discussed together without any clear description of the general character of the state in either. The whole chapter on Platonic education is *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. Plato's views on 'playway methods' receive a whole page; but the Cave is not mentioned, and the Idea of the Good appears only in a discussion whether lectures formed part of the Academy curriculum.

'It is hoped', writes the author, 'that the book will serve as a text-book for undergraduate students of educational history and educational philosophy, and as background material for students of Ancient History and Greek Philosophy.' Unfortunately even students using this volume as a handbook or reference book for the bare facts will need to treat it with great caution. It is true that original sources are often cited, and on some points differing modern views are summarised. Beck's general method, however, is to follow one modern 'authority' at a time—usually one available in English, and by no means always the one most generally regarded as reliable. Random choice rather than consistent policy seems to govern his selection of guides. His account of the Sophists is based on Untersteiner with some additions or modifications drawn from Havelock. On one page he accepts Havelock's view that the Socratic method involves 'no genuine participation on the learner's part'; on another he follows Taylor in describing it as a matter of 'joint effort with a more mature mind'.

An appendix gives a useful classified list of 'educational monuments' which covers much more than 450-350 B.C. or the strictly educational sphere; and some of the best known are illustrated at the back of the book. There are two bibliographies, classified and general, and a full index.

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DIRLMEIER (F. **Der Mythos von König Oedipus.**

2nd ed. Mainz: P. Kupferberg, 1964. Pp. 66. 13 illus. DM 34.

Any book attempting to rescue Boeotia from the prejudices which we have inherited from its neighbours is welcome. Thirty years have passed since Hampe, quoting the Theban saga, the poetry of Hesiod, and early illustrations of Greek myths, first championed the cause of Boeotia, but we are still inclined to centre excessive attention on Athens. D. has now joined in the defence of this region by

choosing to investigate the background of the Oedipus myth with its two distinctive features, the story of a clash between father and son and the story of incest committed by a mother and her offspring. It is the tragedians in the fifth century to whom we owe our knowledge of the Oedipus story in detail. Hesiod's *Theogony*, however, offers parallels which are both old and Boeotian: its stories of Ouranos and Kronos, of Kronos and Zeus, and of Zeus and the son of Metis suggest the antiquity of the first theme; although the incest theme is more difficult to parallel. Gaia mates with two of her sons, Ouranos and Pontos, while Echidna and Orthos give birth to the Sphinx! Mythology suggests to D. that the idea of mother-son incest is not Greek but pre-Greek, being also found in myths set in Asia Minor, and this deduction leads the author to consider the evidence for such an element in Boeotian cult and mythology. D. concludes that 'die Geschichte von Oedipus ist ein Mythos aus vorgriechischer Zeit, auftauchend aus dem karisch-agaisch-kleinasiatischen Stratum' (p. 40).

New evidence from the Near East becomes available almost every year. The Kumarbi and Ullikummi myths have been widely discussed since the first edition of D.'s book was published. D. is able to refer to, but only in a 'Nachtrag', the discovery of Babylonian cylinder seals in the course of the current excavations at Mycenaean Thebes. Even more devastating for his argument is the recent identification of a Babylonian 'theogony' which not only lists the generations of the gods, but also relates how Amakandu in the second generation became overlord by murdering his father and marrying his mother, the goddess Earth (see *Kadmos* iv). This text, moreover, can be linked with the *Theogony*, as Amakandu's partner in the second generation is Sea (cf. Hesiod's Pontos). The Near Eastern evidence already known sheds more light on problems than D. sometimes realises. Thus the Babylonian *Epic of Creation* helps us to appreciate Hesiod's story of Zeus and Metis, for its author reveals a similar interest in aetiology when the god Ea thwarts the plot to destroy the gods, concocted by Apsu and his vizier Mummu. By imprisoning Mummu, whose significance is made clear by the statement of Eudemus of Rhodes that he conceives Μοῦμις (Mummu) to be τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον (fr. 150 Wehrli), Ea acquires great wisdom just as Zeus does when he swallows Metis.

The problem of Near Eastern and Greek mythologies is much more complex than D. is prepared to allow. If parallels can be identified, how are they to be explained? D.'s theory of a common legacy is certainly one possibility, but we must also take into account the likelihood that the Near East exerted an influence at the time of the Mycenaean *koine* and during the eighth century when we know the Euboeans to have been so active at Al Mina. In the case of the Mycenaeans, Egyptian, as well as Asiatic, influence must never be discounted. Like D., the reviewer did not place much weight on the Egyptian story of the separation of Nut (sky) and Geb (earth);

by their father Shu, until he read of an inscription from the cenotaph of Seti I (c. 1300 B.C.), in which it is said that Nut and Geb were separated because of a quarrel between them, a quarrel, moreover, occasioned by Nut eating her young ones, the stars. It is easy to call Pandora another Eve and leave it at that, but Hesiod's account of the 'manufacture' of the first woman by Hephaistos finds its closest parallel in the Egyptian tradition that the pharaoh was shaped at the orders of Amon by the craftsman god Khnum. The same tradition (cf. H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*) describes how the new king was conceived when Amon consorted with the reigning queen, having disguised himself as her mortal husband, a detail which immediately calls to mind the story of the birth of Heracles, a hero, as D. remarks, associated with Thebes. More on this and on other matters could be said to show that D.'s book is far from being complete, but not the least of its merits is the fact that it will stimulate further research into what is undoubtedly a fascinating subject.

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LINDSAY (J.) **The clashing rocks: a study of early Greek religion and culture and the origins of drama.** London: Chapman & Hall, 1965. Pp. ix + 517. 93 text figures. £3 3s.

This is a remarkable book, likely to infuriate the professional and baffle the amateur student of antiquity. The material which it handles is itself intractable, while its author is wild and quite unable to distinguish between what is relevant and valid and what is the reverse. The book certainly abounds in ideas, some of which, such as the correspondence in the pattern of ritual and of drama, are fifty or more years old and of a type to be expected from a person claiming to follow in the footsteps of Harrison, Cornford and Cook. Others are of a more recent date, and so we read again of Odysseus the bear and, even more devastatingly, are told that Penelope was a wild duck or goose (p. 372)! Lindsay is not lacking in ideas of his own, and these are poured forth in heedless profusion, but judgment is as scarce as ideas are plentiful.

Lindsay opens with an examination of the literary material relating to the legend of the Argo and its passage through the Clashing Rocks, concluding that the passage symbolises the entry into the other world. Considerably later we learn that the ultimate source of the image is the spasmodic movement of the vulva in childbirth (p. 268). Lindsay next turns to allied imagery, and there follows discussion of the underworld, the significance of colours, bird epiphanies and ambrosia. As an example of Lindsay's methods, it will be instructive to consider the first passage analysed in this part of the book, namely *Theogony* verses 775-806. Having translated the description of Styx,

the author states that 'the parallels are strong'. If, like your reviewer, one is mystified to know what parallels are meant, one must merely read on: 'The Planktai are the route by which ambrosia goes up: the Styx cleft cuts ambrosia off. The Planktai lie at the entry to the underworld; the oath-stones lie at the entry to the lowerworld. Winged messengers—dove or rainbow—pass through, with ambrosia or with styx-water. (Iris is one of the few Greek deities with wings.) Both sets of stones may be set at the Kyaneai Nesoï, and there is a primitive link with Okean. There is further a definite statement of world-pillars.' Already nonplussed by the 'oath-stones', which are the products of Lindsay's febrile imagination and not the text of Hesiod, one is due for further shocks, for the author continues: 'An important support of this analysis is provided by a consideration of the word for oath, *horkos*, which can be linked with *herkos*, ringfence. Styx as oath-object signifies the wall that surrounds the world and supports the frame of things. To break the *styx-horkos* is to endanger the whole order of the universe. Empedokles knew the ancient image which the word *horkos* masked. Incidentally we see that the Homeric phrase, *herkos h(?)odonton*, the ringfence of the teeth, holds the image of the clashing rocks in a miniature form' (pp. 39-40). This single example should be a sufficient warning of what awaits the reader of the book.

The contents now become more diffuse, for, and here I ignore much extraneous matter, an account of the death of Aias Oiliades brings us to a list of those who defied the gods and then to the evidence offered by comparative folklore, in which initiation ceremonies and shamans command most of the author's interest. Before the end of the book almost anyone can be made a vestigial shaman, since even Sokrates suspended in the clouds, according to Lindsay, is a sort of parody of the shaman's ascent to heaven (p. 346). Lindsay believes that traditions such as those associated with Prometheus reflect a social crisis in Greece after the Dorian Invasion, where on one side was ranged a shamanist tribal system and on the other the universalism of the Olympian gods, who represent the development of polis society. It was against such a background that ritual gave birth to drama, a theory for which Lindsay finds evidence in the most unlikely places. *Stichomythia*, for instance, he would trace back to the 'mantic riddle-contest' (p. 280). 'The heroes of tragedy', he tells us, 'are above all those of the defiant-shaman type' (p. 351). Everything can be fitted into his theories, and so, having reminded us that the crew of the Argo and other boats numbered fifty, he adds: 'it is also significant that the early tragic choros consisted regularly of fifty—though it ended as twelve, perhaps by dividing the fifty among the four plays of a tetralogy, with two left over as actors (three, if the poet himself played a part)' (p. 83).

There are far too many careless errors: to quote three examples of different kinds, the title of chapter

seven varies (Doves and Danaids and Dodona and Danaids) when the headings of the actual chapter and the footnotes to the chapter are compared; on p. 196 the Cyclopes are said to appear in the *Theogony* as brothers of Zeus; on p. 279 Lindsay makes Aphrodite, Hera and Artemis the three rivals at Paris' beauty competition. Footnotes and a long bibliography form part of the book, and both are frustrating and of limited value. For the full reference to modern authorities cited in the footnotes the bibliography must be consulted, but in several cases, e.g. those of Diamantopoulos and Persson, nothing is to be found. The bibliography, moreover, is inconsistent and riddled with misprints, one entry, for example, reading 'Page, D. L. (1) *The Parthenon* 1951 (2) *History of the Hom. Iliad* (3) *Lit. Papyri* (Loeb) 1942'. Within a few lines Payne is credited with a work called *Neocorinthia*. In the Foreword Lindsay says that he has not been consistent in the transliteration of Greek names and has gone as far as possible, except for the very familiar, to avoid Latinisms. Still, without being a purist, one may well object to Platon in one sentence but Plato in the next and such forms as Athenai for Athens, Apollon and the barbarous Loukian. The majority of the illustrations add nothing to the text and are puerile in execution. The caption to the first half of 28 should read Siphnians and not Knidians.

Lindsay is planning other books on related topics, including one to be called *Apollo on a Swan*. One hopes that he will keep this god's counsel in mind whatever he turns to in the future.

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DIETRICH (B. C.) **Death, fate and the gods: the development of a religious idea in Greek popular belief and in Homer.** (Univ. of London classical studies, 3.) London: the Athlone Press, 1965. Pp. xi + 390. £3 15s.

In this latest addition to the vast literature dealing with Fate in Homer and Hesiod attention is concentrated on the meaning and development of the subject in popular cults and practices in the Mycenaean evidence and in early Greek literature with a view to obtaining a better understanding of the concept in Homeric epic. As in Greece man was regarded as the focal point in the universe, the approach to the gods, nature and the world was primarily anthropomorphic. Therefore, Fate in its various implications was a later development as an abstract concept in relation to a personal conception of Deity. The present study opens with a brief examination of the original significance of the Greek words for Fate as an introduction to its chief figures in the primitive aspects of the belief.

In this first section the daemon and the hero are reviewed and their respective functions examined. Daemons as vegetation spirits with chthonian associa-

tions are differentiated from heroes and gods before the Minoan-Mycenaean term was given a wider and undefined Hellenic application to any mythical beings, or, indeed, to supernatural power like 'mana' or the 'numinous'. Then when it determined human destiny it acquired the meaning of 'fate'. Heroes, on the other hand, were intermediaries between gods and men, but they were confined mainly to the cult of the dead, and to the ancestral tradition, conspicuous by their absence in Homer, except as akin to the gods, though, as is suggested, echoes of the hero cult may occur in the funeral games of Patroclus and in the burial of Sarpedon with his clothes. But in any case, it was not practised as a cultus until they were deified or absorbed by Olympian gods, as ancient figures were idealized or, conversely, became gods 'faded' into heroes and worshipped at their tombs, and so localised. They never, however, gave rise to the idea of Fate like the daemons as chthonic agents watchful over the deeds of men dispensing their destinies. It was in the sphere of vegetation that the daemon and the hero met.

The vexed question of the figure of Moira is next discussed and its position and determination in Homeric epic subjected to a detailed investigation in both sections of the book, ranging from its early chthonic connotations with death, with vegetation and nature in general, and the 'lot' or 'rightful portion' of the individual, to its personification as a trio of goddesses. Associated with them were the dread Erinyes with their comparable chthonic and nature origins but engaged in imposing curses, manslaying and vengeance. They were, however, also earth deities, as is pointed out, having connexions with Ge, Demeter and Aphrodite, concerned with fertility and birth, as well as with inflicting death and exercising their sinister functions. The part played by the snake and the horse in the Erinyes cult is evaluated and made responsible for a good deal of colouring of her qualities, the snake often standing for the soul of the dead returning to avenge blood guilt. Her connexions with Artemis as Mistress of the Animals is also significant in view of her death-bestowing qualities.

In Part II Fate and the Gods in Homer are investigated and the debt to popular religious thought in the epic is estimated, presenting a curious mixture of popular belief and that of the period in which the poems were composed. The concept of Moira as the death-bringing agent was retained in close association with the figure of Erinyes, but undergoing important changes, Fate governing the life of the individual in a variety of aspects. Both are deprived of the personality they had in the popular cult, and several concepts of Fate exist side by side, tending to become more impersonal as man was increasingly made responsible for his own destiny. In the absence of any ethical conception of Deity and of a teleological ordering of human affairs, the only absolute fatalism was the inevitability of death, the gods as spinners of Fate for good or ill weighing

the results in the scales of Zeus. It is they alone who constitute a personal element of Fate in Homer, but this has no uniformity, though especially in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* they are the guardians of justice, and moral agents of the fate of men, Zeus becoming the supreme arbiter of events.

This volume is a notable contribution to a subject which of course has long been in debate, and so far as the pre-Homeric evidence is concerned is still somewhat conjectural. But in these pages a good deal of light is thrown on the salient features of the nature, worship and functions of the daemon, the hero, Moira and Erinys, and their application to the working of Fate and the Olympian gods in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

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DELCOURT (M.) **Pyrrhos et Pyrrha: recherches sur les valeurs du feu dans les légendes helléniques.** (Bibl. fac. de philos. et lettres de l'univ. de Liège, 174.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1965. Pp. 130. Fr. 15.00.

Some of the conclusions reached by Fontenrose in his recent monograph on the cult of Pyrrhos have now been developed in a more general study by the distinguished author of a notable work on the Delphic oracle. Like her predecessor D. makes much use of mythology and although equations are sometimes forced the results are always interesting.

'Les cheveux roux caractérisent, dit-on, un homme souverainement bon ou souverainement méchant.' Pyrrhos was a term of initiation and the hero was so-called 'Parce qu'il avait été roussi par le feu mystique qui devait l'immortaliser'. Thetis herself was known as *Pyrrhaie*, presumably because she had tested the immortality of her children by fire. Though the poets from Homer to Theocritus (with the sole exception of the author of the *Cypria*) refer to Neoptolemos, the variant Pyres (*Il.* xix. 327) and Philoctetes' apostrophe of the hero as 'fire' in Sophocles' play (927) suggest that they too were familiar with the ritual title.

Pyrrhos' *temenos* at Delphi occupies the site of what may have been a Mycenaean cult-centre. If then, as D. supposes, he was in origin a pre-Apolline *daemon*, this might go far to explain the legendary enmity of the priests. She accepts *Nemean VII* as evidence for the existence of a cult of Pyrrhos at Delphi in the early fifth century B.C. and follows Pouilloux in supposing that the legend about its establishment at the time of the Gallic invasion was a reflection of Delphic deference to Pyrrhos of Epirus. The theory that Pyrrhos was connected with fire is supported by the version that he perished on the sacred flame as well as by the story that it was beside the altar of Zeus Herkeios that he butchered the aged Priam.

In the third chapter D. investigates the role played by water and fire in oriental, Greek and Roman

eschatology. Such legends as those of Thetis, Demeter, Medea and Skylla suggest a primitive belief in the immortalising or regenerating properties of fire. Again a connexion between the deluge and the threat of conflagration is apparent in the Titan story.

D. follows Usener in holding that Pyrrhos and Pyrrha were formerly partners. As Pyrrha had no independent place in myth apart from Deucalion she is naturally hard put to it to discover evidence of a former liaison. The mere circumstance that both possessed Thessalian and Parnassian associations is far from compelling in itself, while the ingenious hypothesis that Pyrrha was the original divinity, later identified with Semele, honoured at the Delphic Herois remains at best an ingenious hypothesis.

The trouble with arguments drawn from mythology is that they can be used to prove almost anything. Also much of D.'s evidence derives from late and less trustworthy sources like Ovid and Nonnos. Though she finds some support for the view that Greek fire ritual originated in the north there is little real evidence, apart from the Athenian Pythais and the burning of the hut at the Steperia, that Delphi was ever regarded as the centre of a cult of fire. In fact any fancied connexion between a fire-*daimon* called Pyrrhos and his counterpart Pyrrha must remain on the evidence speculative to a degree.

At the same time the presence of Pyrrhos' tomb at Delphi demands explanation. If D. has not solved the problem to everyone's satisfaction it is not through want of scholarship and painstaking research but rather because such a problem, by its very nature, must remain highly resistant to logical analysis.

I noticed a misprint on p. 111 and the title of Fontenrose's work is *The cult and myth of Pyrrhos*, not *Pyrrus*.

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PESTALOZZA (U.) **L'éternel féminin dans la religion méditerranéenne.** Trans. M. De Corte. (Collection Latomus, Lxxix.) Brussels: Latomus. 1965. Pp. 81, Fr. b. 125.

In the Preface of this French translation of Uberto Pestalozza's *Eterno Femmino Mediterraneo* (published in Venice in 1954) Professor Marcel de Corte of the University of Liège, after briefly reviewing the place and function of the Female Principle in Hellenic myth and ritual and philosophic speculation, estimates Pestalozza's contribution to the history of religion with special reference to the present small volume which he describes as 'a résumé en peu de pages toute une vie de recherches allégrement laborieuses'. In it is examined the term *πόρνια* in considerable detail as a title of honour employed to express reverence in addressing goddesses, and the sacred attributes and qualities assigned to the Magna Mater

in the Mediterranean in her capacities as the Earth Mother. These include her vegetation, animal, cosmic, celestial, solar and lunar sovereignty and epiphanies, and her metamorphoses between the reign of nature and other existences. The androgynous contact in the cosmic order and in the world of vegetation is discussed as it is displayed in such Hellenic myths as those of Agdistis, born of a mountain, and of Cybele, the goddess of the cavern. Following Arthur Evans, the Minoan dual aniconic male image, and the small column representing the female divinity, and the blades of the double axe, are interpreted as symbolic forms of a bi-sexual solar and lunar divinity, brought into relation with the Mother Goddess and her paramour the Young God.

If the eternal feminine principle in the Mediterranean is sometimes over-emphasised and the collection of epithets as its remnant is exaggerated in this illuminating study, the great nature Goddess of Asia Minor unquestionably was a sort of universal divinity. As the mother of all other gods and the creator, producer and sustainer of all life, she had an all-embracing significance in which generation, fertilisation, birth and maternity were included bi-sexually before a clear distinction was made between the male and female principle and their respective functions. Even in classical times reminiscences survived of closely related divinities in androgynous form, imagery and with bi-sexual rites, notably in the case of the synergetic Cybele as the Magna Mater, with her characteristics as Mother Earth conspicuous not only in Cretan, Anatolian and Hellenic iconography, but even on Roman coinage. Their persistence in relatively late legends and cult practices leaves little room for doubt regarding the basic concepts involved in the feminine principle as demonstrated in this interesting book to which a useful bibliography of the relevant literature has been appended.

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VERNANT (J.-P.) **Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs: études de psychologie historique.** (Les textes à l'appui, 13.) Paris: F. Maspero. 1965. Pp. 335. Fr. 18.80.

This collection of essays, originally published separately, deals with the psychological and economic factors which, in the author's opinion, motivated Greek thought. The topics discussed, which range from Hesiod and the ancient view of labour to personal religion and the development of rationalism, may well appear at first sight, as the author himself admits, to be 'assez divers'. They purport, nevertheless, to form part of a single inquiry into the extent to which the ancient Greek was at once the creator and product of his own social and cultural environment.

The papers, or chapters, number seven, of which the first sets out to analyse the structures of myth

with special reference to the metallic ages. The succession of the ages proves not to be linear but cyclic in nature, for Hesiod himself wishes that he might have been born either before, or significantly after, his own time on earth. Again, although the Hybris of the men of Silver renders them inferior to the men of Gold, they are not contrasted directly with the men of Bronze, who are stated to be less just than the Heroes. The intercalation of the Heroes, though alien to the myths of the races of metals, is thus essential to the equilibrium of a structure based on the tension between Justice and Hybris. It is rather the age of Iron which raises problems as it represents 'un mélange' where the eternally opposed principles 's'équilibrent.' The structure of the myths is in fact tripartite, reflecting the struggles between Zeus (Justice), the Titans (the men of Silver) and the Giants (the men of Bronze). The principle of Justice was adopted by contemporary Boeotian farmers who, in order to counter the Hybris of the 'bribe-eating nobles', were obliged to rethink the traditional myths.

It is a neat, if not strictly original scheme, being based largely on the views of V. Goldschmidt and F. Vian. But the men of Silver have little, save Hybris, in common with the Titans, while the men of Bronze, with notable exceptions, are hardly to be equated with Giants.

The second paper deals in illuminating detail with the difficult conceptions of Memory and Time. Of these the poet is the storer and mouthpiece, and so the builder of a bridge between the living and the dead.

The third paper, which is in some ways the most novel and controversial of all, is concerned with the polarity of home and abroad, represented on the divine scale by Hestia and Hermes. This polarity, in the author's view, underlies the Oresteia, which is essentially a family quarrel 'et souligne aussi les contradictions qui divisent la femme contre elle-même'. The theory is, however, so widely applicable that its relevance is weakened by its very universality. V. overstates the importance of Hestia at Delphi, and despite the existence of cogent parallels it seems clear from the Homeric Hymn XXIV and Pausanias X 24 (less clearly) in Plutarch. Vit. Num. 9) that she was worshipped not in the Tholos but in or near Apollo's shrine. The Greek achievement in science was the freeing of geometry and astronomy from the oriental fetters of magico-kingship. Space and politics are, in V.'s view, closely interrelated and Cleisthenes was influenced by mathematical considerations when formulating his constitution. Not everyone, however, would agree that he ever achieved isonomia to the remarkable extent visualised by the author (Hignett, pp. 156 ff. is relevant here), or that the subsequent divorce of science and politics was responsible for social disintegration during the fifth century and the later attempts by Plato and Aristotle to return, at least in theory, to the unified polis of the sixth century B.C.

The victory of Praxis over Poiesis is elaborated in a long section entitled 'Le Travail et la Pensée Technique'. During the classical era labour lost its old religious sanction and the demiurge his prestige in the city-state.

The book ends with three shorter, but highly pregnant essays, the first two of which are concerned with the importance of the psyche in man's quest for self-fulfilment, and his attitude to heroes and gods. According to V. the kolossos was in some sense a psychic double, a product of Pathos, like the eidolon of Patroclus or Stesichorus' false Helen.

The final chapter traces the development of positive thought in the light of neo-Marxian economics. Though it is true that 'L'Être parménéidéen ne peut pas plus "se monnayer" (as George Thomson held) qu'il n'est susceptible de devenir', nevertheless the profound 'mutation mentale' which occurred between the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. was the direct result of social and economic revolution. This is an arresting and stimulating work, characterised throughout by scholarship and learning. The premisses are often bold and startling, but those whose interests lie in the sociological aspects of Greek civilisation will find much to ponder here.

The following misprints were noted: p. 20 quitter is misspelt and on pp. 305 and 309 *ρομός* should be *ρόμος*.

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PÉPIN (J.) **Théologie cosmique et théologie chrétienne** (Ambrose, Exam. I 1, 1-4). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. vii + 597. Fr. 36.

At a first reading the rather dull and conventional-looking little doxographical text (printed on pp. 11-12) from the first chapter of St Ambrose's exposition of the creation story in Genesis, hardly seems adequate to support the enormous superstructure which M. Pépin has built upon it. The views attributed to Plato and Aristotle are perhaps, one would think at first sight, sufficiently odd to justify a learned article or two, and the obviously Epicurean origin of the attack on the cosmic religion with which it ends might prompt some reflections on the odd alliance of Epicureans and Christians in opposition to the dogma of the divinity of the universe. But a book of nearly 600 pages? One is inclined to suspect either a great deal of padding or a great deal of scholarly fantasy. In fact, however, the persevering reader will soon discover that his suspicions are unjustified. Though the book remains from beginning to end close to the text of Ambrose, in exploring its implications and ancestry it makes a very substantial and by no means over-hazardously speculative contribution to the history of post-Platonic philosophy. What in fact Pépin does in his nearly 600 pages is to demonstrate, by a very thorough examination of all the available evidence, that the ultimate sources of the Ambrose passage are to be found in Aristotle's *De Philosophia*

and, for the polemical section, in Epicurean attacks on it: and that by a careful study of all its peculiarities we can increase our knowledge of the cosmic theology of the young Aristotle and of the curious uses to which doctrines derived from it were put in the controversies between pagans and Christians in the first three centuries A.D. A vast amount has, of course, been written on the *De Philosophia* and Aristotle's cosmic religion (Pépin gives a very full bibliography). But the claim, very modestly made, that this book adds something to our knowledge, does seem to be justified. There is no survey of all the evidence as complete and careful as that which Pépin has made: and he has shown more clearly than anyone before that Aristotle at this stage in his development probably held a very distinctive doctrine of the all-embracing and all-pervading divine aether as the supreme ruling and forming principle of the universe. Pépin puts this forward with all necessary caution, but he seems to have answered all possible objections reasonably satisfactorily: though the difficulty always remains, when one is trying to reconstruct an early phase in Aristotle's thought, that the statements about it, or alleged to derive from it in later authors, may have been distorted by some later blending or mutual infiltration of Platonic, Peripatetic and Stoic ideas: one can do one's best to show that this is unlikely to be the explanation of the views attributed to, or conjectured to belong to, the young Aristotle in the passages under discussion (genuine direct quotations from the *De Philosophia* and other early works are very few indeed, as Pépin rightly insists), and in the present book this is done as well as it can be: but complete certainty must always remain impossible.

In the course of his explorations Pépin throws a good deal of light into some very odd corners of the pagan-Christian controversy: in particular he shows how much time and energy both sides wasted in attacking and defending the literal interpretation of the 'waters above the firmament' and the doctrine which Christians then, and for centuries later, felt it incumbent on them to defend, that the risen bodies of the blessed would be spatially situated above the highest heaven. Of less antiquarian interest, perhaps, is his discussion of the history of the concept of planned or deliberate creation, and the part which the thought of the mature Aristotle played in leading Plotinus to reject as completely as he did the Platonic image of God the artisan, planning and then executing his work.

Pépin would perhaps have been well advised to devote rather more time to considering pre-Aristotelian concepts of aether, which would have helped him to understand the *Epinomis* better, and which survive and help to confuse the issue in a good deal of later thought. But this is a minor criticism, and it is difficult to find a major one. The book is undoubtedly a very solid contribution to our understanding of the development of cosmic theology.

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FAURE (P.) **Fonctions des cavernes crétoises.**

(École française d'Athènes, travaux et mémoires, xiv.) Paris: E. de Boccard. 1964. Pp. xxiv + 314. 2 maps. 24 plates. Price not stated.

It is a pleasure to commend this admirable monograph, heralded by a series of reports in various journals which have already established the author's authority. This authority rests upon a rare combination of qualities, strenuously cultivated in more than a decade of field work and research.

In his preface, F. explains the origin of his mission: 'Cet ouvrage n'aurait pas vu le jour si le regretté Fernand Chapouthier, dont il m'est doux de saluer le souvenir, apprenant que j'étudiais les mythes relatifs aux enfances des dieux helléniques, ne m'avait pas incité dès 1952 à examiner *de visu* les lieux de leur naissance.' Minos had ritual consultation with Zeus every ninth year. Epimenides slept in the Diktaian Cave for several years and had visions. F. has consulted other deities than Zeus. He does not record that he slept in any cave. He has returned, year after year, to his hardy explorations, ever on the alert, in heat, damp and darkness. Such explorations have demanded a physical endurance envied perhaps but rarely emulated by professional scholars. The assessment of their results has required a scholarly command of ancient literary sources and of the modern Cretan dialect, a knowledge of archaeology, history and folklore, of geography and geology, a sympathetic yet critical respect for local traditions.

The material is organised into six chapters. There are full bibliographies, of ancient and modern writers, and a list of maps of Crete. The indexing is thorough, comprising more than fifty pages: there is a general index, an index of names of caves, of ancient authors and of inscriptions, followed by a detailed list of plates.

In his introduction, F. points out that the figure of 1,400 caves, rock shelters and the like, so far established, is probably an underestimation. Even so, the figure at once draws attention to the importance of Cretan speleology as a science and to the need to classify the variety of functions which caves and rock shelters have served from neolithic times until the present day, both secular and sacred. In a preliminary chapter, F. makes a critical survey of the present state of the general problem of classification and of the hypotheses advanced to explain variety of function. He concludes: 'Puisque, d'après les critiques ou les réserves que nous avons dû faire aux hypothèses de nos prédécesseurs, nous avons été forcé d'élargir le champ de l'investigation et puisqu'elles nous invitent à tenir compte aussi bien du préhistorique que du contemporain, du profane que du sacré, du fait physique que du fait psychique, nous sommes amenés à poser, après eux, le problème de l'utilisation des anfractuosités crétoises d'une façon nouvelle et plus large.'

He passes, therefore, in his second chapter, to a discussion of geographical and geological data—the

location of the caves, their shapes and sizes, hydrology, climatic conditions, their relation to human geography.

The next two chapters explore the fields of archaeology and ancient history, the third chapter being restricted to a survey of the use of caves at various periods as dwellings, shelters, refuges, corrals, watering-places and cemeteries.

The fourth chapter, on sanctuaries and labyrinths, is naturally the most substantial and the most debatable. I am in general sympathy with F.'s treatment of the ancient evidence concerning major aspects of Cretan religion, particularly the mysteries and initiation ceremonies. Others, less sympathetic, may justly argue that he has sometimes too neatly tried to prove too much.

Such doubts arise, for example, when he writes (p. 126): 'Nous cherchions les origines du culte de Zeus à l'Ida: elles sont doubles, comme en témoignent la légende des Dactyles remplacés par les Courètes et l'histoire des rapports d'Axos et de Gortyne. Lorsque cette dernière, devenue une cité conquérante, eut imposé sa loi aux versants est et sud de l'Ida comme à la Mesara, pour en exploiter le fer et y faire paître ses troupeaux, au cours du VI^e siècle, ses Courètes mythiques, connus par plusieurs inscriptions, donnèrent au culte une teinte plus fortement arcadienne et modifièrent dans un sens universaliste le rythme des initiations.'

Or again—in a stimulating survey of the cult of Hermes (p. 136): 'Hermès est ainsi devenu dieu universel, *παντοκράτορ*, comme l'atteste l'avant-dernier vers de l'épigramme de Salvius Ménas.' In the verse (*Inscr. Cret.* 2 xxviii 2. 12) Hermes is addressed as *παντοκράτορ*: but, as Prof. Guarducci points out (*ad loc.*), Hermes is not unique in this respect. Nor can the evidence for the derivation of the epithet *Κραναῖος* (used of Hermes *ib.* ix 1) from the nature of the locality (hence='rocky', 'rugged') be summarily dismissed in favour of the supposed evocation of a neighbouring miraculous spring simply because *κράνα* is the Doric form of *κρήνη* (p. 137).

But this lengthy chapter demands the most careful consideration, especially where new discoveries are brought under survey, as, for instance, in F.'s account of his explorations of the peninsula of Akrotiri, adding valuable evidence for the early cult of Artemis.

In the next two chapters, F. discusses the functions of the caves in the light of the evidence of modern history, sociology and folklore, with the aim of relating present uses and traditions to the evidence of the past. These interesting chapters are essential to the author's method. He set out to present his subject in all its diversity, to demonstrate fully the part played by the caves and rock shelters in the social, economic and religious life of the Cretan people from the earliest times of habitation to the present. His work is a solid contribution to Cretan studies. It has been thoroughly prepared and is generally well presented. I noticed only a few errors in proof-reading. Photo-

graphic reproductions are of varying quality, some sharply detailed, others not. The maps are strictly utilitarian.

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SKEMP (J. B.) **The Greeks and the gospel.** (W. T. Whitley lectures, 1962.) London: the Carey Kingsgate Press. 1964. Pp. xiii + 123. £1 5s.

When, in what form, with what result and to what profit did Greek culture affect the thought of the early Christian church? These are questions which each generation of scholars must reconsider, and especially our own, in view of the somewhat exclusive emphasis that many modern theologians lay on the influence of the Old Testament and on Palestinian tradition. It is no criticism of this series of five lectures to say that it covers familiar ground; one must sympathise with the author's desire to keep open the lines of communication between theologians and classical scholars; and he has the right problems in view, as witness the three central chapter-headings which cite 'the ordinary Greek', 'the intellectual Greek' and 'the religious Greek' in relation to the Gospel. Nevertheless I have found it unsatisfying. It does not seem to raise any really new questions, nor to push any old questions to a decisive solution; and it is not complete or systematic enough to count as an authoritative review of the present state of the discussion. However, it would not mislead the beginner, who would find the references to more specialist works well chosen and worth pursuing.

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Cambridge ancient history. Vol. 2, ch. v. **Hammurabi and the end of his dynasty.** By C. J. Gadd. Cambridge: the University Press. 1965. Pp. 62. 6s.

The editors of the new edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, of whom the author of the present fascicle is one, are making the completed chapters of the new work available with commendable speed. This fascicle continues Professor Gadd's presentation of the history of the region known to the Babylonians as Akkad and Sumer, to us as Babylonia, so far given in fascicles 9, 17 and 28.

The scope of the chapter is wider than the title might suggest, covering not only the political history of Hammurabi's reign, and, to a more limited extent, of his successors down to the beginning of the Cassite Dynasty, but also economic and social history of the time of Hammurabi. Much of the data on the latter topics is necessarily not directly from the kingdom of Hammurabi himself but from the abundant evidence of letters from contemporary Mari.

The picture Professor Gadd gives of the reign of

Hammurabi corrects the distortions of an older view according to which this king, then known mainly from his stele of laws and his administrative correspondence, could be represented as the creator of a considerable Mesopotamian empire. Professor Gadd emphasises the fleeting nature and relatively limited extent of the 'empire' of Hammurabi, and further suggests that the letters of Hammurabi and his ministers do not even give the impression of a strong administration. In the correspondence with Larsa, Hammurabi is very frequently seen siding with complainants against his officials, and Professor Gadd concludes (p. 14): 'Such excessive complaisance is most probably due to a conscious insecurity of the régime; the officers addressed were newly installed in a conquered territory, and appeasement of the subjects at any cost is doubtless the policy which prompts these uneasy phrases.' The alternative possibility may be mentioned that the letters give a distorted picture and that the cases in which the king sided against his officials were only a small proportion of all appeals referred to him. Complaints in which the king decided that his officials had acted properly might well have been summarily dismissed and there would be no reason why the decisions in such cases should occasion fresh instructions to royal officials.

The chapter also contains discussions of certain aspects of religion, and a brief though valuable introduction to contemporary literature in its principal categories of myths and epics, hymns and psalms, incantations and prayers, and divination texts.

In a discussion of the visual art of the period Professor Gadd emphasises the lack of originality and impressiveness of the remains of Old Babylonian times, with the exception of the wall-paintings from Mari; the revised evaluation of Hammurabi's achievements agrees with this relative poverty of the material remains of his kingdom.

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STUBBINGS (F. H.) **Cambridge ancient history.** Vol. 2, ch. xxvii. **The recession of Mycenaean civilization.** Cambridge: the University Press. 1965. Pp. 21. 3s. 6d.

In this, the final fascicle of Dr. Stubbings' trilogy, the story of Mycenaean civilization is taken from about the middle of the thirteenth century to somewhere within the twelfth—the period, as he says, of recession.

The weakening of Mycenaean trade in the East Mediterranean introduces the first section, a section which, however, mainly deals with the troubled state of this area, as deducible from the Hittite and Egyptian records. The second section moves from the general state of disturbance in Asia Minor to the particular circumstances of the Trojan War, and is mostly devoted to a valuable analysis of the two

Homeric Catalogues, the Greek section of which is in many ways strikingly confirmed by archaeology (though the statements concerning Thebes may have to be revised in the light of recent discoveries). A final section considers the archaeological evidence for disasters within Greece, and for subsequent dispersals, in conjunction with the traditional account of the wanderings of the Homeric heroes after the fall of Troy, and concludes with suggestions as to the possible causes for the recession of Mycenaean civilization.

The whole account is admirably lucid and cautious—as one has come to expect from Stubbings. The complexity of the period demands the greatest attention to the arrangement of material for clarity to be achieved, and this Stubbings has provided.

Of the three types of evidence brought into play, the contemporary Egyptian and Hittite records are relatively straightforward. The other two, the archaeological material and the oral tradition, are not, or at least not in their interconnexion. Stubbings has set out the evidence, and discussed the connexions, very fairly. Indeed, the fact that the traditional stories have been stressed is salutary at a time when new archaeological discoveries, in constant succession, rather steal the limelight.

Stubbings makes a valiant and often not unsuccessful attempt to reconcile and harmonize archaeology with tradition; while the fluidity of interpretation of the former type of evidence is rightly emphasized, the latter is presented as generally dependable.

Even so, there remain instances where it seems impossible to reach satisfactory agreement between these two rather equivocal handmaidens of history. For example, Stubbings is agreeable to placing the fall of Pylos after that of Troy, and feels, though with reservations, that the other major destructions occurring in the L.H.III B period are also subsequent to the Trojan War. Furthermore, he considers that these destructions are with 'great probability' to be linked with the Dorian invasion. Since these disasters occur within L.H.III B, they will then have occurred between the date of the fall of Troy, which he places c. 1200 B.C. (a slightly earlier date than that which he supports in the fascicle of the revised C.A.H. on *Chronology*), and the emergence of L.H.III C, which I think he would date c. 1180 B.C. (itself a very low date, in my opinion). It should result from this that the Dorians would have come into contact with the heroes of the Trojan War itself, or at latest with their sons; but this is not in line with the traditional version.

However, such problems beset all who venture into this complicated but important period. On the whole Stubbings has produced, within the space allotted to him, an excellent account of the present state of our knowledge.

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ΣΥΡΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (C. T.) *Ἡ προϊστορία τῆς Πελοποννησίου. (Βιβλ. τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας, 51.)* Athens: the Author, 1964. Pp. xlviii + 634. 6 maps. 10 plates. 8 tables. Price not stated.

The author of this substantial work sets out to provide a comprehensive study of all the prehistoric material known from excavations or topographical study in the Peloponnese up to June 1961. He was also able at some stage to include some more recent material, notably the Messenian sites recorded by Macdonald and Hope-Simpson in *AJA* 1961.

The book is divided into two main parts, each subdivided chronologically into Neolithic, Early, Middle and Late Helladic. The first part lists the sites, with their bibliography and very brief summaries of the finds, under provinces, travelling clockwise from Argolis Corinthia to Achaea. Main sources are given at the first appearance of each site, and the sites are re-numbered for each period, so that Mycenae, for example, is Neolithic 8, EH 22, MH 14, and LH 23. There is a map for each period. In Part II the finds are described by sites (with other series of numbers) under Architecture, Graves, Pottery and Small Finds, a general discussion following each section. Finally, in a section on Prehistoric Ethnology, which glances at absolute dating, anthropology, and philology, S. relates traditions to archaeology and expounds his theories of Peloponnesian prehistory.

Regional stock-taking of this kind is obviously valuable, though the mass of material makes the whole Peloponnese a rather unwieldy subject. The site lists in Part I are very useful, their bibliography commendably full, and the summaries of the newest material especially welcome. All the summaries could indeed with profit have been somewhat expanded, possibly at the expense of the very long second part, since in the discussions which follow each list conclusions are drawn from material not at that point yet described. Thus the reader who has noted that EH Mycenae, for example, is represented only by pottery (p. 50) is surprised to find it described on p. 71 as one of the few EH 'πόλεις' (he is even more surprised, remembering Grave Circle B, to find it on p. 81 in a list of insignificant MH sites). The maps are not of very good quality and would have been better on a larger scale; the only serious error noted was the placing of EH Chrysapha near the east coast. Inevitably in such a mass of detail there is a scattering of small mistakes and omissions (which need not be listed here); it is a pity that, although (as appears from p. 464) S. was able at some stage to consult Prehistoric Laconia Part II—*BSA* 56, which appeared after his 1961 deadline—he could not use it to check his Laconian sites. A serious failure in the LH entries—and to some extent also in the earlier ones—is the lack of distinction between subperiods, not only between LH III A, B and C but even between LH I, II and III. Since questions of continuity with MH, density of population, etc., are next discussed the

reader cannot wait until Part II for this information, and indeed if he does he will wait in vain, for chronological discrimination is not one of S.'s virtues. The discussion sections reveal a certain failure to appreciate the relative value of evidence. S. is aware of the chanciness of surface finds, yet will deduce population movements from statistics largely based on these, as when he is discussing the pattern of MH settlement. Here, incidentally, to cite Astros III supports the statement that MH folk did not choose maritime sites!

The success of the detailed studies in Part II varies, in general, inversely with the amount of material to be taken into account, i.e. it is greater for the earlier periods and smaller sites. The section discussing EH small finds is one of the most rewarding and constructive. The MH period, which is obviously antipathetic to S., is unsatisfactorily handled; apart from the fortification of towns the only innovations he accepts are the potter's wheel—introduced via Aegina from the Cyclades along with (hand-made) Matt-painted ware—and the long dress-pins and metal hair-rings from graves, which are allowed to suggest immigrants from a colder climate. Minyan ware, he concludes, was developed in the Argolid as a revival of Neolithic Grey Ware (and thence exported to Troy); cist graves had been native to the Peloponnese from the earliest times. The richer graves from Old Corinth and Grave Circle B are indeed mentioned but their implications are not discussed.

With the LH period description by sites proves unsatisfactory and might with advantage have been superseded—or at least supplemented—by treatment by category. As it is the great series of Messenian tholos tombs is not only not treated as a whole but is not related to those in the Argolid, for these are never discussed at all. Long summaries are given of objects etc. from Asine, Asea, Korakou, Malthi, Midea, Prosymna and Zygourics, though these sites have long been fully published, while Mycenae, on the grounds that it is well known, is so summarily treated as almost to vanish from consideration. Yet a discriminating summary of the material, much of it still inadequately published, from Tsountas' Mycenae tombs would have added value to this part of S.'s work. In the Pottery section the crucial stratified deposits of the Granary and the Lion Gate are not even mentioned.

It is difficult not to feel that S. has subordinated clarity of presentation to the exposition of certain lines of thought which become increasingly prepotent as the book advances. Chief among these are: the east-west division of the Peloponnese culturally, and possibly racially, from Neolithic times; the non-agricultural, maritime and mercantile character of the LH peoples—though what they traded *in* is not really discussed; a refusal to admit any positive aspects of the MH period, which is treated only as a time of depopulation, poverty, and internal strife (though his comparison with the Greece of the Dorian

invasion carries overtones of racial change which may not be quite what S. intended!); and the derivation of Mycenaean culture from the north-west. This is achieved by treating LH III in Achaea as the immediate successor of MH, contemporaneous with LH I and II elsewhere, and so the source of the Mycenaean style, disseminated by the Achaeans as they spread over the rest of the Peloponnese.

Many of the supporting arguments are ingenious, and it is salutary to be forced to look at the facts from a fresh point of view. There are indeed many puzzles in the currently accepted interpretation of Greek prehistory, but this is more logical than the alternatives S. proposes. He is right to dilate on the distinctive elements in western Peloponnesian sites, since many of these are recently excavated or have been overshadowed by the splendours of the Argolid. What is needed, however, is more facts, better knowledge of the objects still unpublished, like much of the material from Achaea, not interpretations of and deductions from still insufficient data.

There is an exhaustive index and a useful set of synoptic tables. The plates would have been improved by indications of scale. The text was written in English as a Cambridge doctoral thesis. It is to be regretted that it was not possible to publish it in English, which would have secured it a wider public and, possibly, a more generous scale of illustration. Is it permitted for a philhellene to protest against the apparently inflexible rule that works published under the aegis of Greek official bodies must be in the stiffest katharevousa? Nothing more surely comes between an author and at least his foreign public than this style-obliterating mandarin.

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SCHENK VON STAUFFENBERG (A.) **Trinakria: Sizilien und Grossgriechenland in archaischer und frühklassischer Zeit.** Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1963. Pp. 365. 6 maps. DM 32.

In spirit and composition this work is a *Nachklang* of Herodotus himself. Divided, like Herodotus' history, into two clearly defined sections, its second half concentrates on the careers and achievements of the great Syracusan and Acragantine tyrant-houses, with a final chapter looking briefly forward to a future from which all comparable brilliance was to be lacking. The first part is composed in an ingenious *schlangenartig* pattern, the frame being the opposition of Greek and Phoenician, closed off at either end by the adventures of Pentathlus and Dorieus. Between these two fixed points the story winds about Sicily and Italy, history and art, theory and material discovery, with a charm and apparent simplicity beneath which lurk sophistication and care.

As an historical method this can prove frustrating to the reader. From Pentathlus he is carried first to

Acragas and next to Selinus, to the Minos legends, to the archaeology of S. Angelo Muxaro and to a lengthy account of early Selinuntine architectural sculpture. Thence he is swept off to Himera, to a careful literary discussion of Stesichorus, and only thereafter to the beginnings of Greek colonisation in the west, to Ischia and Cumae. Even within this pattern the material is at times awkwardly broken; Phalaris for example is chiefly dealt with at pp. 25 ff., but his actual seizure of power is not discussed until p. 113, in the context of Leontini. Excursuses abound—principally long descriptive accounts of architecture or of sculptural and other works of art. For Paestum the author reproduces verbatim much of the description of F. Krauss (*Paestum*, 1941); for other material he relies chiefly on von Matt's *Das antike Sizilien und Grossgriechenland*, which provide (as he himself warns) the illustrations his own book must perforce omit.

This discursive kind of historical writing is made to seem the more old-fashioned by the large element of the book devoted to an analysis of Pindar's odes for the Sicilian tyrants. Von Stauffenberg was proud of his renderings of these, and much is built round them. Yet in an historical sense they contribute comparatively little, and have appeared as major material for this purpose principally because there is so little else. Nor is it difficult for a work which attempts to combine the *historisch* with the *geistig-künstlerisch* to lose itself in the verbose vaguenesses of the language of artistic interpretation. Though history in the round must encompass the whole achievement of the people who form its subject, it is of dubious value to construct it from artistic monuments alone, when no other information of consequence survives. A round-by-round description of the Foce del Sele metopes tells us nothing of the people of Posidonia which is not, when all comes to all, the dream of the beholder. A simple reference to the illustrations would save the reader many pages of unsatisfactory artistic meditation and not a little impatience.

Here and there von Stauffenberg reveals a remarkable ability to convert conjecture into complete self-conviction, and to this the unwary reader should be alerted. A long chapter on Doriens, chiefly devoted to an interpretation of Pindar's fourth Pythian ode, reproduces the imaginative argument of the author's article in *Historia* 1960, and is no more convincing now than it was then, even though in his notes he tries to defend it from the criticisms of H. Berve (*Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 1961). He posits a war between Gelon and Carthage c. 490 B.C., at first tentatively, later as an accepted fact on which other argument is based. In similar stages he comes to an acceptance that Hieron was βασιλεύς of Syracuse, and though acknowledging that this βασιλεία never existed *de jure* continues to refer to it as an historical fact. He writes without reserve or qualification of 'Die Verfassungsänderung des Themistokles 487/6 v. Chr.' at Athens, which opened the archonship to the *hupereis*. He finds it easy to construct an historical picture from a series of hypotheses that certain things

'must have happened', and to assume thereafter that they did happen. This sort of thing is not an unusual phenomenon in historical writing; it is not dangerous once it has been observed, and in some ways one's heart is inclined to warm forgivingly towards an author for whom his subject is evidently so vivid.

Conversely, von Stauffenberg has the knack of belying the criticisms just expressed by the thoroughness and sobriety of his acquaintance with the latest 'Trinakrian' archaeological research. The year of the book's composition might be accurately pinpointed by an analysis of what he did and did not know. Since his death, work at Motya, plus fuller consideration of the discoveries at Segesta, might have tempered his view of the ewige Feindlichkeit between the Phoenicians and the Greeks. He was well abreast of the work of Orlandini, Adamesteanu and di Vita in the Gela and Ragusa areas; he did not know Adamesteanu's views on the site of Inessa or the work of Paola Pelagatti at Naxos. He does not touch on the Vassallaggi material, and Morgantina receives far less attention than it merits. His chief reliance is on Dunbabin, and *The Western Greeks*, supplemented by later research, will long remain basic to any work on this theme and period. Yet for all its virtues Dunbabin's book has never, in this reviewer's experience, possessed the power to stir in its readers a sense of enthusiasm and involvement in the archaic period of Sicily and South Italy as a vital, present, personal experience. *Trinakria*, less scholarly in the purist use of *Wissenschaft*, redeems its shortcomings, if shortcomings they are, by its warmth and humanity, and by its infectious love for its subject. Written at the close of a career long concerned with the Greeks of the west, it is a joyful book, expressing unmistakably to its reader the happiness its author has found in the studies of which it is the final harvest.

For while from what was said earlier it might have appeared that the reviewer's final judgment on this book would prove to be adverse, it turns out to be quite otherwise. *Trinakria* is an admirable and charming study. Provided that it is not mistaken for a textbook it serves an excellent purpose in attempting to co-ordinate and interpret the total civilisation of the western Greeks at the time of their greatest and liveliest brilliance. An historian's equipment is incomplete without that romantic element which makes von Stauffenberg's book an enduring record of his enthusiastic devotion to his theme. To have, and to be able to transmit, such enthusiasm and devotion is a gift which he had in generous measure, and which many another scholar, perhaps better equipped in other respects, would do well to envy and emulate.

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GRAHAM (A. J.): **Colony and mother city in ancient Greece.** Manchester: University Press. 1964. Pp. xviii + 259. £1 17s. 6d.

SEIBERT (J.) **Metropolis und Apoikie: historische Beiträge zur Geschichte ihrer gegenseitigen Beziehungen.** [Diss.] Würzburg: the Author. 1963. Pp. iv + 235 + xi. DM. 11.80 from Fa. E. Violet, Roisdorf, Bonn, Bonnerstr. 60.

As their titles show, both these studies are for specialists, concentrating on one of the most difficult but important aspects of the Greek colonial movement: the relationship, at birth and thereafter, between metropolis and daughter. Both writers assume that the reader has already a fairly detailed knowledge of the Greek colonies as a whole, and their general conclusions are on roughly the same lines. Apart from this they have little in common. Seibert's, the D.Phil. thesis of a twenty-four-year-old printed as it was submitted, is essentially a ground-work, offering contributions to the subject which contain much useful material and original ideas, and some valuable conclusions. Graham's, a more mature study of greater complexity and perception, is here discussed first.

G's basic tenet throughout is that the relations cannot be separated into precise categories. Self-sown or planted, all colonies had a filial bond of some kind: and, from the purely formal religious obligations of an essentially independent daughter to the condition of real political dependence, all these relationships shade into each other. The very nature of the surviving evidence—profuse, but scrappy and widely differing in time—precludes any neat classification.

In Ch. I (Prolegomena) G. explains how he has treated the mass of ancient material and modern theory with which he has to deal. A purely 'descriptive' principle—treatment by topics—might conceal important differences in chronology and emphasis; whereas a purely chronological arrangement—the development of relationships from the eighth to the fourth century B.C.—could mislead, since so little of the ancient literary evidence antedates the fifth century. He therefore blends both methods. Part I (chs. II–IV) deals with certain topics, 'ideas and practices with regard to the act of founding a colony'; for these varied much less than did the later relations; Part II (chs. V–X) considers these relations, 'broadly chronologically', but each still grouped by some common factor, as the chapter-headings show. The general result is a rather uneven and difficult book to read, though there is much in it to reward the patient reader. It means, for instance, that some pieces of ancient evidence cannot be treated as unities; the Brea decree has to be split between chs. III, IV and IX, and the material on Lokroi Epizephyrioi, a particularly interesting tradition, between chs. IV, V and VI.

Ch. I contains two more important preliminary points. Firstly, certain 'generalisations and distinctions' about the colonial movement as a whole are listed by G. as relevant to the consideration of his subject. Here he is less good than elsewhere, for in

his scrupulous desire not to march his reader over ground well-trodden already he seems to me to omit one or two points worthy of inclusion. He reminds us briefly of the standard distinctions between the terms *apoikia*, *klerouchia*, *emporion*, but neither here nor elsewhere is there any discussion of the complex and important problem of *epoikoi* and the *epoikia*. More seriously, his otherwise praiseworthy caution confines him here to brief statements only on what seems to me an important point for his thesis—namely, the particular circumstances at home which caused a colony to go forth. He mentions (p. 7) Taras and Lokroi Epizephyrioi, both traditionally founded by fugitives, which 'might be expected to have a different relationship [with their metropoleis] from those engendered by a peaceably arranged settlement', but he doubts the use of trying to take things further than this, adding that, though it is evident 'that both state and private enterprises existed throughout the historical colonising period . . . it is probably a vain hope to try to draw a firm line in the early period between colonies founded on individual initiative and approved by the state and those established by a decision of the community.' Yet the subsequent relations between metropolis and settlement must have been conditioned, in their early stages at least, by this initial factor. The circumstances of the foundations of Taras and Lokroi Epizephyrioi get only cursory treatment: so do those of Zankle and Rhegion, and the great Achaian colonies—though all these are interesting cases for the initial maternal relationship. Without hoping for a firm line, we may regret that such evidence as there is was not more fully handled by this author who shows elsewhere a good, searching hand with the probe.

