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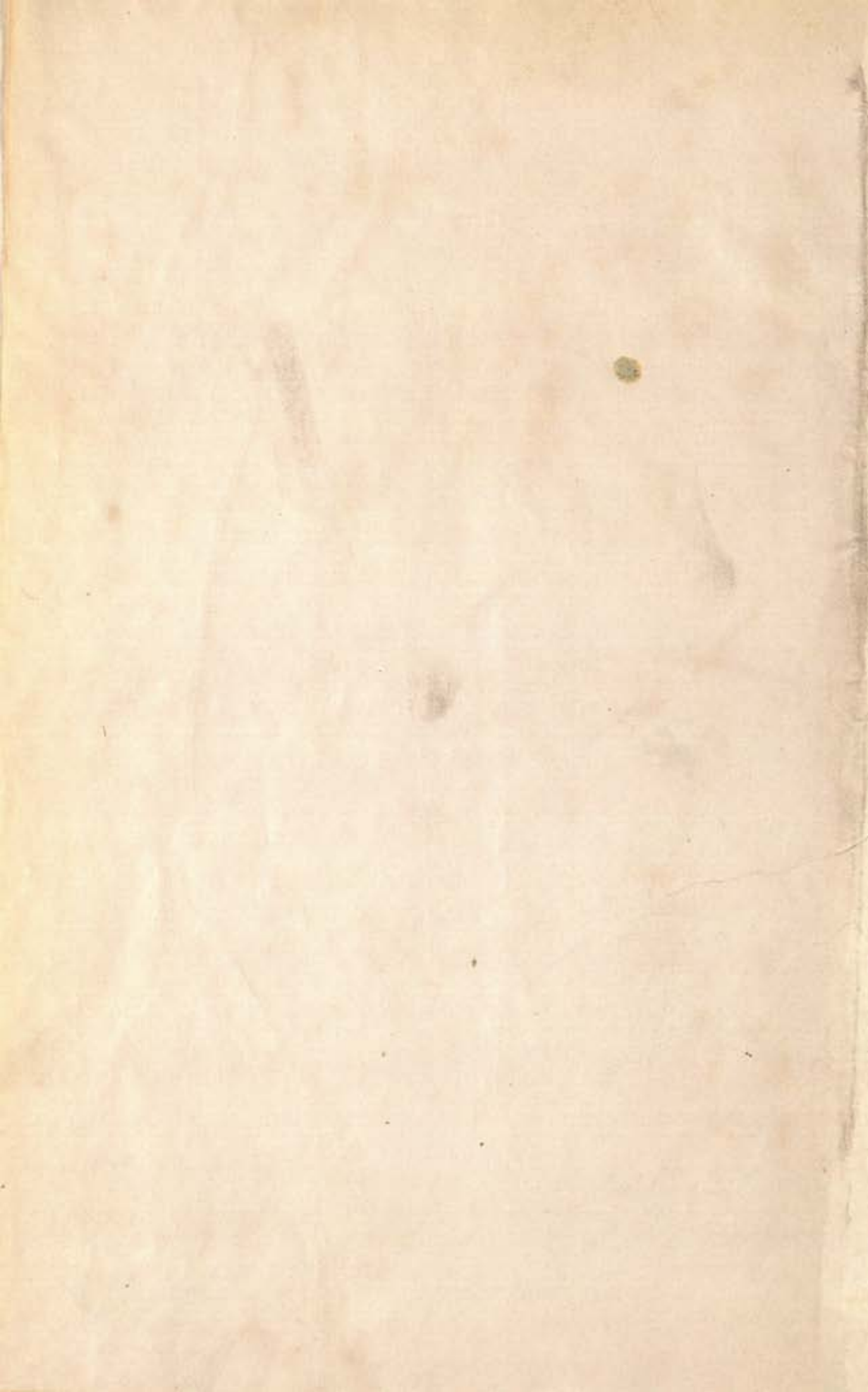
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# THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

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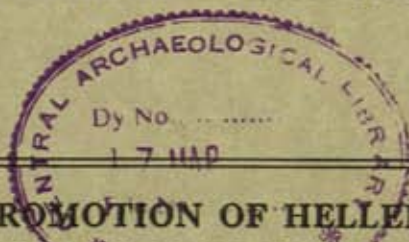
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## ARNOLD WYCOMBE GOMME

THROUGH the death of Professor A. W. Gomme, on January 17th last, in his seventy-third year, the Society has lost its President; the world of scholarship has lost a scholar of distinction and originality, and very many of those connected with Classical studies, both in this country and in many others, have lost a delightful friend. Important though his work was, it is the man himself that all those who knew him would wish to be first commemorated. Few professional scholars have been less obviously the professional scholar; not many Hellenists have been so completely and naturally Hellenic in mind and outlook. He had an unending willingness to be interested in almost any human activity—not indeed confusing the great with the small, but taking each on its merits; nor was he content to be only the critical or amused spectator, but he was always willing to be active, whether by serving on national or international committees of learned organisations, or by starting a film society or other such enterprise in his own university, or by taking up some public cause in Long Crendon, the village that was always his home, particularly if he felt that injustice or stupidity were afoot. 'Professor X,' he once observed, 'tells me that he enjoys Bridge, as a relaxation from his work. I don't understand that attitude at all; to me, Bridge is simply another thing that one can do.' His alert and critical attitude to nearly everything, which he could express pungently, often indulging his taste for paradox, could be daunting to a casual acquaintance: one could mistake for conscious superiority what was in truth a fundamental simplicity and humanity strengthened by a keen intelligence, and touched, very often, by an elaborate and charming sense of fun. He had a genius for friendship; and it was well said of him, by a Glasgow colleague, that 'he had an enthusiasm for the excellent.' 'Εραίμαν τῶν καλῶν could indeed have been his conscious motto.

His father, Sir Lawrence Gomme, Clerk to the London County Council, was an authority on the history and antiquities of London, and Lady Alice Gomme, his mother, was a well-known student of English folk-lore. Arnold Gomme was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School and Trinity College, Cambridge; then, after a year at the British School, and a year as Assistant Lecturer at the University of Liverpool, he went to the University of Glasgow, where the rest of his professional life was spent, interrupted by the First World War, when he served in France and in Greece, and by the Second, during which he spent some three years in the Treasury. In Glasgow he was successively Lecturer in Greek, Lecturer in Greek and Greek History, Reader in Greek History, and Professor of Greek. The designation 'Lecturer in Greek and Greek History' was no mere administrative formula; his interest in Greek literature—and in Greek art also—was as lively and as critical as his interest in Greek history, as is shown particularly by his Sather Lectures on the Greek Attitude to History and Art, and by his work on Menander. Especially on Homer, Herodotus and the dramatists he had illuminating things to say, while one of the impressive qualities of his *Commentary on Thucydides* is the understanding that it shows of Thucydides' mind and style.

