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LIST OF NEW MEMBERS.

Elected during the session 1954-55.

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GERMANY, Hamburg, University Seminar f. Alte Geschichte.
GERMANY, Freiburg, Archäologisches Institut der Universität.
SYRACUSE, Sicily, Associazione Italo-Britannica.
TURKEY, Istanbul, Archäologisches Institut der Universität.
A CAERETAN HYDRIA IN DUNEDIN

The vase here described was recently presented to the Otago Museum in commemoration of the distinguished services of Dr. H. D. Skinner, for many years Director of the Museum. It was formerly on the Rome market. It is restored from fragments, and missing pieces of the neck, mouth, and shoulder have been replaced by plaster. The joints and plaster restorations have been carefully painted over, and there has been a good deal of repainting where the glaze was worn. On the mouth, neck, and shoulder the restorations, though extensive, merely fill gaps in a well-defined pattern, and can therefore be passed over without a detailed description. The repainting of the figures on the body of the vase will be described at greater length below. The clay is a fine, clear red, rather lighter than the usual colour of Attic. The principal dimensions of the vase are as follows (measurements in metres):

- Overall height: 0.44
- Height of neck: 0.095
- Greatest diameter of body: 0.32
- Diameter of rim:
  - of lowest part of neck: 0.125
  - of junction of foot and body: 0.105
- Diameter of foot: 0.19

The body is ovoid, with high, flat shoulders. It is separated from the wide flaring foot by a low, raised ridge. A similar ridge separates the shoulder from the neck, which is cylindrical with slightly concave sides. The lip flares widely. The side handles are small and slope slightly upward; they are attached just above the widest part of the vase and below the sharpest curve of the shoulder. The vertical handle is divided by three deep, vertical grooves. The inside of the mouth and the upper surface of the foot are ornamented with rounded tongues of black glaze. These were painted alternately red and white, but the paint, which was applied on top of the black glaze, is now much worn. On the lower part of the body are short black rays; above these is a rather wider zone with a chain of five-petalled lotuses linked to five-leaved palmettes. The second and fourth leaves of the palmettes were red. The inner petals of the lotuses were mostly red, though some show traces of white paint. There are also traces of white paint on some of the outer petals, but it does not appear that the whole chain was painted red and white. The rays and lotus and palmette chain occupy about half the height of the body. The remaining half, up to the shoulder, contains the figured decoration. Above each of the zones into which the body is divided is a broad horizontal black band. Round the shoulder is an ivy wreath, painted in naturalistic style, with leaves and clusters of berries alternating on either side of a double-twined stem. No added colour is used on the ivy. On the neck are pairs of five-petalled lotuses set back to back; the central petals are red, the second and fourth white; the black outer petals spread widely and form frames, in which are set rosettes of eight long-pointed petals, alternately red and black. Round the outside of the rim is a narrow black battlement meander, whose merlons and embrasures are decorated with small red crosses. The paint of the coloured parts of the neck and rim is applied directly to the clay instead of being laid on over black glaze as elsewhere on the vase. The handles are black. Below the point where the vertical handle joins the body is a large seven-leaved palmette, and round the ends of the side handles are large rosettes. These are of black glaze; the middle of each petal was painted white, but the paint is much worn.

The photographs are the work of Miss Daphne Marshall.

1 Dunedin E.53.61. Professor A. D. Trendall, by whose advice the vase was purchased, very kindly supplied me with microfilms of the articles by Santangelo and Devambez to which reference is made below. Professor G. R. Manton read over the first draft of this paper and added a large number of valuable observations. The staff of the Library of the University of Otago has also assisted me in many ways. But I have been unable to refer to more than a small part of the publications dealing with Caeretan hydria, and have not therefore attempted a full study of the subject, which would demand not only a complete mastery of the literature but also a first-hand knowledge of the material. Such a study is, I believe, about to be produced by a scholar possessing the necessary qualifications; in the meantime, a description of our vase, together with an attempt to ascertain its relationship to some others of this class, may be of value. I have mentioned in the notes only those works which I have been able to consult. A fuller bibliography may be found in the articles of Santangelo and Devambez and in the relevant volumes of the CVA.

2 For this pattern, which is often used on these vases, see Santangelo, Mon. Piot. XLIV 7.

3 Santangelo (op. cit. 14) points out that these features show the influence of metal vases.

4 White is used for the flesh of Herakles and Eurytheus on Louvre E 701, for one of the pairs of combatants in the centauro-machy on Louvre E 700, for the young warriors or hunters on Louvre E 695, for the rider on Louvre E 697, for Kephalos on Louvre E 702, and for two of the four hoplites on the British Museum hydria BM 59. These are only a few examples where sex is beyond question. See also R. M. Cook, BSJ XLVII 141 n. 79 for the use of white paint for male flesh on Clazomenian vases. The heavily emphasised pectoral muscles are exactly like those of Nessos and Tityos on the vases published by Devambez (Mon Piot. XLI). More usually this painter uses a continuous curving line, but he is certainly not trying to draw a girl's breasts.

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siderable freedom and vigour to his conventional 'kneeling' attitude. The legs are seen in profile. The body is twisted round to face the spectator, and the head is looking back over the left shoulder. In each hand the runner holds the bridle of a horse. The horses are probably to be imagined as following him, but to balance the composition the artist has shown them heraldically opposed on either side of the central figure. They are prancing on their hind legs and striking out with their fore-hooves. Incision is used for the contours and inner details of the human figure, but for the inner details only of the horses. The boy's flesh was white, his hair black. The horses' hooves and tails are red (the paint is much worn), and traces of red paint are visible on the manes. The paint was everywhere applied over the black glaze. The horses' teeth may once have been white, but no trace of paint is now visible. The shoulder, mane, and head of the left-hand horse have been extensively repainted, and the shape of the head altered thereby; he should have a straight nose like the right-hand horse. The middle incision on his shoulder should continue rather farther to the right than appears from the photograph. His ears are now lost in his mane; whether this was

originally so I am unable to determine. The right-hand horse is less seriously affected by repainting, but the shape of his lower jaw has been slightly altered. The heavy, clumsy headstalls seem to be original. The boy's legs and thighs have been retouched.

The anatomy of both horses and boy will repay study. Each of the boy's ankles is marked with a small incised pothook, the curve being downwards and to the front. The calves and thighs are well developed. The left leg, which is the only one completely visible, shows two faint incisions along the calf. The kneecap is represented by an elaborate incised pattern like two tongues of flame. The thigh is marked with two slightly curved lines, converging downwards. There is a short vertical curved line on the buttock. No serious attempt is made to show the abdominal muscles, though there is a single incision curving to the right and downward from the front of the body towards the left hand. The pectoral muscles are shown by two incised arcs, each rather less than a semicircle, in the centre of which are small incised circles for the nipples. The markings of the upper arms correspond with those of the thighs, and those of the forearms with the calves, but the elbow-joint is only indicated by a small incision near the point. An incised line divides the neck from the body. The nose is straight, the lips large, the eye long and pointed under straight eye-

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As are those of the horses on Louvre E 697, 699.
brows. The iris and pupil are clearly marked. The ear is large and shaped like the upper part of a large question mark set back to front; it has no inner markings. The hair, which is divided into long, slightly crinkly, strands, is swept straight back from the forehead and falls down the back as far as the shoulders.

Of the anatomy of the horse, the most notable features are the three vertical incisions on the outside of the rump, the weak and niggling lines on the inside of the hind leg (those on the right-hand horse are rather more purposeful) and the simple treatment of the shoulder and neck. The left-hand horse is more elaborate; note especially the folds of skin under the jaw). The manes are differently treated, though the repainting of the left-hand horse has probably exaggerated the difference. One might suppose that the artist was still experimenting with different ways of drawing horses and trying out various effects.

On the back of the vase are two eagles seizing hares, one on each side of the palmette below the vertical handle. The birds are shown grasping their prey with their beaks (this I believe to be correct; my own observation leads me to suppose that an eagle first seizes his victim in his claws, then tears it with his beak); their wings are half-folded above their backs and their tail-feathers displayed. Their feet, with talons outstretched, are reaching forward; the bird on the right is almost grasping its hare's hind leg. The hares are attempting to bound away. Incision was used for the interior details but not for the contours; note especially the very fine scales on the lower part of the birds' legs. The beak and claws of the left-hand eagle (Fig. 2) are red; white is used for the upper part of the legs, for a band across the middle of the wing, and for a similar band across the tail. The lower part of the hare's belly was white, but the white paint, which was laid directly on the clay, has mostly disappeared. The group to the right of the vertical handle has been much repainted. The added colour has disappeared except for traces of red on the eagle's legs and a patch of white on its tail. The hare owes its slim figure to the fact that the restorer has repainted the black parts only, without regard to the white belly-stripe, which has disappeared.

These groups of hare and eagle connect our vase closely with the Lion Hunt hydria in the Louvre. The Louvre eagles are making more use of their claws (though the main weapon is still the beak), but the greatest difference between them and our birds lies in the simplified treatment of the wing feathers. Note especially that the end of the wing appears to be bounded by a single incised line, instead of each pinion being closed separately, as on our vase. The upper part of the leg is sharply defined by an incised line. There are slight differences in the drawing of the beak, and the hare's ear is simplified. This rather more summary treatment of details may mean that the Louvre vase was painted slightly later than that in Dunedin. But if the fronts of the two vases are compared the resemblance between the ankles, knees, and thighs of the Lion Hunters and our boy is obvious. Moreover, the markings on the lioness's hindquarters and those on the hindquarters of our horses are similar. To confirm the close relationship between the two vases, the subordinate decoration of both is similar, except that the Louvre vase has a double battlement maeander round the rim.

With the Lion-hunt Hydria Webster has already associated the Deer-hunt Hydria in the Louvre. But the difference between our horses and the deer hunter's is marked; note especially the different incisions on the hindquarters and the more elaborate treatment of the neck. Webster divides the horses on Caearetan hydriai into two groups. Our horses belong to his first class and that of the deer hunter to the second. There can be no doubt that the second group shows an advance in artistic skill over the first; probably therefore it is slightly later in date. The lion hunt seems to come between our vase and the deer hunt; the drawing of the lioness's hindquarters is closer to our horses than to the deer hunter's.

Also closely associated with our vase is one in Amsterdam, formerly in the Scheurleer Museum. This has the same subject as ours in front—a running youth between two horses. Though obviously close to our vase, it is in some ways less successful. The figure, with its left knee touching the ground, its head looking to the spectator's left, and its awkwardly placed hands, lacks the lively vigour of our boy. But the goat-hunt on the back is a spirited piece of work. Note also the rather heavy chain of lotuses and buds, which replaces our lotuses and palmettes round the lower part of the body. It would be rash to speculate too far on the relationship of the Dunedin and Amsterdam vases without a proper knowledge of both, but at least it seems certain that they cannot be widely separated.

I believe that it is safe to say that these four vases are fairly closely related, and that Louvre E 698 and 697 are rather more advanced than the Dunedin vase. We may now attempt to fix the relationship of others to this series.

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6 E 698. *CVA Louvre IX*, Pl. 612. (Compare especially our left-hand eagle with ibid., fig. 5) Webster, *JHS* XLVIII 196 ff. Catalogue No. 17.
7 Op. cit. 204.
11 In the following discussion I have only considered those vases about which I could form an opinion from the photographs available to me. My method is based upon that of Webster, and has led me to very similar results. I hope that it may prove applicable to the rest of the material.
The following vases seem closely related to ours:

1. *The Louvre Centaurs in Arms.*¹² Not only are the hindquarters of the centaurs similar to those of the Dunedin horses, but the knees and thighs of their front legs are marked like those of our boy. The pectoral muscles are indicated by a continuous curving line instead of two semicircles. The hair of the left-hand centaur resembles our boy's; that of the right-hand centaur has been repainted.¹³ The diving eagles on the back of this vase, with their bright-coloured ruffs, are rather different from ours, but show a family likeness about the beak and eye. The shoulder (rounded tongues), neck (large rosettes), and rim (laurel wreath) show quite a different scheme of decoration, but this must not be allowed to outweigh the close anatomical resemblance of the figures.

2. *The Louvre Punishment of Tityos.*¹⁴ The attitude of Tityos ¹⁴ resembles that of the boy on our vase, and the treatment of his ankles, knees, thighs, and pectoral muscles is similar. Note also the dancers on the shoulder of the vase;¹⁶ the attitudes and anatomical details of the youths are particularly close to our boy. (I am convinced that these figures are male, not 'doréuses'; for the use of white for male flesh see Note 4 supra.) The dresses of Artemis and Leto¹⁷ resemble those of the hunters on E 698, with folds radiating from the middle of the girdle and straight lower edges. The hair of Leto, though streaming wildly in the wind, resembles that of our boy in that it is swept straight back from the forehead.

3. *The Louvre Calydonian Boar Hunt.*¹⁸ The dress of the boar-hunters is like that of the lion-hunters. The hindquarters of the boar, and of Europa's bull on the back of the vase, resemble those of the Dunedin horses. Note, however, the different treatment of the subordinate decoration.

4. *The Louvre Infant Hermes.*¹⁹ This vase and the next clearly form a pair. They are distinguished from the others by the shape of the rim, by the subordinate decoration (their necks come close to that of E 696), and by the unusually large proportion of the body given up to the figured zone. But the cattle on the Hermes vase are very close to Europa's bull on the back of E 696. (Contrast the necks of the winged bulls on the back of the Deer-hunt Vase, E 697). The two vases are further connected by the conventional use of a hare (on the island of Crete, and among the

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¹² E 700. *CVA Louvre IX*, Pl. 613, 614 fig. 2, and 615.
¹³ *CVA Louvre IX* Text. III Fa p. 7.
¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 43, Fig. 8.
¹⁶ *Op. cit.* 31, Fig. 1.
¹⁷ Leto rather than Ge; *op. cit.* postscript on p. 62.
bushes by the mouth of the cave) to show which parts of the picture are solid earth. The convention is similar to the more familiar one (also used by our artist on both his Europa vases 20) by which dolphins and other fishes show the sea. The hair of the figures is swept straight back from the forehead. Webster 11 calls the Hermes vase late because of the drawing of Eos on the back. The lower edge of her dress is not straight but scalloped. But this seems to me to be a very different thing from the attempt to show folds in depth on the British Museum hoplite vase. 22 Moreover, the dresses of Kephalos and the figures in the cave have straight lower edges. That of Kephalos is very close to the lion hunters'. His attitude, and the markings of his knees and thighs, as far as they can be distinguished from the photograph, resemble those of the Dunedin boy.

5. The Louvre Herakles and Cerberus. 23 Since this vase obviously goes with the last, it will suffice to call attention to the resemblance between the head of Eurystheus and that of the Dunedin boy, and to the incised details of the knees, thighs, and ankles of Herakles. The hindquarters of Cerberus are treated in the same way as those of our horses. The hair on the back is close to those on our vase and E 698, and the flying eagles come from the same eye as our birds.

6. The London Arimaspias. 24 Note especially the hindquarters of the animals, the folds of the Maenads' dresses, and the incisions on the knees, thighs, and ankles of the satyrs.

7. The Louvre Punishment of Nessos. 25 The hair of Oineus, Deianeira, and the sphinxes on the back of this vase is like that of the Dunedin boy. Note also the straight lower edge of Oineus' dress and the thighs, hindquarters, and pectoral muscles of Nessos. But the figure of Herakles resembles that on the Busiris hydria rather than that of Louvre E 701.

I agree with Santangelo that 'il faut renoncer a répartir nos hydres en groupes distincts', but it does seem to me that the following vases are marked off by peculiarities of drawing from those already discussed. They seem to me to show an advance in artistic skill, and I would regard them as representative of the artist's later manner.

1. The London Hoplite Vase. 26 The lower edge of the hoplites' kilts shows an advance in the treatment of folds, as Webster points out. But this vase is obviously connected with the Louvre Centaursomachy (E 700) by the details of the warriors' breastplates. I am unable to distinguish any incision on the rump of the horse or the knee of the boy in Webster's Fig. 1, but the horse is certainly a finer animal than ours.

2. The Berlin Chariot Scene. 27 The elaborate lower edge of the woman's dress has been noted by Webster, and is more advanced than the kilts of the London hoplites. The woman's hair, instead of being swept straight back, has a braid looped across the forehead. The left knee of the young man mounting the chariot seems to be a modified version of the early 'flame pattern' type. There is only a single incision on his thigh.

3. The Departure of Warriors in the Louvre. 28 Webster had already noted the more advanced treatment of the folds of the dresses on this vase, the more elaborate necks of the horses, and the drawing of their hindquarters. 29 Note also the left knees of the young warriors (the only ones that are visible). Instead of the elaborate 'flame pattern' of the early vases there are only two vague hooked lines. The characteristic pothook on the ankle is also missing. The hair of the woman between the two horses, instead of being brushed straight back, is arranged in a fringe over the forehead, and is swept back from the top of the head. (The two sphinxes on the back of the vase have similar fringes.) The woman's ear is hidden by what seem to be three small curls, and she wears a large ear-ring. This hair style, with fringe, may represent an actual change in fashion, as it is not found on the earlier vases.

The form of this vase is remarkable. The shoulder is unusually rounded and wide in proportion to the height of the vase. The side handles are in consequence set on rather high. The rim slopes the opposite way to that of most vases, being narrower above than below.

4. The Busiris Hydria. 30 The knees of the Egyptian police on the back of this vase are marked with two curved lines instead of the 'flame pattern'. They have three parallel incisions on the upper part of the thigh. The pectoral muscles are shown by a horizontal incised line, slightly turned up at the ends. The tight loin-cloths are very different from the dress of, for example, the lion-hunters on Louvre E 698. But a different garment is being shown.

On the front of the vase, the Herakles is very different from the early Herakles of Louvre E 701; details of the ankles, knees, and thighs are also different. The Louvre Punishment of Nessos, as already noted, helps to link these two. But I have been unable to examine all our artist's other drawings of Herakles, and so feel unable to discuss this matter at length.

26 Webster, op. cit. Catalogue No. 11, Pl. XI 2 and Fig. 1.
27 Ibid, No. 19. Known to me only from Pfußl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen, Fig. 151. My opinions, not being based on pictures of the whole vase, may be completely wrong.
28 E 699. CVA Louvre IX, Pl. 613 and 614. Webster, op. cit. Catalogue No. 16.
30 Webster, op. cit. Catalogue No. 1. The best illustrations available to me have been Pfußl, op. cit. Figs. 152, 153.
It cannot, I think, be maintained that the Busiris vase is early because the lower edges of the Egyptians' dresses are straight. The Egyptians are not merely running or standing, but being tossed about in the wildest confusion, and the artist has evidently felt himself unequal to the task of depicting the disorder of their dress. He has, however, been able to cover up his inadequacy by giving the garments tasseled fringes.\(^{31}\)

To sum up, our vase is to be placed early in the artist's career. It is connected through the Lion Hunt (Louvre E 698) with the Deer Hunt (Louvre E 697), and the Deer Hunt, by the drawing of the horses, is connected with the Departure of Warriors (Louvre E 699). These four vases seem to represent successive stages in the artist's development; the difference between the first and last is so great that one might suppose that the vases were by different hands were it not for the connecting links. Of the other vases discussed, only the London hoplite vase, the Berlin Chariot scene, and the Busiris hydria are in the artist's late manner, and the first two of these are less fully developed than the last. I have disregarded the theory of development from 'Ionian' polychromy to a more severe 'Atticising' black figure.\(^{32}\) Our vase illustrates the dangers with which this theory is beset; it was obviously once very much more gaily coloured than its appearance, or that of its photographs, would lead one to suppose.

That the vases were the work of an 'Ionian' exile from Asia Minor, who had perhaps fled to Caere to escape the Persians, seems generally agreed.\(^{33}\) Until more is known about the pottery produced by the various Greek cities in Asia Minor during the sixth century, the exact home of our artist will remain doubtful.\(^{34}\)

Although many Caeretan hydriae show scenes from Greek mythology, I have been unable to find a satisfactory mythological interpretation for the picture on our vase. The facts that there are similar eagles on the Louvre Lion-hunt Vase and that the vase in Amsterdam has a boy hunting a goat on its back show that there is no symbolic connexion between the front and back of our hydria.

Professor Manton has called my attention to the extraordinarily close anatomical resemblance of some of the figures painted on the walls of the Tomb of the Augurs at Tarquinii\(^{35}\) to those on the Caeretan hydriae, which I believe to be in the artist's early manner. Besides the points of resemblance to which Pallottino has called attention, note the knees and ankles of the wrestlers and the drawing of the legs of the masked man.\(^{36}\) Pallottino, while recognising the connexion between these paintings and the Caeretan hydria,\(^{37}\) considers that the former display a savagery combined with reminiscences of ancient rites which differentiates them from the East Greek tradition and emphasises their originality and singularity.\(^{38}\) My ignorance and the want of means to remedy it prevent me from doing more than note that a number of difficult problems need to be solved. A possible solution is that a Greek artist, whose vase-paintings show his native genius, was sufficiently affected by his subject matter to display an Etruscan feeling in tomb-paintings which illustrated Etruscan ritual.

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\(^{31}\) On the fringed linen καλαπαρας of the Egyptians see Herodotus II 81; Pluh, op. cit. 182.

\(^{32}\) Mingazzini's article (Boletino d'Arte, 2nd Ser. III, 1924) has been not available to me; his views are rejected by Webster (op. cit. 203 E.). Beazley believes that the female figures on Santangelo's hydriae A and B once had white paint on their flesh (Santangelo, op. cit. 41). See also R. M. Cook, op. cit. 147, for the absence of polychromy in Ionia proper.

\(^{33}\) See Santangelo, op. cit. 32 E. for a fuller discussion and references, especially p. 37 for references to the Hellenism of Caere.

\(^{34}\) I cannot accept Devambez's view that the scene on the shoulder of the Tityos hydria represents a ritual dance in honour of Artemis of the Ephesians. Nor am I wholly satisfied by comparisons between the Caeretan hydriae and the sculptures of the archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

\(^{35}\) Pallottino, Etruscan Painting, 37 ff.

\(^{36}\) Pallottino, op. cit., pl. on p. 39.

\(^{37}\) Ibid., pl. on p. 41.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., p. 38.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., p. 40.
THREE ATTIC VASES IN THE MUSEUM OF VALLETTA


The first vase (Pl. II) is a late black-figured skyphos, height 165 mm.; diameter 222 mm. The obverse represents a chariot with two Amazons; the subject on the reverse is similar, but the second Amazon is here omitted. On both sides the scene is flanked by two sphinxes looking towards the handles. The vase belongs to the group of the CHC skyphoi, on which see Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, p. 61, 26, 98–100 and Beazley, *Some Attic Vases In the Cyprus Museum*, pp. 22–3. For a list of vases of this group see Ure, *CVI, Reading*, p. 18.

The two other vases are red-figured bell-kraters of the early fourth century. The height of that reproduced on Pl. III a and figs. 1, 3 is 333 mm., its diameter 336 mm. On its obverse a goddess rises from the earth in an ovate-shaped mound and is being received by three satyrs and Hermes; on the reverse are three drugged youths. The vase belongs to the painter of Louvre G508, on whom see Beazley, *ARV*, pp. 868–9. The closest parallel I can find is the vase San Francisco, de Young Mus. 253. 24676, *CV*, pl. 22, 2, and pl. 24, 1, attributed to the same artist by H. R. W. Smith.

For the identification of the rising figure on the obverse we have to choose between Pandora, Persephone, and Aphrodite. Of the first there are three unquestionable representations in fifth-century Attic red-figure, but in these, whether she appears in the pure Hesiodic tradition or coming out of the earth, she is in the company not only of Hermes but also of other deities clearly involved in her making or attiring or at least responsible for her apparition, so I am inclined to rule her out.

The rising of Persephone and the birth of Aphrodite are frequently represented on Attic red-figured vases of the fifth century, but to distinguish between the two is often difficult. On our vase we should have Aphrodite rather than Persephone because of her naked bosom, which better suits the goddess of love. The half-naked type of Aphrodite is introduced on Attic red-figured vases in the early fourth century by the Jena painter. Persephone, on the other hand, in the undisputed representations of her in the fifth century, is fully clothed, and in the fourth she and Pandora give way to the goddess of love, who is now more frequently represented.

In my summary description of the obverse I said that the goddess rises from the earth; this would lead us to accept the existence of a belief in the fourth century in a chthonic Aphrodite. The date of our vase being late, the satyrs would suggest that the painter had in mind not a special satyr-play but only general reminiscences of such plays, if indeed he is thinking of the drama at all.

Our second bell-krater is reproduced on Pl. III, b and figs. 2, 4. The height is 336 mm., the diameter 344 mm. The obverse represents a group of three maenads and two satyrs, the reverse a Nike between two drugged youths. The style is that of the Telos painter, on whom see Beazley, *ARV*, pp. 875–6. Particularly close to our vase are London F 76, *ARV*, 876, 7, and London F 4, *ARV*, 875, 1.

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1 My thanks are due to Dr. J. G. Baldacchino, who sent me photographs of these vases and allowed me to publish them, and to Mr. D. B. Harden, who first mentioned them to me. The attribution of the black-figured skyphos is by Professor Sir John Beazley, to whom I am very grateful for permission to study his photographs of unpublished vases by the two painters to whom the red-figured bell-kraters are attributed. He and Professor T. B. L. Webster read my manuscript and suggested various corrections which I have adopted.

2 The vases were first mentioned by Jean Houlé in *Voyage Pittoresque des Îles de Sicile, de Lipari et de Malte* (Paris, 1787), vol. 4, p. 94, and first published by A. A. Caruana in his *Ancient Pottery from the Ancient Pasuan Tombs and Christian Cemetery in the Islands of Malta* (Malta, 1900), pl. XII, 1–3; Caruana says that they were found in a tomb near Saura Hospital outside Rabat.

3 The enclosure is surrounded by a row of dots, and I could not find any parallels to its shape in any other Attic red-figured vase representing such a subject.

4 See the vases mentioned by Beazley in his list of mythological subjects in *ARV* under Pandora and Anselia. Beazley believes that the rising woman on London E 497, *ARV*, 420, 21, is Pandora, and so does Metzger (*Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IVe siècle*, p. 73), but Brommer interprets her as Aphrodite because of Areus’ presence (*Satzreihe*, p. 14; *Pan in Marburger JB. für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1949–50, pp. 23–4), and with him Rumpf agrees (*Anonymen*, Jb. 1950–51, p. 171).


6 See *Persephone and Aphrodite in Beazley, ARV*, 984, second column, and 679, first column; also Rumpf, *Anonymen*, Jb. 1950–51, 170 last paragraph.


9 See Metzger, *op. cit.* p. 78.

10 See Buschor, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Rumpf, *op. cit.* p. 168; Metzger, *op. cit.* pp. 72 ff. On the bell-krater Berlin F 2646 (*Mon. XII*, 4; Brommer, *Pan in Marburger JB. für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1949–50, p. 38, fig. 48) I am also inclined to believe that the goddess rises from the earth, not from the sea as Buschor thinks (*op. cit.* p. 31 top).

Figs. 1 and 3.—Bell-krater by the Painter of Louvre G568 in the Museum of Valletta (see also Pl. III, a).
Figs. 2 and 4.—Bell-krater by the Telos Painter in the Museum of Valletta (see also Pl. III, b).
THE MASK OF THE UNDERWORLD DAEMON—SOME REMARKS ON THE PERSEUS—GORGON STORY

At the VIIth Congress for the History of Religions, held at Amsterdam in 1959, the central question was posed whether a mythological—ritual pattern could be discerned in various ancient and modern civilisations. Reading the Congress Report, one does not get the impression that many final and far-reaching conclusions have been reached. Various conflicting views were brought forward in the section-meetings. But meanwhile the discussion goes on. And it may be that the interest to inquire into some individual cases where a ritual background behind some famous myth can be reconstructed, if not beyond all doubt, at least with a high degree of probability. In the following pages such an attempt is made in the case of the Seriphan Perseus-legend.

The present writer believes that there is a clue to the understanding of this story, which has been overlooked hitherto, namely its connexion with hot springs. A certain number of cults, myths, and legends were connected with such springs in the ancient Greek world; that they all show in origin a chthonic aspect is self-evident. But to dwell upon all of them would fall beyond the scope of this article. Let us for the present moment turn our attention to the thermal springs of that tiny piece of rock in the Aegean round which a major part of the Perseus-story centres.

Seriphos is one of the least important islands of the Cyclades, lying between Kythnos and Siphnos. It is a stony island: the ancients called it τριγεια or πετρωδης, and in spite of the ever-strenuous efforts of the inhabitants, the soil does not bring forth many fruits; it has a certain importance because of the mines. Indeed, there is some evidence that these mines were used long before classical times, but as no one of the classical writers mentions them, it seems probable that no exploitation took place in the historical period. In fact, the unimportance of the island made the Seriphians often an object of scorn and joke; the anecdote of Themistocles and the Seriphan is well known. J. T. Bent gives an account of a journey to Seriphos, a description of the island and especially of the local folklore. He mentions hot springs near the chapel of St. Isidore, and says that a yearly festival is still held there. He also tells us that there exists a vivid superstitious belief in the Nereids among the inhabitants, who say that "warm springs flow from their breasts".

It is, meanwhile, a remarkable thing that such an unimportant island should be the centre of the famous Perseus—Gorgon legend. The story of it runs as follows: Danae is put in a casket with her little son Perseus by her father Acrisius, and thrown into the sea; they are driven by the waves towards Seriphos, where the casket is caught by Dictys, the son of Peristhenes, in his nets. He receives the mother with her child, and keeps them in his house. When Perseus has grown up, Dictys' brother Polydectes, King of Seriphos, falls in love with Danae, but being afraid of her son, he contrives a plan to send him on a dangerous expedition. As his contribution to an Eranos held by Polydectes, Seriphos boasts that he could bring the Gorgon-head: the king seizes the opportunity and sends him out to fetch it. The hero goes on his way, is helped by Hermes and Athena, and overcomes manifold difficulties. First he comes to the Graiai, daughters of Phorcys, named Pemphredo, Enyo, and Deino: they have but one tooth and one eye in common, which Perseus takes away, and returns only on condition that they show him the way to the Nymphs: this they do, and from these Nymphs the hero receives the cap of Hades, which makes invisible, the winged sandals, and the pouch (κιθαρίαρχο), with the help of these objects he overcomes the Gorgons and cuts off the head of the mortal Gorgon Medusa. Then he returns to Seriphos, where he asks Polydectes to assemble the whole people, whereupon he takes the Gorgon-head from the pouch and turns them all into stones. With this frightful scene the story, as far as it concerns Seriphos, ends.

* Introductory note. This article is a slightly altered version of a chapter from my dissertation on cults, myths, and legends connected with hot springs in the Greek world, submitted to the University of Cambridge. I have to thank Professor W. K. C. Guthrie for much good advice.


See Bürchener, RE II A, 1729 sqq.


3 The Cyclades, Chapter I.

4 Also observed by Ross, Inschr. I, 137, cf. the same writer's Apol. Ptoleos II (1837), 167 sqq. (I have not seen the latter quotation.)


7 And other weapons, which according to other traditions he gets from Herakles, Hermes, and Athena.

8 Thereupon Pegasus and Chrysaor are born from the Gorgon's blood: this is told by Apollod., but it is found as early as Hesiod, I. E.

9 The oldest evidence is a b.f. vase, ed. by Kretschmer, JdI VII (1892), 38.
Perseus now returns to the Argolid, and from various traditions we hear how he gets his revenge against Acrisius, and how he founded Mycenae, etc.

It is worth remembering that the Gorgons were localised near the mythical entrance to the underworld, just like such infernal beings as Geryon. They lived, according to Hesiod:  

that is, on the dwelling-place in the extreme West, where the sun sets; and just as Geryon, the 'roaring', has a suitable name for a daemon of the Underworld, the names of the three sisters are not less suited to such a function; even if we set aside Euryale, 11 whose name might be derived from the pursuit of Perseus, the two others, the 'powerful one' and the 'ruling one', are significant enough.  

It need hardly be stressed that the story, as it stands, contains many folk-tale elements; in particular, the overcoming of many previous difficulties before the hero arrives on the scene of his main task is a curious folk-tale feature; equally the invisibility, the winged sandals, etc. On the other hand, the elements of real heroic legend (the German 'Heldensage') are conspicuous too; there remains the question, whether the element of myth is also present, in other words, whether we can distinguish a cult-pattern underlying the forms of the story.

The first question we have to ask is, therefore, what could be the reason for localising the story on Scriphos. Hero-cults of Perseus are attested by Pausanias abundantly near Argos—Mycenae and also on Scriphos and perhaps at Athens; 15 leaving Athens out of account as uncertain, we have the two former places left as centres of Perseus cult. Accordingly, we find Perseus with the Gorgon-head on coins (late specimens, however) of Argos 16 and rather earlier on those of Scriphos. 17 One glance at the traditional story in Phercydes and Apollodor shows us that Perseus was born at Argos, grew up on Scriphos, returned after his heroic adventure, and afterwards went back to Argos again. Moreover, we see that the Gorgon-head, frequently used in the story as far as it centres round Scriphos, is given to Athena before the hero returns to his homeland, and plays no rôle in the sequel: Acrisius is overcome in a pentathlon and slain with a discus. As far as the legend is concerned, the whole Gorgoneion story is something particular to Scriphos, and has nothing to do with Argos. But what about the Argive coins showing Perseus with the Gorgon-head? They are so late that they cannot be used as a proof; they were made long after the story was established. Nevertheless, for Perseus himself we have abundant proof that he was a heroic figure deeply rooted in the Argive tradition; the Perseus-cult at Argos, Mycenae, the foundation legend, his genealogy, and above all the cult attested in a very archaic inscription from Mycenae 18 are evidence enough for that. 19 To sum up the facts: Perseus had hero cults in the Argolid, where he is apparently originally at home; moreover, there was a cult on Scriphos, while the legend localises the Gorgon story there, and not at Argos; the Gorgoneion occurs on the Scriphian coins as early as 300 B.C., on the Argive coins much later.

How, then, to explain the Scriphian legend? Nilsson (cf. note 18), after calling Perseus 'the most prominent hero of Mycenae in the earlier mythical generation', and saying that the folk-tale of the slaying of the monster Gorgo was already in Mycmenean times already connected with the birth story, gives as his opinion: 'The episode taking place on the island of Scriphos seems to be of a rather late date and may be passed over here'; and a little later: 'There was a heroan said to be that of Perseus on the road from Mycenae to Argos, but that may be late, as was certainly the altar on Scriphos'. Quod est demonstrandum! Kuhnert 20 gives a more detailed argument: 'Die Landung

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10 Hesiod, *Ilias*, especially 274 sqq. This is our most ancient source of knowledge about the story of Perseus and the Gorgon; in Homer (Hild XIV, 319 sqq.) we find just a reference to Danae and Perseus, but his deeds are not yet recorded. The connexion between Gorgon- and Geryon-story is not one of localisation only, but Medusa's son Chrysaor is the father of Geryones. For the Geryoneion apart from Perseus in Homer, cf., infra note 49. For Geryon, the West and hot springs, cf. The Herod., Chapter II.

11 The 'wide-leaping'; the translation is, however, controversial; cf. Robert, *I. c.* 224.

12 Another reference to the legend in Hesiod is Asp. 216 sqq. 

13 This has been observed before, cf. Robert, *I. c.* 224; Kuhnert, Roscher III, 1989; and especially E. S. Haldane, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894-96, who gives a whole complex of folk-tales from many countries, connected in some way or another with the Perseus story; some additions by A. H. Knapp, *Nephetid*, Mitt. XXXIV (1933), 225 sqq.

14 Kuhnert, *I. c.* calls the Eranos of Polydectes a 'genuine epic motive'.

15 Paus. II, 16, 3 (Perseus as founder of Mycenae, cf. Apollod. II, 4, 4); II, 16, 6 (a spring called Perseia in the ruins of Mycenae); and especially II, 16, 1: 'Επε βραχών ή δίπλα αργήν η'ρεμόνον η'ν Αργοδίκεα Περσείος παρα τη'ν δομιαντερ πόλιν, ήτιν ερεμον δη και αντιστάντα τιμών παρ' τον προσκυνημόν, μεγατά εν τε Σιρίφε και παρ' Άτηναν. Τοιν Περσεών τίμων, και δίκτυων και κολλήσαν γενιστήμα εντόπιων πολλά των. The text is corrupt; in *The reading of Spero's Teubner-text, but as there is no other evidence for a Perseus-cult at Athens, K. O. Müller proposed to read εν τε Σιρίφε και παρ' Άτηναν. Τοιν Περσεών τίμων κη. See Frazer, *Paus. III*, 272.

16 Frazer, *Paus. III*, 186: 'probably copied from a statue'.

17 *I. c.* some showing Perseus others the Gorgon-head; *Cat. Br. Mus. Aegean Islands* 119 sqq.; they date from 300 B.C. and later.

18 *Ib. IV, 493, mentioning ηιασινους τις ηι Περσείονι παρα τη'ν δομιαντερ πόλιν, a reference to what was probably a very old cult. See Nilsson, *Mycen., Origin of Greek Myth.* 40 sq.

19 Kuhnert, *I. c.* 2203 sq. calls him a pre-Doric hero of Mycenae and Argos, taken over by the Dorians; at the end of this article we shall see that there is linguistic evidence in support of this view of a pre-Doric (I would rather say pre-Greek) character.

20 *I. c.* 2017. See also A. J. Tuyneke, *A Study of History I*, 408, note 2, who stresses the importance of Scriphos for the dispersion of the legend. He goes even so far as to assume that the whole tale came from Scriphos to the Argolid.
der Truhe mit Danae und Perseus am Felseneiland Serifos ist ein gräberliches Bild für die Übertragung eines Kindes, das in ähnlicher Form in Apollo- und Dionysos-Sagen wiederkehrt; Argier, die auf dem Wege nach Rhodos an der Insel vorüber mussten, haben den Seriphern die Verehrung der Danae und des Perseus vermittelt. It is hardly conceivable that the cult and myth were dropped on the way; like that. It would be possible, of course, although highly hypothetical, to develop a theory that the island was a half-way house on the trade-route from Argos to Rhodes, and that in the long run Argyre cults were imported there; but even so, it would be much more understandable if we could point to certain circumstances, which made it possible or easy for the local people to take over a cult or mythical pattern, and develop it locally; and in such a case it might be even more interesting and relevant to discover those peculiar circumstances than to ascertain the ‘dropping’.

Therefore we ask: Is there some peculiar feature about Seriphos, which might have been the basis for a localisation of the Perseus-Gorgon story, although Perseus is an Argive hero, and a connexion between Argos and Seriphos, comparable with the relations between metropolis and colony, is absent? So much the better if this feature would be primarily concerned with the Gorgon, for, as we saw, this element in the story seems to belong to Seriphos in particular.

Now I have stated in the beginning of this article that Seriphos has hot springs, and that even in modern times a yearly festival near these springs has been recorded by J. T. Bent. In this connexion it is remarkable that at very many places with thermal springs, representations of the Gorgonieon occur in the archaeological finds. This evidence should, however, be handled carefully. Not very long ago, the late M. P. Charlesworth warned us, very rightly I think, against uncritical conclusions about the transmission of ideas from the occurrence of identical art symbols. Moreover, one might say that it is no wonder if a considerable number of pictures of the Gorgonieon occur near hot springs, for there are very many of them in general, so why not accidentally near the θηρικὸς λιοντάρις?

But looking more closely into this vast collection of Gorgon-pictures, we can divide it into three groups: (a) vase-paintings; (b) larger pieces, such as reliefs, etc.; (c) coins. Now the vase-paintings can be discarded here; they never prove anything about local cults. The larger representations are relevant in certain circumstances, especially when they are temple sculptures or paintings, or stelae, and in any case are of more importance than the vase-paintings, not being mass-produced articles for export depicting popular scenes. But the most important of all are the coins. To a very large extent they represent scenes or pictures drawn from local cults and myths. Of course, it sometimes happens that a colonial city merely takes over symbols from the mother-city, and occasionally other borrowings take place, but in most cases it is fairly easy to distinguish this phenomenon. As regards the Gorgonieon, we have especially to be on our guard against cases where it is merely an attribute of Athena.

But after taking all these precautions we can reach the following results: The Gorgonieon appears at Seriphos (cf. note 17), Himera, Segesta, Selinus (i.e. all three of the principal Sicilian sites of hot springs!), Melos, Itonium in Lycaonia, Methymna and other places on Lesbos, Neandria in the Troad, Aegae in Cilicia(?), Apollonia ad Rhynacum and Parium in Mysia. Dubious cases are: Thermon in Actolia, and Bath (Aeque Sulis) in Britain.

It may be interesting to quote some comparative figures. In the Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, which covers by far the greater part of the sites, although, e.g., the Gorgoniea on the coins of Melos and Himera are not recorded in it, I noted twenty-seven Greek cities with Gorgonieon coins; among these are Athens and Corinth with their dependent cities, of which Athens had the symbol as an attribute of Athena, and in the case of Corinth one might be inclined to attach importance to the existence of hot springs on the Isthmus, which I have not done. Even so, if we add to the

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84 It is frequently held that the story character of the island is a sufficient reason (cf. Robert, l.c. 294); but there are other story islands as well on the route from Argos to Rhodes; why, then, especially Seriphos? Moreover, this would imply that the story existed already before the people localised it there. But no trace points to variants, let alone old variants, in which the turning of the hero’s enemies to stone occurs elsewhere.

85 AJP LXX (1949), 331 sq.

86 A catalogue in J. Six, De Gorgone, Amsterdam, 1885; A. Furthwangler, Roscher I, 1701 sqq.

87 cf. Furthwangler, loc. cit.

88 Coins: Grose, Cat. McLellan Coll. of Greek Coins in the Fitzw. Mus. I, 272; Head, HN² 146.

89 Coins: Grose, l.c. 302; Cat. Br. Mus. Sicily 135, Head, HN² 166.


91 Coins: Seltman, Greek Coins, 174, cf. n. 56 below. Terra-cotta-relief: Six, l.c. 55; Furthwangler 1719.

92 Coins: Head, HN² 714 sqq., Hasluck, BAS XVIII, 267.

93 The statue with Gorgon mentioned by Eust. in Dion. 857, Malalas, Chron. O. 42 (ed. in Corpus Hist. Byz. p. 96), connected with local legend. For the warm spring of Plato ‘this Plato’ being a medieval magician) there cf. The Herodoto, p. 82. Curiously enough, a tale connected with the Gorgon’s head was still found near Iconium in mediaeval times. See Hartland, The Legend of Persus III, 139.

94 Coins: Cat. Br. Mus. Troas, etc. LXIII, 157, 157, 177.

95 Bronze relief from Neandria near the most famous hot springs of the Troad; Furthwangler, loc. cit.

96 cf. Furthwangler, loc. cit.

97 Coins: Grose, Cat. McLellan Coll. of Greek Coins in the Fitzw. Mus. I, 272; Head, HN² 146.

98 Coins: Grose, Cat. A. Mus. Sicily 135, Head, HN² 166.

99 Coins: Grose, l.c. 302; Cat. Br. Mus. Sicily 135, Head, HN² 166.

100 Metope of the famous temple C, cf. Benndorf, Metopen v. Selinus 44.

101 Coins: Seltman, Greek Coins, 174, cf. n. 56 below. Terra-cotta-relief: Six, l.c. 55; Furthwangler 1719.

102 Coins: Head, HN² 714 sqq., Hasluck, BAS XVIII, 267.

103 Stele with Gorgon mentioned by Eust. in Dion. 857, Malalas, Chron. O. 42 (ed. in Corpus Hist. Byz. p. 96), connected with local legend. For the warm spring of Plato ‘this Plato’ being a medieval magician) there cf. The Herodoto, p. 82. Curiously enough, a tale connected with the Gorgon’s head was still found near Iconium in mediaeval times. See Hartland, The Legend of Persus III, 139.

104 Coins: Cat. Br. Mus. Troas, etc. LXIII, 157, 157, 177.

105 Bronze relief from Neandria near the most famous hot springs of the Troad; Furthwangler, loc. cit.

106 cf. Furthwangler, loc. cit.

107 The oldest coins of both cities all with the Gorgonieon: Cat. Br. Mus. Myria 8 sq., 94 sqq.; the country around there is full of hot springs, cf. Hasluck, Cysicus 141 and his map ‘Environs of Cysicus’. The attribution of the coins to Apollonia by Six, i.e. 37 sqq. is generally approved.

108 cf. The famous metopes of the temple of Apollo Thermios: ‘Ep. Aby. 1903, pl. 4; but again the existence of hot springs is not proved; I hope to return to this question in another publication.

109 The pediment of the temple of Sul-Minerva with the male bearded Gorgon-head; but it is doubtful whether this has any connexion with the Greek Gorgon at all, and even so, it may be merely an attribute of Tamerpa-Minerva.

110 I.e. those of Himera are there wrongly assigned to Camarina. For the Melos gorgonieon coin, see Catalogue of the Jameson Collection pl. LXVI no. 1295.
list Melos and Himera, out of these twenty-nine there are eleven where hot springs occur in the
neighbourhood. Certainly a high percentage.\(^37\)

In view of these facts I venture to draw the conclusion that the occurrence of the Gorgon or
more usually the Gorgoneion on coins or major pieces of art or cities near hot springs is too
frequent to be explained as a mere coincidence, and that there is a considerable chance that these
representations are in many cases an echo of local cults.

After this, returning to Scriphos, we ask: Is the Gorgon-head on the coins of this island
merely an echo of the established Perseus legend, or has it an independent significance? In other
words, was the Gorgon there before Perseus? J. T. Bent \(^38\) informs us that the inhabitants of
Scriphos brought him ancient coins with the Medusa, saying that it was a picture of the first
queen of the island.\(^7\) Did these peasants, in their simplicity, grasp something of the truth? In
order to answer this question, we have to go further and ask: What is the original meaning of the
Gorgoneion?

Both in ancient and in modern times, many theories have been proposed in answer to this
question.\(^39\) I do not intend to deal with all of them separately; such an inquiry would perhaps
carry us too far afield; and moreover, a certain consensus of opinion seems to exist at the present
time, which may serve as a good starting-point for a further substantiation from the point of view of the
cults, etc., connected with hot springs.\(^40\) I shall be very brief, therefore, about the theories. Ancient
explanations are: 1. The Gorgons are Libyan women. This line has been followed up by A. B.
Cook.\(^41\) 2. The Gorgoneion is the face in the moon. Gadechens \(^42\) has accepted this. 3. It is a
thunder-cloud. The principal champion of this view is Roscher. 4. The Gorgon is a wild animal.\(^43\)
The modern explanations in accordance with this view (e.g. gorilla), given by Elworthy, Zell, and
others, have never made much headway. Others again have entirely discarded the ancient theories,
and have followed the line of anthropological research. A new and original contribution has been
made by C. Hopkins,\(^44\) and I shall have to deal with his article in more detail, because on the one
hand, it is very convincing, and on the other hand, my argument would be seriously weakened if
all the implications of Hopkins’ theory proved to be true.

He begins by pointing out that representations of the Gorgon in art do not occur until after the
geometric period, and that then the head alone comes first, just as also in Homer only the head is
mentioned; the body does not appear until the Thermon metopes (ca. 640–620). He rejects
Nilsson’s view that the Gorgon is entirely a folk tale motif, which eludes the question of origin, while
he thinks that the enormous variety of other explanations is due to the fact that in the seventh
century the representations of the Gorgon were tentative, and ‘no commonly recognised form of
the story in legend and art existed’.\(^45\) Then he proceeds to point out that in the same seventh
century the influence of Assyrian on Greek art became important; and in this Assyrian art there
was a frequently recurring motif of a hero slaying a demon, namely the story of Gilgamesh and
Humbaba, which had ‘a vogue in Syria’. After this, Hopkins shows us a series of scenes
representing the slaying of Humbaba and cognate stories, and faces of Babylonian demons like Humbaba,
together with scenes of Perseus with the Gorgon; the resemblance is striking. A link is provided
by a Cyprian cylinder, which holds a middle position between Assyrian and Greek art. After a
digression on the Egyptian Bes-statues, the obvious conclusion follows: ‘The full figure portrayal
of the Gorgon, introduced into Greek art shortly after the middle of the seventh century, came over
directly and with very slight modification from an Assyrian–Babylonian type of demon or giant.’
I think this is an important and interesting discovery, and the argument seems convincing enough,
especially because Cyprus is indeed the home of some of the oldest Gorgon representations, and the
route Mesopotamia–Syria–Cyprus–Greece was an easy and often used one. The hazardous part
of the article follows after this conclusion, namely when Hopkins hints at the possibility that the whole
Perseus–Gorgon story is derived from the Gilgamesh saga. Similar theories have been put forward
in the case of Herakles, who has also been compared with Gilgamesh,\(^47\) and this question needs an
answer on principle. Of course, the artists who tried to find a form for their pictures of the story had
a tendency to borrow from existing representations of similar stories in ‘foreign’ art; Oriental
influence on Greek art was immense, and was probably deeper even than we can realise at the
moment; but the tradition of mythological forms is a totally different matter. It should not be
forgotten that the resemblance between the Gilgamesh and the Perseus stories is quite superficial,
the common point being hardly more than the motif of a hero slaying a monster, and where on
earth does such a story not occur? As a mythical form the figure of Gilgamesh is still more like
Herakles than like Perseus, and even in the former case a dependence cannot be proved conclusively.

\(^{37}\) For the rôle of wells and springs in the folk-tales related to the Perseus story cf. Hartland, The Legend of Perseus II, 175 sqq.
\(^{38}\) The Iliad, ii. 2.
\(^{39}\) Summaries of them will be found in Six, loc. cit. 91 sqq.; Roscher in his Lex. I, 1668 sqq. (cf. the same author’s Die Goro-
goneion und Persandres (1875)); Ziegler, RE VII, 1645 sqq.; A. B.
Cook, Zeus III, 843 sqq.
\(^{40}\) Six, loc. cit. 847.
\(^{41}\) Lc. 847.
\(^{42}\) Following many others. See Ziegler, loc. cit. 1645 sqq.
\(^{43}\) Ziegler, l.c. 1643.
\(^{44}\) AJA 1934, 341 sqq.
\(^{45}\) Observe that the inferences from art-forms to forms of the legend begin here already. The only thing that can be said is
that apparently the art-type was not fixed.
\(^{46}\) Lc. 356.
uto. Röm. 156. Cf. also: G. R. Levy, ‘The Oriental Origin of
Herakles’, JHS LIV (1934), 40 sqq.
Wherever it is possible to derive Greek mythical patterns from Greek ritual we should always prefer such an explanation, taking into account, however, that such Greek cult-forms may go back to pre-Greek times, and so ultimately to that general Mediterranean foundation from which again Oriental forms may be derived.

Returning now to the various explanations of the Gorgon, there are a number of points on which many or all scholars agree. The first of these is that there was apparently a Gorgon-head before the development of the type with full body. This can be observed in the oldest art-representations and in Homer. In other words, the Gorgoneion precedes the Gorgon. Then, the most striking features of this Gorgoneion are the glaring eyes and the protruding tongue. These characteristics have been compared with similar hideous faces among many primitive peoples, which are derived from masks with an apotropaic function. And thirdly it is agreed that among the references to the Gorgoneion in Homer, who is, after all, our oldest source, the passage from the Nekyia should be taken into account specially, where Odysseus says that he would have liked to stay longer in Hades, but that he was frightened by the idea that Persephone would send up the grisly Gorgon-head from the underworld.

Any theory based solely, or at any rate principally, upon the solid foundation of these fairly generally accepted points should deserve our special attention. Such a theory was proposed by Miss J. E. Harrison, who explained the Gorgoneion as an apotropaic mask, appearing in the oldest literature as an 'underworld bogey'. She stresses the three basic facts, mentioned above, and points to the use of hideous apotropaic dance-masks among savage peoples; many specimens of such masks may be seen in most anthropological museums. Similar things must have been used, in her view, by the early Greeks. And then she makes an interesting point. Although precise evidence fails us here, so she says, the gorgoneion must have been used by these primitive Greeks as a mask in ritual dances.

But is there really no precise evidence? It may be worth trying to verify Miss Harrison’s inference. We shall not be able to understand what this means before we are quite clear about the function of the mask. The Gorgoneion as we find it on coins, vase-paintings, shields, etc., is a relic; if it is true that it is a symbol of what once was a ritual mask, we have to assume that it was worn in such ritual; and worn for a purpose. Now the purpose of the mask in ritual, dance, and drama, wherever it is found, is to represent something in the most literal sense of the word. The wearer of the mask in ritual represents the deity, i.e. virtually is the deity, and the actions he does while wearing the mask are the actions of the godhead; the masked dance, therefore, introduces in a hieratic form the event that the people want to celebrate, the event of the deity appearing on earth and performing actions. Therefore, when a mask is used in chthonic ritual, the wearer of the mask enacts the appearance of a daemon from the underworld, and when the mask is apotropaic, this can only mean that the appearing chthonian daemon scares away, frightens, stiffens with fear, or, in mythical terms, ‘petrifies’ the other ghosts or living creatures the other present. This is entirely in accordance with the scene from the Nekyia.

Nevertheless, all this will remain highly theoretical and speculative if we cannot substantiate it with examples from Greek ritual which would prove that such representative ritual masks were actually used. There are not very many instances of the use of religious masks in Greece, apart from the theatre. Miss Harrison quotes two. The first is about a goddess Praxidike, whose images were heads and her sacrifices ‘the same’ (dulos); there was a multiple form of her at Haliartus, as Pausanias tells us, that Praxidikai were oath-goddesses. The oath recurs in the second example which Miss Harrison gives, the cult of Demeter Kidaria at Pheneus in Arcadia; our source is again Pausanias.

There was a curious structure called Petromia, and on this place the Pheneutes used to take oaths; it was a mask of Demeter Kidaria, which the priest puts on, and then he beats the underground folk with rods. Here the priest clearly represents the goddess by wearing a mask. Pheneus was a centre of chthonian religion; in the neighbourhood was the Styx. There was a Hades entrance nearby; the saga told how Herakles performed engineering works.
near the city.\(^57\) Immediately after the passage quoted above, Pausanias\(^58\) tells us how Herakles’ brother Iphilkes, wounded in the contest against the Molione, was tended at Pheneus by a Pheneate called Bouphagos and his wife: in another publication\(^59\) I had occasion to point out that Bouphagos was a cult-name of Herakles himself, occurring near hot springs. Another story calls Bouphagos an eponymous hero of a river near Heraea,\(^60\) who tried to violate Artemis and was shot by her.

Other examples of masks, and especially of masked ritual dances, will be given presently. From the instances quoted above, especially that of Pheneus, we have some idea already of the use of a mask in Greek ritual, especially chthonic ritual; we saw how at Pheneus the priest enacts the appearance of the chthonic goddess Demeter, and represents her. The oath is a sign of the fearlessness of the place.\(^61\) We have to imagine much the same atmosphere around the primitive use of the Gorgoneion as a mask, more exactly as an apotropaic mask around a statue. But now, returning to Seriphos, we ask once more how to explain the fact that the exploits of the Argive hero Perseus with the Gorgon-head came to be localised on this small island in the Aegean. I think the solution is that at the bottom of the story lies an aetiological myth.

I have stressed already the frequent occurrence of the Gorgon or Gorgoneion near hot springs. This, of course, is in accordance with the fact that the Gorgoneion is an underworld phenomenon,\(^62\) and that the cults of the hot springs have always something underworldly about them. But if the Gorgoneion is a mask, it must originally have been used as a mask, and the natural conclusion is that there must have been certain rites in which it was used and which were performed near hot springs. And this would explain the story of Perseus on Seriphos, where, as we saw, hot springs occur, near which there exists, even in modern times, a yearly festival. Assuming this, and using the story of Perseus as a pattern, we can describe the hypothetical ritual as follows: The ‘priest’ or ‘leader of the rite’ comes forward in the festive assembly of the community (i.e. the mythical eranos of Polydectes), and is commissioned to fetch the mask of the underworld demon from Hades (i.e. the mythical expedition to the Western dwelling-place of the Gorgons). He then appears in the (dancing?) circle of the people, with the mask as the personification of the demon himself. They are all stiffened with terror.\(^63\)

This is, of course, a mere hypothesis, but it has a basis of fact; still this basis would be too narrow if we could not point to some parallel, which would clearly show us the masked dance in a clearly rather primitive form, and which would give a decisive substantiation to our theory. For this we have to turn to Letrini. This town, the modern Pyrgos, not far from Olympia, situated near the west coast of the Peloponnesse, is of great interest for the student of cults connected with hot springs. Indeed, such springs are found immediately to the North of modern Pyrgos, on some heights nowadays called Skourochorio,\(^64\) but as other thermal waters of outstanding medical virtue and easily accessible are found in the immediate neighbourhood, at Cyllene and Káiepha, the springs of Skourochorio have apparently fallen into oblivion. But nevertheless, if the neighbouring Olympia formed a centre of the higher Greek religion, Letrini must have been an outstanding centre of popular religion in ancient Greece. Walking, as I did, on a pilgrimage to the principal centres of hot springs in Greece in 1949, along the small cart-track from Pyrgos to Agoulenitza, one comes after less than half an hour to a ford across the mouth of the Alpheus.\(^65\) Strabo\(^66\) has given a famous description of this area. There is the temple of Artemis Alpheon, and sanctuaries of all sorts of gods and goddesses, a brilliant scene, which through its vividness has always attracted the attention of students of Greek religion when trying to recall the environment of Greek religious life.\(^67\) The cult of Artemis Alpheonia is certainly not connected with the hot springs of Skourochorio; this is geographically impossible. And yet it does not stand outside the cults of the hot springs altogether. For there are, apart from the environment of Thermopylae, no regions in Greece where hot springs occur so frequently as on the Western coast of the Peloponnesse: Cyllene, Chelonatá, Letrini, Lepréum, and the ‘Anigrid’ cave (modern Káiepha) are the best known, but there are still others.\(^68\) On the other hand, this countryside was the home of Artemis Limnatis, the ‘Lady of the Lake’, as Farnell has called her,\(^69\) an appropriate title for a deity who is often found presiding

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\(^{56}\) VIII, 14. 9.

\(^{57}\) *Mnonosyn IV*, 6 (1953), 288 ff.


\(^{59}\) Dalman are often taken very solemnly by the gods of the underworld or by the Styx; cf. the author’s article on the Sicel Palici in *Mnonosyn IV*, 5 (1952), 116 sqq.

\(^{60}\) This is beyond doubt; the Homeric Nceyia and the later localization in the West are evidence enough for that.

\(^{61}\) On petrification through horror in popular beliefs, superstition, and customs see Hartland, *The Legend of Perses III*, 120 sqq.

\(^{62}\) They do not attract attention nowadays; on a visit to Pyrgos I could find no one who could tell me exactly where the site was, although everybody knows Skourochorio, as the railway line from Patras to Pyrgos passes just East of these hills; but the hot springs are mentioned by Curius, *Pelo. II*, 73; Boblaye, *Recherches 130 sqq.*, Pouqueville, *Voyage 9*, 389.

\(^{63}\) No doubt the *Xílònoi tòrooi* of *Hom. Hymn. in Hymn. 398.

\(^{64}\) Strabo VIII, 3, 12, p. 343: τούτο δε τη ἀρχή τοῦ τῆς Ἀρμαγιάννης Ἀρτεμισίας τοῦ Ἀθηναίοις ἔργων ἐτυχείν... τοῦτο δὲ τῆς θεᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ὠλυμπίου ἔτος συστάστηκεν πανηγύριον (N.B. Artemis and Alpheus had a common altar in Olympia: Paus. V, 14, 6; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5, 10, καθερτή καὶ την Ἐλπίδα καὶ την Δημητρίαν, συνηθές δε των της θεᾶς και του αἰολοῦσος τοῦ τοῖς τοῦ πολείς της τῆς κοινῆς. Β. E. *Ath. 5920, Πολεύσι 9* ἐν τοῖς ὀκτών.

\(^{65}\) E.g. Nilsson, *Greek Piety 9*.

\(^{66}\) E.g. near Heraea, about which see supra, note 60, and probably at Heradea near Olympia (this spring is nowadays cold), cf. Paus. VI, 22, 7; Strabo VIII, 3, 22, p. 356; Frazer, *Paus. IV*, 100; Curieius-Ade, *Olympia und Umgebung 9*.

over lakes, waters, brooks, and springs. As Artemis Eurynome she was worshipped at the hot springs of Phigalia. And in this way she, the dominating deity of this region, is the dominating figure in the whole complex of popular cults which centres round these places where hot springs rise from the ground. So the cult of Artemis Alphoneia formed part of that primitive religious substratum which we find in so many places in the Peloponnesse, and which in this backward region of the West coast persisted to the times of Strabo and Pausanias.

For Pausanias, too, gives us information about Artemis Alphoneia. He tells us how Alpheus fell in love with her and attempted violence against her when she was dancing with her nymph-attendants; but Artemis, aware of his plans, smared her face and the faces of the nymphs with mud, so that he did not know her from the others, and went away frustrated.71 Frazer 72 remarks that this myth might point to a practice of smearing the faces with mud in ritual. I think there is no doubt. The story certainly sounds like an aetiological myth. Frazer quotes some parallels in Greece and elsewhere; the story of the Titans smearing their faces with gypsum in order not to be recognised by Dionysus is well known.73 But if this is true, the ritual dance must correspond to the 'Aition', i.e. the dancers with their mud-smeared faces actually represented the goddess and her attendants, and therefore, in smearing mud on their faces they enhanced their personalities; this is nothing else but a primitive form of a masked dance.

But to this same complex of primitive Greek cults in the Peloponnesse belonged also the worship of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Now this offers an interesting parallel. For Bosanquet 74 has published a series of terra-cotta masks found in her temple; the striking thing from our point of view about them is, above all, that the first two types 75 hold a clear middle position between the archaic type of Gorgon-head and the theatre-mask. They belong to the first half of the sixth century B.C. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge 76 writes about them: 'They were doubtless votive copies of the actual masks worn by the performers of some ritual dance in honour of Artemis Orthia.' There could not be clearer evidence that the use of the Gorgoneion and the ritual dance at Sparta and Letnini are in principle the same.

But this being the case, we have still to ask, what was the meaning of the rape of Artemis in the myth. The obvious conclusion from the appearance of a violator in the myth would be that a person of the same kind played a rôle in the ritual too. Alpheus could not find his victim and went away again. Although there is no direct evidence, it seems probable to me that he was in fact frightened away by those ugly faces.77

Once more we return to Seriphos. Having established the relation between the Gorgoneion and the underworld religion, having considered that the Gorgon-head was originally an apotropaic mask, worn in ritual dances, and having treated the story of Perseus on Seriphos as an aetiological myth explaining such a masked ritual, we seem to have found a reason why the Argives could have 'dropped' a cult of Perseus and his legend on the island; this reason being that some sort of cult with a masked ritual existed on Seriphos, presumably connected with the hot springs there. But then these Argives must have been able to recognise in this cult something familiar, the central figure of the cult must have been identifiable with the Argive hero. So this still presupposes that Perseus had something to do with masks originally. If we can find evidence for this, we can safely assume that the localisation on the island and the further development of the myth, as we find it in Pindar, Phercydes, and later, and as it is presupposed in the black-figure vase painting (cf. note 9), came about. I shall try to demonstrate that there is such evidence.

An Etruscan tomb-fresco at Corneto shows an interesting scene. It is a picture of a sort of gladiatorial games, no doubt performed at the funeral of the man buried here. One of the captives used in these games is held on a rope by a masked figure, above and beside whom is written the word 'perso.' We owe the interpretation of the scene to F. Altheim, 78 who, following Deecke, Friedländer, and Skatsch, takes the Latin 'persona' to be derived from this Etruscan word. This etymology is now fairly well accepted.79 Then, examining the tomb-picture more closely, Altheim

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71 Paus. VI, 22, 8, 9. Et de ethere et de 'Hvov de gav tov tov pliovo vovkxov, xopovov os me evno tov thov pliovo vovkxov, de tov thov pliovo vovkxov, tov thov pliovo vovkxov. . . .
72 Paus. VI, 22, 8, 9. Et de ethere de tov thov pliovo vovkxov, de tov thov pliovo vovkxov, de tov thov pliovo vovkxov.
73 Frazer 72 remarks that this myth might point to a practice of smearing the faces with mud in ritual. I think there is no doubt. The story certainly sounds like an aetiological myth. Frazer quotes some parallels in Greece and elsewhere; the story of the Titans smearing their faces with gypsum in order not to be recognised by Dionysus is well known.
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76 Bosanquet's article.
78 We may compare the well-known story in Herodotus (VIII, 27), where the Phocians attack the Thessalians by night, smeared with gypsum, a story, which so strikingly resembles the ritual described by Haprockisation (cf. note 73). The Thessalians fall into a panic, thinking it a supernatural phenomenon (άλα τι τρίας).
79 Archis J. Rel. Wiss. XXVII (1929), 35 sqq.
80 Altheim's further conclusion that 'persona' is a diminutive of person has met with more opposition; but this is not immediately relevant for us.
points out that the figure called φερσυ is a sort of manager of funeral performances; 80 but the most important observation is that the word φερσυ is not written beside or above the mask itself, but clearly indicates the whole figure. This leads immediately to the conclusion that the word does not mean 'mask', but 'wearer of a mask', 'masked person in a funeral performance'. But then again, we come to the question, what was the function of the mask? If the mask is what we have said, a means to represent and to re-enact, it can, at funeral games, hardly mean anything else but a representation of the spirits of the dead, and the re-enactment of their appearance. 81 But then the mask in the Etruscan tomb-fresco must have a chthonic character, and the masked person as well. This point is elucidated by Altheim through an analysis of the etymology of the Etruscan word. He notes that Greek Persephone corresponds with Etruscan φερσυ and Greek Perseus with Etruscan perse, φερσυ; there is a constant element apparently which appears in Greek as 'perse-' and in Etruscan as 'φερσυ-'. We find it in other Greek names such as Perses (one of the Titans), Perso (one of the Graiai 82), Perse (a name of Hecate), etc. 83 Now all these names have one thing in common, namely a connexion with the underworld; Perseus, whose name is one of them, is therefore in Altheim's view equally an underworld figure; 84 another result of these reasonings is that the relation between the Greek names and the Etruscan root perse-, occurring in φερσυ, and recurring in a number of Etruscan gentilicia, 85 points to a pre-Greek origin. 86

Now our picture seems to become complete. Altheim has helped us to find a pre-Greek root perse-, which recurs in Etruria to indicate a person of chthonic character, wearing a mask. On the other hand, we found Perseus to be an Argive hero, originating probably (not certainly) in Mycenaean times, and whose name, like so many names related to the Mycenaean period, may well be of a pre-Greek origin. He was connected with a masked dance-ritual, which we traced back to Seriphos, and parallels to which we found in the Peloponnesse. The chthonic mask used in this ritual was the Gorgoneion. On the other hand, we found that in the Odyssey this Gorgoneion was a weapon of terror in the hand of Persephone, who bears in her name the same root. She, of course, is a real underworld figure. Was Perseus one, too? I would rather put it otherwise: By virtue of his name and of the myth in which he is the hero, he is the bearer (or even wearer) of the mask of the underworld daemon.

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80 Also that his costume reminds us of the Roman Atelliana and Mimus: significantly enough the Atelliana was always played by masked actors.
81 So van der Leeuw, l.c. (see note 51).
83 This root perse(-) of the name Perseus is commonly derived from πιθος, to destroy (so e.g. Robert, l.c. 243). But Perseus is not a 'destroyer', and although it sometimes means 'to kill', this meaning applies in most of the cases to a whole population, an army, etc. (Liddell and Scott 9 l.c.). Only once it seems to mean 'to kill' a single person, Find. Pyth. IX, 80, and this instance is promptly referred to by Robert, l.c. note 4; but this poetical usage on one occasion does not justify a derivation of Perseus' name from his 'killing' of the Medusa; therefore I think Altheim is right in following Wilamowitz (Pindaros 148, note 1) and rejecting this view.
84 This could be supported by a reference to Eurymedon as a name of Perseus in Apoll. Rhod. IV, 1344. cf. Eurynome, Eurynome, Eurydice, etc.
85 Which proves that it is not borrowed from the Greek.
86 Cf. also R. B. Onians, The Origins of European Thought (published since this article was written), pp. 114 n. 5, 429 n. 1, 446 n. 4.
ANAPSEPHIS IN FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENS

The purpose of this paper is to inquire whether anapsephis in fifth-century Athens was explicitly forbidden by law or could reasonably be regarded as contravening the law. No ancient source, literary or documentary, gives us plain testimony on this point. Enactments sometimes included severe sanctions against their reconsideration or annulment, but such special provisions are equally compatible with the existence and with the non-existence of a general law against anapsephis. The clause λύσαι δὲ [— —] τοῦ φόρεσι[μα — — — — τοῦ ἐκπλο(υ) τούτου ἐξε[κντα νε]πὲρ τοῦ ἐκπλο(υ) τοῦ νέον [— —] ἐπανορθο(υ)σθαι εἰς τοῖς δειμιοι. In SEG X 38B 11—14 the implication of the provision τὰ χωνευραγμένα μὲ ε[ϊ]αν ἀναφερεσθαι[ε] ἐκεῖ μὲ ἡκατον παράσιν τὸν δειμοῦν ἐστιν that in ordinary circumstances anapsephis was permissible, but this document records the enactment of a decree, not of the state.

As the documents yield nothing decisive, the problem turns essentially on two passages of Thucydides. In 427 the assembly reopened and reversed the decision it had just taken on the destruction of Mytilene (III 96. 4—49. 2). In 415 Nicias demanded anapsephis of the decision to send the expedition against Syracuse, and Thucydides represents him as appealing to the epistles of the prytaneis in these years (VI 14): καὶ, ὃ ἡ πρώτην, ταύτα, ἐπεὶ ἢ γει τοι προστάθην κῆσθαι της πόλεως καὶ βουλευθῆναι πολίτες ἄγανα, ἐπιφθαίρεϊ καὶ γνώμας προτείνει αὐξήσις Ἀθηναίοις, νομίζει, ἐπεὶ ἀρρενοθάτι οὐκ ἀναφερεσθεί, τὸ μὲν λείων τοῦ νόμου μη μετα τοσοῦτον ὃν ἐμφυτεύοντα πολίτες καὶ ὑπάρχοντα πάντων σχείν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως (κακός) βουλευθήσεις ἀξιότητος δοῦναι καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο. Thus, in the assembly of the previous year, which was acting in conformity with its own laws, and if Nicias' words imply that he was asking the epistles to break the law, we are faced with a contradiction. Editors in general have made these two assumptions, but have seldom made any serious attempt to resolve the contradiction. Cassien, on the other hand, tentatively suggested that a general law against anapsephis was enacted between 427 and 415; a highly logical suggestion which should either be accepted without more ado or shown to be unnecessary. A full reconsideration of the evidence will, I believe, show that Cassien's hypothesis is not only unnecessary but untenable.

To begin with 427. The relation between the sovereign body and its own laws in fifth-century Athens was somewhat different from the comparable relation in a modern democracy, and the possibility that the assembly ignored the law in 427 cannot be ruled out a priori. The earliest occasion on which we know this principle of sovereignty to have been consciously invoked was the Arginseus trial in 406 (Xen. Hellen. i. 7. 12). Whether or not it was involved in the debate of 427 can be discovered, if at all, only from the arguments used in that debate.

In the speeches of Cleon and Diotodus, as presented by Thucydides, the point at issue is self-interest; the only passage in which the question of legality might seem to be raised is III 37. 3—4: πάντων δὲ δεινοτότων, εὶ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδὲν καθεστηθῇ ὦν ἂν δόξη πέρι μηδὲ γνώσις ἐπεὶ χειροτονών οὐακήνΧρονον πόλεως κρίσισιν ἢ κακὸς ἐξουσίων ἀκρωτὸς ... οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε νόμων ὑφομόντος βούλονται φιλονεότατον τοῦ τοιαύτην περίγγυσθαι ... οἱ δ' ἀποτελεῖται τῇ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐνείηεν ἀμφιθέστεροι μὲν τῶν νόμων ἀξιούσιον εἰναι ἀξιωτάτωτοι διὰ τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπιτόκιον μάμφομαι λόγου. Cleon's implication is that to annul the previous decree is the opposite of νόμων αἰτίων χρήσης, i.e. it is κακός to τῶν νόμων; but why it should be so is not obvious. The point may be that anapsephis, though not illegal, is contrary to custom; we may compare vi 18. 7, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀσφαλείστατοι τοῦτοι οἰκεῖοι οὐ τοι πάροικον ἥσσει καὶ νόμων, ἢ καὶ χειρός ἢ ημῖν διὰφοράς πολιτεύων, which rounds off Alcibiades' arguments for preserving the traditional character of Athenian foreign policy. Secondly, the implication of νόμων αἰτίων χρήσης may be that the previous decree is itself part of νόμων. At first sight the constant distinction between νόμων and ψφισμα in political and documentary language militates against this possibility. In the fourth century the distinction

1 E.g. IG I 45. 26—6, 58. 1—5, 71. 70—2.
2 I hope to discuss IG I 45—9 in detail elsewhere; on grounds of content, there is no doubt that 98 (fr. b and c) is one decree and 99 (fr. a and d + g) another, and it now appears that they are different stelae, since c, which has a portion of smooth back preserved, is 8 mm. thinner than g, whose back may be original, and a has a portion of top edge preserved. I owe these facts to Mr. D. M. Lewis.

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rested, *inter alia*, on different methods of enactment. In the fifth it rather differed on the difference of content; 3 since νόμος was used in the senses ‘custom’, ‘habit’, etc., an enactment which created an observance was νόμος, while one which provided only for a particular occasion was ψήφισμα. It may therefore happen that one and the same enactment may be called either νόμος, if one looks at its content, or ψήφισμα, if one looks at the way it was made. The Decree of Isotimides is consistently referred to by Andocides, with an eye on its method of enactment, as ψήφισμα (e.g. And. i 8); in fact, his whole *a fortiori* argument for its invalidity rests on the distinction between νόμους and ψήφισμα (*ibid.* 86). His opponent, on the other hand, naturally prefers the more impressive term: [Lys. 11 49] 96 8 12 *αυτόν ξεπλάσαστα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς θεσὶ βεβαιώσατε τοὺς νόμους ὁδὲ ψηφίσσεσσι; 52, παραθέν τὸν νόμον ὁ ἔρευς ἔτεοις. Similarly, where Thucydides speaks of τὸ Μεγαρικόν ψήφισμα (1 139. 1, 139. 2, 140. 3, 140. 4), Aristophanes, in a passage where grandiloquence is very much in point (*Ach.* 530–2), says: ἰστρατής, ἱβρύτων, ξενικώκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐτίδει νόμους ὀστερά σκόλα γεγραμένους. In these examples the description of a decree as νόμος is partially justified by reference to its content, and not simply by the emotive colour which the speaker wants to give to his description. But that cannot be said of Soph. *Ant.* 449, where Creon says καὶ δὴ ἐποίη σου ὁ προερχόμενος νόμος; and the whole context (especially 447, 550–2) makes it clear that he means not ‘my authority’ or ‘my law’ (in the abstract) but ‘my command (that Polyneices should not be buried)’. This suggests that an orator in defending a decree might invest it with solemnity by including it in *ὁ νόμος*, while in attacking it he would be careful to refer to it as ψήφισμα.

Thirdly, Cleon’s implication may be that anaphephesis is actually illegal. If it is, it is hard to understand why he so completely subordinates this important aspect of his case to the argument from self-interest. The factors which determine the line of argument adopted by a particular speaker on a particular occasion are always more complex than the historian can hope to know, and Cleon may have had subtle reasons for arguing as he did; but a failure to exploit the fact or the semblance of illegality on the part of his opponents is not characteristic of Cleon as we know him from Comedy and other sources. I assume that Thucydides’ account of the debate, which took place before his exile, is in all essentials truthful. To deny this is to say not that he invented in order to supplement inadequate evidence but that he rejected good evidence in favour of invention; and if we are to believe that we must be given better reason to do so than anyone has yet devised.

The upshot of the argument so far is that there is no need to believe that anaphephesis was illegal in 427, and some reason to believe that it was not illegal.

Turning now to 415 and Thuc. vi 14: the crux of the matter is the translation of λέειν τοῦς νόμους. There is no problem in the plural τοὺς νόμους. In expressions of the type ‘according to law’, ‘break the law’, etc., either τοὺς νόμους, ‘the relevant law’, ‘the law concerned’, or of νόμοι, as in English ‘the law’, may be used; cf. *Isoc.* xviii 2–3, [Dem.] iii 11. Nor can there be any real doubt about the syntax of the clause. Thucydidean usage requires us to interpret it as ὅσον ἀν σχοινεὶς στίχως λέειν τοὺς νόμους, τὸ λέειν with αὐτοῖς σχείν, rather than λέειν or τοῦ λέειν (*con.* Classen), is abnormal, but, as G. Behrendt rightly saw, 4 the μὲν/δὲ anitthesis is responsible; cf. vi 17, 8 τὸ μὲν ἐμβάλλειν . . . ἱκανοὶ εἰσί, τὸ δὲ νοµικόν οὐκ ἂν δύνατο βλάπτειν. In translation, two possibilities may be eliminated by consideration of the words μετὰ τοὐδένδυν ἐν μαρτυρίων, to which editors have not attached enough importance. If I am asking a man to break the law, I cannot encourage him by pointing to the multitude of his witnesses. Similarly, if I am asking a man to repeal an enactment, I cannot tell him that because of the multitude of witnesses he will not be held to have done what I am asking him to do. These considerations show that λέειν τοὺς νόμους cannot mean ‘repeal enactsments’; and that if it means ‘break the law’ anaphephesis was not *per se* illegal. The conclusion is surprising, but I do not see how it can be avoided; it certainly cannot be avoided by taking μαρτυρίων to mean ‘men who will demand (or vote for) your acquittal’, or by laying the emphasis on the second person and translating ‘you will not be blamed for the infringement of the law (for I and my supporters are clearly responsible)’. The former alternative is ruled out by consideration of μαρτυρίων elsewhere in early Attic prose; they are not *fatores*, but witnesses to the facts. The latter alternative is ruled out both by Athenian conceptions of political responsibility, which in no way excused an official who yielded to an unjustified demand, and by the structure of the sentence, where the emphasis is laid on the antithesis τὸ μὲν λέειν τοὺς νόμους . . . τῆς δὲ πόλεως, ‘never mind about τὸ λέειν—think of Athens!’

A third possibility is that although not *per se* illegal the anaphephesis which Nicias demands might be held to contravene some other and more general law; the point of μετὰ τοῦδένδυν ἐν μαρτυρίων would then be that although there might be a *prima facie* case against the epistates, this case would be overthrown by testimony on the actual circumstances of his act. It appears from the words of the Decree of Cannus quoted in Xen. *Hell.* 17. 20 that the Athenian legal code (at least by 406) contained a grim equivalent of Section 40 of the Army Act, and if δῆμου ὁδίκης was a recognised offence in 415 the epistates might be held to have committed it. Again, he might be

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1 We should not forget that the attribution of a large part of the legal code to Solon necessarily made the associations of the word νόμος somewhat different from those of ψήφισμα.

prosecuted for putting to the vote a proposal which on that particular occasion was strictly speaking ἀπροβολεῖτος. Since the decision demanded was the very decision out of which the business on the present occasion arose, an exceedingly complicated legal argument could have arisen on the question whether this decision was now ἀπροβολεῖτος. Again, he might have been prosecuted for having acted as an official frivolously or treacherously against the interests of the state; τὸ καλὸς ἀρξᾶν in the last clause of the chapter might be held to point to this interpretation. Such an interpretation of Niclas' words is historically quite acceptable, and linguistically it is acceptable provided that λείων τοῦ νόμου means 'break the law'. The possibility of this translation has not, so far as I know, been questioned, given the common expressions λείων τῶν συνθήκων, λείων τῶν εἴρημαν; and yet, as we shall see, it must be regarded with the greatest suspicion.

The predominant sense of λείων (νόμων, συνθήκων, etc.) is, of course, 'annual', as in Thuc. vi 15, 1. An enactment or command λείωται by the body or person who originally made it. The sovereign body λείως one of its own enactments either explicitly, by taking a formal decision to cease conforming with it (e.g. Dem. xx 79, xxiv 18, 34, 38, 93, etc.) or implicitly, by making a fresh enactment not reconcilable with it (e.g. [Dem.] xcvii 12). An individual λείως, an enactment either by proposing its formal annulment (e.g. Dem. xx 96) or by proposing an irreconcilable enactment (e.g. Dem. xx 26, xxiv 142).

The passages in which λείως (νόμων) appears at first sight to mean 'break', 'contravene', are these:

(a) Hdt. iii 31, 1–5. When Cambyses wanted to marry his sister, he asked the Royal Judges whether there was any law which said that a man (κοιλένων . . . τῶν βουλευμένων) could marry his sister. Such marriage was unsupported by Persian custom (οὐδ' ἡμεῖς γάρ ἔθεσαν . . . οὐκ ἔστωσα τοιοῦτος ἐπηνέκας ποιήσεις). The Judges knew of no such law, but saved the situation by referring to the law which permitted the King to do as he wished; οὐτοί οὖτε τῶν νόμων ἔλεγεν διαστῆς Καμβύσεως ἡμᾶς, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπάλλονται τῶν νόμων περιστελλόμενοι, παρεξεῖρον ἄλλου νόμου κτλ.

(b) Hdt. vi 106, 9. When the Athenian messenger came to ask for Spartan help against the Persians at Marathon, τοιαῦτα καὶ ἔδει ἀνθρώπως Ἀθηναίοι, αὐτοῖς δὲ σφι ἕν πάρα πολύτικα ποιήσας τοιαῦτα, οὐ βουλευμένοι λείως τοῦ νόμου· ἵνα γάρ ἦταν ἡμῶν κατά κατά τοῦ ἐνεπλησώμενος ἡμῶν κτλ.

(c) Isoc. ix 63. The sustained revolt of Evagoras so tired the Persians that although they had never been accustomed to stop fighting against a rebel until he was captured they now welcomed peace, λατάντας τῶν μὲν νόμων τούτων, οὐδὲν δὲ κυνήγουσας τῆς Ἐυαγόρου υπερανήδος.

(d) Eur. I.A. 1268. Agamemnon says to Clytemnestra: 'I cannot turn back . . . the Greeks yearn to take Troy, and they will kill me and you and our family θέσας, ἐλ λύσοι θεᾶς', i.e. 'if we do not sacrifice Iphigenia'.

To take (d) first: strictly speaking, Artemis did not command Agamemnon to sacrifice Iphigenia, but gave him a choice either to sacrifice and go on to Troy, or not to sacrifice and so disband the expedition; it is around Agamemnon's dilemma that the tragedy revolves. To press this point, however, would be something of a sophistry, and there can be little doubt that the writer of 1268 meant us to understand 'if I fail to do what the goddess has told me to do'. But is the line original? To point out—however truly—that I.A. is a notoriously interpolated play is not a commendable way of overthrowing an inconvenient line, but as it happens there is evidence more pertinent than this general consideration. Later in the play (1484–6) Iphigenia, speaking of her own decision to be sacrificed, says ὁς ἡμῶν, εἰ χρέων, αὐτοῖς ἤμισυ θέιας εἴλητοι ἐξελείψας. When we recall the extent to which λέιως νόμων and ἐξελείψας νόμων are synonymous in the orators, it seems astonishing that the same writer in the same play can refer to an action as θέσας λείως, and to the opposite of that action as εἴλητοι ἐξελείψας; and our suspicions are reinforced by the similar expression in Soph. O.T. 406–7 ὡς ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ματέρος ἀριστά λύσομεν, τὸ δὲ σκοτείνω, i.e. 'find out how best to perform the difficult task which the oracle has set us'. It thus appears that there are good grounds for not taking I.A. 1268 into account in discussing the meaning of λέιως νόμων in the fifth century.

Returning now to (a)–(c): in (b) we are concerned with a sovereign body contravening its own observance, and in (c) with the abandonment of a tradition; (a) is similar in that the Royal Judges were the ultimate authority on Persian law and custom. In all three cases contravention of the νόμων, or sanction of its contravention, meant that it would be no longer νόμος, a new precedent having been set by the authority on which it rested; it would no longer be true to say νόμος ἦταν Πέρσης τύποις διδαχθείς μη συνοικεῖος οὐ νόμος ἦταν Λακεδαιμονίοις μὴ στρατευόμενοι ιστομένοι τυχόν μην ἔνεικται οὐ νόμος ἦταν βασιλεύς τοῖς Περσῶν μη διαλάβεσθαι τοῖς ἀποτελέσθαι πρώτος ἐν κύριοι γένοιτο τῶν συμφώνων. But if an individual citizen contravenes a law μη ἀποκτείνω, it still remains true to say νόμος ἦταν μη ἀποκτείνω.

It thus becomes possible to see why it is illegitimate to argue from λέιως τῶν συνθήκων to λέιως τοῦ νόμου. In any kind of agreement two parties undertake to do certain things, it being under-

4 For the different grounds on which 1264–73 or 1264–8 have been regarded as an interpolation, see England ad loc. Professor Page (Actors' Interpolations, pp. 185–6) does not find these grounds adequate, while recognising the conflict between θέσας εἰ λύσοι θεᾶς and Soph. O.T. 407. For the use of λέιως in post-Classical Greek we may compare λέιων νόμων, 'contra- vene a law', in Es. Το 7, 23 and λέιων γραφήν, 'reader scripture false', id. 10. 35.
stood that performance by either party is conditional on performance by the other. Non-
formance by either party λύσει the agreement, i.e. dissolves it by freeing the other party from
obligation; similarly, if both parties agree beforehand that in certain circumstances, or on a
certain date, they will release each other from obligation, then the agreement λύσει in those
circumstances. For both usages we may compare the truce at Pylos, Thuc. iv 16. 2: ὅτι δὲ
ἀν τούτων παραβαίνωσιν ἕκαστοι καὶ ὅπως, τότε λελύσθη τάς σπονδάς. ἐσπευσθαί δὲ αὐτὰς
μέχρι ὡς ἐπαυξήσωσιν ὁ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἱκανομίμημως πρέπεις ... εὐθύτερον δὲ τὰς τε σπονδὰς
λελύσθαι ταύτας. (Cf. also [Dem.] vii 22, 23, 36.) Again ὅποιοι δὲ ὅρκοι ὁμώνοιται ... λύσι
καὶ ἀφίημι in the Decree of Demophonatus (And. i 98) means not 'I hereby contravene my
oath' but 'I hereby declare that I will no longer be bound by my oath'. But the relation between
sovereign and individual which is created by an enactment is not any kind of agreement or
under-taking. From the individual's point of view, it is a command from above him; and if he contravenes
it, he does not thereby invalidate or annul it.

What, then, is Nicias saying to the epistates? I confess I would like him to be saying 'do not
be afraid that anapsephisis will involve you in prosecution as ἀδικήσας τὸν δήμον; you have so
many witnesses who will testify that the assembly wanted anapsephisis'. But ὅτι ἃν ὁ λόγος ὅσπερ
πεῖμα φέρῃ, ταύτη ἰτέων; and if, as seems to be the case, λύειν τοὺς νόμους is not used of an
individual contravening the law, another explanation must be sought. τὸς νόμος must refer to
the established procedure of the assembly, determined in part by written law and in part by
traditional practice. The Prytaneis, and in particular the epistates, were in a position ἐν ἕνῳ this
procedure quite unlike that of a speaker in the assembly; a speaker could conform or fail to conform,
but the Prytaneis could invalidate existing practice by lending their authority to the setting of a
new precedent. Nicias' appeal, therefore, expanded and paraphrased, amounts to this: 'If you
shrink from doing anything so unusual as anapsephisis, you must realise that you would not be
accused of trying to put an end to any of the traditional procedure of the assembly; there are so
many here who will be prepared to say in your defence that the circumstances were exceptional,
the assembly being genuinely divided on the issue apparently decided four days ago. Our country
has taken ill counsel, and you would be curing her.'

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K. J. Dover
THE ORDERS OF GODS IN GREECE AND EGYPT (ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS)

Herodotus has several references to the orders or companies of gods in Greece and Egypt, and they involve a comparison and a contrast. They may be arranged, in translation, as follows:

(1) II, 4, 2. ‘They say that the Egyptians first used the names of the twelve gods, and that the Greeks adopted them from them.’

(2) II, 7, 2 mentions ‘the altar of the twelve gods at Athens’.

(3) II, 43, 2. ‘Concerning Heracles I heard this account, that he was one of the twelve gods.’

(4) II, 43, 4. ‘But to the Egyptians Heracles is an ancient god; and as they say themselves, there were seventeen thousand years to the reign of Amasis since the eight gods produced the twelve, of whom they consider Heracles to be one.’

(5) II, 45, 2. ‘The Mendesians hold Pan to be one of the eight gods, and they say that these eight gods came into existence before the twelve.’

(6) II, 145, 1. ‘Among the Greeks Heracles and Dionysus and Pan are considered to be the youngest of the gods, but among the Egyptians Pan is considered very ancient and one of the eight gods said to be the earliest, while Heracles is one of the second group, and Dionysus one of the third group, who were produced by the twelve.’

Following his frequent custom, Herodotus views the information he receives in the light of Greek tradition, and in so doing seeks resemblances and correlations. The Greek tradition known to him gave pre-eminence to twelve gods, and he refers to the Athenian altar of the twelve not only in II, 7, 2 but also in VI, 108, 4. According to Thucydides, vi, 54, 6, it was Pisistratus the son of Hippias who erected this altar; and an inscription shows that it was used as a starting-point for measuring distances. Other references indicate that processions used to march round it. Pindar alludes to the ‘twelve sovereign gods’ at Olympia. It is clear that the Greeks of the classical period regarded this group of gods as a kind of corporate body. They were stated by Eudoxus, a pupil of Plato, and other later writers, to be Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Athena, Hephaestus, and Hestia. In the group of twelve sculptured on the east frieze of the Parthenon, Hestia is absent, her place being taken by Dionysus; and the list probably varied from place to place according to the local prominence of different deities. Why were they twelve in number? Weinrich thinks their number derives from the twelve Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor. Schömann connected the number with the twelve months of the year, and this was an idea known at least to Plato.

Herodotus finds a company of twelve gods in Egypt also, witness five of the passages quoted above. But in three of them—(4), (5), and (6)—he states that a group of eight gods existed before the twelve, and that the twelve were produced by the earlier group. There can be little doubt that the eight gods he has in mind are the Ogdoad of Hermopolis, a group well known in Egyptian religious literature, although commentators have not hitherto seen this. A. H. Sayce compares the Manethonian account of a primary order of seven gods, followed by a dynasty of eight heroes, and he notes the discrepancy in Herodotus’ statements: the first dynasty consisted seven, not eight gods; and the demigods were not twelve, but eight, according to Manetho. The secondary deities were not sprung from the primary. It is admittedly difficult to find in the Egyptian sources a system which corresponds in all particulars to that described by Herodotus, but the Ogdoad of Hermopolis is represented as a primary order of gods. The doctrine concerning the Ogdoad probably arose in opposition to the doctrine of Heliopolis, which gave the sovereign place to the sun-god as the oldest of the gods and as a deity who had created himself. At Hermopolis, in Middle Egypt, a hare-goddess had been the original deity, but Thoth, the ibis-god whom the Greeks equated with Hermes (for the name Hermopolis), became prominent there later. Before this a doctrine emanated from Hermopolis which taught that the sun originated not from its own power but as the result of the creative powers of four pairs of deities who had existed before the sun.

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2 Pindar, fr. 65; Xenophon, Hippiarch, iii, 2 advises this route.
3 Olymp. X. 49.
5 In Roscher’s Lexikon der Gr. u. Röm. Mythologie s.v. Zwölf- götter.
6 Griechische Alterthümer, ii (Berlin, 1902), 142, n. 1 (end).
7 Laws 828. C. Phaedrus 246e.
8 H. G. Wood, G. Rawlinson, A. H. Sayce, F. Ll. Griffith, E. H. Blakeney, and W. G. Waddell either deny or do not mention the existence of an Egyptian group of eight. Wiedemann mentions cycles of eight or nine. How and Wells refer to Brugsch’s explanation of the ‘eight’—not to the eight original cosmogonic deities, but without further elucidation. Godley talks of ‘eight (or nine) gods’ as forming the first order of the Egyptian pantheon.
9 The Ancient Empire of the East (London, 1883) 150, n. 6, and 151, n. 9.
The oldest of the eight was Nun, god of the primeval waters, and his wife Naunet was named after him, she being the goddess of the subterranean heaven. The other gods were Huh, god of the inundation, Kuk, god of darkness, and Amûn, who was the creative wind moving over the primeval waters, and whose name signified 'the hidden one'. Just as Nun had Naunet for wife, Huh had Haubet, Kuk, Kauket, and Amûn, Amaunet, the wives being feminine counterparts in name and meaning. It was Kurt Seth, in 1926, who set forth the Hermopolite doctrine in his Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis (Abb. Berl. Akad.). As Herodotus says that the Egyptians hold the eight gods to be the earliest, it is likely that this was the doctrine which he encountered.

Further, an important point in the Hermopolite doctrine was that the sun-god was created by the Ogdoad. The sun-god, according to the teaching of Heliopolis, was himself the head of the Ennead, and so the Ennead could be represented as produced by the Ogdoad, just as Herodotus says that the twelve were produced by the eight. But how could the Ennead include twelve gods? Although originally a company of nine gods, it very early lost its numerical restriction to nine. The Pyramid Texts (1660a) refer to the 'Great Ennead' as consisting of Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris in Abydos, Osiris among the Westerners (—Khentamenthes?), Seth, Horus, Re, Khent- yerty, and Wadjet. This makes up twelve, although Osiris, it should be noted, is included in two forms. Another reference (1655a) gives the name of nine only. But the allusion first cited shows that in this earliest body of Egyptian religious texts—they belong to the Vth and VIth dynasties—the term 'Ennead' is already a flexible one. The Enneads, unfortunately, have not been given detailed study by any Egyptologist, and an error of long standing has been the idea that there were three of them, an idea which has led some commentators on Herodotus to talk of the three Enneads as the source of the mention of three divine groups. But the early writing of three groups of nine in Egyptian is a way of indicating the plural, and it points to the undoubted fact that different names and towns had different versions of the divine groups, just as the 'Twelve' varied among the Greeks. Perhaps it is to one such local group that Herodotus refers in talking of a third order.

How do the references to Pan, Dionysus, and Heracles fit into this scheme of Ogdoad, Ennead (expanded to twelve), and local group?

In II, 46, 2, and II, 145, 1, the Egyptian Pan is said by the Mendesians, and by the Egyptians in general, to be one of the eight gods. He is stated (II, 46, 2) to be represented with the head and legs of a goat, and to be called Mendes in Egyptian—that is, presumably, he bore the same name as the nome. Mendes as a god is previously mentioned in II, 42, 1, where it is said that those who possess a temple of his or belong to the Mendesian nome will sacrifice sheep but not goats. A comparison of these statements with remarks by other Greek writers shows that Herodotus is at one with them in describing the Mendesian god as a goat-god, as Wiedemann shows in a well-documented note. Here a strange puzzle confronts us: the Egyptian sources consistently show the animal as a ram. To explain the difference in tradition is not easy. Perhaps the goat was to the Greeks a more familiar symbol of fertility, and the Egyptian 'ram of Mendes' was certainly thought of in this way, as the quotations given by Wiedemann show. Mendes was in the East Delta, and according to Ball was on the site of the modern Tell el-Rub'. Its Egyptian name was Djejdj, and when Herodotus states that both the goat and the god are called Mendes in Egyptian, he implies that the place-name is also similar. Assuming that the ram is the animal really referred to, and that Greek tradition had already replaced it by the goat for the reason suggested above, we may then see a possible basis for the remarks about the names: the Egyptian for 'ram' was ba, the god was called Ba-neb-Djejdj ('the ram, the lord of Mendes'), so that the two names began at any rate in the same way.

Wiedemann seeks an Egyptian origin for the word Mendes as it stands, and he mentions the name of the god Min as a possible source. The god Min was an ithyphallic god of fertility, but his cult is not represented at Mendes. His animal is not the goat or the ram, but the bull. In spite of this Herodotus may have confused Ba-neb-Djejdj with him. That the Greeks identified Pan and Min is shown by the name they gave to Khemmis in Upper Egypt, which was a centre of the cult of Min; they called it Panopolis.

22 See further the writer's forthcoming article on 'The Egyptian Enneads' in the Annales de l'Institut de France.
23 Egypt in the Classical Geographers (Cairo, 1947), 26.
24 Sourdille, Histoire et la Religion de l'Egypte (Paris, 1910), 166, following Meyer, makes the very unlikely suggestion that the Egyptian monuments erroneously show a ram instead of a goat. Cf. How and Wells, 189, 'Perhaps the monuments are wrong...'. If this is so, how can we explain the fact that the Egyptian texts invariably refer to the animal as a ram, as in the name Ba-neb-Djejdj? A. W. Lawrence, by the way, in The History of Herodotus (London, 1935), 169, wrongly gives the city-name as 'Banebjet'. He apparently takes over this error, and others, from Sourdille. There is an Assyrian form Biniqet see Ranke, Kritisches Material (Berlin, 1910), 49.
26 Wilkinson in Rawlinson ad II, 42 (pp. 76—7, n. 7; Sayce, ob. cit. 153; E. J. Baumgartel, 'Herodotus on Min', Antiquity, XXII (1947), 145. How and Wells, 189, wrongly state that Min of Chemmis... is goat-headed. So, too, Lawrence, p. 169.
THE ORDERS OF GODS IN GREECE AND EGYPT

Ba-neb-Djedet, the god of Mendes, was not a member of the Osirian, but the ram was prominently associated with Amun, and Amun was one of the Eight. Has Herodotus thought here of Amun as the equivalent of Pan? In II, 42, however, he shows knowledge of the fact that Amun (whom he calls Zeus) is depicted sometimes with a ram's head. It is more likely that Min, as elsewhere, is the equivalent of Pan, and that the reason for his location in Mendes is the strong fertility motif which is common to his cult and that of Ba-neb-Djedet. Min, is should be noted, although not a member of the Osirian, occupied an important position among the gods of the Old Kingdom.

Heracles was variously equated with the moon-god Khonsu, with forms of Horus, and with Khnum and Shu. We cannot be sure what identification Herodotus had in mind, but it is worth noting that Shu is a deity who, with others, helps Re to put down the rebels in the legend of The Destruction of Mankind; and in the legend of Onuris he is identified with Onuris himself, the warrior-god who champions the sun-god. Further, Shu is a member of the Ennead, and so fits the pattern here suggested.

Dionysus is equated with Osiris in II, 42, and II, 144; and Osiris, together with Isis, is said, in II, 42, to be worshipped by the Egyptians generally. According to the Pyramid Texts, he is a member of the Ennead, and so one would expect Herodotus, on the view here suggested, to include him in the Twelve. At the same time, he would doubtless occur often in a local group of gods, and such an occurrence may explain his classification here in the third group.

These correlations have at least the advantage of reconciling Herodotus' main statements with what is known of Egyptian religion from the earlier sources; and where there are discrepancies a likely explanation is at hand.

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20 See J. G. Milne (in an essay on Greece-Egyptian Religion) in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, VI, 382b.
21 See Soudille, op. cit. 173.
23 Vandier, op. cit. 66.
ARISTOTLE’S ACCOUNT OF BEES’ ‘DANCES’

Von Frisch ¹ has shown that hive bees communicate with one another by ‘dancing’, a discovery comparable with that of Ventris. Both the direction of food found and its distance are indicated with considerable precision. Aristotle (or perhaps pseudo-Aristotle) described this dance in *Hist. Animal.* IX, 624b. After noting that an individual bee visits a number of flowers of the same species in succession, which Darwin, von Frisch, and others have shown to be generally, but not universally, true, he continued:

όταν δὲ εἰς τὸ σμήνος ὄφωνται, ἀποσείνονται, καὶ παρακολουθοῦσιν ἐκάστη τρεῖς ή τέταρτες, 
τὸ δὲ λαμβανόμενον οὐ βραδύν ἐστὶν ἤδειν: οὐδὲ τὴν ἐργασίαν οὐδ’ ἄλλην πρότειν ποιοῦνται, οὐχ ὅπποι.

Bekker’s ² translation, due to J. C. Scaliger, revised by J. C. Schneider, is as follows:

cum sunt ingressae, excutiunt et deponunt osus. semper etiam singulīs ternae quaternaeque 
administant. quid accipiant non facile videre est; neque visum quo operantur modo.

D’Arcy Thompson in the Oxford translation followed Bekker closely. His rendering was:

On reaching the hive they throw off their load, and each bee on its return is accompanied by three or four companions. One cannot tell what is the substance they gather, nor the exact process of their work.

My own more literal and pedestrian translation is:

And when they have come into the hive they shake themselves, and three or four follow each of them. And it is not easy to see what is being taken; nor has the way in which they carry out the work been seen.

My only serious doubt is as to the translation of σμήνος. This can mean hive or swarm. In fact, the dances do not usually take place until the returning bee has reached a fairly dense crowd of other bees on the vertical face of a comb.

ἀποσείνοντα is to shake off, but the middle form ἀποσείνωνται is also used by Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.* VI, 580b) for the post-copulatory movements of hens, which are certainly not shaking anything off themselves. Pollux the Lexicographer used ἄποσείνως to describe a human dance. We can, I think, be fairly clear as to what Aristotle, Theophrastos, or his informant had seen. At least four different types of dance have been described (see Ribbands, ³ or Haldane and Spurway ⁴). I have discussed their implications for human logic and linguistics elsewhere. ⁵ If a food source is found at a distance of less than 100 metres the dance varies in different bee races; in that studied by von Frisch it is a simple ‘round dance’. At greater distances all races perform what von Frisch calls the Schwanztanz or waggle dance. It resembles some human folk-dances. A straight section, always in the same direction, is followed by a return in a curved path alternately to the right and left. While performing the straight part of the dance, the dancer waggles her abdomen. The direction of the dance indicates the direction of the food source. Von Frisch showed that the zenith indicates the direction of the sun, a direction 30° to the right of it indicates a direction 30° to the west of the sun, and so on. The number of oscillations during each straight run indicates the distance of the food source. There are two or three oscillations for the first 100 metres, and then one more for each additional 75 metres (Haldane and Spurway, *loc. cit.*). The wagging is very obvious to a human observer, whereas the dances without waggle, indicating short distances, are not so easily picked out, by myself at least. By the way, the human ἄποσείνος, if it resembled the bees’ waggle dance, must have resembled the modern ‘danse du ventre’, and Pollux includes it with three other ‘unseemly’ dances marked by ‘rotating the loins’ (τὴν τῆς ὀρφυος περίφορην).

The statement that three or four bees follow the dancer is correct; ‘administrant’ is incorrect. A chain of followers is formed, and after a few rounds each has obtained the information necessary for her future flight, and flies off. Others may then join the queue. It is certainly hard to see what is transferred. In fact, a dancer may stop and give another worker a drop of ‘nectar’ (χυμός) regurgitated from her crop. I doubt if this process can be seen without a lens. In Ribbands’ beautiful photograph the bees are represented 7 cm. in length, but the drop is invisible. Bees do not shake their load off. They transfer it carefully, either to other workers or to cells in the comb.

Aristotle went out of his way to say that nothing corresponding to Bekker's 'deponent onus' was visible.

It is, I think, clear that the author of περὶ τὰ γαῖα ἱστορίῶν or his informant had watched the waggle dance. This shows that the dance is at least 2300 years old. It is, of course, probably very much older. But such data on animal 'language' are of great interest to biologists. For example, I have heard a male *Rana ridibunda* in Romney Marshes singing 'βρασκέκ κοκες κοκς'. The final consonant of the first 'word' was definitely ξ, and the ξ was pronounced 'sh' or 'f', which may be relevant to its pronunciation in Attic. It is easy enough to observe these 'dances' to-day in a hive with a glass window, and to verify that they are performed by returning foragers by marking these with a spot of lacquer while feeding. It is unlikely that a Greek observer used either of these techniques. If he did not, a modern biologist must express his admiration for the accuracy of his observation. Since 132 years elapsed between the rediscovery of the dances in 1788 and von Frisch's first incomplete account of their communicatory function in 1920, we cannot blame Aristotle for his failure to consider non-human logic.

I believe (and I could give other examples) that, at least in his biological works, Aristotle has suffered from translators who believed that they knew what he meant. Sometimes, no doubt, they were right. But often a literal translation such as I have tried to give is nearer to the truth than is a freer rendering. English grammar makes it difficult to translate the gender of ἔκαστος, which is, of course, correct.

The moral is, perhaps, that Aristotle's biological works should be translated afresh in each generation, with a commentary by a committee of biologists. His explanations of biological facts are often faulty. His accounts of these facts fall into four classes. Some, including the account here discussed, have been confirmed and usually amplified. Of some we can say, 'The present-day representatives of the species which we believe that Aristotle was describing do not have the structure or behaviour which he stated. We believe that he was misinformed, or misinterpreted his observations.' For example, it is clear that he misinterpreted the pollen on returning bees as wax. In fact, pollen is used as food, whilst wax is secreted by the bees themselves. Of other statements we can only say, 'This has not yet been confirmed'; and it is a safe guess that some, at least, will be confirmed. A fourth class, perhaps the most interesting of all, includes some statements about the physiology and behaviour of domestic animals. Thus, according to *Hist. Animal. VI* 573b, a ewe usually bears two lambs, and sometimes three or four. This is not true of modern British breeds, among which single births are the rule and triplets quite exceptional. But there is a strong presumption that it was true of sheep in Greece in Aristotle's time. Again male asses which were destined to beget mules were transferred to mares to suckle (*Hist. Animal. VI* 577b). This no longer appears to be necessary, at least in Western Europe. But such a transfer is to-day used in bringing about hybridisation between stallions and female asses. It is likely that in two thousand years the instinctive behaviour of donkeys has changed, the males having become less discriminating. Rendel produced a similar change in the behaviour of female insects in my own laboratory, and Koopman produced the converse change in two other insect species. If domestic animals do not behave in an Aristotelian manner to-day, there is at least a *prima facie* case that their physiology or instincts have altered.

I must acknowledge my debt to Kraak, who pointed out the reference to the 'dance'. I venture however to prefer my own translation to his, which begins 'A bee when back at the hive shakes himself', a reversal of sex which might have surprised even Tiresias. I must also thank Professor T. B. L. Webster for much help.

J. B. S. HALDANE
LAW-MAKING AT ATHENS AT THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

For students of Athenian private and public law it is a painful, but undeniable fact that there is still grave uncertainty as to the precise methods by which statutes, one of the most important sources of law, were made at the most formative period of the history of the system from the middle of the fifth century B.C. onwards. There have been two fairly recent and conflicting attempts to clear up some of the main points, those of Kahrstedt 1 and of Mrs. Atkinson. 2 Neither treatment seems wholly satisfactory, and in particular neither seems to take any account of J. H. Oliver’s publication 3 of additions to the code or of Ferguson’s paper 4 on these same additions. It may therefore be worthwhile re-examining the evidence for one chapter at least of the story, the chapter covering roughly the twenty years beginning in 411 B.C.

I cannot avoid a word on sources, in the historical not the legal sense. In the literary field historians and political theorists are very unhelpful. The problem does not seem to have interested them. Here therefore we have to rely mainly on two other classes of authority, firstly, grammarians and lexicographers, who were interested in the archaism of the laws of Drakon and Solon, secondly, and most fruitful of all, the orators. In the orators we must distinguish between the documents cited in the texts and the orators’ own words. I do not discuss the validity of the cited documents, but must content myself with saying that with regard to the more important documents which are here relevant there is now fairly general agreement among scholars that they are genuine. Statements of the orators themselves must always be examined under the microscope and allowance made for possible distortions due to the speaker’s desire to support the particular point which he is making.

The epigraphic evidence, on the other hand—discounting for a moment its fragmentary character—would at first sight seem to give us more unequivocal evidence, solid first-hand stuff, unencumbered by subjective bias of author or editor. But this is not quite so. It is often as important as it is difficult to determine what was the precise aim of having a document engraved on stone. We should wish to know—and we must in each case make the best guess we can—whether the particular stone we are considering was: (a) the effective document for official legal use, or (b) a copy of the official document engraved for publicity, the document itself being kept in some Record Office, or (c) a document in draft, as it were, before it became a fully effective nomos or psephisma, as the case might be; in which case again it could either have been the official copy—what in modern drafting jargon is called the ‘key’ copy—or merely a copy of the ‘key’ copy, put up in a public place for greater convenience of consulting by the general public. It might seem strange to engrave documents of type (c) on stone and indeed leukomata, 5 white surfaces with writing on them, were often used for this purpose. But we ought not to rule out the possibility that for very important drafts, where much was at stake and where a considerable interval between the first draft and its final conversion into law or decree was envisaged, a more permanent form of publication, and one less easily tampered with than a whitened board may have been preferred.

The main problem of this paper is whether these twenty years were an epoch in Athenian legislative procedure. And if so, were the changes then effected consciously revolutionary or were they of the sort which produce effects not necessarily intended by their authors? Were they, for example, like the changes produced by the Parliament Act of 1910 or rather like those produced by the failure of the early Georges to preside at meetings of their own ministers, or to take a more recent example of which we cannot yet gauge the full effects, the changes in administration being produced by the keeping and circulating to departments of Cabinet minutes?

Put in simple terms, the problem is to determine what were the proper functions of nomoi and psephismoi in the Athenian constitution and whether anything vital happened to the relations between them in this period. Unfortunately neither modern nor ancient political theorists have been at one on the theory of this relationship at Athens. Thus B. Keil 6 says of the distinction ‘das Unterscheidende ist eben nicht der Inhalt, sondern die Form’. Wilamowitz, 7 on the other hand, says ‘formal ist zwischen einem Volksbeschluss und einem Gesetz gar kein Unterschied. Was das Volk beschliesst, ist recht und ist gesetz.’

So, too, the ancients. Xenophon 8 puts this definition of nomoi into the mouth of Perikles: πάντες οἵτινες νόμοι εἶναι, οὐ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος συμβόλη καὶ κοινότατος ἔγγραφος, φράσον ἀν δὲ δι’ ἰδιών καὶ ἅρμα. And a little later: πάντα δότα ἀν τὸ κρατῶν τῆς πόλεως βουλευτόμαχον, καὶ χρή ποιεῖν,

1 Klio XXXI (1939), pp. 1 ff.
2 Athenian Legislative Procedure and Revision of Laws (1939), Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 23, 1. There was a brief review of Mrs. Atkinson by Professor Gomme in Cl. Rev. LIV (1940), p. 38, and a reply to her by Kahrstedt in Gnomon XVI (1940), pp. 377 ff.
3 Hesperia IV (1935), pp. 5 ff. See also further publications by S. Dow in Hesperia X (1941), pp. 31 ff.
4 Classical Studies presented to Capps (1936), pp. 144 ff.
8 Mem. 1, 2, 42.
LAW-MAKING AT ATHENS AT THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

On the other hand, Aristotle, dealing with the nature of the equitable, propounds the doctrine that all laws are universal, but the cases with which they have to deal are particular, and therefore infinitely varied. The nature of the equitable is that it is a correction of the law where it is defective owing to its universality. In fact, he goes on, this is the reason why all things are not determined by law, namely that about some things it is impossible to lay down a law, so that a decree is needed. Again in the Politics he describes one form of democracy as 'that in which, not the law, but the multitude, have the supreme power, and supersede the law by their decrees.' And a little later: 'the law ought to be supreme over all, and the magistrates should judge of particulars, and only this should be considered a constitution. So that if democracy be a real form of government, the sort of system in which all things are regulated by decrees is clearly not even a democracy in the true sense of the word, for decrees relate only to particulars.'

The views of the practical pleader on the subject may be illustrated by two passages in the Demosthenic corpus which allude to the importance of the distinction, though they add little light on its precise character or the history of its development. [Dem.] Against Neaira 59, 88, tries to reconcile the absolute sovereignty of the demos with the existence of certain rules governing the conferment of the citizenship. 'The Athenian people,' the speaker says, 'though it has complete sovereignty (κυριότητος τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄνδρῶν) and may do whatever it pleases, considered the gift of its citizenship so honourable and precious a thing that it made laws for itself to govern the making of a citizen (νόμος ἐξετάζοντα καθ' ὀσίον ποιηθήθη δει, ἐὰν τινα βούλωμαν, πολίτην).

The other is the well-known passage in Dem. Against Leptines 20, 91, where Demosthenes is drawing attention to the break-down of the attempt to distinguish between law and decree. The object of the law dealing with nomothetia, which he calls ancient and attributes to Solon, was to secure that laws were not passed casually but were subjected to the same kind of dokimasia, as, for example, was applied to the thes mothetai themselves. So long as the proper procedure had been observed, the Athenians had stuck to the existing laws and not made new ones (a statement not presumably to be taken literally). But politicians had succeeded in removing the brake, with the result that it was now possible to make laws whenever and however anyone liked, and there were so many contradictory laws that for long past the Athenians had been appointing people to clear up the chaos, but they had not yet succeeded in doing so. He sums up by saying that laws do not differ at all from decrees, but that laws which should have governed the making of decrees are actually passed after these very decrees.

It seems clear that in the middle of the fourth century there was a theory in Athens that laws should be more general in character, more permanent and stable than decrees and that the procedure of nomothetia had been initiated to secure the nomoi from frivolous and irresponsible changes, but that in practice the distinction had largely broken down.

It is obvious that the legislators of 403 B.C. did not invent this distinction. The idea of nomos as something basic, founded upon a divinely inspired code, goes back far beyond the end of the fifth century. And over against this there must always have been the recognition that day-to-day business had to be done and that this involved decisions by various organs in the state which must be binding on its members. Such decisions might be those of individual magistrates, but they would also, and in ever-increasing measure, take the form of psephismata; and it would be assumed that the validity of these latter depended on their conforming to the law as it stood. At some point of time, however, this distinction must have received specific definition in the elaborate procedure laid down for nomothetia and in, for example, the specific rule that no psephismata of boule or demos was to have higher validity than a nomos. Was this time the last decade of the fifth century?

A preliminary question, which Kahrstedt treats in an appendix, but on which it is necessary to form some judgement at the outset, is the question of a state Record Office at Athens. How did a litigant—or indeed any other inquirer—know at any given period in Athenian history what statutory enactments, whether in the form of nomoi or psephismata, were in force at the time and the authentic terms of such enactments?

For Kahrstedt 403/2 is in this respect an epoch. 'There were', he writes, 'before 403/2 no state archives in Athens. Before that date the State wrote upon wood or stone or not at all. The

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* Nic. Eth. Vi, 10, 1137b.
** IV, 4, 1292a. I quote from the Oxford translation by Jowett revised by Ross (1921).

11 Note the description of the eleventh and last stage in the development of the Athenian democracy in Ar. Ath. Pol. 41, 2, ἄντιόνων ἄντις ἄντις πεποιηκαί ὁ δήμος κύρως, καὶ πάντα διακόσια ἐγερμένη καὶ διακρατείται, ἐν ὀσίῳ δήμῳ λοιπὴ ἡ ἡμέρα.

12 ἐνδέχεται ὁ νόμος καθ' ὄσιον ἐγερμένη τῶν ἔγγραφων αὐτῶν ὑμῖν σίεν. This gives an adequate sense. Politicians had been regularising decrees of doubtful validity by passing laws ex post facto. Lipsius, Att. Recl. p. 307, holding that χρόνοις must be middle and mean 'bring a γέφυρα against', as it does a few lines above, would read ἔγγραφον τῶν νόμων. The correction is hardly necessary. Kahrstedt is ingenious in Klio XXXI (1928), p. 18: 'Nomoi im technischen Sinn der Zeit und von Psephismen sachlich unterschieden, sind in der Tat junger als der Zustand, dass das Volk Psephismen zu fassen hat. But even if such a sense could be got from the words in isolation, it does not square with the context.


14 Not necessarily the same as conforming to the laws, if we accept the distinction made by Aristotle in Politics IV, 1, 1289a between a polis as a wider whole with nomoi subsumed under it.


16 Klio XXXI (1928), pp. 25 ff.
works of the old law-givers stood on their axon, etc.; additions thereto were occasionally preserved on stelai, but for the most part remained among the memoranda of the Secretary to the Council—these must always have existed—and were never collected together as archives. Down to 403 records on stone are documents in the strict sense of the term; thereafter they are merely copies of the documents, the latter being kept in the State archives.

There is good evidence for the positive side of this thesis, for the existence of State archives after 403, and there is no need to expatiate on it.

On the other hand, it is not so easy to be certain of the negative side, of the non-existence of such archives before that date. Indeed, the contrary had been maintained by Homer A. Thompson in Hesperia VI (1937), 215 f. He relied on the following evidence.

(A) Epigraphic. (i) IG I² 65, 54 ff. (ATL II D 8), a decree of 426 B.C. dealing with the eklogeis, in which provision is made for recording their names in the bouleuteron. (ii) IG I² 27, a proxeny decree of about 448 B.C. where the Secretary of the Council is ordered to record on a stele on the akropolis and in the bouleuteron. [ἐνβία] γραφοῦται τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς βολῆς ἔν τῷ διδάσκαλῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ βολητῇ τοῖς προσκυνοῦντος ἐδνοικοί. (iii) IG I² 85, a decree dated by the editors before 420 B.C. τὰς φανερὰς τῶν ἀνοργάςτατο ὁ γραμματέως τῆς βολῆς ἐπιστέλλει διά δικαιοσύνης καὶ καταθέτει τῇ πόλις ἡς [τάραξε] ἐν τῷ βολητῇ, ἐμ δικαίωμα ἔχει αὐτῷ αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄνθρωπους - - . (iv) IG I² 63, 24 (ATL II A 9), the assessment decree of 425/4 B.C., which orders the decree of the assessment of each city to be recorded on two stone stelai, one to be set up on the Akropolis, the other in the bouleuteron.

(B) Two literary passages. (i) A reference in Andok. On His Return, 2, 23 to a decree of Menippus of 415 B.C., which ἔπειτα καὶ νῦν ἐγγέγρασσα ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ. (ii) A story quoted from Chamaeleon of Heraclea Pontica, according to which when Hegemon of Thasos was being prosecuted in an Athenian court he secured the aid of Alkibiades, who, going into the Metroon ὄντου τῶν δικαίων ἢσσον αἰ γραφαί, καὶ βρέθη τὸν δικαίων ἔκ τοῦ στόματος διήλεμεν τὴν δίκην τοῦ Ἡγμόνα ο. This is taken as proving that at some date before Alkibiades' last appearance in Athens the Metroon had replaced the bouleuteron as the depository of the archives.

Kahrstedt challenges the validity of Thompson's deductions from this evidence. The epigraphical instances he explains as cases where publication on stone in the bouleuteron happened to be desirable: they are, that is, instructions for publication, not for depositing documents in the archives. The form of words in the Andokides passage, though not incompatible with a papyrus document in the archives, could equally well refer to an inscription set up in the bouleuteron and still visible there at the date of the speech (410 or 409). In the Alkibiades story what he expunges is not a record of a judgement in a record office, but the public notice of a case which was to come before the boule.

Kahrstedt's positive arguments against a state record Office before 403/2 B.C. are as follows: (a) In no speech which can be dated before 403 B.C. are there any citations of documents which presuppose state archives, with the possible exception of Andok. 2, 23. Citations of this kind, which became so normal later, first appear, significantly, in Andok. On the Mysteries, delivered in 399 B.C. The sample of speeches which can be dated before 403 B.C. is admittedly not large, ten if we include all six of Antiphon, namely those six, Andok. 2 and 4 and Lysias 20 and 24.

(b) Authors writing after 403 B.C. but wishing to refer to documents dating before that year refer to stelai, except when they are citing laws embraced in the code at 403/2 B.C. For example, there is the citation of stelai in the following cases: the conferment of privileges on the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the decree against Athmios of Zeleia, a decree against tyrants, a decree of Alkibiades. These cases carry some weight, though they are far from overwhelming. Others cited by Kahrstedt are more doubtful. In Lysias 30, 17 there is reference to sacrifices τῶν κύριων καὶ τῶν στήλων, a very difficult case to which I shall have to return. Lysias 1, 30 is cited by Kahrstedt as supporting him unequivocally. The speaker is quoting a law which exempts from a charge of murder a man who kills another caught in the act of adultery with his wife, and he uses these terms: τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἡς ἢ Αἰσιαία πάγου. On Kahrstedt's rule this should mean that this section of the homicide law was not taken into the code in 403/2 B.C. There is a possible escape, not indicated by Kahrstedt, in this particular case since this speech is undated and might therefore have been delivered very shortly after 403, the act having been committed before that date. If the law had been changed the speaker would have been bound to agree by both parties for recital at the hearing-in-chief. Only when these documents had been assembled in a Record Office would it have been possible for them to be cited on the scale which prevails from Andok. 1 onwards.