Secondly, G. discusses the nature of the available sources. Here, in a closely-reasoned and valuable exposition, he concludes that the *literary* evidence taken alone is insufficient to show whether an active relationship existed before the fifth century, and that admitted connexions in arts, cults and *nomima* in general cannot of themselves prove any active relationship, either. (He must mean political relationship, since works like that of Dumbabin and the Italian scholars have shown clearly that the ties of art and culture generally were strengthened by some contacts throughout the archaic period: the art of Taras, for instance, or Gela, got some colour from the metropolis later, as well as at the initial hive-off. It may be noted here that throughout the book G. concentrates on the political aspect of the relationship. He has nothing to say on the cultural relations, though something (in chs. II and VIII) on religious.) But the evidence of mixed foundations, he suggests, may be helpful. Time and again the presence of elements contributed by different metropoleis, at the foundation or in later additions, led to stasis as the new settlement got under way, which may perhaps imply 'a living connection with the place of origin' persisting even for generations after the act of foundation. This may well have

been so, though one may think also that the mixtures contained in themselves sufficient elements of trouble to cause stasis without our postulating any aid from one of the metropoleis—vocal ethnic minorities, successive Founders' Kin who monopolised the *archai*, basic religious differences such as are attested for the cases, admittedly rare in colonics, of Ionic and Doric.

In Part I (= chs. II–IV) G. considers the relationship as shown in the act of foundation. He confines himself briefly to the well-attested cult-practices: the colonists took brands from the mother-city's prytaneion (a reference to *Ar. Av.* 43 might be added here), perhaps they swore mutual oaths, they consulted the Delphic oracle, a colony's colony might take its oikistes from the original metropolis. How often, one wonders, did they take the chief cult of their metropolis (as Athena in Pisistratic Sigeum), or an actual cult-statue and its priestess (as at Massalia)? Even such small details would be welcome, to help in building up the picture of the religious connexions, for, as G. himself says later (p. 216): 'it is above all the religious relations which show the fundamental nature of the colony-metropolis relationship.' In ch. III, 'the role of the oikist'. G. distinguishes well between the powerful early type and the Civil Servant of the fifth century. In ch. IV, 'foundation decrees' (translations and one text in Appendix II), he gives very full and careful treatment to the Naupaktos document *Tod* 24, and briefer reference to the Kyrene pact *SEG* ix. 3 (which he has already discussed in *JHS* 1960), and to some parts of the Brea decree *Tod* 44. From these come some interesting suggestions, e.g., that perhaps the metropolis had regularly the right to dispatch later settlers, even to an independent colony, and, conversely, that the daughter, even if independent, may have had the right to claim protection in her early years.

In Part II (= chs. V–X) comes the discussion of the developed relations. Ch. V, with Thasos as model, concludes that nearness to the metropolis usually meant dependence on it—in original intention, not only in result; but distance did not always mean independence, if the metropolis—as Corinth and Athens—had a powerful fleet. But again, the fact that a metropolis backed up a far-off daughter in her early battles against neighbours, as Samos did Perinthos, need not of itself imply dependence: it may have been simply of vital importance to the mother-city's trade. Ch. VI considers isopolity and like arrangements, with Miletos as chief model, and suggests that she and perhaps Eastern Lokris, to name only two, offered isopolity at least as early as the fifth century. Ch. VII, on the early colonial empire, is excellent on the dependencies of tyrannic and post-tyrannic Corinth, on the different footings of Syracuse and Kerkyra with Corinth, and on Kerkyra's own colonial brood (though the suggestion in App. I, that Kerkyra was founded later than Syracuse, may seem unlikely to some readers); in particular it gives the *coup de grâce*, one hopes, to some per-

sistent assumptions in standard textbooks: e.g., that Kerkyra began as a dependency of Corinth. Only on matters of coinage G. seems here less up-to-date, and less good. To pick the chief example: he simply dismisses in a brief footnote (p. 125, n.1) the lowered dating for the start of Greek coinage advocated by Llewellyn Brown, E. S. G. Robinson and others, to follow instead the views of Gardner, written in 1918, on this point. Ch. VIII, with App. V, is based on Vollgraff's detailed publication of the famous but fragmentary settlement concerning Argos and the two Cretan cities Knossos and Tyliossos. The religious basis of the whole thing is stressed by G., who adds more illustrations of offerings made by colonies in the metropolitan temples. Ch. IX, with App. VI, tackles the complicated problems of the Athenian imperial foundations, both sixth-century and later, and other late examples. On Athens' fifth-century settlements—which was colony, which cleruchy?—he sides, surely rightly, with Ehrenberg against the somewhat over-rigid definitions in *ATL* iii, though wisely leaving open, after a full discussion, the confusing question of Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros. Ch. X draws together finally his general conclusions.

G.'s work appears to be admirably up-to-date in all recent publications concerning his subject; only Seibert's reached England just too late for consideration, and after it the publication of the Taranto Congress in 1963, *Metropoli e colonie di Magna Grecia*, with articles on the theme of the relationship by Mazzarino and Vallet. On straight historical or archaeological matters, on the other hand, G.'s treatment seem sometimes rather thin. On p. 19 he accepts without comment Dunbabin on Gela ('imports of certain Cretan pottery, found nowhere but at Gela, preceded the foundation'), whereas on p. 218 he accepts also the more recent view, best propounded by Vallet and Villard, that 'there is no evidence for trade with the West before the first colonies were founded'. On p. 8, n.2, he says of Dorieus' colonial venture on the river Kinyps: 'the undertaking of the colony at all is very hard to reconcile with Spartan policy of the time'. So, in other circumstances, it might be; but one should bear in mind that Kyrene, Sparta's 'grand-daughter' and valuable contact for trade (direct or indirect), had recently passed into Persian possession. At several historical crossroads we look for consideration of more recent discussions than we get—e.g., nothing later than the *CAH* for Plataia's joining Athens (p. 127 and Sparta's motives before the Tanagra campaign (p. 213); nothing after 1935–6 for Spina (p. 6), no reference to Dunbabin in *BSA* xxxvii for Epidauros and Aigina (p. 91). A few small slips were noted: p. 16, the Andrian threw his spear into the city-gate, not the city itself; p. 131, the Apolloniates' dedication of the spoils from Thronion was at Olympia, not Corinth (add Kunze, *OlBericht* v 1956. 145 ff., pl. 80); p. 193, n.1, the Sigeion stele was surely never a grave-relief. Here and there

wrong Greek accents have escaped correction (on pp. 21, 162, 171, 176, 182, 201, where also *Κορυφίτ*—should be read *passim* for *Κορυφίτ*—). The select bibliography excludes all periodical-articles; why? It seems perverse to omit such relevant works as those of Hampl, Meister, Schaefer (e.g.), all carefully considered and discussed in the book, yet to include the books by Aurigemma and Oikonomides, each cited only once in a footnote which gives the full title there also (Oikonomides' should read *Ἐπιόκτα*, not *Ἐπιόκτα*, as first word).

Set beside this stimulating and valuable work with its occasionally complicated pattern of expression, Seibert's *Beitrag* form a much simpler and more straightforward study, examining the evidence—mainly the epigraphic—for a list of 21 cases to see how much, if at all, the data coalesce into any kind of general system. His conclusion does not differ substantially from G's: 'dass die Beziehungen nicht zu eng aufzufassen, und nicht in ein System zu pressen sind', and even the basic religious connexions should not be automatically assumed, though probably trade, religion and culture formed closer bonds than the surviving evidence allows us to see. His most detailed study is of Thera Kyrene, that is, of the famous *horkion*, or pact, quoted in the fourth-century Cyrenean decree *SEG* ix. 3. Here are many good suggestions to add to the work of others on this subject. He would agree with G. (*JHS* 1960) and others who hold that the *horkion* may well have a seventh-century core, though in parts worked over and re-phrased later. Of the many points which he raises, there is space to note only: (1) A good commentary on the 'literary' word *οἰκιστήρ*. (2) Like G., he disagrees (p. 50) with the later historian Menekles, of Kyrene's colony Barke, who said that stasis, not Herodotos' drought-famine, was the reason for the colony. But political strife was often based on economic distress, so possibly Herodotos and Menekles were both right, especially since Aristoteles, leader of the emigrants, was—in both Thera and Cyrenean traditions—not of pure Lacedaemonian-Doric descent, and so might have nursed some thwarted ambitions. (3) S's most striking conclusion is that the clause *αἱ μὲν δὲ καὶ κατέχ[ου]ν | τι τὰν οἰκιστῶν οἱ ἄποικοι, τῶν οἰκείων τῶν καταπλέον[τα] ἕσπερον εἰς Αἰθῶν καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ τιμῆν πεδέχ[εν]* (κτλ)—the vital one on which rested the claim of the fourth-century Therans to citizenship—was not part of the original pact, but was added later, though not necessarily by the interested party who promoted the decree. His reasons here, though none is conclusive, together offer much food for thought. On the complicated Lokrides Lokroi problems he is less good; one misses treatment such as G.'s on Tod 24. On Poseidoniatic independence, based on the Sybarite-Serdaiian text from Olympia, see also M. Guarducci in *Gli Archeologi Italiani in onore di Amedeo Maiuri*, 203 ff. On Syracuse Kamarina, his theory of Kamarina's original independence, which would involve *two* struggles with Syracuse in the 550s, seems

rather strained; the shrewd comment in Dunbabin's *Western Greeks* 105 f. is still preferable (and in any case, the context of Philistos F 5 (Jac.) being lost, can we be sure that *τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους* here are not those of a *Syracusan* symmarchy, from which Kamarina has broken away and enticed others?). Though the colonial efforts of Megara get rather short measure, those of Miletos, Paros-Thasos, and other places where the epigraphic evidence is more copious, are listed with judicious use and acknowledgment of previous publications, and spiced with his own additions and comments. The Greek quotations, inserted by typewriter, need watching: they show uncorrected errors, words or even whole phrases omitted, and in the Cyrenean pact a line-numbering inconsistent with that cited in the main text. But these are details easily curable in an otherwise solid and praiseworthy work.

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THOMSEN (R.) **Eisphora: a study of direct taxation in ancient Athens.** (Humanitas, iii.) Copenhagen: Gyldendal. 1964. Pp. 276. Price not stated.

Professor Thomsen's full, clear and elegant exposition of an intricate subject makes this book a model of its kind, and whether or not its conclusions be accepted, it should now become the standard treatment of its theme. He is right to start from the fourth-century evidence, which is most copious, and to argue back to the earlier history of the *eisphora*, with which chapters VI–VIII are concerned. Unfortunately we have too little information for the years before 378 7 even to hope for certainty, and despite his unflinching lucidity T. has not done more here than pile one hypothesis on another. I shall therefore almost confine this review to the fourth century. It was then that the *eisphora* constituted a most vital contribution to Athens' public finances, as large sums were no longer coming in from *phoros*; and an evaluation of the policies Athens adopted must depend on an assessment of the domestic resources available for their execution.

T. carefully examines earlier theories and demonstrates that the assessment of 378 7 relates to the total declared capital of Athenians liable to tax (ch. V), that the poor were not liable, though the number of taxpayers was large, probably including all hoplites (ch. IX), and that concealment and under-declaration of property were common, then as earlier (248 f.; 193). In all this he agrees with, for instance, the important article by G. E. M. de Ste Croix in *Class et Med.*, xiv 30 ff., as also in holding that after 378 7 the Athenians imposed a flat rate of tax on assessed capital. But he holds that earlier there had been progressive taxation. This he infers, chiefly from Pollux viii 129 ff., a desperately obscure text (chs. VI and VIII); I do not accept his view, and find his opinion that the alleged change made for equity

extremely curious; presumably he regrets the graduation of modern income taxes.

T.'s theory of the post-378/7 system is based on well-known 'problem' texts in Dem. xxvii-xxviii, concerned with Demosthenes' assessment and tax-payments in his minority (376-66). (a) D.'s guardians agreed to pay 5 minae on 'the 25 minae' (xxvii 7; xxviii 4). T. infers that it was well known that each symmory had to pay 25 minae. (b) xxviii 9 is 'linguistic shorthand', meaning that the assessed capital of the symmory was 15 talents of which D.'s share was 3. Thus each symmory paid 25 minae on 15 talents whenever an *eisphora* was levied under the system of 378 7. T. finds further confirmation of this in xxviii 11, where D. states that the guardians had assessed him *πρὸς πεντεκαίδεκατάλάντων οἴκους*, 'with a view to establishing a property group of 15 talents'. This seems to me to give an impossible meaning to *οἴκους*: the phrase must mean 'in the class of 15 talent households'. T. shows that even on his own claims D.'s inheritance did not amount to nearly 15 talents, and also that Timotheus' property, with which he seeks to compare it, had sunk well below the 17 talents he had allegedly inherited (Lys. xix 40), as his financial embarrassments in 373 and 362 suggest (Ps-Dem. xlix 11; 17; 27; 67). Thus D. might have been assessed as heavily as Timotheus, without any implication that either was worth 15 talents. This might suffice to reconcile xxviii 11 with T.'s views, though it seems awkward that if D. was claiming to have owned much more than his officially assessed property, as he was on T.'s interpretation, he was surely exposing himself to demands for arrears of *eisphora*. (There were in any event some arrears, probably trifling; T. suggests (ch. ix) that there were at least 4 *eisphorai* during D.'s minority; the guardians had paid 18 minae, and therefore on his theory owed 2. When D. himself allows them 30 for tax paid, he is allowing, according to T., interest at 12%, as in his other computations.)

Polybius gives the total Athenian assessment in 378 7 as 5,750 talents, Demosthenes as 6,000 in 354. T. holds that there had been no intervening census, as distinct from *anasyntaxis* (under which individuals were re-assessed and redistributed among symmories) and that Demosthenes himself is not rounding up Polybius' figure. It was the Athenians in 378 7 who had decided to treat the sum of individual assessments (5,750) as 6,000 talents, knowing that there was much under-declaration, and had apportioned the tax due equally among the symmories. How many symmories? Clidemus gives 100. T. shows that Jacoby's arguments for dating his work after 378 7 are not cogent; he holds that Clidemus is describing the system in the late fifth century. Unfortunately Philochorus is cited as stating that symmories were first instituted in 378 7. T. rejects the citation, or alternatively Philochorus' testimony, as incorrect. In his view there were not less than 400 symmories after 378 7, each contributing 25 minae, or 166⅔ talents in all. To this must be added (here T. is surely

right) a sixth paid by the metics, bringing the grand total to 200, just the amount raised in 428 (Thuc. iii 11). But one might doubt if Athens was as rich as in 428. In 354 Demosthenes estimates the amount of a 1% *eisphora* at 60 talents. T. has to suppose that the burden had been reduced. If his interpretation of the 'problem' texts be accepted, and his treatment of the testimony of Clidemus and Philochorus rejected, an *eisphora* in the 370s would have yielded under 50 talents (including the metics' sixth). There is no evidence for the figure of 200.

De Ste Croix explained the 'problem' texts on the basis that in each symmory the *hegemon*, *deuteros* and *tritros* were liable to *proeisphora*—they constituted the 300 *proeispherontes*, who were obliged, if required, to advance up to one-fifth of their capital; and that D.'s guardians had made his property liable to 3 talents for *proeisphora*, which D. could plausibly interpret as meaning that his inheritance was worth 15. There are grave difficulties. How could they estimate the property at 15 talents for *proeisphora* and not also for *eisphora*? Yet Ste Croix himself thinks it likely that the assessment for *eisphora* was only 10 (probably too high). His explanation, that the guardians wished to 'cut a dash' and incurred no real risk, is also lame. (The extent of the risk could not be foreseen.) T. objects that minors should have been exempt from *proeisphora*, as from other liturgies involving personal effort (cf. Isaeus vi 60). Moreover, the appointment of Androtion in the 350s to collect arrears on *eisphorai* dating from 378/7 and amounting to 300 talents implies that, in the period when these *eisphorai* were raised, the system of *proeisphora* was not in use, for once it had been instituted, it was for the *proeispherontes*, not the state, to collect arrears. T. himself conjectures that 300 is a round figure for 332½ talents, the sum of two *eisphorai* on citizens only, levied before *proeisphora* had been introduced; he dates this to 373 2. I should rather suppose that the *eisphorai* in question were six of c. 50 talents, levied in each year of the Spartan war from 378 7 to 371 0, except that of the abortive peace of 375 4, in order to enable Athens to pay *syntaxis* to the common war effort, and that *proeisphora* was introduced later; it is first attested in 364. As a minor, D. need have paid only three of these—his father could have paid for 376, 5—and one after 371; it would have been in the latter period that he was *hegemon*. T. thinks that the *hegemon* was no more than eponym of the symmory; but what then were the *deuteros* and *tritros*? It is more plausible with Ste Croix to think that these three persons in 100 symmories constituted the 300 *proeispherontes*, for whom, if they were minors, their guardians would perform administrative duties; Isaeus *loc. cit.*, only shows a man enrolled in the 300, when he attained his majority; perhaps he had come into money at the same time.

T. shows that Ste Croix underestimated the number of *eisphora*; after the peace of 371 they were raised in 370 69 (the last in D.'s minority), 364 3, 363 2, 362 1, and of course in the Social War (Dem. xvi 12; Xen. *de reat.* iii 7 cf. Isaeus *loc. cit.*, Ps-Dem. 1 8; Isocr. viii 20;

Xen. *op. cit.*, iv 40; T. 228 ff.). T. himself in my view allows too few levies in the 370s, though he assumes far too high a rate. It is at any rate important to see that Androtion was not concerned with all arrears since 378/7, and that 300 talents was not the whole sum levied in over twenty years. There was some justice in contemporary complaints of the burden of taxes, which were frequent, though not punitive in incidence. But on most questions T. discusses the answer must still be 'non liquet'.

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DAY (J.) and CHAMBERS (M.) **Aristotle's history of Athenian democracy.** (University of California publications in history, 73.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. xiii + 221. \$5.00.

'That Aristotle reconstructed Athens' development according to his philosophical doctrines is the hypothesis of this book.' The elaboration is challenging. One is given to think furiously, then furiously to think. The *AP* is poor history, and here is a new account of why it is so poor.

To illustrate how they suppose Aristotle used his sources in service of his political theories, the authors' treatment of ostracism may be cited. In ascribing the institution to Clisthenes, Aristotle, they hold, gave a different account from that of Androtion, but, having no good evidence for the date of the institution, ascribed it to Clisthenes because it suited his theory of the role of Clisthenes in the development of democracy. Similarly, statements of the *AP* concerning population are not to be taken at their face value; instead of referring us to the *Politics* for the explanation of the very few events he had to record, Aristotle embodied the theories of the *Politics* in the *AP* so that they look like facts. For Aristotle was primarily a biologist who applied the concepts of natural science to the subject-matter of history; the four forms of democracy in the *Politics* (1291B 30 ff.) derive from this and the *AP*, is the last stage of the process.

Finding in the eleven *μεταβολαί* of Chapter 41 'four, and only four forms of democracy', they consider these four democracies in turn. First democracy is the constitution of Solon and Pisistratus. Aristotle happily accepted the role created in the fourth century for Solon as creator of pure democracy, and since Aristotle knew from Herodotus and Thucydides that Pisistratus did not change the constitution, and since 'political theory did not envision that in a true first democracy the people would enjoy more than nominal citizenship', he was able to regard first democracy as continuing during the tyranny: Pisistratus' alleged loans to farmers merely reflect the view of the *Politics* (1318B 9-11) that first democracy is the democracy of the farming class, and laws are to be used *πρὸς τὸ κατασκευάζειν γεωργικὸν τὸν δήμον* (1319A 6); the institution of demedcists Aristotle retrojected to suit

his theories; likewise he preferred to have Pisistratus disarm the people, not, as Thucydides, Hippias. Passing to the middle democracy (second and third democracies being conflated in the one chapter), they find that the Rider of Clitophon merely shows that to the Athenians Clisthenes was the founder of democracy, but that 'nothing in the *AP* suggests that Aristotle ever saw documentary evidence' of Clisthenes' 'announcement to guide Athenians in revising their tribal organisation into his complex scheme'; all that Aristotle had, or needed, to aid him in describing the work of Clisthenes was the witness of Herodotus, observations of contemporary practice, and guidance of political theory. Passing to the 'Areopagite domination', they suggest the process of inference whereby Aristotle arrived at the form of democracy which prevailed *μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά*; in establishing fourth democracy Ephialtes attacked the Areopagus, about which Clisthenes had done nothing; so, some change between 507 and 462 having apparently led to an Areopagite domination, Aristotle accepted a story in Androtion and gave a place in Athenian history to an Areopagite constitution, 'the least convincing of the four forms into which he redacted the history of Athenian democracy'. For fourth democracy, about which the *Politics* was most explicit, a degenerate constitution in which not laws, but decrees, moved by demagogues and passed by a paid throng, were supreme, Aristotle, they claim, deliberately eschewed the place of laws (particularly the institution of the highly inconvenient *γραφῆ παρανόμων*) and to illustrate the lawless misrule had recourse to personalities and anecdotes, suitably applied; Theramenes' part in the trial of the generals had to be suppressed, and Cleophon's drunken appearance before the assembly misdated. The democracy's appointment of Probouloi, an oligarchic institution, had to be omitted, and he could not dwell on the mixed constitution of the Five Thousand; theory required mixed constitutions to last.

Faith is necessary to discern these four democracies in Ch. 41, nor do they make themselves plain in the body of the work. Did Aristotle really think of Athenian constitutional history in this way? For instance, in the *Politics* the Areopagus appears as an oligarchic force, not the figurehead of a 'middle democracy', and nothing in the *AP* supports Day and Chambers' identification. Although the *AP* was written after the *Politics*, Aristotle's knowledge of Athenian history was in some sense prior. He discussed Solon fully enough in Book II to suggest that in the discussion of democracy in Books IV-VI he had very much in mind the history of what was the supreme example of democracy. In so far as the *AP* does seem to accord with the *Politics*, this need not surprise us, for to some extent the history of Athens conditioned the theory, and it gives us no warrant for supposing that the *AP* was written merely to match the requirements of the doctrines of the *Politics*.

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ELIOT (C. W. J.) **Coastal demes of Attika: a study of the policy of Kleisthenes.** (Phoenix, supplementary vol. v.) Toronto: University Press (London: Oxford U.P.), 1962. Pp. x + 181. 9 text figures. £2.

Professor Eliot's work is largely a topographical study of a group of demes, coastal in the sense that they were included by Cleisthenes in the Coast group of trittyes. They are Aixone, Halai Aixonides, Anagyrous, (Lower) Lamprai, Thorai, Aigilia, Anaphlystos, Amphitrope, Besa and Atene, of which (by Eliot's determination) Aigilia, Amphitrope and Besa have no immediate access to the sea (on Aigilia, see p. 74, n. 22). The subtitle of the book is justified by the short but valuable discussion pp. 136-47 of their place in the Cleisthenic scheme as illustrating certain principles seemingly involved in its organisation. The evidence for boundaries and the several village centres which may have given names to the demes is carefully collected by Eliot. It is sometimes scant and late. Strabo's list of coast demes (ix 1, 21) (c. 398) from Peiraieus to Sounion is of doubtful value for boundaries: indeed the obscure geographical detail and the association of Mount Paneion and Anaphlystos with Aphrodite of (Cape) Koliai illustrates the need for caution in the use of all information drawn from Strabo. The material taken from travellers and collectors such as Chandler, Wheeler, Fourmont and Leake show how important archaeologically this region was; it will also be apparent to visitors to the Geroulanos estate at Trachones. Much evidence has been lost or dissipated: an element of uncertainty is introduced by the possibility of grave-stones being moved (*cf.* pp. 7, 28), though the danger is less inland than on the coast where they may have been used as ballast. There are other difficulties. Is a member of a deme certain to be buried within its confines? Family burial plots could, after all, be sited on land held by a member of one deme in another. The only evidence of value is that of habitation, and in terms of inscriptions only official deme inscriptions, not grave epitaphs. There was certainly a great deal of mixing and confusion: *cf.* Timarchos of Sphettos (Aeschines i 99) who owned property in Sphettos and in Alopeke, where his mother wished to be buried; and see also Demosthenes iv 13-14 for the idea of burial (of town residents?) in the country, and for ancient graves, on a farm, belonging to previous owners. On the whole Eliot has set out the evidence fairly; the trouble is that it is often inadequate or ambiguous. Or some assumptions are unjustified. Can we decide that a deme is large in area because in a single list it has a large number of councillors or on these grounds decide on its prosperity? Can we project our calculations back from the fourth or third centuries B.C. to the late sixth? The case of Acharnai is a classical example of the problems which can arise (see Gomme, *Commentary* on Thucydides ii 20, 4., where, incidentally, the largest deme does not appear to give its name to the Inland trittys of Oineis. And if against Gomme we accept

the 3,000 hoplites of this one deme (who must have been farmers rather than charcoal-burners) do we know that they lived and held their land in the deme rather than elsewhere in the Pedion (or should we modify our ideas of its boundaries?)? It is worth commenting that some of the material associated or possibly to be associated with Eliot's area is of the greatest interest: for instance the Aixone theatrical inscription, now in the Epigraphical Museum, with its comic masks (T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Theatre Production*, B 31, pl. 19), and the finds at Vari (the pottery found in the thirties now published by S. Papaspyridhi-Karouzou, *Ἀγγεία τοῦ Ἀναγνωριστεῖο* (Athens, 1963)) which continue to be made. But is it clear what it all means? Did the people live where they were buried? It is unfortunate that there is some doubt about the find-places of certain major works of art which may have been found in the region of Olymbos and Anavyssos (Olymbos the centre of the deme Aigilia, as Eliot believes). For these and epigraphical material of other sorts see L. H. Jeffery in *BSA* lvii 135 (Hagios Kosmas, Glyphadha, Vari), *ibid.*, 143 (on the Anavyssos region), *ibid.*, 144 on the Kroisos inscription and the Anavyssos Kouros, *ibid.*, 145 on the Aristodikos Kouros, and *ibid.*, 145, 146 on the Munich Kouros and the New York stele (inscription *ibid.*, 147, 63) which may also be from this area like the New York Kouros. Like the 'Berlin Standing Goddess' found at Keratea they are indications of wealthy and important (or so it is always assumed) families with local connexions. What the connexions were, apart from the funerary, it is not easy to say. Interesting in this matter is the fragmentary list, again found in this region, Jeffery 143, 55, a casualty list or a list of archons? It is not a far step to associate Kroisos with the Alkmeonids (Jeffery 144, Eliot 74, n. 21; the same has been done for the New York stele). This is, after all, part of the region of the 'Shore' (however interpreted) of which Megakles was in tradition leader, and even if Aigilia as determined by Eliot is cut off from the sea it is still part of the Paralia in the sense of south-east Attica. It is not without interest that Aigilia (if part of the trittys of Anaphlystos) is associated in Antiochia not only with Alopeke but also with Pallene where Peisistratos' opponents sought to halt him (another Alkmeonid district?). On the probable association of Konon, Solon's friend (Plutarch, *Solon* 15) with Anaphlystos, see *BSA* lvi 199-200.

Part of Eliot's investigation is the determination of deme-centres. Of particular interest in this (and other) connexions is the mining region of the demes Anaphlystos and Amphitrope (trittys of Anaphlystos), and of Sounion, Phrearrhioi and Besa (trittys of Phrearrhioi, for which Eliot discusses in a thoroughgoing and useful fashion the mine leases with their defective text and boundary problems. What he has to say on roads, water-courses and the different modes of describing location (locative, ἐπί, ἐν) is worth close study. Most interesting for students of the mines and the economy of Athens is the problem whether the

local centres which gave their name to demes and trittyes were determined by agricultural or mining activity. In other words was Laurion 'rich in silver' at the time of Cleisthenes, as Eliot assumes, or as yet characterised only by agriculture for the greater part? The evidence seems ambiguous: the site chosen for the main centre of Anaphlystos (Anavyssos) seems agricultural; Amphitrope might be either; Besa is a name describing a physical characteristic of the region; Phrearrhioi would at first sight appear to relate to the cisterns (*φρέατα*) of the ore-working establishments, but some of them could have existed before for ordinary purposes (*cf.* Phreatto in the Peiraicus). Eliot does not really clear up the problem what 'mining settlements' would be like, or the problem of what is meant by the name Laureion.

Finally there is the question of the Cleisthenic organisation. Eliot looks at the build-up of trittyes from demes (the question of enclaves p. 47) and concludes that demes and trittyes here followed natural boundaries (as the city demes could hardly do, p. 136), and whenever possible were contiguous with the inland trittys of the same tribe (144). A matter of economics as well as geography? So there is the question of trittyes of differing size to be combined into approximately equal tribes. He accepts very large, large, medium and small trittyes, with the implication that the city trittyes had to be small or medium. He finds it difficult to believe that the lot decided combinations, but does not deal with the nice problems of local interests, within a tribe and within the Council, which one can see arising. It serves to remind us how much we do not know about the Cleisthenic organisation (a recent discussion by D. M. Lewis in *Historia* xii (1963) 22-40) and of the care which must be taken not to jump to conclusions. We also persist in assuming that ancient politicians (whom we call statesmen) knew what they wanted to do and had the necessary information on which to base a practical plan (as Eliot assumes, like the rest of us, that Cleisthenes worked on a survey of Attica). Our knowledge of modern politicians and politics should show us that this is rarely so. In any case before conclusions are drawn about Cleisthenes much more work will be needed of the painstaking sort which Eliot has put into the non-Cleisthenic part of his book. There is a good bibliography.

R. J. HOPPER.

University of Sheffield.

AMLET (M.), **Athens and the sea: a study in Athenian sea-power.** (Collection Latomus, lxxiv.) Brussels: Latomus, 1965. Pp. 150. Fr.b. 225.

Das Ziel, das sich der Verfasser mit diesem Buch gesetzt hat, kennzeichnet er selbst im Vorwort folgendermaßen: '... its aim is to investigate the elements which constituted the basis of Athenian sea-power, i.e. the war fleet and the merchant navy of

Athens, the sailors, soldiers and traders who fought and travelled on board Athenian ships, the Port of Piraeus, its inhabitants, workers, merchants and others connected with its activities. It is also an attempt to assess the importance of those Athenians, whom we may call the sea-people, in the history of Athens.' Der zeitliche Rahmen reicht vom Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts bis zur Schlacht von Amorgos 322.

Im Hauptteil finden wir eine knappe Darstellung des heutigen Wissens über die genannten Punkte, gegliedert in drei Kapitel: I 'War fleet and merchant navy' (9-28), II 'Athenian sea-people' (29-71), III 'Piraeus' (73-94); es folgt eine kurze 'Conclusion' (95-7). Die Kapitel sind noch weiter unterteilt. Übersichtlichkeit ist ein unverkennbarer und rühmenswerter Vorzug des Buches. Um sie nicht zu beeinträchtigen, hat A. die Erörterung von Einzelfragen in zwölf Appendices verwiesen, die ein Drittel des Gesamtumfangs ausmachen (99-144; die restlichen Seiten, 145-50, werden vom Index eingenommen). Die ausführlichste Darlegung eines Problems innerhalb des Hauptteils enthält der Abschnitt II 8 'Sea-people and politics' (57-71); hier urteilt A. besonnen und warnt davor, den direkten Einfluß des *ναυτικός ὄχλος* auf die attische Politik zu überschätzen. Im ganzen werden aber weniger Untersuchungen geboten als Fakten vorgelegt. Sekundärliteratur ist sparsam zitiert. Dagegen machen die Belege aus den antiken Quellen den Eindruck, als ob annähernde Vollständigkeit erstrebt sei.

Allerdings fand der Rez. einige Stellen, die er nachprüfen konnte, ergänzungsbedürftig. Über diesen Umstand konnte man stillschweigend hinweggehen (wer hat noch niemals etwas übersehen?), wenn er nicht symptomatisch zu sein schien für eine etwas oberflächliche Art und Weise, in der das Material weithin zusammengestellt ist, und zwar auch in den Appendices, wo man eine tiefer dringende Erörterung von Problemen hätte erwarten können. Deutlich wird das an Appendix I 'The trireme-problem' (99-102). A. zitiert ein paar Quellenstellen, die er für die wichtigsten hält (mit denen es aber nicht getan ist), skizziert kurz die Hauptvarianten der Theorie von den übereinander angeordneten Ruderreihen und urteilt dann (100: 'But all the systems and theories based on superimposed banks of rowers are absolutely rejected as technically absurd by numerous scholars, and especially by Tarn whose criticism and suggestions seem to me to have definitely solved the problem.' Es folgt ein knappes Resumé von Tarns Auffassung. Das Urteil 'technically absurd' verwundert etwas nach der unmittelbar vorausgegangenen Angabe, daß eben ein solches Modell, hergestellt von Morrison, sich als brauchbar gezeigt habe. Von Morrisons Arbeiten, die dem Rez. leider nicht zugänglich waren, sagt L. Casson (*JHS* 78, 1958, 14 Anm. 7), sie hatten bewiesen 'beyond a shadow of doubt that Greek warships were rowed by oars placed in superimposed banks'. Zu

rasch urteilt A. auch in der Frage der Biremen-Darstellungen auf Vasen, indem er schreibt (102): 'but, probably these are ships of the *-oppo* type, and we see the two rows of sailors according to the rules of perspective of the painters of these vases'. Das wird in manchen Fällen gelten, aber gewiß nicht in allen; vgl. dazu Casson, a.O. 14–18, sowie die Aufsätze von R. T. Williams, *JHS* 78, 1958, 121–30 und 79, 1959, 159–60. Diese führt A. selbst an anderer Stelle an (13 Anm. 6)—hier wußte anscheinend die Rechte nicht, was die Linke tat.

Auf zu hastige Arbeitsweise deuten schließlich auch ungenaue Literaturangaben. Der wohl grobste Fehler: 10 Anm. 1 und 100 Anm. 2 muß es statt 'Koester, *Die griechischen Kriegsaltertümer* (beide Male noch mit Druckfehlern, die überhaupt zahlreich sind) heißen 'Koster bei Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegsführung der Griechen und Römer*'.

Fazit: Das Buch ist nützlich und hilfreich für jeden, der sich einen ersten Überblick über das athenische Seewesen verschaffen will. Es füllt eine Lucke aus und wird deshalb mit Recht von vielen begrüßt werden. Der Benutzer darf sich aber durch die glatte Darstellung nicht zu der Meinung verführen lassen, daß hier alles Wesentliche gesagt sei. Ein Standard-Werk ist das Buch nicht und soll es wohl auch nicht sein.

DETLEF LOTZE.

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FLACELIÈRE (R.) **Daily life in Greece at the time of Pericles.** Trans. P. Green. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1965. Pp. xvi + 310. 1 map. 1 plan. 39 illus. £2 2s.

The editors of the Daily Life Series have made a good choice in selecting Robert Flacelière's book on the Greeks to succeed that of Jacques Heurgon on the Etruscans. Although the English title refers to the time of Pericles, Flacelière states that he is studying the period 450–350 B.C., predominantly at Athens, and that he goes even outside that century. Once he departed so far from Pericles, one could wish that he had made more use of his unrivalled knowledge of all matters pertaining to Delphi and given us a general picture of the Greek world in this century. But his book is an excellent work in the great tradition of Gustave Glotz and Fustel de Coulanges; it is fully documented with references to leading French scholars' work and sometimes to the ancient sources; and it is adequately illustrated with thirty-nine pictures, although the lack of plans makes the detailed description of the Acropolis and the Agora almost intolerable. The strongest points in the book are the consciousness of the power of religion, which pervaded every aspect of Greek life and affected almost every action of the day or night, and the insistence upon the Greek attitude to manual labour and upon the importance of the slave population, which he puts at '300,000 or even more' in relation to

a free population of 'about 200,000' in fifth-century Athens. There is no attempt to idealise Athens' treatment of her allies or play down the place of slavery in society. My reservations about the book are that Flacelière talks of 'the Homeric period' as if it comprised both the last phase of Mycenaean civilisation and the early Iron Age; and that he makes too little use of Greek Tragedy, especially on the subject of women's part in the family.

The translation by Peter Green reads fluently, and in this respect it reflects the style of the French original. But it has too many unnecessary errors. Thus p. 1 the interperetration of land and sea (should be interpenetration), and Olympus is rather less than 9,000 feet (should be 10,000 feet); p. 3, the forests of Greece are said to include numerous planes and provide on the high pastures grazing for cattle (in fact planes grew near water only, and sheep graze on the high pastures); p. 4, *Athenai* literally means 'the Athenenses'; p. 5, Dionysus Eleutherus (for Eleutherus); p. 7, Metroun (for Metroon; he resolves diphthongs too, e.g. on p. 13, Coele 'the hollow'); p. 11, Areoupagos, as if Areou was a genitive of Ares; p. 26, Marathanomachoi; p. 36, 'tending' for 'tended', as he has no main verb (so too on p. 239). Mr Green has provided his own method of transliterating Greek words. For instance he tells us he expresses *eta* by *é* (p. xiv); but we then strike such oddities as *diké hybréôs, lampadédromia, poiesis, crater* and so on. He also provides his own translations of passages from ancient authors. These are adequate but have an unhappy mixture of archaic and up-to-date English, even in translating Aristophanes; the archaic style gives us 'a young man of your own age, redolent of woodbine' (p. 22) and the up-to-date style makes use of the 'four-letter word'. But the translator's errors and fads do not obscure the fundamental merits of the book, which will be widely read by classical students.

N. G. L. HAMMOND.

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KAZAMANOVA (L. N.) **Očerki sotsial'no-ekonomičeskoj istorii Krita V-IV vv. do n. e.** Moscow: University Press. 1964. Pp. 191. 59 kop.

In trying to account for the relative stability of Cretan society up to his own times, Aristotle (*Pol.* 1272b) emphasised the geographical isolation of the island and remarked that it had only recently been affected by foreign warfare, as opposed to internal disputes. The epigraphic evidence of the fifth century B.C. is dominated by the Gortyn Code which gives information about the social changes which had been developing in one of the major city-states more than a century before that exposure to external influences which Aristotle apparently regarded as the beginning of a quite new phase in Cretan history. Some of the peculiar features of social organisation which had survived for so many centuries Aristotle traced to the Bronze Age.

Just as Aristotle and his contemporaries were prompted to take into serious account the special characteristics of the Cretan *polis*, so modern scholars have become aware of the value to be derived from study of Cretan institutions in Classical times, whether in terms of economic and social history, or of the complex and varied development of the *polis*, or of the history of slavery in antiquity. Like Aristotle too, some incline to think that the study of these Cretan institutions can help us to forge links between the historical *polis* and Minoan–Mycenaean civilisation.

Kazamanova's book shows that this renewed interest has been shared by Soviet scholars. Her own work in the field was already known from articles about slavery in Crete and on the social and economic organisation of the Cretan *polis* in *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (1952 and 1957). In these articles Kazamanova had already argued that 'helotry' arises as a stage of development in a slave-owning society when tribal invaders take possession of foreign territory and bring under subjection a considerable part of the population occupying and tilling the land; collective ownership was a remarkable survival of the old communal relations within the invading tribes; in Crete, as in Sparta, these traditions greatly influenced the character of the whole social organisation and helped to bring about the specific form of dependence of the primary producers. In the present work this specific form of Cretan servitude is seen to have its analogous forms not only in Sparta, Thessaly and other parts of Greece, but also in parts of the ancient Near East.

An introductory section is followed by an interesting, if somewhat problematic, chapter on historiography, which at least makes clear that Kazamanova's study of the primary sources is supplemented by a wide acquaintance with modern works in this and related fields by Western as well as Russian scholars. There follows a survey of sources and the thesis is then developed with chapters on Crete in the seventh–sixth centuries B.C.; on social and economic structures in the fifth–fourth centuries B.C.; on slave-holding in Crete; on the family; on state structure in the fifth–fourth centuries B.C.; and a chapter of general conclusions is followed by a supplement containing a translation of the Gortyn Laws.

The author has no doubt that the various forms of slavery are of great importance in the economic and social history of antiquity. Her study of the evidence, literary and epigraphic, leads her to reaffirm a general conclusion already made by other scholars in the field. In its earlier phases, the general features of Cretan slave-owning society differed sharply from the usual ancient *polis* type; but these features began to fade away by the fourth century B.C., once the island was drawn into the general stream of the historical events of the Greek world. Therefore there is no need to speak of two roads of historical development for Greek society (Athens–Sparta). We have to explain the causes of slow development in certain areas of

Greece and the specific historical differences in social structure of any particular area.

R. F. WILLETTS.

University of Birmingham.

DASKALAKIS (A. V.) *‘Ο μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς*. Athens: Historical Seminar of the University. 1963. Pp. 379. Price not stated.

This is not a history or biography of Alexander the Great (so the writer warns in his Preface), so much as a series of nine studies designed to illustrate Alexander as the exponent of Greek civilisation in all or most of the important aspects of his career. The titles of the chapters are: 1. The Youth of Alexander. 2. Alexander and the Greeks. 3. The deification of Alexander in Egypt and Asia. 4. The plans for Graeco-Asiatic empire, and the opposition in Greece. 5. The Greek tradition of the war against the Barbarians. 6. The Greek spirit in relation to the rule of Asia. 7. The gods of Greece lead Alexander to India. 8. The Greek King and universal rule. 9. The Greek genius and the hellenization of the Ancient World. Thus, Chapters 3 and 4 contain discussion of matters belonging to the last year or two of Alexander's life, while Chapters 5, 6 and 7 deal mostly with the middle years: an arrangement which, while doubtless necessary for D.'s scheme, does sacrifice much of the opportunity to convey possibilities of development, growth, adaptability, opportunism, changes of direction and plan, the responses in short of real characters to the realities of existence. D. does, however, write very fully on Alexander's youth and education, and especially on the influence of Aristotle, which he believes to have been great.

The author's own point of view dominates the whole work. The adjective 'hellenic' occurs 31 times in the first three pages of the Preface. In an earlier long study of the Macedonians before Alexander D. has committed himself to an extreme view of the essential Greek-ness of the Macedonian people and of its royal house in particular, and it is from this position that he approaches the present enquiry. Yet the differences between the two peoples are just as plain as their affinities, and just as important for an understanding of the complex of sympathies and antipathies, common and conflicting interests, hopes, fears, hatreds and suspicions which made up the relationship between this Macedonian *hegemon* and his Greek allies. It is a failing of this book, as I see it, that it over-emphasises the Greek affinities of Alexander, and does not retain the idea of him as a primarily Macedonian king.

Its second important failing is that it never seriously and systematically takes up the problems of the literary sources for Alexander. These problems are notorious, and it is really hardly possible to start analysing or even narrating his career at length without some preliminary assessment in some detail of the Alexander-historians, on whom much good work has

been done, and much of this in the last 30 years. In general D. refers comparatively seldom to books or articles published after 1940, and it is perhaps on this question of the sources that the omission tells most against him. Not that he is oblivious to source criticism or incapable of it: on occasion he will state a difficulty and give a view and a sensible one. But for the most part the enigma of Alexander's personality, resolved so differently by different modern interpreters, is hardly even seen to exist, in the absence of any full exposition of how the tradition about him came into being and developed, and of the consequences which are always with us as we address ourselves to all the most interesting developments of his life and reign.

This is a book really for any who want to think of Alexander as a Greek national hero. Those who suspect that the truth is more complicated than this are liable, I fear, to be disappointed here.

G. T. GRIFFITH

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MARSDEN (E. W.) **The Campaign of Gaugamela.**

Liverpool: University Press. 1964. Pp. xii + 80. 2 diagrams. 2 tables. £1 7s. 6d.

This study is one of the Liverpool Monographs on Archaeology and Oriental Studies. It is admirably produced, and it contains an excellent map and a clear diagram of the disposition of the Persian and Macedonian armies just before the opening of the engagement. Recent diagrams of the same stage of the battle may be compared, for instance in G. T. Griffith's article in *JHS* 67 (1947) 78 and in my *History of Greece* 616 (1959). There are four short Appendixes of which three are concerned with the length of the front of the Macedonian line.

The first Appendix deals with the Macedonian and Greek infantry who were in two separate lines, the rear one being able to face about and form the back of a square or rectangular formation, and Marsden puts the total number in the phalanx at 24,000 men. He assumes a depth of 16 men in the front line formation and also a depth of 16 men in the second line, in effect a total depth of 32 men; and he gives a depth of 16 men to the light infantry of Sitalces although, as he says, 'light troops were normally eight deep'. He does not mention the depth in space of such a phalanx; but if we envisage a formation of 32 men deep in two blocks marching with their long pikes and if we allow an interval of four yards between man and man and an interval of 20 yards between the two blocks, we have a depth of some 150 yards. As Marsden's estimate of the front of the phalanx is 752 yards, the whole formation is a very much broader rectangular affair than he shows in his diagram. Now a 16-men-deep line and a 32-men-deep formation of heavy infantry at Gaugamela seem to me most improbable. Such a depth as 16 men developed in Hellenistic battles between infantry

phalanxes; but there was no possibility at Gaugamela of an infantry battle in this sense and Alexander would have been unwise to handicap the manoeuvrability of the infantry by making its formation so deep. Marsden overstrains the evidence perhaps in saying that 'Between Philip's accession and 323 B.C. the Macedonians adopted sixteen as the standard file and, hence, the standard depth'; for Arrian 7.23.3—the only passage he cites—is describing the proposal for the new Perso-Macedonian army and not a formation in a purely Macedonian phalanx. This problem is important because he uses the length of the Macedonian line as a yardstick for assessing the size of the Persian forces. The Appendix on the cavalry and the amount of space their formation occupied is less controversial, although I should welcome details of space for cavalry units in modern times to support the bald statement in a diagram that 253 cavalry occupy a triangle with sides of 43, 44 and 44 yards. The fourth Appendix rejects Burn's proposed date 27th September and also the usual date 1st October and proposes 30th September instead; Plut. *Alex.* 31, we are told, is to be emended to suit this proposal.

The main text deals with the overall strategy of Alexander and Darius, the 'short range' strategy, the numbers and the battle. Marsden deals thoroughly with the ancient evidence and with the works of Griffith and Tarn, but he makes little or no reference to the other literature, for instance Kromayer *Antike Schlachtfelder* iv 377 f. This may be no bad thing in principle, but there are points in his argument where his evaluation of the sources may seem rather idiosyncratic. For example where Curtius 4.13.23 reports a conversation between Parmenio and Alexander when the latter had slept late on the morning of the battle, we are told 'this, one suggests, is based on Ptolemy. Curtius, misinterpreting his source', etc. (p. 9), and the words of Alexander thus transmitted are treated apparently as historical; and where Curtius 4.9.1-2 gives Darius' inner thoughts about his own moves and Alexander's intentions, we are told in the footnote 'the mercenaries' source' and in the text that 'it is significant that Darius was prompted to make this decision partly by his estimate of Alexander's character', as if the musings of Darius were accurately reported. The discussion of Alexander's overall strategy is geared to the campaign of Gaugamela. Marsden's contentions here are that 'Alexander's prime intention was to hang about on the Mediterranean seaboard and to allow the Persians time to collect their scattered wits and an army' and that Darius 'did not commence preparing a second army' after Issus in November 333 B.C. until 'at the earliest . . . June or July 332 B.C.'. Their wits, it seems, remain scattered for some eight months.

The section on the 'short range' strategy is the most original in that instead of letting Darius move to Gaugamela when Alexander set out from Phoenicia as Wilcken and others do (following D.S. 17.52, 7 and 53, 1, and Curtius 4.9, 1 and 9, 6-8), he supposes Darius to have sat at Babylon for 'the prime purpose

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION
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REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1965-66

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION
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31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1965-66

The Council beg to submit their report of the session:—

Finance

The accounts for the year show a deficit of £1,039. In 1964 there was a deficit of £429. In 1963 there was a surplus of £356. Total expenditure has risen from £6,110 in 1964 to £7,044, an increase of £934.

The increase is largely due to the higher costs of the 1965 *Journal* and *Archaeological Reports*, which, respectively, come to £759 and £120 more than in 1964. Only the generosity of the H. A. Thomas Fund and the British Academy, together with continued sales of back numbers of the *Journal*, staved off an even more serious deficit. We are most grateful to the British Academy for £250 this year, and to the H. A. Thomas Fund for the gift of £200.

In view of the above figures the raising of the Society's subscription rates by £1 a year is seen to have been inevitable. The new subscription rates were agreed on after negotiations with the Roman Society, as mentioned in last year's Report, the main item being the increase from £2 to £3 in the ordinary subscription for both members and libraries as from January, 1966. Full details of the new rates were sent to all members and member-libraries in October, 1965.

In spite of the new subscription rates, the financial position of the Society remains hazardous. On our present estimates expenditure in 1966 will swallow up the extra receipts from the increased subscriptions. Some way of increasing income or reducing expenditure must therefore be found, unless the subscription is to be raised again. A substantial increase in postage costs should be noted. On the *Journal* dispatch alone the postage in 1965 came to £405.

Membership

Membership figures as at December 31st, 1965, are shown below, with comparable figures for past years:—

	Members	Life Members	Student Associates	Libraries	Total
1961	1,146	156	161	547	2,010
1962	1,171	157	140	540	2,008
1963	1,208	155	135	554	2,052
1964	1,254	157	142	583	2,136
1965	1,234	192	122	624	2,172

Obituary

The Council records with great regret the deaths of the following members:—

E. A. Barber, F. Dale, A. Gallatin, L. H. G. Greenwood, R. P. Jones, Sir John Lockwood, C. F. MacFarquhar, G. Mackworth-Young, H. J. M. Milne, A. B. Nash, Professor Sir I. A. Richmond, Miss F. H. Jervoise, M. J. Rowe, Miss I. M. Walker, C. A. Woodhouse and also of an honorary member, Professor A. Rumpf.

Journal of Hellenic Studies

Volume 85 of the *Journal* was published in November. Thanks are due to University College London for a generous grant towards the cost of the illustrations for Professor P. E. Corbett's article.

The *Archaeological Reports* were again published with the financial support of the British School at Athens. The extra length this year led to a considerable increase in the cost of publication, but sales have continued at the old price.

Administration

The Council wish to thank most sincerely Mr. F. H. Betts of Messrs. Davey, Bridgwater & Co. for his kindness in consenting to act once again as Honorary Auditor to the Society's Accounts.

The Members of Council who retire in rotation under Rule 19 are: Prof. D. J. Allan, Prof. D. M. Balme, G. L. Cawkwell, Dr. J. Chadwick, Prof. J. M. Cook, Prof. K. J. Dover, Prof. C. M. Robertson, Prof. H. D. Westlake, R. T. Williams.

In their place the Council have nominated the following for election: J. N. Coldstream, V. R. d'A. Desborough, A. D. Fitton Brown,

W. G. Forrest, Miss D. H. F. Gray, Dr. L. Jeffery, Dr. J. G. Landels, Prof. C. Mango, E. D. Phillips.

The 8th Conference organised by the Joint Committee of Greek and Roman Societies was held in Cambridge, August 4th–11th, 1965. The Society was well represented among the 350 members who attended this very successful meeting. The Society was indebted to the FitzWilliam Museum which arranged a special Coin Exhibition and to Prof. J. M. Plumley who arranged an exhibition of his recent finds at Qasr Ibrim. Arrangements are already in hand for the next Meeting, which will be held in Oxford, September 2nd–7th, 1968.

The Society's representative at the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, 1966, will be Prof. R. Browning.

Meetings

The following communications have been made at Meetings of the Society during the Session:—

November 18th, 1965, Prof. E. Badian on 'An Opponent of Alexander the Great: Agis III of Sparta'.

January 6th, 1966, Prof. G. L. Huxley on 'The Astronomy of Apollonius of Perga'.

March 17th, 1966, Mr. V. R. d'A. Desborough on 'Greece in the Eleventh Century B.C.'.

June 30th, 1966, Mr. J. P. A. Gould on 'Language, mode and motif in Euripides'.

Provincial Meetings

Meetings were arranged outside London in collaboration with local associations during the Session 1965–66:—

At Manchester: Prof. C. M. Robertson on 'Portraiture: the Greek and the Roman approach'.

At Leeds: Prof. A. Wasserstein on 'Greek Science'.

At Leicester: Dr. A. J. Graham on 'Oikists, the founders of Greek cities'.

At Reading: Prof. B. R. Rees on 'The Graeco-Roman Book'.

At Sheffield: Prof. A. Wasserstein on 'Greek Science'.

At Liverpool: Dr. J. Chadwick on 'The Problem of the Minoan Scripts'.

At Exeter: Prof. C. M. Robertson on 'The Sack of Troy, a theme in Greek narrative art'.

At Hull: Prof. H. Ll. Hudson-Williams on 'The Curiosity of Herodotus'.

At Newcastle: Dr. C. M. Kraay on 'The Greek Coinage of Sicily'.

At Bangor: Dr. B. Sparkes on 'The Athenian Acropolis through the Ages'.

At Nottingham: Dr. C. Kraay on 'The Greek Coinage of Sicily'.

At Edinburgh: Prof. J. M. R. Cormack on 'Magic in the Graeco-Roman World'.

At Aberystwyth: Dr. J. T. Killen on 'The Mycenaean Civil Service'.

At Southampton: Prof. R. M. Cook on 'Greek Vases and their students'.

At Birmingham: Dr. B. Sparkes on 'Trades and Crafts in Ancient Greece'.

At Swansea: Mr. A. D. Fitton Brown on 'Going to see an Ancient Greek Play'.

The Joint Library

The Library was full to overflowing with readers throughout the session, and the staff exceedingly busy. More members used the Library than ever before, and borrowed more books. The borrowing figures for the last three years are as follows:—

	1963	1964	1965
Books borrowed	4,008	4,506	4,721
Borrowers	584	664	777
Book parcels sent			
by post	345	407	403

The number of books added to the Library also increased:—

	1963	1964	1965
Joint Library	516	602	776
Institute	314	306	246
	830	908	1,022

The Joint Library figure for 1965 is made up of 713 books (of which 336 were sent for review in the *Journals*) and 63 pamphlets. It will be noted that the Institute buys fewer books every year though actually it spends more money. This is because of the increasingly high cost of books in the 'primary' class, especially reprints. The average cost of the books bought by the Institute in the second half of the year was almost £6 per volume, while the average cost of those bought by the Joint Library was about £2 12s. per volume.

The total number of periodicals currently taken by the Library is now 325. This figure includes 191 Joint Library exchanges, and 49 Institute exchanges. One new exchange was added by the Joint Library during the year, the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*.

Four hundred and thirty-three volumes were bound during the year—294 books and 139 periodicals. There are still considerable arrears of binding to be made up, but apart from the very high cost, this year's total represents the maximum that the Library staff can cope with in one year.

The Joint Library has sold its set of *Bulletin Hispanique* to University College, where it will be much more used. With the money obtained

from this sale, the reprint of *Aegyptus* vols. 1-25 will be purchased.

With the remainder of Professor Nock's legacy, the Library has bought Cabrol & Leclercq's *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. This, together with Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, purchased last year, makes a fitting memorial to Professor Nock.