His first publication (which he did not choose to list in *Who's Who*) was a pamphlet (1922) criticising in devastating fashion the Greek section of H. G. Wells' *History of the World*. It was characteristic: Gomme was the most tolerant of men, but he disliked error and hated the superficial. Where other scholars would ignore, he had to attack and expose. After his well-known monograph on *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries*, there followed, in 1935, his most stimulating and attractive *History of Greece*, a short work which is not as well known as it deserves: it forms part only of vol. 1 of a seven-volume work, *European Civilisation*, edited by Edward Eyre. Gomme wrote also—though with



some reluctance—the section on the Roman Republic in vol. 11 of the same work. His *Essays on Greek Subjects* appeared next, and then, in 1945, the first volume of his truly notable *Commentary on Thucydides*. The appearance of the next two volumes was delayed by a personal disaster, which he confronted with characteristic resilience and courage: a suitcase containing all his notes was stolen from a train and never recovered. At the time of his death he had completed his commentary on the remaining part of Book V and on part of Book VI, and it is good to know that this final volume is now in the hands of Professor Andrewes and Professor Dover. A book on Menander was ready for the press when the discovery of the *Dyscolos* made its postponement inevitable; it is much to be hoped that this work too will be completed and published.

Gomme was Sather Professor in the University of California in 1952. In 1947 he was elected Fellow of the British Academy, and was for several years the chairman of the Ancient History section. It is fitting here to make special and grateful reference to the many services that he rendered to the Hellenic Society: as member of the Council for several periods, as President, and as an outstanding editor of the *Journal* from 1951 to 1958. Greece was indeed his great love; not many Greek scholars have been fortified by a wider knowledge of the country and a more warm-hearted and shrewd understanding of its people. He liked to tell a story of his last visit. He was in Samos, and hired a car to cross the island. 'Naturally, the driver and I talked politics, especially about Cyprus. At the end of the day the driver reproached me, as an Englishman, for taking too narrowly a pro-Greek view of the situation.'

Right to the end he kept his young appearance and his youthful zest for life. His death was untimely, and prevented his giving much that he still had to give; but he was spared what he would have found intolerable, the inactivity of an old age.

H. D. F. K.



## ZENO'S IDEAL STATE

ALTHOUGH we have more references to the *Politeia* of Zeno of Kition than to any of his other works, our evidence for its character and content is so slight, open to dispute on so many points, and at first sight so inconsistent, that there is a strong temptation to follow other guides: our conception of Stoic doctrine as a whole; a particular theory of the development of such an idea as the 'brotherhood of man'; or even the general tendency to read modern ideas into ancient thought. It is hardly surprising that such material has led to a bewildering variety of interpretations. Thus while Zeller, followed by Barth and others, describes Zeno's ideal as a 'polity of the wise', Pöhlmann makes it include both wise and foolish. Pöhlmann, Dyroff and Kärst place it in the future, Pohlenz in the past. Whereas Pearson, Hicks, Bidez and others see it as a world state embracing all humanity, for Tarn it is 'a very limited State . . . a quite small community'.<sup>1</sup> Recent discussions appear only to have increased the confusion, and it seems worth while to make a fresh attempt to gain clarity on the subject.

This article is written in the belief that the evidence itself, examined without extraneous considerations and the distortions and misinterpretations to which they lead, does yield a definite and consistent, though incomplete, picture. One source of confusion in the past has been the practice of drawing inferences about the *Politeia* from any statements attributed to Zeno with a political content: since these may belong to a different period of his life, or may refer to the wise man's conduct in present circumstances, not in the ideal state, I shall confine my attention to those passages in which the *Politeia* is mentioned by name.

The division of these passages into 'fragments' by Pearson and by von Arnim sometimes results in a divorce of items from their context, which has led more than one commentator astray. It will be convenient to set them out afresh. For extracts from Diogenes Laertius I have followed the text adopted by R. D. Hicks in the Loeb edition, with one or two minor changes of punctuation, and for Philodemus the version of W. Crönert. In other passages I give von Arnim's text, and the numbers in brackets throughout refer to *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (hereafter *SVF*) 1.

1 Diog. Laert. vii 4 (2). *ἕως μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἤκουσε τοῦ Κράτητος · ὅτε καὶ τὴν Πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ γράψαντος, τινὲς ἔλεγον παίζοντες ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς οὐράς αὐτὴν γεγραμμένην.*

2 Philodemus *Περὶ Στωϊκῶν*, Pap. Herc. 339 and 155, in W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos* (Vol. vi of C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie u. Papyruskunde*, 1906) 53-67. This polemic against the early Stoics, which contains several important passages not included in Pearson or *SVF*, seems never to have been systematically used as a source of evidence for Zeno's *Politeia*. I quote here only the passages referring definitely to the *Politeia* which appear to give some information about the work and its contents. The columns cited are those of the more complete version, No. 339, rearranged in sequence by Crönert to correspond to No. 155, and hereafter referred to as 'Philodemus'.

(a) Col. 15. 1-4. *τὴν Ζήνωνος Πολιτείαν · ἔχειν δέ τινες ἀμαρτάδας ὑπὸ νέου καὶ ἄφρονος ὄντος ἔτι γεγραμμένην.*

<sup>1</sup> Zeller, *Philos. d. Gr.* iii 1, 302; Pöhlmann, *Gesch. d. sozialen Frage u. d. Sozialismus in d. antiken Welt*<sup>2</sup> ii 273; Dyroff, *Ethik d. alten Stoa* 220; Kärst, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*<sup>2</sup> ii 125; Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* i 137; Pearson,

*Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes* 191; Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean* 9; Bidez, *La Cité du Monde et la Cité du Soleil chez les Stoiciens* 29; Festugière, *Le Dieu Cosmique* 264, 270; Tarn, *Alexander the Great* ii 418.



(b) Col. 17. 9-13. ἐγὼ δὲ φήσω παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν εὑρίσκεσθαι μηδ' ἀσεβὲς, ἀνάμειστον δὲ τούτων εἶναι ταύτην.

(c) Col. 18. 1-11. παρορῶντες, ὅτι κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ γράμματος ἐμφαίνει τὸ πρόσφορον αὐτὴν ἐκτιθέναί καὶ τοῖς τόποις, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις, καθ' οὓς ἔζη . . . καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἀδυνάτους πάλιν ὑποθέσεις τοῖς οὐκ οὖσιν ἐνομοθέτει, τοὺς ὄντας παρεῖς.

(d) Col. 7. 4-10. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ τῶν αἰρέσεων τῆς τε τοῦ Ζήνωνος μμνήσκεται Πολιτείας καὶ τῆς τοῦ Διογένης δόξης, ἣν κατεχώρισεν ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ, τὴν ἀπαθίαν καταπληττόμενος αὐτῶν.