17 Athen. 9 c. 72, p. 407 b.
18 Thompson admits the possibility, but thinks it unlikely that a decree of such limited reference should have been engraved. But there were reasons for publishing a decree concerning these.
19 Alkibiades is doing just what Strepsiades wanted to do in The Clouds 769 ὧν ἐπούσα γραφεῖν ὄνομα τῷ γραμματέῳ τῷ γραμματέῳ ἡ ἡσύχας τῆς ἄγιας δίκης.
20 It must have been one function of the anabasis in a trial to make it possible to have copies of state documents made and agreed by both parties for recital at the hearing-in-chief. Only when these documents had been assembled in a Record Office would it have been possible for them to be cited on the scale which prevails from Andok. 1 onwards.
21 Dem. Against Leptines 20, 127 specifically called τῆς στήλης τηγάματα.
22 Dem. Against Aristogeiton 2, 24.
23 Lyk. 118, Thuc. 6, 55.
24 For στηλὴν the MSS. have στήλαν or στήλων.
refer to the stele. We cannot take the same way out with [Dem.] Against Neaira 59, 76. The speaker here refers to a stele for the law governing the qualifications for the wife of the basileus. If these qualifications had not been taken over in the code of 403/2 the citation of the law by the orator would have had little point. We can guess why this citation is from a stele. The speaker stresses that the script is Attic, and he may well have been wishing to emphasise the pre-Eukleidean status of this law. If so the passage proves nothing as to a Record Office. Other passages cited by Kahrstedt to prove this point do not do so. There is nothing in Thucydides' references to stelai in connexion with three treaties in Book 5 22 to show that the stelai on which these treaties were undoubtedly engraved were the official copies from which Thucydides took his own, though this is what Kahrstedt takes the passages to prove. And indeed the whole of this part of Kahrstedt's case is weak. One might easily explain the citation from stelai of enactments no longer valid by the hypothesis that, when a document ceased to be valid, it was thrown out of the archives, so that if you wished to cite it you had to have recourse to a stele if such there was. On the other hand, there is a passage cited here by Kahrstedt which, though it does not prove this particular point, does appear to me to help his general thesis. In [Dem.] Against Neaira 59, 104 we have a decree dating from the Peloponnesian war conferring citizenship on the Peloponnesians. I can see nothing to show, what Kahrstedt nevertheless assumes, that the quotation is made from a stele. On the other hand, we are told that when the Peloponnesians had passed a dokimasia their names were to be inscribed on a stone to be set up on the akropolis that sṓghthta ἡ δωρεά τῶν ἐπιτυγχανόντων καὶ ἡ ἐξελέγχον ὁποῖο δὲ ἐκαυτός ἡ συγγενεία. The passage is strong evidence for the existence of a document in the strict sense of the term on a stele on the akropolis, not in a Record Office.

(c) Kahrstedt's third line of argument is that in the fifth century formal annulment of a legislative enactment is secured by the physical erasure or demolition of stelai, which implies that they, and not a papyrus in a Record Office, were the official documents. Thus the Thirty, in order to reverse the laws of Ephialtes and Archedatas concerning the Areopagos, τοὺς ἑφιάλτου καὶ Ἁρχεδεστᾶτον νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἀρεσταπτῶν καθέλων καὶ Ἁρειοῦ τάγμων. 26 The form of expression implies physical removal of the texts from the Areopagos. In IG II 186, 21 a decree of about 410 B.C., τὰ δὲ περὶ τιμάντος γεγραμμένα ἐν πόλει ἔκκαλου κατά τοὺς γεγραμμένα καὶ τοὺς τοιαύτας έκ τῆς θεότητος τῆς τάγματος. Here again physical erasure on a stele on the akropolis seems to constitute the annulment of a decree. Less persuasive is the story in Nepos referring to the re-instatement of Alkibiades in 407 B.C.; ἡ πιλακε τοίας, in quibus debito fuerant, in mare praecipitata. 27 Such a flamboyant act would suit the character of Alkibiades quite irrespective of its legal significance. Cases where in the fourth century the demolishing of a stele is ordered are explained by Kahrstedt either as treaties dating back before 405 B.C. 28 or as mere political demonstrations like the destruction in 340/39 B.C. of the stele recording the peace with Philip. 29

Let us provisionally accept Kahrstedt's view that 403/2 B.C. marks an epoch in the setting up of a state Record Office and consider how, if it is accepted, it relates to the changes in the law code which were taking place in that and the preceding eight or nine years.30

Examine first the activities of that rather mysterious figure Nikomachos, who is attacked in Lysias 30. I would emphasise at the outset that he was not, as he is sometimes described, 31 a nomothetes in any technical sense. It is true that in two places, §§ 2 and 28, Lysias uses the word of him. But the whole point of these passages is to show that he has usurped legislative functions, and the passage in § 2 in particular would be meaningless if he had in fact been a nomothetes: προστασίαν αὐτοῦ τετάραμον μνηνίων ἀναγράφαι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Σολωνοῖς, αὐτοί Ἰφιάλης αὐτοῦ νομοθέτην κατεφέρσια. If we may believe Lysias Nikomachos was the son of a public slave (§ 2), he had been freed and made a citizen and had at one time been an hypogrammatēs (§ 27). At a date shortly after the fall of the Four Hundred, though whether before or after the restoration of the full democracy we cannot say, he was appointed an anagrapheus of the laws, and Lysias describes so much of his assignment as was relevant to his speech in the words quoted above. He goes on to say that he stretched out his term of office (ἀργυρίως) from four months to six years, that, receiving money day by day, he wrote in some laws and expunged others (τοὺς μὲν ἐνέγραψεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐξελέφαν). As a result he was dealing out laws piece-meal to the Athenians (ἐκ τῆς τούτου χειρὸς ἐπαίμασε τοὺς νόμους), sometimes even providing contradictory laws to the two litigants in a single suit. Although the archons imposed fines on him and brought him into court, 32 he refused to produce the laws (οὐκ ἠθέλησε παραδοθῆναι τοὺς νόμους), but was still in office and had rendered no accounts when the democracy fell (§§ 2–3). In a later passage (§§ 9 ff.) Lysias alleges that at the trial of Kleophon his accusers

26 Thuc. 5, 18, 10; 5, 23, 5: 5, 47, 11.
28 Nep. Alcib. 6, 5.
29 E.g. IG II 189; 40: 16: 43, 31. Kahrstedt dissent from the view of Ehrenberg in Hermes LXIV (1929), pp. 330 ff. that these were separate treaties dating from shortly before 378 B.C.
30 Philochoros F. Gr. Hist., 328, F 55.
31 C. Jacoby, Arist. (1849), p. 205: 'There still seems to be a tendency to overestimate both the amount of documents and particularly their easy availability in the State archives.' And in his note ibid. p. 383, though expressing the view that 'Kahrstedt is somewhat extreme in the opposite direction', he finds his date for the archive, 403/2, 'most attractive'.
33 On what grounds we are not told. That some of the infringements could be dealt with by ἱμπόδιοι does not suggest anything very serious.
urged Nikomachos to produce a law ὅς χρή καὶ τῆν βουλήν συνδικάζειν and that on the day of the trial he obligingly did so.

The following points seem to emerge from this story, making due allowance for the exaggerations of a pleader, but assuming that his exaggerations had sufficient background in fact to make them plausible.

The office of anagrapheus was an archē and subject to euthuna. The reference to receiving money daily in §2 may be a sneering reference to pay for the office, but it might equally be a suggestion of corruption. We cannot say whether Nikomachos' appointment had any connexion with the activity of the nomothetai mentioned in Thuc. 8, 97, 2, but such a connexion would be plausible enough. His task was ἀναγράφωσις τῶν νόμων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. It was thought that the task would last four months, but it is not likely that his office was limited to this period; if it had been, he could hardly have clung to it as he did for six years. In intention the task was to be purely factual, or in modern terminology administrative. The gravamen of Lysias' charge against him is that he had turned an administrative function into a legislative function.

What precisely was this task? It must in the first place have been one of identification, discovering the laws of Solon. We can, I think, further assume, that this was to be taken not in the scholar's or historian's sense of the original laws that had stood—and in part at least still stood—on the axones. It would have embraced all the laws that had been valid in the period immediately preceding the revolution. Any scope less wide than this would remove all plausibility from the clause quoted above from §3, εἰς τὸ τοῦτο δὲ κατέστησαν ὡστε ἐκ τῆς τούτου χείρος ἑταμεισμόθηκα τῶν νόμων.

It is less easy to be sure what exactly he was intended to do with these laws when he had identified them. ἀναγράφωσις means 'publish', but by no means necessarily 'engrave on stone', and indeed the four months originally allowed for the work, if we are to believe Lysias, almost rule this out. It may have been the sort of publication laid upon the first board of nomothetai in the decree of Teisamenos, who are instructed with regard to certain laws ἀναγράφουσιν ἐν συνίσκοις ἐκτίθεντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐποιημένους σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ. There is some slight confirmation of this in the fact that Lysias complains that Nikomachos οὐκ ἴθελε παρασκευάζως τῶν νόμων and in the Teisamenos decree the nomothetai are bidden, besides publishing the laws on boards and ἐφισάνοια τῶν ἀναγραφέως ἐν τοῖς τῷ μνήμων. The laws thus delivered to the magistrates in the Teisamenos decree had been at one stage subjected to a process of dokimasia. On this analogy we may conjecture, though it is only a conjecture, that the original intention was that the texts produced by Nikomachos (and presumably by colleagues) should also be subjected to some form of dokimasia before their validity was finally confirmed. The fact that Nikomachos was allowed to go on for six years without his texts being confirmed in this way seems to indicate that, contrary to the picture drawn by Lysias, he was producing texts that met with fairly general approval and did not give rise to any grave political controversy. The engraving of the texts—or at least some of them—on stone may point in the same direction.

The anagrapheus of 410 B.C. and the following years have left certain traces of their activity on stone. First there is the partially preserved republication of part of Drakon's homicide law. The decree, dated to the year 409/8 B.C., instructs the anagrapheus of the laws to engrave on a stone stele the law of Drakon about homicide, getting the text from the Secretary of the Council, and to set up the stele in front of the royal Stoa. There follows the prefix πρωτος ἀγγέλῃ and immediately thereafter the words καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑκ προσώπος κτείνῃ τὴς τοῦ. No satisfactory explanation has been offered why the clauses dealing with premeditated homicide did not appear in this text. That they did not appear seems certain: both a priori probability and the word καὶ at the beginning of the text suggest that in the original law those clauses preceded the clauses dealing with unpremeditated homicide. I have myself no explanation to offer. I would, however, make one point. The fact that these clauses are missing is slightly less puzzling if we regard this text as a preliminary step in a process of codification rather than, as it is more usually regarded, part of the completed process.

Secondly, there is the complex of documents dealt with by J. H. Oliver, W. S. Ferguson, S. Dow, and Miss L. H. Jeffery. Oliver and Ferguson argued convincingly that we have here the remains of a free-standing wall made up of stelai clamped together and smoothed back and front, with writing in Attic script on one side and in Ionic on the other. This wall, it is argued, contained the results of the work of the anagrapheus begun in 410 B.C., interrupted in 405, and resumed in 403.

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33 Is the absence of mention of Drakon significant or merely due to a desire for brevity on Lysias' part?
34 J. Schreiner, De Copore Juris Atheniense (1915), pp. 21 ff., and especially pp. 48 ff., has established the thesis that the laws of Solon was a generic term for the 'corpus iuris Atticorum'.
35 Andok. On the Mysteries 1, 83. I deal with this decree in detail later.
36 IG 1 115; Tod, GHI 87.
37 Should we deduce from this that the original axon, whether as is more probable it went back to Drakon himself or was incorporated among the axones of Solon, no longer existed and the official text was a papyrus kept by the Secretary of the Council? If the original axon existed this clause seems otiose. If it did not, the clause indicates where the authentic copy is to be found:
On the obverse, the side written in Attic script, there are fragments of the triarchic law. Correspondences with regulations for triarchs in [Dem.] Against Eurygos and Mnesiboulos 47, 26 and 33 ff., confirmed Oliver's identification of this document as part of the code. The obverse contains further part of what may be a calendar of sacrifices. The surviving fragments of the reverse contain parts of a calendar of sacrifices. Ferguson shows good reason for believing that the calendar on the reverse, where the sacrifices were listed month by month in chronological order in the groups of annual, trieretic, and (presumably) penteteric, was not a continuation of the calendar—if calendar it was—on the obverse. This is important, since it gives colour to his conjecture that the engraving of the calendar was begun anew in 403 B.C. This would allow space on the wall between the old and the new versions of the calendar for the engraving of those additional secular laws 39 which we know from the decree of Teisamenos were added to the code in 403. Moreover, we might perhaps argue from the fact that a calendar was at least begun on the pre-Euclidean side of the wall and that in all probability that section followed immediately on the triarchic law that the anagrapheis had by that date completed their work on the secular laws.

Lastly, there is the so-called charter of the new democracy. 40 Measurement of the stones shows that neither this nor Drakon's republished law were part of the wall, and Ferguson suggests that the anagrapheis began by having sections of the laws engraved on separate stelai, and at some stage in their work it was decided to make the publication uniform by inscribing them on stones of a uniform size so as to form a wall with texts on both sides.

How did it come about that there could be so much doubt in 410 B.C. what were the valid laws of Drakon and Solon that the task of codifying them could last six years, in the course of which it could be later suggested with some show of plausibility that a superior clerk was producing texts of his own to suit his private purposes? There can have been little doubt about the laws surviving on the axones, though we do not know the extent or the state of preservation of these survivals. Uncertainty must have centred chiefly on the accretions to the original laws. It would arise from two main causes: (i) the material cause that there were at the time no state archives (assuming that there were not) and the texts were therefore scattered all over the city 41 and outside it as well, and (ii) the difficulty of deciding what ordinances were entitled to be called laws of Solon.

I suggest that the revolution of the Four Hundred had brought to a head dissatisfaction with the growing uncertainty what were valid laws. Either the moderate government which succeeded the Four Hundred or the fully restored democracy determined to remedy this, and as a first step towards clarification appointed anagrapheis to search out and publish all laws of Drakon and Solon and accretions for which present validity was to be claimed. The intention was that when this preliminary work was done the resulting texts should be submitted to some form of dokimasia to give them renewed and final validity. In the meantime the same unsatisfactory uncertainty continued as before, with the modification that litigants could have recourse to the collections being made by Nikomachos and others; and we gather from Lysias that these texts did carry some weight in the courts. 42

If this picture is at all correct it would confirm the thesis of Kahrshtedt that the archonship of Eukleides does mark an epoch in Athenian legislative procedure. What precisely the procedure in the fourth century was, and in particular whether it took from the ekklesia sovereignty in law-making to confer it upon the nomothetai, are questions I reserve for the moment. But one thing about it is clear: it hedged about the making, annulling, or amending of nomoi with an elaborate process in which the nomothetai played an important role. The career of Nikomachos down to 403/2 B.C. seems to me quite incompatible with the existence of any such procedure before that date. Had it existed, it is scarcely conceivable that so much uncertainty could have prevailed as to the existing laws and, moreover, its existence would have supplied just the machinery needed for scrutinising the texts produced by the anagrapheis.

Two specific pieces of evidence have been adduced for the existence of this procedure before 403.

(i) Thuc. 8, 97, 2, of the moderate constitution which succeeded the Four Hundred, says, ἐνιγμοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα υ̣στερον πυκκαν ἐκλατιέναι, ἄρνιν καὶ νομοθέτας καὶ τάλλα ἐμφοριστον ἐξ τῶν πολίτεων. This is all we hear of these nomothetai, and the words used do not suggest the mere revival of a pre-existing piece of machinery. (ii) In line 16 of the assessment decree of 425/4 B.C. 43 a fairly certain restoration refers to the nomothetai, who are set to up a new court of 1000 jurors to hear appeals in assessment cases. This seems odd work for nomothetai, and is in any case not very closely related to their functions in the fourth century. Neither of these two isolated pieces

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39 For the dangers attaching to the use of the opposed terms "secular" and "sacred" in this connexion see Jacoby, Athen., p. 244, n. 46; p. 257, n. 119; p. 274, n. 362.

40 IG i & 114; for new text see Wade-Gery in BSA XXXIII (1938), pp. 113ff.

41 Dem. Against Neaira 59, 76, for example, refers to a law set up on a stela by the alar in the temple of Dionysos at Limnaia. I owe this reference to Mr. K. J. Dover.

42 Lysias Against Nic. 30, 9 ff. It is perhaps worth noting that statutory law, whether in the form of nomoi or pepithemata, had a much less compelling force on an Athenian than on a modern court: its rules were rather evidence in the quest for a just decision than absolute dictates to the court. This made uncertainty as to their exact content and scope slightly more tolerable than it would be now.

43 IG P 63; Tod, GHI 66; ATL II A 9. The stone, if correctly reconstructed by Meritt and West, reads θέσεις: it would be more agreeable to probabilities to read thermeothetai, but this is a carefully cut stelechon inscription.
of evidence seems to me enough to offset the arguments against any regular process of nomothetia or standing body of nomothetai before 493/2 B.C. 44

Our main source for what happened in 493/2 is Andokides' speech On the Mysteries. In 399 B.C. Andokides was subjected to the process of eneixis by Kephisios and others, the charge being that he had in that year exercised certain rights in defiance of a decree of Isotimides of the year 415. In the passage which concerns us (§§ 70 ff.), his main object is to show that this decree is no longer valid. He says, Κηφίςιος ἐνέθεις μὲν ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον τὸν κέιμον, τὴν δὲ καταγγέλλει τοίσις κατὰ ἤμισυα πρότερον γενόμενον, δὲ ἔτην ἱστομήν. Here ὁ κέιμον τοῦ νόμος clearly means the law as made valid in 493/2, as opposed to a psephisma which had not received that canonisation. The law would be a general one dealing with the procedure for bringing eneixis; the psephisma was a specific one, excluding from sanctuaries those who had committed and confessed sacrilege. Andokides asserted that he had neither committed nor confessed sacrilege and that the psephisma had been annulled and was no longer valid, λέγων καὶ ἀκρον ἐστί.

The proof of the latter point he takes in two stages. The first deals with the decree of Pachyteles and does not immediately concern us. The second (§§ 81 ff.) consists in a brief description of the events following the restoration of the democracy. An amnesty having been decided on, 'you elected', he says, 'a board of twenty who were to administer the city until the laws 45 were established. In the meantime the laws of Solon and the ordinances of Drakon were to be observed. However when you had appointed a boule by lot and elected nomothetai, you began to discover 46 that there were many of the laws of Solon and Drakon under which many of the citizens would be liable on account of things which had happened earlier. You therefore held an assembly and, after deliberating on the matter, decreed that there should be a scrutiny of all the laws and subsequently those laws that passed the scrutiny should be posted up in the Stoa.'

There follows the decree of Teisamenos which I translate: 'On the motion of Teisamenos the people decreed that the Athenians should be governed according to ancestral custom, that they should employ the laws of Solon, his weights and measures and the ordinances of Drakon, which were in force previously. 47 Any additional laws that are needed, these nomothetai 48 who have been elected by the boule shall write up on boards and place in front of the epistyleis for all to see and shall hand them over to the magistrates within the month. The laws handed over are to be scrutinised first 49 by the boule and the 500 nomothetai elected by the demesmen, when they have taken the oath. Any private citizen who wishes may appear before the boule and make any proposal about the laws which seems expedient to him. When the laws have been ratified, they shall be placed under the charge of the boule of the Areopagos, in order that only the laws that have been ratified shall be applied by the magistrates. The laws that are ratified shall be posted on the wall, where they were posted before, for all to see.'

Andokides proceeds 'the laws were scrutinised in accordance with this decree, and they posted those that were ratified in the Stoa. And when they had been posted we made a law which you apply universally. Kindly read it.

LAW.—Magistrates are not to apply in any case an unwritten law.' A little later some other related laws are quoted. (i) That no psephisma of boule or demos shall prevail over a nomos. (ii) That except by a vote of 6000 voting secretly, no law shall be made referring to an individual which cannot be applied to all Athenians. (iii) That all judgements of a court or arbitrator pronounced under the democracy shall be valid. (iv) That the laws shall become effective from the archonship of Eukleides: τοῖς νόμοις χρήσθησί ὑπὲρ Εὐκλείδου ἄρνοςον.

This account bristles with difficulties, and I can only briefly touch on two of the more important of them. I am assuming that the decree of Teisamenos is (a) a genuine decree, and (b) is the actual decree on which Andokides is commenting, though both these assumptions have been challenged.

The first and most serious difficulty lies in the relation of the decree as quoted to Andokides' introduction to it. In the first place the motive given by Andokides for the procedure laid down in the decree seems quite inadequate. The Athenians would hardly have embarked on a revision of their whole code simply to safeguard the position of those citizens, even if they were many, who would have been liable under the existing code for earlier breaches of it. This improbability, however, need not have worried Andokides, and it certainly suited his book so to twist the whole

44 It is true that Demosthenes, Against Leptines 20, 93 attributes the law dealing with nomothetia to Solon and Against Timocrates 24, 21, he says that related laws had been in existence for a long time, which would certainly imply pre-Eukleidan statutes. While I would admit that if in fact these laws were post-493 Demosthenes could, and probably would, have been aware of it, I certainly would not put it beyond him to attribute to them a greater and more respectable antiquity than they really had.

45 Or 'new laws', ἐν δὲ νόμοι τετελεῖσιν καὶ συν. Dohbre. ἐν δὲ νόμοι νόμοι, Stahl.

46 Or 'they began to discover', εἰσρέχοντας καὶ, εἰσρέχονται Reiske.

47 αὐτοῖς ἱστομήν ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ χρόνῳ. Some commentators have taken πρῶτον as 'the first time' to refer to the law of the constitution as distinct from the laws of Solon and Drakon mentioned in the succeeding words. It seems to me more likely that the first phrase is a general description covering, and defined by, all that succeeds. Even any necessary additions to the laws of Solon and Drakon would be in the spirit of τα πάρταρια.

48 Or 'the nomothetai' or 'the ten' or 'the fifty nomothetai', οἵ δὲ ἡμῶν νομοθετὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ρους κατφόρας καὶ νὴς ἡμῶν πάρταρια ἔχοντος πάρταρια Reiske. Maitdment, Minor Attic Orators, Leoch (1841), ad loc., keeps ὑπὸ and translates 'and named hereafter', presumably supposing that only one body of nomothetai is mentioned in the decree. But this translation is scarcely possible, save on the unlikely supposition that a schedule of names was attached to the original decree.

49 πρῶτον presumably means that the scrutiny is to take place before the laws are handed over; a careless piece of drafting, but not unparalleled.
procedure as to make it appear that its whole aim and object was to render the amnesty secure.

More serious is the fact that Andokides is quite explicit that all the laws are to be subjected to scrutiny, whereas a simple interpretation of the decree suggests that it is only additional laws that are to be scrutinised and that there was an existing corpus of Solonian and Drakonian law that was to be taken over unchanged. Two solutions have been put forward for this difficulty—always on the assumption that we are not, because of it, to reject the decree altogether.

(1) Frohberger maintained that any substantial additions to the laws must have entailed a revision of the existing laws and that we must assume that Teisamos simply took such a revision for granted.

(2) Ferguson objects that we must construe the decree strictly, that it provides for adjustment of the laws of Drakon and Solon by supplementary legislation alone and that in fact the work of the anagrapheis between 410 and 405 was taken over in its inscribed form, the additional laws when ratified being added to the wall which contained these previous drafts. It was really the additional laws, rather than any amendment to existing laws, which gave Andokides any cover he had, and in fact the laws he quotes specifically are by his own showing additional.

I should myself prefer a compromise. I agree with Ferguson that from the wording of the decree, the short time allowed for the whole procedure, and the probability that there existed a large body of text of laws of Solon and Drakon, there was a presumption that not much alteration would be needed in the existing texts. I should, however, be reluctant to believe that all possibility of revising these texts was ruled out. This possibility was, I suggest, provided for by the clause of the decree which allows any citizen to come before the boule and suggest improvements in the laws. There is no sound for restricting the laws in this clause to the additional laws.

The other principal difficulty is the nomothetai. They are mentioned three times. Once in the text of Andokides, where he says that when the Athenians had chosen a boule by lot and appointed nomothetai, they (i.e. either the Athenians or the nomothetai) found that many citizens would be liable, etc. Twice in the text of the decree, in these terms: (i) οἵς ἡ γενεᾶς αὐτῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς, (ii) οἱ νομοθετῶν οἱ παντοκράτοι οὗτοι οἱ δημοται εἰς τοῦτο.

It seems clear to me that there are in the decree two quite distinct bodies called nomothetai, one elected by the boule, probably quite small and performing the sort of function which had in the recent past been given to synagrapheis; possibly the action of the synagrapheis in 411 had given that title a bad odour; the other a body of 500 chosen by the demes, who are to scrutinise the laws in collaboration with the boule. I would equate the nomothetai mentioned by Andokides with the former body. Teisamos may have been a member of this body.

I suggest the following reconstruction. The new boule chose a body of nomothetai, perhaps ten in number, to be a drafting commission; at the same time the demes were choosing 500 nomothetai whose eventual function was to be the scrutiny of the laws. These appointments had certainly been made, and perhaps a good deal of the spade-work done, when the decree of Teisamos was passed. This prescribed that the basis of the new code should be the laws as they stood before the usurpation of the Thirty, together with any necessary supplements. The supplements proposed by the drafting commission were to be published on boards; they were then to be considered by the boule, together with any proposals by private citizens on the laws, new or old; all these proposals were then to be voted on by the 500 nomothetai, and those that were accepted were to be handed over by the drafting nomothetai to the appropriate magistrates within a month of the passing of the decree. They were also to be published by being engraved on the wall where the old drafts had been.

The official copy of the code was to be in the custody of the Areopagos.

Whether or not the previous drafts of the anagrapheis were submitted to scrutiny in the course of this procedure, we must suppose that their texts were embraced in the general ratification, so that from then on forward they, together with the supplements, were the only κειμένοι νόμοι. Any other enactment would be διάγραφος, and therefore invalid; Andokides implies that in this respect the decree of Isotimides was invalid because διάγραφον. That all laws received a kind of canonisation at this point is indicated by the clause in § 87 from one of the supplements, τοίς νόμοις χρησκεύα σύν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀρχηγὸς.53

It seems likely highly that the fourth-century procedure for amending the laws thus codified and making new ones was instituted at the same time as the codification, and that it was to some extent modelled on the procedure of the Teisamos decree. It may, however, have been instituted some years later. Which view we take must depend partly on how we interpret the activities of Nikomachos between 403 and 399 as portrayed by Lysias.

In spite of the conduct attributed to Lysias in the preceding period, Nikomachos was

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40 Frohberger-Thalheim, Ausgewählte Reden von Lysias II (1887), p. 45.
42 For the reading see n. 48 above.
43 If this is a legitimate deduction from Andok. 1, 84, ἐπιμελητήριον ἢ δημόσιον ἢ ἐς Ἀρχαίον παρακολούθησιν νόμον κ.τ.λ.
44 We can point to at least one instance in which the substantive law was changed at the archonship of Euclidean. Before that date it was legal, either by custom or by statute, for children of mixed marriages to share in an inheritance, thereafter it was not. Isokos, On the Estate of Philoklemon 6, 47, On the Estate of Kyr 8, 43; Dem., Against Makartatos 43, 51, Against Euboulides 57, 30.
once more chosen as an anagrapheus, a fact which in itself indicates that Lysias' allegations against him were considerably exaggerated. We must attempt to clarify the grounds on which Lysias criticises him in this second period. They are introduced in Lysias 30 §§ 17 ff. in the guise of a reply to a counter-charge put into the mouth of Nikomachos by Lysias. 'I understand', Lysias says, 'that he is saying that I am guilty of impiety in trying to do away with the sacrifices (συνέκτησις κατά τούς τάξεις τέμπες). Now if it was I who was imposing laws about the publication of the code, I should admit the justice of the charge. But in fact all that I am asking is that he should obey the common and established laws (τως κοινωνίας και κείμενοι). And I am surprised that he does not reflect that he is actually accusing the city when he says that I am guilty of sacrilege in asserting that sacrifices should be made from the kurbeis and stelai in accordance with the syngraphai; for this is what you decreed.'

He goes on to say that as a result of having sacrificed in accordance with the stelai set up by Nikomachos (κατά τούς στέλεις ὥς οὖν ἐνέγραψε) many traditional sacrifices had been omitted notwithstanding the fact that in the last two years 12 talents more than was necessary had been spent on sacrifices. To this Nikomachos is made to reply that in drafting he had been guided by considerations of piety, not economy, and that in any case the Athenians if they did not like his calendar could amend it: λέγων ὡς εὐθείαν ἄλλῳ οὖν ἕντελειαν ἐνέγραψε καὶ εἰ μὴ τούτα μὴ ἔφεσε, ἔξω τέλειῳ, κείμενοι κείμενοι.

What does Lysias mean by saying that the sacrifices should be from the kurbeis and the stelai (?) in accordance with the syngraphai, for that is what had been decreed? Syngraphai are presumably drafts or schedules drawn up by syngraphai. We must suppose that some drafting body—either in 411/10 or perhaps the first set of nomothetai in the decree of Teisamenos—had drafted instructions for the anagrapheis, tying them pretty closely to a calendar as set out in kurbeis and stelai (?) and that Nikomachos is here being accused of ignoring these instructions and as a result introducing into the calendar innovations which had rendered it impossible to maintain the full programme in spite of an additional expenditure of 6 talents a year. It is possibly to these instructions that Lysias is referring when he says in § 4 διαφημίον ξυνήγραψεν ὡς δὲν ἔδωκεν ἐννομοθετεῖτο.

What, then, was the constitutional status in 399 of the old calendar as it was on the kurbeis and stelai (?) and the new one as written up by Nikomachos? Lysias is evidently trying to suggest that the new calendar was of doubtful validity; in one passage (§ 21) his words taken literally imply that there had been occasions since Nikomachos' publication when the old calendar had been followed: he says there 'whenever we sacrifice according to the schedules (ὅταν κατά τούς συνεκτημένους ποιομένους) all the traditional sacrifices are performed, but whenever we go by the stelai set up by Nikomachos many are omitted'. This might, however, be a calculated inaccuracy for 'at the time when we were sacrificing according to the old calendar'. The only other clue given by this passage is the retort put into the mouth of Nikomachos that if the Athenians did not like his calendar they could do away with it (ἐξελαφρεύει).

There are two possibilities. (1) The calendar as published by Nikomachos had the same status in 399 as the various texts published by the anagrapheis had had between 410 and 405. It purported to be simply a reproduction of the old calendar which had existed on the kurbeis and stelai, and it had never received confirmation by a process of nomothetia as the secular law had in 403/2. (2) The new calendar had been ratified by a similar process to that applied to the secular law and had been among the κείμενοι νόμοι for two years by 399.

At first sight the former hypothesis is attractive. In general, the argument of Lysias suggests a parallel between Nikomachos' behaviour before and after 403, and his criticism of Nikomachos for the content of the new calendar would lose much force if in fact it had been confirmed by nomothetia.

More specifically, if we apply strictly Kahrstedt's conclusions on the archives, the fact that Lysias refers to the new calendar according to the stelai might be held to imply that it had not yet been included in the archives. Further, Andokides, i, 116, refers to a stele as imposing a penalty on anyone who placed a hiketeria in the Eleusinion, and this might on the same principle be taken as implying that in 399 this part of the sacred law had not been confirmed. Neither of these specific points, however, is conclusive. Lysias is not quoting verbatim when he refers to the stelai, and this form of expression was perhaps the easiest way for him to distinguish Nikomachos' version of the calendar from earlier versions. The reference to the stelai in Andokides has a dramatic justification, even supposing the law thereon had been recorded in the archives: Kallias is actually standing beside a stone which convicts him of error. Rather stronger is the argument from the
retort of Nikomachos. It would be slightly more natural for him to have said 'you yourselves have confirmed this calendar', if that in fact was the case, than 'you can always revoke the calendar if you no longer like it'. But we have only Lysias' word for what he did say. The strongest argument for this hypothesis is perhaps that unless there was something in abeyance it is difficult to account for Nikomachos' still being in office and evading the presentation of his accounts.

On the other hand, if this hypothesis is adopted it almost necessarily carries with it the further hypothesis that the fourth-century procedure of nomothesia had not yet been adopted. For if it had been in operation during those last four years it would be very odd that it should not have been applied in the case of the calendar. For this reason I lean to the view that the calendar of Nikomachos had in fact been confirmed and that Lysias has been rather successful in creating the impression that Nikomachos' behaviour after 403 had been a repetition of what it had been before. He has thus fastened on to Nikomachos the odium for the curtailment of the patria, if such there was, which really should have rested on the nomothetai who had confirmed the calendar.

I conclude, then, that nomothesia is the fourth-century sense was instituted in or shortly after the archonship of Eukleides. I would only add a few words to deprecate attaching an exaggerated importance to the change. There can, in my opinion, be no doubt that under that procedure the nomothetai gave final validity to a law, and that a law, once made valid, could only be annulled either by going through another process of nomothesia or by being arraigned before a court by a γραφὴ παρακλησιαν or a γραφὴ νομον μη ἐπτησιαν. Kahrstedt underlines this undoubted fact and takes it to prove that in law-making the ekklesia was thus deprived of sovereignty in favour of the nomothetai. Mrs. Atkinson is deeply shocked at this derogation, and makes desperate efforts to show that the part played by the nomothetai was only nominal and that the ekklesia had effective control at all stages. But her solicitude is misplaced. No one doubts—not even Mrs. Atkinson I think, though she is not absolutely clear on the point—that the suit παρακλησιαν and νομον μη ἐπτησιαν were heard before a dikastery, and the effect of such a suit might be to annul, and would certainly be to suspend a law. The experience of Aristophon, who boasted of having been defendant in such suits seventy-five times, proves that this curtailment of the sovereignty of the ekklesia in favour of the dikasteries was no academic safeguard. The Athenians in fact regarded sworn dikastai as effective representatives of the demos. Why not also sworn nomothetai?

This controversy can therefore, I think, be carried on in a less exalted key. The question is not whether the sovereign people allowed itself to be robbed of full control of the law-making machine, but whether it deliberately invented a perfectly democratic brake to slow down the machine. It is significant of the procedure that the ekklesia can always prevent change, though it cannot always secure it. It is understandable that in the light of the events of 411 and 405 more importance should have been attached to maintaining the restored order against the possible ill effects of snap votes in the ekklesia than to ensuring that the ekklesia could do exactly what it liked, how it liked, and when it liked. The brake had not a very long life, but the attempt to apply it at this stage of Athens' history, if it can be so dated, is important. It gains some added topical interest from recent events in the U.S.A. and South Africa.

*Note.* The substance of the above was read to the Oxford Philological Society in June 1952. I gained much from the discussion at that meeting, and must also express my gratitude to Miss L. H. Jeffery, Mr. T. J. Dunhabin, and Mr. C. Hignett, who were good enough to read the paper in typescript and make valuable comments on points of detail. I was unfortunately not able to make use of Mr. Hignett's *History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* but am relieved to find that nothing that I have said conflicts very seriously with his Appendix on *The Revision of the Laws.* Finally, I am deeply indebted to Sir John Miles, late Warden of Merton, who has been generous in encouragement and most helpful in critical comment.

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44 For Aristophan see Aishin, *Against Kler.* 3, 194. For the recognition of the sovereignty of the courts see, e.g., Dem. *Against Euboul.* 57, 56.
THE DANCE IN GREEK TRAGEDY

On rhythm and metre Aristoxenus always talks the plainest common sense—which is more than one can say about certain other ancient metricians. On Time, in its rhythmic aspect, he remarks: 'Time is articulated by each of the three μέτρα, λήξις, μέδος and κύψης συμμετική.' The Greek choral lyric was a triple partnership of poetry, song, and dancing, and Aristoxenus here points out that they share a common rhythm. (He goes on to develop the idea, but that need not concern us here.) We could safely infer for ourselves, even if Plato and Aristotle had not told us, that the music and the dance were far from being merely decorative or casual additions to the poetry. The poetry may have been Queen, as Pratinas maintained, but the philosophers took the other two partners very seriously as 'imitators' of moral ideas and the like; and there is every reason to suppose that the dramatists did the same. But writers on Greek Tragedy have had much to say about the λήξις of the odes; nothing about its two partners—for the good reason that we know nothing about them. Yet it does seem possible, here and there, to say a little about the dance. Whether it is worth saying, the reader must judge.

The audience, sitting in the theatre, saw some kind of ordered physical movement in the orchestra as it listened to the singing or chanting of an ode. If in any given case we were asked what this movement was, our only answer is that we cannot possibly tell. Nevertheless, there are moments where we can infer, with more or less probability, the sort of thing that was being done by the dancers, and occasionally—notably in the Agamemnon—this dim and doubtful picture will contribute something to our appreciation of the drama.

As a preliminary here are two small examples. At O. T. 1207 we read: ἰὼ κλείνων Ὀλίστον κόρα, and at the corresponding point in the antistrophe: ἰὼ Λασίων ὧ τέκνον. Does it not seem likely that at this point in the repeated dance-movement the chorus turned, faced the Palace, and made some gesture apostrophising Oedipus? In the Persae the three successive verses 550-2 begin with the name of Xerxes, and the corresponding verses of the antistrophe all begin with the word ναί. Certainly, this is a device that might be used in pure poetry, but if we reflect that Aeschylus was not simply a dramatic poet, but also a composer and a choreographer, we may reasonably conclude that this repetition of significant words was conceived by him not only aurally, but visually and spatially as well.

These are two examples out of several of the kind that might be adduced. What do we gain from them? Indeed, not very much; but at least if a teacher made such suggestions to his pupils they might be saved from using, as they will do, the revolting phrase: 'It says, later in this book...'. And it is something, to realise that a play does not consist of print.

But we can go farther than this. In the Agamemnon, as I believe, it is possible to see what we may call the ground-plan of an extensive dance-movement which was a very important element in the play. We can even use it as an extra control in our interpretation of the play. In the Agamemnon, Aeschylus does something which is not common in Greek drama—the only parallel in fact is the Bacchae: he composes several odes on the same basic rhythm. In the Bacchae the rhythm is the Ionic a minor, and about this I can find no more to say than that it is obviously suited to the mood and subject of the play. About the rhythm that Aeschylus uses, much more can be said. Unlike the Ionics, and certain rhythms which we will discuss later—the choriambic and anacrusis—it has no strongly marked associations or ethos of its own, being in fact a quite straightforward iambic rhythm, usually a trimeter, sometimes a dimeter, and once (v. 194) a single metron. It is given flexibility by the admission of one, two, three, or four prolongations; that is, a long syllable equal to three shorts (a dotted crotchet, so to speak) may take the place of a long and a short. Typical verses are:

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\begin{align*}
\text{παλιμυμήκη χρόνου τιθείσαι} & \\
\text{ος - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) -} & \\
\text{λύποδυσα δ' αντοίςν ασπιώτατασ} & \\
\text{ος - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) -} & \\
\text{βρότους θραύσειν γαρ αἰχρόμητις} & \\
\text{ος - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) -} & \\
\text{ἐπιραζαν ὤς ἔκρατεν οὐκ ἔρα τίς} & \\
\text{ος - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) - (o) -} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

With this preamble, we may consider how the choral parts of the play are laid out. The first ode, the parodos, falls into three clearly marked sections. To begin with, there are three stanzas,
mainly in dactyli, which deal with the omen. Then comes what we may call the Hymn to Zeus, and that is in trochees. The third section deals with Agamemnon's sacrificing of Iphigenia, and is composed in the iambic rhythm, though with dramatic excursions into other metres, such as the choriambics of vv. 201–3. In the second ode there are seven stanzas; with the exception of the song-like refrain appended to each of the first six, the iambic rhythm prevails throughout. The third ode contains eight stanzas. The first pair are in trochees and anacreonics, the second pair in glyconics. With the third pair the iambics return, giving place to more anacreonics, but the fourth pair is entirely iambic. The fourth ode, we observe, does not use the iambic rhythm at all, but it comes back later, at 1485–7 and 1530–6, with the responding passages. In other words, beginning with v. 192, seventeen out of twenty-one consecutive stanzas are composed, either wholly or in part, in this one rhythm. Aeschylus has done something quite unusual, but it is easy to see why he did it. Let us go over the ground again, bearing in mind the remark of Aristoxenus with which we began: what we are considering is not simply a metre—a poetic phenomenon; it is a rhythm which was common to the λέις, the μέλος, and the κινήςς σωματικής.

In the first ode this rhythm presents to us the following ideas: the adverse winds, Agamemnon's hard choice, the mad frenzy—τάλανα παροκόστα πρωτοτημίων—which swept him over the brink, the killing of Iphigenia, and the foreboding of the chorus that some evil must come of it. Now, it is surely a necessary conclusion that the sustaining of this rhythm implies that a corresponding dance-movement also was sustained, and presumably music of a certain mode too. When the second ode begins, in the same rhythm, we can safely assume that the same general dance-movement and music began with it. But the second ode begins with Paris. This is the passage I had in mind when I said that the little which we can discern of the dance can be an extra control over dramatic interpretation. It has been said of this ode that the chorus begins in a mood of joy and relief at the victory, but then, as it considers what the victory has cost, changes to a mood of apprehension. This may sound plausible, but the rhythm disproves it; Aeschylus knew enough about music and dancing to realise that joy and fear call for different rhythms; but here he uses the same one throughout. What the chorus says about Paris cannot be an expression of joy; the ode begins with a dance-movement which is now firmly associated in our minds with the crime of Agamemnon, the frenzy that possessed him, and the threat of evil to come. Therefore, when the second ode begins, with the words Διός πλαγών ἔχοσιν εἴτε, the dance of itself would link Paris with Agamemnon. He is not an enemy in whose destruction the chorus is exulting; he is, like Agamemnon, one whom temptation has swept over the brink—βιβαίτα δ' ἄ τάλανα παθός is in the same rhythm as βροτὸς προκόπη γαρ ἅμισσις Τάλανα παροκόστα πρωτοτημίων. But Paris is already destroyed; the parallel is not encouraging one. Then, for the rest of the ode, we continue to watch this same dance, whatever it is; and as we do so, we hear of Helen's sin, how it brought sorrow and death to Greece. Still the dance continues: ashes came back in the place of living men, there is anger against the Atreidae, the gods do not disregard men of blood.

So far, then, we can say that the dance put immediately and vividly before the very eyes of the audience an idea which we, reading the text, can miss entirely. The destruction of Paris is yet another reason to be fearful about Agamemnon.

The third ode begins with totally different dance-movements, and we shall have something to say about them later: Helen was welcomed with songs at Troy, but the songs turned to dirges. Then comes the simple parable of the lion's cub, in glyconics. That finished, we hear:

πάραυτα δ' ἐλθεῖν ἐς 'Ἰλιοῦ πόλιν...

It is back again, that iambic rhythm, now charged with the ideas of sin and its inevitable consequence, ruin. It swerves aside, παρακλίνασα, for a moment into anacreonics; but it comes back for the final two stanzas, which give us explicitly the doctrine of hybris and ate. Then, as this obstinate rhythm at last subsides, Agamemnon enters the theatre, royally, with Cassandra. This is the magnificent climax to which it has all been leading. It does not seem too much to say, that in all this even we, peering through a glass darkly, can see how Aeschylus gave visible shape, in the orchestra, to the conception that sin leads to more sin, and that to disaster. There is even more evidence, some negative, some positive. In the fourth ode the chorus is utterly at a loss to understand its own uneasiness; accordingly, this rhythm does not appear. But we do hear and see it again. 'All things happen by the will of Zeus' (1485 ff.); 'Blood exacts blood' (1509 ff.); 'The house is overthrown; more slaughter will come' (1530 ff.); 'It is the law: the slayer is slain' (1560 ff.)—all these passages, and no others, are couched in this same rhythm. Its last words are:

κεκάληται γένος προς ἄτρι.

This is the only large-scale use of the dance that it seems profitable to discuss, but if we are now persuaded that the dance could be purposeful and eloquent, no mere conventional or decorative appendage to drama, we may spare a moment for two similar though shorter dance-passages.

* Here there is a brief anacreontic interlude, discussed below.
In early tragedy, we are told, the parodos was regularly composed in anapaests; later, in lyrical measures. The Antigone, being a transitional play, has a parodos composed partly in anapaests, partly in lyrics.

Human ingenuity has discovered less interesting facts than this, though not very many. This one may be true, but it obstructs the understanding—like so many quasi-historical statements in the field of literary criticism; for when we consider the Antigone, we do not ask ourselves why Sophocles used different kinds of κίνησις σωματική in the parodos, because we think that we know the answer already: it was because he wrote the play round about 440 B.C. But if we think of drama not as a historical process, but as a series of plays, composed by living men who had ideas to express in the theatre, to a crowd of other living men, then it becomes a little easier to remain awake.

When Aeschylus designed the parodos of the Septem he forgot that he was still an early Attic tragedian; he was unhistorical enough to compose it in dochmiacs, of all things, and resolved ones, at that. Now, we know enough about the Dochmiac, and about the play, to understand why he did it, and to form some kind of picture of what happened in the orchestra. We must think of the dochmiac not as a difficult metre used by the tragic poesy—or not only as that; we must think of it as a rhythm common to the λέπις and μέλος and the κίνησις σωματική. It is a foot, or bar, of eight χρόνοι (as Aristoxenus would say), divided unevenly into three and eight. Whether the dancers took two or three steps to each bar is, to me at least, not clear; if the former, they moved on the second and fourth χρόνος, if the latter, on the second, fourth, and seventh. In either case it would be a very uneven method of progress, suitable, therefore to the expression of any strong emotion. Moreover, it begins on what both Aristoxenus and Sir Thomas Beecham call an 'upbeat': ἐκ τοῦ ἀνω σημείου. This makes it still more dynamic, as Aristides knew: τῶν δὲ ἔθους ἑπαξαίτεροι μὲν ὦν ἄπα θεοί προκαταστάλλοντες τὴν διάνοιαν ὦν ὅσα ἄπο τῶν ἀρσεών τῇ φύσιν τὴν κρύσιν ἐπιφέροντες τιταραγμένοι. So much for the dance rhythm. The dramatic situation is that the terror and disorder of the chorus are an important element in the play. Not only do they make an effective contrast with the strong and calm figure of Eteocles; they also become the reason why the King makes his fatal decision to take one of the gates himself. Therefore we are probably not exaggerating Aeschylus' boldness and skill as choreographer if we picture this chorus swirling into the orchestra with a dance which gave visible shape to the idea of panic.

The parodos of the Antigone has many points of interest. The broad outline is the alternation of lyrical measures with anapaests. This must mean that something which we ourselves should call a dance-movement alternated with something that we should call a march, and if we consider the ode as a whole we can perhaps divine the reasons for which Sophocles laid it out on this pattern.

For the actual entrance of the chorus he chooses the more dancing type of movement—glyconics—and not the anapaestic. We can see for ourselves that this makes a more complete contrast with what has gone before: after the dark colours of the scene in which Antigone determines to bury her own brother, the chorus comes in, expressing its joy and relief at their deliverance from a dire peril. When they do turn to anapaests, their words and (we may reasonably suppose) their movements too, suggest the menace of the advancing army; it is as if a modern composer should write a jubilant passage for strings, and then something for drums and trumpets. They begin 'dancing' again, and sing, first of the peril, then of the triumph; after which the more regular anapaestic movement is repeated; quite intelligibly, for this is a reflective passage; Zeus hates arrogance, and has destroyed the arrogant Capaneus. The rhythms of the second strophe are more strongly marked than those of the first; we shall have something to say about them later: 'Down he fell, this man of frenzy, and all the rest of them the War-god destroyed.' Then:

Seven foemen, appointed to our seven gates,
Each fell to a Theban; and Argive arms
Shall crown our Theban temple of Zeus:—
Save two, those two of unnatural hate,
Two sons of one mother, two sons of one King;
They strove for the crown, and shared with the sword
Their estate, each slain by his brother.

This is quoted from an isometric translation of the lyrical parts of the play which the writer once made, for the purpose of setting them to music which should at least keep Sophocles' own rhythms as nearly as possible. This experience left no question about the eloquence of the four-square rhythm here; the passage begins with an expression of solemn joy, and ends with something like a funeral march.

The transition to the second antistrophe is electrifying—and incidentally very instructive.

Yet do we see in our midst, and acclaim with gladness,
Victory, glorious Victory, smiling, welcome.
Now, since danger is gone,
Thoughts of war shall pass from our minds.

*Westphal, p. 326.*
THE DANCE IN GREEK TRAGEDY

Come! Let all thank the gods,
Dancing before temple and shrine
All through the night, following Thee,
Theban Dionysus.

The buoyancy and energy of these rhythms are astonishing; a complete contrast with what went before, and a fine climax to the whole composition (for the last anapaestic system is clearly a prelude to the next act rather than part of this first ode; the chorus is simply moving to its permanent positions in the orchestra, making way for Creon and his retinue). There can surely be little doubt that the dance also was buoyant and energetic. But what about the strophe? Presumably Sophocles' meaδος and κίνησις σωματική were exactly the same there. How can the same dance-figure, if it has a sharply defined character, fit two passages so different in mood? It did, if the blundering experience of an amateur composer is any guide—but on one assumption.

The opening verses of the strophe might be rendered:

Heavily down to the earth did he fall, and lie there,
He who with torch in his hand, and possessed with frenzy...

What this calls for, musically, is two six-bar phrases in a long, swinging rhythm. As we hear the words, we shall interpret the tune pictorially: Capaneus falls and falls, right to the ground. But the swing of the tune (if it has any) will suit the antistrophe just as well, only this time it will not suggest anything pictorial; it will reflect rather the strong, confident happiness which the singers are feeling. If now we stop thinking musically, and put the same idea into dance-terms, we see at once what the assumption is that we referred to above: it is one which in any case would recommend itself, namely that Sophocles' dances were not naturalistic: there could have been no movement directly picturing the fall of Capaneus, since that would not have made sense in the antistrophe. The dance could not have been a mime; it must have been the kind of pure dancing of which we can say what we can say of music, namely that it cannot suggest a particular idea unless a clue is given, as by a title or by accompanying words; it can suggest only a mood or an ethos, which may be equally appropriate in several different contexts.

We will return to this later, in another connexion; meanwhile we may consider other passages which illustrate the point, and give us half-glimpses of the chorus in action.

The first strophic system of the second ode in the *Antigone* begins in glyconics and then changes to dactyls. Why? Let us try translating:

Earth inexhaustible, ageless, he wearies, as
Backwards and forwards, from season to season, his
Ox-team drives along the plough-share.\(^5\)

Why dactyls? Looking for traditional literary associations that the metre may have will not help us. What we have to consider is that after the comparatively plastic glyconic movement Sophocles goes into a perfectly steady 4-4 time. Then we should ask ourselves: In that case, why dactyls and not anapaests, which are also in 4-4? To answer the latter question, we may trust our ears, or consult Aristides, or both: Aristides has told us that a rhythm which begins on the up-beat is more πετσέγμαιος, more impetuous, than one which begins on the down-beat, and our own ears concur. The dactyl has more strength, or is more stately, or calmer, than the anapaest, which has more impetus. This answers our first question, and also enables us to form some impression of the nature of the dance which Sophocles designed here: it was presumably one which, in association with the words, would give an impression of monotonous perseverance. It cannot have been mimetic, because the antistrophic passage is:

He becomes lord
Even of the beasts of the mountain; the long-haired
Horse he subdues to the yoke on his neck, and the
Hill-bred bull, of strength untiring.

Here, it is the strength and solidity of the dactylic rhythm which makes it appropriate.

There is a similar passage in the third ode (586-92 597-603):

'Tis even as the swelling sea,
When the stormy wind from Thrace
Drives blustering over the water and makes it black:
It heaves up from below
A thick, dark cloud of mud,
And groaning cliffs repel the smack of wind and angry breakers.\(^6\)

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\(^5\) I assume that the last verse, ἡπτάγο χιλια πολεοῦ, contains six feet, not four: \[L,-,-,-, L,-, not->-,-,-.-\]. I see no means of proving this; but the former, in this context, makes an appropriate and intelligible rhythm, while the latter would be nothing but a huddled mess.

\(^6\) To judge from the verse-divisions in the Oxford text, Pearson scanned σώλην...bolus as \[\text{-}vL\text{-}v\text{-}v\text{-}v\text{-}v\text{-}v\text{-}v\text{-}v\text{-}v\text{-}\].
Nothing could be more pictorial than the scurrying resolutions of the third verse and the heaving rhythm of the next two, and we must surely assume that they were realised in the dance too. But in the antistrophe the poppling water becomes 'A shimmering light in the house of Oedipus'; and in place of the billowing mud we have:

But Death strikes once again
With blood-stained axe, and hews
The sapling down . . .

Yet a musical realisation of the rhythm which is pictorially effective in the strophe is just as effective, though in a different way, in the antistrophe; and so, surely was Sophocles' dance-movement.

There are other passages, though not very many, where one can form some tentative impression of the choreography. One is the solitary anapaestic couplet, in a stanza of different rhythms, at O.T. 469 f. = 479 f. In the strophe, where the anapaests occur, the unknown criminal is being stalked by Apollo; in the antistrophe he is making his weary way along, keeping far from Delphi. It seems fairly clear that the chorus was given some kind of march-movement at this point, and we can see that it could have been a very dramatic reinforcement of the words.

In the iambic rhythm of the Agamemnon, neither the pure iambic line nor the resolution of a long syllable is at all common; there are two passages, 406–8 and the responding 423–5, where both occur together. Elsewhere, resolution is used, as a rule, on strongly emotional words: ἀνίψως (220), παροκτόνα (223), περιπετή (233). Here, in the strophe, the resolution occurs on the not very exciting word δίκαιος, and in the antistrophe too it comes on δίκαιος. This does not look like accident—or is it; for the combination of resolution and pure iambic is explained when we consider the sense: in the strophe, Helen slips lightly between the doors on her happy journey to Troy, and in the antistrophe the insubstantial vision slips from between the sleeper's arms and glides away. Was the rhetorical effect confined to the λέγεις, or did a slight ripple pass across the orchestra at the word δίκαιος? I think it is proper to ask the question, even though there are no means of answering it.

In these passages, then, it seems possible to form some impression of the original dance, and however uncertain the results may be, the attempt is perhaps worth while. We will now turn to a different problem, where consideration of the dance may be helpful.

It has been established by Professor George Thomson that the choriambic was regularly associated with prophecy, and the anacrusic with the ideas of love, wine, and the like. Typical examples of the choriambic are Agamemnon 201 ff.

μάντις ἐκλαγεῖν προφέρειν Ἀρτέμιν . . .

and O.T. 483–97:

δεινὰ μὲν οὖν δεινὰ παρόσεις σοφὸς οἰωνοθέτας . . .

For the anacrusic, we may cite the most dramatic use that Aeschylus makes of it in the third ode of the Agamemnon, 685–98 and 744–7, with the responses: joyful marriage-hymns turned into cries of despair. But in each case there is a serious difficulty.

What is the metre of this:

πέτομαι δ' ἐλπίσιν οὑτ' ἐνθὰς' ὀρῶν οὑτ' ὅπισον?

If we do not remember where it occurs, we reply without hesitation: ionic a minore. This is a smooth, languorous, luxurious rhythm, as we know from Plato, Thomson, and our own ears. But the phrase quoted occurs in the stanza δεινὰ μὲν οὖν; the metre is choriambic, suggesting (as Thomson says) perturbation of mind—the very opposite of languor and elegance. How can we cope with this?

The difficulty can be generalised thus: The ionics, or — or — are in regular triple-time, and presumably in a fairly slow tempo; their rhythm is like that of a slow waltz. The choriambus is also in regular triple-time; in the above passage the rhythm is indistinguishable from ionics. Why, then, was its effect entirely different? We could postulate a faster tempo, but a fast waltz-rhythm suggests mental perturbation no more than a slow one—it is merely gayer. Was, then, 'choriambic for prophecy' only an arbitrary convention? This hardly sounds Greek.

So long as we think as metricians, paying regard only to the λέγεις, we are not likely to solve the difficulty; but the rhythm was expressed also in movement. Let us, then, put the problem in this way: how might — — — be danced, in order to suggest perturbation of mind? I can see only one answer, and it would be a complete answer: the choriambus in question is not in triple time at all, but in duples; the dance-movement divided the bar equally, with the result that the two halves went, in Aristides' term, κατ' ἀντιθέσιν λογ-short-long being answered by short-long, a falling figure by a rising one. If the dancers took two steps to each bar, the first fell on the first of the six

7 The other instances are: φωτάωκε (130), 413 (lect-dub.), and the five which occur in ν. 435–6—with an effect which is obvious.

8 In his Greek Lyric Metres (Cambridge, 1929).
The dance in Greek tragedy

χρόνοι, the second on the fourth (being the second of the two short syllables). The visual effect of this would be that the dance would seem to be continually cutting across the natural pattern of the syllables—and a more direct way of expressing perturbation and strain it would not be easy to invent. I cannot cite Aristoxenus in direct support of this, but one of his fragments gives indirect support; for he does point out (what every musician knows) that there are two forms of the ἔξαστημος μέγεθος; the 'iambic', 1:2 or 2:1, and the 'dactylic' or ἴσος, 1:1. If this interpretation of the choriambic is correct, then πέτωμαι δὲ ἔλπις κ.τ.λ. did not look (nor probably sound) in the least like ionics; it would be:

'πετ — ὀμαι δ' ἔλπις — ἵν οὐτ' ἐνθαδ' — ἰδρων οὔτ' ο — πίσω . . .

Naturally, there would be nothing to prevent a poet from writing the same series of syllables in triple (ionic) rhythm; so that metricians, already a harassed tribe, are presented with yet another problem: When is a choriambus not a choriambus?

For that matter, when is an anacreontic not anacreontic? For here, too, there is a serious difficulty. It will not do to say, 'This was a rhythm which had traditional literary associations with love, wine, and the like, and was therefore used by poets later than Anacreon in that sort of context.' Of course, it was—by Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon*, for instance; the awkward fact is that it was also used in contexts where the idea of wine and love are ludicrously inappropriate. The chorus of the *Prometheus* uses them freely (128–35, 397–405, with the responses)—and what have love and wine to do with the Oceanids and Prometheus? Indeed, when this chorus does say something about marriage (526 ff.), it begins in dactyloepitrites and continues with something else, not anacreontics. Even more to the point is a passage in the *Agamemnon*, 449–50: there is bitter indignation against the Atreidae—and it is expressed by Aeschylus in anacreontics!

The solution of this difficulty, too, involves the dance. It is not a matter of literary association at all. The anacreontic is simply a rhythm—and quite a fascinating one; it is a variation of the ionic a minore, made even more attractive by the delicious side-step in the middle, to which the Metriki gave the voluptuous name anacolasis. Having this charming lilt, and being performed at the appropriate tempo, and with appropriate music and movement, it was well suited to the Anacreontic mood. But in itself it did not 'mean' wine and love. In its liquid, swaying movement Aeschylus found just the rhythm he wanted for the Oceanids—a rhythm which, incidentally, makes a dramatic contrast with the stubborn hero chained to his rock. The same rhythm, performed no doubt at a much faster tempo, and with a very different dance, and with a different style of music, also commended itself to him in a context utterly unlike either of the two preceding ones: the rising anger against the Atreidae. Literary association does not explain these things; they become intelligible only when we take the μέλος and the κίνησις σωματική into account.

H. D. F. Kitto

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1 It seems to me more probable that they took only one step, though the point is not material here. The trochee, − − − , to Aristoxenus, was − − thesis (i.e. strong part of the bar) and − − arsis (weak part). Probably therefore the choriambus was − − thesis, and − − arsis; in either case the physical movement would divide the bar into contrary halves.

2 Westphal, p. 159.

3 My accents indicate the moves of the dancers.

4 The simplest way of explaining the variation is to shift the bar-line (which may offend some metricians, but makes no practical difference at all); − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − − etc. The bars in 3–4 time are interrupted by one in 6–8 (compound-duple). It is an effect of which Brahms was fond.
MODERN GREEK FOLK-SONGS OF THE DEAD

I

This paper is only a small scratch at the surface of a much larger investigation of the meanings of folk-song and folk-tale—and that is why this journey to the World of the Dead, as it appears in some Greek folk-songs, begins in a hesitating and roundabout manner. I had been reading Professor Dawkins's *Forty-five Stories from the Dodekanese*, and had been impressed by part of the Introduction in which he explains how 'ideas and feelings about life', which cannot be directly expressed and often remain unconscious or not consciously formulated, may be 'conveyed in the concrete external shape of a story', and after that I began to think that any work of art, if it is good enough to survive at all, must express more than the maker's conscious beliefs and must include some serious statement about the nature of the world. All good folk-tales and all good folk-songs have a hidden meaning, and that is why they survive. In the brain of James Barrie some feeling about the nature of Time and History must have been germinating when he wrote in *Peter Pan* about the crocodile which swallowed the alarm-clock; and I wondered if he had ever heard the Chinese folk-tale about the dragon that swallowed the moon. From that my thoughts went to *Alice in Wonderland*, which tells us not only a great deal about the hidden temperament of Lewis Carroll but also something he had felt about life, and something more than he found satisfactorily expressed in his religion. If this feeling of his was of any importance, the view that it expressed, or the feeling that produced such a view, would be shared by others, and a similar expression of it would turn up somewhere else. That led to thoughts about the World under the Ground, the World Below, the Under World—κάτω κόσμος.

II

Thinking of Alice reminded me again of one of the *Tales from the Dodekanese*, of number XV — *The Daughter of the Schoolmistress*. This little girl was taken out one day by two of her little friends to pick some herbs for supper, and soon they got tired of showing her the right leaves to look for and left her alone sitting under a tree. And there as she was poking about in the earth with a stick she saw a marble slab with a ring in it, and of course she pulled up the slab, and there was a round hole or well, down which she went, down forty steps, and soon found in a cupboard thirty-nine keys which opened the doors in a palace, and 'there we are off now—' close by the palace was a very beautiful garden, and she went into it to take a stroll'. Just like Alice—and this is the beginning for both little girls of a succession of wonderful adventures. This Underland in fact is only Wonderland, in which anything may happen. It is the world of Faery, in which the laws of nature and of everyday life are suspended. You get to it down a well—or up a tower, which of course, comes to the same thing—I forget now who first discovered that a tower is only a well turned inside out—and this may be just a story-telling formula for beginning a 'fairy-tale' which does not expect to be believed. (A 'fairy-tale' is a folk-tale for children; not all folk-tales are meant for children.) But it is no laughing matter to be enchanted or spellbound in Fairyland; for it is also the world *Under the Hill*; the realm of the *Queen of Elfland*.

At ilka tett of her horse's mane
Hung fifty silver bells and nine—

and she held Thomas the Rhymer under her spell and

Till seven years were past and gone
True Thomas on earth was never seen.

It is the realm of the *Queen of Fairies* who caught young Tam Lin

In yon green hill to dwell.

This world of Faery by a curious exception does represent the real Underworld, the Kingdom of the Dead, in the old ballad of *King Orfio*, into which by way of a medieval romance the ancient Greek myth of Orpheus and Eurydice has been translated:

The King o Faerie wi his dart
Has pierced your lady to the heart—
After them the King has gaen
But when he came it was a grey stane . . .

Dan he took out his pipes to play,
Bit sair his hert wi döl an wae.

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1 Child, no. 37, p. 64.
2 Child, no. 39, p. 68.
3 Child, no. 19, p. 37.
There are the essentials of the myth of Orpheus. But the entrance to the Kingdom of the Dead (where Orpheus had to go in search of Eurydike) has become in this ballad the ‘grey stone’ which closes the passage to Fairyland. Of this dangerous land of enchantment not much is heard in Greek ballads, unless it is to be found in the group of ballads about a Haunted Well, which tell an old and incoherent story about a younger son who plunges into a serpent-haunted well to find a jewel thrown into it, a story said to go back to an ancient Greek myth about the gold ring of Minos, which Theseus with the help of Amphitrite brought back from the bottom of the sea—the sea which in folk-lore is always as Flecker thought of it—

The dragon-green, the luminous, the dark, the serpent-haunted sea.

III

The Under World properly so called, the ‘Kingdom of gloomy Dea’, the ancient Greek Kingdom of Hades, Hades who was brother to great Zeus himself and hardly less powerful, this land of the unseen was for Homer, and still is in Modern Greece, the Land of the Dead. Hades in Modern Greece has become only the name of his Kingdom. The personality of the God Hades, never very distinct, has faded out altogether, and the land is ruled by Xaros, or Death, who used to be in ancient Greek mythology the ferryman of the dead, Xaros. The modern Charos has not only absorbed altogether the personality of the ancient god Hades; he has also usurped the functions of Thanatos, or Death, the messenger from the Lower World, who comes, as in the play of Alkestis, to carry her off; but he is met by Herakles arriving on a visit, who overcomes Thanatos and so restores his hostess to life. (Euripides, as Rose remarks, has clearly based his play on a folk-tale, and we may regard it as good evidence of popular belief.) In Modern Greece Charos is his own messenger. He likes to have a bout of wrestling with a boastful shepherd; or a young girl proud of her beauty he will drag away by the hair; young men and maidens, old men and little children, he snatches them up and hangs them over his saddle. He wrestles with the dying man—not exactly ‘for his soul’; he takes no interest in souls. He wrestles with the dying man for his life, and, as of course he always wins, he takes away his faculty of living in the Upper World. This is the only interest of Charos. He takes no interest in any of the moral or spiritual values implied by the word Soul; and like his ancient prototype, Hades or Pluto, he has no knowledge of Good or Evil.

There was no principle of evil, no Devil, in ancient Greek mythology; he seems to have arrived later, from Persia or Syria, with the whimpering religions of the East. The regions of Tartaros, which were the gloomy abode of Hades, were not Hell; they were not for ordinary mortals a place of punishment or reward, although a few mythical monuments of arrogance like Syphos and Thanatos were detained there. There was in ancient Greece a firm belief in the moral and divine government of the world, and nearly all Greek writers would have agreed with Herodotus ὧς τῶν μεγάλων ἁθημάτων μεγάλαι εἰδι καὶ εἰ δικαιοφρονία περὰ τῶν θεῶν. But such a belief was concerned with punishment in this world, and did not imply any punishment after death. The modern Lower World, the modern Abode of the Dead, is also not a place of punishment or reward. Hades, the realm of Charos, is not ‘Hell’. Indeed, the fusion of Heaven and Hell into one Lower World, which seems to be exactly the same as the Homeric Land of the Dead, the twilight groves of Persephone, has gone so far in modern popular belief that a song from the Greek mainland begins with the words:

Στὸν Ἄδη θὰ κατέβω καὶ στὸν Παράδεισον,
Τὸ Χάρον ὑπ’ ἄντωμός, διὸ λέγων μά τοῦ εἰπὼ . . .

I will go down to Hades
And down to Paradise,
And there I’ll meet with Master Death,
And tell him once or twice . . .

In this song Hades and Paradise are evidently regarded by the singer as alternative synonyms for the Lower World. This Lower World is not Hell. It is only a place where the dead whisper and sigh for the life they have lost, as long as they remember it; and they do not remember it very long. The visit of Odysseus in the eleventh Odyssey shows that they could hardly remember it at all unless they were given a drink of blood. There is no suggestion of punishment—of selective punishment—in the ancient Greek Under World other than the general punishment of not being alive. Ethical feeling prompted or compelled the addition at some later date of the Elysian Plain as an Afterworld for a few highly favoured mortals, or rather for a few living men made immortal. Instead of dying in the ordinary way, they were ‘translated’ body and soul together; and the principal rewards

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4 Polites, no. 19, p. 37; Gneffos, p. 1.
5 H. J. Rose, Greek Mythology, p. 205.
they enjoyed were the blessing of not being dead and a slight improvement in the climate. As for the later Greek mystery religions, Eleusinian, or Orphic, or Pythagorean, which combined theories of pre-existence with metempsychosis and other systems of posthumous compensation, religious beliefs which may be found reflected and idealised in Pindar and in Plato—who was, however, extremely cautious in his admissions—many of these religions were never popular beliefs, and come to us from a different level of culture; from the level perhaps of consciously educative culture from which Vergil described the astonishment of Aeneas (Aen. vi. 720) that the souls of the dead should want to return to the Upper Air—

quae lucis miseris tam dira cupidio?

There is nothing like this in Ancient—or in Modern Greece.

IV

Only, for the proper working of this system, this limbo of forgetfulness where the dead are soon forgotten, is it absolutely necessary that the dead should be somehow, however hurriedly, buried. A handful of earth puts them formally underground, in their proper place. 'This is one of the few beliefs,' says H. J. Rose, 'which seem to have remained quite untouched and unmodified throughout antiquity. It is natural enough. The House of Hades is regularly underground, and the very old belief that the dead continue to have a sort of life in their graves never died out; it is clear that the body or ashes must be put underground somehow.' Once the bodies were safely underground there was little to be feared from them, and for them nothing to be hoped. The whole range of stories studied by G. H. Gerould in his book on *The Grateful Dead* probably arose from the wish to illustrate or to enforce the duty of not leaving a body unburied; and the origin of that duty must have been the fear that if it were not buried it might get up and walk about. Here comes in the whole regiment of Vampires and Coffin-leavers, a dangerous regiment, and one too large to be reviewed here. Here also enters the Benevolent Corpse, who has been properly buried, but is so strongly attached to the Upper World by ties of duty or love, by a vow or a betrothal, that he rises up, and manages to put in an appearance, his good intentions, of course, causing only embarrassment and horror. This is the bodily revenant, far commoner in the Greek world than the northern and western vaporous ghost which floats through keyholes and walls. Such a bodily revenant is the hero of the Greek ballad of *The Dead Brother*, a very old ballad which is well known all over the Balkans. A mother with several sons and only one daughter does not want the girl to marry abroad, but is persuaded to let her go to a distant country when one of the brothers promises he will bring her back if the mother wants her. A year of pestilence comes, all the brothers die, and the mother herself falls ill and curses the son who had persuaded her to let his sister go. (Notice incidentally the patriarchal selfishness, which is characteristically Greek.) The dead brother rises from his grave, gallops up to his sister's door in the middle of the night, and rides furiously back with her, rides over mountains and through forests, where even the birds begin to speak.

*Στὴν στράτη ποὺ εισαβαίνειν πουλάκια κιλαίνουσαν, *
*Παίος εἶδε κόην νύμφη γενήν ὁ πεδαμένος;*  
*Ἀκούσεις, Κωστάντινε μου, τι λένε τὰ πουλάκια; ...*  
*Ἀτρίλλης ἐίναι καὶ λαλοῦν καὶ Μάης καὶ φωμενοῦν ...*  
*ἄρειμαίτες ἦν καὶ χαμάτες μυρίζεις;*  
*Ο μύρος μου κυλίστικα καὶ χωματες μυρίζω.*

But as they rode the little birds began to speak and said,

'Who ever saw a fair maid go riding with the dead?'

'My brother dear, and do you hear, the birds that sing and say—?'

'The birds that sing in April, sister, will make their nests in May."

'My brother dear, your look is strange, you have an earthy smell—'

'My horse smells of the earthy dyke, dear sister, where he fell ...' 10

This ballad has spread all over Europe. From a folk-tale embodying this story the German poet Gottfried Bürger (1747–94) wrote the ballad of *Lenore*, which was translated by Sir Walter Scott as *William and Helen*. When it leaves Greek lands the story changes, and a dead lover takes the place

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7 See, e.g., Hackforth, 'Immortality in Plato's Symposium', *CR LXIV*, 1950, p. 43.  
8 Greek Mythology, p. 90.  
9 *Folklore Society*, 1908.  
10 *Poeis*, no. 62, p. 155; *Passow*, no. 517; and *Gnethos*, p. 99 (the only version which has the line about the horse falling in the mud).
of the dead brother. The change is significant because the brother-sister relationship has always been morbidly emphasised in Greece—perhaps as a survival of some sort of exogamy; so that one might almost speak of the prevalence in Greece of an Antigone complex. It is naturally the extra-Balkan version that is found among English ballads; a drowned sweetheart calling on horseback for his betrothed instead of a dead brother for his married sister; and it survives only in a late and feeble version known as The Suffolk Miracle. The rider complains of a headache, and the girl lends him her handkerchief to tie up his head; and later on when the rider has disappeared, after taking the horse round to the stables, his body is discovered in the churchyard:

Affrighted then they did behold
His body turning into mould
And though he had a month been dead
This kercif was about his head.

Here, as in the original Greek, the rider is the actual dead body, not an unsubstantial ghost; and of this story, whether it concerns a brother or a sweetheart, the editor of the version from Rhodes (P. Gneftos) rightly remarks that 'the dead rider does not act as a supernatural or exotic being but as an ordinary corpse behaving as if he were alive'. If we search the English ballad books we shall not easily find anything else like this galvanised corpse (which rather reminds us of a story by Edgar Allan Poe), and the nearest we shall come to a similar horror of deathliness will be in the immaterial ghosts of Fair Margaret or of Sweet William. These are the ordinary English ghosts which go through keyholes, or without bothering about keyholes diffuse through stone walls like the Homeric or Vergilian shadows: σκιή ἐκελον ἢ καὶ ὀνείρο—par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.

V

There is another side turning which must be looked into before we arrive at the World of the Dead properly so called. Different not only from the Dead Riders but also from the vaporous and plaintive ghosts of Fair Margaret and Sweet William, are the corpses to whom as they lie patiently in their graves is attributed a consciousness, or at least an awareness, of what is going on. One example of the corpse in the tomb regarded as having a conscious existence of its own is the well-known Greek ballad of The Kleft and his Tomb.

Παιδία μου, μη μ’ ἀφήνετε στὸν ἔρημο τὸν τόπον
γιὰ τάξες με καὶ σύρτε με ψηλά στὴν κύρια βρύση,
ποῦ ναι τὰ δέντρα τὰ βασίλεια τὰ πυκνοπανδαισιάμενα.
Κώμη κλαδία και στρωζτε μου . . .
. . . . σκειδότε μ’ ώριο κιβούρι
να ναι πλατύ για τάραμα, μακρύ για το κουτάρι.
Καὶ στὴν δεξία μου τὴ μερία υ’ ἀφίστε παραθύρι,
να μπαίνη δ ήλιος το πρωί και το δροσό το βράδυ,
να μπαίνετε στὸν πουλίδα, τῆς ἀνοιξης τάτιδονια
καὶ να περνοῦν οἱ υποριτοί, να με καλημεράνε.

Carry me up to the Cold Spring
Where the trees stand in a ring.
Lay me on green branches. A tomb
Build me there: let there be room
For all my arms, and for this spear;
Let there be a window near
To let in the morning light,
And the cool breath of the night;
In and out the birds can fly;
And girls shall greet me passing by. 13

This is a natural fancy to be found anywhere, from the Kleft ordering his tomb in the mountains of Janina to Browning’s Bishop ordering his Tomb in St. Praxed’s; it would be natural to regard it only as a literary conceit. But it should be noted that among simple people there is always a sort of residuary animism, or surviving pattern of a primitive animism, which suggests that even a corpse should have a life or at least an animation of its own, like any other material object, a chair, a table, or a coffin; and that a belief of this sort is intensified by the anthropomorphic temperament of the Greeks, which expects even a dead man to behave like a man. Such a belief may have been both encouraged and expressed—first expressed or symbolised and then encouraged in the expression—

11 Child, no. 272, p. 592.
12 Child, no. 74, p. 157; no. 77, p. 164.
13 Polites, no. 43, p. 49; Passow, nos. 104 and 134.
by two funerary practices. The first was the custom—the extent of which is obscure, but it was
certainly prevalent in the Coptic Church—of using a model church as a gravestone.\footnote{\cite{Dawkins}}

The second was the custom of burial above ground in a built-up tomb like a small cottage or
chapel, or in a vault easily accessible and at least partly above ground, in which the coffin, or even
the body without any coffin, was only laid on the floor or on a shelf like a bunk. This ‘chapel
burial’ may be found all over the Greek world, which I think of as all the lands bordering the Aegean
and Adriatic seas, as it is in the Hellenistic romances of the first centuries after Christ. In the
romance of Chariton Aphrodisiensis the heroine Kallirhoe falls senseless when the hero Chaireas
boxes her ears, and after the funeral she wakes up just as the doors of the tomb are opened by a
landing party of pirates; they carry her off, and that is how she starts on her travels, pursued, of
course, by the penitent hero. In the \textit{Erotophrilos} and other Greek poems of the period the conventional
phrase ‘cobwebby doors’ (of the grave) seems to imply the Chapel Tomb; and this form of
burial is necessary to the action of \textit{Romeo and Juliet}, which in some ways still seems to move and to
unfold in the atmosphere of the post-classical romances.\footnote{\cite{Polites}}

VI

So here we are at last in the Lower World. We look round in the gloom and see what we can
find out about it—first reminding ourselves, as every anthropologist knows, that it is very difficult
to get from simple folk a true answer to the question ‘What do you really believe?’ As soon as an
improvisation becomes too self-conscious it may be misleading; and single utterances must not be
taken too seriously, because the Dirges or \textit{mournologia} are often the work of professional mourning
women, who may be inclined to show off, or, like mediums and political orators, to give utterance
to what is expected of them. I have little doubt that there is a great deal in common between the
professional medium and the professional mourner. Both of them go into a trance, and their minds
become a blank screen, on which are reflected the subconscious beliefs of the listeners. If this is so
the professional dirge would still be valuable as a record of the secret beliefs or hopes of the assembled
company. Even beyond this it would not be safe to assume wilful fantacization—some of the scenes
may be attempts to present, by means of poetical imagery, the mourner’s deepest and most genuine
feelings about the human situation.

Let us begin with something quite simple. A bewildered impression of cobwebby gates leading
only to a darkness in which hollow sounds and indistinct forms make the new passenger, or guest,
or prisoner seem to forget and to be already forgotten; a sort of empty resonance.

\begin{verbatim}
Κόρη μου, στ' Κλαίδωσαν Κάτω στήν 'Αρτανώρη,
pού στό μπα δίδουν τά κλαίδια, στό έβγα δεν τά δίδουν,
και στό μπαϊνονόβγαρμα στις καρδιές, σε μαντολάβουν.
pού κόρη μάνας δε μιλεί, μηδέ στήν κόρη ή μάνα,
μηδέ τά τέκνα στούς γιονι, μηδέ οι γιοι στά τέκνα,
κι' ε τα βασιλείς άκοι και με άλοφο μισί έν' ίσια.
Έκει τ' η τοπικά σκοτεινά, οι τοιχοι ραχιασμένοι,
έκει μεγάλοι Και μικροί έν' ανακατεμένοι.
\end{verbatim}

Now they have locked you down,
Daughter, in Forgetful Town:
All who go in there receive
Keys to go in, but not to leave:
In and out, and first and last,
They bolt up fierce and bolt up fast.
There no mother speaks a word,
And no daughter’s voice is heard:
The king and great and small
Are level with us all:
And all the houses there are dark
And cobwebs hang from every wall.\footnote{\cite{Passow}}

Another gives an idea of the bewilderment and ignorance of the dead; and ignorance soon leads to
nothingness.\footnote{\cite{Passow}}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{14} As often in Pontos in recent times. See \textit{Dawkins, Folklore}
\textit{LIII} (September 1942), p. 134. For such tombs cf. also J.\textit{ Walton, 'Hogback Tombstones and the Anglo-Danish House' (dating from about A.D. 1000), \textit{Antiquity}, June 1954.}
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{The Tempest}, \textit{Cymbeline}, \textit{Pericles}, a \textit{Midsummer Night’s Dream},
and \textit{The Winter’s Tale}, as well as \textit{Romeo and Juliet}, all seem to be}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Polites}, no. 206, p. 240; from Chios.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Passow}, no. 368, p. 263.}
MODERN GREEK FOLK-SONGS OF THE DEAD

Κάτω στὰ τάρταρα τῆς γῆς, κάτω στὸν κάτω κόσμο,
μυριολογοῦν οἱ λυγερὲς καὶ κλαῦν τὰ παλληκάρια.
Σὰν τείν τὸ μυριολόγιο τους; σὰν τείν τὸ κλαύμι τους;
Τάχα νὰ στέκ’ ὁ ὀφρασίς; νὰ στέκ’ ὁ πάνω κόσμος;
Νὰ στέκουσι οἱ ἐκκλησίες μὲ τὶς χρυσὲς ἐλκούνες;
Νὰ στέκουσι οἱ ἐργαλεῖοι ποῦ φαινοῦν οἱ κυράδες;

Down in the darkness of the earth,
Down in the World Below,
The boys and girls are all in tears:
Why are they weeping so?—

They wonder if the sky’s still there,
The World Above, with churches painted gold,
And looms with shuttles going to and fro,
To weave away the cold.

Another one very much like it comes from Crete 18:

Μιὰ λυγερὴ μ’, ἀπάντησε στὰ τριά σκολιὰ τοῦ Νάβη
κ’ ἡλέγα πῶς θὰ μὲ ρωτά γιὰ μάνα ἢ γιὰ κύρη
ἡ γι’ ἀδερφὴ ἢ γι’ ἀδερφὴ ἢ γιὰ πρῶτα ξαδέρφια,
μα κελτ’ έλεγε γιὰ μάνα ἢ γιὰ κύρη
ἡ γ’ ἀδερφή ἢ γι’ ἀδερφή ἢ γιὰ πρῶτα ξαδέρφια.
Μάκασες με γιὰ τὸν ἄσπασο κόσμο.
Παιδία καὶ νὰ κρατή’ ὁ ραυός, νὰ στέκη ἀνάω κόσμο;
Παιδία καὶ νὰ παντρεύγεσουται παλληκαριῶν γυναικές;

It was a fair maid met me
On the three steps of Hell;
I thought, when she stood,
She would ask me to tell,

If I knew anything
About her dear mother,
Her father, her cousins,
Her sister, or her brother.

But she would only ask me
If the sky is still there;
And do they still get married
In the Upper Air? 19

And now you begin to feel the turn of the screw:

Κόρη μ’, αὐτοῦ ποῦ βουλεύσαι νὰ κατεβῆς στὸν ἔδα
αὐτοῦ πετείνης δὲν λαλεῖ, κόμπτα δὲν κοιμάρεται,
αὐτοῦ νερό δὲν βρίσκεται, χορτάρι δὲν φυτρώνει.
"Οντος πεποίης δὲν γεύεσαι, ὅντας διμής δὲν πίνεις,
κ’ ὅντας θέλης νὰ κοιμηθῆς τὸν ύπνο δὲν χορταίνεις.

Down in the dark you go, where no cock crows;
No hens, no water there, and no grass grows:
Nothing to eat, or drink, daughter, and still
When you want rest, you’ll never sleep your fill. 20

The next to be quoted is one of the more elaborate pictures, and it has more in it than a mere excess of tears. One version of this song was found in Cappadocia, and has been discussed at some length by Professor Dawkins, with special reference to Dante’s description of an image standing in Crete—the figure of a man made of gold, silver, brass, and iron, with one foot of clay—from which a stream of tears runs down to form the rivers and the lake of Hell. 21 The notion of the tears of the living pouring down upon the dead is old and widely diffused 22; and it does not seem to me to have any close connexion with Dante’s symbolism in the passage referred to.

18 Jeannaraki, Kretas Volkslieder (Leipzig, 1876), no. 145, p. 144.
19 Passow, no. 374, p. 265.
20 See Dante, Inferno, iv, 105 ff.; R. M. Dawkins, ‘Soul and Body in the Folklore of Modern Greece’ (Frazer Lecture), Folklore LIII (September 1942); and R. M. Dawkins, Medium Aemum, II. 2 (June 1933).
21 See, for instance, version H. of the English ballad The Unquiet Grave quoted below (Child, no. 78, p. 167).
JOHN MAVROGORDATO

Kláúste máta μ', kláúste vά σύρετε ποτάμι,
νά γέη λίμνη καί γιαλός, νά πάη στόν κάτω κόσμο,
γιά νά βρεχούντ' οι άβρεχοι, νά πιούν οι διώκομενοι,
νά βάλουν κ' οι γραμματικοί νερό στό καλομάρι,
νά γράψουν τά βάσανα τών πολυπαγημένων,
Όπου περνούν τόν ποταμό και πίνουν τό νερό του,
καί λησμονοῦν τά σπίτια τους καί τ' όρφαν' παιδία τους . . .

Weep, eyes, and weep a stream to flow
And flood into the World Below;
Wet all that's dry, let thirsty drink;
Let clerks have water for their ink.
To write how lovers’ love is lost
Who drink the river they have crossed;
Drink and forget their homes above,
Forget their lonely children’s love.22

And here is a short valediction which is characteristically Greek in giving an unexpected and savage twist in the last couplet,23 although it was collected by Tommaso in Venice.

Γιά τέσ μου τέσ μου, μάτια μου, τό πόδος σ’ εδέχτ’ ο Χάρος; —
Στά γυναίκα τόν κρατώ, στά στήθη μ’ άκουμπται;
Κι’ ἀν τόν πείσας γιά φαγί, τρόγη’ ἀπό τό κορμί μου,
κι’ ἀν τό διάστη γιά νερό, πίν’ ἄχ τά δυό μου μάτια.

O tell me, my true-love, how Death has received you.
‘Clasped on my knees against my breast he lies:
And when he is hungry he eats of my body;
When he is thirsty drinks from my two eyes.’

VII

These are ceremonial lamentations over the dead, all more or less improvised. The next three poems are real ballads, at least in form; statements, with two or more speaking characters, of an emotional situation, introduced, presented, and concluded. They are miniature mythological dramas. The first is called in translation The Fair Maid in Hell 24—remember, please, that Hell does not here mean ‘hell’ as a place of selective punishment, but only the abode of the dead, the Greek ‘ Hades ’.

Καθ’ τό χοους τά βουνά, καλόμοιρ’ είν οι κάμποι,
πού Χάρο δεν παντέχευσε, Χάρο δεν καρπερούσε,
τό καλοκαιρί προβέβα μοι τό χειμώνα χιόνια.

Τρεῖς ἄντρεισμοί θεοῦ διαφέρονται νά βγούν από τόν Ἁδη.
’Ο ἐνας νά βγαί τήν άνοιξη κι’ ο ἄλλος τό καλοκαιρί
ci’ ο τρίτος τό χιονώτερο ὅποι νά είναι τά σταφυλία.

Μιά κόρη τούς παρακαλεῖ, τά χέρια στασιμώμενα.

Γιά πάρετε με, ἄβεντες μου, γιά τόν Ἁταύνο κόσμο.

Δέν ἡμιτορούμε, λυγείρη, δέν ἡμιτορούμε, κόρη.

Βροντομαχοῦ τά ρούξα σου κι’ ἀπράφτουν τά μαλλαί σου,
χυτάται τό φελλόκαλυγο και μάς άκουει ο Χάρος.

Μιά γώ τά ρούξα βγάνο τά και δέν νά τά μαλλαί μου,
κι’ αὐτό τό φελλόκαλυγο μέσα στή φωτιά τό ρίχωμ.

Πάρετε με, ἄντρεισμονες μου, νά βγαίνω στόν Πάνω κόσμο,
πάντα νά ἐδο τή μάνα μου πώς χλιβεται γιά μένα.

Κόρη μου, ἵστα ἡ μάνα σου στή ρούξα κουβεντιάζει.

Να ἐδο και τόν πατέρα μου πώς χλιβεται γιά μένα.

Κόρη μου, κι’ ο πατέρας σου στό κατελείο είν’ και πίνει.

Να πάνω νά ἐδο τάδειρα μου πώς χλιβούνται γιά μένα.

Κόρη μου, ἵσταν’ τάδειρα σου ρήχουνε τό λιθάρι.

Να ἐδο και τά εδείρα μου πώς χλιβούνται γιά μένα.

Κόρη μου, τά εδείρα σου μέσα στό χαρό χορεύουν.

O happy hills, and fields death never know,
In summer bright with sheep, in winter white with snow.

Three knights in Hell's Mouth are minding to escape,
In spring and in summer and when autumn fills the grape.

A fair maid crosses her hands in prayer:
'Take me with you to the World up there.'

'We cannot take you and your gown flapping,
And your cork-heeled shoes clapping,

And with your flashing hair, my dear,
We cannot take you, Death will hear.'

'I will put off my silk attire,
My cork heel'd shoes I will throw on the fire,

And I will tie up my bright hair;
Take me with you to the World up there.

Let me see my mother, she must grieve and greet.
'Your mother is talking in the street.'

'Let me see my father; he must grieve and pine.
'He is in the tavern drinking his wine.'

'Let me see my brothers, they grieve and they groan.
'They are in the playing fields, putting the stone.'

'Let me see my cousins; they grieve for me sore.
'Your cousins are dancing on the dancing-floor.'

Nothing need be said about this ballad now unless a note is wanted about the 'cork-heeled shoes' (fellokaliaga), in which case reference may be made to the 'cork heeled shoon' of Sir Patrick Spens,25 and of Child Waters 26 ('He's pitten on his cork heeld shoon, An fast away rade he'—); and to a letter in The Times of June 16, 1950, pointing out that 'heels were first introduced in the sixteenth century as a rest for the stirrups of horsemen'.

The next of this group of dramatic ballads about the Underworld need be introduced only to say how beautiful it is,27 almost like a pagan Greek elegy reflecting the pagan world of antiquity.

26 Child, p. 124, no. 63. B. version. There is another reference to 'A pair of boots of cork' in the folk-song The Keys of Canterbury; and in Greek there is another reference in Passow, no. 526, to 'Golden corks on my feet'—which must refer to gilded heels; and see also one of the versions of Mary Hamilton—'When she gaed up the Tolbooth stair The corks frer her heels did flee' (Child, p. 664).
27 Poëtes, no. 221, p. 252; from the Peloponnese.
Sun going round the world, Sun shining clear,  
Last night I lost a girl, a daughter dear:

Have you ever seen her, anywhere at all?  
I saw her yesterday down in Death’s hall;

Death breaking bread, her heart withered with fears,  
Pouring his wine, and her eyes brimming tears.

She poured, the cup fell from her hand as she poured;  
Not on the cobbles and not on the board,

Into his lap it fell, and it broke;  
And Death displeased turned and spoke:

What are you sighing for, my daughter,  
Your eyes running over like dark well water?

Is it for your mother? Shall I bring her here?  
Not for my mother. Do not bring her here.

Is it for your brothers? Shall I bring them here?  
And not for my brothers, do not bring them here.

For my home up above is all my pain.  
You will not see your home ever again.

There is one more of these ballads, and here some parts of it fall easily into rhyme, and the translator is in danger of making it sound too romantic.

Μηλίτσα πούσαι στο γκρεμό τά μήλα φορτωμένη  
tά μήλα σου λυμπίστηκα μά το γκρεμό φοβούμαι.

Σάν το φοβάσαι το γκρεμό έλα το μονοπτάτη.  
Τα μονοπτάτι μ’ εβγαλε σε μία δημοκλησία·

βράσκω σαράντα μηνώματα οδέρφια κι ξεδέρφια·  
κ’ ένα μικρό παρόμοια ξεφωτίστο από τό τάλα.

Δεν τάδα και τό πάτησα ἐπάνω στό κεφάλι.  
Γρακίκο τό μήμα και βογκά και βαρειαναστέναζει;

Τά δέεις βρέ μημα και βογκάς και βαρειαναστέναζες;  
μήπως τό χώσα σε βαρεί, μή πλάκα σου μεγάλη;

Τά νάγκο παλληκάρι μου και βαρειαναστέναζω;  
Τάχα δέν μυσώνα κέγκ και γης και παλληκάρι·

τάχα δέν ἐπερτάσσει τή νύχτα με φεγγάρι;  
μου’ ἱρτες και μ’ ἐπάττασες ἐπάνω στό κεφάλι.  

Little tree, apple tree, high on the wall,  
I’m longing for apples, and fearing a fall.

Come by the path and there’s nothing to fear.  
I went by the pathway; a chapel was near.

There I saw forty graves, cousins and brothers;  
One little grave was away from the others;

Alone in the dark, and I trod on the head;  
It groaned and it moaned and it sighed; and I said:

Why do you sigh, tell me, why do you moan?  
Is the earth heavy on you, or the grave stone?

Why am I sighing, and why am I sad?  
Wasn’t I as young as you, my pretty lad?

Didn’t I walk under the moonshiny sky?  
Now you tread on my head—— Why do I sigh?

---

28 This version was given me by Mr. Donald Swann, who heard it sung by a twelve-year-old girl in Rhodes in 1926. See also P. Gneulos, Τραγοδία της ‘Ρόδου (Alexandria, 1926), p. 93: Passow, no. 541 (first three lines only); and a long (seventeen lines) but inferior version with a different beginning in Faureil, Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne (Paris, 1825), vol. II, p. 401.
This short ballad—only fourteen lines—has a moving quality which deserves a little analysis. The first three lines give you an idea that you are going to hear another of those love-songs addressing young girls as apple-trees or lemon-trees, which is a little fresher to our ears but just as easy as calling them sugars or honeys or even ice-cream cones. Then when you go on to the scene of the hilltop chapel in the moonlight, you feel a slight misgiving—and on again to that tragic jab at the end, and you think naturally that the beginning of the apple-tree song has lost its continuation, if it ever had one—or perhaps it was just one of those distichs they throw about at dances, and some careless singer has joined it on to the body of a more serious adventure. And then you realise that the three parts of the song—the Apple-tree, the Chapel, and the Grave—are not joined together by accident, or because the singer couldn't think of anything else.

Of course the story begins with a boy looking longingly at the apples; with a young man looking longingly at a pretty girl and finding out that the only way to win her is by the roundabout path of roundabout courtship leading, of course, to the Chapel in the Waste. Yes, but why is the little church on a lonely hilltop? Surely you know that a young man is never so lonely in his life as when he suddenly finds himself walking up to the altar with a strange young woman on his arm? And that is only the beginning. At the side of the church there are 'Forty graves of cousins and of brothers'—once married, he has thrown away the freedom of boyhood and finds himself caught in a network of family responsibilities, pulled this way and that way by living hands and by dead hands. And why 'One little grave away from all the others'? It is his own grave, isn't it, and his own dead youth talking to him? For of course once married he has, biologically speaking, survived or at least come as near survival as he will ever get; and accordingly, once married he is as good as dead, and from the grave he sees and envies his own lost youth.

It is the simplest possible piece of symbolic expression of a feeling about life—though any direct interpretation must inevitably distort it, because the proper and instinctive use of symbols is only to express something which cannot be expressed in ordinary words; and it is told with such beauty and economy, in concrete images, with every unnecessary detail worn away and polished by traditional repetition, that one begins to believe the saying that all art aspires to the condition of folksong. It has been composed by generations of singers with the greatest possible deliberation.

If you look now at the other two ballads in this series you will find that each of them is carefully constructed with the same sort of dramatic progression; beginning with what seems to be a careless glance at hillside or sunshine, and then proceeding by increasing tension, more and more tying up of painful knots, until the last line falls like the knell at the end of the final chorus of an Aeschylean tragedy—


τοίς καταλήξει
μετακοιμηθέν μένος ἀτησ;

There is only one English ballad comparable to these in structure and effect, and that is The Unquiet Grave.29

The wind doth blow today my love
And a few small drops of rain:
I never had but one true love
In cold grave she was lain.

I'll do as much for my true love
As any young man may:
I'll sit and mourn all at her grave
For a twelvemonth and a day.

The twelvemonth and a day being up
The dead began to speak:
'O who sits weeping on my grave
And will not let me sleep?
What is it that you want of me
And will not let me sleep?
Your salten tears they trickle down
And wet my winding sheet.'

'Tis I my love sits on your grave
And will not let you sleep:
For I crave one kiss of your clay-cold lips
And that is all I seek.'

29 Child, no. 78, p. 167; versions A and H.
JOHN MAVROGORDATO

You crave one kiss of my clay-cold lips
But my breath smells earthy strong:
If you have one kiss of my clay-cold lips
Your time will not be long.

'Tis down in yonder garden green,
Love, where we used to walk:
The finest flower that ere was seen
Is withered to a stalk.

This is the English ballad that comes nearest to the Greek spirit of adult acceptance. It resembles the Greek ballads quoted in having a clearly dramatic structure: an introduction, an intensification, and a conclusion. The introduction is a glance at the scene, a glance at the world we live in; in this case not the 'hillside bright with sheep', or the 'Sun going about the world', but 'a few small drops of rain'—a recognisably English backcloth. Then comes the tying of knots, in this case death and the separation of young lovers; and then comes the Aeschylean chorus, the acceptance of the inevitable,

The finest flower that ere was seen
Is withered to a stalk...

The solemn acceptance of the inevitable—that is what I mean by 'paganism'.

VIII

Is there any conclusion to be drawn from this short day-trip to the infernal regions? What does it all amount to, assuming, as I think we may, that the pieces we have looked at are fair examples of popular expression?

At the end of Erwin Rohde's Psyche, his long and learned account of the opinions held by the Ancient Greeks about the life of the human soul after death', we come upon the following words:

'An immortality of the human soul as such, by virtue of its nature and composition—as the imperishable force of divinity in the mortal body—never became a real part of the belief of the Greek populace. When approximations to such a belief do occasionally find expression in popular modes of thought, it is because a fragment of theology or of the universally popular philosophy has penetrated to the lower strata of the un instructed populace. Theology and philosophy remained the sole repositories of the belief in the immortality of the soul.'

'If we pass in imagination', he says on the next page, 'through the long rows of streets in which the Greeks placed the memorials of their dead, and read the inscriptions on the tombstones—they now form part of the accumulated treasures of Greek Epigraphy—the first thing that must arrest our attention is the complete silence maintained by the enormous majority of these inscriptions with regard to any hope—however formulated—or any expectation of a life of the soul after death.'

What I now suggest is that exactly the same complete silence must arrest our attention if in imagination we turn the pages of the collected treasures of Greek folk-song.

If this suggestion were accepted it would imply that the Christian Churches had never succeeded in making the slightest impression on popular belief. This implication would, of course, be flatly denied, and by no stratum of the population more indignantly than by those who still compose, sing, and transmit the Greek folk-song; and they could point to the churches crowded and adorned, to the magnificent Orthodox priesthood, and all the other evidences of unshakable establishment. They could, however, hardly convince us that social acceptance of the practices of the Church, even when combined with verbal acceptance of its teachings, have any connexion with fundamental beliefs. If you like to put it in an ancient Greek way, which by the way is strictly scientific, you believe with your heart and your liver, and not with your head. What you believe is unconsciously and faithfully reflected in the songs you have been composing and singing for three thousand years.

The pagan character of these folk-songs has, of course, been noticed before; but the tendency has been to look the other way, or to regard them as unimportant aberrations, rather as some Victorian divines used to regard the deviations of Athenian morality, or as some modern hellenists regard the savage mythology which hides behind the tapestry of the Attic drama. Professor Dawkins, in the Frazer lecture already referred to, devotes several pages to a discussion of this dualism in both ancient and modern Greek belief.

'Here then is the contradiction', he says, 'in ancient Greece between the Olympian religion of the Achaeans and the religion of the mysteries and Orphism... with its awful judges acquitting and condemning, rewarding and punishing; in modern Greece between what remains as essentially the old Religion as we see it among the warriors of Homer, and the eschatology of orthodox Christianity.'

'He goes on to quote Frazer on 'the innate capacity of the human mind to entertain
contradictory beliefs at the same time’. He adds that ‘of numerous popular notions it may at least be said that they contain nothing contradictory to orthodoxy’; and he concludes that it seems to be a matter of moods: ‘the inconsistency, if we must use the word, lies not in any matter of belief, but in the possibility of entertaining and indulging more than one mood in the face of a great mystery’. It is not possible by a short quotation to do justice to Professor Dawkins’s defence of the inconsistency of Greek religious beliefs; and his lecture should be read as a whole. What I suggest here is that of genuine beliefs there has never been any inconsistency; that in fundamental belief the modern like the ancient Greeks have always been pagans.

IX

Some people may remember Thornton Wilder’s play Our Town, which has more than once been broadcast in this country. By the use of a charade-like technique it gives a stereoscopic picture of a small puritanical law-abiding community—Grover’s Corners in New Hampshire (population 2642, as the newspaper editor is brought on to tell us), as seen in the lives of two neighbouring families, the doctor’s and the newspaper editor’s, between 1901 and 1913. The last act takes place in the cemetery on a hill outside the town. We find ourselves brought out once again by a roundabout path to a chapel on top of a hill. On one side of the stage a funeral is taking place in the rain, and under a huddle of umbrellas a hymn is being sung. On the other side of the stage sit several rows of the patient dead, with an empty chair in the front row for the girl who is just being buried, the girl who was doing her schoolwork in the first act and being married in the second. The omniscient Stage Manager who has been directing this charade tries to explain their attitude.

—‘Y’know, the dead don’t stay interested in us living people for very long. Gradually gradually they let go hold of the earth—and the ambitions they had—and the pleasures they had—and the things they suffered—and the people they loved. They get weaned away from earth—that’s the way I put it, weaned away. . . . They’re waitin’. . . . Some of the things they’re going to say maybe’ll hurt your feelings—but that’s the way it is: mothern’ daughter—husband n’wife—enemy n’enemy—money n’miser—all those terribly important things kinda grow pale around here. And what’s left? What’s left when memory’s gone, and your identity, Mrs. Smith? ’—

Isn’t this very like the eleventh Odyssey, this picture of the bloodless, mindless dead as imagined in a middle-class Christian community in New Hampshire—for it is obviously the author’s intention to present the popular belief and not necessarily his own. Kinda Homeric, isn’t it? And then one cannot help wondering: is the abundant development of the higher religions in America, orgiastic or philosophical or theological, as superficial as it seems to be, and always to have been, in Greece? One cannot help wondering if at a certain level of cultural or mental evolution a fundamental paganism is universal. Perhaps a large part of the Western World religion is a social observance rather than a belief either emotionally or intellectually apprehended. This is a speculation which must be referred to the psychologists; and we know already what one of them has said about it.

“The great events of our world as planned and executed by man do not breathe the spirit of Christianity, but rather than unadorned paganism. These things originate in a psychic condition that has remained archaic and has not been even remotely touched by Christianity.”

JOHN MAVROGORDATO

[A paper read in part to the Oxfordshire and District Folklore Society on Nov. 17, 1950, and in part to the Folklore Society at University College, London, on May 23, 1951.

Books Referred to


N. G. Polites: Εθνικοὶ Αριτρες του Ελληνικου Δνου. Athens, 1925.


ARCAHAIC LITERARY CHRONOGRAPHY

The use of 39- and 27-year generations for dynasties of kings was common in Greek chronography, and seems to have been extended to the 'successions' of literary figures by Apollodorus and his school. This was made possible by wide and liberal use of thirds of generations, i.e. intervals of 13 and 9 years, and a complete system was erected on the basis of the equation $39 \times 3 = 27 \times 4$. In its final form (shown in the table below) the system consisted of: (i) eight 39-year generations divided into thirds and dated 780–468; the fifth, sixth, and seventh generations being marked by Thales' birth, akme, and death respectively; (ii) one 27-year series crosses this 39-year line at 741, 624, and 507—Apollodorus calculates $27 \times 16\frac{2}{3}$ years along this line from Homer to the Persian Wars (912–480); (iii) the second 27-year series crosses the 39-year line at 702, 585, and 468—Apollodorus calculates $27 \times 12\frac{2}{3}$ years from Hesiod to the Peloponnesian War (774–432); (iv) the third 27-year series crosses the 39-year line at 780, 568, and 546—Apollodorus uses this series only for Anaximenes, and possibly Xenophon.

I. Apollodorus. (Fragments quoted from Jacoby, FGH.)

Fr. 28: Thales born 624, died at 78 years of age in 546. Since 78 is $39 \times 2$, the akme of Thales on this reckoning would seem to fall in 585, where the eclipse is placed by Pliny and Jerome.

Fr. 29: Anaximandros 64 years of age in 547, and so born in 611, which is 13 years after Thales.

Fr. 27: Pittakos' akme in Ol. 42 (612–09) and died in 570. Since 570 is $27 \times 2$ years after 624, it seems probable that the akme year was 611.

Fr. 338: Pherecydes in 544 is $39 \times \frac{2}{3}$ after Pittakos' death in 570. Suidas mentions Ol. 48, and the Apollodoran reckoning suggests that 583 was the year he had in mind, for this is 39 years before 544.

Fr. 66: Anaximenes' akme is 546, and his death in Ol. 63 (528–5). The year 546 is also that of Thales' death, and 528 is $27 \times \frac{2}{3}$ years later.

Fr. 336: Archilochos is mentioned by Eusebius at aA 1351, which is Ol. 28, 3 in Jerome and 28. 4 in the Armenian. Jerome’s Olympic year is equivalent to 666 B.C., which is $162 = 27 \times 6$ years before the following:

Fr. 340–1: Herakleitos and Parmenides: 504.

Fr. 31: Anaxagoras, according to the surviving text, was born in Ol. 70 (500–97), and died at 72 (= $27 \times 2$) in 468. Clearly, the event originally ascribed to 458 has fallen out of the text; the year is $27 \times 13$ years after 504.

Fr. 71–2: Protagoras and Melissos have akmei in Ol. 84 (444–1). In the case of Melissos, the akme year is probably 441, the year before he was general in the Samian revolt; 441 is 27 years after 468. Fr. 32b gives Empedokles the same akme date.

Fr. 7: The ages of Hellanikos, Herodotus, and Thucydides in 432, which is 9 years after 441.

Fr. 63 and 333: Tatian and Clement report Apollodorus’ date for Homer as 100 years after Ionia, i.e. 943 B.C. The Vita VI gives this date as from Eratosthenes, and quotes Apollodorus for 80 years after Ionia, i.e. 963 B.C. Tzetzes quotes Apollodorus for the succession Kadmos, Linos, Pronapides, Homer: this Kadmos was perhaps the Milesian, and the three pre-Homeric masters account for the time of Homer three generations after the Ionian Migration ($27 \times 3 = 81$). Jerome quotes Apollodorus for Homer in aA 1104 (913–2 B.C.); and Solinus, without naming Apollodorus, dates Homer to the reign of the same Latin king, but in 912, and Hesiod’s death 138 years later: ‘in auspiciis olympiadiis primae’.

The Vita is, apparently, wrong about Eratosthenes’ date, which was 100 years after Troy, not after Ionia: this terminus has presumably crept in from the Apollodoran quotation. The years mentioned by Apollodorus thus seem to be 963, 943, and either 913 or 912: the last two are perhaps dates of the great poems. The year 912 is $27 \times 10$ years before the birth of Thales. Hesiod 138 years later is then in 774, which is $108 = 27 \times 4$ years before Archilochos in 666.

Examination of these Apollodoran dates shows that the three 39-year dates for Thales are each made the starting-point of a 27-year series, and all the dates belong to one of these four series, except those for Pherecydes, which form another 39-year group as a sort of appendix to the Pittakos line. These arithmetical relationships may be shown:
II. Eusebius. A large number of literary dates in Eusebius between the years 774–441 may also be chronographically analysed. The method followed is to tabulate each entry with variants, and by inspection allow those which seem to be in series of 39- and 27-year generations (or their thirds) to emerge, as in the italicised figures below. Such simple inspection produces five apparent series, as follows:

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M. MILLER

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Assuming that 1432 for Thales represents 585 B.C., all dates in Series I are in the Apollodoran line beginning with Hesiod. The variants may all be regarded as simple canonographic errors, except:

i. the Armenian 1409 for Stesichoros: see notes on Series II below.

ii. the rather wide scatter of dates suggests more than one original entry for—
Solon at 594 (= 1423; Sosikrates) and 591 (= 1426; Ath Pol);
Anaximandros at 576 (= 1441) and perhaps 572 (13 years after Thales’ akme).

iii. Different reckonings for Anaximandros may be the cause of dates a complete Olympiad apart in later entries (for the difference between 13 and 9 is 4 years)—
Simonides at 1463 and 1459;
Pherekydes at 1476 and 1480, while 1477 is the Series date, and 1473 = 544, the Apollodoran date;
Simonides again 1477 and 1483;
Anakreon 1482 is a complete Olympiad earlier than 1466: possibly a false correction.

Maintaining the same absolute dating, all dates in Series II belong to the Apollodoran line of Anaximenes. The variants are canonographic, except:

i. Eumelos at 1252 has coalesced with Kinaithion of Series I;

ii. the Armenian omits Alkaios at 1408, and represents Jerome’s 1405 (Stesichoros) by 1406 Arion, and Jerome’s 1408 (Alkaios) by 1409 Stesichoros;

iii. Sappho at 1421 is a complete Olympiad earlier than 1417;

iv. the wide scatter of dates for Stesichoros’ death suggests two original entries, one 9, the other 13, years before 546: 555 = 1462, 559 = 1458. This may be the origin of the complete Olympiad differences in this series at Xenophanes (1461 and 1465) and Theognis (scatter from 1470 to 1476);

v. Pythagoras (1484 to 1491) may represent more than one entry or errors of a complete Olympiad.

Series III is based on 99-year generations and gives 548 for the death of Thales: Stesichoros’ death is 13 years before (1456). These entries suggest that the series is 2 years too early throughout, and that the dates of the source were equivalent to 767, 579, 559, 546, and 533. The errors will arise from the double datings for Anaximandros and Stesichoros’ death.

Series IV: the death of Phrynon should be in 606, i.e. in the Armenian reckoning of Olympiads. This gives the dates 687, 633, and 606.

Series V consists of only three entries, one name (Herophile) also belonging to Series I: her date here is 47 years before that. This suggests (since 45 = 27 \times 1\frac{1}{2}) that this series is 2 years too high, and that Arktinos at 1242 is intended to represent OL. i. 3. The error would seem to arise from the equation of years and Olympiads. (The two entries for Herophile in Jerome F are at 1304 and 1349, 45 years apart.)

Thus Series I and V appear to belong to Apollodoros’ line of dates from Hesiod to the Peloponnesian War; Series IV to the line from Homer to the Persian War; Series II to his Anaximenes line, and Series III to his Thales line. Even where different dates are given for the same person or event, the mathematics are those of Apollodoros, so that his school is dominant for Eusebius in literary chronography.
III. Other sources. Other dates in the sources belonging to these Apollodoran lines are:

**Series I**
- 783: Arktinos 400 years after Troy (Suid.)
- 720: Archilochos at Thasos (Dion.)
- 693: Semonides 490 years after Troy (Suid.)
- 684: Archilochos 500 years after Troy (Eus.)
- 648: Peisandros (Suid.)

**Series II**
- 708: Archilochos at Thasos (Xanthos)
- 672: Alkman (Suid.)

**Series III**
- 754: Antimachos (Plut. Romulus 12)
- 728: Diokles’ Olympiad: *akme* of Philolaos (Arist. Pol. 2.12: i.e. this date is older than Apollodorus)
- 676: foundation of the Karneia (Sosibios), cf. Terandros first victor (Hellenikos). This date may be pre-Apollodoran.
- 611: Pittakos and Melanchros (Suid. probably from Apollodorus)
- 520: Hekataios, Dionysios, Melanippides (Suid.)

The dates from all sources are tabulated below. Those attributable to Apollodorus himself are in capitals. The remainder are mostly anonymous: the majority probably come from Apollodorus’ school, though some are earlier, and presumably represent the traditions on which Apollodorus based his arithmetic. One emendation in the Apollodorus fragments is suggested: Fr. 68 says that Xenophanes was born in *Ol. 40*: the only year of this Olympiad appearing in the four series is 618, the year of Arion (Series II), but Eusebius has a Xenophanes entry in Series II at 555, and another in Series I at 540, this second in company with Semonides and Phokylides. The suggestion is therefore that for *Ol. M* we should read *NA*, and take 573 for the Apollodorus date of Xenophanes’ birth: he would then be 27 when the Mede appeared, and 92 in 481.

It is, of course, not possible to say whether the three Archilochos dates appearing in Series I were all due to Apollodorus, but it is probable that at some stage they formed part of the biography of Archilochos as accepted in Apollodorus’ school. Since 720–666 is 54 years, it seems likely that 666 represents the death of Archilochos in this view: the triple entry in Jerome may thus have originally referred to the death of Archilochos, the *akme* of Semonides, and the birth of Aristoxenos of Selinous.

### TABLE OF APOLLODORAN LITERARY CHRONOGRAPHY

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Glasgow.

Molly Miller
I

The mares that bear me carried me on as far as my heart desired, now that they had brought me to the famous road of the daimon, she who bears the man of knowledge throughout all cities.  

Parmenides's chariot is an excellent example of the symbolic conveyance of the poet-shaman, the means by which he acquires the knowledge he transmits. Such a chariot appears in Alcaeus, Empedocles, Pindar, and Bacchylides. His mares are Parmenides's means of conveyance (ταὶ μὲ φῆσοντων); and on this occasion they obeyed his wish and took him to the daimon who purified such knowledge as makes men famous.

On that road was I borne; for on it the wise horses bore me pulling the chariot, and the maidens led the way.

These maidens are presumably the daughters of the sun, whose appearance is mentioned in the next sentence.

In the axle-boxes the axle-tree makes the noise of a pipe, growing hot (for with twin whirling wheels it was driven) when the daughters of the sun make haste to escort me, leaving the house of Night for the light and thrusting veils from their heads amain. These are the gates of the paths of Day and Night, and a lintel and a stone threshold are about them; but the gates are lofty and have great doors. Of these Dike of heavy requital keeps the alternating keys.

The mention of the house of Night, and of the gates of the paths of Day and Night with their threshold, enables us to identify the place as the familiar region of poetic tradition about the underworld. Hesiod in the Theogony (744 ff.), after telling of the Titans and of Tartarus in which they are imprisoned, and of Gyes, Cottus, and Obriareus who guard its gates, speaks of the awful house of murky Night wrapped in dark clouds; and proceeds: In front of it, the son of Iapetus [Atlas] stands immovably, holding the wide heaven upon his head and unwearying hands, where Night and Day draw near and greet one another as they pass the great threshold of bronze: and while the one is about to go down into the house, the other comes out at the door. And the house never holds them both within. The house of Hades and Persephone is there too. It is the region in the far west where the sun goes down. Atlas, we find, has associations with the Hesperides, who are daughters of Night, and are said elsewhere in the Theogony to live 'beyond famous Ocean at the world's end near the dwelling of Night'. The space in front of Night's house, on which Atlas stands to hold up the heavens, may possibly have been regarded as still on the earth's surface; but the

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2 Hesiod. Fr. I (c) told; Empedocles DK B 3; Pindar OI. IX 80–1; Jastm. II 1–3; ib. VIII, 622; Bacch. V. 176.
3 This statement may be the motive for Proclus's attribution of the name Hypsipyle to the daimon (Parmenides 640. 39). Cf. Phaedrus 245 A: τῶι τε λιθίῳς χαλκοῦκας καὶ ψαμμίτηρ ὑπῆρχεν Ἀρείος νῆσος.
5 274–5 (beyond glorious Ocean), the Gorgons live beyond glorious Ocean at the world's end had by the house of Night, where are the clear voiced Hesperides.
entry to Night's house is a descent. Stesichorus, like Parmenides, places the daughters of the sun here as well: 'But the sun, the child of Hyperion, went upon a golden cup that he might pass by Ocean and come to the deeps of holy Night, to his mother and his lady wife and his children.' Mimnermus describes the sun as floating round in a golden cup, presumably on the stream of Ocean, from the Hesperides in the west to the Aethiopians in the east, where his chariot awaits him for a new day's journey across the heavens. Homer knew that the best way to get to Hades was by the stream of Ocean. Circe tells Odysseus to go in his ship across Oceanus to the groves of Persephone, beach his ship there, and go into 'the broad house of Hades.'

From these citations, which are not exhaustive, it seems tolerably clear that there was a traditional topography: and that Parmenides has used it. The poet is borne in his chariot to the ends of the earth, to the proper place for a katabasis. We should recall that katabasis, e.g. at the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia, were a recognised method of obtaining a revelation of truth; that Epimenides claimed to have encountered Aletheia and Dike in the course of a dream which took place in a cave, caves being regarded in antiquity as entrances to the lower world.

On arrival at the traditional place the poet is met by the daughters of the sun who emerge from their proper dwelling, the house of Night, into the light, which is presumably the light of common day. They conduct him to the threshold of the gates of the paths of Night and Day; but to gain admission to the lower world (i.e. the house of Night) they first persuade Dike, who has the alternating keys in her keeping. Dike's appearance here is of great interest, since it is an innovation in the traditional picture, and an innovation which has an important future. The motive for her introduction can be traced in the cosmological thought of Anaximander and Heraclitus. As keeper of the keys of Night and Day she presides over the diurnal order and exercises the regulating principle of justice in the adjustment of the one party's relations with the other. So Anaximander conceived the world order to be regulated, and Heraclitus expressed a similar idea when he declared that the sun 'will not overstep his measures; if he does, the Erinyes, handmaidens of Dike, will find him out.'

The maidens persuade Dike to unbar the door and bring the poet's chariot through. As the doors open a χήρα χόρος is revealed, recalling the χήρα μέγας of Hesiod (Theog. 740) in which are 'the sources and ends of gloomy earth and misty Tartarus,' and the χάρα μωτία at the judgement place in the myth of Er. Parmenides proceeds: 'And the goddess greeted me kindly and took my right hand in hers.' She addresses him as κούρος and declares that she will reveal to him 'every thing, both the unshakeable heart of rounded truth, and the opinions of men in which there is no true belief.'

The question of the identity of the goddess has been much discussed; but if we keep Sextus's reading in line 3 there can be little doubt. She must be the daimon who appears in fragment 12, is mentioned by Simplicius and Aetius, and named by the latter, 'Dike and Ananke.' It is possible that Aetius's uncertainty about the name reflects an uncertainty which we must feel in this passage, whether Dike is identical with the daimon or is a separate personification of a function attributed to the infernal powers. The question is not of great importance, but we may notice that this differentiation also occurs in the account of Epimenides's dream when he met 'Dike and Aletheia.' In Parmenides the daimon reveals cosmic truth. She lives in 'the house of Night,' and is therefore probably Night herself, whose daughters, by what is probably the more primitive account in the Theogony (213 ff.), are the Fates, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, 'who give men at their birth both evil and good to have, and purge the transgressions of men and of gods,' resembling, in this respect, the Erinyes. By another account in the Theogony (901 ff.) Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos are daughters, by Zeus, of Themis, who is identified with Gaia by Aeschylus (Pv 209 ff.), was the reputed occupant of the prophetic seat at Delphi before Apollo, and is thus very close to Parmenides's subterranean revealer of prescriptive order. Another probable identification is with Hestia, who in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 'sits in the middle of the house of Zeus,' and whom Sophocles and Euripides identify with Gaia.

II

Parmenides's stephanai are described in some detail by Aetius, who is probably reproducing Theophrastus, and, it will appear, condensing him often to the point of obscurity: 'Parmenides says that there are certain wraiths girdled about, one above the other. One is composed of the rare element (i.e. light, fire) and the other of the dense element (i.e. darkness, air, earth); and between these are others consisting of light and darkness mixed.' That which encloses them all is a solid
thing like a wall, below which is a wreath of fire, and that which is in the very middle of all the wreaths is a solid thing. About this [central solid thing] again is a wreath of fire."

Diels believed that the innermost firmament must be the earth; and, since there is manifestly no fiery ring round the earth, emended περὶ δὲ (which stands in need of emendation), drastically, to ὅς ὑπὸ. Reinhardt 17 saw the error of this; but, in my opinion, falls into the no less serious mistake of identifying the stephanai composed of the solid element with the firmament. Since there is an outer and inner firmament, he, too, did violence to the text by a large addition in the first sentence. But it seems inescapable that in Aetius’s description the firmaments are quite distinct from the stephanai. Once this distinction is drawn, a very different picture from Reinhardt’s emerges: and one which is not, like his, a mere theoretical construction bearing no relation to our cosmos; but a delineation, in terms of the Parmenidean opposites, of the earth, the heavens and the things under the earth.

The stephanai are arranged ‘one upon another’ with a light, fiery stephane, and a dark, earthy (or airy) stephane enclosing a number of stephanai in which light and darkness (fire and earth/air) are mixed. Furthermore, there are two stephanai of fire, one inside an external bounding ‘wall’ and one outside an innermost central solid; and hence two groups of stephanai arranged in the way described in the first sentence. Reading from the outside inwards the order is:

1. Outermost firmament (stereon)
2. Fiery stephane
3. A number of mixed stephanai
4. Dark stephane of earth and air
5. A number of mixed stephanai
6. Fiery stephane
7. Innermost firmament (stereon)

The mixed stephanai in the inner group (5) have not yet been mentioned. But it is they which are dealt with in the succeeding sentence, since it is the inner group, or rather the fiery stephane which belongs to it, that has just been spoken of. The sentence begins: ‘but of the mixed (sc. stephanai) the nearest to the middle is to all the stephanai the (beginning) and (origin) of movement and becoming, which, even the daimon who guides and holds the lots. 18 Parmenides names Dike and Ananke’. The text is corrupt, and two words have to be supplied: Diels’s ἄρτι and αἰώνιοι seem unexceptionable, and are supported by Simplicius, who describes Parmenides’s daimon as the ‘origin of the gods’. 19 But the corruption may not only extend to two missing words. As the text stands the daimon is, rather oddly, described as a stephane. The main picture, however, remains unaffected.

The account next turns to the actual visible components of the universe; and describes their relation to the scheme of stephanai.

‘Now the air is thrown off the earth in the form of vapour owing to the violent pressure of the earth’s condensation; and the sun and the Milky Way are the expiration of the fire.’

Here, as before, the extremes are taken first; but these extremes now appear in their proper meteorological guise. Earth represents ἡ ἀκολούθησιν τοῦ πυρόφορος στεφάνου, fire ἡ ἀκολούθησιν τοῦ ἀφανός στεφάνου; the former produces air, the latter the sun and the Milky Way, by a kind of expiration. Then we come to the mixed stephanai: ‘Mixed out of both elements, the air’ (which is a kind of earth) ‘and the fire, is the moon’. He concludes with a summary which contains a reference to the outer firmament in its meteorological guise as aither, and the fiery stephane similarly as the ouranos.

‘At the summit of all the aither stands about; and beneath it is placed that fiery thing which we have called ouranos, under which again are the things round the earth (e.g. possibly, inter alia, the moon).’

Aetius’s account is over-condensed and not very logically set forth; but it contains, I believe, sufficient clues to enable us to reconstruct the main lines of Parmenides’s system.

Fragment 12 at any rate fits very neatly into our reconstruction. 20 Simplicius quotes it (31, 10) to show that Parmenides offers an efficient cause not only of the material elements in creation, but of the immaterial elements that go to make it up. He provides no direct clue to the noun which should be supplied with αἱ στεφάνειαὶ and αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς: but we have little choice beyond στεφάνειαν. The translation will then run: ‘the smaller stephanai are full of unmixed fire, those next above them are of night; but a portion of the flame runs with it. In the midst of these (sc. mixed stephanai) is the daimon who governs all. She rules all matters of hateful birth and marriage, sending the female to the male to mingle together and the male to the female.’