The Library Committee records with appreciation gifts of books from the following:—

Dr. A. Ardizzoni, Dr. J. Barron, Prof. U. Bianchi, Prof. B. Bilinski, Prof. J. M. Blazquez, Mrs. P. Bourboulis, Prof. A. W. Byvanck, Mr. M. Chicoteau, Mr. J. N. Coldstream, Dr. H. Dohr, Prof. S. Dow, Prof. R. Egger, Dr. V. Ehrenberg, Mr. N. Evangelinos, Prof. J. D. Evans, Prof. S. S. Frere, Prof. G. M. A. Hanfmann, Mr. H. A. H. Healey, Prof. J. Irmischer, Miss C. Jeannoulides, Dr. R. Kabus-Jahn, Mr. D. Kanatsoulis, Dr. M. Kokolakis, Mr. D. Krandalov, Mr. K. K. Lambros, Mr. A. T. Morley Hewitt, Mr. K. Nicolaou, Mr. N. M. Panayotakis, Mr. M. Papathomopoulos, Mrs. B. Radice, Dr. G. Saflund, Dr. H. Schonberger, Prof. O. Skutsch, Mrs. R. K. Sprague, Mr. K. D. Stergiopoulos, Prof. Z. Stewart, Dr. U. Tackholm, Mr. M. Triantaphyllidis, Mr. F. W. Wallace, Dr. G. Webster, Dr. S. Weinstock, Mr. J. W. Whiston, Mr. S. Wolfson, Mr. A. M. Woodward, Mr. G. R. H. Wright, Mr. R. P. Wright, the Department of Classics of the University of Cincinnati, the Department of Classics of the University of Ibadan, the Institut für Altertumskunde of the Berlin Academy, the Joint Association of Classical Teachers, the Royal Greek Embassy in London, Watford and S. W. Herts. Archaeological Society.

Thanks are also due to Dr. W. Morel for a most generous financial donation to the Library.

The Slides Collection

During the year the slides collection has been extensively used. The number of slides borrowed however has declined from 4,180 in 1964 to 3,753 in 1965. The number of coloured slides sold was 957, as against 1,320 in 1964. The Keeper of Slides also dealt with 377 slides of an order for 670 for Monash University, but these will be included in the figures for 1966 when the order has been completed. The number of coloured slides in the collection has been increased by 414, and now includes 1,151 Greek slides and 1,607 Roman slides, a total of 2,758.

The duplication of Greek slides has been completed and a start has been made on the duplication of the Roman slides.

A set of 2 in. 2 in. coloured slides on 'Art in Roman Britain' has been compiled by Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee, and one on 'Classical Costume' by Mrs. S. Beare. Further sets are in preparation.

Students from the London Institute of Education have again been entertained to a showing of lantern slides at Gordon Square. Mrs. Thornton and Mrs. Goodall, Keeper of Slides, described and showed a number of coloured slides from the Societies' collection.

New coloured slides added to the collection include the Ravenna mosaics, views of sites and mosaics in Britain, the Athenian Agora, Macedonia and Asia Minor, including a set of slides of Troy, from the Institute of Classical Studies, Princeton.

The Committee wishes to record its thanks to the following who have given or allowed slides to be copied:—

Mr. D. Baker, Prof. S. S. Frere, Mr. J. R. Jones, Mr. D. J. Smith, Mr. W. R. Smyth, and Prof. H. Thompson.

LIST OF MEMBERS

Elected during the session 1965-66

- Alsop, J. W., 2720 *Dunbarton Avenue, Washington D.C., U.S.A.*
Anagnostopoulou, Mrs. T., 43 *Old Deer Park Gardens, Richmond, Surrey.*
Argyle, M. C., 7 *Wedderburn Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3*
Austin, M. M., 14 *Park Terrace, Cambridge.*
Banger, Miss R., 51 *Dudley Gardens, London, W.13.*
Barker, J., 26 *Crofters Road, Northwood, Middlesex.*
Beck, F. A. G., 4 *Amalfi Place, Longneville, N.S.W., Australia.*
Bernstein, A., 107 *Lynwood Drive, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.*
Booth, Miss M. E., *Holy Child School, Cape Coast, Ghana*
Burnley Jones, Miss T., 2 *The Towers, Loughborough Training College, Leicestershire.*
Carson, J., 45 *Green Lea, Oulton, n. Leeds, Yorkshire.*
Colquhoun, R. F., 33 *Hornsey Lane Gardens, London, N.6.*
Cook, B. F., *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.*
Cougoul, Dr. J., 271 *Route de Saint Medard, Cauderan, Gironde, France.*
Coulton, Dr. J. J., *Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T.*
Crawley, L. W. A., *University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.*
Cunningham, C. J. K., *Hanbury Rectory, Brooms Grove, Worcestershire.*
Dan, I., *Metodellah Street 26, Jerusalem, Israel.*
Demetriou, P. A., 40A *Pembridge Villas, London, W.11.*
Demetrius, Prof. J. K., *P.O. Box 819, Grand Central Station, New York, U.S.A.*
Dunand, F. G., *Metropolitan Opera Guild, New York 1425 Broadway.*
Easterling, Mrs. P. E., *Newnham College, Cambridge.*
Ebbage, G., 51 *Chohneley Park, Highgate, London, N.6.*
Garzya, Prof. A., *Via Simone Martini, Parco Mele C., Naples, Italy.*
Gross, A., 18 *Redcliffe Square, London, S.W.10.*
Hall, J. J., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Halliwell, Mrs. F. M., 233 *Hallgate, Cottingham, E. Yorkshire.*
Halstead, L. C. C., 47A *Little Ealing Lane, London, W.5.*
Hariades, Miss H., 5 *Rosemary Court, Fortune Green Road, London, N.W.6.*
Harris, R., *University of S. Dakota, Vermillion, Dakota, U.S.A.*
Harrison, J. A., 15 *Stockwell Park Road, London, S.W.9.*
Howatson, Mrs. M., 43 *Five Mile Drive, Oxford.*
Jucker, Prof. Dr. H., *Sonnenbergstr. 37, 3000 Berne, Switzerland.*
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Leech, Rev. C. R., *St. David's Episcopal Church, Garland, Texas, U.S.A.*
Levin, Mrs. P. R., 923 *Ridgefield Road, Wilton, Connecticut, U.S.A.*
Macro, A. D., *University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, U.S.A.*
MacSweeney, Mrs. A., 12 *Morden Road, London, S.E.3.*
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Marzullo, Prof. B., *Via Niccolo Piccinni 51, Rome, Italy.*
McCrea, Dr. W. B. E., *Woolworth Centre, Somerset West, Cape, S. Africa.*
McGibbon, D. D., *University of Sydney, Sydney, N.S.W., Australia.*
Mitford, T. B., *Edenhull, St. Andrews, Fife.*
Nimtz, M. J., 2902 *S. Herman Street, Milwaukee 7, Wisconsin, U.S.A.*
Oakeshott, R. E., 103 *Downs Court Road, Purley, Surrey.*
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Owen, J. W. M., *Castlehayes, George Lane, Plympton, Devon.*

Pedersen, P., *Vitus Beringsvej 112, Frederikslavn, Denmark.*
 Pedley, J. G., *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.*
 Peterson, J. M., *Lower Farm, Easton Royal, Pewsey, Wilts.*
 Pratt, I. J. W., *6B Gray Street, Loughborough, Leicestershire.*
 Reeve, M. D., *Merton College, Oxford.*
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 Schachter, A., *McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.*
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 Shahbazi, A. R., *3 Queen's Gate Terrace, London, S.W.7.*
 Sibson, R. B., *King's College, Middlemore, Auckland, New Zealand.*
 Simpson, Mrs. C., *Flat 46, 28 Braidley Road, Bournemouth, Hants.*
 Smith, M. R., *Deacon's House, Felsted School, Essex.*
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 Stancomb, W. M., *1 Wrigliss Walk, Mortlake, London, S.W.14.*
 Stanton, G. R., *University of New England, Armidale, N.S.W., Australia.*
 Stephens, Mrs. S., *7 Lonis Street, Heathmont, Victoria, Australia.*
 Stinton, T. C. W., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
 Talcott, Miss L., *27 Haslet Avenue, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.*
 Taylor, B. A. E., *46 Rectory Road, London, S.W.13.*
 Thomas, S. E., *17 Hillborough Road, Tuffley, Gloucester.*
 Tsangadas, B. C. P., *1275 Audubon Road, Grose Pointe Park, Michigan, U.S.A.*
 Wallace, R., *University of Keele, Keele, Staffs.*
 Watts, A. J., *3 Mesnes Park Terrace, Wigan, Lancs.*
 Weeple, T., *96 Shorncliffe Road, Folkestone, Kent.*
 Wynn, G. D., *13 The Avenue, Durlham.*

STUDENT ASSOCIATES

Antrich, J. D., *Jesus College, Cambridge.*
 Bagnall, W. T., *King's College, London.*
 Band, Miss M., *Westfield College, London.*
 Beeny, R. W., *Penbrooke College, Oxford.*
 Bonser, M. J., *Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.*
 Bookless, L. S., *Churchill College, Cambridge.*
 Chadwick, P. D., *University College, London*
 Crawley, Miss P., *King's College, London.*
 Dadzie, S. S., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Davies, Miss K. A., *University College London.*
 Dean, P. E., *University College London.*
 Duff, R. A., *Christ Church, Oxford.*
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 Fewing, Miss J. M., *University of Bristol.*
 Flaherty, Miss M., *Bedford College, London.*
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 Hallam, M., *Jesus College, Oxford.*
 Hamilton-Eddy, P. D., *Christ's College, Cambridge.*
 Hanson, Miss J., *Westfield College, London.*
 Hill, Miss S., *Girton College, Cambridge.*
 Hofmann, Miss J., *Girton College, Cambridge.*
 Hutchings, Miss M. M. A., *University College London.*
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 Lewis, A., *St. Andrews University*.
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 Lyne, R. O. A. M., *St. John's College, Cambridge*.
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 Milne, D. M., *University College London*.
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 Salliss, Miss R. M. A., *North West Polytechnic, London*.
 Smith, Miss J., *University College London*.
 Smouha, Miss P., *St. Hugh's College, Oxford*.
 Spear, M. R., *Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge*.
 Stanley-Porter, D., *University College London*.
 Sur, Miss L. M., *St. Aidan's College, Durham*.
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 Walker, Miss M. B., *University of Edinburgh*.
 Walthew, C. V., *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*.
 Walton Masters, D. R., *University College London*.
 Waywell, G. B., *St. John's College, Cambridge*.
 Webb, Miss W. J., *University College London*.
 Wickersham, J. M., *New College, Oxford*.
 Willbourne, Miss C., *Bedford College, London*.
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 CANADA, *Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario*.
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 FRANCE, *Bibliothèque Universitaire, Section Histoire, Nanterre*.
 FRANCE, *Collège Littéraire Universitaire de Pau, Université de Bordeaux*.
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U.S.A., *California, San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge.*
U.S.A., *California, San Diego State College, San Diego.*
U.S.A., *California, University of California, Santa Cruz.*
U.S.A., *Connecticut, Hartford College, Hartford.*
U.S.A., *Florida, Atlantic University, Boca Raton.*
U.S.A., *Georgia, Georgia State College, Atlanta.*
U.S.A., *Kansas, St. Benedicts College, Atchison.*
U.S.A., *Louisiana, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette.*
U.S.A., *Minnesota, Macalester College, St. Paul.*
U.S.A., *Mississippi, University of Mississippi, Mississippi.*
U.S.A., *New York, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson.*
U.S.A., *New York, Siena College, Loudonville.*
U.S.A., *New York, Department of Classics, New York University.*
U.S.A., *New York, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs.*
U.S.A., *New York, State University of N.Y., Long Island Center, Stony Brook.*
U.S.A., *North Carolina, Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem.*
U.S.A., *Ohio, University of Akron, Akron.*
U.S.A., *Pennsylvania, Moravian College, Bethlehem.*
U.S.A., *Pennsylvania, Allegheny College, Meadville.*
U.S.A., *Pennsylvania, Villanova University, Villanova.*
U.S.A., *South Dakota, University of South Dakota, Vermillion.*
U.S.A., *Texas, North Texas State University, Denton.*
U.S.A., *Texas, University of St. Thomas Art Department, Houston.*
U.S.A., *Texas, Texas Technological College, Lubbock.*
U.S.A., *Texas, Austin College, Sherman.*
U.S.A., *Vermont, Marlboro College, Marlboro.*
U.S.A., *Virginia, Fishburn Library, Hollins College, Virginia.*

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1965

	£	s.	d.	
1964.				1964.
Cost of Volume LXXXV:-				Receipts from Advertisements
Printing and Paper .. .	3,292			Grant from British Academy
Drawings and Engraving .. .	181			Contribution from London University .. .
Editing and Revising .. .	435			Grant from University College, London .. .
Postage and Packing .. .	405			Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .. .
			4,313	
Cost of Archaeological Reports 1964/65:-				
742 Printing and Paper .. .	936			
139 Drawings and Engraving .. .	165			
3 Enclosure Slips, Postage, Duties, etc.				
	1,101			
884 Less Paid by British School at Athens	378			
603			723	
£4,083			£5,036	£5,036

THE JOINT LIBRARY OF THE HELLENIC AND ROMAN SOCIETIES
BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1965

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1964.				<i>Liabilities</i>			
177 DEBTS PAYABLE .. .	481	6	3	CASH IN HAND .. .			
195 SURPLUS ACCOUNT .. .	190	14	11	At Bank .. .	98	10	4
12 BOOKS ACCOUNT .. .				Petty Cash .. .	5	5	8
PROCEEDS OF SALE OF "ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA" .. .				DEBTS RECEIVABLE .. .			
As at January 1, 1965 .. .	205	9	10	ACCOUNT WITH ROMAN SOCIETY .. .	158	1	4
Less: Books Purchased therefrom .. .	178	17	6	ACCOUNT WITH HELLENIC SOCIETY .. .	409	14	10
205			4	BOOKS ACCOUNT—Deficit .. .			
PROCEEDS OF SALE BY HELLENIC SOCIETY OF "BULLETIN HISPANIQUE" .. .	120	0	0				
£589			£818 13 6				£818 13 6

We have audited the books of the Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies for the year ended December 31, 1965, and have received all the information and explanations we have required and in our opinion the Balance Sheet gives a true and correct view of the financial position of the Joint Library at December 31, 1965, according to the books of the Joint Library and the information given to us.

L. I. Helburga House, 91-93 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.
 LONDON, February 7, 1966.

DAVILY BRIDGWATER & Co., *Certified Accountants*

LIBRARY MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1965

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1964.				<i>Assets</i>			
1,731 Salaries, State and Pension Insurance .. .	1,788	18	4	CASH IN HAND .. .			
214 Maintenance Charge paid to Institute of Classical Studies .. .	222	1	11	At Bank .. .	1,125	19	5
74 Printing and Stationery .. .	58	15	9	Petty Cash .. .	1,081	16	4
53 Postages .. .	53	15	11	DEBTS RECEIVABLE .. .			
48 Accessions List .. .	71	6	8	Hellenic Society (51%) .. .	2,207	15	9
13 Sundry Expenses .. .	12	17	2	Roman Society (49%) .. .			
30 Library Share in Cost of Duplicator .. .							
£2,163			£2,207 15 9				£2,207 15 9

Expenditure divided as follows:-
 Hellenic Society (51%) .. .
 Roman Society (49%) .. .

THE JOINT LIBRARY OF THE HELLENIC AND ROMAN SOCIETIES
JOINT LIBRARY BOOKS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1965

	1964	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Purchases of Books	460	487	11	2	11	13	1
Books Purchased out of Professor Nock's Legacy	336	232	9	5	262	15	10
Binding	17	554	13	1	232	9	5
Balance carried forward							
					270	0	0
					270	0	0
					75	0	0
					72	0	0
					127	15	4
					£808		
		£1,274	13	8	£1,274	13	8

£808

JOINT LIBRARY SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1965

	1964	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Purchases		237	11	10	195	6	5
Slides		16	5	0	310	8	1
Equipment		524	16	10	54	12	8
Accessions List							
Sundry Expenses		2	11	8			
Transfer to Books Account		100	0	0			
Advertising		13	3	9			
Temporary Help		190	14	11			
Balance carried forward		£560	7	2	£560	7	2

£643

ACCOUNT WITH HELLENIC AND ROMAN SOCIETIES AT DECEMBER 31, 1965

	Hellenic	Roman	Hellenic	Roman
	£	£	£	£
	s.	s.	s.	s.
	d.	d.	d.	d.
Share of Library Maintenance	1,125	1,081	19	16
Grant for Library Books	270	270	0	0
Net adjustments for amounts paid and received on behalf of the Societies by Joint Library	44	6	11	6
Amount due to Joint Library out of Professor Nock's Legacy	229	3	11	—
	£1,669	14	10	£1,358
	1,260	0	0	1,200
Contributions	409	14	10	138
Amount due to Joint Library	—	—	—	1
	£1,669	14	10	£1,358
	1	4	—	4

of the new Persian army was to cover Babylon and Susa') until Alexander was across the Euphrates. Darius' supposed plan of fighting before Babylon was upset, he maintains, by Alexander's march from Thapsacus across northern Mesopotamia. For this new idea he relies in part upon his inferences from Arrian 3.7, who comments on the direction taken by Alexander: *οὐκ εὐθεῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνος ἤγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐδγράφου ὀρμηθεὶς ὅτι τὴν ἑτέραν ἰόντι εὐτορότερα τὰ ξύμπαντα τῷ στρατῷ ἦν καὶ χιλοῦς τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῆς γῆρας λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ καῦμα οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἐπιφλέγον.* Here Arrian gives reasons which appear to be adequate; they are applicable also as reasons for Darius putting his vast force of cavalry not at Babylon in midsummer but at Gaugamela. But Marsden's inferences from this passage are as follows: 'This implies that, when Alexander considered the strategic situation at Thapsacus, Babylon was his next objective, that Darius was there, and that Alexander knew he was there: otherwise Arrian would have simply said "because Alexander knew Darius was in the area of Arbela".' Unfortunately Arrian could not have said what Marsden suggests he would have said, because in fact Arrian goes on in the very next sentence to show that Alexander did *not* know where Darius was. The captured scouts gave him his first inkling of Darius' whereabouts. Indeed I do not find Marsden's inferences cogent at all in this instance. Marsden then moves to Darius' Plan No. 2, adopted when Darius left Babylon, proposing 'to march, with a larger and less well-organised army, and in a shorter time, a distance which would only be less than Alexander's if the latter was making for Mosul' (which Marsden holds he was not). On this hypothesis one really wonders whether Darius could have got to Gaugamela before Alexander did, let alone prepare the ground by levelling it (Arrian 3.8.7; Marsden rejects the laying of caltrops in Arrian, Curtius and Polyaeus and regards that as a piece of Macedonian propaganda). Darius fell down also on Plan No. 2, which led up to an ambush of Alexander crossing the Tigris—not surprisingly as such an ambush would have depended on two things Darius lacked, namely good information of Alexander's intended point of crossing and exceptional speed of movement by Darius' army. Too much is inferred, I think, from Arrian 3.7.4 as well as from Arrian 3.7.3.

The section on numbers is very thorough and detailed in the matter of the Macedonian army, and it results in the totals which are usually accepted, namely 7,000 cavalry and not less than 40,000 infantry. In estimating the number of Persian cavalry Marsden uses the yardstick of the length of the Macedonian line (which I have discussed above) and reduces the normal figure of 40,000 to 34,000 (Arrian gives 40,000, taken probably from the Persian order of battle as I suggested in *History of Greece* 664, and therefore not lightly to be rejected). The section on the battle itself differs from most plans of the battle in making both Macedonian wings not flank-guards inclining at an angle backwards but

prolongations parallel to the Persian line. This creates considerable difficulties in explaining the Persian movement round the Macedonian right wing; and all the more so because Marsden gives the Persian army a very small overlap over the Macedonian right wing at the time of the first impact. A new view is put forward to explain the clash between Alexander's companion cavalry and a large body of Parthian, Indian and Persian cavalry. This involves rejecting Arrian's account of Parmenio's appeal for help and assuming that Alexander tried to envelop or encircle the Persians. (I imagine the Persian centre and Persian right, not 'the Persian left' as is said on p. 61 line 7.) This attempt, of course, was unsuccessful and cost heavy losses; for Alexander failed to anticipate Marsden's shrewd comment: 'it would seem cheaper in the long run to cut down the enemy in disorganised, panic-stricken flight than to force upon them, by a policy of envelopment, desperate and organised attempts to break an enclosing ring'. Here we come back not only to our respect for Alexander's powers of generalship, but also to our view of the Persian numbers since envelopment presupposes a larger number of Macedonians than Persians in this area of the battle.

Marsden's study of the campaign of Gaugamela will certainly arouse controversy. It contains original ideas and detailed mathematical calculation in the cause of military logistics, and it makes a thorough attack on old problems. The style is lively and vivid. The supposed Operation Orders of Darius for Plan No. 2 are couched in quasi-military form. It all makes enjoyable and stimulating reading, and the evidence does at times leave the field quite wide open to speculation.

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SCHMITT (H. H.) **Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit.** (Historia, Einzelschriften, 6.) Wiesbaden: F. Steiner. 1964. Pp. xii + 320. 6 maps. 1 table. DM 50.

This is not an attempt to provide a full history of Antiochus III. Schmitt restricts himself to an examination of the comparatively unworked period before the war with Rome; and even within this has not tried to write a comprehensive monograph. Ch. 1 deals with personal and family history, stressing the dynastic uses of female kin. Ch. 2 comprises a detailed examination of the history of each Seleucid province throughout Antiochus' reign, followed by a study of Antiochus' policy towards the Empire, using what S. has already established. This involves some repetition. Ch. 3 examines court politics in the first years of the reign, deals with Molon's rebellion, the position of Hermeias (for which he mostly follows Otto in *RE*), and of Achaëus until the fourth Syrian War. This chapter ends with an examination of Polybius'

sources for his Seleucid material. Ch. 4 discusses the chronological problem of the accession of Ptolemy Epiphanes as a basis for treating the partition-pact between Antiochus and Philip V (which S. accepts). Ch. 5 examines in detail—mainly chronological and administrative—the conquest of Anatolia, including a city-by-city examination of the coastal cities.

The book therefore has the form of a series of related articles rather than a unified treatment. This creates problems. For instance, S. deals with the recovery of the eastern provinces (ch. 2), to which the rebellions of Molon and Achaeus are surely relevant, before he has discussed Antiochus' accession problems. As he has already dealt with the main body of the provincial material in ch. 2, S. omits all mention of the eastern expedition in its chronological place, thus losing the opportunity of making any coherent point about development of policies. Against the gain in intelligibility through the unified discussion of the provinces must be set the fact that this is not chronologically related to Antiochus' developing policies.

This selective approach leads to strange variations in emphasis: Molon's rebellion is treated in scholarly detail, both from political and military aspects; but after examining the political background, S. provides no mention except *en passant* of the course of the fourth Syrian War and Achaeus' rebellion. The long study of Epiphanes' accession and the partition-pact does not lead to a full discussion of the fifth Syrian War, but to a careful account of Antiochus' progress in Anatolia.

Apart from these faults in construction—which the use of appendices could have avoided—and omission, which S.'s title '*Untersuchungen*' does something to justify, he has written an exceptionally careful, scholarly and valuable book. He refuses to be led beyond the evidence, and this approach is very well evidenced by his cautious survey of the eastern provinces—a field which easily lends itself to speculation. This is not to suggest that S. has not many attractive hypotheses of his own to offer; but he is always first to admit when adequate evidence is lacking.

In a book of this nature debatable conclusions are bound to occur; and it is only possible to select some. S. (p. 89) seems willing to accept that the arguments which Polybius gives to Euthydemus of Bactria (xi 39.3-5)—that eastern Hellenism would suffer if Euthydemus were ousted—carried weight with Antiochus. There is no reason against fully accepting Polybius' explanation, that Antiochus was simply eager to reach a face-saving agreement: the cause of Hellenism was a convenient formula for use as propaganda for home consumption. Again, S. argues persuasively that Antiochus' entry into India was a conscious imitation of Alexander—mere propaganda for western consumption. But he does not make it clear enough that this policy was only formed after his failure at Bactra and enforced recognition of Euthydemus: there is little reason to doubt that throughout his policy had been dictated by circumstances.

In his discussion of Polybius' sources for Antiochus S. sensibly refuses to name any individual *writer*, although he does accept the usual 'court source', which he thinks was actually written by a courtier. He also finds Zeuxis used as informant and sources friendly to Ptolemy and Achaeus. This multiplicity of identified sources for information concerning Antiochus suggests that perhaps Polybius' major source used information from various informants, collectively holding the views represented in Polybius. This would explain Polybius' failure to mention Molon's claim to be βασιλεύς while admitting Achaeus'. S.'s explanation is that because Achaeus was related to Antiochus, and more successful in establishing independence, he played a 'ganz anderes Rolle als Molon', and was not viewed officially as ἀποστάτης. But viewed by a court source, Achaeus must have been ἀποστάτης, just as Molon was. That this information comes from a source close to Achaeus must be considered—particularly as S. postulates such a source for Polybius' account of Achaeus' activity in Pisidia.

One error: p. 192 l. 5 for '14 Phamenoth des 11. Jahres' read '4 Tybi des 2. Jahres'; and one misleading misprint: p. 215 l. 1 for Ol. 144.7 read Ol. 144.1.

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PLEKET (H. W.) **Epigraphica**, vol. 1: **texts on the economic history of the Greek world.** (Textus minores, xxxi.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1964. Pp. 72. Fl. 7.50.

The author has followed up his scholarly catalogue of the Greek inscriptions at Leiden (reviewed in *JHS* 1959, 195/6) with this useful selection of fifty texts for students of Greek Economic History. They range in date from the sixth century B.C. (no. 21, Cyzicus) to the third century of our era (no. 50, Thisbe), those of Hellenistic date predominating. Drawn from almost all over the Greek world they comprise nineteen from the Greek mainland (nine of these from Attica), nine from the islands, eighteen from Asia Minor and the remaining four from Macedonia and the shores of the Euxine, and are grouped under three headings: 'Economic and Monetary Legislation'; 'Public Finances'; 'Land lease Contracts', with groups (1) and (3), but not (2), in chronological order.

While commending P.'s aim to show 'to what extent epigraphic evidence is fundamental for the ancient historian', one may wonder if he has best achieved his purpose by limiting his publication to the bare texts, and leaving 'to the *viva vox* of the teacher' with the help of the lemmata provided, the task of translation and interpretation (p. 4). Might not the teacher also sometimes welcome an occasional helpful note, or even a translation of some obscure passages or technical terms? The reviewer himself would have appreciated, for instance, notes on *ὀδαρέστρον* (no. 6,

l.14), on the meaning of *ῥευοί* in the Delos charcoal-trade text (no. 10), and on the technical terms in the Miletus building-dispute (no. 20), which was apparently settled by an appeal to the oracle. Moreover, a few additions to the lemmata would have proved helpful: for the famous Currency Decree (no. 3) the find-spots of the various fragmentary copies should have been recorded, for by his merely printing 'Athens' readers might be led to infer that the decree was not only voted but also discovered there; and a note might well have been added to explain the alternative dates given as '449 B.C. (or ca. 425 B.C.?)'. For no. 5 there should have been a reference to Tod's valuable commentary in *GHI* ii 162 and some indication of the number of letters missing in I.10; and for no. 25 there is no mention of the fact that the lower half of this stele dealing with the Panathenaic festival has long been known and is published as *IG* ii² 334.

The printing of the texts is not free from minor errors: hyphens are omitted occasionally from the ends of lines ending with an incomplete word (no. 5, three times; no. 6, once); in no. 14, l.53 has a wrong *sigma* and after l.55 P. repeats the strange misprint *adultaverint* from *IG* ii² 1013, (wrongly cited as *IG* II/III 1013). In no. 41, l.15 *ἀποδίδουσι* lacks its accent. Lack of familiarity with English versions of Greek names is suggested by 'Amphyctonic' (pp. 5 and 21), 'Acraipha' for Acraiphiae (pp. 6 and 44), and the unusual form 'Panathenian' (p. 6 and no. 25).

These, after all, are only minor defects, and P. is to be commended for his choice of texts, which, in spite of the lack of commentary (or Index) will serve his purpose in leading students to a more lively interest in the economic history of the Greek world. In fact this little book deserves to be known and studied not only in the country of its origin, but wherever such studies flourish.

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A. M. WOODWARD.

EHRENBERG (V.) **Society and civilization in Greece and Rome.** (Martin classical lectures, 18.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1964. Pp. xvi + 106. 32 illus. £1 12s.

Dr. Ehrenberg gives us in these Martin Lectures one more welcome product of his wide range of scholarship, devoted here to presenting his audience and readers with a picture of four phases of ancient civilization: 'The Age of the Singers', 'The Archaic Age', 'The Athenian Century', and 'Republican Rome'. His main source is literature, and above all (as the title of his first lecture suggests) the poets. 'Nothing speaks more clearly', he writes, 'than the voice of the poet; it is he who expresses, more than anybody else, the spirit of an epoch' (a dictum hardly applicable in the twentieth century A.D.!). But with characteristic ease he draws also upon the evidence of inscriptions, archaeology or art. The thirty-two illustrations, though of rather poor quality, are well

used to support the text. Such breadth of vision is refreshing in these specialized days. Sometimes, indeed, one wonders if the author has not tried to bring too much within the compass of four lectures. Some sections—the three pages on Solon, Peisistratus and Cleisthenes, for example, or the two-page account of Roman religion—are masterpieces of *multum in parvo*; but 'The Athenian Century' and the last part of 'Republican Rome' contain more material than the reader (not to mention an audience) can easily digest.

In his Preface Ehrenberg describes the book as 'an attempt at seeing the whole in the parts', and invites his critics 'to examine my claim of covering the essential aspects of my subject'. If, as his title indicates, his subject is the interconnexion between society and civilization, the claim is not completely fulfilled. No clear common denominator emerges, no satisfying key to the relationship between the social pattern and the culture of the ancient world; and some critics may well say that this is because Ehrenberg's attitude towards the social pattern is superficial. He casts his net wide, but he refuses to dig deep. 'It will be sufficient', he says, 'to see society as that part of the population which, at a certain time, can be regarded as the necessary background for the creative individual. This may be a whole people or a social stratum.' In particular, he rejects slavery as an important influence on ancient civilization. He describes Chios as 'one of the rare examples in the Greek world of a society mainly based on slavery'. At Athens he mentions slaves as 'sharing in the building work', and justifies ignoring them otherwise on the ground that 'Athenian economy or politics was never dominated by the slave problem'. As an instance of the irrelevance of the division between free and slave he cites the treatment of those two 'men of low rank' in Homer, Thersites and Eumaeus. 'They could not be more different, but their difference is not only that of free and slave, nor is either of them depicted as a representative of a class. Thersites was beaten, an occasion for laughter for the army; nobody, not even the suitors, would ever have dared to beat Eumaeus.' But surely this is the exception that proves the rule: Eumaeus is not really a 'man of low rank', but turns out to be a king's son after all.

Ehrenberg finds it adequate, in short, to explain literature and art in terms of that section of society which produced it. Others besides Marxists will feel that this will not do. To describe Greece and Rome as 'slave-holders' societies' is a ludicrous oversimplification; but it is also a mistake to suppose that the possession of slaves did not colour their owners' outlook on all human experience. Nor can one relate ancient culture to society without considering the inferior status of women, which Ehrenberg practically ignores. Is it not relevant to ask how a community which took such a view of women created a Clytemnestra or an Electra or a Medea in its theatre? No one is likely to succeed in the difficult and complex task of explaining the distinctive qualities of the

civilization of antiquity unless he is prepared to see society as a whole.

The book ends with a Selected Bibliography which should be valuable to readers whom Ehrenberg's account encourages to look further into the many aspects of ancient civilization which he describes.

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Izvoare privind istoria României. (Fontes ad historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes.) 1. De la Hesiod la Itinerarul lui Antoninus. Ed. and trans. V. Iliescu and others. Bucharest: Institutul de Arheologie. 1964. Pp. xxiv + 791. Lei 27.

This is the first volume of a projected series, which is to print the narrative sources for the ancient and mediaeval history of Rumania. This volume contains the Greek and Latin sources down to the end of the third century A.D. It aims at completeness. Partly for this reason and partly perhaps to attain a respectable antiquity, the compilers have pushed comprehensiveness to absurd lengths by including some far-fetched fragments which cannot be said to throw any light whatever upon Rumanian history. Thus the first extract is a list of the rivers born by Tethys to Oceanus, among which is 'fair-flowing Istros'!

Nevertheless they are to be congratulated on producing a most useful and attractive collection, from which it is unlikely that anything of importance has been omitted. Naturally Herodotus, Strabo, Ovid and Dio Cassius provide the longest individual contributions. The Rumanian translation with notes is printed in parallel with the original texts. There is a good index, and the format of the book with its large print and ample margins is most attractive. An excellent start to what looks like being a magnificent series, indispensable to workers in the field of Rumanian history.

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SCHACHERMEYR (F.) **Das ägäische Neolithikum.** (Studies in Mediterranean archaeology, 6.) Lund: Dr P. Åström, Klassiska Institutionen. 1964. Pp. 16. 20 text figures. Sw.kr. 15.

Professor Schachermeyr has added an appendix to his already long list of contributions to Greek pre-history. His object is to bring us up to date on the excavation of neolithic sites in Greece and Anatolia in the last seven years, and to re-examine the entire neolithic period in the light of the most recent discoveries.

Schachermeyr commences his outline by an account of the state of knowledge of Greek neolithic before 1930, when a cultural unity and stratification were

already possible. Lack of material from Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia made evaluation and comparison at best tentative. Extensive discoveries in the Middle East after 1930 disclosed pre-ceramic phases of culture, e.g. at Jericho, Jarmo and Ugarit, with ceramic phases following these and finally linking with Early Dynastic. This allowed Milojević to suggest in 1952 that arable farming came from the Middle East to Europe and Schachermeyr himself to postulate in 1953 the thesis of a cultural drift from Asia to Europe, connected with migrations of cultivators, bringing village life and pottery with them.

Schachermeyr now turns to Mellaart's excavations at Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük, which since 1957 have provided valuable evidence of neolithic in Anatolia and a link with Aegean neolithic. These sites show that the Aegean is a peripheral area of an important Anatolian culture-province, and confirm the culture-drift theory. Considerable additions have been made to our knowledge of neolithic itself, both by syntheses and by excavations, especially by Milojević in Thessaly, Theocharis in Thessaly and Attica, and Caskey at Lerna.

These discoveries enable us to reconsider the entire field. We can now see a pre-ceramic neolithic in Thessaly, with microliths and bone artefacts, corresponding to a similar phase at Hacilar. The earliest ceramic phase, which Schachermeyr calls Proto-Sesklo, is found in all parts of Greece. These two phases are grouped, with Weinberg, as Greek Early Neolithic. Middle Neolithic Schachermeyr describes as Sesklo, with red pottery technically like Hacilar. Late Neolithic shows a black polished ware which stretches from Cilicia to Vinča. Stratification has its problems, because of occupation gaps, though Milojević thinks he has identified a satisfactory sequence.

After the Sesklo period Milojević has four levels (Dimini I, II, III, IV) which Schachermeyr distinguishes as Arapi I, II, Dimini I, II. In all levels Schachermeyr finds connexions with the Bandkeramik area in Hungary and Rumania, and thinks this may denote a new ethnic group. Eventually this phase is outlasted by the black polished ware, which Schachermeyr calls in this period Larisa, and Larisa closes in the Rachmani phase. Dimini ware is not found in Central Greece, though there are examples in N.W. Peloponnese. Schachermeyr hopes for a further investigation into Thessalian Late Neolithic and Macedonian and Thracian Neolithic.

Schachermeyr ends with a note on chronology. C-14 dates for Greece given by Weinberg suggest 5520 (± 70)–5230 (± 100) B.C. for the older neolithic and 5060 (± 130) B.C. for the beginning of Middle Neolithic. These only partially coincide with higher dates for Hacilar, and Schachermeyr enjoins a general caution against the too-uncritical acceptance of high C-14 datings.

Considering the brevity of the paper, it is remarkable how much information Schachermeyr has included. We are presented with a reasonable pic-

ture of the Aegean, or to be more exact, the Greek Neolithic, which is particularly useful in its earlier phases, and in its connexion with the important new Anatolian sites. The most remarkable result of Hacilar in many ways has been the close resemblances with Sesklo (*cf.* Mellaart *AS* viii [1958] 153-6), and Schachermeyr has given us a timely synthesis of the new excavations, both in Anatolia and Greece.

Yet in some ways the account is a major disappointment. It could with advantage have said so much more. Schachermeyr has in the past shown himself capable of taking a wide view of prehistory; a more extensive expression of his own views would have been of great use to workers in the field. There are even major omissions. Why is so little said about Crete in a summary of the Aegean neolithic? It is true that we are said to be waiting for the publication of new excavations, but Crete is central to Aegean prehistory at almost every point. What implications have the new discoveries on Balkan and Danubian neolithic? Childe, whose work Schachermeyr surprisingly leaves out even of the bibliography, demonstrated as long ago as 1929 that these areas are part of the same 'Kulturkreis'. One might have expected that this area would be affected, but while Schachermeyr refers to the *Bandkeramik*, he does not comment on what is, after all, part of his cultural drift. In his account of the purely Greek neolithic, too, we might with advantage have been given more details about the relations between Anatolia and Greece. Much has been discovered, and published, even since Schachermeyr's own paper at Naples in 1961. It would have been useful, in addition, to have had more discussion of problems of chronology. What, for example, are the main conclusions reached by Weinberg and Milošević? Why does Schachermeyr think that the C-14 datings are too high, and that the absolute chronology seems to be '1000 or at least 600 years too high'? Many of us would agree with this in general terms; but what reasons has Schachermeyr for his views? One would like to know. A further criticism concerns nomenclature. Schachermeyr wishes to call the early ceramic phase Proto-Sesklo, and to rename Milošević's Dimini I, II, III, IV Arapi I, II, Dimini I, II. I see no reason for this change. It is true that there is a need for a common nomenclature for Greek neolithic, but at this stage there seems no reason for stabilising it on site-names, about the significance of which there is no general agreement as yet. A minor criticism relates to the illustrations. Those who know neolithic can work out why they are put in the order in which they are; but they are neither explained nor even referred to in the text.

It should be noted that these criticisms refer largely to omissions: Schachermeyr's account of the neolithic is sensible and useful for further study and he has said little which can be quarrelled with.

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VOL. LXXXVI.

Cyprus. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

Vol. iv, part 1 A. **The stone age and the early bronze age in Cyprus.** By P. Dikaios and J. R. Stewart. Lund: the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. 1962. Pp. xlv + 401. 156 plates. 105 text figures. Price not stated.

With the publication of part 1a of *SCE IV* the Swedish task of summarising the results of their famous Expedition to Cyprus (1927-31) is nearly complete. Dr Paul Åström's *Middle Cypriot Bronze Age* is to be republished with the same scholar's study of the Late Cypriot period as *SCE IV*, part 1b, and the task will be done. That will be the moment for a fluent pen to remind us just how vast has been the contribution of Swedish scholarship, under Professor Gjerstad's lead, to Cypriot studies.

This part marks a change of editorial policy, for neither of the authors was of Swedish nationality, neither had taken part in the Cyprus Expedition. But Dikaios and Stewart are the acknowledged authorities in their different fields, and Professor Gjerstad's generosity in inviting their contributions is shown to be fully justified. Both sections, though highly individual, have followed the broad outlines already laid down by previous parts of *SCE IV* according to which different categories of material remains are described and illustrated, their relative and absolute chronologies established, their overseas connexions defined and the historical conclusions that seem to follow explained in detail. The two sections overlap, for Dikaios reaches down to the first stage of the Early Cypriot period in describing and commenting upon graves of the Philia period that he excavated. At this point there is flat contradiction between the two authors, who interpret quite differently the meaning of this Philia period. It is probably premature to side actively with one rather than the other; the disagreement between them is more a reminder that here is an unsolved problem on which their successors must work.

As the years pass, some aspects of the Swedish excavations tend inevitably to be eclipsed by more recent work. This is particularly true of the Neolithic period, about which Dikaios writes. It is to his classic excavations at Khirkitia, Sotira and Erimi that we now turn for the framework of Neolithic culture in Cyprus, rather than to the more modest Swedish investigations at Phrenaros, Petra tou Limniti, Lapithos and Kythrea. Yet we do well to remember that it was these Swedish discoveries that excited Dikaios' interest in the period he has made his own.

Thanks to Dikaios' previously published writings the broad outline of the Cypriot Neolithic and Chalcolithic sequence was already fairly familiar. His present synthesis gains greatly from the inclusion of detailed references to his smaller, but hardly less important excavations at Troulli, Kalavassos, Ambelikou and elsewhere, the evidence from which goes a long way to give greater substance to the cultural sequence. Carbon 14 dates have placed the beginning of Neolithic I (the pre-pottery phase, exemplified

by Khirokitia) early in the sixth millennium B.C.; the phase was over before the end of that millennium, but it was not until nearly 1,500 years later (again according to C.14) that the Neolithic II period (combed-ware pottery, illustrated by Sotira) started. Dikaios would like partly to fill this hiatus by the Troulli painted pottery culture which he describes; this can neither be proved nor disproved, for there is no C.14 date yet at Troulli. From the well charted Chalcolithic I (defined by the excavation of the type-site at Erimi) Dikaios leads us through the difficult stages whereby he has isolated the Chalcolithic II phase and established a number of links between it and the first beginnings of the Early Bronze Age which (for Dikaios, at any rate) are provided by the Philia culture. The evidence comes chiefly from rather limited trial excavations at sites near Ambelikou, and in the Ovgos valley, and it would obviously be helpful to obtain much more evidence from these sites before making a final assessment of their mutual relationships.

Dikaios summarises the wider implications of the account he has been able to give of the settlement of Cyprus between c. 5800 B.C. and c. 2500 B.C.; there is not a great deal that can be said, except that Neolithic I people must have reached the island from overseas, source unknown, that Neolithic II represents a fresh influx, perhaps to be connected with the Beer-sheba culture of southern Palestine. Chalcolithic I and its fine painted pottery is not earlier than c. 3000 B.C., and therefore extremely difficult to relate to neighbouring cultures in Asia Minor and Greece to which it bears a superficial resemblance, for they are a good deal earlier. But there are hints that the end of Chalcolithic I, the character of Chalcolithic II and the origins of the Early Bronze Age may be connected with the great disasters in Anatolia at the end of E.B. II.

Here attention switches to the second part of the volume, and to the very different account which Stewart (whose contribution appeared posthumously) gave of the origins of the Early Cypriot period. Stewart argues that the Early Bronze Age culture of Cyprus was deeply rooted in the island's past, and that the Philia version of it (to which Dikaios has given first place in the Early Cypriot sequence) was in fact no more than a local peculiarity which lingered on in North Cyprus until the Middle Bronze Age.

It was inevitable that Stewart's synthesis should be of a character very different from Dikaios', for he had to deal with very different evidence. Neolithic Cyprus is known through the excavation of its settlements; unfortunately, knowledge of the Early Bronze Age depends almost exclusively upon cemetery excavation. As long as this situation is unremedied, the period's origins are likely to remain obscure and controversial. Stewart originally planned a much fuller account of Early Cypriot material for this volume, and had prepared a particularly detailed account of the pottery. As his preface warns the reader, this had greatly to be curtailed for reasons of

space. In consequence the descriptions of wares (pp. 222-32) are separated from the extremely compressed 'Index of Types' (303-48) and 'Index of Types Arranged under Wares' (357-80). Close study of these sources and of Mrs Stewart's beautiful pottery drawings (figs. LIII-CLVI) enable an at least partial reconstruction of what Stewart intended. The full intention will only be realised, however, when Stewart's *Corpus* is published as *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, vol. 3. The other classes of material are described and illustrated with similar panache, their relative chronology established, and consideration given to any foreign associations they may have. A wonderful tool, particularly for the specialist, is contained in Index IV, in which Stewart summarised (though without supporting argument) his mature views on the relative date(s) of every properly excavated Early and Middle Cypriot tomb known to him, in many cases adjusting (usually downwards) the original estimate of the excavator. Only loosely connected with this highly compressed analytical material are two splendidly written sections, one entitled 'Daily Life', the other 'Historical Summary', which between them contain the quintessence of Stewart's knowledge and understanding of his period, showing how fully alive it was in his mind, and revealing his insight into the links between certain aspects of modern life in Cyprus and its remote past. He understood that an archaeologist's duty includes reconstruction and interpretation as much as description and analysis.

Both parts of *SCE IV*, pt. Ia, serve to enhance their authors' reputations; both are likely long to remain the standard accounts of these periods. We must be extremely grateful that Professor Gjerstad and his colleagues have continued resolute in seeing their great Cypriot undertaking to its conclusion.

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Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

SCHAEFFER (C. F. A.) and COLLEAGUES. *Ugaritica IV* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale 1962. Pp. 673. Plates and figures numbered by chapters. 1 plan. 4 sections and errata in folder at back.

In this preface M. Schaeffer explains that the main purpose of this volume is to publish as quickly as possible the important results of the campaigns of 1954 and 1955, and this has been achieved by including independent reports from several of his colleagues with photographs and line drawings numbered separately in each report.

Acknowledgments are made to the services of H. de Contenson, A. Kuschke, H. V. Vallois, Mlle de Ferenbach, M. J. Dastugue, R. Charles, Ch. Clairmont, G. C. Miles and especially to J. C. Courtois for his services on the excavations, to the architects, W. Forrer and R. Kuss, the draughtsmen, Mlle L. C. Courtois and G. Chenet, and to the epigraphists, J. Vandier, Ch. Virolleaud, J. Nougayrol and E. Laroche.

The first 150 pages contain Schaeffer's own account

of the 1954 and 1955 excavations on the site of the royal palace, a remarkable building with some unexpected features such as the courtyard garden, (prototype of those of medieval and modern Syria) and the exterior bossed walls so reminiscent of the masonry of classical times. Truly 'ex Ugarit semper aliquid novum' for these were the eighteenth and nineteenth campaigns on this remarkable site. The ornamental fountain, however, dating from the middle of the second millennium B.C., may have had a Minoan parallel as Sir Arthur Evans uncovered fragments of a fresco which he interpreted as the representation of a 'jet d'eau'. The basin of the Ugarit fountain contained a bovine astragalus partly coated with lead resembling a gaming piece of the type called 'Ka'b' still employed in Syrian villages of this area. More carved ivories were found including a splendid head of a queen of Ugarit, the panel from a royal couch and the concentric ivory inlays of a round table.

An oven employed for baking tablets was found and a fresh hoard of tablets in the Hurrian language, thirty-one in Babylonian cuneiform and twelve in the local alphabetic script. Since thirty-nine of these texts were on religious subjects while the Hurrian language was not employed on the hundreds of administrative tablets hitherto found, it would appear that this group of texts had been compiled by priests attending to the spiritual needs of the very considerable Hurrian minority among the people of Ugarit. The tablets of the south-west archives can be divided into two groups (*a*) original correspondence from abroad or from local sources and (*b*) copies in the local language required for the palace records. Among the former were a letter from a King and Queen of Ugarit to their overlord (? Egyptian or Hittite), an epistle to a lady Ananinal to her mistress the queen, a petition to the King from a certain Usyr, and a very short letter from Bentesina, an old King of Amurru, probably written from his place of exile in Hatti. Among the translations of letters in the Babylonian language, the diplomatic language of the period, was a message from the Hittite King to Hammurapi, the last King of Ugarit before the destruction of the palace, and some letters from Tyre and Byblos concerning damages to Ugarit ships on their way to Egypt. Near the archive building there had been workshops for jewellers and ivory carvers and stores of the material used (chalcidony, malachite, lapis lazuli and carnelian). In the extraction of the delicate and often badly preserved fragments of the ivory (partly with the aid of dentist's tools), the Director benefited by the expert assistance of M. Sheflik Iman of the Damascus Museum and of Director of the Museum laboratory M. Raif Hafez who evolved a new method of extracting the fragments of ivory, a slow one but justified by the restoration from thousands of small fragments of the beautiful queen's head. Some twenty metres away there was discovered a very strange mask in limestone; Schaeffer speaks of its cruel naturalism: I should be inclined to

call it a caricature but it certainly provokes a powerful effect by a very simple technique.

An interesting letter from the 'sun' to Hammurapi of Ugarit orders his vassal to send him the aid he had demanded. Both the great kings regarded Ugarit as their vassal and both were very hard-pressed at this time, but the letter probably came from the king of Khattu rather than from the king of Egypt. Another letter from the king of Tyre (translated into Ugaritic) records the loss of a large Ugaritic argosy on its way to Egypt seized by a Tyrian official and only partly restored on intervention by the Tyrian king. Another administrative letter refers to the copper foundries of Beirut and quotes the current price of gold (four times its weight in silver). The proper names listed are mostly Semitic but include a proportion of Hurrite and Mitannian names. Two Abrahams are mentioned, one from Egypt and one from Alasia in Cyprus. Among the tablets assembled for baking in Court V was an interesting religious text with a list of animals and the Gods to whom they were sacred (the young bull to Baal, the horse to Astarte, etc.). The south-west archives with the oven for baking them were in a set of rooms expressly built for them, and with thinner walls than those of the rest of the palace. The collapse of the upper walls reduced to powder most of the unbroken tablets and seriously damaged many of the others.

In the south archives opposite Court V only one tablet out of 124 was in alphabetic script whereas the south-west archives contained fifty-two alphabetic texts against only twelve in Babylonian cuneiform. The ambassador Ilmilku who carried the royal correspondence may or may not be identical with the one described as 'the confident of the king' in the time of King Niqmad or the editor of the great mythological texts of Baal found in 1933. Perhaps even all these descriptions refer to the same person. A letter from Bentesina may be from the man who was once king of Amurru, and whose daughter had married Ammistamru II of Ugarit. Other texts give lists of places that had to send tribute or furnish men and arms for public works in Ugarit. One tablet refers to 4,200 heavy shekels of metal (? copper) and 2,500 heavy shekels of stone.

In the private library of Rap'anu uncovered in 1938 the French found a quadrilingual lexicon in Hurrite, Sumerian, Babylonian and Ugaritic and another tablet with a list of deities including several Hurrite ones.

A curious find from Court V was an astragalus bone of an ox filled and partly coated with lead, recognised immediately by M. Hafez as a Ka'ab or gaming piece of a type still used in the knuckle-bones game in Syria as it was in Egypt in Tutunkhamen's day. To the south of Court V there was a large separate building, provisionally called 'The Little Palace' with a very large basement hall containing dedications of the time of Ramses II to be published later in Ugaritica VI. One might almost fancy this was the Quai d'Orsay of Ugarit, since its archives were con-

cerned not with domestic affairs but with cities beyond the frontiers, with the district of Usnatu and Apsumu immediately to the south, and with Syro-Palestinian cities such as Arvad, Byblos, Tyre, Akka, Ashdod and Ascalon. On the borders of the Little Palace and level with the pavement of the preceding court was discovered the text of a treaty between Niqmad of Ugarit and Aziru of Amurru, whereby the latter king promised to take up arms in defence of Ugarit.

Among the pottery from the neighbouring court the author mentions not only a Mycenaean sherd of the thirteenth century but also a fragment resembling Grey Minyan with incised wavy lines.

Chapters II and VII inclusive deal with the important prehistoric deposits at Ugarit. In chapter II the author reviews the results of nine trial tests from those of 1934 and 1935 with the late M. George Chenet to the recent ones between 1953 and 1960 with M. M. Courtois and de Contenson and Dr Kuschke. The earliest occupation on a low hill about 600 metres in diameter and thirty-six hectares in area, known as Ugarit V, belonged to the pre-pottery stage of culture and contained a typical series of neolithic tools in limestone, flint and obsidian. The people who settled there may have been semi-nomadic but they soon formed a large village and surrounded it with fortification rampart, analogous to that of the earliest town of Jericho. Though there was no true pottery there were some crude figurines suggesting perhaps the existence of a fertility cult. (The archaeologist, however, is somewhat prone to see fertility cults everywhere and an occasional dose of Mr Ucko's astrigent medicine will do us no harm.)

In level V B, primitive pottery begins to appear, either sun dried or very slightly baked (personally I prefer the latter view), was this due to the arrival of a new ethnic element as the excavators of Jericho believed, or is Mr Braidwood right in thinking that the evolution of pottery was not so radical a change? Could it have been evolved from the accidental firing of baskets smeared with clay to hold cereals, such as are still used in villages near Ras Shamra. Dr Kuschke's recent trial pits under the palace garden suggest that this primitive pottery deposit is intermediate between what we used to call V A and V B, and we may therefore now divide the neolithic period at Ugarit into V A (late neolithic), V B the strata with primitive pottery and V C the pre-ceramic stage. It is a little awkward having V C between A and B. I can appreciate the difficulty of renaming V B but I should have preferred to have had something like the following V A₁ (late neolithic), V A₂ (pre-ceramic), V B (primitive pottery). In Ugarit IV foreign influences are evident for here we find excellent and abundant pottery of the Tell Halaf and Arpachiyah types, but though Tell Halaf ware appears here on the coast it was rare at Tell-el-Hammam and generally completely absent from the prehistoric sites of the Lebanon and Palestine. Three good coloured plates illustrate well the main varieties of painted pottery and also the different

kinds of stone employed. The flint is either the familiar sandy-brown type you find on any desert site from Iraq to Egypt, or else may be greyish-white or black. The obsidian is a fine, polished, black variety looking, to my eyes, more like Abyssinian than Melian obsidian. A small celt of greenstone and a mace of black haematite are also illustrated. One buff sherd with incised dashes (Coloured Plate I 15) could well have come from Nineveh I.

In Chapter III Dr Kuschke describes very clearly in German the result of his test pit under the palace garden noting Cypriote milk bowl and Levanto-Mycenaean fragments in the Middle Ugarit II layer (1900-1750 B.C.) and a local imitation of the familiar two-handled flask of the Hittite empire. In early bronze age strata he notes Khirbet Kerak ware in III A, and local imitations of AL Ubaid and Tell Halaf pottery in III B. There was also some Syrian 'band slip' ware and some black grey, and red burnished bowls, successors of the local Chalcolithic tradition which was dominant in Ugarit IV. It appears that the deposit termed IV B has more affinity with V than with IV A and include a triangular borer with equal 'rétouche' on all three sides.

From 7.80 m. down to 11.80 m. below the datum level the deposits illustrate the whole course of the late neolithic culture, unless indeed we are to regard the earliest strata as pre-neolithic. Primitive pottery occurs between 8.80 m. and 9.60 m. Ox bones occur down to 8.80 m., pig bones (possibly from wild pigs) down to 9 m.

Chapter IV consists of comments, also in German, on the trial trench under the garden by the director himself (a graceful compliment to Dr Kuschke for his work not only on the garden site but also for his previous work on the Beka plain). To the early bronze age III deposit with its Khirbet Kerak ware various dates have been assigned from the 2400-2200 B.C. of H. Goldman and the 2500-2200 of Otto and Kuschke to the 3400 B.C. of Woolley and Atchana.