- 3 Johannes Chrysost. *Hom. i in Matth.* 4 (262). οὐ γὰρ καθάπερ Πλάτων ὁ τὴν καταγέλαστον ἐκείνην πολιτείαν συνθεῖς καὶ Ζήνων καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος πολιτείαν ἔγραψεν ἢ νόμους συνέθηκεν.
- 4 Plut. *Lycurg.* 31 (263, 261). οὐ μὲν τοῦτό γε τῷ Λυκούργῳ κεφάλαιον ἦν τότε, πλείστων ἡγουμένην ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς βίῳ καὶ πόλεως ὅλης νομίζων εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν, πρὸς τοῦτο συνέταξε καὶ συνήρμοσεν, ὅπως ἐλευθέριοι καὶ αὐτάρκεις γενόμενοι καὶ σωφρονούντες ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον διατελώσι. ταύτην καὶ Πλάτων ἔλαβε τῆς Πολιτείας ὑπόθεσιν καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ζήνων καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τι περὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρήσαντες εἰπεῖν ἐπαινοῦνται, γράμματα καὶ λόγους ἀπολιπόντες μόνον.
- 5 Athen. xiii 561c (263). Ποντιανὸς δὲ Ζήνων ἐφη τὸν Κιτιέα ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ἑρωτα θεὸν εἶναι φιλίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁμονοίας παρασκευαστικόν, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ἔφη τὸν Ἑρωτα θεὸν εἶναι, συνεργὸν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν.
- 6 Diog. Laert. vii 32-4 (259, 226, 222, 269, 267, 268, 257). ἐνιοὶ μέντοι, ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον τὸν σκεπτικόν, ἐν πολλοῖς κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Ζήνωνος, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν ἄχρηστον ἀποφαίνειν λέγουσιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Πολιτείας, δεύτερον ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους καὶ δούλους καὶ ἀλλοτρίους λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀλλήλων εἶναι πάντας τοὺς μὴ σπουδαίους, καὶ γονεῖς τέκνων καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφῶν, καὶ οἰκείους οἰκείων, πάλιν ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ παριστάντα πολίτας καὶ φίλους καὶ οἰκείους καὶ ἐλευθέρους τοὺς σπουδαίους μόνον, ὥστε τοῖς στωικοῖς οἱ γονεῖς καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐχθροί· οὐ γὰρ εἰσι σοφοί. κοινὰς τε τὰς γυναῖκας δογματίζειν ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς διακοσίους στίχους μὴθ' ἱερὰ μῆτε δικαστήρια μῆτε γυμνάσια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἰκοδομεῖσθαι. περὶ τε νομίσματος οὕτως γράφειν, "νόμισμα δ' οὐτ' ἀλλαγῆς ἔνεκεν οἰεσθαι δεῖν κατασκευάζειν οὐτ' ἀποδημίας ἔνεκεν." καὶ ἐσθῆτι δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κελεύει χρῆσθαι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ μηδὲν μόνιον ἀποκεκρύφθαι. ὅτι δ' αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ Πολιτεία καὶ Χρῦσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας φησί.

In the first half of this passage two statements (τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν ἄχρηστον ἀποφαίνειν and παριστάντα . . . τοὺς σπουδαίους μόνον) are drawn specifically from the *Politeia*. The lines ἐχθροὺς . . . οἰκείων may or may not be from the *Politeia*, and ὥστε τοῖς στωικοῖς . . . σοφοί is clearly added comment.

In the second half only κοινὰς . . . οἰκοδομεῖσθαι is specifically from the *Politeia*, but the close connexion of the next two sentences with this and the return to the *Politeia* in the last sentence quoted show that the *Politeia* is the source implied throughout. The whole passage evidently comes from Cassius or Isidorus.<sup>2</sup>

- 7 Diog. Laert. vii 131 (269). ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας δεῖν παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς, ὥστε τὸν ἐντυχόντα τῇ ἐντυχούσῃ χρῆσθαι, καθὰ φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Χρῦσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας, ἀλλ' ἔτι Διογένης ὁ κυνικὸς καὶ Πλάτων. πάντας τε παῖδας ἐπίσης στέρξομεν πατέρων τρόπον καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ζηλοτυπία περιαιρεθήσεται.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxiv (1879) 42.



- 8 Diog. Laert. vii 121 (270). καὶ γαμήσειν (sc. φασὶ τὸν σοφόν), ὡς ὁ Ζήνων φησὶν ἐν Πολιτείᾳ, καὶ παιδοποιήσεσθαι.
- 9 Diog. Laert. vii 129 (248). καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν τῶν νέων τῶν ἐμφαινόντων διὰ τοῦ εἶδους τὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὐφυΐαν, ὥς φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ.
- 10 Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* iii 6,1 (252). ὡς ἔγωγε νῆ τὸν κύνα καὶ τοὺς Ζήνωνος ἂν ἐβουλόμην, ἔφη, διαμηρισμοὺς ἐν συμποσίῳ τινὶ καὶ παιδιᾷ μᾶλλον ἢ σπουδῆς τοσαύτης ἐχομένῳ συγγράμματι, τῇ Πολιτείᾳ, κατατετάχθαι.
- 11 Clemens Alex. *Strom.* v 12, 76 p. 691 P (264). λέγει δὲ καὶ Ζήνων . . . ἐν τῷ τῆς Πολιτείας βιβλίῳ μήτε ναοὺς δεῖν ποιεῖν μήτε ἀγάλματα · μηδὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῶν θεῶν ἄξιον κατασκεύασμα, καὶ γράφειν οὐ δέδιδεν αὐταῖς λέξεσι τάδε · ἱερά τε οἰκοδομεῖν οὐδὲν δεήσει · ἱερὸν γὰρ μὴ πολλοῦ ἄξιον καὶ ἅγιον οὐδὲν χρή νομίζειν · οὐδὲν δὲ πολλοῦ ἄξιον καὶ ἅγιον οἰκοδόμων ἔργον καὶ βαναύσων.

The same statement about the *Politeia* is made in almost the same words by Theodoret (264) and Origen (265).

- 12 Plut. *De Alex. M. Fort. aut Virt.* i 6 (262). καὶ μὴν ἡ πολὺ θαυμάζομένη πολιτεία τοῦ τὴν Στωικῶν αἵρεσιν καταβαλομένου Ζήνωνος εἰς ἐν τοῦτο συντείνει κεφάλαιον, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ πόλεις μηδὲ δήμους οἰκῶμεν, ἰδίους ἕκαστοι διωρισμένοι δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡγάμεθα δημότας καὶ πολίτας, εἰς δὲ βίος ἡ καὶ κόσμος, ὥσπερ ἀγέλης συννόμου νόμῳ κοινῷ συντρεφομένης. τοῦτο Ζήνων μὲν ἔγραψεν ὥσπερ ὄναρ ἡ εἰδῶλον εὐνομίας φιλοσόφου καὶ πολιτείας ἀνατυπωσάμενος, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον παρέσχευεν.

Tarn (ii 419) maintains that 'Plutarch is using "Politeia" here in a general sense and not as the title of Zeno's book of that name'. In view of this contention I have put this passage last, and shall postpone discussion of it until my review of the rest of the evidence is complete.

It is clear from these passages that Zeno did write a work to which the name *Politeia* was given, and that it was produced during his first years at Athens (passages 1 and 2a). There is no indication whether the title was his own, and in any case it tells us little.

The way in which the *Politeia* is cited suggests that with characteristic Stoic brevity it was limited to one book, like most of the other works in the list attributed to Zeno by Diogenes Laertius.<sup>3</sup> Our evidence gives two versions of its beginning: according to passage 2b, Zeno began by declaring that what was expounded in it was τὸ πρόσφορον for contemporary Greek society; according to passage 6, by condemning the ordinary education of his day as useless.<sup>4</sup> Crönert comments (p. 57): 'Diese Stelle stand zu Anfang des dogmatischen Teiles, jene in der Einleitung des Werkes', but the distinction seems unnecessary. The natural conclusion from both statements is that the introductory section of the *Politeia* pointed to the faults of contemporary society and claimed that the book contained the remedy for them.