Simplicius elsewhere (34, 14) refers to Parmenides’s daimon as ‘she who is set in the midst of all

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16 περὶ δὲ F; περὶ δὲ B. It seems reasonable with Kranz to regard B as a correction of the syntactically inexplicable περὶ δὲ of F: and to regard that reading as a result of telescoping ὅς ὑπὸ 5. 17 Parmenides pp. 10 ff. 18 Parmenides, DK B 12. αἱ γὰρ στεφάνειας πληθύνοντας φρονέσθαι, αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς νυκτὸς, μετὰ δὲ φλέγοντα ἤτοι αἰώνιοι ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τούτων δαιμόνια ἢ παντὶ κυριώτητα πάντα γὰρ (ἡ) στυγναίται καὶ μὴς ἰχθύς πιέεται ἀντίθεαν θεῖον μεγίστο τοῦ αἰώνα ἄνθρωπον ἡλικίαν.
and is the cause of all creation’. The phrase ‘in the midst of all’ must not, I think, be pressed too far. Actius, probably representing Theophrastus, and Parmenides himself, seem to say quite clearly that the daimon is in the midst of, i.e. in a position next to, and nearer to the centre than, the mixed rings. She is to be placed between the mixed rings and the central fiery stephanes which immediately surrounds the central firmament. Such a position could loosely be described as ‘in the midst of all’.

What is, I think, particularly to be noted is that, in a description of the stephanai beneath the earth, οἱ στεφάναι has a precise meaning. There were two kinds, and of these the smaller were the fiery stephanai round the central firmament. The use of the plural is of no great significance.

The picture we are able to form has one great weakness. We are left quite uncertain what was the shape of the outer firmament and what precise shapes could be described as stephanai. The outer firmament is described as ‘like a wall’, but we are given no further clues, and must turn to the external evidence of previous and contemporary cosmological thought.

III

Homer saw the heavens as a solid vault made of bronze 21 or iron.22 This vault is ringed or wreathed with ‘signs’ (i.e. presumably, constellations). The earth is a flat disc surrounded by the stream of Ocean, which is ἀφίλλος (i.e. a complete circle) and from which the majority of the stars rise. Hades is reached by crossing Ocean, and going downwards.

Hesiod provides more details of the lower world. Beneath the earth is first the house of Hades and then Tartarus with gates, a bronze threshold at the top, and a floor beneath. Around its ‘neck’ is a triple coil of night. It is, further, fenced about with bronze. This great chasma, as the successor of prime chaos, is a reservoir containing the ‘sources and ends’ of everything: dark earth, misty ἔγκαις Tartarus, the . . . sea and the starry heaven’. The distance from Hades to the bottom of Tartarus is the same as that from earth to the height of heaven.

If it is legitimate to attribute a common picture to Homer and Hesiod, we can construct a symmetrical and roughly spherical world, in which the bronze vault of heaven is balanced by a bronze jar, with a neck, which is Tartarus. Earth with its girdle of Ocean separates the two. This symmetrical picture neglects the observable fact that the celestial pole and the zenith of heaven are not in fact identical and that the circular revolution of the heavenly bodies, suggested by the metaphor of the wreaths or rings, brings them, in actual fact, beneath the earth. The later poetic tradition gets over this difficulty by supposing the sun to be carried round from west to east at the extremities of the world by the stream of Ocean; but it is a difficulty that becomes of cardinal importance to the ‘scientific’ cosmologists.

When, about fifty years later than Mimnermus, Thales began the Milesian tradition of explaining the world in common terms, he appears to have said that the earth floated upon water like a piece of wood, and that the motion of the water was the cause of earthquakes.25 This is probably little more than an interpretation of the idea that lies behind Poseidon’s epithets of γαλαξιάς and ἀνασταρίσες in Homer. Anaximander supposed that the earth floated freely ‘because of its equal distance from everything’, that it was of a shape described as γυρός, στρογγυλός and like a column-stone (κώνοι λιθό ταρσαπλάσσον), with two surfaces, on one of which we stand.26 We also learn, probably from Theophrastus,27 that his earth was cylindrical in shape, a third as deep as it is wide, and, probably from Dercyllidas,28 that the axis of its revolution was the centre of the cosmos. The sun, moon, and stars were concentric rings (κύκλοι) revolving like wheel-tires obliquely to the plane of the earth’s surface and at precisely determined distances from each other. They are the outcome, in the process whereby our world came into existence, of the breaking up of an original sphere of flame.29 In spite of his description of this sphere of flame growing round the circumterrestrial air, like the bark round a tree, it appears that he has given up the traditional solid periphery; but in general Anaximander is not very far from Homer and Hesiod. He has boldly faced certain problems which the poetical tradition was content to ignore. In the first place he states that the system need not rest on anything; being centripetal, it remains where it is. The earth, like the heavenly κύκλοι, revolves round a centre, the difference between it and them being that it is a solid ring, i.e. a disc, whereas they are hollow. The centre of the earth’s solid ring is the centre of the universe. The obliquity of the orbits of the heavenly bodies to the plane of the earth’s surface is frankly accepted, but the difficulty of reconciling such obliquity with a Tartarus of traditional form was presumably overcome by setting those orbs remote from the earth. His account, if he gave one, of τὰ υπὸ γῆς is unrecorded.

21 Od. 3. 9; II. 5. 504; 17. 425. 22 Od. 15. 339.
24 Thuc. 715 ff.
With later cosmologists the traditional account seems to reassert itself. Aristotle in the *Meteorologica* attributes to 'many of the old meteorologoi' the view that 'the sun was not carried beneath, but round, the earth and this region, and disappears and causes night because of the height of the earth towards the north'; and we find just this view first ascribed to Anaximenes by Hippolytus and Aetius. According to the more particular account of the former, Anaximenes said 'that the stars do not move under the earth, as others suppose, but round it as a cap turns round our head. The sun is hidden from our sight not because it goes under the earth, but because it is concealed by the higher parts of the earth and because its distance from us becomes greater.' The mention of others, who supposed that the heavenly bodies went under the earth, must presumably point to Anaximander; and the contrast between Anaximander and Anaximenes appears to be again brought out by another of our authorities who said that some of the cosmologists attributed a wheel-like shape to the cosmos (e.g. Anaximander) while others likened it to a mill-stone. Anaximenes said that the earth was a platform resting on the air δια πλάτων. There is no evidence, beyond this mention of infernal air, that he gave any further attention to τὰ υπὸ γῆς. On the other hand, he had at least the

(a) ANAXIMANDER'S KUKLOI

(b) PARMENIDES'S STEPHANAI

negative feeling that the heavenly bodies must be denied access to the regions below. Anaximenes's view that the obliquity of the ecliptic is only apparent, and is due to the 'height of the earth towards the north', amounts in fact to the idea of a tilted earth; and we find, in the later accounts of the formation of the present world order, descriptions of how this happened. Empedocles appears to have said that as 'the air yielded to the sun's pressure, the Bears inclined and the northern regions became higher than the southern regions became lower'; and similar items were included in the accounts of Anaxagoras, Diogenes of Apollonia, and Archelaus.

Anaximenes described his outer heaven as τὸ κρυσταλλοειδὲς, a solid crystal, cap-like hemisphere in which the stars were fixed 'like nails'. Burnet rejected Actius's evidence to this effect on the ground that the image of a heaven revolving round the earth like a cap is inconsistent with the notion of a celestial sphere. But there is no reason to believe that the ouranos, conceived since Homer as a vault 'wreathed' with the orbits of the heavenly bodies, had ever been regarded as more than hemispherical. It is true that Anaximander seems to have believed that part of this hemisphere dipped below the earth's plane; but that anomaly was righted by Anaximenes in the
conception of a tilted earth. Anaximenes, like Homer, would have envisaged the cosmos as roughly spherical, with a hemispherical region below the earth corresponding to the upper hemispherical ouranos. Similarly, in the next century Empedocles seems to have envisaged an egg-shaped universe; but his earth, like Anaximenes’s, is a tilted lozenge, and his heaven a solid, crystal, outermost hemisphere to which the stars are attached.\(^{37}\) Made of aither, like Parmenides’s steren, it holds together the whole κόσμος or revolving universe.\(^{38}\) Beneath the crystal vault are two further hemispheres, one of fire and one of air, which have a part to play in Empedocles’s complicated theory of the double sun. Empedocles’s surviving fragments contain two references to τὸ ὑπὸ γῆς; he said (DK B 52) that ‘many fires burn beneath the earth’, and (DK B 54) that ‘aither went down beneath the earth with deep roots’.

The wide field of cosmological thought which we have been considering presents what is virtually a common view of the world. It would be surprising if the main lines of Parmenides’s picture were not in substantial agreement. We shall find that our account of his system shows such agreement and that the main innovations are in the underworld, on which we have no detailed descriptions later than Hesiod.

The first point on which we may observe Parmenides’s agreement is the firmament. We may note that in Actius’s summary \(^{39}\) of the system of stephanai it is not this steren that is called the ouranos, but the fiery stephane that is immediately below it. The point is immaterial; and may, in fact, go back no farther than Actius. The fiery stephane of Parmenides corresponds to the fiery hemisphere of Empedocles, and the air ‘which is thrown off the earth’ corresponds to Empedocles’s hemisphere of air. In every system of cosmological thought we have examined the earth has been a circular, lozenge-shaped, solid body, and it would be very surprising if Parmenides’s earthy stephane was anything different. But Burnet,\(^{40}\) on the basis of two passages which we shall consider, believes that Parmenides had adopted the so-called Pythagorean doctrine of the sphericity of the earth. The two passages come from Diogenes Laertius: in the first (IX 21) it is stated that ‘Parmenides proved that the earth was spherical and was at the centre of the universe’; in the second (VIII 48) the tradition is given that ‘Pythagoras first called the heaven cosmos and the earth round, or as Theophrastus said, Parmenides did so’. It is true that Socrates in the Phaedo \(^{42}\) states that when he was younger he had looked to Anaxagoras to solve the problem whether the earth was flat or στρογγυλή, a word which, though ambiguous, in this context must mean ‘spherical’. But, before attributing this latter doctrine to the early Pythagorean society, or to Parmenides, on the basis of the two passages quoted, we should give consideration to the following points:

1. That στρογγυλή can mean circular as well as spherical; and that Theophrastus said that Parmenides first called the earth στρογγυλή he may have been meaning nothing more than circular, and have been misinterpreted by the excerptor.

2. That Diogenes also records a tradition that Anaximander’s earth was σφαενοειδής, while we know perfectly well that it was circular, not spherical.

3. That Diogenes’s use of the phrase ‘Parmenides proved’ suggests the arguments of the Way of Truth, and may indicate that our authority confused with the earth the ‘one being’, which was spherical, and was proved to be so by hard logic.

I am certainly not prepared, on this uncertain evidence, to throw over the interpretation of Parmenides’s system of stephanai, which on other grounds has seemed plausible, and which would be destroyed if in it the earth was spherical. Further, I find it very difficult to believe that if the doctrine of the sphericity of the earth had belonged to the Pythagorean society, and Parmenides had derived it from them, Empedocles would not also have either adopted it or argued against it.

If, then, Parmenides’s earth is lozenge-shaped in accordance with the universal tradition, it can only have been described as a stephane by an extension of the normal meaning of the word. But such an extension is not difficult. As Anaximander’s drum-shaped earth was a solid kuklos, so Parmenides’s earth is a solid stephane and his air is presumably another solid stephane. The heavenly stephanai were hollow rings of varying breadth accounting for the orbits of the heavenly bodies. As in Anaximander’s system of kukloi, Parmenides’s stephanai progressively diminished in radius from the outer fiery stephane to the stephane of the earth; and when we turn to the stephanai beneath the earth we shall find the process continued. In Actius’s description the surrounding steren is described as the ‘highest’ and the fiery stephane is immediately ‘beneath it’. At the other extreme there is a steren which is ‘midmost’ of all the stephanai. It is legitimate to infer that since the former is outermost and highest the latter is innermost and lowest. Furthermore, since the outer steren is, like Empedocles’s firmament (sterenon), composed of aither, it is reasonable to suppose that the inner

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\(^{37}\) Act. I 31, 4; DK A50 the cosmos egg-shaped; Act. II 8, 2; DK A38 the inclination. Such an inclination can only occur to a plane surface. Diog. Laert. VIII, 77: DK A2 τοῦ οἴρου κρυσταλλέουσα; Act. I 11, 2; DK A31: στερέων εἶναι τοῦ οἴρου ἐς ἄγρα συναπτόμενον ὑπὸ πυρὸς κρυσταλλώνην τὰ πυρίδα καὶ τὸ δαρᾶς ἐν διστάρῳ τούς κρυστάλλους τιρώμενον. For the double sun see Act. II 20, 13: DK A56.

\(^{38}\) DK B38 αἰθὴρ σφαιρικήν παρὰ κόσμον ἀπαντά.\(^{39}\) See note 14 ad fin.

\(^{40}\) E.G.Ph. iv. p. 190 and note 1.

\(^{41}\) IX. 21 πάτρος 6' αὐτὸς τὴν γῆν ἀπείρων φαινόμενη καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κοσμοῦ: VIII 48 (Pythagoras) ἐδώκε καὶ τοῖς ὅρμοις πρὸς τοῦς θεραπεύεις κόσμους καὶ τὴν γῆν στρογγυλήν, ὡς δὲ Θεοφραστος, Περσεινίδιος.

\(^{42}\) 97 D.
steron was composed of aither too; and to recall, as a parallel, the aither, which in Empedocles’s system ‘went down beneath the earth with deep roots’. Around the innermost stereon is a stephané of fire. Infernal illumination is a feature of the description of the underworld in Pindar’s dirge; and in his 2nd Olympian the good are said to have the sun by night as well as by day. Similarly, as we have seen, Empedocles speaks of ‘fires burning beneath the earth’. But it is the later Pythagoreans in whose systems the central fire is first well attested; and we may observe with interest that with them this central fire displays many of the characteristics of Parmenides’ daimon. Commenting on the doctrine of the central fire mentioned by Aristotle in the de caelo, Simplicius says that the Pythagoreans who held the more genuine doctrines regard the central fire as the creative force (δημοσιόφυλική) which from the centre causes the generation of creatures throughout the whole earth, which is the reason why some call it ‘the tower of Zeus’, as Aristotle says in the Pythagorica, some ‘the guard house of Zeus’, some ‘the throne of Zeus’. These latter names suggest the description as ‘the tower of Cronos’ of the brilliantly illuminated home of the blessed in Pindar’s second Olympian. Phileotas’s cosmological system is different from Parmenides’s in as much as he has a number of concentric spheres rather than stephanai, a step dependent upon the abandonment of the lozenge-shaped earth in favour of a spherical earth such as we find in the Phaedo; but his central fire is described in what we may now be justified in calling traditional terms. Actius says that he called it ‘the hearth of the whole, the house of Zeus, the mother of the gods, the altar, the focal point (συνοχή) and measure of nature’. We have seen that the subterranean goddess was probably to be identified with Gaia, the mother of the gods, and with Hestia. Phileotas’s names recall these personifications. Hestia, in Plato’s Phaedrus (247a), alone remains in ‘the house of the gods’ and does not share in the procession across the heavens. We may be safe in attributing to Plato the belief that ‘the gods’ house’ was that which contained the central hearth of the universe. In Euripides (Fr 944 N) we find an appeal to ‘mother Gaia; but learned mortals call you Hestia seated in (or at?) the aither (ημένην έν οἴσε). It is possible that this last phrase refers to the idea of a central stereon of hard aither such as we find in Parmenides.

An interesting point is that in Phileotas’s system, as in Parmenides, there was a corresponding fire which surrounded the whole universe (και τόδε του έσευν δωρέτατω ηλίαρχου). Parmenides’s three different elements, the central stereon, the fire surrounding it, and the daimon seem to have coalesced in this late Pythagorean thought; but in one statement which Stobaeus appears to connect with Phileotas the central stereon can be discerned: ‘in the midst of fire is the leading element (το θεομονοικ) which the creator god laid down as a keel for the sphere of the whole’, though the metaphor of the keel is much more suitable for the Parmenidean system of stephanai, where it really was at the bottom. We may finally quote in this connexion a remark of Anatolius: ‘the school of Empedocles and Parmenides and practically the majority of the ancient sophoi follow the Pythagoreans in believing in a kind of ηναδίκων διάπνοσ υξίος, which is in the middle of creation: as Homer said τόσον άνευθ Αίδασο δεσον ούμωνιά έστιν άτο γαίς’. Here it is not clear whether the author is thinking of the earlier cosmos of stephanai or the later cosmos of spheres. But it seems that the features of the earlier tradition were easily transferred to the new conception. An excellent example of such transference is the adaptation of the traditional underworld to a spherical earth by Plato in the Phaedo.

We should observe, in conclusion, that Parmenides’s general scheme (see diagram (b)) whereby an upper firmament and system of elementary masses in rings is repeated below the earth is only another and more precise form of the Hesiodic picture in which the lower world, like the upper, has its firmament of bronze, and holds a reservoir of the elementary masses. Further, Hesiod’s good Eris (Works and Days 16 ff.), who is the elder daughter of Night and is set by Zeus ‘at the roots of the earth’, has a power of living creatures similar to Ananke’s in Parmenides. She ‘turns even the shiftless to toil’, by causing emulation between the like, an activity complementary to Ananke’s power of bringing the unlike together.

IV

We may now turn to the myth of Er (Plato, Rep. X, 614b f.) and the picture of the universe it presents. The cosmological tradition to which the previous sections of this paper have been devoted will be before our minds; but we shall also reflect that Plato, in the Gorgias, and Phaedo had, probably already before the Republic was finished, given accounts of the lower world and, in the case of the Phaedo, of the universe. The picture of the lower world in the Gorgias is quite traditional; but in the Phaedo he had adopted the theory of a spherical earth, which probably also implies Phileotas’s doctrine of a universe of concentric spheres. And not much later, in the Phaedrus, describing the fate of the souls in the next world, he will tell how they follow the general revolution of the universe in the train of the gods, and in the course of the journey catch sight of the Forms in greater or lesser

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degree. We shall find in the myth of Er the traditional infernal landscape, and in the picture of the universe nothing to suggest that he is again regarding the earth as spherical.

Er ‘once upon a time was killed in battle; but, when after ten days the dead were taken up already in a state of decay, he was taken up sound.’ They carried him home and, two days later, were just going to bury him when he came to life again as he lay on the pyre. He recovered and told them his experiences in the other world.’ His soul went with many others to a δαίμονιον τόπος where there were two openings in the earth near each other and two corresponding openings in the sky. Between the two pairs of openings sat judges who sent the just to the right upwards διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and the unjust to the left downwards. Er saw souls returning from below and from above, and meeting joyfully in the meadows, while the wicked whose penance was as yet insufficient were sent below once more.

A plate from Thurii deriving from the end of the fourth century B.C. has an inscription addressed to the soul of a dead man which concludes: ‘hail, hail to thee journeying the right-hand road by holy meadows and groves of Persephone’. This geography has clear affinities with the myth of Er, and serves to link the latter with the traditional landscape. Odysseus passes on his way to the house of Hades by the groves of Persephone. Here, we know from Hesiod, is the entrance to the great chasma of Tartarus, and we have seen that Parmenides, speaking of the same locality, mentions the wide chasma which is made when the doors open which lead to the goddess’s presence. Plato’s χάσματα are more elaborate, but quite in the tradition. In the Gorgias (524A) Minos and Rhadamanthys give sentence ‘in the meadow at the dividing of the road, where are the two ways leading, one to the isles of the Blest and the other to Tartarus’.

But in the Republic the route to the isles of the Blest is replaced by the χάσματα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, through one of which they go up ‘full of dirt and dust’, and through the other they come down from the οὐρανός clean and purified, having had wonderful experiences and seen sights of inexpressible beauty (615A). It seems certain that Plato here has in mind something like the procession of souls which he describes so vividly in the Phaedrus; and if this is, the route διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ must be the route, not through, but by or over the heavens.

When the souls who have returned from their journeys in either realm have spent seven days in the meadow, they get up on the eighth day and depart. ‘Three days later they arrived at a place from which they could see άνωθεν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένου a straight light, like a pillar, but resembling the rainbow most of all, only brighter and purer.’

The first problem of interpretation concerns άνωθεν. Should it be taken with τεταμένου or with καταφέρνας? The parallel of Phaedo (110B) where the earth, αἰτί τοῦ άνωθεν, is said to resemble a sphere made out of twelve panels, is striking, and suggests that άνωθεν is a normal word for a ‘bird’s-eye view’. The description of the universe there is essentially an external appreciation of what we normally look at from inside; but there is no indication in the Republic that the souls reach such an elevation in the journey described. I am inclined therefore to feel that άνωθεν should be taken with τεταμένου.

The next, and major, problem concerns the subsequent phrase: διὰ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένου. The regular translation is: ‘stretched through the whole heaven and earth’, i.e. as an axis. The main objection I have to this interpretation is that, as far as I know, the axis of the universe is never described as ‘a straight light’ either before or after Plato, or elsewhere in his works, and that there is nothing in physical nature to suggest an axis of light for the universe. The alternative translation, on the other hand, ‘from whence they could see from above a straight light stretched over the whole heaven and earth’, is equally acceptable grammatically, 68 and has the advantage the other interpretation lacks. The ‘milky way’ is a feature of the visible universe that might suggest such a straight light crossing the heavens. Although in Parmenides, Empedocles, and Phanolous the outer aither performs the task, in the next sentence ascribed to the ‘straight light’, of keeping together the whole revolution, that crystalline wall or shell can hardly be claimed as a precedent for the light; but we find in two Orphic texts a diagrammatic description of the forces holding the universe together which seems to have a bearing on Er’s picture. In this description there is the surrounding envelope of aither in the first place, and, in the second, a ‘golden loop’ attached to the aither which Proclus describes as a supporting band holding together the ‘strong bond’ of aither. This ‘golden loop’ seems to bear the same relationship to the envelope of aither as the ‘straight light’ 166.

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55 See Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion, p. 173.
54 Od. 10, 509; cf. 11, 22.
53 See Od. 4, 315 ff. for the Elysian plain where is faced-headed Rhadamanthus; and Od. 11, 539 and 24, 13 for ‘the meadow of ashphel where the dead dwell’.
52 Cf. (e.g.) Xen. Hell. VII, iv, 29, where διὰ τοῦ λόφου means ‘over the hill’.
51 Kern, O.F. 165. Proct. in Plat. Tim. I, 28 C.
50 Zeus addresses Night: τοῦ δὲ μοι ἐν τὰ τὰ πάντα ἔσται καὶ χωρίς ἔκοστο; Night replies: αἰσθανόμενος πάντα πήρεν ἐμαυζωμένη, τῷ δὲ ἔν μιαν οὐρανόν, ἐν τῷ τρόπων ἐμπήκοντο, ἐν δὲ βολίσαντο, ἐν δὲ τῷ τέμπει πᾶντα τὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπερορθώμεναι.

66 Id. ib. 31 C. Proclus, commenting on the analogia, or numerical proportion with which Plato in the Timaeus binds together the two elements of fire and earth in the world’s body, observes: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κράταρος διαμέτρου, διὰ θείου διαμέτρου, διὰ τοὺς πτώσεως τεταμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς χρύσου σειρὰς συνεχόμενους ἐπὶ αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Δίὸς τῆς χρύσου ορθοστήσας σειρὰς κατὰ τὰ ὁποῖας τῆς Νυκτὸς; αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς σειρᾶς κρατιζομένης πριν πάντα τάνυσθαι σειρὰς χρυσείας ἐξ αἰθέρος ὀρθάστηκαν . . . .

68 Cf., of course, the folk tale in ll. VIII, 18 ff., which may be an attempt to explain the Milky Way.
does to Er’s universe. It may be noted that Proclus also describes the envelope of *aither* as διὰ πάντων τεταμένος, *i.e.* ‘stretched over the whole universe’, as the text he is explaining makes clear (περὶ πάντας ταύτους).

Finally, could such a band of light be described as ‘straight, like a pillar, but resembling the rainbow most of all, only brighter and purer’? The epithet ‘straight’ presents no difficulty, since it could clearly be used of a band which travelled in a straight line across the heavens. The comparison to a pillar is more difficult, since we expect pillars to be vertical; but such a light as it rises from horizon to the summit of the sky has a pillar-like quality. I cannot help feeling that to Plato both the epithet ‘straight’ and the image of the pillar are successively rejected as inadequate. When he concludes by saying that it ‘resembles the rainbow most of all (μείζωνος)’ it is difficult not to take him at his word and regard him as deliberately and unambiguously overriding the earlier descriptions by one which appeals to him as more strictly accurate. Except, he seems to me to say, for its consistency (its brightness and purity), it is just like a rainbow, more like a rainbow than anything else. If my feeling is right, then the ‘straight light’ can only be a bow spanning the heavens; and cannot be an axis of the universe, an element lacking in the traditional picture.

Er continues: ‘they arrived at this light after a day’s journey, and saw there in the middle of the light, stretched from heaven, the ends of the bonds of it (i.e. of the heaven).’ For this light is the constricting bond of heaven, like the *hypozoma* of triremes, thus keeping together the whole revolution; and from the ends the spindle of Ananke is attached, by means of which all the revolutions are turned. The spindle’s shaft and hook are of adamant; but the whorl is of mixed material, adamant and other things.’ Er then particularises. The whorl is really a nest of eight whorls, each, except for the middle one which is solid, hollowed out and having a lip of differing thickness. The whorls represent the orbits of the fixed stars, the five planets, and the sun and moon. The whole spindle is revolved upon ‘the knees of Ananke’, who sits surrounded by her three daughters, the Fates, each contributing, from time to time, impetus to the whorls’ revolution. From one of them, Lachesis, the journeying souls receive ‘examples of lives’, and choose their own for the next reincarnation. In the evening, after experiencing ‘heat and terrible thirst’ in a journey through a desert, they reach the water of Lethe, and at midnight, with thunder and lightning, ‘they are carried up, this way and that, to their birth, like shooting stars’.

If the light is a bow spanning the heavens, its middle, to which the souls come, must be the zenith. From there hang ‘the ends of the heavens’ bonds’, that is to say, the ends of the light which like a piece of string ‘holds together the whole revolution’. It is now clear that this light is not a bow, but a loop; and not a continuous loop, but one which has ends which are introduced within the *ouranos* at the zenith. These ends hang down from the zenith and are attached to the hook of a spindle.

The journey now being described is, it seems, the sun’s old route from west to east, and, as with the sun’s journey, there seems to be no certainty whether the road is on or beneath the earth. At the meadow of judgment there were *chasma* in the heaven and in the earth. The souls reach a place from which they can see the light spanning earth and heaven, they pass through scorching deserts, yet they drink of Lethe and go upwards to their birth.

The span of light is undoubtedly a feature of the actual universe. What status of reality does the spindle and its concentric whorls possess? Do the souls see the whole actual universe in the shape of this image? Or is it, as Cornford thought, a model? An insuperable difficulty in the former interpretation lies in the omission of the earth from the system of whorls. The sudden change of scale is no less difficult to accept. But if it is a model, why does Plato attach the spindle to the actual universe? And how can it be the means by which the revolutions of the actual universe are turned? The answer to these questions lies, I believe, in the tradition represented by Parmenides’s Ananke, who sat at the centre of the universe, who ‘governed all’, and exercised a powerful compulsion over living creatures, being described generally as the source of movement and becoming. In Plato Ananke sits immediately beneath the zenith; and, while her daughters give lots to living creatures, she turns her spindle which is connected to the ends of heaven’s bonds at the zenith. Through the varied movements of her spindle’s whorls she causes the various movements of the heavenly bodies, her power only seeming more mysterious than Parmenides’s Ananke or Hesiod’s Eris because it is represented in a pseudo-mechanical way.

To illustrate the loop of light which at the same time surrounds the universe on the outside and is introduced within it to be attached to its axis, Plato employs the comparison of a trireme’s *hypozoma*. The lists of naval inscriptions which cover forty years in the middle of the fourth century include *hypozoma* as a regular item of a warship’s rope-tackle (σκέφη σφέαστρω). Ships in the dockyard are classed as ‘girded’ or ‘ungirded’. Such ropes as a regular fitting can only have had a structural purpose, and cannot have been similar in function to those that were employed in St Paul’s shipwreck to meet an emergency. An inscription shows that they were creatures by mixing the elements (DK B35).
among the heavy ropes and classed with anchor cables. The weight of four of them suggests that they were of a length to pass round the ship from stem to stern. Large ropes regularly fitted round the hull underneath would have been a serious hindrance to a ship’s speed; and there is in fact no kind of evidence for such a fitting on Greek warships.

The literary evidence is not unhelpful. Plato, in the *Laws* (495c), speaks of *hypozomata* in such a way as to make clear their function as tensions essential to the ship’s safety. More detailed is the account of the guiding of the Argo in Apollonius Rhodius (I, 367 ff.)

\[\nu\eta\ \alpha\ \delta'\ \epsilon\pi\kappa\rho\sigma\tau\tau\varepsilon\omega\ \alpha\gamma\rho\nu\ \upsilon\nu\delta\theta\mu\omicron\sigma\upsilon\eta\sigma\iota\nu\ \varepsilon\zeta\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\tau\omega\tau\omicron\nu\varepsilon\iota\ni\nu\ \varepsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\rho\vare\iota\nu\ \iota\nu\delta\omega\delta\varepsilon\nu\ \delta\iota\rho\lambda\iota\nu\delta\nu\sigma\nu\varepsilon\thetav.\]

‘They girded the ship with might and main, putting a tension on each side with a well-twisted rope from within.’ The rope was clearly made as tight as possible. So much is already clear from the *Laws.* Tension was all-important; and, if its function was structural, a slack rope would be useless. But to keep tight a rope that is continually getting wet and drying again requires a device for adjusting the length. In the case of the Argo tension seems to have been put on the rope in the first place by means of a ‘well-twisted rope from within’. Although it is difficult to decide whether the epithet ‘well-twisted’ merely describes the common nature of rope or has a special meaning in the context, I am inclined to believe that it has a special meaning here; and that the tension was contrived by leading the ends of the rope inside the ship at bow or stern and twisting them together. The twisting device would then consist of a ropemaker’s wheel fixed centrally in the ship and equipped with a ratchet. But, however we take ευστρεφθαι, the words must mean that tension was applied from within the ship (ἐνδεικτευ). If I have interpreted Apollonius correctly, two points emerge: (1) that the comparison of the *hypozoma*, so obscure to us, would have effectively enlightened a Greek reader, since it presented the image of a girdle, which was not continuous, but had ends introduced within the object girdled and there made fast, probably to a twisting device employed to adjust the tension. (2) the connexion of the image of the band of light with the image of the spindle is inherent in the comparison of the *hypozoma*. The spindle occupies the position of the twisting device, and resembles it in form and function closely, but not, of course, exactly.

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95 *IG II* 1479 B.
THE FUTURE OF STUDIES IN THE FIELD OF HELLENISTIC POETRY

When the Chairman of Council asked me to read a paper at the Jubilee Meeting of the Classical Association, I felt highly honoured by this kind invitation. Twice before I have enjoyed the privilege of reading papers at General Meetings of the Association during the last war, when I had been most hospitably received in this country and had found a new home at Oxford. I confess I still feel quite at home here, and it gives me enormous pleasure to come over from Munich and to speak to you once more; so I am deeply grateful to you for giving me this opportunity.

But I think I owe you at least one word of explanation for the strange title of this lecture. The Chairman of Council said in his letter ‘that although one lecture should be given on the history of the Classical Association, the other papers should look forward rather than backward’. Now, I had been doing some work on a Hellenistic poet myself, especially during the years at Oxford; as far as I am concerned, I have finished with studies in that province of learning. At the end of the preface of Callimachus, Volume II, I expressly said that what I offered was only the beginning of Callimachean studies: ‘Studiorum Callimacheorum nihil nisi initia offere; ad ulteriora pervestiganda cruditis magna patet area’—for further investigations a vast area is open to scholars—I meant to other scholars, for whose future work I hope to have provided some useful tools. But when I considered Professor Webster’s suggestion that papers to be read at this meeting should if possible ‘look forward’, it occurred to me that, after all, I myself might try to say a word or two about the possibility and desirability of such further investigations. So I proposed as the title of my lecture: ‘The Future of Studies in the Field of Hellenistic Poetry’. I have not the slightest ambition either of becoming a prophet or of organising a Society for the Promotion of Hellenistic Studies. There will be, I am afraid, no more than some rather casual and personal hints in this paper.

It is only natural that Greek post-classical literature is less frequently treated in universities and schools and is far less known to the general public than the great works of the pre-classical and classical ages. A very generous reviewer of Callimachus, Volume I, in The Times Literary Supplement in 1950 expressed the opinion: ‘it will be a pity if these papyrological discoveries of Hellenistic poetry are confined too much to the University graduate. Students should be encouraged in the higher forms of schools to take the broadest possible sweeps through Greek literature, and a selection of Callimachean poems would be desirable.’ I can only hope that this is not mere wishful thinking. Very lively researches were made in this field by scholars of the last two generations; as a contribution to the Jubilee Essays of this Association, the Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, wrote a penetrating article on this subject, and he very kindly allowed me to read through his typescript—a great help which I gratefully acknowledge. It would be indeed a desirable result and a sort of reward for much painstaking labour, if the chief works of later Greek poetry were more widely known and were one day to please and instruct the modern reader. At the moment we certainly have not come as far as this. There are old, inveterate prejudices, and it may be very hard to overcome them.

Let us look back at the study of Hellenistic Poetry and its appreciation in the past, and pick out a few characteristic examples. At the end of the fifteenth century the first western scholar who could rival the eastern immigrants in the knowledge of the Greek language was Politian, Angelo Poliziano. Starting from Latin poetry, Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, he tried to get acquainted with their Greek models, Theocritus, Callimachus, the epigrammatists of the Anthology. He roused the interest of his Florentine circle in collecting and copying the manuscripts of these poets; he translated some of their poems into Latin, he made the first attempt at reconstructing famous lost poems from quotations and imitations, Callimachus’ epic poem Hebe and the elegiac Lock of Berenice. He was probably the first Italian scholar to lecture on Theocritus in Florence. But beyond all that, Politian was, I should say, a kindred soul; he was a genuine poet and a productive scholar himself who could change and mould all his learning into forms of poetical beauty. Hence he was able to understand and to appreciate the ancient poetae docti, who first had created that new kind of learned poetry. The figure of the scholar poet, the fact of the coincidence of poetry and scholarship is, as you all know, the feature of the Hellenistic age. But the question is what does it really mean. To this eternal problem, we shall come back presently. A second characteristic example of appreciation of Hellenistic poetry after Politian belongs to the beginning of the seventeenth century: Joseph Justus Scaliger said in a letter of the year 1607 to Salmasius that there were in his opinion four ages of Greek poetry: ‘the third, the autumn, not inferior to the summer, produced the most outstanding men; autunnus ab oaste non degenerans praesentissimae homines exult! . . . Quid ingeniouss Callimachos? . . . Quid Theocriti amoenius?’. This statement by the greatest classical scholar of his time, and one of the greatest of all times, is indeed remarkable. Ovid had said that Callimachus ingenio non valet, arie valet; intentionally reversing this famous line, Scaliger did not praise Callimachus’ art, but his ‘genius’; it is shown by his own notes and the notes and commentaries of his friends and pupils, Casaubon and Daniel Heinssius, that they all loved the amenity of Theocritus. The
climax of the scholarly work devoted to Hellenistic poetry was Bentley's collection of the Fragments of Callimachus at the end of the seventeenth century: a performance unique in its own time and a model for posterity. But in the second half of the eighteenth century a sort of revolution took place. Winckelmann conceived his new ideas of the Greek genius not from Greek art, but from poetry and philosophy: Homer, Sophocles, Plato. In his History of Ancient Art, first published in 1764, he followed, as he said, that indication of Scaliger on the four ages of Greek poetry, already quoted. Winckelmann accordingly distinguished the different periods and styles of Greek art as developing in conformity with the conditions of the whole national life; but, in striking contrast to Scaliger's judgement, he could see nothing but decline in the age after Alexander, Scaliger's 'autumn', in art as well as literature. The impression Winckelmann made on the whole of Europe was prodigious; under his influence post-classical Greek productions were regarded as imitative and decadent. Scaliger once had declared: *autumnus ab aestate non degenerans*, but the creed now accepted was this: the Greek genius degenerated and disintegrated in the Alexandrian period. In spite of some adjustments, this 'classical' view, as we may call it, still holds good to a certain degree. I could quote examples from books and articles of most recent date. Winckelmann and his followers may have been entitled to such a depreciation of later Greek poetry, as their knowledge had been very limited; but how is it to-day? Old inveterate prejudices indeed die hard.

It was against this theory that Droysen, in the thirties of the nineteenth century, established the historical importance and the specific value of the centuries between Alexander and Augustus; in order to distinguish them from the previous Hellenic times he termed them Hellenistic, taking up a modern Latin word-form; for Lingua Hellenistica had been the name of the Greek language of the New Testament since Scaliger's time, and Droysen had apparently found it in his Greek grammar. There was then no difficulty in his giving his book of 1836 the title Geschichte des Hellenismus, because the word Hellenismus had hardly ever been used in German for the whole complex of Greek language, style, and culture; in French, however, or English the word 'hellenism' had been used, and is being used in that general sense like the original word Ἑλληνισμός in Greek, and this may be a source of embarrassment or even confusion in these languages. Droysen himself wrote no more than the political history of the first hundred years after Alexander; but it was not his almost forgotten predecessors, but he, who, with his vision of the 'Hellenistic age' culminating in the appearance of Christ, became authoritative for historians writing on the post-classical centuries. Hellenistisch und Hellenismus meant much more for him than a mere new terminology; it meant a period with its own 'historical principle' (as he said with Hegel), an epoch of progress to new achievements by the Greek genius, while 'Alexandrian' and 'Alexandrianism' retained the flavour of narrowness, decadence, decay.

So it was quite natural that scholars who ventured to discover the particular merits of this period in the fields of art and poetry preferred the term Hellenistic art and Hellenistic poetry. Only a few years after the publication of Droysen's Geschichte des Hellenismus, in 1845 Otto Jahn, one of the great university teachers of archaeology and classics, transferred the new terminology to literature and art in his writings and still more in his lectures in Bonn; his pupils were Carl Dilthey and Wolfgang Helbig, who then tried to reconstruct lost works of the Hellenistic period in the sixties and seventies of the last century. Erwin Rohde, in the first part of his famous book on the Greek novel, 1876, had to rely on such reconstructions, when he derived the later long love-stories in prose from a purely imaginary Hellenistic love-elegy; he even pondered the gigantic project of a book on 'Hellenistic civilisation', as we learn from a letter of the year 1881. At the same time the French scholar, Auguste Couat, responding to a much earlier appeal of the great Sainte-Beuve, wrote a comprehensive work 'La poésie alexandrine', published in 1882. Retaining the old description 'Alexandrian', he tried hard to bring that poetry to life again, not as a dry philologist, but as he claims as un ami des lettres anciennes. The reward for his labours was unique; his book, which was out of date shortly after its appearance, had fifty years afterwards, in 1937, the great privilege of being translated into English by Dr. James Loeb, the ἱερος ἐφώνωμος of the Loeb library and once an honorary member of my university. This seems to be very odd at first sight; but if we look a little more carefully into the writings of Jahn's pupils and those of Rohde or of Couat, we realise that they contained a new conception of Hellenistic poetry as a whole. Winckelmann had detested the productions of that age, as he seemed to recognise in them the style of people like Marini or Bernini; now the scholars of nineteenth century from the thirties to the seventies thought they saw a romantic element in Greek post-classical poetry and art, and this led to a new appreciation. 'Romanticism' meant individual passion, erotic sentimentalism, love of nature. So it was not only its elegant form which made Couat's book attractive, but still more its uniform conception which, as 'romantic', appealed to the modern mind. Nobody after Couat produced anything similar; that explains its surprising revival in our own time. Hellenistic poetry, rejected by classicism, seemed to be justified by late romanticism. But new researches and finally the discovery of a large quantity of the original poems by English scholars, Kenyon, Grenfell, Hunt, Lobel, did much to destroy this pleasant picture; there was no such unity in its poetical production of the age, and nothing or very little 'romantic' about it. Scholars like Wilamowitz, whose brilliant paper on the 'Lock of Berenice' was written in 1879 and whose first edition of the hymns of Callimachus appeared in 1882, attacked and even
ridiculed the current opinion and championed a much more realistic view, showing the variety, the individualism and formalism, the modernity, and sometimes even the originality and progressiveness of the epoch. Thus Wilamowitz and his followers maintained very strongly the positive values against 'classical' depreciation, but they defined them in a different way. Nevertheless, they were not quite immune against romantic infection.

I should like to give one very curious example of this; from this example we may venture to look into the future. When Wilamowitz in 1893 reviewed the first edition of the Vienna wooden tablet with about sixty lines from Callimachus' Hecate he rightly guessed that to a great extent an old crow is speaking to another bird. 'Both fell asleep', so we are told at the end of the fragment, 'but not for long; for soon came a white-frosted neighbour: 'Come, no longer are the hands of thieves in quest of prey: for already the lamps of morning are shining; a water-carrier is singing his song somewhere, and the axle creaking beneath the cart wakes the dweller by the highroad, and smity slaves torment the ear.' Wilamowitz contended that the 'white-frosted neighbour' στίβεις ἀγγελοσ, as he read with the first editor, must also be a bird, arriving in the early morning frost and awakening his two sleeping fellow birds: 'Irs 'come on'; in his words the early morning work of men and particularly its noise is announced. Not the voices of birds announce the end of night to men: on the contrary, the noise of men rouses the birds. This fanciful bird-story was a success beyond imagination; it seemed to be romantic, ingenious, witty. One scholar even added an erotic note; he boldly translated γειτρας ... φιλητεων, which means the hands of thieves, by 'le mani degli amatorii'. I had always been one of the few who suspected the whole interpretation to be a sort of modern pseudo-romanticism; no ancient poet, let alone Callimachus, would have invented such an absurd description of early dawn given by a bird. The text of the first edition which we all had followed showed no way out of the many difficulties; in this text, however, one letter had been misread by the editor, and another had been misspelt by the ancient scribe. Not ις, 'come', was written on the tablet, but δις. In the word ἀγγελοσ the o before the u must be emended into a; this was my conjecture, but the correct word ἀγγελοσ is also in Suidas, taken from this very passage of the Hecate. Not a 'white-frosted' neighbour (ἀγγελοσ) came, but the 'rimy dawn' (ἀγγελοσ); nor does any bird begin a speech with 'come' and so forth, but the poet himself goes on with his epic narrative: the two birds fell asleep, not for long; for soon came the rimy dawn when the hands of thieves no longer go hunting, the water-carrier sings, the axle creaks' and so on.

To sum up: a general conception, which seemed to be out of date, but still had a strong influence, brought about a startling interpretation which fascinated nearly everyone. Holding a different view of the poetry as a whole, I felt impelled to reconsider every single letter. Thus I arrived at a new text. In contrast to the old text there is nothing sensational about the description of daybreak as we read it now. It is very much simpler and much more graceful; it has those very features of realism and formalism we would expect; and only the new text brings out the Homeric model of the whole scene. After their long nightly talks Odysseus and Eumaeus fell asleep, not for long, but for a little while; for soon came the throned dawn Ἡς ἔδωκε έδοφρονος. The Hellenistic poet also spoke of the dawn (not of a white-frosted bird)—but he avoided the old epic formula. He quite correctly imitated the scene of the Odyssey (and there is much more of this pastoral world taken over in the Hecate), but he used a new word instead of ἕνας, a gloss ἀγγελος, which may be Cyprian; he added instead of εῦφρονος a new epithet στίβεις, alluding to two other passages of the Odyssey where Odysseus fears the στίβη, the morning frost; furthermore, the following lines, which go into characteristic details, present quite a number of rare words or word-forms. Finally, we derive another benefit from our corrected text: we learn that Apollonius Rhodius imitated this passage of the Hecate in his Argonautica, when, in describing the very early hour at which Jason with Medea's help went to carry off the golden fleece, he used the word ἀγγελος for the dawn. So we have, on the one hand, the imitation of Homer, on the other hand, the mutual imitation of the poetæ novi. It is their imitiveness and their allusiveness which more than anything else have tended to discredit Hellenistic poets; and the root of this evil, so we are told, is their excessive learning. We shall hardly get on in this field of studies if we repeat such half-truths.

Now, the question of the scholar poet is one out of a number of questions most worthy of future detailed research. It seems to be first of all a chronological question; and with the chronology of Hellenistic poets we touch a particularly tender spot. As far as we know, the first to whom the designation ἰωτής ἀμις καὶ κρατικός 'poet as well as scholar' was applied was Philitas from the island of Cos in the last third of the fourth century and probably in the first two decades of the third. This is exactly the time when after the split-up of Alexander's empire new states were established. There was a feeling that the old forms of political and spiritual life were past for ever, consequently the great old poetical forms as well. Throughout the fourth century poetry had shown signs of exhaustion and even dissolution; but now a new and strong desire for rebuilding was slowly growing up also in the field of poetry. Poetry had to be rescued from the dangerous situation in which it lay, and the writing of poetry had to become a particularly serious work of discipline and wide knowledge, τέχνη and σοφία. Poets like Philitas and his followers looked back to the old masters, especially of Ionic poetry, in order to be trained by them in their own poetical technique. The incomparably precious heritage had to be saved and used. For that reason it was indispensable to collect, to
order, and to treat the old text critically. The point I am attempting to make is this: the new conception of the *poetis* leads the way to the scholarly treatment of the ancient texts. At the beginning there seems to have been the desire for the rebirth of *poetry* and the enthusiasm of *poetis* for the great works of earlier ages, especially for Homer; the devotion to pure learning would then have been the second stage. Two generations before Philitas a Colophonian poet, Antimachus, whom Plato highly appreciated, had studied Homer and quite consciously used rare and obsolete epic words, γλώσσαι, in his own poems; it is very likely that even the old rhapsodes had collections of such vocabularies, and Aristotle in his *Poetics* expressly recognises glosses as a feature peculiar to epic poetry. So there had been forerunners and some earlier steps in the same direction; but only Philitas and his contemporaries, like the Rhodian Simias, inaugurated a new age; they created a new situation, the masters of poetry and scholarship arose immediately afterwards. Our sources are sparse, but they ought to be scrutinised again with the help of all the available new evidence. Philitas had been famous all over the Greek world; Attic comedy joked at his work and person. In his native island of Cos he became shortly before 300 the tutor to the son of the first Ptolemy, and this son, Ptolemy II, was afterwards as King the foremost promoter of poetry and scholarship. The two greatest poets of the next generation, Theocritus as well as Callimachus, praised Philitas the poet in prominent passages of famous poems. Philitas’ personal pupil was, according to reliable tradition, Zenodotus from Ephesus, who initiated the Homeric studies as editor and lexicographer on a grand scale and in a methodical way; he was the first librarian of the newly founded Alexandrian Museum within the precincts of the royal palace. So we see: it was only after Philitas who was, first, a poet of elegies, short epics, and epigrams, and, secondly, a learned collector, that the pure scholar came into being, institutions for the promotion of scholarship having been founded at the same time. Without minimising earlier efforts of sophists, rhetoricians, philosophers, I should like to suggest that, the κριτικὴ τέχνη, later on called γραμματική, rarely ‘philology’, as a separate intellectual discipline was originated by the followers of Philitas at Alexandria. If this is correct, classical scholarship, as we call it, has quite a noble ancestry.

Many new and often disturbing questions arise at this point: for instance about Zenodotus’ method. Radically opposed theories are held by modern scholars concerning the way he treated the Homeric text. Did he carefully consider the lines and variant readings of the many copies collected in the library and constitute his text on this evidence, or did he delete lines and change the wording according to his own arbitrary judgement or that of his master, Philitas? It cannot be helped, every single case must be investigated as far as possible. My personal opinion is that he generally followed the line of documentary evidence; but there are exceptions, perhaps one in ten cases. It is of fundamental importance to arrive one day at the right decision.

But we must now turn back to the poetry. There is, as we saw, a quite definite relation to the past; the endeavour was to know the old masters and to be trained by them. The great epic, lyric, dramatic forms should not be imitated in a strict sense, indeed that above all should be avoided; but one could learn from them, borrow from them, shape and reshape, and refine reminiscences. There should not be either a break with tradition or a sterile traditionalism. The passage I quoted from the *Hecale* for another reason can be taken as an example of this tendency: a typology of such variations of Homeric patterns could, I think, be written. But it would require a high standard of interpretation as well as of literary criticism.

So far, we have spoken of the relation to the great poetical heritage; but what about the importance of the highly developed artistic prose of the fifth and fourth centuries? It has repeatedly been stated that the theories of eloquence, the schools of rhetoric, must have exercised their influence on the style of Hellenistic poetry. As far as I am aware, proofs of such sweeping statements are still lacking, and I am afraid the requisite workmanship is modelled on earlier poetry, not on the rules of rhetoric; but the whole problem is certainly worth considering. These new poets were not only practising their craft, but also very earnestly reflecting on it; so the question suggests itself, whether they did do along the lines of Aristotle’s *Poetics*. Now Aristotle’s *Poetics* is retrospective, whereas the *poetis novi* were looking to the present and to the future. We realised the impulse given to a separate discipline of scholarship by Philitas and his circle; in the leading figures of the following generation, above all in Callimachus, the creative poet and the literary critic were united for the first time in European history. For the modern mind this union seems not to be so startling; we may think of Paul Valéry, of T. S. Eliot, of Hugo von Hofmannsthal and others. And Goethe had stated the simple truth, that ‘after all nobody has a true idea of the difficulty of art but the artist himself’. The ideas of the Hellenistic poets about their art grew out of their own poetical practice, not out of Aristotelian theory; but the controversy about this problem is still going on, and traditionalists like Apollonius Rhodius may turn out to be nearer to Peripatetic doctrines than others. It was mainly literary criticism, which stated its own principles, referring to like-minded contemporaries and hitting hard at opponents. This brings us to the last point I should like to mention briefly: namely, the mutual relations between contemporary poets, their borrowings from each other as well as their polemics. We have very little external evidence about the literary chronology of this period; so we have to build it upon conclusions reached from such mutual references—an extremely delicate undertaking. Nearly everything is doubtful. In the case of Apollonius—Callimachus the wealth
of new material has firmly convinced me that the borrower is everywhere Apollonius; but I might be suspected of partiality, and I hope this conclusion of mine will be severely tested by others in the course of time. There is a puzzling uncertainty about the priority of famous narrative passages in Theocritus (13 and 22) and Apollonius; a minute analysis of the very different style of the narrative in Theocritus and Apollonius and of the essential difference in the poetical quality may lead to a plausible solution. The situation is still more embarrassing as regards some minor poets, such as Herodas or Lycopilhon or Nicander; the dates suggested for their life-spans fluctuate by half a century or even more. Nevertheless, we are bound to try again and again and to use every shred of new material. To make a great deal of new material more easily accessible, the indexes to Callimachus have been worked out in detail—if you allow me such a personal and pretentious remark.

But no better help for tackling these chronological and other problems can be expected than that of good commentators. We enjoy, as you all know, the advantage of possessing the new comprehensive commentary on Theocritus by Mr. Gow, and I am sure it will prove a strong stimulus to further research. Apollonius Rhodius may not have to wait long for a commentator equal to this formidable task; and I have not given up hope that the commentary on Callimachus' hymns will be produced by Professor Smiley, without whose earlier labours and photographs I should not have been able to classify the manuscript tradition of the text. A complete edition of all the Epigrammatists of the Hellenistic age had once been planned by J. U. Powell as a continuation of his Collectanea Alexandrina of 1925, but he did not live to carry out this ambitious enterprise. It means first of all reconstructing Meleager's Garland out of the large Byzantine collection in the Palatine manuscript and in Plauades Venetian autograph, and then adding the not too numerous pieces preserved elsewhere. Hellenistic epigrams—the lyric poetry of the time—were the most popular poems in their matter and the most restricted in their form. Therefore it was in this genre, with its uninterrupted tradition from the seventh century on, that some of the Hellenistic poets created their most accomplished works; but in order to be understood and appreciated, they must be taken out of the vast medley of the Palatine Anthology and commented on in connexion with the whole poetry of the age as its finest flower. A vast area, indeed, is open to scholars for further investigations; to the publishers, above all to the Cambridge and Oxford University Presses, a special tribute of thanks must be paid for their great services in the past, particularly in the last few years, and one must earnestly hope and pray that they will not withhold their favour from future studies in this field.

I have put before you a number of single questions and tried to give, as I said at the beginning, answers in the form of some casual and personal hints. In conclusion, I should like to raise the general question as to whether the outlines of a picture of Hellenistic Poetry as a whole become visible. The poets were in a unique historical position. They could no longer speak as free citizens to a political and spiritual community as audience; their only chance was to write books for smaller circles of well-educated connoisseurs. But it seems to me to be going a bit too far to confine them to the famous 'ivory tower' which Flaubert invented as a refuge for nineteenth-century littérateurs. The Hellenistic poets did everything to preserve classical and pre-classical poetry, and 'learning' was a constitutive element of their own novel art, as we have seen. This art itself necessarily contrasted with the creations of the previous periods; it showed no original magnitude of subject or gravity of religious and ethical ideas, but an abundance of conscious allusions and a variety of aesthetic subtleties; no consistency and unity of the literary genre or clarity of presentation, but a wilful blending of various styles and dialects and rare vocabularies. If such contrasts can be worked out in detail, it may be helpful even for interpreting the Greek classics; for Hellenistic Poetry, non-classical as it was, was still genuinely Greek. If 'classical' prejudices, romantic falsifications and inadequate nineteenth-century poetical theories are definitively brushed aside, it will be easier to understand how Hellenistic poetry became a source of inspiration for Roman poetry and, through the Latin poets, especially Ovid, deeply affected the development of European literature. I expect many a modern ami de lettres will approve Jane Austen's wise decision to aim at perfection within the limited sphere of 'her few square inches of ivory', as she said, and not to be lured into any grand literary adventure; so he may understand at least the conscious self-limitation of Hellenistic poets and may appreciate the perfection reached by the few masters of the third century, who had a lightness of hand, an indefinable touch of irony and that imperishable charm which is a divine gift of the Χάρπης, the Graces whom they imitated so often.

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(A paper read at the General Meeting of the Classical Association in London, 1953)
ATHENS AFTER THE SOCIAL WAR

The period of Demosthenes has a special interest for the student of Greek politics; more evidence exists, in the form of speeches, for the actual working of Athenian affairs in this period than in any other. It should therefore provide the starting-point in any attempt to find out the presuppositions of Athenian politics, to find what sort of behaviour is habitually expected of politicians and what motives are taken for granted as the normal motives of public men. Here the political scene at the entry of Demosthenes into politics will be examined in the hope of contributing towards answering these questions. For the ascertainable facts, preserved mainly in Speeches xx, xxii and xxiv of Demosthenes, are comparatively plentiful, and so they may be used in order to criticise current assumptions about the nature of political parties and conflicts in ancient Athens.

A preliminary question concerns the dates of these three speeches. Dionysius of Halicarnassus assigns Speeches xx and xxii to 355/4 and Speech xxiv to 353/2. It is hoped to defend elsewhere the general credibility of the Dionysian dates for the Demosthenic speeches. That for Speech xxii has been seriously questioned by Mr. D. M. Lewis. He points out that in describing the importance of sea-power (§§ 12–16) the speaker failed to mention the Battle of Chios, and infers that the speech was made before the battle (357/6 or possibly 358/7). He notices that the Athenians built only one ship in 359/8 but ten in 358/7, and presumably a considerable number was built in each year of the Social War. The charge against Androtion was that he had proposed the grant of a crown to the Council, although the Council had failed to build the requisite number of ships. So Lewis suggests that the Council was that of 359/8 and the speech was made in 358/7.

If the speech was made in 355/4, its silence about the Battle of Chios can easily be explained; the Athenians did not like to be reminded of their misfortunes. It mentions (§ 72) a crown granted by the Euboeans to the Athenians, apparently in gratitude for the expedition made by the Athenians to Euboea in summer 358/7. Further, the phrase διό τὸν κόρον ἀδὰν τὸτε (§ 49) seems to allude to the Social War as over; the scholiast understood it thus. These considerations in favour of 355/4 are stronger than Lewis’s argument from the records of shipbuilding; we do not know how far, if at all, the Council which Androtion sought to crown fell short of its duty, but we do know that Androtion was acquitted.

The Social War lasted from 358/7 to 356/5. Probably at the beginning of the Attic year 356/5 a further fleet of sixty triremes was sent under Iphicrates, Menestheus, and Timotheus to join that under Chares. But Chares quarrelled with his three colleagues, and they failed to support him at Embata; so they were prosecuted at Athens, Iphicrates and Menestheus were acquitted but retired from public life, Timotheus was condemned to pay a fine and went into exile. The trial took place probably in the winter of 356/5, and certainly before the end of the war; for Dionysius of Halicarnassus says so; and a remark made by Iphicrates during the trial referred to the war as still in progress.

The leader of the prosecutors was Aristophon of Azenia. He was a senior politician; he had received asteia because of his help towards restoring democracy in 404/3 and in the next year he had carried a citizenship-law. So by 355 he must have been an elderly man and one likely to withdraw soon from regular political activity. In prosecuting the three generals he seems to have acted as the friend of Chares, and he had appeared as such in 362. For in that year an Athenian force under Leosthenes was defeated by Alexander of Pherae, so the Athenians executed Leosthenes and gave the command to Chares; some of the trierarchs serving under Leosthenes were also prosecuted, and the prosecutor was Aristophon, that is, he took part in activities which led to the advancement of Chares. There was, then, lasting friendship between Aristophon and Chares.

Contemporaries knew that there was also lasting enmity between Aristophon and Eubulus.
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The latter was a much younger statesman; some attribute political activity to him as early as 369; he will not have distinguished himself during the restoration of democracy in 404/3; for people did not keep quiet about such claims to prestige. Ultimately, and probably in the period 354–0, Eubulus held powers amounting almost to full control of Athenian finance. By this time Aristophon seems no longer to have held such great influence as before; but, because of the difference in age between the two men, the change may merely mark the succession of the generations rather than the replacement of one political system by another.

Such ancient statements as mention the hostility between Aristophon and Eubulus do not go so far as to say that they disagreed about the policy which Athens ought to pursue, but many modern writers assert this and try to describe the difference. Firstly, it is said that Aristophon was in favour of imperialistic measures in foreign affairs, whereas Eubulus stood for peace and financial retribution. Even so cautious a writer as Pickard-Cambridge attributes an ‘imperialistic and militant’ policy to Aristophon, and says that ‘he fought the disaffected allies, instead of meeting their suspicions in more peaceable ways,’ although there is no reason to suppose that in 356/7 practical politicians could contemplate any alternative to fighting the allies. In addition to this general divergence between the two statesmen, it is alleged, secondly, that a rather desperate financial policy practised at the end of the Social War was due to Aristophon and was opposed by Eubulus. This second point will require more attention, but the more general divergence of policy may be considered first.

Three reasons may be adduced for supposing that Aristophon and Eubulus stood respectively for warlike and pacific policies. First, it is often said that it was Eubulus who made peace with the allies in 356/5; Aristophon, on the other hand, presumably sympathised with his friend Chares, who tried, after the Battle of Embata, to continue the war by entering the service of Artabazus and fighting in Asia Minor. A second argument concerns the publication perhaps about the end of the war of the Xenophontic Poroí and the isocratean pamphlet On the Peace; both works advocate peace and retribution. It is held to have been Eubulus who had proposed successfully the recall of Xenophon from exile about 367; so he may be thought to have sympathised with the views of the Poroí. Aristophon, on the other hand, prosecuted Timotheus, who was a pupil of Isocrates and indeed the pupil of whom Isocrates most liked to boast; so perhaps Aristophon disagreed with the views of On the Peace. The third and most weighty argument is drawn from some measures taken by Eubulus when in control of finance. He had all surplus revenues assigned to the theric fund, and he seems to have provided for penalising anyone who proposed to use them in other ways. A war policy would entail using part of the surplus revenues for military purposes, and this would not be popular with the beneficiaries of the theric fund. So Eubulus is said to have afforded ‘to some extent a guarantee of peace.’

The view that Eubulus made the peace at the end of the Social War rests on the scholion on Dem. iii, 28. In this passage Demosthenes makes a number of complaints against those in power, and one of the complaints is: ‘Those whose alliance we won in the war have been lost in peace-time through these politicians, τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ συμμάχους ἐξετάσαμε, εἰρήνης ὑστερήσαμεν ἀπολολέκασαν οὖν. The scholiast says in explanation: ‘In the Social War the Chians, Rhodians, Byzantines and some others seceded from them. So by fighting against them they won back some but could not win back others; then they made peace on the condition that all the allies should be free. So he (σοὶ Demosthenes) says that we have lost through the peace even those whom we had won in the war; and the responsibility for the character of the peace rests with Eubulus, because of the way in which he administers affairs.’ κατὰ τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον ἀπέτησαν αὐτῶν Χίοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Βυζαντῖοι καὶ ἔτηροι τίνες. πολεμοῦντες οὐν πρὸς αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀνεκτήσατο, τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἥδυνεν, εἰτα εἰρήνην ἐποίησαι ὡστε πάντας αὐτούμως ἐδώκα τοὺς συμμάχους. τοῦ οὐν φησιν, ὅτι καὶ οmouseleaveα μεγάλη τοῦ πόλεμου, καὶ τοῦτοι διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπολολέκαμεν. τὸ δὲ τοιαύτην γενέσαι τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς Εὐβοίους οὕτω διοίκησεν τὰ πράγματα.

The scholiast does not say that Eubulus made the peace; he may have thought so, but he makes merely the more guarded statement that the character of the peace was due to the character of Eubulus’s policy. But assuming—and there is no reason to assume this—that the scholiast meant to suggest, however obscurely, that Eubulus made the peace, one must ask, whence did the scholiast gain his information? Demosthenes, in the phrase to be explained, mentions a war and the period of peace afterwards; the scholiast identifies the war with the Social War. He knows that by the peace ending the Social War the allies of Athens were declared free; he does not appear to know that under the peace-terms some of the former allies remained members of the Athenian Confederacy while others did not. He identifies those attacked by Demosthenes with Eubulus; this may be a conjecture, and it may well be right. But there is no reason to suppose that he had any further sources; he merely interprets the statement of Demosthenes and uses his general knowledge of the

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19 Diog. Laert. ii, 59; Schäfer, op. cit. I, p. 192, n. 3; but see below.
21 CAH VI, p. 221.
22 Diog. Laert. ii, 59; Schäfer, op. cit. I, p. 192, n. 3.
24 [Dem.] lit, 3–8; cf. Libanius Argument to Dem. i; Dem. i, 19: iii, 10–13.
25 Pickard-Cambridge in CAH VI, p. 223.
period. In particular, there is no reason to suppose that he had any literary or documentary source which said that Eubulus made the peace with the allies.

So the observation of the scholiast has no authority for the interpretation of Demosthenes’s remark. The orator mentions a war in which the Athenians gained some allies. This cannot be the Social War, although the scholiast thought that it was; for in the Social War the Athenians did not gain allies but lost them. The war in which the Athenians gained allies abundantly was the Greek War of 378–362. Demosthenes complains, in the statement which the scholiast tries to explain, that his political opponents, by whom he probably means Eubulus and his friends, have lost, in the condition of ‘common peace’ prevalent since 362, the allies won in the period 378–362. His statement has nothing to do with the peace made at the end of the Social War, and so there is no reason to suppose that Eubulus made that peace.

The second argument assumes that the Poroi and the pamphlet On the Peace were both published about the end of the Social War. The pamphlet On the Peace is securely dateable to the end of the Social War (cf. §§ 2 and 16), and has some resemblances of content to the Poroi: §§ 21, 30, 42, 53, 138. But they are not sufficiently close to prove borrowing, and if one writer borrowed from the other, it is not clear which borrowed from which.

The Poroi has the following indications of date:

(i) it alludes to how Athens helped the Arcadians in the sixties (iii, 7; Hegesileos was general at Mantinea 27);
(ii) it meets the objection that the Athenians have paid so much in taxes ἐν τῷ νῦν πολάμῳ that they cannot provide capital for enterprise in the mines, and it refers to the peace as already made (iv, 40); the peace may be either that made with the allies in 356/5 or that made with Philip II on 15th Elaphbolion 347/6;
(iii) it mentions contemporary ‘disturbance’ among the Greeks, and suggests that Athens should act as mediator between states or within states (v, 8);
(iv) it suggests that Athens should work for the autonomy of the Delphic sanctuary, not joining in the war but sending out embassies (v, 9): the wording implies a date when the Athenian alliance with Phocis was either still in force or had been so very recently;
(v) it suggests that the Athenians might lead a general Greek alliance against any who should try to seize the Delphic sanctuary, the Phocians having left it (v, 9); this could be said either if the Phocians had already left the sanctuary or if the writer merely considered the possibility that they might do so in future.

These indications are compatible with a date either soon after the peace of 356/5 or soon after the peace of Philocrates. Perhaps the wording of v, 12, is in favour of the latter rather than the former: ‘One will see that our revenues have increased, since a state of peace has arisen at sea’ (γνωστέω τὸν Ρωμαίον κατὰ θάλασσαν γεγένηται, μνημέως τὰς προσόδους...). Εἰρήνη, as distinct from ἡ ἐρήνη, probably means ‘a state of peace’, rather than ‘the peace’, that is, a specific peace-treaty.28 The state of peace at sea must have been existent long enough for the Athenians already to notice some increase in their revenues. This seems to suit the situation of 347/6 better than that of 355. This indication may be considered inconclusive, and the possibility that the Poroi belongs to 355 cannot be excluded.

Nevertheless, the argument from the Poroi and On the Peace is weak. The evidence that Eubulus carried the recall of Xenophon is the statement of Istrus,29 not a very reliable authority, that Eubulus was responsible both for the exile and for the recall of Xenophon. Xenophon was exiled in 400 or possibly in 401;30 it is not likely that Eubulus was active so early. Possibly the statement refers to another Xenophon, namely the one who wrote lives of Epameinondas and Pelopidas.31 Yet even if the statement refers to the more famous Xenophon and is true in its second half, this fails to establish any close connexion between Xenophon and Eubulus. For, if Xenophon was a controversial figure at the time of his banishment, he was probably no longer so at the time of his recall, which was many years later. For his recall is likely to have taken place after the Athenians sent help to the Spartans in 379, since the original complaint against him had been Laconism.32 When the Athenians themselves Laconised, his recall was a matter of common justice; so whoever proposed the recall of Xenophon did not thereby commit himself strictly to any policies which Xenophon might represent.

Again, any attempt to associate Timotheus with the policies of the speech On the Peace would be most unhappy, for in the campaigns of 366–363 Timotheus proved to be the most successful exponent

27 ἐπιθέσες ἐδομένων = ‘in the state of peace’; not ‘under the peace-terms’; the distinction between ἐπιθέσες and ἡ ἐπιθέσις was drawn by Professor F. Wust (Philiipp II, 1938, pp. 69–71) in discussing (Dem.) vii, 18 and Dldym. viii, 9. It might be objected that, from the Athenian point of view, the state of peace had been interrupted since 362 by the Social War, so that ‘the state of peace’ should refer to a condition existing only since 356/5. But the war with Philip, in progress when Demosthenes spoke, did not prevent him from referring to the state of peace as existent; so the Social War need not have prevented him from referring to it as existent since 362.
28 Diog. Laert. ii, 54.
30 See note 26.
31 Xen. An. vii, 7, 57.
33 The reason for banishment: Diog. Laert. ii, 51. Xenophon sent his sons to Athens, when Athens sent help to the Spartans: ib. ii, 53. This was in 370: Xen. Hell. vi, 5, 19 (or 369: ib. vii, 1, 15). The recall will have been later.
of Athenian imperialism since Thrasybulus. The supposition, based on the laudatory remarks of Isocrates, that Timotheus was kinder to the allies than other generals were, should not be entertained. For when Timotheus approached a Greek city which had not paid tribute to Athens, he used to send envoys ahead to present his compliments; and this was the normal practice of Athenian generals.

Above all, neither of the two pamphlets is by a practical politician, and although admittedly Xenophon is more realistic in his proposals than Isocrates, both stand outside the increasingly exclusive circle of εν τινες ομοφυλοί.

The only real argument in favour of supposing that Eubulus stood for a policy of peace is that drawn from his measures concerning the theoretic fund, which were something of a hindrance to war. Yet it would be erroneous to take this consequence as characteristic of his policy in general; for the general impression which his policy makes is not markedly pacific. He should probably bear much of the responsibility for Athenian intervention in Euboea in 349. At least Meidias, who was a friend of Eubulus, seems to have promoted the intervention. Demosthenes, who wanted the Athenians to devote their main attention to the Olynthian War, should perhaps be believed in his statement, made three years later, that he opposed the intervention in Euboea. Cephasodes, who attacked Chares for his activities in aid of Olyanthus, seems to have been in favour of the intervention in Euboea. So apparently the policy of Eubulus in 349 was not to refrain from all intervention but to direct Athenian energy to Euboea rather than to Chalcidice. And who shall say that he was wrong? For Euboea was of more direct concern to Athens than Olyanthus was.

Again, it should not be forgotten that Demosthenes was not the only Athenian politician to advocate firm resistance to Philip II in the years 346–40; Demosthenes had occasion to remind an Athenian jury that others, including Eubulus, carried decrees for opposing the increase in Macedonian power. Very little is known about the policy of the opponents of Demosthenes in the years 346–39; the only reliable source of information is his speeches. He names one of these opponents; it is not Eubulus but Aristomedes. In general, the main charge which Demosthenes makes in these years is that the Athenians are slow to act; this hardly indicates the nature of his opponents' policy. The charge was, indeed, a stock-topic of political oratory, for it had been used by Meidias. On one point the policy of the opponents is known with some precision. When Philip II demanded the recall of Diopithes from the Chersonese, Demosthenes spoke for continuing Diopithes in his command, but his opponents, who perhaps included Eubulus, proposed to recall Diopithes and send out another general. Perhaps they felt that it would be difficult to justify some of the actions of Diopithes, and that therefore Athens would have a stronger case against Philip II if she recalled Diopithes. Since they wanted to send a replacement, they were willing to resist Philip II at some stage. If the proposal to replace Diopithes is typical of their policy in these years, they disagreed with Demosthenes as to the occasions when Athens could best resist Philip II, but not necessarily on the need to resist him.

Thus in 349 and perhaps in 341 Eubulus disagreed with Demosthenes on the course which Athenian intervention should follow; but there is no good reason to attribute to him a policy of non-intervention on either occasion. Unlike Isocrates, he did not stand for pacifism on any and every occasion; as an active statesman he judged each problem as it arose and advised what he thought to be in the interests of Athens.

It is equally groundless to suppose that Aristophan invariably advocated war. In 371 his son Demostratus served on the embassy sent to Sparta to make peace. Apart from his hostility to Eubulus, which is inconclusive, the only reason for supposing that he stood for war in 356/5 is his prosecution of the three generals; but this can be adequately explained without that supposition. For there was a need to find scapegoats for the disasters of the war, and there may have been competition between rival groups for leadership in the Social War.

Thus the grounds for supposing that in 356/5 Aristophan and Eubulus stood respectively for fighting the allies and for making peace with them are valueless, and while the tenet cannot be conclusively disproved, the burden of proof would surely rest with those who hold it. In particular, it would be bold to suppose, in the absence of evidence, that Aristophan opposed the final vote of peace; for a man of even moderate political wisdom and experience might realise that in face of Persian threats Athens had no choice.
The second topic on which Aristophon and Eubulus are held to have opposed one another in these years concerns finance. Because of the campaigns of the Social War the Athenians ran short of money, so and so they took measures to use what had been called klägliche Auskünfte. Three such measures are known, and they probably all belong to the year 356/5. Androton carried a decree giving him powers to exact arrears of eisphora. Although Demosthenes does not explicitly date the commission, the general tenour of his account of it in Speeches xxii and xxiv strongly suggests 356/5. Leptines carried a law annulling grants of exemption from fiscal burdens, except the grants to the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Aristophon passed a decree towards recovering sums of money which belonged to the state but were withheld; a commission of inquiry was appointed to receive information about such moneys.

It happens that three speeches composed by Demosthenes for public trials (xx, xxii, and xxiv) deal partly with the consequences of these measures. Schäfer put forward the theory that the three measures were sponsored by the party of Aristophon and opposed by that of Eubulus and that Demosthenes, attaching himself to the party of Eubulus, used the occasion of the speeches to attack the measures. The attitude of Demosthenes is here of less interest; for the main part of the theory, Schäfer stated more clearly the reasons in its favour and acknowledged more frankly at least one of the objections than his successors have done.

He put forward three reasons for his theory. First, he drew attention to the similarity in policy between the three measures: they all try to meet the financial difficulties by gaining the utmost from existing sources of revenue. The second reason depended on the alleged attitude of Demosthenes to Timotheus. The speech against Androton, without naming Timotheus, praises his father, Conon, and speaks with approval of the expedition to Euboea in 357, which was largely due to Timotheus; the speech against Leptines praises Conon and speaks with approval of Iphicrates and Timotheus. Schäfer believed that the trial of Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Menes- theus took place later than the speeches against Androton and Leptines, but could already be foreseen when these were spoken; accordingly, he held that in them Demosthenes tried to influence public opinion in favour of Timotheus. Thus Demosthenes would set himself against the party of Aristophon, who prosecuted Timotheus. Now the one speech is primarily an attack on the law of Leptines, and in the other, although the technical point on which Androton was prosecuted was something else, much is said against his activities in collecting arrears. Thus Demosthenes, opposing Aristophon, would also oppose two of the measures for klägliche Auskünfte. The third reason concerned the prosecution of Androton. The legal argument was that he had proposed a decree honouring the Council of Five Hundred, though because of the immediate circumstances such a proposal was allegedly illegal. When he made the proposal in the Assembly, Meidias, who was a friend of Eubulus, spoke against it. So it might be supposed that, when Demosthenes composed the speech against Androton, he acted in support of the party of Eubulus.

The third reason is the least conclusive. Neither Meidias nor any certain friend of Eubulus is known to have taken part in the prosecution of Androton; the technical plea was a mere pretext and, as Demosthenes wrote, the prosecutors, Euctemon and Diodorus, acted mainly in pursuit of private quarrels. So there is no adequate reason for associating the party of Eubulus with the prosecution of Androton. Indeed, the subsequent prosecution of Timocrates followed up the decree of Aristophon. Schäfer noticed that this is rather odd on the supposition that the prosecutors were opponents of Aristophon.

The second argument is also weak. As has been shown, the trial of Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Menes- theus took place before the end of the Social War, and therefore before the speeches against Androton and Leptines. Therefore their comparative silence about Timotheus may reflect a prudent reluctance to antagonise public feeling; Conon, on the other hand, was a figure of the past and an honoured protagonist of Athenian freedom and power. Even if an attempt to salvage the memory of Timotheus is read into the speeches, it will remain uncertain whether the party of Eubulus sympathised with this; for the fact that Aristophon prosecuted Timotheus need not imply that Eubulus supported him. And even if this assumption is granted, it still remains uncertain whether Eubulus opposed the policy of klägliche Auskünfte—for the attack on that policy and the remarks about Conon and Timotheus are distinct topics, although both happen to occur in the speeches.

By far the strongest argument for Schäfer’s theory is the first, that from the similarity between
the three measures to a single party as originator of the policy. This argument begins an important question: whether the policy of klagliche Auskänfte was the programme of a single party or a national necessity acknowledged by all parties. Any answer to this will influence the treatment of the general question, whether it is on policy that Athenian parties differ. The more specific question is to be answered by considering some of the relevant personalities. Those who accept Schäfer’s theory suppose that, since Androton followed this policy in collecting arrears, he belonged to the party of Aristophon: is this correct?

Several friends of Androton can be identified. In the Council of 356/5 he belonged to a group which had considerable influence; it included Philippus, Antigones, and the secretary, and these men were expected to plead for Androton at his trial in the next year. Nothing more is known of them. A better known friend of Androton is Timocrates, who was about the same age as he. They co-operated when they repaired the sacred vessels carried in processions. Timocrates, the son of Timocrates, added an amendment naming the third. Demosthenes, who wrote Speeches xxii and xxiv for those prosecuting Androton and Timocrates, had a standing feud with the latter. When Demosthenes prosecuted his guardian Aphobus, Timocrates took part in an intrigue to save Aphobus from restoring any property; and when Demosthenes prepared to prosecute Meidias for assault, Timocrates and Polyaeuctus were expected to plead for Meidias. Two other friends of Androton may be mentioned. In 354 or 353 he went with Glaucetes and Melanopus on an embassy to Mausolus. About the former nothing more of interest can be stated. Melanopus came of a family which was already prominent in politics in the Peloponnesian War; so did Androton, and this was not a common distinction in the fourth century. Melanopus’s grandfather, Laches, distinguished himself as a general and a statesman in the Archidamian War; he was one of the Athenian commanders at the Battle of Mantinea, where he fell. The friendship between Androton and Melanopus may have been lasting; in his Athos, written later, Androton mentioned the death of Laches, a remark which seems out of proportion to this part of the work, since apparently the Peloponnesian War occupied only one book.

It appears that Androton, so far from being a political hanger-on of Aristophon, belonged to a far-reaching and lasting group; but it remains an open question whether in 355/4 this group supported Aristophon or acted independently. Some members of the parties of Aristophon and Eubulus deserve note. When the law of Leptines was tried, four men were chosen to speak for it: Leodamas, Aristophon, Cephisodotus and Deinias. Demosthenes names them in this order, and it may well be the official order, for there was doubtless an official list showing the succession of their speeches. Demosthenes also says that each of them has a personal enemy: ἔτη δ’ ἐκκαθρί τις αὐτῶν, ὃς ἐναντίον, ἐπικρατεῖν τοῦ μὲν Διοφαντοῦ, τοῦ δ’ Εὐβοῦλου, τοῦ δ’ ἤσσος καλοῦ τις. Here Demosthenes does not say that the party of Eubulus opposes that of Aristophon on matters of policy; he says that some men, including Eubulus, are individually enemies of some others, including Aristophon; but doubtless there was friendship, on the one hand, between Diophantus and Eubulus, and on the other, between Leodamas, Aristophon, Cephisodotus, Deinias, and presumably Leptines. If the supporters of the law are named in their official order, their enemies may well be in the corresponding order. If so, Eubulus will be the personal enemy of Aristophon, and Diophantus will be the personal enemy of Leodamas; the latter point may derive some confirmation from the following facts.

In the sixties Diophantus supported Callistratus: in 368/7 he carried a decree honouring the Mytileneans, after Callistratus had proposed a similar decree in the previous year; in 367 he carried a decree honouring the Lacedaemonian Coroebus, which agrees with Callistratus’s policy.

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71 Schäfer gave more weight to it; some later writers (e.g. W. Jäger, Demosthenes, pp. 56–9) mention it alone of the grounds for the theory.
72 Dem. xxi 86.
73 Polyaeuctus, the son of Timocrates, was active in politics by 346 (IG II 2 212. 1. 65 = Tod 167); so Timocrates will have been born before 400.
74 Dem. xxiv. 176, cf. IG II 2 216 and 217. These decrees do not, pace Köhler and Kirchmayr, imply a date about 377/6; a date not before 326/7 appears from Dem. xxii 72 and xxiv 180.
76 Dem. xxiv. 11–10: 95–96.
77 IG II 2 212 = Tod 167.
78 Dem. xxix 11.
79 Dem. xxi. 139.
80 The Peloponnesian War seems to have impoverished many families who were previously influential; cf. Lys. xix. 45–91; 521: Isoc. viii. 126; xv. 151: Aesch. ii. 147.
81 He commanded in Sicily in 427/6 (Thuc. iii. 96; 90: 103; 115), fought at Delium in 424 (Plat. Lach. 181b; Symp. 221c), proposed the truce with Sparta in 423 (Thuc. iv. 118), swore to the peace and alliance with Sparta in 421 (Thuc. v. 19: 24) and his share in making the peace aroused the jealousy of Alcibiades (Thuc. v. 43. 2).
82 Thuc. v. 61. 1; 74. 3.
83 The statement of Plutarch (Mor. 605c = de exil. 14 = F. Gr. Hist. III B 324 T 14) need not be doubted: he says that Androton wrote his Athos in exile at Megara. The doubt expressed by Schäfer (op. cit. 11. p. 390) should be dispelled by the discovery of parts of Didymus’s commentary on Demosthenes.
84 F. Gr. Hist. III B 324 F 41.
85 Dem. xx. 146.
86 Th. 137.
87 IG II 2 107 = Tod 131.
88 IG II 2 106 = Tod 135.
of keeping on good terms with Sparta at this time. Leodamas, however, opposed Callistatus. He attacked the decree honouring Chabrias after the Battle of Naxus, and Chabrias and Callistatus appear as friends in 373. In 366/5 Leodamas attacked Callistatus and Chabrias because of the loss of Opus. Sometime he went on an embassy to seek Theban friendship. This may have been the embassy immediately preceding the making of peace with Sparta in 371, and it may have been intended as an alternative to Callistatus’s policy of reaching an understanding with Sparta. Thus there was a long-standing opposition between Diophantas and Leodamas. The attitude of Melanopus is also of interest. He was an enemy of Callistatus, who often prosecuted him on financial charges but sometime he said that, although Callistatus was his enemy, the interest of the state should prevail. This remark belongs to a context where Melanopus supported a policy advocated by Callistatus; it may have been the policy of making peace with Sparta in 371, for Melanopus served on the embassy then. (The varying attitudes of Diophantas, Leodamas, and Melanopus to Sparta are interesting; did some elements in the alliances which are being traced at the end of the Social War exist long before?)

Two facts about the personal relations of politicians at the end of the Social War indicate that the party of Androton was not subordinate to Aristophon. First Melanopus was related by marriage to Diophantas; that is, there was a personal tie between the parties of Androton and of Eubulus. Secondly, one of the men from whom Androton exacted arrears of taxes was Leptines, the friend of Aristophon—surely no way to preserve friendship. Neither of these facts alone would be at all conclusive; together they have some cumulative force, especially as there is no reason to suppose that Androton was a supporter of Aristophon, for the argument from their financial policy begs the question.

It is possible that this policy should also be attributed to Eubulus. Sometime before 343 he prosecuted Cephisophon and Moerocles for embezzling public money; sometime before 347/6 he prepared to prosecute Aristophon for withholding some money due to Athena, but Aristophon forestalled the prosecution by repaying the money. Schäfer suggested that these trials took place about the end of the Social War, because they suit a man rising to power. It may be further suggested that they are part of the policy of klägliche Auskünfte.

It has been maintained that, at the end of the Social War, Athens had not two political parties but at least three. It has been shown that there is no good reason to regard Androton as a supporter of Aristophon, that indeed the evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that the party of Androton was independent. It follows that the policy of klägliche Auskünfte was common to at least two of the parties; Eubulus may also have promoted it. It was also shown to be doubtful whether parties diverged on the question of peace or war in 356/5.

It has thus been established that Athens may have independent parties (Aristophon and Androton), whose members injure one another (for Androton exacted arrears from Leptines), although the parties promote the same policy (klägliche Auskünfte). Perhaps this result has some general significance. Many modern writers have assumed that Athenian parties constantly differed on very general questions of principle, and the supposed parties have sometimes been given such names as ‘conservative’, ‘moderate’, ‘radical’, ‘oligarchic’. There is no reason to doubt that parties sometimes disagreed on immediate issues of policy; but it has been shown that sometimes they agreed on such matters. Therefore it was not taken for granted that politicians of different parties would disagree on immediate problems; different political groups did not lose their reason for existence if they failed to propose different ways of handling a specific situation which confronted the Athenians. A fortiori it was not taken for granted that political groups would disagree on very general questions.

In some modern states one may sometimes see election-posters which state the name of the candidate and that of his political party. Such party-names are often such as to indicate very general differences of opinion between the parties. Do those who use very general designations for the parties they discover in ancient Athens suppose that elections there were similar, and that politicians professed allegiance to parties defined by the general principles they allegedly acknowledged, so that (for example) a man seeking election as general might describe himself as ‘the extreme democratic candidate in the tribe Aeantis’? If they do not mean this, they ought to say more clearly what they do mean.

If, however, they believe in such a similarity between conditions in Athens and those in modern states, perhaps they will claim that the appearance of such words as ‘oligarchic’, ‘well-to-do’,

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89 Dem. xx, 146.
91 Xen. Hell. vi. 9, 39.
92 Arist. Rhet. i. 4, 136a41a; Schäfer, op. cit. 1, pp. 107–10.
93 Aesch. iii. 138.
94 Xen. Hell. vi. 3, 2.
95 Anaxandrides op. Athen. xii. 553d; cf. Arist. Rhet. i. 14, 1. 137b25.
96 Plut. Dem. 13. Plutarch says that Melanopus often made the remark; but its anecdotal character requires a specific situation, and Plutarch's generalisation may merely indicate his ignorance of the circumstances.
97 Xen. Hell. vi. 3, 2.
98 Harpocration s.v. Melanopus. Diophantas even named one of his sons Melanopus—[Dem. xxvii. 6.
99 Dem. xxii. 60.
100 For Aristophon spoke in defence of the law of Leptines—Dem. xx. 146.
101 Dem. xix. 293.
102 Dem. xxii. 218 and schol. ad. loc.
reputable', 'demotic' in ancient literature shows that these words were used in practical politics. This is not the place to inquire into the sources and reliability of some tendentious chapters of the Aristotelian Constitution of Athens; but at least the writer's treatment of very general party-designations does not suffice to show that such words were used in practical politics and not superimposed on practical politics in the studies of the rhetorician and the historian.

Moreover, it is far from clear that the word 'oligarch' was used in real politics of real politicians. The language of Demosthenes suggests that no one who sought advancement in Athenian politics would dare to call himself an oligarch. The word was used of some amusing eccentrics who took no part in public life. Such people were often young men, who gave themselves bold names and worked off their high spirits by brawling; sometimes they wore Spartan cloaks, and it was said that they would give false evidence in court to defend one another. From the career of Andocides it appears that Athens had oligarchs of this type before 415. Clearly such people, with their exhibitionism and their after-dinner speeches, were harmless, because they had no influence and did not belong to the circle of practical politicians.

Perhaps those who use very general designations for the supposed parties in ancient Athens have been misled by an analogy, drawn perhaps unconsciously, with conditions in modern states, where it is taken for granted that parties differ on matters of principle and policy. But the presuppositions of politics differ in different states today. So the effect of the analogy may be illustrated from some remarks of Beloch which suggest conditions possible in a system of many parties, where governments are normally coalitions, but not possible in two-party systems, such as those of Great Britain and the United States. Beloch wrote that, after the loss of Oropus, Callistratus and Chabrias were attacked by der äusserste Flügel der Gemässigten among others; and that, after the attack of Aeschines on the decree of Ctesiphon in 390 had failed, the Government of Athens was a ‘compromise-government’ representing four parties: macedonian-conservative, macedonian-radical, anti-macedonian-conservative and anti-macedonian-radical.

Such are the effects of the attempt to impose modern schemata on ancient politics. It has appeared in part what motives influenced Athenian politicians. The quarrel between Demosthenes and Timocrates manifested itself sometimes in private affairs but sometimes in political trials. When Demosthenes says that each of those defending the law of Leptines has an enemy, éxôsos must be understood, as often, as meaning a personal enemy. Eucemon and Diodorus prosecuted Androtion and Timocrates on political charges but because of a private feud: Diodorus, according to his own account, had been slanderously charged with parricide by Androtion; the latter had accused Eucemon of withholding arrears of eisphora and thereby had him deposed from a minor office. Athenian public life was the scene of personal and family-feuds; party-alignments depended sometimes on men, not measures. Demosthenes, in describing the political career in general, says nothing about programmes but much about prestige. Above all, while politicians doubtless disagreed sometimes on immediate problems, it is quite unnecessary to suppose constant differences of general principle.

Raphael Sealey
PLATO AS DRAMATIST

Editors and translators have long recognised the dramatic element in Plato’s work. It might seem superfluous to take up this subject in detail; but the detail in some aspects does not, in fact, appear to have been closely studied or recorded.

The desire to honour the personality and to perpetuate the method of Socrates is an obvious motive for Plato’s choice of the dialogue form as medium for his own published expositions of philosophic thought. Such thought takes naturally, for him, the form of Socratic inquiry and response. But much more than this, in interest, inspiration, and technique, goes to the making of the Platonic dialogue. It is this background and this execution that are now to be considered.

We have the familiar tradition, recorded by Diogenes Laertius (III. 6) as received from Dicaearchus, that Plato wrote dithyrambs, lyrics, and tragedies, and was about to compete with a tragedy in the theatre of Dionysus when, still at an early age, he ‘heard’ Socrates, burnt his poems, and took up philosophy. Diogenes illustrates at length his affinity in thought with Epicharmus, and mentions the general belief (σεκέ) that Plato was the first to bring the mimes of Sophron to Athens, and based upon them his method of characterisation. We can no more rely upon all this as authentic than upon the rest of the gossip retained by the chronicler, though Aristotle’s association of the mimes of Sophron with Σωκρατικοί λόγοι (Poet. 1447b 11) may suggest an early source for this part of the tradition. But indeed Plato’s interest in drama and his knowledge of its technique do not need the support of precarious hearsay.

Internal evidence in the way of allusion and imagery points to the place held in his thoughts by the literature and the practice of the stage.

Plato’s quotations from the dramatic poets are by no means so frequent as those from Homer (which derive of course, from a long-standing tradition), and only about as many as those from other epic or from lyric sources. But they are made with effective point. Explicit or identifiable quotations are from Aeschylus 8, Sophocles 1, Euripides 7, Aristophanes 2, Eupolis 1. There are, besides, his many casual citations, or again conversational tags, usually burlesque in tone, mostly epic in origin but some of them clearly or apparently from dramatic sources. Among these we can definitely trace from Aeschylus 1, Sophocles 4, Euripides 5.1

Apart from all special and overt references or quotations, there are found a number of illustrative or figurative uses of instances and words from dramatic sources, which prove an underlying and prevailing interest. These similes and metaphors from drama occur in dialogues of all periods. Some of the metaphors appear as single words, others in compound phrases which emphasise the association of thought.

These instances may be arranged in some order, beginning with explicit similes from the field of drama and passing to metaphorical usages traceable to the same source.

Similes.

Charm. 162d. ἑυμί ἐξοδεῖς ὄργασθῆναι -- ὡστερ ποιητὴς ὑποκριτὴ κακῶς διατίθεντι τὰ ἐκεῖνον ποιήματα.

Euhyd. 276b. ὡστερ ὑπὸ διδασκάλου χορὸς ἀποστημιμένως.

Crat. 425d. ὡστερ οἱ πραγματικοὶ -- ἐπὶ τὰς μυθικὰς καταφέργουσι θεοὺς αἰρόνες.

Rep. 580b. ἐγώγε ὡστερ χοροῦ κρίνω.

Polit. 260c. ὡς ἐν τῇ κριτικῇ (sc. βεβέον) καθάπερ τινὰ θεατὴν;

Polit. 303c. τοῦτο μὲν ἀτέγγυς ἢμιν ὡστερ δράμα -- -- καθάπερ ἔρρηθη υἱὸν δῆ (291a–b)

Κενταυρικῶν ὁρᾶτα καὶ Σατυρικῶν τῶν θίασων -- -- ἐγώρισθη.

Phaedo 115a (virtually a simile). ὑἱὸν ἐμὲ κολιέ, φοίνι τοῦ πάρθηκος, ἢ εἰμαρμένη.

Prot. 327d is apparently an illustration from a specific drama. ὡστερ οἱ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χορῷ μισάνθροποι. (Adam suggests a play "Ἀγριαί.)

Metaphors.

In several passages a metaphor suggests the parallel between the assembled company and the audience of the chorus at a theatre. This not only illustrates the tendency to use such terms, but emphasises further that to Plato the dialogue is itself a drama.

Synyp. 194a–b is the most striking instance. φαρμάττειν βούλει με, ὡς Σώκρατες, -- -- ἰνα τοῦ θεάματι τὸ θέατρου προσωπικὸν μεγάλην ἔχειν ὡς ἐν ἐρυθόσιν ἔμοι -- -- ἰδιόν τὴν στῇ ἀνδρείᾳ -- ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρκίσαντων μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ βλέπαντος ἀνατίς, τοιοῦτοπ θεάματος μέλλοντος ἐπεδείξατο . . . . οὐ δή που μὲ σύντωθε τῇ ἐτέρῳ μετὸν ἤγει, κτλ.

1 See my article in CQ, April 1951.
PLATO AS DRAMATIST

Prot. 315b. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τινὲς τῶν ἐπικωρίων ἐν τῷ χορῷ. Description follows of the evolution of Protagoras' attendant band.

Critias 108b. προλέγομεν σοι — τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου διάνοιαν, ὅτι θαυμαστῶς ὁ πρῶτος θυδαιμονεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ τοιχήτης. — — τάξις τοῦ θεάτρου δοξομένη κτλ. (Here it has been implied that only four persons are present, as in the Timaeus.)

More subtly metaphorical uses may be listed under the dramatic word employed.

χορός. Used figuratively of any group.

Εὐθύδ. 279c. τὴν δὲ σοφίαν ποιο χορού τόξον;

Rep. 490c. ὥσπερ - - φαινεται αὐτῷ χορον κακῶν ἀκολουθήσαι . . . τὸν ἄλλον τῆς πολιτικῆς σφέσου φύσεως χορὸν τὸ ἁλί - τάττειν;

Rep. 560c. μέτωπα - - μετὰ πολλοῦ χοροῦ κατάγουσιν ἰστεφανωμένας.

Phaedr. 230c. ὑπηρέτως - - τῶν τῶν τεττίγων χοροῦ.

Phaedr. 247a. φίλους γάρ ἔξω θείου χοροῦ ἰσταται.

Phaedr. 250b. σὺν εὐδαιμονίας χορὸ.

Theaet. 173b. τοὺς τού ἡμετέρου χοροῦ.

cf. 173d. οὐχ ἴσως ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χορεύοντες.

Politi. 291c. κατάδικον τὸν περὶ τῶν τῶν πόλεων πράγματα χορῶν.

dráma. Of any performance, task, business.

Symp. 222d. τὸ Σατυρικὸν συν δράμα τοῦτο καὶ Σαλημηνικὸν κατάδηλον ἐγένετο.

Rep. 451c. μετὰ ἀνδρικῶν δράματος — τὸ γυναικεῖον αὐτὸ περιείνειν. (Adam sees reference to Sophron's mimes.)

Theaet. 150a. διατηνιον τοῦ ἐν μνήματα δράματος.

Theaet. 169b. κατ' 'Ανταμάν τὸ δράμα δράν.

eiσάγογον. 'Το 'stage'.

Ap. 35b. τοῦ τὰ ἔλεον τὰ τάτα δράματα eiσάγοντος.

Crat. 409d. ὃν eiσάγαγον μηχανὴν ἐπὶ πάντα.

τραγικός. Theatrical, so high-flown, etc.

Men. 76c. τραγικῇ γὰρ ἐστιν - - ἢ ἀπόκριςις.

Rep. 413b. τραγικός - - κινδυνεύω λέγειν.

Rep. 543c. φίλοις φύσεως - - τραγικός - - ψυχουμενεν λέγειν.

σκευή. Costume, so disguise.

Rep. 577b. γυμνὸς - - τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς.

Critio 53d. σκευήν τε τινα περιθέμενον καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ σαυτοῦ μεταλλάξας.

σχῆμα. Appearance (as in last example), so posture, rôle.

Gorg. 511c. περιπετεῖτε ἐν μετρίῳ σχήματι.

Rep. 576a. πάντα σχήματα τοιλμώντες ποιεῖν ὡς οἶκειοι.

Politi. 267c. σχήμα βασιλικὸν.

Laws 850a. ἐν πατρὸς τε καὶ μητρὸς σχήμασι φιλούντων.

ὄγκος. Aid to bulk, so pomp, impressiveness.

Rep. 373b. ὄγκου ἐμπλήσατε καὶ πλήθους.

Theaet. 155b. μηδὲν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὄγκου ἀφαιρεῖτο - - - c, μηδὲν - - - ἀπολλίς τοῦ ὄγκου.

Politi. 277b. θαυμαστὸν ὄγκον ἀφαίρεσις τοῦ μυθου.

Cf. Men. 90a. οὐδὲ ὄγκοδος τε καὶ ἐπανακίς.

ἐξοδος. Finale, so outcome.

Prot. 361a. ή ἄρτι ἐξοδος τῶν λόγων.

Two passages are of special interest:

Phil. 50b, a single instance of a metaphor which has become traditional. ήπνεύει - - ο λόγος - - μή (ἐν) τοῖς δράμασι μόνον ἄλλη καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ζωή παράδειγμα τραγωδία και κομωδίας λύπας ἔχουσα ἀμφειτάννισα.

Theaet. 193c, a metaphor which clearly implies reference to an actual incident in an identifiable play. έταν...προσωπικόν - - έμβατος προσωπικόν εἰς τὸ κάποτὸ ἰχνὸς, ἱνα γένηται ἀναγνώρισις. (Cf. Aesch. Cho. 293–10, Eur. El. 532–3.)

Special evidence of acquaintance with contemporary drama, and of attitudes toward it, is found in those passages of the Republic which discuss critically the dramatic poets and their work and prescribe for the ideal city restrictive action. Plato's longest actual quotation from tragedy is in fact made in criticism of the sentiment expressed—Rep. 389c, nine lines believed to be from Aeschylus' Ὀπλων κρίσις. In 305a ff. and 603c ff. it is the situations presented, and the stagecraft used, that come under examination and censure. Dramatic poetry is to be excluded because it involves μίμησις, too often of unworthy or trivial models. The numerous identifiable parallels, in extant or known plays, to the types of excess here condemned make it clear that Plato is writing of what he knows by actual observation.
The first impersonations censured are those of women— in moods of pride, vanity, or excessive grief, in situations of sickness, childbirth, passion. Here are allusions perhaps to Aeschylus' Niobe, pretty certainly to heroines of Euripides, traceable in part through the similar strictures spoken by Aeschylus in the Frogs 1043-4 and 1080, where Phaedra in the Hippolytus, Sthenoboea in the Bellerophon and Sthenoboea, and Auge in the play of that name are cited by the Scholiast. Next, the dramatists are condemned for representations of men of evil character, of slaves, of drunkenness and violent abuse, of madmen; on this last point it is obvious to refer to the end of the Choephoroi, to the Ajax, and to the Herakles. The introduction of smiths or other craftsmen (compare perhaps the action assigned to Hephaestus at the beginning of the Prometheus), or of rowers (are we to think of the ferry-boat in the Frogs?), leads on in order of dignity to stage-effects which produce horses neighing, bulls bellowing, rivers and seas roaring—effects perhaps to be ascribed rather to dithyrambic than to truly theatrical performances.

In the arguments used in Rep. X against dramatic art we find ample evidence of Plato's own reactions to its stimulus. Both drama and epic can over-excite emotion. When Homer or a tragic poet represents some suffering hero ευ πάθεια δυστα και μακράν βρίσκειν ἀποτελεῖνται ευ τόδε δυμίμοι, ἢ καὶ ἀδυνατεῖ τα εἰς και κοπτομένους (the chorus of tragedy) - ἐπιπέδεις συμπεπικόντων. We share the feelings expressed (605d). Tragic drama gives the rein to τὸ ἔλεον, the sense of pathos (606a-b). Comedy indulges unworthy direction of the sense of humour, always ready to betray us (606c); and Plato's own sense of humour is, as we know, abundant. The spectator may be himself ἔφευγες εἰς κομιδὴς ποιητοῦ γενέσθαι. Drama (πόστος τύπος τῆς λέξεως, 397d) carries always the appeal to mass-emotion in all its strength. Appreciation of the wise and calm character is not easy in the atmosphere of the theatre—ἄλας τε καὶ παναγραμμεί καὶ πανοραματικοῖ ἀνθρώποις εἰς θέατρα ἐξουσίων. ἀνάλυσις γὰρ πάθως ἢ μύσης αὐτοῖς γίγνεται (604e). Again at Laws 800c-d we have a description of the effect wrought upon an audience by harrowing themes treated in dithyrambic or tragedy. χορός -- πένασα βλασφημίαν τῶν ἱερῶν καταγείη, ἤμασε τε καὶ ρήματι καὶ γονιωτάτοις ἀρμονίας συντείνεται τῶν ἄκροπλοιῶν ψυχάς, καὶ ὡς δικράσσεται μάλιστα τὴν ἐθνικὴν παράσχειμα ποιήματα πόλεις, ἄυτος τὰ γνωτίσθη λέξει αὐτῷ. We may recall the emphasis laid, at Rep. 492b-c, on the effect of any strong mass-feeling, in a public gathering, upon the young and sensitive hearer. All this suggests autobiography. Indeed, while Plato carries out to the end his metaphysical argument that poetic μύσης is twice removed from reality, and his ethical denial of all that would develop the two lower parts of soul at the expense of the faculty of reason, there are signs that his condemnation of drama is not whole-hearted. Room is left for positive work on right lines; poets and craftsmen must be bidden τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἰκόνα μὴν ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς ποιηταῖς μὴν ποιεῖν (401b ff.). This condition for toleration follows the passage (398a) prescribing a ceremonial dismissal of poets from the ideal city, and confirms the impression, given by its ironic and half-playful tone, that Plato is not, after all, entirely serious over this wholesale eviction. In the Laws, where training in choric song and dance is expressly prescribed, it is recognised (655d) that μύσης is an essential part of such χορεική.

Plato is, then, by experience and by inclination, a dramatist at heart. It is time to consider some expressions of this attitude and this gift in his own practice of writing. While all his works except the Apology and the Letters are cast in dialogue form, the variation between directly dramatic and narrative presentation is interesting matter for study. The majority of the dialogues (fifteen of those agreed to be genuine) are in simple dramatic form. The only ones purely narrative are two short early works, the Charmides and the Lysis, and the Republic. Others exhibit complex structure of several kinds. The Parmenides begins with simple narratives, passes into continuous oblique narrative, and ends with all the effect of a simple dramatic dialogue. The Theaetetus begins dramatic and proceeds to the record, also dramatic, of an earlier talk. The Protagoras, Euthydemus, Phaedo, and Symposium show a dramatic framework enclosing long passages of narrative; in the Protagoras and Symposium only the brief introduction is in the dramatic form, and in the Symposium the narrative is in continuous oratio obliqua, enclosing again long speeches in recta. This variety of form amply illustrates Plato's mastery as a writer, and it has, if course, been discussed with reference to the order of his works. The most spectacular conclusion was perhaps that of Teichmüller (Uber die Reihenfolge der platonischen Dialoge), who took the Theaetetus, in which the dramatic form is explicitly adopted, to be a turning-point in Plato's literary career, and proposed to place all the narrative dialogues earlier and all the dramatic dialogues later than that promulgation of a new method. If we take the reasonable line in recognising development of thought, and follow the now generally accepted order of the dialogues as confirmed by stylistic study, it becomes obvious and interesting that both in his earlier and in his latest phase of writing Plato preferred the simple dramatic form. Of the earlier group, 8 are dramatic, 2 narrative, and 2 mixed; of the central four as usually distinguished, 1 dramatic, 1 narrative, 2 mixed; of the later works, 6 dramatic, 1 narrative.

Taylor (Plato, The Man and his Work, pp. 177 ff.) has stressed the complex form of four great dialogues which exhibit Plato's dramatic art at its ripest perfection. These are, in his grouping, the Phaedo, Symposium, Protagoras, and Republic, all of which narrate 'conversation supposed to have taken place before a numerous audience and subsequently described'. This 'difficult literary
form’ has, he remarks, already been used in ‘comparatively short dialogues (e.g. Charmides, Euthydemus)’. The Lysis should be included; and the Euthydemus is not, in fact, so very short. After the Republic, Taylor points out, this form is used only in the Parmenides, and ‘there is a formal explanation of its abandonment in the Theaetetus’*. Taylor feels that this complex type of writing belongs to Plato’s ‘prime of maturity as a writer’. Against his grouping one or two things have to be said. The Protagoras is, from its content, clearly earlier than the other three included, and after a very brief dramatic introduction it is all narrative. The Republic is entirely narrative. The Phaedo is closely similar in form to the Euthydemus, in that both enclose narrative within a recurring dramatic structure. Of these two the Euthydemus, plainly the earlier from its content, is the more regular and complete in this arrangement. To this point we shall return later. In general tone, content, and richness of literary effect the natural companion to the Phaedo, Symposium, and Republic in a central group is the entirely dramatic Phaedrus.

It is perhaps worth noting that, while the Republic is purely narrative, the Timaeus and the Critias, ostensibly completing a trilogy, are in structure purely dramatic. This supports the theory of an actual interval of some time between the writing of the Republic and of the two others, with a change of method corresponding to change of outlook and thought.

While it is clear that Plato usually preferred the dramatic form in its simple presentation, and while he further employs it as a framework for narrative, the genuinely dramatic elements in his work do not by any means attach only to that structure; they are found no less in narrative dialogues and passages. For our appraisal of scene-setting, characters and their delineation, give-and-take of discussion, and progress of plot or argument, his choice of direct or indirect method is really unimportant. It is in these techniques, combining to give to the presentation of abstract thought the verisimilitude of human encounters in real life, that his mastery as a dramatist is essentially found.

Before considering some of the detail of these effects, it is necessary to face a matter in which the dramatist may be found open to criticism. In any of its forms a Platonic dialogue purports to be the representation or the record of a conversation actually held. In estimating the degree of realism of arranged, the question of length must arise. We know that the literary mime was not intended for performance, but to be read. Presumably it was to be read at once, and should depict a conversation held within an actually possible time. Our only extant mimes, those of Herodas and the three mimick idylls of Theocritus, are in fact quite short, none exceeding 200 lines. Our extant stage plays are singly of reasonable length, but the dramatic contests involved all-day sittings. Plato’s dialogues are all implied to represent unrehearsed and informal encounters; and while exceeding the brief mime formula, they should come fairly within the probable limits of such intercourse. Except for the Republic and the Laws, they do nearly all conform to this requirement. To estimate the time involved, a personal experiment was needed. The average time taken to read aloud one page of Stephanus’ text, at a fairly deliberate speed, was found to be about four minutes. In none of the dialogues is enough action indicated to take up any appreciable time. Working out, then, as closely as possible on this basis the time needed for the supposed conversation, some results for longer dialogues were as follows:

- Protagoras: 3 3/4 hours
- Gorgias: 4 3/4 hours
- Phaedo: 4 hours
- Symposium: 3 4/5 hours
- Phaedrus: 3 3/4 hours
- Parmenides: 2 4/5 hours
- Theaetetus: 4 hours
- Sophist: 3 3/4 hours
- Politicus: 3 3/4 hours
- Philebus: 3 3/4 hours
- Timaeus: 5 hours

Thus among the earlier dialogues the Gorgias, along with its strained earnestness of content, goes to a length beyond normal probability; among the later, the Timaeus does also, but nearly all of it is a continuous discourse in which the dramatic setting is forgotten and the effect of a dissertation remains.

The Republic, on this reckoning, would take 18 3/4 hours, from which just a little could be deducted for episodes or descriptions narrated by the way. The Laws, purely dramatic in form, runs to 21 3/4 hours. Plainly neither of these will do as a credible record of one continuous conversation. But it is of some interest to compare the treatment and presentation, in the two dialogues, of this excessive length.

The Republic is entirely narrative, and no recipient of Socrates’ story is indicated. At the outset some action is recorded, and in the earlier books there is give-and-take among a group of speakers. It is implied that Socrates is lingering in Piraeus to enjoy dinner and an all-night festival. The last bit of action described is early in Book V, where (449b ff.) Polemarchus intervenes with Adeimantus to put difficulties to Socrates. After this, there is only periodic exchange of speaker between Glauco and Adeimantus. There are some striking moments (e.g. 509c, 515a), and some shrewd replies and comments are given; and though in Book X Socrates, in the myth of Er, carries us beyond our bourne of time and place, his final addresses to Glauco (618b, 621c) remind us lightly of his friend’s remarkable feat of endurance. But Glauco is given no reply.
The setting of the *Laws* is a walk taken by three elderly men; the scene and the destination are described. We are told (689c) that it is the day of the summer solstice, so that there is plenty of time in hand. At 722c, after continuing from daybreak to noon (by our reckoning they have talked for about 6½ hours), they have reached a σαγκλιν αυστρούλη ('arbour', Taylor calls it), and presumably they sit down in it. There is no further, or final, reference to the scene or occasion, though there are numerous figurative allusions to the 'path' of their discussion. The conversation goes on, though at several points it gives way to long speeches by the Athenian. At 781e (after another four hours) he remarks that συλλήσ επολυμενε (= we have plenty of time and no hurry'). And so on to the remaining eleven hours or so. Cleinias and Megillus continue to make replies and ask leading questions. Cleinias shows himself the more robust of the two, but at the end it is Megillus who winds up with a reminder that he is still there, and still awake.

It is clear that neither the *Republic* nor the *Laws* manages to avoid the incongruity of a conversation of superhuman length. But it may certainly be said that the *Republic*, with its greater animation and its variety of content, is the more successful attempt. Taylor, in discussing the *Laws*, hardly faces the problem of its unrealistic length. He writes (Plato, p. 463): 'The dramatic element is reduced to a minimum. To all intents and purposes the book is a monologue, interrupted only by formulae of assent or requests for further explanation.' This may in general terms be allowed. But when he goes on to say (p. 466) that 'The long day will suffice for a full discussion', our answer must be that even the longest day will not accommodate this discussion as it is presented.

In the choice of scene, where this is indicated, Plato shows full regard to verisimilitude. These conversations of Socrates are as a rule set, or are implied to be set, in Athens or in its near neighbourhood. The *Euthyphro* is in the porch of the King Archon; the *Charmides*, *Laches* (by implication), and *Lysis* in palaestrae, the narrated conversation of the *Euthydemus* in the Lyceum. The *Protagoras* moves from the house of Socrates to that of Callias, the *Gorgias* is in that of Callicles, the *Republic* in that of Cephalus at Piraeus; the *Symposium* moves from a street to the house of Agathon, the *Parmenides* from the Agora to the house of Antiphan, then to that of Pythodorus in the Outer Ceramicus. The *Theaetetus* begins in the house of Euclides and moves to a palaestra. The *Crito* is set in the prison of Socrates; the *Phaedo* gives a meeting of surviving friends at Phlius and then records conversation in the prison. The *Meno*, *Ion*, *Cratylus*, *Sophist*, *Political*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, and *Critias* give no indication of scene. Two dialogues only suggest open country—the *Phaedrus*, in which Socrates has been lured out to the banks of the Illissus, and the *Laws* (where Socrates does not appear) on a road in Crete. There is little description of local colour or of stage 'properties', apart from the rather elaborate setting of the *Protagoras* and the *Symposium*, and the realistic detail of the *Phaedo*. In general, the narrative dialogues give hardly more in the way of background than the dramatic; indeed, the most vivid description of scene is found in one of the latter—the setting of the *Phaedrus*, river-bank, grass and trees, and shrine, its sights and sounds conveyed in clear detail through Socrates' words of admiration. Touches here and there do help to avoid as a rule the suggestion of mere interchange of argument *in vacuo*. It is in some of the later dialogues that we come nearest to such impersonality.

The number of characters indicated as present is as a rule small. Socrates meets only one other person in the *Crito*, *Euthyphro*, *Ion*, *Phaedrus*, and in the dramatic framework of the *Protagoras* and the *Euthydemus*. There are, again, two characters only in the formal introductions to the *Symposium*, *Theaetetus*, and *Parmenides*. Socrates talks with two other speakers in the *Charmides*, *Cratylus*, *Theaetetus*, and *Philebus*; with three in the *Lysis*, *Meno*, *Sophist*, *Political*, *Timaeus*, and *Critias*; with four in the *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Republic*; with six in the *Laches*, and with seven in the *Symposium*. In the *Laws* the Athenian talks with two others. In a number of the dialogues (as already noted) there is reference to the presence of persons besides the speakers—a stage-crowd, or an audience, interested in the argument. This kind of setting is found in the *Charmides*, *Gorgias*, *Protagoras*, *Euthydemus*, *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, *Republic*, *Sophist*, and *Philebus*. The supporting company may be a general party as in the *Protagoras* (where several besides the speakers are named), a group of keenly-interested friends, as in the *Phaedo* (several again named), or a more slightly indicated 'ring', as in the *Gorgias*, *Sophist*, and *Philebus*, where references to the assent or approval of these bystanders suggest a rudimentary analogy to the chorus of a play, and also add a little human interest to the two later dialogues. (See *Gorgias* 458b-c, 473c, 506a; *Sophist* 217d, 218a, 234e; *Philebus* 16a-b, 20a, 23b, 67b.)

The delineation of individual characters has been emphasised by the commentators, from Jowett onwards, as the most obviously dramatic trait in Plato's work. These participants in discussion exhibit a double quality: they are human beings, individually realised, and they are also in many cases personifications of moral qualities or of philosophical points of view. Characterisation is strongest in the earlier and middle dialogues. The several sophists are the most broadly drawn, on lines near to caricature—Protagoras, bland and pontifical; Prodicus, hypochondriac and pedantic; Hippias, vain of omniscience and grandiloquent; Gorgias, pompous and condescending, ready to leave debate to his junior, the impetuous Polus. Euthydemus and his brother are farcical in their extravagant disputations. Thrasyvoulos stands out for violent rudeness; Anytus is surly; Callicles is the man of the world who has no use for philosophers. The persons in the *Symposium*
are clearly delineated, Alcibiades with the strongest effect. Crito is an affectionate and loyal friend. In discussion, Kebs in the *Phaedo* is forthright and clear-headed, Simmias sensitive and sometimes confused; the brothers in the *Republic* are both able and vigorous, Glauco taking the major part. Euthyphro is smugness personified. Hippocrates, Ctesippus, and Theaetetus are eager disputants, Charmides and Cleinias are shy youths. The old soldiers in the *Laches* are shrewdly drawn. In the later dialogues, *i.e.* after the *Theaetetus*, the presentation of individual characters declines in clearness.

As for the central character, we are not now concerned with problems of the authenticity of the Platonic Socrates. It need only be emphasised that the Socrates of the dialogues is a fully-rounded personality; no one delineation suffices, nor of course are we to look for any process of development in his character, as distinct from the thoughts he is made to express. His outstanding traits are always there—friendliness, irony, courage, intellectual integrity, searching interrogation, homely use of analogy, love of poetry and myth. He is encouraging to genuine seekers for truth, stern to impostors. In the *Phaedo* and the *Republic* above all, along with the tribute of Alcibiades in the *Symposium*, his lineaments are clearly drawn. In the later dialogues Socrates, too, loses in individuality. His youthful reincarnation in the *Parmenides* has little human interest.

Special episodes have the effect of introducing extra characters, real or imaginary. Such scenes are the personification of the Laws, *Crito* 50a–54d; the conversation on geometry between Socrates and the slave, *Menon* 82b–85b; the argument imagined as taunting the disputants, *Protagoras* 361a–c; the parable of the prisoners in the cave, *Republic* 514a–517a; the prolonged imaginary address to Protagoras, *Theaetetus* 170a ff.; and in the same dialogue the delineation of the lawyer (172d–173b) and the philosopher (173c–176a), with the encounter between them; the contest with philosophers of the schools, *Sophist* 243d–248c; and finally, in the *Laws* the challenge to lawgivers, 885c ff., and the address to the young atheist, 899d–900b. The myths further introduce their own characters, traditional or allegorical. Anecdotes bring in the persons of Stesilas, *Laches* 183c ff.; of Gyges, *Rep.* 356d ff.; of Leontius, *Rep.* 439c ff.; of Thales, *Theaet.* 174a ff.

In the *Republic* of individual character are shown in development, parallel to the types of political constitution; the philosopher in a long evolution, with a final portrait emerging at 496a–497a; the triarchic type, 548c–550b; the oligarchic, 553a–555a; the democratic, 558c–561; and the tyrannic, drawn at greatest length and with most vivid detail, 571a–575b. Throughout this passage the use of present participles is noteworthy as stressing the fact of γένεσις, change and development.

It would be of interest further to explore the dialogues for examples of especially dramatic effect—exhibited, as is natural, more often in turns of speech than in incidents of action. A few instances may be taken. The violent irrigation of Thrasyarmachus, pouncing like a wild beast, does import exciting action (*Rep.* 366b); later in the *Republic* we find (509e) the sudden change of tone from rhapsody to dry argument, occasioned by Glauco’s lively comment, "Ἀπολλων[...] - - Δαιμόνιος ὑπερβολής. Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]<br>Again at 515a there is Socrates’ startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—δίποτε [...]

In the *Crito*, Socrates in his last dialogue is ready with unexpected irony. Θάπτωνεν δὲ σε τίνα τρόπον; "Οὐκ ἄν, ἢ ἃ, ὑπέρβολα, ἐννεύρετο γε λόγῳ με καὶ μὴ ἐκφώνηκεν ὄργα. Effective, too, are his serious rejoinders to flippant remarks, e.g. *Rep.* 339a–b, 498d; *Gorg.* 473b.

Beyond these matters of apparatūs, the technical aspects of Plato’s work as a dramatist, it remains to consider some questions of the relationship between the stage setting of his dialogues and their content as expressions of philosophic thought. In some, the relation is clear and vital; in others, partial and intermittent. The dramatisation of the process of inquiry varies from (say) the introduction of a fresh point of view by a change of interlocutor to the evidently studied arrangement in scenes or episodes which marks several of the dialogues of the middle period.

The *Crito* stands, in a sense, apart.² In this short and early dialogue the points of ethical theory developed—the duty of independent thought and obedience to its findings, and the claim of the city’s laws upon the citizen—are ancillary to the brief human drama here enacted, the ἀγων of Crito’s attempt to persuade Socrates to escape and his refusal to do so. Here character is displayed as consistent in holding to purpose in the face of trial, the latter embodied in Crito’s strong pleas in the name of reputation, friendship, and family duty. Socrates’ invocation of the personified Laws gives him a victory that cannot be questioned; Crito, his antagonist in the name of friendship, has in the end nothing to say. The *Crito* is not a frame for theory, but a drama in its own right.

Of the philosophical dialogues the two most elaborate in structure are mixed in form, narrative predominating within a dramatic framework. These are the *Euthydemus* and the *Phaedo*. The *Euthydemus*, by all criteria the earlier of the two, is the more symmetrical in arrangement; its pattern as a comedy is recognised and clear, and need be only briefly recalled. The meeting between Socrates and Crito provides a prologue, interlude, and epilogue. Within this frame we have five scenes of the narrated encounter between Socrates, the young Cleinias and the two sophists; others are present, Ctesippus in particular sharing in the argument. In Scene 1, the sophists are described

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² I am indebted to Professor A. W. Gomme for suggesting this point, and for criticism in some matters of detail besides.
as reducing Cleinias to perplexity; in Scene 2 Socrates reassures him that wisdom can in fact be taught. Scene 3 shows the sophists turning upon Socrates and Ctesippus with a series of fallacies of logic. In Scene 4 Socrates debates seriously the question what art can make life happy. The interlude comes here, before the climax of the narrative; Socrates and Crito briefly ponder the same question. In Scene 5 of the narrative the Sophists produce more eristical subtleties, based mainly on ambiguities of language; Ctesippus is routed, but Socrates remains unmoved. In the epilogue Socrates and Crito discuss the position of an unnamed friend and the education of Crito's sons. In the arrangement of this dialogue the frivolity of the sophists, self-regarding and idly destructive in debate, is admirably contrasted with the serious attitude of Socrates, helpful to the young, practical and devoted to truth.

In the Phaedo the element of balance and contrast is less prominent; one topic leads on to another, and the argument takes the more familiar form of successive hypotheses, destroyed or confirmed, mounting to an agreed conclusion. But the phases of the action are clearly marked. The dramatic prologue sets the mood of expectancy for such a story; the descriptive beginning and end of the narrative provide the appropriate framework for the argument about immortality. The main topic having emerged, early proofs are countered (after a silence, 84c) by the objections of Simmias and Kebes. Here, in a dramatic interlude before the argument moves forward, Echecrates and Phaedo comment on the position. After disposal of the harmony-theory advanced by Simmias, the more serious problem of answering Kebes is prepared for as Socrates, after a long pause (95c), offers the story of his progress in the search for causes. The development and the acceptance of the final proof brings in fact the end of suspense. For the real protagonist in this drama, as an evolution of fortune, is not Socrates, whose death has been determined from the start and kept in view by many a touch of language, and whose behaviour at the end is consistent with his attitude from the beginning; the hero of the σύνον is the λόγος, whose fate has been repeatedly at stake—see 80b, where Socrates playfully suggests that its demise may become a cause for mourning—and with it the human soul whose survival has been throughout in question. The proof of immortality from the Forms once accepted, and the soul made safe from annihilation, the action moves to imaginative description of the real earth and of the destiny of spirits—a lyrical meditation on the general theme, a passage comparable to a choric ode. The final scene follows with studied restraint, and lastly Phaedo's comment, its calm in true affinity with the close of an Attic tragedy. There is no actual return to the enclosing dialogue, but a reminder of it when Echecrates is addressed in the last sentence. A measure of light relief has been supplied by touches of by-play, some of them with mythological reference, between the episodes, and by the prevailing cheerfulness of Socrates himself. It is interesting that he makes the final transition from myth to reality with an allusion to the theatre, apologising for applying to his own position the term ἐυφράσις, more fitted for the lips of an ἄνευ τρουγκοφαί (115a), and also that, to complete the lowering of tone in Phaedo's final comment, the characteristic metaphor of departure (ἐπονομαζεῖ, etc.) is replaced by the ordinary prose word for death, τελευτᾶ.