At 9 m. below the present surface there seems to be evidences of a change of climate. Strata IV and V A had dry centres mostly consisting of sand and reddish-yellow loam. V B had occupation debris and foundations of small rectangular houses built of loam bricks. Near the top of the sand and loam deposit through the whole length of the pit there extended a hard-trodden clay floor about 10 cm. thick with a hearth in the centre with the hearth of the previous settlement underneath, and between the floors of these two Kuschke found two well-polished shoe-last axes of nephrite; the smaller being only 4 cm. long implied that it and probably both were votive tools. The shape is widespread in Europe, especially in the Danubian cultures and even penetrated to Troy as Schaeffer remarks but is not a Syrian or Anatolian form. It does, however, occur in Thessaly in Weinberg's Middle Neolithic period ('Tsundas' and Wace's A period) and this is of interest for Ugarit students since the Trojan examples were not, I think, very clearly dated.

The absence of pottery and stone vessels in the lower levels suggests we may be dealing with a semi-nomadic people whose utensils were of wood gourds, basket-work or leather. A unique find was an enigmatic object in ivory (compared by Schaeffer to certain Egyptian 'Fussenden').

Thus the lowest levels excavated by Kuschke correspond to the pre-ceramic strata some 400 metres away in the north-east part of the Tell excavated in 1932-5 implying the existence of a pretty large village at that date. The old neolithic culture of Ugarit including the pre-ceramic strata is practically identical with that of Jericho, but Jericho was certainly the richer at this period. Schaeffer alludes to Milojević's discovery of a pre-ceramic stage in Thessaly (to which we must now add the evidence from Theohares' excavations). One sherd (pl. VII no. 16) recalls the Barbotine wares found by Milojević and Theoharis in Thessaly and by Clark and Rodden in Macedonia while the sherd shown on pl. VII no. 2 is very like the late neolithic pottery of Vardino, Nea Nicomedia and other sites in Macedonia and its Thessalian counterpart the *Piat* ware of Tsoundas and Wace.

Chapter V consists of a detailed discussion by J. C. Courtois of the pottery from Ugarit II and III illustrated in the trial pit west of the temple of Baal excavated in 1957. For the most part the period III deposits consisted of a remarkable series of superposed dwellings only disturbed in the south-east corner by a large pit of later date known as 'the Pocket of Bronzes'. One of the first objects found was a bronze pin, a cross between the racquet headed and the double spiral pin paralleled by rare examples in the Caucasus, in Luristan, at Alisha and in Peru of all places!! The other small finds included a scrap of ivory inlay with the hindlegs of a griffin (?), and what I should regard as an unfinished mace-head (Pl. 91). Courtois calls it a 'crapaudine' (presumably in the sense of a door-socket), but personally I regard it as an unfinished mace-head. The typical cups in a fine fabric with horizontal ribbing sound like some Early Assyrian pottery which we found at Kouyunjik in 1929-30. This would agree with Schaeffer's dating but I have not seen the Ugarit cups and so cannot be sure. One or two types formerly attributed to Ugarit IV seem now rather to belong to the end of Ugarit III (p. 339). The typical goblets with flat or raised feet have many parallels in Northern Syria and even down to Southern Palestine (e.g. at Carchemish, El Hammam, Tell Ahmar, Qatna down sites such as Megiddo, Gezer and Beisan). The bronzes from this deposit included daggers with hooked tangs. An archaic lamp in pottery with four spouts was found (compare Ugarit II). Khirbet Kerak ware found at a depth of 2.30 m. confirms the date, though the division between periods II and III was not very clearly marked here. The bronzes from the intrusive 'Pocket of Bronzes' all belong to types well known at Ras Shamra. Thus the dagger with three rivets and biconical pommel was characteristic

of the Torque Carriers who lived in the Middle Ugarit I period (2000-1850 B.C.) and the lance heads with a strong tang reinforced by a ring are identical with transitional II-III period examples found in 1939. The pocket itself looks like a disused silo filled with bronzes and animal bones, and may perhaps be superfluous dedications cleared out of one of the temples.

The lower test pit, though only 45 sq. m. in area provided a useful check with stratified deposits from the chalcolithic period to the beginning of the early bronze age. Stratum A was marked by two main ceramic groups: (i) a ware with polished red, orange or black slip of the Khirbet Kerak class; (ii) a series of large piriform jars in yellowish grey clay decorated on the wheel with incised wavy bands. In this deposit also was found a typical Syrian bottle and a well-preserved cylindrical bread oven. Stratum B began at a depth of 75 cm. below the datum level. The normal pottery was a monochrome ware with simple designs in black and white, all rectilinear except for the frequent occurrence of wavy lines. The vases, mostly large bowls or store-jars, tend to have rounded bases and suspension lugs. The surface is more that of a 'wet-smoothed' ware (Forsdyke's mechanical slip) rather than a true slip. Stratum C (between 2.30 m. and 3.30 m. in depth) is clearly distinguished by the finer quality and greater variety of its pottery. Besides the monochrome pottery of the upper layer there were examples of a polychrome ware in black and red on a cream or chamois ground, another ware that was both painted and incised, and two sherds with a fine red lustrous surface adorned with irregular incisions and paralleled at Mersin in Strata XIII and XIV. The stone tools included a very finely worked flint point, and the first example from this area of a polished flat axe in green jadeite flecked with white veins. No metal was found at this level but this may be due to the limited area excavated. Stratum D was a transitional deposit only 20 cm. thick, with many traces of destruction. The painted sherds, however, displayed a number of new motives and there were no incised designs. Bone tools from goats or sheep appear along with flint tools and small axes of polished stone. Stratum E began at a depth of 3.60 m. Pottery was less abundant but there were evidences of destroyed silos and hearths and numerous bones of oxen or cows. Barley was the grain most cultivated and indeed the only one identified with certainty. A clay object found may have been either a large spindle-weight or a loom weight. Other finds were a spindle-shaped axe in dolerite and a small celt in serpentine. Stratum F was 46 cm. thick and the finds occurred between two burnt layers at 4 m. and 4.40 m. respectively. The most remarkable feature of this deposit was the remains of a semicircular vault of pisé and mud-brick strengthened by wooden balks with a wall averaging 10-15 cm. thick, later destroyed by fire. There was an interesting collection of tools in flint, obsidian, and bone, including sickle blades. Axes and scrapers in dolerite were also

common. Stratum G between 4.50 m. and 5.10 m. showed a marked decline in finds especially in the pottery and little trace of habitation was found before 5.10 m. was reached. The pottery was sometimes brown, blackish-brown, red or yellowish-brown on a ground varying from red ochre to greyish green. At 5 m. depth in an almost sterile layer there was a plain, flat-bottomed bowl of a type common among the Al Ubaid pottery at Arpachiyah. Stratum H corresponds apparently to the earliest deposits of level III. It was not completely excavated in 1953 and had little of archaeological interest in it. M. Courtois stresses the differences between the painted wares of level III and their Mesopotamian contemporaries, the absence of chalices and footed goblets or of any naturalistic motives in the paintings. The designs are all simple and abstract. The pottery appears to be a late prolongation of the Al Ubaid tradition in relatively conservative surroundings. One puzzle remains; there appears to be a hiatus between the end of the chalcolithic period and a relatively late period of the bronze age in great contrast to the finds from Gozlu Kule near Tarsus where the early bronze age deposits were 18 m. thick. Ras Shamra was not exactly abandoned in this period but was evidently in a poor state and its pottery was coarse stuff like that of the pits north of the curtain wall near Tomb 1. This dark age may have lasted for two or three centuries and was paralleled by a similar eclipse at Mersin about the middle of the third millennium B.C.

In chapter VI M. de Courtois recounts the results of three trial pits sunk in 1959 with the object of clarifying the chronology of the upper levels of period III. The first pit south of the temple of Dagon revealed abundant pottery of the middle bronze age between 2 m. and 2.80 m. including a lustrous beaked spout of a type familiar in Alishar II, Alaca Huyuk II, Boghazkoi IV, Tarsus II and Kultepe. Similar ones were also found at Byblos in tombs dating from the reigns of Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV. This pottery was separated by a burnt layer from Khirbet Kerak ware and painted pottery typical of Early Ugarit III. The 1953 test revealed eight strata of which six belonged to the Al Ubaid culture. An important addition was made by the test pit of 1959 in which strata A-E belonged to the early bronze age, F, G and H to the transition period, I, J and K to the end of the Al Ubaid period. The A-B strata contained the remains of an olive-oil factory—a good half-dozen olive stones survived in it—associated with Khirbet Kerak ware and painted pottery typical of Early Bronze Age 3, together with basalt millstones like the chalcolithic ones. The bronzes included a fine copper adze and a toggle pin (fig. 14, nos. 1 and 5). Stone tools, mostly backed blades of flint were fairly common. There were some small obsidian knives but the great tradition of obsidian blades was dying out at this time. Stratum C: Early Bronze Age 2 extended from 3–3.25 m. down to 4.25 m. Room A had little of interest but room E

had some important foundations in millstone (or basalt) or some similar material. Pottery became scarcer; there were no more large jars and scarcely any footed goblets or painted ware; only the burnished pottery preserves a certain continuity. The first mud bricks, bright yellow in colour, appeared sporadically about 3.50 m. down while in Stratum D (4.25 m. to 5.40 m.), dating from the beginning of Early Bronze Age 2 constructions in pisé (in one instance on a stone foundation) or in mud brick were common while pottery, often poorly backed, became scarcer and there was a general air of poverty. Walls and hearths are noticeably absent in period III deposits explored in 1955 and 1956, and stone tools rather scarce but there were some examples of secondary flaking on flint and obsidian. In general Ras Shamra III 1 represents the transition between the cultures of Tell Halaf and Al Ubaid and should correspond to Mersin XVI, Jericho VIII and to middle chalcolithic deposits on various Palestinian sites. Ras Shamra III, phase 2, represents the pure Tell Halaf culture and its deposits were found between 5.30 m. and 8.70 m., and its pottery was divisible into three groups. Ras Shamra IV, phase 1, was the heyday of the pure Tell Halaf culture and occurred between 6.85 m. and 6.95 m. In the Early Chalcolithic period (IV 1) the pottery was more vivid than in later times and comprised the following varieties:

- (a) A fine cream ware, generally painted in black.
- (b) A fine chamois ware with smoothed surface and monochrome painting.
- (c) A white or yellowish fabric, burnished like the 'cream bowl' type at Arpachiyah.
- (d) A very fine fabric with a metallic ring when struck, silver or dusky in colour, often adorned with painted lines or with bands of incised ornaments.
- (e) An orange or chamois ware with red patterns often lustrous, but sometimes resembling Cypriote 'red-on-white' ware and also the predominant pottery of Mersin XXIV and XXIII.
- (f) Dark pottery either (i) burnished or (ii) coarse Ras Shamra V 3 in late neolithic and its dark monochrome pottery may be divided into two classes:
 - (1) A small amount of highly burnished fine ware, usually black, occasionally red, and comprising globular or carinated bowls, and short-necked jars, with pointillé and chequer designs excised after firing.
 - (2) Coarser pottery with smoothed surface comprising globular bowls, neckless jars, and jars with cylindrical necks, and rounded bases or cylindrical feet.

Ras Shamra V 2, containing the most ancient pottery on this site had the following varieties:

- (1) Fine red lustrous bowls with vertical burnishing.
- (2) Coarse pottery generally burnished but rarely decorated and if so almost always before firing, globular shapes predominate. The pottery is analogous to that of Amuq A.
- (3) Slipped ware, like the earlier examples from Byblos, present from the beginning but always rare.
- (4) In the earliest levels some porous, badly fired fragments of the first three varieties. In the Palace Garden test pits such pottery was far more abundant and was assigned by Schaeffer to a Middle Neolithic period intermediate between the Late Neolithic and the pre-ceramic Early Neolithic periods. Ras Shamra V 1, constituted the pre-ceramic Early Neolithic phase and from 12 m. below the datum level downwards the only vessels preserved were limestone bowls. The stone tool industry did not differ much from those of the upper layers and included javelin heads with long, flat *rétouches*, borers, possibly also burins, and especially sickle blades.

A roughly modelled female figurine and an equally rough seal stone were made of limestone. Bones of domestic animals were very common between 12 m. and 13 m. In the reddish clay deposit between 13 m. and 14 m. stone vases and millstones continue. Bone tools were represented by two handles and one complete awl. Flint tools were still abundant with a considerable proportion of large tools and large irregular flakes. Below 13.75 m. flint was less frequent and had a blueish tinge but evidences of fauna including sheep bones and stag horn were abundant. At 13.80 m. there was a sun-dried clay figurine of the so-called 'earth mother' type. Virgin soil was reached at 13.60 m. in the north-west corner but elsewhere at about 14 m.

The remaining chapters except X and XI discuss in great detail the skeletal material. In chapter VIII Mr Robert P. Charles discusses fifteen skulls and some long bones and classifies them as follows according to the methods of F. Ancona and H. V. Vallois.

I (1) Cromagnoid Group:

Early Mediterranean type (A 1) dolichocephalic Nos. 5 and 6 from Tomb LIV (fifteenth century B.C.) and an example from Tomb VI (fourteenth-thirteenth centuries).

- #### I (2) Alpine-Mediterranean (A 2) mesocephalic example from Tomb LXXXVI (nineteenth-eighteenth centuries) example from Tomb BE 253 (fourteenth century)

and example P.W.1745-1, P.W.1796-1, P.W.37962 (fourteenth century).

II Atlantic-Nordic Group:

Armenoid type (C 13) brachycephalic Nos. 1 and 7 from Tomb LIV (fifteenth century).

III Mixed or Intermediate Group:

Type Neo-Mediterranean (A C 2) mesocephalic No. 4 in Tomb LIV (fifteenth century).

Thus of this group eight are Cromagnoid, two are Armenoid (one possibly mixed with a Cromagnoid type) and only one Neo-Mediterranean. Eight are mesocephalic, four brachycephalic, and three dolichocephalic suggesting a population predominantly of the old Cromagnoid substratum with some Armenoid influences due to local conditions.

Chapter IX consists of a general account by M. de Vallois and Mlle de Ferenbach of the skeletal material from Ras Shamra and Minet el Beida during the following periods: Early Ugarit (R.S.III) before 2000 B.C., Middle Ugarit (R.S.II) 2000-1600, and Late Ugarit (R.S.I) 1600-1200 B.C.

From the Hyksos period (eighteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C.) parts of three male and three female skulls were uncovered. One was pentagonal *in norma superiore*, the rest ovoid but all belonged to the classical Mediterranean type. From the sixteenth- and fifteenth-century deposits came only one skull (cranium 13 from trench E) probably a female one, approximating to the Alpine type but possibly rather to be considered as a pathological specimen and showing four evidences of trepanning.

From the fifteenth, fourteenth and thirteenth centuries came the remains of nine men, six women and sixteen children, and another sixteen adults of indeterminate sex from the Mycenaean ossuary in Tomb XIII. This material was far more heterogeneous than that previously mentioned, and contained certain Alpine elements. From Minet el Beida came six fragments of skulls of the fifteenth century and three of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries as well as some nineteen fragments of jaws (representing about fifteen people) a very heterogeneous collection. Among the examples where the type was distinguishable there were thirteen Mediterranean, three or probably four Atlanto-Mediterranean, and two Alpine specimens.

An interesting supplementary note by Dr J. Dastugue discusses the pathological examples. Cranium R 4 shows signs of lesion, perhaps due to trepanning, cranium R 2 also has superficial lesion due probably to a surgical operation, while cranium M 1, from Minet el Beida, seems to have suffered from a fracture. He also notes malformation of a sacrum and an arthritic astragalus from Ras Shamra.

Chapter X is a short account of the Hellenic pottery from Ras Shamra by M. Christophe Clair-

mont. This included a complete lekythos dating from the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. So far there is no evidence that any Greek pottery was imported before 500 B.C., and the latest sherds found date from about the time of Alexander the Great. Further excavations, however, might alter our views and prove that Ras Shamra played a more important role in Greek affairs as did Minet el Beida.

Chapter XI comprises a short account by Mr G. C. Miles of the Islamic coins from Ras Shamra and its immediate neighbourhood, often worn and hard to identify exactly, but predominantly Ottoman, Mameluke and Umayyad coppers with a few Abbasid, Ayubid and other examples ranging from a coin of Abd el Malik (635-705 A.D.) from the mint of Qin Nasrin to a coin of Ali Muddat dated 1891 A.D. from the mint of Tunis.

Finally, a general index by J. C. Courtois is appended.

The volume is well printed and illustrated by a large series of excellent line drawings. The photographic prints vary more (fig. 46 is perhaps the worst example). The coloured plates are very good.

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PHILLIPS (E. D.) **The royal hordes: nomad peoples of the steppes.** London: Thames and Hudson. 1965. Pp. 144. 4 maps. 137 illus. (incl. 32 in colour). 15s. (unbound); £1 10s. (bound).

This pleasant and extremely profusely illustrated book with many coloured plates, is a somewhat enlarged version of the relative article in the magnificent volume of the *Dawn of Civilisation*. It is a kind of popular picture book on a serious theme written by a competent scholar with the view of rousing the interest of a wide lay public in some obscure peoples of the very remote past. The title is well chosen and should apply to many who are thrilled by looking at the splendid pictures of the magnificent treasures buried in the tombs of mighty rulers, neither the names of which nor their deeds and exploits are known, nor even the names of the peoples or kingdoms over which they ruled.

The plan of the book, as indicated by the titles of its six sections, is well conceived. It begins with the description of the scenery of the nomadic life, of the boundless Eurasiatic steppe; it then proposes to depict the earliest nomad peoples, the rise of pastoral societies; it then passes on to the later steppe dwellers, the Scythians and Sarmatians, and reveals the masterpieces of their art; the concluding section is devoted to the Huns. A few pages at the end contain a chronological diagram of the more important events which took place between 4000 B.C. and about A.D. 500, the period of the development of ancient nomadic societies, followed by a wide range of selected bibliography.

The plan, as set out above, has not in fact been followed strictly, and in the early sections is virtually abandoned. The first section, 'The Nomad Peoples of the Steppe', is really a description of the Tripolye culture, the bearers of which were neither nomads nor steppe dwellers. In the next section, 'The Rise of Pastoral Societies', only a few lines are devoted to the early, true steppe pastoralists of Europe, who are summarily dismissed under the obsolete name of the Ochre-Grave cultures. After all, these peoples constituted the population of the whole East European steppe belt extending over a distance of nearly 1000 miles east of the Dniester and the Southern Bug up to the Urals. Furthermore, the collective name of the 'Ochre-Graves culture' comprises three consecutive but distinct cultures which jointly developed during a period of about one and a half millennia. They all played an important role in the past of the entire European steppe, but also to a greater or lesser extent in that of other parts of our continent. Not even a single drawing or picture refers to any of these. The question of the origin of the Indo-Europeans, to whose migrations the third section is devoted, is debatable. But if the earliest wave of these peoples had really reached Anatolia via the Caucasus, as suggested in P's book, the only people who can be taken into account as the earliest representatives of the original Indo-Europeans, are precisely the bearers of the Yamnaya, or Pit-Grave culture, the earliest of the so stingily treated 'Ochre-Graves culture'.

In a book of this type, a considerable condensation of the material, its selection and simplification of the often controversial issues is inevitable and self-evident. However, it does not seem that this should go so far as to disregard the aim of the book which is given in the introduction, to present the earlier phases of the long and complicated history of the nomads as an interconnected whole. The passing over of the early East European steppe cultures in search of a more attractive and alluring material should have been avoided even in such a popular work.

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DEMARGNE (P.) **Aegean art: the origins of Greek art.** Trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons. (The arts of mankind, 6.) London: Thames and Hudson. 1964. Pp. ix + 447. 539 illus. (incl. 124 in colour and 37 maps and plans). 2 chronological tables. £8 8s.

This lavish picture book in the 'Arts of Mankind' series (edited by André Malraux and George Salles) assembles an impressive corpus of Aegean material, ranging in time from the Neolithic period until the late seventh century B.C. The inclusion of parallel material from Anatolia, Cyprus and the Levant is a welcome innovation in a work of this kind; for, as the author wisely points out, it is no longer profitable to study early Aegean art in complete isolation.

The illustrations occupy about 70 per cent of the 447 pages. The colour pictures are of uneven quality: the blues are often too dominant, and the reds too weak; the Mycenaean gold is sadly lacking in Pindar's *αθόμενον πῶρ*. The monochromes, on the other hand, are of a consistently high standard. Especially successful are the photographs of figurines, where the lighting is carefully suited to the style of the work: the flatness of the Early Cycladic marbles is well contrasted with the livelier and rounder modelling of the MM terracottas from Petsofa. Less praiseworthy is the choice of scale, which often varies inversely according to the size of the object: a particularly unfortunate instance may be seen in figs. 487-8, where a whole page is filled by part of a small Laconian ivory, followed by the monumental korē of Nikandrē, reduced to two-and-a-half inches. The over-enlargement of details is sometimes tasteless as well as wasteful (figs. 209, 214). The scale of the pictures can only be learned from the notes at the back, where many of the descriptions are inadequate. Some readers may be perplexed by the complete absence of any reference in the text to the illustrations—a fault which seems to be characteristic of this series.

So much for the pictures; in the text, Professor Demargne is given too little space to offer us anything more than a sketchy commentary on the vast field which he has to cover. His writing is lively, and pleasantly free from art-historical jargon; but there are occasions when one wishes that he had been allowed more room to develop his many stimulating ideas. A long familiarity with Mallia has inclined him to the view that Cretan architecture reached its 'classical' phase in the First Palaces—an architecture distinguished by coherent planning and simple monumental lines; and that these qualities were thrown to the winds in the more complex and 'anarchic' Late Minoan rebuilding of the other Palaces. The author suggests that the same progression may be observed in the other Minoan arts (p. 94), but the argument is never followed up. Similarly, towards the end of the book, the author makes many illuminating observations about the origin of the Orientalising movement, and a generous proportion of Oriental objects are included among the pictures to illustrate his points. But in order to follow the whole of his argument, where much of the Oriental imagery is traced back to the influence of Late Mycenaean art, the reader will want to refer back to the fuller exposition of his excellent study, *La Crète dédalique*.

Several errors in this English edition have crept in through the translation, or eluded the proof reader; and many statements will need revision in any future edition, so fast is the progress of Aegean archaeology. P. 46: fig. 53 is surely placed too early; cf. now the new stone chalices from Zakro. P. 68: it is surprising to find no mention of EH Lerna, and the House of Tiles. P. 183: the following remark on the Mycenaean Shaft Graves defies emendation: 'The tombs . . . are

of the Early Minoan type as is the Minoan pottery, whose inferiority to the Cretan jewellery is evident.' P. 187, on Vaphio cup II: the bulls are hardly drawing a plough! P. 203, l. 24: for 'earliest' read 'later'. P. 204: with the discovery of Linear B on the Acropolis of Mycenae in 1960, the palace records can no longer be considered lost. P. 219: the origins of Mycenaean architecture are less obscure if the MH megaron (not mentioned here) is taken into account. P. 235: the 'Close Style' is ignored both in the pictures and in the text, where LH III C is dismissed as a mere simplification of III B. P. 250: the northern newcomers arrive in Troy in the VII B 2 phase. P. 252 the Mycenaean pottery in Cilicia is LH III C, not Submycenaean. P. 251, l. 2: for 'southeast' read 'southwest'. P. 253: after the researches of Catling, few scholars will now accept the establishment of Achaean colonies in Cyprus before 1200 B.C.; and it is difficult to see the Enkomi ivories (p. 254) as post-Mycenaean. P. 268, l. 15: for 'Crete' read 'Cyprus'. P. 274, l. 6: for 'west' read 'east'. P. 275, l. 33: the association of Rhodes with Ionia can be traced well back into the East Greek Geometric style. P. 279, l. 2 ff. The 'Ionian problem', which perplexed our grandfathers, can now be buried: Greek art did not originate in Ionia. P. 290, bottom: the second half of the eighth century is precisely the time when local Geometric styles break free of Attic influence. P. 315, last two lines: reverse 'seventh' and 'eighth'. The assumption of a 'Subgeometric period' is confusing. P. 347, l. 33: for 'tabors' read 'tympana'. P. 379: can the bronze statues from Dreros be called 'Dedalic'? P. 398: the deeper levels at Sardis were reached in 1958.

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VERMEULE (E.) **Greece in the Bronze Age.** Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xx + 406. 48 plates. 52 text figures. £3 12s.

Greece here means the Greek mainland and islands. Crete and the Minoan civilisation are reserved for a companion volume by Miss Mellink. Over two-thirds of the book are in fact concerned with the Mycenaean Late Bronze Age. The language of the Linear B scripts is taken to be Greek with the corollary that the Greeks were already in Greece by the Shaft Grave period. These views are now so widely held that many people are unaware that they are disputable. The author admits that critics of the decipherment exist; but they are 'few' (which is no doubt true) and 'bitter' (which on the whole is not) (p. 138). Where these views are held they tend to stimulate a quest for differences between Minoan (non-Greek) and Mycenaean (that is, Greek) civilisation and art. The difficulty is to find artistic differences which really amount to more than the differences inevitable between the art of metropolitan centres and provincial art whether in Crete or on the mainland. The

author claims to see Greekness in Mycenaean art (e.g. pp. 99, 126); but notes that the 'tectonic symmetry' thought to distinguish mainland Mycenaean from Minoan art is merely a symptom of the degeneration which affects all art cycles (p. 134). If this Greekness really exists in Mycenaean art to distinguish it from Minoan (something distinct that is from what can be interpreted as a mere difference between metropolitan and provincial, or between fine early and late degenerate work) it should be possible to isolate and define it in the case of a numerous class of objects like gems. The author is evidently puzzled by the lack of a distinctive mainland style in these (p. 224).

In religion as well as art a fundamental difference between Minoan and Mycenaean (Greek) is claimed (p. 282 f.). Of fine objects found on the mainland the Vafio cups and perhaps the ivory triad from Mycnae (p. 220) are allowed to be Minoan. But tholos tombs are of mainland origin. A chasm in time is created between them and the early circular tombs of Crete by assuming that all of the latter date from E. M. II (p. 121); although some are certainly M. M., even M. M. II-III, in construction. The important distinction between tholos tombs used by families for repeated burials after the manner of the early Cretan communal tombs, and royal or princely tombs for one burial occasion, is ignored.

The sealings from E. H. II Lerna are assumed to have been made by mainland seals, not Cretan (p. 37 f.). 'It is too easy, and unfair to Early Helladic art, to hold that the best designs were copied from Cretan seals' (p. 39); still more unfair, no doubt, to consider that the sealings were actually made by Cretan seals. If they were not, it is logical, even if unfair to Cretan art, to regard the most famous of all early Minoan ivory seals, the dove from Platanos, as an Early Helladic product: which the author seems to do (fig. 5d. Cf. *VTM* pl. IV no. 516). The sealing from Troy II (fig. 5c), also grouped as Early Helladic, has counterparts from Phaistos and (an actual seal) from Dyn. XII Egypt (*Annuario N.S.* xix-xx (1957-8) 95 fig. 217. Cf. Newberry, *Scarabs* 91. fig. 100).

The account of Knossos (p. 144 f.) suffers from the confusion which results from the use of the terms LM IA, LM IB, LM II etc. to denote styles instead of merely periods of time. (The periods are distinguishable by differences in the pottery; but a given shape of vase or style of decoration, e.g. Plant Style, may last through several periods.) It was clear to Evans that LM IA, LM IB and LM II were successive chronological periods; the new excavations (1957-61) at Knossos have confirmed this with deposits of LM IA, LM IB and LM II stratified in places one above another. Whatever the date of the destruction of the 'Last Palace' at Knossos (the author's account of the controversy about this and about the date of the Linear B tablets is very garbled, p. 138 f.), it was distinctly later than the destructions of Mallia, Phaistos and Zakro in LM IB. The LM IIIA pottery from Zakro was not from the destruction

level of the palace (p. 147): there was a reoccupation of the site in LM III. This fusing of periods leads the author to imagine that Linear A was in use at the same time as Linear B (p. 241). All the writing so far recovered, however, from the LM IB destruction levels is in Linear A. The confusion extends to Keos, where the LM IB destruction is equated with that of the 'Last Palace' at Knossos (p. 285).

P. 77. MM defence walls appear to have existed at Mallia. P. 140. The imported Minoan vases are surely from Grave Circle B, not A. P. 261. The chariot on a tablet from Tyliisos has been dissolved by Caratelli into signs and scratches. Why so much about Mycenaean 'Empire' in view of an express disbelief in it (pp. 237, 266)?

With much that is controversial there is a great deal of sound and up-to-date information; often in the footnotes, some of which are small essays, terse and clear. Additional detailed references might have increased the value of the book. E.g. p. 26, iron axe, from Early Bronze Age Asine? P. 299, the same family using a Mycenaean chamber tomb into Geometric times? Appendix I is particularly tantalising without references.

The conversational, at times saucy and irreverent style, give the book a character all its own.

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TAYLOUR (W.) **The Mycenaean.** (**Ancient peoples and places, 39.**) London: Thames and Hudson, 1964. Pp. 243. 32 plates. 74 text figures. £1 15s.

This book is a single-volume treatment of Greece in the late Bronze Age, to form part of the series *Ancient Peoples and Places*. The author brings to his task a varied archaeological experience. His treatment starts with an introduction which deals with the story of excavation in Greece and the origin of the Greeks. He then proceeds to divide his material into subjects, which form his chapters. These are, in order, *Written Sources, Pottery and Chronology, Religious and Burial Customs, Houses of the Living and the Dead, Daily Life and the Arts, War and Trade, Rise and Fall of Mycenae*.

A good deal of the Bronze Age record is archaeological, and Taylour is at his best in describing finds. There are excellent descriptions of places of worship (pp. 65-71), burial customs (pp. 80-88) and of the tholos tombs (pp. 112-118). The same can be said of parts of the chapter on daily life, and of the description of weapons and armour (pp. 140-148). In fact, a good cross-section of the archaeological evidence has been assembled, and the author is to be congratulated on this. In addition, the figures in the text are clear, and apt, while the photographs cover a wide range of objects, so that the reader will get a good visual impression of what is available.

The book has therefore many sections of value; but it also has fundamental defects. The first is implicit in

the series. It is too superficial for the specialist, too lacking in references for the student, and assumes too much for the intelligent layman.

This is not necessarily the author's fault. Other defects are. The plan of the book is not particularly systematic. Why, for example, are tholos tombs dealt with in Chapter III and again in Chapter IV? Why are written sources dealt with before pottery and chronology? What impelled the author to take the subject-matter of Chapter V in an order which separates ornaments and gems from gold and silver articles by food and cooking utensils? This is the sort of thing which makes a book confusing for a student. Yet the author includes in his bibliography two books, Wace's *Mycenae* and Pendlebury's *Archaeology of Crete*, which are models of organisation.

There are major omissions, too. For example, there is no systematic discussion of Minoan-Mycenaean relations, though this is vital for L.H. I and II. There is no systematic description of the major sites, something every student needs.

Finally, there is what seems to me a downright uncritical use both of tradition and secondary sources. All archaeologists seem to take out of tradition what they want, and ignore what they don't want. Tylour follows this habit. On p. 167 he equates Neleus with L.H. I (1550-1500) and his son Nestor with the Trojan War (after 1300). Does he really think the Greeks preserved their traditions specially for 20th-century archaeologists to distort? On p. 89 he describes Mycenae as 'the head and chief city of all the principalities of Greece'. On what evidence? No ruler of Mycenae is at any point in the tradition described as overlord of Greece (not even Agamemnon).

With secondary sources the situation is equally bad. These are never quoted, and there is no indication of their grade of reliability. On p. 25 the theory that the Indo-Europeans entered Greece from N.W. Anatolia is described as 'more plausible' than the theory of a Balkan origin. It is in fact sheer guesswork. On p. 166 we are told that 'the Mycenaean first appeared on the scene in the early 16th century'. What evidence is there for this? Tylour has earlier assumed the identity of the Greeks with Minyan Ware. Hasn't he heard of Yellow Minyan? On p. 169 he says that there is pottery evidence to date the fall of Knossos 30-50 years after 1400 B.C. He should have given it; the general archaeological picture in the Eastern Mediterranean from 1400-1350 is completely opposed to this view. On p. 171 the Hittites 'could have had little knowledge of the territory that constituted the Achaean dominion': on the contrary, the king of Ahhiyawa had actually been to stay with the Hittite king, and Suppiluliumas had perhaps exiled a wife to Ahhiyawa. On p. 171 we are told on l.15 that 'Troy had enjoyed a period of almost unbroken prosperity for centuries', and on l.31 that 'about 1300 B.C. the city was shaken by a devastating earthquake, from the effects of which it recovered only gradually'. On p. 172 we are given a

suggestion that Troy was attacked because she was a serious competitor in the textile trade. I suppose Paris was to be regarded rather like a Japanese student coming to Bradford Tech. to steal the patents. Finally, Blegen's views about the date of the Fall of Troy are taken as gospel. It ought to be recognised that these are obtained by a partial disregard of his own archaeological results and a complete disregard of Egyptian and Hittite records. On p. 174 the Danuna are referred to as taking part in the expedition against Merneptah. This escaped Merneptah's notice. Whatever the final interpretation of the archaeological situation at Mycenae between the end of L.H. IIIB and the end of the Bronze Age (and I see no reason why the views expressed on pp. 175-8 should be regarded as more than a tentative hypothesis), they are certainly quite consistent with the traditions about the Peloponnese in the time of Orestes and Tisamenos.

The bibliography is extensive, but shows great gaps, e.g. Myres, *Who were the Greeks?*, Montelius, *La Grèce préclassique*, Nilsson, *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, Casson, *Ancient Cyprus*, Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achaer*, Sommer, *Die Ahhiyawa-Urkunde*, Woolley, *A forgotten Kingdom*, Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, Burn, *Minoans, Greeks and Philistines*.

I am sorry to find so much fault with a brave attempt at synthesis; but it shows the wide gap which excessive specialisation has brought about between excavation and interpretation in an historical context.

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BIANCOFIORE (F.) **La civiltà micenea nell'Italia meridionale. 1. La ceramica.** (Incunabula Graeca, 4.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1963. Pp. 123. 35 plates. 16 figures. Lire 3,000.

This is the fourth volume in the series Incunabula Graeca published under the auspices of Prof. C. Gallavotti. (Through an unfortunate misprint opposite the title page it appears as vol. vi.) This volume is devoted to a detailed study of the Mycenaean pottery found in south Italy and more particularly at Scoglio del Tonno, Taranto, which produced by far the greatest quantity of sherds. Every significant fragment has been illustrated though unfortunately without scale, and dimensions are seldom given in the text. In his analysis of the pottery Dr Biancofiore classifies it under the headings of Mycenaean IIIA, IIIB and IIIC. His distinctions are sometimes inclined to be arbitrary. It is never easy to decide in borderline cases, and elsewhere the author rightly emphasises the danger of too fine chronological subdivisions based on style. A classical example is the pottery from the *House of Petsas* (Praktika, 1950) which was obviously all of one date, yet some of the vases could be classified on stylistic grounds as late IIIA and others as IIIB. Where there is doubt Dr Biancofiore seems to prefer IIIA. Consequently a great part of the material is placed in that category and later he

draws the conclusion that the greatest period of Mycenaean activity in south Italy was in IIIA or the fourteenth century B.C. This would be surprising as there is far more IIIB than IIIA pottery in the Mycenaean world in general. What is more serious is that certain vases have been attributed to IIIA that belong to a later category. Pl. II: 101 (overpainting in white) is not only placed in IIIA but there is a suggestion that it may even be as early as Myc. II. Prof. Furumark argues persuasively for a IIIB IIIC date. One should give better reasons than here adduced if one disagrees with so distinguished an authority. Similarly, Pl. XXII: 212 is given a high dating but, though the design is unusual, it suggests parallels with cephalopods of IIIB overpainted in white. Unaccountably a jug (Pl. XIV: 79) is dated as IIIA but compared to a very similar vase from Asine which is IIIC. Two other jugs (pl. xiv: 187, 188) are called IIIA. Of these 187 I believe to be a local imitation and it is in any event late (it has matt paint); 188 has a design without any Mycenaean parallel and the paint is matt. The stirrup-jar fragment, Pl. X: 129, cannot be called IIIA. The disc of the false neck has a low conical mound, a recognised late feature, and the shoulder has a matt-painted IIIC design. On the other hand, Pl. XIII: 149 (Curve-stemmed spiral) is attributed to IIIB whereas Furumark believes this pattern to be early IIIA; and Pl. XXI: 185 is not IIIC but IIIB. Dr Biancofiore has assumed that the dotted decoration over semi-circles is exclusively IIIC, but it is found earlier, particularly in relation to the stylised octopus-cum-flower pattern. The author himself refers to an appropriate analogy, a vase from Prosymna which the excavator says is 'of the early Third Late Helladic style'. This particular fragment from south Italy calls for further comment as Dr Biancofiore claims that I have wrongly included it in my book (*Mycenaean Pottery in Italy*) in the Scoglio del Tonno material whereas he says it is from Torre Castelluccia. This is a disturbing thought because the two fragments of this vase (they were subsequently joined) were originally among the Scoglio del Tonno sherds that I studied in the Taranto museum in 1952 and 1955. When he comes to discuss the post-Mycenaean pottery, the author seems to consider a great deal of it as contemporary with the Protogeometric period but among the material there is a considerable number of sherds, the designs on which occur elsewhere in an eighth-century context or later. An unfortunate parallel is made between a carinated bowl from Porto Perone (Pl. XXIX: 1) and a Protogeometric cup from Ithaca (Pl. XXIX: 2). Incidentally, I was shocked to notice that the design on another vase, called sub-Mycenaean, had been 'amended' as can be seen by comparing Pl. XXIX: 204 with Pl. 15: 16 in my book (the same vase). Many other examples could be quoted where I disagree with the author's attributions. I do not by any means wish to imply that my views are necessarily correct, but where the material is fragmentary and

often ambiguous I do not think that Dr Biancofiore shows sufficient caution in his judgments. His conclusions do not differ greatly from those arrived at in my own book. He draws attention to Rhodian and Cypriot imports of pottery, but would confine the former to the IIIC period. He recognises influences from the Ionian Islands during IIIC and later. He believes that the bulk of the imports, for the earlier periods at least, came from the Greek mainland, and in support of this thesis draws attention to the green quality of the clay found in certain vases from the Argolid; but in his catalogue of the south Italian pottery there are only a limited number with this colour of clay and those vases that I think could be of Rhodian origin (Argonaut design and three-handled jars with boss decoration) are not among them. I may have over-emphasised the influence of Rhodes but I think that there is little doubt that its wares are represented in the earlier period. The author has included a chapter on the chemical analysis of sherds from Taranto, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Rhodes, but the samples chosen were poor and few in number. The results of the analysis are rather inconclusive. A map (Fig. 15) gives the localities of the Mycenaean finds and the presumed routes taken from the Aegaeon but the information provided is inaccurate and tendentious. Ischia is shown as not having been visited before IIIC, whereas at least two IIIA sherds were found on that island. On the other hand, it is suggested that the north Adriatic was visited in IIIA and IIIB, on what grounds I do not know. There are several misprints, some of them unfortunate: p. 8, *Myc. Attica* is attributed to C. Schaeffer *vice* F. H. Stubbings; p. 15, Prosymna is equated with Berbati; p. 45, n. 7, the 'House of the Oil Merchant' is referred to Wace's 1921-2 excavations; p. 56, a jug is compared to FM 226 which is a cup; p. 93, XX: 185 should be XXI: 185. The plates are good and give a very complete corpus of the Mycenaean pottery in south Italy, but some of the sherds are shown upside down or askew.

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MATZ (F.) and BIESANTZ (H.) *Ed. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel. 1. Die minoischen und mykenischen Siegel des Nationalmuseums in Athen, bearb. von A. Sakellariou.* Berlin: Gebr. Mann. 1964. Pp. xxiii + 544. Numerous illus.

This, the start of a long-term project, may perhaps mark the beginning of a new awareness in Archaeology of unused evidence. The book is more than it appears at first sight, a superb photographic record of the seals and sealings of Minoan and Mycenaean character in the National Museum at Athens; it is a compilation of material hitherto fitfully published or admired, but rarely given its rightful place in archaeological and historical research.

Since among the large variety of types in the

Minoan and Mycenaean seal uses, a certain number of important examples are datable, with the kind of evidence this book offers, a record of development-patterns is possible, so the value of this project for the archaeology of the Aegean of the Bronze Age is considerable.

For this work, first the editor must be congratulated, and the German Academy warmly thanked for a venture which few illustrious bodies could afford or be willing to undertake. The foreword details eleven fascicles—some of which must, by the number of seals and sealings to be recorded, be subdivided. Seals and sealings are still being discovered in Crete and Greece in the course of excavation: sometimes by chance. These must be dealt with in the future; and if the Homeric tradition of seventy cities in Crete is based upon a trustworthy legend, and archaeologists are well equipped to deal with the remains of them, the number of fascicles will inevitably increase.

The arrangement of the book is admirable. One seal to a page, beautifully photographed in itself and in its impression, illustrated by a drawing of the impression with an appropriate description and references. For this, presumably the editor is responsible—now perhaps the doyen of Cretan Archaeologists—and that precise organisation which is a mark of German scholarship.

The plan, apparent from the foreword, that for the most part scholars will be responsible for cataloguing the collections in their own countries, follows the classic example of *CVI*, and is also desirable.

Thus it was fitting that a Greek scholar should be asked to provide the first volume, that of the material in the Athens National Museum.

The outlook of Mme Sakellariou is clear from most of her preface. So that if exception be taken to the wording of the sixth paragraph (p. ix)—no one would of course deny the fundamental importance of the find groups or of their chronological bearing, yet to imply that the chronology of the whole group is contemporaneous with that of the individual seals within the group, spells obscurantism and makes any typological appreciation of seal types merely an aesthetic exercise, and the presence of earlier seal stones in later contexts impossible—one must hasten to add that Mme. Sakellariou appears to realise this in her mention of the Perati Tombs. Indeed her summary on p. x of the general chronological divisions culled from the excavation finds is excellent. Except for the absence of fully developed LM II styles in the Vapheio Deposit, one might have wondered if in the four-fold stylistic division of that group and its chronological references, the letter H had slipped in by mistake for M, since apart from perhaps three isolated instances of talismanic stones on the mainland, there appears to be no evidence, as in Crete, of a specific talismanic use. Still, in spite of this strange appreciation of the Vapheio seals, the clearness of the chronological summary in her foreword is excellent, and so too the general arrangement and grouping of the sealstones that follow.

The indices reach the usual high standard of German editing.

It was good to start with the Neolithic Section. If only as a reminder that the seals of Thessaly were among the earliest, as far as is known, of Helladic Greece. They also provide in this format a good marginal prelude to the sudden beauty of the seals of Mycenae. Nor would the clay seals and intricate sealings of Lerna, had they been included, done anything to enhance it.¹ Starting rightly, not with the Schliemann treasures, but with the astonishing finds from the grave *Circle B*, dated LH 1—pre-Mycenaean, as it is sometimes called—the seals and signets of the Shaft graves in *Circle A* are seen not as *ex caelo*, but in their rightful place, representative of a flourishing Cretan-Helladic *milieu* on the mainland. Related to and overlapping the sealstones of the grave *Circle B*, their hitherto unbalanced character is redressed by the seals from the later discovery. The proportion of gold signets, for example, is sensibly reduced.

The importance of Mycenae for Helladic glyptic use is seen, and from a conspectus of mainland seal use, without undue chronological disarrangement, further groups are placed against the background of this great fundamental use. The Chamber Tombs follow in due course, and with the enormous wealth and variety of seals—including some fine Cretan examples, a number of which had been damaged in antiquity, the impact is great. It is not generally realised, but here is eloquent proof of the position of Mycenae in the tale of Helladic seal use, that of the 413 seals and sealings in this catalogue found on the mainland, 174 were from Mycenae, nearly one half of the whole.

Mycenae overshadows Tiryns completely, but Mme Sakellariou has given full scope to the six magnificent photographs by Albiker of the great gold ring from the Tiryns hoard. It seems clear that from the searching character of the photographs, the possibility held earlier by some scholars, that the genuineness of the ring should be suspected, rapidly disappears.

Here is seen the excellence of much of Albiker's work. Not only in the provision of beautiful photographs which give in a unique way the sense of the material and the character of the motif, but the character of the seal itself. If, as in some cases, shadows in the photographs of the impressions loom too large, for this, an admitted difficulty, there appears no ready solution. The cutting of the forms or figures on some seals is so deep, as to constitute nearly one half of the contour of the form concerned, admirable in execution as in effect, but casting a proportionate shadow in the impression, with attendant difficulties for photography, even when, as in the case of the discoids or gold rings the,

¹ Since these seals and sealings are kept in the Argos Museum, they are to be published in another fascicle.

field is flat. But, if in addition, as in the case of the lentoids and amygdaloids, the field is fully convex, part of the photograph of the impression is generally in shadow, which attempts to remove, either diminishes the sense of concavity or the contrast of light and shade, which form part of the seal impression's sculptural character.

But if Mycenae overshadows Tiryns, it could not, except in number, dwarf the seals from Midea, nor detract from the regal character of those seals. It is one of the merits of this production, that it shows clearly not only details of the individual pieces in a way never seen before, but gives at the same time something of an historical perspective. Thus the lentoid 185 from Dendra, marking perhaps one of the highest points of Helladic glyptic, is seen as a summit towards which the fine mainland products from Mycenae and Pylos—with some of the Rutsi seals to remind us of the spur and incentive Cretan seals still provided—are progressive stages, and from which the later products of Menidi, Mycenae and Perati show inevitable decline. So, one is a little puzzled by the relative positions in the book of the seals from Dendra and those from Vapheio. From their respective inventory numbers the date of their discovery is implied, and from the clearly advertised dates in the excavation reports of all the groups between, the sequence would have seemed inevitable. Had the Vapheio gems been thus placed earlier and indeed on the accepted chronology of the tomb, even apart from some of the contents which are adjudged earlier, i.e. before Midea and Dendra, a more accurate historical conspectus would have emerged.

It is in the Vapheio group that the Greek draughtsman Mr A. Papaihopoulos has given some of his more accurate interpretations. But what has happened to the drawings of the Tragana and Rutsi seal impressions? Since they are not signed, they may be the work of a third hand, the excellent work of Piet De Jong being easily recognisable apart from his occasionally signed work. For one scholar at least, the abrupt change in style and the heavy cumbersome character of the drawing of these pieces has removed the opportunity of any real stylistic analysis and comparison with the seals of Dendra, Vapheio and Mycenae, which in the case both of Rutsi and Tragana are important for the assessment of Minoan influence. So too, alas, in the seals of the Vagena Tomb (nos. 294-9). A further decline occurred in some of the drawings of the Pylos sealings, again of the highest importance. A casual observer, until he realised no. 308 was an ancient sealing, could be forgiven if he was misled in thinking that the drawing of no. 308 showed a seal—even the counter sign has an engraved quality and shows little relation to the marks from which it is derived. Doubts on the accuracy of the drawings in this section may also arise e.g. in no. 310, are there markings on the loin of the lion? Is the eye of the lion in no. 314 as the drawing or photograph of the sealing? In no. 319 the photograph of the sealing

appears to be more detailed than the drawing. Nos. 332-3 too are reconstructed, while the addition of a nose spoils the otherwise good drawing of no. 344. On 381, a very important sealing, the bovine face has become leonine. Yet many are good, and with them the draughtsman has helped in the understanding of the photographs of the nodules. Notably in nos. 324-9, 331, 342, 368-70, 372-81.

The overall impression of the Pylos section is a revelation. How much poorer our knowledge of glyptic would have been without Carl Blegen's discoveries and the particular and clear presentation of these his finds.

Somehow, too, in these riches we are pictorially prepared for decline, and the sections dealing with Menidi and Perati show it in operation. This contrast and study in decline is so apparent, that it constitutes, if any were needed, a complete justification for the manner of treating the evidence in the Athens volume.

Because of this it would seem churlish to notice any errors of identification—and in any case Mme Sakellariou has wisely included some foreign seals in the tomb groups. It would have been good and informative to the general reader, however, if the Cypriote character of no. 396 from tomb 24 of Perati had been mentioned. It was perhaps too much to hope that since the conventional terms for the Mainland Chronology had been used for the Mainland Tomb Groups, the Cretan section at the end of this volume should have been treated in the same way. It appears fashionable now to use the vaguer *Palace* terms for Cretan chronology, but it came almost as a shock—yet it also reveals the limitations of the new nomenclature to see the term *Zeit der älteren Paläste* come after the section headed *Fruhminoische Siegel*. It must also be confessed that if some of the stones included in this section had had a mainland provenience, they could have been thought to be a provincial use. Some of the smaller signets, e.g. nos. 428-30, are truly Cretan as are nos. 432-4, but are not nos. 432-4 placed too early? This too showing a disadvantage in the use of the new terms. The reader, too, might wonder whether nos. 436, 437, 466 are not variants of the L.M. use of the three-sided prism bead for Late Helladic use. He would also do well to ponder on the authenticity of no. 469.

These few defects, however, are completely outweighed by the merits of the work as a whole and the publication of the evidence in such a generous way. And because of this, and for the future of this great work and its value to scholars, could a more objective standard of drawing be adopted, or some technical means employed whereby the margin of error due to undue personal interpretation be reduced?

The *Camera Lucida* has been used in the past with very good results. If it was used e.g. for the drawings of the Rutsi and Tragana seal impressions and for some of the Pylos sealings—one could only plead for a greater collaboration between the draughtsman and

the scholar preparing the catalogue—unless these drawings were the result of later editorial dealing. One thing is certain; accurate drawings, which are a guide to the eye and sometimes a justifiable interpretation, cannot be dispensed with. Ancient sealings for example can be notoriously difficult to read, until a careful drawing is made of them. Photographs of the impression of the seal are in some cases of no avail, since if the seal has been deeply imprinted into the clay of the nodule, its very depth will invite obscurity, and if the seal has not been deeply imprinted, there is, unless the nodule has been baked or burnt, the probability of wear, scaling surface or discoloration, each of which provides special difficulties for photography.

One *caveat* must be entered. The photographs of the seals and sealings are enlarged. For the reproduction of Cretan seals in actual size in an earlier book, an Homeric epithet was, by one critic, derisively used. In this publication, by the enlarged size, the photographs and drawings are plain to see, sometimes perhaps too plain, and the effects which the engraver had doubtless intended, somewhat nullified. Since, too, there is no visual aid to the actual size of the seal and the arithmetical reference to its size can be easily overlooked, there is a possibility that an unreal world of glyptic may grow up, the progeny of enlarged photographs, two or three times removed from reality.

There can be only one valid reason for any criticism of this work; namely that such a production as this book, the beginning of a great comprehensive and scientific enterprise, deserves all the appreciation and attention a scholar can give. The concept demands the deepest realisation, the most unselfish and painstaking service. The latter, it has obviously received from its editor, who will no doubt relay it to his many collaborators.

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IAKOVIDIS (S.) *Ἡ Μυκηναϊκὴ ἀκρόπολις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*. Athens: the Author. 1962. Pp. 268. 39 maps and plans. 54 text figures. 259 Dr.

Dr Iakovides' discussion of the Mycenaean remains on the Acropolis at Athens is a notable and distinguished contribution to a neglected aspect of Aegean studies. Certainly it is widely recognised that Athens was already important in the Mycenaean period, that the Acropolis was then first fortified and that there was probably a palace on its summit comparable to those at Mycenae and elsewhere. Yet, with the exception of the important and fully reported American discoveries, very little detailed evidence has previously been published to give precision to the subject of Mycenaean Athens. The architectural analysis is greatly enhanced by a full series of Iakovides' own excellently drawn plans, and by a series of photographs, some taken during the excavations of the last century, some more recently.

The book shows some signs of its genesis as a doctoral dissertation for the University of Athens; one of the most welcome is a preface by Professor Marinatos as examiner, containing some stimulating ideas about Mycenaean fortresses in general. In addition to expressing his warm approbation of Iakovides' work, Marinatos records certain reservations at some of his findings.

At the outset, Iakovides comments on the literary testimonia, conveniently collected in an appendix, and enumerates the many excavations and investigations that have taken place on the Acropolis and its slopes. This preparation is most useful when later he refers to the circumstances of discovery of particular Mycenaean features. This section is completed by an account of his predecessors' views on the Mycenaean Acropolis and its problems.

The main part of the book opens with a description of the physical features of the Acropolis, showing why this hill was chosen in preference to any of its neighbours as a focus for settlement and a place of refuge. An account is then given of the pre-Mycenaean finds. Occupation of the area has been continuous since the Neolithic period, apart from a possible interruption in Early Helladic times. Part of a Neolithic house, pits with Neolithic and Early Helladic pottery, Middle Helladic foundations and graves combine to illustrate the modest farming community which for centuries occupied the lower slopes.

Iakovides has divided the Mycenaean occupation of the Acropolis into three architectural phases; only during the last of these was the site fortified. Phase I (dated to Late Helladic I) can only claim the remains of a large construction with stone-built foundations found below the court north of the Erechtheum. Its purpose is unknown. To Phase II is attributed a series of five terraces, of widely ranging sizes and shapes, which occupied much of the area later covered by the Archaic temple and the Erechtheum. Terraces I and II immediately adjoin the north-east approach path; a longer but easier access doubtless came up the west side. No trace, of course, remains of the buildings which must have stood on these phase II terraces. Iakovides quotes pottery evidence suggesting that the phase II terraces are no earlier than the beginnings of Mycenaean IIIB pottery. The terraces continued in use during phase III; somewhere amongst them the palace must have stood, even if the positive evidence for its existence is limited to a column base found near the Erechtheum (not *in situ*) and two finely cut sandstone slabs possibly used as steps. Ill-preserved parts of other buildings belonging to phase III have been found sheltering within the fortification wall, notably in the south and south-east part of the circuit. It was in a deposit between the outer wall of one of these houses and the inner face of the fortification that the well-known Acropolis hoard of bronze objects (illustrated by Montelius) was found.

It was the construction of the Cyclopean fortification wall, however, which characterised phase III.

Rightly, Iakovides has focused his main attention on the wall, whose course around the edge of the rock he follows and reconstructs in the minutest detail. He begins with the bastion protecting the west entrance, found by Balanos below the Nike bastion, and proceeds clockwise around the fortress to conclude with one of the best-preserved sections remaining, that immediately adjoining the south-west wing of the Propylaea. He argues that the Mycenaean engineers built the wall along the line of the edge of the rock, which enables him to reconstruct its course with considerable precision in those many areas where it has disappeared without trace. The wall fluctuated between 3.0 and 5.0 m. in thickness; its full height is nowhere preserved, though Iakovides suggests that it must have been at least in the 8.0–10.0 m. range. The height of 16 m. he proposes for the west bastion seems a little excessive and may, as Marinatos objects, be too much for stability. The particular character of the Cyclopean masonry leads Iakovides to think that the builders were influenced by the engineering at Tiryns rather than at Mycenae.