The rest of the work must have presented Zeno's positive programme, the ἀδυνάτους ὑποθέσεις of passage 2c, possibly, but by no means certainly, in the order indicated by Diogenes' account in passage 6. Insufficient attention seems to have been paid to the form which our evidence implies for this main part of the book. As the following list

<sup>3</sup> vii 4. Cf. Dyroff, 214, n. 2. On κατὰ τοὺς διακοσίους, paralleled in Diog. L. vii 187, 188, see Wachsmuth, 38-51. For Stoic brevity, cf. Diog. L. vii 59 (συντομία).

<sup>4</sup> Zeno's rejection of 'ordinary education' as useless clearly implies criticism of Plato's proposals to reform

it. Stein (*Die Erkenntnistheorie d. Stoa* 303, n. 689) has suggested that an alternative curriculum, involving the allegorical interpretation of Homer, was put forward in the books on *Greek Education*, *Homeric Problems*, and *Hearing Poetry* mentioned in Diogenes Laertius' list of Zeno's works (vii 4).



shows, it is a striking feature of the passages quoted above that Zeno's proposals are usually put forward as statements about what ought to happen:

- 2C ἐνομοθέτει  
 6 δογματίζειν . . . οἶεσθαι δεῖν κατασκευάζειν . . . κελεύει χρῆσθαι  
 7 κοινὰς εἶναι δεῖν  
 10 κατατετάχθαι  
 11 λέγει δεῖν ποιεῖν . . . οὐδὲν δεήσει

οἶεσθαι δεῖν κατασκευάζειν in 6 and οὐδὲν δεήσει in 11 are particularly significant, as these are the two places which appear to quote Zeno's own words. None of the passages, on the other hand, implies description of an ideal society as existing or imagined to exist. It is admittedly difficult to draw inferences about the form of an author's original statements from later summaries or references, but the evidence in this case seems overwhelmingly in favour of the conclusion that the *Politeia* did not, like many Utopian works, give a description of an ideal community in narrative form, but rather, after rejecting the present state of affairs, set out Zeno's alternative in some such form as 'this is how things ought to be', or 'this is how things would be if people were wise'. Zeno's approach was thus more or less of the same type as that used by Plato in the *Republic*; and it is interesting to find that Aristotle summarises Plato's views in phraseology closely resembling that of our evidence for the *Politeia* (e.g. *Politics* 1261a 7, 11, 13; 1264b 17, 38; 1265b 20). This similarity of approach lends colour to the widely accepted supposition that Plutarch refers to this book in stating that Zeno 'wrote in reply to Plato's *Republic*' (*De Stoic. Repug.* 1034c; *SVF* 260). As we shall see, there are several places in our evidence where Zeno appears to be criticising Plato; but Dyroff (p. 212, n. 7) seems to me to go too far when he supposes that the whole book took the form of a polemic against the *Republic* and followed the same sequence of ideas as Plato's work.

If this view of the form in which Zeno presented his proposals is correct, a good deal of light is thrown on their general character. Much of the confusion and difficulty that has arisen over the *Politeia* comes from mistaken attempts to answer certain major questions in a way, and with a precision, which is only possible in discussing a described Utopia. Such problems are the class structure of Zeno's ideal community, its place in time, its extent, and the means by which it was to be brought about. I will take these points in turn.

#### CLASS STRUCTURE

There has been much disagreement on the question whether all the members of Zeno's ideal state were wise or, like Plato's, it contained also an inferior class of unwise inhabitants. Most commentators have followed Zeller in regarding it as a 'polity of the wise'. Pöhlmann, apparently influenced by passage 12, believes that both wise and unwise were included, but only the wise were free men and citizens 'im eigentlichen und wahren Sinne' (p. 273, n. 2). Similarly Kärst (ii 121) makes only the wise participate in the human community 'in the highest sense'.

Passage 6 shows that Zeller's view is substantially correct. Whereas Plato included the *δημιουργοί* as an inferior class because he believed they would contentedly accept their part in the whole, for Zeno it is only οἱ σπουδαῖοι who can live together in amity: οἱ φαῦλοι are inevitably enemies of each other, and must divide society against itself, becoming a source of fatal *στάσις* impossible in an ideal state which, as we shall see from passages 4 and 5, embodies the principle of *ὁμόνοια* ἢ πρὸς αὐτήν and worships *Ἔρως*. We shall find that other features of Zeno's work confirm this: his proposals concerning sex relations, law-courts, and coinage are all applicable only to a community of the wise.



A narrative account of Utopia would have put this thought in the form: 'All the inhabitants are (or were, or will be) wise and good; the community has no unwise and bad members.' Zeno's method of expressing it seems to have been: 'The unwise are incapable of living together harmoniously in a community; only the wise can do so. In a community of the wise, life must be as follows.' The natural place for this stage in Zeno's argument was between his rejection *ἐν ἀρχῇ* of contemporary society and the main section on the life of the wise community—an arrangement which corresponds with the order followed by Diogenes in passage 6.

Further elaboration of this rejection of an inferior class was not required with this approach, and there is no reason to suppose, for example, that there was any reference in the *Politeia* to the presence or absence of slaves. Since the wise and good are by nature free (passage 6), in the perfect community where all is *κατὰ φύσιν* they must be free in fact: by nature only the foolish and bad can be slaves, and presumably there is no place for slavery in the ideal state. This seems a safe inference, but it is unlikely that Zeno specifically excluded slavery in this book.

#### TIME

Pohlenz places Zeno's ideal in the distant past, when the life of human society was still unspoilt. This setting would only be possible for a described Utopia, and it is not surprising to find that the evidence for Pohlenz's view is inadequate: the ground he gives is Philodemus' description of Zeno as *θαυμαστής τῶν ἀρχαίων*, but these words appear to refer to earlier thinkers, not to primeval man.<sup>5</sup> A possibly stronger argument for the same view, not mentioned by Pohlenz, is Philodemus' complaint (col. 19) that the Stoics want to transplant us (*μετοικίζειν*) *ἀντὶ . . . τῆς ἐξημερωμένης ἐν τοῖς νῦν χρόνοις ἀναστροφῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν γηγενῶν*; but this, of course, may well be no more than comment on the primitive nature of the Stoic ideal.

A more plausible assumption is that of Pöhlmann, Dyroff, Kärst, Arnold, and others, that Zeno's state was a 'Zukunftsideal', a prospect to be realised at some time in the future. An argument in favour of this view might well be drawn from some of the instances of the future indicative in our evidence. Many of them, such as *γαμήσειν* in passage 8 and *ἐρασθήσεσθαι* in 9, could well denote a present tendency or obligation. But what of *στέρομεν* and *περιαιρεθήσεται* in the last sentence of 7, or *οὐδὲν δεήσει* in 11, where Clement says he is quoting Zeno *αὐταῖς λέξει*? Where the verb of obligation is itself in the future, it might be argued that there must be a genuine reference to future time.