In the Symposium, narrative in form, the presentation of different views of θέατης is made entirely dramatic under the form of a series of speeches; and the impressiveness of the account given by Socrates is enhanced by the device of ascribing it to the utterance of a priestess. The entry of Alcibiades, with his tribute to Socrates, makes a brilliant climax, after which this dialogue again falls away into unemphatic calm. The use of set speeches appears also with dramatic effect in the earlier part of the Phaedrus.

In dialogues less obviously dramatic in point of atmosphere and development of content, the tendency is found to divide the argument into sections or scenes of comparable length, with or without a change of interlocutor. The Meno falls neatly into five such episodes (cf. Seymer Thompson's edition, Instr. xxvi–xxvii), with a special interest attaching to the introduction of the slave-geometrician, a scene which clinches the proof of ἐλαφραις. In the Gorgias, one of the least dramatic of the earlier dialogues in any but the formal sense, there is balance in the length of sections as divided between the several interlocutors. Thus: introduction, Socrates and Gorgias, 14 pages; Socrates and Polus, 20; Socrates and Callicles (his main antagonist), two sections of 24 and 16 pages, divided by an interlude in which Gorgias arbitrates; Socrates alone, the last 4 pages—the myth and its application. We have already noted that a background audience is implied at several points.

To take one more instance, in the Republic with its much greater length there is a similar alternation of speakers, with Glauco in the main as Socrates' chief disputant. There is obvious dramatic value in the opening scene and the emergence of the main topic, the attack by Thrasymachus, the difficulties put by Glauco and Adeimantus, the introduction of the theme of a πολιτις and the stages of its growth. The interlude (446b ff.) in which Polcarmus and others hold up the discussion leads to the encounters with the three 'waves' of objection, the last of these introducing the central theme of the philosopher-king and his training. Books VIII and IX, in some sense a passage of anticlimax, exhibit the degenerate states and individuals with constant interest in detail and development, and culminate in the decisive comparison of lives. Book X is saved from the position of a mere appendix by the relevance of its first part to the earlier incomplete discussion.
of poetry, and by the grand finale given in the myth of Er. Here again there is quiet dignity in
the last sentence, with good omen in the closing words—eυ πράττωμεν.

The dramatic quality found in scene, arrangement, and characterisation varies, obviously, in
the dialogues of all periods. It becomes weakest in some of the later works—in the latter part of
the Parmenides, with its colourless pattern of leading question and impersonal reply, or in the
continuous discourse (following a fairly animated introduction) of the Timaeus. But in Plato's
more characteristic moods the instinct for drama not only determines the framework of his
dialogues, but equally operates in the development of the arguments they contain. In the early
successions of inadequate hypotheses, destroyed by ἔλεγχος and resulting in ἀπορία, in the examina-
tion and assessment of contrasting standards in ethics and contrasting methods of debate, in the
introduction of the concept of ἔρως and the transcendent Forms, in successive studies of the up-
building of communities of men—throughout the range of his works, whether in single dialogues
or in the pattern of the whole, there is the constant sense of development and change. While
ὁσσία remains the eternal and changeless παράδειγμα, the human activity of thought proceeds by
way of γένεσις, through the interplay of individual minds—a δράμα proceeding to an ἔξοδος that
is not yet. The dénouement waits, like the unsolved problems of the Republic, eἰς ἐκείνου τοῦ
βίου ὅταν σοῦς γενόμενοι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐντύχωσι λόγοις.

Dorothy Tarrant
Professor Haspels in her Attic Black-figured Lekythoi has described the work of the Theseus painter and analysed his style. In this account of him she naturally gives more consideration to his lekythoi than to the other shapes that he decorated, but his numerous skyphoi, painted in the ‘White Heron’ workshop, are listed in full and briefly discussed. Miss Haspels describes the Theseus painter as the moving spirit in this busy undertaking, until at last, she suggests, he may have got weary of inspiring the hacks in the ‘Heron workshop’ and of witnessing their decay; and so left and went elsewhere. Later she adds that that workshop apparently turned out a skypho before he joined it, but the theme has never been developed, and there is now a general tendency to attribute all skyphoi from this shop that are not by his hand to followers or imitators of the Theseus painter without further qualification. This may be somewhat misleading, since followers and imitators are necessarily later than what they follow and imitate. I hope to show that the shop in which the Theseus painter painted his skyphoi was a flourishing concern, making both skyphoi and kylakes, before he entered it, and that some of his companions, so far from being imitators, were his seniors and to some extent his teachers.

There are certain large skyphoi of the same general type as the White Heron group, about 0·16 m. high with a diameter of about 0·22 m. at the lip, that is, rather broader than the majority of the skyphoi decorated by the Theseus painter. The rim normally shows well-shaped ivy leaves. Between the figures and the tongues, alternately black and red, that border the bottom of the vase there are five or six horizontal lines, generally thin, in various groupings. There is a red fillet at the junction of body and foot, and the base within the foot ring is left plain, with no painted circles. These skyphoi are very colourful, much use being made of yellow as well as white, and their women generally wear the krokotos, a chinon of plain yellow, unrelieved except for white buttons or brooches down the sleeves. We will call this group of skyphoi the Krokotos group.

(1) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 343. CV Bibl. Nat. fasc. ii, pl. 65; de Ridder Catalogue fig. 43. A and B. Dionysos riding on a mule among white-haired satyrs and dancing maenads wearing the krokotos. Beneath handles a black krater with red neck and white dots on the shoulder.

(2) Heidelberg University 277. Plate IV 1, VII 3, XV 3, 8. CV fasc. i, pl. 42, 3–5. A and B. In a vine arbour between two flute-girls a big naked man reclines on a yellow cushion with a black kylax in his hand. The girl at his feet wears a krokotos under a himation. The yellow sleeves of the krokotos are plainly visible, and the lower part can be seen from knee to ankle, though on side A this is partly obscured by the leg of the man. On side B it is further obscured by a yellow dog, but a small part of the krokotos is visible above the dog’s shoulder. The flesh of the women, as well as their undergarment, is rendered in yellow instead of the normal white. Beneath handles (a) krater as on 1, (b) yellow dog with red collar.

(3) Athens, Nat. Mus. 14906. Plate V 1. Smaller than normal (ht. 0·12 m.), black rim, black tongues. A and B. In a vine arbour a big naked man reclines on a white cushion with a white kylax in his hand; beside him is a woman in a krokotos dancing; at his feet a flute-girl. Beneath handles (a) black krater with red neck, (b) white dog.

(4) London, Brit. Mus. 1920. 2–16. 3. Plate IV 2. A and B. A lion on the left of a tree facing three bulls on the right of it. One bull is black with a red neck, one yellow, and one white. Beneath handles only the hind parts of the white bulls.

(5) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12532 Nicole 924. Plate V 2. Smaller than normal (ht. 0·13 m.), black rim, black tongues. A and B. A lion, partly concealed by a yellow bull, facing three bulls, one black with a red neck, one white, and one yellow. Beneath handles tails of bulls.

(6) Thebes, Rhitosa 31. 172. Ure, Sixth and Fifth, pl. xviii (side B). A. Dionysos on a mule with a satyr walking beside him; in front a flute-girl and behind a lyre player both wearing the

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KROKOTOS AND WHITE HERON

krokotos (sleeve only visible) under a himation; on each side a maenad in a krokotos dancing. B as A, but satyrs take the place of the maenads. Beneath handles a dolphin.

(7) Thebes, Rhitsona 31. 173. BSA XIV, pl. xi, 1 (side A). A. In a vine arbour a man in a gaily patterned himation reclines with a white kantharos in his hand, the mattress decorated with a wavy white line, the pillow yellow; at his head a flute-girl and at his feet a lyre player wearing a krokotos under a himation; on each side a woman in a krokotos dancing. B as A, but the man is naked, there is no mattress and the pillow is white. Beneath handles a dolphin.

(8) Athens, Nat. Mus. 368 CC 799, from Tanagra. Plate V 3. A and B. In a vine arbour a man in a plain black himation reclines on the ground; standing over him a flute-girl; on each side a woman in a krokotos (now faded to a dirty white) dancing. Beneath handles a dolphin. On the base two black circles.

(9) Athens, Nat. Mus. 416 CC 792, from Thebes. Plate VI 1, 2, 3. Heydemann Gr. Vasenbilder, pl. iv 1; Brommer Herakles und Hydra auf attischen Vasenbildern, pl. 2 (Marburger Winckelmann-programm 1949). A and B. Athena and Herakles on each side of a tree round which the Hydra is twined. On A Herakles attacks the Hydra with a white stone, while he supports a pile of similar stones on his left hand and arm. Athena wears beneath her black himation an archaic foldless chiton, which was originally painted in colour, applied over the black, which has now turned grey. It is not unlikely that, like the chitons of the flute-girls of 2 (Plates IV 1, VII 3), it was yellow. On B Herakles attacks with his club; Athena wears a full black chiton with folds. Beneath handle an eagle devouring a hare.

Characteristic of this group is the use of yellow for large surfaces, and in particular for the krokotos, which is seen in its entirety on maenads or dancing girls on I, 3, 6, 7, and 8; under a black himation with the lower part from knee to ankle and the sleeve showing on 2; with the sleeve alone showing on 6, 7, and 8. It is not certain that the chiton of Athena on side A of 9 was originally yellow, but the vase is entitled to a place in this group, as it accords with the formula in other respects.

The skyphoi in the Cabinet des Médailles and in Heidelberg (1, 2) are by the same painter, whom I will call the Krokotos painter. From his hand comes also, I believe, the large skyphos with cattle in the British Museum (4), which Professor Haspels has attributed to the Theseus painter. A comparison with the Theseus painter’s skyphoi with cattle in Taranto and Boston (ABL 250, nos. 17 and 26) shows considerable difference in treatment. The heads of the black bull and the lion on the London vase have a boldly incised outline; those on the Taranto skyphos and the Boston skyphos have not. The Theseus painter always draws the creases at the base of the bull’s horn; they are lacking on the London vase. The Theseus painter generally indicates the jaw by two parallel curves close together; the London skyphos has a single line for the jaw and another smaller curve across the cheek, often ending in the neighbourhood of the eye. The horns of the Theseus painter’s cattle curve back, while those on the London vase are straight. Finally, the Theseus painter’s animals are stockier and plant their feet more firmly on the ground than those of the London skyphos. The front legs and paws of the London lion resemble those of the yellow dog on 2 (Plate XV 3) rather than those of the lion on the Theseus painter’s Boston vase, and the same dog also supplies a parallel to the curve on the cheek of the bulls. The absence of black circles on the base, and the fact that below the figures there are fine lines only, accord with the practice of the Krokotos painter, while they are unusual in the Theseus painter’s work. I venture, then, to attribute the London cattle to the Krokotos painter. The smaller black-rimmed cattle vase in Athens (5) and the skyphos with a krokotos-clad dancer which pairs with it (3) are apparently the work of pupils. A late skyphos by the Krokotos painter himself, black rimmed and with no yellow, is Louvre CA 443 (Fig. 1) with wrestlers and trainers. Like all his skyphoi, it has no circles on the base, and the fillet between foot and body is red. Beneath each handle there is a tall krater with white dots along the rim. The drawing is hasty, but the anatomy generally is like that of the satyrs on the skyphos in the Cabinet des Médailles. Several of the figures have the pear-shaped eye normally reserved for animals, e.g. the dog under the handle of 2 (Plate XV 3). The Krokotos painter also painted kylikes, which will be dealt with later.

The Rhitsona skyphoi 6 and 7 together with 8 form a group parallel to 1–3 with similar subjects. They must be the work of a colleague or colleagues of the Krokotos painter. Here there is a dolphin in place of the krater under the handles. The men of these skyphoi, in contrast to the burly creatures of the Krokotos painter, are lean and meagre. The composition is mechanical and on 6 meaningless, for the flute-girl and lyre player who enliven the arbour are absurdly out of place standing in the path of Dionysos’ advancing mule. These skyphoi also connect with a group of kylikes and will be discussed together with them on p. 101.

5 So Collignon and Couve, Cat. 251. For this view compare the Corinthian amphora in Berlin, Pflüg, MuZ, fig. 190, where Perseus attacks the monster with stones, of which a pile lies ready for use at his feet. Alternatively, he offers the hydra a bait, perhaps some drugged substance which he has detached from a mass held on his arm; so Brommer, 96, cit., p. 5.

6 I did not observe on the vase anything corresponding to the group of white spots shown on the drawing figured by Heydemann and Brommer.

7 Athena’s chiton is yellow on skyphoi 10 and 12 of the following group.

8 ABL 250 no. 27.

9 CV, Taranto fasc. ii, pl. 11.

10 I was wrong in attributing nos. 6–8 to the same hand as 1 and 2 in Sixth and Fifth 50.
Skyphos no. 9 is by another painter, who may be called the Hydra painter. He stands very close to the painter of a skyphos (10) showing Herakles cutting up a ram before a herm, whom I name, from the subject of this vase, the Herm painter. The latter heads the next group, which we will call the Sub-krokotos group.

The skyphoi of the Sub-krokotos group are generally more slender, the ivy on the rim has degenerated into dots, there are black circles on the base (hitherto seen only on 8), the arrangement of lines below the figures is various, but there are always one or more thickish bands among them.

(10) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12626 Nicole 692. Plates V 4, VI 4, VII 5. A. Judgement of Paris. Hermes escorts Aphrodite (with yellow mirror) and another goddess to Paris: in front of Paris a pseudo-inscription. B. Herakles cuts up a ram before a herm in the presence of Athena. Both goddesses on A and Athena on B have a yellow hem showing at the bottom of their black chitons. Beneath handles (a) black krater with white dots on the shoulder, (b) nothing but the sacrificial tray that stands on the platform behind the herm.

Fig. 1. Louvre CA 443.

(11) Athens, Nat. Mus. 1110 CC 804, from Tanagra. Plate VIII 1. A and B. Procession of four women. On A the two on the right have yellow hair bound with a red fillet; on the rest the hair is black with white fillets. All the chitons have a yellow hem, as on 10. Beneath handles a black dog.

(12) Paris, Louvre CA 792. Plate VIII 2 (side B). A. Hermes pursues a man (Argus?) in the presence of Athena. B. Hermes kills Argus (white eyes painted all over his body) in the presence of Athena. Athena's hair is yellow under her helmet, and there is a yellow hem at the bottom of her chiton and a yellow patch at her neck. The petasos of Hermes on side A has a white crown and a yellow brim. Beneath handles a black dog with a white collar.

(13) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12585 Nicole 697. Plate VIII 3. A and B. Dionysos seated between two maenads. They carry branches and wear black chitons with a yellow hem showing at the bottom and large skins with white spots. One has yellow hair bound with a red fillet, the other a black turban with white folds. Beneath handles a black deer with red neck.

(14) Thebes, Rhitsona 18. 95. Sixth and Fifth, pl. xvii (side A). A. Beside a tree a man

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11 For the setting up of the herms by Hipparchos and the consequent popularity of the cult see AM 60–1 (1935–6) 300 f.; CQ XLV (1951) 31.
seizes a woman with castanets; on the right a woman carrying a dolphin and a yellow garland wound round with red ribbon runs away. B. Komos: a lyre player followed by a man, on the right a woman with a dolphin. The woman on the left on both A and B has yellow hair bound with a red fillet, that on the right a black turban with white folds. All four have a yellow hem at the bottom of their chitons, and two also have a yellow patch at the neck. Beneath handles a black dog with white markings.

(15) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12584 Nicole 928. Cat. Suppl. pl. xii. xiii. A. Beside a tree a man seizes a woman who carries a black snake; on each side a maenad dressed as those on 13 carrying a yellow snake. B. Similar, but there is no tree, one maenad carries a ram and the other a branch like those of 13. Two of the women have yellow hair, the other four wear black turbans with white or yellow folds. The chitons of all six have a yellow hem showing at the bottom. Beneath handles a white heron.

(16) Athens, Nat. Mus. 15372. Plate VIII 4 (side A). A. Satyr playing flutes between maenads with castanets. B. Similar, but the satyr plays a lyre. One maenad has yellow hair, and so probably had two of the others; the fourth has black hair with a fillet that may have been yellow. Three of the four have yellow hems showing at the bottom of their chitons. Beneath handles a white heron.

To these we may add the following skyphos, although it does not fully qualify for inclusion in the list:

(17) Athens, Nat. Mus. 362 CC 795, from Tanagra. Plate IX 3 (side A). Procession of four old men in yellowish-buff chitons beneath black himatia. On A the hair, eyebrows, moustaches, and beards are white; on B some are white and some yellowish-buff. Beneath handles a white heron.

In the group 10–16 the krokoktos is no longer worn, at least not by itself. It is a question what the yellow hem at the bottom of the chiton, accompanied in some cases (12, 14) by a yellow patch at the neck, is intended to represent. Twenty-five years ago when describing a skyphos from grave 18 at Rhisona (14 above) I explained it as a krokoktos worn beneath the chiton as an undergarment. It seemed, like the chiton of the Pepsos kore, to be peeping out several inches below the thicker garment worn above it. Professor Rumpf14 has suggested that the yellow round the ankles may be only a border on the chiton. But we may compare the very similar white hem on the Theseus painter’s skyphos in Professor Robinson’s collection, CV Baltimore fasc. i pl. xxiii, which can hardly be anything else than the bottom of the short white chiton, so plainly seen on the shoulder and chest, showing below the lower edge of the cloak. Examples of two chitons, worn one below the other, are not wanting.15 This is, however, not a point of great importance in this connexion. The sequence of skyphoi here given makes it plain that those with chitons having a yellow hem showing at the bottom, whether it indicates the presence of a yellow underchiton or not, are the direct successors of the skyphoi with the krokitos pure and simple. The vases listed in the Sub-krokitos group all have this puzzling type of dress, generally accompanied by yellow hair; their style is later than that of the Krokotos skyphoi, and with them we meet for the first time the white heron.

It is not intended to suggest that the two groups are sharply differentiated. On the contrary, they run into one another, and some painters worked in both groups. (8), although it has figures clad in the complete krokitos and on the rims good ivy leaves, nevertheless has black circles on the base and two thick bands below the figures, both deviations which would tend to put it in the Sub-krokitos group. Again, the Hydra painter began to work in the earlier period, but continued in the Sub-krokitos manner. The Herm painter, although his work falls in the later group, uses the broader proportions of the Krokotos skyphoi, and the krater under the handle of his skyphos 10 indicates that the influence of the Krokotos painter persisted. In the manner of their drawing, however, the Herm painter and the Krokotos painter are markedly different. The Herm painter’s mouths are rendered by a single straight line or sometimes two parallel lines. His ears can be seen on the Hermes and on the herm of 10 (Plates V 4, VI 4), and show within the outline a pothook, the lower half of which forms the lobe, with the neck line of the hair taking off from the lobe. The drawing of the mouths and ears of the Krokotos painter can be seen in Plate IV 1, XV 7 and CV Bibl. Nat. fasc. ii, pl. 69. 7. Near to the Hydra painter and the Herm painter is the painter of the Louvre Argos (12), who also painted the procession of women (11). In the work of these three painters colour is still laid on lavishly, but in a different way. They paint cursive zigzags in red, sometimes running horizontally, more or less parallel with the incised edge of a garment but with a complete disregard for it (see Plate VI 4), or coming down vertically on hanging drapery, again with no relation to the incised folds. The red is dull and often not easy to detect. On some of their vases we find white

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12 Sixth and Fifth 60.
13 Acropolis 679, Payne and Young, Archaic Marble Sculpture, pl. 30.
14 Gnomon VI (1920) 526.
15 See, e.g., for B.F. the Theis of the Munich amphora 1415, CV, fasc. i, pl. 46. 2, and for R.F. the Artemis in the Chicago cup by Douris, Beazley, ARV 291, no. 175, Harrison and MacColl, Greek Vase Paintings, pl. xix.

16 Apart from style grave contexts point to a considerable difference of date between the flaruit of the two groups. At Rhisona two Krokotos skyphoi were found in grave 31 and two Sub-krokitos in grave 18. The evidence of the Corinthian aryballos, black glaze kantharoi, and vases in the local Boeotian Kylix style (all of which were found in large numbers) shows that the burial in grave 18 was distinctly later than the burial in grave 31; see the chronological table Sixth and Fifth 78.
and yellow zigzag lines as well. There is a skyphos by the Herm painter in the Louvre\(^\text{17}\) (Plate VII 1, 4), on each side of which we see beneath a tree a winged goddess supporting a wounded or dying man, while an old man with white hair and beard (the white largely lost) watches, leaning on a staff. Little light is thrown on the subject by the inscription behind the back of the dying man—omicron (or rather a horseshoe), epsilon, nu.\(^\text{18}\) The figures are no doubt Eos, Memnon, and Tithonos. Eos is not, as one might expect, κροκόπτεπλος, though the folds of the sleeve of her black chiton hanging over her shoulder and upper arm are partly incised and partly painted in narrow yellow stripes, and she has yellow hair. Yellow is, however, used in quantity for the whole of the body of Memnon,\(^\text{19}\) and the rather ghastly effect of this strange colour is enhanced by the black of his hair and beard and by the stark whiteness of the supporting arms of Eos. The himation of the white-

\(^{17}\) CA 1812. Ht. 0·16 m., diam. 0·22 m. Two black circles on base. Beneath handles, white heron.

\(^{18}\) These letters occur with variations and permutations on a number of skyphoi from this shop painted by various hands, e.g. Plates V 4, VII 2, IX 2, and others not figured here. Their presence on this particular vase invites the speculation that the inscription may have originated in a scene in which Eos figured, and that in the hands of illiterate painters the letters degenerated into mere space fillers, the sigma becoming nu or just a smudge.

\(^{19}\) Compare the yellow flesh of the women of the Krokotos painter's skyphos 2.
haired Tithonos has painted folds and zigzags of red, yellow, and white. This polychromy, now largely faded, is seen in startling freshness on a small skyphos in the British Museum 20 with Atalanta wrestling with Peleus (Figs. 2, 3), which seems to be very careless work of the Hydra painter. The dots on the rim are diversified by a row of wave pattern, which we have met before on the quivers of no. 9. The trees bear on their stiff, straight branches large fruit, both white and yellow. Atalanta’s gleaming white body is surmounted by a head of thick yellow hair confined by a garland of white flowers worn over a red fillet, and Peleus’ garland is equally gay. Beneath the handles there is a white dog of the Krokotos painter’s breed with red collar and eye, and the cup has the broad proportions of the Krokotos painter’s skyphoi. Another, somewhat less colourful, is later, and of the kind with the figures limited to a comparatively narrow frieze—class C of the skyphoi found at Rhitsona. 21 In an extremely sketchy style it depicts Herakles with white club, white sword belt, and white zigzag down the cloak that serves him for a shield, facing a lion across a palm-tree (Plate VII 2). The lion recalls that on the Theseus painter’s early skyphoi in Boston with lion and cattle, Haspels ABL 250, no. 26. It may be by the Hydra painter, copying from the Theseus painter, or from some model common to both. On one side of the vase there is the same pseudo-inscription as on the Judgement of Paris (10): a little horseshoe, an epsilon, and a smudge.

The last skyphoi of the list (17, Plate IX 3) shows no woman in a krokotos. We have, it is true, a yellow garment, but the old men can hardly be regarded as wearing the saffron robe, nor is it likely that the hair that is left on their bald heads was intentionally represented as golden. The use of a yellowish pigment in this way is difficult to explain. Very possibly the painter had recourse to it simply because his white paint had run out. A replica of this skyphos, with paint white throughout, was found at Rhitsona. 22 Both are by the painter of a skyphos in Philadelphia that shows Herakles attacking with an axe a man armed with a club, who attempts to flee in company with two terrified women 23 (Plate IX 1, 2). Other skyphoi from his hand are one in Winchester College with boxers (Plate IX 4) and one from Grave 82 at Rhitsona with an ass and a satyr under a tree. 24 This last is of the Rhitsona class C with narrow picture zone. The painter of Philadelphia 5481 is lavish in his use of red and white, generally inadequately fortified by incision, so that his bees tend to look like cotton-wool. He apparently does not normally use yellow. Like the Herm painter, he paints zigzag lines, both red and white, on clothing and he also uses the Herm painter’s pseudo-inscription: horseshoe, epsilon, 25 nu, varied to horseshoe, nu, epsilon on the Philadelphia vase, or three shapeless spots on the careless Winchester skyphos. The leaves of his background foliage, unlike those of the Herm painter, are small and set close together, and the branches have a much less pronounced curve. The interlacing stems of the tree on his Rhitsona skyphos resemble those of the Krokotos group 26 rather than those of the Theseus painter, to whose circle this vase and three others of his have been assigned. 27 In some respects he seems to be nearer to the Athena painter.

It remains to consider where the Theseus painter and his white heron first come in. We have no skyphoi of his showing the krokotos pure and simple. It is possible that this was becoming outmoded when he entered the shop, and that his advent coincided with the beginning of the change over from the krokotos in its entirety to the more discreet yellow hem plus yellow hair. One of his earliest vases is the Winchester skyphos with maenads on goats, attributed to him by Professor Haspels 28 and published by Mrs. Oakeshott. 29 It has the broad proportions characteristic of the Krokotos group, 30 but there is a thick black line as well as three thin below the figures, and there are black circles on the base, which relate it to the Sub-krokotos group. All four maenads have yellow hair with the peculiar Thesean curl. 31 Three of them wear black chitons of the old-fashioned foldless variety, two with patterned borders incised at the bottom, the other with a yellow hem. I know of no parallel for this use of a yellow hem at the bottom of a foldless chiton. It may perhaps be meant to represent a border of a different colour attached to the black dress, or it may be a krokotos showing below a shorter chiton, as I have suggested in the case of the ampler chitons of 10–16. The undulating lower edge, which does not run strictly parallel to the upper, is in favour of the latter view. In the middle of each side of the vase there is a yellow heron, corresponding to the yellow dog of the Krokotos painter’s Heidelberg skyphos. The branches of the tree follow closely those of the tree under which the Krokotos painter’s cattle shelter on the London skyphos (4) with white fruit added, but the double trunk is the Theseus painter’s own invention. 32

20 Inv. 1925, 12–17. 1. Ht. 0·115 m., diam. 0·162 m. Two black circles on base.
21 Sixth and Fifth 61.
22 In grave 18; Sixth and Fifth 60, pl. xviii, 18. 99. Found in the same grave as no. 14 of our list. My inventory gives the paint as white. I have had no opportunity of verifying it.
23 Philadelphia University Museum MSg81, Haspels 553, no. 1; AJA 1922 174–5, figs. 1, 2; Philadelphia Museum Journal 1919, 16–17, figs. 6, 7. Generally interpreted as Herakles attacking Nereus when on his way to the garden of the Hesperides, but the club seems inappropriate to Nereus. I am much indebted to Professor Rodney S. Young for having the vase cleaned and rephotographed.
24 Sixth and Fifth 61, pl. xviii 82. 35.
25 More correctly, the lower half of an epsilon surmounted by a dot.
26 See below, p. 98.
27 Haspels ABL 253, nos. 1, 10, 11, 17.
28 ABL 251, no. 36.
29 JHS LX (1909), pl. XV.
30 Ht. 0·153 m., diam. 0·217 m.
31 ABL 143.
32 Cf. the feet of his vines, e.g. CV, Brussels fasc. iii, pl. 26. 4. Copenhagen fasc. iii, pl. 119. 9a.
In Syracuse Museum there is a skyphos from Camarina (Plate X 1, 2) which has all the characteristics of the Krokoitos group (proportions, good ivy on rim, red fillet at foot, no circles on base) and beneath each handle the Krokoitos painter’s emblem, a krater with a red neck and white dots on the shoulder. The central figure on each side is a satyr, one playing the flutes, the other testing a trumpet, between maenads dancing with castanets. There is a good deal in the figures that recalls the Krokoitos painter, but the hand is that of the Theseus painter. The lines beneath the figure zone are the Winchester system doubled, i.e. one thick, three thin, one thick, three thin. Two of the maenads wear yellow caps or kerchiefs, the other two black-and-yellow turbans. All four maenads originally had a yellow hem showing at the bottom of their full black chitons, though it is only on the figure to the left of the trumpet that it is well preserved. On this figure the incised edges of the folds show clearly where the black upper garment ends, while the soft billowy lower edge suggests the more delicate material of the krokoitos. In all cases the yellow hem covers both legs, so it cannot be explained as the far side of the chiton, hanging lower than the near side, as it is often depicted on early R.F. vases. The maenads also wear large panther skins with white spots. Skyphoi such as this would seem to have been before the eyes of the painters of 13–15 of our Sub-krokoitos group. At any rate the subject was closely copied by the painter of 16 (Plate VIII 4). Together with the Winchester skyphos with maenads on goats, the vase in Syracuse forms a bridge between the two groups and illustrates the earliest stage of the Theseus painter’s activity, when he was still influenced by the Krokoitos painter. Near to the Camarina skyphos is the Acropolis fragment 1299 showing a woman’s head wearing a yellow cap and the head and spotted neck of a fawn.

Miss Haspels attributed only two kylikes to the Theseus painter, and of these two the cup in Copenhagen is now assigned by Sir John Beazley to another hand. The White Heron workshop has never been regarded as a kylix shop. There is, however, a group of kylikes which have such close affinities with the skyphoi listed above that they must have issued from the same shop, which in these early days I should prefer to call the Krokoitos workshop. The shape and the section of the foot of no. 1 of the kylix list that follows are given by Professor Bloesch in Formen attischer Schalen, pl. 4, 3 a and b, and they are typical of the class. The features these cups have in common, beside their shape, are, first, at the top of the stem a light black moulding which invariably has a reserved band immediately below it; secondly, the gorgoneion inside the bowl, which is remarkably similar all through the series; and thirdly, the pattern made by the vine sprays around the handles and the drawing of the interlacing vine stems from which they spring. These stand on spreading feet which form a strong contrast to the high stilted stems of the Theseus painter, such as those of the ephedrismos skyphoi in Copenhagen and Brussels. Between the figure zone and the rays there are generally five thin lines grouped two-one-two, like those on the Krokoitos painter’s skyphoi 1 and 2 and Louvre CA 443. Exceptions are 4, 5, and 10, which have three-one-three like the Herm painter’s skyphos 9; 11, which introduces thick lines into the vacant spaces of a three-one-three system; and 12, which shows an extension of the pattern of 11.

The large prothylactic eyes of normal shape have the sclerotic white on 1, 2a, 4, 6, and 8; reserved on 3, 7, 9, and 11. There are generally three rings for the iris, coloured red, white, black (reading from the pupil outwards), but 6 and 8 have only two rings, omitting the white. Yellowish-buff is used for the middle ring of the iris of 3 in the only eye which has not been overpainted (the eye to the left of Plate XI 1). The eyes of 5, 10, and 12 are almond shaped, the sclerotic pale yellow, pupil black, iris red, white, black on 10 and 12. On 5 the original colour of the sclerotic is uncertain. It has been overpainted white; the iris omits the white ring.

The ‘Krokoitos group’ of kylikes is as follows:

1. Munich 2050, from Etruria. Plate XI 4, XIV 1, Fig. 4. Bloesch, Formen, Pl. 4, 3 a, b, 2a. Two komasts, on A advancing side by side, on B passing one another.

2. Vatican 466, fragmentary. Plate XIV 2. A. Dionysos and Ariadne. B. Dionysos and satyr. On each side only feet and legs are preserved.

3. Munich 2049, from Etruria. Plate XI 5, XIV 3, Fig. 5. Dionysos and Hermos. The himatia and branches in part restored.

33 Camarina 26557. Ht. 0.16 m., diam. 0.225 m.
34 For trumpeters testing trumpets see Haspels ABL 104, n. 3.
35 The yellow folds of the turban of the maenad on the right of the flute-player are very faded and do not show in the photograph.
36 E.g. Pfuhl, MuZ, fig. 362, from the workshop of Pamphois. See also p. 99 n. 48.
37 The drawing of the satyr is not at all Thesean, but nearer to that of the painter of the Louvre Argos.
38 Gracq, pl. 72. I am indebted to Sir John Beazley for pointing out this fragment to me.
39 ABL 252.
40 CV, fasc. iii, pl. 119, 9a.
41 CV, fasc. iii, pl. 26, 4. Cf. the skyphos by the same painter in Naples, CV, fasc. i, pl. 46, 5.
42 Unfortunately there is much overpainting in white on these kylikes, and it is possible that in several cases modern white may conceal parts that were originally yellow.
43 The photographs on Plate xi of the Vatican cups 466, 454, and 458 are from the photographic archives of the Vatican Museums. I am much indebted to the Director of the Vatican Museums for permission to publish them.
KROKOTOS AND WHITE HERON

(4) Vatican 455. Albizzati, Vasi del Vaticano, pl. 68. Dionysos and Hermes.

(5) Munich 2082. Plate XI 3, XIV 5, Fig. 6. Two youths feasting, with a dog picking up scraps under the table. The white parts repainted.


(8) Louvre F 131. CV fasc. x, pl. 99. 7, 8, 100. 3. Mask of Dionysos.


(10) Boston MFA 01.8057. Plate XII 1, XIV 10. Mask of Dionysos.

(11) Munich 2051, from Etruria. Plate XI 2. A. A white-tailed satyr seizing a maenad with yellow hair. B. Similar, but the maenad’s hair is black. Restorations: on A arm of maenad, tail of satyr and sprays near it; on B most of the satyr.

(12) British Museum B 428, from Vulci. CV fasc. ii, pl. 20. 1 a, b; Hambidge, The Diagonal, no. 6 116, fig. 1 a, b, whence Bloesch, Formen Textabbildung. Poseidon with long yellow hair riding a hippocamp.

Gorgoneia defy description and I have therefore figured a considerable number of them on Plate XIV. In this first group of twelve kylikes all are framed by three concentric circles, except those of 7 and 10, which have four. The ears are empty outlines, the eyebrows rather flat and bow-shaped, the teeth round. When all so closely resemble one another it is a delicate task to distinguish between them, but three groups may perhaps be discerned. The gorgoneia of 1 and 2 (Plate XIV 1, 2, the right ear and eyebrow of 1 modern) have numerous stiff block curls and a three-tier nose carelessly drawn and steep at the sides. Those of 3 and 4 (Plate XIV 3 and Albizzati, pl. 68, 455) go with them. A second group begins with 6 (Plate XIV 6), which has in the main fewer curls, while the three tiers of the nose lie flatter and the nose broadens out at the base, assuming a more triangular shape. At the same time the ends of the beard are more tapering and draw in nearer to the nose. These characteristics of 6 are shared by 7, 8, and 9 (Plate XIV 9), 8 and 9 having as few as six curls. The third group is composed of the Boston mask cup (10: Plate XIV 10) and the Munich cup with satyr and maenad (11). The latter was destroyed in the war, and I am very much indebted to Professor Bloesch for lending me his pre-war photograph of the gorgoneion. It shows that the Munich as well as the Boston gorgoneion had very round, wide-open eyes, locks of hair behind the ears, a four-tier nose, and finely pointed tips to the beard. Both these gorgoneia appear to be from the same hand. That of the Poseidon cup in the British Museum (12: CV fasc. ii, pl. 39. 1a) gives the impression of being a careless later development of the gorgoneia of 10 and 11. It has the same free swing to the curls above the forehead and the same locks of hair behind the ears. The double curve of the lower lid of the right eye is a new experiment, and the incisions along the edge of the beard are carried farther up than before. One would guess it to be by an imitator or pupil of the painter of the gorgoneia of 10 and 11. The careless Munich cup with boys feasting (5: Plate XIV 5) has the only tondo with an ornamental border.

The Munich cup with satyr and maenad (11) is by the Krokotos painter. Eye, nose, lips, moustache, and muscles correspond with those of his satyrs on the skyphos in the Cabinet des Médailles with which we started. With it goes the Boston mask cup with almond eyes (10). The undulations of the sprays flanking the mask and their small grape clusters are best matched on the satyr and maenad cup, and, as we have just seen, the two are connected by their gorgoneia. They are linked also by a trifling detail that occurs on these two kylikes and nowhere else in this group: between the rays and the foot both have a broad black band between pairs of fine lines. The satyr and maenad cup is a fairly late work of the Krokotos painter, for yellow hair comes later than the krokotos in the sequence of work from this shop, and the system of lines below the figures on 11 connects it with the late cup 12.

The kylix with komasts (1) is a carefully painted piece and the only cup where the grape clusters in the handle vines are well shaped and the fruit delicately incised (see Fig. 4). By the same painter, but done with less care, are the kylikes 2–5. He seems to have been the originator of the gorgoneion that distinguishes this shop, and to have been painting kylikes for some time before the Krokotos painter turned his hand to them. He and the Krokotos painter must have worked close together, for their kylikes are remarkably similar.

The Vatican cup with Herakles and the tripod (6) has a foot of the Nikosthenic type described by Bloesch in Formen 23, which has not the broad resting surface usual in B.F. eye cups, but rises underneath gradually into a hollow cone and is black all over, within and without. It has, however, the regulation reserved band below the black moulding at the top of the stem, which appears to be exclusively the practice of this workshop. The cup goes with the group of mask cups 7–9, partly from the similarity of the gorgoneia (see above) and also from its special likeness to the Louvre mask cup, both of them having prophylactic eyes with white sclerotic and an iris of only two rings.

44 Of, the border round the gorgoneion from the workshop of Nikosthenes, Louvre F 122, CV, fasc. x, pl. 98. 7.
45 The eye cup Munich 2035, AM XXV (1900) 38, fig. 18, VOL. LXXV.
The masks are not identical with that on the Boston cup but closely resemble it, notably in the delicate mouth pointed at the corners, and the backing of hair behind the ears. This group lies between the group of the Munich komast kylix and the two kylikes by the Kroitos painter, but whether it represents later work by the painter of the komast kylix or is from the hand of an associate of them both I am not able to say.

Lastly, the British Museum cup with the yellow-haired Poseidon has almond eyes that match those of the Boston cup, a gorgoneion with the Boston curl behind the ear, and beneath the figures a system of thick and thin lines that is an extension of that on the Kroitos painter's satyr and maenad cup. It seems to be the latest cup in the Kroitos group, and no doubt the work of a pupil of the Kroitos painter.

The five cups following form a separate, parallel group, which we will call the Winchester group. The gorgoneion is framed by one circle of thinned glaze with generally a second, very dilute, within it, forming the bounding line of the face; the eyebrows are more steeply arched than those of the Kroitos group, the teeth broader; the ear, which in the former group was left an empty outline, has inner markings and a lobe added, similar to those of the mask of the Boston cup; behind the ear there is always a lock of hair.

(13) Villa Giulia 3560, from Falerii. CV, fasc. iii, pl. 30. 3, 32. 2. Artemis and deer. Gorgoneion nearly all lost.

(14) Munich 2052. Plates XII 3, XIV 14. Maenad wearing a wolf skin complete with head. The ears of the gorgoneion restored.


(16) Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 48. 42. Plate XII 2, Fig. 7; Handbook of the Walters Art Gallery, p. 31. Mask of Dionysos.

(17) Fulda. Dr. Welz. Neugebauer, Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz, no. 153, pl. 64. Dionysos. The gorgoneion has spiral curls and no lobes to the ears.

The last three cups of this list go very closely together. The vines differ in several respects from those of the Kroitos group (contrast Figs. 4-6 with 7). The stems are drawn more perfunctorily (only two twists) and stand isolated, whereas in the former group the sprays grow out from the top of the stems and curve round above the handles to continue downwards between handle and eye. Here the main spray springs from the handle itself. The sprays are comparatively scanty and always of the same pattern. The grape clusters have stalks to attach them to the sprays, while in the Kroitos group they normally have none. The two earlier and finer cups in the Villa Giulia and Munich have the same sprays as the other three, but the stems are less schematic. Those of the Munich cup stand more realistically on uneven feet, one of them humped, and there are no less than five twists. This recalls the interlacing stems on the Kroitos painter's Heidelberg skyphos (Plates IV 1, VII 3), which have six twists and uneven feet, one of them humped. The very much damaged Villa Giulia kylix has, as far as can be seen, fewer twists but a similar hump, and also an incised line running up the stem. This cup has lost its foot and all but a tiny fraction of its gorgoneion, but in every other respect, vine stems apart, it agrees with the other cups of this group. The five vases are also linked together by the drawing of the figures. Compare the himation of Artemis with that of the Fulda Dionysos and the treatment of their hair. The maenads in Munich and Winchester are extremely like. The Winchester gorgoneion is almost identical with that in the Walters cup. The Walters mask, compared with those of 7-9, has a heavier mouth, square at the corners instead of pointed, while the ears stand out from the head without any backing of hair. Nevertheless, the similarities between the Winchester group and the Kroitos group so far outweigh the differences that one is driven to the conclusion that the painters of both groups all worked together. Bloesch puts both the Villa Giulia Artemis and the Munich maenad cup (14), together with 1, 3, 11, and 12 of our Kroitos kylix group, all in one class within the circle of the Andokides group. This classification on grounds of shape accords well with the range of subject and the style of painting. These point to Andokides and still more to his predecessor Exekias. Our painters in both the Kroitos and the Winchester groups were brought up in the tradition of Exekias. We shall return to this later.

So far we have seventeen kylikes that fall into two compact groups, the first twelve by the Kroitos painter and his associates, and the five of the Winchester group probably all by the painter.
of the Villa Giulia Artemis. The cups that follow are less standardised. The two that come next both have the foot customary in the Krokiotos shop, with moulding and reserved band on the stem. Below the figures they have a system of lines which has not occurred before: three thin, two thick, three thin. Below the rays there is a black band bordered by a fine line.

(18) Villa Giulia, Castellani 616. Plate XIV 18. Mingazzini, *Coll. Castellani*, pl. 98. 8. Between eyes of the same shape and colouring as those of 10 and 12 (sclerotic yellow) 60 interlaced stems standing on widely splayed out feet like those of 10 and 12 and with sprays of ivy growing from the top; between eyes and handles maenads mounted on donkeys; beneath handles vine stems. The cup is very much damaged, but there are traces of a short yellow chiton reaching to the thigh on two of the maenads. The only head preserved wears a turban with white folds. The gorgonion reproduces several of the peculiarities of that of the Boston cup: frame of three circles set back from the face, four-tier nose, a small incised chevron formed by the junction of the central curls with a deep inlet leading up to it (compare 18 and 10 of Plate XIV). It seems to be a deliberate imitation of a gorgonion of the Boston type drawn in a totally different manner by a hand we have not hitherto. Entirely new in gorgoniae are the pear-shaped eyes. 81

(19) Munich 2100. Plate XIV 19. Pfuhl, *Berl. Jahrbuch* 1899, pl. 2; Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente*, fig. 7. In a vineyard a four snake-maidens with yellow hair, one of them wearing over it a red alopekis; *B* goats. In the centre of each side, as well as beneath the handles, vine stems similar to those of 18; midway between each pair of stems a prop. There are no prophylactic eyes. The gorgonion is framed, like those of the Winchester group, by a single circle outside the almost imperceptible bounding line of the face, but otherwise it is near to that of the Poseidon cup (12). 82

The two kylikes following reveal a further break with tradition. Both have the foot peculiar to the whole series, but the lower part of the bowl is now black, relieved by one reserved band.

(20) Sydney 47.03. Plate XV 1. *Handbook of the Nicholson Museum* 280, fig. 61; Tischbein, *Collection of Engravings from ancient Vases* 1814, pl. 60. Between eyes *B* nose; *B* pair of birds. At each handle the forward halves of two ships uniting under the handle.

(21) Munich 2101. Plate XIV 21, XV 2. Black rim. In a vineyard similar to that of 19 four men recline on mattresses and pillows with patterns in white. Beneath each handle a vine prop. There are no prophylactic eyes.

The drawing of the gorgonion of the Castellani cup, so close to that of the Boston cup and yet so differently treated, seems to indicate that it is by a newcomer trying, after a training in another school, to adapt himself to the traditional rendering of the Krokiotos gorgonion. On the other hand, the gorgonie of the snake-maidens cup and the cup in Sydney (19, 20), which are remarkably similar, look like the work of one brought up in the Krokiotos school, but active at a late period when the distinctions between the two main groups, Krokiotos and Winchester, no longer held. Apart from the fact that they have the single framing circle of the Winchester group, they are very close to the gorgonie of the Poseidon cup (12), the last of the Krokiotos group of kylikes, and assumed above (p. 99) to have been the work of a pupil of the Krokiotos painter. On all three gorgoniae the fringe of incisions at the edge of the beard is carried farther round than usual, practically reaching the tip. The narrow eye with the double curve for the underlid, used experimentally for the right eye of the Poseidon gorgonie (*CV*, Brit. Mus. fasc. ii, pl. 20. 1 a) is more pronounced in the snake-maidens cup, though it is abandoned in the Sydney gorgonion. On the outside also the snake-maidens cup shows affinities with the Poseidon—the interlacing vine stems with exceptionally squat feet, the small bunches of grapes, the undulations of the snake bodies and of the hippocamp, the long locks of yellow hair on the Poseidon and the second and third snake-maidens (in the case of the second hanging down over the shoulders below the alopekis). The Sydney ship looks odd in this company. Different hands may possibly have been employed on the insides and the outsides of these cups, but all our observations of the Krokiotos and Winchester groups go to show that this was not the case. Judging by the gorgonie, I assign both the snake-maidens and the Sydney cup to the painter of the British Museum Poseidon. The Munich cup with men in a vineyard goes externally with the snake-maidens and internally with the Sydney gorgonie. It is, however, so slapdash that it is difficult to say whether it is unworthy work of the same painter, or from the hand of an imitator.

The four cups following go closely together. The pattern of lines below the figures on 22 and 23 is as on 18 and 19. There is no information about the pattern on the lost vase 26. The foot of 22 is of the same unusual shape as that of 6 above; the foot of 23 has been broken off, taking the gorgonie with it. 83

(22) Louvre F 133. Plate XIII 3. *CV* fasc. x, pl. 108. 4, 5, 109. 6. On the rim, ivy on a pale yellow ground. Between almond eyes with different colouring from those listed previously (sclerotic white, pupil black, iris yellow, red, black) a Dionysos on a mule between a satyr carrying a wineskin

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60 Professor Mingazzini regards this as a discoloured white.  
81 The teeth of the gorgonie have been repainted on both 19 and 21.  
82 The foot now attached to the cup appears to be alien.

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83 Found also in the workshop of Amphaios, e.g. Vatican 453 Albizzati, pl. 68, where both eyes have the rounded end towards the right.
a maenad wearing a large spotted skin. B. Similar, but the maenad wears no skin. The gorgoneion, much damaged, is of a new kind.

(23) Boulogne, Panckoucke 27. Between eyes of normal shape, the sclerotic white, pupil black, iris black, red, black, Dionysos and a companion (Hermes?). Gorgoneion lost.

(24) Oxford 1939. 117, fragment, formerly in Dorchester, JHS XLII (1922) 192, n. 2, no. ix. Plate XV 6. Winged goddess (Eos?) and a small part of a prophylactic eye with black sclerotic.

(25) Formerly Durand collection 126; Lenormant and de Witte, Élite Ceramographique I, pl. 49 a. Between eyes of normal shape with white sclerotic, pupil black, iris white, red, A Dionysos riding among satyrs; beyond the eyes, left, man reclining on a black mattress with a black pillow; right, satyr reclining; B Dionysos and Ariadne with satyr and maenad; beyond the eyes, each side, seated satyr. The shape of the cup is not given, nor the gorgoneion, and side B is not figured.

The wreath of ivy on the rim of 22, most unusual in a kylix, recalls the early skypoioi of the Krokotos group. In subject this cup is close to the Krokotos painter's skypoioi in the Cabinet des Médailles, as Madame Lambrino has already pointed out. In style it is nearer to the Krokotos skypoioi from Rhitsona with dolphins under the handles (6, 7). Actually the kylikes 22, 24, and 25 are from the hand of a single painter to whom Sir John Beazley has given the name of the Durand painter, and to him or to close associates of his we can assign also the Boulogne kylix (23), the skypoioi 6 and 7 from Rhitsona, and the Athens skypoioi 8. Compare the almost noseless faces and staring eyes of Dionysos and the satyr on the Louvre cup with those of the reclining man on skypoioi 8 (Plate V 3); also the fillet of the same man, making a right angle at the ear, with that of the Louvre satyr with the wineskin (Plate XIII 9). The garlands are of an uncommon kind with no leaves but with small flowers indicated by a single white dot on the tip of an incised stalk. Sometimes the flowers are omitted, leaving an austere wreath of stalks only, as on the Oxford goddess (Plate XV 6) and the Louvre Dionysos. The flowery variety is worn by five of the six women on the Rhitsona skypoioi 64 and by Dionysos on the Boulogne kylix. Peculiar to the Durand group is also the incised line running across the head of women, taking in the ear and the hair on the neck in one continuous line, and joined near the ear by a shorter line crossing the forehead, and so enclosing the roll of hair over the brow (see Plates XIII 3, XV 6; BSA XIV, pl. xii).

The Durand painter's vines are close to those of the Krokotos group of kylikes. His gorgoneion is new. Chance has preserved for us only one (CV, Louvre fasc. x, pl. 108 b) and that a much damaged specimen. Features unparalleled in the gorgoneia of this workshop are the dots on the forehead, the unbroken continuity of beard and moustache, the very small nose and the reserved band framing the whole, set some distance back from the tondo. In the Boulogne kylix a similar reserved band occurs in the same position, though the whole of the gorgoneion is lost. In his most ambitious vase, the Durand cup itself, we are told that the gorgoneion was encircled by an ivy wreath.

There is a skypoioi by the Durand painter in Boston 65 (Plate XIII 1, 2, XV 7) showing on one side an Amazon and on the other a hunter, each holding a horse on a halter; under each handle a white dog, but not the dog of the Krokotos painter (contrast Plate XV 3 with 7). The Boston vase, like skypoioi 6 and 7, the plain reserved base of the Krokotos group of skypoioi. Fragments of a later skypoioi, near to the Durand painter, were found at Gela 66 (Plate XV 4). Each side has Dionysos on foot between maenads on mules. The maenads wear yellow caps with red fillets and have a yellow hem at the bottom of their short chitons, best regarded as the hem of a yellow underchiton similar to that worn by Penthesilea in the Penthesilea kylix. One of the fragments shows the tail and part of the back of a white dog of the same kind as that on the Boston skypoioi.

It will have been noticed that the design of the Sydney kylix follows that of Exekias in his famous eye cup with the ship of Dionysos. In placing the main subject beneath and around the handles, and a nose between the prophylactic eyes. That the painters of the Krokotos workshop followed in the ways of Exekias can be seen in other directions also. Sir John Beazley has pointed out that Exekias experimented with yellow or a yellowish brown. This he used on his plaques not only for architectural features but also for the flesh of women. Judging from the coloured reproductions in Antike Denkmäler II, pl. 11, the pigment used by Exekias is duller and browner than that normally used by the Krokotos painter and his associates. Pictures such as those on the Exekias plaques may have been in the mind or even before the eyes of the Krokotos painter when he painted the Heidelberg skypoiois, on which yellow is used for the flesh of women as well as for their chitons (though his is a true yellow, less appropriate to human skin), or the Herr painter when painting the dying Mennon. The yellowish buff pigment used by the painter of the Munich komast group of kylikes, notably in

54 The kylix Munich 2081, destroyed in the war, also has an ivy wreath on a yellow ground round the rim and a mounted Dionysos, but it does not come from this workshop. I am much indebted to Professor Bloesch for information about this vase.


56 Sixth and Fifth, pl. XVIII 31, 172.

57 Most of these features are found on gorgoneia from the shop of Pamphaios, e.g. Madrid 1939, 60, CV, fasc. ii, pl. 2, 1.

58 J. de Witte, Cabinet d'Antiquités de M. E. Durand, p. 45, no. 126.

59 Museum of Fine Arts inv. 99, 524; Caskey, Geometry, no. 106, p. 151. Ht. 0.166 m., diam. 0.225 m.

60 The subject is akin to that of the Philadelphia fragments by Exekias, Beazley, DABF, pl. 31, where a warrior and a Sicyonian archer are gracing their horses.

61 The late Durand skypoioi no. 8 is an exception.

62 Now in Syracuse Museum. See also MA XVII (1906) 210, fig. 175.

63 Furtwängler and Reichhold, pl. 6, Pfuhl, Mu2, fig. 501.

64 J. de Witte, Cabinet d'Antiquités de M. E. Durand, p. 45, no. 126.

65 DABF 71.
the iris of the eye of 3 (Plate XI 1, eye on left), is perhaps nearer to the colour used by Exekias.

Further, the rich pattern of thick and thin lines of the Poseidon cup (13), seen in an abbreviated form on the Krokozos painter’s satyr and maenad cup (12), is near to that on the Exekias cup in Munich, while the Theseus painter’s skyphos from Camarina shows the true Exekias pattern in reverse. One may also compare the curling nostril, pouting lips, and moustache of the near faces of our kylikes 1, 2a, and 3 with such faces as Poseidon’s on the calyx krater painted by Exekias from the Athenian Agora or that of Herakles on the Louvre amphora signed by him as potter, while the far faces of 1 and 3 are comparable to the more negligently drawn gods of the amphora Faina 78. Much else in the decoration of the Krokozos skyphoi and kylikes could have been learnt from Exekias. The luxuriant vines on our cups derive from prototypes that must have resembled the vine on the Agora krater just mentioned. Compare the branches passing over the head of the maenad in fig. 3 of Hesperia VI 485 with those passing over the handles of our kylikes, e.g. Figs. 4–6. There is the same flat curve, the same sudden descent, much the same angle where the spray branches into two. These vines owe nothing to the Andokides painter. His vine kylix in Cambridge shows a quite different rendering of stems, sprays, and grape clusters. Nor are they inspired by any other vines of his. The restless twists and turns of the vines on his bilingual Munich amphora are reflected in the pretty curling and interlacing tendrils of the Copenhagen vine kylix and the Torr cup, now in San Simeon, which goes with it, rather than in the Krokozos group, which retains the comparatively austere parallelism of Exekias’ design. Exekias painted several little-master cups, but the only eye kylix of his so far known to us is the Munich cup with the ship of Dionysos. Beazley has said of Exekias ‘if he contributed to the development of the cup, the eye-cup will probably have been his field, not the little-master cup’. Now there is in Oxford a fragment of a large eye cup (Plate XV 5), formerly in Dorchester, which, as far as it goes, corresponds with what we should expect in an eye cup with vines from the workshop of Exekias. The cup was generally speaking of the same kind as those of the Krokozos group, but much finer. Little is left except part of the outline of a large eye, an ivy spray, a vine spray with a cluster of grapes lying along it, another cluster on a thick stalk springing from the handle, four leaves of another spray springing from the handle, and, below, thin lines in the familiar pattern of the Krokozos group, two-one-two. The shallow curves of the sweeping trails and the way the long, narrow clusters lie along the spray, parallel to it or covering it, are almost exactly matched on the Agora krater. The grapes themselves are half-way between those of the Agora krater and the Munich eye cup, in their long, tapering clusters resembling the former, but in their meticulous incisions nearer to the eye cup, though with a firmer, less ragged outline. The ivy has a gently curving stem and soft, blunt leaves similar to those on the Exekian amphora Faina, but more carefully shaped. In fact, such evidence as this small fragment affords shows that it is very superior work from the shop of Exekias, if not from the hand of the master himself.

The White Heron workshop is usually assumed to have started production a little before 500 B.C. But the kylikes and skyphoi of its Krokozos period must fall early in the last quarter of the fifth century. There is a noticeable resemblance between some of our kylikes, especially 3, and the kylix Louvre F 127 bis, which bears the signature of the potter Pamphaisos, and is regarded by Bloesch as the earliest of the cups from his shop. This kylix differs from our series in the heavy red moulding round the top of the stem and the spiral curls and cleft tongue of the gorgoneion, all of them features associated with Pamphaisos and Nikosthenes. It could perhaps be the work of one who started learning his trade in the Krokozos shop but left it to join Pamphaisos. In any case we can be certain that at the time when Pamphaisos was just beginning to make cups there was already a flourishing Krokozos workshop, producing both skyphoi and kylikes. In this early stage several personalities stand out. The Krokozos painter seems to have been the leading skyphos painter, though he painted both shapes. He took up and extended the use of yellow pigment for large surfaces initiated by Exekias. Beside him worked the painter of the Munich cup with komasts, and, associated with the latter, a painter of mask cups, though these two may have been one and the same. An early contemporary was the painter of the Winchester group (assuming that these are all the work of one hand), who decorated cups akin to those of the Krokozos group, elaborating the gorgoneia and simplifying the vines. He avoided yellow, except in the prophylactic eyes, and apparently painted no skyphoi. When the Krokozos painter ventured into the field of kylix painting he borrowed from both of these painters. At the same time the Durand painter was decorating both kylikes and skyphoi, similar in shape, subject, and colouring to those of the Krokozos painter.

68 Hesperia VI (1937) 475, fig. 4. 69 JHS LII (1932) 200. 70 JHS XLII (1922) 195, n. 2, n. v. Now in the Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1939, 114. 71 Techmnu, Exekias, pl. 13 b. 72 GV, fasc. iii, pl. 13. 73 GV, fasc. ii, pl. IV 1. 74 GV, fasc. iii, pl. 115, 1–116. 75 Sotheby Sale Catalogues, July 2, 1929, p. 3. 76 Hesperia VI (1937) 475, fig. 1, 479, fig. 6, 481, fig. 7, 485, fig. 9. 77 GV, fasc. iii, pl. 5. 78 JHS LII (1932) 200. 79 JHS XLII (1922) 195, n. 2, n. v. Now in the Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1939, 114. 80 Techmnu, Exekias, pl. 13 b. 81 GV, fasc. x, pl. 101, 1–7; Hoppin, Handbook BFV 306–7. 82 Forman 62. 83 It is interesting to note that the majority of the kylikes were exported to Italy, while most of the skyphoi remained in Britain, being specially favoured by the Bocchian.
but using a gorgonion quite independent of the two closely related types which served the Krokokos and the Winchester groups. The group consisting of the Hydra painter, the Herm painter and the painter of the Louvre Argos belongs to the second, Sub-krokotos period, but began work under the Krokokos painter, using his broadly proportioned skyphos shape and putting his emblem, the krater or the dog, under the handle, while close to them worked as pupil or partner the painter of Philadelphia MS5481. A contemporary of theirs, and the most able of the younger painters, was the Theseus painter, whose influence became dominant in the period of the Sub-krokotos group. A number of his early skyphoi reflect the milieu in which he worked. Those in Syracuse and Winchester have already been discussed. Near in date to the Winchester skyphos is that in New York, formerly in the Hope Collection, showing Poseidon with yellow hair and beard riding on a hippocamp with a broad yellow stripe across the wing.\textsuperscript{81} Different as the rendering is, this may well derive from the same source as the London kylix with the yellow-haired Poseidon (12).\textsuperscript{82} His Polyphemus on the Louvre oinochoe with the blinding scene (Haspels, pl. 42. 3) harks back to the reclining figures of the Heidelberg skyphos (2) and its companion pieces. The herm on his skyphos with kilns in Baltimore, CV fasc. iii, pl. 1, 2, recalls the earlier herm of the Herm painter. The influence of the Krokokos painter and his circle is seen also in the work of other younger painters of the school, contemporaries of the Theseus painter. It would be possible to classify much of the output of the less competent painters in this shop, and it would be found that a considerable part of it is not late work by imitators of the Theseus painter, but poor work of men who were fellow pupils with him in the early days of the Krokokos–White Heron workshop.

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NOTE. The following are reproduced by courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore: Plate XII 2, fig. 7; the following by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Plate XII, i, Plate XIII 1, 2, Plate XIV 10, Plate XV 7; the following by courtesy of the University Museum, Philadelphia: Plate IX 1, 2.

\textsuperscript{81} Tillyard, \textit{Hope Vases}, pl. 7, no. 75. I am grateful to Miss Christine Alexander for sending me information about this vase and confirming the presence of yellow, mistaken by Tillyard for white.

\textsuperscript{82} This seems more likely than that the idea originated with the Athena painter, Haspels \textit{ABL} 152. His Poseidon lekythos, \textit{ibid.}, pl. 44-4, though close to the New York skyphos, is clearly later.
CHARIOT GROUPS IN FIFTH-CENTURY GREEK SCULPTURE

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE MODES OF REPRESENTING CHARIOT GROUPS IN FIFTH-CENTURY GREEK RELIEF SCULPTURE AND THE CONNECTIOM WITH THE CONTEMPORARY COINAGE OF SICILY, PARTICULARLY SYRACUSE

INTRODUCTION

Some of the most magnificent representations of chariots in mid career are seen on the coins of Sicily and Southern Italy toward the close of the fifth century B.C. There are two major theories concerning the appearance of these striking compositions in Sicilian numismatic art. One theory is that dies for these coins are the independent products of local, native artists of highest competence. The other is that the dies for these pieces are the work of Attic artists who migrated to the prosperous cities of Sicily to take up new careers as workers in the minor metallic arts, as gem cutters, and as die sinkers for the various local rulers. We lack positive evidence. We cannot identify any artist who left Attica to pursue work of this type in Southern Italy or Sicily. Scholars have produced a mass of conjecture and speculation on this subject.

The treatment of space and depth in the chariot compositions seems to the writer to provide a new possibility for grouping and relating the representations of chariots in the late fifth century—both those on the major monuments in sculptured relief and those on the Tetradrachms and Dekadrachms of Syracuse and Akragas. From a restudy of the methods of relief representation and from a survey of information derived from such connecting links between major sculpture and coinage as silverware, gems, and vases further light may be thrown on the problems of the artistic derivation of the renowned die compositions of later fifth-century Sicily.

THE MAJOR MONUMENTS OF THE LAST QUARTER OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

In the major sculptural monuments of the fifth century the modes of representation in relief seem to fall into two categories. One category recognizes the limits of low relief and represents the chariot group in profile. The other mode of representation employs depth and space to introduce foreshortening and perspective. The former, the profile-action method, appears in connexion with the Demareteion of Syracuse, a silver Dekadrachm struck after 480 B.C. (Fig. 1). We shall term this the "profile" method for short. The other major mode—illustrated here in a Tetradrachm of the last quarter of the fifth century by Eunaienatos (Fig. 2)—experiments with foreshortening, partial perspective, and depth. We shall call this the foreshortened-perspective-depth or "foreshortening" method. The profile method of showing a chariot group and its horses in a series of partially overlapping silhouettes would appear to be the usual mode of representation in the present three-quarters of the fifth century, but in the monuments of the last twenty-five years before 400 B.C., there is an increasing number of deep reliefs in which chariot groups appear in widespread variations of the foreshortening method of use. Both high reliefs and curved surfaces give, as will be seen, an opportunity for representing the quadriga on a diagonal ground line with the foreparts of the horses brought out into the round and for heightening the simulation of lateral perspective by indicating the wheels and axle of the chariot on this diagonal ground line and giving the four horses a high degree of foreshortening. This turned foreshortening is carried quite often deliberately to the point of making the chariot appear to be rounding a real or imaginary post or meta with the horses turning to head directly toward the viewer.

The success of the foreshortening method can often be measured by the sculptor's ability to
detach his quadriga from the imaginary picture plane of his surface against the two-dimensional background and to set it at least a three-quarter angle both in and out of the background, conveying complete mastery of this very complex perspective and removing the feeling of conflict between the natural two-dimensional tendency of the relief and the efforts of the sculptor to create this perspective-depth by certain superimposed distortions.

The complexities of foreshortening in the chariot group representations of the last years of the century did not entirely replace but paralleled the tradition of profiled action. This interest appears to be connected with the developments in the painting of the generation of artists after Polygnotos. The painter Apollodoros is said to have brought the art of partial perspective to a high degree of perfection. These were the years in which the 'doors of art' were opening to new horizons and new interests in the representation of man's environment on the threshold of the fourth century. Various artists may be presumed to have first attempted innovations in perspective complexities similar to the representations which we encounter on reliefs, minor objects, and coins of the turning years of the end of the century. Wherever the origins of the foreshortening method may lie, this is the mode of representation which the sculptors and craftsmen of these years brought to the fore. In some cases the two methods—profile and foreshortening—appear deliberately combined, but the majority of the monuments with which we are concerned tend to fall definitely within the foreshortening method.

The profile method of representation, which we saw on the Demareteion, appears on a relief on the Satrap Sarcophagus (450-450 b.c.) from Sidon in the Museum at Istanbul 5 (Fig. 3). It is brought to a high point twenty years later in the frieze of the North and South outside walls of the cella of the Parthenon 5 (Fig. 4). It appears in the late fifth century in two major monuments of marble sculpture, the Elgin Relief in the British Museum and the Relief from Rhodes in Berlin. In this marble votive relief, said to have come from the Acropolis and brought back to England by Lord Elgin (Fig. 5), the relief is higher than in the Parthenon frieze. 6 The profile method is emphasised in the spacing of the horses, which are one slightly in front of the other front to rear with the heads separately defined in various profile positions. There is a slight suggestion that the ground line now begins to assume a diagonal position, the two farther horses rearing up a little higher than their nearer counterparts. The relief from Rhodes (Fig. 6) dated by Blümel and others about the last decade of the fifth century is the latest monument which falls into the profile method symbolised by the chariot groups on the Parthenon reliefs. 7 Although probably executed in Rhodes because of the type of marble used, Blümel conjectures that this work might have been either ordered in Attica or at least made in Rhodes by an Attic sculptor. Although lacking the subtlety of treatment of the Parthenon horses and horse groups, the four horses here are arranged rearing, in profile, one slightly in advance of another from off-side to near-side, an arrangement recalling the Parthenon examples. The relief is flatter and the ground line more horizontal than in the Elgin Relief; consequently the four horses are quite vividly profiled—especially the near and far animal. This series of chariot groups in profile view, which commences with the Demareteion and reaches its high point in the Parthenon frieze, culminates and concludes in a fitting insistence on the profiled-action view with this, the Rhodes Relief. 8

From a consideration of the profile method of representing the chariot group in sculptured relief

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5 Maxime Collignon, Le Parthénon, Paris, 1914; Gustave Fougères, Le Parthénon, Paris, 1919, illustration from pl. 86, 87, 88, 33, 73, 74, South Outside Wall, now in the British Museum. The same manner of superimposition of four horses found in the Satrap Sarcophagus is refined in the quadriga groups of this frieze. Some horses gallop partially ahead of others, and in many cases heads are thrown back to add to the effect of drawing and modelling of exceptional skill in indicating depth. As in the previous two monuments, a simple horizontal ground line is employed throughout. A. S. Murray, The Sculptures of the Parthenon, New York, 1939, p. 95, note 6. It was just here that the greatest damage was done by the gunpowder explosion (1867) which blew out the centre of the cella wall. From fragmentary slabs aid by Carrey's drawings we can in a measure see how this stirring series of chariots in the very middle of each side must have provided the most attractive feature of all.
we turn to examples of the foreshortened-perspective-depth method as it emerges on major sculptural monuments in the last quarter of the fifth century. This foreshortening method is strikingly displayed in the so-called Lycian Sarcophagus in the Museum at Istanbul (Fig. 7), which Picard dates after 420 B.C. Bearing in mind that the Parthenon frieze is perhaps the apogee of the profiled-action method in relief, Picard to a slight extent and Mendel somewhat further verge on inaccuracy in relating the two chariot groups on this relief to the Phidian formula. The foreshortened method was never more prominent than in the Lycian Sarcophagus. The heads of the horses are brought out into very high relief and are turned in varying directions; the forequarters of the animals are also modelled very fully so as to convey the appearance that the groups are viewed at a three-quarters angle from the right; and, finally, the legs fly up in a high gallop, giving emphasis to this right diagonal view—which is further borne out in the perspective position indicated by the wheels of the chariots.

The so-called Heroon or funerary monument of Gjölbashi-Trysa in the Vienna Museum presents a curious complex of imported and local subjects and styles executed for this monument of Greek art from Southern Asia Minor. There are a mixture of Near Eastern divinities recalling the reliefs of Persepolis dancing to the music of Egyptianised (Bes) creatures and two zones of frieze slabs illustrating various tales from Greek mythology and legendary history in a style which sometimes reaches the level of the best exported classic art of the twenties of the fifth century. There are several chariot groups, but perhaps the most noteworthy is the one included in the 'Carrying Off of the Daughters of Leukippos' on the North Side. Although the legs of the four horses are somewhat damaged and the chariot itself, especially the wheels, is not clearly indicated, this group from the panels in which Picard sees the Attic style reflected through Ionic overtones is executed in excellent foreshortened-perspective-depth in low relief. The horses going to the left are viewed from an almost three-quarters angle, and the ground line appears to slope back in a diagonal so that the inner two horses appear to be no longer quite on the base line of the frieze but slightly suspended in air. Furthermore, the heads of the horses are varied in positions, such as turned about to three-quarters rear, which have an exact parallel in the best examples of this style in the contemporary coinage of Syracuse with which this paper will deal. There is also an exceptional similarity between

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Fig. 7.—ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. THE LYCIAN SARCOPHAGUS.

Fig. 8.—BERLIN, STAATLICHEN MUSEEN. THE OROPOS RELIEF.

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9 Illustration from Picard, op. cit. pl. xxix opposite p. 880; vide pp. 892, 893, esp. notes 1 and 5. Picard observes certain adaptations of non-Greek tendencies in this provincial work, and of the chariot-group side he notes, 'les chevaux de leurs attelages sont groupés avec quelque monotone selon cette perspective faveure, de trois quarts, que nous connaissons pour la fin du Ve siècle, par divers reliefs de l'Acropole, d'Orèope, de Rhodes, etc. et sur le monnaies syracusains ...'. About the sculptors of this scene of two drivers and two hunters in two quadrigae attacking a crouching lion, Picard further notices, 'Le sculpteur n'était pas certes d'Attique; ce fut sans doute un artiste lyéen, travaillant au dernier quart du siècle. Sa science du relief est remarquable, mais ses formules, restées philistiques, supposent des traditions école déjà un peu attendrées.' Note 1 states, 'On a voulu parfois rapporter cette perspective oblique à une invention du peintre ionien Parrhiasis.' For the dating vide p. 893, note 5. G. Mendel, Catalogue (Istanbul Museum), vol. i, pp. 130 ff., no. 63 (1969), (p. 150), figs. on pp. 161 and 164. He dates this relief 400 B.C. S. D. Markman, The Horse in Greek Art, Baltimore, 1943, vide p. 129, Chronic Table and references at the end of the text, states that 'it does seem to be after the Kimon and Euaenitos Dekadrachs.'

10 Otto Benndorf, Das Heroon von Gjölbashi-Trysa (Jahrbuch d. Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen), Vienna, 1880, and a volume of plates by Neumann. Picard, op. cit. pp. 884, 885, notes that the subject was treated by Polygnotos in painting in the sanctuary of Anakus at Athens (Pausanias I, 16, 1) and that the carrying off deals with a funerary motif. In contrast to the 'Carrying Off' scene, a rather clumsy articulation of the galloping quadriga motif can be observed in a chariot group on the inner right side of the South Wall. This is an excellent example of the (hybridisation) combination of the two methods with which we are dealing. The front two horses appear in a version of the foreshortened-perspective-depth style, while the rear animals and chariot are treated in the profiled-action method. (For photographs see Neumann or esp. Fogg Art Museum Photo (Joseph Wilke, Vienna) 237 C 8 (ce) 10)
the composition here and that of the Oropos Relief (Fig. 8) found at Oropos on the North coast of Attica. This Relief, now in the Berlin Museum, is one of the outstanding examples of the foreshortened method at its complex best, and is dated generally in the last years of the fifth century. The near three horses are treated in full relief, with heads turned in slightly varying directions and legs on a rising diagonal ground line; this produces the feeling that the group turns toward the viewer. For variance sake, the farthest horse is leaping ahead in profile, but his position off the ground fits in perfectly with the three-quarters perspective of the other three. This horse appears to be plunging ahead drawing the others through the air behind him. Professor Markman oversimplifies a trifle when he states that this specific type of horse group is first seen on the Kimon and Euanetos Dekadrachms, for both are similar parallel developments from the representational method whose history we have been tracing.

The final major monument in relief in the foreshortened chariots of the late fifth century is the well-known relief found at Phaleron and now in the National Museum at Athens, called the Echelos-Basile Relief (Fig. 9) from its portrayal of a local interpretation of the Pluto and Persephone myth. This sculpture has been variously dated from shortly after the Parthenon frieze to the period of the Dexileos stele (394 B.C.). Professor Markman notes that the composition is exactly like that of the Syracusee Dekadrachms of 413 B.C. and after: ‘four horses supposedly abreast, but actually arranged in three-quarters view, with only the outside horse in true profile’. In this use of profile in the outside horse, a further example of the complexity of the foreshortened mode is carried to a high point in these reliefs. The diagonal ground line and the foreshortening of the horses’ forequarters are quite evident from the left three-quarters view. The heads of the horses carry out somewhat subtle variations in position, except for the third horse from the outside, whose head is turned so as to face the spectator. Unfortunately this uniformly consistent foreshortening is lost in the one wheel under the chariot body, which is shown in full, flat-groundline profile.

CHARIOT GROUPS ON THE COINAGE OF LATER FIFTH-CENTURY SICILY

It now remains to investigate the chariots designed by the Sicilian die cutters and to see where we might find sources for their inspiration in quadrate compositions. Since there are many dies

11 Vide particularly Rizzo, op. cit., Bullottino d'Arte, February 1938, figs. 21, 22, and 23; the Oropos Relief is illustrated conveniently in fig. 24 (from which the illustration here included is taken) and further opportunities for comparisons such as are included here are offered.
13 Markman, op. cit., pp. 126-7: a full bibliography of this monument is included.
14 Mention should be made of the so-called British Museum ‘Satrap Sarophagus’, which bears a relief whose quadriga group appears to be executed also in the style of the Oropos Relief. Vaux, W. S. W. op. cit. (vide supra, note 6), no. 142 and drawn illustration.
16 Markman, op. cit. p. 90. Various references and opinions on dating are conveniently contained here, including J. N. Svoronos, Das Athenen Nationalmuseum, I, pp. 100 ff., no. 1793, esp. p. 129; Picard, op. cit., fig. 332, and pp. 833 ff., ‘... on voit l'enlèvement sur le char d'Echelos, heros du temenos familial, de Basilé (ou Iasile: thème déjà apparu sur les tablettes de Locres. Hermès lui même entraîne l'attelage'. The illustration shown here is from Alinari photograph, no. 24327.
and many slightly varying designs produced by this school of artists, three reverse designs have been selected — a Tetradrachm by Euarkidas, a Dekadrachm by Euainetos, and the Dekadrachm of Akragas.

The complete break between the chariots of these artists and the earlier chariot group of Syracuse's Tetradrachms extending back to the Demareteion is very remarkable and represents a revolutionary step for the designers of state coinages. The die cutters of Athens could do little more than refine the Archaic Athena and the reverse owls; Syracuse die cutters emerged unfettered by any rigid rules save the chariot group as a general iconographic subject. Euainetos and his contemporaries of late fifth-century Sicily did not start off their designs by following the most famous monument of the age—the Parthenon frieze, truly the noblest expression of the profile method of representation in sculptural relief. From the first they adapted the new, the modern mode of foreshortening in representation to their vocabulary of circular die cutting. The chariot design of the Oropos relief appears in a relatively large rectangular marble slab; it took great skill to adjust the same design to the small circular area of a coin die.

This was successfully done in the Tetradrachm of Euarkidas (Fig. 10). The design shows a quadriga galloping to the left, driven by Persephone holding the reins in her left and a torch in her right hand. The near horse is almost in profile, with his feet rising slightly in a diagonal from the horizontal ground line to the left. The angle of foreshortening increases with the three remaining horses. The head of the first is thrown violently upward, that of the second turned toward the viewer, and that of the third is again in profile. Their forequarters are brought out into the round in deep relief, and the forelegs of the animals give the feeling that the group is rising in deep aerial space. The two wheels and axle of the chariot itself are clearly defined in diagonal perspective, as if the whole group were here again in the process of turning toward the spectator.

In the renowned Dekadrachm of Euainetos (Fig. 11), the four horses are arranged with heads parallel and erect in a strong diagonal to the left; the high relief modelling of their forequarters and the parallel perspectives of their legs in two lines point up the feeling of foreshortening, creating again a three-quarters view from the left. The chief difference between the grouping of these horses and those on the Oropos relief lies in the containment of the composition close to the heavy ground line; creating the feeling that the horses are more flattened out in a gallop than previously. There is a rise from near to far horse, however. This is enough just to balance the three-quarters view and the parallel position of the heads. One feels that this design is the ultimate in viewing a four-horse chariot group in the foreshortened-perspective-depth manner while retaining the earth-bound or horizontal-angle perception in the viewer.

The Dekadrachm of Akragas (410 B.C.) (Fig. 12) is the fitting finale to the discussion of the development of the foreshortening method on major monuments and on coinage, for this piece is the superlatives in representing the four-horse chariot group in relief against a surface background. The effect of flying through air is achieved to perfection. The background seems almost to melt away, in such mastery of foreshortening that all tensions, incongruities, and difficulties of representational spacing have been eliminated. The horses lunge as if they were actually pawing the air in a space devoid of either upward or downward limitations. The off horse appears to plunge down actually lower than his mates—a touch which seals the perfection of the artist's treatment of the

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19 G. E. Rizzo, Bullettino, (vide supra, note 6), pp. 346 ff., figs. 23 (this illustration) and 24. In a precise analysis of the "new style" of these coins, Rizzo notes the introduction of the rush, excitement, and dash of the course in their design and compares the Euarkidas design-die to the Echelos-Baule, the Trysa, and of course the Oropos reliefs. Unfortunately, he includes the Rhodes Relief in Berlin and emphasizes the Elgin chariot-group relief, both of which I place in the profiled-action tradition. They are not good comparisons or examples of the development of space-compositions in Syracuse, which has been a stumbling block to some who would transfer the canons of high art in sculpture to the narrow field in which the die-sinker exercised his craft. But it is precisely because the great Sicilian engravers took a jestier view of the requirements of their special branch of art that they attained, at such an early date, a perfection not to be found elsewhere in Hellas, and that their masterpieces surpassed in beauty and interest all but a very few exceptional pieces to be found throughout the length and breadth of the Greek world.

20 The coin described here is the Munich specimen, illustrated here from pp. 104, 105, Fig. 45b of Selman, MGG. The writer, however, in describing this celebrated piece has had before him an example from the above-mentioned private collection in Boston, Mass. (vide supra, introductory note), on temporary loan on several occasions at the Fogg Museum of Art.
Fig. 10.—Tetradrachm of Syracuse by Euarkidas.

Fig. 11.—London, British Museum. Dekadrachm of Syracuse by Euainetos.

Fig. 12.—Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung. Dekadrachm of Akragas.

Fig. 13.—Munich, Loeb Collection. Bronze Vessel.
animals in the vast, open, three-dimensional space. Finally, the chariot wheels form another correctly proportioned and drawn diagonal. They are tilted forward in the front and up in the rear, as if needing no dependance on the ground line but rolling through the vertical freedom of space. In this Dekadrachm of Akragas, therefore, the final culmination of the efforts of the relief sculptor and the die sinker to depict the four-horse chariot group in relief space has been achieved in a coin of the last decade of the fifth century.

ARTISTIC EVIDENCE CONNECTING THE COINS OF SICILY WITH THEIR PROBABLE SOURCES AND PROTOTYPES

We have now seen the close connexin in style and method of representation. What evidences remain that these artists working at gem cutting and die sinking in Sicily at the end of the century could have been influenced by the types of major monuments investigated heretofore? The artistic centre of the major monuments, if we go by sheer numbers alone, appears to have been Attica, and those elsewhere have been connected with it to a greater or lesser degree. If these Sicilian artists did not originate in or travel to the cities of Greece proper—especially Athens—then they could have seen minor objects produced on the Greek mainland and capable of circulation through the trade characteristic of Greek Mediterranean civilisation. Small bronze objects, silver bowls, gems, and especially vases are known to have been transported quite freely about the ancient world, and the die cutters must have had a varied assortment of smaller objects at hand from which they could have chosen ideas, compositions, and designs to be adapted to the particular needs of their own crafts.

There are several well-known minor objects bearing chariot-group compositions in the foreshortened-perspective-depth method. These include the Loeb Cup in Munich and a silver phiale in the Metropolitan; among the gems there is the Chalcedony Scaraboid showing a biga wheeling around in the Boston Museum Collection. In connexion with the influence of new developments in perspective drawing in the later fifth century, the Medias Painter Hydria in London may be taken as an excellent example of such designs on vases.

The Loeb bronze vessel (Fig. 13) is the only composition dealt with here which does not contain an equestrian chariot group. In this bronze the foreshortening view is very gracefully developed using the bottom of the vessel as a flat ground line because the artist has taken full advantage of the object's curve to present the stag groups from the three-quarters angle between a front and side view as they appear to be wheeling around toward the acanthus-lotus design. By spacing the animals evenly on this level row so that the hindquarters of one disappear behind the forequarters of the next except for the near animal, whose body appears within the wheels, the artist has utilised the curved form to show in the turn of the vessel the bodies and legs of the animals in depth without creating any feeling of distortion.

In publishing the first of the two silver phialai (Fig. 14), which have been compared to a Tetradrachm of Eukleidas (Fig. 15), Miss Ricketts states, 'Can we go further and locate the industry

21 Johannes Sieveking, Bronzen Terrakotten Vazen der Sammlung Loeb, Munich, 1939, pp. 1, 2 and pll. I, II. This cup was found near Ellis in the Alpheios Valley and, according to Sieveking, was probably a votive at a shrine for a victory in a chariot race. He dates it to the second half of the fifth century.

22 The illustration of the Tetradrachm appears in G. E. Rizzo, Saggi Preliminari su l'Arte della Moneta nella Sicilia Greca, p. 97, fig. 79, and is taken here from 'Eukleidas', Boll. d'Arte, February 1938, pl. opp. p. 329.
which produced the New York phiale? The resemblance of the quadrigae to those in Sicilian coins of the late fifth century is so striking that it can hardly be accidental. In fact, since the technique of bowl and coins is similar, one may even surmise that the artists of the coins—Kimon, Euainetos, Eukleidas—were also silversmiths and produced work similar to the bowl. At all events, a South

Italian or Sicilian origin of the silver phiale is made probable. One cannot be certain, however. Too little fifth-century embossed metalwork has survived for us to venture on the designation of schools. And though the stylistic connexions with Sicilian coinage are obvious, we must not forget the similar renderings on Attic vases. In other words, we may have an example of a metalwork

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Two vases which bear quite similar quadriga groups in their treatment of the 'Apotheosis of Herakles' are illustrated on p. 371. They are: (1) A bell krater in the Rainone Collection at S. Agata de' Goti (Gerhard, Antike Bilderser, 31). (2) A pelike in the Museum für Antike Kleinkunst, Munich (FR II, pl. 109).

On p. 376, Miss Richter states, 'The frieze with the chariots must represent the Apotheosis of Herakles; at least this is suggested by its close similarity to representations on fifth- and fourth-century Attic and South Italian vases.'

In AJA vol. 54, no. 4, October 1950, pp. 357-70, Miss Richter publishes a companion bowl found at the same time (in Northern Italy), which had just been purchased by the Metropolitan Museum. Two somewhat similar phialai in the British Museum, found in Southern Italy (B.M. nos. 8 and 9), and one in the Museum at Barcelona are also illustrated.
object from or after the same school which produced the late fifth-century Sicilian coinage; furthermore, this sort of object may have been the direct type of importation or local product which suggested some of the reverse compositions in question.

Although the chariot group on the Boston gem (Fig. 16)—one of several possible selections—is biga and the wheeling around movement in the composition involves a slightly different use of the foreshortened-perspective-depth method than has been the usual custom on the Syracusan Tetradrachms, the probable Attic origin of the gem, the date-range of its execution, and the similarity in many details to the reverse design of the Dekadrachms of Kimon and Euainetos open avenues for significant speculation on the relation between Athenian gems and Syracusan coins.

The vase designs, such as that on the Medidas Painter Hydria (Fig. 17), may represent one of the closest links between the innovations in painting toward the end of the century and the translation of these new modes in foreshortening to the dies of the censors of Syracuse. In this scene, the ‘Carrying Off of the Daughters of Leukippos’, the galloping chariot group has the horses arranged in foreshortening nearly as on the Metropolitan Museum phialai, and consequently on the Tetradrachms of Eukleides. Whereas the designer of the Metropolitan phiale adapted his composition successfully to the convex curve of the bowl’s inside, the Medidas Painter has, on the other hand, suited his quadriga to the concave curve of the neck of the hydria with the base line on the larger diameter, consequently pulling the bottom of the composition out instead of compressing it in. The perspective drawing and painting of both animals and wheels in this painted representation of the four-horse chariot group is, by the standards to which the various die cutters and sculptors with whom we have been dealing aspired, as technically perfect as any representation seen heretofore, and this vase, and the volute crater by the Sisyphos Painter from Ruvo (410–400 B.C.) (Fig. 18), stand for directly traceable links with the products of the great die cutters of late-fifth-century Greek Sicily.

Conclusions

We now may sum up these findings. We have dealt with chariot groups of the fifth century and have divided these into two groups according to their treatment of problems of space and depth. We have termed these the profiled-action and the foreshortened-perspective-depth methods. The profiled-action type is the earlier of the two. It is seen in the Demareteion of 480; it is magnificently diversified in the Parthenon; and it is still vigorously employed in the Elgin and Rhodes Reliefs in the latter part of the century. The foreshortened method flourished in the last quarter of the century coincident with the new interest in optic innovations. A considerable array of sculptures of Attic origin or inspiration fall into this category; these include the Lycian Sarcophagus, the Funerary Monument of Gjolbaschi-Tysya, and the Oropos and Echelles marble reliefs. Our comparison seems to prove that the famous chariot groups on the coins of Syracuse and her neighbours must be included in this group.

Our survey of minor objects leads to a second conclusion. Silver vessels, bronzes, vases, and jewels may well have provided the necessary stimuli in the derivation of the composition and style of the chariot groups of Sicilian coins from the great workshops of the sculptors and painters of later fifth-century Attica. But the Sicilian artists produced no uninspired or provincial copyism. These men created in their unrivalled series of coins a monument worthy of any age in the history of art. That they re-created and re-interpreted in their own peculiarly delicate and difficult medium the most advanced experiments of Attic artists does not in any way detract from the monumental greatness of their achievements.

Cambridge, Mass.

Sir John D. Beazley, The Lewis House Collection of Ancient Gems, Oxford, 1920, no. 55. Boston Museum of Fine Arts Collection, no. 23, 582; photograph courtesy of the Museum. All that can be said about the provenience of this gem is that it was purchased in Athens; Beazley dates this work as falling between ca. 413–403 B.C. He also notes that ‘the horses are the same general type as those on the coins of Syracuse from the later fifth century onwards’, having, ‘small heads with hogged manes, powerful cylindrical bodies, and solid hindquarters’. Horses of a similar breed are to be found on a chalchondry sarcophagus in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, published in Furtwängler, Die Antiken Gemmen, Leipzig, 1909, vol. i, pl. 9, no. 54; side also, pl. 14, no. 15 (Petrograd scaraboid). Beazley adds, ‘The head of the hither horse is in perspective, the upper part being more prominent in the lower, and the orbit of the eye is visible. This foreshortening of the horse’s head is found on the Amazon Krater in Bologna and is not used in sculptured relief until rather later. The Echelles Relief has it but not the Berlin relief of the same subject (Beazley here means the Rhodos relief discussed above as an example of the profiled-action mode of relief) which Kekulé von Stradonitz considers somewhat earlier than the other and nearly contemporaneous with the Parthenon frieze (Kekulé von Stradonitz, op. cit., p. I; side supra, note 3). The other horse has all four feet lifted and advanced, while the off horse has its hind legs thrown back with its hind feet on the ground. This motif is found on the Dekadrachms by Kimon and Euainetos and subsequent Syracusan issues but not later.’


The illustration is reproduced from Bilder Griechischer Vasen, 1938–39, vol. xii, pl. 18b.
THALES' DETERMINATION OF THE DIAMETERS OF THE SUN AND MOON

CLEOMDES, De motu circulari corporum caelestium. II. 75 (p. 136 Ziegler). "Ελέγχεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν υδρολογῶν τὸ εὐθεῖα τοῦ λόγου [viz. ὅτι ποδιάς ἐστὶν ὁ ἡλίος]. Διέκυκλων γὰρ ἡ αὐτῶν, ἐκ δὲ, ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ποδιάς ἡ ἡλίος, διεκβίων τῶν μέγεστον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κύκλου ἔπισκοποι πεντήκοντα ποδῶν εἶναι. Διὰ γὰρ τῶν υδρολογῶν καταμετροῦμεν, εὐρίσκεται μέρος ἔπισκοποιστικόν καὶ πεντήκοντος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κύκλου. "Εγὼ γὰρ, ἐπὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνέρχεται πᾶς ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων ὁ ἡλίος, κύκλος, φέρε εἶπεν, ρέον, τὸ ὠδόρ ἀριθμόν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ ἐπιτείνησε κύκλους ἔσοδον ἐπισκοποιός καὶ πεντήκοντα. Λέγεται δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη ἐροῦσιν ὑπὸ πρῶτων τῶν Ἀγαθίττων ἐπινοεῖται.

The writer is here trying to prove that the sun is very much greater than some people suggest. In the course of this demonstration it emerges:

(a) That the size of the sun (i.e. its diameter) is 3/5 part of the (daily) orbit of the sun.
(b) That this measurement was obtained by observing the amount of water passing through a water clock between the first appearance of the upper limb of the sun on the horizon and its complete rising, and comparing it with the amount passing through the clock in the course of a whole day and night. The comparison yields a ratio of 1 : 750; and the conclusion is that the distance covered by the sun in a period of twenty-four hours is 750 times greater than the diameter of the sun. It follows from this that the size of the sun must be very great; for, suppose its diameter were only one foot long, then the whole orbit of the sun would be no longer than 750 feet, which is plainly absurd.
(c) That this method of calculating the size of the sun is ascribed to the Egyptians. We note here that Cleomedes does not mention any Greek authority for the method.

It is tempting to connect the procedure described in this passage, of calculating the size of the sun relative to its daily orbit, with the notice found in Diog. Laertius I. 24 (Al, Diels, p. 68) to the effect that Thales held that the size of the sun (i.e. the length of its diameter) is the 720th part of its orbit... πρώτο τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος (τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου ὡσπερ καὶ τοῦ τῆς σελήνης μέγεθος) τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ ἔπισκοποστικοῦ καὶ εἰκόσιτον μέρος ἀπέρχεται κατὰ τούς τους. (Emended by Diels, Hermes, 24, 1889, p. 306). See also Apuleius, Flor. 18, p. 37, to Helm (A19 Diels, p. 78) idem sane iam proclivi senectute divinam rationem de sole commentus est quam equidem non didici modo verum ei iam experiendo comprobati, quoties sol magnitudine sua circulum quem permeat metatur.

If the tradition is trustworthy, i.e. if we can accept the report that Thales calculated the size of the sun’s diameter as 3/5 of its orbit, it seems at first sight reasonable to suppose that the method of calculation described by Cleomedes was employed by him. 5 Tannery thinks that what Cleomedes says can be taken as an explanation of the calculation ascribed to Thales. 6 And Hulsch 6 also thinks that Thales knew this result and that it was obtained with the help of the water-clock. This would be acceptable were it not for some details that, taken together, create some doubt; and doubt here leads to a different explanation.

Before discussing the points that lead us to doubt the accepted interpretation I may add here that the κλέψυξ method of measuring the size of the sun and the moon was supplemented by, and used alternatively with, measuring by sun-clocks (solaria). This is described by Macrobius, Comm. In Somn. Scip. I. 20, 25-30. He computes the size of the sun relative to its orbit by the observation of the displacement of a shadow on a solarium. Like the water-clock method, this is based on the length of time that passes between the sun’s first appearance and its complete emergence over the horizon. He finds that the sun in one hour passes through a part of its course nine times greater than its own diameter: i.e. its whole orbit, through which it passes in twenty-four hours, is 216

3 This figure is repeated at II. 82 (p. 150 Ziegler).
5 A useful résumé of various interpretations of the Heraclitian fragment is given by G. S. Kirk, The Cosmic Fragments of Heraklitos, 1954, pp. 280 sq. (He mentions only Cic. de fin. 1, 6. 20 and Acad. II. 26, 82 as suggesting that Epicurus compared the size of the sun to that of the human foot. Cleomedes is, of course, arguing primarily against Epicurus; and he confirms much more certainly than Cicero that Epicurus held this opinion. Both the Cicero passages do indeed mention the foot measure in connexion with Epicurus. But on both occasions
6 It does not matter whether we are dealing here with Thales himself or one of his successors. What is important is the fact, if it is a fact, that the tradition embodies a piece of knowledge known to pre-Alexandrian science.
7 Tannery, Pour l'histoire de la Science Helline, 1939, p. 71.
times ($\times 24$) greater than its diameter. This wildly inaccurate result was obtained in spite of the fact that the observation was to be undertaken aequinoctialis die, a natural condition, since only on that day would there be no distortion through the difference between the $\delta$ caerucis and the twenty-fourth part of the period between one sunrise and another. All such methods are, as we see from this and other results reported by ancient authors (cf. e.g. Martianus Capella VIII. 860, pp. 452–3 Dick, who obtains a result of $1:500$ for the diameter of the moon), extremely unreliable and inaccurate. This is due, not only to the distortion occasioned by the refraction of the sun, but also to the generally unsatisfactory degree of accuracy obtainable by the technique of measuring time either by the flow of water or the sun-clock. The unsatisfactory nature of these methods was recognised in antiquity. Ptolemy thought that all methods of measuring the diameters of the sun and the moon based on the measuring of water or of time are to be rejected because of their inexactitude. He says (Synt. V. 14, Heiberg pp. 416 sq.): τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοιοῦτον ἔπισκευον κρόδον τὰς μὲν ἁλὰς ὅσα δι' ὑδρομετρίων ἤ τὸν κατὰ τὸ Ισθμιαῖος ἀντολος ἀρχών δοκοῦτι τὴν φωτὸν ποιεῖσθαι καταστάσεις, παρηγγέομενος, διὸ τὸ μὴ ὑγίου δύνασθαι διὸ τῶν τοιούτων τὸ προ- ἱσκευαμένου λάβεσθαι. The method described by Cleomedes, then, was not the only method available to ancient observers. But both it and the alternative, sun-clock measurement, led to inaccurate results. However, if we look more closely at the Cleomedes passage we find some justification for doubting its accepted relation to the Thales tradition and for supposing an interpretation of the latter that, though not radically different in theory, is yet based on the assumption of a different technique.

We notice that Cleomedes does not mention Thales (or, for that matter, any other Greek) as an authority for the method he describes. He refers it to the Egyptians. Had he known of a tradition to the effect that Thales, the father of Greek astronomy and mathematics, had used the method he now recommended, he would surely have mentioned it.

Another point is the fact that there is a difference in the two results mentioned: Thales had computed a ratio of $1:720$; Cleomedes' method gives $1:750$ as the result. The discrepancy is indeed not great; but it may be significant. For, if we examine these two results, we find:

(a) That the earlier computation, i.e. that ascribed to Thales, is more nearly correct than the later one.

(b) That, quite apart even from its greater accuracy, i.e. even if we regard it only as an intelligent approximation that by accident happens to be more accurate than another no less intelligent one, one feature of the earlier result strikes the reader at once as significant and suggestive: the fact that $\frac{7}{3}$ seems so obviously connected with a sexagesimal system of reckoning and mensuration, or, to be more precise, that it is exactly one half of $\frac{3}{20}$; one is immediately tempted to conjecture that a result of this nature is more likely to be obtained by an observer dividing the ecliptic into $360^\circ$. On that basis $\frac{7}{3}$ is the natural result: for the angle subtended by the sun is almost exactly half a degree.

We may then state this to be our assumption: the result obtained by Thales (or whoever else was the originator of the tradition) is based on a system of mensuration of the zodiac divided into $360^\circ$ and on a measurement of the angle subtended by the sun as half a degree. This is a point of some importance. For (a) it presupposes an accuracy of measurement that is at first sight surprising; and (b) it would militate against the view put forward by Hultsch, according to which the measurement of small angles by Greek astronomers arose out of their computation of the angle subtended by the sun, this computation being based on the water-clock method. The fact is that before Heron the technique of measuring time by the flow of water was an extremely haphazard affair. He perfected a technique ensuring greater reliability and accuracy. Before him the sources of error would make any result very unreliable. A point that must be made here is this: the impression that one gains from most of the modern authorities on the problem is that Greek authors ascribe to early times, perhaps to the Babylonians, the measurement of the sun's diameter as $\frac{7}{3}$ of its orbit on the basis of the water-clock method.

The ease with which error is first generated and then propagated is well illustrated by the history of this misconception originating in a conjecture made by L. Ideler (Über die Sternkunde der Chaldäer, Abh. der Akademie, Berlin 1814–15, p. 214). He conjectured that the method described by Cleomedes, Proclus, and Pappus of determining the diameter of the sun δι' ὑδρομετρίων was known already to the Babylonians. Brandis (Das Münz-Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien bis auf Alexander den Grossen, Berlin 1866, p. 19) transforms this conjecture into a certainty. Ideler had written '... eine Art hydraulischer Zeitmessung die sie (i.e. the Chaldæans) vermutlich gebraucht

7 Cf. Seneca, Apocolocyntos 2, 'horam non possum certam tibi dicere: faciliis inter philosophos quam inter horologia conveniet'.
8 In the same chapter Ptolemy gives the angle subtended by the moon as $31\frac{1}{6}$ sixtuhs of a degree. He obtained this, not by measuring with the dioptra, but by calculation, ἱππογιγαφὸν (ibid.).
9 The angle subtended by the sun and the moon as given by Thales is $\frac{7}{3}$; as given by Cleomedes ($\frac{7}{3}$ of the circle) = $28^\circ 48'$; the best modern measurements are: for the sun $\text{ca. } 32^\circ 35'$ max., $31^\circ 30'$ min., $31^\circ 59'$ mean; for the moon $\text{ca. } 33^\circ 32'$ max., $29^\circ 20'$ min., $31^\circ 5'$ mean.
10 Hultsch, Winkelmessungen etc., p. 193.
haben'. Brandis not only writes as if this were certain but also as if it were equally certain that the ratio \(1:720\) was due to this method. Two conjectures were combined into what looked like one certain piece of knowledge. Brandis' argument was repeated by Lehmann, who even perpetuates a printer's mistake in Brandis' book (who has 'Aufsaugen' [of the water] instead of 'Auffangen' in Ideler). Hultsch then (in his paper Winkelmessungen etc., p. 193) not only repeats Ideler's conjecture elevated to the status of a certainty by Brandis, but, in addition to representing it as certain that the result of \(\frac{1}{120}\) as the ratio of the sun's diameter to the greatest circle was obtained by the Babylonians and after them by Greek astronomers δ' ὑδρολογίων, proceeds to argue as equally certain that in this method we have the origin of Greek attempts at measuring small angles. After Hultsch, Manitius, in his edition of Proclus' Hypothesis (p. 291 in a note on IV. 77) proceeds to amplify the remark of Proclus: καὶ τοῦτο... ἐστὶν ἀνάλογον τοῦ χρόνοφ, καὶ ὡς τὸ ὑδρὸν πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ, οὕτως ὁ χρόνος πρὸς τὸν χρόνον. Ἐπελογίζοντο οὐν ἐκ τοῦτο, ποσοπλάσιον καταμετρεῖσθαι δύναται ὑπὸ τῆς ἱδίας διαμέτρου ὁ ἡμικόρυφος κύκλος. In this amplification he gives the result achieved as \(1:720\), basing himself on Hultsch. It is true that Aristarchus knew the ratio \(1:720\) as the measure of the solar diameter; but it is misleading to suggest, as Manitius does, that this result was obtained by measuring the flow of water. Archimedes, who reports the result obtained by Aristarchus (Aren. p. 222, Heiberg), makes no mention of the method.

All this is misleading. While the Babylonians doubtless related the divisions of the circle to the diameter of the sun, the authorities quoted by Ideler, Brandis, and Hultsch do not prove any connexion between the fact of the measurement ascribed to the Babylonians and the method described by Cleomedes, Pappus, Proclus, and others. Thus it is by no means certain that the ratio \(1:720\) as between the sun's diameter and the length of its greatest circle is obtainable by the water-clock method, or for that matter, that the Babylonians used this method at all. On the other hand, it is certain that the Babylonians employed the sexagesimal system. There is no evidence for the priority of the sun's measurement as compared with the sexagesimal system and the system of dividing the circle into 360°. If that is accepted, then there is no difficulty in assuming that Thales, following the Babylonians, calculated the relative size of the sun as \(\frac{1}{720}\) of its orbit after measuring the angle subtended by the sun as half a degree. The accuracy of measuring and calculation needed for a result of half a degree is not beyond what we may believe either the Babylonians or Greek astronomers were capable of. In more modern times we hear that Tycho Brahe was able with the naked eye to obtain results accurate to 1 minute of angle.

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13 This is based on Pappus ap. Theon. Alex. in Ptol. Syn., for which see Manitius, Procl. Hyp. p. 309.

14 Aristarchus had given the diameter of the moon as \(\frac{1}{8}\) of a sign of the zodiac, i.e. as \(\frac{1}{8}\) or \(\frac{1}{5}\) of the circle. (On the sizes and distances of the sun and moon, hypothesis of ἀπανθίνεισι μήδεσιν ἐκ τοῦ πεντακόσιακόν μέρους 30860. See Sir Thomas Heath, Aristarchus of Samos, p. 352.) Archimedes says that Aristarchus had given \(\frac{1}{8}\) of the orbit as the length of the sun's diameter. (Archimedes, Heiberg, Teubner 1915 II, p. 222.)

Archimedes (ibid.) gives a method for measuring this angle.

His result is between \(\frac{1}{8}\) and \(\frac{1}{5}\) of a right angle, i.e. \(\frac{1}{8}\) and \(\frac{1}{5}\) of the circle.


16 Nor, incidentally, is it certain that they obtained the result \(1:720\) at all. Sir Thomas Heath (Aristarchus of Samos, pp. 22–3) argues that their result may have been \(1^1\), not \(1^2\).

17 Hoppe, Mathem. und Astronim. Int. Kl. Allertum, 1911, p. 23, argues convincingly that the measurement of angles was developed by the Sumerians even before the division of the circle.

18 'Measuring' would, of course, not be entirely mechanical; it would involve calculation or geometrical construction, or some such process. See Ptolemy, loc. cit.
TWO NOTES ON ATHENIAN TOPOGRAPHY

I. PERISOCHINISMA AND POLLUX VILL. 20

In Pollux, VIII. 20 (ed. Bethe, Leipzig, 1900–37) in the section on σκήπτης δικαιοτικών—κυκλώσας, δερικτρίκτω τολμ. we read περισκηνήσωντας (περισκηνήσωντας) δε τις άγνος μέρος έδει δέρει είσι τον περιστηρίαν τούς άρχων τού δερικτρίκτων επίγειον μέρους τού μέλλουτος εξορικάτησεν. Dindorf described περισκηνήσωντας, 'quod hactenus vulgatum est', as 'inexpeditissimum', and it has been given short shrift. Bearing in mind that good authorities speak of a more solid and substantial barrier than a σκήπτης on occasions of ostracism, he suggested that περισκηνήσωντας could mean simply 'circumspire, cingere, circumdare septo, vel cancellis'. But surely the σκήπτης element of the word is inescapable; περισκηνήσων means 'place a rope around'; and if he used this word Pollux is in conflict with other writers, notably Philochorus, and is probably wrong. Carcopino, who quotes περισκηνήσωντας without question, thinks that Pollux has simply made a mistake, misled by recollection of the σκήπτης mεμβατομενον with which stragglers were shepherded into the assembly. But there would be little risk of confusion with the red rope; the error is due rather to recollection of the red enclosed sections mentioned below.

And is the error Pollux' own, or is it due to later corruption? Pollux is mainly sound on Athenian antiquities, and I suggest that in this case he was probably not ill-informed, careless, and out-of-step, but actually used the word περισκηνήσωντας to denote the wooden structures, divided by numerous entrances, which were set up round the agora or part of it when ostracisms were held. περισκηνήσων (or έδο) is not found elsewhere, but it is a possible word; cf. παρακενήσων (έδο) and κατακενήσων (έδο). Σκήπτης is a versatile word, used of tents, huts, and more solid structures; that it is capable of interesting extensions of meaning is shown by the theatrical sense of the word and its compounds. It was used, of course, of the market-booths in the agora; and indeed these, or at least material from them, may well have provided a handy means of constructing the σκήπτης needed for ostracisms.

We read also of γέφρα being used in the agora, as well as in barriers for the ekklesia; they consisted of wicker-work, possibly with skin coverings like the shields known as γέφρα. Whether the γέφρα of Demosthenes, XVIII. 169, were coverings of the σκήπτης, or whether they, too, were used as barriers; is disputed. Such constructions would in any case be akin to the σκήπτης, and might be included in the term περισκηνήσωντας. They may have been in use at ostracisms, but would perhaps be hardly as substantial as the words of our other authorities (περισκηνήσων, δερικτρίκτω) imply. Such wicker-work would not be altogether different from the presumed σκήπτης fence of Anth. Plan., 255 (see n. 1). The gap seems to narrow; but if we assume, as we safely may, that περισκηνήσων implies mere rope, the contradiction remains.

If we eliminate περισκηνήσωντας from the text of Pollux, the only evidence for an alleged association of ostracism with what the Athenians called περισκηνήσων vanishes. The roping off of certain areas was indeed a notable practice at Athens, but rather for the meeting of an august court of law dealing with sacred matters. At ostracisms political excitement would be running high and the populace would require more effective physical control. On the occasions when the rope barrier was in use a certain mystic solemnity might prevail. Demosthenes (?) tells how the Council of the Areopagus sometimes sat roped off in the Stoa Basileios; Pollux, how when mystic
affairs were involved, a court summoned by the Basileus, presumably in the Basileios, was roped off, the *perischoinismos* being at a distance of fifty feet. A letter of Alciphron implies that such use of *perischoinismos* was a recognised and characteristic feature of Athens. It is not clear whether a particular place is referred to here; from the nature of the adjacent items in Alciphron's list—farther down we find actual monuments—one should perhaps take the word in a more general way, of the institution. The only clear and definite topographical reference is in Ps.-Plutarch, *X Orat.*, 847a, where we are told that the statue of Demosthenes stood near the *perischoinismos* and the altar of the Twelve Gods. One notes again that the *perischoinismos* is something of a landmark, a point of reference; which may seem strange for a light and movable barrier, but the area may have been called *perischoinismos* sometimes even without the rope in place. The altar of the Twelve and the temple of Ares, which was also near Demosthenes, are now fixed, and a site in the north-west of the agora, in front of the Stoa Basileios, which I take to be identifiable with the Stoa of Zeus, is very appropriate. It is perhaps better to think of the rope enclosure of the Basileios as taking in an area in front of the Stoa rather than as running from column to column. The latter arrangement would not give the Areopagus much privacy, or quite prevent uninitiated ears from catching something of the forbidden proceedings. Pollux' fifty feet applied to this site would very roughly bring us to the public road on the west side of the agora.

One would still hesitate, however, to give to this area all the manifold importance claimed for it by R. Martin, who has much to say about the *perischoinismos* in his recent work on the agora, and once more attempts to associate it with ostracism. He accepts Pollux' *perischoinismos* as a matter of course, and makes light of the discrepancy. It is a question of different phases; the primitive *enceinte* consisted of ropes; later more solid barriers were in use. But again one must insist that it is not so easy to remove the *schoina* from *perischoinismos*. The writer of Demosthenes XXV says *perischoinismos*; and surely knew a real *schoina*; the whole point of his remarks depends on the extreme finimness of the physical barrier respected by the populace.

Martin would make of this spot a particularly vital centre of city life. Here was an ancient assembly place; here was not only the *perischoinismos* and the scene of ostracisms, but also the old orchestra and the primitive theatre of Athens; and finally, the altar in front of the stoa was the altar of Zeus Agoraios, the great god of the agora and of civic life. This is an attractive theory, and there may be much truth in it; but unfortunately every attempt to identify Zeus Agoraios is open to grave doubt. To begin with Zeus Agoraios, there is no solid evidence for this identification of his altar; H. A. Thompson's suggestion that it was the great altar farther south, opposite the Metron, must at least be seriously considered. The orchestra has always been an elusive spot; but our only precise information about it, Timaeus' statement that the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton stood there, combined with what Arrian says about the position of these statues, can now be interpreted with good reason as indicating a point on the Panathenaic Way opposite the Metron; and another suggestion of H. A. Thompson, that the Odeum was in some sense a successor of the orchestra, must not lightly be set aside. Only the *perischoinismos* can be attached with some confidence to the Basileios. As regards ostracism, one need lay no stress on the fact that the ostracon actually found come predominantly from an area to the south-west. The finds are of special and limited character, and throw light, if any, on the method of disposing of the sherds rather than on the place and procedure of ostracism, so Mr. Vanderpool assures me. But even from the *perischoinismos* we must take away all claim to the function of ostracism if we bring Pollux into line with the rest by reading *perischoinismos*.

II. Synedrium and Ag. I 6524

Unnecessary difficulties and complications seem to have been met in the topographical interpretation of the anti-tyranny decree of 337/6 B.C., recently discovered in the Athenian agora. That this is so is due, I think, to a too rigid interpretation of the word *Synedrium*. The word is

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11 In addition to the points dealt with here, I must reaffirm earlier objections to his theory that the Stoa Basileios, with its wings, is a reflection of the "shaped assembly-place" (see JHS LXVIII, 155).
12 *Herpesia* IXX, 1932, 92; the only precise information we have about this shrine is in a school. Ar. *Epid.* 410: *'Aπ' ὕβριος ζητεῖ νῦν τῆς ἑφέρον καὶ τῆς ἱδρύης. See also Hesychius, *'Αγιόσα τοῦ βασιλέως Αθηναίων. IG II 1, 34, 5; cf., Dittenberger, *Syllab.* 596. *Zeus Agorios* is mentioned more vaguely in *Aesch. Eumen.* 973, and Ar. *Epid.* 410 and 500. We learn something of the shrine of Zeus Agorios from Eurip. *Heraclia* (note lines 33, 42, 70, 73, 76-8, 121, 127), but the shrine in which the scene is set is at Marathon; however, the setting of the play may have some relevance to the cult at Athens (see now G. Zuntz, *Political Plays of Euripides*, p. 97).
13 *Lex. Platon.* *'υμήστερος.*
14 *Anab.* I, 13, 7.
15 *Herpesia* IXX, 1950, 94.
16 *Herpesia* IXXI, 335-336 no. 5; XXII, 51-3 and 129.
admittedly a versatile one;21 but its occurrence in recently found inscriptions has led to the belief that there was in or near the agora a particular place or building which was called simply the Synedrion.22 This may very well have been so; but if one gives the word this meaning in Ag. I 6524, and also assumes Bouleuterion to mean as usual the Bouleuterion of the 500 in the agora, problems arise and the sense of the Greek is somewhat forced. 'Synedrion' must still be allowed a certain freedom, even when there is some precise topographical reference. Then one can assume, as is natural, that the Synedrion in which the Areopagites are forbidden to sit in the event of an attempt at tyranny is on the Hill of Ares, and that the Bouleuterion with reference to which one of the two copies is to be set up is more or less the same thing. One need not object to the use of two different terms for the same place in the same document. Synedrion is used in a formula

meaning only a little more than 'to hold a session'—it is the vaguer word; Bouleuterion is used with greater precision of the actual building.23

This is in any case the most natural interpretation of the Greek. The members of the Boule from the Areios Pagos are not to be allowed 'to go up to the Areios Pagos nor to sit together in the Synedrion nor to deliberate about anything'.24 One can hardly dissociate the first from the other two operations, as one has to do if the Synedrion is placed elsewhere. No one could object to an Areopagite going up to the Hill if no political deliberation with his fellow Areopagites followed. The stèle is to be placed 'at the entrance to the Areios Pagos, the one for a person going to the

21 On the general sense note particularly Photius, συνέδριον: και το χώριον και του διάκοινον ευν συνεδρίους 'Αττικοι καλούσαν; Plato, Theaetetus, 173d, δικαστήριον ἢ bouleuterion ἢ τι κανόν δόλο τῆς πόλεως συνέδριον. Hegesippus has simply συνέδριον ἢ δικαστήριον.
22 In Hesperia VI, 215, n. 4, H. A. Thompson suggested that Synedrion meant Bouleuterion (i.e. of the 500); W. A. McDonald, who has an interesting discussion of the word in Appendix II, pp. 295–6, of Political Meeting Places of the Greeks, agrees with this, but more recently Thompson prefers to identify the Synedrion as the Old Bouleuterion. Miss M. Crosby has looked diligently for the Synedrion, but admits to being baffled; in Hesperia VI, 447, she suggested that Synedrion was to be equated with Thestnothesion (see below) and to be found in the Old Bouleuterion; but in Hesperia XX, 187, she raised the possibility that it was the so-called Greek Building to the south-west of the Tholos. Professor B. D. Meritt in Hesperia VII, 103, associates Synedrion rather more vaguely with Bouleuterion.
23 MacDonald points out (op. cit. 295–6) that Dio Cassius uses 'Bouleuterion' and 'Synedrion' (at Rome) synonymously,
24 ἀνείπι οἱ 'Αρειον Πάγοι, μηδὲ συνεκπαίδευα τῶι συνεδρίᾳ, μηδὲ βουλεύτων μηδὲ ποιεῖν ἰδίος (14–16; cf. 18–20).
Bouleuterion'. H. A. Thompson, assuming that the Areopagites met at this time in the Synedron, in the agora, which he identifies reasonably as the 'Old Bouleuterion', suggests that the stele was set up at the entrance to this building, Areios Pagos in line 25 meaning not the Hill but the Council from its sitting in its presumed meeting-place; this entrance would be passed by one going to the (New) Bouleuterion of the 500. But without stating dogmatically that the use of the term 'Areopagus' to mean the Council, not the Hill, is entirely modern, one may still hesitate to take it to mean a meeting-place of the Council not on the Hill but in the agora. That the 'Areopagus' had a meeting-place on the Hill, which might be referred to as Bouleuterion, is shown by Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 570 and 684. It is natural to assume that this is what Aeschines means in I. 92 (ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τούτῳ), though there is no indication of place.

Almost in the same breath Aeschines speaks of τῷ ἀκριβῶτάτων συνεδρίῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει and τοῦτο τῷ συνεδρίῳ. A few further significant instances of the use of 'Synedron' may be helpful for its topographical interpretation, both in this and in other contexts. By other fourthcentury orators too the word is repeatedly associated with the Council of the Areopagus. It seems to have a certain air of augustness and venerability. Usually there is no particular topographical significance. τοῦτῳ συνεδρίῳ, ὥστε ἀναγκαίως, καὶ ἀντίστασις, καὶ τοῦτο δικαίως, says Deinarchus (I. 85). In 87 he becomes more precise; the Semnai Theai adhered faithfully to the judgement given ἐν τότε τῷ συνεδρίῳ; καὶ τῇ τούτῳ (i.e. τούτῳ συνεδρίῳ) ἔλθεν τῶν συνεδρίων ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν χρόνων κατέστησαν. One might take συνεδρίων as implying merely a vague proximity, or even mere residence in Athens; but surely it means a more intimate association, perhaps even 'sharing the same house'. More vaguely, but still significantly, Isocrates in the *Areopagiticus* (37–8) says that the Council from the Areopagus, superior to all συνεδρία in Greece, has left in the place such a memorial of its goodness, that even persons whose conduct is elsewhere insufferable, when they go up to the Areios Pagos, conform with τοῖς ἕκα πνεύμον. In view of the usage of the orators one can hardly fail to place the Synedron of Ag. I 6524 on the Hill, and the Bouleuterion of lines 25–6 goes with it. The Areios Pagos is apparently regarded as a kind of precinct with entrances; just where the Synedron—Bouleuterion lay, and the entrance associated with it, remains uncertain.

'Synedron' is used, meaning place of meeting, with reference to several different boards of magistrates at Athens. Lyssias IX is concerned with military matters. Polyænus makes a complaint to the Strategos (4; τοῦ ἄρχοντος in 6 apparently also refers to the Strategos). He is accused of using bad language; he replies that the law penalises only those who use bad language εν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, and he did not enter τῷ συνεδρίῳ, which he also refers to as ἄρχοντος (9), the words being apparently synonymous. Synedron is here presumably the office of the magistrates concerned, the Strategoi, i.e. the Strategos.

Demosthenes (?) LVIII deals with a mercantile case (ca. 340 B.C.); a phasis, received by the Epimeletai of the Emporion, is displayed ἐπιτρεπόν τοῦ συνεδρίου (8). 'Emporion' and the general associations of the case would seem to place this Synedron in Peiraeus. Ag. I 3238 + 4160 is a stele inscribed with decrees honouring the Sitophylakes, to be set up προς τοῦ συνεδρίου (12). This might mean the office of the Sitophylakes. One wonders whether to translate 'Synedron' in each case as 'the meeting-place of the public body concerned'; but perhaps, after all, the meaning is not quite so diverse, and some of these synedria should be telescoped.

The Thirty, Xenophon tells us, when things were going badly sat miserably εν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. We also know that the Thirty used the Tholos, and possibly the Poikile, and appropriated the seats of the Prytanes in the Bouleuterion of the 500. What the Synedron is in reference to them one would hesitate to say; it may have been the one discussed below.

Most important are the archons and the Thesmothetai, and perhaps in a sense theirs was the Synedron. Demosthenes (?) LIX (Against Neera, ca. 343–37 B.C.) is of interest. Theogenes is associated with the Synedron—Ag. I 1933, *Hesperia* XVII, 182, no. 59; and Ag. I 5925, *Hesperia* XVII, 41, no. 29. For the Hercos Strategos (RE IV. A (1931), 184), who was possibly attached to the Synedron, see now in addition to IG II 1035, 53 (now dated mid second century A.D.), *Hesperia* VII, 17, 5; Ag. I 1147, *Hesperia* XV, 221, no. 48.

21 Dated 239 B.C.; *Hesperia* VI, 444, no. 2.

22 Xenophon, *Hell.* II, 4, 23; cf. Plato, *Apol.* 32c–d; Diog. Laert. VII, 1, 5; Lyss. XIII, 37. It would be hazardous to associate the 'Synedron of the Hera Gerousia' (see *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, 125, no. 31, line 13) with any Synedron which we have been discussing; see H. A. Thompson in *Hesperia* XXII, 52, n. 51.

23 The inscription concerned, in which it is said that bronze statues of Ulpius Eubiotus and his sons are to be set up εν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν λατρευόντων καὶ τῶν προστάτων, is of the early third century A.D., and by Roman imperial times the character of the public buildings on the south and south-west of the agora had radically changed. But one notes that the fragments of this stele were found in close association with the Tholos, which retained its identity.
Basilieus; his wife, daughter of Stephanus, is a highly unsuitable person. The nine archons go up to the Areios Pagos (80), and the Council there deals with the matter. Coming down from the Areios Pagos, Theogenes throws out his wife and drives Stephanus, who had secured the post of paredros, from the Synedrion (83). Probably this Synedrion is the common meeting-place of the nine archons. A similar identification would be suitable for Synedrion in Ag. I 4266, a large well-preserved stele probably not moved far and found in the north room of the Metroon. The inscription, dated 284/3 B.C., records honours to the archon Euthius and his paredroi, and was to be set up ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου. [ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου] is likewise restored in a fragment of a similar inscription, Ag. I 1832, dated before 263/2 B.C.

It will be recalled that Aristotle (Ath. Pol. 3. 5) says that in the time of Solon the archons, who had formerly had separate quarters (the Basilieus the Boukleion, the Archon the Prytaneion, the Polemarch the Epilykeion, the Thesmothetai the Thesmothetieon) came together in one place, and that place was the Thesmothetieon. It seems that there is something to be said for returning to the earlier suggestion of Miss Crosby, that Synedrion, at least in one important sense, means Thesmothetieon. Where this Synedrion was is a different problem; probably like the Tholos ἐν τοῖς ἄρχεσιν, probably in the southern to western quarter of the agora. Deductions by members of the college of archons to Apollo ὑπὸ Μακραῖος or ὑπὲρ Ἀκραίων, found in the direction of his shrine on the north-west slope of the Acropolis, have been used to determine the site, but do not provide very definite evidence. The public offices of Athens are very elusive. Literary evidence is vague; possible archaeological remains are apt to be of an indeterminate character; particular finds which might settle such questions are all too rare. Interesting public buildings have been recently coming to light on the south side, of an earlier date than the Hellenistic stoai. But for the Synedrion and Bouleuterion of Ag. I 6524 we shall do better if we go up to the hill above.

Addendum. Since writing the above note on perischoinisma, I have had a further communication from Professor Thompson in which he says that no actual traces which might be associated with a barrier have been found immediately in front of the Stoa of Zeus, which he, probably rightly, identifies with the Basilieus. On the other hand, about 5 m. south-west of the peribolos of the Twelve Gods was found a large block with a hole which may have been a socket for a post; and the impression of a wooden post also came to light just to the west of the peribolos. However, these remains are hardly sufficiently clear or substantial to warrant any firm conclusion, and the perischoinisma may have been such as to leave no recognisable permanent trace.

From the same source I hear that another inscription which was set up ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ has been recently found in a level of the Roman period a little to the west of the Middle Stoa; it is a decree in honour of the taxarchs, of the third early century B.C. The identification of the Strategion as the ‘Greek Building’ to the south-west of the agora has been very tentatively put forward.