The construction of the wall on the north side of the Acropolis led to the discovery of the natural fissure in the rock at the bottom of which lay the north spring. The building of the remarkably ingenious staircase leading eight flights down to the water-level 34.5 m. below the ground level may have taken place immediately after the completion of the wall, at the end of the Mycenaean IIIB period. The need to make use of a water-supply so difficult of access is an eloquent testimony to the dangerous days through which Athens was passing, almost as eloquent as the building of the fortification itself.

There is a difficulty about the north-east entrance which, in phase II, had brought the traveller up to the summit at a passageway between terraces I and II. The Cyclopean wall seems originally to have had an entrance at this point, subsequently blocked, and it is a little difficult to follow Iakovides' argument that the three narrow walls with interspaces between them which form the blocking are part of the original construction of the wall, and are in fact the remains of an internal staircase with double flight providing access to the rampart walk; such a coincidence would be very surprising, and it is easier to suppose there was a north-east entrance in the first arrangement of the fortress, however soon it may have been blocked. Apparently, as soon as this entrance was abolished, houses were built outside the blocked-up gate overlying the stepped path that had led to it, these houses were short-lived, however, and Broncer concluded from a comparison of the pottery he found in them with that from the north spring that they were deserted while the spring was still in use. The use of the spring did not last more than twenty-five years; the lifespan of these extra-mural houses, therefore, need not have been much more than ten or fifteen years.

The Mycenaean arrangements at the west entrance are also difficult to reconstruct: Iakovides' solution is not entirely convincing, as he rejects any idea that the

bastion could be a westward continuation of the south circuit of the wall (a proposal which, certainly, is not without serious difficulties). He restores a double gateway, the outer (dominated by the bastion) facing east-west, the inner, north-south and overlooked by the surviving stretch of wall that faces the Nike temple. This leaves a most awkward-looking south-facing passage that leads straight from the inner doorway to the south edge of the rock, and would have been completely pointless, unless it served as a rubbish-chute. The comparison Iakovides draws between this arrangement and the Lion-Gate complex at Mycenae would be more apposite if only the bastion could be attached to the south wall without the intervention of this otiose passage.

The problem of the precise whereabouts of the Pelargikon—the outer bailey of the Acropolis—is an intractable one; it is easier to raise doubts about Iakovides' solution than suggest an alternative. According to the testimonia, it was in an area adjoining the north-west corner of the Acropolis, on a slightly levelled area in the neighbourhood of the caves. As the author points out, it is no use trying to solve the problem by ignoring the testimonia, as some have done. Yet it is difficult to believe the Pelargikon can have been as small as Iakovides suggests—some 70 m. long, east-west, with an average width of little more than 12 m. Nearly 100 m. of Cyclopean wall would have been needed to enclose this little area, which seems an uneconomic proposition. It is tempting to wonder (with Marinatos) whether, in fact, the Pelargikon did not extend much further east, even as far as the area of the north-east entrance. This might help to explain, if so, the building of those short-lived houses immediately outside the blocked-up entrance in the main enceinte.

Iakovides discusses, as fully as the evidence allows, the chronology of the Mycenaean occupation of the Acropolis. We know of nothing between the L.H.I. house by the Erechtheum and the building of the terraces in the first part of the thirteenth century B.C. Thereafter there is much more data. The fortification was built towards the end of the thirteenth century: so was the north spring, so were the houses outside the blocked north-east entrance. These were abandoned at the very end of the century (or at the end of Myc. IIIB), while the north spring was disused in the first years of the twelfth century, which saw the building of new houses within the Acropolis. All this is in keeping with the pattern of events elsewhere in Greece. The one thing which does not stand out in this account of the fortress of Athens is the proof that it never fell to an enemy during the last years of the Bronze Age. The Athenians said it stood firm—can we trust them?

Dr Iakovides has put us in his debt by providing this stimulating account of an excessively difficult site. The debt should be repaid by increased attention for the problems of Mycenaean Athens.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. H. W. CATLING.

OIKONOMIDES (A. N.) **The two agoras in ancient Athens.** Chicago: Argonaut. 1964. Pp. xix + 121. 4 plans. \$4.95.

The Leitmotiv of the book is the author's view that the Athenians after the Persian Wars moved their agora, i.e. civic centre, from an original position on the south-west slope of the Acropolis to the familiar site in the Kerameikos. This hypothesis is presented in the Introduction and is then documented by two groups of literary and epigraphical testimonia, the first of which (59 items) relates to the 'Agora in the Old Town', the second (124 items) to the 'Later Agora in Kerameikos'. The second compilation is intended by O. to supplement and correct R. E. Wycherley's book, *The Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (volume III in the series on the Agora Excavations published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957); in fact, however, many of O.'s addenda are of dubious relevance, and very few are of topographical significance.

No serious student of Athenian topography would question the likelihood of there having been a primitive agora somewhere on the upper slopes of the Acropolis in the period when the settlement was largely confined to the hill. But the exact location of such an older agora and the time when the downward shift occurred are evidently still matters for debate. O.'s choice of site, the extremely steep and irregular south-west slope of the Acropolis, appears so unsuitable as a centre for the community life even of a village as to require the support of very cogent evidence. Yet the only specific piece of evidence adduced by O. is a second-hand quotation from the Hellenistic grammarian Apollodoros according to which 'the title Pandemos was given to the goddess (Aphrodite) established in the neighbourhood of the old agora because all the Demos gathered there of old in their assemblies, which they called *Agorai*'. The position of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos is now, to be sure, well established below the bastion of Athena Nike. O. fails to mention, however, that two other sources quite as respectable as Apollodoros give entirely different explanations for the epithet of the goddess. One is driven to suspect that all three ancient authors were groping in the dark. Nor should one rule out the possibility of some confusion in the quotation from Apollodoros between Aphrodite Pandemos at the entrance to the Acropolis and Aphrodite Leader of the Demos whose altar has been found *in situ* near the north-west corner of the agora in the Kerameikos.

A more likely clue to the location of the early Agora (not considered by O.) is the probability of its close association with the Prytaneion which must have constituted a part of the original civic centre. For the Prytaneion Pausanias' account (i 18, 3-4) indicates a position on the north-west slope of the Acropolis.

The basis for O.'s late dating of the shift in location also proves on examination to be far from solid. It is claimed that the selection of a more spacious site

for the civic centre was necessitated by an influx of population from the country to the city after the Persian invasion. This runs directly counter to the statement of Thucydides (ii 16, 1) according to which the majority of the Athenians repaired the damage done by the Persians and continued to live in the country until the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. We are told, moreover, that the excavation of the Agora in the Kerameikos has brought to light no shrine older than the early fifth century. Here again the argument runs foul of Thucydides (vi 54, 6) who records the foundation of the Altar of the Twelve Gods by the younger Peisistratos in his archonship (522 1 B.C.). This sanctuary, securely identified in the north-west corner of the Agora in the Kerameikos, presupposes the earlier development of that area as a public place. Two more early and important sanctuaries are shown by abundant literary evidence to have been established in the area of the same Agora already in the time of the Peisistratids. One is the Leokorion, now recognisable in the north-east corner of the square, the other is the Theseion which has recently been shown to have bordered the south side of the square: an eminently appropriate site for the heroised founder (*oikistes*) of the city. If still more specific evidence were desired one might point to 'the boundary marker of the Agora' which stands *in situ* at the south-west corner of the Agora in the Kerameikos and which is shown both by its letter forms and by stratification to date from c. 500 B.C.

If we accept the date in the early sixth century which is indicated by the recent excavations for the beginning of the agora in the Kerameikos we need no longer be concerned about several of O.'s secondary contentions which are now seen to be groundless, e.g. the view that there were sanctuaries of Theseus on both the north and the south slopes of the Acropolis, that the name 'Enneakrounos' was transferred from a fountain house at the south to one at the north foot of the hill, that the early orchestra and its *ikria* were located not in the open space of the Agora in the Kerameikos but on the steep south slope of the Acropolis (where of course they make no sense).

O. has little patience with most other students of Athenian topography. Even R. E. Wycherley is regarded as having 'forced the source evidence to agree with the topographical theories of the Agora staff' (p. xvii). The unprejudiced reader, however, may well prefer the work of the English scholar, marked as it is by the meticulous compilation and judicious assessment of evidence, to the present volume which is riddled with factual errors and which betrays on every page its author's blind adherence to an ill conceived initial hypothesis.

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BROMMER (F.) **Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel: Katalog und Untersuchung.** Text and plates. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

1963. Pp. xi + 180, xi. 152 plates. 15 text figures. DM 128.

This excellent work begins with an introduction in which the author is more than generous to his predecessors, though as he rightly observes the fundamental publications of Michaelis, A. H. Smith and M. Collignon are out of print, and much has been done since their day. His declared aim is to include in catalogue form all the figures and fragments ascribed to the pedimental groups of the Parthenon, and to give illustrations not only of the principal aspects of the figures but also of as many subsidiary views as possible. The plates alone would give us every reason to be grateful to him, but he also points out that earlier publications often neglect such essential matters as overall dimensions, which are now given. Then the scheme of this work is set out; first, a series of catalogues, with bibliography, comments on interpretation, style, technical details and an art-historical examination—the last serving yet again to show how artificial is the boundary between archaeology and the history of art; and an account of ancient copies and more recent drawings and reconstructions. The second part gives a more general treatment of each pediment as a whole.

One general criticism; the purchaser of a new and expensive work of this kind might reasonably expect it to be self-contained; completeness in the illustrations is hardly to be expected, given the present cost of book production; but text is less expensive. It is, however, still necessary to go back to Smith, Michaelis, and the author's own previous publications for much detail, and the discussion of many problems; for the reasons (not always compelling) for assigning a given fragment to a specific place in a pediment; and for much of the basic information about pieces in the subsidiary catalogues. This partial enumeration shows the unwisdom of quoting, with apparent approval, a verbal remark by Rodenwaldt: 'The Parthenon, with the sculpture from it, ranks among the worst published monuments'; demonstrably nonsense, if the author endorses this melancholy verdict, since a substantial part of his work consists of supplementary notes and comments on the remarks of his predecessors. In addition, the book is not always as easy to use as it might have been.

To start with the catalogue of the principal pieces; here it is fairly easy to find references elsewhere in the book, since one need only turn to the appropriate index at the end. East pediment: A; it is certainly remarkable that the right side of the neck is smooth and unweathered; indeed, this area, though black, has a high polish and in fact reflects the light; something of the same kind is also to be seen on parts of the reclining figure from the West pediment. Can the sudden change of surface at the back really be due to weathering alone? One would have thought that the figure's left side, being towards the wall of the pediment, would have been more protected than the right. D; the drill-hole in the broken part of the leg does not look modern; the remains of an ancient re-

pair, rather than piecing? G; the quotations support the author's statement on the diversity of views about the style; his own comparisons include the woman on slab 525 from Bassae and Carpenter, *Nike Parapet* pl. 30, left. The trick with the folds round the left ankle might be a forerunner of the later treatment, but otherwise the links are tenuous; the pose becomes part of the stock-in-trade of Greek art, and the modelling and proportions are very different in all three works; the similarities are slight and superficial. K, L and M; in addition to the huge, brutal cuttings in the shoulder of L and in the rock below, the right side of K was also heavily undercut, and it may well be that as a result it was unstable even when complete (it certainly is now); hence the necessity for fixing it to the wall of the tympanum by means of a large dowel fitted in the socket at the back of the neck. O; nothing said of the large cutting in the lower part of the neck, on the side towards the wall of the pediment, presumably for a fastening to hold it in place; the omission is surprising, since on pp. 26 and 36 the author notes the possibility that this head, like the torso of Selene, was held in place by dowels. No mention of the way the marble round this cutting has been knocked away by coarse blows with a punch; done by Lusieri's men? No illustration of that side of the head. One has to go to p. 26, on P, for even an oblique reference to the cutting in the top of the head, presumably for the raking cornice. West pediment, A. The author offers an attractive explanation for the curious treatment of the left leg; that the underside of the figure was cut away after completion to reduce the height. One may suspect that this reduction was not uniform (otherwise the left hand and whatever it rested on would have been rather high), but increased from right to left; in other words the figure now slopes more steeply to the left than was originally intended. H; here it is particularly unfortunate that nothing is said about the drill-holes on the upper part of the chest—doubtless because they are mentioned by Smith in *Catalogue* (one of them also in Michaelis, 194, citing Burrows); but Smith does not go far enough. It is strange to have a figure with a cloak hanging behind, and no trace of it in front; the holes are too small for the attachment of an extra piece of marble; why cannot the part of the drapery round the front of the neck have been metal? The oblique remark on p. 43 hardly seems adequate. There seems also to be a trace of another drill-hole—visible in the photograph—nearer the lower edge of the ribs to the (proper) right of centre; illusory? L; again unfortunate that there is no word about the evidence for the attachment of snakes and gorgoneion to the aegis; here again we have to go back to Smith's *Catalogue*, undirected. The curious groove which runs almost horizontally, though at different levels, between several folds beneath Athena's right breast passes without comment, though clearly visible (*cf.* pl. 99). Can this be an anticipation of the practice, increasingly common from the fourth century onward, of showing laundry-folds in drapery? If not, what is

it? Nothing about the drill-holes in the neck and ear. N; the drill-hole in the fracture of the left leg; perhaps the lower part of the leg was made separately, as suggested, but again an ancient repair is possible. Again we have to go to Smith for an explicit statement about the sockets in the shoulders; we find later that the author accepts that they were for the attachment of wings. (The installation of this figure in the pediment must have been a delicate matter, with little clearance.) The addition of Smith fragment 127 may not be certain; the folds do not quite pick up, and as I recall the fit of the cast on the marble was not as firm as might be desired. O; the addition of the right thigh is a triumph; so also the identification of the sea-monster below Amphitrite and the removal of superfluous dolphins. U; perhaps worth noting that the Eleusis and Agora 'copies' are rather free. U*; p. 55 's. unten'; a page reference would cost little; the reader who arrives here either from the index of pedimental figures or from p. 53 may be excused a moment of irritation at having to leaf on to p. 60, exacerbated when he has to go still further, to *AM* 69 70, 60 ff., for the reasons why this fragment cannot belong to the other pediment.

Next, a catalogue of the fragments in Smith's big publication, which here again is indispensable; at times the reader may have to pause. No. 11; 'Literature and details under E. ped. torso H' does not make it immediately apparent that this is torso H; the reference to *AM* 73 (curiously omitted from the bibliography of H) is less helpful than it might be since the Acropolis number is there given incorrectly. No. 13 (Acropolis 888); one has to read quite a way to realise this is West U*; one might expect to find more about it between U and V, but see what is said above about p. 55. No. 19; on a first reading the unwary might not realise that Ashmole explicitly excluded the fragment from the Parthenon. Nos. 148-9; important, as part of the evidence for an olive tree in the middle of the West pediment; but to get to the other fragments, and the places where the tree is discussed, go to the index of plates and follow all the references; not enough to go to the index of pedimental figures, under 'Ölbaum', since there pp. 162 and 164 are omitted. No. 189; one must go back to *AM* 71 to find out what this piece is, what it looks like, and what the author thinks about it; the situation is almost the same for 190-207; 202; 208 and 233. Then, pieces ascribed to the Parthenon before Smith, but rejected by him; additions by Casson, of which only one is accepted as a genuine new discovery; fragments added since Smith by others than Casson—some accepted, some rejected. P. 99, no. 16; get from here to p. 39 by going to the index of text figures; but a degree of clairvoyance is needed to know that on p. 39 the reference to p. 99 will give the explanation of the addition shown in fig. 4 but not mentioned on that page. Next, a catalogue of thirty-four new additions by the author, almost all of them rescued by him from oblivion and assigned on grounds of style. No. 7; the reader must also go to

the index of Acropolis fragments. No. 13; go to p. 89, Smith no. 384, for a reference to *AM* 73; the page references in the index of Acropolis fragments are less complete than those in the index of plates. There follows a list of copies, then a summary catalogue of previous publications of the all-important traces on the floors of the two pediments; the reader must go to the list of figures at the end to verify that fig. 11 shows what was under West U, U* and V; equally unfortunate, that no less than eleven plates of good new photographs of the pedimental floor, made by the author himself, clearly *non sine periculo*, are thrown in with little more than a lead in the margin and a few other references in the text; not everyone has the facilities or the cool head needed to study these matters at first hand, and a detailed account would have been welcome. This section ends with a Catalogue Raisonné of drawings of the Parthenon—with many illustrations—a brief list of drawings and paintings of the figures after their arrival in England, a select list of general photographic views which include the pediments, and another Catalogue Raisonné of reconstructions of the pediments.

The second part of the book deals with broader issues. First, the evidence from antiquity—the one invaluable mention in Pausanias, which gives us the subjects of the pediments; the building-accounts; a few incidental statements—so slight that the identification of Pheidias as responsible for the overall design rests only on conjecture and combination, and the ascription of individual figures to artists whose names are known, or judgments about the relative dates of the two pediments, are even less well-founded; the furthest the author will go: 'If Pheidias did not make the plans for both pediments, he probably kept the East for himself, since this end of the temple is treated as the more important.' He also points out how slight are the echoes of the Parthenon in ancient literature and art (indeed, from the paucity of the literary references, and the rarity of copies in all media, one gets the impression that the Athenians never really took the Parthenon to their hearts).

Then a fascinating examination of the way the work was carried out. Did the designer make a drawing or a model? Was it large or small? How many sculptors could have worked on a pediment? Where can differences between the work of different hands be detected? How great is the artistic contribution of the executants? Many answers have been given, though the evidence is slight; ingeniously, the author suggests that the other sculptured parts of the Parthenon can be used as an analogy; for instance, 'For the West metopes, the specification could have been simply fourteen fights between a Greek and an Oriental, half with a mounted figure, every other metope without a horse; the instructions may have been more detailed, but no more is indispensable'; for those on the East, the specification must have been more precise; the metopes on North and South occupy an intermediate position, with a special problem in

the treatment of the central part. Where the requirements are so different, it is unlikely that the same procedure was followed throughout, and one must not assume *a priori* a fixed procedure for the pediments; however, the fact that the figures had to form part of a pedimental group did impose certain restrictions; their length, breadth and height was fixed, and the pose and proximity of their neighbours had to be taken into account, so that exact planning was vital, though the sculptors were allowed, or assumed, considerable freedom in the execution, as can be seen from the differences in style between adjacent figures, and the forward tilt of some, though not all, as an optical correction; the divergences appear to exclude the possibility that the sculptors worked from actual-size models, complete in every detail. In the main the conclusions are convincing, but one may question certain of the observations. 'The very fact that mistakes and re-working are slight argues for exact planning.' But in the East pediment, part of the front of the near horse of Helios has been cut away with heavy blows from a punch, to accommodate the foot of the reclining figure, and two of the other heads have been trimmed at the back; so has the rock beside and behind the reclining figure, in a way which takes out part of the animal skin; trimming also on the cloak of the running girl; great holes in the supports of K and L, and in the shoulder of L: a rough channel made in the 'Urpferd' to make room for the raking cornice; I doubt if the men who carved these figures with such loving skill would have described these operations as slight. When K, L and M are set according to the evidence on the floor of the pediment, the back of L is near the wall, while the feet of M come near the cornice; in this arrangement the cuttings in the back of L seem too far round to be of any practical use in making room for the arm and seat of K, the purpose for which they are clearly intended. One might suggest two successive stages; first, L—M installed parallel to the pedimental wall, and the cuttings made to allow K to be set as close to them as possible; even so, it proved to be too near to the centre of the pediment: then, L—M swung round into its present position, so that it could be moved nearer to the corner, followed by K. Similarly, the original intention may have been to set D, the reclining male, parallel to the wall (in this setting the distance from front to back of the figure is the minimum) and the present oblique position, with the consequent mason's work, may also be due to the necessity of moving the figure away from the centre. In other words, when the time came to place the completed figures in the pediment, it turned out that some of them took up too much room, and the original design was modified; one has surely to suppose an emergency of this magnitude to account for the violence done to the carving on several figures: it is at least clear that something went badly wrong. The evidence shows that major corrections were necessary, and we must adjust our ideas about the nature and accuracy of the instructions given to

the sculptors. If they had full-scale models or sketches, could they have got the height right, but the length wrong? Unlikely; but in an age when it was not possible to go to a shop and buy a reasonably accurate ruler, easily conceivable with a reduced-scale design. One must also take into account practical considerations. Was it possible in fifth-century Athens to provide full-scale *drawings* of figures up to eleven feet high, and on what would they be drawn? Again, optical corrections; our only explicit literary statement for these in the fifth century B.C. is Tzetzes; hardly overwhelming; everything else is modern interpretation of the peculiarities of surviving sculpture, often contradictory. Stylistic differences between figures N, O and Q from the West pediment; note, however, that on all three the surface is damaged, especially the projecting parts of the folds; it may be that originally they looked less dissimilar; moreover, comparison with the work of other epochs shows that, though close similarities of style are good evidence that two or more works are by the same man, differences do not necessarily prove that they are by different people; an artist may change his style, or it may develop.

In the discussion of the East pediment the author's drawing of the original position of the surviving fragments reveals the extent of the gap in the middle about which we know nothing, yet as he says (and others have said) in the surviving portions there are novelties of treatment, such as the use of the Sun and Moon to frame the group. He rightly stresses the curious fact that, as far as our present knowledge goes, the subject was chosen for a pediment for the first and only time just when it was dying out in other media, and observes that elsewhere on the temple archaic themes and treatment are found, alongside innovations. Here we come to the vexed question of the Roman altar in Madrid which was re-used as a well-head; we have to go back to the author's discussion in *AM* 73 for a full statement of his views though they are here indicated in essentials; he is sceptical about its value as evidence for the centre of the pediment, though he appears to accept it as a representation of the same moment in the story. Against his arguments one may observe that the absence from the altar of any of the eleven surviving gods and eight horses is irrelevant; the altar shows only the central figures, while most of the pieces known to us come from the wings; the absence of the author's Hera is not decisive, since it is not yet *proved* that the pieces belong to the Parthenon, or even to each other (see the author's own remarks in *AM* 69-70, 49 ff. on works whose style is that of the Parthenon but which may have been produced subsequently by sculptors who had been employed on the building); and the fact that the fragments of this figure were first observed in front of the *West* end of the temple (p. 97, no. 7) hardly gives *prima facie* grounds for assigning them to the East pediment; even if one accepts Torso H without question as the lost Hephaistos, the remarks quoted from other writers

suggest that the pose of the figure and the position of its arms are not free from doubt and so do not tell decisively against the altar. As for the three Fates on the altar, they would indeed be more at home in the fourth century than in the fifth (hence my own phrase, which I now see to have been too compressed to be intelligible, 'probably a modified reproduction'), but this is not true of the other three figures, and Roman copyists were at times ready to combine disparate elements in a single figure, or figures from different periods into one scene. Above all, it is hard to see why this subject, so rare in sculpture and virtually unknown in art after the fifth century, should have been chosen by an Imperial copyist or his patron unless there was a famous Classical model.

Like others before him, the author argues that as on various other temples the East end is marked out as the most important point, and it may be no accident that here, at Olympia and at Delphi the theme of the East pediment is less active or violent than that of the West. This view may be correct, but it is as well to remember that our evidence is incomplete (and the pediments from Aegina, indeed, tell strongly against it). The discussion of the composition is admirably restrained; in addition to the well-known fact that the use of Helios and Selene occurred elsewhere on and in the Parthenon, the way in which they are treated in the pediment is an ingenious solution to the problem presented by the corners; there is little evidence for the exact arrangement of the principal figures; the remains from the outer part of the pediment are symmetrical overall, with subtle differences of detail (note, however, the possibility, argued above, that the oblique setting of some figures may not represent their original design). In the interpretation of the individual figures, the author reminds us that this is the first large-scale representation of Helios in sculpture, and rejects some of the more imaginative interpretations of the significance of his presence; he favours the identification of D as Dionysos, surely rightly. For the other figures, discussed at some length, the results appear inconclusive, but it is well to be reminded that N, with her disappearing team, might conceivably be Nyx rather than Selene.

West pediment: an excellent discussion of the theme in art; the slightness of the help to be had from ancient literature when trying to decide what other characters might be looked for, apart from the two rivals; various traditions ascribe the decision of the contest to Zeus, the great gods of Olympus, Kekrops, Kranaos and Ervichthon; the major gods can be excluded (presumably because the main part of the pediment is filled by the rivals and their chariots, and it would be improbable in the extreme, if not unthinkable, to find the Olympians tucked away in the wings. The author finds it hard to see any compelling reason for the chariots, except to heighten the excitement, and because chariots fit well into the pedimental frame; also both gods had a connexion with horses. But may not their presence also be due

to the same kind of artistic ingenuity that manifests itself in so many places on the Parthenon? They form an effective composition and at the same time they are relevant since they tell us explicitly how the two gods came to the Acropolis; they go closely with the central figures so that the main group takes the lion's share of the space available, and the humbler rank of the other figures, and their role as spectators, is underlined. As regards Athena and Poseidon, like Mr Herington in a review of an earlier work by the author (*JHS* lxxxi 218-19), I find it hard to think of them as rebounding after a collision. There seems a difference in their attitudes, if 'Carrey's' drawing may be relied on; Athena looks confident and commanding, Poseidon something less than self-assured, almost shrinking. The author raises the interesting question, why is the victorious Athena confined to her own half of the pediment while Poseidon overlaps into it? Perhaps he is shown in the act of withdrawing from the territory to which Athena has just made good her claim.

In significance and importance the theme is on a lower level than that of the East: local, not universal; on earth, indeed, on the Acropolis itself, not in Olympus; but the goddess here is no longer newly born but mistress of the temple, emerging victorious from a contest with a major god; whereas the East pediment shows a new treatment of an old theme, here we have perhaps the first representation of a subject hitherto unknown or unimportant in art, and one without a significant future.

The treatment of the composition of the pediment is commendably brief, without being cursory. By assembling all the evidence, and stressing that there were also originally bronze attributes, the author demonstrates that the pediment was very full, and so reinforces his view that the sinkings in the floor at the extreme ends of both pediments were for sculpture; he may well be correct, but one might wish he had met Mr Herington's objections (*loc. cit.*), in particular the question, what could have been set without bathos outside Helios and Selene?

On the individual figures he rightly points out the slightness of the evidence for regarding A as a river-god; the figure may well be a hero, though it seems fruitless to speculate which one. B, the identification as Kekrops, is treated with reserve since in literature and art he is normally snake-footed, not just with a snake beside him (why not Erichthomios?). However, it is accepted as possible: if so, C is presumably his wife or one of his daughters, D, E, F his children. Here, however, as with the other figures in the wings, it seems speculative to apply names: the only firm ground is given by the two central figures with Iris and Hermes.

Plates: the introduction states that most of the London photographs were taken before the rearrangement of the figures, completed in 1962; it would have been better to specify which are which, especially when two separate pieces are shown together: e.g.: pls. 20, 3, old setting; the other three views, post-1962:

pl. 32. 1. new setting; pl. 33, old; pl. 38. 1, new; pl. 45, new setting. pl. 51. old. The difference in orientation may make these *Hilfsansichte* misleading. A defect of a different kind, pl. 90. 2; made up of two different views of the same two fragments with the division between them very unobtrusive; repeated from *AM* 73, 1958. Beil. 74, 1.

There is a small number of misprints and false leads: the following might cause temporary difficulty: p. 54. margin, bottom, read Taf. 148. 3 (refers to the piece mentioned at the end of the line, p. 102. no. 23); p. 60, margin, middle, read Taf. 146; 147, 1; p. 65, no. 15, margin, first line, read Taf. 133; for the last two, make the appropriate changes in the index to the plates. Anyone who has had to deal with references *en masse* will appreciate the general standard of accuracy; errors are the exception.

The author states his aim in an epilogue; to supply a tool for those who wish to work on the sculpture of the Parthenon. He has, of course, done far more, supplying material for thought and discussion; but apart from his stimulating ideas, by acute observation and painstaking study he has produced a work which is indispensable to anyone who wishes to do serious work on the subject. This review, mainly concerned with isolated details, is the result of judging the author by his own high standards; only the very best tools can take the keenest edge.

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CORINTH. Results of excavations conducted by the American school of classical studies at Athens. Vol. xiii. **The North cemetery.** By C. W. Blegen and others. Princeton: the American School at Athens. 1964. Pp. xv + 344. 3 plans. 130 plates. 25 text figures. \$35.00.

This superb volume, edited by Professor Carl Blegen and his colleagues of the American School at Athens, represents the end of a long saga of discovery and research. The North Cemetery at Corinth was originally discovered in 1915 by Bert Hodge Hill and William B. Dinsmoor; there were large-scale excavations in 1928, 1929 and 1930 by Professor T. L. Shear and his assistants, in which 530 graves and fifty-four deposits were cleared. These represented the Middle Helladic, Geometric, proto-Corinthian and Corinthian periods, and continued through the fifth and fourth centuries. There was also a certain amount of re-use in the Roman period. Interim reports were published by Professor T. L. Shear, but the latter's death in 1945 prevented a final publication until 1963.

The earliest graves on the site were a small group of thirteen tombs belonging to the Middle Helladic period, dating probably to the seventeenth century B.C. One of these contained a fine gold diadem with a pattern of rosettes and circular bosses, apparently

a forerunner of a type found in the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae. The excavators, however, found no Mycenaean type graves and the possibility must be reckoned with that the site lay abandoned until the Geometric period.

It was not until the eighth century that the cemetery again became a common burying-place for the town, and it continued so into Roman times. The bulk of the volume is devoted to a detailed description and catalogue of the five hundred individual graves and their finds. It is interesting that these appear to reflect so little of the fortunes of the city. Neither the prosperity of the eighth and seventh centuries, nor the comparative decline of the fifth and fourth centuries could be guessed from the discoveries. Only the increase of Attic and the appearance of Corinthian pots made in imitation of the Attic reflects the long competition between the Corinthian and Attic potters and the triumph of the latter.

The cemetery itself was a large area, measuring 5,000 sq. m., of which parts had been intensively used at different periods. The tombs were almost all inhumations, generally enclosed in monolithic stone sarcophagi, the body being extended, and oriented precisely towards the south or the east. Multiple burials, such as the reviewer found in the cemetery at Knossos were rare. Offerings contained in pots were usually laid at the head and feet of the deceased, and shells of hens' eggs found in thirty-seven of the graves of women and children indicate a symbolism of fertility and perhaps growth. There was occasional evidence for family plots. Altogether one cannot say that this was an exciting cemetery, though some fine, patterned wares were found among the pottery. Its importance, however, lies in that it reflects the habits and perhaps the ideas of generation after generation of ordinary people, the slow working out of the history of one town over a period of nearly a thousand years.

This report is a triumph of team-work. Behind the careful and well-written documentation of the principals lies years of labour by those who drew up the catalogues from site notebooks written a generation before. Piet de Jong's six water-colour plates of the finest pottery found in the graves are masterpieces. Immense trouble has been taken with the line drawings, and the photographs of the tombs taken during the excavations would do credit to archaeologists today. As Professor Blegen claims 'for the proper evaluation and understanding of the material yielded by the cemetery, every item must be studied, identified and fitted into its setting'. Though much remains to be done before the cemeteries of Corinth have yielded all they have to tell us about the history of the site, the burials in the great North Cemetery have now been worthily explored and assessed.

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LABRAUNDA. Swedish excavations and researches. Vol. ii, part 1. **Pottery of classical and later date, terra-cotta lamps and**

glass. By P. Hellstrom. (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4^e, v, 2: 1.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1965. Pp. xiii + 90. 1 plan. 40 plates. 2 text figures. Sw.kr. 60.

Hellstrom has had a heart-breaking task in studying this material. Most of the pottery is very fragmentary and adds up to very few whole profiles. The stratigraphy of the site was apparently little help (p. 1), and the majority of the objects come from mixed contexts. The author has therefore had to fall back on comparative material.

The largest section of the work deals with the pottery which ranges in date from the fifth century B.C. to mediaeval. Hellström arranges it clearly and has good short comments to make on the more interesting pieces—the Panathenaic amphora with inscription (no. 1) having pride of place. Most of the pottery in the Classical period is Attic and black, not figured. The few red-figured pieces are scrappy in the extreme. Fuller sections follow: West Slope Ware, Lagynoi, 'Megarian' Bowls, Unguentaria, Eastern Sigillata Wares, Vitreous Glazed, Roman Brittle, Late Roman Red, Kitchen and Cooking. Of these, Hellstrom devotes much time to Unguentaria, collecting together a great deal of recondite information; this would perhaps have been better as a separate article, as one is unlikely to look in an excavation report for such material. Yet the treatment is not long enough for the ramifications of the subject, and Hellstrom is only too ready to admit that there is still much work to be done. More space is taken up with the Eastern Sigillata Wares, and rightly so. Hellstrom has worked through a mass of material and presented a lucid account of the sigillata pottery found in the Eastern Mediterranean. His note on p. 28, n. 4, is very valuable, as it lists the various names given in previous publications to the same ware: Pergamene Ware, Alexandrische Sigillata, etc. He adopts and adapts Kenyon's terminology laid out in *Samaria-Sebaste* iii pp. 281–8.

The sections on Terracottas and Glass are only short but sufficient for their worth.

The arrangement of the material is easy to follow. The discussions occupy the first fifty pages and are followed by the catalogue giving numbers, measurements, etc. There is a good index. The plates are clearly arranged, though the photographs are in many cases less clear than they should have been. Photography in the wilds is difficult but not so impossible. The profiles (pls. 33–40) are clear and useful. It is good also to have a plan of the site that unfolds beyond the edge of the page; although the nature of the finds on this site makes the connexion between finds and site less close than elsewhere, it is still comforting to feel oneself in the place which used the material one is studying.

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XANTHOS. **Fouilles de Xanthos.** Tome 2. **L'acropole lycienne,** par H. Metzger. Paris:

C. Klincksieck. 1963. Pp. viii + 110. 56 plates. 35 figures. Fr. 60.

The gods and rulers of archaic and classical Xanthos had their stronghold on a small, flat-topped rocky hill, overlooking the eddying river, and dominating the richest valley in Lycia. It was here that the main efforts of the French excavators were concentrated in 1950–9. With commendable thoroughness, they cleared over half the area (about 100 m. square) down to the native rock. Although Professor Metzger considers all the architecture of the Lycian acropolis down to the early centuries of the Roman Empire, it is the eight archaic and early classical buildings (A–H) that provide the main matter for discussion; for while the early classical fortifications were repaired in the fourth century B.C. and extended in the Hellenistic era, no more major buildings were erected on the citadel between c. 450 B.C. and early Byzantine times. The Byzantine structures are reserved for a future volume.

The architectural history of Xanthos begins with the ground plan of a small palace, (A); not Sarpedon's, because the earliest datable sherds from the acropolis are only Late Geometric. It proves to be a variant of the neo-Hittite *beit hulāni*, to which there is a counterpart in a seventh-century building at Sinjerli. The resemblance leads M. to the interesting suggestion that Lycia was peopled in the Early Iron Age by immigrants from south-east Anatolia. This hypothesis now gains some ground with the publication of the painted wares from Tarsus mentioned on p. 79, n. 21, which are similar to the earliest local pottery from Xanthos.

This building perished by fire during the siege and capture of the city by Harpagos in 545 B.C.; classical archaeologists will look forward to the publication of the Greek pottery sealed in the débris. Upon its ruins rose a second palace (B), with solidly constructed basement walls and traces of a staircase leading to the upper storey; the superstructure was apparently timbered. The royal compound was isolated from the rest of the acropolis by a *temenos* wall, enclosing a court and three magazines furnished with pithoi. To the same phase belongs a temple with three cellae (C), the central division incorporating an earlier votive pit. Once again, M. is compelled to look eastwards for the nearest parallel to the ground plan, which he finds in the temple of Athena at Vouni in Cyprus. The earliest sign of Greek architectural influence appears in the Lesbian polygonal masonry in a part of the western fortification wall which is tentatively assigned to this period.

The archaic city came to a violent end in a second conflagration, dated by Attic imports to c. 475–470 B.C. The destruction is plausibly attributed to Kimon, who had some difficulty in persuading the non-Greek inhabitants of Caria and Lycia to come over to him on his way to Pamphylia (Diod. xi 60; Plut. *Kimon* 12, 1–4). As is well known, the first line of the epigram commemorating his victory by the river Eurymedon 'Ἐξ ὀθ' Ἐυρώτην Ἀσίας δίχα πόρτος;

étreite was repeated half a century later in the bombastic Greek inscription on the Xanthian Inscribed Pillar; the plagiarism would be significantly ironical if Kimon had formerly been the destroyer of Xanthos. At all events, the city soon recovered its prosperity. The years 470–450 B.C. saw an ambitious building programme: a complete circuit of fortifications in Hellenising polygonal masonry, reinforced at the angles by mighty orthostats in the Anatolian tradition; two large (but poorly preserved) edifices on the summit of the acropolis, (D) and (E), of which the former is identified as a temple of Artemis Ephesia on the strength of an inscribed Hellenistic altar nearby; and, finally, three small shrines or heroa on the western spur, overlooking the river Xanthos (F–H).

It is to the superstructure of the three small buildings that M. assigns the numerous sculptured blocks now in the British Museum, which Sir Charles Fellows recovered from a Byzantine fortification wall in 1842–3. These, together with some more blocks found in the same area by the French expedition, encouraged Professor Metzger and M. Coupel to attempt a reconstruction of all three monuments in elevation. Moreover, since it is obvious from many of the surviving fragments that the Lycians were in the habit of faithfully translating wooden structures into stone (see especially pls. 42–3), the authors have rightly called in an important source of supplementary evidence—the architectural façades in Lycian rock cemeteries, where similar wooden structures are copied in the living rock.

In the case of the two gables monuments (F) and (H), where the material is comparatively scarce, the restorations are inevitably conjectural. With (G), however, we are on firmer ground. The frieze of chariots in London (B 311–14) is placed along the exterior of the side walls just above floor level, because two bedding blocks found by the excavators have proved to fit immediately underneath them. The result of this important join (fig. 14) affords a glimpse of Lycian ‘petrified carpentry’ in a curiously transitional stage, where some of the original wooden features have been converted into mere ornament, while others are still essential to the structure. For example: from the bedding there projects an ornamental string-course, representing a stringer (*sablière*) of the original wooden construction (*cf.* Benndorf-Niemann, *Reisen* i fig. 53A); a higher string-course is represented by the upper border of the chariot frieze. But the square holes above and below the frieze were evidently intended for short beams *in corpore*, fastening the outer and inner friezes together; and a wider hole at the bottom right corner of B311 was designed to take the large transverse beam passing across the façade. The form of the building is still uncompromisingly Lycian: Greek influence here is confined to the decoration: the sculptured friezes, the free-standing korai placed on the edge of the terrace (London B316–18), and the double ovolo moulding thought to have supported them. It

remained for the architect of the Nereid Monument, some two generations later, to combine the same Hellenising features with a fully Hellenised architectural form.

The authors must be heartily congratulated on accomplishing a formidable task, which must have been greatly complicated by the dispersal of their material. M. Coupel’s drawings—especially the isometric reconstructions—are a pleasure to the eye; while Professor Metzger’s researches have thrown much new light on the Anatolian origins of Lycian architecture.

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SCHEDÉ (M.) **Die Ruinen von Priene.** 2nd ed. by G. Kleiner and W. Kleiss. Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1964. Pp. vii + 115. 1 folding plan. 130 text figures. DM 24.

This is a revised and improved edition of Schedé’s book, which was originally published in 1934 and reviewed by ‘T.F.’ in *JHS* 1936. The improvements are slight, but add to the usefulness of the book as a guide to the remains of Priene, its essential purpose. They concern the illustrations, as well as the text. In Abb. 4 we now have a clearer photograph of the Maeander plain, while Abb. 13, though less clear than its predecessor, gives a good indication of the modern improvements in the agriculture of this region. The only other new photographs are Abb. 83, the altar of the Egyptian gods, and Abb. 104, the priestess of Demeter, who now stands in a corner of the Pergamum museum, instead of in her sanctuary, where users of the first edition must have sought her in vain. There are new line drawings and plans—new, at least, to this book. Abb. 11 is a reconstructed bird’s-eye view of the town; Abb. 85, the plan of the theatre in late Hellenistic times, is taken from von Gerkan’s *Das Theater von Priene*; Abb. 130, the Episcopal church, is from Wiegand and Schrader. The other plans have been much improved by the addition of a north point.

The text is not much altered. We now are told that Priene paid one talent tribute to Athens, while the ‘Attic foot’ supposedly used in the temple of Athena has diminished by a millimetre, from 0.295 m. to 0.294 m. Here the most important alteration is the renaming of the assembly hall behind the sacred stoa, which now becomes a ‘bouleuterion’ instead of an ‘ekklasiasterion’. This seems reasonable. The only justification for calling it an ekklasiasterion was its large size in relation to the presumed population of Priene, but in form closed assembly halls of this type should indicate a restricted gathering, so that bouleuterion seems the preferable term.

These improvements enhance this excellent little guide. That they are so slight is indicative of the high quality of Schedé’s original edition.

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HANFMANN (G. M. A.) **A short guide to the excavations at Sardis.** Cambridge, Mass.: the Author, 1962. Pp. 15. 1 plan. 11 text figures. *Printed for private circulation on behalf of the Supporters of Sardis.*

This pamphlet appears to have been an unconscionable time in coming up for review and, in the interval, a great deal seems to have been accomplished by the Sardis Excavations. As a result, the reader will look in vain for reference to the recently discovered archaic stone sculptures and other similar finds.

What we have is simply a guide to the excavations as they were a few years ago. The plan is intended more to be of assistance to visitors arriving by road or rail than to give a comprehensive idea of the topography of the ancient city. The same applies to the text, which is simple and clear, with a minimum of controversial matter. Even the original construction of the Temple of Artemis is not alluded to more closely than as Hellenistic, although closer documentation is given for its Roman repairs and modifications. The excavations in the city are described as fully as the small format will allow, but is it not a shame that the potential visitor has only six lines on the Lydian royal tumulus-field at Bin Tepe and that largely devoted to the difficulties of access by motor-car? The reviewer, who, needless to say, went on foot, would be inclined to regard this as the most remarkable archaeological spectacle in western Asia Minor.

But the spirit of enterprise and goodwill which has prompted this booklet and which has set out to make an excavation in progress, even while still in its earlier stages, directly accessible to as wide a public as possible deserves only praise and admiration.

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HOLDEN (B. M.) **The metopes of the temple of Athena at Ilion.** (Edwin C. Land prize essay.) Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1964. Pp. xiv + 43. 31 plates. \$2.00.

This study is an attempt to revindicate the early third-century-B.C. dating for the Doric frieze of the Temple of Athena at Troy, which had been widely accepted, with the notable abstentions of Curtius, Rossbach and Lawrence, until F. W. Goethert and H. Schleif's *Athenatempel von Ilion*, published in 1962, postulated an Augustan date for both temple and sculptures.

The third-century dating had rested largely on judgments of the style of the metopes themselves and on the statement of Strabo (XIII i 26) that Lysimachos built a temple and fortifications at Troy, in a passage, however, where it is usually felt that there may be some confusion between Ilion and Alexandria Troas, which is discussed immediately afterwards. On Appian's statement (XII 53), the Temple of

Athena then existing, whether Lysimachan or earlier, was burned down by Fimbria in 85 B.C. Goethert and Schleif have claimed, with arguments that it would be extremely difficult to set on one side, that the surviving architectural members belong virtually entirely to its successor. Thus they find that the capitals and triglyphs are of late Hellenistic to early Imperial form and that the masons' marks, the profile of the sima and the style of the rosettes on the ceiling are early Imperial. A fragment of architrave (here printed back-to-front on pl. 31) carries an Imperial dedicatory inscription in letters of about the late first century B.C., apparently replaced by one in large bronze letters for which the dowel-holes survive. Professor Lehmann's proposal (here cited on p. 32) to read this last as 'Lvsima[chos]' is best passed over in silence.

In the face of such evidence the author's new analysis of the dating of the sculptures often fails to convince, particularly since, of the twenty-three fragments of the metopes listed by Goethert, she makes no reference at all to twelve, although apparently accepting them all, and limits herself to discussing and illustrating the remaining eleven. These are, on the whole, the best-preserved fragments, but this selectivity renders her study a most incomplete record of the sculptures and also omits much evidence possibly pertinent to their dating. Thus the warriors in Çanakkale, Goethert nos. 13 and 19, would seem to be wearing helmets of developed Hellenistic shape, like those on the balustrade of the Stoa of Athena at Pergamon, implying a date in the second century B.C. or later.

The real crux, however, centres on the intimate relationship existing between the gigantomachy metopes and the frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon, here developed further by the author on pp. 19 f., 29 f., where she is obliged to claim priority for the Trojan reliefs. Elsewhere she does, however, recognise the provincialism and occasional technical ineptitude of the Trojan sculptures—for an instance of just how bad they can be one may consider the crude and ugly modelling of the legs of Goethert no. 15—and the reviewer finds it hard to believe that the artists of the greatest monument of the Hellenistic baroque slavishly imitated work such as this. Rather, the way that the Trojan reliefs combine these flights into the advanced Hellenistic style with elements that are frankly classicistic reveals their secondary and derivative character. The figures of the Trojan gigantomachy metopes seem to be not so much copied as freely adapted from the Pergamene frieze, but the imitation extends even to minor details such as shield interiors and, in these circumstances, it is difficult to see how they can possibly be dated between 301 and 281 B.C. The author claims that the fact that some of the giants have human instead of snake legs must anyway preclude a date for them any later than the mid second century B.C., on the analysis in Vian's *Guerre des géants*. But, since these are precisely the appendages of the Pergamene giants

that they are imitating so closely, it is hard to see how this can be used as a chronological criterion at all.

The two fragments possibly from a centauromachy (Goethert nos. 16 and 17, here pl. 30) seem, on the other hand, rather to be pervaded by the spirit of the mid fifth century B.C., whilst the other battle-groups with Greeks and Orientals (scenes from the Trojan war and possibly an Amazonomachy?) reveal echoes of the late fifth and mid fourth centuries B.C., along with a few much later touches. The Lysimachan dating has, it would seem then, largely rested on the evidence of the only intact and well-known metope, that of Helios in his chariot, and this, to be sure, does seem fairly consistently in a style of about 300 B.C. But whether, in the light of the evidence of the other metopes, this can be taken as the date of execution as opposed to the date of the original here being copied or re-interpreted is much more open to doubt. This and several of the other better-preserved metopes are carved from the same blocks as triglyphs of a type assigned to the first century B.C. and later.

But even if one may hesitate to accept the main thesis of this book, it has much to offer that is positive and new. The plates are of excellent quality and contribute several new details of the Helios and the Athena metopes. The central part of the author's text (pp. 6-18) is devoted to a very able analysis of the Helios metope where it is persuasively argued, on the basis of coins, amphora stamps and related sculptures, that the representation is copied from, or modelled on, Lysippos' group in Rhodes of shortly after 304 B.C. The heavy reliance on painted detail for rendering the chariot and harness on the metope is also rightly stressed in the face of Goethert's not very convincing arguments to the contrary.

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BOARDMAN (J.) **Greek art.** London: Thames and Hudson, 1964. Pp. 286. 1 map, 251 illus. (incl. 47 in colour). 18s. (unbound); £1 15s. (bound).

Mr Boardman is a master of synthesis. Unquenchable thirst for new ideas is matched by tireless digestion of them; and out of his wide reading, and no less wide acquaintance with the objects themselves, comes an account of Greek art which is densely packed with informative detail, and yet readable and wholly clear in its broader exposition of the 'rapid but deliberate development from strict geometry . . . to full realism of anatomy and expression'. Perhaps most admirable is the author's ability to see each of his objects anew, and to give an account of them that is highly personal and yet free from perversity.

The period covered extends from the Geometric to the Hellenistic Age. Architecture, sculpture and painting have pride of place; but an excellent feature of this book is the assured way in which the author treats the 'minor' arts—metal-work and jewellery, the

engraving of seals and coin-dies, the moulding of terracottas—and follows their development in parallel with the major arts in seven chapters divided chronologically rather than by subject-matter. By comparing one kind of object with another, it is possible to discern which features are dictated by mere technical necessity, and which reflect the broader trends and conceptions of Greek art generally. This method is the reverse of that adopted by Dr Richter in her recent *Handbook of Greek Art*, where each chapter deals with a separate art-form, followed independently through the whole period. Both methods have their merits, with different ends in view. B.'s is certainly more attractive to the general reader; and the serious student also will do well to begin with a synoptic view.

Chapter i gives a brief account of the Geometric period, in which small bronzes and clay models are given their due, besides vase-painting. There is a hint (p. 28) that the limitations of the Geometric figure-style were deliberately embraced by the artist, more interested in geometry than in nature, rather than that he could do no better. This question is one that rightly fascinates both the student and the general reader, and might have been made more explicit. The possibility of more naturalistic work at the time might have been shown by an illustration of one of the Dipylon ivories; and this would also have filled an obvious gap among the classes of objects presented in this chapter. Ch. ii, on the Orientalising period, is an admirable distillation of that knowledge and discernment which made *The Greeks Overseas* so valuable. Here, and in ch. iii on the Archaic period, B. is at his best—describing the alien influences which excited the Greeks to attempt new forms of art, notably large-scale stone sculpture and architecture, clearly showing the way in which these new arts were developed and transformed into something characteristically Greek, and paying welcome attention to fabrics other than Corinthian and Attic in his account of vase-painting.

The treatment of Classical sculpture in ch. iv raises an important question of principle. B.'s account of the development of this art through most of the fifth and fourth centuries is illustrated from surviving originals alone. Roman copies are disparagingly relegated to an appended note at the end of the chapter. In ch. vi ('Hellenistic Art'), however, copies stand shoulder to shoulder with originals in the main text. Yet it would be hard to maintain that copies are more important in the study of Hellenistic than of Classical art: there is a basic inconsistency of approach here. The contemptibility of copies has become an assured doctrine of late, and B. proclaims it explicitly (pp. 159 ff., cf. 172). It needs an answer. Most original sculpture that has survived is of stone, carved by masons who, though marvellous in our eyes, were regarded as second- and third-rate in their own day and paid accordingly. Moreover, most of what has survived is damaged and fragmentary. In the fifth century, though not in the fourth, the acknow-

ledged leaders of artistic advance—Pythagoras, Myron, Polykleitos, Pheidias—eschewed stone and worked largely in bronze or ivory and gold; and their achievements, especially in composition, were the gift of their more tractable material. These achievements are preserved (in marble) by Roman copies. To affirm that [lost] 'Major works of bronze sculpture are to be discussed in terms of contemporary marble sculpture' (p. 172), is to admit defeat at the outset. It should be obvious that a history of sculpture based almost exclusively upon the fragmentary works of minor artists must be, at best, incomplete and imprecise; for it will be impossible to give just credit to the artist responsible for each step forward. The distinction between developments which are the natural product of their time and place, and those which are the personal creation of an individual genius, must be one of the primary objectives of any history of art. The reason why copies are excluded is that, though they can often be proved to be most accurate, nevertheless they lack 'the artist's touch in the final carving of details' (p. 156). These final touches are not the only, or even the most important, objects of our inquiry; and it is hard to see how the lack will be made good by a representation in a different material of a different subject by an indifferent artist, however contemporary.

Ch. iv provides also an excellent account of Classical architecture; and painting and the 'minor' arts are equally well covered in ch. v (where, however, as in ch. vi, we should have liked more coins). Ch. vi reviews the Hellenistic scene, and an epilogue glances at the influence of Greek art on Etruria and Rome. A brief chronological chart and a serviceable bibliography complete the volume.

Throughout the book, the illustrations are well chosen and beautifully reproduced, interspersed in the text; they include several recent discoveries, for instance (p. 58) the seventh-century relief vase in Mykonos showing the Trojan Horse. There is a generous proportion of coloured photographs, which make this book extremely attractive as well as a useful and serious introduction to the subject.

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MOBIUS (H.): **Alexandria und Rom.** (Abhandlungen, Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., philos.-hist. Klasse, n.F. 59.) Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1964. Pp. 45. 11 plates. Price not stated.

Because of the lack of evidence for the monumental art of Alexandria, Professor Mobius confines his examination of the school's influence on Roman art to certain motifs on silver ware and cameos. He provides, with detailed discussion and reference to recent publication not only a re-examination of well-known works like the Tazza Farnese, but information on, and good illustrations of, a number of

less well-known works. The impression left by a cautious and scholarly examination of this kind is that even in these fields there is comparatively little which can be derived with certainty from Alexandria, though a few types like the Ptolemaic eagle and cornucopia became popular in Roman art. For silver ware one has to rely mainly on the doubtful assumption that the plaster casts taken from this ware in the Roman period not only came from Alexandria but were taken only from ware made there and never from imports from other areas. Even Mobius who can accept the assumption raises the possibility that some of the motifs or combinations of motifs are Roman. Mobius himself demonstrates that there was borrowing of techniques and motifs between the various Hellenistic kingdoms. For example both cameo cutting and the double portrait of a ruling couple shown in overlapping profile probably originated in Alexandria but were used elsewhere in the Hellenistic world. In such cases it is fair to point out Rome's ultimate debt to Alexandria, although it is possible that the technique and motif reached Rome via another school or was drawn from what had become common Hellenistic stock. Sometimes, however, I feel that the picture is falsified by an attempt to mark off too clearly streams of influence coming from different sources and mingling only in Rome. Thus Mobius distinguishes between the Ptolemaic type of eagle standing on the thunderbolt, which he implies was used by the Romans mainly to symbolise imperial power, and the supposedly Seleucid soaring eagle of the apotheosis. Yet he himself notes the presence on a stone of Alexandrian workmanship, of the 'Seleucid' eagle bearing the head of Zeus, and the related type of a full-length figure born aloft by a bird occurs in fifth-century Greek art and may be part of the common Hellenistic inheritance. There is much interplay between the different types and it seems doubtful whether they were meant to convey clearly differentiated messages to the beholder.

Mobius suggests that Mark Antony may have been influential in introducing Alexandrian types to Roman art. The most important work showing this, if his interpretation is right, is the silver dish from Aquileia, usually dated to the Julio-Claudian period, and clearly related to the Tazza Farnese of Alexandrian origin. The head of Triptolemus on the dish is in its general shape not dissimilar from that of Antony in his coin portraits, but it is far more youthful and idealised. Though this may be due to the artist's attempts to compromise between the more rugged features of Antony and the youthful beauty of Triptolemus, it makes the task of identification difficult and the evidence, to my mind, inconclusive. One of the children on the dish, identified by Mobius with those of Cleopatra, wears a fawn skin, but this is hardly a parallel for Antony's display of Caesarian and Ptolemaeus in the national dress of the countries assigned to their rule.