In a descriptive narrative these verbs would be a clear indication of the timing of the ideal state. As part of an account of what ought to happen, however, they were probably no more than an alternative way of stating what is desirable or right: 'If men are wise, then there will be no need. . . .' There is a close parallel to this also in Aristotle's discussion of Plato's *Republic* (*Pol.* ii 1264a30): *λέγει ὁ Σωκράτης ὡς οὐ πολλῶν δεήσονται νομίμων διὰ τὴν παιδείαν*. Desirable action not performed now is in a sense always an ideal for the future. But this is not the same as the deliberate relegation of Utopia to some future date.

The ambiguity of this approach, which puts forward a programme seen both as something desirable now, and as a future possibility, is reflected in passage 2c. Zeno claimed that his proposals were right for his own place and time—not for some remote future day; yet his critics could well complain that he legislated for ideal supermen who did not exist, ignoring contemporary humanity.

<sup>5</sup> Philod., col. 15; Pohlenz, ii 75. Crönert, 57, seems equally wrong in limiting the reference to Antisthenes and Diogenes. Cf. Aristotle's use of *οἱ*

*ἀρχαῖοι* to describe the early philosophers (*Met.* A 1, 2, etc.).



## EXTENT

Much confusion over this aspect of Zeno's ideal has been caused by misinterpretation of passage 4. Von Arnim (*SVF* i 261) explains *τάντην* in this passage as 'Lycurgi rem publicam', and other commentators<sup>6</sup> have supposed Plutarch to mean that Zeno's ideal was like Sparta. This conclusion is expressed in its extreme form by Tarn, who insists that the *Politeia* must have described a small community quite different from the 'World State' which he attributes to Zeno's later years.

The improbability of this interpretation is indicated by Plutarch's inclusion of Diogenes: whatever one may think about Diogenes' alleged *Politeia*, it is hardly likely that the work of a man who called himself *κοσμοπολίτης*, or any book attributed to him, put forward a small ideal city comparable with Sparta. Any such inference, however, is unnecessary. *ταύτην* does not mean Sparta, but the principle just mentioned (*ὥσπερ ἑνὸς ἀνδρός—τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν*). This, says Plutarch, was adopted as the fundamental principle<sup>7</sup> of his *Republic* (or, of his political views) by Plato and the rest; and it is indeed an accurate summary of that dependence of happiness on concord in the state, as in the individual, which is the basic theme of the *Republic*.

Passage 4, then, gives us no information on the problem of the extent of Zeno's Utopia. It seems probable that there was no answer to the question, for while a description of a community is likely to define its extent, an account in the form taken by the *Politeia* may either propose a size, as Plato does, or ignore the point; and the evidence suggests that Zeno did the latter.

Passage 5 refers to a single city: "*Ἐρως* is to preserve the security *τῆς πόλεως*. In passage 6, on the other hand, no temples, etc., are to be built *ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν*; and the plural occurs again in a passage from Stobaeus obviously parallel to this, although the *Politeia* is not mentioned: *Ζήνων ἔφη δεῖν τὰς πόλεις κοσμεῖν οὐκ ἀναθήμασιν ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν οἰκούντων ἀρεταῖς* (*SVF* i 266). The singular and plural might perhaps be reconciled by supposing that in passage 5 *πόλις* is used of the whole state, including particular cities. This would be in accordance with later Stoic usage, but there is no proof that Zeno so employed the word, unless his title, *Πολιτεία*, and the use of *πολίτας* in passage 6 are regarded as evidence for this. A more probable explanation is that the inconsistency reflects the indeterminate character of Zeno's approach. His conception of Utopia was not limited to a single city, nor to any particular number of cities or definite geographical area. Rather, he stated how things should and would be in a city, or in cities in general, if the inhabitants were wise and good.

## MEANS

Nothing in our evidence suggests that Zeno's book dealt with the means by which the ideal community could come about. The early Stoics were more concerned with the contrast between folly and wisdom than with the possibility of advance from one to the other, and presumably Zeno's aim was to emphasise the gap between the unwise society and the wise, rather than to put forward any way of bridging it.<sup>8</sup>

We can now turn to the content of Zeno's account of the ideal society of the wise. Its basic theme must have been life *κατὰ φύσιν*. The only general principle mentioned in our evidence, however, is the *ὑπόθεσις* of passage 4, that goodness and concord are the guarantees of lasting happiness in a community. We shall see that this emphasis on *ὁμόνοια* or

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Pohlenz, i 137, ii 75. On this passage cf. P. Merlan, *Cl. Phil.* xlv (1950) 161-2.

<sup>7</sup> For *ὑπόθεσις* here, cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1261a17, 1263b31.

<sup>8</sup> I am indebted to Mr. F. H. Sandbach for valuable comment on this and other points.



φιλία, which Zeno shared not only with Plato but with most other Greek political thinkers, underlies all the features of the *Politeia*. It was symbolised in the recognition of *Ἔρως* as a god who promotes friendship and freedom and concord, and therefore helps to maintain a city's lasting security (passage 5).<sup>9</sup>

As to the details of the life of the wise, the form used by Zeno is less likely to have given a complete account than we should expect in a descriptive narrative. But in any case our information is limited to the few points mentioned in our evidence, which are concerned with sex relations, public institutions, and coinage.

### SEX RELATIONS

Sex relations in the ideal community are dealt with in passages 6 to 10. Their prominence in the evidence may be due not to Zeno but to his critics, who found here above all the 'shameful' and 'unholy' proposals of which Philodemus writes (passage 2b).

κοινωνία γυναικῶν, most familiar from Plato's *Republic*, was a phrase evidently much used in controversy throughout the fourth century B.C. Its general implication was freedom of intercourse between the sexes, although this might be qualified in various ways. Aristophanes (*Eccles.* 613 *sqq.*) invented his own modification for his own comic purposes. Plato (*Rep.* 458d) rejected complete promiscuity for his 'guardians' on eugenic grounds during the age of child-bearing, but once this was past proposed freedom of intercourse restricted only by rules against incest (461b). Antisthenes (*Diog. L.* vi 11) seems also to have put forward a version influenced by eugenics. To Diogenes the doctrine is attributed in the form τὸν πείσαντα τῇ πεισθείσῃ συνείναι (*ibid.* 72); and the section of Philodemus which Crönert regards as a summary of Cynic doctrine includes ὡς ἔτυχε δέ, πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις χρησθαι (*Philod. op. cit.*, col. 9).

Zeno, like Plato and others, saw κοινωνία γυναικῶν as a means to harmony within the state, which would thereby remain undisturbed by family rivalries or jealousy (passage 7). As there can be no ground for eugenic selection in a community where all are wise and good, it is not surprising that Zeno is said in this passage to have held the doctrine in an extreme and unrestricted form: ὥστε τὸν ἐντυχόντα τῇ ἐντυχούσῃ χρησθαι. Dyroff (p. 208) regards this version as even more extreme than that of Diogenes, but if the Philodemus reference is to the Cynics, it becomes difficult to distinguish the two.

The contrast between the organised breeding of Plato's *Republic* and the complete promiscuity advocated by Zeno has led editors to bracket as a gloss the words ἀλλ' ἔτι Διογένης ὁ κυνικὸς καὶ Πλάτων in this passage.<sup>10</sup> The excision may be right, but the comparison can be defended on the ground that an inexact or unsympathetic commentator might well regard promiscuity as the principle common to all advocates of κοινωνία γυναικῶν. Zeno went beyond Platonic principles not in ignoring eugenics, which his Utopia did not need, but in allowing incest (*SVF* i 256). This, however, is not mentioned in our evidence for the *Politeia*.