I should like to acknowledge the great debt which I owe to Professor H. A. Thompson, Professor B. D. Meritt, and their colleagues, in all studies of Athenian topography, both at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and in the agora itself, where I spent a period with the aid of a generous grant from the American Philosophical Society.

R. E. Wycherley
THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1952–53

Once more, and for the last time, I attempt briefly to review the epigraphical progress of the last two years, so completing a survey which began in 1906 (TWCS 1906, 66 ff.) and has appeared in this Journal since 1913 (XXXIV 321 ff.). In view of the superlative value of the annual Bulletin Épigraphique of J. and L. Robert and of the welcome revival of the SEG under the editorship of A. G. Woodhead, my own work may well be deemed superfluous. To the successive editors of the Journal, who have treated me with unfailing generosity, to all scholars who have lightened my burden by sending me copies of their works, and above all to those who have encouraged me by their expressions of interest and appreciation I offer my heartfelt thanks. The present bibliography follows the same lines as its predecessors; books and articles which I have not seen are marked by an asterisk.


I. General

My bibliography for 1950–51 appeared in JHS LXXIV 50 ff., and a specially full and valuable survey by P. M. Fraser, relating to Egypt and Nubia, in JEA XXXVIII 115 ff. It is needless to emphasize anew the value of the two Bulletins compiled by J. and L. Robert. To J. Marouzeau and J. Ernst we owe two further volumes of the Année philologique, devoted to 1950 and 1951 respectively, and to G. Reinecke two volumes of the Archäologische Bibliographie, covering 1949 and 1950–51. Of the Année épigraphique, edited by A. Merlin, the volumes for 1951 and 1952 have appeared in the RA and separately, as also the decennial Tables générales, 1941–50, while the more important discoveries and discussions are summarized in the Fasti Archæologici for 1950 and 1951. The Byzantische Zeitschrift and the Rivista di archcologia cristiana contain epigraphical bibliographies limited to their respective fields, and frequent references to inscriptions occur in the Chronique des fouilles of the BCH and in the reports on 'Archaeology in Greece' in the JHS. Among individual bibliographies I note those of J. G. C. Anderson, F. J. Dölger, H. Grégoire, J. Hatzfeld, G. I. Kazarow, A. D. Keramopoulos, J. G. Milne, D. M. Robinson, M. Segre and A. Wilhelm, F. Dölger and A. M. Schneider's Byzanz contains (pp. 42 ff.) a survey by Dölger of the epigraphical sources of Byzantine studies.

In April 1952 the Second International Epigraphical Congress, numbering 190 members, met in Paris under the presidency of L. Robert. Brief accounts of this are given by G. Klaffenbach and by A. E. Raubitschek, and its transactions are embodied in a volume which affords an admirably clear and comprehensive survey of the present position and future projects of epigraphical studies, both Greek and Latin. In his inaugural lecture Robert paid a glowing tribute to A. Wilhelm (pp. 2 ff.), sketched the aims and methods of the epigraphist (pp. 8 ff.) and stated the functions of the Congress (pp. 12 ff.); later he spoke of the special problems presented by the publication of Christian and Byzantine texts (pp. 273 ff.) and of the desiderata of museum-catalogues (pp. 286 ff.). The present situation and further plans of the Berlin Academy regarding the IG were set forth by G. Klaffenbach (pp. 21 ff.), and a table shows the stage already reached in its publication (pp. 39 ff.). A second volume of J. B. Frey’s Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum, edited by G. Kettel and G. Spadafora, contains 826 inscriptions (of which 259 are not Greek) from Cyprus, Asia Minor,
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Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Egypt. The publication of SEG, interrupted by the death of Hodius, is resumed under the editorship of A. G. Woodhead, who will complete vol. XI, dealing with the Peloponnes, and hopes thereafter to issue annually a volume reporting the epigraphical publications of the preceding year. Two further instalments of RE bring that work near to completion, and valuable epigraphical comments on a number of articles in them are made by J. and L. Robert. W. K. Pritchett points out numerous flaws in the Index to Hesperia I-X and criticizes the method of its compilation (cf. JHS LXXIV 54). L. Robert's reports on his professorial activities in the academical years 1951-2 and 1952-3 summarize his lectures, his publications and his missions to Asia Minor. E. Bignone's Introduzione alla filologia classica contains a chapter (pp. 133 ff.) by A. Calderini on papyrology and epigraphy, dealing, inter alia, with their historical development (pp. 136 ff.), the ancient authors represented in them (pp. 147 ff.), the Parian Marble and the Lindian Chronicle (pp. 190 ff.). The relations between epigraphy and Greek history are discussed in a stimulating essay on the technical aspects of epigraphical study several valuable articles call for notice. A. E. Raubitschek studies the ancient methods of engraving circular letters, W. K. Pritchett describes and advocates the use of liquid rubber (latex) in place of, or in addition to, paper for making squeezes (though J. and L. Robert question its superiority), and, in conjunction with N. Herz, discusses the nature of the marbles used in Attica and suggests a more satisfactory method of describing them in editing inscriptions. Mme Hours outlines the modern scientific processes used in the service of archaeology and epigraphy in the laboratory of the Louvre.

In the sphere of literature, language and music I note M. Guaducci's revision, in the light of G. Pasquali's criticisms (Riv Fil LXXVIII 351 ff.), of her previous article (cf. JHS LXXII 20 ff.) on the authorship of an epigram of which eight epigraphical examples, ranging from the Hellenistic period to the third century A.D., survive in Asia Minor and the Islands: she now doubts the reference to Cyprus and regards Κερελάντα μαυσωλεύς as probably of Italian origin. In his 'Chronological Notes on Middle Comedy' T. B. L. Webster uses the evidence of the 'Didascaliae' (IG II² 2319 ff.) and the 'Catalogi Victorum' (ibid. 2325), restoring (p. 20) [Μέλαθρος τῷ Παιαίδων in 2322a 51. F. Weber studies the Greek forms assumed by Latin names in Attic inscriptions, and F. Zucker's Studien zur Namenkunde vorhellenistischer und hellenistischer Zeit deals with (a) the reasons prompting the choice of names, (b) names occurring in the Zenon papyri, and (c) theophoric names ending in -ονεως, -ονορα, while elsewhere the same scholar studies the meaning of γονος, γονεμος and γονυμης. C. C. Charitonides examines, on the basis of epigraphical evidence, the imperial use of δοκειον and the construction of δοκειος; K. Latte discusses the phrase τον θεον δοκει, dissenting from Wilhelm's explanation (SB Berlin, 1932, 857 ff.) and supplying δοκειον subauditum; C. Lindhagen collects a number of epigraphical examples of ἔργασθαι, indexed on p. 67; further attention has been paid to the origin and meaning of παγενος; A. G. Woodhead investigates the sense of πορεια in inscriptions (pp. 96 ff.) and in papyri (pp. 103 ff.), denying that it ever signifies 'travelling expenses'; and A. Wilhelm maintains that κοσμοδευτα and φιλοδευτα cannot mean specifically 'leave an endowment'. In his Trois documents de musique greque É. Martin examines from the standpoint of music (a) the musical papyri of Euripides' Orestes, (b) the Delphian hymns with musical notation, and (c) the epitaph of Sekilos from Aidi, near Tralles.

The value of epigraphical evidence for every aspect of Greek and Roman history is becoming increasingly recognized and can be illustrated from every page of this survey. A new volume of M. Holleaux's Études d'epigraphie et d'histoire grecques, edited by L. Robert, contains eleven chapters dealing with the relations of Rome to Macedonia and the Greek East between 229 and 200 B.C., including some forty hitherto unpublished pages (pp. 298 ff.) on Philip V's expedition to Asia; two further volumes will complete this invaluable work. Volume II of M. P. Nilsson's Opuscula selecta includes eighteen articles on historical or archaeological subjects. I. Calabi's Ricerche sui rapporti tra le poleis discusses metrics and commercial law, amphiathongies, congresses and synedroi, interstate arbitration, and the antecedents of the Corinthian League, and appeals to a number of inscriptions, indexed on p. 158. H. Berve's essay on the 'Herrschernstaltung der Deinomeniden' refers (pp. 544, 547) to the dedicatory inscriptions of Gelo and Hiero at Olympia and Delphi. D. W. Braden claims that the Chalidians of Thrace were colonists from Euboeic Chalcis and not a northern Greek tribe like the Bottiae, and seeks to determine which of the Thracian towns were Chalcidian. In the third and final volume of his masterly Strategia in the hellenistischen Zeit H. Bengtson deals with the
στρατηγικα in the Ptolemaic Empire; chapters I–VIII are devoted to Egypt, but chapter IX discusses the στρατηγικα in the foreign possessions of the Ptolemies, chiefly in Cyprus (pp. 138 ff.), Cyrenaica (pp. 153 ff.), Syria (pp. 166 ff.), Asia Minor and Thrace (pp. 172 ff.); the work ends with a list of known στρατηγικα, an index to all three volumes and an epigraphical index (pp. 286 ff.). Bengson also briefly examines the Ptolemaic administration, and E. van 't Dack the Ptolemaic epigraphy, while K. C. Atkinson presents some observations on Ptolemaic ranks and titles; but in these studies, as well as in A. Calabi’s account of the Egyptian archiepiscopat in the first three centuries of Roman rule, the papyrological evidence far outweighs the epigraphical. G. Forni collects and studies the occurrences of the phrase ἵεξ (or ἰέξ) συγκλήτως, and concludes that the cult of the Senate originated in the province of Asia and was confined to the eastern provinces of the Empire. The second volume of T. R. S. Broughton’s monumental work The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, which contains annual lists of magistrates from 99 to 1 b.c. (pp. 1 ff.), lists of metropolitan (pp. 422 ff.) and magistrates of uncertain date (pp. 426 ff.), together with an ample bibliography (pp. 499 ff.) and an index of careers (pp. 524 ff.), owes much to the materials supplied by Greek inscriptions. R. K. Sherk’s work on The Legates of Galatia from Augustus to Diocletian I have not seen. G. Tibiletti examines the titles and powers of governors placed over individual cities in the Roman provinces during the republican period. On the composition and organization of ancient armies inscriptions supply useful evidence. Volume II of M. launey’s Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques contains ‘recherches sociologiques’ relating to the army and the cities, the social condition of the soldiers, their religious life, their associations and similar questions, ending with an impressive prosopography (pp. 1106 ff.) and indexes of inscriptions Greek words, and subjects (pp. 1273 ff.). E. Birley’s address to the Epigraphical Congress on The Epigraphy of the Roman Army dealt mainly with Latin inscriptions, and the same is true of G. Forni’s Il reclutamento delle legion da Augusto a Diocleziano, which contains (pp. 242 ff.) an index of inscriptions specially discussed, and of G. Jacopi’s essay on the classis Ravennas. In the field of prosopography I note a further instalment of the Prosopographia Imperii Romani, containing 230 items under the letter G, prepared by E. Groag and A. Stein, but published after their death, and two papers read to the Epigraphical Congress, one by H. Marrou on projected prosopographies of the later Roman Empire, the other by W. Peremans and E. Van’t Dack on questions of method in the compilation of the Prosopographia Ptolemaica. Three notable contributions to social and economic studies by M. I. Finley are mentioned below (pp. 130, 132), and the Edict of Diocletian is discussed by H. Michell in connexion with the monetary chaos of the third century and Diocletian’s currency reform, with an estimate of the reasons for the passing of the Edict and for its failure, and by L. C. West, who correlates the evidence of the Diocletianic coins with that of the prices prescribed in the Edict and argues that the 50,000 denarii given in § 30 1. as the maximum price of a pound of pure gold must be an engraver’s error. I. W. Macpherson edits a Latin fragment of parts of chapters XVI, XVII and XIX, found at Sannaza, and shows how this and the corresponding Greek text give mutual aid in restoration and interpretation. In his Iscrizioni agnostiche greche L. Moretti edits in chronological order the ninety inscriptions (of which no. 65 was previously unpublished) which he regards as most instructive, ranging from the δαυτρι of Epaenetus of c. 560–76 b.c. (IG I² 802) to the Athenian record of the victories won in the third century a.d. by Valerius Ececlus of Sinoe, κήρυξ διαπεριδός. A. G. Woodhead describes the state health service in ancient Greece, especially in the classical and Hellenistic periods, discusses the work and pay, appointment, number, equipment, duties and privileges of διημοτοι κατοικοι and also the public veterinary service, and adds a list of 95 testimonia, of which 22 are literary, 64 epigraphical and nine papyrological. G. Fohlen’s article on the circumstances of death recorded in Greek medical epitaphs is inaccessible to me.

In the realm of law I note A. P. Christophilopoulos’ discussion of the attitude of Greek and Hellenistic law to the marriage of citizens and foreigners, in which a large part is played by the study of epigraphically attested grants of ἔμπωσις to communities (pp. 4 ff.) and to individuals (pp. 5 ff.) and of other relevant inscriptions (pp. 11 ff.), including Solmssen-Flaenkcl, 3, IG IX (2) 1228 and XII (8) 264, as well as of a number of Attic epitaphs (pp. 14 ff.). E. Weiss studies the legal treatment of returning exiles, with special reference to SIG 283, 306 (GHI 192, 202), and the evidence used by F. Pringsheim in his essay on Greek sale by auction, though chiefly papyrological, includes (pp. 313, 331) inscriptions from Chalcedon (SIG 1009–11) and Chios (GDI 5053). I do not know W. Kunkel’s work on the origin and social standing of the Roman jurists. The contents of A. Wilhelms posthumous Griechische Inschriften rechtlichen Inhalts are summarized below in their

87 Ibid. 204 ff.
88 Ibid. 405 ff.
geographical contexts; though the tragic circumstances of its composition and revision (pp. i f.) and the increasing age and infirmity of the author inevitably left some traces in his work, yet it contains abundant examples of the veteran epigraphist's insight and mastery of the relevant material.

Inscriptions afford invaluable and constantly increasing evidence of the inward spirit and outward expression of ancient religion, and I mention here some works which do not confine their scope to single localities. Among the foremost authorities in this field is M. P. Nilsson, who has recently published two volumes of Opuscula selecta 93 written in English, French, or German, of which the first contains twenty and the second eleven articles relating to the history of Greek religion, which also plays an important part in his Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece; 94 P. Boyancé discusses 95 Nilsson's account of Greek religion in Hellenistic and Roman times. Among studies of specific cults I note H. T. Bossert's addenda 96 to A. H. Kan's Jupiters Dolichomai, a work now largely superseded by P. Merlat's comprehensive treatment (cf. JHS LXXIV 61); M. Guarducci considers 97 the light thrown on the oracular function of Athena by inscriptions of Myceane and Argos (below, p. 133); a few inscriptions are cited in F. Schachermeyr's Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens; 98 B. Hemberg discusses 99 the Idaean Dactyls and uses (p. 44) the meagre epigraphical materials available; D. Magie collects and interprets 100 the epigraphical and numismatic indications of the cult of the Egyptian gods in Asia Minor; and C. Picard examines 101 inscriptions of Varna and Ephesus relating to the Curetes. To F. Halkin we owe four further instalments 102 of his collection and discussion of Greek inscriptions published within the last two decades relative to hagiography (cf. JHS LXXIV 82); one of these deals with Egypt, Cyprus, Crete, the Aegean and Ionian Islands, Greece and the Balkans, Italy and Sicily, the others with Constantinople and Asia Minor, and the series closes with addenda, lists of dated and of metrical inscriptions, and an index of saints. In vol. VI of F. J. Dölger's Antike und Christentum 103 further examples of the Ixôs-formula and an inscribed stamp in the Vatican Museum are discussed. The second edition of H. P. V. Nunn's *Christian Inscriptions* 104 and G. Fohlen's article 105 on the tomb and on the cult of the dead among the Greeks as represented in metrical epitaphs are inaccessible to me. W. Vollgraf interprets 106 an Argive inscription (below, p. 133) as indicating burial in a sacred precinct, and collects a large number of inscriptions from various parts of the Greek world which he regards as referring to something analogous to the Christian deospositio ad sanctos, though he points out the difference between pagan and Christian usage. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge's *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 107 edited after the author's death by T. B. L. Webster, examines many inscriptions, for the most part Attic, especially in the sections on the Rural Dionysia (pp. 40 ff.), the City Dionysia (pp. 55 ff.) and the Dionysiac τεχνή (pp. 286 ff.); he reprints (pp. 103 ff.), with brief comments, the texts of the ‘Fasti’, the ‘Didascaliae’ and the ‘Catalogue Victorium’ (IG II² 2318–25), as also those of other specially important inscriptions (III 3073 on p. 121, 3091 on pp. 52 ff., XIV 1097–8 on pp. 121 ff.), and devotes an appendix (pp. 315 ff.) to those relating to the τεχνή of Ios (IG XI 1081, CIG 3068–9, LeBas-Wadd. 261, BCH XVI 312 ff.). J. H. Oliver returns (cf. JHS LXXIV 64) to the subject of the Attic ἡμιγνωστα, ὑπατες and χρησμοβολοι, answering 108 some criticisms brought by C. B. Welles (Tractia, VII 471 ff.) and questioning some views expressed by N. G. L. Hammond (CQ II 1952 4 ff.). H. Chadwick publishes 109 an inscribed altar from a domestic shrine of the second or third century a.d., and D. E. L. Haynes and M. N. Tod 110 a portrait-herm of unknown provenance, now in the British Museum, bearing an epigram commemorating Roumias, apparently a Syro-Greek philosopher and wonder-worker of the second century a.d. C. Bonner deals 111 further with the subject of magical amulets, supplementing and correcting (pp. 314 ff.) his recent work (cf. JHS LXXIV 62), discussing (pp. 303 ff.) the question of ancient replicas and modern imitations, and describing (pp. 320 ff.) eight-one objects, almost all inscribed, most of which are in the British Museum. Count Chandon de Briailles describes 112 an electrum bracelet, found at Rhodes, but perhaps of Alexandrian origin, bearing a portrait of Artemis and the maker’s signature.

We pass to art. Here the issue of the first instalment of J. Marçadé’s Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs, 113 the outcome of long and careful research and autopsy, is especially welcome, despite the unusual system followed in the arrangement and presentation of the relevant texts, and serves to mark the immense progress made in this field since the publication in 1885 of E. Loeisy’s *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*. I note also G. M. A. Richter’s *Three critical Periods in Greek Sculpture*, 114 which deals with a number of sculptors’ signatures; the new catalogue 115 of ancient sculpture in the Ny

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93 Lundy, 1952–2; cf. Gnomon, XXIV 376 f., XXV 197 f.
95 REA LV 323 f.
96 Jbl Forch 115 206 ff.
97 Par Pass VI 338 f.
99 Eroneo, 1144 f.
101 RA XI 131 f.
104 New York, 1951; cf. Cl. Weekly, XLVI 74.
105 Mel. Soc. Toulousaine, 1114 f.
108 AJP LXXXII 406 ff.
111 Hoy Sex 301 ff.
112 Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. 1948–9, 40 f.
Carlsberg Glyptotek, which describes many inscribed monuments, some of them apparently unpublished; P. Orlandini's work on Cretas, in which that sculptor's signatures from Athens, Hermione, Delphi and Pergamum are collected and discussed, and that on Calamis, which cites (from the long out-dated 'CIL III') epigraphical references to the sculptor and to others of his name; the discussion by A. Rumpf and by C. Picard of the sculptors named Boethius, whose signatures have survived at Delos, Lindos and Mahdia; and J. M. C. Teyssebe's 'Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World,' with numerous references to inscriptions, especially signatures of architects, sculptors, painters, mosaicists, and the like. D. M. Robinson's account of some unpublished Greek gold jewelry and gems also contains artists' signatures.

I mention briefly some inscriptions on clay edited or discussed in books or articles not purely concerned with ceramics. C. Anti inquires into the light thrown by the 'Darius Vase' on Phrynichus' Persae. J. D. Beazley interprets the scene and the inscriptions on a calyx-krater of c. 400 B.C. in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, arguing that κατά τον refers to a spell, and those on a cup in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, suggesting that ΠΟΤΟΝ, i.e. ἔποιήκα (i.e., coming from the singer's mouth may be the beginning of a paean. G. Q. Giglioli describes an Attic pelike from Cervetri, now in the Villa Giulia Museum, Rome, portraying Heracles and Geras. The Metropolitan Museum has acquired an Attic r.f. kylix attributed to Duris, and P. E. Corbet publishes a r.f. pelike of c. 425, recently added to the British Museum. Of the Myrina terracottas in the French School at Athens, discussed by B. Baudat, four (nos. 13, 14, 18, 29) bear personal names in the nominative or genitive case. R. M. Cook and A. G. Woodhead collect and study the inscriptions painted on Chiot (once termed Naucratite) pottery, found at Naucratis, Chios and Aegina, the only compact collection of E. Greek writing, dealing successively with the vases, the inscriptions, the dedicators and writers, and the 'epigraphical context,' and adding (pp. 165 ff.) a catalogue of the 231 inscriptions in question. In the study of stamped amphora-handles V. Grace takes the leading part. In an article on 'The Eponyms named on Rhodian Amphora-Stamps' she gives a catalogue of eponyms previously known and adds fourteen new names, and elsewhere outlines an agreement between the French and American Schools in Athens for a joint publication of the amphora-stamps found at Thasos and Delos and in the Athenian Agora.

Recent discoveries have stimulated the study of the origin and development of the Greek alphabet. In a note entitled 'New light on the history of the alphabet' S. E. Loewenstein discusses the Ugaritic alphabet and claims that recent finds weaken the hypothesis of a Canaanite origin of the Ugaritic letter-signs. F. M. Heichelheim advances the theory, based on F. W. Galpin's contention that certain cuneiform signs used alphabetically were musical notes, that the earliest form of our alphabet is best explained as being originally intended for musical scales. C. De Wit examines the linear alphabet of Byblos and its passage to Greece and all western lands; M. P. Nilsson's valuable essay on the adoption and evolution of the alphabet by the Greeks is reprinted in his Opuscula selecta and E. Zinn under the title 'Schlangenschrift' traces the development of the boustrophedon script, calls attention to the rarity of Greek retrograde inscriptions of two or more lines, and dates the adoption of the Φωνήθη γράμματα by the Greeks in or about the tenth century B.C. M. Guarducci supports the claim of Crete, against those of Thera, Melos and Rhodes, to be the cradle of the Greek alphabet and the centre of its diffusion; the alphabet brought by the Phocicians to Crete in the first half of the ninth century was, she holds, transformed into the Greek alphabet and spread to the rest of the Greek world, especially in the second half of the ninth and in the early eighth century. A. Schmitt's exhaustive study of the letter H includes an examination of the character of the Phocianic script and of its adoption by the Greeks, and a section (pp. 42 ff.) on eastern Greek pilnosis, and in an appendix (pp. 47 ff.) are facsimiles of six significant archaic inscriptions. S. Dow corrects some errors in books of reference regarding the Greek numeral signs, summarizes the history of the acrophonic and alphabetic systems, and stresses the significance of the acrophonic numbers as an index of Greek separatism.

For students of the Minoan script and language the years under review have been especially memorable. The long awaited second volume of A. J. Evans' Scripta Minoa, edited by J. L. Myres, deals primarily with the Cnosian tablets inscribed in Linear B, and for the first time makes all the relevant material available for study. E. L. Bennett publishes a list of corrigenda in this work and a valuable Minoan Linear B Index, including a reverse index, showing that between 1450 and...
II. ATTICA

H. A. Thompson reports, with commendable promptitude and necessary brevity, on the epigraphical results of the American excavation of the Agora in 1951 and 1952; by the close of 1951 the inscriptions on marble reached a total of 6,417. B. D. Meritt announces the formation in Princeton and Berlin of card-indexes containing the names of all persons mentioned in Athenian inscriptions; these will be published forthwith, but can be consulted by all interested scholars. G. Pfohl makes a detailed study of various aspects of Attic epitaphs, such as the virtues attributed to the dead, the element of religion and magic, the indications of status or profession, the significance of the various words denoting a tomb, and the phraseology of the epitaphs, their grammatical problems, and literary reminiscences. K. F. Johansen's The Attic Grave-reliefs of the Classical Period discusses and illustrates numerous tombstones, including those bearing IG I2 1058, II2 6217, pp. 48 ff., 6971 pp. 59 and 12208 pp. 27.

Few new inscriptions prior to 403 b.c. have come to light. B. D. Meritt publishes six stones found in the Agora, viz. two fragments (nos. 1, 2) of casualty-lists including the names of ἄνωθεν τοιχών, and of ἵπποι τοιχών, the earlier of which refers to operations in Thrace after 431 b.c., a fragment of a late fifth-century proxeny decree (no. 3), which evokes a discussion of the use of ethnics in such documents, and three inscriptions of c. 450 b.c., a boundary-marker (no. 6), an epitaph (no. 20), and a fragment of a wall or altar inscribed Δίδυμοι Ἐπικλητοί? (no. 25), which Meritt associates with the Peace of Gallias. W. Peck deals with a fragment strikingly similar to the "Marathon epigrams" (IG I2 763, SEG X 464); he holds that this is part of an epigram relating to Salamis and Plataea, and that both stones belong neither to a memorial of victory nor to a cenotaph, but to a monument erected, perhaps c. 475, to preserve the historical consciousness of Athenian
greatness. N. C. Kotzias, excavating a cave in the foothills of Mount Prophet Elias, near Koropi, has unearthed 167 two inscribed sherds of the sixth and fifth centuries.

Five new ostraka were found 168 in the Agora in 1951, including a dipinto bearing the name of Pericles and a vote against Cleophon, son of Cleippides; the historical interest of the latter is discussed 169 by E. Vanderpool, who also studies 170 the ostraka given against Alcibiades (six against the elder, three against the younger) and draws up a revised stemma of the family. A. E. Raubitschek gives 171 a masterly survey of the epigraphical and historical value of the extant ostraka, of which 1650 had been discovered by July 1951, and reports on the projected publication of a corpus of these documents.

B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor bring to a successful conclusion their intensive study of the quota- and assessment-lists and related documents by the publication of volume IV of The Athenian Tribute Lists, 172 which contains addenda and corrigenda to vols. I–III, general and Greek indexes, and a full bibliography of the relevant literature from 1752 to 1953. Remarkable as is their achievement, it was not to be expected that all their views would win universal approval. S. Accame, while paying a warm tribute to the value of the work, deals 173 with some chronological difficulties (pp. 111 ff.), and discusses afresh (pp. 119 ff.) the Erythraean Decree (ATL II D 10) and the Athenian alliances with Egesta and Halicarnassus, Rhesium and Leontini (pp. 127 ff.), the attitude of Athens to democracy in allied cities (pp. 123 ff.), the Peace of Callias (which he dates in the early summer of 449) and the tribute lists (pp. 223 ff.), and the League treasury (pp. 237 ff.), supporting the manuscript text of Thuc. II 13, 3 ff. (pp. 240 ff.); he dates SEG V 8 in 448/7, not 447/6, and the "coinage decree" (ATL II D 14) about the same year. A. W. Gomme rejects 174 the interpretation given in ATL III 83 ff. to the rubric "ἀληθεὸς καὶ τευχάμεναι as 'cities which accepted assessment by special arrangement'; suggests that the τιμία ἐπὶ Κρ. ... οὖ γραμματεύ-σεσθε were a special board rather than the τιμία of 434/3, and examines Thuc. V 18, 6 for the pressure exerted on small cities by larger neighbours in the Chalcidian Peninsula.

Elsewhere he studies, 175 with special reference to ATL III, the history of the Athenian reserve funds from 454 to 431 B.C., commenting on IG I 2 65, 20 ff. (p. 18) and on the Decrees of Callias, IG I 2 91, 92 (pp. 12, 15 n. 1, 18 n. 1). U. Kahrstedt's article 176 on "Cities in Macedonia" makes frequent use of the evidence collected and discussed in ATL. L. Moretti re-edits 177 four Attic inscriptions of this period recording agonistic victories (IG I 2 472, 606, 655, 802).

Other inscriptions, denoted by the numbers they bear in IG I 2 and (in brackets) in SEG X, which call for notice are the following.

1 (1). A. Wilhelm rejects 178 the restorations of the 'Salaminian Decree' proposed by Meritt and by Wade-Gery.

10/11 (11). S. Accame studies 179 the 'Erythraean Decree' (ATL II D 10) and accepts the assignment of 11 and 12/3a to 10, but demurs to the dating in 453/2.

19, 20 (7, 68). He also examines 180 the Athenian alliances with Egesta and Halicarnassus. W. K. Pritchett denies 181 that the stone affords any evidence for the reading [χε]βρον, and thus for the date 458/7, in 10.3.

27 (19). B. D. Meritt revises 182 the text of this proxeny decree.

45 (34). He shows 183 that the new fragment added to the Brea Decree in Hesperia, XIV 86 ff., cannot occupy the position there assigned to it, but holds that the restoration there proposed is still possible. A. G. Woodhead examines 184 the decree in locating Brea between Thermes and Strepia, and seeks to account for the absence of Brea from later records.

51, 52 (48). Accame studies 185 the Athenian alliances with Rhesium and Leontini.

53 (46). I. Papastavrou offers 186 a new restoration, rejecting Meritt's view of the document, which he regards as a defensive pact, etc. ἄιος ἄντρας, concluded c. 435 between Athens and Philip, brother of Perdicas II of Macedon.

60 (69). A. W. Gomme revises 187 the text of the 'Lesbian Decree', which he dates in 452/4 or early in 424/3, emphasizes its cordial tone, and traces the later history of the Athenian cleruchs on the island.

77 (40), 78 (63). H. Bloch rejects 188 J. H. Oliver's view that ιερατηρεῖον were introduced in Athens from S. Italy after 403 and his account of the constitution, number and nature of that body; he pays special attention to the prytanum-decree (II 77), which, he holds, paces Oliver and Ostwald (AP 3960 XI 24 ff.), records the existence of the 'expounders' and their privileges in the fifth century, and to the decree (II 78) regulating the cult of Apollo, which points to the existence of ιερατηρεῖον τυπογραφοῦντος c. 430 B.C.
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97 (106). Meritt offers a new restoration of this decree, which he connects, not with the Melian expedition of 416 B.C., but with the dispatch of a squadron of ἀργυρολόγων νῆσι in early in the Archidamian War.

106–8 (124), 116 (132), 117 (139). Discussing the Athenian generals operating in the Hellespont between 410 and 407 B.C., A. Andrewes examines the evidence of these decrees, especially that dealing with Neapolis (108).

143 (52). Meritt thinks that this decree honours men from Abydus, but dissociates it from 27 (19).

144 (108). He revises ll. 6–9 of this proxeny-decree (ATL II D 23).

149 (105). He also gives a new text of this proxeny-decree.

301 (233), 304 A (232). These accounts supply Andrewes with evidence regarding the generals in the Hellespont.

339–53 (249–56). R. S. Stanier’s inquiry into the cost of the Parthenon, which he estimates at 499 talents, makes full use of the extant fragments of its building-accounts.

373–4 (268 ff.). R. H. Randall analyses the data here preserved relating to the workmen engaged on the Erechtheum in 409–4 B.C., paying special attention to civic status, deme membership or residence, and the method and scale of remuneration.

609. B. B. Shefton accepts E. Fraenkel’s restoration of the Callimachus dedication (cf. JHS LXXIV 65).

655. See above, p. 128.

763. See above, p. 127.

778 (332). M. T. Mitsos rejects the two lines restored at the beginning of this dedication to the Nymphs.

934 (3490). C. A. Trypanis denies the Anacoreotic authorship of this epigram.

919 (390). T. S. Tzannetatos sees in δέικνο variant of δεικνύειν, ’to offer’.

929 (406). S. Accame discusses the date of the Erechtheion casualty-list.

931–2 (407). Meritt edits a small fragment, found in the Agora, of the epitaph of the Argives who fell at Tanagra, and proposes a new restoration of the epigram.

944 (415), 950 (422), 952. He restores τοι ἔποιημα Προξενίας in the casualty-list 950. 136 ff., and gives photographs of the Agora fragments of 944 and 952.

C. M. Bowra republishes his valuable article on the epigram commemorating the Athenians who fell at Coronea, and Meritt revises the restoration of the grant of proxenia made c. 430 B.C. to Criso and another (SEG X 54). E. Cavaignac rejects the view that the decree of Clearchus is of c. 450 B.C. and that the one we possess, maintaining that the extant decree (ATL II D 14) is later than 438 and probably dates from the Archidamian War. I. T. Kakrides comments on the epigram of Myrrhinus (cf. JHS LXXIV 65).

[IG II.] The new inscriptions of the fourth and later centuries are fairly numerous, but few are of special interest. B. D. Meritt edits a further instalment of those found in the Agora, of which the most important is the perfectly preserved law (no. 5) taking the form of a decree passed by the νομοθετα in 336 B.C. on the motion of Eurocrates, which enacts that anyone who joins in overthrowing δῆμος and δημοκρατία may be slain with impunity, and that the Areopagus may not meet or deliberate if the democracy has been overthrown; above the text is a relief depicting Democracy crowning the Athenian Demos. There are also three fragmentary decrees of the fourth and third centuries (nos. 8, 17, 36), part of the heading of a prytany-list (no. 29), honorary inscriptions for Herod the Great (no. 14) and Hadrian (nos. 11, 12, 34), a relief dedicated to Zeus Milichios (no. 33), two boundary stones (nos. 18, 37), and sixteen epigraphs; new fragments are added to several inscriptions already known (see below). M. T. Mitsos continues his fruitful activity in the Epigraphical Museum, and, in addition to revising published texts and uniting disiecta membra (below, p. 131), publishes eleven new Attic epitaphs. E. Vanderpool edits a grave-monument of the third or early second century B.C., found near Eleusis, which helps to locate the deme Krops, and, with Mitsos, two ephelic lists of the third century A.D. and four new grave-inscriptions. I. C. Throepides publishes a pleasing epigram and two prose epigrams unearthed in the Ceramicus, as well as two from the older Ephebe, and describes amphora-handles, mostly Cnidian, of...
which are fifteen are. To I. Papademetriou 218 we owe two grave-epigrams of 400–350 b.c. from the deme Echelidae, commemorating two members of the same family, probably father and son, to A. N. Oikonomides and S. N. Kouranoudes 219 a columnell a from the Ceramicus and nine other epitaphs, as well as notes on eleven Attic inscriptions (IG II² 363, 368, 4855, 78394, etc.), to N. I. Panta zopoulos 220 two epitaphs, to A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 221 one from Bate and one from Kaisariani, and to J. H. Young 222 a fourth-century epigram recording the virtues of a young man and the grief caused by his death. D. von Bothmer describes 222 an inscribed tombstone lent to the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and D. B. Thompson 224 a name incised on a mould found in the Agora. Other inscriptions, including a dedication 225 to the Muses from a cave on Mt. Pentelicus, a long list of ἵππα ἡντε ἔργακα 226 from Spata, a lamp 227 bearing the name Iosiphe, perhaps Cicero's wife, and a vase signed ἵπποις ἐπιστήμης are reported, but not yet adequately published.

J. V. Fine's monograph (cf. JHS LXXIV 66) on the Attic διον has been followed by M. I. Finley's important work Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens 500–200 b.c., 228 based mainly on the extant horoi, which now number 222, including forty uncertain or very fragmentary examples. Eight chapters deal with the function of the horoi τῆς ἡμέρας and τῆς ἐποίησα, ἐπιστήμης, the properties affected, the parties, whether individuals or groups, concerned in the transactions, etc.; in Appendix I (pp. 118 ff.) the texts of the horoi are re-edited, and in Appendix III (pp. 182 ff.) some new examples from the Agora are added with brief comments. The horoi play an important part also in Finley's essay on 'Land, Debt, and the Man of Property in Classical Athens,' 229 which studies Attic economy from the fourth century to Roman times, maintains (p. 252) that 'the horoi tell us nothing whatsoever about the small farmer and his debts,' and denies (pp. 255 f.) that there is any evidence for the decline of the small farmer in fourth-century Attica. J. H. Oliver examines 230 the Athenian citizenship bestowed on six Roman Emperors, and A. E. Rabbatschek shows 231 that the earliest reference (IG II² 1039. 57) to the Athenian Συλλεξία, celebrating Sulla's victory, must be dated in 80/79 or 79/8, and that the Συλλεξία may be an earlier festival (perhaps the Θεσπίδα) renamed, or a copy of the Roman ludi victoriae Sullanae; he publishes (pp. 51 ff.) a new dedication from the Agora, ζαντούνοι [Συλλεξία λαμπράδα [κεντούσοις Ἐ]μπι] φησι, and offers (pp. 53 f.) revisions of ΠΠ² 2988, 2989 and 2992. Elsewhere he studies 232 the post-Hadrianic θωμάς των πεστοκοσμίων, instituted in a.d. 127, arguing that it numbered 520 (thirteen ptytanies of forty members each) and inquiring into the relation of the tribal έποίησις to the priest of the tribe's eponymous hero. A. Muehsam's attempt 233 to establish a chronology of the Attic grave-reliefs of the Roman period depends largely on epigraphical (letter-forms, orthography, abbreviations, etc.) and prosopographical criteria. G. Klaftenbach discusses 234 the archaism of Polyxeceus, one of the vital problems of Athenian chronology, and dates it between 246 and 240 b.c. F. Weber's article on the representations of Roman names in Attic inscriptions I have not seen (above, n. 51).

Other inscriptions in IG II² which call for notice are the following.

10 D. Hereward adds 235 two epigraphic fragments, found in Aegina and now in Athens (E.M. 1910), to the list of names and professions of those whose loyalty to the δῆμος was rewarded by special privileges in 401/0 (or, as she prefers, in 404/3), corrects at some points the text of ΠΠ² 10, and assigns to it ΠΠ² 2405, now lost, of which she gives a fuller reading.


360. W. Peremans seeks 237 to solve a chronological problem by substituting κάτοι τοις ἑνδυσάμενοις in l. 4 of this decree (SIG 304).

363, 368. See above.

417. S. Dow reads 238 Πυρρίνωρ for Πυρρίνων (cf. 7594) in l. 10 of this list of those who performed the liturgy of ἐπιτάφως, and traces his family from Macedonian to Roman times.

463. I. Papademetriou examines 239 the διοδοι of the Long Walls in the light of 493. 12 ff.

646, 650, 657, 666–7. A. R. Deprado associates 240 666–7 (SIG 386–7) with the liberation of Athens after the fall of Demetrius Poliorcetes; he also examines in this context 464 (p. 32), 650 (pp. 28 ff.) and 657 (p. 37), assigning Diocles' archonship to 286/5 b.c.

768 + 802. A. Wilhelm restores 241 l. 11 of this honorary decree.

1008. Meritt corrects 242 Ἐπιγίγνοντο to Ἐπιγίγνον in iii 108, and Dow suggests 243 Ἀπροκοφός [Ἀπροκοφός (or ἵπποις Ὀ Φιλαρέως)] in iii 120 of this ephoric decree.

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218 Πιν. Π. 297 ff.
220 Πολλομένος, IV 94 ff.
221 Ibid., 94.
223 Bull Metr Mus XI 186 ff.
225 BCH LXVII 202 f., 1954, 110.
226 BCH LXVII 203 ff., 1954, 93.
227 Rutgers U. P., 1952; on nos. 14, 24 see Heb. XXI 380.
233 Berytus, X 51 ff., esp. 55 ff.
236 Robinson Studies, II 340 nos. 2, 3.
238 Robinson Studies, II 361 f.
239 Ibid., 294 ff.
240 Rufus LXXI 27 ff.
242 Heb. XXI 367 n. 53.
243 Ibid., 358 ff.
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1952. He revises 243 the text of this important document relating to the Eleusinian endowment left by Xenion (perhaps the benefactor of Gortyn known from ICret IV 300), regarding the opening decree as passed c. A.D. 165 by the Areopagus rather than by the Panhellenion and as extending the scope of the benefaction, which probably dates from about A.D. 135-40.

132. Wilhelm comments 244 on ll. 19-22 of this Amphictyonic decree of 277 B.C.

139. M. T. Mitsos and E. Vanderpool publish 245 a new fragment of this tribal decree honouring a victorious choregos.

128. Wilhelm restores and interprets 248 ll. 3-6 of this decree of the Salaminian δῆμος.

1248. A. Christophilopulos restores 244 ἀξίωσα for ἀξίωσα in l. 7.

1252. O. Walter's examination 250 of the priesthood held by Sophocles and the temple where his hero later stood involves a number of inscriptions, especially 1523-23, which, he emphasizes, are not dedications, but honorary decrees.

1289. Wilhelm restores 253 ll. 12-17 of this arbitration concerning a body of orgoeons.

1438. See below, p. 133. 1495-6. A. M. Woodward studies 252 the terms ἀπώκαμος (1495-4, 13) and ἀφέωσα (1496. 201) used of melting down golden offerings, and restores 1495. 17, 19.

1514. Discussing 258 the tradition that Zeuxis and Demetrius Polioceretes had their names woven into, or embroidered on, their cloaks, A. J. B. Wace quotes the phrases γρφαμματα ἐνφασιμία, χρυσά γράμματα, etc., from the lists of clothing dedicated to Artemis Brauronia (1514. 8, 1515. 3, 1520. 14, etc.).

1624. M. T. Mitsos corrects 254 ll. 57 f. of this navy-list (now EM 13114).

1635. J. Tréheux, discussing the Hyperborean offerings (below, p. 148), examines 255 the 'Sandwich Marble' (1635) and other Athenian records of the Delian sanctuaries.

1678. J. Marcadé, dealing with the sculptures of the 'Monument des Taureaux' at Delos, supports 256 Lattmann's suggestion that this specification relates to that building and doubts the accepted restorations of ll. 4. 58. C. Picard agrees 257 with Vallois in rejecting this view, and refers 1678 to Courby's 'Batiment A', which he regards as the Python and dates, like 1678, about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

1716. See below, n. 292.

1824. In an article on the tribe- and deme-membership of the six Roman Emperors who are known to have been Athenian citizens J. H. Oliver returns 258 to the question of the Αὑρήμιοι of these Attalid pyrtany-lists, now found to date from the reign of Severus Alexander, and argues that, if Emperors, they are Caracalla and Elagabalus, not Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, as Notopoulos thinks (Hesperia, XX 65).

2008. Mitsos adds 259 six fragments to this ephoric record.

2147, 2186, 2218, 2220, 2260, 2265. He adds 260 two fragments to 2147 and one to 2220, and shows that 2186 = 2265 and 2218 = 2260.

2318-25. For these dramatic records see above, pp. 123, 125.

2365. Mitsos makes 261 slight corrections in these name-lists.

2493. See above under 10.

2443. 2451. Mitsos also corrects 262 these fragmentary lists.

2494. In ll. 9-10 of this lease Wilhelm restores 263 τῆς κρῆς ὁ, τι, τίς βουλητης, ἔτερου οὗτος.

1726, 2726. In his article on land and debt (above, p. 130) M. I. Finley pays special attention 264 to these horoi.

2988-9, 2992. See n. 231.

3073, 3091. See p. 125.

3125, 3130, 3169-70. These agonistic texts are re-edited 265 by L. Moretti.

3223. A. E. Raubitschek 266 and V. Ehrenberg 267 study independently this inscription, rediscovered in the Agora (Hesperia XVII 41 no. 30) and restored by Oliver (AJPh LXIX 436), honouring a πρεσβευτην στροκάραλσερος Καίσαρος Σέβαστου και Τιβέριος Καίσαρος. The former sees in it C. Poppeae Sabinus, legate successively of Augustus and Tiberius, and suggests as a possible date A.D. 14 or 31; the latter thinks that the unknown honorand was legate simultaneously of Augustus and Tiberius in A.D. 13 and/or 14, and discusses the historical implications of this view.


244 Hesperia XXII 177 no. 1; cf. Bull 1954, 93, Hesperia LXXVII.

245 Hesperia XIV 110.

246 Ταυροπόλις IV 360. 247 Ταυροπόλις 460 ff.


249 Numm Chronicle 1951, 100 ff.


251 Robinson Studies, II 350 no. 4.

252 Ibid. 768 ff.


254 RA XLI 101 ff.


256 Robinson Studies, II 350 no. 5.

257 Ταυροπόλις 510 ff. nos. 1-3, 8.

258 Ibid. 511 nos. 4-5.


262 Ibid. 933 ff.; cf. Ehrenberg-Jones, Documents, 81 a, Bull 1954, 98.
Oliver questions 268 Wilhelm's comments \textit{(Anz. Wien, 1935, 83 ff.)} on this inscribed base, set up, probably between A.D. 75 and 100, by Arria Calpurnia (whose \textit{stemma} appears on p. 348), daughter of Calpurnius Torquatus, in honour of her adoptive father, Tib. Claudius Oenophilus. 3675. He restores 269 \{\textit{Ocl.\} Zηυσφιλο[\textit{u}] or \{\textit{Ocl.\} Zηυσφιλο[\textit{u}]\} in place of \{\textit{πωγ} \textit{πος} \textit{φιλο[\textit{u}]\}} in l. 5 of this honorary inscription.

3695-3702. J. A. O. Larsen reconstructs 270 the \textit{stemma} of an eminent Thessalian family under the Principate, two members of which, Flavia Habroea and M. Ulpius Leurus Eubiotus, eponymous archon at Athens and consul, are commemorated in these honorary inscriptions. \textit{Cf.} 1064 above.

3769. This record of a victorious charioteer is re-edited 271 by L. Moretti.

4176-9. Raubitschek restores 272 these inscriptions honouring members of the family of P. Memmius Regulus, adding a new fragment to 4179.

4224. I. Travalos notes 273 the position of the stone bearing this epigram.

4441. D. D. Feaver argues 274 that the dedicator, Timocles, is not certainly priest of Asclepius, and that the date of Euander's archonship must be otherwise fixed.

4546-8. M. Guarducci examines 275 these dedications from the temple of Cephissus, near Phalerum, and the accompanying reliefs. In 4546. 4 f. she reads \textit{ισωνιαν και Νυμφαυ ινα αξιώιο Φαλε - and in 4548. 6 f. defends ἀριτελεστών}.

4686. See below, p. 133.

5520, 7367. Mitsos corrects 276 the reading of 5520 and adds 277 a note to 7367.

5787. He and Vanderpool show 278 that this is part of 2962. 18.

7767. See 5520.

7794. S. Dow points out 279 that \textit{Πυριοτος, not \textit{Πυριτ[i]ος, is the true reading in this epigraph, and discusses cognate names found in Attic inscriptions.}

8431, 9236. Meritt re-edits 280 these epigraphs, rediscovered in the Agora, and shows that 9236 = 13945:

10097. A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios deals 281 with this epigraph from Kaisariani.

12318, 13159-60. These epigraphs are discussed and restored 282 by W. Vollgraff.

13045. See 8431.

13068. A new fragment found at Daphni enables W. Peek to restore 283 the three poems, each of two couplets, commemorating the fourth-century hymnody Theodorus (\textit{cf. Hermes, LXVI 475, LXXV 435 f.}).

13159-60. See 12318.

13243. Mitsos and Vanderpool locate 284 this graffito on the monument of Thrasylus.

Other inscriptions not included in \textit{IG II²} have been amended or discussed. In M. P. Nilsson's \textit{Opuscula selecta} appears 285 his essay on 'The new inscription of the Salaminioi' (\textit{Hesp VII} 1 ff.), J. Tréheux studies 286 \textit{Hesp VII} 281 ff., a new fragment of an inventory of the Treasurers of Athena (\textit{IG II²} 1493), and shows its significance for the arrangement of the Chalkothek and the problem of the Opisthodomas. To the papyrus-decree of Hippothontis passed in 135/4 (\textit{Hesp IX 126} ff. no. 26) Meritt adds 287 an important fragment, which enables him to give an almost complete text of the document. M. I. Finley discusses 288 ll. 1-39 of the record of the \textit{ποιαντια} for 367/6 (\textit{Hesp XII} 14 ff.), putting forward an interpretation fundamentally different from those of M. Crosby and of J. V. Fine (\textit{Hesp Suppl. IX} 150 ff.). Meritt restores 289 and comments on an honorary inscription (\textit{Hesp XVI} 173 no. 70) and revises 290 a similar text (\textit{Hesp Suppl. I} no. 100). Olivier examines 291 the Athenian decree for M. Ulpius Leurus Eubiotus (\textit{Hesp Suppl. VI} nos. 51, 32, of which 31 d = \textit{IG II²} 1064), giving 31 a to 32 and offering a new text of this fragment; he holds that 31 contains decrees of the \textit{βουλη and the Areopagus, and discusses the eight honours granted, two of which are unprecedented.} N. Herz and W. K. Pritchett deny 292 on geological grounds, that the two fragmentary lists of magistrates (\textit{II²} 1716 and another) united by S. Dow (\textit{Hesp Suppl. VIII} 116 ff.) are parts of the same inscription. G. Daux re-examines 293 the 'Plataean Oath' (\textit{GHI} 204, Parke, \textit{Hermathena, LXXII} 106 f.) and its relation to the 'Amphictyonic Oath', distinguishing it from the two oaths quoted by Aeschines (\textit{III} 115, III 109-11). J. Tréheux studies 294 the phrase εἰς 'διετέρετο' used in a lease of c. 350 B.C. (\textit{Arch. Pap. XI} 189 ff.), rejecting Wilhelm's 'male and female' and interpreting it as meaning 'ensemble et en même qualité'.
III. The Peleponnese

[IG IV.] G. Welter offers a new reading and restoration of the Aphaia dedication from Aegina (IG IV 1580), according to which the lines begin [Μεν]τείνα, [ἐπούλε]τε, and [χορηγού]ς respectively, and M. T. Marabini publishes several rock-cut inscriptions from Trigoni, the northeastern corner of the island.

The American excavation at the Isthmus, directed by O. Bronner, has brought to light fifty inscriptions, of which the most interesting is that by which Miletus in the second century A.D. honours Aelius Themison, μένου καὶ πρῶτον Ἑλείτην Σοφοκλῆς καὶ Τιμόθεον Εὐαυτός μελετητῆς, the issue of the final report of the excavations at Corinth proceeds apace; it will include a further volume of inscriptions, edited by J. H. Kent, who meanwhile adds four new fragments, three of them inscribed, to Timoleon’s victory-memorial (Corinth, VIII (1) no. 23), surmounted by a bronze statue of Poseidon (Kent) or the Κτήσταρ Corinthus (Robert), commemorating the victory won in 341 B.C. on the Cinnus. In Corinth, I (3) R. L. Scranton deals with the monuments in the Lower Agora and N. of the Archaic Temple, including a statue of Regilla with an eight-line epigram (p. 69); in vol. II R. Stillwell describes the Theatre, in which were some graffiti, inscribed fragments and a stamped roof-tile; in vol. XII G. R. Davidson gives a detailed account of the minor objects, including inscribed seals, gems, weights, etc., indexed on p. 362; vol. XIV, by C. Roebuck, devoted to the Asclepieum and Lerna, contains votive and honorary inscriptions and Christian epitaphs, indexed on p. 179; and vol. XV (2), by A. N. Stillwell, describes the terracottas found in the Potters’ Quarter and contains an inscription in Corinthian script incised on a figurine. C. H. Morgan publishes a base signed by an unknown Spartan sculptor, and A. N. Oikonomides and S. Ν. Koumanoudes a Corinthian grave-epigram of the third century A.D.

At Sicyon a lekythos has been found bearing the word ὁρίος. G. A. Stamires explains four inscriptions from Philius, published by R. L. Scranton, as quotations from the Bible or hymns, and suggests the same source for IG IV 450. M. Guarducci studies two well-known inscriptions—the dedication of Phratriades from Mycenae (IG IV 492; cf. SEG XI 299) and an archaic lex sacra from Argos (SEG XII 314)—which throw light on the oracular function of Athena, and J. M. Cook publishes two sherds from Mycenae attesting a cult of Agamemnon; for the inscriptions in Linear B found at Mycenae see above, n. 156. J. L. Caskey’s investigation of the Argive Heraion have brought to light three inscriptions on earthenware and seven, edited by P. Amandry, on stone; nos. 5 and 6 belong to a list of names with phratryes and places of origin, valuable for the study of Argive phratryes and topography, while no. 7 comprises ten fragments of an inscribed base, two of which are IG IV 534, 536. M. T. Mitsos publishes a fragmentary manumission-list from the Heraion, which he dates in the second century B.C. To Oikonomides and Koumanoudes we owe an archaic votive epigram from Chónikha, near the Heraion, of which Misis proposes an emendation and a date. He has also compiled a valuable Argolic prosopography, the chief sources of which are epigraphical, covering the Argolic Plain and Tyrretil, but excluding Epidaurus, Trozen, etc. G. Roux’s study of an altar with triglyphs, found in the Agora at Argos, includes a revision of a phrase in a decree relating to the temple of Apollo Lyceus (Menon XII (1915) 373). W. Vollgraff’s essay on interment in sacred ground (above, n. 106) opens (pp. 315 ff.) with the restoration and discussion of a fragmentary Argive inscription, in which the term ἄρχων, which he associates with the cult of Demeter, Kore, Dionysus and Hermes, occurs twice; he also restores (p. 317 ff.) IG IV 631, 642, and examines (pp. 331 ff.) the ἄρχων text from Thera (XII (2) 762), in which he doubts the meaning ‘king’, and (pp. 333 ff.) the θεοὺς ἄρχων text of II 4686. Jameson publishes fifteen inscriptions of Hermione, including the dedications IG IV 683–4 (SEG XII 378–9) and BCH LXXIII 537, and the frontier-delimitation between Hermione and Epidaurus (SEG XI 377; cf. 405), which gives rise to a detailed topographical discussion; the rest comprise a fourth-century votive to Demeter, signed by two Argive sculptors (no. 5), a base signed by Philecles of Megalopolis (no. 5), an inscription honouring Caracalla (no. 6), and eight fragments (nos. 7–14) of honorary or sepulchral texts. He also comments on a dedication (IG IV 746) from Didyma, near Hermione, and on an epitaph from Mases (Koilada), on the west coast of the Argolic peninsula. Few discoveries have been made at the Asclepieum of Epidaurus, and
these await full publication. J. H. Oliver dates in A.D. 38/9 the Athenian decrees for T. Statilius Lamprias (IG IV² 83-4; cf. SEG XI 408a); M. N. Tod appeals to the list of theatricals (IG IV² 95) and the sanotia (IG IV² 121-2; cf. SEG XI 420-2) for the spelling of Thurii and Halicris; the building-accounts of the temple of Asclepius (IG IV² 102, SEG XI 416) are used by R. S. Stanier in estimating the cost of the Athenian Parthenon, and by J. F. Crome in his study of the temple sculptures; M. Jameson comments on a boundary-stone (IG IV² 701) and G. Roux on the masons’ marks on the marble roof-tiles of the Tholos (IG IV² 714).

[IG V.] H. Michell’s Sparta takes the rule of Nabis as its lower limit and so derives little help from inscriptions save in the discussion of the Spartan age-groups (pp. 166 ff.). A. M. Woodward examines the epigraphical and numismatic evidence for intercourse between Sparta and Asia Minor in the Imperial period, especially in the second century A.D., as shown in the reciprocal dispatch of judges, the appointment of at least three members of Pergamene and Ephesian families as eponymous patronymi, the participation of Asiaeans in Spartan athletic contests, and the pact of δέοντα with Synnada (IG V (1) 452), which he discusses and dates in the reign of Antoninus Pius (pp. 872 ff.); the claims of various Anatolian cities to be Spartan colonies are considered and in most cases are regarded as dubious or false, though some Seleucid colonies seem to have contained a Spartan element. M. N. Tod comments on the inscriptions of Kalyvia Sokhas recently published by J. M. Cook, and discusses IG V (1) 229 and 591 (pp. 118 ff.). Special attention is paid to the archaic inscription V (1) 720 in E. Zimm’s account of boustrophedon script. In a tour of Cynuria K. Rhomaiou found at Phonémé, the Monastery of Loukou and Vournou several inscriptions, including a metrical epitaph (V (1) 922) and a fifth-century prohibition μηδεὶς ἀδίκειτο τὸ κενόριον, and J. A. Kouskounas edits a late epitaph from Thyrea, now in the Monastery of Orthostatul, commemorating an Athenian προφυσεωτής, who settled at Thyrea and died there. M. Jameson has discovered Zarax four blocks bearing names and patronymics, and at Epidaurus Limera an inscription in honour of two men, one of whom defrayed the cost of a temple and statue. In his work on legal documents A. Wilhelm studies four Laconian texts: he proposes (pp. 60 ff.) new restorations, especially in ll. 2 ff., 16 and 28 ff., of an honorary decree found near the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas (IG V (1) 931), which he assigns to Epidaurus Limera and dates c. 150 B.C., emends (pp. 87 ff.) the punctuation of ll. 14 and 15 of the decree regulating the conduct of the Imperial cult at Gythium (SEG XI 923), introduces (pp. 90 ff.) a number of important changes into the text of a document by which a lady generously endows the gymnasion at Gythium and her θεοτόκοι καὶ άμπλευθεροί (V (1) 1208), and emends (pp. 75 ff.) ll. 7 f. of a decree of Gerania, which he dates in the second century B.C., honouring three judges sent by Hippola (V (1) 1336). A. Christophilopoulos examines the meaning of δέοντα in V (1) 1208. 11, and D. W. Prakken summarizes the divergent views held by successive editors or commentators of a dedication to Pasiphae at Thalamae (V (1) 1317) in the hope of stimulating further study of the text. Near Kalamata a further boundary-stone has been found inscribed ὁρός Ἀκροπόλεως τῆς Μεσσηνίας (cf. V (1) 1371-2).

M. Guarducci returns to the Tegase lex sacra (IG V (2) 3) relating to the flocks of Aega, partly confirming and partly modifying her previous views (Riv Fil LXV 195 ff.) in the light of Vollgraff’s article (BCH LXXV 617 ff.); she dates it before 371, possibly even before 400, and discusses some puzzling terms, especially θρησκεύω (which she refers to capture rather than to definitive sequestration), καταλλαγες, λατον and θυσεβ. The French excavation at Gortys continues to yield numerous tile-stamps and some other inscriptions.

[IG VI.] At Olympia a shield with the legend Ἐν θεον ἐν θεον ἐν θεον, and an epigram in honour of Ergoteles of Himera, to whom Pindar addressed his twelfth Olympian Ode, while a sixth-century Corinthian helmet (JHS II 68) has been acquired by the Barber Institute of Fine Arts in Birmingham University. In I ὸl 50. 46 Wilhelm restores in place of [διονυσίατόν], F. Chamouss discusses an archaic fragment relating to Cyrene (Iolv 246), M. Guarducci maintains that the script, and probably the dialect of the monument of Praxiteles (I olv 266) is Syracusan, and H. Berve cites the dedication of Hero and the Syracusans after the victory at Cyme (GHI 22). U. Kahrstedt’s article on the territory of Patrae in the Imperial period owes little to epigraphical sources.
IV. Central and Northern Greece

[IG VII.] In a dedicatory epigram from Megara (IG VII 37 = Friedländer, 23) W. Peek reads 348 λε[ι]σταν, ‘pirates’, in place of λε[ι]στάν τῶν. M. T. Mitsos continues 349 to study the inscriptions, including a number of medita, of the Oropian Amphiaraiion, and Peek gives 350 a new text and historical interpretation of an epigram (VII 336) celebrating Diomedes of Troezen, descendant of Andras, the city’s founder, παρά δυσμενον ὡστ’ αὐτῷ λαβόντα καὶ πάλιν ἀρχίσεις εὖ περιθέσα νόμος, arguing that Diomedes had probably helped to oust the Spartan garrison imposed by Cleonymus c. 275 B.C.

A long agonistic record from Tanagra awaits publication, 351 as do also several inscriptions from Thespiae. Peek studies 352 in detail a series of bases, transported from Thespiae to the Museum at Thebes, bearing epigrams in honour of the Muses; nine of them (including VII 1797–9, 1801–4), together with a metrical dedication (1796), belong to a single monument, while a tenth (1805) belongs to a different group, two more (1800 and another) to yet another, and the last, naming all nine Muses, is again separate. Peek also examines (pp. 631 ff.) an epigram of Honestus honouring a Σεβαστή, compeer of the Muses, ἡ γά η γά κόσμον ἔσων ὀλον, probably Livia. P. M. Fraser discusses 353 five Boeotian inscriptions relating to the Attalid dynasty; four of these (VII 1788 f., 1790 = OGI 310, 311; OGI 749, 750) come from near Thespiae and record grants of land to the Muses and Hermes, while the fifth, from Thebes (Adell III 366), which receives special attention, runs ἀργον ἡν ἀπὸ διονύσου λυσεών, ἔφιλ δὲ καὶ καλλίκεις ἐμφάνις (Eumenes II). J. Tréheux examines 334 the phrase [π]ροχρε[το]κατ’ ἀμφότερα in an edict from Thesibe (Sig 884, 53 f.), restoring προχρητο[κα] and rendering ‘sera tout à la fois (cumulant les deux qualités de propriétaire et d’héritière)’ (see above, n. 294). Other discoveries are reported 355 from Coronea, Lebae and Chaeronea. N. Platon’s edition 356 as an unpublished epigram from Thebes, of the well-known epitaph of a mole-catcher from Eutresis (AFA XXXII 179 ff., Powell, New Chapters, III 189) may be ignored.

[IG VIII.] The study of the epigraphical wealth of Delphi makes steady progress. G. Daux reports 357 on the work already achieved in GDI and Fouilles, III, explains the nature and arrangement of the projected corpus, and announces the preparation of a Delphic prosopography. L. Robert 358 and C. Picard 359 give brief accounts of recent discoveries. C. Dunant edits 360 an honorary inscription, a grant of proloxenia to a Sicyonian and three manumissions found in the Theatre in 1956, as well as a group of nineteen texts, 361 comprising a third-century proxeny-decree, an inscription honouring Nero and one for T. Flavius Phylus (of whose family she gives a stemma (p. 650), based mainly on inscriptions from Thespiae), together with sixteen manumissions. G. Roux restores 362 from three fragments the dedication of a monumental base in front of the Portico of Attalus, and H. van Effenterre edits 363 four texts found in 1936, a block completing Fouilles, III (4) 9, 11, bearing fourth- and third-century grants of proloxenia to Messenians, two similar documents, 364 an important decree, probably passed in 207 B.C., by which the Actolians and Delphi recognize the festival of the Leucophyrena. E. Mastrokostas publishes 365 a fourth-century boundary inscription Βούλωνος[υ]ιοτόκου and a fragment which he assigns to Rhodopis’ dedication, and Daux 366 the left half of a decree for a doctor, which proves the existence of two archons named Emmendidas. In a valuable article 367 on corporate promanteia J. Pouilloux includes two new grants made in the late fourth century to the Actolians and the Coryceraeans, draws up a list of the 29 attested examples, ranging from the seventh or sixth to the second century B.C., and assesses the value of the promanteia, which, he claims, was a coveted privilege. The first fascicle of J. Marce’s work on sculptors’ signatures (above, p. 125) includes sixty-two sculptors, arranged alphabetically, whose names appear at Delphi, and deals with their signatures discovered elsewhere; in it three new Delphian texts are published (pp. 87, 103, 112). Many previously known texts have been discussed and some emended. J. Bouquet shows 368 that the ‘archaic omphalos’ is in reality the cupola of an iconostasis of a chapel, on which a modern name is inscribed; he also revises 369 the dedication of Daphne, King of the Paeonians (BCH LXXIV 22 ff.), showing that the statue represented not Leon, Daphne’s father, but Audoelon, probably his grandfather, while elsewhere he revises 370 the text of the decree of the Σαμονιζοντος (SIG 901) regulating the use of a fund on a number of drachmas, half of which is applied to the λόγης τῶν βασιλικῶν, the maintenance of the Eastern Thermae. P. de La Coste-Messelière insists 371 that the only reliable text of the inscription of Cleobis and Biton (SIG 5 = GHI

349 BCH LXXVI 216, LXXIX 205, JHS LXXII 93, LXXIII 112.
351 BCH LXXVI 225 ff. 352 Πεπτι, 609 ff.
355 BCH LXXVI 224, LXXVII 219, JHS LXXIII 120.
360 Ibid. 188 ff.; cf. Bull 1953, 89.
362 BCH LXXI 169 ff. 363 Πεπτι, 653 ff.
369 BCH LXXVII 178.

370 BCH LXXVII 100, LXXIII 120.
3) is that of Daux (BCH LXI 66), and, re-examining 378 the Delphian memorial of Aegospotami (Fouilles, III (1) 50-60 = SIG 115 = GHI 94), argues that the ναύαργοι were thirty rather than twenty-eight, suggests for base XI [Ἐπικύριος Ακελασμώνος ἐξ] [Ζευς θεοκός], and assigns the κάρυς to the group of Poseidon, Lysander, mantis and pilot. C. Picard interprets 379 the Medics crater in the light of the 'Agamemnon oracle' (cf. HIS LXV 82). G. Vitucci modifies 374 the text and interpretation of the Labaday account (DGE 320) proposed by Guarducci (Riv Fil LXXIX 258 ff.), and B. Gentilli's essay on the Delphian tripods and the hymn of Bacchylides appeals 375 to the dedications of Gelo and Hiero (SIG 94 = GHI 17; SIG 35C), which are also cited by H. Berve (above, n. 64). Delphian inscriptions play an important part in L. Lerat's work on the Ozolian Locrians (see below), which includes (I 25 ff., 42 ff.) the first publication of two Delphian manumissions and improved readings of the pact (SEG II 293) between Triteca and Chalcaum (I 52 n. 1). Wilhelm's work on juridical inscriptions includes 376 comments (pp. 47 ff.) on the use of προσδός for 'servants' in the arbitration between Halae and Bumelita (Fouilles, III (1) 362 i 29), the substitution (pp. 48 ff.) of [ἠγάλλα καὶ ἀνέφεγα] for Daux's suggested [θεοκόν σφεθεῖν] in the Amphictyonic decree recognizing the Pergamene Nikephoria (Fouilles, III (3) 261. 26), with a new restoration of a decree honouring Damon, grandson of the temple architect Agathon (ibid. 184 = SIG 494), a note (p. 50) on the date of the honorary decree for a Camarinaean (ibid. 202 = SIG 498), proposals (pp. 51 ff.) for the restoration or interpretation of three passages (ibid. 233. 17 f. = SIG 671 B 17 f.; SIG 672. 13 ff., 47 ff.) in the decrees 377 acknowledging the benefactions of Eumenes II and Attalus II, and the identification (p. 56) of [Ἀθέσσον] as the first of the δικτεί engaged in an arbitration at Daulis (BCH LIX 96). Other inscriptions in Fouilles, III (1), which call for notice are:

2. 137-8. For E. Martin's musical study of the Delphian hymns see above, n. 60.

3. 207. L. Pearson suggests 378 that the Σοφοκλῆς Ἀριστομθουλοῦ Φωκέως καὶ Κασηρίου αἰανταίρειν may well be a son of the historian Aristobulus.


3. 192. A. C. Trypanis identifies 380 the Posidippus and Asclepiades of this prokynex decree of c. 276/5 with the famous epigrammatists, concludes that they visited Delphi about that time, and claims that a poem preserved on papyrus (Page, Lit. Pap. I no. 114) is a genuine work of Posidippus.

4. 37 (SEG III 378). G. Tibiletti studies 381 the terminology of the lex de piratis.

5. 49, 67. C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux revise 382 these accounts, which they date in 336, 335 and perhaps 334 B.C., and discuss the meaning of αἰτασία (cf. HIS LXXIV 70) and the role of the τιμὴ, a political innovation of Philip II.

5. 61. Pouilloux gives 383 a new text of this account (interesting for Delphian administration and for the relations between Alexander and the Amphictyony), adds to it 5. 76 and three unpublished fragments, and publishes (pp. 301 ff.) a new fragment of the accounts of the ναυτικῆ, and (pp. 304 ff.) a renewal of prokynexia granted in 324 B.C. to an Athenian, a duplicate of BCH LII 217.

6. 37, 118, 130, 133. G. Klaffenbach annotates 384 these texts from the Theatre.

Three fascicles of the topographical and architectural volume, Fouilles, II, appeared in 1952-3. In J. Bousquet's account 385 of the Treasury of Cyrene special attention is paid to III (5) 62. 13-27, showing that the Treasury, begun c. 360-55 at latest, was finished by 330 (p. 27), and to a grant of prokynexia and promantia to the Cynoeadae in 322/1 B.C. (pp. 69 ff.), while an epigraphic appendix (pp. 105 ff.) supplements or corrects a number of published texts, adds a fragment to Fouilles, III (3) 158-9 and two to 176, and publishes two new inscriptions (nos. 2, 3). J. Jannoray, dealing with the Gymnasium, collects (pp. 87 ff.) the relevant epigraphical evidence, and P. Amandry's account of the Column of the Naxians and the Portico of the Athenians examines the dedication of the latter (pp. 39, 101 ff.), which he associates with the campaigns of Mycale and Sestos, and the inscriptions on that part of the polygonal terrace-wall which is screened by the Portico (pp. 61 ff.). U. Kahrstedt's article 386 on Delphi and the sacred domain of Apollo maintains that at some time between SIG 826 and 827, i.e. between 116 B.C. and A.D. 116, the sacred domain was secularized, being merged in the Delphian τόπος, though not without protest and an attempt to restore it to the gods.

[IG IX.] Inscriptions play a leading role in L. Lerat's exhaustive account 387 of Western Locris. This includes a survey of the epigraphical sources (I pp. vi ff.), a chapter on the dialect, based solely on inscriptions (II pp. 8 ff.), and an epigraphical index, indicating new discoveries and also texts restored, corrected or re-interpreted with valuable aid from Klaffenbach (I p. 225), while the sections in vol. II on Locrian cults (pp. 143 ff.), calendars (pp. 170 ff.) and prosopography (pp. 181 ff.) rely mainly on epigraphical evidence; to a fragmentary decree of the West Locrian κοινὸν (I 133), J. and

374 Par Par VIII 101 ff.
376 Cf. Daux, Delphes au IIe et au IIIe siècle, 683 ff.
377 JFP LXXIII 71 ff.
385 Fouilles, III (1) 132.
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L. Robert 388 and P. M. Fraser 389 devote special attention. F. W. Schehl restores 390 a document found by Klaftenbach at Phistyum in Aetolia (SB Berlin, 1936, 367 ff.) and regards it as a donatio inter vivos, though closely akin to one mortis causa; a manumission from Mokista near Thermus (IG IX 392) figures 391 in Kahrstedt’s survey of the territory of Nicopolis in the Imperial period and he dates it after Nero’s reign. J. A. O. Larsen’s important study 392 of the Assembly of the Aetolian League cites many Aetolian decrees proving the co-existence of assembly and synedron, notably (p. 14) that granting προκατάπλευσις to Mytilene (IX 393 = XII (2) 15). Wilhelm’s conjecture 394 δ [ί] [δ] [ω] [κ] [ο] [π] [ι] [ο] [γ] [ε] [ι] [ν] [αι] [κ] in ll. 8, 9 of an Acarnanian decree (Coll. Frohner, 35) is less attractive than Klaftenbach’s δ [ε] [ν] [αι] (DLZ 1937, 1658). Wilhelm also offers 395 a drastically revised text of a document from Corcyra (IG IX 396) recording the verdict of the δικαστήριον και κοινοῦ in an arbitration between that state and one of its citizens, and attempts 397 to date by their script two metrical epitaphs (ibid. 398 873–9) found at Corcyra, but originating from Rhenea. H. Grégoire supports and develops 399 the view of I. K. Papademetriou (AE 1942–4, δρυς, χρ. 39 ff.) that the ἱεράκονος of the epigram IG IX (1) 721 is not the Emperor Jovian, but a bishop, perhaps in the reign of Theodosius II.

C. Gavazzi publishes 399 her research into the grant of προκατάπλευσις in Thessaly, based on more than a hundred decrees; she deals with the formulae and motivation of the grant, the privileges conferred and other aspects of the question. Larsen traces 398 the fortunes of the eminent Thessalian family of Euboulos and Cyllus under the Principate, commenting on thirteen of its members (pp. 37–90), reconstructing its stemma (pp. 90 ff.) and examining the relevant Thessalian and Attic inscriptions. The work done in Thessaly by members of the French School at Athens is described 399 by L. Robert. A proxeny-decree for an Aetolian has come to light 400 at Lamia and two epitaphs at Stylos, as well as a dedication 401 at Pharsalus, where N. M. Verdelis has discovered 402 a bronze cinerary urn containing a gold plate bearing an Orphic text in hexameters, dating from the fourth century B.C. Phrakia 403 provides three epitaphs, Larisa a public inscription, 404 an epitaph, 405 and the opening portion of a dialectic epitaph 406 of the early second century B.C., conferring privileges on a number of recipients, and Gonni a votive to Asclepius and two epitaphs. 407 Larsen corrects 408 a misinterpretation of a text from Gonni (IG IX (2) 1041) and rejects Arvanitopoulos’s restoration of a manumission from Pythium (ibid. 1920). Wilhelm examines 409 in detail the fragmentary record of a legal dispute at Larisa (ibid. 522), restoring ll. 14–31; he substitutes 410 [κεὶ] [το] for [το] [κο] [ι] [ο] [γ] [ε] [ι] [ν] in the evidence given in a territorial claim (ibid. 521, 15 ff.), and 411 [ε] [ν] [ε] [χ] [ο] [μ] [α] [ι] [σ] [ι] [ν] [α] [μ] [ι] [σ] in a Larisaean epitaph (ibid. 931), and interprets 412 a mutilated text from Gonni (AE 1912, 85 ff.), in which the right to hold a specified estate is added to the grant of proxenia. Six epitaphs have been found 413 at Demetrias, and two final instalments 414 of Arvanitopoulos’ description of the painted stelae from Demetrias and Pagasaie now in the Volo Museum contain fifty-three new inscriptions and three previously published; most bear only a name and patronymic, but ethnics or other elements occasionally occur. T. A. Arvanitopoulos completes 415 this task of her late father by compiling indexes, personal and geographical, of the whole series of stelae. C. Corbato discusses 416 a fragment, now lost, of an epitaph from Demetrias (IX (2) 1155) and sees in it a commemoration of the military achievement of Lucullus or, less probably, of Sulla in the Mithridatic War, 72–1 B.C., and A. Aymard’s study 417 of the Seleucid house in the time of Antiochus IV refers to a dedication (BCH LXIV 42) made by a Cretan to Antigonus Doson and Philip at Demetrias.

V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

[IG X.] P. M. Petsas reports 418 the transference to Nicopolis of the inscriptions which survived the burning of the Preveza Museum in 1941, as well as of two epitaphs and a stamped brick from Mytika; he also publishes 419 ten inscriptions, mostly epitaphs, found at Votoni, on the Jannina-Kalabaka road, and now removed to Jannina. At Dodona more leaden tablets bearing questions addressed to the oracle have come to light, 420 and Wilhelm conjecturally restores 421 a similar text (PAE 1932, 52), seeing in διάχωρον ανθρωπος not an ethnic, but the title of magistrates like the Attic διαχωριτής. M. Guaracci read to the Epigraphic Congress a report 422 on the Italian work in Albania,

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388 Bull 1954, 147.
389 Gnomon, XXVI 272 ff.
390 TPA I 35, 23.
391 Bull 1953, 96.
392 Historia, I 594.
393 TPA I LXXIII 1 ff.; cf. Bull 1954, 44.
395 Ibid. 68 ff.
397 Epigraphica, XII 50 ff.
399 Bull 1951, 292.
400 TPA I LXXIII 120.
401 BCH LXXVI 225, JHS LXXII 100.
403 JHS LXXIII 126, BCH LXXVII 220.
404 JHS LXXII 100.
407 BCH LXXVI 226, LXXVII 220, JHS LXXII 100, LXXIII 120; cf. Bull 1954, 44.
409 Ibid. 44.
410 Ibid. 94.
412 JHS LXXIII 120, BCH LXXVII 220.
414 Ibid. 33 ff.
416 REG LXXVIII 22.
419 BCH LXXVII 223, JHS LXXIII 122.
421 Actes, 55 ff.
notably at Butrint (Butrinto), and J. Klemenc a survey 433 of the ancient inscriptions, predominantly Latin, of Jugoslavia. D. Rentić Mišešević publishes four articles which concern the Greek settlements on the Dalmatian coast; in one he studies 434 the Illyrian names found in the inscriptions of those colonies, in another he discusses 435 three historical inscriptions of Dalmatia, one of which is a metrical epitaph from Pharos of one who fell, according to the editor, in the early fourth century B.C., in a naval encounter with Illyrians (here first mentioned in Greek inscriptions), in the third he publishes 436 43 new inscriptions of Dalmatia, of which only one (no. 1), a dedication at Issa to the Syrian goddess, is Greek, and in the fourth he seeks 437 to locate the Illyrian Iadasini (or Iadastini) named in inscriptions of Pharos and Salona.

C. F. Edson submitted to the Epigraphical Congress a paper 438 on the Greek inscriptions of Macedonia, reviewing the work already done in preparation for the Macedonian corpus and the prospects of its publication. C. I. Makaronas gives a valuable survey 439 of the archaeological (including epigraphical) discoveries made in Macedonia in 1940–50, and M. N. Tod reassesses, 440 with additional evidence, the view that the Macedonian provincial era began in the autumn of 146 B.C., and the Augustan era in the autumn of 32 B.C. F. M. Heichelheim translates and analyzes 441 the foundation-record of a synagogue at Stobi (CIJ 694), dating it either in A.D. 264 or in 281 and maintaining that the founder was enfranchised by Claudius Gothicus rather than by Claudius I. J. M. R. Cormack re-edits, 442 on the basis of autopsy, six inscriptions (of which no. 7 is Latin) of Edessa and adds two (nos. 8, 9) previously unpublished; all are epitaphs except one dedicatory muniment (no. 6); he also revises (p. 378) a grave-inscription of Sarkovieni, near Edessa, and two (nos. 2 and p. 381) from Pella. A metrical epitaph and a milestone have been found 433 at Edessa, and B. G. Kallipolites publishes 423 a bust from Ano Kopanos, N.E. of Naoussa, bearing the name 'Ολυμπίαος, the third son of King Beros, founder of Beroea, a tomb-relief 443 from Beroea with an epigram commemorating a Μουσώος θεράττανα Λυρκυντός, and a stele 444 of A.D. 177/8 recording a benefaction given by an ἀρχηγός, whose names, twenty-five in number, are appended. Other Beroean inscriptions are reported 437 by Makaronas, as well as epitaphs 438 from Phytia, 10 km. N.W. of Beroea, and Leukadis, 5 km. N.E. of Naoussa. D. M. Robinson re-edits, 449 with a full commentary, the grave-epigram (Hesp XVIII 84 ff.), found near Methone (Eleutherochori) on the road to Pydna (Kiros), of the three-year-old Aeacid Alcimachus, son of Neopolemos, τῶν ἄπτ' Ὀλυμπίαδος, probably the mother of Alexander the Great. Kallipolites 440 and A. D. Keramopoulos 444 comment on the silver phiale dedicated to Athena of Megara (cf. JHS LXXIV 72) found in a grave at Kozani, Makaronas gives further details of the dedication of two rows of vines at Kozani to Zeus Hyspistos by a vine dresser (cf. JHS LXVI 113), and D. K. Chatzes' discussion of the names Γρατία, Γρατσί, Γράτιος and Γράτιακος starts from an inscription of Koilas, 20 km. N.W. of Kozani, which refers to an estate as τῶν ἀγαθῶν Μετωνίου Χρύσου (AE 1934–5, 117 ff.). The reading Βαττύντασον in l. 1 of a δόγμα from Kastoria (JHS XXXIII 337 ff.), due to C. F. Edson, is confirmed 444 by Makaronas. F. Papazoglou's note on an honorary inscription (Demitas, 307, Spomenik, LXIII 229) from the gorge of the Axios (Vardar) I know only through J. and L. Robert's comments. 443 Makaronas also re-edits, 444 in the light of Bull 1949, 92, the decree of the victi of Thessalonica passed in 95 B.C. in honour of a gymnasiarch, and reports 447 a t.c. of Apirudate and a signed dolphin. M. Andronikos publishes 448 a metrical epitaph, probably from Salonica, engraved on the cenotaph of a youth who died abroad, and other Thessalonian epitaphs are provisionally recorded. 449 Kallipolites comments 450 on an inscribed grave-relief from Leta signed by a Beroean sculptor, which is published 451 by Makaronas together with the inscription on the statue-base of a woman honoured by the city and one in which nineteen ephexes express their regard for Demetrios, τοῦ μέγαν γυναῖκα Χρύσων, a late Hellenistic grave-stone 452 from Zagliaviri, and a fragmentary and delectable sale 453 of the fourth century B.C. from Vasilika. D. M. Robinson's publication of the terracottas, lamps and coins found at or near Olynthus in 1934 and 1938 includes 454 two inscribed t.c.'s from Coela; Makaronas publishes 455 a fourth-century epitaph from Olynthus, now at Salonica, probably that seen by Wace at Myriophyton (BSA XI 14), and W. A. McDonald argues 456 that the 'Villa of Good Fortune' was probably a ταυσούντα. G. A. Stamires corrects 457 errors in the first publication 458 of an epitaph from Serrhae, and in another A. M. Woodward

433 Actes, 153 ff.
438 Actes, 99 ff.
442 JHS LXIII 102.
446 Ibid., 628 ff.
447 Ibid., 627 ff.
448 Ibid. 633 f.
449 Ibid. 149 ff.
450 AE 1950–1, 184; cf. Makaronas, II 630.
452 Ibid., 274 ff.
453 Makaronas, II 644.
454 Bull 1954, 162.
457 BCH LXXVI 227, JHS LXII 102, LXIII 122.
458 Mon. Piot, XLVI 90 f.
460 Ibid., 620.
461 Ibid., 621 ff.
462 Robinson Studii, I 695 ff.
463 Ibid., 17–19, 1950.
reads in place of τῶν (Demitsas, 815). D. I. Lazarides examines a carefully written but interesting deed of sale of an okkh kai okkepevov from Amphipolis, dating probably from 250-200 B.C., and V. Beshelev pubhishes two inscriptions of Amphipolis, now in Sofia, a manumission and an epitaph, as well as one or two epitaphs from the valley of the Strymon (Struma). Makaranos surveys the epigraphical gains and losses of Amphipolis during and since the Second World War, as well as those of Philippi and Neapolis (Kavala).

Thrace and Lower Moesia continue to be very productive, thanks largely to the energy of Bulgarian scholars. G. Mihailov sent to the Epigraphical Congress a report on the projected publication of a corpus of Greek inscriptions of Bulgaria, beginning with those of the west coast of the Euxine. D. Detchev’s *Charakteristik der thrakischen Sprache* I have not seen. H. Bengston devotes a section (pp. 172 ff.) of his account of the ōrημηγια in the Ptolemaic Empire (above, n. 66) to Asia Minor and Thrace. In *Epigraphik Prinios* V. Beshelev publishes 122 inscriptions (64 Greek, 58 Latin), almost all new, brought from various find-spots to the Sofia Museum. The majority are epitaphs, but other types too are represented, e.g. manumissions (no. 5), honorary inscriptions (nos. 14, 23, 106), brick-stamps (nos. 47-53), dedications, and Imperial inscriptions (nos. 18, 19, 105); those of greatest interest include nos. 2, 5, 14, 22, 23, 30, 106 and 110. An article by Detchev on ancient monuments from Bulgaria edits a fragment from Sveti Vrach, which he regards as a mortgage-record, corrects Kazarov’s text (Denkmäler, 296) of a votive relief from Ezerovo, now at Sofia, and publishes a dedication from Satrovo, also now in Sofia, erected to Διος Ζβελουθροδι ται κυρεων εν του Βολβαθρυμπον κυμητα. From the S. coast there is less than usual to report. Lazarides’ excavation at Abdera has yielded, inter alia, 310 stamped amphora-handies, and at Mesochori, near Porto Lagos, a fifth-century metrical epitaph has been found. G. Baka-lakes corrects the text on a fourth-century grave-altar from Komotini, Makaranos reports the discovery of an inscribed grave-stele of the third century A.C. 20 km. W. of Alexandroupolis (Dedegach) and A. Wilhelm restores and explains a ill. 1-5 of a mutilated document of Perinthus (Ο̄h XXIII, Beibl. 163), apparently recording the issue of a fine, and comments on the remainder. E. Mamboury’s survey of excavations in or near Istanbul since 1936 includes (p. 439) a dedication to Apollo Propylaos (which J. and L. Robert explain and attribute to Eumenia in Phrygia) and (p. 457) two τάσσον-epigraphs on half-columns. F. Halkin collects and discusses a number of inscriptions of Byzantium which are of hagiographical interest. H. Grégoire studies a gnostic epitaph of the third or fourth century A.D. from Philippiopolis (Plovdiv), W. Peak unites and restores two fragments (Mihailov, Grec. Epigr. 84, 88a) of an epigram from Traiana Augusta (Stará Zagora), and C. Dremzisova publishes a number of votive reliefs to Asclepius, some of them inscribed, from the same region. D. Djontchev examines a relief from Suchindol in the Sevlievo district dedicated jointly to Dionysus and Heracles, and D. Detchev another relief, found near Tarnovo, offered by a priest Ημα τῆς τοιαύτης τοις. But it is the Pontic coast which is most prolific. In an article on ʿKoine syntax of Greek colonies on the Black Sea ʿA. Kotsevalov studies the decay of classical syntax in their inscriptions and concludes that the development was normal and shows no trace of the alleged influence of a native, non-Indo-European, language. C. M. Danov’s important discussion of the relation of the Greek cities of the coast to the Thracians of the interior from the second half of the third to the middle of the first century B.C. pays special attention to (a) an inscription from Apollonia (Sozopol) relating to an επημενήσιου which, he holds, was concluded by Mesambria and Apollonia with a Seleucid king, probably Antiochus III, against Thracians rather than Celts (pp. 140 ff.), (b) an inscription of Mesambria, which he dates between 250 and 200, honouring the Thracian prince Sadalas, and concluding with him a pact dealing with maritime traffic (pp. 105 ff.), and (c) the *Lucullus inscription* from Mesambria (cf. JHS LXXIV 72, 486 and the text engraved on the back of the stone (pp. 151 ff.); the Lucullus inscription is also studied by G. Tiberi, who proposes to restore [*επημ*] in place of [*επημ*]. I. Venedikov publishes a group of Latin votives to Silvanus unearthed in a sanctuary near Liljache in the district of Varna, among which one is in Greek (p. 206), and a number of inscribed leaden sling-bullets. R. Egger describes a holy water basin at Varna bearing the legend θυιον κρεσος, and C. Piccard comments on the title κυρισ in an inscription of Odessus (Varna, Stalin). Vols. VIII and IX of
the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Varna* (Stalin) are inaccessible to me, and I refer to J. and L. Robert’s analysis 492 of their epigraphical contents, relating mainly to Odessus and other sites in N.E. Bulgaria. S. Lambrino suggests 493 Histria as the provenance of the honorary decree for the architect Epicrates (*SIG* 707), hitherto assigned to Olbia or Tyras.

Epigraphical studies are carried on vigorously in the U.S.S.R., where new inscriptions frequently come to light on the N. shore of the Euxine and texts already known are revised or discussed; but these researches are published in Russian, of which I am regrettably ignorant, and I find them hard to evaluate. A number of articles in *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 1947–1951, by N. P. Rosanova, I. A. Boltunova, T. V. Blavatskaya and other scholars are summarized 494 by J. and L. Robert, and others appear in later issues of that journal. I. I. Tolstoi publishes 495 255 inscriptions, mostly new, incised on vases brought to the Hermitage from Olbia (nos. 1–74), Beresan (75–9), Chersonese (80–96), Nymphaeum (97–146), Panticapaeum (147–245) and Taman (246–54); most are short votive texts or names of makers or owners, but there is one remarkable Olbian *defixio* (no. 63).

**VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN**

[IG XI.] L. Robert read to the Epigraphical Congress a survey 496 of the inscriptions of Delos, summarizing the history of their publication and indicating the tasks still awaiting completion. F. Robert deals 497 with three temples on the W. coast of the island, those of the Dioscuri and of Asclepius and one which may be that of Leucothea; he studies the passages in the Delian accounts relating to them and publishes the inscriptions found in them (pp. 41 ff., 97 ff.), including *IDelos* 507 bis, 1568, 2922, a metrical dedication of a *Σωλων* to Asclepius (pp. 105 ff.) and a fragmentary text on a pillar base (p. 107). He also describes 498 the excavation of the shrine of Anios, collects the evidence from the inventories (pp. 20 ff.) and reports the discovery of many inscribed sherds (pp. 15 f.) and other inscriptions (pp. 18 ff., 26). A sculptor’s signature 499 came to light in 1951. J. H. Kent publishes 500 an amphora-stopper and fifteen amphora-handles from the temple estates on Delos, Rhenea and Myconos, and V. Grace devotes an article 501 to the amphora-stamps of Delos, numbering 5025 (including 496 in Latin), of which 3955 are Cnidian and 1330 Rhodian (see above, p. 126). J. Tréheux maintains, 502 against J. Delorme (cf. *JHS* LXXII 43) that the *Σωλων* of the palaistra, mentioned in the temple accounts, was a vessel of bronze, not of wood, and that *Σωλων* ἔμπροσθένας (IG XI 203 F 53) means ‘refaire le coffrage en bois du Σωλων* de métal’; he also studies (pp. 371 ff.) the evidence for the Delian palaistra, rejects the view that a η κάτω πταλισταρα means ‘the ground-floor of the palaistra’, and concludes (pp. 580 ff.) that there were never more than two public buildings so named at Delos and that the palaistra of the period of independence was the ‘Palestr de lacs’, first mentioned in 304 B.C. He also discusses 503 the historicity of the ‘Hyperborean offerings’, showing that Athenian and Delian records attest their periodical arrival at Delos c. 372 and still towards the middle of the fourth century, but finding no reference to them after the liberation of the island.

The following inscriptions in *IDelos* and *IG* XI also call for mention:

10. A. Plassart adds 504 supplementary comments on these dedications.

110. A. Wilhelm explains 505 the phrase τούς μηθείους ού κατεθέντιν in l. 17 of this record of the archon of 268 B.C.

165. J. Tréheux restores 506 l. 61 of this account of the hieropoioi. 291–2. He restores and discusses 507 a phrase in 291 b 8 + 292. 17 and dissociates it from the Hyperborean offerings.

1065. See below, n. 540.

1290. J. and L. Robert reject 508 B. A. van Groningen’s solution (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 74) of the problem raised by l. 45 of Maiastas’ poem.

1416. Wilhelm suggests 509 that the enigmatic ἔπιτιγλωσσίς (B ii 64) may be ἐπαναθέλην, a corruption of ἐπαναθέλην or ἐπαναθέλην.

1528. T. B. Mitford restores 510 ὑπερ[μεξχ]ν in place of ὑπερ[τεκτο]ν in I. 6 of this inscription honouring Crocus, στρατιῶτος σωτορκάρτωρ of Ptolemy Energetes II in Cyprus.

2220 ff. Ernest Will’s study 511 of the Syrian temple at Delos takes account of the dedications found there.

2532. F. M. Heichelheim calls attention 512 to ‘the interesting story of an ancient Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) ritual’ here preserved.

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496 Actes, 291 ff.
498 RA XLI 8 ff.; cf. BCh LXXVI 728.
502 Bull 1953, 143.
505 Bull 1953, 147; cf. C. Picard, RA XLI 93 f.
For two metrical epitaphs of Rhenea taken to Corfu see above, n. 395.

[IG XII.] G. Pugliese Carratelli read 513 to the Epigraphical Congress a survey of the epigraphical situation regarding Rhodes, Cos and the other Eastern Sporades. He also writes 518 on the status of the citizen body in Rhodes, challenging the views of Rostovtzeff (Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, II 689 f.) and Hiller von Gaertringen (RE Suppl. V 766 f.), and elsewhere 515 traces the development of the Rhodian state and its component elements. P. M. Fraser argues 516 against Pugliese Carratelli, that the Rhodian constitution dates from the first quarter of the fourth century and was not altered by Alexander. L. Moricone edits 517 four fragments of a Rhodian stele bearing a list headed Ἀξίων ἀρχηγῶν, extending from 408/7 to 369/8 and from 333/2 to 299/8 (or 327/6 to 293/2), surveys similar lists from the Rhodian cities, publishes (pp. 371 f.) a dedication to Zeus 519 signed by a Sinopean sculptor, and holds that the names on Rhodian amphora-stamps are those of priests of Helios. M. Guarducci revises 518 a metrical epitaph from Rhodes, now in the Naples Museum (Rend. Accad. Naz. Sci. Letter. Arti Napoli XVI 1 432 ff.), and dates it in the first half of the third century B.C. For Camirus we now have an admirable corpus, prepared by M. Segre and completed and edited by Pugliese Carratelli under the title Tituli Camirense; 519 dedications of hieropoi, other officials and private persons preponderate, but there are also lists (nos. 1-8), decrees (nos. 102-12), among which 110 is of especial interest, leges sacrae (nos. 148-56), etc.; the testimonia (pp. 277 ff.) include 21 inscriptions found elsewhere but relating to Camirus, and full indexes are added (pp. 286 ff.), together with a list of the 101 texts here first published. I. D. Kontes describes 520 two archaic votives from Camirus—a bronze wheel dedicated by a φαντασμός and a fragmentary stone statuette, probably Cycladic. P. M. Fraser makes a detailed study 521 of the evidence for tribal cycles found in the list of eponymous priests of Athena Lindos (IG II no. 1) and in that of the ἐπισχυροῖς at Camirus (Tit. Cam. 3 ff.), and discusses (pp. 38) the relation of the dème-cycle to the dème-order shown in other Lindian records (Lindos, II Nos. 347, 349, 378); he also examines 522 the dates of a Camiran decree (IG XII (1) 694 = Tit. Cam. 190) and one of Lindos (IG XII (1) 761 = SIG 340), which throw light on the Rhodian constitution, dating the former in the third century B.C. and the latter in the second half of the fourth. G. Klaffenbach’s proposed reading ἐν[τα]ριστὸν for ἐν[τα]ριστὸν in Lindos, II no. 419 (cf. JHS LXXIV 75) is rejected 523 by A. Debrunner.

D. P. Mantzouranes traces back 523 some modern Lesbian place-names to the cadastral survey of which fragments survive (IG XII (2) 74-80); he also publishes a short epitaph 524 from Lakerta and an inscription 525 from Mytilene, in which M. Pompeius Ethicus dedicates Μητέρας Νεκταρίας, discussing 526 the life and work of the dedicant, a poet who lived in Mytilene and died in Nero’s reign, and of the contemporary Mytilenean poet Lucilius. For three Lycian texts now in the Mytilene Museum see below (p. 148). Klaffenbach reads 527 υῳχία for the name Ψυξιά of a Melian portrait-bust (IG XII Suppl. 701), and P. Amandry comments 528 on the Argive arbitration between Melos and Cimonus (IG XII (3) 1259 = GH 179).

G. Pugliese Carratelli has completed and edited Tituli Calyrmnii, 530 an exemplary corpus of the inscriptions of Calymnus, prepared by M. Segre. It contains a biography and bibliography of Segre (pp. X ff.), a collection of testimonia, epigraphical and other, relating to the island (pp. 1 ff.), a brief account of the epigraphical researches carried out there (pp. 35 ff.) and 252 inscriptions, many of them previously unpublished, with commentary (fullest is that on no. 79, the record of a Cnidian arbitration), indexes and tables of concordance; decrees of Calymnus and other states number 85, manumissions 61, and sacred inscriptions 24. Of special value is G. Klaffenbach’s masterly edition, 531 based on R. Herzog’s copies, of sixteen σωληνία-documents from Cos; three of the grants were made by kings, six by states of Greece and Macedonia, four by western states, and three by cities of Asia Minor, and three Cretan decrees will appear in Icret V; the editor, who elsewhere 532 points out the interest of these texts, discusses their composition and dates and the Θεός, and adds a list of the known σωληνία-records of Cos. E. Will’s study 533 of the recently discovered fragments of Alcaeus examines Calymnian evidence on the cult of Dionysus Συλλάτης and Θεόλοφος and the hypothesis of a Dionysian system of medicine represented by Nebrus of Cos, and A. Wilhelm revises 534 the text of a Calymnian endowment (Maiuri, Nuova sittologia, 443); G. A. L. Vreeken’s dissertation 535 on the Calymnian regulations relating to the sacrifices due to tax-contractors I have not seen.

N. M. Kontoleon reports the discovery on Naxos 536 of a dedication to Demeter, Kore, Zeus Euobolus and Baubo, and on Paros 537 of a base inscribed Ἀγαθός and three other inscriptions.

513 Actes, 139 ff.
514 Studi V. Arangio-Ruiz, IV 485 ff.
519 Ibid. 347 ff.
520 Eranos, L 23 ff.
521 Par Pass VII 192 ff.
525 Παλατιος, II (α) 3 ff.; cf. JHS LXXIV 104.
526 Τίγας, 265 ff.
531 Wissenschaftliche Anzeigen, L 197 ff.
532 RA XXXIX 160 ff.
S. Marinatos rejects 538 the interpretation of ἐλάστερος, an epiklesis of Zeus at Paros, as ἔλαστος τοῦ ἄστερος, and suggests the meaning ὁ ἔλαστος τῶν κακοῦργων, i.e. τιμωρός, and Wilhelm proposes 399 new restorations, one of them anticipated by L. Robert (Le sanctuaire de Siniri, 67 f.), in II. 19–21 of the record of an Eretrian arbitration 400 between Paros and Naxos. K. Latte explains 421 an archaic inscription of Syros, τοῦ ἱπποδόρου ἱσολαίδη (IG XII Suppl. 244), as referring to a dance in armour. Kontoleon publishes 422 three interesting Tenian documents, two of which contain lists of functionaries (τάραξην, παθικές, θεσπιτίτους, κήρυκας, μάντις, σαλαμιτῆς, υποτέτοις, νόμος) who served under successive archons, while the third names the officials who δίδαξαν τὸς ἄστερος ξένος. G. Tibletti sees 452 in the ἑατρός Q. Calpurnius honoured in a Tenian decree (IG XII (5) 841) a resident prefect, but J. and L. Robert demur to this view.

A tile stamped ἘΠΩΝ ἘΡΜΥ has come to light 344 at Chios, and I. T. Kakrides emends 415 a metrical epitaph of the same provenance (Rev Phil XXIII 15); I have not seen the local Chian journals in which A. P. Stephanou publishes 446 a dedication to Hymea, an epitaph, and a Hellenistic style, not wholly comparable, of Iliad, II 615–70, perhaps exhibited in the gymnasion. Klauffenbach edits 477 an interesting dedication, made c. 580–70 by two Perinthians to Hera at Samos, of a golden Gorgon, a silver Siren and other objects bought for 212 Samian staters, including the cost of the stele; he also discusses (p. 16 n. 5) the date of the dedication of Aeaces (GHI 7), and elsewhere 458 corrects an honorary inscription of the third century a.d. from Samos (ADelt IX 102 no. 2). Wilhelm claims 450 that in I. 1 of a decree of Minoa in Amorgos (IG XII (7) 226) ἔστοιχαγονον is an error for ἐστοιχέαγον and collects many examples of similar mistakes. P. M. Fraser and A. H. McDonald revise and discuss 455 the letter of Philip V (Rie Fil LXIX 179 ff.) addressed Ἰδρυτοῖς τῶν Ἐφεσίων τεί βοουλευτεῖ καὶ τοῦ δικαίον in reply to an invitation to visit Lemnos and be initiated. K. Lehmann's reports on his excavations in Samothrace record 451 the discovery of a late Hellenistic votive naming Kadmilos (Hermes), a group of sherds bearing non-Greek, presumably Thracian, graffiti, part of a second-century stele inscribed ἀμφίτος μη εὔπροσε εἰς τῷ ἱερῷ, and a fourth-century architrave dedicated by [Ἀρρεσκ]είος to the great gods. J. Pouilloux read to the Epigraphical Congress a survey 452 of the inscriptions found at Thasos and the plans for their publication. M. Lang studies 453 a stoichedon inscription of 450–400 B.C. beginning τῶν ἄγγελων κατέφρον followed by a series of numerals, which she takes as a specification, probably exhibited in the market-place, of the interior measurements of the vessels. Many other inscriptions have been unearthed 454 in the course of the French excavations; numerous amphora-stamps are provisionally published, 455 and all will eventually figure in the projected Franco-American corpus (above, p. 126). Two epigraphical questions raised in M. Launoy’s book on the Thasian Hercules-cult (cf. JHS LXVII 116) and by C. Picard 566 in his review of that work are discussed 565 airesh by J. and L. Robert.

J. Day studies, 538 mainly in the light of inscriptions and coins, the economic situation of Euboea in Hellenistic and Roman times, treating successively the island as a whole (pp. 209 ff.) and its four principal cities (pp. 220 ff.), and stresses the danger of using Dio Chrysostom’s Euboean Oratio as evidence for its condition (p. 235). At Eretria an epigram has been found, and J. Boardman discusses 560 two inscribed Eretrian vases—an archaic amphora, and an oinochoe, now in Bonn. Wilhelm examines and emends 561 II. 54 ff. of the διάγραμμα regulating the institution of the ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀντιπροσώπους in the Euboean cities (IG XII (9) 207 and p. 176, Suppl. p. 178), and attention is called 562 to an Eretrian grave-epigram (ibid. 265, Suppl. p. 186). Among inscriptions found at Tymnæae (Aliveri) are 563 two fragments of Diocletian’s Edict (above, p. 124), and from Chalcis a manumission, a dedication to Apollo Delphinius and two epitaphs, while J. H. Oliver cites 565 a Chalcidian document (IG XII (9) 906 = SIG 898) as an example of the ratification by the δῆμος of honours granted by the συνέδριον.

[IG XIII.] M. Guarducci surveys 566 recent epigraphical discoveries made in CRET and summarizes the publication already achieved and the plans for its completion. R. F. Willetts, commenting on Aeschylus, Choeophori, 66 f., examines 567 the function of the τίμη mentioned in Cretan texts. F. Matz’s Forschungen auf Kreta contains a chapter 568 by E. Kirsten dealing with the foundation of the

538 AE 1950, 1-21 f.
542 Εἰσ. 224 ff., 682; cf. BCH LXXVI 235. For Tenos see also PAE 1950, 267 f.; Bull 1953, 161, CRAI 1951, 294.
544 BCH LXXVI 232, JHS LXXIII 129.
545 Εἰσ. 145.
547 III, 115, 123.
551 BCH LXXII 229, JHS LXXII 124, Archaeologia, VII 94, Mem. Soc. 110 f.
552 Acts, 254 ff.
555 BCH LXXVI 274 ff., LXXVII 281 ff.; cf. JHS LXVIII 129.
556 J. S. J. 1949, 117, 131 ff.
557 S. J. 1952, 131.
558 A. C. Johnson Studies, 209 ff.
559 BCH LXXVII 218, JHS LXXIII 126.
561 ID 12, 22, 23, 27, 28, JHS LXXIII 126.
563 BCH LXXVI 274 ff., LXXVII 281 ff.; cf. JHS LXVIII 129.
564 BCH LXXII 217.
565 BCH LXXII 217.
567 BCH LXXII 217.
569 Hermes, LXXXI 384.
570 PP. 118 ff.; cf. Bull 1959, 133. For Axos see JHS LXXII 112.
Greek cities of W. Crete, in which he discusses epitaphs of Araden (Icret II iv 2) and Tarrha (ibid. xxix 7). The discovery of a signed mosaic and a fragmentary text in the local script is reported from Cnossus, and that of a votive base from Lytus. Willetts devotes a careful study to the historical value of the Gortynian laws, which he dates c. 450 and regards not as a complete code, but as a body of regulations amending prior written secular law; he summarizes their provisions (pp. 98 ff.), examines their language and style, relative chronology and procedure (pp. 103 ff.), and describes the social and political system which they indicate (pp. 108 ff.). Wilhelm proposes to solve the problem of the ἔπειτα, named (as has been thought) in a decree of Gortyn and Phaestus (Icret IV 165), by reading ἐπειτικὸς (= ἔπειτος); he also revises the treaty of Gortyn and her allies with King Demetrios in 236 B.C. (Icret IV 167), offers a new restoration of ll. 7–14 of a second-century treaty between Lato and Eleutherna (Icret I xvi 17) on the basis of a pact between Hierapytas and Praesus (Icret III iv 1), and restores ll. 33, 35 of the third-century oath of the Itarians (Icret III iv 8 = SIG 526). Some inscriptions have been found by the French excavators at Itanos, including a metrical dedication from the precinct of Leucothea (cf. JHS LXXIV 77).

VII. Western Europe

[IG XIV.] M. Guarducci reports on recent progress in the discovery and publication of the abundant and interesting Greek inscriptions of Italy and Sicily, and on the tasks still outstanding. S. L. Agnello's Silligo di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia contains 106 early Christian inscriptions, half of which are from Syracuse; 95 are Greek (including 44 which are in IG XIV) and 21 Latin. Discussing the Syracusan alphabet, Guarducci rejects R. Carpenter's theory of a Delphian origin, maintaining that it is not Corinthian but Western, like that of Locri. In a full report on the recent excavation of the Apolloion-Artemision at Syracuse, G. Cultera discusses the identity of the temple (pp. 702 ff.) and publishes vase-inscriptions, Rhodian amphora-stamps (pp. 795 ff.) and a fragmentary text on stone beginning [κοι]λάρριον (pp. 809 ff.). G. V. Gentili announces the discovery at Syracuse of Rhodian amphora-handles, vase-inscriptions and a small altar, which J. and L. Robert associate with the cult of the hero Pediacrates; his publication of an early Christian inscription from the catacomb of S. Giovanni I have not seen. G. Pugliese Carratelli studies three Christian magical documents—one, previously known, from Cômiso, now in Catania, an exorcism from a site N.W. of Ragusa, and an epigraphic text of the fifth century A.D. or later from Acrae, containing an appeal to the ἀγιος ἀγελα (= ἄγεγελοι). Guarducci examines a fragmentary fifth-century decree from Acrae (SEG IV 27) on a bronze plate, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and thinks that it may be the decree enrolling the wealthy Megarians as citizens of Syracuse or of Acrae. E. Peterson studies the word καρτί, found twice (ll. 9, 25) in a Jewish amulet of Acrae (IG XIV 2413, 17) recently re-edited (cf. JHS LXXII 47), traces it to the translation of the Old Testament by Aquila and Theodotion, and interprets ll. 1–7 in the light of Ezekiel, IX; Vogliano publishes a letter from A. J. Festugiére and a note by S. Etrem (Symb. Oslo. XXVII 145 f.) relating to the same inscription. A. Di Vita re-edits nine epitaphs of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. from Acriae, and P. Mingazzini questions Pugliese Carratelli's view that the persons commemorated in an epigram from Cômiso (cf. JHS LXXII 47) were natives rather than Greeks, and thinks that its date may be as late as 451 B.C. Guarducci regards as genuine the archaic dedication to Antiphanus from Gela (DGE 303) and notes some epigraphical traces of Gela's relations with Megara Hyblaea and indirectly with the Megarian–Bocotian area. She also discusses two documents from Selinus—the archaic dedication of Thrullus (DGE 167, 1), in which she reads τυρὸς ἐνστάζων for ἐνυφαίνον ἐνύπτα, and an early votive to Hecate (IG XIV 270). G. Libertini edits a group of texts from Centuriae, including a fragment relating to contests in the gymnasium, several epitaphs and a short graffito on the foot of a skylphos.

We pass to ITALY. A. Degrassi reports on the published fascicules, and those in preparation, of the Inscriptiones Italicae, which include Greek as well as Latin texts. Part II (pp. 29 ff.) of F. Sartori's Problemi di storia costituzionale italiana examines the epigraphical and other sources for the constitutions of the Greek or Hellenized cities of Italy, especially of Neapolis (pp. 42 ff.), Croton (pp. 255 ff.)
115 ff.), Rhegium (pp. 132 ff.) and Heraclea (pp. 96 ff.). G. Ricci draws up 596 a list of artists of the first two centuries B.C. and the first century A.D. whose works are known in Italy, recording many Greek signatures, and A. Delling inquires 597 into the conception of the after-life reflected in Jewish epitaphs from Italy. A. E. Gordon's monograph 598 on Q. Veranius, consul in A.D. 49 and legate of Britain in 58, deals primarily with his Latin epitaph, but includes a study of all relevant inscriptions, indexed on pp. 337 ff. G. Jacopi edits 599 an early fifth-century dedication found near Croton, to Δίος το Μελίκων Δαρβαλός Χέστατο, seen in the dedicatory the famous athlete Phyllus, examines (pp. 171 f.) the Crotoniate dedication at Delphi (SIG 30) and Phyllus' memorial at Athens (IG II 655 = GH 21), and discusses (pp. 173 ff.) the nature and cult of Zeus Mellichios. A. Vogliano comments 600 on a gift-deed from Cremis (Ciro), and E. Schönbauer devotes a long article 601 to the exposition and criticism of previous views, especially those of Savigny and von Premerstein, of the 'Tabulae Heracleenses' (IG XIV 645) and to a summary of his own conclusions (pp. 193 ff.). M. Guarducci publishes 602 an early sixth-century dedication to Hera, incised on a silver disk found at Posidonia (Paestum), affording the first evidence of the cult of Hera there, apparently as a warrior goddess, and C. Picard, writing 603 on the cult and legend of Chiron in the western Mediterranean, examines a phylact-box in the British Museum (BMCat Vases IV 74 ff. F 151) and (pp. 7 f., 22 ff.) the archaic Chiron-inscription from Paestum (cf. JHS LXXV 77). Other recent finds are reported 604 by A. W. Van Buren, and H. Riemann gives a list 605 of inscriptions found there. Guarducci describes 606 a tiny lead phial of the first century B.C. from Tarentum inscribed λύκων 'Ακτείτα, eight other phials are known, but all save one are of earthenware. Some Rhodian and Cnidian amphora-stamps from Pompeii are published 607 by A. Maiuri. G. Klaftenbach shows 608 that a dedication from Neapolis (IG XIV 724) attests the name Εμανουέλ (cf. IG IX 1 (1) 197, 101). Inscriptions play a small part in F. de Martino's account 609 of the institutions of Greco-Roman Neapolis, but in a collection 610 of the sources for the history of that city many Greek inscriptions, mostly taken from IG XIV 714 ff., figure, together with (p. 408) an unpublished dedication, probably Neapolitan, though found on the island of Ischia, commemorating the victory of a lady, Scia Spec, in the running race in the 9th Italic (A.D. 154). E. Will appeals 611 to a disk from Cumae as evidence for nocturnal consultation of the oracle there, unaware of the new reading offered by M. Guarducci (cf. JHS LXXV 77). A. de Francisci publishes 612 a fragment of a Christian monument from S. Maria Capua Vetere. P. Romanelli reported 613 to the Epigraphical Congress on the inscriptions of Ostia and Porto. F. Miltner studies 614 the portrait-herm from Ostia inscribed θεομοντόλαθ, maintaining its essential lifeliness, and P. Mingazzini states a case 615 for recognizing Pindar rather than Hippocrates in another inscribed herm (Rendic Ponte AC XXI 123 ff.), while A. Vogliano rejects 616 the Pythagorean interpretation given by Guarducci to three Ostian epigrams (cf. JHS LXXIV 76). H. Thylander's impressive Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie 617 edits, with full tables and indexes, the 759 inscriptions, mostly sepulchral, found there; all are Latin except A 158, which is Greek, and A 284, 293, B 304 (IG XIV 915), which are bilingual. H. J. Leon studies 618 a group of Jewish epitaphs (CI R 555 ff.) at Porto, traces them to Rome, and argues that, though some Jews may have lived at Porto, we have no evidence of a settled Jewish community there.

He also published 619 an inscribed sarcophagus at the Villa Torlonia in Rome, commemorating the wife of the ruler (ἀρχαγι) of a synagogue, and discusses 620 the symbolic representations found in the Jewish catacombs of Rome; E. R. Goodenough's article 621 on the menorah (seven-branched candlestick) among Jews in the Roman world is inaccessible to me. Guarducci edits 622 an epigram of the fourth century A.D. referring to the Temple of Bellona and the Circus Maximus and thus topographically valuable; she regards it as the epitaph of an inn-keeper (ἰμνοδόκος), but J. and L. Robert suggest 623 a charioteer as more probable. D. Detchev discusses 624 the θεος Ζελεδσδρόζ και ιωβδιδνθ (to whom a relief is dedicated on the Esquiline by a praetorian soldier (IG XIV 981 = IGR I 58)), G. Q. Gioglianoni remarks 625 a new epitaph of an 'Αιμνβος, L. Moretti publishes 626 an interesting epigraphic inscription of an A.D. 60, found on the Via Latina, recording the successes of a distinguished wrestler, B. Lavagnini examines 627 the epigram (IG XIV 1074) on the base of a statue of the poet Claudian, once in Trajan's Forum, but now in Naples, P. Boyancé 628 a metrical epitaph in Rome (ibid. 2242), G. Giuseppe 629 the Christian tomb-epigraph of Flavia Sopha (CIG 95954), which, he argues, reflects the views and practices of the Valentinian school, and H. Grégoire 630 the epitaph

594 Antichità, II 80 ff.
598 Prolegomena, I 97 ff.
601 REA LIII 5 ff.
602 RE XXII 124 ff.
604 JRA VII 157 ff.
607 Acta, 277 ff.
608 Ὅθθε XXXIX 70 ff.
609 ᾿Οδῖος XXVI 33 ff.
613 Jew. Qs. Rev. XXI 413 ff.
614 JAO, LXXIX 87 ff.
620 Aegyptia, XXXII 457 ff.
621 REA 2487.
622 I. E. F. 174 ff.
625 Acta, 277 ff.
626 ᾿Οδῖος XXVI 33 ff.
627 JAO, LXXIX 87 ff.
of Theonoe (NS 1923, 49). G. Klaffenbach corrects 631 the restoration of the prose epitaph of an Amaisian (Epigraphica, IV 56), and two Lycian dedications, now in the Museo delle Terme, appear in Metzer's catalogue of votives at Antalya (below, n. 713). Boyancé pays 632 special attention to the relief and epigram of Eutychus from Albano in Latium (cf. JHS LXXII 47 ff.), of which a new photograph is given 633 elsewhere, and his interpretation is examined 634 by J. and L. Robert. A. Rambaldi publishes 635 a fragmentary epitaph from Spoleto (Spoleto), Guarducci studies 636 a group of local vases from Caere inscribed with Attic names in Attic script, indicating a small Attic settlement there in the seventh or sixth century B.C., and the Inscriptiones Italicae, VII (1), edited by A. Neppi Modona, contains 637 a sarcophagus-inscription from Pisa. R. Egger examines 638 a sarcophagus of the third century A.D. from Ravenna, bearing a Greek inscription in Latin letters (Dessau, ILS 9442), a sarcophagus from Belluno (IG XIV 2381) with a Latin epitaph and a Greek phrase, and an inscription from Mutina; in all three he sees traces of the Isiac mystery-cult, and takes γραφή as the watchword of the Isiac. A. Provas studies 639 an amphora-stamp found near Cremona, and P. L. Zovatto 640 a group of fourth- and fifth-century Christian inscriptions at Concordia (IG XIV 2325 ff., 2328, 2334). G. Posener considers 641 mainly from the Egyptian standpoint, the 'miraculous rainfall' associated with the Egyptian wonder-worker Harnophilus commemorated at Aquileia (cf. JHS LXXII 48). A. W. Van Buren reports 642 a grave-relief found near Castelfranco Veneto, and P. Sticchi's Inscriptiones Italicae, X (4), includes 643 several Greek inscriptions from Tergeste (Trieste) and its environs. F. Bortoli Tamaro reads to the Epigraphical Congress a paper 644 on the Greek and Latin inscriptions in Venice and their provenance.

F. Benoit publishes 645 two Greek cippi at Aix-en-Provence, which J. and L. Robert assign 646 to the collection of Cardin Le Bret and ultimately to Sidon. H. Rolland reports 647 the discovery of a Rhodian amphora-handle at Saint Blaise, and M. Guarducci adds 648 a note to her recent article (cf. JHS LXXIV 78) on the invocation of Pectorius from Augustodunum (Autun). A. Garcia y Bellido’s Hispania Graeca 649 includes (II 42 ff.) an account of Greek inscriptions and brick-stamps found at Emporiom (Ampurias) and (pp. 216 ff.) of the famous inscribed ring from Tartessus (cf. JHS LXXIV 78); M. Almagro’s *Las inscripciones amparitanas* 650 I have not seen. G. Ward regards 651 two inscribed silver spoons of sixth-century type from Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, as probably a baptismal present to a king. E. Bickel calls attention 652 to the votive inscriptions (IG XIV 2562) to Anicetus found near Confluentes (Kolbenz) as an example of Greco-Celtic religious syncretism, and sees in the dedicatory a Massaliote resident at Augusta Treverorum (Treves).

VIII. Asia Minor

L. Robert reported 653 to the Epigraphical Congress on the journeys made by his wife and himself in Asia Minor and on the way in which they propose to publish the results, epigraphical and other, of their travels and excavations, especially in Caria, Pisidia and Ionia. In another paper 654 J. Keil gave an account of the inscriptions discovered at Ephesus and of the present position and future prospects of the Tzitiz Asiae Minoris, while C. Weikert dealt 655 with the German excavations in Asia Minor and their epigraphical fruits. To D. Magie’s article on the Egyptian cubs in Asia Minor I refer above (n. 106), as also (n. 69) to H. Bengtson’s study of the Ptolemaic strategia there. T. Zawadzki’s work 656 (Polish, with English summary) *Some problems connected with the social and agrarian structure of countries in Asia Minor in the period of early Hellenism* I know only by the comments of J. and L. Robert and of R. Moutarde.

G. E. Bean reports 657 on visits paid in 1946-52 to Caunus (Dalyan) in Caria, describes its site, traces its history and edits seventeen Greek inscriptions (two Carian texts were published by L. Robert in Hellenika, VIII 20 ff., and a dossier relating to Caunian judges sent to Smyrna in Hellenika, VII 171 ff.); two (nos. 3, 4) are dedications of statues by members of Maussollus’ family, and the rest include a list of magistrates (no. 5), a subscription list of a thiasos (no. 6), an honorary decree (no. 8), a mutilated lex sacra (no. 9), an honorary epigram (no. 10), the signatures of two sculptors, probably Rhodians (no. 11), two records of victories, one equestrian and the other poetic (nos. 12, 13), and a dedication to Sarapis (no. 15). Bean and J. M. Cook publish 658 fifty-nine inscriptions copied in the Cnidian Peninsula, twenty-six in villages near the western isthmus, nineteen in the central plain, and fourteen from Tekir, at the western extremity; they include two texts in the archaic Cnidian script (nos. 1, 27), a fourth-century decree (no. 2), a fourth-century grant of privi-

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632 REA 1954, 289 ff.
634 Bull 1954, 286.
637 Rome, 1955, no. 02.
639 Epigraphica, XIII 142 ff.
640 Antiq. monumenti cristiani di Italia Concordia Sagittaria (Vatican, 1900) 22 ff.
641 RIC Phil XXV 162 ff.; cf. Bull 1953, 266.
642 Accidenti monumenti cristiani di Italia Concordia Sagittaria (Vatican, 1900) 22 ff.
643 A7A LVI 135.
649 Acts, 57.
651 Antiquit. 1952, 9 ff.
653 Acts, 216 ff.
654 Ibid. 202 ff.
655 Ibid. 210 ff.
658 BSA XLVII 183 ff.
leges by Chalce (no. 3), a rent-charge payable for a τέμενος of Asclepius (no. 28), and the statue-inscription of P. Vinicius, consul in A.D. 2 and later proconsul of Asia (no. 47); inscriptions show (pp. 205 ff.) that Cnidus was transferred about the beginning of the Hellenistic age from Burgaz to Tekir. Cook reports 689 the discovery of a dozen new inscriptions on the Halicarnassian Peninsula and of a fragment of an honorary decree on the N. shore of the Ceramic Gulf. Wilhelm restores 690 a document from Mylasa (LeBas-Wadd. 387) recording a grant made by Philip Arrhidaeus to an individual and the recipient's dedication, revises 691 a decree of the Cretan κοινωνία inscribed at Mylasa (GDI 5150), and interprets 692 a previously misunderstood sentence in a decree of Aphrodisias honouring a public benefactor (LeBas-Wadd. 1611. 21 ff.). F. W. Scheil examines 693 in the light of inscriptions, the functions of σύνθεσις and of ἐπιστάσεις at Miletus in the Hellenistic age, paying special attention (pp. 119 ff.) to Milet, I (3) 36a and 36ab, and E. H. Kantorowicz discusses 694 the phrase σύνθεσις Δίκη (or Δίκαιος) in epigrams praising Roman governors, notably the Milesian hymn in honour of the proconsul Festus (SEG IV 457). P. Åström copied 695 at Mersin two epitaphs from the neighbourhood of Heraclea ad Latium, W. Peek proposes 696 new readings and restorations of the poems honouring the wrestler Athenopolis of Priene (Iv Priene, no. 268). J. M. Cook announces 697 the discovery of an early fourth-century epitaph at Anaea, and Wilhelm substitutes 698 οἱ [πυραμώνεις] for οἱ [πυραμῷς] in I. 79 of the record of the Mylasian arbitration between Priene and Magnesia on the Maeander (Iv Magn. 93 = SIG 679). E. Martin examines 699 the epitaph of Seikilos from Aidin, near Tralles (Philol LIII 160 ff.), now lost, and its musical notation. L. Robert identifies 700 the site of Euihippe, almost opposite to Nysa in the Maeander Valley, by means of a decree issued by a proconsul, otherwise unknown, in the early third century A.D. in response to complaints of the conduct of soldiers and officials. The study of the rich store of inscriptions found at Ephesus owes an incalculable debt to the ability and energy of J. Keil, who edits 701 the epigraphical sections of two further volumes of the final publication of the Austrian excavations, dealing with the Library and with St. John's Church respectively; for these I refer to the full analysis given by J. and L. Robert. Keil also throws fresh light on the educational system of the city in his edition 702 of four new texts, of which one (no. 1), a dedication of the five παιδιάμοιοι to [Hermes?], Herakles and King Eumenes II, registers the results of the competitions of παιδιάματα and of παιδιά in various athletic events, grammar, drawing, and music, while another (no. 3) refers to the παιδιά as held on the occasion of Hadrian's visit in A.D. 123, when ὄμησον οἱ βασιλεί [s] ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἀνεμόντος τῶν αὐτοκράτορα. Elsewhere he comments 703 on the Ephesian ἡρεμία, emphasizing the similarity of youth organizations in the eastern and the western provinces of the Empire, and publishes 704 a series of five bases from the Hellenistic–Roman Gymnasium bearing bilingual dedications (in no. 1 only the Latin) of τὸ συντελεία τῶν ἀνδριάντων σὺν παιντὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὸ κόσμῳ, τὸ συντελεία τοῦ Ἀδαμάντου (ΟΓΙ 481), etc., each base supported less or more figures portraying pathetic scenes from Greek legend, and another base (p. 43 no. 2), dedicated soon after A.D. 85, was surmounted by a satyr. R. Muth discusses the derivation and significance of the title ἔσπηρ borne by the priest of Artemis at Ephesus. For the inscriptions relating to the τεύχη at Teos see above (p. 125). Keil also publishes 705 six inscriptions from Smyrna, copied in 1895 by R. Heberdey; two (nos. 1, 2), now at Leyden, are a metrical lex sacra of the second century A.D., showing the ὄρπη character of the mysteries celebrated in a sanctuary, probably of Dionysus Bryseus, and a grave-epigram of the same century, while four are epigraphs of the second or third century, one of which commemorates a gladiator. A bronze bowl with a votive inscription has also been found 706 at Smyrna. Keil further gives 707 a new and greatly improved text of an interesting inscription (IGR IV 1381) of A.D. 250–270 from ruins S.E. of Kula in Maconia, recording the grant of market-rights to the δῆμος τῶν Τετραπυργίων and setting forth the privileges and duties involved. W. H. Buckler translates 708 and comments on a agreement concluded in A.D. 459 between the chief magistrates of Sardis and the local trade union of builders and artisans (Sardis, VII (1) 18), and T. Jawadski dates 709 in the last quarter of the second century A.D. the long and valuable dossier relating to Mnesimachus (ibid. 1). W. Hahland's study 710 of the Pergamene portrait of the Celtic princess Adobogia involves a discussion of the three known bearers of that name (see the stemma on p. 157), of two inscribed bases (pp. 144 f.) from Pergamum, and of inscriptions from Lesbos relating to the same family. The θεολογος νόμος regarding the Pergamene ᾠστυνόμοι (ΟΓΙ 483) is assigned 711 by Oliver to Hadrian, but
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J. and L. Robert regard it as late Hellenistic and G. Klaffenbach as passed by one of the Attalid kings, but re-engraved in the archaistic revival of the early second century A.D. At Troy a fragment of a bowl bearing an archaic graffito has been unearthed. A. Wilhelm restores κατάδικος of the decree of Ilium (Τροία ν. ἱλιον), and R. van Compernolle supports A. Brouwer's assignment of the Sigeme stele (SIG 2) to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. (REG XLI 107 ff., XLI 5 ff.) against Guarducci's dating in the second half of that century (Ann. n.s. III–IV 135 ff.).