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DUNAND (M.) and DURU (R.) **Oumm el-'Amed: une ville de l'époque hellénistique aux échelles de Tyr.** Text and plates. (Etudes et documents d'archéologie, 4). Paris: A. Maisonneuve. 1962. Pp. xii + 246, 9. 107 plates. 90 text figures. Fr. 195—(unbound): 280—(bound).

This book is the result of the excavation and study of the site and ruins of Oumm-El-'Amed (19 kilometres south of Tyre and 8 kilometres north of Ekzib). It was supported, as it should be, by the French Commission des Fouilles Archéologiques. The authors studied and benefited from the work done by several archaeologists, especially Ernest Renan (1861) and Clermont Canneau (1886), as well as from the historical study by Edward Mayer. Excavation of this site took place between 1943 and 1945, in three successive stages. Not until 1951 were the authors able to begin to study the results of their excavations.

They accept the identification of the site as a suburb of the ancient city of Alexandroskene—'The Tent of Alexander'—this identification had already been proposed by Renan and Clermont-Ganneau.

The results of the excavations could be classified as follows:

Pre-Hellenistic

The remains are very few; three Cypriot geometric fragments were found in the western side of the city beneath the foundation of the temple, of Milk-Ashtart, so the first settlement on the site of Oumm-el-'Amed goes back to the early seventh century B.C.: evidence for later periods includes twelve pieces of Attic black-glazed pottery dating back to the end of the fifth century and the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.; a number of Phoenician jars, dating back to the fourth century B.C., or even earlier, were also found under the foundation of the temple.

Hellenistic

The evidence of Ptolemaic coins is decisive. Only one coin issued during the reign of the first Ptolemy was found. From Ptolemy II onwards, coins were more frequent (note the Ptolemies' interest in Syria, especially in the second and the third centuries B.C.). The coins are found, not under the foundation, but inside both the eastern and the western temples: therefore the coin of Ptolemy I supplies us with a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the foundation of the temple.

The eastern temple does not seem to have had any importance after its foundation; apparently it was dedicated to Ashtarte. The western temple has an elaborate plan; it was dedicated to Milk-Ashtart, who was associated with Ba'al Hammon and Ba'al Shamin and other deities. It did not receive its portico before 222–221 B.C., and the gate of its courtyard does not seem to have been repaired before 132–131 B.C.

In short, it is during the third and second centuries B.C. that the temple was most frequented. First the

Ptolemaic influence was apparent. Then (after the battle of Paneion, 200 B.C.) the Seleucids took over. From this period we have some Megarian Bowls and Pergamene pottery.

Roman

There is no architectural evidence that could be attributed to the first century B.C., as lamps decrease in number and coins become rare. Nevertheless a certain amount of Arretine pottery is found. It is quite clear that after the incorporation of Syria by Rome (63 B.C.) the city suffered a slow decline, for the Romans favoured concentration on the commercial cities and cared little about the rural centres.

Byzantine

In the fourth century A.D. the temple of Milk-Ashtart revived as a Christian religious centre. A courtyard wide enough to accommodate the devotees and their families was added to the building, but from the seventh century A.D. onwards weeds and bushes covered the whole place, which served merely as a shelter for shepherds and their flocks.

Despite the presence of pottery of the seventh century B.C. it is quite clear that there was no city on the site before the Hellenistic period, because the pre-Hellenistic remains are slight, indicating a settlement, at the most.

The plans of the temples are very different from the Greek type; they are planned strictly according to Western Semitic architecture, a fact which is easily shown when we compare them with other Semitic architecture, Jewish, Persian or Islamic. For the hypostyle hall the authors suggest either Egyptian, Persian or Anatolian origin. They rule out an Egyptian origin for the building on the ground of its dissimilarity to the Karnak in purpose, plan and proportion (one would have wished for a full discussion of this point). The same applies to Persian Achaemenid architecture. They come to the conclusion that the hypostyle hall is very probably of Anatolian origin, recognising that there can be no influence from the hypostyle hall of Delos (built about 210 B.C.) because it is much later than the temple. However, Egyptian influence appears in the Corniche decoration. The Doric capital with its echinus, the Ionic capital with its astragal frieze and the Attic base are clear evidence of Greek influence.

The porticos are executed in the Oriental tradition. The religious iconography reveals a Semitic Assyro-Babylonian style; Egyptian influence can also be seen in the solar disc and in the attitudes of worship. After all, the Egyptian divinities were quite popular in Phoenicia.

But Phoenician influence is predominant, for Oumm-El-'Ahmed was a rural satellite of Tyre. The excavation of the site supplies us with a great mass of evidence on Phoenician civilisation, about which little is known. Finally, the book is also of great importance to those concerned with the Carthaginian civilisation of North Africa, which was essentially Phoenician in matters of language, cult and art. It

was this relationship between the metropolis and the colony that kept Carthage out of the Greek sphere.

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KARDARA (C.) *Ῥοδιακὴ ἀγγειογραφία (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας, 49.)* Athens: the Author, 1963. Pp. xi + 310. 16 plates. 287 text figures. Price Drach. 325

The purposes of this book, as stated in its preface, are (1) to classify the Rhodian Wild Goat Style and to enumerate the individual schools and vase-painters within each of its major groupings; (2) to identify the outside influences at work in Rhodian. Most of the book consists of discussions of the main styles and their origins, followed by vase-lists, each list being prefaced by a few remarks. Thus the work combines the attribution of individual specimens with a more general survey of the Wild Goat Style.

Miss Kardara approaches her subject methodically, commencing with a detailed and illuminating survey of the many views held on the origins of the ware and the various classifications proposed from the time of Salzmann's excavations on Rhodes a century ago up to the present day. In describing the more recent studies, she makes her personal sympathies clear: these lie mainly with Price and with R. M. Cook, whose section on the Wild Goat Style in *Greek Painted Pottery* is referred to as 'the most important modern source on the subject' (p. 12). She remains baffled by the reasoning behind Rumpf's *Kamiroi* and *Euphorbos* classification, and condemns Schirring's elaboration (in *Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik aus Rhodos*) into *Kamiroi*, *Euphorbos* and *Vlastos* groups on the grounds that three independent schools can hardly be expected to have survived for a whole century on the same island (p. 14). Moreover, the *Vlastos* group is deprived of any coherence by the lack of other vessels close in style to the *Vlastos* oinochoe—here, probably rightly, assigned to a North Ionian workshop (p. 88).

The second half of the long introduction comprises a list of tomb-groups in Rhodes and elsewhere which contain Rhodian vessels in association with datable pottery of other types (particularly Corinthian). These latter are analysed, and dates (generally based on Payne) are then proposed for each group. These serve as the key-points for Kardara's chronology.

Having thus prepared her ground, Kardara launches into her classification, which fills the rest of the book. We are presented, one by one, with no less than twelve styles: namely (I translate) *Early*, *canonical* and *Late Orientalising*, *Classic Kamiran*, *Polychrome*, *Sub-Kamiran*, *Mixed Technique*, *Late Rhodian I, II* and *III*—and two *Transitional*s! Fikellura, on which Cook's study is regarded as definitive, is excluded, but its relationship to the other styles is considered in a separate chapter. Although, with the exception of the *Transitional* groups, these styles possess certain distinguishing features, they are—

apart from the earliest and latest—quite freely admitted to be largely contemporaneous and influenced by each other. The general characteristics of all these styles and their major subdivisions, together with the connexions of one with another, are conveniently summarised at the end of the book (pp. 297–301); those wishing to obtain an overall picture might well start with this section, which is also the easiest place for looking up dates. The animal and floral decoration of the two largest series ('Classic Kamiran' and 'Mixed Technique') are dealt with in separate sections (pp. 139–74, 253–70), with numerous illustrations. The work concludes with indexes listing museums (unfortunately without catalogue numbers) and provenances.

Kardara's classification of styles is basically an elaboration of Price's and Cook's schemes. The 'Sub-Kamiran' style is in effect no more than a group, albeit late, within the main 'Kamiran' series, the 'Polychrome' style a branch of the wider 'Mixed Technique' style (which already embraces more than just vessels with b.f. decoration). The two 'Transitionals' can hardly claim to be independent 'styles'—the author herself lumps them together with 'Mixed Technique' when she comes to describe decorative motifs. Indeed, in the case of two of these four groups no mention is made in the text of any common distinguishing features. For the rest, one sees much in common with Price's and Cook's classifications: 'Late Orientalising' and 'Classic Kamiran' together approximate to Price's *Wild Goat A* (the difference between the two being often that between Cook's *Early* and *Middle* phases); the bulk of *Wild Goat B* (Cook's *Late*) is included in the 'Mixed Technique' style, though the late plate series and some curiosities are drawn off to form 'Late Rhodian I'. 'Early' and 'Middle Orientalising' represent the transition from Geometric. 'Late Rhodian II, III' the rare attempts at painted pottery in the later sixth century and beyond.

The author is certainly at her best on the later seventh-century material (i.e. 'Classic Kamiran'), which receives close attention. Her isolation of the various schools at this period is convincing, and should meet with general acceptance. The animal decoration of this period—and also of the earlier sixth century—is given full treatment, species by species, with discussions of the origins of the various types, and references to numerous Near Eastern and mainland Greek parallels.

Compared with this, the earlier chapters are rather a disappointment. Here one finds elaborate theories regarding successive Eastern influences on Rhodian through metal-work, textiles, etc., which, though in part representing the truth, are hardly illustrated by sufficient concrete examples. The proposed date for 'Early Orientalising'—around 700—is surely too high; only one of the examples listed (p. 32, no. 1, which is atypical) betrays the influence of Early Protoattic. Under 'Middle Orientalising' some very diverse material (cf. figs. 6, 7 and 9) is

conflated without comment. The date proposed for fig. 9 (p. 61) will hardly do for fig. 10 also. One would like to see two of the three pieces listed together on pp. 84-5 in this phase; the findspot of Rhodes 12097 does not preclude an early date.

The sixth-century styles receive better treatment, but, while Kardara's stylistic judgment in grouping individual specimens together is to be commended, their identification as Rhodian products is open to doubt. Of the 'Mixed Technique' style the 'Gorgon Plate Group' and the 'Oxford Oinochoe School' (pp. 204-11) are the only classes at all well represented on Rhodes itself; these classes, one may note, generally employ the traditional reserving technique. The rest, including almost all the b.f. examples, could be of Ionian manufacture: those examples known to me are in a fabric more typical of the Old Smyrna finds than of those from Rhodes. Again, the fabric of the 'Dinos Workshop' pieces (pp. 271-6) is unlike that of any recognisable Rhodian or East Greek ware; this and the chaotic drawing suggest a more provincial origin. The origin of these groups is not questioned by Kardara. Moreover, not a single reference is made to the important group of late pots from Rheneia, published in *Delos* xvii, which is probably more representative of the late Rhodian style than any other assemblage. (I understand that this omission is shortly to be remedied by the issue of a Supplement to the book.) The result of all this is certainly a very distorted view of the later phases of Rhodian proper, even if we do gain a clearer insight into the later phases of the Wild Goat Style at large.

More could have been said on the important subject of filling-ornament. Only in the chapter on 'Classic Kamiran' is this treated really systematically, with analyses of individual motifs and indications as to their frequency. Elsewhere the author, like Schiering before her, is mostly content to give us in a single text-figure or series of figures all the motifs which occur within the range of one or another of her styles—one would appreciate some comments! Floral and other subsidiary motifs tend to suffer the same fate—contrast the treatment of the animal motifs, where each illustration is neatly cross-referenced.

The 300-odd line-drawings seem well chosen to illustrate the various categories. The photographs, however, are rather few and badly balanced: twenty-three of 'Classic Kamiran', only four of 'Late Orientalising', three of 'Mixed Technique', two of 'Late Rhodian I', and none at all of the other styles. Nowhere is a complete vessel of the earliest or latest phases illustrated. Note that fig. 83 is reproduced back to front.

A few useful references and details have been missed. The Palermo dinos (p. 78, no. 13) is presumably that published in *M.A.* xvii 250-1 fig. 188; the Antissa oinochoe (p. 111) is surely *BS.A.* xxxii 58, pl. 24.4; the amphora from Taman (p. 251) is published in full in *Bull. comm. imp. arch.* xlv 104 ff. Berlin 2945 (p. 102) comes from Kamiros. Berlin 2935 (p.

100) from Siana; see *JdI* 1886 138-9. Under p. 93, no. 5 read *AA* 1911 230, fig. 42 (on right); to the 'fig. 101' of p. 114, no. 9 add 'on p. 354'; there are a fair number of lesser misquotations of references. Two items are listed twice: Rhodes 13843 (p. 97, no. 4 and p. 104, no. 3) and 13749 (p. 106, no. 1 and p. 108, no. 26—with differing descriptions!). Some page references, especially in the first two chapters, indicate illustrations, not text descriptions. Pls. A and B are not referred to in the text.

Despite these errors, many of which could have been eliminated by more careful proof-reading, there can be little doubt that Miss Kardara's book, the fruit of many years' study, is the most valuable detailed work to date on Rhodian pottery. A large and diverse body of material is here presented in an orderly manner—this has been badly needed for a long time past. Whether one agrees with Kardara's theories or not, the book's usefulness can hardly be questioned.

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Fogg Art Museum. Norbert Schimmel collection. Ed. H. Hoffmann. [Exhibition catalogue.] Mainz: P. von Zabern. 1964. Pp. [148]. 154 illus. (incl. 7 in colour). DM 56.

Norbert Schimmel is undoubtedly one of the most discriminating collectors in America today, and the volume under review presents us with one facet of his interests: ancient art. Various American and European scholars have joined in writing individual descriptions of the objects, giving just enough information to place the reader in time and space.

The material is divided into four sections: Classical Antiquity, Near Eastern Art, Egyptian Art and Amarna Reliefs. The twenty-five fragmentary limestone reliefs of the Amarna period are the pride of the collection and bid fair to contain some of the most exquisite examples of Egyptian art; the rest of the Egyptian collection by comparison contains nothing of real quality. The Near Eastern section is diverse in content, ranging from the eerie Haçilar vase of the sixth millennium (78 bis) to the majestic bronze, silver and gold work of the Achaemenid period (74-8). The section of Classical Antiquity is the largest and, whilst containing some run-of-the-mill items, also has some pieces which are literally breath-taking. Amongst the vases attention will undoubtedly be concentrated on the cup by the Amasis painter (24) with its detailed architecture and its defecting metope figure. No less interesting, though more predictable, is Oltos' psykter with dolphin riders. Equally arresting is the happy trio of terracotta satyrs (20), but Hoffmann's text casts a certain gloom upon their joy. It is presumptuous to put forward corrections without having seen the actual figurines, but they look Corinthian rather than Boeotian (the provenience given has no validity). Also, the reference to in-

tentional red glaze on the figurines does not ring true; perhaps Hoffmann might be persuaded to look again.

Outwardly this is a coffee table book with brief explanatory texts and first-rate photographs, not least the seven colour plates. But outward appearance would in this case be deceptive, for such has been Schimmel's taste in building his collection that the contents have claim to serious attention.

B. A. SPARKES.

University of Southampton.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE. Ancient art in Bowdoin College: a descriptive catalogue of the Warren and other collections. By K. Herbert. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1964. Pp. xv + 212. 48 plates. £2 16s.

Bowdoin has an enviable teaching collection of over 1,200 objects, ranging from coins and inscriptions to bronze statuettes and marble statues. Warren enriched many universities and museums with his gifts, but few were so transformed as Bowdoin.

Herbert's catalogue is workmanlike but unexciting, the presentation old-fashioned in appearance. Two chapters deal with the Mesopotamian and Egyptian collections, the rest of the work is devoted to the Greek and Roman collections and is divided by types: sculpture, pottery, terracottas, bronzes, gems and jewellery, coins, lamps, glass and inscriptions; the catalogue is rounded off with a chapter on miscellaneous objects and two appendixes, one of addenda and one of forgeries. All chapters follow the same pattern: general introduction, bibliography, catalogue. The short chapter-introductions, consisting of a brief history of the genre and a selected mention of interesting pieces in the collection, are necessarily sketchy. The bibliographies are thin and slightly eccentric in the contents and omissions; no mention, for instance, is made of Lippold *Griechische Plastik* or Rumpf *Malerei und Zeichnung*. The catalogue redeems much of this, for here the information is set down very clearly with title, description, date, measurements, inventory number, previous publications and a short discussion with comparanda. There is no index of any sort.

In the matter of plates, there is room for complaint. Less than 100 of the 1,200 pieces are shown, and the quality of the photography is not always good, the terracotta reliefs on pls. 38-9 being very badly served. Space too is wasted; a detailed repetition of the catalogue description was not needed on each plate and one or two more photographs could have been fitted on at least a third of the plates. It is all the sadder that this should be so, for as one can plainly see from the last plate in the book, the actual museum cases are well lit and arranged. In fact, the book is best considered as a guide to be used in front of the objects themselves, and, sad to say, a great oppor-

tunity has been missed to present the contents to scholars who do not have the opportunity of seeing the Bowdoin collection.

B. A. SPARKES.

University of Southampton.

Corpus vasorum antiquorum. Cyprus. Fasc. 1. Cyprus museum (Nicosia). Larnaca district museum. fasc. 1. By V. Karageorghis. Cyprus: Department of Antiquities. 1963. Pp. ix + 49. 40 plates. Price not stated.

The first fascicle of the CVA from the Cyprus Museum is also the first fascicle from any country to deal exclusively with pottery of Mycenaean type (Minoan too, but in very small quantity). These innovations are warmly to be welcomed. A preface and very detailed descriptive text has been written by Dr Karageorghis to accompany the forty plates of excellent illustrations that publish well over 200 vases and fragments, of which eighteen pieces (pls. 39-40) belong to the District Museum at Larnaka, the remainder to the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. As Karageorghis explains, however, the Cyprus Museum has vastly more Mycenaean pottery than this. But the fascicle has deliberately excluded material from recent scientific excavations, whether published or not, and concentrates on vases from old and ill-documented excavations such as those of the Turner Trust at Enkomi, Maroni, Hala Sultan Tekke, Klavdhia and Dhromolaxia. Although finds from these excavations allocated to the British Museum have been summarily published either in A. H. Murray and others, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London, 1900), in *BMC Vases I*, pt. ii or in *CVA, Great Britain*, Fasc. 1, Cyprus' own share had remained almost entirely unknown until the publication under review. Chance finds and purchases, gifts from private collections and finds from minor excavations make up the total.

There is little to criticise, much to praise in the method of presentation. Descriptions are very full, ornaments and shapes are related where appropriate to Furumark's analysis, and individual vases dated within the broad framework of Furumark's chronology. The dipinti and graffiti in the so-called Cypro-Minoan syllabary are assembled in facsimile in a text figure. Variations in the scales of juxtaposed vases are a little more inconvenient in practice (pls. 17 and 19 are cases in point) than the remarks in the preface about scale would suggest. Waterlow and Sons made the collotypes and deserve as much praise as the Cyprus Museum photographers: the results are first-rate.

As material from recent excavations has been excluded, the vases published here fail in one important respect to be fully representative of the sequence of Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus, for this rules out the IIC 1 pottery that has been found in quantities at Sinda and Enkomi in occupation

deposits (but not in tombs). We look forward to Dikaios' report on Enkomi to make good this lacuna. With this exception, most of the stages whereby the painted pottery of Mycenaean Greece was translated to Cyprus in the period between c. 1450 and 1050 B.C. can be followed in this fascicle, beginning with the IIB IIIA 1 alabaster of pls. 23-4, culminating in the close copies of IIIC 2 askoi, stirrup jars, kalathoi and amphoriskoi of pls. 35-7. There is a minimum of comment on the place of manufacture of most of the vases, though Karageorghis holds strong views on this topic—he has been content in this context merely to present the material, with an occasional observation that this shape or that is specifically Levanto-Mycenaean.

Pls. 1-12 are devoted to Mycenaean pictorial vases and fragments of fourteenth and thirteenth century B.C. date, chiefly necked amphoroid craters, many bearing those representations of chariot processions which are the most characteristic products of the pictorial painters. This is a field that Karageorghis has made peculiarly his own, and his accounts are particularly authoritative. (It is a matter for the keenest regret that circumstances quite beyond his control have so far frustrated the publication of his book on this subject.) Many of the pictorial pieces have been previously published; amongst what is new are the remains of a particularly fine bull scene (pl. 4: 1-3), and a line of long-legged water birds looking as if they belonged to Corinth centuries later on a fragmentary conical rhyton (pl. 9: 6). Pls. 13-15 present a number of 'Rude Style' vases and fragments; the deep bowl crater is the only shape. The goats on A2020g (pl. 14.4) demonstrate the nadir of this Cypriot offshoot of Mycenaean pictorial painting; fortunately it was often very much better than this.

The plates that follow (16-32) offer a characteristic sample of the kinds of vases that Mycenaean traders were shipping to Cyprus during the period of maximum trade in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.—pithoid jars, stirrup jars, pyxides, stemless cups, flasks and juglets predominate. The absence of stemmed cups and of plain wares is extremely suggestive. Karageorghis illustrates on pl. 31 a number of very rare shapes which he regards as belonging to the Levant and nowhere else. An Aegean pedigree could be propounded for them all, for the lentoid flasks occur in Crete, the hemispherical bowl on a foot said to copy Cypriot White Slip ware has parallels at Mycenae, Argos and elsewhere; its merrythought handle copies metalwork and so does the handle and form of the bowl said to imitate Cypriot Base Ring ware (pl. 31: 7-8); there is in fact a metal analogy in the Patras Museum.

'Late Cypriote III Proto-White Painted Ware', as Karageorghis admits, is a difficult label to have to use for the latest pottery of Mycenaean type found in Cyprus, illustrated on pls. 35-7. This is the class which the Swedes designated 'Proto-White Painted' to point to its relationship with the so-called White

Painted wares of the Early Iron Age; Karageorghis, rightly, is anxious to remind us that it belongs to the end of the Late Bronze Age—hence 'Late Cypriote III'. Its relations with IIIC 2 pottery on the mainland and with Subminoan form a fascinating study on which Desborough (*Last Mycenaean* 23 ff.) has already had important things to say; it serves as a reminder that the links between Cyprus and the Aegean remained strong until the very end of the Bronze Age.

Dr Karageorghis and the Cyprus Department of Antiquities have made an invaluable contribution both to Mycenaean and to Cypriot studies. It is only to be hoped that they can be persuaded to publish more Mycenaean fascicles of the *CVA* of the same excellence.

H. W. CATLING.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Corpus vasorum antiquorum. Norway: public and private collections. Fasc. 1. By S. Marstrand and A. Seeberg. Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press and Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi. 1964. Pp. 40. 52 plates. N.kr. 100 or £5.

The collection of vases in Norway may not include many important pieces, but the authors have treated what there is with the utmost care and have produced a most useful volume which deserves all praise. It contains the Corinthian and the Attic; the Italiote and Italian are to form a second fascicule. The reproductions are half-tone, instead of collotype as hitherto in the *Corpus*: they are good, but the paper is perhaps not so durable. They are printed on one side only, which is an advantage. Pl. 6: Herakles rather than Iolaos? Pl. 10.4: it might have been said that the old man is seated, with bent head, holding a stick, at the front of the chariot-team. Is pl. 12.2 Attic? Pl. 16.1 is a skyphos of Ur's Class A1, with the handle-palmettes common there. Pl. 18 and pl. 19.4, in spite of the inscription, surely does not represent Achilles and Hector, but Athena and Giants, although the Archer is not in place. Pl. 39.2. Class PL (*ARV*² pp. 675-6, 1665, and 1702); not flying. Pl. 48.6 does seem to belong to the class of the Aischines Painter's lekythoi as the authors suggest.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

Oxford.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Pologne 6. Varsovie, Musée National 3. By Marie-Louise Bernhard. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 1964. 48 plates. Pp. 22.

This gives a full pictorial record of the not many vases included, all Attic red-figure, with a good and ample commentary. The plates are printed on both sides, but care has been taken to avoid figuring the

same vase on back and front of the same plate, the first example of this care, I think, in the Corpus. On pl. 1, the inscription seems to be *K.A. IOZ* retrograde, on the left, and *IIOMAI* on the right. Pl. 10 is nearer to the Sabouroff Painter than to the Painter of London B342. Pls. 11 and 13; in this neck-amphora by the Alkimachos Painter there is no mention of the characteristic unmeaning inscription visible in the plates. On B, an *old* man, with reserved hair. Pl. 36, 3-4, and pl. 37, 2, are by the same painter as pl. 38, 1-2 and pl. 39. Pl. 47, 1 seems to be dated too late. There are misprints, chiefly among the foreign names.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

Oxford.

BEAZLEY (J. D.) **The Berlin painter.** (A.H.R.C. occasional paper, 6.) Melbourne: University Press for the Australian Humanities Research Council (London: Cambridge U.P.). 1964. Pp. iv + 15. 10 plates. 10s.

'It is fifty-five years since I first became aware of the Berlin Painter, and he has been a friendly presence ever since', Beazley writes in the last paragraph. This Journal saw the first definition in print of this great draughtsman in 1910, in a footnote to the article 'Kleophrades', and a year later the first article devoted to him alone. The author has often returned to him, and gives us here a wonderful appreciation of his character and quality through a discussion of a selection of his work. He begins with the Berlin amphora and ends with the great new amphora in Basle, taking in on the way examples of the amphorae of Panathenaic shape, neck-amphorae large and small, oenochoai, bell-kraters, hydriai of both forms and volute-kraters, as well as the Gorgos cup and the black-figure prize Panathenaias. Sir John accepts, with a reservation of doubt, Miss Talcott's brilliant ascription of the cup; and notes the arguments found by the reviewer in support of the remote possibility that the potter Gorgos was the Berlin Painter himself.

Particularly interesting is a discussion of the painter's pattern-work, as fine and individual as his figure-drawing. The stop-key ingredient in the pattern below the figure on the front of a handsome neck-amphora recently acquired by Munich 'faces alternately right and left, and the saltire-squares are alternately attached to the upper border-line and to the lower border-line: so that the alternating element consists of four ingredients before the repeat . . . I like to give names where desirable, and this principle I call ULFA—short for upper, lower, facing alternately.' He points out that ULFA is almost confined to this painter, his followers 'and to painters who are not his followers, but for the nonce, in certain kinds of vase, are working in his tradition'.

One new vase is added to the list in *ARI*² (p. 3 n. 17: a doubleen in the Lucerne market); and on

pl. 7 are illustrated two pieces not previously published, though only one is by the Berlin Painter. The other is a black-figure neck-amphora with Apollo riding over the sea on a tripod, by the Ready Painter—'an uncommonly poor painter . . . but it is precious to us because it shows . . . the Berlin Painter [in his Vatican hydria] using older elements and by simplifying and refining them, and adding a touch of natural, unaffected grandeur, making what one may call a classic version of the theme'. The unpublished piece by the Berlin Painter is a very pretty fragment of a volute-krater neck in the Astarita collection at Naples (*ARI*² 1634, no. 132 *bis*) with the return of Hephaistos. One may perhaps add a couple of points to Beazley's remarks on it. The picture is on the upper register of the neck, whereas in the five other vases of the shape by this painter in which that part survives it bears a floral, and the figure-scene is on the lower register. Contemporary vases with figure-scenes at the upper level sometimes have one below also, sometimes have that area black. One would think the second scheme more compatible with the Berlin Painter's taste, but one cannot be sure. This is an early example of the new form of the Return of Hephaistos, in which the smith-god walks instead of riding, perhaps introduced under the influence of satyr-plays (see Brommer, *Jdl* 52, 1937, 211 f.); the only other example so early is the lost amphora perhaps by the Painter of the Munich Amphora (*ibid.* 207 ff. no. 2, figs. 8-9; *ARI*² 246). The cloak slung over one arm instead of the normal wear (as Dionysos has it) over both shoulders or upper arms, seems, where not for the protection of a hunter or fighter, a sign of disarray, often as here of being in liquor: compare the bearded reveller on the Pan Painter's Palermo bell-krater (*Panmaler* pl. 31) and two of those on Onesimos' Boston komos cup (*CB* ii pls. 41 f.).

On p. 8, second para., for 480 read 430, and on p. 13, beginning of second para., for 'These' read 'There'; but printing and production are excellent, and we must be very grateful to the Australian Humanities Research Council for publishing this beautiful lecture.

MARTIN ROBERTSON,

Lincoln College, Oxford.

SAFLUND (G.) Trans. P. M. Fraser. **Aphrodite Kallipygos.** Stockholm Studies in Archaeology. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell. 1963. Pp. 90. 53 figures.

The kernel of this valuable study is a bronze spatula, said to have been found at Epizephyrian Locri, whose handle ends in a minute figure (an inch or so high). This figure closely resembles the famous Aphrodite Kallipygos of the Farnese Collection in Naples, must indeed be derived from the same original, but differs from the present state of that statue in the position of the head. The Farnese looks back and down over her

right shoulder to admire the beauties she is revealing; the little bronze reveals them to others but herself looks forward, only slightly downward and to the right. Säf Lund traces the history of the Farnese piece, which was restored by Carlo Albacini between 1786 and 1800, at the time of the removal of the collection from Rome to Naples. These restorations include the head and neck with the right shoulder, as well as the left arm raised with the drapery and part of the right leg and foot. Säf Lund concludes from the bronze that Albacini's restoration, and an earlier one preserved in a cast at Stockholm, err in the motive of self-regard and the consequent extreme twist given to the figure, both features which have naturally led the statue to be classed as a Hellenistic creation. He argues that the spatula is likely not to be later than the end of the fourth century, and that the composition of the statue evidenced by it is compatible with this early dating. His parallels and arguments are interesting, but not I think conclusive. There is nothing precisely like the spatula, and this kind of object cannot be dated very closely. Even with the restorations removed (fig. 19), I have the impression that there was more twist on the Farnese statue than on the bronze; and there certainly is on the only other complete antique version of the statue: a relief about eighteen inches high on a semi-cylindrical piece of limestone (perhaps a statue-base) from Cos (fig. 27). This is much weathered, but the figure undoubtedly derives from the same original, while the movement is nearer to that of the restored Farnese than to that of the little bronze. She is not perhaps quite looking down over her shoulder, but is certainly directing the spectator's gaze that way. It seems possible that in converting the composition to the tiny adornment of a handle the bronze-worker simplified the pose as well as the details. I should myself still find a third-century date for the original easier than a fourth. However that may be, the new evidence is of the greatest importance for a work of quality and interest. It is no longer possible, for instance, to regard the charming Hellenistic statuette of a satyr-boy looking at his tail (fig. 41) as a parody of the Aphrodite. The Farnese statue has sometimes been thought a Greek original. In its various restorations the statue must have undergone some reworking, which makes the question even more difficult to answer than usual, but I find Säf Lund's conclusion entirely convincing: that it is a good copy, perhaps after a bronze. His analysis of the best viewpoint is acute, but he emphasises that it is nevertheless a statue meant to be looked at from all round. Säf Lund glances at the history of this unveiling theme (*anasyrma*, as he calls it) in art and literature: concludes (surely rightly) that the original statue must have represented Aphrodite herself rather than one of her votaries; and adds brief notes expounding the probably 'sacral' character of the spatula and the possibility of religious prostitution in Locri. There is also a most amusing prologue on a copy of the Farnese made in 1780 by the Swedish

sculptor Sergel on the orders of Gustav III, with a portrait-head of a court-lady, Ulla von Hopken.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

Lincoln College, Oxford.

KARAGEORGHIS (V.) *Sculptures from Salamis, 1.*

Nicosia: the Department of Antiquities. 1964.

Pp. vii + 56. 2 folding plans. 54 plates.

£2 10s.

When in 1890 the Cyprus Exploration Fund dug within the ruinfield of Salamis, they partially investigated a monumental complex on the northern limits of the city which they identified as a Temple of Zeus. Finds included some marble sculpture executed in the second century A.D. of which a share was subsequently brought to England and divided between the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. (For the last, see L. Budde and R. Nicholls, *A catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1964, nos. 52, 56 and 98.) In 1952 the Cyprus Department of Antiquities undertook the further excavation of this site which was soon shown to be no temple of Zeus but one of Salamis' several Gymnasia. During several seasons excavation here, and at the Theatre found nearby in 1959, a considerable amount of sculpture, more or less fragmentary, came to light. In the volume under review, Dr Karageorghis' purpose is to publish a catalogue *raisonné* not only of the sculpture found since 1952, but also of the material allocated to Cyprus after the 1890 excavation; this has been done in close collaboration with Cornelius Vermeule.

In a valuable prefatory section we are introduced to the two great buildings within whose ruins the marbles were found; two large-scale plans enable the reader precisely to locate the findspot of every piece discussed, while several of the half-tone illustrations (pls. i-vi; xli-xlii) are of sculptures *in situ*. In the history of the Gymnasium and of the Theatre most of the sculptures' history is to be found. The Gymnasium as we have it is entirely a Roman building, though epigraphic and other evidence shows that it stands on the site of a Hellenistic predecessor. The Augustan building followed an earthquake; this in turn was badly damaged by earthquake in A.D. 79. This damage was not made good until extensive building works were undertaken in the reigns of Hadrian and Trajan. In these works a four-sided colonnaded portico was built in front of the baths of the Gymnasium, enclosing the palaestra. Swimming baths were added to the large east portico of the palaestra, while behind the others were built the various rooms and offices appropriate to the needs of the Gymnasium. Nearly all the sculptures found are more or less contemporary with this great rebuilding and are an eloquent witness to the extreme lavishness with which the project was undertaken. Many of the sculptures were to have centuries of use. Two earthquakes (in A.D. 332 and again in 342) wrought havoc

in the Gymnasium. Many of the marbles will have been damaged on these occasions and, indeed, a number of fragments were found in the debris filling parts of the building never repaired after this calamity. Though Salamis was rebuilt with the help of Constantius II (hence the change of name to Constantia), the Gymnasium has to wait a century before anything was done for it. Then only its baths and the palaestra were repaired and used as a bathing establishment for the Christian city. The colonnades were rebuilt with the help of a motley collection of marble columns collected from ruined buildings nearby. Many of the old sculptures were re-erected, new bases being built for them, within the east portico. Nude male figures were carefully bowdlerised to make them acceptable to the new taste. Here these mutilated pagan figures stood until the city's final agony in the mid-seventh century at the hand of Arab raiders. In these troubles the statues were overthrown, some to the pavement of the portico, some within the north swimming pool where they were eventually discovered beneath destruction debris and a massive accumulation of wind-blown sand. For some few pieces of statuary there was still a further use, for they were built into poor squatter structures used by those who lingered on in the ruined city after the raids.

The vicissitudes of the marbles found in the Theatre were of shorter duration. The building was first erected late in the first century B.C. It was remodelled on several occasions, notably after the A.D. 79 earthquake. During the second century A.D. the *frons scenae* was considerably embellished with sculptures which were involved in the wholesale destruction of the building at the time of the fourth-century earthquakes, when the auditorium came down and the *frons scenae* collapsed on to the stage. Though there was an effort in the Christian period partly to restore the theatre, there was no salvaging of sculpture for this purpose from the debris, as there had been in the Gymnasium, and the marbles were left buried in the ruined masonry on which a poor new stage was erected.

The main part of the volume is taken up by the descriptions of the sixty-eight pieces catalogued: these vary from almost complete figures to relatively small fragments. Some of the latter (nos. 64-6) are shown to be repairs for damaged statues in the theatre. The catalogue entries include very full and careful descriptions of each piece, the argument to support identification, if this is in any doubt, and a discussion of the relevant sculptural types. Every piece is illustrated, the more important ones in several views. With few exceptions the plates are good, coming up well to the usual high standards of the Cyprus Museum photographers. It would have been an advantage to show the catalogue numbers on the plates.

Two sculptures stand aside from the rest, and were clearly out of context where they were found. One is part of a limestone kore of the end of the sixth century B.C., certainly made in Cyprus, and the work of a Cypriot, yet closer far to Greek korai than anything else yet found in Cyprus. Such a find whets the

appetite for the discovery of an Archaic sanctuary at Salamis; we already know something of the city's Greek ties in the late Geometric period from recent finds in the royal cemetery, and there were hints of close Greek contacts in Archaic times in some of the 1890 C.E.F. results. Cat. no. 2, the head of a goddess in Pentelic marble, is unquestionably the most beautiful sculpture described. Karageorghis discusses its relationship with the head of Hygeia of c. 360 B.C. from Tegea, and concludes that it is somewhat earlier, perhaps carved in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. He suggests that it was the work of one of the many Greek artists invited to Salamis by Evagoras I. It could, of course, have been brought from Greece to Salamis by one of her public-spirited sons at almost any time.

The mass of the Salamis sculpture in both Gymnasium and Theatre was the work of copyists operating in the seventy-five years from A.D. 70 onwards. It is interesting that no older, Hellenistic marbles (which surely must have existed in the city in plenty) were acquired for the Gymnasium. Karageorghis suggests (and promises further discussion in a second volume) that the school of sculptors responsible for this outpouring of copies of fifth century, but predominantly fourth-century Greek models is to be located on the Ionian coast of Asia Minor.

What were the types chosen for the Gymnasium? Apollo Citharoedus, Zeus enthroned, Herakles (the Farnese type, though not as overblown as usual), Artemis, Dionysos, Isis (or her priestess), Asklepios, Hygeia, Nemesis (with an unparalleled collection of attributes), Melaege, Demeter, river gods, a water nymph (the last with a striking illustration of 'wet' drapery). There was a group of a hermaphrodite and a satyr: there may have been a Chimaera (only the goat's head survives; it would, as Karageorghis says, have been appropriate enough with his Lycian home no great distance away to the north-west). So it was a heterogeneous and thoroughly educative assemblage which must have been very edifying (if not artistically brilliant) for the young Salaminians. One would greatly like to know what types were rejected by the fifth-century authorities when the survivors were re-erected in the bath buildings. The sculpture from the Theatre included fragments of three cuirassed figures, presumably all of emperor-benefactors, as well as several types particularly appropriate to the theatre—Apollo Musagetes, a number of Muses, amongst them Melpomene. While none of the Gymnasium sculpture was really bad, some from the Theatre (including an infant Herakles strangling snakes and an Eros) are atrocious: it would be ungracious to assume that these were the work of local sculptors, but this may be the hard truth.

This is a volume of which all concerned in its making have every reason to be proud. Students of Cyprus, no less than students of sculpture, are once more in Dr Karageorghis' debt.

H. W. CARLING.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

BONACASA (N.) **Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia: catalogo.** Palermo: Fondazione I. Mormino. 1964. Pp. xix + 187. 94 plates. Lire 13,000.

We have here a catalogue of the Greek and Roman portraits scattered throughout Sicily—housed not only in the Museums of Palermo, Syracuse, and Catania, but in the less known Museums and antiquaria of Centuripe, Solunto, Lipari, Messina, Tindari, Tusa, Termini Imerese, etc. A few, especially among the Greek portraits, are well known, others have been briefly recorded, e.g., by G. Libertini in his *Guida del Museo archeologico di Siracusa*; but a large number are here published for the first time. In the present interest in ancient portraiture this assemblage is especially welcome.

The material is conveniently divided into a number of groups. First come the relatively few Greek portraits; then the Roman heads and busts, arranged chronologically: Republican, Augustan and Julio-Claudian, Flavian, period of Nerva and Trajan, Hadrianic, Antonine, third century A.D., and fourth century A.D. They are followed by statues of *loricati* and *togati*, and of draped female figures. Lastly come miscellanea.

The Greek portraits—all of course Roman copies—comprise the well-known Sokrates, type A, in Palermo (no. 2), the Plato in Syracuse (no. 3), the Aristotle in Palermo (no. 4), the Hermarchos in Palermo (no. 12), and an Alexander in Catania (no. 10—comparable to the example in Wilton House (cf. Bieber, *Alexander the Great*, 1964, fig. 101b). A comparative newcomer, on the other hand, is a fragmentary relief of Euripides in Catania (no. 5), formerly in the Biscari Collection (cf. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, no. 74). Though the forehead, nose, and eyes are missing, the tell-tale locks covering the ears, and the composition of beard and moustache, as well as the form of the mouth with protruding upper lip, make the identification certain. Also included is a very generalised strategos in Messina (no. 1), heretofore practically unknown, but recently illustrated by G. V. Gentili in the *Enciclopedia d'arte antica* IV, s.v. Messina, fig. 1286.

Among the Republican portraits a group in limestone, coming from Africa and now in the Museum of Syracuse, is particularly noteworthy (nos. 22-6). Three heads are thought to represent Julius Caesar (nos. 31-3). Augustus appears in two well preserved and in one fragmentary example (nos. 37-9). Persuasively identified are also Tiberius (no. 44), Drusus the Elder (no. 46), Drusus the Younger (no. 47), Calpurnia (no. 52), Agrippina the Elder (nos. 69, 70), Domitian (no. 84), Nerva (no. 93), Hadrian (no. 103), Faustina Minor (no. 132), and Geta (no. 138). They are supplemented by a number of 'unknowns', among which the late examples of the third and fourth centuries are especially important, e.g., the engaging boy in Catania (no. 141), the pensive man in Syracuse (no. 146), the head called Gallienus in Palermo (no. 147), and the colossal head in Piazza

Armerina (no. 154), tentatively identified as Maxentius. Of high quality are also several heads of the second century A.D., e.g., the high-bred lady in Catania (no. 130), the sensitive young girl in Syracuse (no. 134), and a well-preserved head of a resolute man in Palermo (no. 109), assigned to c. A.D. 140.

Of great interest are furthermore the portrait statues: a seated Claudius in Palermo (no. 54), extensively restored; a fine torso of a loricatus in the Antiquario comunale of Centuripe (no. 176), late Trajanic or early Hadrianic; an Augustan togatus in the Museum of Tindari (no. 185); and several female draped statues, reproducing familiar Greek types, which were once surmounted by portrait heads of Roman ladies, now mostly missing (nos. 218-25). Among them an imposing statue of the older Herakleaneum woman type (no. 92) takes first place. The fragment, no. 226 in Syracuse, hardly belongs here. It seems to be merely a Roman copy of a type close to the Eirene of Kephisodotos.

The identification of portraits, both Greek and Roman, is often notoriously difficult. Some people see a resemblance that escapes others. So, in this catalogue some assignments will be questioned. Do nos. 31-3 really represent Julius Caesar? Is no. 139 really a young Caracalla? Do the heads 150, 151 really represent the gracious Julia Domna? Is the charming boy no. 51 really Drusus Minor? And so on. General agreement is difficult to reach. What is important, however, in a catalogue is the presentation of the material with accurate descriptions accompanied by good illustrations. Sig. Nicola Boncasa is to be congratulated on having achieved this and on having thereby enriched our knowledge of ancient portraiture by a number of conspicuous examples.

G. M. A. RICHTER.

Rome.

BIEBER (M.) **Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman art.** Chicago: Argonaut. 1964. Pp. 98. 63 plates. \$7.50.

This book is essentially a reprint of the author's earlier very useful study of the portraits of Alexander the Great published in *Proc. American Philosophical Soc.* xciii (1949) 373 f., with a number of insertions incorporating various newly identified portraits and some older ones, together with corresponding extensions to the plate coverage. Apart from the insertions just mentioned, the text has remained virtually unchanged, although the bibliography in the footnotes has, of course, been revised.

The most important addition is probably that of the heads of the so-called 'Eubouleus'-type (p. 26, pls. 4-5), identified by Professor E. B. Harrison in *Hesperia* xix (1960) 382 f. as copied from a portrait of Alexander, possibly by Leochares. It is gratifying to see how convincingly they fit into place here. Other items added in this book are the bronze youth

and horse in Florence (p. 24, pl. 14), perhaps an Italian genre group rather than a portrait; the marble heads of Alexander-Herakles in Athens and Boston (p. 52, pl. 20); a helmeted bronze statuette in London (pp. 61 f., pls. 33-4); a bronze statuette and stucco medallion from Begram in the Musée Guimet (pp. 37, 61, pls. 13, 24); the marble head from Alexandria in Copenhagen (p. 59, pl. 28); the alabaster acrolith in the Brooklyn Museum whose head-drillings, however, might seem rather to suggest the rays of an Alexander-Helios (p. 66, pls. 41-2, an Alexandrian work included incongruously in the Asia Minor chapter); the terracotta bust from the Stathatou Collection in Athens (p. 67); and the coins, pp. 36, 81, pls. 12, 63. Illustrations have also been added of the Geneva head (p. 27, pl. 15), the Rossie Priory head (pp. 62, 76, pls. 54-5), the head from Tarsus in Copenhagen (p. 73, pls. 46-7) and the statue formerly at Wilton House (pp. 75 f., pls. 52-3). This last has now been sold (*Cat. Christie* July 3rd, 1961, 34 lot 148, frontispiece); its cornucopia, *pace* Poulsen, seems to belong and to be original to this figure.

The author's treatment of the contemporary portraits and their later copies is, as before, provocative and rewarding, if inevitably speculative. The Hellenistic portraits are often difficult to evaluate because of the large amount of free adaptation that went on at that time. Thus the reviewer must confess himself reluctant to separate the type of the helmeted portrait from Kos in Istanbul (pp. 59 f., pls. 29-30) from that of the later statuette from Gabii in Paris (p. 74, pl. 48). Many classicistic Roman versions are so lacking in individuality that it is hard to distinguish between Alexander and the sundry young gods on whom his deified appearance was modelled.

This extremely readable book is the most important contribution on this subject that we have, Miss Richter's *Portraits of the Greeks* having deliberately omitted to deal with Alexander. Nevertheless, one deeply regrets the absence of an appendix giving a catalogue list of the portraits and technical descriptions. One also regrets the omission of so many of the lesser stone and bronze portraits, some at least of which have contributions to make that are not entirely to be scorned. Thus, in postulating from coins a major sculptural portrait of the time of Ptolemy I showing Alexander wearing the skin of an elephant's head (pp. 52 f., pls. 21-2), the author seems unaware of the important type among Alexandrian bronze statuettes showing Alexander so adorned. Although the plates are mostly fairly clear, it is extremely sad, in a book of this kind, to have so many of the pictures cut around. A further revised reprint is, the reviewer is informed, already projected.

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TAYLOR (J. DU PLAT) *Ed. for C.M.A.S.* (World underwater federation). **Marine archaeo-**

logy: developments during sixty years in the Mediterranean. London: Hutchinson, 1965. Pp. 208. 32 plates. 76 text figures. £2 10s.

Marine archaeology—the investigation of ancient shipwrecks and of submerged sites such as harbours—retains that aura of the treasure-hunt which land-excavation has by now rejected. It is an adventure, and sure of publicity. But the special contribution it can make to our scientific comprehension of the Ancient World is less well understood. In compiling and editing the contributions of a distinguished group of experts, Miss du Plat Taylor has done a notable service to archaeologists and ancient historians alike, in reminding us of both the limitations and the peculiar advantages of underwater research. The limitations are imposed by tides and currents, and by the nature of the sea-bed, which make strict stratigraphic investigation always difficult and often impossible. The special contribution of marine archaeology is obvious enough, once stated. It discloses the design and efficiency of harbours, and (from their scale) gives some idea of the relative importance of maritime states. It allows the exploration of submerged sites. In the examination of wrecks it can provide otherwise unobtainable evidence of the dimensions, tonnage, and construction of ancient ships; and from their cargoes can show the contemporaneity of artefacts much more precisely than land stratigraphy allows. Further, the positions of wrecks and the little-exploited evidence of anchors parted on stormy reefs or debris jettisoned in sheltered bays can tell us much about sea-routes and navigation.

All these possibilities are illustrated in brief or more extended accounts of particular Mediterranean explorations in the past sixty years, most of them since the war. The text is somewhat uneven, as one would expect in a compilation of this kind from short and long reports by several writers, original or translated, specially composed or reprinted. But the material is well selected. The book is generously illustrated with plans of sites and drawings of pottery, and with photographs which do nothing to discourage the treasure-hunting view of the subject, but which emphasise its scientific side as well.

Diving techniques are improving constantly, and with them the possibilities for exploration. In a final chapter, Miss du Plat Taylor and others look to the future. They see, first and foremost, the necessity for systematic exploration of coastal waters, and the recording of sites for later excavation; and they look forward to what promises to be a fruitful cooperation between archaeology, geology, and marine biology, in a field in which the interests of all three are indissolubly linked.

JOHN P. BARRON.

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MUSSCHE (H. F.) **Monumenta Graeca et Romana.** Vol. ii. **Greek architecture.** Fasc. 2. Civil and military architecture.

Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1964. Pp. 21-40. Plates 65-128. Fl. 18.

Monumenta Graeca et Romana will eventually comprise, apparently, thirty fascicules of photographs (with some plans and reconstructions) selected 'to supply ample documentary evidence in all fields of the Pre-Hellenic, Hellenic, Etruscan, and Roman civilisations'. The present fascicule contains sixty-five quarto pages of plates, providing ninety-four pictures of Greek civil buildings (agoras, theatres, palaestras, gymnasia, stadia, hotels, houses, tombs) and forty-three pictures of Greek fortifications. These plates, all black-and-white, are preceded by twenty pages of notes in English, each describing one construction illustrated, recording the basic measurements in metres, indicating the building periods, and concluding with a short, but generally helpful bibliography. The brevity of the notes may sometimes cause misunderstanding. For instance, commenting on a view of the Athenian Agora from the west (pl. 65b), M. appropriately remarks that the fifth-century temple of Ares was transferred to its existing site in the first century B.C.; yet he attributes the altar of Zeus Agoraios to the fourth century without explaining that it was moved from Pnyx to Agora c. 50 B.C. (*Hesp.* 21, 1952, 91 f.). Then his confused note on Paravola, based largely on Woodhouse's *Aetolia*, 190 ff., suggests that his pictures (pls. 120a-b) illustrate one of two well preserved semi-circular towers at the west end of the acropolis; M.'s tower, however, is really the only well preserved one and lies at the eastern extremity.

The following factors may be proposed as contributing to the value of a work of this kind: technical excellence of the photographs, obviously; choice of subjects suitable for illustration; the way in which plans and reconstructions support the photographs; and the care with which a general view, illustration(s) of detail, and the commentary are blended together. M. provides some pleasant photographs; but, to an appetite jaded by a surfeit of lavishly illustrated books, the quality of reproduction too often appears to fall short of the high standard expected nowadays. Moreover, having stated the principle that 'a smaller number of large pictures is to be preferred to a greater number of small ones', M. offers an unduly high proportion of plates (certainly a quarter of the total) which attempt to cover too much. Some are not supported by shots of detail, and one wonders whether he could not, with advantage, have relied more on plans or possibly oblique air-photographs (e.g. for agoras). It must be emphasised that fascicule 3 of this volume will provide, among other things, reconstructions and plans (which may thus be placed beside the plates). If this is well done, it may make a difference to the usefulness of the plates here.

Taking the last factor mentioned above, we find M. combining the indicated elements successfully in his treatment of the baths at Gortys (pls. 98a-b). He is less happy with the Keramikos cemetery outside the Dipylon and Sacred Gates at Athens. His general

view (pl. 107a) inevitably shows a discouraging jumble of ancient foundations, and it is virtually impossible to identify, at the top, the famous group of grave-monuments along the street of tombs (Dexileos' stele to Lysimachides' Molossian hound) which he proceeds to show in close-up (pl. 107b). The latter picture has been so taken that it illustrates inadequately the comments in the note, which would be far better supported by the frontispiece to P. Gardner's *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* (1896). Thirty-four of the civil photographs are devoted to theatres, and this collection, chiefly of fairly general views, contains something of interest for anyone beginning to study Greek theatrical matters.

The selection of plates depicting military architecture is unsatisfactory. M. seems preoccupied with style of masonry, referring regularly to R. L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (or L. R. Scranton, for variety). But we miss a picture of good straightforward polygonal stone-work (e.g. Oeniadae). Incidentally, the Arcadian Gate at Messene has pointed work, not broaching as M. says. Since many Greek walls were built of brick on stone foundations, M. certainly ought to have illustrated this construction, especially as Gela provides an excellently preserved example (see now P. Griffo and L. von Matt, *Gela*, 1964, 173 ff.). Few pictures will assist those studying fortifications from a military standpoint. No really advanced and powerful defensive systems are included except for Euryalos, Syracuse (add to bibliography, A. W. Lawrence in *JHS* lxvi, 1948, 99 ff.; F. E. Winter in *AJA* 67, 1963; F. Krischen, *Die Stadtmauern von Pompeii*, 1941, 25 ff.) and Selinus, North Gate (but add F. Krischen, *op. cit.*, 29 ff.; Gàbrici's date in *Mon. Ant. Lincei* 33, p. 101—shortly before 250 B.C.). M. could have omitted his uninspiring pictures of Rhamnous (v. little to see), Tithorea (better illustrated by Tillard in *BSA* 17, 1910-11, 54 ff. especially fig. 10), and Plataea (v. dilapidated). He should include some powerful defences like Latmian Heraclea, Greco-Lucanian Poseidonia, Hipponium, and above all the casemated walls of Perge and Side (see Winter in *Phoenix* 13, 1959, plates after p. 176; A. M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side*, 1963, 26 ff.).

On the whole this fascicule does not live up to its promise; but the next fascicule, when it appears, may make some difference to our assessment.

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Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani
(C.I.R.B.). **Korpus bosporskikh nadpisei.**
Moscow: 'Nauka'. 1965. Pp. 951. 4r. 72k.

In 1916 Basil Latyshev published the second edition of Vol. I of the *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, containing inscriptions found on the territory between the Danube and the boundary of the Bosporan kingdom. He then proceeded to work on the second edition of the other half

of the *IOSPE* but did not succeed in finishing it. After his death in 1921, the editorial work was taken over by S. A. Shebelev who died in 1941 in besieged Leningrad leaving the Corpus once more unfinished. The work was resumed in the post-war period first by S. J. Lurjc, then (1950) by I. I. Tolstoi (until his death in 1954). In 1956 at last the present editorial board was appointed: V. V. Struve (Chairman), M. N. Tichomirov, V. F. Gaidukevich, A. I. Dovatur, D. P. Kallistov, T. N. Knipovich, A. I. Tjumenev (died in 1959) and Mme A. I. Boltunova who contributed many important new readings and restorations.

By 1956, obviously, merely to finish and publish the work of the previous editors (which fortunately had been fully preserved in the Archives of the Soviet Academy) was out of the question. The extensive excavations on the Black Sea shores brought to light many new inscriptions. Besides, it was necessary to check the whereabouts of all the monuments, often displaced during the war: the territory of the ancient Bosporan kingdom was one of the most devastated and many museums suffered heavy losses. Be it sufficient to refer the reader to the *lemmata* of inscriptions preserved in the museum of Kerch, the ancient Panticapaeum. (On the other hand, it is sad to read that several inscriptions—cf. Nos. 5, 56—were found in the trenches dug during the Second World War. . . .) And, last not least, results of recent research on the history of the Bosporan kingdom had to be incorporated.