Passage 8 raises a further difficulty. It has been generally assumed that the precept attributed to Zeno here is inconsistent with the κοινωνία γυναικῶν of 6 and 7; and Pohlenz (i p. 139) and others therefore regard it as a statement of the wise man's duty under present circumstances, not in the ideal community. This view is confirmed by the fact that the

<sup>9</sup> Dyroff, 211, suggests that ἄλλον δ' οὐδενός is a denial of Plato's claim (*Rep.* 402, 485; *Laws* 836) that Eros produced wisdom and virtue: for the Stoics, virtue begets Eros. Or Pontianus may mean that Eros leads to spiritual effects, not physical relations. (Cf. *Diog. L.* vii 130: μὴ εἶναι σαρκοσίας, ἀλλὰ φιλίας). Tarn's difficulties over this passage (ii 420-1) result from his misinterpretation of

passage 4. For ὁμόνοια among the wise, cf. *SVF* i 630, 635.

<sup>10</sup> A similar comparison is given in passage 6 by the reading Πλάτωνι in some MSS. after κοινὰς τε τὰς γυναῖκας δογματίζειν ὁμοίως. This is printed by Pearson and von Arnim, but rejected by Hübner, Cobet and Hicks, and is probably to be regarded as an interpolation.



preceding sentence in Diogenes Laertius is also concerned with the wise man's part in ordinary life, and by Cicero *De Fin.* iii 68, where his duty 'uxorem adiungere et velle ex ea liberos' is clearly contrasted with 'Cynicorum ratio atque vita'. On the other hand, our evidence for the *Politeia* contains no other reference to the wise man's conduct on this level, and it is difficult to believe that a short book discussed this as well as the ideal.

What the sentence states is the general Stoic view, drawn from whatever epitome Diogenes is using, and his reference to the *Politeia* as an example may be mistaken; or the claim that this was also the teaching of the *Politeia* may be due to a later defender of Zeno, who wanted to make his doctrines as normal and respectable as possible. But even if Zeno wrote γαμήσει καὶ παιδοποιήσεται, he may perhaps have meant no more than that the wise citizen of Utopia will have intercourse with women and beget children. παιδοποιεῖν is used by Praxagora in her account of κοινωνία γυναικῶν (*Eccles.* 615). Plato uses γάμοι καὶ παιδοποιίαι to describe his plans for the guardians' marital life (*Rep.* 459a, d). Whether γαμεῖν could be used of completely promiscuous unions is a doubtful question, although γαμεῖν and γάμος were certainly employed more loosely in later Greek authors. γαμήσειν . . . τεκνοποιίας χάριν, attributed to Antisthenes by Diogenes Laertius (vi 11) may, as I have mentioned, refer to κοινωνία γυναικῶν; on the other hand, his description of Diogenes' view (vi 72) can be interpreted as contrasting γάμος with promiscuity.<sup>11</sup>

That homosexual relationships were also given a place in the ideal community is shown by passages 9 and 10. Zeno's justification for this is made clear in 9: it is the boy's manifest goodness that attracts the wise man's love. Here we are not far away from Plato's *Symposium*, and the ἔρως felt by the wise citizen is clearly in accord with that worship of ἔρως which is to help to preserve the state.

The same purpose of ensuring ὁμόνοια underlies the proposal that all alike, men and women, are to wear the same dress. This was also the Cynic view (*cf.* Philod. col. 9: τὴν αὐτὴν στολὴν ἀμπέχεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τὰς γυναῖκας) and it was carried out in practice by Hipparchia, who wore the τρίβων like Crates (*Diog. L.* vi 93, 97). The addition μηδὲν μόριον ἀποκεκρύφθαι is also paralleled in Philodemus (col. 9) and was exemplified by Hipparchia's conduct. There is no reason to suppose with Zeller and Pohlenz that Zeno, like Plato (*Rep.* 452a, 457a), limited his proposal to gymnastic purposes: he advocated the abolition of gymnasia. His view was presumably the full Cynic ἀναίδεια and had the same principle behind it: nature is not shameful, and is not to be concealed.

#### PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

No less revolutionary was Zeno's declaration (passage 6) that 'no temples or law courts or gymnasia should be built in the cities'. So much for the Parthenon, the Athenians' beloved pastime of litigation, and the cult of athletics! Presumably the instruments of war were to disappear as well.<sup>12</sup> The 'city' or 'cities' of which Zeno wrote were to be stripped of most of the public buildings and institutions which gave individuality and splendour to an Athens or a Syracuse.

A reason for the exclusion of temples and statues of the gods is given in passage 11: such works are the creation of builders and artisans (against whom Zeno evidently retained

<sup>11</sup> *Cf.* Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 9 (Diogenes describing the Cynic way of life): γάμον δὲ ἀμελήσεις καὶ παῖδων καὶ πατρίδος. Another way of reconciling passage 8 with 6 and 7 is to suppose that Zeno accepted marriage and the family as a natural institution (Crates and Hipparchia made a permanent union, *Diog. L.* vi 96-8) but believed at the same time in promiscuity of sexual intercourse—the fulfilment of a natural appetite unconnected with love.

<sup>12</sup> *Cf.* Philod., col. 14: both Chrysippus and Diogenes wrote περὶ ἀχρηστίας τῶν ὅπλων. In general, *cf. ibid.*, col. 10: καὶ μήτε πόλιν ἡγεῖσθαι μηδεμίαν ὣν ἐπιστάμεθα μήτε νόμον. It seems to me uncertain whether this passage refers to Cynic or Stoic doctrine.



the accepted prejudice) and therefore unworthy of the gods. It is implied that there are to be no such δημιουργοί in the ideal community. The proposal is put on a different basis in *SVF* 146, where Epiphanius cites it without mentioning the *Politeia*: Zeno said μή δεῖν θεοῖς οἰκοδομεῖν ἱερά ἀλλ' ἔχειν τὸ θεῖον ἐν μόνῳ τῷ νῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν νοῦν. ἔστι γὰρ ἀθάνατος.

No ground is stated for the rejection of law-courts, but presumably they are not needed in a state guided by goodness and love. As Aristotle says, φίλων ὄντων οὐδὲν δεῖ δικαιοσύνης.<sup>13</sup> Conversely, their absence is only intelligible if all members of the community are wise and good.

The exclusion of gymnasia is also not explained. No doubt they were rejected because they were concerned with bodily welfare, which is irrelevant to the true happiness of the wise.

On all three points, as Dyroff says (p. 210), Zeno is rejecting institutions which Plato had allowed in the *Laws*: temples at 758a, 771a, 778c; law-courts at 766d, 778d; gymnasia at 778d.

#### COINAGE

Passage 6: νόμισμα δ' οὐτ' ἀλλαγῆς ἔνεκα οἰεσθαι δεῖν κατασκευάζειν οὐτ' ἀποδημίας ἔνεκεν. Tarn (ii 418) infers from this that 'you could go abroad from Zeno's State, which implies other States or countries beside it'. As the sentence says that currency need *not* be introduced for the purposes of going abroad, it might at least equally well be adduced to prove the opposite; and it is possible that Zeno thought there should be no trade or travel in the ideal society. More probably the passage is to be linked with that emphasis on concord and co-operation which has emerged from the rest of the evidence. There will be exchange of goods within the 'cities', and goods and people will need to pass from one of these centres of population to another, but where all are wise, and all united by friendship, there is no need for buying and selling and therefore no need for money.