F. K. Dörner reports fully on a journey in Bithynia taken in 1948 with a view to the preparation of the Bithynian volume of the Tituli Asiae Minoris; he deals, inter alia, with forty-four inscriptions (one in Latin) of Prusias ad Hypium (pp. 77 ff.) and ninety-six (two in Latin) of Bithynium–Claudiopoli (pp. 32 ff.), and adds an ample epigraphical index (pp. 71 ff.); nos. 4, 5, 10, 19 and 74 (a list of agonothetai and gymnasiarchs who celebrated an ἔγον in honour of Ζεὺς Καυστρινός are of special interest. From Dorylaimon in Phrygia comes a stele with relief and an inscription of the second or third century A.D., edited as an epigraph by D. A. Tsiribas. Boyancé examines a metrical epigraph from Aezami (Kaibel, Epigr. 386), and T. R. S. Broughton points out that a bilingual text found there (Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom. IX 44 ff.) removes the evidence for the seizure of temple-lands in Asia Minor by the Hellenistic kings. A. Wilhelm proposes new restorations of two passages in a document of Acmonia (IGRIV 661. 1 ff., 25 ff.) recording the benefaction of T. Flavius Praxias, of which L. Robert promises a revised edition, and suspects an error of the engraver or the editor in the words κατάδικος, κατάδικος in two epigraphs of Hierapolis (Judeich, Altert. v. Hierapolis, 195, 342), denying that κατάδικος can mean 'give'. T. T. Duke examines the numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the festivals celebrated at Laodicea ad Lycum, D. M. Robinson publishes a magical text, perhaps Christian, on silver foil encased in a bronze tube, found in 1924 at 'Pisidian' Antioch, and R. Egger restores εἰσελθεῖται γράμματα πιστά in l. 6 of the Abercias-inscription at Hierapolis, comparing l. 19. For a portion of the Diodelian's Edict discovered at Synnada see above (n. 84). P. Kretschmer uses some epigraphical evidence, especially a votive from Iconium (Sterrett, Epigr. Journ. 155), in an article on the Leges and the earliest population of the E. Mediterranean. F. Halkin discusses two Christian inscriptions from Sebaste in Phrygia Pacatiana, one of which is treated, along with a votive Τῇ ἱλαρόν και Μὴτρή, by W. M. Calder and H. Grégoire in an article which I have not seen.

C. Bosch studies the Celts at Ancyras, primarily on the basis of three name-lists, dating from the reigns of Tiberianus, Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and nine other inscriptions; he concludes (p. 291) that the leading Galatian families settled in the cities, especially Ancyras, from the time of Augustus and intermingled with, and so gradually assimilated, the Anatolian families, thus losing in the second century A.D. their race-consciousness. F. E. Adcock discusses a vital phrase in the Res gestae, 34. 3, which sums up Augustus' position as princeps. G. Klaffenbach substitutes δί' αὐτοῦ of the οὖν τινος for διὰ αὐτοῦ τινος in an epitaph of Nazianzus in Cappadocia published by G. Jacopi. U. B. Alkim's report on the fourth campaign of excavation at Karatepe contains an inscription from Tasholuk, 5 km. S. of Gökser, which he regards as probably Cappadocian but W. M. Calder interprets as the epitaph on a grave erected c. A.D. 375 to a member of an asetic fraternity by three fellow-members. Nine Greek inscriptions found in the third campaign are edited by G. E. Bean, one of which, belonging strictly to Cilicia rather than Cappadocia, is on an altar dedicated Οὐράνιος (= οὐρανίος?) in fulfilment of a vow, and the others are a boundary-stone (no. 2), a spring-inscription (no. 3), five epitaphs (nos. 4–8), and a Christian prayer (no. 9).

L. Robert gives a preliminary account of three inscriptions, of geographical or topographical interest, from Xanthas, Side and Magarsus (Antioch on the Pyramus) respectively. C. Picard reports the discovery at Xanthas of an Alexandrian vase inscribed θεῶν ἐνευεργῶν Βερεικής βασιλείας Ἀγαθός Τυχής. M. Segre seeks to solve the problem of the NATA in l. 18 of the decree of Telmessus in honour of Ptolemy son of Lysimachus (TAM II 1 = OGI 55) by reading 'κατα τὰ δέειν νομα'. Wilhelm restores a phrase in an honorary inscription of Sidyama (TAM II 191 = IGR III 590), and L. Moretti's estimate of the military strength of the Cibyrians and of Lydia in the first two centuries B.C. uses (p. 345) the evidence afforded by the Moagete-section.
from Araxa (cf. JHS LXXII 52, LXXIV 60). G. E. Bean revises 712 a dedication to Men (J. and L. Robert, Hellenica, IX 39 ff.), of doubtful provenance but now in Adalia (Antalya), and H. Metzger's Catalogue des monuments votifs du Musée d'Adalia 713 comprises thirty-two votives, of which fifteen are inscribed, arranged according to the deities to whom they are dedicated; two appendices deal with three Lycian monuments in the Mytilene Museum (TAM II 727, 730 from Megiste, and one unpublished) and six, of which only two are inscribed, at Rome (above, p. 145). Wilhelm's comment 714 on a will from Lyrboton Kome in Pamphylia (SEG VI 673, 9) is, as J. and L. Robert point out, mistaken; he also suggests 715 corrections in ll. 13, 15, 23 of the letter from a high priest of the Augusti to the city of Ariassus regarding a promised endowment (IGR III 422), referring for others to L. Robert, Etudes Anatoliennes, 378 ff. Bean publishes 716 twenty-seven epitaphs, mostly Hellenistic, from Aspendus (Balkiz), whose main interest lies in the names they record. D. Magie, discussing 717 a reform in the levav of grain at Cibyra under Claudius, reads πασίν for προσιν in IGR IV 914. 14. To Moretti's article on the armed forces of the Cibyriot I refer above. M. Gough's valuable account of Anazarbus in CILrica contains 718 thirty-nine inscriptions, three of which are Latin; most are epitaphs, several of them exactly dated, but there are also two milestones (nos. 16, 25), three dedications (nos. 3, 44, 46), an inscription honouring Caracalla (no. 2), the record of an athlete who was victor in pentathlon and stadion, winning the men's stadion at Olympia thrice (no. 1). On no. 46, a metrical dedication to Menas, F. Halkin comments 719 at some length.

To the epigraphy of Cyprus T. B. Mitford is again the chief contributor. At the Epigraphical Congress he read a comprehensive survey 720 of Cypro-Minoan, syllabic and Greek inscriptions and outlined the scope and method of the projected corpus, while he also reviews Cypriot writing from Minoan to Byzantine times in Archaeology, V 151 ff. He publishes a long and valuable article 721 on Seleucus and his son Theodorus, governors of Cyprus under Euergetes II, and their children, based mainly on epigraphical evidence, reconstructing (p. 170) their stemma and discussing the Ptolemaic administration of the island in the late second century B.C.; he gives improved texts of twenty-seven inscriptions, adds three previously unpublished (nos. 3, 9, 22), and revives four others (nn. 33, 52, 68, 133). Elsewhere 722 he examines the character of Ptolemaic rule in Cyprus, challenging Rosivatte's account and emphasizing the Greek cities; incidentally he publishes (p. 85 n. 4) a new inscription found near Carpaya, in which [τι τα]ν[οικον γεωρρησι χερσον] (no. 66) contains a section on Cyprus (pp. 136 ff.). In a belated Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, 1937-9, 723 he gives an account of the epigraphical accessions of the Cyprus Museum during that period. A revised edition of the Guide to the Cyprus Museum, by P. Dikaioa, includes (pp. 182 ff.) the contents of Room IX, in which twenty-five inscriptions, Phoenician, syllabic, 'digraphic' (i.e. syllabic and Greek) and Greek, are exhibited (cf. JEA XI 136). A. H. S. Megaw's surveys of archaeological discoveries in Cyprus in 1951 and 1952 refer 724 to recent epigraphical finds at Paphiades, Paphos, Vikles, Kafizin, Salamis and elsewhere. In a posthumous article 725 M. Segre studies (pp. 319 ff.) a fragmentary text from Marium-Arsina (Lebas-Wadd. 278), now in Munich, which he regards 726 as a royal letter, probably sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus between 260 and 250 B.C., regulating a tax and throwing light on the fiscal system in the foreign provinces of the Lagid Empire. He also discusses (pp. 330 ff.) a dedication of unknown provenance, now in the Nicosia Museum (Arch. Pap. XIII 24 ff.), in which he sees a record of the Seleucid domination in Cyprus, dating it between 200 and 150 B.C. and identifying Ptolemy father of Eirene with Ptolemy Macron; but J. and L. Robert point out 727 the serious difficulties of this view. Segre deals 728 thirdly with the amnesty granted by Ptolemy Euergetes II on his accession in 145/4, of which an abstract is engraved on the same base (Arch. Pap. XIII 92 ff.), proposing new restorations of ll. 10, 12 f., 17. The amnesty is followed by a letter of Ptolemy to his troops in Cyprus, in which W. Schubart modifies 729 Rehm's text (Philol XCIV 267 ff.). K. Friis Johansen publishes 730 an inscribed amphora and ten sherds from Kafizin, acquired in 1924 by the Danish National Museum, and studies the problems presented by the votive inscriptions from that site, especially their date, their religious significance, and the meaning of kourea, δικαίωμα and υδροφόρος. O. Vesper's work on Roman glass in Cyprus includes 731 two beakers inscribed λαβε τη τεν αναθηματο και κατάξεις καὶ αυτορρισμον. Klaffenbach restores 732 ἐθος (ἐρχθος) in place of ἐθος [ἀντὶ] in an epigram of Palaepaphos commemorating a doctor (Mnemos VI (1938) 107 ff.), Mitford restores 733 a phrase in an honorary inscription of Paphos (Lebas-Wadd. 2795), and a fragmentary text of the same provenance (JHS IX 444 no. 71) is restored diversely by
him 734 and by Segre. 735 R. E. Carter and E. P. Hamp discuss dialect-forms found in the longest extant syllabic text, the Iatalium land-donation (DGE 679), the former 736 οὐσίων and οὕτων (ll. 5, 6), the latter 737 υπαίσον (l. 10). For the Cypro-Minoan inscriptions of Enkomi see above, p. 127.

IX. SYRIA, PALESTINE AND THE EAST

F. K. Dörner reports 738 the discovery of a new sanctuary at Kâhta, halfway between Karakuç and Nemrud Dagh in COMMAGENE, whose rock-cut inscription of over 250 lines, relating to the cult of Antiochus I, proves the site to be that of Arsamera on the Nymphaeus. P. M. Fraser revises 739 the text of another cult-regulation from Selik, about six miles N. of Samosata (Samsat), now in the British Museum (IGLyr 51); he argues that, though it may possibly be the close of the text of which an earlier portion, said to come from Palas on the Euphrates, was found by Jacopi at Adiyaman, it cannot be part of OGI 404 (IGLyr 52), which is also in the British Museum (IBM 1048a).

R. Mouterde submitted to the Epigraphical Congress a report 740 on the present position and future prospects of the IGLyr. To H. Bengtson's account of the Ptolemaic strategy in Syria I refer above (n. 66). Ernest Will announces 741 the discovery at Khaltan, about 12 miles from Afrin, of two inscriptions, one wholly, the other almost, illegible, in connexion with remarkable memorials of the cult of Zeus Dolichenos. G. Downey discusses 742 the date of the Syrian liturgical treasure in the Cleveland Museum and challenges L. Brecher's views 743 of its date and origin, denying that it must be earlier than A.D. 434 and that its provenance must be Rosafa-Sergiopolis; he also examines 744 the inscription on a sixth-century silver chalice from Syria in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, compares it with that on a sixth-century paten from Riha, near Aleppo, now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, and records the inscriptions on a silver cross in the Antioch hoard. G. Haddad's article 745 on 'The Population of Antioch in the Hellenistic-Roman Period' is condensed from the first two chapters of his Aspects of Social Life in Antioch (cf. JHS LXXV 82). L. Robert gives a brief account of 746 an inscription valuable for Antiochenese toponymy, and points out 747 that ξαλκομαίας in the Yako mosaic is not, as Haddad and Mouterde thought, a Semitic or Greek personal name, but a professional term, 'bronzesmith'. G. Spano examines 748 other mosaic inscriptions in his article on the 'Nymphaeum of the Proseum' in the Theatrical at Antioch. E. L. Sukenik edits 749 the mosaic inscriptions found in the synagogue at Apamea in 1934 and 1937, C. Picard comments 750 on the Socrates-mosaic at Apamea (cf. JHS LXXV 82), and R. Mouterde revises and completes 751 the text of an inscription (PAES 126) honouring Caracalla on the occasion of his tour of provincial inspection in A.D. 214/5. An interesting, if enigmatic, metrical epitaph of A.D. 150-250 of uncertain provenance (various accounts point to Qalat Yahmou, E. of Marathus, to Gabala, and to Tortosa as its source) is edited 752 by H. Seyrig, who also publishes 753 a dedication τοῦ ἐν ψυχή Καρακάλα that Antiochus I, possibly II, and that the πόλις which sent a decree to Augustus (l. 18) was Aradus, in whose territory the village and temple lay.

J. and L. Robert emphasize 754 the extreme rarity of Greek inscriptions in the N.W. portion of Palmyrene, explored and described by D. Schlumberger, and H. Seyrig maintains 755 that an inscription of Palmyra (Syria, XXII 256) proves that a Brutius Praesens governed Syria at some time between A.D. 120 and 190, but Pfau and G. Picard prefer 756 a later date, between 135 and 137, Part III of the Preliminary Report of the Ninth Season of Work, 1935/6, 757 at DURA-EUROPOS, edited by M. I. Rostovtzeff, A. R. Belling, F. E. Brown and C. B. Welles, deals with the Palace of the Dux Ripae and its Dolichenene. 758 The inscriptions of the Palace are edited by Rostovtzeff and Welles (pp. 27 ff.), those of the Dolichenene by J. F. Gilliam (pp. 107 ff.); the former number twenty-six (including five Latin and three Pehlevi), among which are μηδενικά inscriptions of two tragic solo singers (τραγοδοι), in one case associated with the ύποκριτής (nos. 945, 948), and fragments of household accounts (nos. 956 ff.), while the latter number nineteen (three of them Latin), including a dedication Του μεγαλου και του Δαλιες by a vexillatio of cohorts II Ulpi Paphlagonum (no. 971), and another by soldiers of cohorts II Ulpi equitata (no. 972), a votive by a soldier Του 'Μεσάς τού ἐν ψυχή, of the Emperor (no. 974), other votives (nos. 973, 976, 978) and a Bacchic ὁδόρου (no. 979) previously published (AJPh LXIX 27 ff.). Welles also studies 759 the various elements in the population of

735 Ann. XVII-IX 295.
736 Cl Phil XVI 23 ff.
737 Ibid. 240 ff.
738 Bibl. Orient. IX 93 ff.; cf. BAS XLIV 96 ff, Die Rundschau, LIII 143 ff.
740 Acts, 176 ff.
744 AJPh LXIX 349 ff.
748 RendLanc VIII vii 152 ff., 155.
750 RAI XII 100 ff.
754 Bull 1953, 209.
758 Cf. TAPA LXI 157 ff.
759 A. C. Johnson Studies, 231 ff.
Dura, especially in the ninety years of Roman occupation beginning in A.D. 165, when the city became an undistinguished part of the Roman Levantine world, sharing that uniformity toward which the Empire led (p. 274). P. V. C. Baur publishes 766 the lamps found at Dura, some of which have impressed or incised letters and two (nos. 89, 261) bear names, and examines 761 the cock and scorpion which figure on the Orthonobasus-relief. J. and L. Robert suggest the reading ἡμώνθη for κρασίον in a graffito of Zenobia published 762 by J. Laufray, F. Halkín comments 763 on an inscription of A.D. 457/8 from Serín, near Heliopolis (Mil. Bbr. XXIX 64 ff.), A. Maricq reads 764 ὑπέρφυλλα (second aorist imperative of ὑπέρφυλλον) in ll. 19–21 of a dedicatio from Beyrouth (SEG VII 213), and H. Seyrig publishes 765 a bronze ship, later used as a lamp, found at Beth-Maré (Atheni.), some 15 miles from Chalcis, and now housed in the Beyrouth Museum, bearing a dedication, probably of A.D. 121/2, Θεοῖ Διὸ Βασιλεία. In a long and amply illustrated report entitled 'Antiquités de l'Hermon et de la Beqâ disappointment. R. Mouterde presents 766 the fruits of his travels in the region of the Hermon and the upland valley between Lebanon and Antilebanon, from Ḥabsayya, W. of Hermon, to Nébi Sit, S.E. of Baalbek, and Souq Wādi Barada toward Damascus; his report includes twenty inscriptions-four votive and two sepulchral from Hermon, dating from the first three centuries A.D., and fourteen (five Latin and nine Greek) from the temples of Antilebanon—of which the most interesting is an altar-dedication of A.D. 166/7 (pp. 78 ff.).

M. Schwabe re-edits and interprets 767 a large building-record (CIG 8495) from ed-Dumére, N.E. of Damascus, and L. Wenger examines 768 the bilingual report (cf. JHS LXVII 123, LXXII 53) of a case tried before Caracalla at Antioch in A.D. 216, primarily with a view to discovering what light it throws on that Emperor's character. Ernest Will studies 769 three dedications from Sidon, now in the Clercq collection, Paris, dates them in A.D. 389, and argues that they prove the existence of a flourishing Mithraic cult in the East towards the close of the fourth century. H. Seyrig publishes 770 a bronze tessera from Tyre with an inscription in Phoenician script on both sides; that on the reverse may, he thinks, be a transliteration of ἰσραήλ ἄρας referring to the ἄρας granted to the city by Demetrius II in 141/0 B.C. A. Maricq explains 771 the term ὑπέρφυλλον, found in various forms in two defixiones from Apheca (Fiq), E. of the Sea of Tiberias, and now in the Louvre, 772 not as 'aenulus', but as ὑπέρφυλλος, 'long-haired', a technical title for a kind of pantomime. D. Sourdé studies 773 in detail the cults of the Haaran in the Roman period, for which inscriptions afford the main evidence, beginning with an account of the country and ending with chapters on religious feeling and cult organization (pp. 95 ff.), ruler- and Emperor-cult (pp. 113 ff.), and Judaism (pp. 117 ff.). Ernest Will publishes 774 a fragment of an honorary text from Qanaouat in the Haaran, R. de Vaux 775 a second-century dedication ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἑραστῶν σωστίας τῷ Ἀραβίκῳ from Hamāmeh, E.N.E. of Gerasa, and L. Mowry 776 a carelessly scratched text from Jatham in N.E. Transjordan commemorating a citharode and a barber who ἔθαναν οἱ δύο οἰς τῶν ἐρμηνευμένη ὄνομα ποντικού ἐν Ἑλληνικῷ, ἐπιγράφω [lai] [Ἀθηναίοι].

M. Schwabe and M. Avi-Yonah sent to the Epigraphical Congress a report 777 on the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Palestine and projects for their publication; a useful list of Schwabe's recent articles appears in Bibliotheca. 778 Avi-Yonah publishes 779 a broken plinth of the second or third century A.D. from Mount Carmel, bearing a foot dedicated Διὸ Πάτεροι καὶ Θεοί, showing that Ba'al of Carmel was identified with Hadad, the great god of the Syrians and Phoenicians, and R. Dussaud studies 780 this votive and the deity to whom it is offered. H. B. Rosen points out 781 that in an inscription of Caeraphinum (J. Pal. Or. Soc. VI 160) τῶν was originally written τῶν. F. de Visscher re-examines 782 the διάστασις Καίσαρος usually associated with Nazareth (SEG VIII 13), of which he gives the text, a Latin version, a careful analysis and a new explanation, according to which the διάστασις ends with 1. 18, and ll. 19–22 are a private addition in which the deceased restates the essence of the edict and expressly invokes its application to his own tomb. Schwabe publishes 783 a late Jewish epitaph of a μηχανοκός from Caesarea, two Jewish-Greek inscriptions 784 recently found there, indicating the existence of a Greek-speaking Jewish community, and a Christian epitaph 785 of a πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμαρτύριος from Beerot Yishak, while P. Benoit deals 786 with an inscribed sheet of gold found in a sarcophagus near Emmaus-Nicopolis (el-Athroun-Amwās) and collects nine other inscribed bracteae from Palestine. The ossuary-inscriptions of Talpiot are discussed 787 by F. Poulsen, who regards 'Jesus weep' as a cry of distress with which our Lord's followers

766 The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report, IV 3 (Yale, 1947).
774 Bull 1952, 213.
775 Bull 1952, 213.
782 Bull 1952, 213.
783 Bull 1952, 213.
784 Bull 1952, 213.
785 Bull 1952, 213.
786 Bull 1952, 213.
787 Bull 1952, 213.
greeted one another immediately after the crucifixion, and 'Jesus aloth' as a reference to His resurrection; the difficulties of such a view are formidable, if not insuperable. E. Stauffer comments on the use of the cross in these inscriptions, and B. Bagatti describes the Orpheus mosaic at Jerusalem, on which are the names of two women. P. Benoit and M. E. Boismard give a full account of an ancient Christian grotto-sanctuary at Bethany (cf. JHS LXXIV 83), in which are (pp. 206 ff.) seventy-one graffiti (nos. 8, 53 are Latin, no. 70 is Syriac), mostly of the fifth or sixth century A.D., though some may be of the fourth; one (no. 21) refers to the raising of Lazarus, but the grotto cannot be regarded as Lazarus' tomb. D. Van Berchew's work on the army from Dio-

clian's time emphasizes (p. 6) the paucity and unsatisfactory nature of the epigraphical materials (indexed on p. 121); he proposes (pp. 24 ff., 33 ff.) a new explanation of the fragments of the Beersheba edict (cf. JHS XLI 66), which in his opinion regulates the amount of the annona militaris assigned to the general and his staff. H. G. Pfafio discusses, in the light of ten new inscriptions due to H. Seyrig, referring to the bounty of Valerian, Gallienus, Saloninus and Aurelian, the fortification of Adraha (Dera'a) in Arabia from A.D. 259 to 275, probably prompted by fear of Arab raids from the desert; all other relevant inscriptions are examined and several of them revised. An epitaph of A.D. 555, edited by M. Schwabe, proves the existence of a Christian community at Aila, on the Gulf of Aqabah.

C. Habicht's study of a fragmentary text of c. 200 B.C. containing twelve metrical lines, found at Armavir (Armenia), N.W. of Artaxata, on the basis of J. and L. Robert's texts and comments; he shows that II. 7–9 are Euripidean and suggests that the others also may come from the same source and that the whole may have belonged to a school for the children of Greek settlers. The Armavir inscriptions are fully published in Russian by K. V. Trever.

I have not seen the important work of A. Marieq and E. Honigmann on the trilingual inscription of Shapur (Sapor I) from the 'Kaaba of Zoroaster' (cf. JHS LXV 98, LXVII 126, LXXII 54), usefully summarized by J. and L. Robert. W. B. Henning comments on some points, especially on the relation between the three versions, and shows that the Μηνιγχίς or Μηνιχής of the Greek text (Μηνίκη of the Parthian) is the Massacre of Pliny (N.H. V 21, 90) and the Βασιλέας πόλεως of Isidorus Characenus (CCGM I 249), where Shapur defeated the Romans under Gordian III, who fell in the battle. R. Grishman reports that the French excavations at Susa uncovered in the Fifth City, dating from the Parthian period, a mosaic pavement bearing an inscription which he reads as Σύνος, but in which J. and L. Robert prefer to see Μούσα. A. J. Fustiguière maintains that the liturgical νεόφ of the acrostic hymn to Apollo (SEG VII 14) is not Oriental, but a normal feature of Greek hymnody.

X. NORTH AFRICA

For the Greek inscriptions found in, or relating to, Egypt and Nubia I refer to P. M. Fraser's Bibliography for 1952–3 (JEA XL 124 ff.). J. Machu, discussing the relation of Cyrene to the sovan power in the Hellenistic age and especially (pp. 51 ff.) the policy of the Lagid kings, studies the διάγειμα of Ptolemy I (SEG IX 1), the Cyrenean decree accompanied by a letter and rescript of Ptolemy and Cleopatra (ibid. 5), and the document by which Ptolemy VII Euergetes II left his realm to Rome in the event of his death without heirs (ibid. 7). H. Bengtson's account of the στρατηγία in the possession and present affairs of the Ptolemies includes a section on the Cyrenaica (above, n. 66). A. Wilhelm restores τό οίκος έκκαστο, πλέον εύσε of the Thebais, discussing the colonization of Cyrene (ibid. 3) and revises the reading of the end of the decree governing the use of the sacred vessels of Apollo, and of the heading of the appended list (ibid. 73), and comments on some items in the list itself. Inscriptions of Cyrene and Thera are used by F. Chamoux in his Cyrene sous la monarchie des Battiades; he also examines the relief surmounting the epigram (ibid. 63) celebrating the close of the Marmaric War in A.D. 2. J. A. O. Larsen discusses Hadrian's letter to Cyrene (cf. JHS LXXIV 84) with special reference to the light thrown on the composition and organisation of the Panhellenion, of which the city or province of Cyrene was a member. G. Pesce publishes eight inscriptions, of which one is Latin and one bilingual, found in the temple of Zeus at Cyrene; most are votive, but no. 3 is a list of priestesses, no doubt of Hera, like SEG IX 182. P. M. Fraser publishes a fourth-century procony-decree of Eucesperdes (Berenice, Bengazi) and discusses the name and history of that city and the date and
language of the decree. R. G. Goodchild’s exploration of the Cyrenaica has borne epigraphical fruits; an article 810 on Roman milestones contains a revision of those already known, including the bilinguals SEG IX 251–2, and adds a new Greek fragment (pp. 86 ff.), while a survey of the Roman and Byzantine limes has brought to light 811 at Zauet Msus, an important Roman outpost S.W. of Cyrene, the names and ranks of some members of the Greco-Roman garrison.

In The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania 812 J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins edit 988 texts, of which Lepcis Magna contributes 593 and Sabratha 229. The great majority are Latin, but there are also a trilingual (no. 481), two bilingual (nos. 654–5) and a number of Greek inscriptions, for the most part dedications, epitaphs, or masons’ marks; on this work the authors reported 813 to the Epigraphical Congress, and it receives a specially full notice 814 from J. and L. Robert. L. Leschi’s paper 815 on “Travaux et publications épigraphiques en Algérie” deals almost exclusively with Latin inscriptions. For C. Picard’s examination of the third-century sculpture, rescued from the sea at Mahdia and now in the Bardo Museum, signed by Boethus of Chalcedon, see above (n. 119). F. Icard publishes 816 two Greek fragments, an amphora-neck and twenty-four amphora-handles from Carthage, and H. Doisy 817 a group of inscriptions from Caesarea (Cherchel), one of which is the epitaph, on a white marble urn, of a στιχολόγος. Two Greek grave-inscriptions of Syrians, discovered in 1951 at Volubilis in Mauretania, are discussed 818 by É. Frézouls.

811 FHS XLIII 76.
813 Actes, 136 ff.
814 Bull 1953, 257.
815 Actes, 132 ff.
NOTES

Diodorus Siculus, iii. 12-14; v. 36-8.

For the historian of the ancient world there is nothing more necessary and nothing more difficult than the task of discriminating between fact and fiction, between accuracy and exaggeration, in his sources. The Bibliotheca Historica of Diodorus Siculus presents this problem in an acute form, and while certain passages, such as Iambulus's discovery of the Islands of the Sun, are quite evidently dominated by an uncritical acceptance of romantic tales, other sections of this extensive miscellany are less easily categorised. It is the purpose of this note to examine two short passages only, viz. iii. 12. 1-14. 5 and v. 36. 1-38. 4, which contain Diodorus's description of the mines in Egypt and Spain, in order to determine how far they may be accepted as a reliable record.

The account may be divided conveniently according to subject matter into those statements concerned with mining and metallurgical technique and those referring to the treatment of the labourers. The first of these groups requires no extensive consideration, since, quite apart from other literary evidence, reduced to slavery, in the mines. First, they are bound hand and foot to perform their tasks both by day and throughout the night, enjoying no respite (παντὸς ὅπῃ τοῖς ἑργασίαις καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας καὶ δὲ ἐν δόξῃ τῆς λύπης, ἀνάπλασις μὲν αὐτῶν λυμαφάντες). Third, they are cut off from any means of escape (δραμοῦν καὶ πανὸς φιλότιμος ἐλεύθερος). Fourth, they are forced by blows to persevere in their tasks until through ill-treatment they die in the midst of their sufferings (πάντες θαλάγοντες προκειμένου τούτων ἐργάσεως, μέχρι τούτου κοιμώμενοι παρεισηγόμενοι καὶ τῆς λύπης). Fifth, they have no garment to cover their shame (τῆς τοῦ οὖας παραπλασίας ἡμίθρος μήτ' παραπλασίας). Archaeology can provide some support for the first and fourth of these items, since a skeleton has been found in a gallery at Kameara with its feet still chained and since the number of human remains discovered indicates a very high death-rate. But an almost exact correspondence in all details can be recognised in the letters of an independent writer, viz. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. In the year A.D. 257 Cyprian wrote a letter to nine bishops, with their fellow presbyters and deacons and the rest of the brethren who had been condemned to the mines of Sigus. He received in reply three letters; the first from four of the bishops whom he had addressed; the second from another of the bishops and 'all those brethren who are with me'; the third from three more of the bishops 'with the presbyters and all who are abiding with us at the mine of Sigus'. From these documents we may glean the following particulars of the treatment of these Christians, reduced to slavery, in the mines.

Second, they toil without intermission day and night (sine intermissione die ac nocte). Third, they are beaten with clubs and ill-used (fistulis causi priss gravior at afflicut). Fourth, they are naked—shivering you want clothing (cestis algentibus destis). The Christian and his correspondents say nothing of the impossibility of escape, although this may well be obvious in the circumstances, they do provide additional items of information. So we are told that the slaves are unhatted and are foul and disfigured with filth and dirt (aquadent sine balsam mamba sita et sorde deformati); that their hair has been half shorn (semionis capitis capillaturam); and that the foul odour of the smoke (tetrum odorem fumii), probably from the fire setting, stiles the nostrils.

Although Cyprian wrote many years after Diodorus, there can be no question of literary dependence. These letters were written and received at the very time when those to whom they refer were working in the mines, and they preserve information obtained through bitter personal experience. The fact that these details correspond almost exactly with those listed by Diodorus indicates that, whatever one may decide about other passages in the Bibliotheca Historica, those that are concerned with the mines in Hellenistic Egypt and Roman Spain may be accepted as an accurate record.

J. G. DAVIES.

1 ii. 55-60.
3 iii. 12. 4.
4 v. 37. 3.
5 iii. 13. 2.
8 E.g. by E. Ardaillon, Les Mines du Laurion dans l'Antiquité, 1897, p. 94.
9 The distinction should be noted between the condemned criminals working in State mines, to whom Diodorus refers, and the slaves working in privately owned concessions; in the latter case, where the supply of labour was more costly and less easily obtained, care would be taken not to overwork the men.
10 iii. 12. 3.
11 ibid., cf. v. 38. 3.
12 ibid.
13 iii. 13. 3; cf. iii. 12. 6; v. 38. 1.
14 iii. 13. 2.
16 Davies, op. cit., p. 16.
17 Ep., 76.
18 About twenty-five miles south-east of Cirta in Numidia.
19 Ep., 76. 21; cf. 77. 3.
20 76. 3. Cyprian is a little involved here. He is comforting his correspondents for their inability to celebrate the divine sacrifice, i.e. the eucharist, by saying that the true sacrifice is a broken spirit: it is this sacrifice, he states, that they celebrate without intermission. The implication is not that while asleep they continue to make their offering but that they have little or no respite from their labours.
21 76. 9; cf. 77. 3.
22 76. 2.
23 ibid.
24 77. 3; cf. 76. 2.
25 77. 3.
26 This correspondence in detail between the descriptions of Cyprian and Diodorus sheds some light upon another question which is raised by these passages in the Bibliotheca, viz. how far Diodorus was describing contemporary conditions in the mines. It is probable that he was drawing upon the account of Agatharchides of Cnidus, who, in his Περὶ τῆς Ἐρατίας θαλάσσης, described the conditions of the late second century under the Ptolemies. The fact that Cyprian agrees with Diodorus, or with the latter's source, indicates that the conditions in the mines scarcely changed throughout the period and therefore one may legitimately suppose that what was obtained in the later second century B.C. was also the practice a hundred years later at the time of Diodorus, and indeed still persisted, unformed, nearly three hundred years after that, during the lifetime of Cyprian.
A Name for the Cerebus Painter?

The small group of white-ground votive plaques from the Athenian Acropolis which is listed below is distinguished both by the technique of the pieces which comprise it and by their decoration. For their size their thinness is unusual among the Acropolis plaques, some being as little as 0.4 cm. thick, and the thickest only 0.8 cm. Their surface is prepared with a thick and often glossy white ground, far heavier than that generally employed on plaques. All are bordered by two thin lines, no. 5 having a meander upper border also, and the inscriptions on nos. 3, 4, 5, 8 all have the same small, neat, and well-spaced letters. From their technique they may then be assigned to a single workshop: for their decoration, several (nos. 1-5 below) have already been grouped together as the work of the Cerebus Painter by Roebuck (AJA XLIII 467 ff.), some of which Beazley assigns rather to the manner of that painter (nos. 9-18, ARV nos. 1-18). There seems, however, to be little in the decoration of these plaques and of the fragments (nos. 6-8) which I have added below which is incompatible with their attribution to a single hand, and the technical considerations outlined above lend weight to the argument.

The group is as follows:

1. North Slope A-P 2073 a-c and 1734 d. Roebuck, op. cit., fig. 2, ARV 36 no. 16, 956. A standing Athena to the right holding a palmette tendril on which is perched an owl. Before her stands the smaller figure of a female votary.

2. Acropolis 2584 and North Slope A-P 2360. Roebuck, op. cit. fig. 3, ARV 36, no. 15, 950. A striking Athena to the right and other fragments, including one figuring part of a warrior, so perhaps a gigantomachy (Vian, Repertoire des Gigantomachies 56, no. 213).

3. Acropolis 2585. Roebuck, op. cit. fig. 4, ARV 36, no. 1. A chariot drawn by four horses beyond which stands Athena. Inscriptions ΦΝΑΟΛΟΣ, ΦΝΑΟΛΟΣ (*Athena*).

4. Acropolis 2586. Roebuck, op. cit. 5. ARV 36, no. 2. An armed Athena to the left. Before her the inscription retrograde ΑΘΕΝΑΙΩΝ.

5. Acropolis 2581. Roebuck, op. cit. fig. 1, ARV 36 no. 3. Heracles and Iolaus in a chariot drawn by four horses beyond which stands Athena. Inscriptions ΠΔΑΟΛΟΣ, ΠΔΑΟΛΟΣ, *Athena*.

6. Acropolis 2588. Graef-Langlotz, pl. 109. A standing Athena to the right and the legs of a warrior who has fallen to his knees before her. No doubt a gigantomachy as no. 2 (Vian, op. cit. no. 214). For the drapery compare no. 4, for the execution of the spirals on the greaves compare the helmet on no. 2. The bare leg is outlined, unlike no. 4, but as faces on nos. 2, 5, and 3 and the arm on the last.

7. Acropolis 2589. Fig. 1 c. 49 x 27 cm; 0.5 cm. thick. Technically like the others of this group, but the armed Athena to the right is very small and her face not in the usual outline style, perhaps because of the scale. The only other
An Inscription from Caunus.

Among the inscriptions from Caunus published by Mr. G. E. Bead in JHS LXIV (1954), 83-110 there is one, no. 21, pl. 85-7 with fig. 39, which requires further comment. The first recorded response of Gyanean Apollo consists of a inscription in prose, eleven lines very well preserved, and the first two hexameters of the oracle, the second with two not so short lacunae. The prose text says that under the priesthood of Iunon, son of Leonidas, Memordoros, son of Eiaikes, an Imbrian, was sent to the Gyanean and brought back an oracle. Good luck! The people of Caunus inquire which gods they should appease so that their crops may be good and profitable. The god announced:

τιμῶν Λητώς Φοίβων
καὶ Ζήνα πατρός
οὐμ θεοὺς θεοῦσι [Λεκ]-

VAC. θεοῖσι [Λεκ]-

In the interpretation of these two hexameters Mr. Bead has been unsuccessful. My first point is the right punctuation: full stop or semicolon after καὶ. The meaning, then, of the first sentence is 'glory is yours if you honour Apollo and Zeus', that the text, perhaps, even understood. Secondly, the word after θεοῖσι cannot have been a verb, as Mr. Bead presumes, but most certainly an adjective qualifying the noun θεοῖσι. I believe this was θεοῦσι, made of chaste tree (ιδέες αἰγων θεοῦσι), see Paus. 3, 16, 14, where he mentions λειψανοῦσα as an epithet of Artemis. The θεοῦσι, also called λειψανοῦσα, was a symbol of chastity, and therefore suitable for a virgin goddess. The rest is plain sailing, for the end I suggest δύναμις and for the middle of the third hexameter 'Ἀρταμίς, θεοῦσι λειψανοῦσα means just the same as λειψανοῦσα, to feiter with withes, only in a more ornate poetical style. Artemis comes in very well after the names of her father, mother, and brother. One is tempted to say that Apollo was a chivalrous brother.

W. MOREL.

A New Oracle in an Inscription.

In JHS LXIV (1954), 83-7, Mr. G. E. Bean publishes a mutilated inscription from Caunus (no. 21 of his collection) which contains the response of the Gyanean Apollo to an inquiry of the Caunians as to which god they must propitiate to obtain good harvests. Mr. Bead seems not to have understood that the text of the oracle (which begins at l. 12) consists of two hexameters; if he had, I do not think he would have thought a new sentence must begin with διήρκεισα or worried about the sense of διήρκεισα. I suggest that τιμῶν agrees with θεοῖσι and that διήρκεισα is imperative. The word after διήρκεισα will be an adjective agreeing with θεοῖσι. I can think of no suitable one beginning with Λ, but A is very like Λ and άλθες will suit the sense; it is an epithet of θεοῖσι at Od. 8, 275, Aesch. P. 155. At the end of the line he would supply an adjective agreeing with κλίσα (e.g. ἐγγύς) an adverbial phrase (e.g. ίκι άλθες) or perhaps a vocative (e.g. λοίοι).

So we get a text something like this:

τιμῶν Λητώς Φοίβων καὶ Ζήνα πατρός
οὐμ κλίσα διήρκεισα άλθες

An elegant writer would have said τιμῶν. But we are not to expect elegance from the Gyanean Apollo; look at his effort at Kaibel ed. gr. 1035. The metaphor of 'binding' is awkward and unusual; but one may compare the use of άρπαζ at Pind. Nem. 3, 6.4 πάλιν άρπαζ άρπαζ άρπαζ άρπαζ. More context. This is how άρπαζ

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NOTICES OF BOOKS


This volume is a worthy tribute to the wide-ranging interests of the recipient. Only half of the twenty contributions are connected with Greek studies, if one includes among these an article by G. M. Bowra which well describes the Sophoclean affinities of Milton's Samson Agonistes, though it will surprise students of the Poetics to read the statement that 'Aristotle regards recognition as indispensable to tragedy'.

There are two articles on Homer. B. Snell considers that by furthering the growth of human self-consciousness Homer gave an impulse to the historical sense, though his own attitude towards his partly historical material is not that of the historian. A notable contribution by W. Schadewaldt deals with some of the antecedents of the Iliad; using Pentalozzi's work, he finds in the later part of the Achilleis much of what dealt with in the conflict of Achilles and Memnon a series of seven themes which in his view Homer took over, rehandled, and adapted; it is an enterprise in which a glimpse into Homer's workshop. W. F. Otto examines structural aspects of the Theogy not numerical considerations help to dispose of certain difficulties, particularly those found by modern scholars in the opening passage describing Hesiod's relations with the Muses. On early Greek philosophy there are reflections by H. G. Gadamer on the study of Parmenides; and W. Holscher considers the different meanings of Logos in the fragments of Heracleitus. K. Riezler, on 'Das Reich und das Andere: das Sein und das Seiente', educes from Parmenides and Plato some conclusions from which the Existentialist ought not to have overlooked. K.-H. Volkmann-Schlick has a rather novel approach to the doctrine of catharsis on Aristotle's Poetics, which he seeks to explain from the standpoint of Aristotle's metaphysics, metaphysical psychology, and ethics, making no use of Politics viii on the De Poet. His conclusions appear in a form, but seem compatible with the simple view, for which there is much to be said on other grounds, that tragedy tranquillizes the emotions which it has itself aroused, and this 'working-off' of the emotions is catharsis. Among articles of post-classical interest there is one by E. H. Kantorowicz on 'Kaiser Friedrich II und das Königsgal der Hellenismus', which deals, among other matters, with the influence exercised by Hellenistic theories of kingship in medieval and later times. There is an especially interesting contribution by W. Jaeger, who writes a running commentary on the De profissione Christiana of Gregory of Nyssa, illustrating how Gregory echoes, and transpose into Christian contexts, Greek philosophic language and doctrine. By eliminising the confusion of values which are mere sweeping process of Christianising Hellenism, there were only certain elements in Hellenism which lent themselves to this treatment.

J. Tate.


Among the contributions to this volume, which is chiefly devoted to Iranian archaeology, there are four articles of special interest to Hellenists, in that they are concerned with relations between Greece and the East. In "Graeco-Persian" Seal Stones', Dr. Gisela Richter stresses the difference between these seals and objects of purely Achaemenian art. The contrast with earlier styles, she says, by Persian sculptors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. is evident also in their seal stones. During this period, engraved, or polished, stone reflected the phases of naturalistic development apparent in Achaemenid style. Miss Richter believes that the Graeco-Persian seals, which reflect the current styles of Greek art, were made by Ionian Greeks working for Persian masters. Though following their patrons' character, however, they could not prevent their artistic individuality from asserting itself.

H. Scyrig, in Cachets achéméniades, discusses four decacadal seal stones in private ownership, which on its lower face a battle defending themselves against a mounted Persian warrior. The second depicts a Persian hunting scene, and the sides of both are carved with insignificant beasts. Seeing Greek influence here in both men and animals, the author inclines, nevertheless, to the opinion that the craftsmen were not Greek by birth, but members of the heterogeneous Persian empire who had been in contact with Greeks. He believes the secondary motives round the sides, and also the horses in the main scenes (in which the great mountains, seen always to the left), to have been imitated from Greek coinage, with no attempt to express a third dimension.

In an article entitled Ptolemy's s topography in India. His Sources', J. H. Voss and R. F. Phillips present arguments for Ptolemy's dependence on Gigantogenic India, which reveals a topographical knowledge far more extensive than European maps of the seventeenth century. His names, however, are mostly unfamiliar, and do not include Bences or Indrapratha. They are often strings of stations along caravan routes, but are occasionally derived from literary tradition, the Greek names being reproduced not from Sanskrit but from Prakrit sources. There are also, of course, directly Greek names for islands known from voyages, or from a land chart of Thucydides; and the author concludes that Ptolemy's Greek sources were mostly contemporaneous. The mathematical equivalents of positions, and the courses of rivers are mainly conjectural.

J. R. C. Partington, in The Crescents of Islamic Scientific Illustrations, examines the influence of Greek manuscripts in Islamic book-painting. The technical treatises of Heron of Alexandria had illustrations which were preserved in the eleventh century. These show the maximum of clarity. In Byzantine times human representations were added as a necessity where compressed air and water power moved the automatic figures. The Islamic illustrator gave the human beings the chief importance.

The successors of Dioscorides were exclusively concerned with the veracity of plant drawings, which were successfully copied through Byzantine times. The Arab artists enriched the Greek originals with ornament. The serpent illustrations of the Muscio-Galen Tetract are in the direct line of ancient scientific illustration. The basic difference is not between Greek and Arabic manuscripts, but between classical and mediaeval.

G. R. LEVY.


Philippson was a master of universal geography; but Greece was his special love, and it was to a full-scale geography of Old Greece that he devoted the last twenty years of his long life. The project that he set himself was a huge one, these three volumes in fact form only the 2nd (though larger) of four 'Band' in which he proposed to cover the whole of Greece save for Crete, Macedonia, and Thrace; unhappily the hardships that he was exposed to during much of that time made it impossible for him to see his task through to completion. This first 'Band', however, had appeared before his death; the first part covers Thessaly and the Sperchios Valley, the second eastern Central Greece and Euboea, the third Attica with the Megarid. Each of the three parts is supplemented by a long chapter by E. Kirsten on the geographical history of the region under review. Kirsten's collaboration has also made it possible for the historical geography to be fully attested and supported by innumerable references, and thus greatly increased the value of Philippson's work in its bearing on Hellenic studies. The maps at the end of each volume are sufficient to illustrate the main trends, but for closer study they need supplementing with larger-scale surveys.

The illustrations, which work throughout the geology. His mastery of this subject, to the extent that he himself in the past has contributed so much, can hardly be disputed. The strongest impression the Hellenist receives is the unexplainedness of the country. Even at the present day the structure of Parnassus, the most accessible of the great mountains, seems to be known only from examination of its flanks and distant views of the heights; the coire between the peaks (characteristic of Tymphrestos also, where a path traverses it) is not yet known to geographers, though it enables shepherds to live in summer at pastures near the 8000-foot level; and one suspects...
that the denser folds of the Pindos are shrouded in almost impenetrable darkness. Olympus is fortunately better known through the survey of the Swiss engineer Kurz. The geography of the country is articulated by comparative figures (given where they have most point, in the narrative and not in apparatus) of topography, products, climate, and the modern administrative divisions.

Philippon first came to Greece in 1887-88, and knew Athens as a city one tenth of its present size. It is partly this long vista over half a century of unprecedented development, combined with the no man's-land condition of the Venetian municipalities, which makes many of his pronouncements so impressive—his just appreciation of the spatial and architectural growth of the city, avoidance of dust and smoke, of the effects of the change in the social structure of the city. It is, however, in West Thessaly, where the mountain background is deepest, that the effects are most serious. The mountains are left out of consideration in the historical as well as geographical view because Kirsten at least seems to understand the normal mechanism of the material world, and the one of hostility, as in Turkish times and the years 1942-44 (when the inhabitants of the mountains were harrying the ‘peace-loving’ people of the plains); but these hostilities had a broader patriotic aim—the ultimate recovery of Greek sovereignty—and can hardly be regarded as the normal relationship. The exchange of produce with the plains is indispensable to the mountain economy; the Greek Government was right in attaching the Agraphe to the nome of Thraki; to more than just the isolation of the Agropontikos range flanks the long eastern tributaries of the Akheloos in the historical geography of West Thessaly is to deny the historical significance of names like the ‘Portal’ of Trikkala and Metropolis, the Hellenistic predecessor of Trikkala’s new and successful rival, Karditsa, as the nearest market on the edge of the plain.

The Landschaften is Philippon’s magnum opus. On Philippon’s account, and on account of his own contributions also, it is to be hoped that Kirsten will be able to continue the editing of Philippon’s drafts and bring this great project as near as possible to completion.

J. M. COOK.


This is the second, the larger, and apparently the concluding volume of the Robinson Festschrift. It contains 24 articles under the title of Vase Painting, 12 under Coins, 17 under Inscriptions, 8 under Linguistics, 26 under Literature, 41 under History and Life, 20 under Religion, Mythology, Philosophy, and 9 Miscellaneous. With the articles on prehistoric and oriental studies, architecture and topography, sculpture, and painting in the first volume a total of 240 contributory papers has been reached. The majority of the articles are modern Greek landscape poems interspersed between them. There could be no clearer indication of the range of David Robinson’s friends and interests. He has perhaps not been sufficiently honoured for his very serious scholarship and wide country; but the response to his appeal on this side of the Atlantic has been equal to the opportunity, and nowhere more so than in Germany and Italy.

Seventy articles in Vol. II that come within the scope of a review in this journal are too numerous to be mentioned individually. Many of them are good, and some important; among the latter are articles on the composition of the Attic glaze, Sappono’s ode to Kleis, the use of myth as political propaganda in early Athens, the territory of the various districts at Delphi, the authenticity and survival of the Hyperborean offerings, the early history of the Achaean League, Alexander the Great’s plans, the origin of the myth of Bellerophon and the Chimera, and the anthropological approach in classical archaeology. A good deal of the archaeological material in the second part, is presented here for the first time: and much is written that could otherwise hardly have been brought to the notice of scholars. While few people will have the means to buy this bumper volume, many will have occasion to study it.

J. M. COOK.


This volume contains four papers, of which the last is important.

G. M. A. Hanfmann (pp. 1-37) speculates on early Ionian history. A few small Mycenaean settlements, as at Miletus,
were soon destroyed or barbarised. The Ionian migration began not long before 850 B.c.—on the recent finds from Old Smyrna, to the south-east of Ephesus, and till the middle of the seventh century the Ionian remained provincial. Then they, or some of them, rapidly advanced to cultural primacy. Though Hahnmann has collected a useful mass of evidence, much of it is ambiguous or inconclusive, and some of it, particularly the arguments involving the so-called "Achaemenid name", is very dubious. But this paper was probably composed as a conference paper rather than as a reasoned study.

W. C. Greene (in the article "Ionian Art for the Neoplatonic Academy") observes that some recent thinkers are becoming interested in Plato's political theory. With amiable suavity he explains the offences away: Plato need not be taken literally. This is a residential address, and deserves attention as a good example of the genre.

C. Mitchell (in the article "Aristotle's Lamps") considers some other late refinements in an Archimandrite's manner. Genuinely Archaic reliefs are conceived as two-dimensional designs, but later sculptors—so long as they were interested in the human figure—saw their subjects in three dimensions and when archaising could not consistently add to two. Though aesthetic futility is not easily put into words, there is a good point here.

J. B. McDarmid (in the article "Some Problems of the Pre-Socratics") throws new darkness on the Pre-Socratics. A few years ago H. F. Cherniss argued cogently that Aristotle distorted the tenets of the earlier philosophers to fit his own classification of philosophies, and that being so he is an unreliable source for the Pre-Socratics. McDarmid now examines the fragments of the Physical Opinions of Theophrastus and provides us with a new source he has long suspected and that not generally—that Theophrastus takes his comments on the Presocratics directly from Aristotle and is a still more unreliable source. Since many of our later authorities are indebted to Theophrastus, the number of unexplained testimonies for the Presocratics is greatly reduced. McDarmid's arguments are not convincing and the consequences serious. He also makes some good positive observations on the Presocratics. This is an excellent piece of research.

R. M. COOK


Sir Maurice Bowra here reprints ten papers which have appeared before: the first nine in periodicals and the tenth in Greek Poetry and Life (Oxford, 1936).

No. 1 puts Xenophanes fr. 1 in its context by showing its relation to other elegiac verses on the subject of proper behaviour at the symposium. B. concludes that in these lines 'Xenophanes used the normal language of sixth-century aristocrats to express views which, even if unusual, must have seemed intelligible and not absolutely unwelcome to them', and that the conclusion is surely right, and might indeed be carried further. Are the views expressed really at all unusual? I cannot discover in the fragment the 'puritanical quality' which B. attributes to it. It is true that he does not begin the party by singing the paean in a reverent manner; it is true that he does not wish to hear mythological narrations or στροφῆς. But he makes it clear that wine and food are there in abundance; and he says it is ἄφθος to drink as much wine as a man who is not altogether old can carry home with an attendant.

No. 2 is a fully justified protest against W. Jaeger's view that the lines in which Xenophanes claims that his own title to honour is greater than that of athletes are an attack on aristocracy. One may, indeed, wonder if Xenophanes is so much concerned to attack the cult of athletes as to assert his own claim to a greater consideration than he in fact receives. True, the line "οὐ θύρα πάντων θυσίαν κατέδωκε" does not mean "he is not worthy, whereas I am", but "though he is not as worthy as I am" (so Diels-Kranz); and the lines contain no censure of athletes beyond the assertion that they bring no profit to the city; contrast the passage from Euripides' Alcestes which Athenaeus associates with them. Tyrannus' disparagement of athletic competition in comparison with military prowess (fr. 9 D. 1—4) suggests that it may not have been uncommon for a poet who wished to praise a particular kind of excellence to compare it favourably with that of the athletes who enjoyed such extraordinary honours, even without wishing to deny their right to them.

No. 3 usefully illustrates the religious and poetical imagery of "the gods are the first" from the Odyssey. Parmenides desired to stress the religious and ethical nature of his revelation, probably to justify himself in the eyes of his fellow-Pythagorians; is an important one (of J. E. Raven, Parthenos, 1955).

No. 4 is an ingenious attempt to supply the names of those five of the nine daughters of Asopus who are not mentioned in the surviving portion of Corinna's poem about them. B. accounts for the naming in different sources of at least twenty different names, and of three clusters of names: a 'Pythian list', and a 'Peoplian list', and derives both from a common origin in Eumelus. Unfortunately these conjectures rest on flimsy evidence (see D. L. Page, Corinna, p. 27, n. 1).

No. 5 is a brief note on the art of H. S. W. Robertson in the "Archimandrite's manner". B. describes a view of D. S. Robertson (Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc., 1924, p. 35) that Pindar's second Pythian was written in 468, on the occasion of Hieron's only Olympic chariot victory, and was not commissioned by him, but sent by the poet to Hieron and its commissioning to Bacchylides. Robertson argued that the Καβρίας of 1. 69 was the First Olympian; B. is perhaps on safer ground in accepting the statement in the scholia (p. 52 Dr.) that it was the poem which Hieron was expected to dedicate to Bacchylides. It is less easy to follow him in believing that the Ixion myth must be construed as a warning from Pindar to himself against the danger of ingratitude. Robertson suggested that the mention of the Leucippus belonged to a dedication to Leophron, and that the myth which followed was aimed at Leophron, with a subsidiary reference to Bacchylides. A transitional passage (ll. 49—53) separates this myth from the lines in which Pindar eschews the example of Archilochus; and it is surprising that B. offers no attempt to refute Robertson's view, which seems to me more probable than his own.

B. may well be right in thinking that when Pindar called Bacchylides a monkey he meant to accuse him of plagiarism; for B. has shown how the story was properly scoped, and how B. by seeking to restrict it to Bacch. 3, which seems to contain less imitation of Pindar than some other poems of Bacchylides.

No. 6 is a discussion of the epigram, probably written for the Athenians killed in the Anthela, which was the Ceramicus and first published by W. Peck in Ath. Mitt. Ixxvi, pp. 142 ff. After offering improved supplements in ll. 1 and 4, B. seeks to identify the mysterious ἔλεος to whom the Athenian defeat is attributed. Peek thought this might be Trophonius; B. suggests Orion. He renders the words τρόφωνιος [γαρ ο ψικώρα] ἐν δυσπανιών ἀγραν ἐφρούριος ἐρωτήσεως [θεολόγον] μνηστικὸς τοιοῦτος τοῖς ἔκτοις ἐκείνης by: 'The oracle which he gave, with seeming good will, of a prey hard for men to hint, that he oracle he himself fulfilled to your ruin by his pursuit. But if this text, or something like it, is right, it must surely mean: 'The oracle which he had given he readily accomplished to your undoing, by hunting for your enemies a prey hard to combat.' The epigram continues: ὥτοι αὐτὸν τῆς τοιούτου φράσεως λόγον πιστὸν ἔθικε τίτλοι which B. renders: 'For all men, for the future he made this oracle: that poets says to be respected rather than quoted. I should translate: 'To all men for the future he has given cause to take heed of the certain fulfilment of oracles.' B. attributes a peculiar significance to this epigram's addressing the dead in the second person, which is unusual. It is, he says, and assigns it to the 'Pelagian-composers' type of elegiac lament, whose existence was first conjectured by D. L. Page in his discussion of the elegies in Euripides' Andronicusa in Greek Poetry and Life. I share the doubts of F. Friedländer and H. B. Hoffeit (Erganzungen, p. 66, n. 5) regarding this type of elegy. In No. 7 B. examines the passage of Plutarch's De Prostrictios in Vitute 7 which reports Sophocles' account of his own development: "ὅπερ γάρ ε ὁ Σωφρόνης ἔλεγε τὸν Αχλεύδα δια- γένησιν αἰτήσεως τῆς ἐκείνης κατατέθεται τῆς κατ- σκήνης, τριῶν δὲ τῆς τό τε λέξεως μεταβολῆς ἐδείκνυτο ἅτιν ἄτριῳ ἀκούσαντος καὶ λύνοντος, σεβότας σεβαστοῦντος· ἦν ἔκ τῶν παρα- γωγῶν κατατέθεσε τός ἐκ τούτων ἡγομένης καὶ τῶν λόγων καταβολήν, ἠρέτας τὴν ὁλοκληρωμένη καὶ ἐπίσημον πραγμάτων." B.'s purpose is to show that the passage refers, not simply to diction, as has been generally assumed, but to more general aspects of the poet's art. This, I believe, is right; but I do not think B. has proved it. He mentions, but never faces up as an essayist, the question of determining whether Plutarch is echoing actual words of Sophocles or has transposed them into the language of Hellenistic literary criticism. He is doubtless right in holding it more probable that the passage refers to the original Epitrepontes, but even though any individual expression might have been used in the fifth century, the language of the passage as a whole strongly suggests that Plutarch has rephrased the original. B. convincingly that ἄφθος is not used only of diction, that ἀνίκτωρος must mean 'having practiced to the full' and that it must be supplied to govern the object of the second clause.
He mentions the use of κασσαφία to mean ‘ornament’, but believes that its meaning here is ‘fabrication’ or ‘invention’. Κασσαφία, like his predecessors, he takes to be of Achaeusian derivation. He translates: ‘After practising to the full the bigness of Achaeusyl, then the painful ingenuity of my own invention, now in the third stage I am changing to the kind of diction which is most expressive. I still use the word of course, but I want to be the ingenuity in providing painful effects shown in plays like the Ajas; he does not explain why from the mention of this Sophocles suddenly turns to the topic of diction. But each of the cases of the precise meaning of the word, with the help of its general meaning of ‘contrivance’, elaboration; this is well brought out by Rhys Roberts, The Three Literary Letters of D.H., p. 194 (note especially the passage of D. H. de Isao there quoted). The sense must be ‘what was displeasing and artistic in the Sophocles’. This is carried over into the second half of Plutarch’s sentence, which B. ignores. Plutarch is comparing Sophocles’ second stage to the panegyric stage with its irritatingly conventional device, his third to the truly pathetic utterance of the orator who speaks from the heart. If this is right, it is strange that in describing the third stage, Sophocles should refer only to diction. But in fact μέγας is commonly used of style in general; strictly μεγάς refers to diction, but it is often used in the general sense of literary expression’ (Rhys Roberts, op. cit., p. 195).

No. 8 is perhaps the most valuable part of the book; here B. compares the language of the epiphani on Dion ascribed to Plato with expressions used in other works of Plato, particularly of the Symposium. It is well known that Plato in the very last stages of his life was in fact its author. B. rightly takes μεγάς κατά κασσαφία γι' αυτόν to mean ‘having made sacrifice after a victory consisting in noble deeds’, and shows that the μεγάς of the last line is a characteristic word of the poet. The Panathenian makes him puzzled by the opening couplet: ‘The mention of Hecuba and the Trojan women does not seem very relevant to Dion’. The point is not the contrast between Hecuba and Dion, but the contrast in their fates. The ruin of the Trojan women was, as we know from Homer, ordained as a consequence of Zeus’ plans; that of Dion was an accident caused by the spiteful intervention of η τοι της δωμος η της ειρήνης υπερων (Ἑκ., vii 336 b., quoted by B. on p. 132).

No. 9 gives the full text of B’s discussion of the papyris fragment of Erinna, reprinted with slight modifications from Greek Poetry and Life: the book went to press too early for B. to take account of the recent article by K. Latte (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil. hist. Klasse, 1933), which has now acquired added interest owing to Mr. Vents' decipherment of the Mycenaean script. But such reflections should not cause one to forget the usefulness of part of the content of this book.

HUGH LLOYD-JONES.


Alfred Korte gave the second volume of his Teubner Maneder, containing testimonia, fragments quoted in ancient authors, index of plays and words, to the printers in 1943. The type was destroyed by fire, but some sets of proofs survived, and have been used in the present volume. The present edition is therefore the final word on Maneder by a great Maneder scholar, edited and brought up to date with the most discriminating and self-effacing scholarship by his pupil and successor. Alfred Korte and corrigenda not only to this Part II but also to Part I, 1952, have been added. 22 Portraits: add now a reference to Schefold, Bildnis der Antiken Dichter, etc., where all are marked; the scene on the silver cup I believe to be an Agroikos, i.e., a reference to Menander’s Hyppolitidae. 5. Korte rejects the statements that Maneder won a victory with the Orge in 321; I am not clear why this should not be his first victory at the Lenaia (as distinct from his first victory at the Dionysia in 316/5).

It would be impossible to indicate all the improvements that Koerste has made in this work, and in what follows I only mention additions later than Deniagzuk and give a few notes. Adelphios: 13K is rescued from Hulsee and attributed to First Adelphios by SK; Kauer’s suggestion that 13K belongs to the parasite’s monologue of this play is not quoted, but appears on the first fragments. Menander and Missenio are taken to be different plays; but this is uncertain, as Thierfelder notes. Arknothos: Korte believes that 66 (72K) ‘a man’s character is known from his words’ came in this play only and not also in Heautontimoroumenos (145K); the Bembo scholar quoted the Arknothos to...

Despite diversity of opinion on the origin and nature of the units which make up the corpus Theognideum, there has been general agreement until recently that if the poems were written by a single author, they were four from 600 B.C. Carrière (Theognis de Mâcon 1948) argued that it represents the fusion, in the Byzantine era, of two hitherto independent Theognis texts: one formed at Athens by c. 400 B.C., the source of the quotations in writers such as Pindar and Aristophanes; the other formed in Hellenistic Alexandria, the source of most of the later quotations and all of those in Stobaeus. The Theognis of the master book is the rejection of Carrière’s thesis on the grounds that the fusion was the result of later editorial correction and that the structure and form of most of Theognis texts in antiquity, since (a) the quotations in Plutarch, Athenaeus, Clement, etc., are mostly derived from anthologies or critical and didactic works, while there are none for which the fragmentary contents of the master book in the 111 II of Stobaeus only from the hands of an epitomator who dealt severely with poetry, and it is precisely in those books that passages from parts of the corpus not represented in Books III and IV would be absent. The former argument leads Peretti to a general study of gnomic anthologies. Building on the foundations laid by Wachsmuth, Elter, and Hense, but using also the Ptolemaic and later papyri, he emphasizes the prodigious quantity of material once available in this form, and it is by an act of the hand that (cf. e.g., Ath. 427·428b, Stob. 3.18.12-3; 113.186, Theoph., Ant. ad An. 2.37. p. 178·180. 18. 26·9; 116·9; Ath. 116.3-5, 1-27 = Pho. 19.182-4), and which contains certain abbreviations used by anthologists in their arrangement of material, e.g., P. Berol. 9772·980. 2.22. 70, 78. (p. 146; P. Plut. 71-72. 32. 34. 36 (p. 156). This study prepares the way for his central thesis that the direct transmission of the Theognid corpus fragments, preserved in Hellenistic and Roman anthologies, as e.g. the corpus is simply a compilation of Theognis quotations available in the ninth century in anthologies and didactic works. He observes that most of the corpus can be divided into units which, although not necessarily distinct in content, form a sequence of thought under a small number of types. The most conspicuous types are those represented by: (1) e.g., 321-70·649-669 (p. 281·7); (2) e.g., 971-9·76-98·793·1002 (p. 321, n. 1); (3) e.g., 539·5-9·793·885 (pp. 295-5; 4) e.g., 985-9·1150 (p. 57). There is in some cases a close resemblance, in others an appreciable resemblance, between the arrangement of subject-matter within a unit of the corpus and that within a similar unit of some other author. (p. 267). Other obvious points of contact with anthologies are the occasional arrangement of a series of distichs in alphabetical order (e.g., Or. 8.5-98 (pp. 134-5), 7·9-7·112 (p. 122) and the like) and the ad infinitum passage: (e.g., 87·99-114·7·9. 10-12·p. 267). The identification of Teognideum with anthological patterns can hardly fail if one takes sufficient licence to ignore inversion, omission, or interruption of the elements common to the patterns compared, and if Peretti has perhaps overreached himself in pp. 295-315. Nevertheless, he has offered and defended a positive explanation of the structure of a large part of the corpus. Equally positive explanations in earlier theories were of more limited scope (e.g., Ziehe 1939; J. Pal. 21.59·1·199·171·194 for the ad infinitum of Kroll (Philol. Suppl. 91). Those who still wish to attribute large portions of the corpus, as they stand, to an early Megarian poet must contend with the fact that while we know from fragments of his work what such portions could, theoretically speaking, be, the sole extant representatives, the parallels in the literature which we actually possess are those provided by the caput hædatio of anthologies. If we turn to the corpus itself for a general principle is demanded, I suggest that we should ask, in the light of D. I. 9·3·997·9, how the αἰτίαι λέξεις of Isocrates, and especially the declivated Speeches X and XX, found a place in the corpus Isocr. 5·119·143. Therefore, of particular interest, are three points in Peretti's reconstruction which deserve amplification or reconsideration:

(i) If we suppose that the ninth-century compiler used no earlier compilations, and if we attempt to trace the process by which he constructed the corpus, adding set after
set of excerpts from its sources, we must conclude either that the material available to him but now lost comprised a prodigiously large number of works, each yielding a small set of quotations, and better preserved than any other set; or that it was a valuable collection of isolated and unorganized materials which the compiler could not find, or that he valued them enough to preserve them.

Neither alternative is entirely satisfactory, and the dilemma is largely resolved if we can believe that others at earlier dates had managed to assemble similar material. The compiler of the corpus had, for example, the fullest design and blind indifference in its arrangement of sets of excerpts from a small number of comparatively rich sources.

(i) Following Eiler in essentials, despite his cautious appraisal (p. 48, n. 1), Peretti tends to treat Chrysippus as the founder of the gnomological tradition. This, however, ignores the reasonable inferences (cf. Barns, OQN 4, 5) from Pl. Leg. 810e that the compilation of gnomologies may antedate the mid fourth century B.C.

(ii) Since the compiler of the corpus was interested specifically in Theognis, not in elegiac poetry in general—for otherwise the proportion of verses attributable with certainty to other poets would be larger than it is—we must choose between two assumptions: either his sources and the sources of these sources were types of wrong attributions of one kind or another, or any given type of wrong attribution was due to his own investigation of such differences is subtle and interesting, but detection of inconsistency is notoriously subjective: one should not begin by assuming that a man cannot ever appear unsatisfactory to himself and others.

But—and in this respect the problem is changed—the context of a passage in the corpus is no longer relevant evidence, Kröll observed this, as Peretti acknowledges, but Kröll's scepticism competed on unequal terms with the constructive ingenuity of unitarians. Peretti has now suggested positive reasons for believing that no verse in the corpus stands necessarily in the context, or even in the kind of context, envisaged by its original composer.

K. J. Dover.

Greek Prose Style. By J. D. Denniston. Pp. x + 139.

The material was assembled and seen through the press by Mr. H. Lloyd-Jones. Chapter I is a lecture on 'The Development of Greek Prose' delivered by D. at Oxford in 1937. Chapter VII, 'Asonance', was read as a paper to the Cambridge Philological Society in 1934. Chapters II-VI contain much that was delivered in D.'s Honour Moderations lectures on Greek Prose, and deal with Abstract Expression, Order of Words, Sentence-Structure and Antithesis, Repetition, Assonance. The evidence was collected for D., but no trace of it has been found.

As we should expect, the book contains much stimulating, penetrating, and combative criticism. It provides information about the nature of Greek prose that is readily unfamiliar to a reader not well up in Herodotus. Add a reference to L. & S. 20, 30, and the reader is found in Sophocles too: cf. Jebb on Trach. 141. N. 11: 'άλογον μυθος is virtually a temporal clause. N. 115, ll. 29 and 33: the questions are virtually protases. N. 114, l. 14: 'οσα και προς τους μοιχαλατηριας', N. 131: note that some case of ως occurs in Dem. 220, 221, 223, 224, 226, (quoted), and 227.

Analysis of asyndeton might be carried further. P. 116, l. 17: the paragraph is helped by the verb; cf. 1, 15, ἤπειρον of ἄρσεν after a document has been read (cf. Wyse on Iasius iii 7). Dem. 43 (n. 113, l. 30) shows the use of asyndeton in a list; cf. Aesch. wine 169, 70. P. 116, l. 26: asyndeton 'at the beginning of a sentence is akin to the construction of the accusative. The use of ἄρσεν to mean two words at the beginning, the other at the end'.

'After Paul's pulpit' should be 'the pulpit of St. Paul's'. Some disputable views are expressed. P. 22: 'rapid

This is the companion volume to Mr. Lucas’ Greek Poetry for Everyone reviewed in *JHS* LXII (1952), p. 126. It contains complete translations of all the tragedies (From Aeschylus V. to Sophocles) and one comedy (Clouds). A short general introduction on tragedy is followed by sections devoted to Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, in which each play receive full treatment. Discussion, usually with the inclusion of selected passages in translation unless a complete version is given. Some fragments are translated without comment at the end of the account of each author’s work (the tragic ‘aidespota’ coming immediately after those of Euripides), and they are followed by brief notes on varied topics. After the tragic authors come an introduction to comedy and a section on Aristophanes. The final section deals very briefly with Menander and includes notes on what one would expect, Mr. Lucas contributes to give up-to-date information with lively comment and criticism of a kind which cannot fail to provoke thought both in the classical specialist and the newcomer to Greek Drama. His Everyman must, of course, be prepared for serious and informed general reading, who is prepared to examine ancient drama play by play, and the book will probably make most appeal to students of English and modern literature in foreign tongues who are prepared to go forward which will have come to a university course in the Greek word used to head a paragraph—e.g. pp. 111 and 112.


Quotations. These are sometimes so fragmentary as to be unrecognizable. P. 74, l. 3: it is misleading to omit the negative before the second main verb, and all the gaps are not indicated. P. 101, l. 7: insert διάκρισιν at the beginning, or omit ὁμοίως. P. 34, l. 25: fonts διήλθα γέρα, but the hiatus by inserting the γέρα or πτωματος, might be regarded as superfluous. P. 111, l. 17 (and many subsequent examples): there is an awkward use of an English summary to introduce Greek. P. 113, l. 35: the opening words, as at στιγμήν (l. 19), and as in Particles, or misleadingly separating English and Greek, as in other examples here. The separation is made worse by the intrusive colon in l. 18, 19, and 31.

So specific a criticism is very prevalent. P. 90: Herodotus appears as a writer of philosophical prose. P. 34, l. 20–1: ἀλήθεια, πατρίδεσιν, καὶ ὁμοίως are classed under Misc, though they have already been illustrated on pp. 32–3 as particularly selected. P. 116: Dem. in the beginning the reference is given as if it were another example (cf. p. 115, l. 8 and 13). P. 115, l. 26: Dem. ix 65, given as an example of ‘full asyndeton’, has already been quoted (p. 107, l. 14) as an example of ‘half asyndeton’. P. 116, l. 27, and in a dozen more subsequent examples: the ‘mitigating’ effect of σφοδρόν (see pp. 109–10, a confused paragraph) is not noted. P. 119, l. 35: the ἀργός passage should be printed with at least colon, it is to come out at the beginning of full asyndeton. P. 127, l. 27: chiasmus of terms and chiasmus of alliteration are not distinguished.

The headings may often be tidied—e.g. p. 47, l. 1: Hyperbola as a means to introduce the question as to whether this or that is the whole of the rest of the chapter (twelve pages). Pp. 81, 82, 83, 86: italic headings are immediately repeated in ordinary type. Pp. 92 and 96: main headings are not distinguished from sub-headings, and readings within paragraphs and with one example that is admitted under both. From p. 112 to 119 and from p. 121 to 123 there is an awkward variety of headings, which, however, do not quite agree with the table of contents.

In spite of the criticisms which may be made of points of detail, the book contains so much of value, that no one who is interested in Greek can afford to do without it. But loyalty to the memory of the author calls for a carefully revised second edition.

A. N. BRYAN-BROWN

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Some, yoked beneath Necessity, He let that outrage be:
Unclean, unhallowed, impious!
When guilty madness goads the brain,
It blights to the ruin that lurks before.
He did not quail;
For a woman’s sin his child was slain,
To speed his host to war,
To set his galley sail!

Occasionally his choice of metre and rhyme seems to me to produce almost too much lift and swing, but the lyric feeling comes through, and the intricacy of his patterns is a measure of the versatility and skill with which he has carried through an almost Herculean undertaking.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Preface concludes with some personal views on the correct approach to literary criticism of ancient drama. I share much of his distrust of the expenditure of too much cleverness and midnight oil in the interpretation of plays whose effect must be judged by what they conveyed to an audience in performance, though, as the recent history of Shakespeare criticism has shown, this is itself by and large a historical problem. He is right, too, to point out, in the best traditions of Collingwood, that the interpreter of Greek drama must ask himself the right question, viz.: "What would this mean to a sensible man sitting on a hard seat in the open air of a Greek spring, along with 14,000 others, for six or seven hours at a stretch?"

Though full of the writing of an iconoclast and a heretic in his interpretations—he confuses as much in a footnote to the Oedipus on p. 170—Mr. Lattimore has supplied Everyman not only with a forceful, lively, and attractive general answer, but with information where to seek for further and more detailed assistance—though he should perhaps have warned him that some of the books referred to, for example, Pickard-Cambridge's Oedipus, Tragedy and Comedy, will be hard going for the Greekless reader.

P. G. Mason.


Old men of Argos, lieges of our realm, Shame shall not bid me shrink lest ye should see The truth that bear my lord. Such blushing fear Dies at the last from hearts of human kind. For me, long since the gushing fount of tears Is wept away; no drop is left to shed. Dim are the eyes that ever watched till dawn, Weeping, the hair-down, pieled for to return, Night after night unkindled. If I slept, Each sound—the tiny humming of a gnat, Roused me again, again, from fitful dreams Whence in I felt thee smitten, saw thee slain, Thrice for each moment of mine hour of sleep. (E. D. A. Morhead.)

Grave gentlemen of Argolis assembled here, I take no shame to speak aloud before you all the love I bear my husband. In the lapse of time modesty fades; it is human, 
Poesy: for me: that were my tears have dried utterly up, nor left one drop within. I keep the pain upon my eyes where late at night I wept over the beacons long ago set for your sake, untroubled lest of all. In the midst of dreams the whisper that a gnat's this wound cere and wondow broke my sleep apart. I thought I saw you suffer wounds more than the time that slept with me could ever hold. (Lattimore.)

Here is a passage from one of the best speeches in Aeschylus. Morhead remains, I think, one of the best of his older translators. The test seems a fair one. Preference must depend partly on facts, which can be argued; partly on feelings, which argument can reach no end, and serve no end. Some may find Morhead too fond of poetic diction; yet Greek poetry has a passion for poetic diction; no other language that I know has so sharp a cleavage between prose-word and verse-words—a fact prudently forgotten by Wordsworth in his plea for unpoetic diction in general. Mr. Lattimore, on the other hand, is of that modern school which likes to present Greek poetry as mainly prosaic, matter-of-fact, bleak, and bald. In tradition, his bald head conquers Aeschylus his life; but bald in style he was not. As Aristophanes made him fullminate in The Frogs:

Poor wrench, can you not see
That souls high-wrought, and mighty thought, must speak with majesty,
And heroes, whose line is half divine, need words with a nobler air
Just as their dress has a lordliness beyond our common wear.

Metrical, Morhead may seem too regular, too afraid (like most nineteenth-century blank verse) of her Bede's extra syllables, especially feminine endings, with their invaluable variety. But, for me, his version keeps at least some of the vibrant swing and quiver of the Muse of Aeschylus—'

O tomb! O nuptial chamber! O house deep-delved
In earth, safe-guarded ever! To thee I come,
And from thy nether depths, the many an one
Are with Persephone, dead among the dead.

(R. Whitelaw.)

Thee of my own people, who are mostly there;
Persephone has taken them to her death.

(Elizabeth Wyckoff.)
NOTICES OF BOOKS

For some, Whitelaw may be too Tennysonian (though Sophocles might have preferred Tennyson to us); but at least his verse moves like 'a princess Descended of so many royal kings'; and it puts more plainly the mood which leads to inaccuracies. For example. Mr. Grene renders both Νασσαΐος and Νασσαΐος by 'Lycean' (which becomes elsewhere 'Lycian'). He makes the Chorus lament in the Theban plague that 'there are no women bearing the pang of childbirth'; and in the Chorus there are—pace Heape—passions are fruitless. Again he assigns the writing of the Oidipus Colonus to 405 (yet by the Leaca of 405 Sophocles seems to have been already dead); and its production to 'the year after', instead of the usual acceptance of the reasoning back and forth among the squirrel and the peppered, the coloured and the plain. To-day we react from the music and colour of the Romantics, as Donne from Spenser, Wordsworth from Pope. Vain to compare their life's variety with vain to ignore such differences—as if one were to render the music of Ronsoni into the discords of Donne's Satires, or Victor Hugo's Fasthebzdso into the style of Wordsworth's Peter Bell. Pope's age liked insal to the gold of Homer: now, on the contrary, some prefer the marble of Aeschylus reproduced in brick; and the ivory of Sophocles, in bone. The results in each case may be pleasing to some, unpleasing to others; but you must not call them Homer, or Aeschylus, or Sophocles.

F. L. LUCAS.


In this translation of four of the later plays of Euripides Mr. Vellacott uses, as is now uncommon, prose for the iambic and verse for the lyric portions. His prose rendering steers a course between the 'ideological guiding note' which Hulse supposed the many more often than it goes beyond it, but keeps in general pretty close to the middle way, quite as close as the taste of the age is likely to favour. If there is little to suggest that the original is poetry, neither are there any excursions into the bogus vivacity. Altogether it would be hard to find a translation better fitted to give the prose meaning to an ordinary reader without intervention of explanatory associations. A few liberties have been taken, such as compression of diffuse passages of speech, which nothing which need be objected to in a version not intended for use as a crib.

It will hardly cause surprise that the lyric is less successful. The 'champagne flavour' of the original can hardly be suggested in any verse form used today, and neither the antistrophic, the rhymed, nor the unrhymed versions given here have much life. When, as often, the choral songs are only loosely connected to the play, it matters little, but we miss the sparsity of Ion's monody. Where the Chorus signifies more as in the Bacchae, these rather weighty renderings do disturb the balance of the play. But the many who are interested in Greek drama without themselves knowing Greek will find this translation valuable as an intelligible and sober rendering.

The introduction of some twenty-five closely printed pages is perhaps less well suited to its purpose. The account of the Ion and Helen is admittedly based on Verrall's; the interpretation of the Trojan Women, particularly of the Helen-Mendelssohn scene, is the translator's own, but it involves the assumption so often made by his brilliant predecessor that the characters mean little of what they say, and say little of what they mean. The Bacchae alone is explained in an acceptable way, since here Verrall is displaced as guide by Winck ley- Ingram. Vellacott never pretends that his personal view is anything other than his personal view, but it is inevitable that few users of this book will have any notion how small a proportion who read the plays in Greek find this sort of interpretation plausible.

Attention is rightly drawn to the situation in Athens in the year of the production of the Trojan Women (pp. 14, 230); but it is wrongly stated that the Athenians were already in Sicily when the play was performed in 415; they did not sail till three months later. Nor can the spirit of the Athenians be excused or explained by the irritation aroused by annual Spartan invasions, since the soil of Peloponnese had not been violated since the time of the conquered Spartan hostages as hostages by the capture of Sphacteria nearly ten years before.

D. W. LUCAS.


The main purpose of Delia's Essay is to controvert the views of those critics who have seen in Antigone a symbolic presentation of a clash between rival concepts rather than a living drama of concrete personalities. He finds in the play a set of characters each showing in private that there is little or no communication, with the result that the characters tend to talk to themselves rather than to each other. Thus, in the prologue, Antigone and Ismena are already poles apart. Perhaps Della Valle's virtuosity is this remark that Sophocles has, within the short compass of 100 lines, shown the rending apart of the two sisters as something that happens before our eyes as they converse with one another. Nothing illustrates this better than the contrast between the way in which Ismena addresses Ismena as if she were part of herself, and the two lines towards the end of the prologue, in which he says:

Εϊ τοιασδήποτε, ἐμοί ἐκ τούτου ἀληθὸς, ἀληθὲς δ' ἐχε τινὰ προσώπον δίκαιον.

There is a good discussion of Creon's character, though possibly Della Valle is a little harsh on him at his first appearance. His love and sorrow for the dead, his grief and anger, and his hope in the later scenes, and he regards this as a failure on Sophocles' part to preserve the unity of her character. It may well be that in isolation writing about the subject of Antigone, he has created an interpretation that is ingenious but not very convincing. He suggests that Sophocles has here lost himself in a vision of Antigone's suffering and superimposed much of his own supposed identity on the characters he has created. The truth is more likely to be that the κατάβασις represents an emotional break-down after her heroic stand: face to face with death, she at last realises her utter forlornness, her physical and spiritual isolation, and can no longer withstand the strain of being heroic.

As for her last speech, Della Valle is convinced, rightly, that Sophocles wrote it in the play at the time of composition, and suggests that its peculiarities arise from the fact that she is here conversing with herself, and his successor, metaphorically or in the presence of others. This suggestion is of a piece with his general view of the play as a 'tragedia di umane solitudini', a thesis which he maintains consistently and argues sympathetically and persuasively. One feels, however, that in emphasising the isolation of Sophocles and Sophocles' isolation of himself, he has given the impression that Sophocles himself be inferred that the translator has achieved an admirable brevity. To the reviewer the general impression is one of economy, vigour, and felicity. There are also useful stage-directions.

R. W. B. BURTON.


This monograph is a fresh and intelligent study of an aspect of Greek science by an author who, while interested in classical syntax, has also given much attention to ancient physics, astronomy, and cosmology. Early in their philosophical school, the Greeks became aware of what M. calls the Principle of Indifference (p. 21), i.e. that there is in nature no preference for any one form rather than another, and therefore any process of change to which matter is subjected may continue inde finitely, to reach, in a sense, what is called eternity, but not to remain there; else there would be no changes in the observable universe, whereas we perceive that there are. The universe, therefore, must continue to change indefinitely as a result of the forces which compel it to alter at all.
This principle was first applied by Anaximandrods, whose universe was the result of interaction between different elements or forces separated out from the infinite store of primary matter (the ávóv or atom, πάντας πάντων, τότε κάθε τι). The universe, it is concluded, will disappear, and the whole process will recommence, and so on indefinitely. Incidentally, this everlasting recurrence confers on man a sort of objective existence; he is like a fly in the dance, or a drop of water in the stream. The former ones exactly, those who are now alive will repeat their present lives in the next recurrence, as they already have done an indefinite number of times. The doctrine had its moral side (p. 23), since the formation of the universe and its dissolution were the result of a series of encroachments by one element upon another and the necessary repayments; and a like law governs human life (Herodotus' famous 'wheel', Hv. 1, 207, 2). Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Parmenides, and Empedocles handled the same fund of the idea of recurrence in their various ways, the last being perhaps the most interesting and elaborate, with his concept of the opposed forces of Love and Strife (pp. 31-33; M. of necessity makes use of a considerable, though not illegitimate, amount of conjecture in reconstructing Empedocles' universe from the surviving fragments of his work).

The second chapter handles a new element in the discussion. With the Pythagoreans came the concept of the independent life of the numbers, the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres. This was not simply governed, like physical phenomena, by the recurrent changes of the material universe. With them came also the conception of the heavenly bodies as undergoing no change save regular motion in the course of time. Specializing these general ideas (pp. 67-69) were inconsistent with any thorough-going scheme of everlasting cosmic deaths and births. Hence the remarkable cosmology of Philolaos (pp. 71-81) and of Archytas (pp. 81-89), the last supporter of everlastings, who handled the same fund of the idea of recurrence in its various ways, the last being perhaps the most interesting and elaborate, with his concept of the opposed forces of Love and Strife (pp. 31-33; M. of necessity makes use of a considerable, though not illegitimate, amount of conjecture in reconstructing Empedocles' universe from the surviving fragments of his work).

Plato, who furnishes the subject-matter of the third chapter, pp. 85-143, was confronted with all the difficulties the Pythagoreans had created and with the recent and disturbing discoveries of mathematics. That not all relations are expressible in rational numbers (that of the diagonal to the side of the square was the first to be noticed). Furthermore, the ethical and metaphysical atmosphere of his age had changed. So simple and consoling a view as that a compensatory justice is inherent in the scheme of things could no longer be held (p. 99) by the generation in which the Melian dialogue was written, and everlasting recurrence a state of things in which might was so obviously right was no longer a comfortable doctrine for many to accept.

Plato's answer was contained in the Timaeus, with its finite, geocentric, single universe, constituting a projection of the ideal world on matter, conditioned in its elements by the finite number (recently demonstrated by Theaetetus), regular solids and limiting its cyclic changes to the sublunary sphere. To examine in detail M.'s most interesting exposition of all this would need more space and a more exact and critical knowledge of Platonic thought than the reviewer commands; I draw attention especially to pp. 102 (Plato's reason for supposing there is but one world, 113 (his introduction of a quantitative element into physics), 114-15 (the weakness of his treatment of the solid state of matter), 117 (the importance of fire as a principle of change in physics), 139 (the doctrine of the Empedocles), and leave the rest to specialists in this department.

The fourth and last chapter treats of the atomists (Lukippes and Demokritos; the Epicureans are but mentioned incidentally). These men abandoned Plato's mathematical presentation of the world of forms and its structure resulting from the unlimited differences in size and shape of the atoms. They also introduced the conception of space as a real, not a mere negation, and thus rendered possible the so-called suppositio in a plurality of non-identical atoms separate from one another. The doctrine of the Principle of Indifference was thus a new one. There being no reason why nature should produce one form rather than another, and space, time, and material being unlimited, nature does in fact produce a large number of different kinds of substance and, in relatively stable universes. The facts here are pretty well known, the exposition lucid, and this and the preceding chapters are illustrated with interesting parallels from modern science.

Two minor faults might be worth putting right if more editions should be called for. The doctrine of world-ages is in itself neither of philosophic origin nor demonstrably Greek. M. does indeed repeatedly call it a vieus mythe, but might add a section dealing with its pre-Ionic stages. Two or three times (pp. 80, 107) M. appears to ascribe to Pythagorean conceptions, or re-interpretations of the first Pythagoreans and of Plato, belief in something very like Hellenistic astrology. This ought to be either corrected or defended. On p. 89, I confess that I cannot find in Aeschylus that the sufferings of his Electra are due to 'prophecy for cycle'; but I am not quite convinced by the condemnation of the [la] loi de compensation et du rapport nécessaire entre la faute et l'expiation'. The hearers or readers of the play may draw such conclusions for their own edification, but not the characters.

H. J. Rose


This interesting monograph is Fasc. 11 of the Studi pubblicati dall' Istituto italiano per la storia antica. It consists of a series of studies connected by their common relationship to the ideas of destiny or fate, as conceived, not by Greek philosophy, but rather by popular or semi-popular thought, especially religious. It begins, as is natural, with Homer and with the linguistic question of what difference, if any, there is between the various words which we commonly render by something like 'fate', 'chance', or 'destiny'. When these words are distinguished, the result is summed up on p. 10, σεισμός, which unlike σταῖς can be plural, includes the purely quantitative sense of 'part' of a greater whole, whether in time or space, e.g., a meal, whereas σείσις is rather the 'spontaneity' in seno concreto, ma in relazione all' idea di equa ripartizione. Evidently, the distinction is too fine to be always strictly observed, and the two words are often synonymous. This is not least true when we consider the familiar expression ἡ τύχη τοῦ ἄνθρωπος, though the author emphasises the tendency of σταῖς to be felt as a sort of hostile force, an adversary, pp. 29-31. Inevitably, the familiar passages in which someone undergoes or achieves success or disaster, are used, the relation of all such ideas to the belief in the power of the gods is handled (very sensibly; B. is much too well read and too acute not to see that belief in an overruling Fate to which the gods are subject is not Epie), and there is a good section, pp. 71 f., on the typically Epic theme of a hero and his destiny, and in general (pp. 85-113) on the relation between divine sovereignty and human free-will as envisaged by Homer. Follows an appendix on the meaning of ὅμοιος, pp. 113-32, in which he criticises certain views of Nilsson and other authors. Rigously refusing to equate the word with anything so impersonal as man, he misses, in my opinion, the point of the part, and is not alone in doing so. Whether or not a daemon is a 'director' (p. 126, n. 1, B. favours the etymology from δαίμων), he does not hesitate to call him the 'agent' of the participants in an action, and in the course of action which may or may not be taken. A thoughtful analysis of the Homeric story of how the lordship of the universe changed hands emphasises the increasing rationality and ordered justice of the three generations, Uranos-Kronos-Zeus, and foreshadows the later cosmological theory of the same kind, L. 308, 'epie', hardly enough emphasis is laid on their highly artifical and more or less philosophic origin; the stress is rather on the increase of civilisation, each contributing to it in some measure; Zeus most of all. The author's tentative conclusions are more or less detailed of subsidiary problems, notably of the origin in Oriental religion and myth of the succession of divine rulers (pp. 146 ff., 180 ff.), the motif of the separation of heaven and earth and its relation to that succession (pp. 183 ff.), the Mycenaean figures of Proteus (pp. 195 ff.) which is held with slight Evidence to rely on their importance in popular worship and belief, which continues to this day), and the idea of the spinning (or weaving) of human destinies (pp. 205-30). Here, apart from some rather tentative conclusions, a good deal of useful material is handily accumulated.
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Altogether, this is a useful piece of work, by an author who does not like to speculate beyond what his evidence seems to justify and is careful to provide abundant references for those who would judge or continue his researches. J. H. ROSE.


For those who cannot find, or cannot afford, the first volume of Jacoby's F. Gr. Hist., Dr. Nenci's edition of Hecataeus in the Biblioteca di Studi Superiori will have considerable attraction. The edition is scholarly and accurate, and the problems about Hecataeus are discussed in a short introduction, and there are useful indices and a bibliography. However, the edition as a whole is disappointing. Its defects are those of practical judgement rather than of learning. For example, Nenci makes no attempt to satisfy readers on the question of alterations, and Hecataeus' numbering of the fragments is so clumsy that it is difficult to follow (see the heading on the page). He prints [in his T.XXVIII] ‘Κολλάζων γε γ' [Νεώτροις] άντι. Ον εις ἄνευ. He has well argued elsewhere that the surprising Nesiotes arises out of a distortion of the words γένοις τοι, which occur roughly one line above. The difficulty is that Nesiotes is in dative, while the dative γένοις (άντι γένοις, the text of L adopted here, is obviously impossible; in his article Nenci had ἄνευ). P. L in margin, and the editors have σύν ἄνευ.) On Hecataeus' manuscripts Nenci's evaluations are cautious. He did not reject myth altogether, but criticised and avoided its indiscriminate and contradictory use; though it is excessive to assume that in fr. 41 λόγοι μητοι τοι νεωτοί γίνεσθαι signifies ‘ridiculous because many’. The author has dealt firmly, but nowhere with the fantastic conviction (on which much paper has been wasted by those who should know better) that the reason for Heraclitus' criticism of Hecataeus in fr. 40 Diels was that the former was anti-barbarian (in view of fr. 407 Diels!), the latter pro-barbarian! It is these useful aspects of Nenci's work on Hecataeus that should be emphasized.

G. S. KIRK.


For a generation or more in this country it has been the fashion to regard the sophists as almost anything rather than as philosophers. The image of the sophist as the contemptible figure in the caricatures of standard works on Greek philosophy, but also in Liddell and Scott s.v. φασις, where philosophy finds no place among the subjects taught by the sophists. But it is probable that to any normal human being has come the realisation that this view is unsound, and that the major sophists were philosophers with just as good a claim to that title as others to whom it is never refused. To these the present publication will have a double interest, first, because it is permeated with the conviction that the sophists were serious thinkers and made a full-scale attempt to determine the views which they were concerned to put forward, and secondly, because both in the text and in the copious footnotes it digests and presents the results of innumerable articles and monographs. A great deal of this work is barely accessible and little known in this country, and in this category are probably some of Prof. Untersteiner's own articles in Italian periodicals.

In the past, it must be said, scholars have tended to be at fault in their study of the sophists, through failing to recognise philosophic arguments when confronted with them. They were consequently largely immune from a different danger, that of recognising a modern philosophic argument in an ancient author, such as, for example, the sophists had a marked fault in the present book. Add to it a use of the apparatus of scholarship so fanciful that one wonders at times whether the author can really be serious, and it becomes very difficult to accept the picture of the sophists which we are given as correct. Yet just because of its originality and on occasions its startling conclusions this is a work which needs the most careful attention by all who are concerned with the development of ancient thought.

The hard core of the book lies in the interpretations of Protagoras, Gorgias, and Antiphon. The relationship suggested between these three might very well be a standard illustration of the working of the Hegelian dialectic. The same kind of process is seen in the way in which the sophists used, and it was consciousness of this conflict which constituted the tragic dilemma confronting Greek thinkers. Protagoras held that it was possible for man to master the conflicting opposites by means of superior rational knowledge; the κριτήριον λόγος (Thesis). This proposed solution provoked Gorgias to take the opposed view (Antithesis)—the tragic antitheses of experience cannot be overcome by rational means. But above them Gorgias places an 'irrational cognitive factor', variously called 'power', 'imagination', 'reasoning', 'belief'. This factor decisively imposes one of the alternatives of an anathesis. Finally, Antiphon (Synthesis) reacted against the arguments of Gorgias and restated Protagoreanism in terms of the κριτήριον λόγον. It is the case, in connexion with the tragedies, that the antitheses of Protagoras cease to cause trouble to philosophers. Within this general sequence the work of the other sophists is found to have a subordinate but relevant place. Particularly remarkable is the treatment of Hippas. It is argued that he
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was still alive in 543 B.C., that he wrote the Proem attached to Theophrastus' Characters, also Anonymus Tandlechi and [Theop.] III, 54, and that he had a lifelong poetic interest, and that this lifetime is Plato's Seventh Epistle.

In this the Hegelian framework and terminology with its elaborate theme of conflict and tragedy are clearly imported by the author from without. But the detailed treatment of the theory of the state and the doctrine of Protagoras is so distinctly no spring from a thorough study of the relevant sources. Though I believe much of it is mistaken, it deserves to be taken very seriously. Through lack of space I speak only of the interpretation of Protagoras, and then with the utmost tentativeness. The doctrine of Protagoras is the key point in Understeiner's interpretation of the Sophistic movement, and within the doctrine itself it is the interpretation of the 'Man-Measure principle which is of crucial importance. Understeiner tries to establish that Protagoras made the measure in the sense that he is the master or determinant of his own experiences. The commonest interpretation of the principle, that, e.g., of Zeller, that Protagoras held a form of subjective idealism, is completely discredited.

The new volume contains a list of the passages which prefigure the objectivity of phenomena for Protagoras. But the view diametrically opposed to that of Zeller, the theory of Brochard and Cornford, is not discussed by Understeiner, and it seems clear that his view is not theirs either. On this view the individual is the measure of a pair of opposite qualities at any one time, but both qualities are always present in reality and are in no way dependent upon any mind for their existence. Understeiner holds that it is only with their relative presence as parts of one whole that the mind perceives the measure as real by Protagoras. They are, he says, 'within the power of the man who makes them real, though apparently they are not dependent upon the man experiencing them for their reality, which is something objective. That an individual mind can perceive this reality is the creative power of the absolute mind.'

But there is simply no evidence that Protagoras ever thought along these lines, and the case is not strengthened by a mistranslation of Sextus Empiricus' Duches os de révat en drôîn ius desr an ius [a word, which is rendered by Understeiner as 'matter in its essential nature is the sum of what it appears to be to everybody,' instead of something like 'matter, so far as depends upon itself, is able to be all those things which appear to everybody.']

The translation of the book from the Italian is not very well done—obvious mistakes and misprints in the original are faithfully reproduced in the English version and many new ones added. Nor can one always rely on a correct rendering of the meaning. On p. 249, Già di molti ho sentito, which correctly represents the Greek ἐγὼ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἔμοι, has become 'Like many others I have felt,' which makes nonsense of the paragraph in which it occurs.

G. B. KERFRED.


Among the twenty-nine more specialised contributions, only a few can be separately mentioned. Of special interest is the likely discussion of the origin of the great development in the use of adjectives ending in -συς, which gradually began to the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth. This movement, Ammann, holds, was due to the influence of the other adjective, Adjectives in -συς are most commonly classifying adjectives, Sometimes they act as qualifying or characterizing adjectives, but the usage is usually restricted.

Thirdly, the general conclusions are of importance for the history of the Greek language. Adjectives in -συς are most commonly classifying adjectives, Sometimes they act as qualifying or characterizing adjectives, but the usage is usually restricted. There is a tendency to create such adjectives directly from the verb, whether or not there be any nomen agenti to serve as intermediary. This leads to a third function of such adjectives, to express disposition or potentiality, and so in effect to a new kind of verbal adjective. Finally, all three functions, classifying, qualifying, and dispositive-synthetic are often combined in the same word, e.g. ἀκατορθότης ἄρση.

These conclusions are amply supported by the material collected from Plato. There is a long and involved discussion of the origin of the great development in the use of adjectives ending in -συς, which gradually began to the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth. This movement, Ammann, holds, was due to the influence of the other adjective, Adjectives in -συς are most commonly classifying adjectives, Sometimes they act as qualifying or characterizing adjectives, but the usage is usually restricted. There is a tendency to create such adjectives directly from the verb, whether or not there be any nomen agenti to serve as intermediary. This leads to a third function of such adjectives, to express disposition or potentiality, and so in effect to a new kind of verbal adjective. Finally, all three functions, classifying, qualifying, and dispositive-synthetic are often combined in the same word, e.g. ἀκατορθότης ἄρση.

G. B. KERFRED.


It may surprise some that the authenticity of this dialogue should still need defending. The omnis probandi lies with the skeptics, to whose side Wilamowitz lent his authority, if little else. While Soreth's examination, which provides a useful commentary, tends to place the work somewhat between Euthyphro and Phaedo, he properly limits his main argument to showing the implausibility of the hypotheses of forgery or imitation.
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Apart from some insignificant linguistic points, the evidence against Platonic authorship consists in alleged weaknesses of construction, plunderings from genuine dialogues (and from Xenophanes) and occasional thinness of plot. With these, however, as with the remark of the charge of unintelligent copying, in Hippos 295e and 298c, from Gorgias 474f, it is refuted. The reader is left mildly astonished at the frivolity and flimsiness of some of the arguments put forward by scholars, sometimes of eminence. The main points, however, are well taken in the dialogue to Euthyphro and Phaedo. In a subtle and closely reasoned passage he compares Hippos 289c with Euthyphro 8a, where the similarity of wording makes independence unlikely. It is well known that a conclusion reached by an argument should not be the same as another. In the case of Hippos it is admitted that while particular κάλα may also be οὐκ ή αὐτός; οὐκ εὖ κάλα cannot; and this involves an aporia the solution of which is offered by the Theory of Forms propounded in Phaedo, which is not in Euthyphro. Moreover, Phaedo 96d quotes, among the causal explanations discarded by Socrates, one explicitly stated in Hippos 294b.

This is good; better still if we could be assured that the οὐκ ή αὐτός as in Hippos bears the same meaning as οὐκ ή αὐτός in Phaedo, and if an unequivocal interpretation could be found for the Euthyphro passage (especially at 3d 1–5). But the point is well made: if the foiger or imitator possessed sufficient information, he could have reached the same conclusion on his own. It is a thought which is not elsewhere indicated, what becomes of the 'Stumpsinaigkeit', which was the initial reason for postulating him?

Sorens' careful differentiation focuses attention on several points of difficulty which might easily be, or have been, passed over. Three examples may be noted:

(i) 302c 4: τή οὐσία τή τίνι ὁμόφων ἐποίησε: not the 'attribute common to both kinds of pleasure' but the 'attribute common to the pair and to its members severally'. This gives better sense.

(ii) 304c 3: S. reads: φανερώθη δὲ καὶ ποιηθεῖ εὖ ὡς οὐκόν καλά οὐκ ὡς τοῖς διά τίνος [10] καλόν, αὖθις οὐδὲ ἀλλὰ ἄλλο ἐποίησε· 'Neither it nor anything else could cause both the reality and the appearance of beauty.' Though the word order is awkward, this makes better sense in the context than both the Budé and Leob editors. (What Burnet's text means here I cannot conjecture.)

(iii) 300c 7: τίποτα ὧς ἀποκρωμιώσεις ἔχει, ὃ Σωκράτης, ἐπὶ μέρος τοῖς διάφοροις ἀποκρωμίασις. What are the 'even greater miracles'? Retaining the MSS, reading in the preceding lines, Sorens rightly refers 'πρότερον' to 300c 6; then the 'greater miracles', refer to Socrates' transition from 'προπλοῦσαν' there to 'προπλούσαν' there, as involving rather than following lines, the distinction between τόσος and οὐκόν, which is at best only implicit in the text. Now in 300c 5, at Sorens points out, Sydenham proposed a radical alteration of Sokrates' words to 'προπλούσαν οὐκόν, οὐδὲ ἄλλοις ὅμοιας τοῖς διάφοροις ἠκούσαν', which avoids the blatant tautology of the text as it stands; and Schleiermacher, following him, found in these words the 'Ε ἡμέρα τίποτα'. When Sorens claims that this will not do, because in Hippos' next words 'Kein Beispiel ist so formuliert, das es sich gegen die Umkehrung: was wir beide zusammen nicht sind, sind wir als einzeln, richtet' (p. 55), he is mistaken. The 'Umkehrung' is in fact controverted by two of Hippos' examples, and is again explicitly compared at 305a 3, 305b 1. The 'wise men' have been wrong to improve the text here; but it is an improvement.

To draw attention to such difficulties is a service, even if the proposed solutions do not win acceptance. Sorens' work is noteworthy and sound and should be an aid to further challenge to the Platonic authorship of this dialogue will need a better foundation than has been found in the past.

R. MATTEWSON


This brief but valuable study appears in a series entitled A la Recherche de la Vérité; it is presumably intended for a general student of philosophy, while it also contains much that is useful and suggestive for the Platonicist. Introductory chapters state some of the problems involved and give a clear summary of pre-Platonic thought. The main contents and organization of the book are well taken in an customary order and for the most part on accepted lines. After tracing the genesis and earlier developments of the Theory of Ideas, Prof. Schuhl emphasises the probability of a 'crisis' in Plato's thought, connecting this with the second Sicilian visit and with fresh personal contacts or influences at that period—Eudoxus and Aristotle newly arrived in the Academy; Democritus, further association with Pythagoreans; Phyllithon and his views on the Soul; with the problems and trends of the Socratic theory, and new trends of thought, in the later dialogues are persuasively attributed to these influences. The exposition of these later works in outline, particularly of the Theaetus and the Parmenides, is clear and precise. The treatment made to the problem of the 'unwritten doctrines', with special acknowledgement to Ross's Plato's Theory of Ideas. An excellent classified bibliography is appended, supplementing the numerous references in footnotes to works of various dates, some quite recent. Amid much that will stand unquestioned, yet worthy of attention because of the author's freshness of approach and wise comments, his statements at certain points are open to challenge. It is to be hoped that this is a work which may sometimes the speaker 'thinks'. The section most open to criticism is the treatment of the Republic, where the ethical and spiritual message for the individual is too much subordinated to the political and social doctrines. This is especially noticeable in the study of the degenerate states and lives in Books VII and VIII, where the types of individuals character are expressly regarded as results of life within the corresponding polities—p. 168, 'l'évolution psychologique que subissent les individus membres de ces différents régimes'. The parallelism throughout sometimes the speaker 'thinks'. This is also the case in the Polity, and the city within, under which each individual at each stage develops psychologically from the preceding type, not from the institutions which may surround him. Thus the 'tyrannical man' (571a 571a) is not the political tyrant, already described in relation to the state here, but is an inner person the speaker 'thinks'. These other possible criticisms in detail must not detract from the praise due to an excellent treatise, which students of Plato should not overlook.

D. TARRANT.

Plato's earlier dialectic. By R. ROBINSON. 2nd edition. Fp. x + 206. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. £25. First published in America, the book is now known to many students of Plato only by report. Thanks are due to the author and the publishers for making available this revised and enlarged edition. The work is based on a most painstaking examination of the dialogues, not excluding the latest group, and its pronouncements upon Plato and, still more, upon his modern commentators deserve thorough consideration.

The purpose is to trace and evaluate the logical theories and principles contained in the early and middle dialogues. The method of collection and division is excluded as late and new, though is what Plato says of it in Phaedrus 269b. It is a method that the canons of interpretation applied are 'of unanswerable severity'; 299c 5, 'could be taken as evidence of his logical position. There are few text-books which could stand up to these canons; and these dialogues are not text-books but works of dramatic art, contained and arranged by Plato for some purpose other than a detailed and systematic exposition. This is a further 'canon' for which Mr. Robinson makes little allowance. Moreover, he himself seems at times compelled to go beyond the text. For example, he assumes that both Socrates and Plato believed in the equation of virtue with knowledge; but that these of the 'propositions which, to use his own term, are 'destroyed' in certain dialogues by the 'appeal to instances', which he finds to be a device for 'destroying rather than establishing propositions'. More than anything else in the book, this is a long and patient explication of concepts, or the exposure of ambiguities. Not all so-called knowledge is (genuine) virtue; but the equation is not abandoned.

According to Mr. Robinson (here departing from Ross's view) Aristotle, in attributing induction and definition to Socrates, did not mean that the former was a means to the latter. They are mentioned simply as two disconnected procedures relevant to the theme of Aristotle's context, viz. dialectic. In this dialogue of Plato the end of the procedure is usually destructive, and the propositions destroyed are by no means always spoilt. There is indeed little sympathy with the Socratic demand for definitions; Mr. Robinson firmly concludes Phaedrus 260c: that one must know the meaning of 'horse' or 'justice' before one can say anything useful about horses or justice. Ignoring the positive suggestions found even
in the earliest group, he concentrates on the negative side of the Socratic elenchus. Definition, at best, means for him a mere
hypothesis, an element in his essential character; but frequently any 'naark' or differentiation will satisfy him; and
always the assumption is that X can be broken up into 'elements', so that, if X is a primary element, no definition is
possible, and if it so far contains, defined, a statement of its
identity, which, nevertheless, Theaet. rejects as unhelpful.
Reducing the Socratic arguments to their lowest common
denominator, Mr. Robinson pronounces 'What is X?' to be
'a vague question merely inviting some true statement of
the contents of X in terms of X itself. To such a method
might I confess my utter inability, for example, 'elements' must include the relations of X to other things; and the object is not so much to identify X as to induce an understanding of it.
Mr. Robinson, it seems to me, when he allotted a dictionary
role to Plato, that when he did not mean the question-and-answer variety, which was probably Plato's invention based on his inheritance from Socrates, to which he stubbornly clung long after it had become inappropriate. Plato's dialectic can go no further than the
identification of such tart remarks that Mr. Robinson has been accused of a hostility towards Plato which he disavows. To take another example, it is said that dialectic tends to mean 'the ideal mode of
thought', but this is so very perfectly and purely
accurate, unless there is a deep misunderstanding here,
that, to say that Plato's strong belief in the value of experts is at variance with his claim that dialectic recognises no authority. It is not easy to make a concerted account of the many sections into which the treatment of this subject is broken up. Mr. Robinson sees that what to him are questions of logic are for Plato—and this is 'very strange'—matters of ontology. Yet he treats even the idea of Good as intrinsic, for the 'good', whatever it is, is not something
that can be deduced. It does not occur to him that it might be some kind of ens. Recognising rightly that dialectic is not a set of rules, he seems again to forget about the objective reference in calling it 'a
way of thinking'. The only merit which he appears to assign to the hypothetical method, as expounded in the middle
dialogues, lies in its keeping 'what you assume' distinct from
'what you deduce'. But elsewhere even this merit is denied by implication. According to Mr. Robinson's interpretation, a hypothesis is to replace if it is indeed a hypothesis that can be
concluded from: it is either, then, a hypothesis must be a complex proposition, or else the conflict is due to extra premises tacitly introduced. How, then, has the method succeeded in making one's assumptions distinct and sure? He supposes that he has carried over his
preconceptions that the exposition of the method is a reply to Protagoras' attack on mathematics, and throws some doubt on Maier's notion that it had something to do with Aristotle's doctrine on
unproved first-principles. But he cannot explain why the method is introduced in its context in Phaedo; the passage is,
he thinks, irrelevant, 'an excessiveness'—for why should the abandonment of the search for the Good involve adopting the
hypothetical method? I should reply: 'because the search is independent of the form of arguments'; the form of arguments
and formal causes (the ideas) is a misleading expression when the formal causes are also final causes. It is wrong to think that there is 'no connexion' between internal and external finality. Hypotheses are usually quite
putative, they are not just provisional, but they lead to contradiction, both they and their consequences must be 'provisional'. Why, then, does Rep. claim certainty for the conclusions of dialectic? Apparently the
answer lies not in devising a new method but in postulating and defending a theory that all the results of a disputation
('the destroys hypono')—an expression which Mr. Robinson
takes (disappointingly, for it is not what Plato says) as referring to the destruction of their hypothetical character. He thinks that it probable that mathematics could be treated in a similar
disputation, and indeed a system, of which, however, has appeared to others (notably Mr. Murphy) to involve not
demonstration but clarification. The discussion of the Line
and the Cave also reaches rather conventional conclusions,
'The Line is not parallel to the Cave, and Plato did not think it was.' (Are these really two propositions?) And there are
no mathematical.
As to the four mental states of the Line, these are 'added as an afterthought' and are of no importance. One could find a moral in the contrast with Ross, whose tone and
methods are so similar to Robinson's, but who found 'the
final purpose of the Line' to be 'a division of states of mind'.
In practice, Plato relies little on the hypothetical method and
more much on analogy and imagery, both of which, it is thought, he condemns in theory. In finding an inconsistency in the relation of sensation to dialectic: sense-experience reminds us of the ideas (Phaido), and starts off the whole process from which knowledge results (Rep.). To the use of imagery he applies without discrimination at all. Plato says of instinct that he has expected those severe canons to rule out the treatment of sense and sensa as synonymous. Plato's methods and
methodologies are finally pronounced to contain five 'major
incoherences', not one of which appears to me to have been made out.
A long chapter on Parm. a 'bewildering' and 'depressing'
work, has been added. Rejecting, with good reason for the
most part, the views of several modern commentators, Mr. Robinson finds in Parm. the same defects of method, of either doctrine or method. Nor will he accept what seems the most hopeful line of interpretation: the hypothesis that Parmenides' methods' in the second part are a commentary
on his criticisms of the theory of ideas in the first. But on
such matters I would refer the reader to A. L. Peck in CQ.
N.S. III, 126, IV, 31.
J. TATE

Kommentar zum ersten Buch von Xenophons Memor.
(abilin. (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 5.) By O. GIGON. S. 169.
Basel: F. Renhardt, 1953. SW. Fr. 15.90.
This is the first volume of a complete commentary on the Memorabilia, Giga. It is an important linguistic, historical, and
other incidental matters wherever possible and concentrates his attention upon the philosophical provenance and literary
articulation of Xenophon's 'Reminiscences'. The method is
hermeneutical, of dialectic, and redaction criticism. Although not a more coherent and readable book, though it necessarily
involves much paraphrasing of the original text and tends to
tie down the discussion rather much to the particular passage in hand. After all the detailed arguments and evidence, it
is hard to see how the scales be brought in at all and some sort of verdict given. Since G. is generally reluctant to commit himself on the ultimate authenticity of any particular conversation or account of Socrates, the reader is often left merely to add a new dimension of commentary
and a doubt that remains as profound as it was before. But doubt
G. is reserving an overall consideration of Xenophon's reliability as a witness to the true Socrates and a drawing-
together of the many puzzling threads that he can see in
Socratic literature (and are promised soon).

G. believes that Xenophon was not philosophically
incompetent; that he was, of course, a 'straight' reporter of
Socratic anecdot. conversations, and characters, but not
yet a complete inventor. It is his wish to draw the lines between genuine reminiscence,
documented reminiscence, plausible extension of Socratic ideas, and all-but-invention. Towards this task G.'s first volume provides some valuable reconnaissance and some preliminary
sketching.

Among the many interesting discussions in the book may be
mentioned that on the relation between Libanius' Apology and
Xenophon's BK. 1, Chap. 2, and the derivation of both from
Polycrates' hostile pamphlet. The implication that the
dialogues of Critias and Alcibiades had been Socrates' pupils (pp. 39 ff., 80 ff). Xenophon vindicates his master, notes G., in a less subtle way than Plato. For Xenophon virtue is primarily a matter of practice, and consequently may be lost and transferred to others without their in any way
lost after they had abandoned him. For Plato, on the other hand, knowledge of the Good, if once attained, could never be lost (p. 48), and his Socrates makes no claim even to possess this
knowledge, much less to pass it on. Another such contrast is
bracketed out in p. 102. Xenophon sees Socrates' self-appointed poverty as a wise effort after the utmost self-sufficiency; and
perhaps implies that it would be unjust to class him with
aristocratic parasites, because his needs were in fact so small. But to express the opposite position—namely, the devotion to the service of God in chastening pretenders to
wisdom (Apol. 23b-c). On p. 184 there is a comparison, though hardly an evaluation, of the reasons for Socrates' non-
participation in politics. Xenophon's excuse is that Socrates did more good by training many others to be politicians
(Men. 1.6.15). But this surely lays him open to the
charge which he has been so earnestly rebutting—that some of
the pupils had turned out very badly. And would not the
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\textbf{Master statesmen have done better than many indifferent disciples?} Plato invokes the Daimonion (which hardly helps) and makes Socrates declare that he would have lost his life had he not acted on his 'demon' (Ap. 406 b). From this consideration seems to be on a much less heroically moral plane than other parts of the Apology.) It is disappointing that G. hardly attempts to apporportion the truth between conflicting views in such cases.

G. finds anachronisms in the dialogue between Xenophen and Socrates upon Critobulus' love for Alcibiades' son (Mem. 1. 3. 8. ff.), similar to some found in Plato's dialogues (pp. 164 ff.). By ingeniously linking this passage with one in Xen. Sym. 1. 10-28, where the dramatic date is known to be 413 B.C., G. suggests that Xenophon is here representing himself as being already on familiar terms with Socrates at that time—in fact talking intimately with him about the son of his best friend, G. is inclined to date Apoll. Aristotle's date for the birth (441/440) rather than the usual c. 428 (p. 106). This is important in that it would allow a longer time in which Xenophon could have got to know Socrates really well.

On the vexed question of the identity of G.'s 'Antipho' in Mem. 1. 6, G. thinks that 'Antipho' is used here merely as a type-name for an opponent of Socrates, for which he compares Plato's use of 'Gorgias'. This would exclude the passage from giving any clues towards the distinction of the (apparently) isolated identity of Antipho (if they happen to be different, but incidentally G. takes ρωπ' φυτα (Mem. 1. 6. 13) to refer to the Socratic circle (p. 160), so far agreeing with Morrison (CR March 1953) against Dodds (The Greeks and the Rational, p. 231).

G. finds Xenophon's way of stringing together his reminiscences highly inconsequent at times, but despite some undoubted inconsistencies and dislocations (cf. pp. 44, 161) it seems to be expecting a standard of precision and logical consistency which would be remarkable in a strongly apologetic memoir of this sort and tends to exaggerate the effect of these faults on the reader (e.g. pp. 4. 21). G. is always straining to see the written work of some shadowy Sokratikos behind Xenophon's stories (e.g. pp. 42, 109). He even believes that Xenophon followed a published list of those who were present at Socrates' death (p. 73—despite discrepancies there noted).

Apart from the temerity of calling the contemporary Xenophon 'an obituary' on the pervails of antiquity (An. Unim.), it is surely unnecessary to trace in it a sardonic echo of an (unknown) Ur-Symposium (p. 102). Socrates and his friends were, above all, great talkers, and the introduction to Plato's Phaedo gives a more likely account of the way stories about Socrates were spread than G.'s picture of the ex-soldier-of-luck confuting and confusing piles of earlier Socratic literature.

Several of the more striking parallel passages in the G. and the Mag. G.'s (many references are given) are remarkable for their similar form. These raise in acute form the question: Was Xenophon fatherring his own ideas on Socrates, or was he improving along lines Socrates had suggested? On the other hand, in such cases as 4. 3. 5. 53 he securely ascertains his question-and-answer method in essentially the same way as in Plato. Much of the argument in 1. 4. 10-18 and 1. 5. 3 would come just as naturally from Plato's Socrates. Our wonder is not about the rest—is it what Xenophon invented or what Plato supposed? It is to be hoped that G. will not end his commentary without a bold discussion of such questions.

E. R. HILL.


The purpose of Dr. Hamburger's study is to elucidate the growth of Aristotle's legal theory as set forth in the Eth. Pol. and Rhet., and to determine what theories of enduring value may be found in these works. Dr. H. finds that the chronological order of the three treatises with which he is chiefly concerned, as indicated by the development of Aristotle's legal views, is Magna Moralia, Eth. Eud., Eth. Nic.; both the summarising passages and the expansions found in Eth. Nic. show it to be the latest of the three. He thus aligns himself with Dr. Jaeger against the reading and conclusions of Dr. Jaeger. Dr. H. makes three divisions of his study: (1) Voluntary action and choice; (2) Law and Justice; (3) Friendship ('social sympathy'). In each division he gives a close analysis of Aristotle's theory and his main conclusions for the chronological development is drawn from the third division. The second division is the longest, dealing with Justice in its various aspects, including Aristotle's notion of 'justice' (i.e. retribution) as supplementing the laws where they are too general to permit of a fair application in some particular case. In the third division the relation between 'social sympathy' and justice is examined; and there is a good deal of comparison and contrast of Aristotle's views with Plato's.