As a result, an entirely new book has been produced, as is indicated by abandoning the old title and changing the size of the book. Nevertheless, there is strong continuity in so far as all Latyshev's, Shebelev's etc. material has been utilised and most of Latyshev's arrangement retained. On both the continuity and changes we are duly informed in the Introduction (pp. 5–12), whence most of what I have said hitherto has been taken. The innovation which is most outstanding and, at the same time, likely to arouse some controversy is the change of language: the whole corpus, including *lemmata*, textual apparatus and commentary, is written in Russian. This will probably cause some inconvenience for many non-Slavic classical scholars, but since other corpora have long ago started using the *linguae vernaculae* which count as world languages, it is impossible to raise any legitimate objection.

There are all in all 1325 inscriptions, two of them Latin (*IOSPE* II and IV contained 780 inscriptions from the Bosporan kingdom); edited partly by Knipovich and Gaidukevich, partly by Dovatur and Kallistov (see the list on p. 10); chronologically, they range from the fifth century B.C. (very few) to the third century A.D. The latest dated inscription included in the corpus, the earliest dated Christian document from the Bosporan kingdom, is a sepulchral inscription of the year A.D. 304 (Add. No. 3).

The arrangement is geographical, starting with Panticapaeum (No. 1–867; Add. 1–3); from the other sites the following have yielded more than twenty

inscriptions: Myrmecia (No. 868–888a), Nymphaeum (No. 911–940), Phanagoria (No. 971–1011), Hermonassa (No. 1037–1101), Gorgippia (No. 1114–1219, Add. 4), Tanais (No. 1237–1312). In each site, the inscriptions are divided according to their type. There are only a few decrees of the Bosporan cities: five from Panticapaeum (No. 1–5), one from Gorgippia (Add. 4; Latyshev's heading 'decreta' has been changed to 'proxenies', as there are no other decrees but honorary decrees: I would have preferred this last term as heading). The next two sections comprise votive and honorary inscriptions, many of them important for the genealogy and chronology of the Bosporan rulers and, through their titles, for the territorial extent of their kingdom. Then building inscriptions follow, most of them very late, next manumissions, including the interesting group of manumissions in Jewish sanctuaries, and the rich sections of thiasos-inscriptions and of lists of names. In the next two sections all verse inscriptions and sepulchral inscriptions are collected, the latter (more than 650 for Panticapaeum only) arranged alphabetically in several chronological units (roughly one for each century). A section of *Varia* concludes the corpus.

Among the inscriptions, there are only c. forty *inedita*, most of them edited by Mme Boltunova. But a fair number of inscriptions, published after 1900 in rare and sometimes local Russian publications, have remained practically unknown outside Russia. So, e.g., sepulchral epigrams No. 133, 134 and 139 are not to be found in Peek's *GVI* I: they were published in local journals of Odessa and the Crimea. But *CIRB* 122 is included by Peek under No. 2079.

In the *lemma*, detailed description of each monument (and relief, if there is one) is given together with necessary dimensions and the height of letters. Forms of the letters are not mentioned, although many inscriptions are dated only by the lettering. And there is not one photograph and practically no facsimile in the whole book. This is a great handicap that cannot be compensated for by referring the reader (p. 9) to an—otherwise very important and illuminating—article by Mme Boltunova and Mine Knipovich 'Survey of Greek lapidary style in the Bosporos' (in Russian, in: **Нумизматика и Эпиграфика III**, 1962, pp. 3–31) with photographs and full tables recording the development of letter forms in Bosporan inscriptions.

After the description, there follows a succinct but full account of the fortunes of each monument since its discovery and the indication of its present location, if known: the relatively frequent 'unknown' in this place in many cases reveals the losses of the war. In the last part of the *lemma*, all previous editions with precise indication of their sources (stone, squeeze, the editor's own or somebody else's copy, photograph, printed edition) are listed, including the editions in common manuals (and their older editions). By a

slip, Tod's *GHI* II has been neglected (Tod 115A-C = *CIRB* 37, 6, 1111; Tod 171A-E = *CIRB* 9, 10, 1014, 1015, 972).

In the transcription of the epigraphical texts the French system of brackets, used by Latyshev, has been kept. In the case of round brackets the necessary specification is given in the thorough textual apparatus (but even so some uncertainty sometimes remains, cf. No. 36) where all variants and/or older readings that matter are given. As for square brackets, the editors do not print them at the end of a line and at the beginning of next line if the restored text overlaps from one line to another. In some cases slight ambiguity is the result, given the tiny and not always clearly visible cross-bars of the brackets. Where the stone or part of it has perished, the best edition preceding the loss or damage has been followed. Otherwise, the present text is always based on the original (Introduction, p. 6). Sometimes Latyshev's revision of the stone as prepared for *IOSPE* II² has been regarded as final (cf. e.g. the important No. 36), but substantial improvement in reading and restoring has been achieved in many cases. Immediately after the text a Russian translation follows, once more true to Latyshev's tradition.

In the *lemmata*, only full editions of the inscription are given. All other bibliography concerning the inscription, its text, interpretation and historical etc. implications is to be found in ample but succinct commentaries which contain extremely rich and full information about all aspects of the history, chronology, institutions, cults, private life etc. in the Bosporan kingdom. Onomastic discussion only is excluded for reasons given on pp. 11-12 (ibidem the basic bibliography). In commenting on more than a thousand inscriptions some minor omissions are inescapable; some of them might have been avoided by paying more attention to the volumes of *SEG*. So, e.g., Peck's variant readings to *CIRB* 992 published in *VDI* 1960, 3, pp. 141-142 have escaped the editor, although the reference (and Peck's text) is easily accessible in *SEG* XVIII, 311: this is a pity, because a revision of the stone could have settled the question (against Peck in most instances, in my opinion).

The reader will be especially grateful for the Appendices, containing A. I. Dovatur's succinct but important survey of the grammar of the Bosporan inscriptions (pp. 797-830), a chronological table of Bosporan rulers and ten excellent indices containing (1) names of gods and heroes with their epithets; (2) terms relating to cult; (3) ancient geographical and ethical names; (4) names of Roman emperors; (5) names of Bosporan rulers and members of their families; (6) institutional and legal terms; (7) names of months; (8) personal names (pp. 846-909); (9) index verborum, and (10) modern names of places where inscriptions have been found and the ancient names of which are not known, with brief archaeological information. The volume ends with a full concordance to *IOSPE* II and IV and to *editiones*

principes of the inscriptions in Russian periodicals, and with a list of abbreviations.

The present reviewer has to leave a detailed judgement of the volume to specialists. But he is sure that with the *Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani* we have been presented by Leningrad classical scholars with an extremely important and very thoroughly prepared book (I have found a minimum of misprints), long desired and indispensable for whoever wants to work on any aspect of the history of the Greeks overseas.

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CALDER (W. M.) *III The inscription from temple G at Selinus*. (Greek, Roman and Byzantine monographs, 4.) Durham, N. C.: Duke University. 1963. Pp. x + 63. 3 plates. 1 text figure. \$2.50.

In this short monograph the author re-examines from every possible point of view the well-known inscription from Temple G at Selinus, now in the Palermo Museum. He has not seen it for himself, but carefully collating the readings from an excellent photograph, a squeeze, the autopsy of a colleague and the valuable drawings provided by the original editor Ugduleña (1871) and by Benndorf and Roehl, he has given us an exemplary text. His analysis shows that it is composed of three sections: (1) the Introduction, filling line 1, 'Thanks to the following gods the Selinuntines are victors'; (2) a 'Battle-hymn' in choriambic verse (lines 2-7 *init.*, ending with *μάλιστα*); (3) the decree ordering the making and depositing in the 'Apollonion' of a gold object, and the engraving on it of the names of the gods, the weight of the gold to be sixty Talents.

That (2) was in verse was recognised by C. before he found that this view had been anticipated in an anonymous *addendum* to an anonymous review of Benndorf's *Metopen* (1873), which had escaped the notice of all subsequent editors. His structural analysis and valuable metrical and linguistic notes will be welcomed by all students of Greek verse. The two main features of (3) are, first, the contention that the gold votive offering was not a plate of gold (cf. Tod, *GHI* I² 37), still less a group of gold statues (cf. Buck, *Greek Dialects*³ 98), but a shield. This is surely the right answer, and is based on the use of *ἐλάττειν* in four different passages in the *Iliad* for beating out a metal shield (and supported by a comparison with the gold shield, and spear) dedicated by Croesus at the oracle of Amphiaraus at Thebes, and even more cogently with the gold shields set up by the Athenians at Delphi after Plataea, and that by the Spartans on the pediment of the Zeus-temple at Olympia after Tanagra. The idea that the images of the gods enumerated in (2) were also embossed on the shield is rightly rejected, but it is made clear that their names, as ordered in the decree, were recorded on it in punctured dots (*κολάγαντας*), as on the bronze shield from Pylos found in the Athenian Agora.

The size of the shield naturally depends on the interpretation of the sixty Talents, a point almost entirely ignored by previous commentators. C. rejects Mattingly's 'Small Sicilian Talents' (*Num. Chron.* 1943, 14–20), of which sixty would yield only 518 grammes of gold, and Evans' somewhat heavier Talents (*op. cit.*, 1891, 326 ff.) which would yield 1,440 grammes, and prefers Euboic–Attic Talents, yielding a total of 3,450 lb. at 57.5 to the Talent (approximately 1½ tons in weight). From this vast mass of gold, C. suggests, there could be made a shield of four feet radius (i.e. 8 ft. in diameter) and 0.687 inches thick (or, alternatively, a tablet 6 ft. by 4 ft. and 1½ inches thick). In support of these dimensions for his shield, C. notes that the inscription was at a height of *c.* 8 feet above floor-level; but ignores the possibility that it may have stood on a base or plinth which has since disappeared, which would imply a smaller and thicker shield, *if* we accept his figure for the weight of gold; and we might also ask whether his colossal shield would have been rigid enough to stand without crumpling (whatever may have been added to strengthen it). But are we bound to accept a shield of this size and weight? It may be felt that he rejects too hastily a suggestion by Schubring (*Arch. Zeit.* 50 (1873), 103'4) that the gold was purchased with sixty Talents of silver, though this is perhaps not the more natural interpretation of τὸ δὲ χρυσίον ἐξέκ[ορτα τα]λίαντον ἔμειν. Here he uncritically accepts Sch.'s statement that there is no evidence known for weighing gold by silver Talents, for this is surely the regular practice in the Attic *Traditiones*, where gold objects are recorded as weighing sums in Drachmae, often followed by Obols, and sometimes by half-Obols; and there is the specific reference to weighing the [gold and] ivory of the Pheidian Athena with silver (πρὸς ἀργυρίον τὰ σταθμῖα ἀντιστήσαντες *vel sim.*) *IG* ii² 1407+1414, lines 6/7, as restored by the reviewer in *HSCP* Suppl. vol. I (1940), p. 381). This would give us a gold shield of 4,255 Talents (*c.* 246.4 lb.), which seems a less improbable object.

Assuming, however, that the weight was in fact sixty Talents of gold, C. argues that no victory of the Selinuntines could have yielded booty on this scale except as their share of the Athenian spoils and ransoms of 413 B.C., and to this date he would hesitatingly attribute the shield and the inscription. The almost complete lack of fifth-century inscriptions from Selinus leaves us with little material for comparison except the coins, which in fact do not definitely help towards an exact date. C. also points out correctly that there is no historical evidence for a Selinuntine victory at *c.* 455 B.C., the date usually given to the inscription on general epigraphical grounds, and claims that it might be appreciably later. If we can accept this, together with the much smaller shield, might not the solution be that originally put forward by Ugdulena, that the victory was that over Segesta in 417/6 B.C. (*Diod. Sic.* xii 82. 3–6), which would perhaps give more point to the formal phrase

φιλίας γενομένης than the end of hostilities with Athens?

The only errata noted were 924 for 1924 (p. 6 no. 18) Damon for Damonon the Spartan victor (*IG* v¹ 213, on p. 23), and Jaeger's initial(s) given as W. W. (p. 24).

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BECKWITH (J.) **Coptic sculpture 300–1300.** London: A. Tiranti. 1963. Pp. vii + 56. 147 plates. £1 10s.

The art of Coptic Egypt, except perhaps the textiles, does not form an attractive addition to the corpus of ancient art. It has its interest and importance and is at last getting some recognition as a subject worthy of study even though its aesthetic significance may be small. This little book is an indication of the increase in general appreciation of the subject and serves as a useful and unpretentious introduction to the sculpture of Egypt's Christian population.

The main part of the book consists of a large number of well-produced illustrations which give a very good idea of the range of Coptic sculpture in both stone, wood, and ivory. The text that goes with it is a marvellous example of compression, and within its thirty-three pages makes nearly all the points that are worth making. The author has rightly no great respect for the Copts as artists but this does not lead him to ignore or despise the significance of their products. He makes the point that one of the great problems in the study of Coptic art is its lack of documentation and of serious attention to chronological issues. Very few pieces can be dated with precision, and until careful excavation with due attention to stratigraphy has been carried out on a number of Coptic sites it is unlikely that any progress will be made. Those concerned with the study of the major art forms of a culture may feel impatience with the humdrum fragments that most archaeological excavations produce, but it is only from a careful study of them that a firm chronology will ever be established. It is noteworthy that in the Sudan where during the last few years such work has been undertaken there is now sufficient knowledge of the material remains of Christian Nubia to date the pottery with some closeness, and thus all materials associated with it. In the closely adjacent area of Egypt the contemporary pottery is virtually unstudied. This pottery study may seem remote from the artistic evaluation of sculptured pieces—but it does enable the sculpture to be related to the cultural periods, and nothing else can.

Within these limitations of chronological uncertainty the author has done remarkably well in ordering and commenting on the pieces he has selected, and adopts an eminently sensible attitude towards some of the wilder flights of fancy concerning the antecedents of Coptic art, as well as maintaining

reserve on the question of Oriental influences. Though there may have been some Oriental influence at work there is no doubt that Coptic art is in essence a variation of the Hellenistic art of the eastern Mediterranean, and it remained in touch with this source of inspiration for many centuries.

The author does not consider that there was an independent Alexandrian style which some have seen as the ancestor of the art of the Copts, and regards the art both of Alexandria and of the rest of Egypt as belonging to the main stream of East Christian art. This view has been much argued, but it is noteworthy that even in the late fifth and sixth centuries when the Coptic church had split from orthodox Christendom and was regarded as the defender of the Egyptian people against Byzantine rule it still was Constantinople that provided the motive force for new stylistic elements.

It would have made it easier for the non-specialist reader if it had been made clear that some of the finest pieces illustrated, such as the Berlin diptych shown as fig. 110, are not in fact Coptic but were very probably made in Constantinople. If they are eliminated from the book the poverty of Coptic sculpture can better be appreciated.

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HAATVEDT (R. A.) and PETERSON (E. E.) **Coins from Karanis: the university of Michigan excavations, 1924-35.** Ed. E. M. Husselman. Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. 1964. Pp. ix + 399. 11 plates. Price not stated.

Karanis was a Greco-Roman city on the northern border of the Faiyûm, to the east of Birket Qârûn. The results of the University of Michigan excavations there have been published in a number of volumes, of which *Karanis* 1924-28, by A. E. R. Boak and E. E. Peterson, was the first. The present catalogue of coins was originally prepared by Dr Haatvedt in 1939, and its revision for publication, after the war, was begun by the then Director of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Dr Peterson. The completion of the work fell to Mrs Husselman, whose own scholarly interests are far removed from numismatics. The extent of her contribution (which was greater than she had bargained for) will be appreciated if it is said that she discovered many errors and inconsistencies in the catalogue in the form in which she took it over, that it was she who incorporated references to the standard works by Gerin and by Carson, Hill, and Kent, and that the indexes had to be revised. Numismatists should be duly grateful to her, for here is a catalogue, in the best American tradition, of some 27,000 excavation-coins. Two thousand of them were found as single, scattered specimens, while 25,000 were contained in thirty-eight hoards. A further 4,500 coins in the various hoards

either disintegrated or had to be rejected as entirely illegible. (The proportion of coins that was lost in these ways is by no means high; Karanis counts as a good site from that point of view.) The first three hoards were published in *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, vol. XXX, and of them, the 860 Alexandrian tetradrachms concealed c. 269 are of interest for J. G. Milne's notes and comments on the instances of die-duplication (although his suggestion that the output per pair of dies averaged about a hundred reads quaintly now). Hoard 4 contained sixty aurei of the Antonine period, of which thirty-eight were studied, the other twenty-two having been retained by the Department of Antiquities, Cairo. The thirty-eight included twelve from the same obverse die, and two reverse dies: nine coins of the same type and date from another pair of dies: two more pairs; and a triplet. Several of the bronze hoards span a period of about two hundred years ending in the second half of the third century, but how far they represent protracted saving and how far they are merely a sample of a stagnant currency, is not a simple question. At all events, the material is now usefully available to us all, for reflection and comparison; and it is so rich, and so reliably described (far more so, for example, than the coins from Corinth or Athens, the publication of which one is accustomed to regard as exemplary, but where single-finds and hoard-groups are conflated in the totals) that it will be a yard-stick for many years to come.

D. M. METCALF.

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SCHWABACHER (W.) **Neue Methoden in der griechischen Münzforschung.**

This short pamphlet is designed to review, for readers other than numismatic specialists, the directions taken in recent years by the study of Greek coins, and to draw attention to some of the methods which are now employed. A useful, if brief, bibliography is appended. Since the prime duty of the numismatist is, in Barclay Head's words, to establish 'a series of coins classified and duly arranged in order of date', it follows that his most useful activities are the fully illustrated publication of whole collections of coins, as raw material; the assembly of *corpora* of individual mints, classified so far as possible by the objective criterion of shared dies; and the publication of hoards. S. concentrates on these activities, and illustrates their usefulness with specific examples. It is perhaps a pity that this pamphlet, grandly entitled a 'volume', with its apparently broad scope, says nothing of one of the newest methods, of great promise, the metallic investigation of coins by neutron-activation. On the importance of this, see C. M. Kraay, *The Composition of Greek Silver Coins* (Oxford, 1962); and cf. E. S. G. Robinson, *Num. Chron.* 1961, pp. 111 and 117.

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CALEY (E. R.) **Metrological tables.** (Numismatic notes and monographs, 154.) New York: the American Numismatic Society. 1963. Pp. xi + 121. 4 text figures. \$4.00.

Mr Caley's book, which will replace the British Museum's *Grains and Grammes, a Table of Equivalents for the use of Numismatists*, gives metric equivalents for the Troy grains in which weights are recorded in many older publications. It adds tables for converting Roman scruples and carats into grammes and *vice versa*, and inches to millimetres and *vice versa*, and it straightens the record concerning Monnet's scale and its derivatives. The tables for converting the Roman pound are based, necessarily, on one fixed value, and Mr Caley has employed 327.45 gm. In terms of the weights of the coins that survive this is often, for one reason or another, appreciably too high as an actual value. If a more elaborate version of the tables had been possible, numismatists would have found it a practical convenience to have summary lists giving the equivalents for two or three rather lower values, e.g. 325, 320, and 310 gm. But this is, perhaps, to be unduly critical of an acceptable and useful book.

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LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS. **Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon.** Ed. L. Rydén. (Studia Graeca Upsaliensia, 4.) Uppsala: University Library. 1963. Pp. 207. Sw.kr. 28.

The Byzantine author Leontios of Neapolis (c. 600-650 or a little later) is the most renowned hagiographer of the seventh century. His chief work is the *Life of Ioannes Eleemon*, patriarch of Alexandria, but not less interesting is his *Life of Symeon Salos*, though here the legendary has put the historical into the background.

In Symeon Salos ('the dirty', who lived in the sixth century, we meet an ascetic type that is entirely non-Greek. One may, of course, find external likenesses with the Cynics, but they are not at all significant. Symeon and his friend Johannes live in the desert, in obedience to God's call, subsisting on plants, roots, and what they may find. They achieve complete apathy, in the sexual sense also, and if on returning to society they behave like fools it is to avoid being honoured by men on account of their deeds and wonderful powers.

Now the Swedish Byzantinist Lennart Rydén has given us an excellent modern critical edition of the *Life of Symeon Salos*. After an interesting discussion of chronology, sources and hagiographies, he goes on to make it plain that Symeon is an historical person, but that much of what we are told about him is legendary—which is easily understood when we consider the mentality of those times, dominated as it was by demoniacal fantasies and by the menacing powers of darkness.

After briefly mentioning previous editions, the

editor sets about describing the twenty-three manuscripts of which he makes use, dividing them into two groups: the earlier MSS, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and certain of the later ones. No part of Leontios' work is to be found in all the MSS but, using a number of examples from both groups, our editor reaches the conclusion that there were two hyparchetypi, β and γ , originating from an archetypus α , and as β and γ are nearly always in agreement, we may fairly safely reconstruct α . This α , however, is not believed to be the original MS, the autograph, but the fact that there were so many MSS in circulation as early as the tenth century makes it probable that α was so old that it did not differ significantly from the autograph.

Most Byzantinists are of the opinion that it is nearly impossible to construct a *stemma* for the MSS of Saints' Lives and the like, in contrast to those of classical texts, where the copyists have as a rule conscientiously tried to follow a normative text. But Rydén, basing his view on the relations of the MSS mentioned above, thinks it quite possible here, and he has succeeded in making out a *stemma* in which all the existing MSS can be placed. He carries through this difficult task accurately and convincingly. In the app. crit. to the Greek text which follows (50 pp.), he does not find it necessary to record other variants than those appearing in β and γ ; the others are of little importance. The app. crit. is accordingly brief and clear, and leaves room for the reader himself to judge the different readings and make his own choice whenever he thinks that Rydén adheres too closely to the good rule of *lectio difficilior*.

Very useful is the index of more or less unknown words, since in this early Byzantine work, especially in the strange tales of Symeon's wonderful deeds, we find many popular words and expressions not usual in literature but tending towards modern Greek. Thus the *Life of Symeon* is also a very interesting linguistic document.

For this meritorious edition of a Byzantine work we must be very grateful to both Lennart Rydén himself and to the centre of philological studies in Uppsala.

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EUGENIUS PANORMITANUS. **Versus iambici.** Ed. and trans. M. Gigante. (Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici, testi, 10.) Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. 1964. Pp. 253. 4 plates. Lire 4,000.

Classical scholars seldom turn to Byzantine studies, either because they are put off by the prospect of an unrewarding occupation, or because a certain Gibborean attitude towards the subject still persists. It is therefore always a welcome event when a classicist, such as Prof. Gigante, takes up medieval Greek literature in a systematic way. Indeed, many

Byzantine texts remain unpublished, while others are either inaccessible or badly edited, or both. Good editions are few and far between. This is especially true of the texts of poets, and it is typical that adequate editions of such poets as Romanus the Melode and George of Pisidia have only recently been published.

Prof. Gigante treats a minor Greek poet from Sicily, the twelfth-century Eugenius of Palermo, with minute care usually reserved for a classical writer. This edition is a sequel to the earlier *Poeti Italobizantini del sec. XII* (Naples, 1953) by Prof. Gigante, and very fittingly it has been included in the series of texts published in Palermo by the Istituto Siciliano di Testi Bizantini e Neoellenici. The poems of Eugenius belong to the mass of quantitative Byzantine verse about which Krumbacher had some severe words to say. The numerous poets of this category struggled to fit into the prosodic pattern words dictated to them by the demands of metre. Naturally enough, whatever inspiration there may have originally been is drained away in the process, while concessions are made to grammar, syntax, and even to prosody. Yet the trouble taken to imitate classical forms is not without a certain tragic quality in its futility, and it is, of course, to this never-failing antiquarianism of the Greek middle ages that we owe the preservation of the classical texts.

Eugenius of Palermo is a most interesting figure, but not on account of his inept iambics. His voice is heard as the swan song of what was left of Hellenism in the Italic region after centuries of Arab occupation and the overwhelming presence of the Norman conqueror. He is also a representative of Greek learning in Italy during the intense and formative years which preceded the Renaissance. The contribution of Sicilian, and especially of Southern Italian Hellenism to the Renaissance has only recently begun to be fully recognised and appreciated. Eugenius and many other *literati* like him, who lived in an age of great upheaval watching the collapse of the world to which they belonged, managed to leave something behind, before they were gradually absorbed into a culture fully Italian. Eugenius was probably a member of the Norman bureaucracy, and seems to have been well versed in the scriptures and patristic writings, as well as in the classics. In one of his poems, he sets out solemnly to refute Lucian's *Méias éγκόμιον* with a most amusing jeremiad against the obnoxious insect. His classical reading, however, enslaves rather than inspires him. He was sufficiently moved by the beauty of the water-lily to write a poem about it, but only, alas! in order to load his lines with reminiscences of Theophrastus and Dioscorides. On the whole, his scope is limited, and apart from the fact that he had read exceptionally widely in the classics, he is very much like other Byzantine versifiers of his age. Thus, one is inclined to share the doubts expressed by the editor about E. Jamison's attribution to Eugenius of an impressive but improbable list of literary feats (pp. 15-16).

Prof. Gigante prefaces his edition with a long intro-

duction in Latin in which he examines in great detail and with much learning the various philological problems presented by Eugenius and his work. This is followed by the text, a free translation into Italian and the *Commentarium* where the editor discusses the many difficult passages in the poems and adds some lexical observations. He also produces classical and post-classical parallels. Such parallels are, of course, useful when they show the source upon which the poet drew and the extent of his own reading. There is no doubt about Prof. Gigante's vast knowledge of classical and post-classical literature, but the citation of parallels from Dante (pp. 175, 178, 179) and even François Villon (pp. 174, 177) although striking is not strictly relevant. The book ends with a detailed *index verborum*, which includes a small number of *hapax legomena*.

In editing the text, Prof. Gigante has been generally conservative, although he does not hesitate to make emendations where he deems necessary. One seldom disagrees with these emendations. Here are a few minor observations on the edited text: I 84: *βδελυκτέα* for *βδελλυκτέα* (also XV 3, XX 30 and Index, p. 216); I 107: *θέλειε σωντῶν* could be retained (cf. S. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byz. Chroniken*, 1961); I 200: *ὡς ἂν not ὡσάν*; II 27: *εἰσακουσθῆς* suggests itself; VI 20: *ὄξυδερκέσει* as emended (*ὄξυδερκίαις κόραις* cod.) gives a dibrach (- of dat. plur. is scanned as short throughout the poems, cf. VIII 31, IX 58, 71, X 19 etc.); *ὄξυδερκίαι κόρης* is likely (cf.; v. 21: *ὄσφραντικῶν . . . βύδος*, v. 22: *προμηθῶν πόρων* and v. 23: *ὠκύντητι . . . ποδῶν*); VII 36: cf. Soph. *Ajax* 157; VIII 19: why not, since the metre is not affected, *ὄρησιμάτων* instead of *ὄρησιμάτων*? IX 82: *τοῦ ψαλμογράφου* (sc. *Δαβίδ*) (cod.) rather arbitrarily corrected. What could *τῶν ψαλμογράφων θεῶν* mean? X 46: *δύματος* (cod.: *σώματος* Gig.) perhaps to be retained, *δύματος βαρυτέρου* meaning 'a denser layer'; XVII 4: *ἀήθων* not *ἠήθων*; XIX 35: Horna's *σνλλόγους* is on all accounts the best conjecture; XX 46: the emendation *ψόφοις* (*ψόγοις* cod.) not convincing; XXII 24: easily emended by deleting *τοῦ*, i.e. *τοῦδε τιχροῦ τιθμένους* (*τιθμένον* cod.: *πάθους* Gig.); XXIII 2: *ἀμετρία* is entirely unwarranted; *πέραν τοῦ μετρίου* (cod.) does mean 'in excess'; XXIII 24: *ἐκ τρόπου* makes poor sense (*ἐκτόπως* Horna: *ἐκ τόπου* cod.); XXIII 38: *δαῖτα* (cod.) should have been retained; XXIII 54: *τὰ μέτρα* (*τὰ μέσα* cod.: *πέματα* Gig.) would seem preferable. The typographical errors are very few (III 48: *συζγορευέτωσαν*, XIX 50: *σοφρονοῦν*, XXIII 64: *θλίψην*). The production of the book in general leaves nothing to be desired. It would certainly be an excellent thing if other Byzantine texts could be published with the same editorial care.

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OID. **Ovidiana Graeca: fragments of a Byzantine version of Ovid's amatory works.** Ed. P. E. Easterling and E. J. Kenney. (*Proc.*

Cambridge Philol. Soc., supplement 1.) Cambridge Philological Society. 1965. Pp. 85. £1 1s. to non-members. [Obtainable from W. Heffer & Sons Ltd.]

The Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples owns a fourteenth-century manuscript which, among many other items, contains a Greek prose translation of almost eleven hundred lines from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, *Amores*, and *Remedia Amoris*. Mr Kenney listed this indirect source of the poet's text in the Praefatio of his Oxford edition¹ on p. x. He called this codex [Plan] because the translation seems to come from the circle of Maximus Planudes and he promised to edit it one day. Two years later he published a detailed account of these excerpts under the title 'A Byzantine Version of Ovid' in *Hermes* xci, 1963, 213-27, where he dealt with their critical value, their nature and purpose. In the present bilingual edition he is responsible for the Latin part while Mrs Easterling has written a learned introduction and edited the Greek text. It was Mr Kenney's task to dismember the three works by Ovid so as to place each line or group of lines against the relevant Greek excerpt. He has also provided his text with critical notes which are practically the same as in the Oxford edition but use bold type for readings or conjectures which conform with the Greek version. The Ovidian text is printed correctly except in *Ars.* ii 517 and *Rem.* 649 where little mistakes have been overlooked.

Mrs Easterling's task was easy for the *Remedia* because this last part of our excerpts had been edited before her by that competent scholar, H. Schenkl, in an Austrian publication as long ago as 1909, and accordingly his name appears everywhere in the critical notes on pp. 75, 77 and so on until p. 83. On the other hand, it was less easy for the great majority of excerpts, those on pp. 13-73 (odd pages only). This is indeed an *editio princeps* and Mrs Easterling had to do the spade-work. I learn from Mr Kenney's paper of 1963 p. 227 that she has personally examined the manuscript on the spot at Naples. Many trivial mistakes of the scribe had to be corrected or at least indicated by her in the notes. Wherever the translator (T) renders his original literally, and this is generally the case, his version can be controlled by reference to the Latin text. Sometimes, however, we find a free translation and doubts arise. Not only does he often leave Ovidian adjectives untranslated, which is no great loss since so many of them are otiose, he makes also deliberate changes, for instance in *Am.* i 15, 34 where Ovid writes of the gold-bearing river Tagus and T puts the Pactolus in, which was, of course, better known to his Greek readers. Other deviations are less harmless. As Mr Kenney has pointed out in *Hermes*, T bowdlerises his text. Not even the innocent word *puella* is safe from such

arbitrary change. it becomes *γίλος* and its plural *ἀνθρωποι*. *Am.* ii 10, 17 reads *hostibus eveniat viduo dormire cubili*, but our prudish T says *τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς τῆς αὐτῆς* ἢ *ἐλλέτω*.

In a few cases T has just misunderstood his exemplar, so right at the beginning in *Ars* i 6 where he renders *magister* by *διδάκκαλος* instead of *κυβερνητής*. In *Am.* i 8, 52 *canescunt tecta* becomes *οἶκος ἀγῶνίζται*, a confusion of *canescere* and *vanescere*. *Am.* ii 6, 24 Ovid addresses the poor parrot:

reddebas blaeso tam bene verba sono.

Here *blaeso sono* is rendered by *τερπνῶ* (instead of *τραυλῶ*) ἤ *ζῶ* which makes me wonder if T read *laeto* in his exemplar or if he was just influenced by *bene*.

If there are many dubious translations, others are felicitous, they show T's admirable command of ancient Greek with its amazing wealth of words. Let me select two adjectives and their translation, *fragilis* and *pius*. The former in *Ars.* ii 113 *forma bonum fragile est* becomes *εὐκαθαίρετον* and in i 374, said of ice, *εὐθραπτος*, the latter in *Ars* i 199 (*praetela*) *ἐπιθεμα ὄπλα* and in *Am.* ii 6, 3 (*prae volucres*) *συμπθεῖς ὄρνεις*, an excellent rendering. So there is much a modern reader may enjoy in these excerpts whose importance for Byzantinists is obvious, so that this well-produced edition deserves our gratitude.

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London.

SVORONOS (N. G.) **Recherches sur la tradition juridique à Byzance: la Synopsis major des Basiliques et ses appendices.** (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études, 4.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. viii + 210. Fr. 24.

The great legal code known as the Basilics was too bulky a work for general diffusion: this is clearly shown by the fragmentary nature of the manuscript tradition and the loss of nearly one-third of the original text. In order to provide a more convenient textbook for the use of judges, lawyers as well as teachers and students of the law, an abridgment of the Basilics was made fairly soon after the publication of the full code, i.e. early in the tenth century. This is known as the *Synopsis major* or *SBM* (text in *Jus graeco-romanum*, V) to distinguish it from the more succinct *Synopsis minor* of the thirteenth century. In both synopses the material is arranged alphabetically by subject-matter.

In marked contrast with the full text of the Basilics, the *SBM* is preserved in more than fifty MSS. Soon after its publication the abridgment began to receive various accretions, such as scholia, the novels of later emperors either in full or in summary, sometimes even texts not strictly connected with law.

The present work is an attempt to classify the extant MSS of the *SBM*. These are divided by the author into two families: (i) those containing the text of the *SBM* without any addition or with the addition of

¹ *P. Ovidi Nasonis Amores Medicamina Faciei Femineae Ars Amatoria Remedia Amoris*, ed. E. J. Kenney. Oxonii MCMLXI.

what is termed Appendix A; (ii) those containing the *SBM* with the addition of Appendix B. The two major families are subdivided, the first into four, the second into six groups, and the groups are further subdivided into branches. Although no version of Appendix A contains any novels later than Basil II, while most MSS of Appendix B include novels of Manuel I, the two families are not chronologically successive, but appear to have developed simultaneously along parallel lines.

The point of this complicated exercise is not so much to establish the correct text of the *SBM* (which shows anyway a remarkable consistency) as to study the growth of the appendices. The author believes that he is able by this means to postulate no fewer than eleven 'editions' of the text which he dates as follows: seven editions in the course of the tenth century and two in the early eleventh, all prepared at Constantinople; a further edition also of the eleventh century made in the provinces, and a final edition made perhaps at Nicaea in the thirteenth century. Now, it must be borne in mind that the *SBM* was in fact the operative textbook of the Empire's law, and that by using the term 'edition' the author means the production through textual research of an authoritative master-copy intended for duplication. If then the dating of the various 'editions' is correct, we can only conclude that the law school created in 1045 under the presidency of John Niphilinus (a school that continued functioning until 1204) was not as productive as we might have otherwise supposed.

The potential usefulness of this preparatory and, inevitably, rather arid study is threefold: (i) it may help in reconstructing the lost books of the Basilics (perhaps more successfully (so the author hints) than its recent editors have been doing); (ii) it gives us an insight into the activities of Byzantine jurists of the tenth century and later; (iii) it will help to establish a more correct text of the novels of the Macedonian emperors from Romanus I to Basil II. It is the last point that is of greatest interest to historians. Indeed, these novels are among our most important sources for the economic, agrarian and military history of the Empire at the time of its apogee. Whoever has seriously studied these documents knows how many problems of attribution and dating they pose and how inadequate Zachariae's edition of them is (cf. P. Lemerle's remarks in *Revue historique*, April-June 1958, pp. 265 ff.). We may hope that the present work will at last provide the basis for the much-needed re-edition and critique of the Macedonian novels.

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Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Reihe A: Regesten. Abt. 1. Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453. Ed. F. Dolger. 5. Teil (Schluss).

Regesten von 1341-1453. Munich and Berlin: C. H. Beck. 1965. Pp. xxxii + 138. DM 60.

Among the indispensable tools in the workshop of every Byzantinist and student of the mediaeval history of the Balkans and the Near East Dolger's *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* ranks high. Conceived as part of a *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* planned as long ago as 1903, the first volume, covering the years 565-1025, appeared in 1924. Vol. II (1025-1204) was published in 1925 and Vol. III (1204-82) in 1932. After a lapse of many years, during which the indefatigable compiler of this *magnum opus* achieved what might well rank in itself as the product of a lifetime's labour, Vol. IV (1282-1341) emerged in 1960. The work has now been crowned by the publication of the final volume, V which brings the ancient machinery of the Byzantine diplomatic service to its grinding and melancholy halt in 1453. The last dated entry in the *Regesten* (no. 3554) is the Emperor Constantine XII's reply to the ultimatum of the Sultan Mehmed II in May 1453: he would rather die than surrender his city.

The work was designed to provide an exhaustive register of all documents emanating from the imperial Byzantine chancellery and of all embassies and diplomatic missions sent out from the Byzantine court and foreign office. The documents listed are by no means all published. Many indeed are only referred to in contemporary chronicles or histories. The discussions of the dates of those entries whose chronology is doubtful or disputed is particularly valuable for future historians, as are the extensive bibliographies of source material and secondary literature at the beginning of each volume and accompanying many of the entries. The system of confining the register exclusively to acts of the Emperors has its limitations but at least it has been consistently maintained. Whether the original plan of compiling similar registers of 'Beamtenurkunden', 'Urkunden geistlicher Wurdenträger' and 'Privaturkunden' will ever materialise remains to be seen. The Acts of the Patriarchs of Constantinople have already been similarly listed as far as the year 1206 by V. Grumel (*Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople: Les Actes des Patriarches*, I, II, III (Socii Assumptionistae Chalcedonenses, 1932-47)).

The production of Vols. IV and V must have been a daunting prospect, not so much by reason of the wealth of the sources as by the fact of their bewildering variety and sometimes conflicting testimony. The period covered (1282-1453) was an era of disintegration and dissension. There was a multiplicity of Emperors, of claimants to the imperium and of pretenders. There were disastrous civil wars, between Andronikos II Palaiologos and his grandson Andronikos III (1321-8) and between John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos (1341-7), during which documents issued under the names of Andronikos or John have often to be assigned to one or other of the rival Emperors on internal evidence

alone. The diplomatic activity of the Emperor who happened to be enthroned in the capital was as often directed towards counterbalancing that of his rival as it was to staving off the ominous encroachment of the foreign enemies of Byzantium. The Serbians, the Bulgarians, the Venetians, the Genoese and even the Turks were hopefully enlisted as pawns in the diplomatic game by Emperors or pretenders whose only real strength lay in the intangible mystique of their inheritance of the 'Roman Empire' or in their material possession of the city of Constantinople. And in the last resort couriers, ambassadors and even the Emperors themselves could make the long journey to Avignon or to Rome to plead for help against the triumphant infidel from the ghost of the Roman Emperors in the West, himself little better able than the Emperor in Constantinople to organise collective resistance or inspire a crusade, and only willing to do either on terms which to the great majority of the Byzantines spelt the damnation of their immortal souls and thus the inevitable ruin of their God-defended city and empire.

The successful conclusion of Vols. IV and V of the *Regesten* will be of inestimable importance for those who come to write the as yet unwritten history of the last two centuries of the Byzantine Empire. Their compiler deserves the highest praise for his painstaking and masterly sifting of the sources for this notoriously tortuous period. The publication of an index of all five volumes, heralded for the end of 1965, will add the finishing touch. Criticism seems out of place. The following, however, are some suggested amendments and additions. (The abbreviations given are those employed in the bibliographies to the *Regesten*.) Vol. IV: no. 2217: The two Sebastokratores of Thessaly, the younger sons of John Doukas, were called Constantine and Theodore (not '?Thomas') Angelos Doukas. Cf. M. Laskaris, in *Ἐπετηρίδι Ἐταιρ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν* III (1926) 223-4. Archimandrite Antonin, *Iz Rumelij* II (St Petersburg, 1886) 398, no. 8, lists an otherwise unknown chrysoboullus logos (undated) of one Angelos Doukas in favour of the inhabitants of Phanari in Thessaly. No. 2325: The panhypersebastos John Komnenos Palaiologos and the megas primikerios John Palaiologos Philes mentioned in the Byzantine treaty with Venice of November 1310 were, despite the ambiguous use of the term 'nepos' in the Latin text, respectively the nephew and the cousin of Andronikos II and not the 'grandsons'. For the former cf. nos. 2552, 2662, 2681 and Papad. Geneal. no. 38. For the latter, who may be identified with the protostrator Philes, cf. Papad. Geneal. no. 118, to which add Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, I, 88-9; II, 12. No. 2460: Andronikos II's second chrysobull for the metropolis of Ioannina, of June 1321, has been re-edited by K. D. Mertziotis, in *Ἡπειρωτικῆ Ἔστια* I, 2 (1952) 115-18. No. 2479: The exact date of the second settlement between Andronikos II and Andronikos III at Epibatai in 1322 provided by Lampr.-Amantos *Bp. Xpov.* no. 47, 7 ('17 July') is reasonably sub-

stantiated by the Moscow Short Chronicle (Chron. Mosqu. Gorianov) as re-edited by R.-J. Loenertz, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XXIX (1963) no. 13, pp. 334, 350 ('18 July'). No. 2515: The Andronikos Kantakouzenos who went as one of Andronikos II's ambassadors to Venice in 1324 was protobestiariotes not 'protobestiarios'. (Cf. nos. 2588, 2678, 2726.) Nos. 2562, 2680: The year of the third outbreak of civil war between Andronikos II and Andronikos III remains uncertain. In no. 2562 it is stated that '1327 (the date proposed for the mission of Nikephoros Gregoras to Serbia) . . . fugt sich besser in den beginn der dritten auseinandersetzung zwischen Andronikos II. und III. . . als "1326"'. In no. 2680: 'Die dritte phase des burgerkrieges zwischen den beiden Andronikoi begann also bereits im fruh. 1326'. The evidence of the Chron. Mosqu. Gorianov (now ed. Loenertz, *loc. cit.*, no. 13, p. 335; cf. pp. 355-6) that the treaty between Andronikos III and Michael Šišman of Bulgaria at Černomen, which was the former's diplomatic counterstroke to his grandfather's entente with Serbia, was arranged on 13 May 1327 (and not '1326' as proposed in no. 2680) has perhaps been too lightly dismissed. No. 2718: As Loenertz has shown from the Chron. Mosqu. Gorianov (*Orient. Christ. Period.* XXX (1964) 44) the embassy of Andronikos III to Michael Šišman here recorded was in fact an embassy from Michael to Andronikos. No. 2723: The treaty of October 1328 here recorded between Michael Šišman and Andronikos III was signed at Adrianople. That concluded at Kremnoi (Dolger's 'Krenna') after Michael had resumed the offensive 'sixty days later' was signed some time before May 1329. See Loenertz, *loc. cit.*, 44. No. 2725: This unedited prostagma of Andronikos III can hardly be dated to October 1328 since its recipients, the apographeis Constantine Pergamenes and George Pharisaios, are known to have been dead by 1322 (cf. nos. 2473, 2474). Should the date perhaps be read as *ἰνδ. β'* = 1318 (for *ἰνδ. ιβ'*) and the document assigned to Andronikos II? On the activities of Pergamenes and Pharisaios between 1318 and 1322 see Lemerle *Phil.* 230-32; Binon *Prost.* 401; V. Laurent, 'Bulles métriques', *Ἐλληνικά* VIII (1935) no. 721, p. 59. Nos. 2744, 2746: On the megas stratopedarches Angelos, described in the sources as 'uncle' of both Andronikos III and John VI Kantakouzenos, the reference to Papad. Geneal. no. 25 scarcely clarifies the issue since Papadopoulos hopelessly confuses the families of Michael Glabas and Michael Tarchaneiotos to whom he wishes, on no clear evidence, to relate the said Angelos. Binon *Prost.* 151-2 argues that he was in fact John Angelos Komnenos Synadenos, megas stratopedarches, who married Theodora-Theodoule, niece of Michael VIII. At all events, and despite the testimony of *Regel Χρυσοβ.* p. 17, the megale domestikissa Eugenia Palaiologina, who was the mother of Svrgiannes Palaiologos, can hardly have been his widow. Nos. 2762, 2763: As R.-J. Loenertz has recently shown ('Ordre et désordre dans les mémoires de Jean

Cantacuzène', *Revue des Études Byzantines* XXII (1964) 222–37) Chapters XXI–XXVIII of Book II of the *Histories* of John Kantakouzenos (ed. Bonn, I, pp. 431–58), relating to events of the year 1334, are misplaced in the text and should really be read after pp. 458–76, which relate to events of 1331–3. The treaty between Andronikos III and the Sultan Orchan, dated by Dolger to '1330 ca. herbst', should therefore be postdated to August 1333 and placed after no. 2794. Cf. the evidence for this date supplied by the Chron. Mosqu. Gorianov, ed. Loenertz, *Orient. Christ. Period.* XXX (1964) no. 27, pp. 40, 52–4. The trial and escape of Syrgiannes thus falls in the summer of 1333 and not in 1330; the campaign of Andronikos III and John Kantakouzenos in Thessaly about June–August 1333; and their entry into Thessalonike in the summer of 1334. This rearrangement indicates that nos. 2797, 2798, 2799, which have reference to Thessaly, should be dated to the summer rather than the autumn of 1333. No. 2780: Andronikos III's chrysobull for the monastery at Lykousada in Thessaly (here dated 1331–41) is also listed by Antonin, *Iz Rumely*, II, no. 3, p. 396, who gives its date as 6840 (=1331–2). No. 2791: To the bibliography on John Vatatzes, protokynegos and later megas stratopedarches, may be added Lemerle Phil. 236–7 and R. Guillard, in *Τόμος Κ. Ἀρμενοπολίτων* (Thessalonike, 1952), 194–5. Nos. 2804, 2811: To the bibliography on Theodore Synadenos the protostrator add Lemerle *Kutlumus* 67–9. No. 2808: The appointment of Sphrantzes Palaiologos as governor of Soskos, Deure, Staridola and Chlerenos (which are all located in Macedonia and not in 'Thessaly') should be dated to the early summer of 1334. His murder of Syrgiannes can now be accurately dated to 23 August 1334. *Chronicon bieve Thessalonicense*, ed. Loenertz *Dém. Cyd. corr.* I, no. 1, p. 174; cf. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, *Rev. des Ét. Byz.* XXII (1964) 230. No. 2834 bis: A late addition, to be inserted as no. 2834 bis, is an unpublished prostagma of Andronikos III for the Lavra on Athos. See F. Dolger, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* LIV (1961) 430. Vol. V: no. 2882: This document of October 1342 is here assigned to John V (despite its editor (Guillou Arch. no. 36) and Lemerle Phil. 237 who assign it to John VI) on the ground that it is 'unwarscheinlich, daß Johannes Kantakouzenos zu dieser Zeit schon als hauptkaiser urkundete'. Similarly no. 2884 of November 1342, though in this case the editor (Regel Phil. no. 7) clearly misread the signature as that of John Kantakouzenos. There is, however, the chrysobull which John VI issued in the autumn (? of the same year 1342 appointing his nephew (? cousin) John Angelos as governor of Thessaly. This document has curiously been omitted from the *Regesten*, though Kantakouzenos himself proudly provides the full text (Kantak. III, 53; II, 312–22) and describes it as a 'chrysoboullous' (312, 11) and 'chrysoboullous logos' (319, 22) issued in his own name and by his own right, albeit with a lengthy apologia as its preamble and with characteristic deference to

the names of the Dowager Empress Anne and her son John Palaiologos. It may be noted further that Alexios Makrembolites, in his Discourse on the Genoese War of 1348–9 (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, I, no. VIII, p. 146, 14–16) writes of a 'chrysoboullous' (l.16) of the Emperor (John VI) as being one of the two provocative causes of Genoese hostility. On the 'rebel Nikephoros Kantakouzenos' mentioned in no. 2884 reference is given to Papad. *Geneal.* no. 26, who makes him a brother of the Emperor John VI. There seems no warrant for this. There are two fourteenth-century Kantakouzenoi called Nikephoros: one, an ἀνεπίδος of the future Emperor, was killed at Pelekanon in 1329 (Kantak. I, 361–2 (Bonn)); the other, an ἐξάδελφος of the Emperor, was imprisoned in Constantinople as a 'Cantacuzenist' in 1341 and is probably the Nikephoros in question here. The gold seal wrongly attached to the original of this document is of Matthew Kantakouzenos and not his father John. Cf. Do. Schatzk. n. 119, p. 327 no. 2. No. 2909: To the bibliography on George Philanthropenos, kephale of Lemnos in 1346, may be added Laurent Sigillogr. 177–81. Nos. 2911, 2940: On Dobrotič (better Dobrotica) see P. Mutafčiev, 'Dobrotič-Dobrotica et la Dobrudža', *Revue des Études Slaves* VII (1927) 27–41. No. 2926 (cf. no. 3045): To the bibliography on John VI's dealings with the metropolis of Kiev add: D. Obolensky, 'Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XI (1957) 28 f. No. 2930: The chronology of John VI's negotiations with Pope Clement VI requires some rearrangement, mainly because Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici* and the older edition of Clement VI's letters seem to have been used instead of the more recent edition: *Clément VI (1342–1352). Lettres closes, patentes et curiales intéressantes les pays autres que la France*, ed. E. Déprez & G. Mollat (Bibl. des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), I, II (Paris, 1960). Clement's reply to John VI's ambassadors is dated 15 (not '14') April 1348 (Déprez-Mollat no. 1626). Nos. 2942, 2943: On 31 May 1349 Clement replied to John's 'duplicatas litteras . . . aurea bulla bullatas' (the 'repetitae literae' of Rayn. a. 1349 n. 31, asking him to accelerate the dispatch of legates (Déprez-Mollat no. 2002). Raynaldus, to whom reference is made here, gives only an abridgment of this letter; nor does there seem to be any evidence (except the statement of Raynaldus) for similar letters to Pope Clement from John V, so that no. 2493 may prove to be redundant. No. 2957: Following the receipt of 'litteras plures' (the words 'consilia plura' cited here seem not to be found in 'Rayn. a. 1350 n. 29') Clement finally sent as his legates to Constantinople the Bishops Guillelmus and Gasbertus with letters to John VI and to John V dated 13 February 1350 (Déprez-Mollat no. 2136; *Acta Clementis PP. VI*, ed. A. L. Tautu, Fontes, Ser. III, vol. IX (Vatican, 1960), no. 164). John's own account of the arrival of these legates and his reply to Clement (Kantak. IV, 9; III, 59–61) is out of context in his *Histories* and should be dated to spring

1350 and not 'spring 1348'. No. 2937 should therefore be placed after no. 2960. (It has evidently escaped the notice of the compilers that the papal legates 'Wilhelm' and Hugo de Spert' of no. 2937 are the same as the 'Wilhelm' and 'Gasbert' of no. 2957. Kantak.'s τοῦ μεγουρίων τάγματος . . . Γελλέλιμος and Οὔγα δὲ Σπέρτ . . . ἐκ τῶν κηρύκων are the 'Guillel-mum, Chissamensem et Gasbertum, Cenentensem episcopus' of Clement VI, viz. Guglielmo Emergani, O.F.M. and Gasperto de Orgolio (d'Orgueil), O.P. See Golubovich *Bibliotec. V* (1927) 51-4, especially 53 n. 1; R.-J. Loenertz, 'Ioannis de Fontibus Ord. Praedicatorum epistula etc.', *Archivum Frat. Praedic. XXX* (1960) 169-71). No. 2961: The text of Clement's letter of 28 June 1350 announcing the arrival of Leonardo (not 'Lionardo') Bartholomei of Ancona as John VI's legate is given in Déprez-Mollat no. 2233. No. 2965: The dispatch of the Dominican John of Galata to Pope Clement is probably a lapse of memory on John VI's part (Kantak. IV, 9; III, 62) since John is known to have been sent as imperial legate to congratulate Innocent VI on his election to the papacy in 1353. Cf. Loenertz *Ambassad. grecs* 178 n. 3. No. 2965 should therefore be conflated with no. 3010. The legate whom John VI sent back to Pope Clement and who arrived after the Pope's death in December 1352 was Nicholas Sigeros (cf. no. 3007). On p. 34: Matthew Kantakouzenos is described as having been crowned Emperor in April-May 1354. No. 3014, however, provides the evidence for the fact that his coronation took place in February 1354. See Loenertz, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift XLVII* (1954) 116. On p. 35: The reign of John VI is said to have ended on 21 November 1354. In fact John V Palaiologos entered Constantinople on 22 November; he reached agreement with John VI 'on the third day after' (i.e. 24 November. Cf. no. 3032). John VI remained co-Emperor with John V, however, until his formal abdication and entry into the Mangana monastery on 10 December 1354 (Kantak. IV, 42; III, 306-7. Greg. XXIX, 30; III, 243-4. The date is supplied by a marginal note in Cod. Laurent. Plut. LXXXV, vi republished by Sp. Lampros, 'Σύμμικτα', *Νέος Ἑλληνομνημον XIV* (1920) 403. Cf. R.-J. Loenertz, 'Chronicon breve etc.', *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν XXVIII* (1958) no. 9, p. 207; *id.*, 'Chronologie de Nicolas Cabasilas', *Orient. Christ. Period. XXI* (1955) 213. Nos. 3055, 3057: The dates here proposed for John V's negotiations with the Sultan Orchan over the release of his son Halil (spring and summer 1356) seem justified, though they conflict with that proposed by Loenertz for the letter of Demetrios Kydones to Constantine Asan cited in no. 3054 (spring 1358). No. 3059: To the bibliography on the Kalothetos family provided here (and in Vol. IV, nos. 2353, 2707) may be added Binon Xéropot. 280, and K. Amantos, 'Γενεαλογικὰ ἐκ Χίου', *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν XXVI* (1956) 38-40. Nos. 3061, 3063, 3072, 3073, 3159, 3182: It is assumed that the Alexios, megas

primikerios (later megas stratopedarches), and John, protosebastos (later megas primikerios), referred to in these documents were Palaiologoi. The assumption seems to be based, as in Papad. *Geneal. nos.* 135, 136 and Dö. *Schatzk. no.* 41, p. 118, on the evidence of Ktenas *Χρυσ. Δόγοι Δοξαριῶν no.* 8, pp. 300-305. But Lemerle *Phil.* 215 n. 5 demonstrated 'la fragilité de cette hypothèse'. The fullest account of these two important but elusive officials of the time of John V, whose surname is nowhere recorded, is that given by Lemerle *Phil.* 206-13. Does the mention of the megas primikerios Synadenos Aslan (? Asan, Astras), 'uncle' of the Emperor (Andronikos IV) in a document in Chilandari dated November 1378 shed any light on the 'mystérieux patronyme' of these two brothers? (*Petit Chil. no.* 157, pp. 331-4). Nos. 3070, 3086, 3088, 3109: On George Synadenos Astras, see also Loenertz, in *Orient. Christ. Period. XXI* (1955) 218-19. No. 3075: The embassy of (John) Leontostethos to Trebizond recorded here was the second of two. He was first sent as apokrisiarios in January 1358 (Panaretos 25, ed. Lampros 281). It is interesting to note that the return embassy from Trebizond to Constantinople in April 1363, led by George Scholarios and Michael Panaretos himself, met amongst others in the capital 'the Emperor John (V) Palaiologos and the Emperor Joasaph Kantakouzenos', a fact which gives further proof of John VI's continuing political activity after his abdication (Panaretos 32-3, ed. Lampros 284; ed. Lampsides 74-5). No. 3151: Is the monk Makarios Glabas Tarchaniotes, 'uncle' of John V (cf. also no. 3118 of 1367), to be identified with the monk Makarios Tarchaniotes mentioned in 1324 as superior of the monastery of the Anastasis in Constantinople, which was founded by the Grand Logothete Constantine Akropolites? (MM I, 103-4. Cf. the dedicatory speech of Constantine Akropolites, ed. H. Delehayé, *Analecta Bollandiana* LI (1933) 279-84). No. 3269: The Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos sent by Manuel II as ambassador to Charles VI of France in July 1397 was an uncle of the Emperor and seems to have become a Venetian citizen on 27 December 1398. He died of the plague in 1410. (See documents cited by V. Laurent, 'Le Vaticanus Latinus 4789 etc.', *Rev. des Ét. Byz.* IX (1952) 82 and n. 6.) He may well be the Theodore Kantakouzenos, 'uncle' of the Emperor, who was among the correspondents of John Chortasmenos. (Cf. H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen HSS der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Supplementum graecum* (Vienna, 1957), pp. 51, 52; *id.*, in *Wiener Studien* LXX (1957) 160-63. Nos. 3390, 3408, 3414, 3433, 3464, 3497, 3516: Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, sent as one of Manuel II's ambassadors to Murad II in April 1422 (no. 3390), is said by Sphrantzes to have been clapped in a dungeon by the Sultan and there held until the signing of the treaty with John VIII in February 1424 (no. 3414; Ps.-Phrantz. I, 38, 39; 116, 118 Bonn). How then does he come to be a signatory to John VIII's treaty with Venice in

September 1423 (*no.* 3408; MM III, 163-73)? Papad. Gencl. nos. 170, 173 (to whom reference is made) is at fault in saying that one of his daughters married the *megas dux* Loukas Notaras. Notaras's wife was a daughter of the Emperor John VIII, as indicated in *no.* 3516.