Plato had admitted νόμισμα τῆς ἀλλαγῆς ἔνεκα in the *Republic* (371b), though banning it for the 'guardians' (417a). Diogenes had said the only currency should be knuckle-bones.<sup>14</sup> Zeno, with what looks like a direct reference to Plato's words, rejected currency altogether.

It is not stated in our evidence for the *Politeia* that goods, like wives, are common to all the citizens of Utopia, but this passage points to that conclusion. The ideal community sees the fulfilment in practice of the ideal κοινωνία of the wise.<sup>15</sup>

To sum up:

The *Politeia* was a short work probably intended as a reply to Plato's *Republic*, and certainly containing a number of implied criticisms of Plato. Zeno began by condemning contemporary society, including ordinary education, and claiming to put forward the remedy for its defects. Only the wise, he asserted, could live together in peace and harmony. In the rest of the book he expounded how men should live, and would live if they were wise. A general principle running through all the features of their life must be concord, symbolised in the worship of *Ἔρως*. Zeno did not limit his thoughts to a single πόλις, but the 'cities' of which he wrote were to be groups of dwellings without the individual splendour and the rivalries of contemporary city-states, for they were to have no temples or statues of the gods, no law-courts or gymnasia, no armies or warships. Travel and the movement of goods were to be accomplished without the use of money. Both sexes were to wear the same clothes. Sex relations between men and women were to be promiscuous, so that

<sup>13</sup> *EN* viii 1 1155a26. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 405a-c. Zeno's argument against the practice of hearing both sides in a law-court (*SVF* i 78) can hardly be his main reason for excluding law-courts from Utopia.

<sup>14</sup> Athen. iv 59c; Philod., col. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Diog. L. vii 124, 125. Cf. Arist. *EN* viii 9, 1159b29 ff.



the young would be the children of all; and homosexual relationships were to have their place in the wise citizen's life.

There remains the question of passage 12, which I have ignored till now because of Tarn's assertion that it does not refer to Zeno's book. In itself the contention seems improbable, especially in view of *ἔγραψεν* in the last sentence of the passage. This does not mean that Plutarch is quoting Zeno's actual words: what we have here is a summary of the main point of the *Politeia*, not a 'fragment'. But *ἔγραψεν* surely must imply that Plutarch is referring to a written work, emphasising the contrast, which he also makes in 328a-b, between the mere writings of philosophers and the deeds of Alexander.

Tarn bases his claim on two arguments, neither of which is convincing:

(a) Plutarch could not have called a work which excited such animadversion *ἡ θαυματομένη*. *θαυμάζειν* does not necessarily imply admiration; but if, as seems likely, the phrase does mean 'the much admired', it is paralleled in passage 4, where Zeno is included by Plutarch with Plato and Diogenes among those who *ἐπαινοῦνται* for their political writings.<sup>16</sup>

(b) Zeno's state was small and limited, entirely different from what Plutarch was describing. This supposed limitation of the size of Zeno's Utopia has already been shown to be a mistaken inference from passage 4.

If we take passage 12 as concerned with the *Politeia*, we find that for the most part it agrees well with the rest. This passage also is jussive, not descriptive: it tells us how we should live and regard our fellow-men. It expresses effectively that need for unity and concord which we have seen to be the main principle (*κεφάλαιον*) running through Zeno's work.<sup>17</sup> There are two points, however, on which it seems to conflict with the remainder of our evidence:

(i) *ἵνα μὴ κατὰ πόλεις μηδὲ δήμους οἰκῶμεν*. How is this to be reconciled with *τῆς πόλεως* in passage 5 and *ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν* in 6? The discrepancy is, I think, more apparent than real. Plutarch surely does not mean that there are to be no places where people live together, but only that men's lives should not be based on individual city-states, each, as he says, with its own version of *τὰ δίκαια*; and we have seen that Zeno's *πόλεις*, stripped of the distinctive features of the city-state, could be no more than 'places where people live together', centres of population in a closely united whole.

(ii) *πάντας ἀνθρώπους*. It is largely because of these words that modern writers on Stoicism have attributed to Zeno the notion of a 'world-state', covering all mankind. He may, of course, have included such a concept in the *Politeia*, but he could hardly have done so without explaining the apparent inconsistency of this all-embracing vision with the limitation of the community to the wise and exclusion of the foolish; and the reconciliation of the two was only possible, as several commentators have pointed out, by placing Utopia in some remote future time when all men, it may be imagined, will have become wise and good.

This idea might well occur in a narrative description of an ideal state, set in the far future as the 'Golden Age' was placed in the distant past. But it is foreign to the manner

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also *ibid.* 328d. Merlan, 161, gives other reasons for rejecting Tarn's argument.

<sup>17</sup> Tarn (ii 419, n. 4) says that the 'human herd' (*ἀνθρώπων συννόμον*) 'was a Cynic idea, not Stoic; and this comparison is not from Zeno, but is Plutarch having a hit at the Stoics'. But Zeller, to whom this attribution to the Cynics seems to be due, gives

as his main ground for it the use of the phrase in this account of the *Politeia* and the fact that 'this treatise of Zeno was always considered to express the opinions of the Cynic School' (*op. cit.* ii 1 325, n. 5). Actually, the chief precedents for the analogy are in Plato, e.g. *Polit.* 267d ff., 271e, 274e, *Laws* 680e. Cf. also *Xen., Mem.* i 2, 32.



of the *Politeia* as revealed by the rest of the evidence. Nor is there any suggestion of such a view elsewhere in our evidence about Zeno. Bréhier writes in *Chrysippe et l'ancien Stoïcisme* (p. 266) that Stoic ideas of natural justice 'amènent naturellement . . . à celle d'une humanité universelle. . . . Pourtant ne concluons pas trop vite; ce seront là les fruits qui mûriront à l'époque romaine. . . . Chrysippe n'est pas encore arrivé à cette largeur de vues'. Still less is Zeno likely to have reached any such perspective.<sup>18</sup> Although his thought contained the seeds of the idea of a united mankind, and history, including the conquests of Alexander, was turning men's minds in that direction, I believe the concept was fully realised only at a much later date.

How, then, are we to explain *πάντας ἀνθρώπους*? The phrase or its equivalent may have been used by Zeno, but in a way more in keeping with the general approach which we have found in the rest of the *Politeia*: in the simple sense of 'everybody', 'all people', which is very different from talk of 'all mankind'. This account of the matter would be confirmed by the words *δήμους* and *δημότας*, if, as some have supposed, they refer not to 'peoples', but to the demes of Attica, suggesting a context with a far narrower horizon than that of a world-state. 'If we were wise', Zeno in effect told the Athenians, 'we should not live split up into city-states and demes; we should regard everybody as our fellow-citizens and fellow-demesmen.'<sup>19</sup>

If this is correct, the writer of passage 12 is referring to the *Politeia* and may be quoting some of Zeno's own words; but he has given a twist to Zeno's ideas which brings them into line with that later Stoic conception of a 'world-state' which, he claims, Alexander realised in practice. This would be typical of his general tendency, manifest throughout his rhetorical exercise, to attribute modern ideas to thinkers of earlier days. Modern writers who use this passage as the ground for ascribing to Zeno the vision of a multi-racial world commonwealth are carrying the same dangerous tendency still further.