The study is written to show that Aristotle's views are based not on an unamateurish grasp of legal theory (as seems often to have been supposed, at any rate by lawyers), but upon sound and adequate technical knowledge. They are therefore to be respected not as mere products of legal modification; but taking the work as a whole, it is difficult to imagine how its purpose, which is 'to give an outline of Aristotle's principal doctrines with reference to the circumstances in which they were conceived', has not already compass been more successfully achieved. Any reader who, having no Aristotle and no Greek, wishes to obtain a fair and balanced account of Aristotle's thought will find one here. It is perhaps not without significance that both this book, and Dr. Hamburger's, which deals with another facet only of Aristotle's doctrine, concur in emphasising the value of Aristotle's thought for the present age. 'The world', says Mr. Allan, 'is not too richly endowed with examples of perseverance and subtlest in analysis, of moderation and sanity in the study of human affairs. It will be a great loss if the thinker who, above all others, displays these qualities, is ever totally forgotten.'

The work includes a useful short bibliography and an index.

A. L. PROK.


There is little that need be said about this admirable book except to commend it. The analysis and presentation of Aristotle's philosophy are sympathetic and penetrating, and so are the statements of Aristotle's weaknesses and shortcomings. In the search for his isolation of Rhetoric, it is sometimes to leave out of account Aristotle's social and ethical views, which were not developed in the same way as are the logical and philosophical, and which are suffused with his whole system of thought.

The work includes a useful short bibliography and an index.

A. L. PROK.

\textbf{LA POETIQUE D'ARISTOTE.} By D. DE MONTMOLLIN. Texte, primitif et additions ultérieures. Neuchâtel: H. Messei-


It would be a pity if the exasperating cleverness of this dissertation were to distract attention from its value. It is clearly the work of a brilliant young scholar who has yet to learn the satisfaction of a scholar only on the surface who can and what cannot be proved, and whose critical method consists of setting up a hypothesis and then straining every nerve to support it. He has nothing but contempt for les douze chevaliers (p. 160); of his own dialectic the following is a sample:

\textit{Cette série d'arguments, plus ou moins forts, mais qui se confirment les uns les autres, a la valeur d'une preuve décisive} (p. 152).

The once familiar academic exercise of pulling oneself off the ground by one's own bootstraps has long been outmoded, and scholars of to-day are likely to be more frustrated than engaged by M. de Montmollin's agile showmanship. All the same, anyone interested in the Poétique would do well to learn something from a study of this erudite and provocative volume.

The starting-point of M.'s thesis is a passage in c. 3 (14b48-29 ff.) in which printed editions is rescued from chaos by the use of brackets; to a careful reader could not reasonably be expected to observe that τοιοῦτος relates not to the immediately preceding two but to another subject—several lines earlier. Having concluded that the parenthetical phrase must be a later addition to the text, M. set out to look for similar insertions. The result is plentiful. The game is, of course, an easy one to play, and there is an obvious danger of carrying it too far. Anyone who has ever written anything knows that even a draft contains afterthoughts, and how much more so in view of a new and thetical observation which occurred to the author while he was in the act of writing and which he added in the margin many years later? In his examination of the early chapters de Montmollin is in his aim to adduce all only those passages which appeared on stylistic grounds to be out of place in their present contexts. As he proceeded to list such passages a pattern became apparent: the intrusions consisted of factual and illustrative matter, what remained was mainly
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theoretical. Hence he developed the theory that Ar. originally wrote a strictly theoretical treatise on poetry, perhaps for the instruction of his pupil one octropus, which, Ar. supposed, he offered to translate, with a view to using it in his courses at the Lyceum, and having by this time conducted his researches at the Metron was able to incorporate facts of literary and dramatic history as well as other material which he had come across during his researches original or borrowed. The marginalia were, essentially, Ar.'s own, but their incorporation into a continuous text was the work of a compiler after his death, and was in many places carelessly executed.

So far so good. The complications multiplied as this hypothesis was applied to the central and later sections of the work. To begin with, if any passage referred back to a passage already marked as a later addition, it must itself be a later addition, even though there might be no reason to suspect it on the face of the text. Again in these sections of the work there is a strong element of the πόλεμος—the author seems to have passed from discussion of the nature of poetic drama to the formulation of precepts for effective dramaturgy: the pattern of de M. has decided, in the Preface, to make no more use of it, and the claim of this section of the work to be later additions, de M. has proceeded to the irrational corollary that if a passage echoes part of the original version it must itself belong to that version. His reason for retaining the opening lines of c. 14 is that there is nothing in the preface to support the view that the construction closed without having added a single new idea. This is a case where de M. would have been more convincing if, like Chaplin's barber, he had carried the trimming process through to its logical conclusion.

But the relegation of whole chapters, or major portions of chapters, to the category of later additions plays havoc with the original hypothesis of marginalia. It is easy to picture Ar. writing a sentence in the margin of a chapter, but how can one imagine de M. writing, in the face of this, an essay on the chapters which de M. has added? And further, if Ar. wrote on the margin of a chapter, then he may also have written on the margin of another part of the same chapter. Or if he added something to the margin of one chapter, may it not have been to the margin of another chapter? And these hypothetical lines of thought carry on to many other parts of the work.

One of the most interesting parts of de M.'s thesis is his third chapter, dealing with the place of the Poetics in Ar.'s work. Inspired by Jaeger's general exposition of the subject, de M. has set himself the difficult task of choosing a critical edition of the work. Ar.'s original text is not extant, though a considerable body of material has been attributed to him by later authors, the so-called Aristotelian scholia. de M. is aware of the difficulty of determining which, if any, of the extant work was put together after his death and is, as Dünster conjectured, the episodou (in one book) of the Hermippian catalogue. The argumentation of this chapter deserves serious attention, but in so far as it rests on the hypothesis of extensive epistolae curae incorporated in the extant work it must be treated with caution, though de M. is justifying all his assumptions as a fresh evaluation of the problem is itself a substantial service.

It is characteristic of the intensity of de M.'s scholarship that in publishing a text, as a mere appendix, to illustrate his thesis, his own text, though found on Gudeman and Sykotius, shows some independence, and this part of his work has a value quite unrelated to the thesis which it supports. Nevertheless, as a new text, especially to students of critical problems in the Poetics. There is no index, but an ingenuous reference system enables a reader interested in a particular passage to work his way from point to point in the order of the sections, listings, notes, bibliography.

R. G. C. LEVENS.


Dr. Minio-Paluello has elsewhere shown that, whereas the translation of the Prior Analytics commonly used in the Middle Ages and still preserved was the work of Boethius, his translation of the Posterior Analytics has been forgotten. Other Greek—Latin versions took its place, and this necessitates an inquiry into the age and authorship of these versions. Dr. Minio-Paluello has convincingly argued that the common version is to be attributed, along with some early manuscripts, to James of Venice. But this is only one part of the story. C. H. Haskins, in a paper published in 1941 and reprinted in Studies in Medieval Science, announced the discovery in a MS. at Toledo of another Greek—Latin version, accompanied by a prefacé attributed to Gerard of Cremonta’s Arabic—Latin translation of James, alleging that the learned men of France ‘by their silence bear witness to its great obscurity’. The date of this anonymous version is roughly fixed by the fact that John of Salisbury in the Magna Charta, c. 1188, cites a passage from it and terms it ‘new’. It is this work which here for the first time (apart from Haskins’s extract) appears in print. It has sometimes been called the Toledo version: Dr. Minio-Paluello points out that this name might be more appropriately assigned to Gerard of Cremonta’s Arabic—Latin version, which may really have been written at Toledo. The present version may be of Italian origin, and the MS. in which it survives appears to have come from France.

None of the great sources of learning has to be familiar with it, but it did not remain entirely unknown. Apart from John of Salisbury’s quotation, there are in this country two MSS., one at Balliol College and one in the British Museum, which report its readings in the margin. The general force of the argument is provided by the Union Académique Internationale for the Aristoteles Latinus as a whole. The editor has carefully studied the readings of the Greek MSS., as reported by Waitz and Ross. He states in the Preface what can be inferred regarding the translator’s Greek source, and the relation between version and Greek text is shown in detail in a separate apparatus criticus. In another apparatus variants or emendations in the Latin text are given. There follow, first a Latin—Greek Index which records the occurrence of every word, and if necessary distinguishes its various equivalents, and secondly, a Greek—Latin Index. These Indexes not only enable a citation to be readily found, but provide valuable material for anyone studying the vocabulary of medieval translators, a task which is in turn necessary in deciding questions of authorship.

So far as form is concerned, the preceding remarks apply also to the edition of the Latin version of the Poetics, by William of Moerbecke. So far as the work is with him, that the date of its composition is 1278, not as was formerly thought owing to a misreading, 1249, are facts which Dr. Minio-Paluello has elsewhere shown. The translation is preserved in two MSS., one at Eton College and the other at Toulouse, both of which are described as "probable Aristoteles de arte poetica liber". This version has, of course, been previously studied by those interested in the establishment of the Greek text, but the present editors are equipped with much fuller information about William of Moerbecke’s vocabulary, and the translation will offer us a schema which shows the relation between the four main lines of descent of the text previous to the Renaissance, i.e., the Greek, the Greek—Latin, the Greek—Semitic, and the Semitic—Latin. Among other points of value in the Preface
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there is an interesting note on the phonetic aspect of the transliteration of Greek words (pp. x-xi). After the untimely death of the original editor, Sigmund Valignorini, the work passed into the hands of Professor Franchescini and Dr. Minio-Paradisi who have collated the MSS, arranged and drawn up the Preface.

These volumes are remarkable alike for accuracy, for economy of space, and for good judgement. They are a notable addition to the resources both of Greek scholars and of students of medieval philosophy.

D. J. ALLAN.


For some years past, a series of volumes on the life and works of the ancient Greek philosophers, known as the Physikoi, has appeared under the editorship of Professor Wehrli. The latest volume in this series, just published by the same author under the title of Alexarchos, adds to the already considerable number of volumes on the subject.

Little is known of Diacarchos' life, but Wehrli makes the most of the evidence available. Among the remains of the Physikoi there is rich material for biography, and Wehrli has made a careful study of the evidence. His work is thorough and scholarly, and the results are published in a clear and concise manner.

Wehrli has been able to trace the life and works of Diacarchos with great accuracy, and he has been able to show that he was one of the most important of the ancient Greek philosophers. The volume is well illustrated with plates and diagrams, and it is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

D. J. ALLAN.


This is a survey of the life and teachings of Epicurus, based on the best available evidence from the ancient sources. De Witt rightly criticises the common practice of putting Epicureanism after Stoicism in the histories of philosophy. He insists that Epicurus developed his doctrines in opposition not to Stoicism but to Platonism and Pyrrhonism, both of which appeared to him as being mere superstition. He argues that the sensation of pleasure is an instrument of knowledge. The Stoicism of Zeno came later, and its hostility to Epicurus dates from Chrysippus. The false picture of the two systems as conterversial is partly due to Cicerro. De Witt suggests, on rather meagre evidence, that it was the 'Platonists who, by stirring up the mob', caused the expulsion of Epicurus from Mytilene at about the age of thirty. Epicurus defended himself against the charges by a work that De Witt describes as a 'manifesto'. He wrote it in 300 B.C. and it is the earliest surviving work by Epicurus. He was on the whole successful in his campaign against the superstitions of his age, and his opponents received him kindly and without unfair treatment.

But a good deal is made of Epicurus' indebtedness to his predecessors, his claim to be self-taught is excused; but at
least he did not deny the existence of Leucippus, or so De Witt interprets DL 10, 13, though perhaps it is open to doubt whether it was really more amiable of him to deny to Leucippus the friendship, based largely on its utility; but it is going rather far, in view of Aristotle, to mention no others, to claim that he 'possessed the moral copyright' for this theme. De Witt's list is suggestive, such as he deemed such authors; for he regarded Epicurus as a master-mind, and whose careful attempt to understand Epicurus' system from the inside has seemed all too sympathetic in the view of some readers such as Cornford (Principia Socratica, pp. 12 ff.). The second objection to Epicurus is that he was an 'egocentric hedonist', pleading rather for the epithet 'altruistic'. But on this point, and also on the charge of social anarchism, Epicurus' condemnation of marriage and the begetting of children is open to question. Further, De Witt denies Bailey's view that the intractability of sensation is 'part of Epicurus' doctrine, contending that 'immediate sensations alone have 'total value'. Nor will he agree that Epicurus was an 'epicureist'; for, unlike Epicurus, epicureists are not devoted to the criteria—sensations, intuitions, pleasures—prejudicedly. One can only comment that De Witt has been peculiarly fortunate in the epicureists whom he has met. It is admitted that Epicurus' first criterion, the senses, 'constituted the sole contact' with the sole reality (atoms and void). But it is argued that his second criterion, propels (anticipation), means a kind of judgement which is prior to sense-experience and cannot be reduced to sensation. The third criterion, too, is held to be distinct from sense-perception: this is, namely, the spiritual, entitle us to think there is untrue any proposition which tends to make us miserable!

The interpretation of propels makes Epicurus an 'intuitionist' and a believer in 'innate ideas', which Bailey, with evident delight, denounces such views as making much of the tenets of Epicureanism. De Witt, of course, rejects the account of propels found in DL 10, 33, which he regards as vitiated by the influence of 'the thievish Stoics', who 'eribbed' this term from Epicurus but gave it a different sense (general concept). He relies partly on the well-known passage of Cicero (De Nat. Deor. i 17, 44) and partly on arguments drawn from the supposition that man has a propels of the nature of the gods, and shares with animals a propels of justice. He also explains that Epicurean views on the development of the human organism, which is thought to be based on Aristotle's account of the veins of the embryo as prefiguring the structure of the adult. Just as speech begins in irrational, infantile noises, so our opinions (or some of them) arise from 'inborn propensities', with which 'Nature', that goddess from the machine, who is poetically (but inexcusably) called 'provident', 'benevolent', and 'creative', kindly endows man for life in his great experiment. Without these propensities, man might try to attain the hopeless task of making all this thinkable in the context of atoms and void as the sole reality. Whatever atomic propensities may be, they are surely not ideas. Indeed, there is one passage which may suggest that propels are not ideas, and yet opinions based on propels are a priori grounds: Epicurean 'cannot have been without a criterion of truth on the abstract level of thought'. One may perhaps be excused for suspecting a certain bias on the author's part in the treatment of the evidence.

The charge of intellective, feelings—turn out to be 'witnesses in court'. Who, then, is the judge? In spite of the derivative character of reason, the judge, according to De Witt's interpretation, is 'the volitional mind'. Lucretus, it should be recalled, speaks of the part played by this emotion, and 'dislodging from the soul the excess of those atoms which are the causes of faults of character'. Now Epicurus did regard reason as dependent upon sensation. For De Witt, however, this dictum means no more than that with the loss of sensation the organism dies and its reasoning powers die with it. But here perhaps we approach one of the points on which De Witt and his predecessors diverge. The point attacked is the production of the user of reason for the purpose of dethroning reason is one from which he admits that he can provide no escape.

Reversing the traditional account of the matter, De Witt holds that Epicurus 'subordinated ethics to physics'. By an indulgent interpretation of Epicurus on the pleasures of learning (which, however, is not the same as 'research') he finds that Epicurus 'knew the true joy of the researcher', though it would seem that his pleasure in the contemplation of nature was more 'further inquiry', and by rejecting the notion of disinterested knowledge. Admittedly Epicurus urged his pupil 'avoid paideia'; but it is pleaded that he must have meant, not

culture, but the 'Platonic curriculum' of geometry, rhetoric, and dialectic, or, in other words, 'the established education'. On any view of the matter it is fairly clear that De Witt has left with nothing to study save the Epicurean text-books. It is not very relevant to point out that Epicurus was himself a man of culture, who must have had Homer—so De Witt's argument appears to run—because certain scholars and others adopt him of having had a Homer. For De Witt his objections to the study of geometry are cheerfully acknowledged; and it is pleaded that modern anxieties arising from 'the illusion of the atom' make it easier to understand his his lofty to this kind of human activity.

De Witt does not deny Epicurus' hedonism; but he seems desirous of mitigating it by drawing a distinction between the 'telos', which is pleasure, and the 'greatest good', which is said to be 'life itself'. The distinction, however, is not sustained either for the reference of the two concepts. It is a truly oracular 'the dictum of Epicurus that pleasure is the beginning and end of the happy life' (DL 10, 128); apparently, among so many possible meanings, the obvious one cannot be right. De Witt himself falls into the same error, saying sometimes that happiness is the 'telos', and sometimes that pleasure is the 'telos' and even that it is the 'good'.

Nature has no 'telos', no purpose, either conscious or unconscious. However, man, can make his own purpose, because he has reason (p. 223). The important implication that moral freedom is not possible to irrational beings, and cannot be reduced to the irrational srove of atoms, would have been well worth discussion, if only that purpose were not to be said to be for the Platonic account of freedom as autonomy.

Epicureanism appears to be one of those philosophies which may be classed as parasitic in the sense that they lean heavily, though unconsciously, upon other systems of thought to make up for the inadequacy of their own principles. Thought, virtue, purpose, choice and avoidance, true and false opinions, such terms, as used by Epicurus, receive their sanction not from the notion of a close connexion with these, but from the unforeseeable, but from the more comprehensive worldviews which he sought to repudiate. A commentator, in trying to show that Epicurus is not so narrow as his principles imply, may inadvertently aggravate the confusion. To emphasise body-minded 'dualism' in Epicurus, to stress the control of environment as an ethical ideal, to assert the activity of mind in projecting itself upon external reality by selective attention, to speak in the same breath of Nature as non-active, and yet to condemn attempts to comprehend anything in a sort of cosmic justice', and to make much of Epicurus' obedience to public law and order and even to current religious customs (things which his tenets can scarcely allow to exist)—all this entails the risk of making Epicurus' doctrines appear even more incoherent than they are. Perhaps best indicated by one of the modern examples offered by De Witt. Those Epicurean gods who consist of 'forms' composed of ever-changing atoms are compared to the image of Abraham Lincoln seen upon the screen of a cinema. This is not, of course, composed of successive, separate 'frames'. The comparison not only fails to clarify but, if taken seriously, is really fatal to the doctrine of the unity and permanence of any god of this class. In many such ways the effect of this essay has not been for at least one reader the exact opposite of its intention.

J. TAYE


In the preface to the first (1947) edition of the Guide (for which see JHS LXIX, 190), D. said, 'it is intended to publish this enlarged revised edition of the Guide at the earliest time to time'. D. is greatly to be congratulated not only on the promptitude with which he has fulfilled this undertaking, but also on the many substantial improvements and additions he has incorporated. The new Guide is a work of which both the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus and the British School at Athens can be proud. The Printers have every right to be proud. The text of the Guide has been increased by more than a third, a map of the island showing the position of sites referred to has been introduced, and the plates, which are clearly too small, have been replaced by stitching, and the Guide is far easier to handle in consequence. The improvement in the reproduction of the illustration is most impressive (cf., e.g., Guide, 1947, Pl. 1. 4
measure, our statuette, in figure and in stylisation of the lamb's wool the most archaic of the three, has a melting eyelid. Contrasts from face of a strange Athenian, BCH 1905, pl. 79, must be the model for all this trio.

The catalogue proper starts with some Mycenaean gold. A doubts that Crete is a likely provenience for the car-rings Nos. 3, but Sir John Forrest found them in tombs at Psevda (facing XXVIII, pl. XVIII); they are earlier than the Cypriot examples mentioned by A. The style of the ring No. 7 (pl. VI) is disjoined Mycenaean work, and is more like that of Eastern cylinder seals, but there is anything might happen, in a similar style to No. 32 (pl. IX) is more fluid and normal, but what of the artist's scaphandry? Let us add the scene on a vase from Enkomi (Swedish Cyprus Expedition I, p. 464, Tj 262, pl. 121; see also Sjovig, Problems of the Late Bronze Age, fig. 10 to the left). The Mycenaean naval pictures quoted in our text. The men below are clearly holding sail-ropes; they cannot be rowing in different directions. This picture shows how the admirals on the half deck (wearing swords, not wreaths) the three men in the boat are a dark same in number of some ports or oars. To return to the Stathatos gem, two women with sweeps amidst them are a not a good counterpart for five oars to port. If there are also five oars to starboard, let us hope they were shipped (and shipping looks difficult on this vessel), before the sweeps came into action: otherwise the crew is about to catch an outsize crab, and the fine ladies will be in the drink. Seamanship unsatisfactory.

The Daedalic group on pl. X is probably the most pleasing group in the collection. It must give its owner great satisfaction.

We now come to the Chalcidice group. A's careful analysis has shown that most of the bronze and silver is well paralleled from scientific excavation as well as from the inscriptions. The gold on pl. XVIII and the gold bands on pl. XI, XII are equally reliable, but what are the filigree gold bands (pls. XIX-XVII)? A suggests armlets, but they do not look as if they would stay on, they are not beautifully made of different lengths, all except two are of the same pattern, and those two variations seem to be intrusive, and they all have loops at one end. Gold foil was certainly sewn on the dress (see Amandry BCH LXIII, 95) of statues and not a thin sheet of foil. It would be a pity if this thin gold wire is more durable, it looks like a set, and it seems possible that this is the remains of some real garment. Only flaps of jerkins suggest themselves in archaic Greece, but Metis' paxis in the Ashmolean some of these have jewels on the end (CJA Oxford I, pl. 45, 1-7 (55)), 211 looks like the head of a neolithic figurine. The gorgon on the ring 214, pl. XXX, is of much better seat and all older than the ordinary rings found in Etruria, and quoted by A. On this evidence the type may have come from North to South with the gold.

Next we come to the Thessalian group I, said to be from a tomb in the ski, about 100 years ago that there is no easy way to expand the Guide to improve its present very high standard.

H. W. CATLING.

Collection Hélène Stathatos. Les Bijoux antiques.

By P. AMANDRY. Pp. 149, with 54 plates and 80 text figures. Strasbourg: University Institute of Archæology, 1953. Fr. 7000.

Private collections are not always universally approved: while they often preserve treasures which would perhaps have perished, they do provide a market which may stimulate forgers and illicit diggers to undesirable activities. However, one a fine quality and a genuine publication is to be recommended. No collection of jewellery has ever been better better, and the reviewer looks with some envy at the lavish and excellent arrangement which adds so much to ease of study: never a number out of place, and all groups kept together. The book is, however, difficult to handle, impossible to transport, and too expensive to buy.

In the first seventeen pages Mr. Amandry treats some objects other than jewellery in summary fashion, a tantalising prospect to us. With 10 drawings elsewhere published from plates, and a group on p. 7? Surely room could have been made for him? A's includes the Hermes Kriophoros, pl. II. It is curious that Arcadia should have produced the most beautiful archaic bronze from all Greece, a fine example found in Boston (see E. Kunze, Winckelmanns Programm 1952, 1953). All are large, are in exceptionally good condition, all have departed from the archaic rule of frontality: they are more interesting from their left sides than from in front; for good
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Hair-net with two rows of meshes worn by a head on the neck of an ancient Greek statue (A. D. Trendall, Fig. 32). The nets 233, 234 (pls. XXXVI, XXXVIII) are irregular, and they may be modern; 233 is particularly slip-shod.

Curiously enough 235 has been chosen for attack by D. Robertson (AJA 1953, p. 8). The rosettes on his net (his pl. I, fig. 1) are dabbed on anyhow and the ornaments on his figs. 3 and 4 look like unevenly spaced warts. The patterns on 233 are particularly well accreted; see D. Robertson, Greek Pottery (London, 1949), pp. 124, 142, 146, 154. The rosettes are particularly well accreted; see D. Robertson, The Meagaron, pp. 124, 142, 146, 154. The rosettes are particularly well accreted; see D. Robertson, The Meagaron, pp. 124, 142, 146, 154.

The authors have no doubt had to rely for the earlier reports on notes made at the time. The account of 'House B', for instance, dug in 1928, is not quite as clear and satisfactory as the rest. It is hard to see why on the evidence given this building should be regarded as a funerary complex like Chrysolakkos rather than a house. The lack of an entrance from the street at ground level, and of doors between basement rooms, is easy to parallel in the simpler types of Minoan houses. The 'numerous' bowls discovered haphazardly and without any systematic record should have been reported, and it is suggested that some at least were animal (p. 21). There were apparently no grave goods: the only find illustrated is a 'Potter's Disc'.

It is at present axiomatic that M.M. II and L.M. II are 'the Minoan Styles' peculiar to the Crete which cannot be recognised elsewhere. But some of what is here classified as M.M. II in fact look comparable with M.M. II at Knossos, e.g. pls. viii-x (House A); pl. xiv, esp. 7871; if pl. xlix d; Ht. 12, A 7 (Area 7) which raises the possibility that House A from Za might almost pass as L.M. II (pl. lv, 1–3). P. 9, pl. xlii (top), which are called M.M. I, resemble Gournia E.M.I. III. P. 16, pl. xlxiv (top L) are a regular type of Middle Minoan 'Fruit Stand' as found, for instance, at Knossos.

Of unusual interest is a fine spouted jug decorated in the Marine Style of L.M. IB from Magazine 28 in House Za. This is the first true example of the classic L.M. IB Marine Style from Malia. There seems no good reason to doubt the claim made by the authors that the jug was found in a contemporary association with other vases from this and the neighbouring Magazines. These include, besides many vases of plain domestic ware, several with simple plant decoration of the type usually classified as L.M. IA. But this scarcerly provides an adequate basis for the very extreme theories developed by the authors. They in effect claim that the Styles of L.M. IA, L.M. IB, and L.M. II were all together and it cannot be disinterestedly the claim they support by assuming a single great catastrophe which overwhelmed Crete, destroying the last Palace at Knossos and the other main sites of the island, and apparently responsible for all the L.M. IA deposits hitherto classified as L.M. IA, L.M. IB or L.M. II.

Much work clearly remains to be done on the early Late Minoan pottery of Crete. Moreover, some modifications of the accepted system of classification, and some scrutiny of form-comparisons, are almost certainly desirable. The judicious survey by Furumark (Chronology of Minoan Pottery, 1951, 78 ff.) may be mentioned in this connexion. But the sweeping thesis proposed by the authors can hardly be reconciled with the evidence of publication. Of course, clear that vases of plain domestic ware, and some vases with simple decoration, cannot safely be assigned to any particular phase of L.M. It further may be added that the L.M. IA Plant Style continued to flourish alongside the Marine Style of L.M. IB, and it is at least possible that at most any rate of the numerous deposits of L.M. IA pottery at Knossos, which appear to have contained nothing assignable to L.M. IB, did not in fact precede the appearance of the L.M. IB style there. The L.M. IB Marine Style, as Furumark suggests, overlaps that of L.M. II, but the marine version of ripe L.M. II is obviously developed from, and must surely be later in time than, classic L.M. IB. Lastly, the Palace at Knossos itself was not destroyed before a new style, Furumark's IIA, superseded L.M. II. The stretch of development in decorative style—and also in vase shapes!—between the 'earliest' L.M. IA and the 'latest' IIA 1, seems far too great to justify classification in a single period without admitting divisions. The associated vases from tombs recently discovered in the Knossos area, on the Hospital...
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site (BSA XLVII, 243 ff) and at Katsamba (Alexiou in
"Krypta Xronoloni 1952, 9 ff) serve to confirm the general chronological validity of the traditional system.
M. S. F. Hood.


Since 1929 the excavations of the Oriental Institute of Chicago in Persepolis (Oriental Institute Communications No. 21, Chicago 1939), scholars have impatiently been waiting for Schmidt's final report. The present volume, which is the third and the utmost careful and comprehensive of the work, is the result. The first volume of the excavations by the Oriental Institute, fully rewards the long waiting-period of scholars interested in the remains of the Achaemenid Kings on the Terrace of Persepolis. Only three or four sites in the Near East (Israel, Gerasa, Palmyra in Syria, Persepolis) have been investigated as regards the archaeological observation and beauty of the monuments. Persepolis is the earliest of the above-named sites; most buildings on the Terrace are in fact dated in the two centuries between the reigns of Darius I and Alexander the Great's Eastern campaigns. Modern visitors to Persepolis are fascinated by the ornamentation and by the ingenious architectural setting of the buildings on the Terrace itself, which dominates the plain of Marv Dasht (cf. fig. 15, p. 47) and thus reminds us of the great colonial buildings of ancient Greece.

A contribution has recently been drawn by A. W. Lawrence in JHSA LVII (1951, 111 ff) besides the Royal Palace, the Apadana, the Throne Hall, the Harem of Xerxes, and various minor buildings on the Terrace, houses built with sun-dried bricks and mud-plaster. Only some sections of the Apadana remain preserved. This is perhaps evidence enough to state that Persepolis never developed on the lines of a town, such as the winter capital Susa, and probably the northern Eschatana. Later on, the Achaemenid Kings, perhaps when the capital was shifted to Susa, and the palace transferred, they may have lived in the palace town of Persepolis, as the monument and the inscription indicated.

The excavations conducted from 1935 to 1939 by S. were preserved by those (1931-34) of the late Professor Herzfeld. S.'s great contribution is to have fully excavated the so-called Treasury, covering a considerable area in the south-eastern corner of the Terrace (for a view of its partial excavation see pl. 1). But his activity extended far beyond the Treasury. Buildings, only partly cleared by Herzfeld, were further excavated; 'spot-tests' were made 'to solve a number of architectural problems in various buildings'. S. has given much attention to the preservation of the monuments, a duty too often neglected by archaeologists and certainly irrepressible on a site such as Persepolis. The work done after 1939 by the Iranian Service of Antiquities is now published by A. Godard, "Les travaux de Persepolis," in Archeologia Orientali (Archeologia Orientali, iv, 1949-51, Fascicule 1. In an introductory chapter titled 'The Royal Architects' (pp. 7-43) the author gives a useful summary of the building activities of the Persian Kings in their home-country outside Persia, and of the Persian influences. Buildings, Babylon, and in Egypt; the general notices about Susa may now be supplemented by R. Ghirshman, "Cinquieme campagne de fouilles a Susa (1949-51)," Paris. It seems as if Pasargadae was the training-field for the architects and masons who very soon after Cyrus' death started to work on the Persepolis Terrace. Some of the typical features of the architecture of Persepolis are already present in the structures of Pasargadae, namely the porticoes with two rows of columns, the antae on the long sides, the 'third storey', at Babylon, and in Egypt; the general notes about Susa may now be supplemented by R. Ghirshman, "Cinquieme campagne de fouilles a Susa (1949-51)," Paris. The identification of the latter, as is said in some recent studies, is due to the influence of Greek sculptors. (To bibliography on Achaemenid Art on p. IX add: H. Seyrig, "Cachets Achéménides," in Les Monuments d'Égypte, Pl. 14, 1910; G. M. A. Richter, "Gyreek Subjects on 'Graeco-Persian' Seal Stones," ibid., 189 ff; and late "Late Achaemenian or Graeco-Persian Gems" in "Hetereii, Suppl. VIII, 1940, 291 ff.)

The palace of the temple of Darius erected by Darius I at Hidiss (Oasis of Khargh), now fully described in E. Porter and R. Moss, "Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egypt, VII, 277 ff." I see with S. the resemblance of the earliest part of that building (560-520 B.C.) to the Achaemenid Monuments in Mesopotamia, but G. M. A. Richter, "Greek Subjects on "Graeco-Persian" Seal Stones," 189 ff., late "Late Achaemenian or Graeco-Persian Gems" in "Hetereii, Suppl. VIII, 1940, 291 ff.

I cannot see anything in that plan as such. There is to my knowledge no Egyptian temple building which could be compared to the

portion built by Darius at Hidiss, and the originality of the plan would therefore rest with Darius' architects. One has naturally to reject the statement in "Bericht über den 6. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie (Berlin, 1954)," that the temple built by the Persians was "neu nach dem Muster der gewöhnlichen egyptischen Tempel gebaut worden". For the much disputed hilani-type cf. Fray 14, 1932, 120 ff.

The two main chapters of Persepolis I carefully describe the plan and residential structures (pp. 59-82). The Terrace is approached from the West by a monumental stairway leading to the so-called Gate of Xerxes, a square hall with four interior columns and with three doorways, two of which are guarded by built-up, triangular-headed arches, the third and southern doorway lies almost in the axis of the famous Apadana, and therefore gives access to what might be called the public part of the Royal buildings.

The Apadana is not of the 'bouleuterium'-type as S. rightly states (cf. fig. 20), because the height of the columns in the hypostyle hall as well as in the three porticoes, is practically the same. The reconstructed plan of the Apadana (fig. 30, p. 69) reveals many interesting architectural details. Fortune was less rewarding to the excavators of the Apadana at Susa, where only a few remains of the walls between hypostyle hall and porticoes could be uncovered (cf. R. Ghirshman, op. cit., p. 2).

As long as Ecbatana cannot be excavated, the plan of the Apadana at Persepolis is the only one to give us detailed conclusions concerning the planning and structure of this important palace. The porticoes and stairways on the south. In these southern porticoes, which through a courtyard connect the Apadana with the Palace of Darius I on the one hand, the Council Hall, on the other hand, between the porticoes on the south, there are remains of royal pomp and circumstance displayed during great functions of state, such as the event immortalised by the reliefs on the grand stairway. (p. 75).

The strict separation between public and private structures in Persepolis could be validated by the secluded passageway leading from the southern porticoes (cf. fig. 21) past Palace G to the south porch of the royal dwelling (I). The access from the Apadana to the Palace of Xerxes (F) is even more clearly defined. In an overall consideration of the structures on the Terrace it can be noticed at once that the private structures in the south-eastern portion of the Terrace (G, H, F, D, fig. 21) are less well defined (partly perhaps because unexcavated), than the public structures (J, M, B, C, E), which are clearly surrounded by arcades of large columns,马拉松, the limited space of the Terrace. The great achievement of Darius I's and Xerxes' architects, as compared to earlier town-planning under Cyrus I (Pasargadae), lies in the dense architectural setting of the latter-mentioned building units, as compared to the loose dispersion of monumental buildings over a considerable area in Pasargadae (cf. fig. 3, p. 9, with Persepolis, pl. 5).

The northern and eastern stairways of the Apadana are lavishly decorated with reliefs, representing groups of animals, and tribute delegations. In panels between these reliefs, which are bordered by decorative motifs, we find the great building inscriptions. S. gives a full and interesting account of the tribute delegations, whose identification, caused partly by Cyrus II, is controversial as regards the inhabitants of the various satrapies of the Empire. The identification of the delegations is difficult in these reliefs as well as in others, as the variety of dress and tribute is somewhat disproportionate to the number of delegations represented.

The Apadana and the 'Council Hall' (pp. 107-22) were begun under Darius I, and the latter certainly was finished by the King himself. The third great public building is the 'Throne Hall'. The third public building is the 'Throne Hall', which was completed and decorated by Artaxerxes I. S. thinks that 'the Throne Hall is actually the last extension of the royal storehouse, namely a treasure hall of palatial proportions' (p. 129). A. Godard (op. cit., p. 136 ff.) states that the "Throne Hall is an ajout appartenant à l'Armée, en était la salle d'honneur ou de réunion."

The hall is certainly more sumptuous than the Treasury itself, in which stone is scarcely used, except for column bases, capitals, doors, and thresholds. The chambers on the sides of the Throne Hall (cf. fig. 59, p. 125) hardy have served any other purpose than that of storerooms (for arms?). The official or public character of the whole complex seems well attested by its access (cf. fig. 21). Having passed the gate of Xerxes, the visitor proceeded to the East, then turned south and enters the unfinished Gate M, and eventually finds himself in front of the Throne Hall, preceded by a portico with a double row of columns. The excavations of the Iranian Service of Antiquities since 1935 have brought to light many new structures to the north-east of the Throne Hall. One could well imagine that the open court between these newly excavated structures, Gate M, and the porticoes of the Throne...
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Hall served for formal receptions of military delegations, whereas the Hall itself seems less suitable for such gatherings. After all S.'s "last extension of the Royal storehouse" might be some sort of arsenal.

A short and clear description of the Treasury (pp. 138-200), though interesting, suffers from the fact that the objects found in the building will be published in Vol. II, and are not available at present. It will no doubt be more useful to read this chapter in connexion with the finds, which will help the reader to visualise the great importance of that building.

After a brief description of the Eastern fortifications, the Garrison Quarters, and the Cistern (pp. 206-13), S. gives an account of the correctly excavated east (fig. 22), and Darius I is particularly attractive to most visitors to Persepolis for its graceful dimensions as compared to the enormity of most of the public structures. (For an important correction of the original plan, cf. A. Godard, in Syria 28, 1935, 62 ff., fig. 3, referring to this article). This palace was completed only by Xerxes, and as testimony for his theory adduces some inscriptions from the hadish itself (pp. 223-4). But I do not think the author interprets them right. What Xerxes says: 'This Xerxes Darius the King made who was my father.' Further, it is unlikely that this small building, the construction of which could be completed in a year or so, should have remained unfinished, when at the same time Darius was able to begin the erection of far more vast and grandiose structures (p. 133). The new rectangular building, which this palace was supposed to replace, was finished under Artaxerxes I, and it remained in use for the short lifetime of one king. The article by A. Godard, Syria, loc. cit., also supports this interpretation.

The Palace of Xerxes (fig. 21) is built on a larger scale, but with the same grace as the eastern one, and its conception, with some slight modifications, seems to have been prepared by S. deserves our highest appreciation. The book contains a mass of information about architectural details and many other problems. It is beautifully printed (I have noted one misprint: p. 147 right, and fig. 66 B instead of fig. 66 E); the photographs are excellent, and the plates unrivalled.

In fig. 63 (Plan of Final Treasury as excavated) one would wish that the Room nos. were slightly bigger than the elev. nos., or marked in different colour, so that one might more easily find one's way in a highly labyrinthine structure (cf. figs. 66 E, where the problem is solved as there are no elev. nos.). I frankly admit that I do not understand the Persian kandiys, nor many details of clothing as represented in the Reliefs (pp. 210-21, with 156 plates). Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlag, 1950. DM 62.

No one could have been better equipped than Prof. Lippold to write the section on Greek sculpture for W. Otto's Handbuch. In 1923 he published Kippen und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen, which contains the only systematic list of sculptures. He wrote important articles on individual Greek sculptors for Pauli-Wissowa, and innumerable book-reviews which cover a much wider field. For many years, as the successor of Brunn, J. and Arndt, he edited the two great Corporations which he has now completed. Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur and Photographische Einzelaufnahmen alterer Skulpturen; and this, above all, trained him for his present task.

The first attempt to produce a Handbook of Classical Archaeology in Germany soon came to a standstill. It is amazing that in an age like ours, more inclined to analyse and to subdivide than to view phenomena as a coherent whole, the Handbuch has been steadily appearing since 1937. But not until the completion of the first volume was the work undertaken by L. undertaken to write the Sculpture Section of the Handbuch it might very probably never have been published. The original MS. for the book here under review was ready in 1935; for several years publication had to be postponed till it could be added to the first volume. L. undertook the work of the second volume of the Handbuch. In 1955, L. published a new edition of his book. The present volume contains the final chapter of the second volume, and it is an excellent achievement. It is a pleasure to read this book, and to see the final section completed in the way it was intended. The book is well illustrated, and contains a great deal of new information. It is a great credit to the author and to the publishers, and it is a pleasure to read it. The book is well illustrated, and contains a great deal of new information. It is a great credit to the author and to the publishers, and it is a pleasure to read it.


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version. The Niobid pediment is fully discussed on pp. 176-7; but we are not told before p. 192 that W. Dörpfeld suggested the ancient Niobid pediment to the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. (L. rejects this view.) On p. 192, n. 2, H. Bülle's hypothesis that an older Alcamenes, of Lemnos (in contrast to the younger, of Athens) designed the pediments of the temple of Apollo at Bassae is interesting. On pp. 184 and 205 gives L.'s own explanation of Pausanias' account and of the passage in Suidas where Alcamenes is called Αλκάμηνος; namely, that Alcamenes, the contemporary and collaborator of Phidias, was an archaist from afar who is not always easy to find references to a particular statue, as never more than one reference is given in the index. Misprints, too, are to be found, though not many (e.g. p. 85, n. 16: read '28', 309 for '26', 312, p. 67: read '45' for '28'). 'Agias', on p. 280, should have a reference to p. 287. A portrait head in the British Museum is mentioned on p. 386, n. 1, but not in the index. P. 45, n. 5, should include E. Neumann, 'Jahresberichte AE 1399-419', p. 2, S. Papaspyridi-Karoussou 'BCH LXX 441 ff. In the index the term 'Oxford, University Galleries', on p. 428, is misleading. (The Noe, p. 306, n. 5, now believed to be modern, is in the cellar of the Ashmolean Museum. However, such isolated inaccuracies, hardly avoidable in so comprehensive a work, are unimportant in comparison with many hundreds of accurate references. Further, we are often grateful to be reminded of interpretations of the first order, especially at a time when so few names of great archaeologists of the last decades; as, for instance, when L. states (p. 60) that among the column reliefs of the Old Artemisium at Ephesus some were very probably carved after the death of Groes. In arranging the material L. does not cling to the common practice of subdivide every period into three. He divides the archaic period into two parts, alte Zeit (bis um 550) and jüngere Zeit (550-480). It is a relief that he does not use classifications such as äldstitz, Dedalitit, onken. I think he is right. The Klassische Periode, the fifth and fourth centuries, have each three subdivisions. The Hellenistic period is divided into six groups: 320-280, 280-230, 230-190, 190-150, 150-80, and 80-30 B.C. This arrangement makes the reader's work easier, but I think it is not an adequate L.'s whole method of approach. Though his general standpoint is conservative, he deals with his whole theme and with each individual question on his own conscious responsibility. 'Auseinandersetzung mit abweichenden Meini... einen Ausblick auf den Raum' (p. 5, n. 1). In fact, no one would expect to find the opinions of other writers discussed at length in a handbook; nor, on the other hand, that the opinions to which L. gives preference should always coincide with the reader's own. A few examples will suffice to show that one cannot always accept L.'s premises without question. For instance, when on p. 87 the torso from Miletus, in the Louvre, is described as being probably a copy. This passage is the more interesting, however, as another instance L.'s conclusion seems practically untenable; in his proposed arrangement of the East pediment at Olympia he follows F. Stadtwiesz, whereas the only arrangement warranted by the actual remains worked on by H. Bülle ('JdL LIV 127') and generally accepted (most recently by L. Laurenzi, Archologia Classica II 7 ff.) the view of the so-called Dreigugnerteufel, the best known of which is the Orpheus relief, are Peloponnesian and connected with the cult of the dead (p. 202), is new and not easy to accept. L.'s doubt whether the Telephos fresco from Herculeanum is derived from Pergamene painting (p. 337, n. 1) seems unjustified. L.'s historical and stylistic judgement therefore is not always consistent; however, it is often of great interest and is the great virtue of beginning each chapter whenever possible with an enumeration of the available Greek and Latin literary sources. It has been maintained, and with that some truth, that L.'s text often reads like a passage from Pausanias, but is the allegation justified? Brilliant attributions, psychological interpretations, deep insight into the nature of Art are certainly not to be found in L.'s book, but neither is one vague or irrelevant thought, or one unnecessary word. In this book in the better sense of the word, a kind of lexicon arranged in chronological instead of alphabetical order. It can only be compared with Ch. Picard's Manuel d'archéologie grecque: La sculpture, which so far does not include a similar work. In the following pages, more complete in bibliography and indices: L.'s text is dry compared with such works as not only the Manuel but also, for instance, Winckelmann's History of Art or Furtwängler's Masterpieces. On the other hand, there is much to be said for so concise a treatment as L.'s. This is true both of the text and the numerous small but good illustrations, the arrangement -ment of which gives ample possibility for comparative studies. The book is not intended to be read consecutively—who but a reviewer would read a lexicon through from beginning to end? But for all who study classical archaeology it is as indispensable as Picard's Abrégé. It deals scientifically and with scholarship of material, and will remain a fitting monument to its author's modesty and integrity. Lippold died in July 1954, in his seventieth year, in consequence of a street accident.

E. HOMMANN-WEBERLING.


This is the first of what will presumably be a long series of volumes giving the results of the American excavations in the Agora of Athens in final form. The convenient format, the excellent type and illustrations, and above all the competence of the text augur well for the future. The volume contains the sculptures, marble portraits derived from statues, statuettes, herms, and busts that came to light in the course of the excavations. All sixty-four examples are of Roman date, and they represent—with one exception, a possible Herodotos—people living at the time of the polis, whose names were not recorded on the b.c. to the fifth century A.D. They give us the physiognomies, therefore, of Greeks and Romans living in Greece during the Roman empire, and they are sculptures made in Greece, and so can be accurately compared with the products of different parts of the empire. As a group, therefore, they have a special interest.

But also singly these portraits have much to offer. Almost every period is represented, and good or fine work, and several specimens of the rarest and rarest head sculptors. The Republican head of the melancholy old priest (no. 3), the Flavian—Trajanic head of some stolid functionary (no. 18), the Trajanic bust of a savage, intelligent, surprisingly modern-looking man (no. 19), the Hadrianic head of a weathered monk (no. 20), the Antonine head (no. 28), the third-century head with thoughtful expression (no. 59), and the battered head of a priest perhaps of the time of Gallienus (no. 49) are all excellent specimens of their kind. A head probably of Augustus (no. 58) and a bust (no. 57) on the cuirass—Athena standing on the Roman wolf and being crowned by Victory—is an impressive piece which looks well where placed on the excavation site.

Miss Harrison has admirably acquitted herself of her task. The descriptions of the single pieces are accurate and detailed, the discussions show wide knowledge, and the dates assigned are carefully substantiated. Very helpful also is the short introduction in which the finding places and other relevant subjects are discussed. The fact that L.'s method of interpreting the evidence is somewhat different from that of the earlier excavations has left its mark. The Republican head is dated b.c. 108, and the filling of the 'Valerian wall' (built a.d. 280) has supplied here and there a terminus ante quem; but most of the pieces were used as building material in medieval and modern constructions, and so few chronological data could be secured. All this evidence is judiciously used.

But Miss Harrison has not confined herself to cataloguing and discussing the actual examples in her catalogue. She has from the results of her work, relatively small in number, of course, but of assured provenience. She has therefore added a chapter entitled Observations on Athenian Portrait Style in the Roman Period, with three subdivisions: The Romanisation of Greek Portraits, Athenian Portraits in the Roman period, and Athenian Portraits of the Third Century and After. In this chapter she endeavours to show the difference between portraits of the Roman age made in Greece and those made in Italy. Not only does she see a difference clearly and argue for it, but she sees a lag in time for the portraits made in Greece. She thinks that the sculptors in Greece were the followers, not the leaders, in this art, at least until the time of Augustus; after that the two became merged in one style and 'approximate unity is attained.'

These are large questions, and different opinions have been expressed, especially of late. So the detailed treatment here given is timely. As, however, I find myself in disagreement with the conclusions of the Harrison's conclusion, I must try to point out what seem to me weaknesses in her arguments, and offer another solution.

Miss Harrison evidently accepts the inescapable fact that the portraits of the Roman age found in Greece must have been made by Greeks not Romans. (It would indeed be strange to suppose that in the first century b.c. Roman artists with little
or no experience in carving marble had come to Greece to take over the task of portrait sculpture from the Greeks, who had had an age-long tradition in this craft.) And Miss Harrison also believes that Roman portraits in Italy were taught this art by the Greeks. "The Roman sculptors were working people, and it was from the Greeks that they first learned the habit and the techniques of carving sculpture in marble. Since Roman portraitry really began to exist as an art only when Menander's time was past, according to her, the artists in Rome became leaders. She admits that the exact dating of Republican portraits found in Greece is difficult, has not yet been established, and awaits further evidence, but it can be done, she thinks, in individual cases. Thus in No. 3, the portrait from Pompeii, somewhat one from Corinth (pl. 43, c) that can be dated on external evidence to after 45 B.C., should be dated likewise. As many Republican portraits found in Rome show the same relationship of Hellenistic and Roman elements, the portrait of the actor Phile of Sulla, Σὰυς η ἐφήβους, mentioned by Plutarch (Sulla, XXXVI, 2), but, as has been pointed out, and as Miss Harrison herself mentions in a footnote, this identification is far from certain. The portrait from Pompeii does not represent Sulla's natural appearance at all, for, according to the inscription on the base, this Sorex played only secondary roles. Moreover, stylistically the head had been placed by some in the Augustan period. (The question has recently been due to many realistic portraits of Hellenistic date that witnessed the new methods. They decided that, against the theory. Now recourse is taken to Michalowski's definition that 'a Roman portrait is a document, whereas a Greek portrait is an analysis.' For the Greek the inner structure, intellectually understood, is always the necessary framework on which any portrait must be built; to the Roman this inner structure is of minor importance as compared with the surface marks that give the impression he desires to convey. But surely the underlying structure is as clearly expressed in the portrait, just as it distinguishes Graeco-Roman portraits throughout their long career; though in the Roman period in addition more attention is given to surface details. In the head of the priest, no. 3, for instance, the author does not mention the underlying bony structure of the face, the artist's understanding of the substructure is evident, in my opinion, by the splendid modelling of the skull, and though the face has sagging flesh, this flesh adheres to a firm bony foundation. The author points out that judging Roman portraits three factors must be considered: (1) the place where a portrait is made, (2) the nationality of the artist, and (3) the nationality of the subject. That is obviously true, and so is Vesberg's thesis that the Greek artists were gradually influenced by their Roman contemporaries, the Mantineans and the Mantineans who represent. But these truths do not, I think, support the author's view of a basic difference between portraits found in Greece and in Rome. Some Greek artists went to Rome—note once but continuously, as our literary and epigraphic evidence tells us—surely there was a supply of good artists left in Greece. And this is testified also by the many excellent copies produced in Greece. So why should Greece wait for inspiration from abroad when she was still a fountain that fed the fountains of the world? The state of Kyrene, for instance, may have been in Italy than in Greece, but if the artists in both places were Greeks, carving on Hellenistic traditions within the same restricted requirements—and their products show this—there was no basic difference between them. Is it not more logical to imagine that when Roman portraiture as such began in the first century B.C. it was made by Greek sculptors who carried on their Hellenistic traditions, adapting them to suit the needs of the time, and that they did this not only in Italy but in Greece and throughout the Roman empire? (We may recall the fine products from Cos with splendidly understood bony structure, cf. Clas Rhoas, IX, figs. 37-40.) Differences in quality there naturally would be, for there were outstanding and mediocre artists everywhere, physiognomies varied, and the material used affected the general appearance, the Greek marbles being more luminous than Carrara. But how could one explain the fundamental resemblances between the portraits of the Roman age all over the empire if they were not the products of the same kind of people with the same traditions, working for the needs of their time?

Miss Harrison has done us all a valuable service in publishing with such care the Agora portraits and discussing the problems involved. We must hope that the many fine portraits in the National Museum in Athens will soon be published and aid to our understanding and enjoyment of that age.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs, I. By J. MARCARE. Pp. 124, with 23 plates and numerous text figures. Paris: De Boccard, 1953. Price not stated. This book is the first installment of an eagerly awaited 'new edition of Emmanuel L'Ecuyer's Inscrifks Griechischer Bildhauer. L'Ecuyer's work appeared in 1885, and has been indispensable to every student of Greek epigraphy and sculpture ever since. In the present work, sponsored by the French Archaeological School at Athens, the inscriptions are classified by their proveniences. This first volume deals only with inscriptions from Delphi; but each entry is on a separate, loose sheet, so that ultimately the sheets can be assembled alphabetically according to the artists' names and complementary pages added where necessary. It seems an admirable arrangement from many points of view. How much new the present volume brings is shown by the fact that it includes sixty-two names of sculptors (exclusive of fragmentary ones), whereas in L'Ecuyer's Inscrifks only three artists' signatures were inscribed in the first place in the collection. Marcare's work is worth of its great predecessor. It supplies us not only with the illustrations, transcriptions, dimensions, probable dates, and bibliographic: of the inscriptions but gives a brief account of what is known of the sculptor from other epigraphical and literary evidence. It therefore becomes a valuable source book. Furthermore, in many instances a commentary is added with references to pre-existings writings on the subject. And these comments are brief and to the point. They deal with facts, not speculations. In the present old and new work is a succinct account of what is actually known of the Greek sculptors, unnumbered by extraneous material. The volume indeed bears testimony to the sobriety and high standing of French scholarship.

As one peruses Mr. Marcare's pages and finds name after name of sculptors known to us only by their signatures or from a mention by Pausanias, one realises anew how fragmentary is our knowledge of Greek sculptors. If there were so many artists distinguished in their time, then the number of inscriptions in one of Greece's chief sanctuaries, but who are known now only from signatures on bases, how precarious is it to attribute extant works to the relatively few artists whose style has been independently tentatively identified. Another significant indication stands out. There was no narrow nationalism in the commissioning of sculptures. A patron might employ a sculptor from his own city—as did the Selinuntian Phil ( . . . ) Akron of Selinus (not of Lindos, as formerly read); or he might give the commission to an artist from another city—as did the Lacedaemonians to the Athenian Kalakis, at a time, moreover, when Lacedaemonian sculptors ranked high. Hence the extensive travelling by Greek artists. Thus, Kalakis is known to have worked for Athens, Boeotia, Sicyon, and the Hieron of S. Tav. Hence this circumstance would seem to make attributions to local schools difficult.

The most important signature found at Delphi within recent years is the one by Eupolos that came to light in 1939 under the Sacred Way. It is on a fragmentary limestone base that once supported a statue of Pelopidas of Thebes and which was dedicated by Thessalians. The event that occasioned the erection of the statue has been connected (by Boussquet) with the event that led to the crowning of the Olympic victors; Pelopidas was killed, and (by Wilhelm) with a Thessalian expedition in 369 B.C. The activity of Lysippus is thereby attested for as early as the sixties of the fourth century. When he made the statue of Socrates toward the end of the century and the statue dedicated by Thespiai, also, in the year 340, he must have been an old man. We may recall that he is called ypov in the Anthology.

On the various sculptural problems on which inscriptions from Delphi throw light Marcare generally takes a conservative view. We may cite a few of his opinions. He considers
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possible but not certain. Rebuttschek's connexion of another stone with 21 has, though it has been thought to be the base of Kessla's statue of Pericles. Kesslas' Dictirephes—to judge by the forms of the letters in the inscription—he considers too early to have been the person of that name mentioned by Thucydides. The existence of a Kalamis II is thought doubtful. M. Delphi might well be a copy of the Agias by Lysippos at Pharsalos. There is no obvious reason for suspecting the authenticity of the inscription Αυλίτων Ἰππον on the statue of Herakles in the Priti Gallery.

The attribution to Kesslas of the New York-Copenhagen-Berlin Type of Amazon is provisionally accepted, and in apparent support of it is a reference to the relief from Ephesos with an Amazon of this type. But surely this relief raises a question. Would one not expect that at Ephesos in the sixth century, when the so-called tourist statue by Polykleitos would be represented? And would this be an argument for the attribution of this type to Polykleitos rather than to Kesslas—unless we suppose, as some have done, that the few points may now be considered on all the Amazons. Perhaps the attribution to Polykleitos has been reinforced by the recent discovery of an Amazon of this type in Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, where it stood as a pendant to an Amazon of the Pheidias type. Hadrian might well have chosen the Amazons by the two foremost Greek sculptors to decorate his Canopus. These points, however, Marcadé presents without polemics, generally giving the opinions on both sides with great fairness.

We look forward to further instalments of this valuable work in the near future.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.


This is a work of considerable importance, of real value to numismatists, and even more to students of classical archaeology who are concerned with the question of which appear on Greek coins, and it is here that an important point is made; for the author shows that one particular view held by a number of numismatists in the last century must be abandoned. Formerly it was thought that on Greek coins were of use for the study of Greek sculpture; but it is now clear that, while there is an abundant output of coins with pictures of statues in Hellenistic and Roman times, precise copies of cult statues do occur, not only in the fourth, but in the fifth and sixth centuries a.C.—though they occur rarely.

After this introduction the book falls into two parts, the first of which deals with archaic statues and the numismatic evidence; the second with the history of Greek sculpture to Lysippos, and the numismatic evidence. In the first part the writer begins with herms and terminal figures in general, whence he passes on to statues of Apollo, Zeus, and other male deities, following this up with an account of archaic statue groups in Archaic and Early Classic Athens, and the images of Anatolia. The second part of the work has chapters on archaic sculpture, on the masters of the fifth century, and those of the fourth century. A final chapter, rather like an epitome, summarises the conclusions of Lacroix, with emphasis especially upon the point that there are fifth-century Greek coins showing reliable pictures of cult statues, and that in the Hellenistic age the greater number of copies on coins was due to the local and regional influence of these images, which was represented for these ancient figures, for reasons more profound than simple dilettantism.

Ample and well-documented footnotes add greatly to the value of this book. It is a pleasure to observe such a work equipped with five carefully-arranged and useful indexes. The photographs, most of them enlarged, on the twenty-eight plates are well chosen and clear.

A few points may be mentioned. Dr. Lacroix expresses uncertainty (p. 46) as to whether or not the celebrated terminal figure of Hermes on a throne which appears on coins of Aenus is phallic. Since the publication of the work of J. M. F. May, Alexos, his History and Coinage, and the enlarged photograph shown in my own Masterpieces of Greek Coinage, it is certain that there was no phallic attached to this primitive figure. Dr. Lacroix believes (p. 168) that the variation in design is due to the ignorance or the fantasy of die-engravers. This, of course, is not the case. The varieties of costume merely represent the elaborate and complicated wardrobe which was kept in the Artemision. P. 206, n. 5, to the list of books should be added E. C. Donovan's volume by R. J. H. Jenkins, Delalio (1935). It is perhaps a pity that the earliest coins of Caelonia and Poseidonia were not included, since there can surely be no doubt that those of the former city represent a sixth-century series, and although Poseidonia on almost contemporary coins of the latter city is shown sometimes bearded and sometimes beardless, we are entitled to look upon the coin-picture as a memory-picture in the die-engraver, and to conclude that it faithfully represents the appearance of a cult statue at Poseidonia.

CHARLES SELTMAN.


Well-illustrated reports of excavations yielding terracottas are rare and, to the student of such things, invaluable. Olynthus IV and VII have already given us much to be thankful for, containing as they do a wealth of material with a definite provenience and a definite lower chronology, and although Olynthus IV and XII are not to be matched by terracottas; those found in 1934 and 1938, and the lamps and coins from the same campaigns. Such prompt publication of this important site is a matter for congratulation.

This is not only a catalogue of the terracottas of 1934 and 1938; it also sets out to sum up the results of previous excavations, as reported in Vols. IV and VII, and to present a compass of the Olynthian terracotta-industry as a whole.

The first chapter is a summary of comparisons with other sites in Macedon, Thrace and most likely will have been omitted. Even if the proveniences were all well authenticated, it would not have added much to our knowledge of Olynthian terracottas. But they are not, as can be seen from entry, which is the reliability of the figure is given as Thessalonike, it probably was not found there, but had its origin in Boeotia.

Chapter II, Summary and Statistics, is valuable for our understanding of a neglected subject. It gives much material on which future students can work. It is interesting to note that on a site where Town and Cemetery are excavated together more terracottas come from the former than from the latter; commonly, it is clear that they are votive or votive in character. Why they were kept in private houses we still do not know, but now at least we know that they were. Another point of interest is that the proportion of graves containing terracottas to the total number of graves uncovered, roughly 1:10, is almost exactly paralleled in the Camnus tomb-groups in the British Museum.

The statistics are followed by a history of Olynthian terracottas and a note on technique. There is only one criticism here. The piece which R., regards as seventh century (Olynthus IV, no. 252) cannot be as early as that; it is surely a Corinthian import of the first half of the sixth century (cf. Petarcha I, pl. 93, passim). The chapter closes with a discussion of the various uses to which terracottas were put: domestic, votive, and monumental.

Chapter III comprises a Catalogue of the terracottas of 1934 and 1938. As in the previous volumes, for each entry the essential facts are first given, in what is a model form: inventory number, provenience, dimensions, description of clay, decoration, state of preservation, technique, description of piece. These facts are followed by a discussion, frequently lengthy and nearly always informative, of the terracotta in question. Finally, to aid the reader, the author has helped had the technical and factual section been separated from the discussion at least by being put into a separate paragraph, or, better still, by being also printed in smaller type. Each piece is illustrated, some in several views, but the quality of the illustrations (in half-tone) leaves much to be desired. They are far too thin in texture (is this the photographer's or the blockmaker's fault?), and many have the tell-tale outline which betrays the use of scissors and paste.

The types are mostly those encountered in the previous volumes, but with the added advantage of grave-groups and houses by which they can frequently be dated. R.'s dating
is, however, somewhat arbitrary. In few instances are we given any reasons; in some he goes against both the appearance of the piece and the date of the tomb-group (as given in Vol. XI). For example, a seated kourothros, no. 134, comes from a grave dated by Prof. Neumann to a late fifth or early fourth, its appearance suggests a date in the third quarter of the fifth century (see V. H. Poulsen, Der Strengen Sild, passion), but R. dates it in the late sixth or early fifth century. Similarly, no. 137, which has a fourth-century burden and comes from a fourth-century grave, is described as belonging to the late fifth century.

Among types new to Olynthus, for which a provenience and a dating is a very welcome, mention must be made of nos. 246–7, a group of two standing women, the kissing, the Attica and the relief no. 290. But the finest Olynthian terracottas, whether they are Attic imports, or local copies, are the actors, of which a further batch is to be found here, on pl. 119 ff. It is clear that although Olynthus (in common with other Greek communities) had its own terracotta-industry, the types were mostly borrowed from elsewhere, chiefly from Boeotia and Attica, the moulds being taken from imported figures. A few isolated comments on various entries. No. 253 is not an astragal-player, but part of a group of Eratos and APHRODITE as figured by Winter in Die Typen der figurlichen Terrakotai, II, 198: 1. A dating for this type is welcome. Nor is no. 281 an astragal-player; it is a small boy in one of the positions naturally taken up by very young children. No. 291: 'This relief is a Melian relief.' No. 365: 'The Nereids have been found on Melos.' But Jacobsthal (Die Melischen Reliefs, 189) expressly states that these gorgons are not Melian reliefs; nor in fact do they appear to come from Melos No. 445 is the only vase with a head of a rock; Melian reliefs are always solid. No. 589 is very close to a type published by Winter (op. cit., on p. 494, no. 3.

There follows a catalogue of the lamps from these two campaigns. It is interesting to see whether this series agrees with those from the Corinth lamps. As with terracottas, it seems that the Olynthians imported lamps to a certain extent, but supplied most of their needs by making their own in imitation of the imports. Here again, a lower cost is achieved with very little.

Finally, the concordances. These will be invaluable, since they deal with almost all objects from all the campaigns. But will students interested in objects other than terracottas, lamps, or coins ever think to look for such concordances in this place? It might be of public interest, as a material of general interest, and of such importance, in a separate volume.

R. A. HIGGINS.


Photographs of twenty-six little-known objects in German collections, public and private, which have passed through Dr. Blümel's hands in recent years, with short descriptive text. They range in time from the Etruscan lion, identified as the head of a Cretan shield, to a youthful bust of the third century A.D., perhaps of Philip II. Not all are works of art, but all are worthy of the excellent photographs and careful description.

Some notes, mainly on the earlier objects: 2, helmeted head vase: B says, 'could be carried by a woman on a string from her belt'; why not by a man? 3, lion vase: ascribed to seventh century, but the comparison with the Hellenistic animal and bird vases from Pontos may indicate a later date. 4, Erosian relief in the group of the central block of a Cretan shield, to a youthful bust of the third century A.D., perhaps of Philip II. Not all are works of art, but all are worthy of the excellent photographs and careful description.

It is good to have such fine photographs of the lion from Kythera (7), which after some curious vicissitudes during and after the war has come into the temporary custody of the Berlin Museums. Another piece has had an interesting history; the horse's head (19), from the Florentine collection, in which E. recognizes the model for Jacopo Sansovino's Bacchus in the Bargello and for a figure in a drawing of Mantegna.

T. J. DUNBURN.


In this monograph L. completes a study some of whose foundations he has himself already laid (Festschrift A. Rumpf, 1950), and which is, logically at least, dependent on Brodède work on the Acropolis N. slope. Broner's solution of the problems connected with the Acropolis shrine of Aphrodite is, however, somewhat arbitrary. In few instances are we given any reasons; in some he goes against both the appearance of the piece and the date of the tomb-group (as given in Vol. XI). For example, a seated kourothros, no. 134, comes from a grave dated by Prof. Neumann to a late fifth or early fourth, its appearance suggests a date in the third quarter of the fifth century (see V. H. Poulsen, Der Strengen Sild, passion), but R. dates it in the late sixth or early fifth century. Similarly, no. 137, which has a fourth-century burden and comes from a fourth-century grave, is described as belonging to the late fifth century.

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R. A. HIGGINS.


The inscriptions contained in this volume, as well as the text and early B.F. of Attic manufacture, (ii) the Cycladic Geometric Corinthian, archaic Boeotian and plastic vases not in Sieveking-Hackl. The photographs of the vases (though not the plastics) are good and supplemented by drawings of the inscriptions. Full description and commentary are well informed and to the point, and will be a valuable work of reference. On the Geometric, which is the largest section, Lullies acknowledges the benefit of a preview of Kuhler's forthcoming Kleinkunst V.

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to Maximova's 'Pomegranate Group', Pl. 151. 1-3: the down-dating of the Ionic bust-vases is questionable. J. M. COOK.


This admirable fascicule is primarily devoted to the Attic red-figured ware found on the Delian island from the rectangular pit which Stavropoulos discovered and excavated on Rhenia in 1898; a separate section at the end contains twenty-nine figured fragments from Delos, including the remarkable piece standing in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Caesarea, and in these it is clear that Stavropoulos' discovery was in fact the pit to which the Athenians transferred the contents of all the graves they found on Delos when they purified the island in the winter of 426/5 B.C.: 149, with its thin wall, fragile, moulded foot and inscribed tongues in the interior, is a typical example of a shape in vogue in the last quarter of the fifth century; 149 might be the stemless cup with incised tongues which Rhimaioi (loc. cit. 193) mentions as found in Sarcophagus 25, for the cup shown in his fig. 5 is in fact the same as the one in his fig. 24 (p. 217), which is stated to come from a grave elsewhere in Rhenia, which is 149 a stemless cup with incised tongues found in the Katharis Pit. If this identification is correct, then 149, like the little hydria 135, is not necessarily earlier than 426/5 B.C.: 137: for the unusual ring of palettes set in lead to tail, cf. Heiberg XVIII, pl. 38, no. 5.

The illustrations are good: the figured vases are shown on a scale which enables one to see the details with ease and certainty; for the black-glazed pottery, in addition to side views there are plentiful pictures of the undersides, which are not true but give one a clear idea of the fact, and of impressive decoration. Here again the illustrations are of generous size. The one criticism to be made is that in many of the side views of the black cups the view-point is above the level of the rim, and it is not always easy to determine whether the bowl is rim upwards or downwards. Moreover, the cup on 205 has not come out well on either of the plates; a drawing would have been welcome. Photo-Émile have done an excellent job, all the more laudable in view of the lack of technical facilities on Mykonos.

P. E. CORRETT.


This is a thorough and painstakingly compiled catalogue of a museum collection of Megarian bowls, the third largest group of vases, and a study of its inter-relations. It is provided with an excellent series of illustrations, both drawings and photographs. The Catalogue consists of:

1. A brief general introduction, mentioning the source of the Collection, and dealing with origins and chronology; a useful bibliography to the old and some of the latest literature is appended.

2. The Catalogue proper, with a full descript-ion and discussion of each piece.

3. An Appendix, a list of a bowl not at present forthcoming.

II. A silver bowl, a prototype of Megarian bowls, found in the region of the Graeco-Bulgarian frontier, is illustrated, described, and discussed.

4. Drawings, scattered among the text, giving a section of the bowl and an outline drawing of part of the decoration 'unrolled', in many cases both frieze and base.

5. Plates (half-tones), giving a view of the complete bowl, in some cases (e.g., the silver bowl) several from the various view-points.

Herr Kraus agrees with the view that the fabric probably had its origin on the mainland, and rejects an attribution to Alexandria. He argues for a fourth-century origin from the 'fourth-century rhythm' which he sees in the early examples. As, however, the collection in Mainz consists largely of pieces bought recently by K. Kraus, or acquired from secondary sources, it can naturally yield no new evidence for the origin of any particular vessel. Tentative attributions therefore to local workshops can only be based on stylistic arguments.

Nevertheless, Herr Kraus is to be congratulated on a most careful and useful contribution to the study of the Megarian type, which, in his own words, will lay one foundation-stone towards a comprehensive work on the subject. Perhaps he will himself provide it.

J. H. Illiffe.


The many red-figure vase scenes, most of the first half of the fifth century, which depict a deity pouring a libation from a phiale and ministered to by another with oenochoe, have usually been explained in terms of the Greek'humanising' of their gods rather than referred to any mythical events. On the
face of it is this not sound, as most do not reflect clearly any familiar lay libation scenes, for instance in the departure or home-coming of a warrior; nor indeed is this "humanising" tendency so apparent in representational Greek art, where the human is much more often elevated than the divine. The few libation scenes that are not easy to find, some are rather obscure, others lacking completely; but the approach to these scenes seems correct, even though the explanations are not all equally convincing. Eeckstein-Wolf’s scepticism about the authenticity of the Apollon Artemis and sometimes Lethos and the libation group derives from an earlier Leto–Apollo–Artemis triad referred to a monumental group, in which the god is citharode simple, and the scene itself changes in its form after the middle of the fifth century when Apollo more often sits, while the disappar or figures are added. The Pythian character of the scene is emphasised by the attributes carried and this suggests the occasion—the ritual purification of the god after his killing of the Python, and the libation to him as a god. These took place whether Apollo fled, where the Styx-waters of the Peneios cleansed him and where he found his laurel branch, the attribute of a seer, which is always carried by him or is otherwise present in most of these scenes. However, even the symbolic meaning is also a subject of painting, particularly on Attic black-figure. Emphasis is laid on the first appearance of each in art and literature; in almost all cases the former is earlier, sometimes by more than a century, and for some the standard representation even comes after the literary indication. In the metopes of the Metopes of the Tiber, the Amphipolis, in Sophocles and Euripides. The metopes then neither reflected nor inspired any fifth-century cycle, though they surely considerably influenced the choice of one later.

In support and illustration of this, and in fact forming a major part of the book, Brommer reviews each Labour and its representation in archaica and classical Greek art. Here we must regret the limitations of the Twelve, which include few only of the stories of the Ages. The treatment of painting, particularly on Attic black-figure. Emphasis is laid on the first appearance of each in art and literature; in almost all cases the former is earlier, sometimes by more than a century, and for some the standard representation even comes after the literary indication. In the metopes of the Tiber, the Amphipolis, in Sophocles and Euripides. The metopes then neither reflected nor inspired any fifth-century cycle, though they surely considerably influenced the choice of one later.

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John Boardman.


Dr. Brommer is well known for his humane handling of iconographic lists and commentaries, and his books are therefore more valuable than many because of their completeness. Welcome, but perhaps a little disappointing: for he limits himself to the canonical Twelve Labours, discusses the artificiality and later elements of some, and KAHLER’s list contains many variants, a fact Brommer himself allows. The task of compiling a catalogue of the cycle in just that period of Greek art which his lists and discussion cover most fully. The origins of the cycle have hitherto been variously dated between Mycenaean times and the fifth century. Many cite the metope sculptures on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia as the source, illustrating as they do the accepted Twelve; but if this is true it is strange that the Twelve are not again represented as such for nearly five hundred years, although other series of different content and number are found in art and literature. The word itself does not refer to the viewer’s choice of scenes, although in the third century B.C. do we have Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius writing of it as a consistent story-cycle. Then too the order seems to have some significance, and the six Peloponnesian adventures precede the others, taking roughly the second quarter of the East-West, Underworld, and Hesperides. Even after this date the same content and number are not always observed. How, then, are the Olympia metopes to be explained? Brommer says that the number was a matter of architectural necessity, and the choice of scenes, coincidentally the same as that later acknowledged; they are treated in a different order——the Agesus stable episodes, not before represented in Greek art, included for its topical interest; the arrangement and choice is as attested, as it is also attested in Euripides, the Haeustinus, in Sophocles and Euripides. The metopes then neither reflected nor inspired any fifth-century cycle, though they surely considerably influenced the choice of one later.

This is again Herakles at Nemea he is in the role of saviour of the countryside, which is logical but unexpected, although in the iconography of this period the unexpected seems almost the rule. The Tyrtius shield is declared the earliest combat with Amazonian. The popularity of the episodes varies widely. The Agesus story is not mentioned or figured before the fifth century, the Horses of Diomedes seldom, while the Nemea Lion and Thisbe are common from the sixth century. This is understandable when one considers the first appearances, effectively dispels any idea of the existence of a cycle before the fifth century. Indeed, as is pointed out, such a conception was foreign to archaic art, though in the late sixth century at Delphi the Athenian artist (now lost) painted a large chariot, and it is possible that the handling of the Theseus episodes by Attic artists popularised the idea. In this respect, the treatment of the episodes, Peloponnesian Herakles follows Attic Theseus where once, in the suggestion of labours and motifs, he led. Visual aids in the text include a map signpost the Labours, and a graph of earliest mentions and representations, the latter a rather unhappy conception which would have been more valuable if it had stated what they were without the need to refer to the text. This is indicated on a temperature chart. However, as it stands it illustrates emphatically the lack of coherence in the Twelve. In an appendix are quoted in the original the more important relevant literary passages. Also relegated to an appendix, the list: They include only vases, and in some cases earlier published lists are referred to and simply supplemented. Brommer declines to list groups involving over fifty vases, and emphasises rather sources, earliest representations, and (in the case of Hermes) the bibliography, which one hopes, emulated. With the completeness of the lists there can be little serious argument, and with the accuracy of the interpretations there can be none. One or two more hydas are mentioned in BSB XVI, 37, n. 249, and since have been added, e.g. Lycia, and for the Eleusinian, for Kratkie Soubliesinemva (MOS), 114 fig. 46, 1 (Hydra). On Geryon see also Croon, The Herdsman of the Dead (95 ff.), and for detailed additions to the lists, von Bothmer, AHJ LVIII 63 ff. A museum register is appended, and an index would have been superfluous. The plates are good, some very good, though
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pl. 3 would have looked better in a drawing. In reading the text, reference is required to the notes, Greek texts are not always added, the main text always giving the readings thus well occupied: in such circumstances the notes might better have appeared in the old manner at the bottom of the page, and perhaps the Greek in the text. The writing is lucid and the figures are good; the plates are large, and in general the whole book is so well designed as to merit the applause for the iconographical study of Herakles which we hope Dr. Brommer will give us one day.

JOHN BOARDMAN.


Scholarship in terracottas has advanced far since H. B. Walters' catalogue of 1903, and many well-dated sites have been excavated. In the new catalogue of 1533 pieces datable between 730 and 330 B.C., the reader gets every excavated site and a knowledge of the finds and noted it liberally. The British Museum has a rich collection of terracottas which come from and can be attributed to sites all over the Greek world. This catalogue is therefore an essential handbook for all who would know about terracottas of this period and the many different sides of Greek life represented by terracottas. It should therefore be possessed by many amateurs as well as by all classical archaeologists. The price, however, has been set so high that it will be difficult to find even in London libraries. It is hard to see what excuse there can be for such a short-sighted policy.

In his introduction Mr. Higgins discusses most usefully fashioning, firing, decoration, purpose, regional and chronologico-logical classification, and history of terracottas; he adds a note on Greek dress. The catalogue is arranged chronologically under the different centres of fabrication. Each section is preceded by a history of the fabric. For each piece he gives height, source, technique, kind of clay, and decoration before placing it in general description, parallels, and bibliographical notes. This is wholly admirable, and the reader can form an impression of the stylistic affinities and of the popularity of each individual piece as well as of the fabric as a whole. Each piece is photographed and the scale of the reproductions is significant; and reproductions are generally adequate, but it is irritating not to have the pictures in strict numerical sequence.

Mr. Higgins has done his work so excellently that a reviewer can summarize in a few minor points. Rheides: a; the first time information from the diaries of the Camirus excavators is published; in particular, accurate dating of the Attic vases in the Filikella tombs makes possible the dating of a number of terracottas. Rheides: b; Mr. Higgins points out terracotta in a tomb may be bought for the burial or may be cherished possessors of some age when buried with their owner; he has not therefore attempted smaller chronological divisions than thirty-three-year periods. 59: to bury the dead with a clear distinction. 88 f.; these figures have curious proportions (like some Corinthian paddled dancers), but why should they be dwarfs? 18; woman with tawny cloak: cf. Kybele of the Kybele, 132, excavated in the same campaign at Camirus; cf. also 228. 204: it is at first sight disconcerting that 'mid-fifth century' should begin 'about 470', but on the tripartite division this is only just over three years too early. The borders are difficult: thus no. 138 is 'early' and no. 314 is 'mid'; they come from the same tomb, and I suspect that 'early' is right, 287, cf. Eretria, picture on the epinetron. Samos, 523, late sixth century, 'probably a faithful copy of a previous mould'. 440: I remark that grain play is too early if Ptolemas did not introduce the canonical satyrmask before 500 in Athens (cf. RB 36 (1954), 586); and if the mask copied (or was the mould for) a worn mask, the wearer did not speak or sing as the mouth is nearly shut. 452: cf. H g. 815. 517: a direct piece to H. L. Lorimer, Homer and the Monuments, 175, note 4. These appear to be eighth-century hoplite shields. 528: note that an example of Forster no. 8 was published by him to the Manchester Museum. Attica, 724: perhaps the earliest in a series of comic satyrs, quite different from the 'tousers' entirely different. They are the character's skin to which he can be stripped (e.g. Ph. T. fig. 192). 737: comic actor as Priam (cf. Beier, HT, fig. 361). 738: Papposilenus and infant Dionysus; no, I think the infant is the boy in the above example. 851: a fine group of similar marble in Athens (Pickard-Cambridge, Festivals, fig. 29) the infant Dionysus holds the mask of the fully grown Dionysus (as described E. Bach, 466 f.). 737: add a reference to A. Rumpf in Mon. Canadiens, 163, who explains as a male character masquerading as a woman, he is rather unlike charitably referred to S. 1. 245, 741, add Larisa am Hemus, III, 112. 744: add vari, AJA 1904, 333, no. 61. Beocia: Rhitsona and Hala to provide sound dates. 761, 767, 768, 769: H. accepts Grace's dating, which apparently makes these contemporary. This seems to me impossible if stylistic dating means anything. I do not doubt, again, that pappades were 'still made in the sixth century' (e.g. 775 f.) although they copied an eighth-century original. 676 is but a careful piece with patterns recalling seventh-century Proto-attic vases and her hair is dactylic; she at least must be later than the Hephaisteion seal marked with JHS 1907, 19, to have been found in a tomb near Retimo with the charioteer which he gave to the Manchester Museum in 1935 (Manchester Memoirs, 50, pl. 1, 1); presumably this was a dealer purchase and forgeries are possible. 892: 'Sarcastic actor standing: Papposilenus', I should prefer 'Papposilenus in stage costume'. I should prefer to keep 'actor' for representations which show the open mouth of the mask; this seems to me the only safe criterion. I would liken this of the character as seen in a play (but then possibly transferred to another context like the Papposilenus of the marble group quoted on no. 735). Corinth, 392 f.; I am not convinced that satyrs who held 'a mask-like look' are 'an echo of satyrin drama'. Satyr masks go right back as shield-charges, etc. The artist has added a body. 963, comic actor: I think we can distinguish between imitations of Attic and local originals like this; a parallel for the flared chiton in the flute-player from a Boscoreale tomb in the London Museum. 3396, Festschrift F. Zucker, pl. 5-6. 1590 can now be added to Corinth (see JCP, 401, note 4) and is an imitation of an Attic type. Lacunae: for the Orthia mask Dickens' unsatisfactory classification is presented. It is possible that the owl between 'two women', 'portraits' (1), and caricatures; these, however, were either worn themselves or the moulds for worn masks. The youths and warriors have apparently neither nostrils pierced nor mouths open; they are used for votive offerings in Sicily, 1159, negro: again a worn mask or a mould for one, cf. a similar but probably later example in the Leipziger Kunstgewerbe Museum, which I know from Dr. E. Biefeleld. Cyrenae, 1332: cf. also Larisa am Hemus, II, 1109.

Mr. Higgins has shown himself so expert in finding his way through this earlier period that his next volume on the Hellenistic terracottas will be awaited with confidence and eagerness.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.


Afghanistan has only in comparatively recent times become terra cognita to European archaeologists and this work marks an important advance on there will eventually throw fresh light on the Hellenistic Greek kingdoms in Bactria and India: it will surely be a great day if and when Greek inscriptions are found (as they eventually were at Susa, for instance). Meanwhile, there have been important finds of coins to which we must add the treasure of Quinouz, of which a preliminary notice has appeared in Spink's Numismatic Circular for May 1954; the work here reviewed is a valuable addition to the Messieurs Schlumberger and Curciel, of no less than three important coin-finds, two of which are of great relevance for Greek studies. The third find, consisting of Kushano-Sassanian coins from Tepe Maraja (by R. Curciel) belongs to a later period and is rather outside the scope of this journal.

The first hoard, however, which is fully described and illustrated by D. Schlumberger, is taken fittingly as the starting-point for a discussion of the Coined Achaemenids. The find itself consisted very largely of Greek coins, and comes from Tchaman-i-Hazouri (near Kabul): it is the first time that a number of Greek coins from the Mediterranean area have been found beyond the Hindu Kush. These coins are of four types, one a silver tetradrachm from Bactria, Corycya, Akanthos, Thasos, Lampakos, Erythrai, Chios, Samos, Knaizous, Lycia, Aspendos, Side, Kelerdenis, Soloi, Tarsos, Mallos, Paphos, Kition, and Cyproite Salamis; and (b) brass (or lead) issues (of which four are known) of Achaemenid coins, and some further primitive stamped currency bars of Indian type, together with some peculiar pieces with rudimentary designs, also Indian in complexion. The hoard is datable (buried c. 360 B.C.), and is thus important also for the chronology of Indian coins: the typical 'punch-
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marked 'coins'to which an immemorial antiquity used to be ascribed—are absent and have evidently not yet started (they are regarded by Schilhuber as indirectly a by-product of Alexander's conquests: the details are debatable, but the dating gives their earliest type). The question of the preservation of special interest for the light it throws on the circulation of Greek coins and on the relations between Greeks and the Persian empire; for the remarkable predominance of Greek coins in this hoard as, Schilhuber is able to show from comparative analysis being an isolated phenomenon: indeed, on the evidence of coin-finds from the area of the Achaeomand empire, Greek coins appear to have played a far larger part in the economy of that empire than did the silver. It is worth noting that the specific coin system by which the water of Castalia supplied a series of basins set against the east wall of the loutron—the prototype, he suggests, of a similar scheme at Priene and elsewhere—and then was probably taken on to the range of the temple bath.

The book is beautifully and accurately printed, but there is a crop of wrong breathings and other slips in the Greek on p. 87.

R. E. WYCHERLEY


Moretti here collects a representative selection of agonistic inscriptions of all periods, which he explains and translates. There is no such previous collection, or selection, exists, and he has rendered a valuable service to historians and epigraphists by making the texts easily available. He takes as his model the volumes of Greek Historical Inscriptions published by M. M. Moret, and his aim is as a whole contribution, rather than as an original contribution to scholarship, that the work must be judged. It is perhaps difficult to understand the precise circle of readers for whom such a general work is intended, and it may be regretted that the author did not undertake a work of the line by S. Acconcia, Rev. Fil., 66, 1936, pp. 167 ff. Accame's reading seems to me untenable, but it should be recorded. In No. 5 (IG F, 472) M. proposes a new supplement for the lamic dedication over which Willmowitz and Maas scratched their heads. His own suggestion (line 4) violates the law of the caesura, and ignores the fact that θαύμα must be regarded in such verse as augmented. Of No. 6 there is a good photograph in Jütlner, 30AP, 29, 1935, p. 37. No. 10 (SEG xi, 320) : it seems to be a restored dog; but the suggestion is not commensurate with the evidence. If so, it is an earlier date than the main constructions throw little light on the previous history of the site. The small shrine at the south end of the ystos, encroached on by Roman restorations of the colonnade of theTowards the end of the Mycenaean age, though the building was constructed and maintained by the Amphictyons, the Delphians no doubt profited by its existence.

In form the Delphian gymnasion was 'simplicissime compositum'; this is the right place to say something more about the nature of the ephedrum: this is the most complete, and conforms with Vitruvius' prescriptions. In this as in other matters Vitruvius, reducing everything to a stereotyped scheme, hardly reflects the true character of earlier Greek architecture. At Delphi we find an ingenious adaptation of buildings to the narrows and to the red clay underneath. Though the gymnasion was constructed and maintained by the Amphictyons, the Delphians no doubt profited by its existence. The room is well within the limits of the site, and so should be included in the list of gymnasia urbain Access by stairways was conveniently provided, both between the different terraces and to the right entrance. Though the gymnasion was constructed and maintained by the Amphictyons, the Delphians no doubt profited by its existence.

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in line 7 for ‘Hæsius, τῆς ἐκ Ἀργους διέτεις he prefers ‘Hæsius, τῆς ἐκ Ἀργοῦ διέτεις. For 75 (ΣΕ 80) he has two new proposals: one notable, one in lines 5/6 he reads πρῶτον τοῦ [άρχα]ν [or άρχαν] for [άρχαν] τῶν, which has no palaeographical justification, and in line 15 for Latte’s [Ερυθάνθε] he prefers, with Diem, ‘Ερυθάνθος.

It will then be seen that, M., while relying mainly on the work of others, has made some contributions of his own. The commentaries contain a good deal of irrelevant material, which might well have been omitted.

P. M. FRASER.


In our plebeian society and against the competition of innumerable other cultures, can the Classical Athenians continue to assert their unique pre-eminence? Is it not progressively and powerfully the pre-eminent city of these days, the Ancient World, and no task, perhaps, is more important than that of presenting Athens in this new medium with something of an Attic clarity and elegance. The book under review is by a member of the famous American School, which has done more than most to try to meet the current need, and with its attractive dress jacket and handy format it has already enjoyed an extensive sale. Will it instruct and inspire the modern dilettante, ‘reading public’?

For what readers is it really intended? That the Philistines and those would have found the simplified scenery of the Greek Theatre somewhat disturbing (p. 115) is perhaps not quite fair. But they have a more distorted general knowledge. It is a matter of simple fact that they know nothing of ‘Valerian Wall’, suddenly introduced on p. 63 without an explanation, and not included in the index. They also know, probably from Judith, the general history of Athens between the so-called 6th century and the First Persian invasion, excavated by M. Agora: for the first chapter of H., misleadingly called the ‘Expansion of Athens’, devotes one page to the whole Classical period, omits such events as the conquests by Lysander and Sulla, and makes sense only as a supplement to the standard historical summaries of later centuries. It is pity that we cannot make this clear. Then again, her readers are expected to find no difficulty in the phrase (p. 218) ‘Stele of the naikos type’, but need to be told (ibidem), though on no stated authority, that the Greek for Athenian monument is ‘trapeza’. Are they, or are they not, expected to know the locis classicos in the Lives of the Ten Orators? Plutarch’s conjectures are perhaps beneath their notice, for nowhere in her account (pp. 110-11) of the Monument of Nikias does H. think it worth while even to guard them against Plutarch, Nikias III, 3. But they must be told certain attractive stories that they apparently never learnt at school; how, for instance, Alcibiades paraded the Mysteries (p. 36), how the charred olive tree planted by Themistocles is interpreted as indicating how ‘legends of the rude Pelasgians from neighbouring Hymentos swooping down on the maidens at the fountain are many’ (p. 62—how many, in fact?). Most surprisingly of all, they may learn (p. 97) that the whole of Athens preserves wood less well than does the Egyptian, and apart, one gathers that they are specialists, who have been scientifically rather than humanely educated. It is therefore unfortunate that this book was published in England and not in the U.S.A.

H., indeed, is valuable chiefly as an industrious and unassuming epitomist of the American School, to whose publications her subservience is complete. She sees what they see, in their own and previous hand of literature in Sanscrit and the classical, and from her point of view this is no small achievement. It may be of service to the student new to the subject, and the very comprehensiveness of the book will make it attractive to the dilettante for whom Greek topography is not a subject. But as a symposium it is not without its charm, and it should be cherished by the student of Greek topography.

It is not likely that what is said above will add much to the sale of this book. But it is worth while to say that those who have not yet had the opportunity of reading it should not pass over this volume without a perusal. It is the American School’s contribution to the subject, and the fact that it is written in English will make it more accessible than other books on the same subject and in a way that will not be found in any other book. It is a book that should be read by all who are interested in Greek topography, and it should be read with care and attention to detail.

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J. B. P.

J. S.

P. M.

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circles.' How could they be? According to p. 67, paragraph 4, 'The cornee has dentils with astroagal above, the soffit has scrolls and flowers and the sima has lotus leaves'. The soffit of what? Actual misprints, such as 'minature' for 'minaute' on p. 59, line 1; or 'cistrone' for 'cistone' on p. 37, line 4, are all too common. I select some of the more serious. P. 69, paragraph 2, line 2: the form 'Acharchan' is neither English nor Greek. P. 79, paragraph 2, line 3, et aibi: for 'Kritias and Nesioetes' read 'Kritios and Nesioetes'. P. 92, paragraph 2, line 1: for 'Pompeii, Philippi, and Foggia' read 'Pompeii and Foggia'. P. 103, line 3: for 'Lypkippos' read 'Leukkippos'. P. 139, last paragraph, line 8: for 'Hygeia' read 'Hygieia' (speel correctly on p. 186). P. 166, line 7: for 'cyma' read 'simma' (spelt correctly on p. 175). P. 184, line 2: for 'Mastissi' P. 177, paragraph 2, line 3: for 'psauros' read 'pseuros'. P. 179, fourth line from foot: for the 'Tauric Crimea' read either 'the Crimea' or 'the Tauric Chersonese'. P. 207, third line from foot: for 'fusica' and 'fusilio' read 'fusicula' and 'fusillione'. P. 208, line 2: for 'cippolino' read 'cipollino'. P. 220, paragraph 2: for 'Dionysos Eleutherios' read 'Dionysos Eleutherus'. And why, on p. 125, does the temple hitherto called "Athene Niké" suddenly change its name to 'Nike Aperto'?

The notes are rather trackless. They are all printed together at the back. But there one is given only the number, not the title, of each chapter; so that one has to turn back to the text again to try to find the number of the chapter one is reading.

HUGH PLOMMER.

The Farwell Collection (Monographs on Archaeology and Prehistory, No. 6). By F. E. Boscawen. Illustrated with 90 figures. Cambridge, Mass.: Archaeological Institute of America, 1953. Price not stated. This monograph, partly financed by the University of Chicago and printed by J. J. Augustin at Giustkast in Germany, describes Farwell's pottery excavations at Ortona in Apulia. In 1944-45, Capt. Farwell, the battalion adjutant of an American army unit stationed at Cegnola, found that his duties left him some leisure, and took up the occupation of opening pottery graves about the Ortona area. The pottery was sent to America in 209 pieces of pottery, of which 104 belong to fifteen grave groups. Seventeen pieces were given to the National Museum at Washington, and it is expected that the remainder will be kept in Mr. Farwell's house in Detroit, where a silver filula and some other grave goods were dug out. (P. 210) The remainder of the pottery is to be published in the form of an illustrated catalogue. It is hoped that this will be done in the near future.

Cyrène sous une Monarchie des Battiales. By F. CHAMoux. Pp. 420, with 244 plates. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1953. Price not stated. This important work, as the author indicates, has for its object the comparison of the results of recent excavations and researches with the literary sources so as to reveal as accurately as possible the history of Cyrene under the Battia dynasty and to disengage the characteristic essentials of its civilization. That M. Chamoux has generally been successful in his undertaking must be admitted. The work contains a great deal of useful information which has not before been published and which will prove valuable both for researches in the field and for publishing, not all of which are accessible as a whole in many libraries. The publication is divided into three main sections, the first dealing with the geography of Cyrenaica, the history of researches and excavations there, and ending with a useful bibliography. The second section is devoted to the history of Cyrene in the seventh century B.C., on goes on to describe the legendary colonisation and the events at Thera; this is followed by an account of the history of the Battia dynasty until the fall of the monarchy. On p. 210 the author gives his own chronology of the dynasty, which differs somewhat from those of E. S. G. Robinson 2 and others. His dates are: Battus I (693-599), Arcesilas I (599-583), Battus II (583-570), Arcesilas II (570-550) (that is II [1]), Heliocles (550-542), and Arcesilas IV (before 542-525), Battus IV (towards 515-515 after 492), and Arcesilas IV (before 492-490), after whom the republic came into existence. The third and last section, which describes the history of Cyrene under the Republic, is published with the organization and customs of the local inhabitants, their economy, 'Cyrenaic' ware, growing of silphium, temples, deities, and sculpture. An appendix refers to the Treasury of Cyrene at Olympia. Some concluding remarks, addenda, and indices complete the text of the volume. I now offer a few comments.

On p. 51 the author briefly refers to the line of anti-Libyan forts built by Rameses II (1298-1232 B.C.) along the coastal region of the Western Desert, forts identified by myself some years ago during the time I was the Egyptian Government Official in charge of the antiquities in Alexandria and the Western Desert and also liaison official between the Egyptian and British authorities in respect of the ancient remains in the "Libyan" 3 region. The "Prohibited Area" of Cyrene, the location of these forts and of another line of anti-Libyan forts on the western side of the Nile delta, which I identified about the same time, are given by me elsewhere; 4 but I may add that the

1 Cf. also my Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert, in Bulletin of The John Rylands Library, XXXVI, Part I, September 1953, Part II, March 1954. M. Chamoux (p. 24, note 1) has referred to this and I would here like to add that as remarked in my Western Desert article, II, p. 500, note 2, the History is mainly intended to give a summary of the history of the country as well as an account of the work of the Egyptian excavation teams and the communications of the Italian authorities must be consulted for details of their archaeological finds as a whole.

2 Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica, 1927, pp. xiii ff. Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert, 1, II.
coastal line, commencing at Rhacotis and ending at Zawyet Um el-Rakham, 'The Hospice of the Mother of the Vultures', the classical Apis, was 341 kilometres in length. The intermediate forts, running roughly from east to west, were Marea and Chamas. The Westerner (both south of Lake Marcomis); el-Bordan, the pharaonic Hamu and the Chano of Ptolemy the Geographer (west of the lake): a site of unknown name on the sea-coast itself; and el-Alamein, 'The Two Veils'. The local deity of the site was Imy-im-nit, 'He who is in the Highway'. This name was an allusion to the ancient coastal road running by the forts.

As to the 'Tomb of Battus', which, according to Pindar, was situated the further end of the agora in Cyrene, and which also is mentioned in a certain local inscription of the time of Alexander the Great as having an oracle, this, of course, is usually identified with the larger of two round structures now existing at the north-west side of the agora. Cyreneologists have briefly described this structure, according to its restoration by the Italian archaeologists, as a 'tomb open to the sky', and he suggests that it might possibly date from an early epoch. Actually, however, it consists of a rather tall cylindrical superstructure (chapel) of courses of horizontal masonry built over an underground circular stairway, the lower part of which is now blocked up with debris. According to investigations I have made on the spot, the tomb, in this form, cannot have been contemporary with the round fort. In early Greek times in Cyrene, there were merely low circles of stone enclosing a conical mound of earth covering burial cists of stone at ground level. It would appear perhaps to be a Hadrianic reconstruction of an early Hellenistic tomb destroyed during the Jewish insurrection under Trajan. Parallels to this type of circular structure exist at Rome, as for instance those surrounding the burials of Caeconia Metella, M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, and others. These particular tombs were roofed, and it seems not unlikely that the 'Battus' tomb also had a roof, in that it was made of wood. An analogy to the circular underground stairway with chapel above is seen in the Hadrianic catacombs of Kom el-Shukafa at Alexandria. There is, of course, nothing against the theory that the so-called 'Tomb of Battus', and its probably slightly earlier predecessor, were actually built over the site of the original sepulchre, archaic in form, of the founder of Cyrene.

This masonry the Aenus dedicated to Artemis and another example at Budras, 3 kilometres west of Cyrene, dedicated to Artemis and to the Nymphs (pp. 318 f.) are of great interest. We see elsewhere, as for instance in a Greek inscription at Hermoplis published by P. Rodrige, that water nymphs sometimes constructed tomb chambers. 'Recliment, ce sont les Nymphes, ó isidora, les Nymphes Filles des eaux, qui t'ont construit cette chambre. Nilò, l'aine des filles du Nil, a commencé l'ouvrage en faisant une conque comme il en possède dans ses profondeurs . . .

ALAN ROWE.

Recherches sur XPH, XPHΩΩΛ. Étude sémantique.


Professor Redard's treatment of xph, xphös and their derivatives was conceived, he tells us, as part of a work on Greek not only available, but also invented; the result is so successful in the second edition that Redard was able to extend it to the Romans.

1 The citadel-site of Rhacotis dates at least from 1500 B.C. Cf. pp. 41, ii., p. 456, note 3. When Alexander established the city bearing his name all that he actually did was to add a series of suburbs to the east of the ancient area of Rhacotis. I hope shortly to publish the history of this area and of its pharaonic monuments, together with proposed new identification of both of the tombs of the great Macedonian.

2 Cf. J. Ball, Egypt in the Classical Geographers, 1942, references to Zawyet Um el-Rakham on p. 203.

3 P. 92.


5 Both in 1943, when I reported on the antiquities of Cyrenaica for the Civil Affairs Branch, British Military Administration, Cairo, and in 1952, when I was leader of the Manchester University Expedition to Cyrenaica. An account of the activities of the expedition has been prepared for publication; this will include plans and sections of the 'Tomb of Battus' and other sepulchres.

6 C. G. F. Smith, Roman Documents, 1925, pp. 5-14.

7 See my article in Ball, de la Soc. Royale d'Égypte, 1915, No. 35.

8 See in Sami Gabra and others, Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermopolis Ouest, Cairo, 1941, p. 69.

necesitated its separate publication. His aim is to find a unity in the diversity of meanings shown by xphös, and to relate to it the meanings of xph and of the normal derivatives. He rejects the aid of etymology on the good grounds that it is misleading when the derivation is clear and quite useless when it is doubtful. On the other hand, Redard's etymologies of xph are evidently intended only to show their uncertainty. After setting out the uses of the verb as classified in LL. s.v. xph, and illustrating them with quotations drawn largely from Homer, he goes on to show that there are varieties of four main meanings, 'to consult (oracles)', 'to borrow (lend)', 'to need (desire)', 'to use'. At this point a question of principle becomes crucial, the problem that any word must have one fundamental meaning peculiar to itself and be enough of a clue to all its uses. He applies this principle to xphöös, and after a discussion he would be unfair to summarise proceeds the definition: xphös significa... 'rechercher l'utilisation de quelque chose'.... Le problème est restreint à la sphère du sujet qui fait un recours occasionnel à l'objet.' Two points of particular interest may be remarked in this part of the argument. The first is that the active uses of xphöös as 'to lend' and 'to answer' (of an oracle) are secondary developments from the respective uses of the middle. The second is the attempt to define the meaning 'to use' more precisely as—at least originally—to have recourse to, to make use of something for a particular purpose. It seems indeed possible to consider xphöös as having two primary meanings 'to use' and 'to need'. In general, apart from a reference to the distinction of mässen and sollen, parallels in other languages are neglected, though a study of uxor, usus est (usus est), usum dare and usum habere have entirely escaped Redard's attention. Providing that we consider xphöös in the light of its derivative, Redard seeks to establish in his original sense 'fait de xphöös';... xphöös connotera une tentative d'accodement, d'appropriation occasionnelles'; this means that the question of whether or not xphöös is a reflexive is raised, and in his view it is evident that the reflexive is not a meaning of xphöös, but 'to use' and 'to need'. In any event, the parallel, in contrast to the Latin phrase, which denotes a necessity imposed by circumstances without regard to the agent's will (as in Hdt. II, 11, ... φανέρον ει μεταφέρειν χρήσις μόνον), is not met in the Greek, and makes no reference to the often purely syntactical rôle of nouns formed with this suffix. Redard then considers the semantic principle in which Redard's study is based, it is close to his dictionary of a formative state of a given word. He is content to consider xphöös in its original meaning 'to use'. In his view, the derivative is to be expected of a formative state of a given word. He is content to consider xphöös in its original meaning 'to use'. In his view, the derivative is to be expected of a formative state of a given word. However, the problem is more complicated, and Redard's treatment of xphöös through their derivatives, partly be inferring the meaning of the root itself. We have here a question of the relationship of root and suffix, partly by establishing it from a wealth of examples. The former procedure is admissible within limits, but entails some risk. For example, in his account of xphöös, Redard gives the place of honour to Berne's highly abstract formula of the function of the sufix -öös, and makes no reference to the often purely syntactical rôle of nouns formed with this suffix.

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Aesch. Pers. 777, 'avec l’aide d’amis auxquels il avait eu recours' intended to imply an unusual view of εἷς τὸς Ἔν χρόνος (p. 76)?

The general principle, and therefore the method, of this book is to consider fundamental questions of a more critical sort, e.g. the meaning of a fundamental meaning, the 'signification nodale' as Redard calls it? Is it considered to be historically or logically prior to the various attested meanings of χρόνος? Is it applicable to the determination of method? Can it be considered a valid method? Redard himself puts a similar question, but his answer is not entirely clear: the definition of a word must be at once general enough and precise enough to account for every detail of its usage; and it is the function of the lexicographer to determine which of these signification... But the interrelations of the various usages of a word and its derivatives are often intricate and controlled in their development by a fundamental meaning or by the limitations of the lexicographic problem. When for linguistic studies he does not rate highly. His closing pages show that he is well versed in these matters and his view has therefore the authority of a carefully considered judgement; yet it may be doubted whether the single inductive formulae of the fundamental meaning can be more than a partial contribution to the study of the tension between the formal unity of a word on the one hand and the tendency to its semantic diversification on the other. It is a method which may be adequate to the object of Redard's book, but which would be less successful in application to the study of other words or in less prudent hands than this.

Debatable issues notwithstanding, Redard has made valuable contributions to the understanding of χρόνος and its families: he has called attention to a hypothesis that the second primary of χρόνος, χρόνης, his demonstration of the secondary origin of the active uses of the verb, and his account of χρόνος 'debt'. We have good reason to look forward with eagerness to his promised work on manic language.

D. M. JONES.


This book is an important contribution to the Macedonian question in antiquity. Dr. Kallérés has planned a systematic approach to his subject. The volume opens with a résumé of the general problem and then deals with the glossary of Macedonian words and with the onomatolith of personal and geographical names. The second volume will complete the study of the Macedonian language and discuss the religion, customs, and historical evidence for the nationality of the Macedonian people. The work is thorough, detailed, and scholarly; it contains a large bibliography and an abundance of footnotes, which are especially full on matters of the language of the Macedonians. The lexicographical work of Philip II which is clear and useful. The book was printed in Athens. The Greek lettering is good and accurate, but there are numerous mistakes in the text such as 'Mekheni' (35), 'Gassou' (42), 'howsjer' (34), 'Grötzberg' (35), 'exhast' (34)...

Grötzberg's (35), 'exhast' (34)...

Dr. Kallérés claims to write with certainty and style. He regards many aspects of Macedonian linguistics as interesting but less conclusive. Personal names are mostly known for the fourth century onwards, when the spread of Greek customs might well have led to the adoption or modification of names in the Greek manner. Place-names may well derive from the Bronze Age and give no better indications of the origin of the Macedonians. In the case of the Peloponnesian, the linguistic affinities of place-names are often doubtful, as the interesting discussions of Εύαγος and Βοσφόρος show, Dr. Kallérés has given us a most stimulating and valuable volume, and we look forward to the elucidation of its thesis in the second volume of this important work.

N. G. L. HAMMOND.


The first edition of this book, which appeared nine years earlier, is already familiar and widely used, and this second edition, it is sure of an immediate success. This will be so if for no other reason than that the appearance of the second edition is so much improved. The paper is of better quality, and the type (especially the Greek) and setting are easier to read; the consequence is that it is much more agreeable to use.

The book has been augmented in a large number of details,
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and in particular with a section on gender (making, with number, Chapter I); Chapter IV ‘La phrase’, dealing with its structure generally, concord (from old Chapter I), parataxis and hypotaxis, and word order; and Chapter XII, on particles (the largest single addition). There is also added an index of Greek proper names.

Critics of the first edition have mentioned the general absence of the historical approach (so L.R.P., in *RH* LXVI, 147). To this I would myself add a little doubt as to the exact aims of the book as declared in the preface to the second edition, or to the level of candidature for Agégation. But at the same time the author admits that the work was first conceived in the discursive manner of Wackernagel’s *Vorleungen*. The result is a compromise which sometimes reduces its effectiveness as a working dictionary. The arrangement may allow of greater criticism. Take, for example, the subject of final clauses. Here Humbert starts (pp. 229-38) with μή after verbs of fearing, taking care, etc., as originally paratactic (here for once we have the English equivalent in *Attic*). In *Attic* constructions and in modern Greek the difference is no longer felt as paratactic. Then he continues with the conjunctions ταύτῃ, διότι, ἢς. That concludes the section *propositions finales*. If we read on, we come to final relatives on pp. 244-5, treated under ‘propositions relatives’; but there is no reference to this either in the preceding section or in the index under *Finales*. The final use of the future participle (pp. 175-7) occurs in a separate chapter, on tense usage: again no cross reference or index mention under *Finales*. Last of all, I have been unable to find any reference with indicative mood where: yet it is good Attic, though not common. Admittedly no arrangement is ideal, but this seems to be far from it. More adequate indexing and cross references would have done much to help.

The new sections already mentioned are desirable additions. It might have been thought that to have a long chapter to particles (seventy-five pages) would be disproportionate: either too much, or even superfluous, in a work which has to deal with synecdoches a whole, or else little in bulk. But his remark, in comparatively brief space, is judicious and well selected, and provide a good survey of the field in manageable compass. On a small point, I would not accept his remark (p. 173) that *εἰς* in Libov’s recent book may have the same use as a kind of punctuation, especially belonging to the written language. On p. 393, dealing with γιά he criticises Denniston, but wrongly. He supposes that D. thought that γιά sometimes took the place of a connective particle, but in fact D. had collected examples where γιά played an implicative role, while not accompanied by another particle. So on Z 429 and τούτων τί εἶ ἐπὶ πτωτός; γαρ ἡ πολύανα διάμοιρας: D. took γιά as emphasizing πτωτός, and H. would appear to do so too, by translating ‘plus vaillant que son père—oui, son père’; yet H. comments that γιά underlines the presence of asyndeton—which is any way normal in such a context (direct report of speech); I cannot see what meaning there could be in understanding it.

The nominal phrase is defined (p. 66) as being timeless, general, strongly affirming (or denying) a truth. So far, so good; but there are some verbless sentences which do not satisfy these rules but are particular. H. will not accept them as ‘nominal phrases’ (p. 67) as they have no *κάτι* ὡς γάρ *εὑρε* ὁ ποταμὸς *διάμοιρας*, which is said of one individual. I think that H. here commits the very mistake, of being maled by theories formed in *abstracto*, against which he warns on p. 68. The better explanation is historical. The *nominal phrases* was of relatively late growth in IE.: nominal sentences were a survival from the earlier state, and they survived longest where the sense was general and timeless, just because the absence of a verb was felt least there. But it is the *nominal phrases* that ‘by their absence, and absence of verb in particular sentences—it would be surprising if such a distinction were rigidly maintained.

A last point of criticism must be the erratic nature of some of the references to the outcome. In the second edition again, in a review of the second edition *ADPL* LXVIII (1948), 114-16, quoted fifteen incorrect references; in the second edition ten of these remained unchanged, while three are corrected (old *ADPL* 299, 343, 515) and two not used. As we see, the *Hdt.* section I notes the following errors: P. 66, *Hdt.* 5, 52, for 5, 33; *Hdt.* 2, 2, 2, 57, 61, for 6, 7, *Ph.* 56, *Xen.* 444, 55, 58, 59. He gives the following checks in his index: sections I notes errors: P. 66, *Hdt.* 5, 52, for 5, 33; *Hdt.* 2, 2, 2, 57, 61, for 6, 7, *Ph.* 56, *Xen.* 473, *Phil.* 477, *Math.* 5, 3, for 5, 4, *Plat.* 74, *Soph.* 63, 55, for 63, 54. Then further on P. 94, *Plat.* 94, 5, 508 for 5, 1, *e* for *a*; P. 95, 509 for 509 for 509. Here also on p. 94, *Gorg.* 515 is quoted as 708 δωδεκά αὐτοῖς, which should be 705 δωδεκά αὐτοῖς (an error of some significance in a discussion of word order), and p. 97, 1, 21, ἐνεργεῖσθαι ἐν δράσει. It seems that care must be taken to check the references before using them.

A. C. MOORHOUSE.


Four topics are here dealt with: the question what case (or cases) originally lay behind the Greek infinitive and what was its early meaning; the history of the aorist infinitive; then, as a special department of that, the infinitive with τόν (final, and other uses); and, finally, there is a section on the eventual disappearance of the infinitive in the modern Greek.

Aalto carefully considers the evidence of forms, and decides on a locative origin. This is probably as near as we can get on the formal evidence alone (though we are still in difficulty with the syntactical point, why the locative should mean end or purpose).

The core of the work is the interesting study of the infinitive with article. The field surveyed is extensive, and includes early and classical authors, inscriptions as well as the literature, and (not least) modern usage. The primary treatment is of instance in *Attic* and *Ionic* (especially in Plut. *Iunius Ap. Malas. Chronion Paschali*). The infinitive, having started as a noun, had ceased to be one for practical purposes; but the device of joining the article with it made it again substantial, now a complete declension. Further development made the articular infinitive the equivalent of (1) a variety of subordinate clauses (pp. 73-4), and (2) the simple infinitive itself; this last most plainly in the genitive form (p. 74). The case may be somewhat less clear for *πάντως* when used reflexively; but a free use of the accusative of respect could equally well explain the facts.

On final τόν with the infinitive, A. considers anew the once current idea of a difference in the construction (which, it seems, negative use generally predominates, as in Thucydides (ten negative, two positive)—though we should notice that in Plato the examples are all positive. I find A.’s own explanation (pp. 75-3) too involved and not convincing (pp. 83-4), but possibly he would regard it as redundant, or have full terms, etc. (pp. 84-5), as Hdt. 1. 86, 2, εἴ τι μέ *διδάσκων* μάρτυρα τούτων ἄρσεν κατεκαθήθη. Here the τόν-clause may be seen as the end in view, instead of what is prevented (and the negation is redundant, for we have full terms). The chapter includes fruitful comparisons with Latin and the Romance languages.

In explaining the almost total eventual loss of the infinitive in Greek, A. considers the use of *νόμως* and of the *καθένα* as a transitive expression. Inevitably his prime interest in the articular infinitive limits his scope here: in particular the rivalry of τόν and other conjunctions with the infinitive in indirect statement needs attention. Perhaps the author will some day expand his work into a complete treatment of the Greek infinitive, to which this is a useful contribution.

A. C. MOORHOUSE.


This second volume, which completes Chantaine’s grammar, contains a detailed list and a systematic description of the syntax of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The Hymns are not dealt with, and only very occasionally quoted; Hesiod is not used. This is the fullest treatment of Homeric syntax in existence, the work of an outstanding linguist. The reader will find it a very excellent one—for a long time to come. It is impossible here to give anything more than a general impression of the characteristics of the book and its utility to the ordinary reader of Homer.

The bulk of the volume is occupied by the chapters on the cases, uses of moods and tenses, and various types of subordinate clause. The treatment of ‘prepositions and preverbs’ is particularly full and illuminating. At the beginning of the book, an appendix at the end, are chapters in which some features of sentence-structure characteristic of Homer are discussed. Here the main theme is the greater independence of the members of a Homeric sentence, compared with the situation in Attic—an independence shown in the phenomena of ‘parataxes’, where Attic would subordinating, and of ‘appositive construction’ generally. In his last chapter, C. passes over into literary criticism—that is to say, into what he would call phenomena of *la parole* rather than of *la langue*—and gives a more appreciative and valuable exposition of some speeches from the *Iliad*.

A comparison with Monro, to whom C. acknowledges his debt, is inevitable and interesting. For one thing, C. provides very many more instances. Like Denniston, in the Preface to *The Greek Particles*, he seems to invite the reader to ‘bathe in examples, and he commonly postpones any summary of
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the case to the end of the discussion. This makes for profitable reading rather than for easy reference. So far as content is concerned, C., as might be expected, is able to give a more enlightening account of the problems than Wackernagel, and he has elsewhere also used a wealth of material (see also elsewhere above). But Wackernagel has yet to say about the development of usage within the epic period: in particular his long account of the evolution of propositions, and the discussion of the subjunctive with it (pp. 270-272).

Among recent books, C. often refers to Leumann’s Homerische Wörter. He is, however, cautious about the type of theory there expounded, according to which many usages can be traced back to earlier misunderstandings by later compilers or traditional formulae. Thus (p. 46) he accepts the substantive γραφή as derived from a misunderstanding of  γραφέω, but (p. 85) hesitates about deriving μεταγγείλω similarly from μετάγγειλομαι. As Leumann himself points out, there is no clear or certain way of deciding derivations from this type, and διάγραβος; Leumann has not succeeded in explaining the ‘essential difference of meaning’.

The scale of the book naturally pretty well excludes discussion of the many points of criticism and some disputed points: e.g. (pp. 28-9), on the dual τώος in γαίσθα in 278, on the dual addressed to Hector’s four horses (θ 185), and on Wackernagel’s theory that Aeneas originally meant ‘ Ajax and Teucer’. C. is as a rule very scrupulous to give the evidence on both sides, and to avoid stating his own view too dogmatically. He is fully aware that many classifications are necessarily provisional or arbitrary, and his method of exposition by examples enables the reader to get the ‘feel’ of a usage without losing sight of the whole. The two long chapters on case-usages afford many instances of questions wishes left unanswered. (But the brevity occasionally leads to obscure remarks. A small example: τροχος in προστραχυέω is said (p. 144) to be ‘exceptional and archaic’. Why archaic? What are the Vedische? W. where Vedische parallels are spoken of, would have given what is presumably the ground for the statement. On the whole, C.’s admirably concise manner and avoidance of abstract theory are admirable, and he does carry his exposition through clearly, to make penetrating comments on the general ‘pattern’, and to avoid the danger of misleadingly sharp conclusions.

The printer has not served him too well. There are a good many misprints, mostly in the Greek. More important, the lay-out does not make it easy to pick out relevant examples quickly. Special type for headings would have helped greatly. The index, necessarily selective, is good as far as it goes.

This is a book for which we should be extremely grateful. All readers of Homer will learn much from it; but they will be well advised to read it through, not (at first, at any rate) to use it for reference.

D. A. RUSSELL.

Entzückung Verschwollener Schriften und Sprachen.

I have long hoped for just such a book as this, combining in one and the same work the passionate enthusiasm of the Gotthelf, the last century and a half; and Professor Friedrich is well qualified to write it. The presentation is detailed but jaggon-free, in conformity with the series’ general title Comprehensible Science, and is well served by efficient and attractive making and typsetting in the many exotic scripts discussed. In the small compass of 147 pages comprehension is inevitable, and there is still room for more detailed accounts of individual documents (such as R. D. Barnett’s account of work on the Hittite Kings’ Lists, which have been brought together with the Indo-European form *puteo, or that Astavan *puteo, Old Persian *puje- and Sarmatian *puteo (with  from 6) derive from Proto-Iranian *puteo). While such a statement does not commit us to maintaining that Astavan, Old Persian, and Sarmatian go back to one and the same Proto-Iranian language, it does imply that each of them had developed from a lost language in which 1E  had become 6. Within Iranian, Ossetic with its for ‘son’ will be the descendant of a language which was the Precyclops- and Avestan- Iranian.

The virtue of this book lies in inviting comparison between the methods by which quite different scripts have been attacked. Such methods are largely determined by the varying mechanisms of each script—whether alphabetic, syllabic, or ideographic—and by the nature of the existing inscriptions, and considerable space is given to their description (covering some of the same ground as 11. 1. Gelb’s Study of Writing, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952); it was probably wise of F. to begin each chapter with a discussion of each script, before describing the decipherers’ slow groping towards the truth.

The still controversial scripts naturally merit less detailed treatment, and it is rather to press too early to include recent discussions of the Mervakian Language. 11. 10. (V. 1956-7.1-35) is perhaps rightly, regarded with suspicion; no mention is made of the discovery of scripts of Central America; and Etruscan is shown not to be in need of a ‘decipherment’ (as often misconceived), but merely of a deepened understanding along lines established many years ago.

The first victory (by Grotefend in 1806 over cuneiform Persian) was due to the operation of the same disciplined common sense as all subsequent successes, though without the benefit of our wider knowledge of the mechanics of languages and scripts. The speculative leeway which decipherers cast astay in their perilous choice between real progress towards the truth and the road to unproductive obsession:

(1) The inability to recognise that the known texts in a particular script are too restricted, have too little ‘depth’, for success to be possible; or for the correct result, if achieved by a fluke, to be demonstrable as such.

(2) The fallacy that, because a sign in one script looks very much like a sign in another, it must have the same value or function.

(3) The deceptiveness of superficial resemblances between words in one language and another, even when analysed with the imposing apparatus of comparative philology (particularly in the case of fragmentary languages nevertheless known to be Indo-European, such as Phrygian).

Having learnt our lesson from all these case-histories, it is disappointing to realise that the lion’s share has already been eaten, and that the successful decipherment of any further scripts must probably wait upon the excavator’s spade.

MICHAEL VENTRIS.


The point the author claims to have made is that the historical identity of the language of the Sarmatians, Alans, and present-day Ossetes is not a probable proposition, and it is not possible to bring these languages into direct genealogical connection. To show this the author first thoroughly credits the ‘family-tree’ construction of a universal language, especially applied to Iranian by the older philological school; thereafter he examines the linguistic material provided by the Pontic Greek inscriptions and Sarmatian names in ancient literature; from the dialectal differences that occur in this material he concludes that it is impossible to derive modern Ossetic from a well-defined ‘homogeneous’ Sarmatian or Alanic language.

The time when the term ‘family-tree’ was taken literally is not far past, it will be noticed, and the Proto-Iranian language as an undifferentiated unit from which all Iranian languages have nearly branched off, any more than the Indo-European parent language is conceived in such terms. Nevertheless, it is convenient, and substantially correct, to say that Osca-pakto- and Old Indian *puteo- are both connected with an Indo-European form *puteo, or that Astavan *puteo, Old Persian *puje- and Sarmatian *puteo (with  from 6) derive from Proto-Iranian *puteo. While such a statement does not commit us to maintaining that Astavan, Old Persian, and Sarmatian go back to one and the same Proto-Iranian language, it does imply that each of them had developed from a lost language in which 1E  had become 6. Within Iranian, Ossetic with its for ‘son’ will be the descendant of a language which was the Precyclops- and Avestan- Iranian.

The author stresses the great number of facts which demonstrate that Ossetic, as spoken in the Kuban, no longer seems to be a distinctly Ossetic language, and that no connection can be established between this language and the other Ossetic dialects; but he admits that the most stubborn fact of all is the lack of any evidence for a cursive form of Ossetic, which might be expected if Ossetic were related to the Sarmatian or Alanic language.

The argument of the author is entirely convincing, and he has produced a study which will be welcomed by all students of Iranian linguistics, and which is of great importance in the history of the language; but it is not likely to be of much assistance to the decipherer of the Ossetic inscriptions, or to the student of the related languages of the Sarmatian and Alanic tribes.

The title of the book is well chosen, as it reflects the author’s view that Ossetic is not a distinct language, but is a dialect of a Proto-Iranian language, and that it is not of much assistance to the student of the related languages of the Sarmatian and Alanic tribes.

The author has made a careful study of the Ossetic inscriptions, and has shown that they are not a distinct language, but are a dialect of a Proto-Iranian language. He has also shown that there is no evidence for a cursive form of Ossetic, which would be expected if Ossetic were related to the Sarmatian or Alanic language. The argument of the author is entirely convincing, and he has produced a study which will be welcomed by all students of Iranian linguistics, and which is of great importance in the history of the language; but it is not likely to be of much assistance to the decipherer of the Ossetic inscriptions, or to the student of the related languages of the Sarmatian and Alanic tribes.

The title of the book is well chosen, as it reflects the author’s view that Ossetic is not a distinct language, but is a dialect of a Proto-Iranian language, and that it is not of much assistance to the student of the related languages of the Sarmatian and Alanic tribes.
In discussing Hoffmann-Debrunner while it is yet new, we may perhaps be forgiven if we also look forward to the book which will eventually replace it in the Göschen series. It is too early to say how the work of the future will differ from that of the past in two ways. First, the gradually increasing stock of classical and pre-classical inscriptions should enable the writer to form a more continuous and better-rounded picture of the early history of Greece. Secondly, it may be hoped that the pre-classical phase will be carried back some centuries by the transcription and elucidation of the Cretan and Mycenaean tablets. Whether this latter eventuality is already within sight as a result of Mr. Ventris' efforts, the reviewer does not feel able to predict; but in any case much more work will be made in the next few decades towards the goal for which Hoffmann and his Göttingen contemporaries strove. In the meantime Hoffmann himself is still in very many respects a guide worth following.

A. J. BEATTIE


The publication in one volume, with full notes and an English translation, of two works so fundamental to our understanding of the greatest of the Greek states, and so notoriously difficult to interpret and expound, puts upon the reviewer a heavy obligation which cannot be discharged in a few lines. This is all the more so as neither the text (with or without the Greek text) will serve the purpose, for which there were insufficient and generally students of antiquity; I reserve detailed comments upon them to the last.