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RUNCIMAN (S.) **The fall of Constantinople, 1453.** Cambridge: the University Press, 1965. Pp. xiv + 256. 2 maps. 1 plan. 8 plates. 1 text figure. £1 15s.

STACTON (D.) **The world on the last day: the sack of Constantinople by the Turks, May 29, 1453, its causes and consequences.** London: Faber and Faber, 1965. Pp. 302. 2 maps. 1 plan. £1 15s.

Marc Bloch cautioned the historian against *'l'idole des origines'*. Readers of history are more often seduced by the cult of the bitter end. The fall of great empires, in particular, has a special piquancy, and none has made a finer end than the East Roman. In his preface, Sir Steven argues that most of the other attractions of his subject are spurious. Economically, even politically, the fall of Constantinople caused no great stir. Nevertheless the formal transference of power in 1453 was a considerable event, but its significance was largely confined to the two peoples most directly involved, the Greeks and the Turks. Sir Steven has taken the Greek people as his tragic hero and includes useful, if unoriginal, sections on the fate of the vanquished and of their churches. It is a pity that he did not continue by discussing the Fall of the City in Greek and Turkish folk memory, and that he did not use some of the Moldavian wall-paintings of the siege as illustrations instead of his nineteenth-century steel engravings of Constantinople.

The most interesting recent research on the subject has been concentrated upon those Greek sources composed or rewritten some time after 1453, and upon the rather disappointing Turkish chronicles. The sources are marvellously varied and their assessment a nice historical exercise to which Sir Steven devotes an appendix. The history of several chronicles is much more complex than he suggests, and, curiously, he has not used Darkó or Grecu on Chalkokondylas, or noticed Elisabeth Zachariadou's strictures on the Barberini Codex 111. Sir Steven's most valuable contribution here lies in his expansion of J. H. Mordtmann's partial rehabilitation of Cantemir, and in his consequent explanation of how parts of the City surrendered on terms. But whilst he makes a special case for Cantemir, Sir Steven dismisses Tomadakis' forcefully argued apology for George Amiroutzes without explanation.

The story of the Fall is well known and Sir Steven offers no new information, but, as a literary exercise, his account is superb. He places the siege in its

European context briefly and lucidly. Then he sets out the events of the last six months of the Empire, in which all the troubles of the previous two centuries were recapitulated—problems of national identity and of Frankish Union so intractable that only the Conquering Sultan could bring a solution. Finally, Sir Steven's history of the siege itself is a model of historical narrative: slow, controlled and majestic.

The book has excellent maps and plans. The first line on p. 42 would make better sense if 'corps' were read for 'crops'; there are a few slips in the bibliography and a number of inconsistencies in the index (who, for instance, was Irene Branković?). Unfortunately, the thirty pages of notes are concealed at the end, and occasionally Sir Steven does not say whether his statements are inferences or not: for example his over-precise chronology of the fall of Trebizond is not justified by the sources he cites, and Amastris fell not in June 1461 but two years earlier.

It must be said at once that Mr Stacton's version of the Fall of Constantinople is grotesque. Nevertheless it is an enjoyable book. He is interested in everything: customs from Yucatan to Shanghai, or the Carib origin of the word 'barbecue'. His lively imagination tends to confuse geography and theology with human anatomy. Both Constantinople and Albania are compared to the uvula (the former 'pitted', the latter 'distended'). Mr Stacton could have made more of the navel-staring *hesychastoi*, but he is good on the Shi'ites: 'by shifting the balance of the body during Muslim prayer, they removed pressure on those neural ganglia which control the emotions of anxiety, and thus shifted the experience of the human numin from the tremendum to the fascinosum'. *The World on the Last Day* may not be history, but it is splendid reading.

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SHERRARD (P.) **Constantinople: iconography of a sacred city.** London: Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp. 139. 54 illus. (incl. 11 in colour). £3 3s.

Written in a highly ornate style, this book (first published in German in 1963) evokes a mirage of medieval Constantinople that is all swelling domes, gleaming mosaics and celestial powers hovering overhead. The argument, if I understand it correctly, runs something like this. Unlike other cities which come into being and develop merely as a response to economic and social forces, Constantinople was 'the organic manifestation of certain coherent and pre-determined values'. As such, it had an 'iconography' expressed by the two antithetical images of the New Rome (exemplified by the life of the court and of the hippodrome) and the New Jerusalem (exemplified by the Byzantine devotion to the Virgin Mary, the hundreds of churches and monasteries and the relics of saints kept therein). The question is posed, but

left unresolved, to what extent the two 'images' could be reconciled. S. goes on to speak of the reflection of Constantinople first in the Latin, then in the Islamic 'mirror', and concludes, of course, with the sack of 1453 when the 'image' was destroyed. The text is interspersed with lengthy quotations from medieval authors.

The trouble with this kind of half-historical, half-mystical approach is that it does not lend itself to rational examination. When, e.g., S. tells us that the confrontation between Constantinople and Islam was that between male and female, the gold bezant being a solar symbol (hence male, while the silver dirhem was naturally lunar and so female (p. 124), we are left wondering how seriously this metaphor is meant; and our perplexity increases when, in the next paragraph, we are informed that the image of Constantinople, for all its masculinity, was 'of a virginal beauty, a virginal icon'. Such poetic ambiguity pervades the whole book, and the author confuses us further by treating history and myth as if they were on the same plane of reality. I suspect he does so deliberately.

Constantinople as a sacred city is, of course, a subject well worth studying. One could ask, e.g., how true it is that Constantine founded it as an avowedly Christian capital and, if so, why he chose a city that had had until that time no Christian associations whatever; why the dedication rites were pagan as Frolov has shown) and why the monument placed at the omphalos of the city was a statue of Apollo-Helios. One could trace the process whereby Constantinople sought to compensate for its un-Christian past first by the massive importation of relics, and later by the invention of apostolic origins. One could inquire at what time and by virtue of what factors it acquired the status of a sacred city. If one approaches these problems historically, one may even come to the conclusion that the dichotomy upon which S. constructs his book, that between the New Rome and the New Jerusalem, is a spurious one, and that Constantinople became the New Jerusalem precisely by virtue of being the New Rome.

The factual information which S. imparts to his readers is not always accurate. In 323 Constantine was Augustus, not Caesar, and he could hardly be described as resisting the Parthians (p. 7). Constantine's city encompassed five hills, not seven, and Proconnesus (why 'the Proconnesus'?) is an island, not a group of islands. Constantine's pillar, which is made up of seven, not eight drums of porphyry, was not originally bound in metal (p. 8). The Theodosian land-walls were built c. 413, not in 430 (p. 11). The imperial *kathisma* was placed not at the short north-east end of the Hippodrome, but in the middle of the long side next to the palace (p. 18). The Virgin in the apse of St Sophia is not seated on a 'throne of red, her feet on a green footstool' (p. 31); both throne and footstool are gold. This list could be extended.

The book is very handsomely produced and the

illustrations are, on the whole, excellent, though often mislabelled. The fig. on p. 48, vignetted in incorrect sequence (the top episode should come at the bottom) from the Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes represents Basil I and Leo VI (not the emperor and empress) receiving the rich widow Danichs, not ambassadors from the East. The panorama on pp. 70-71 is due to Grelot, not Banduri. The Sancta Sanctorum reliquary reproduced on p. 87 is of the tenth century, not of the twelfth or thirteenth. The Skylitzes miniature on p. 121 pictures an assault on Edessa, not on Constantinople.

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TURYN A. **Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis xiii et xiv scripti annorumque notis instructi.** Vatican City. 1964. Pp. xvi + 206. 205 plates. Lire 50,000.

This imposing volume is of considerable importance for all scholars who are interested in Greek palaeography and the transmission of texts in Byzantium. It consists of photographs accompanied by detailed descriptions of all the Greek MSS in the Vatican library that can be precisely dated within the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in many ways the most fascinating period of Byzantine history. The wealth of the Vatican manuscript collections is sufficient to ensure that the present book gives an outstandingly good indication of what Byzantine books looked like and what the intellectual interests of their owners were. It includes manuscripts written all over the empire and the adjacent regions where the empire was influential, such as Cyprus, Southern Italy and Russia. Naturally the majority of the books are Biblical, theological or patristic, whether produced in monastic scriptoria or privately by the original owner for personal use, the most notable example of the latter category being perhaps the autograph of patriarch Macarius of Constantinople, Vat. gr. 402 of A.D. 1383. Classical authors are represented by some twenty books out of about a hundred; most of them are not very important, but it is interesting that one of them is a Thucydides written in A.D. 1372 for the despot of the Morea, Vat. gr. 127.

The presentation of the material is in general excellent. The photographs are clear, and always of the same size as the original, an important matter, since reduced facsimiles can be misleading. The descriptions are full, and it is most helpful that Turyn gives information about MSS that have not yet been described in an official Vatican catalogue and are often not well known to scholars. On the other hand it might be thought unnecessary that he should repeat at considerable length, as he does from time to time, the descriptions of the standard catalogues, especially the long bibliographies. A point on which he is perhaps more open to criticism is that he never mentions watermarks; even the most sceptical palaeo-

grapher occasionally wishes to examine them. However, he more than makes up for this by his erudite notes on extremely abstruse topics, including Byzantine geography and prosopography (see for example his commentary on plates 7, 28, 34, 50, 51, 108, 110, 126-8).

As a collection of palaeographical material the book shows well how the traditional archaising hand was normally used for theological and Biblical texts (see especially pls. 3, 34, 103), whereas contemporary cursive could be employed elsewhere. It is the failure to emphasise this fact which makes some existing handbooks of the subject give a misleading impression. The only disappointment experienced by the reviewer is that the number of MSS dating from the period 1200-61 is so small (there are only fifteen, illustrated by twenty plates); more information about the development of the script at this period would be welcome.

Turyn has also paved the way for further work on the history of scholarship. He is able to identify the hands of some scribes known from other manuscripts, and no doubt other scholars will be able to add more identifications that will throw light on the activities and interests of Byzantine intellectuals during the kingdom of Nicaea and the Palaeologan Renaissance. In this connexion pl. 2 is particularly interesting; it shows Vat. gr. 1296, a copy of the Suda written in A.D. 1205. If it was written in the main part of the empire at this date, it shows how literary scholarship continued despite the disaster that had overtaken the empire the year before, when the fourth crusade destroyed the capital. On the other hand the formula of the subscription is often found in MSS from Southern Italy, and Mercati suspected that the MS was written in that region; if he was right we have new evidence of scholarly interests in the provinces, perhaps in the Basilian monasteries. The script is very unusual, but consistent with either hypothesis.

I add some points of detail (the numbers refer to plates): 1. Turyn rightly says that the use of yellow wash is not an indication of Italian provenance, citing as counter-example MS Coislin 41; better instances are the use of this wash in Brit. Mus. Add. 28816, A.D. 1111, from Myoupolis in the Morea, Venice gr. 101 (=428), A.D. 1065, from the capital, Coislin 263, A.D. 1059, from the region of Edessa.

7. It is a pity that the main hand of this MS is not illustrated, even though it is not dated by more than a *terminus ante quem*.

9. Turyn shows only the hand of the scribe who wrote the subscription; but he tells us that there are four scribes altogether; ought not the others to be illustrated, unless there is positive reason to believe that they did not cooperate in producing the original book?

13. The date is not certainly 1251, as the number of the indiction fails to correspond, suggesting rather 1254. Elsewhere Turyn points out (p. 152) that in such cases the indiction number is more likely to be

right, since it was the normal and day-to-day method of referring to a year (*cf.* also Maas, *Griechische Palaeographie*, p. 74). Here it is possible to do some identification of hands. The scribe shown by Turyn is scribe B of Baroccianus 131; the other scribe, not shown because his date is not certain, is also found in Baroccianus 131 (foll. 244-92, 300-17). The fact that large portions of that important MS, the unique source for a number of works of Byzantine literature, are now dated within the period of the Nicaean empire is worth establishing. See below on nos. 54-69.

52. The appearance of this remarkable scholarly hand varies so much that more than one plate of it would have been welcome.

54-69. Turyn omits to give a specimen of hand K of this MS, on the ground that it is not so securely dated to the years 1296-8 as the others. This is a pity in view of the interest of the MS as a collection of scientific texts (several of which, as Turyn rightly points out, were studied by Planudes). It is worth noting that scribe E (pl. 59), who wrote part of Ptolemy's Geography, can be identified as the hand of Baroccianus 131, foll. 447-74 (those leaves form an insertion later than the main part of the book).

87. Turyn has detected this hand in four other MSS, including M of Aristophanes. But to judge from some photographs of M in the reviewer's possession, this identification should be treated with reserve.

89. This hand is probably identical with Baroccianus 204 foll. 73 ff.

90. Why is only one of three scribes shown? The hand illustrated is interesting; if the others are not, Turyn should perhaps have indicated this briefly in his description.

96. This strange handwriting comes from Cyprus. Turyn remarks (p. 122) 'ad codicum Cypriorum scripturae habitum peculiarem *cf.* infra nostras tabulas 121, 122, 196'. But I cannot see any common features that can easily be identified, and I wish that Turyn had enlarged on this important and still largely unsolved problem of provincial scripts.

101-2. The third hand may have deserved a plate, even if it is not certainly datable.

113-14. Turyn says that one of the two scribes responsible for the clearly dated part of the MS also wrote some pages in another section of the MS. Hence that other section would seem to be contemporary, and I feel that though its date is not firmly established a plate would have been justified.

146. *Pace* Turyn I do not think there is much in this hand that would have pointed to Italian provenance if we did not know this already.

148. Only one of three scribes is illustrated.

151. This book, dated 1382, is said to be largely of bombycine paper, which is most unusual in the second half of the fourteenth century.

One final word. Despite the great expense of printing so many plates the price seems inordinately high; it is clearly beyond the reach of any private

individual and one suspects that many university libraries will be unable to afford it. It is earnestly to be hoped that any future volumes of the same kind (a complete series would be of immense value) will be appropriately subsidised.

NIGEL G. WILSON.

Lincoln College, Oxford.

SALAMANCA. **Catalogus codicum Graecorum universitatis Salamantinae.** By A. Tovar.

1. *Collectio universitatis antiqua.* (Acta Salamanticensia, filos. y letras, xv, 4.) Salamanca: Universidad. 1963. Pp. 88. Price not stated.

Any addition to the slow accumulation of modern catalogues of Greek manuscripts is good news; Professor Tovar's is welcome also for its own high quality. In it he describes the forty-four manuscripts belonging originally to the University, and we hope he will soon complete this with a catalogue of the fifty manuscripts from the ancient colleges which were returned to Salamanca in 1954 from the Biblioteca de Palacio in Madrid.

Salamanca, one of the oldest university libraries in Europe, acquired its Greek manuscripts nearly three centuries after its foundation when Fernando Nuñez de Guzman (Pintianus) bequeathed his collection to it in 1553. By identifying Pintianus as the scribe of five and annotator of thirty-three of these manuscripts, and by other identifications of scribes, the author has given us a clearer picture of the way Pintianus built up his collection, mainly during visits to Italy. Being the choice of one Renaissance scholar, the collection contains a higher proportion of classical texts than most; but there is in it no manuscript of outstanding interest in any field. All were catalogued in 1892 by Graux and Martin (*Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs d'Espagne et de Portugal*, Paris 1892, pp. 55-125, 145-206), so that none of the main works was unknown to scholars. But Prof. Tovar now gives us a much fuller and more precise account of the original forty-four, adopting in general the rules laid down for the Vatican catalogues of Greek manuscripts.

His description of the physical structure of the manuscripts is much more complete, including as it does the size of page, number of lines, construction and numbering of quires, foliation, watermarks and something about the bindings. But here he suffers from the same disadvantage as his Vatican model: Latin may be the best language for describing the contents of manuscripts, but for describing complications in the structure or numbering of quires it is clumsy. More of a 'notation' describing them mainly in numbers, seems both simpler and clearer. In describing the contents, there is a great increase in precision of references to printed editions; but especially valuable is the way nearly all the small works or parts of works, however obscure, have now been identified—one of the most difficult and time-

consuming jobs of the cataloguer. In the face of such excellence in essentials, it would be ungracious to suggest that a large part could well have been omitted from the descriptions, if it were not that the gain in clarity would be so great. Almost always the author (departing from the Vatican rules) enumerates the *incipit* and *explicit* of each book or section of a work, even when they consist only of a formula which is the same for each book. When such an enviably high proportion of texts, as here, agrees exactly in these parts with the editions, it is positively confusing for the reader to have them all quoted *in extenso*, so that he cannot see at a glance when the manuscript does not correspond with the edition. Occasionally, on the other hand, he does not quote an *incipit* where it would be useful, e.g. for (presumably) unedited scholia. On the author's dating of the manuscripts I am not qualified to speak, not having seen them. In general, his dates are the same as or slightly earlier than those of G. and M. He has been able to bring back to the early sixteenth century, or earlier, several manuscripts that they had assigned to the seventeenth, by recognising Pintianus as the scribe or annotator. There are no manuscripts earlier than the thirteenth and only six before the fifteenth century. Only four are explicitly dated (M.31 to 1326, M.280 to 1422 3, M.243 part to 1494 and M.567 to 1524). He has also carried the identification of scribes much further, and (unlike some modern catalogues) always quotes scribal subscriptions in full. About most of these identifications I cannot judge. But there is occasionally some puzzling imprecision, the worst example of which is the disagreement between text and index about manuscripts written by Joannes Rhosos, to whom the text ascribes M.230A and 243 (end), and the index 230A, 232, 284 (?) (which I would say that he certainly did not write, from photostats of fols. 1. 54 and 134 kindly lent me by Mr. N. G. Wilson, and 285A (which the text assigns to Georgios Gregoropoulos (?) and the preface to Rhosos).

A few things I miss; chiefly a concordance of old and new shelfmarks (for which it is awkward to have to refer to M. Richard in *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* 2 [1953] 73. A very few texts might be more precisely described by reference to a different edition, or a useful bibliographical reference is lacking. But the trivial nature of my criticisms is the best advertisement of the excellence of this catalogue in all fundamentals.

RUTH BARBOUR.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

CAMPBELL (J. K.) **Honour, family and patronage: a study of institutions and moral values in a Greek mountain community.** Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1964. Pp. xi + 393. 1 folding map. 6 plates. £2 15s.

The Sarakatsani are a semi-nomadic shepherd people that occupy (and may have occupied since

ancient times) areas in northern Greece, the particular community of some 4,000-strong that is the subject of this study operating chiefly between the higher summer pastures in the mountainous district to the north-east of Jannina in Epirus and the winter pastures in the coastal plains between the Albanian frontier and Arta. Though Greek-speaking and sharing many of the customs and beliefs of the Greek peasant, they yet remain outside Greek village life (only in 1938 were they made to register) and *a fortiori* outside the urban middle-class civilisation of the modern Greek State. They thus compose, not a self-sufficient whole, but a society functioning more or less independently in terms of its own traditional values and institutions.

These are centred above all in the family. The family is the basic social unit; it is also the embodiment of a sacred idea, earthly counterpart of the heavenly archetypal family of God the Father, the All Holy Mother of God, and Christ the Son. This means that it is of supernatural origin, established by divine will, and its values, and the activities in which it engages, have all received, ideally speaking, this divine confirmation, and all, from a ritual killing to the carrying of water, have a sacred character. It is his consciousness of his preordained place in the divine order of the universe that gives the Sarakatsanos his sense of personal dignity and charges his life with a dramatic significance far beyond that of his purely utilitarian struggle to keep alive.

The values and activities to which the Sarakatsanos is committed are expressed in three main interests: sheep, children, and honour. The sheep—themselves sacred animals—provide the family's material support, and their needs correspondingly regulate its permanent division of labour and the annual cycle of its movements and occupations. This alone would explain the immensely greater value placed upon the male sex, for the rigours of shepherding are far beyond the capacities of even the hardiest woman. Woman is not only the weaker sex; she is also the inferior sex, her nature being particularly exposed to those diabolic forces of sensuality and envy that most threaten the family with disruption. Yet as the mother of children she ensures the family's continuity, and as guardian of its central hearth she is its unitive principle; and in these sacred roles her influence, especially in later age, may be considerable. But it is the man who exemplifies, or should exemplify, the dominant ideals of courage and pride, strength and honour. These find their fullest expression in the young shepherd, *pallikari* or *levantis*, swift-moving and narrow-hipped, untouched by woman sexually, fearless on the high ridges alone with his flock under the vault of heaven or superb in agility as he leads the dance at wedding or holy feast. It is curious how in this community where the individual *qua* individual cannot exist—life outside the family being virtually impossible—individual personalities are so much more positive than they are in societies where the cult of the individual is important.

These heroic ideals, however, cannot be fully maintained by the married male head of the family, for he is forced into certain extra-familial relationships that compel him to compromise them. These are first with other Sarakatsan families. As loyalty to the family unit is the supreme social virtue, and as the interests of unrelated families are mutually opposed both in theory and in literal economic practice (competition for the best grazing is intense), it follows that there is an almost continual state of war between families: there are no inter-family obligations, and all one can expect from an unrelated family is trickery and exploitation. Thus the effective protagonist of his family must maintain an attitude of aggressive self-assertion towards other families. Only at Easter is this relaxed, or when families cooperate in arranging marriages. These, bringing together unrelated families (there is no marriage within kindred, no courtship, and no divorce) and providing the growing point of a new family, are the result of negotiations in which all spiritual and material resources are involved: the manliness of the groom, the purity and shame of the bride, the wealth and status of their respective families. The description of the wedding ceremonies, first at the hut of the bride and then at that of the groom, the bride being 'stolen' from her parental habitacle by the mounted male company of the groom's family and escorted to her new and utterly strange home, is most moving.

The Sarakatsan family head must also enter into relationships with those altogether outside his community, with the merchant who buys his milk and grants him credit to tide over lean seasons, and with minor bureaucrats seeking to administer laws enacted in Athens whose literal application might force him out of existence. Here he must resort to a hierarchy of patronage either through bribery, promise of political support, or through persuading one of its members to baptise his child. It is through these patrons, acquired through a subservience and flattery at odds with his traditional ideals, that he and his family are able to survive at all in the modern world.

The final picture that emerges from this penetrating, sympathetic, and finely-written study is of a people of almost Homeric character desperately clinging, in conditions of immense physical hardship and against growing bureaucratic pressures, to a way of life they know to be superior to that both of the settled villager and of the commercial middle-class world whose material prosperity is none the less so much greater than their own. In this respect their situation is tragic, for clearly in the long run there is no possible *modus vivendi* between their way of life, with its spiritual basis and its virginal mountain setting, and the sterile artificialities of the urban civilisation whose advance threatens to crush them out of existence. In a sense, their situation represents, *mutatis mutandis*, a drama in which the whole peasant community of modern Greece (and of the Mediterranean and Balkan areas in general) has been

involved. From this point of view this work is not only monographic; it is also one of the most valuable studies in modern Greek society that has been written.

PHILIP SHERRARD.

Limni, Euböia.

BERLIN. **Deutsches archäologisches Institut. Zeitschriftenverzeichnis. Bearb. von G. Bruns und mehreren Mitarbeitern.** Wiesbaden: F. Steiner. 1964. Pp. xi + 327. DM 85.

The profusion and complexity of periodical literature presents an ever-increasing problem to scholars and librarians alike, and any attempt to make their task easier is to be welcomed. In this large and rather expensive volume 1,400 titles, selected from 3,000 in seventy libraries in Germany (Berlin, Frankfurt, Marburg), in Vienna, and also in Athens, Baghdad, Madrid and Rome, where there are German Archaeological Institutes, are listed and their contents classified. Classical scholars and archaeologists will find listed here most of the periodicals they are likely to want, though purely philological publications are excluded. In a publication of this kind, the decision as to what to put in and what to leave out is always a difficult one—it is, for example, difficult to see why the *Classical Journal* has been included, but not the *Classical World*. But on the whole the choice of titles seems logical, and to have included everything would have made the volume impossibly unwieldy.

A great deal of thought has been given to the layout of the volume, which is interleaved so that new titles can be added. The first part consists of a list of titles, in a straightforward alphabetical order, with cross-references where necessary. The dates of first and last volumes are given, and changes of title carefully recorded. For each title an intelligible abbreviation is provided, and also a guide to the subjects covered. There follows a classification by regions dealt with, and then one by subjects. The remaining third of the volume is devoted to listing abbreviations of titles, including those for a number of periodicals which have not been included in the full list. The care which has been taken over this section must earn the gratitude of both scholars and librarians, who frequently find themselves confronted with references consisting of strings of initials which they cannot identify.

In view of the immense amount of labour which has gone into the production of this book, it seems a pity that it could not have been at the same time a Union Catalogue. But no indication is given as to the locations of the titles listed. The editors are aware of this, and give their reasons in the Preface. The chief of these is that there exists already the *Gesamtverzeichnis Ausländischer Zeitschriften und Serien*. But as has been found in this country, where we have the *British Union*

Catalogue of Periodicals, there is still a real need for the smaller Union Catalogue specialising in one subject. One cannot but wish that in this volume the attempt had been made. But nevertheless in its present form it is still a most authoritative and useful piece of work, and will be of great value.

J. E. SOUTHAN.

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WELSKOPF (E. C.) *Ed. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Welt. 1. Alter Orient und Griechenland. (2. Internationale Tagung der Fachgruppe alte Geschichte der deutschen Historiker-Gesellschaft, September 1962.)* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1964. Pp. xx + 388. MDN 39.

This is the first of two volumes of the *Proceedings* of the Congress of the Ancient History section of the Deutsche Historiker-Gesellschaft, held in Stralsund from 4th to 8th September 1962. In addition to historians from the two German states, scholars from eight other countries took part. The Congress had no set theme, and contributions ranged over a wide spectrum, as can be seen from the list of papers read and published:

János Harmatta (Budapest)

Das Problem der Sklaverei im altpersischen Reich

Otakar Klima (Prag)

Zur Interpretation des awestischen Yasna 65.7 f.

Josef Klíma (Prag)

Zur Stellung der mesopotamischen Sklaven

Geza Komoróczy (Budapest)

Zur Deutung der altbabylonischen Epen Adapa und Etana

Aladár Dobrovits (Budapest)

Le problème historique de l'édification des pyramides de Snéfour

László Kákósy (Budapest)

Urzeitmythen und Historiographie im alten Ägypten

Ruth Stiehl (Berlin-Nikolassee)

Aramaisch als Weltsprache

Joseph Needham (Cambridge)

Glories and Defects of the Chinese Scientific and Technical Traditions

Roland Felber (Leipzig)

Die Reformen des Shang Yang und das Problem der Sklaverei in China

Timoteus Pokora (Prag)

Gab es in der Geschichte Chinas eine durch Sklaverei bestimmte Produktionsweise und Gesellschaftsformation?

Herbert Bräutigam (Berlin)

Erscheinungen von Sklaverei bei rezenten Vorkern Südwest-Chinas (Resümee)

Rigobert Gunther (Leipzig)

Einige Bemerkungen zur historischen Gesetzmässigkeit in der Sklavenhalterordnung

- Antonín Bartoněk (Brno)
Zur sozialökonomischen Struktur der mykenischen Gesellschaft
- Mihail D. Petruševski (Skopje)
Zur Toponomastik Griechenlands im mykenischen Zeitalter
- Hannelore Barth (Halle, Saale)
Einwirkungen der vorsokratischen Philosophie auf die Herausbildung der historiographischen Methoden Herodots
- Andrew Robert Burn (Glasgow)
Pausanias
- Alexandre Fol (Sofia)
Les tribus thraces dans l'œuvre de Cornélius Népos
- Miloslav Okál (Bratislava)
Aristophane et l'éducation
- Jan Pečírka (Prag)
Land Tenure and the Right of *ἐγκτησις* in Athens
- Friedrich Pfister (Wurzburg)
Antike Überlieferung und historische Kritik
- Cicerone Poghirc (Bukarest)
Une question controversée d'histoire macédonienne. Sur un passage d'Anaximène de Lampsaque
- Werner Rudolph (Berlin)
Die Schwerathletik in den antiken olympischen Spielen und die Zuordnung kunstlerischer Denkmaler zu den einzelnen Disziplinen
- Heinrich Simon (Berlin)
Eusebeia und Philosophie
- Marie Simon (Berlin)
Der *τέχνη*-Begriff bei Aristoteles
- Wiktor Steffen (Warschau)
Zur Geschichte Megaras im sechsten Jahrhundert v.u.Z.
- Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf (Berlin)
Zum Generationenproblem bei Hesiod und Platon
- Zdeněk Zlatuška (Brno)
Pachtgeld und Pachtdauer im Bereich der Laurischen Silberbergwerke im 4. Jh. v.u.Z.
- Franz Altheim (Berlin-Nikolassee)
Die Weltgeltung der griechischen Sprache
- Reinhardt Koerner (Berlin)
Inschriftliche Nachrichten zur Wasserversorgung von Delos
- Edmund Piekniewski (Berlin)
Die Rechtsstellung des Verpächters und Pächters in den Landpachtverträgen im Lichte der griechischen Papyri
- Edith Schönert (Berlin)
Die wirtschaftliche Auswertung seleukidischer und ptolemäischer Münzfunde (306–197 v.u.Z.)
- Rose-Marie Seyberlich (Berlin)
Esther in der Septuaginta und bei Flavius Josephus
- Nikolaus Walter (Halle Saale)
Frühe Begegnungen zwischen jüdischem Glauben und hellenistischer Bildung in Alexandrien
- Józef Wolski (Kraków)
Aufbau und Entwicklung des parthischen Staates
- The Proceedings of the Congress would have been even more interesting than they are had each paper been followed by a brief report of the ensuing discussion. This presents many technical problems, but the means are now available to solve them, and it ought to become a standard practice. Several of the Stralsund discussions dealt at length with some of the crucial questions of ancient history, and would well merit preservation.
- R. B.
- Miscellanea critica. Teil 1: aus Anlass des 150 jährigen Bestehens der Verlagsgesellschaft und des graphischen Betriebes B. G. Teubner, Leipzig.** Ed. J. Irmscher and others. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1964. Pp. 390. MDN 37.
- On 21st February 1961 the 150th anniversary of the foundation of the publishing house of B. G. Teubner was celebrated at a meeting in the Rathaus in Leipzig. Among the decisions there taken was that to publish a series of critical studies by editors of texts in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, on themes suggested by their editorial work. The first volume, dealing with Greek texts, is now before us reproduced in offset from a typescript of exemplary clarity. It contains twenty-six articles by philologists from thirteen countries. There is something in it to interest every scholar; to review it is beyond the capacity of any. We trust that the convenience of readers of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* will be best served by listing the contents of this distinguished Festschrift.
- Aly, W.
Der Geograph Strabon als Philosoph
- Braun, E.
Textkritisches zu dem einleitenden Abschnitt der Urpolitik des Aristoteles (7, 1–3)
- Conomis, N. C.
Hesychiana
- Ditten, H.
Die im Bonner Corpus enthaltenen Texte und neuere Ausgaben derselben
- Downey, G.
An Illustrated Commentary on Libanius' *Antiochikos*
- Friedrich, H.-V.
Antiphon, or. I 3:
- Garzya, A.
Per Pedizione delle Epistole di Sinesio. 6. Il codice Patmiaco 706
- Giangrande, G.
Konjekturen zu Longos, Xenophon Ephesios und Achilles Tatios
- Janáček, K.
Tà dékx τῶν Σκεπτικῶν

- Luschnat, O.
 Beobachtungen zu den Thukydidescholien
- Marzullo, B.
 Aristophanea (II). Osservazioni critiche sul testo di Aristofane
- Mertens, P.
 En préparant l'édition des Vitae Homeri
- Muller, R.
 Abfassungsort und -zeit der Hellenica Oxyrhynchia als Kriterien für die Verfasserfrage
- Peek, W.
 Zwei Gedichte der griechischen Anthologie
- Peters, U.
 Übersicht über den Nachlass Hugo Rabes zu den Rhetores Graeci
- Petruševski, M. D.
 Textkritisches zu Aristoteles' Poetik
- Preisendanz, K.
 Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri
- Riedinger, U.
 Die Epiphaniosp paraphrase des Pseudo-Kaisarios
- Rocha-Pereira, M. H.
 Textkritisches zu Pindar Ol. 2, 76-7
- Russo, F. C.
 Non 'vinse l'attore Ermone'
- Scheibner, G.
 Klanganalytische Erwägungen bei der Kritik des Homertextes
- Stamatis, E.
 Rekonstruktion des griechischen Textes des fehlenden Beweises der Aufgabe V 19 des Diophantos von Alexandrien
- Szádeczky-Kardoss, S.
 Schrieb Mimnermos Iamben?
- Trencsényi-Waldapfel, I.
 Sophokles, Philoktet V. 1443
- Wirth, G.
 Anakreon 5 D
- Young, D.
 Borrowings and self-adaptations in Theognis

R. B.

- GUERRINI (L.) **Vasi di Hadra: tentativo di sistemazione cronologica di una classe ceramica.** (Studi miscellanei, 8, 1961 62.) Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider. 1964. Pp. vii + 26. 19 plates. Price not stated.

This brief, workmanlike grouping of the Hadra hydriai provides a much needed list of known pieces. Guerrini has been as short with exposition as she has been generous with illustrations. Plates I-X contain photographs of 128 of the 136 vases she lists; the remaining plates give larger views of the more important pieces and comparative material. The

hydriai are divided chronologically into six groups which Guerrini dates from c. 325 to c. 200 B.C. Tangential problems receive succinct but sufficient treatment.

- ANDRONICOS (M.) **Vergina, the prehistoric neopolis and the Hellenistic palace.** (Studies in Mediterranean archaeology, 13.) Lund: Klassiska Institutionen och Antikmuseet. 1964. Pp. 11. 15 illus. Sw.kr. 15.

- PETSAS (P. M.) **Pella.** (Studies in Mediterranean archaeology, 14.) Lund: Klassiska Institutionen och Antikmuseet. 1964. Pp. 8.

These very brief essays on Vergina and Pella are random productions, and it is difficult to visualise possible readers. The most revealing item is the map on p. 4 of *Pella*, showing central Macedonian sites from prehistoric to Hellenistic times: their wealth both in history and treasure would have made a more worthwhile subject than the two curt pieces we are offered.

- HAYNES (S.) **Etruscan bronze utensils.** (British Museum.) London: the Trustees of the British Museum. 1965. Pp. 29. 1 map. 20 plates (incl. 4 in colour). 2 text figures. 5s.

This is an excellent, short account of some of the humbler products of Etruscan workshops from the seventh to the second centuries B.C. The text covers a wide range of topics and illumines many corners of Etruscan art. Besides the plates and figs., there is a clear site-map and a select bibliography. A perfect example of a work that is both popular and scholarly in equal measure.

- DALTON (O. M.) **The Treasure of the Oxus.** 3rd ed. London: British Museum. 1964. Pp. lxxvi + 80. 40 + 1 plates.

Recent interest in Achaemenid art, and in silver work in particular, makes this reissue of Dalton's classic account a timely one. It is primarily the same as the second edition (1926) which contains Dalton's illuminating introduction. R. D. Barnett has added a select list of recent publications which deal with the Oxus treasure, and the plates are entirely new, though not all good, as there has been too much cropping of the outlines. Two recently acquired pieces which seem originally to have belonged to the treasure are added at the end. The later, mainly Sassanian, metal work, comprising about a third of the book, exemplifies the startling continuation of earlier practice and motifs.

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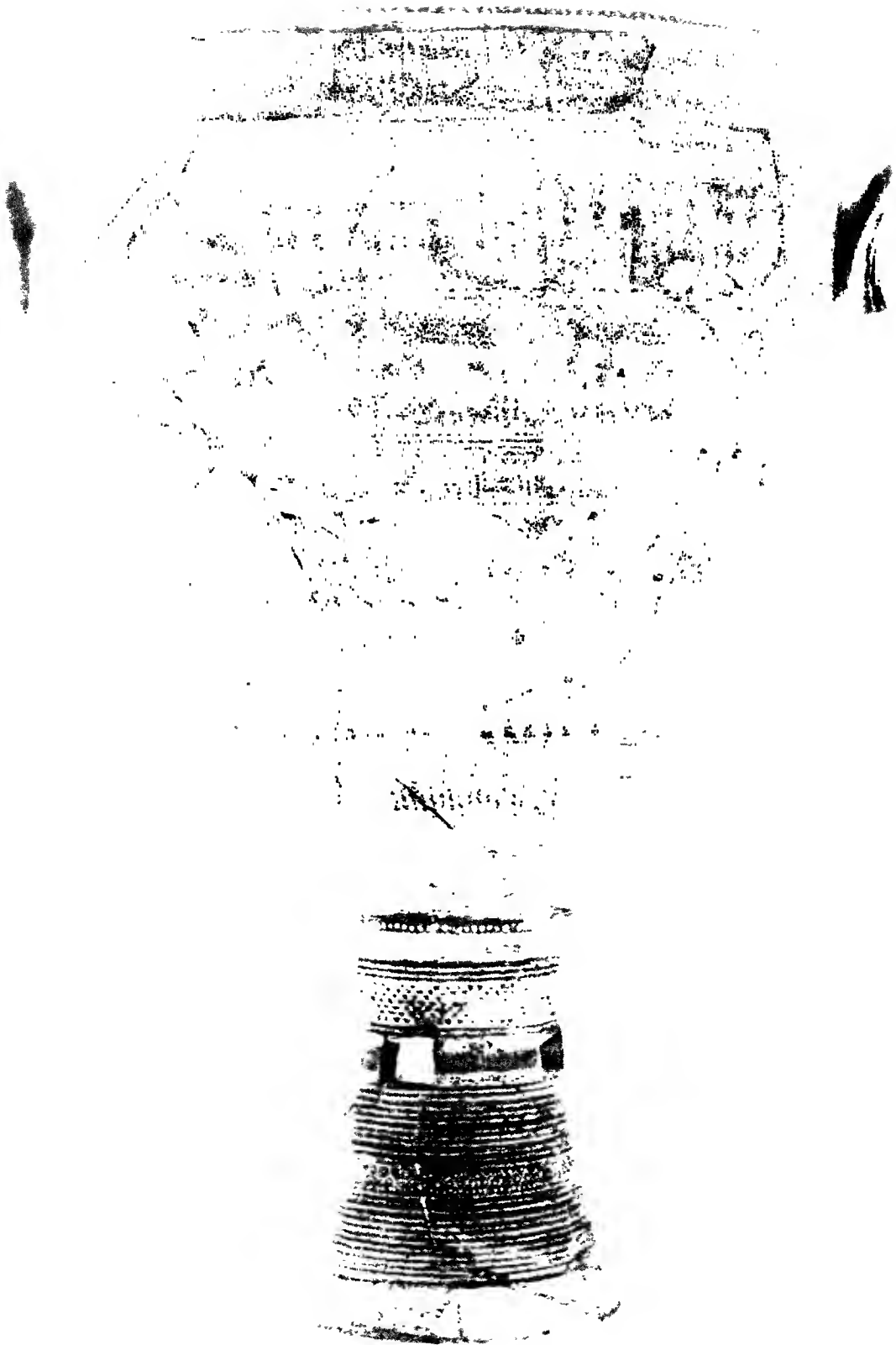
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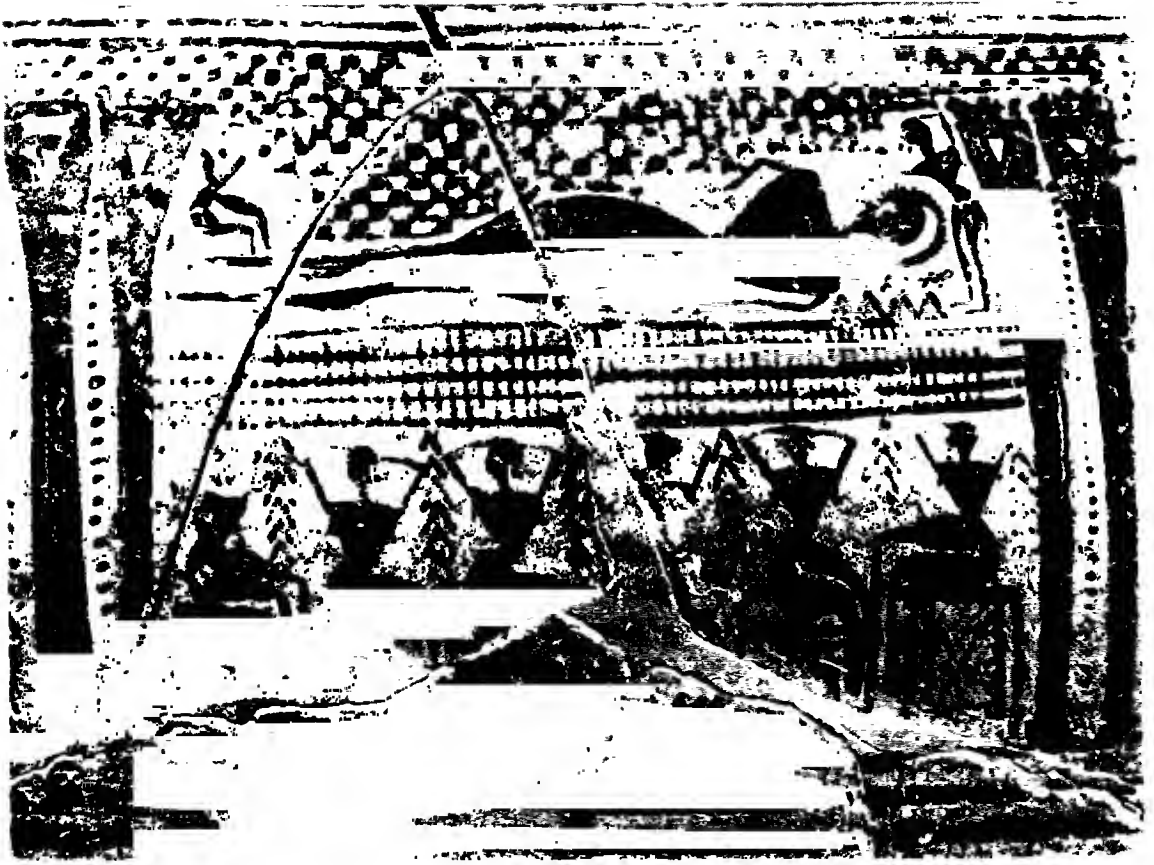
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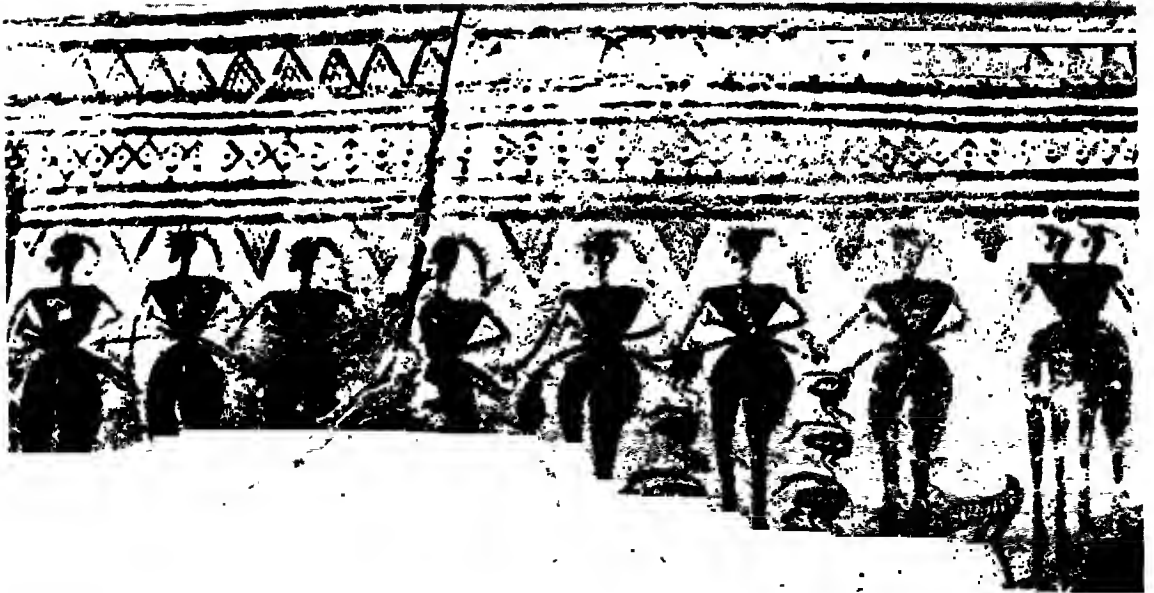
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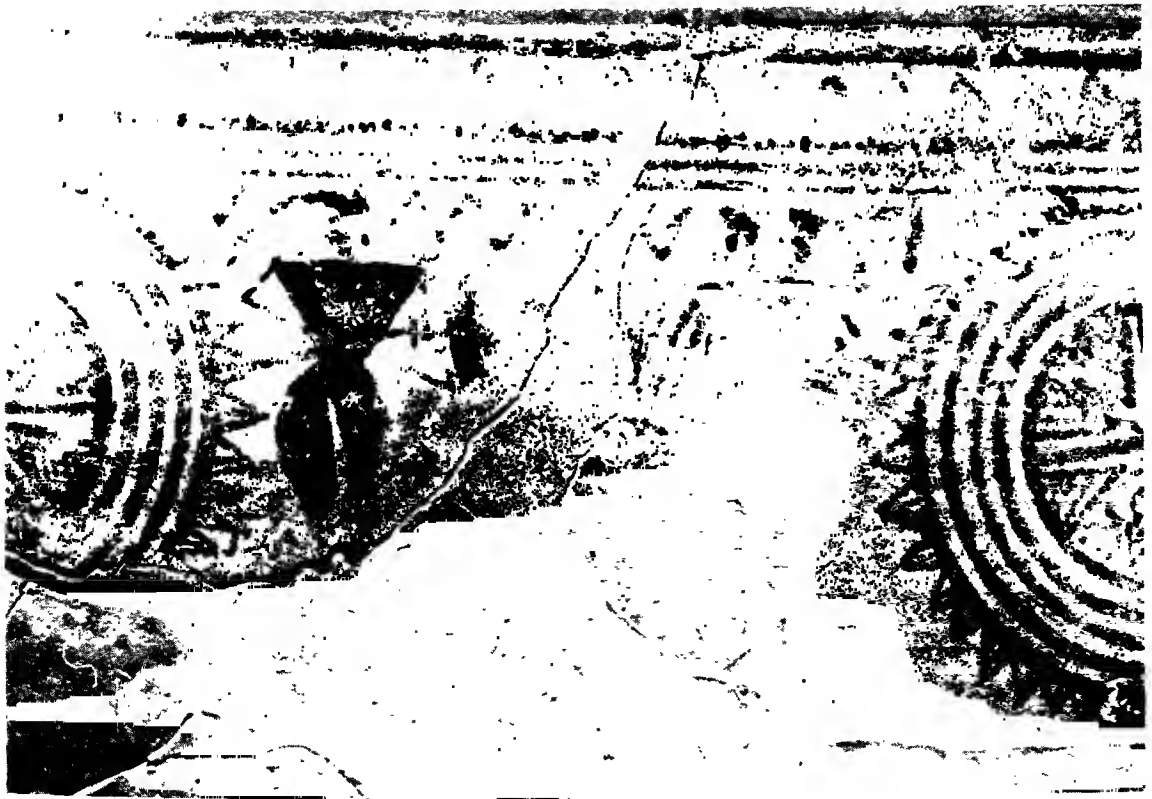
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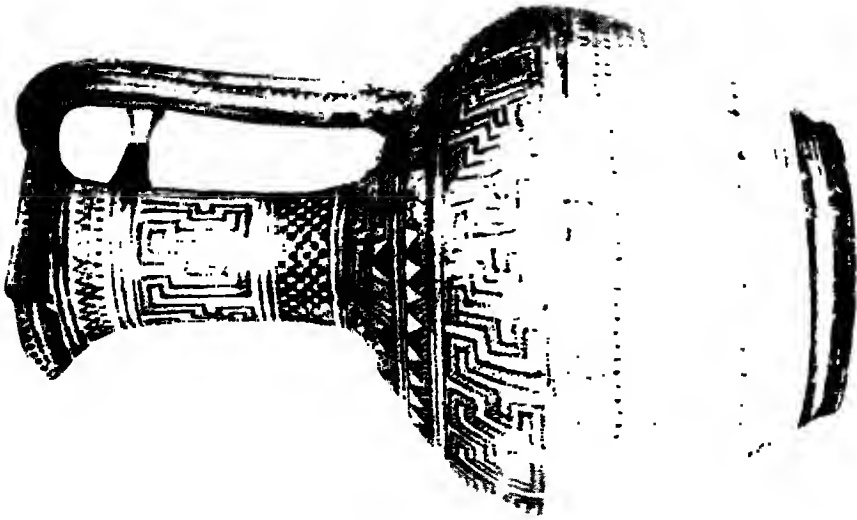
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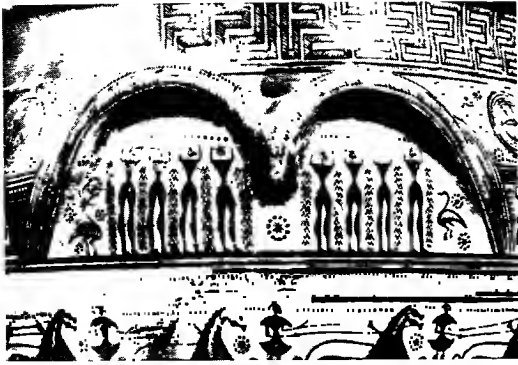


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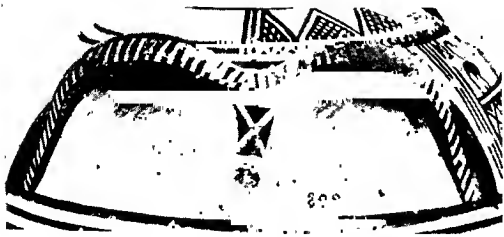
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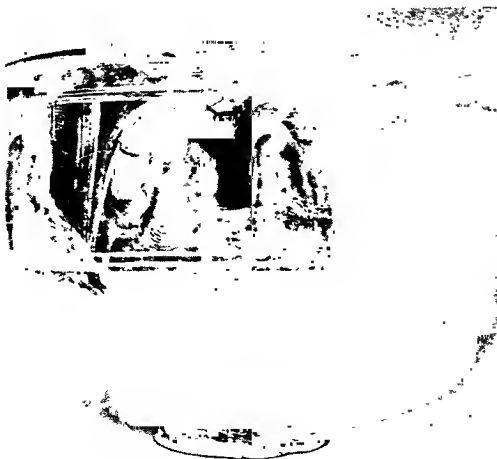
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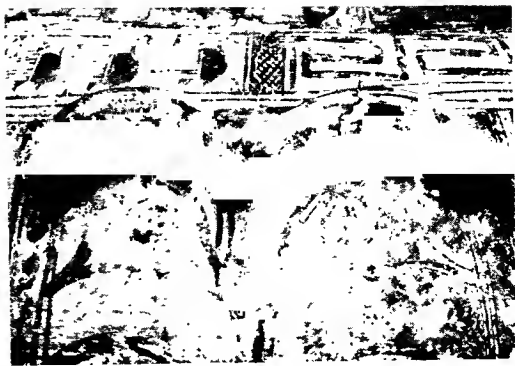


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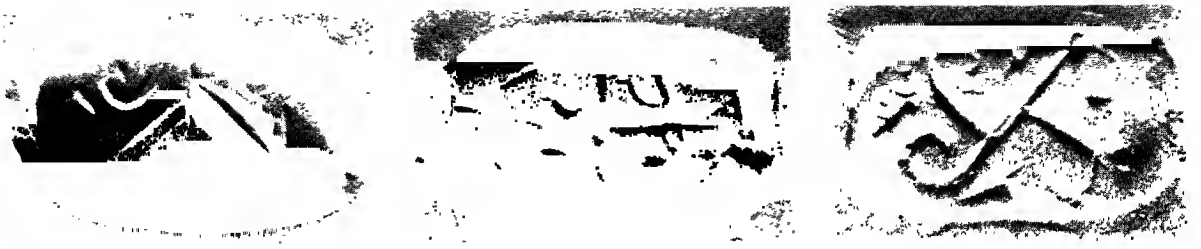


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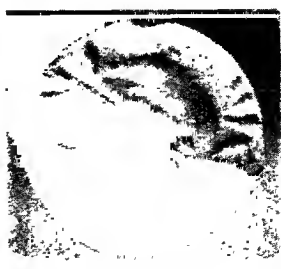
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