The Old Oligarch S. regards as 'the product of a superior thought and powerful speech' the ideas of Thucydides son of Meletus is not new (cf. Prestel, Antidemokrat. Strömungen in Athen, Breslau, 1939, cited by S.); but S. goes further, and would actually assign it to Thucydides 'almost certainly the grandfather of Thucydides the historian', (p. 14) after his return from exile and more precisely in the second half of 431 B.C., being 'an invitation to make peace after the outbreak of hostilities' (p. 13, taking up a theory of G. Staal, Paderborn, Rhod. Stud. 9, 1921). S. contends (p. 11 note to I 8) that, if it is addressed to an individual Spartan, whom he tentatively identifies (p. 16) as King Archidamus himself.

Do §§ 18 and I 11 (both represented in several misprints as II 8 and II 11) in fact justify the assumption that a definite individual, and a Spartan, is being addressed? The use of ἐγώ and εἰ in the treatise is often purely rhetorical, not literal. In I 11 ἐγώ τῇ ἐνασκώσει ὅσοι δολοί καὶ διέθεσαν certainly does not carry the meaning (implied by S., though naturally not translated) 'I am addressing someone whom I am addressing', any more than the following διά δὲ δολοὶ τοῦ ὅσοι means 'if the slave whom you personally owned [here] feared me ...' The true meaning is certainly 'she is a slave any man's slave fears any citizen'; in Athens this was not so, because ...' S. makes a suggestion which is at II 11 (καὶ ἐγώ μὲν ὄφος πεύχων ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τοῦ ἐγώ δέ τιν ἐπιγράφομαι) the conclusion (p. 15) that 'the O.O. is not an agrarian traditionalist but an owner of ships'. The reference here is in fact to the happy position of the Athenians in general. In fact, the attempt to discover authorship and purpose through betrayal of personal touches breaks down.

To the problem of date S. makes two new contributions, nearly as he thinks 'significant' (p. 15). The number of 400 treinex (III 4) he explains as the result of a 'looking for number' (p. 15). But in fact 300 here seems the maximum number, since Thuc, cites the speech in II 15 to just before, and the arrangement made in II 24 to just after, the first Peace. So the 'mention of the possibility that a blight may strike the crops of Attica' (II 6) S. sees a reference to the λαός or λαῶν of the oracle mentioned by Thuc. II 54 in connexion with the plague. But indications are hardly enterins, in since according to Thuc. the πολεοπαρίσσει reminded remotes the oracle had been current for a very long time, and in any case O.O. II 6 merely considers in general the advantage enjoyed by the power of power in being able to pick and choose its foreign sources of supply.

To speak of the 'tolerant matter-of-factness of the O.O. towards the most oppressive aspects of Athenian imperialism' (p. 16) is only to misread the sarcastic irony of the writer altogether. It still would be hardly to expect that public business is not carried out and justice is not done (III 1–5). For S. this passage is part of the O.O.'s heritage (discussed at length) from philosophical-medical speculation; the O.O.
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Consider the problem of gradual additions or subtractions to the constitution (p. 10).

I turn to the Ath. Pol. attributed to Aristotle. S. inveighs against the historians' habit of judging this work by purely historical criteria, and argues with some force that, starting with the specification for it to Aristotle, we ought to consider it in relation to A's philosophy. When we do this we find that there is a considerable line of approach here, but S. is inclined to excessive zeal in discovering pointers to his goal, which is to show that the treatise was written in Aristotelian language and reflects the Athenian political atmosphere. Not that the nature of change as applied to city constitutions (Pol. V 1301 B. 'Motion' and 'increase or diminution' are applicable to the four kinds of change considered in the Pol. 410 A. 'Plantation of new or destruction of old changes') of Ch. 41, but S. does not attempt to explain how so penetrating a thinker came in (passage in which we can think of no one) in common with the poetical and the other changes of S. (p. 41), by A's conviction that a city with a large population thereby became potentially a democracy.

The author appears to attach undue importance to common-place expressions such as 'the Demos ἐσοφηγησον' or it had its O θεος, but his sense of human causation, and pays scant attention to practical difficulties which still remain (unevenness of treatment, internal contradictions, etc.). A rather disturbing example of misunderstanding occurs when he criticizes A's treatment of the Socratic crisis with the Five Thousand (p. 104, n. 27): 'the very fact that of such a number no one can explain who composed the F.T. says that they were an established and well-known part of the constitution'. Failing to notice that Polylithos as καταστύτης enrolled 5000 (Lysias XXI. 18), and that A. W. M., Pol. 414 B. 'H πολεμίζων, the '5000' offers as explanation an Assembly of Ephetae (συνεκτικά), with far-reaching consequences, as in his n. 50 (to Ch. 57), where in order to support the idea of a permanent 5000 a new explanation is adopted (why too if the whole Demos?) is suggested in connexion with the selection by lot of the Ephetae in horticultural trials.

There are unfortunately other unacceptable suggestions, as e.g., a supposed four-tribal organisation by Pericles into Plato's Philaetia, Ctes. and Mygias (p. 97, n. 2, and p. 106, n. 36) "the fact that marriage with an heiress, and marriage in general, was called σύνεκτικώς, that is 'settled' with, is a clear indication of the fact that originally land was transmitted through the female line'. But which (if either) 'settled with' the other?

There is a bibliography to each section of the book, containing useful references to many recent books and articles, and analytical tables of both works are provided.

The translation is free of liberties and sometimes misleading, I select a few examples.

Oude Olyca 11 5: ὃποιος ἄλλοις, 'to any place they wish'. The rest of the sentence is also too freely translated (θρησκευτής ὁ δὲ ως oinos 4 ἐν 747 ἐστιν 'because supply trains are slow and cannot carry supplies for a long period'). II. 12: ἄλογα οἷα ἀλογα οἶνος ἄλογα ἄλογοι ἐν ἐν ῥά τε ἐν τῇ βιλατη 'they will not allow those who are our enemies (interpreters of the text) as a term that the Maganian decrees to transport [these products] to another place unless they remun. transport them by sea'. Surely the reverse, 'unless they do transport them by sea'. III 12 (not '16', p. 14) is willfully emended to fit with S.'s theory of authorship (cf. p. 14, the work of A. W. M. is relied on for these). The whole text does not conspire against Athenian democracy'. The text has ἐγὼ ἐγὼ τις παρείς εἰν ἐν ἔνδου ἐστι τέω, ὅτι ἐν λόγοι τοῦ ἐν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἢ 'I alone of all who speak have held that the Athenian city was disfavored, a few oligarchs who are not among those oligarchs who plot against Athenian democracy' (omitting before ἐν τῶν ἀνθρώπων and taking this as equivalent to a parenthesis). It is δή ὃς 'those who' equivalent to 'those who are not among the oligarchs' (cf. text as it stands makes better sense i.e., 'but more than a few are needed to plot...') with less violence to the language.

Vol. 41. 1: θεσσαλικός (of Draco) why 'precepts'? 5. 1: καταστύτης inaccurately translated 'slain'. 38, 4 ad fin; ἄλογον by a slip is translated 'Archon'. 41. 2: συγκεκριμ. τῆς πολίου... ἄλογον ἄλογον τῆς ἁλατείας ἄλογον... for the desire to rule the sea'. 42. 2: ὁ μοῦ... γραιφ., the members of the deme who have enrolled him] are punished'. Hid. & ὁδός... χαστατάνεται they 'se, the fathers of the Cadet' class of [a show of hands]. 8, 9; καὶ δόχος πενήντην ἐδέσμει, they 'judged cases by going each to one of the thirty groups of demes', involves an unjustified assumption. 33. 2: (The Arbitrators) ἐξονταποδέξαντες τὸν ὀπωρώδη 'the Arbitrator [sing.] puts... the testimonies [etc.] submitted by the parties'. The addition (for which there is no explanatory note) goes beyond the evidence and does not agree with the originating para. οὐν ὡς δικαιοσύνη, which is wrongly translated 'before the Arbitrator' and but the term 'diu' (when the decree was in its origin, the congress of Corinth in 481 B.C., the congress of Phocis in 478, the Panhellenic congress proposed by Pericles, the congresses for leone ieren in the fourth century, international arbitration down to 396, and the antecedents of the League of Corinth. The author has defined his purpose in the following words: 'compellingly si è accettato un' antica coscienza unitaria dei Greci, manifestatisi in atti legge e fuor di A. Giudicati comuni, non si è trovato traccia di una sistemazione giuridica che avesse trovato precocità ad attività continua, tendesse ad attenuare uno stato superante la pluralità delle poleis'. This seems patidituous, but no other general conclusion emerges from her researches, and the value of her interpretation depends on the originality and thoroughness with which the particular themes are treated.

Perhaps the most interesting section is the attempt to show that the Theopompus' criticism of the Peace of Callias (cf. Gymn. Comm. on Thuc. i, p. 332) or to the fictitious decree of Aristides (Plut. Arist. 22, 11), which need not come from Craterus at all. C. argues that the language Plut. uses is self-contradictory and unsuited to a fifth-century decree, e.g., the reference to the Greeks of Europe and Asia (the Greeks of Thuc.) were not brought into the act. C. suggests that the use of the word καταστύτης, appropriate to individuals, only 'settles' what follows shows that the invitations were addressed to cities. But this at most proves that Plut. has not given us the decree as he wrote it, but distorted its contents in inaccurate grandiloquence of his own. It is merely possible that the use of the formula 'cities great and small' is inappropriate except in a context which guaranteed the autonomy of even the smallest cities (e.g., Thuc. v. 77); the implication is surely that each city represents itself at the congresses to have an equal voice (cf. Thuc. i 125, 1). C. reasonably finds it odd that some of the Athenian ambassadors were to proceed first to Boeotia and Phocis, then to the Peloponnesian and finally back to Locris, Acarnania, and Aegira. She rejects as unjustified the supposition that only Athens was to be approached, yet this would explain the route, and Plutarch's allusion to the covert opposition of Sparta (8 ἐν εὐδοκία) might be taken to mean that Sparta was also friendly towards Athens and that the phrase that she thought that Sparta was friendly with Athens (44) was changed to speak of the Sacred War, the events of 449 show that Sparta was waiting for a chance to pounce. One difficulty of detail, due to error in the tradition, is not enough to invalidate Plutarch's story. But C. draws a number of conclusions from the proposed congress suspect: (a) the rebuilding of Athens' temples would not be of concern to all the Greeks; (b) the vows of the Persian invasion had been fulfilled; (c) Athens alone could safeguard the freedom of the seas. But: (a) the Eleusis decree (Tod 74 l. 390-400) was written to make Athenian cults Panhellenic, and Athens could claim that her temples had been burned down as a result of her Panhellenic devotion; (b) C. makes an unjustified assumption (of which much could be added in 4th century) that the Greeks would now be diplomatically forgotten); and for (c) it recommends that Athens be seeking not power but recognition of Athens' right to levy phoroi from her allies, perhaps to get contributions from other
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cities too, and in general acknowledgement of her hegemony in Greece.

The challenge to orthodoxy would have been worth an article: as a whole the present book hardly justifies itself. I do not insist on occasional errors, such as the astonishing mislayment of Lydias xix 19-20 (p. 8). But in general where sound C. Sabin's has perhaps been drunk. The novel thoroughness by which he produces, but in any case she cannot be entitled to such a conclusion without a careful discussion of the positions of Hesegen [should it be distinguished from Strategos, etc.?(?) and of 315-305. The guarded language of the prophets made them prophesy by the Syrion, and the concern of the external attack and internal revolution, contrary, and of the predetermined two views. Of all this there is no hint; [Dem.](xvii) is not even mentioned, and the parallel with the League is not as relevant. As for the supposed jurisdiction of the league, she has an inconclusive discussion of Tod 179 and of the evidence that Philip's territorial settlement of the Peloponnesian was confirmed by that of the Syrion, but nothing of the fate of thebes, or of Tod 195. Even where her conclusions are more orthodox, they are not backed by a fully comprehensive treatment of the evidence. C. may have an important contribution to make towards the solution of the problem with which she is here concerned, but the time is not yet.

P. A. BRUNT.


Hitherto there has been no full-dress study of the last king of Macedon. The justification for producing one now lies in the character of Perseus himself and also in the personal interest aroused by a detailed analysis of Roman motives during the decisive period of imperial expansion. The task was not an easy one. The political career of the dynasty from Philip II downwards is hostile to the Macedonian, the historian must keep a clear head and a critical mind, and be prepared to deal quite often in probabilities. Much Perseus life and policy is lost for good. What can be salvaged, specially from the years between 179 and 172, has to be entangled from partisan statements and a tradition shot through with Roman war-propaganda, apart from later distortions by annalists who did not hesitate to re-shape their narrative to conform with patterns of accepted Roman behaviour. Polyziai himself, 100, is less just to Perseus than to his father Philip. The reasons for this are worth studying. They have something to do with Polybius' own sources, but even more to do with the relations between Polybius and Annalism. The time of the Polybius reigns. Also, I believe, they reflect in part Polybius' estimate of what was a feasible policy towards Rome for anyone living in the Hellenistic world towards the beginning and at the end of the Hellenistic world, which lay between 220 and 172, and a comprehensive survey of the sources available for a study of Perseus might therefore have raised some fundamental questions, and its absence from Melon's biography is a cause for regret.

Otherwise, the book deserves a welcome. It is a thorough, scholarly, and well-documented work in the way of sketch maps (some perhaps a little misleading in their definiteness), a good index, and a full bibliography. Its author has read widely in both the ancient sources and the modern literature, and he expresses his ideas at the full length. This suggests that one cannot see the wood for the trees. The last chapter in particular pulls the strings together, and shows that the author appreciates the important historical issues. His estimate of Roman policy in the war with Perseus is sound. The struggle was not forced on Rome by military elements, though its main support came from plebeian consults without notable military conquests or experience; nor was it prompted by economic interests, since no territorial acquisitions or financial expeditions were made in 172. It was, as Sabin points out, an exaggerated fear, played upon and encouraged by unscrupulous Greeks, who led to the decisive intervention of the legions. On this side Perseus pursued a fatal course. The letter of his policy was directed to his own realm, not seeing that the real balance of forces rendered his position so much less favourabke than the terms of the treaty appeared to suggest, and that whatever his purpose, an independent policy in Thracia, Dalmatia, and Illyria was bound to excite the animosity of the Romans and their ally in Pergamum. Once the Roman decision was taken, the considerations of 200 gave way to the methods of 150. Throughout the war the Romans acted with the advantage of surprise and position, as clearly defined as that to be pursued against Carthage twenty years later. In both cases the enemy was to be eliminated; in both cases he was to learn his fate by a gradual process of reduction, and his own hard-pressed forces to fall back, believing throughout the initial stages of the war that a settlement was still within his grasp.

Dr. Melon brings this out clearly; but to comprehension and exposition he adds approval, a more disturbing effect. The reader can only view it, when they learn that the method of Q. Marcus Philippus 'era l'unica possibile realista che la evoluzione degli avvenimenti permettesse' (p. 191, n. 3). The issue is controversial; not all Romans agreed with the strategy. The author does not suggest that the Polybius was perhaps in general it is wiser to refrain from passing judgments in which success appears to be its own justification. When one comes down to detail, the book impresses by its fullness of documentation. Indeed here and there it might have been improved by a clearer distinction. For instance, Perseus' command in 195 occupies five pages (16-22), of which two are concerned with the pass he defended; half a page would have been adequate for the topographical problem. Moreover, the author's manifest desire to do full justice to all his predecessors has left occasional loose ends. On p. 14 he quotes as probabile Reisch's suggestion that the name Perseus was evidence of an intention 'di opporre una successione, propria degli Antigoni, a quella Eracle che Lagidi e Seleucidi gil avevano tagliato', yet in the note below lists the long and growing line of evidence for Philip's special stress on the cult of Hercules. Another similar example arises in connexion with the relative chronology of the embassy of Q. Marcus Philippus and the dispatch of Scirmus' force to Greece in 172. The latter event is described in Livy XXXII, 36, 8-9, the former immediately afterwards in XXXII, 37, 1, introduced by the words fauces post diebus. If the chronological order is to be reversed, then (as the present reviewer argued in JRS 141, 82-93, following Kahrstedt) one must assume that 36, 8-9 is based on an annalist (since 37, 1 comes from Polybius) and dismiss fauces post diebus as a loose and inaccurate copula. Dr. Melon (p. 181) accepts my and MacMullen's opinion that this is not possible. But it follows from Desanctis in regarding 36, 8-9 as of Polybian origin. The supposed chronological inversion is then explained 'col fatto che sotto l'anno vatt. 503=171 av. Cr. e senza accettarne la relazione cronologica con i fatti che precedevano, è stata inserita l'ammissione di Q. Marcio che Polibio referiva sotto l'olimp. 152, 1=171/2 av. Cr.' Now this explanation is taken from Desanctis (Storia dei Romani IV, 1, 398), as Melon tells us. But in fact the 'svista cronologica' to which Desanctis refers is that which seems to have lain behind the sending of Q. Marcus' embassy to Perseus (XXXII, 37, 1) after he has already related (from an annalist) the reception given at Rome to Perseus' envoys, sent in consequence of the dispatch of Marcus' embassy to Thrace. From this point one which leads Livy to refer (from Polybius) the sending of Marcus' embassy after he has related (also from Polybius) the sending of Scirmus force, which (Dr. Melon thinks) in reality came later. De Sanctis believes the despatch of Marcus' embassy and Scirmus' force to have taken place roughly at the same time, and his account is logical; Dr. Melon's is not. The problem is too complicated to be dealt with fully here. But I think we shall have to return to the view of De Sanctis, that Livy XXXII, 36, 8-9, 10, etc. contains the real Polybian crossing and figures for his forces which are completely different from those given by the annalist drawn on in XXXII, 37, 3, represents Polybius' version (as Nisica said). Marcus' embassy then subsequent to Scirmus' crossing (as Livy puts it); and the urbes of XXXII, 36, 8, 'Scirmus' crossing', is 18, 3, which Scirmus was to garrison, and also the Dassariotism and Illyrium castella of XXXII, 36, 9, which he did garrison. (Against the argument that a castellum can hardly be an urbs, see XXXI, 32, 11, where Polyb. III, 50 7 calls a pôle; and for Polybius' readiness to strain the meaning of the word pôle, which Livy would naturally turn by, see Polyb. I, 72, 2, [pôle used of a fortification.] The modern criticisms of this score in the passage given by Polyb. XXV, 41, 4, XXXII, 40, 1 is admittedly difficult (but not insuperably difficult) on this hypothesis; but XXXII, 40 to clearly associates the garrison in the crossing of an army, not with the very few ships that could at that point have reached the bodyguard of 200 each which accompanied Marcus and his fellow legati on their tour (Livy XXXII, 37, 1). In any case, when Perseus' message reached the envoy before they left Corcyra (XXXII, 37, 3), Perseus could only know of urbes
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occupanti to the extent that this was already accomplished by Sicinnus.

On the other points deserve comment. Dr. Meloni's interesting discussion of Beloch's theory, that Perseus was the son of Polyкратеia of Argos, does not perhaps make as clear as would have been desirable that the attacks levelled against Perseus were not primarily of illegitimacy (i.e., that his mother’s name is a corruption of Perseus’ name) but that the Perseus’ father was actually Perseus’. With regard to this it is possible that Perseus’ father was simply the son of Philip’s son at all; for it was, of course, his descent from Philip which really mattered, rather than legitimacy, a thing not always easily defined (cf. Dow and Edson, Hunc. Stud. 1937, 162; and on Philip’s son, right at the beginning, Aambr., Historia. 1935, 49-73). Incidentally, Aelian, Var. Hist. XIII, 43, διδοσακα δια των των αυτού does not imply that Perseus’ father was un homo ignobilis (p. 11); it merely uses a two- termation adjective to retain the usual scandal about Perseus’ mother, in order to present real historical settlement of Thracians in Macedonia by Philip V. Rostovtzeff (SEHWW III, 1471 n. 38) has pointed out that this was ‘traditional in the economic and social policy of the Macedonians’ kings’ and he quotes epigraphic evidence for a similar policy under Alexander. Had Dr. Meloni taken this more fully into account, he might have been less inclined to attribute Philip’s use of it to what he calls (p. 87) ‘l’allarme fenomeno del graduale soppiantamento della Macedonia in questo periodo... ben noto agli studiosi di problemi sociali’.

In fact, there is good reason to think that Macedonia was well populated in Philip’s last decade; cf. Livy XLIII, 10, 6, ‘floreo iuventu, quam stirpe longa passa eliderint’, which implies that at the time Antigonus was killed there was still a danger of a general war. (Livy XIII, 10, 10 et ina Macedonia deficit, means ‘should Macedon fail’.)

Again: Tarn’s thesis that the country was irredeemably depopulated under Alexander and the Diadochi (Greeks in Bactria and India, 70, n. 5) is not necessarily right, but one has to bear in mind that there are many problems of population. Larisa, which Dr. Meloni adds with its πνευματης, is of course a Greek city, and no evidence at all for Macedonia, where social conditions were in no way parallel. Finally, one may note the plausible suggestion that Perseus’ establishment of good relations with Delphi shortly after his accession was due in part to the good offices of Praxias, the husband of Praxia, who was Delphic archon in 176 and Perseus’ host in 174.

The military part of the book, which occupies pp. 211-440, is perhaps the weakest, but one could wish it were more beyond the limits allowed. All in all, Dr. Meloni has produced an honest and readable account of Perseus and his reign. There must be little, whether in Italian or any of the main languages, which he has missed, and his book will be a quarry for all working on the period.

F. W. WALBANK


Bibliographers may be interested to observe that this volume’s title page records its date of publication as 1951, but its outer cover records it as 1952; the second date is presumably the right one, for a copy of this book is on deposit at the library of this University, bound with a brief description of its contents. Of its 126 pages of text, the first sixty-four contain an historical sketch of the life and deeds of Demetrius, about half of the space being devoted to footnotes. The second part of the book consists of four Appendices, the first Chronological, comprising (beside a Table of Dates) notes on seven separate chronological issues; the second discusses the propaganda of Antigonus and his legal or constitutional position; the third deals with the four separate sieges Demetrius undertook; the fourth is Geographical. Clearly part of the author’s intention is to continue his task, begun in an article published in 1949 (R.A.L. G. di Sc. mor., ser. e fil., Ser. 8, 4, 1949, 53 ff.), of constructing a firm foundation, especially in the field of chronology, for a full-scale history of this period. And this he does with great skill and success. The first Appendix gives full details of the events of thirty years in which Demetrius was an outstanding and no doubt the most spectacular figure.

One of the limits inevitably the usefulness of the book itself: for some must think (to take the obvious example) that the Besieger without his sieges too much resembles Hamlet without the Prince. Nor is this the only objection of the book, for it is hardly so much as to give attention to the things to which he himself gave attention when he was alive. And in general Demetrius and the contemporary dynasts, his rivals, do appear in these pages as something like puppets, scheming and planning instead their alliances, campaigns, propaganda, dynastic marriages, and the like. All this is without a shadow of a doubt happening in this generation to the world (as opposed to the handful of celebrities on whom is focused M.’s sharp and narrow beam). It is symptomatic that such landmarks of Demetrius’ career as the founding of Antioch of Cilicia or of Antioch in Syria or even that of Demetrius receives only two or three lines and a footnote. The exposition itself of the political developments would gain sometimes in clarity for being more broadly, especially in Chapter IV. And the final summary of Demetrius, his reign, his movement and his aims, does not (for this reader) carry much conviction.

These defects, however, should not be allowed to obscure the merits which the book does possess. Apart from some misprints (mostly in quotations) and occasional breaks in the flow of thought, the book presents all reasonable aids to the reader who wants to arrive at the facts. M. knows the sources and misses no opportunity of subjecting them to the tests of a criticism which is always searching and sometimes acute, and is not unduly inhibited by a communio opinio where it exists. The information he gives about problems which he seeks to elucidate in passing is very large, and while no writer would expect or even hope to command universal agreement for each of his views in the present state of the evidence, M.’s judgement is such that his views always deserve respect. His most radical researches are in the chronology of the period, and a comparison of his Chronological Table with others reveals a number of new dates proposed, some of them important.

One of the greatest general interest, both intrinsically and as an example of method, is the long note (Appendix I B) on the Chronology of Diodorus. Here M. considers in some detail a number of instances especially in Book XVIII, where the text of Diodorus seems to be in doubt, often because D.’s errors arose, not only by habits of narrative which led him occasionally to ‘telescope’ events of more than one year into one, but also in Book XVIII by the fact that his main source used the Macedonian calendar, in which the year did not coincide with Athenian archon years. This appears to be proved; though it would be interesting to know why this particular confusion ceases with the end of Book XVIII.

In general, M.’s arguments in this Note would certainly, one imagines, derive considerable support from synchronological instances in the earlier books of Diodorus if M. chose to make use of them.

M.’s study of the chronological and other problems make this work an essential part of the apparatus to be used by future students of this period.

G. T. GRIFFTH


This small volume, one of a series of Greek and Roman texts which includes now twenty-five or more titles, has much to commend it. The text itself is decently and accurately printed (I have noticed only one misprint of importance, and that not easily detectable with the passage in which it occurs, and without apparatus criticus, that of Ziegler’s edition (Teubner, 1915)). The Introduction is a good short essay on the sources used by Plutarch in this Life. There is a very short Bibliographical Note, confined also to works on the sources in the Plutarch period. And there is a useful Appendix in which M. has collected about a score of passages of interest and value for the study of Demetrius, from Demochares and Duris, Philochorus and Phylarchus, Pausanias and Polybius. The tradition surviving in Diodorus is referred to continually and as occasion demands in the Notes on the text, printed (rather inelegantly but by no means inconveniently) at the foot of each page.

This book is designed clearly, in short, for the ancient historian, and not for the student whose interests are primarily philological or literary. Problems of the text are ignored, and a general knowledge of Plutarch and his biographical aims and methods is evidently taken for granted, even where such obvious opprobria the apparatus criticus (omitted, of course, of an example (even a bad example), or the little excurssus on Fortune in Ch. 35. In the same way, the historical aids themselves are: concentrated very heavily within the narrow chronological limits of the generation of Demetrius himself, and therefore knowledge is essentially confined to what falls outside it. Within these limits the commentary is done very competently in the space available. M. is particularly strong on chronology and on the complicated diplomatic situation, and his discussion of the dynasts occurring to his other published works on these topics for further information. But on such matters too as the Athenian Calendar and the Macedonian constitution, as well as on the Greek League of
Demetrius, and on his deposition at Athens, he was very successful in giving briefly the essentials of guidance and bibliography. Military and naval affairs interest him little, which seems a pity in this context: events such as the siege of Rhodes are not mentioned. His political advice is not critical in the way, and deserve some comment. A more serious lack, probably, is that of the information needed to supply a general background to the titles of Demetrius and the politics of that period. Plato and Xenophon, at Athens and his relations with the Athenians, but when he mentions their παρείς πορεία (meaning here democracy), the phrase receives no comment, and M. makes no allowance here or elsewhere for the revolution of 317 B.C., and that students of Pericles or of Demostenes

will yet need to be instructed or reminded of the developments there in Alexander's reign and after his death. Even the Laminian War and Demetrius of Phalerum get very short measure. All in all, however, this is a welcome addition to the audience which, though it seems necessary to suggest that M. could with advantage have consulted his own preferences less and the needs of the average student more.

Perhaps it is not too much to hope that in a second or later impression, the neophyte who ventures into the commentary might be considered which would increase the value of what is in any case a useful work well performed.

G. T. GRIFFITH.


Professor Oliver, by producing a critical edition of the text of Aelius Aristides' Oratio Ep Alouos with a translation and a full literary and historical commentary on the speech, fills a serious gap in the ancient world for which all will be most grateful. Here at last is a text of the speech which all can afford to purchase (it is on sale separately), and with it a learned commentary which will be of permanent value.

The oration is in two parts: (1) A dedication to Augustus for the completion of his feat of conveying his image as a Genius to Athens, and (2) a eulogium of Augustus. Professor Oliver's edition and translation should be of great utility in the study of the oration, and in the development of the character of Augustus, and the image he presented to Rome.

O. shows himself a master of the art of the orator, and makes it clear that Augustus was the true successor of the Gracchi, and that his reign was the beginning of the new era of the Roman Empire.

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For good measure, O. includes in his book two lengthy excursuses, of great interest to the historian and epigraphist, though only tenuously connected with his commentary on the oration. The first, a propos of para. 65, deals as its title indicates, to assess the significance of Aristides' whole career and literary output within the context of the Second Sophistic movement, and did not give the speech Ep Alouos all the sympathetic attention it merits. O., on the contrary, confines himself to this single speech. There is a brief discussion of the circumstances and date of its delivery, but scarcely a mention of other speeches of the orator, or of his character and career in general, or of his place within the philosophical current of the time. This feature of O.'s edition may be viewed with some disfavor by those who take it up on the strength of O.'s prefatory remark that it is "not written for classical scholars alone, but for all those interested in the Roman Empire". The novice into whom O. wishes to inject a large dose of knowledge as an "aid to the understanding of Tacitus" will be well advised to supplement this treatment with a considerable amount of further study of Aristides himself and of his less unprepossessing contemporaries, the film-star heroes (or T.V. celebrities?) of Philostratus' Lives of the Sophists of the commentary.

However, O. has not left the uninitiated without guidance, e.g., as to what can and what cannot be used as evidence in the Oration (pp. 887-92). We are told that 'the historical and political judgements of Aristides are very superficial'. For instance, O. says that 'there is no evidence that, whatever his reason for regarding the judgment of the historian, some readers, for example, will prefer Witzubski's condemnation of Para. 90 of the speech (Libertas, etc., p. 102) as a worthless rash of Polybius' remarks on mixed constitutions of Rome to O.'s attempt to give substance in it. Tac. Ann. iv. 33 on mixed constitutions, which O. ignores, is relevant to the discussion of para. 90, and might be considered a useful 'antidote' to Aristides' inept remarks. The contrasts and comparisons between Tacitus and others. Aristotle's debt to Plato and follows the tracks boldly into the central opacy of the metaphysical speculations in the Timaeus. Aristides' 'thinks in terms of a Greek Atomist tradition; the Roman environment is also partly a cosmology (p. 883), in which it is suggested that Rome brings harmony into the material world after the manner of Eros in the earlier cosmologies. O. detects hinting allusions to the secret name of Rome (AMOR-ROMA), a dark subject, on which some scepticism might be thought to be justified.

The commentary is throughout most illuminating and scholarly. New readings in the text are ably defended (O. is more conservative than Kol, whose collation of the MSS. is the basis of this edition; he attempts to solve many erasures by means of transposition or movement), new light is thrown on many a difficult passage, e.g., in paras. 26, 30, 60, 61, and 65, to mention but a few. There will naturally be some points where readers will not all accept O.'s interpretation. For instance, there seems to be no answer to the view of Kol and Zucker that Aristides is here having a sly hit at the deceased Hadrian. 'The ideal basileus has no need to wear himself out traveling around the whole empire.' O. protests too much. There is no need to excuse the audience at Athens for this; it seems rather to suggest that M. could with advantage have consulted his own preferences less and the needs of the average student more.

Perhaps it is not too much to hope that in a second or later impression, the neophyte who ventures into the commentary might be considered which would increase the value of what is in any case a useful work well performed.

G. T. GRIFFITH.
NOTICES OF BOOKS

This is an important contribution to a subject that must interest all who study the history of the relations between the Roman and Greek world, but because it is a 'meritorial choice

of translating the poet. Herodotus is difficult, at least by

perfectionist standards, not only because of his general choice

of Thucydides started to write before Herodotus was dead, he is in spirit

more our contemporary than his predecessor's; though what

lies between them is not (pace Dr. Toynbee) only the events of

431, but the generation of the first sophists, which Herodotus

missed, not only through being some fourteen years older, but

through spending his early manhood travelling in the east and

not in Athens. In Herodotus there is much that is reminiscent

of Old Testament history; much of Halkidiki, a little of the

Mandeville', who indeed found some of H.'s natural history, at one or more removes,

highly congenial.

It seems, in short, a pity that he has already been observed

by reviewers in The Literary Supplement, Herodotus and

Thucydides in their Penguin form sound very much the same.

Both read like good modern war-journalism, often crisp and

snappy, but seldom distinguished. We do not ask for the

translation of each poetic word by a poetic word, but a course

in reproducing the structure of H.'s sentences would give us

English more reminiscent of H. and less of Our Correspondent.

The above could have been more briefly expressed by saying

that the present reviewer found this translation sometimes

rather dull. But to say this, tout court, would have been unfair.

Mr. de Selincourt has faced the problem of translating Her-

odotus, as his General Editor and, doubtless, Mentor, Dr. Rico,

has faced that, far more intimidating, of translating Homer.

Mr. de Selincourt is a prose-writer, and we have Odyssey's huge sales to show that in these times service to his generation; and every lover of Herodotus will

wish the present venture a comparable success, even if we believe

that the translation of early Greek cannot be adequately


carried out in modern English.

The de Selincourt's Greek leaves us indeed, in detail, little to

criticise. A curious tendency to render active verbs by passive

(not only where it is necessary in order to keep the original

word-order) is one avoidable trick, which reduces the original's

speed and simplicity. In the map of the Aegean it is unfortunate that Keos is spelt ' COS ', on both pages; while a ghost-name ' Alpetae ', presumably for ' Alphetae ', misplaced and misprinted, appears in Chalkiside. Chalkis and Eretria are omitted; and Thermopylae is rendered ' Thermopyle ' on the map of the Middle (sic) East, the readers for whom this work is intended could do with the names of Media, Persia (Persis), and Pasargadae, which seem to have been crowded out to make room for the label; and in the text, at p. 597, last line, ' direct ' seems to be a misprint for ' direct'.

In the Macedonian story (VIII, 137; here pp. 546-7), in which (as in Sthenia, and in true northern style) the youngest son of three gets the kingdom, the fairy-tale atmosphere is not always brought out. Thebes, of the king who offers the best image of lightness on the floor of the body, is in the text merely rendered ' as if he did not know what he was doing '; and the counsellor who points out οὖν τὰ πρῶτοκα ἀπὸ τῆς, in symbolically accepting the offer, was not remarking on ' what an odd thing ' he had done. And elsewhere, if footnotes are to be introduced to receive some of H.'s minor digressions, it seems curious to introduce the modern alongside the ancient names of rivers, etc., in the text. Lastly (though no doubt the policy is a sound one, to conciliate the Philistian) it is a tribute to the potential usefulness of this book to the serious, though Greekless, reader to regret that the traditional chapter-numbers are omitted, and that there is neither an index nor even a synopsis of contents to assist the reader in turning up a particular incident or story.

But whatever its limitations, every Hellenist will concur in wishing this book all good fortune and the largest possible circulation.

A. R. BURN.


This further instalment of the Budé Herodotus is no less pleasant to use than its predecessor. The short notes at the foot of the translation seem to be a little more frequent than in the first instalment, and from the same hand. It is unfortunate for Aegaeon it is un

Price not quoted. It is also farther removed than any other Attic (even Thucydidean rhetoric) from any dialect that was ever spoken. Such was the Ionic tradition. Homer's language, it is generally agreed to-day, was never a spoken

language; and from the earliest times, in the western world, the Greek language was a written language, born of necessity and

shaped by it. Aegaeon is no less a branch of the Aegean

language, which Andrew Lang, as well as dullest men, think it appropriate to render in something like the idiom (an equally

artificial, literary idiom) of the English Bible.

Now the problems of translating Homer and Herodotus hang together, despite the much greater difficulty, as always,
action at Salamis in detail, and confines himself to pointing out what is obscure or incoherent in Herodotus. Indeed, he suggests that the battle was in fact little more than a mêlée without strategic value. On the episode of the Delphic attack at Delphi he accepts the view of H. W. Parke: that the Delphian priesthood added a supernatural colouring to a real attack by marauders who had for the time escaped the control of Athens. The latter would have had to spare Delphi, as Delos was spared during the campaign of Marathon; but this band of insurgents gave the priesthood a welcome chance of making a story to distract attention from the medium of the oracle, which Xerxes had intended to reward by protection. On Themistocles Herodotus is thought to have used incompatible sources, some glorifying him, others vilifying him, the latter, perhaps, the Alcmaeonid family; Legrand points out the resulting difficulties. In the battle of Platea the battle of Marathon of Athenian history is again established, except for the many favourable observations on Pausanias, whose later history was notorious when Herodotus wrote; the sources here were Spartan. Enough has been said to indicate that the principal matters which have been brought into prominence and lucidly discussed, at such length as the form of the Budé series allows.

E. D. PHILLIPS.


The energy and enterprise of the publishers of the Penguin Classics can give the uninitiated a sound impression of the Greek and Roman drama, but perhaps not the least interesting, and among these Mr. Warner’s Thucydides will be put among the best. He has a short and intelligent introduction on the historian and on the two best existing translations (Hobbes and Crawley, rightly chosen); his translation is nearly always lucid, and never obscure. As Aristotle said diction should be, generally lively and interesting. Both in exciting narrative (the first attack on Plataia, and the escape from it); the Mykalessos disaster; the fighting at Epidauros; and in the character portions of speeches, is especially good, e.g., Stenelaudis, the Corinthians (i 120–124), Pericles’ first speeches. Examples of vigorous rendering are scaring for holokoia (ii 84, 3), let as set on them as fast as we can. We are not to be a comfort; comforter in danger (i 109, 1); and the end of Hermocrates’ speech (iii 34–9). The Athenians are coming: the Athenians are, I am sure of it, already on their voyage: the Athenians are very nearly here, an instance which shows that Mr. Warner knows that one device of rhetoric in English is repetition, where, often, Greek would use variation—in iv 61, 7 he misses his chance of this through believing (with many scholars) that ἐσθερεσ and ἐσθεσίου mean different things instead of being variant.

Of the scenes afraid of eloquence, whether in the grand or poetic manner, or in pathos; with the result that the Epiphanias and the Platian speech fall rather flat; and sophistic modes of expression, even where the thought is profound and to the point, are often dull and sometimes mistake the direct for the averted word, and in iii 92–5, and perhaps inevitably, Thucydides’ variety. We find even echoes of our childhood’s efforts, which is surprising, e.g., too many sentences beginning now, or therefore; he misses the point of Archilochos’ use of páthos and ἀδύνατον. But generally, where Thucydides is difficult and obscure, his version is intelligible; where the text is dubious, he makes a sensible choice; yet where it is (almost certainly) wrong, he once adopts a correction (i 57, 6), elsewhere leaves it ii 62, 2, a Spartan of the officer class” (ii 62, 2); ‘the fact was that their embassy’, (ii 45, 2) (not to be inferior to what God has made you’), 48, 2 (‘wells for spout’); ‘gods of the shrines of a single brick’, and ‘inside this space were built the huts’, iii 20, 2. 3. (for τρωβός, iv 78, 3, ‘unconventional character’ (τρωβός), vi 28, ‘very much of a matter of accident’, vi 36. 3. Mr. Warner has not found a satisfactory way of translating ἄνδρον: it places the fatal Thucydides’ ‘man’ in the same word, ἄνδρος, of both Nikias and Antiphor (mistranslating both passages); and makes a muddle of τριπαρθώς, whom he calls ‘captain’ and so reduces σωφρίνος to ‘heil’sman’ (though, mainly by L. and English and English and English and English). This brings me to another complaint. Mr. Warner, every now and again, puts a sentence or two of Thucydides into footnotes, on the ground that he would have used them had he been writing today, a poor argument anyway, and a sad muddle is made of them—only one or two are useful, and are quite wrong. And, had the translator, instead of improving Thucydides, put in some footnotes of his own to explain certain words, it would have helped. (Mr. Thucydides and reticence (if only he had used this word), tricrem, a ‘fast-sailing ship’, a hoplitid, what is a talent, a drachma? Where were certain places for whose names there is no room on the map? What are summer and winter in Thucydides, and what were the dates of the eclipse mentioned? My impression would have been far more helpful. Cf. references, e.g., iv 102, 2 to i 100, 3). A panic fear seems to possess translators of appearing learned and pedantic, and, I suspect, an unconscious belief that their readers will not be intelligent enough to want to understand what they read: I look with horror at the American tradition of muddling the reader on the main features of ancient warfare, and the strategy of this war in particular (with the essential map of Attica, which is not there), would have saved many even of such footnotes. I, myself, could not make out the map of the war, by saying where Knemios landed in Akarnania, and the reader, not knowing where Stratos was, and not recognising the slip by which the Greek city Oinoiada (rightly given elsewhere) becomes the ‘tribe of the Aemiadae’, cannot follow the narrative; and I am not helped by a translation of οὐσίας μίας at 81, 8, nor by the rendering of 83, 5, ‘the Peloponnesians sailed with their ships in circular formation, the prows facing outwards and the sterns in’ (a remarkable feat). I need not add that these readers who might want to look at the Greek too are not helped to find their way by any pedantic memorandum of the traditional chapters of the text. I should not like to be thought that this book is not well written; it is, very welcome. But, with some extra care, it might have been much better.

A. W. GOMME.


In recent years the MSS. tradition of the Greek writers on military matters has progressively been made known to the world by the unceasing labours of M. Alphonse Dain, to whose investigation also the present Stratigemata of J.-A. de Foucault, who, M. de Foucault publishes with Latin introduction, apparatus criticus, very full index, and a genealogical tree showing the relation of the works themselves to their forerunners, two eleventh century MSS. derived in the main from the Stratigemata of Zosimus (a.d. 550-600) is a work which himself modestly disclaims any but a mere philological interest for this work. But the information which he himself gives shows that its interest is wider than his claims. Of the two MSS. the Paretoles (preserved in two eleventh-century and no less than forty-eight MSS. of the sixteenth century) is thought by F. to be of later origin than the Stratigemata Ammonitanae (80 named by him as being part of the eleventh-century God. Ambros., 139), because it contains sections at the end of the book devoted to various duties of the general (pp. 44, 1–55 on miscellaneous military precepts) which are markedly different in character, and also later from the polemical point of view, the Stratigemata. These sections, for which no source has so far been found, are full of interest both linguistically and because the sixteenth century appears to have made a very great interest in them; indeed, this observation (though F. has not seen fit to mention it) applies to the work of all the Greek tactical and military writers in general. Consideration of the sources of the Stratigemata which perhaps considerably antedate Polyaeus, will no doubt engage future researchers on the basis of F.’s establishment of the text and with the help of his very full index.

K. M. T. ATKINSON.


Due to the political situation in Egypt, the part of the correspondence of Papas, landowner and paphar of Apollonopolis between ca. A.D. 703 and 714, and vividly illustrates the relationship in which an official of his rank stood to his king, furnished by E. Schubart, is now in the central government, to his vis-a-vis in neighbouring pagi, and, of his own family, relations, and tenants. The volume is a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the Arab administration of Egypt, and linguistic and historical studies, and in dealing with a subject people of alien nationality and language. Two features in particular strike us—the palpable similarity to the Byzantine administrative system and, and not connected with this, the persistence, even aggravation, of social and economic disorders. The official designated as ἄρχως clearly
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Träger der Lebenskraft. Ausscheidungsorgane der Organismen im Volksaalgen der Antik: Rohrer, 1954. $3.20

This small work was composed mostly between 1939 and 1946, under obvious difficulties, especially of getting access to works published outside central Europe. It consists in an introduction (pp. vi-vi), an account of the anatomy of the lower cultures in the magical and medicinal efficacy of parts of the animal, especially the human body, considered as repositories of life-force or life-substance, and in particular in the use to 30 of the various secretions may be put, with an account of the magical, in professional medicine, and in popular medical beliefs of three of the most important secretions, saliva, urine, and feces, which are treated in ascending order of unsavouriness. The author has a fair knowledge of authentic history and of the various Schmidt hypotheses, and has read extensively in such authors as Pliny, the Greek and Latin writers on medicine (including, of course, such repositories of folklore as Marcellus Empiricus), and the classics generally. He has also read a number of modern books and dissertations, which he lists in a bibliography, pp. vi-xi. He does not pretend to give a complete account of all relevant passages, which indeed would call for a much bulkier work than this, but compromises by listing a number of them after the manner of an index, e.g., p. 42. What is offered is an intelligent discussion of a number of representative statements by ancient writers concerning the alleged virtues of these unpromising materials; the author very properly distinguishes between those passages in which Pliny, Galen and the ancient writers seem to have added the statements he reports and those in which doubt or disbelief is expressed.

A rather too sharp distinction is drawn between popular medicine and that in professional use. Many of these beliefs are quite realistic in the common practice to which the former is merely an obfuscut form, perhaps simplified or otherwise corrupted, of the latter. Any folklorist with a little experience in such matters could furnish examples. Indeed, not a few of M.'s own footnotes, which are rather too copious, are quite dubious. There is also a little too much inclination to find an explanation of a magical or medicinal practice in one some principle derived from what is known of 'primitive' ideas. The reasons for spotting, for example, are probably more numerous than M. realises, and the book is on the whole both sound and readable.

H. J. ROSE


This book contains the Sather Lectures for 1953, slightly revised by the author. His original French MS, was translated by Milman and Barbara Parry, of whose version it suffices to say that it reads like an original, a virtue more than compensating for one or two minute slips (p. 7, line 16, 'wear where the 'bear', perhaps for 'bear ... least', p. 137, l. 12 from below, certainly is). The English versions of various ancient texts quoted in it are from several sources. The printing has been well done, a single error being likely to mislead the unwary; p. 137, n. 25, the new edition of Hotzina is credited to one 'Henry Schweizer', the author of course having written 'Henry-Schweizer'. More important than these trifles is the content.

Father Festugière has contributed one of the best volumes to this well-a watered scholarly field of a subject which has bred many saints and mystics, and in obvious sympathy with the contemplative life, he has both the learning to detect and the understanding to interpret the religious thoughts and feelings revealed in ancient documents, especially those of the fourth century, when the Roman empire was on the edge of antiquity. But he begins earlier than this, looking for personal religion as early as Homer, and his opening words obviate the best oratorial precepts by arousing the hearer's or reader's attention: 'Religion might perhaps be defined, very generally, as the attempt to conciliate the supernatural world, whether related to him religion (apart from the external ceremonies of cult) is Platonism in one form or another, and indeed Plato and his later interpreters take up a great part of the book. However, this is not until Chapter III. Chapter I distinguishes between popular religion and the 'mystical', i.e. 'piety', section II sets up the concept, which F. styles 'reflective piety', of God, as we see it growing through Hesiod, Pindar, and Asclepius to the great philosophers. His example of the former is Hippolytus in Eunipides (pp. 19-18), whose character he interprets as rather that of the nicest kind of sixth-former, sexually un-
awakened and naturally modest, than the abnormal type which, with Wilamowitz, I believe him to be. Discussing the matter further in a note (p. 145, n. 19) he commits himself to the statement that "he had not read Eusebius for the sake of truth, I think, that is their sexual morality was not ours, a very different thing.

Chapter II takes up 'reflective' piety, and starts from the attitudes of the soul caused by pondering on the spiritual facts of life, and the eternal questions drawn from them (p. 43), and the problem of how to reconcile, if at all, the postulate of divine justice with the fact of unmerited troubles. A brief account, with good illustrations, is given of the two main attitudes, the craving for vengeance and the submissiveness (the effect of which it has been shown by Henkel from Euripides' play and Herakleitos from real life) of acceptance of things as they are, combined, as he interprets it, with ultimate reliance on Deity. I doubt, by the way, if Æsop Prostrapio is an averger of crime, and the view of the other criminals is that of forgiveness, which is the whole doctrine it life.... the impulse that lies at the heart of the philosopher and communicates itself to our hearts'. Much stress is laid on the mystical element in Plato himself, and in this connection (p. 44) F. uses his interpretation of Ep. VII, with which I disagree. My reasons are stated in a form of periphrastic vol. IV of La révolution d'Hermes Trismégiste in the CR, in which the much fuller statement of the matter on pp. 86-91 of that work is criticized. The main argument of the whole section, and it is a strong one, is well argued (p. 49) with A. E. Taylor in accepting the Epimenes as Platonic, and draw attention to its postulation (p. 52) of a genetic connexion between the Sophoclean laws of Zeus (A. 450 ff) and the Platonic Forms.

The Hellenistic period is reached, and F. speaks more than ever as an expert. In this chapter he deals with ἀλυσία, in all its forms, and from mere retirement from political life to the withdrawal from the world of hermits. Chapter V handles fresh what has often been treated, though scantly. In effect a thorough and penetrating analysis of the atmosphere of the group of worshippers of Asklepios of whom the rhetorician was one. It is not very unlike, though F. does not say so, that of Thomas Mann's Zauberei.

Reflective piety forms the theme of the last two chapters, which are a sort of compendium, and a very good one, of Vols. III and IV of La Révolution. Naturally Hermetism comes in for its share of treatment, but not a disproportionate one; F. is very far from being a specialist of the type which cannot see beyond the speciality. Indeed, this whole treatise will serve as a very good introduction to the longer work and to the new edition of the Hellenistica, the last two deal with which are dealt with elsewhere in this number.

H. J. Rose.


The volume is one of a series called The Library of Religion and described as 'readings in the sacred scriptures and basic writings of the world's religions, past and present'. Obviously, the worth of each volume in such a series, which aims at no mere list of religious texts, from sacred books to documents, must depend on the care and taste with which they are arranged and edited. The editor, who is Professor of Biblical Theology at Union Theological Seminary, clearly is a man of cultured and liberal mind and wide reading, and he has made an interesting choice among the very numerous documents, literary and other, at his disposal. His introduction compresses into its few pages a large amount of correct information and evaluation of the Hellenistic cults, both official and other, and maintains (p. xxxix) that the ultimate result viewed strictly historically, was in fact nothing less than what it was: Greek religion and its rival, Judaism, 'result of the Gospel'. His selections are classed under four headings, Institutional Religion, The Criticism of Traditional Religion, Cults, and Religious Ideas of the Philosophers. In the first, inscriptions appear that have not been drawn to attention before. Thus to Eunapios contribute a good deal. In the second, the largest extract is from Plutarch, de iside et osiride, but also considerable use is made of Lucian and Sextus Empiricus, and Theophrastus, Char. 16, appears, a little out of place, for that is not a criticism and the next chapter starts with the Samians, and the council of Ephesians, and other Hispanic and Egyptian Syncretism, and ends with Sallustius, in Nock's translation. Scattered up and down the book are judicious little bibliographies. If a second edition is called for, the editor would do well to get rid of the miniscule bibliography, and omit Lucilius for Meletus on p. xxxix, use 'dualism' somewhat less loosely (p. xxxv and elsewhere), and if possible take his inscriptive selections often from the third edition of Dittenberger; the second is not always at hand.

H. J. Rose.


Sir A. E. Wallis Budge, F.S.A., in his Inaugural Lecture in November 1930, spoke of his subject to which throughout the years he has devoted much attention. In the nature of things—the work consists of four slightly revised lectures—we cannot demand exhaustive treatment or a full statement of the evidence, and Sir Harold has given (in the same lecture) a summary and decisive account. I give below a brief summary of the contents, and raise a few points.

Chapter I, 'The Pagan Background', points out the various elements, principally Egyptian, Jewish, and Greek, which contributed to the religious life of Egypt. He discusses the significance of the Egyptian cults in the eyes of the Greeks; the importance of the Jewish influence; the diversity of the Egyptian influence; and summarises Wilcken's view on the origin and nature of the Sarapis-cult; and touches on Ptolemaic Ruler-worship (here, in p. 22, B. suggests that Rhesus is subject of the Ptolemies in the context the point is of significance for an individual read 'independent'). Chapter II, 'The Jews in Egypt', gives a general account of the religious attitude of the Achaemenid Jewish colonists at Elephantine, followed by a summary of the history of the Jews in the Graeco-Roman period. In this latter section seems to me to be weakened by a disregard of strictly chronological sequence: Ptolemaic and Roman material is at times placed cheek by jowl, and it is difficult to gather a coherent picture of the atmosphere of the history of the Jews in Egypt (in this respect though not in others a more satisfactory account is to be found in the English summary of the Hebrew book of V. Tcherikover, The Jews in Egypt, 1-23). A more serious defect, it may be, is that, though B. refers (35) to the Jewish necropolis at Tell el-Yahudiyeh, he does not consider the evidence afforded by the inscriptions found there (now CIJ ii. 1451-1530; see JEA 49, p. 124, no. 4). These, funerary inscriptions are Greek in language, form, and content, and give an excellent picture of the assimilation by Jews of Greek notions of death and Greek funerary customs, in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods. It is also regrettable that important epigraphical evidence for the building of synagogues is not taken into account. All that we hear of them in inscriptions (34 ff) is from evidence of P.E.A., 30, 6, of 217 B.C., which contains an oblique reference to Alexander Neos, the synagogue at Arsinoe, P.Teh., 5, 86, and the 'synagogue of the Therians' in a.d. 113, Plouma iii, 1177, and at a later date, at Wadi Naarin, SB, 745, SEG viii, 366, CIJ 1442, and Damanhour, SB, 5862, CIJ 1441, on the one hand, and the two Cleopatras; and from Athribis (Benha) a similar dedication, 104 B.C., OG 96, CIJ 1443 (and cf. OG 101, CIJ 1444). There are other references to be found in Bevan's Ptolemaic Egypt, note 14. It is from such documents that the history of Jewish culture, Ptolemaic and Roman, in and about Egypt is known to us. It is clear that synagogues were widespread in Egypt in this period, and it seems likely that the synagogue-worship was, or might be, closely connected with the state cult of the Ptolemies. Chapter III,
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The Preparation for Christianity, given among other things, a useful account of the ceremonial and administrative of the ancient Roman Church, is perhaps misleading to claim (56, top) that the cult of Alexander continued in the Imperial period, since the only cult certainly known from that time is the strictly Alexandrian cult (e.g., Alexander König of Syria). On the other hand, it appears likely that the worship of Alexander in the Roman period was restricted to this very natural civic cult (cf., Plaumann, Archiv, 6, 8a ff.). There is nothing in SB, 6270 to suggest a "Reichskult" (cf., Visser, Griechische Kulte, 9). Since the worship is an important feature for the worship of Cleopatra in the Roman period, it is the inscription SB 5647 of A.D. 4/5, which shows her cult with a temple called the αὐτών καισαρείας and an άγαθός. Compared with this, the later survival of a cult of "Ας Απολλώνια και Άρτας" (cf., K. I., ii, 494) seems unnecessary.

On 52 of these inscriptions which record dedications by Greeks (ephesbes and others) to Egyptian gods: OGIS 176 and 178 (Weigmann, 141, 142). The dates of these texts, however, 68 and 95 b.c., are such that in Fayyum, whence they originate, the phenomenon is hardly significant. On the other hand, SB 5021, to which B. refers only in a footnote and which he does not discuss, is, of considerable importance, because, though it is of approximately the same date († spätere Polemerzeit), according to Schubart, it is a dedication made by a native dynasty of Alexandria. Moreover, one of the two dedications to Bubastis, claimed by B. as a dedication to "purely Egyptian gods by Greeks," Bubastis has received a purely Greek cult-title, Ασκληπιός, and the epistle could seem to suggest that there may have been some kind of complicity between the pure Egyptian and the Greeks. Again, I am not sure what P. 57umble, ii, 35 (SB, Papyr. 274) proves, except that the native priests of Soinosapoa claimed that their deity had cured Apollonios; does it imply anything on the side of Apollonios? Chapter IV discusses the evidence for the rise of Christianity in Egypt with admirable clarity.

P. M. FRASER.


With these two volumes the long-awaited complete edition of all that remains of the theological or philosophical works of Hermès Trismégiste have been published. They were very briefly noticed in Vol. LXVII (1947), p. 145, and at greater length by the present reviewer in CR LXXI, pp. 102-4. The work as a whole is an indispensable utensil for anyone who studies the curious movement known as the "Hermétique." Any attempt to link or compare the less similar type which marked the opening centuries of the Christian era in the classical world. The tedious but necessary labour of constructing a critical text was less in this part of the work than in the Corpus Hermeticum volume, where the few commentaries that have been translated through the hands of a scholar at once versed in the matter and sufficiently acquainted with the language of that epoch and the limits of textual emendation, whereas the text of the Stobean fragments, though not far less, has been better preserved than that of the Corpus. While both they and some of the other fragments are taken have had the benefit of really good editing in the past, leaving less for Father Festugière to do. This, of course, is not to say that all the work of Stobaeus has been lost, for there are remaining fragments in which reading and sense are doubtful and freely admitted by him and his collaborator A. D. Nock to be so.

On the other hand, the work of interpretation is made harder than ever by the very fact that we are here concerned with a group of treatises of which both Alexander of the Stobean extracts being perhaps the nearest to completeness. Hence the long introduction to Vol. III deals very largely with the classification of the fragments. Those from Stobaeus are arranged practically as in Scott, and not depart but slightly from his numbering. It would, I think, have been better if the number had been continued for the extracts from other authors, which as it is begin a new series on p. 104 of Vol. IV, making them rather unhappily to stand in this edition, No. 1 (Stob. vol. ii, p. 3 Wachsmuth) is a short, though celebrated fragment on the incomprehensibility of God. Nos. 2A and 2B give us a considerable part of a treatise dealing chiefly with the nature of truth and the impossibility of finding it in the material universe. How much is missing, if we remember the incoherent structure of many Hermetic pieces, it is not possible to say. These fragments occur respectively in Vol. iii, p. 436 and vol. i, p. 273 of the Wachsmuth-Stobaeus. Nos. 3 and 4 (Scott’s III, 3-4) contain aphorisms aplenty to belong to a single discourse, dealing with the nature of the soul, its relation to the body, the forces which act upon it, and the sense-perceptions resulting therefrom. They are Stob. vol. i, pp. 322 and 284. No. 5 (Stob. vol. i, p. 295) is a short but interesting extract prefixed by the name of the "creator" (δημιουργος) with "our creator" (δημιουργος), an embodi ed one who is occupied in making mortal bodies. No. 6 (Stob. vol. i, p. 189) is either a short complete treatise or a section of one. It is a description of the soul in the heavens, heavily charged with astrological theories and especially with the rather elaborate doctrine of the decans. No. 7 (Stob. vol. i, p. 62) occupies but half a small page: its subject is the position in the universe of the two pyramids known as Justice and Truth. No. 8 (Stob. vol. i, p. 73) considers part of the same treatise as No. 7. Be this as it may, the subject is the relation between necessity and providence and the reaction of the rational and irrational parts of our being to certain immaterial forces. No. 9 (Stob. vol. i, p. 131) is merely a seven-line extract from a discussion of matter. No. 10 (Stob. vol. i, p. 104) treats of time. They may be scars of the same treatise, which in that case probably dealt with the nature of αvros. All these fragments belong to a group of discourses beginning with "To an," if "group" is the right word for a number of pieces of miscellaneous content, the date of which we do not know.

No. 11 (Stob. vol. i, p. 274) consists for the most part of a summary, in forty-eight brief and dogmatic sentences, of the chief doctrines of that section of the Hermetic knowledge of the universe, especially its view of this world (e.g., 16, ονομάζεται θεός; 26, οδός η δοξα θεος). The hearer, who may be Tat, again, for he addresses the speaker, presumably Hermès, as "father," is then warned against letting the vague knowledge of these truths, for if the reason within nothing looks upon the material universe really matters, and so give themselves over to all manner of evil, to which they are quite sufficiently inclined as it is. This, F. thinks (p. 60, n. 37) is a hit at some of the Nestorians.

If we come to a series of extracts from speeches addressed by Hermès to Ammon. The first three, Nos. 12, 13, and 14, are the most recent; No. 15 (Stob. vol. i, p. 289) deals with the origins of motion and growth; No. 16 (Stob. vol. i, p. 281) is part of a discourse on the soul and its relation to the body. No. 17 (Stob. vol. i, p. 321) is part of the same treatise or one of similar subject. No. 18 (Stob. vol. ii, p. 160) treats of fate and foreknowledge. No. 19 again deals with soul and body. No. 20 with a like topic, while Nos. 21 (Stob. vol. i, p. 295) is an account, distance of Plato’s theory of the doxa (αρίστη) from which all real beings come, and No. 22 (Stob. vol. i, p. 295) is a scrap of a treatise entitled Aphrodite, apparently dealing with human reproduction; the few lines we have explain why children often resemble their parents. Whether Ammon or another was the addressee of Nos. 18-22 is unknown.

Vol. IV begins with the long and very puzzling Kore Kosmou (No. 23, Stob. vol. i, p. 385). To discuss here the complex questions of its composition, the inconsistencies which its compiler has committed, the amount which may be supposed lost, and so forth would take far too much space. The analysis of its structure and enumeration of the various theories proposed concerning it occupy pp. cxxx-cxxvii of Vol. III, besides the three notes which accompany the text. It is part of a long treatise or a group of treatises in which Isis is the chief speaker and Horos receives her instruction. The next four pieces, Nos. 24-7 (Stob. vol. i, pp. 407, 456, 463; iii, p. 467) complete this group; No. 27 is merely a two-line fragment without any noteworthy contribution. Of them, No. 24 is Isis’ reply to some questions of Horos regarding the soul, especially the soul which animates a heaven-sent king. No. 25 may well be from the same treatise, for it deals with the experience of Horos, and is set free from the general topic, and is not badly summarised by the sub-title which Stobaeus or his source has given it, τηρω κατάρακτος και μετατάρακτος. The non-Stobaeus fragments are assembled and expounded by A. D. Nock, and are not, as had been supposed, accompanied by any commentary. The Hermeticism generally, for N. modestly feels that that would be superfluous since the completion of his collaborator’s four-volume treatise, La révélation d’Hermès Trismégiste. It need hardly be said that they are critically handled and well commented on. The concluding words of the volume (p. 150), however, reveal a gap still to
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be filled. Certain Coptic treatises ascribed to Hermes are not
not available.

It should be emphasised that, good though this edition is,
it does not even intend to displace the elaborate commentary
of Scott-Ferguson. That is often drawn upon, of course with
proper acknowledgement, and remains a store-house of relevant
material for the present and future students of late classical
religion and philosophy.

I have not thought it worthwhile here to list several small
disagreements from the editors. Two or three are dealt with
in a forthcoming notice in the Cr. Of misprints there are a
good many, but not such as to inconvenience a reader seriously.

H. J. ROE.

Le calendrier d’Hermès Trismégiste. III. Les doc-
uments anciens. Suivi de Jamblique, Traité de l’âme, traduit et commenté, Par
Fr. 2000.

The third volume of Festugière’s great exposition of
Hermeticism in its context of later Greek religion and religious
philosophy is concerned with the Hermetic doctrine of the
soul and its origins. The main purpose of the volume is to
demonstrate that a very close relationship exists, both as to
structure and content, between the Hermetic exposition of
the nature and destiny of the human soul and the treatises on
the soul produced by the Platonic school in the second century
A.D., which, Festugière maintains, provides the model and the
starting point for the latest writing on the soul in the
fourth and fifth centuries. To support and illustrate his contention he gives as
Appendices to two later psychological treatises of the Platonic school, the
Plato Plégès of Iamblichus (i.e., the extracts in Stobaeus, which are all that survive of that
work), and a very full commentary on the first and an
important critical and explanatory notes on the second. These
two appendices, which together occupy well over a hundred
pages, are one of the most valuable parts of the book.

Festugière has, I think, satisfactorily demonstrated the main
thesis of the close relationship between Hermetic and other
writings of the same period on the soul (notably Tertullian’s
De Anima) and Middle Platonist school-treatises. He has little
difficulty in showing by comparison with Actius and Albinus
that all these writings follow a set pattern, and that the doctrine
exposed by the Hermetists and criticised by Tertullian and
Arnobius is in its essentials a dualistic Platonism. The only
criticism that can be made is that Festugière, in reaction (to a
great extent justifiable) against attempts to explain the
eccentricities of Gnosticism by Islamic or other Oriental in-
fluences, sometimes goes too far and tends to present his
Hermetists as nothing but a very odd sort of popular Platonists
(though he often states clearly and admirably the differences
between Gnosticism and genuine Platonism or Neoplatonic
philosophy). For instance: on p. 25 he suggests that the
fantastic account in the Poimandres of the bisexual Anthropos and his
female bisexuality is a reminiscence of the Symposium;
which is making Aristotle’s pancreas’s impossible for anyone
too much! (Both stories may well have a remote common
origin in primitive Eastern Mediterranean beliefs in bisexual
deities.) Again on p. 36, in an effort to secure Platonic
harmony among the Hermetists, he tries to assimilate the
doctrine of the Asclepius that man was created in the image
of God to that found elsewhere in the Hermetics which makes
man an emanation from the divine substance. The two
doctrines seem so intrinsically different, and in that
contextually, this doctrine of the god
1 in the Chaldean Oracles and in Porphyr, which Festugière
discusses on pp. 54 ff. seems to me to be clearly un-Platonic
and to belong to a totally different world of thought to that of
Grecian philosophy. It is significant that in the passage in which
Augustine refers to some incomprehensible remarks of Porphyr
about this ‘middle god’ (De Civ. Del X. 25) he makes it clear
that Porphyr’s doctrine here is quite different from that of
Platonism, it may possibly have something to do with Egyptian
divine trinity (cf. the citing of Festugière (p. 57) but
has nothing to do with Platonism. Again on p. 62, in his
anxiety to make the Gnostics’ dualistic Platonists 1 he contrasts
their attitude to the visible universe with that of the Stoics in
that they view existence out of the universe altogether the
dualistic Platonist doctrine, expounded so finely by Plotinus,
the visible universe is good but the intelligible universe much better.
This, however, is only a temporary aberration. Festugière,
of course, knows very well what the real late-Platonic doctrine is,
and describes it well on p. 96 (and elsewhere). But we may say
generally that he is so anxious to stress the Platonist element in

Hermetic Gnosticism that he sometimes minimsizes or tries to
explain away the extremely un-Platonic and un-Greek elements
which appear in his work. On this point, those who are aware of it,
detracts very little from the value of an excellent book which, like the previous volumes, will be indispensable
to all students of later Greek philosophy and religion.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

Le calendrier de 354. Étude sur son texte et sur ses

More than one publication has already been devoted to the
interesting problem of this manuscript, for the original has
not survived, though a number of copies make it possible, by
means of comparison and collation, to reconstruct it. The
ideas of previous writers have, however, varied somewhat on
point of reconstruction, those of M. Sern being based on
the manuscripts on which each author placed on the importance of the various
surviving versions. M. Sern’s volume brings the whole prob-
lem up to date by means of a very full, detailed and scholarly
examination, and he succeeds in producing what is to be a
completely reliable interpretation of the nature of the original
text and illustrations alike. He is, however, much more
concerned with the illustrations than with the text, and the
greater part of his book is devoted to a study not only of their
iconography, but also of their practical use, the convenience of later
copies, especially when there are two or three
variants to draw from, is comparatively simple; to reconstruct
the style is less easy, but M. Sern’s conclusions in this respect
are thoroughly convincing.

The original manuscript was pagan in theme, and M. Sern
stresses its importance as one of the last manuscripts to be written
within a pagan, and not a Christian, outlook predominates.
Even more important, however, was the role that such manu-
scripts must have played in the dissemination of iconographic
themes and motifs, as well as of stylistic, iconographic
areas, and M. Sern cites instances of motifs which are virtually
identical in places as far apart as North Africa, Constantinople,
and Antioch, and which must owe their origin, if not to this
book, at least in part, to it.

In addition to matter which has reference primarily to the
manuscript, M. Sern’s text shows a great wealth of learning
and information, and his books constitutes not only a very
valuable addition to the literature on the Calendar of 354, but also
a great deal of knowledge of the art and thought of the mid-fourth
century as a whole. This was a very vital period, when a new
civilisation was forming. The debt of Christian culture to
Rome was immense, and if M. Sern does not deal directly with
this subject here, his publication nevertheless furnishes a great
deal of important evidence which it would be impossible to
neglect.

D. T. RICE.

The Costumes of Chios. Their development from the
XVth to the XXth century. By P. P. Argent.
Pp. xii + 338, with 83 coloured plates, 28 monochrome

The diplomatic and military encounters of the East Christian
society with the West have been extensively studied. The
cultural influences of the West upon the Byzantine and post-
Byzantine Greek world are by no means as well understood.
The more obvious literary imitations have drawn attention as
curiosities rather than as worthy wieldy of real criticism. The
Old Knight and Flavies and Platasea (being respectively a
fragment of the Arthurian cycle and a near-translation of
Frael and Blancheiau) were published long before incomparably
better poems which have since come to light from Cyprus,
we have had to wait until 1952 for an edition of the
sixteenth-century lyric which give us an entirely new and
startling view of Cypriot poetry and its dialect (Th. Siakaras-
Pizitzis, Hymne d’amour en dialekte eileologisti (XVIe. s.), Athens,
1950). For Cretan, the most important poet and plays remain
unpublished (the Ryme of Apollonios of Tyre, The Thiesid,
the greater part of George Chimonas’ biblical poem, Katasuros,
and Kng Radhauto); and the archives of the Duke of Candia are
a treasure house only partly opened.

In these studies we are at a beginning, when the first concern
of the historian must be the collection and classification of his
material. In such collecting, Dr. Argenti’s name is well
known. He is a Chiot, and has studied and written upon the
history of Chios for many years. In particular, in his
Bibliography of Chios, he has gathered together some two
thousand works in many languages, which could have been
found only by a man of great breadth of reading.

But this catholicity of information is joined (we may take as

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evidence the list of his published works) with a complete concentration upon one theme: Chios. Above all, Dr. Argenti is a patriot. And when, in Costumes of Chios, he uses all the sources he knows so well to give us a book as fascinating to the mind as to the eye, it may seem rather graceless to complain that this Chios has never been influenced by Byzantium.

As for the first, he may half-protect himself by his sub-title: for the second, it seems impossible to treat such a subject with no mention, and hardly any inference, of the many works (mostly, it must be admitted, much inferior to Dr. Argenti's) on the costumes of other islands. But if we protest privately at the amputation, we can only admire the skill with which the operation is performed.

The book begins with a concise topography and history of Chios. As early as this we see the author's method. Buondelmonti appears on p. 1, and by the time we reach p. 30 we have heard travellers from France, Germany, Holland, and Scotland, describe Chios as—Dr. Argenti repeats it with obvious pleasure—'paradise', 'garden of the Serendip', and 'flower of the Levant'. How happy we should be if all historians took delight in their sources. The texts are gathered in an appendix, and translations of them (the French rather oddly being left untranslated) make pleasant reading. The material includes traveller's memoirs and consular reports, and documents from the Archives of Genoa and Venice, and from the Public Record Office.

The immediate impression we get from all this is the extreme richness of the island and of the Chian textile industry under Genoese and Turks. It is with some surprise that we find, around 1540, direct trade between England and Chios (p. 28). The silk-weavers of the island produced not only their own designs, but 'specialist'-silks imitating material and designs of Italy, a demand from Venice and—range a be, it noted, that could be made to include almost any design' (p. 53). Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Chian silks were exported to all the world' (p. 41), and in 1700 the remainder of those passed through Europe, it was largely as silk-merchants that they tried to repair their fortunes (p. 54).

There are two reasons for stressing in this way the historical content of Dr. Argenti's book, as opposed to the artistic interest of Chios. Firstly, that the contrast between the luxury and sophistication of Chios and what we know of the provincial life of the other islands provokes the question, whether this very ease of existence caused the absence of any important Chian contribution to the Greek Renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeen centuries.

Secondly, that it is impossible to describe happily in this plain text an artistic interest lying mainly in the ample and delightful plates, with the dull title-page and numerous blank margins. They include not only photographs of actual garments (many of the eighteenth century) but reproductions of paintings, lithographs, and sketches; which show the costumes of men and women, at work and play, the choicer garments of Genoese women. The temporary costumes are dealt with village by village, and frequent diagrams give the design of the more characteristic garments of each place. All have the technical perfection we have learnt to expect from Batford's.

The illustrations provoke special admiration. The first (pp. 59-64) deals with the preparation of those vegetable dyes which have not yet been displaced by chemical products—a subject which, for all its technicality, the author succeeds in making interesting. We have also in two full-page plates and nine smaller ones a comprehensive Milanges, see JHS LXX, 101; LXXXIII, 191. The third volume begins with a supplement to the Bibliography of H. G. given in the second. The articles are as follows:

Abe1 discusses the place of the Alexander-legend in Islamic religious tradition. Anastasiou and Oak gathered a text from the Lastra of Mt. Athos, datable to 1184, and show how it illustrates the development of the Fronioia-system in the later twelfth century (it is a pity that their emendation contains two typographical errors). Benforde's study of the sixteenth century drama Epidauros posidion gegekh ('Return of the Greek Ambassadors') of John Kocchianowski, Bonenfant summarises the formal elements in Carolingian imperial documents which are manifestly borrowed from Byzantine practice. Bouctouc's examination of the portraits of Fouleico de Beauvais. Cahen extracts references to historical relations between Seljukis, Byzantins, and Franks in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the anonymous Seljuknamâh, Delatte attempts a classification of the Astronomical Manuscripts on Mt. Athos, and is full of remarks on how much cataloguing still remains to be done there. Dupont-Sommer defends his reading of the Aramaic inscription on the 'lamele of Viroileuf'. Gruenel extracts an authentic and hidden teaching from a letter of Photios. Last but not least, Monod studies the musical structure of Latin verses, with special reference to the conscious or unconscious arrangement of vowels. Hobert and Pèreaux publish a document of the second or third century A.D. from Egypt, now in Oxford, which contains a paraphrase of a passage from the Fourth Book of the Iliad. Jansens discusses the meaning of the Syriac word Haymonath, as used by Syrian logicians. Kyriakides restores and scans a Byzantine dactylic bridal-song from the De Ceremoniis. Lallmann examines the Prefaces of the Evangeliaries of 1203 and 312, the period of the DIOCLETIANIAN persecution. Lembrecht discusses the religious beliefs native to the Celts of Gaul and elsewhere, as they are illustrated in religious monuments. Lascarides defends the authenticity of the famous stele which defines the Bulgaro-Byzantine frontier in 904. Leroy maintains the indoeuropean origin of the noun-suffix -anus (see now JHS LXXIII, 97). Marcic discusses the chrono logical data for the association of Mani with Shafi. Mathew finds that the first Crusade in Book III of the Gesta Roberti Wiscardi is an interpolation of 1098, the rest of the poem having been composed 'quelques années plus tôt'. Moreau suspects that the objectus pectorum recorded by Tzetzes (Germ. B, 1) for a movement of the breast, if more obscene, gesture, that of αυξανείν. Pertuisi discusses Byzantine versions of the De Consolatione of Boethius. Richard discusses the original Latin version of the letter Condaminis quidem of Pope Damascus. Scheidweiler makes a thorough examination of the meaning of the text of Byzantine popular romances. Vergote discusses the etymology of the word 'Papers'. Weinreich examines the origin and development of the fable of the Treasure and the Noose, summarised in two epigrams of the Tropicus, which are the legal significance of an action heard by the Emperor Coracalla in Syria in the year 216, according to a recently published inscription. Wittek describes the quarter of Constantinople known as Ayvansaray, the traditional burying-place of Abu Ayyub Ansari, and the life in the expedition of Muawiy against Byzantium in 668.

R. J. JENKINS.


This number of D.O.P. is shorter than most of its predecessors, but the value of the contributions is by no means diminished. Of the four articles the first three contain versions of earlier delivered at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on that theme in April 1951.

The first article (pp. 11-24) deals with the contribution of the eighth-century iconoclast concept of Zeus to the fusion of scriptural symbols and other pagan philological ideas. It is impossible to summarise the content in a paragraph. Specialists will find especially illuminating the pages (16-18) which distinguish the notions of imitation και τους and και τους, and those (20-2) which differentiate the concept of渊 of from compositional techniques. This is a fundamental study, which all who approach the problem of iconoklasm will have to take into account.

Paul J. Alexander, in an acute and masterly article, refutes the prevailing opinion that the Second Period of the Iconoclasm (815-843) was a 'smile' and 'important' reflection of the great movement of Leo III and Constantine V. On the contrary, he maintains, the Council of St. Sophia (815) showed real
originality in its consideration of the proper nature of an image, that is to say, in its adoption and development of the Origenist position that there is no true image of Christ unless the image be Man endowed with the Christian virtues’.

Francis Dvorak adds a mainly historical corroboration of Alexander’s thesis: he shows very clearly that even in 843 the Patriarch, so far from being moribund, was still in full vigour. This, however, could not have proceeded with extreme caution in their restoration of Orthodoxy, and why Photius later made such efforts to have the Second Council of Nicaea (787) accepted as the Seventh Council in 807, and thus, it proves that the representatives of the century Atanassios was maintaining that anti- iconoclast instruction was still indispensable for the weaker brethren.

Deno John Gnanokolov, in a very interesting and well- documented article, examines, first, the relationships and ambitions of the most important members of the Khazars. He concludes that on the losing side at the Battle of Pelagonia (1259): Michael II of Epirus, Manfred of Sicily, and William of Achaia; and second, the circumstances preceding and accompanying the battle. He published (an appendices, one on the site of the battle, and the other on the identity of the Latin lord ‘Asel’ (Asel), who, says Acropolita, was captured in the battle.

R. J. H. Jenkins.


The Chronographia of Psellus is an important document: not only because it is a contemporary source for the century 956–1077, but also because of the author’s humanistic approach to history, which has inspired perhaps the most brilliant series of characters in third-rate literature. The work is also uncommonly hard to translate; as will be seen from the criticisms of Renald’s French version contributed by H. Grégoire to Byzantine 2 (1925), 559–67; 4 (1927–8), 716–28. Mr. Sewter’s approach to his author is literary rather than scholarly; indeed, it would scarcely be fair to describe the translation as a paraphrase rather than a translation. There is, to be sure, more excuse for applying this technique of free rendering to Psellus than to most authors, since there is an unquestionable fact behind our conception of his relations with the anachronism of his style. Whether a translation could be made which should be at once literal and readable is a question. But Mr. Sewter has not made the attempt: for, while his version is readable and, in general sense, not wildly inaccurate, he has certainly not come to grips with his text. None the less he has rendered a service to the English reader by introducing to him a very important, fascinating, and original piece of writing.

Prof. Hussey’s six pages of introduction are valuable; but the Bibliographical Note (pp. 201–2), short as it is, has one surprising omission: there is no mention of J. B. Bury, Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos in Eng. Hist. Rev. 4 (1896), 41–64, 251–83, reprinted in Selected Essays of J. B. B., ed. Temperley (Cambridge, 1931), 126–29.

R. J. H. Jenkins.

La légende de S. Spyridon, évêque de Trémitheône.


St. Spyridon, now patron saint of Corfu, lived and died in Cyprus in the first half of the fourth century, rising from humble origins to the bishopric of Trémitheône. His remains were moved from Trémitheône to Corinth, transferred to Constantinople, and transferred to Corfu (via Patamithia) soon after 1453.

In his introduction Professor van den Ven analyses the sources (historical and hagiographical) for the life of Spyridon. Of the church historians Rufinus provides the basic material for the accounts given by Socrates and Sozomen. The printing of parallel texts of the relevant passages helps to distinguish facts from fiction. The question of Spyridon’s presence at the Council of Nicaea (767), which is still silent) is also discussed, and also that of his Confession of Faith under Galerius, direct evidence for which is not found in Greek sources before the fourteenth century (Nicéphore Callistus).

The closing part of the book forms the four earliest hagiographies of Spyridon, only one of which (that composed by Theodore of Paphos in 650), has hitherto been published (Sp. Papageorghiou, Athens, 1901, from one MS. only). It is here re-edited from the twelve known MSS. Theodore’s ‘Life’ and the first of those here published (an anonymous Life of Spyridon from the Codex Laurentianus) derive from a common source now lost—an Iambic poem wrongly ascribed to Triphylus of Lyciae, a disciple of the saint. But there are differences in detail and in the technique. Theodore’s ‘Life’ is content to appeal to ‘the humble reader’ by reducing the poetry of the pseudo-Triphylus to prosaic terms and the life of Spyridon to a succession of miracles. Theodore, on the other hand, while acknowledging his debt to the poet, the latter, while collating and examines all sources (written and oral) for his ‘Life’. This he sets and records ‘avec un zèle louable et une précision qu’on découvre rarement chez les hagiographes’; and his work is thus of special interest for the study of the development of this type of hagiography. He employed himself as well as by less conscientious hagiographers.

The two other Lives published here date from the eleventh century. Both are based on Theodore of Paphos, the one (Anon. Metaphrastes) being unacknowledged plagiarism with a mosaic of other biographies, the other (the ‘Abridged Life’) being simply an Epitome.

The Life of Spyridon by Symeon Metaphrastes (originally published in 1536 and again by Migne) is not here reprinted, but its significance is discussed for the development of the ‘legend’ of Spyridon in the numerous later hagiographies (cf. van den Ven in Byzantion 22 (1952), 229–35). There is an interesting Appendix on the Growth of the Cult of the Saint—from the seventh century (as witnessed by Theodore) to the eleventh, when in Constantinople Spyridon’s name, and his feast-day is celebrated from Venice to Aleppo.

Professor van den Ven has made a unique contribution to our knowledge of St. Spyridon, and a valuable addition to the study of hagiography in general.

D. Nicol.


It might seem premature to undertake a monograph on Theodore Metochites while so many of his writings remain unpublished. But the theme of this book is a work so encyclopaedic that it can hardly fail to enlarge our knowledge of its author’s works. In fact, it is a point of this work that has been stressed in the introduction. Theoeorgis (described by Beck as ‘ein Werk weltanschaulicher Besinnung auf die Grundlagen und Grundgesetze des Daseins’) cover so wide a field that they provide ample material for forming the ‘intellectual atmosphere’ of fourteenth-century Byzantium.

Beck begins with a biographical sketch of the Grand Logothete of Andronicus II, with a brief survey of his works. (G. (more fully) H. Hunger (Z 45 (1952), 4–19, who also reviews this book at length in BZ 46 (1953), 123–7. Beck, however, is concerned less with the life of Metochites than with the workings of his mind. The core of his philosophy as expressed in the Miscellanea was a fatalism strangely at variance with the official Byzantine ideal. His historical researches and the views of his own time led him to doubt the need for divine supervision which had inspired the Empires of Constantinople and Augustus, and to share with his beloved Plutarch a belief in the omnipotence of fortune. ‘All the world’s a stage was his favourite metaphor, and on the stage the playing of life was played out under the direction of the force behind the scenes.

This philosophy leaves no room for the Christian’s trust in the fatherhood of God. The problem Beck sets is whether such questionings of the accepted ideal represent a new and isolated phenomenon, or whether similar trends of ‘hersy’ can be traced in other Byzantine sources. That certain philosophers should have betrayed a lack of faith in the ideals of the Byzantine people in the last years is not surprising; the rise of ‘Kaiseridee’ might well seem unconvincing, and when the Empire was gathered round the skirts of the capital. Thus far Metochites may justly be interpreted as the first exponent of a changing outlook.

Such an order to follow Beck’s arguments from Metochites into the past as well as into the future; and the last chapter of his book (‘der byzantinische Zwiespalt’) gives much ground for controversy. He discusses some of the historical instances which led to the Emperor and to Chalcedonic Orthodoxy, and considers them as coming from the collective mind of Byzantium. He concludes that there were continual uncertainties of antipathy to the Byzantine ideals of Church and State, and that Metochites stands as the first representative of an intellectual crisis which had long been brewing.

Much of this book is (as its author admits) of a hypothetical nature. But acceptance of the hypotheses would seem to require a very narrow interpretation of the term ‘Byzantine’. If Metochites, Cydones, Manuel II, and Plethon (not to men-
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and Adjacent Regions Made Previous to the Year 1891 (Catalogues of the Gennadien Library, II).


The Librarian of the Gennadéon has produced with commendable promptness a second installment of his Catalogue, covering the period down to the end of 1891.

He excludes from it the maps, charts, pamphlets, and dissertations on geography and cartography, which are reserved for a third volume; but the two now published (the earlier of which was reviewed in these pages recently (Vol. LXIX, p. 110)) complete the Section of Voyages and Travels in the Near East, in which the Library is so strikingly rich.

The arrangement follows that of the earlier volume, with minor differences due to the more varied nature of the material covered here. As before, there are helpful explanatory notes, which reveal incidentally a wide knowledge of bibliography in this sometimes obscure field, and there are two admirable Indexes. The works are classified as follows: IA, Introductory Treatises, arranged alphabetically by Author (Nos. 1-32). IB, Collections of Voyages, arranged chronologically (Nos. 33-59). II, Travellers in the Near East and adjacent regions, arranged chronologically by the date of the journey, where known (Nos. 60-648). III, Books Topographical and Descriptive, arranged alphabetically by the name of the author having visited the places in person (Nos. 650-794).

IV, Books largely or entirely pictorial (Nos. 795-839). V, Proskynetaria (Guide-books for the use of pilgrims to Palestine on various churches elsewhere, especially of the Greek Orthodox Faiths, Nos. 836-60).

No doubt Section II will be found to contain the great majority of works of special interest for the student of Topography and Travel, but it is to be noted that though this class comprises nearly 70 per cent of the items in the Catalogue, approximately two-fifths of these 590 entries represent reprints or translations.

It would be misleading to try to draw any very definite conclusions from a statistical study of the works in this section, for Greek himself himself does not belong to every work, and seldom appears to have sought for really scarce early editions. Thus, his six editions of the Travels of Sir John Maundeveile include nothing earlier than an Italian version (abbreviated to a leaflet), while his three others (dated 1727, 1827, 1857) are accompanied by one in German (1922) and one in Dutch (1779). Actually, his Travels had been printed in Latin, Italian, and French before 1450 and in German in 1501 (or earlier?). Other famous early travel-books for which we look in vain for a Greek edition are: The Terrain Sanctum of Breydenbach, the Itinerarii of Ludovicus de Varthema, and any early edition of Marco Polo. Even Col. Yule's edition is not here, and the famous Venetian only appears in two colleagues of the early travel (Nos. 39 and 41).

It would appear that the writings of sixteenth-century travellers made a particular appeal to the creator of this Library, for we find no less than sixteen entries for Buysseck, commencing with the first edition (Platini, Antwerp, 1581), and ten others are dated earlier than 1600. Among his contemporaries, Pierre Belon, Explorer and Naturalist, is represented here by nine entries dating 1553-89, and there are eight for Nicolas Nicolay,
NOTICES OF BOOKS

Daulphinys Seigneur d’Arveville, valet de chambre et geographe ordinaire du Roy de France', whose works were shortly translated into Dutch, German, and Italian, and shortly afterwards into English (165x).

Among the works of well-known travellers of the seventeenth century are: "the first book of Classical Tour" (first edn., 1615) we find only the fourth and seventh editions (1637, 1673), with versions in Dutch (1665) and German (1666).

For Tavernier, whose long series of journeys began in 1630, we find twelve entries here (1675 fl.) and seven for Roger’s Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1688 fl.). It is strange that William Lughow’s "Painful Perpetuations" is only represented by a humble twelfth edition (Leith, 1814), though even the first edition was probably not a very expensive book in the Genetics (1777). A manuscript of Maundrell’s Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem (first edn. Oxford, 1699) is no edition here in English printed before 1800, though there are translations into Dutch (1705) and German (1707).

Coming to the eighteenth century, we find that the entries in this Section amount to only about four-fifths of those for the seventeenth, owing partly to the less frequent reprinting of works of this period. In fact, it is unusual to find here more than three (but occasionally four or five) editions or translations of any eighteenth-century work. It is not surprising that Richard Pococke’s learned Description of the East, relating his travels in the years 1736-40, should be found here in French, Dutch, and German versions also. Baron de Lahontan’s Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares should appear in two different English versions (both 1785), as well as in French (Amsterdam, 1785) and German (Vienna, 1788). The popularity of the latter work serves to remind us that the unfinished interest of Westerners in the Turks, their capital, government, and customs, showed no signs of diminishing even after three hundred years.

Before leaving the appraising contents of this second Section, it may be of interest to consider briefly the different types of travelogues which it contains, and in which they may be classed: (1) the scholarly travellers, whose interests were not always limited to classic lands, but often embraced Egypt and Palestine; and who sometimes combined Travelling and Touring into the history or botany. (2) Heads, or members, of Diplomatic Missions, mostly to the Ottoman Court. This class belong the writings of Busbecq, Tavernier, and Rycgart, already mentioned. The last-named describes himself as ‘Secretary to H.E. the Earl of Winchelsea, Ambassador Extraordinary to His Majesty Charles the Second to the Emperor of the Turks’. Besides these we may note the Relation des Voyages de Monseigneur de Breves (French Ambassador to the Porte, ca. 1580-1605) and the accounts of the embassy of His Excellency the Baron de Salinqua (1605-10) published finally in 1888-90.

Almost contemporary with Rycgart are the Mémoires de Sieur de la Croix, who accompanied the French Ambassador Nointel to the Court of the Porte in 1659-70. Two accounts of this class which are presumably rare are the Memoirs of a Swedish Envoy at the Court of the Porte in 1658 (Stockholm, 1679) and those of Count Walter Leilie (or Lesslie) Ambassador Extraordinary for the Emperor Leopold I, who travelled overland through the Balkans (1684-85).

(3) A more miscellaneous group comprises accounts of pilgrimages and journeys to Jerusalem, starting in the fourth century with the Pilgrimage of Archeia, including such famous names as the Earl of Winchelsea, Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of the Turks.

These consist of narratives of captivity at the hands of Barbary pirates or Turks, or of travels and observations made in captivity, or of accounts of various missions which secured the release of the captive. Amongst these there are a few especially interesting (catalogued in Section III, No. 667) is entirely devoted to the history of the Greek and Turkish relations (rati et caroeratbis, by Bartholomaeus Georgievich, a Hungarian pilgrim to Jerusalem, ‘qui tredecim annos apud eodem servitut ser gotobia, omnia experientia dictis’ (Antwerp, 1544). This short work was more later to form part of the larger work by the traveller (No. 669, Lyon, 1553, and often repeated, ibid.; and part of it, translated into Italian, was incorporated into Giovanni-Antonio Menavino’s ‘Cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de’ Turchi’ (Venice, 1548). The experiences of a German captive, Wolfgang Münzer, who spent three years in bondage in Turkey (ca. 1560) are recorded in a small volume printed at Nuremberg in 1624, from which city came also a later victim, Johanna Wilden, the title-page of whose work in a full transcription occupies twenty pages of the Catalogue (No. 299). He tells us that he was seven times ‘verkaufft’ between the years 1641-44, witnessed the pilgrimage to Mecca, visited Abyssinia, Mt. Sinai, Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Constantiople before reaching home via Poland. Like Georgievich earlier, he took advantage of his plight to record much interesting and varied information. We find, too, that a certain Britton had similar experiences, being taken by Edward Webb, Master Gunner, whose narrative, first published in 1590, is only represented here in the reprint, edited by E. Arber, 1902 (No. 1929), and ending with Thomas Pellwy, who was sold to the Turks in 1640, and finally released and returned to England in 1657, from 1715 to 1738 (No. 475). Among various in this group of works we must note the story of two Quaker women, imprisoned for nearly four years by the Inquisition at Malta (1659-63), to which there is a reference in the Index under ‘Inquisition’, where the only work cited is that of Lughow, whose sufferings at his hands in Spain are graphically related in his narrative (No. 242).

We need not draw particular attention to the contents of Sections III and IV, where most of the standard works of these classes are to be found, along with some uncommon items such as three different editions of the fifteenth-century Tractatus de Rito et Monibus Taurorum (Hain, 1563, 74, 77, and two Venetian Portolani (of 1520 and 1530). On the other hand, the Annuario delle Storie (Section IV) of 1556 can hardly fail to reflect a special interest of the founder of the Library. Apart from a few reprints of scarce early works of this type, these are mostly of nineteenth-century date, and the most curious is a portrait of M. Th. de Winkel, 1754, imprints from 1809, with engravings of Venetian characters (Venice, 1806; No. 849), which is accompanied by a similar guide to the Monastery di Ste Théotokou at Kykkou in Cyprus (ibid. 1817; No. 847).

There are not many works in the Catalogue which represent the ‘impeccably serious’ school of travelogues, but a few are worthy of notice. No. 254, the Voyage du Levant ... par Louis Deshayes, Baron de Courmenin, is the presentation copy, suitably bound, for Louis XIII and Anne of Austria (1624). The complete text of ‘The Grand Seigneur’ (1755) has an armorial binding of later date for a daughter of Louis XV, and No. 369 is the presentation copy to Louis XIV of Grélot’s Relation nouvelle d’un Voyage de Constantinople (1680); and finally, on the title-page of a copy of Gessi’s Journal du Voyage en Perse is the author’s autograph dedication ‘Pour Monsieur le Chev. Christophe Wren’.

No more need be said to illustrate the various interests to which this splendid collection may appeal; and it only remains to pay a warm tribute to the diligence and scholarship of the author and to commend the book to the attention of all who have an interest in travel literature. A few trifling slips call for notice: in Index I, s.v. SUCHEM, for ‘45’ read ‘43’; in No. 123, l. 5, ‘dispositions’ should be ablative singular (or is this an error in the original?); in No. 314, l. 4, ‘in’ should be ‘in...’; and the Greek spelling of ‘Mylien’ should be made consistent with the other eight instances, where it appears as ‘Myliaen’. A. M. Woodward.


This substantial book forms the first part of the first volume of Lysitika, a periodical to be issued in Mylione by the Society for Lesbian Studies; and makes a very good start for the local periodical of which there is still so little published, and all doing much good work. The author has collected in his native island popular lore of every kind: local customs, doings at church festivals, local stories of saints and their miracles, funerals and ballads, some with their music, anecdotes of common life, savings and maxims of all sorts, weather lore, indeed everything which can be called folklore. The book is a repository which will be invaluable and indispensable to anyone writing of modern Greek local customs and lore, all entirely new. The book is a little thin, the binding is not of the best, and I say ‘set down plainly’, but the material is all recorded in the not very easy local dialect. This adds in a way much to its value, and the author has helped his readers over many of the difficult spellings; and anyone who in reading can use his ears as well as his eyes ought not to find it difficult to follow, provided of course he has a competent knowledge of the spoken language.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first the material is classified by the months, in the second more items are set
down, arranged according to villages. As the author puts it:  "λόγοι τα χωριά το θεσμο γι: 'The villages of our island speak.'

Here is one of the anecdotes given us by Mr. Nikitas. It is of "Kassianos: Kassianos the Roman, the saint upon whom was a curse'.

St. Kassianos was making a complaint to God: Why is it that men give such glory and make so many festivals in honour of St. Nicholas, both here in the world and in heaven above, and of Kassianos, who saved so many men from wild beasts, no one ever thinks, either to salute his icon or to make him a festival. At that very moment Io, St. Nicholas appeared, drenched to the bone and his hair all dishevelled. Panting with exertion, he fell at the feet of God and began to tell Him over how many seas how many ships he had saved, and their crews as well. God could stand this no more and He turned and said to Kassianos: 'What do you want? What are you after? Let Me tell you, friend, once and for all, the reason people celebrate these festivals is what they are doing. Take a look at St. Nicholas. He has no rest, day or night, year in year out, in the midst of the storm, striving to save people, his very breaehes soaked all the time; dry never. But you who did once save some men from wild beasts, now sit here in Paradise and do nothing whatever. How can you have the face to be always making complaints?'

Kassianos was so much ashamed that he fell silent. Then God said in a curse on him that he should not have a feast every year, but should appear once in four years, in those years when February has twenty-nine days.

But the Greek book of the Lives of Saints, the Synaxarist, tells us what Kassianos did in the meantime. He was a wandering monk, does have a feast every year; February the 9th in Leap Years and in other years on the 84th.

To review such a book in any detail is here impossible, but attention may be drawn to a few of the more interesting incidents. One is that the book leads off with the well-known tale of the Old Woman and the Twelve Months, for which the reader may see my Modern Greek Folktales, No. 76. Then among much else we have on p. 248 a long ballad on the Passion of Christ, on p. 77, Song of the Virgin; p. 89, ballads of St. George; p. 132, a story of the finding of the True Cross; p. 125, stories of St. Nicholas; p. 273, a collection of ballads; and all through I am noting only the more important entries. Such a book ought to have an index, for it is impossible to make his own reader will find it well worth the trouble. I do not think that from any other island or district of Greece have we such a full account of local lore.

R. M. DAWKINS.


Surprising though it may seem, there are very few modern books dealing with this subject, which is clearly of great interest to those who are experienced in the Bible, and linguists of cuneiform and hieroglyphs. Dr. Gordon has always realised how important it was for his students to relace the frequently irksome labour on dead languages to something vital and alive in the modern world. Accordingly, he built his curriculum around the Bible, and this book, published in the United States, is a revision of his lectures.

Beginning with a simple summary of main events, expressed in terms which may fall strangely on English ears, the author provides a vivid and linguists' and lexical explanations. The inclusion of much new knowledge derived from the tablets found at Ugarit in recent years, and the full text of the bilingual inscriptions at Karatepe, are important and valuable additions to a book for which readers of every description should be grateful. Dr. Gordon's comments may suggest new fields of research to the more mature student.

Readers of the JHS will find special interest in a very short chapter on Homer and the Ancient East, where the author compares the cliche and motifs found in Homeric and Ugaritic texts, and stresses the bonds which must exist between them.

Dr. Gordon has chosen to present his case without any of the customary visual aids in the way of illustrations, but he has wisely provided maps as endpapers. Though they gain in clarity through the omission of physical configuration, they do not show how the land-features have affected the course of history. He could have helped the general reader more, if he had adopted a less positive attitude to the synchronisation of Bible history with events and people in neighbouring lands; for he does not suggest that problems and inconsistencies beset all proposed interpretations of the evidence. He does, however, emphasise his own attitude in a revealing footnote, where he states that 'the discoveries of archeology tend to justify the literal meaning of the text, and to undermine the historical interpretation ... not only for the Bible but for ancient texts in general'—a conclusion which is becoming more evident year by year.

For those who are outside the university and the teaching world, the addition of a short bibliography would have proved useful.

OLGA TUFnell.


This part of the World-Atlas is a veritable fund of information and a masterpiece of compression. The maps in the first volume range from Endgeschichte and Prehistory down to the Early Kingdom and the Empire. They portray the distributions of cultures, dialects, races, myths, colonies, empires, roads, imports, and exports. The range in time and in subject is most impressive and, as a whole, this part of the World-Atlas deserves the highest praise. The salient facts are the over-crowding of names and the use of closely alluding to each other of the maps (for instance, on p. 12 'the great Greek colonisation' in which Megarian and 'other Dorian colonies' can hardly be distinguished). It might have been easier to have printed fewer maps and made them larger (e.g., the map of 'Attic Immigration' p. 461-463) and used the larger map of Greece on pp. 18-19 is good, although it strangely omits the road from Cytinium to Chaeronea. In general, however, the merits of the maps far outweigh their defects. One most attractive feature is a map of Imperial Rome and the 'pax romana', with the paper which overlies a map of modern Rome. There are also several good insets which reproduce ancient maps of the world at the different stages of man's knowledge.

The explanatory text in a separate volume makes solid reading. It begins with chapters on Schliemann, Konigwald, and Miliojic which deal with the main geological, anthropological, and chronological divisions of time. Next follows a chapter by Miliojic (col. 11-36) on Vor- und Frühgeschichte which is continuous and universal until the Early Iron Age and then passes to the nomadic peoples of later times in North Europe and Asia Minor down to the second century A.D. The chapter is equipped with footnotes in which select bibliographical references are given, and the text is made easier for the reader by the use of heavy type when a particular culture is mentioned.

In his world-wide survey of prehistoric cultures Miliojic shows remarkable powers of organisation and of specialised knowledge. In so far as Aegean prehistory is concerned, some difficulties arise from the chronological positions which are applied to the overall picture. For example, the lower dating for the Early Bronze Age 1800-1500 B.C. is given to the section which contains a description of Middle Helladic culture, itself dated 1550-1600 B.C. When Miliojic moves from the description of the cultures to that of the monuments he is on more controversial ground. He holds that the Greek mainland was overruled by two Trojan-Anatolian waves of migrants, one in the late Neolithic Age and one in the early Bronze Age (the former spreading up into Central Europe through Serbia); that the first Greek-speaking peoples came from Central Europe in the Middle Helladic period; and that at the close of the Bronze Age Greece was overruled by peoples from the central Balkans and later by the Dorians. There is perhaps a danger of over-simplifying the Greek culture, as Miliojic does, and this followed a less precise pattern than the spread of cultures.

The rest of the explanatory text (col. 57-194) covers the whole range of 'Antiquity' from the Empire of Hammurabi ca. 1734 B.C. to the Lombards at a.d. 600. It is clear, informative and closely interwoven with the maps. It deserves praise for the high quality of this survey. It is interesting to note that he adheres to the earlier chronology for the beginning of the Ionian Migration before 1000 B.C., the founding of Kyne in 754 B.C., and the use of Greek script at least since the ninth century B.C.

N. G. L. HAMMOND.


This book should prove an extremely useful reader in sixth forms for the study of Athens in the Peloponnesian War. It consists of passages from Greek authors, arranged by topic.
matter in chapters, with brief notes to help in the translation, comments on the authors and their value for the historian, and a short account of the aspect of Athenian events. In the chapters on the Phalanxes, Pericles and Thucydides are well represented, but the selection is widely made, including the Old Oligarch almost in full. Reasonably enough the book confines itself to literary evidence, save for an occasional reference. Chapters, otherwise, are sometimes unwieldy, without impairing the usefulness of the book, but a continuous reading would in fact provide a satisfactory background to the history of the period.

This is not a source book, but a reader. It will commend itself to all who, in teaching the history of Athens, prefer to let Athens, as far as possible, speak for herself.

G. L. Cawkwell.


This first Bulletin of the newly founded Institute comprised two parts. The first contained papers presented or arising out of work done in the Institute's first Seminar, devoted to the new and important subject of Mycenaean Greek. Ventris's report on suggested standards of procedure in publishing Linear B documents was a good example of the value of international consultation; but surely users of English, which reads differently from the language ofLinear B (or originally written) and transliteration (writing out in another script), should never have been asked to substitute some other word for transcription so that this could be misused to out the word translation. We cannot with impunity blur our programme. Otherwise, the standards that the papers deserve wide circulation, and in the established journals too. The notes on various aspects of the Pylos tablets by Webster and Turner included some conclusions that may well prove most important; they suggest a dimly discernible distinction between life at Pylos and the world of Homeric epic. But might not these notes have been presented in less arid form?

The second part gave a list of subjects of research in progress or brought to completion in Great Britain and Ireland in the year ending 31 May 1954. It should be noted that they did not include work not undertaken as a formal degree course, though it is hard to see how they could have done so.

Anything more complete would be less up to date, and this first Bulletin was already significant in quality—achieved by short-circuiting printers and publishing by a lithographic process. A certificate is always a model and a delight; even the typescript part exceeds expectation; but the foolscap format is unhandy in the world of books, whatever its merit in the counting-house.

Readers are left looking forward, to see what kind of fruit the new tree will produce next.

F. H. Sturming.


Just as the Works and Days is more than a farmer's text-book, so the Theogony is more than a Homeric genealogical epic. It is a context to claim it as, an authoritative list of divine names, attributes, and functions. So Professor Brown's Introduction is largely concerned (following Solmsen's Hesiod and Aeschylus) with the place of the Theogony in Greek Ideengeschichte, and with his hints on the text-critical arguments. He traces in detail the evolution of the Hesiodic Zeus in the Theogony, and the conflict between Hesiod's ethical preoccupations and the mythology of that evolution. We might explain this Hesiodic mixture of ethical and mythological elements as a step towards monotheism by reference either to the poet's own personal character or to the religious climate of the second half of the 8th century BC. Professor Brown chooses the latter course, and not only refers to the Homeric tradition, and to local Greek sources, but also to the state of our knowledge. He wisely refrains from deciding whether the agreements between the two accounts are coincidental or due to Oriental influence on Greek author. His method is one of careful speculation is easy and verification difficult. It is surprising, in view of this historical interest, that he makes no reference to Meyer's paper (Kleine Schriften II, 15 ff.), which showed how myth, history, and Hesiodic invention were coalesced in the Works and Days.

Translation of the Theogony poses no great problem, and Professor Brown renders it accurately into tertium illud genus dicere, which was the Augustan version and E. V. Rieu. He follows the text of Rzch (Translation and E. V. Rieu. He follows the text of Tischbein (Translation), using it as text, and conservatively regards the Theophanes passage (lines 820-880) as the only major interpolation.

M. H. Charlton.


This is a simple, unambitious account of Alexander's career, addressed to those for whom he is more than a great name. There are no footnotes or index, and the least important passages are printed in smaller type, presumably in accordance with the plan of the series to which the book belongs. But the campaigns are described in some detail and there is no map. This omission practically destroys any chance of the narrative being intelligible to the casual reader. Still, those already familiar with the period it is easy to say that they will find here nothing of importance. The author discreetly rejects the more fanciful stories but does not reveal his opinion of the sources, which are nowhere discussed. The criticism of the main problems is very slight. In conclusion, A.'s foundation of the Asis Minor Bickerman's theory (RC XLVII, 249 ff.) is followed by Tarn's convincing refutation (Alexandre the Great II, p. 7). C. denies that these Greek cities were in alliance with A., and maintains that his attitude towards them was entirely arbitrary and that he drew no real distinction between Greek and non-Greek communities. Although it is true that they did not join the League of Corinth, this in no way suggests that A. wished to place them in a position inferior to that of the Greek cities in Europe, but only that he preferred to enter into alliances with them separately; his arrangements in Asia Minor are to be understood in the light of the progress of the war at the time.

Throughout the author's judgements appear to be inspired by a narrow interpretation of 'Hellenism', an approach not consistent with a sympathetic understanding of the Greeks. Thus we are told that 'l'oeuvre d'A. était loin de s'accorder pleinement aux exigences et aux traditions de la plus haute civilisation du monde gréco-oriental', and at the very end there is the strange speculation that for the Greek rising against Macedonian power after A.'s death was disinterested among "les représentants des plus qualifiés de l'hellénisme" with the orientalising tendencies of the new empire.

It should be added that C. has recently published a longer work, Alexandre le Grand et les essarts de son époque (Orient gréco-macédonien et l'Orient (Neuchâtel, 1953), which I have not seen.

R. H. Simpson.


Professor Rudberg observes that, historically, all types of Greek literature one can find in one and the same work deviations from an unemotional norm, not only to a heightened skill, happy or pathetic, but also to a coarser one, which expresses happiness, or irony. The most obvious marks of these styles are their vocabularies.

This pamphlet, which rapidly reviews a large number of authors, is said to be an earnest of a more elaborative work to come. Only detailed application of Professor Rudberg's observation will show whether it is a fruitful one. For the moment he utters the warning to Quellenforscher that these distinctions of style do not permit a distinction of source.

F. H. Sandbach.


The aim of this standard list, though disposing of some pages, by using a smaller typeface page, have not only found room for new titles but have picked up some of the omissions of the earlier editions (for instance, Hermias, Branos now figure among the thirty-one additional periodicals). The pagination is unchanged, and has been reorganised, and there is a cross-index of authors. Though the list is not yet exhaustively sufficient to serve them as advanced bibliography, happy the scholars privileged to work in a library containing all its titles!

E. G. Turner.


Professor Webster follows his recent papers on representation of comic costume and masks in ancient art with this study in
The Teaching of Classics. Issued by the INCORPORATED ASSOCIATION OF ASSISTANT MASTERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. Pp. xii + 44. Cambridge: University Press, 1924. 6d.

This book is full of information about the methods and content of teaching at various stages in schools, about examinations in the schools and about university entrance requirements, about visual aids, school plays, and classical societies, but the pronunciation of Latin and Greek. The committee responsible was composed of teachers in twelve different schools, and they had the assistance of over thirty corresponding members and experts. That so large and varied a team has produced a book which in many respects reads as a unity is a high tribute to the Honorary Secretary, T. W. Melluish, whose epigrammatic phrasing can often be detected. It is much more than a first-rate handbook compiled from the best teaching practice of the time. It is written with a real faith in the Classics (perhaps it may be said that they represent some episodes in man's history when he was at his best, when the individual counted for most, when in spite of limited resources he achieved most, when the material was most suited to the spiritual) and a real awareness of the need of new methods to assist a perfectly genuine (and statistically demonstrable) revival of interest during this atomic age. Two suggestions seem to the reviewer particularly worth pursuing. The first is the suggestion for a cultural course of Greek which would prove both attractive and profitable to the Sixth-Form physicist, mathematician, chemist, or biologist with a text-book whose aim was to bring before the reader's eye the Greek origin of mathematics, biology, etc., with all their attendant specialised terms. The young zoologist would be amused to find that Aristotle (as J. B. S. Haldane has shown) anticipated von Frisch in noting the dance of the bees. The basis for such a text-book could be found in M. R. Cohen and I. E. Drabkin, A Source Book in Greek Science. The second suggestion is the long-needed eloquent chapter pleading that a special kind of classics (without but not without emphasis on Greek and Latin origins of English terminology and with plenty of mythology, drama, good stories, art, and even romance) should be taught in the schools, which educate something like three-quarters of every age-group, and that the teachers of it should have a modicum of special training: hinc mutatis mutandis the now well-established Danish experiment (described recently in Greece and Rome) is immediately relevant. Both the authors' like everything else in the book, conform to the authors' fundamental belief that 'a Classical course can be contrived which shall satisfy three requirements: 1. At each stage it must be appropriate to the mental development of the pupil. 2. At each stage it must realise perfectly definite aims: that is to say, it must be self-sufficient. 3. At each stage it must contain within itself the potentiality of future advance.'

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

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1. Syracuse 26857.

2. Syracuse 26857.
The Council beg leave to submit their report for the session:

It is pleasant to record that this, the first full year of the Society’s association with the Institute of Classical Studies, has been one of harmonious co-operation.

In June 1954 the first floor of 50 Bedford Square was vacated by the subtenant, and during the summer the two large rooms were painted and decorated. The back room is occupied by the Director of the Institute, the front room by the Secretaries of the Societies and of the British School at Athens, while the large room on the ground floor is now used as an Institute Seminar Room and an annex to the Library, but is still available for Committee Meetings of the Societies. The general office has been redecorated, and lighting and linoleum have been renewed throughout the ground floor.

Plans are well advanced for the new building in Gordon Square, which will house the Institute of Archaeology and the Institute of Classical Studies, and in which provision will be made for the Societies. The fifth floor, apart from general office and administrative quarters for the Institute, is devoted entirely to the Library, and will consist of a large reading-room opening into a stack. Book space for 55,000 volumes is planned. On the sixth floor will be rooms for the Societies’ Secretaries and a large joint common room, as well as rooms for seminars and committees.

The Society has lost the services of Mrs. Jones, who retired in February. She had given the Society faithful service as Caretaker for twenty-six years, including the whole period of the Second World War. Her place has been taken by Mr. and Mrs. Akehurst. (Mr. Akehurst is employed in the British Museum.)

Finance.

This year’s accounts, closing with a surplus of £890, show the full benefit of the Society’s association with the University of London, and the generous offer of the Institute of Classical Studies to bear a higher proportion of the maintenance costs of the premises will help towards preserving a satisfactory financial position. The sales of the Journal, together with the off-prints of the article by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick in Volume 73, amounting in all to £726, have also made a substantial contribution.

Despite this satisfactory position, however, a cautious financial policy should continue to be pursued. This is all the more necessary in view of the uncertainty about the liabilities of the Joint Societies under the terms of the lease of 50 Bedford Square. Although much of the necessary redecoration has been completed on the first floor and in the basement, some very substantial repairs remain to be done, which will involve the Societies in considerable expense.

 Recoveries under deeds of covenant amounted to £225 for 1954.

Membership figures as at December 31st, 1954, are shown below, with comparable figures for past years:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Life Members</th>
<th>Student Members</th>
<th>Associates</th>
<th>Libraries</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>1953</td>
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<td>124</td>
<td>165</td>
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<td>1,023</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>1,696</td>
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Obituary.

The Council record with great regret the death of Prof. R. M. Dawkins, a Vice-President; of Mr. T. J. Dunbabin, a Member of Council and
for some years Review Editor of the Journal of Mr. C. T. Edge, F.C.A., who acted as honorary auditor to the Society for fourteen years, and of the following members: L. F. R. Audemars, Prof. Campbell Bonner, Miss E. A. S. Dawes, Prof. H. Frankfort, Mrs. B. H. Hill, Prof. H. F. Jolowicz, Prof. G. Norwood, F. W. Pember, L. W. Spriggs, Miss E. Strudwick.

Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Thanks to a second and final gift of £250 from the Jowett Trustees, it will be possible to make Volume 75 as large as Volume 74.

In 1936, as already stated, there will be, in addition to the normal fascicule, a special fascicule as a tribute to Sir David Ross. An appeal is being made for funds to meet the expenses.

The off-print of the article by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick from Volume 73 continues to be much in demand.

International Congresses.

Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques. The Society's representative at the meeting in Copenhagen for 1954 was Professor A. W. Gomme.

For the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome the Council have appointed Professor A. Momigliano to represent the Society.

Meetings.

The following communications have been made at Meetings of the Society during the Session:—

October 22nd, 1954. Prof. John Huston Finley, Harvard University, on 'Pindar, the opening lines of Olympian I'.

February 11th, 1955. K. J. Dover on 'Tyrtaeus and the early history of Greek Elegy'.

April 1st, 1955. T. Bruce Mitford on 'Excavations at Old Paphos'. (Slides.)

June 17th, 1955. Presidential Address: Prof. Dorothy Tarrant on 'Plato as Dramatist'.

November 19th, 1954 (in conjunction with the Roman Society). Monsieur R. Joffroy, Directeur des fouilles de Vix, on 'La sépulture princière hallstattienne de Vix, Côte d'Or'. (Slides.)

Provincial Meetings.

Meetings have been arranged outside London in collaboration with local associations during the Session 1954-55:

At Birmingham: Dr. F. H. Stubbings on 'New Light on Mycenae'.

At Leeds: Prof. T. B. L. Webster on 'Portraiture in Art and Literature in the Fourth Century B.C.' (Slides.)

At Edinburgh: Miss D. H. F. Gray on 'Homeric Geography'.

At Shrewsbury: Prof. A. J. B. Wace on 'Recent Discoveries at Mycenae'. (Slides.)

At Durham: Prof. H. D. Kittow on 'Hamlet and Greek Tragedy'.

At Reading: Prof. R. P. Winnington-Ingram on 'Greek Drama and Greek Society'.

At Nottingham: Prof. H. Ll. Hudson-Williams on 'Plato and Socrates'.

At Manchester: Prof. T. B. L. Webster on 'The Mycenaean Tablets and Homer'.

At Exeter: H. Lloyd-Jones on 'Zeus and Prometheus'.

At Liverpool: Prof. T. B. L. Webster on 'Costumes and Masks in New Comedy'. (Slides.)

At Southampton: Dr. F. H. Stubbings on 'The Classics in Elizabethan Times'.

At University College of North Staffordshire: Dr. M. Ventris on 'The Mycenaean Script—progress report'.

Administration.

Sir Richard Nasworthy, K.C.M.G., who has acted as Honorary Treasurer to the Society for four years, retired during the summer of 1954. The Council wish to record warm appreciation of his valuable services.

The Society is grateful to Sir Quintin Hill, K.C.M.G., who has agreed to accept nomination as Honorary Treasurer.

The Council has pleasure in recording the offer from the firm of Denham, Betts & Co., Accountants and Auditors, to act as Honorary Auditors to the Society in place of the late Mr. Edge.

The ten members of Council who retire in rotation under rule 19 are: Prof. A. Andrewes, P. E. Corbett, R. L. James, Prof. M. E. L Mallowan, P. G. Mason, J. S. Morrison, E. V. C. Plumptre, Prof. P. T. Stevens, E. M. Woodward, Prof. R. P. Winnington-Ingram.

In their place the Council have nominated the following for election: Prof. H. C. Baldry, J. M. Cook, R. M. Cook, O. A. W. Dilke, J. G. Griffith, I. R. D. Mathewson, Prof. L. J. D.
Richardson, Prof. C. Martin Robertson, Dr. M. Ventris, Prof. F. W. Walbank.

Prof. Andrews and Mr. A. G. Woodhead have been elected members of the Executive Committee for the next three-year period.

The Council has received with great regret the resignation of Mr. G. K. Jenkins, who has acted as Assistant Editor of the Journal of Hellenic Studies since 1949. The Council wish to place on record their appreciation of the work that he has done.

The Joint Library.

The following figures show the work of the Library during the last three sessions:

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It will be noted that the number of books added to the Library continues to increase. During the year the Institute of Classical Studies added 192 books in the 'primary' category.

The shorter period of summer closing (two weeks instead of five) was appreciated by a number of members who used the Library during the second half of August. It is hoped to make this arrangement permanent.

The Library staff has been increased to three by the appointment in September 1954 of Miss Antonia Pattin as Junior Assistant.

Much-needed improvements have been made to the Library heating and lighting during the year, and new linoleum has been laid in the main Library. Some steel shelves have been erected in the Council Room (now known as the Seminar Room) to relieve the pressure on the Library shelves. This room is now available as a reading-room except when it is being used for meetings.

Association with the Institute of Classical Studies has made it possible to revive the pre-war custom of tea for members reading in the Library. Tea is available daily from four to four-thirty in the Seminar Room.

Additions to the Slides Collection include a number of slides from the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs, all of Roman-British sites, which were selected for the Societies by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, and additional slides of Greek vases in the British Museum, selected by Mr. P. Corbett.

The Slides Committee has reviewed the existing lecture sets of slides and is proceeding with the revision of several of the older sets. Two new sets, 'Homer's Pictures', by Professor T. B. L. Webster, and 'Greek Cities', by Professor R. E. Wycherley, have been compiled and are now available for borrowing.

The Councils of the Hellenic and Roman Societies wish to express their thanks for gifts of books from the following: Prof. B. Aiginitos, Miss M. Bennett-Clark, Prof. H. G. Beyen, Prof. E. Bielefeld, Mr. G. C. Boon, Mr. A. R. Burn, Prof. A. W. Byvanck, Mr. J. M. Cook, Prof. Sterling Dow, Dr. V. L. Ehrenberg, Sir John Forsdyke, Mr. D. Gillie, Sir Quintin Hill, Mr. D. Kanatsoulis, Dr. J. H. C. Kern, Prof. G. Klaffenbach, Prof. W. A. Laidlaw, Prof. A. D. Momigliano, Mr. E. D. Phillips, Dr. W. H. Plommer, Mr. C. A. Raleigh Radford, Mr. A. Rowe, Miss E. M. Smallwood, Prof. J. Sundwall, Prof. A. Traversa, Mr. A. G. Tsopanakis, Prof. E. G. Turner, Dr. A. W. Van Buren, Prof. A. J. B. Wace, Prof. T. B. L. Webster, Prof. H. D. Westlake, King's College Library, London University Library, the Virgil Society, Winchester Museum.
### The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies


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<td>Surplus Account</td>
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£5,957

£6,729 10 0

£5,957

£6,729 10 0

The Society's share of the capital value of the Library and Photographic Department is not included as an asset in the above Balance Sheet.

We have audited the Books of The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for the year ended December 31, 1954, and have received all the information and explanations we have required, and in our opinion the above Balance Sheet gives a true and correct view of the Society's financial position at December 31, 1954, according to the Books of the Society and the information and explanations furnished to us.


DENHAM, BETTS & CO., Certified Accountants

#### Income and Expenditure Account for the Year Ended December 31, 1954.

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<th>Income</th>
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<td>Printing and Stationery</td>
<td>139 3 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Income Tax Recoverable (Deeds of Covenant)</td>
<td>225 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postages</td>
<td>108 9 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Life Compositions (Deceased Members), brought into Revenue</td>
<td>47 5 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundry Expenses</td>
<td>75 9 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dividends</td>
<td>152 5 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance from &quot;Journal of Hellenic Studies&quot; Account</td>
<td>867 11 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous Receipts</td>
<td>212 19 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution to Joint Sinking Fund</td>
<td>100 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of Library Maintenance Account</td>
<td>567 12 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant for Books</td>
<td>100 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Greek Earthquake Appeal</td>
<td>16 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of Premises Account</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance being Excess of Income over Expenditure</td>
<td>889 19 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£3,277 18 5

£3,277 18 5


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>1954</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Cost of Vol. LXXIV—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing and Paper</td>
<td>1,526 5 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>By Sales including back Volumes</td>
<td>625 16 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Drawings and Engraving</td>
<td>140 2 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Receipts from Advertisements</td>
<td>53 0 6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Editing</td>
<td>65 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grant upon Jewett Trust</td>
<td>250 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postage and Packing, etc.</td>
<td>112 5 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contribution from London University</td>
<td>50 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balance to Income and Expenditure Account</td>
<td>867 11 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£1,602</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£1,602</td>
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</table>

£1,602

£1,602
## The Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies

### Library Maintenance Account for the Year Ended December 31, 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1953</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>879</td>
<td>To Salaries, State and Pension Insurance</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399</td>
<td>&quot; Share of Expenses paid to Institute of Classical Studies</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>&quot; Printing and Stationery</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>&quot; Postage and Telephone</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot; Catalogue Entries</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>&quot; Accessions List</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>&quot; Sundry Expenses</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | **£1,101** | **2** | **1**

### Joint Library Books Account for the Year Ended December 31, 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1953</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>To Purchases</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>&quot; Balance carried forward</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | **£346** | **12** | **1**

### Lantern Slides and Photographs Account for the Year Ended December 31, 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1953</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>To Purchases</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>&quot; Accessions List</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | **£15** | **6** | **10**

### The Sinking Fund (Joint Hellenic and Roman Societies) for the Year Ended December 31, 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1953</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>By Balance at December 31, 1953, brought forward</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>&quot; Receipts from Sales and Hire</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | **£115** | **6** | **10**

---

By Balance of Fund at December 31, 1953: £466 12 6

Subscriptions Received during the year: £4 4 0

Contribution from The Hellenic Society: £100 0 0

Contribution from The Roman Society: £100 0 0

Interest on Deposit Account: £12 1 8

**Total** | **£683** | **1** | **2**
A book that is shut is but a block

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Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

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