This view that the passage handles Zeno's thought in a way characteristic of a much later period raises the question of the authorship of the passage and the source, if any, from which it was drawn. The problem of authorship is not vital for our purpose: it will be agreed that in any case the *De Alex. M. Fort.* is not to be dated before Plutarch. More important is the claim made by E. Schwartz<sup>20</sup> and too readily accepted by more recent writers, that the whole of chapter 6, from which this passage is taken, comes from Eratosthenes. The only solid ground for this contention is that the sentence following passage 12 describes Alexander's rejection of Aristotle's advice that he should behave towards the Greeks as a leader and towards the Barbarians as a master; and Strabo (i 66) shows that similar (but not identical) advice to Alexander from an unstated source was discussed by Eratosthenes. This is very far from proving that the whole chapter is from Eratosthenes. Like the rest of the treatise, it is a patchwork of ideas derived from various ultimate sources, of which Eratosthenes is probably one and Zeno's *Politeia* another, and woven into the highly rhetorical texture of the author's argument.

In conclusion something may be said about the light which this account of the *Politeia* seems to throw on its place in the development of Greek thought, and particularly on its supposed relation to Cynic ideas.

Much has been made in modern times of the possibility that Zeno came of Phoenician stock, and the revolutionary character of the *Politeia*, written soon after his coming from the East, may seem to confirm the common belief that he brought with him to Athens Oriental conceptions previously foreign to the Greek mind. Nevertheless, the book seems

<sup>18</sup> Nor, I think, is anyone else of his time. I find the arguments claiming such a view for Alexander unconvincing. Cf. E. Badian, *Historia* vii (1958) 425-44 for criticism of them.

<sup>19</sup> But cf. 330d: *ἐνα δῆμον ἀνθρώπων ἀπαντας ἀποφῆναι βουλόμενος*.

<sup>20</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* xl (1885) 252-4. Cf. Badian, 432-9.



to me to have been essentially Greek, for the basic ideas which we find in it all belong to the main stream of Greek thought. The concept of a Utopia peopled by citizens of *moral* excellence has roots as far back as the 'city of the just' in Homer (*Od.* xix 109-14) and Hesiod (*Works and Days* 225-37). The 'wise man' ideal goes back at least to Socrates. The belief that *φιλία*, avoidance of *στάσις*, is the key to the lasting happiness of the community, is implicit in nearly every Greek political thinker and a commonplace in Plato (e.g. *Laws* 628) and Aristotle (e.g. *EN* viii 1155a22).

The relation of the *Politeia* to earlier political thought emerges most clearly in the sphere of the wise man's relation to the state. For Plato and Aristotle the ideal *σοφός* is the product of the ideal *πόλις*. In existing communities the philosopher may be forced to shelter by the wall (*Rep.* 496d), but ideally the state, existing *τοῦ εὖ ζῆν ἕνεκα*, is the training ground where wisdom and goodness are to be learned, the field where they must be exercised. The philosopher-ruler's wisdom rises out of the city and finds its fulfilment there.

The Cynics, on the other hand, welcomed the conception of the philosopher as the odd man out. The wise man not only does, but should, stand apart from society. He is *κοσμοπολίτης* (*Diog. L.* vi 63) and owes allegiance to no community but the universe. I will not enter here into the vexed question of the relation between Diogenes and Antisthenes, or the problems raised by the *Politeia* attributed to Diogenes, our evidence for which, in Philodemus and elsewhere, is likely to be coloured by the prejudices of critics who sought to tar Stoicism with the Cynic brush by emphasising and exaggerating the closeness of the Cynic ideal to Zeno's thought. Fortunately the Cynic position as Zeno found it is made clear by Crates, through whom he made contact with Cynicism. For Crates Utopia is a topic for an ironical jest, parodying Homer (*Diog. L.* vi 85). The ideal state is Pera, the philosopher's knapsack, symbol of that *αὐτάρκεια* through which he is independent of all communities. In his knapsack he finds all the joys of the Golden Age—satisfaction of his humble needs, peace, freedom, and contentment; in short (*ibid.* 86),

*θέρμων τε χοῖνιξ καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς μέλειν.*

A doctrine that belittled the *πόλις* would fall on ready ears at a time when the power of the city-state was disappearing, and the newcomer from Cyprus certainly adopted the Cynic rather than the Platonic view. In Cynic fashion he made his object the greatest possible contrast with the contemporary situation, and so produced in his *Politeia* one of the most radical documents of antiquity, stressing at every point that he was sweeping aside traditions which Plato had retained. But he diverged from Crates, I think, in one important aspect: his emphasis on the *kinship* of the wise. The thought that all wise men are akin was no new idea. It was implicit from the first in the Socratic or Platonic conception of a universal wisdom going beyond all particular limits, and it was expressed, for example, by Aristotle (*EN* ix 1167b4 *sqq.*). No doubt the Cynics saw this kinship as a bond transcending local ties and frontiers, so that Theban Crates could describe himself as a fellow-citizen of Diogenes of Sinope (*Diog. L.* vi 93). In passage 4 Plutarch, as we have seen, puts Diogenes and Zeno together, along with Plato, as thinkers who made *ὁμόνοια* the basic principle of their political thought. Nevertheless, it seems to have been Zeno who first gave more positive significance to the concept of philosophic wisdom as a universal bond between its possessors, and so formed the vision of the wise living together in friendship and concord in a new kind of ideal state.

If Zeno differs here from Crates, his teaching in the *Politeia* is also widely separated from the 'brotherhood of man' doctrine of later Stoicism, with which it has often been confused. Whereas Zeno preached what ought to happen if men were wise, putting forward sweeping proposals for changes in men's way of living and their physical environment to suit the life of wisdom, the Stoicism reflected in Cicero and Seneca and elsewhere

asks us to regard human brotherhood as already a fact: the circumstances under which we live are 'indifferent' and there is no need for them to be changed. Zeno may not have had the breadth of vision of the later Stoics, but his book had a boldness of thought which they lacked.

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## A VASE-FRAGMENT FROM LA MONÉDIÈRE

(PLATE I)

THE fragment reproduced on PLATE I(a) was found on the plateau of La Monédière (Hérault). I am greatly indebted to the owner, Mr. René Majurel of Coulommiers (Seine et Marne), for the photograph, for his kind permission to publish it, and for very precise information about the fragment itself. It is Attic work of about 450 B.C., by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs. Height  $5\frac{1}{2}$  centimetres, breadth the same: our illustration is about twice the actual size. The shape of the vase is uncertain: the wall is thin, and convex; inside the surface is covered with bands of diluted glaze, lustreless, varying from brownish to sanguine; except the uppermost fifth, which is reserved. Possibly an oinochoe?

A battle scene. On the left, a mounted warrior moves to right: what remains is part of the levelled spear, and one foreleg of the horse. On the right, a young warrior, in heroic nudity, moves sharply to right, turning round to left, the right leg frontal, the shield on the left arm, the right arm raised, doubtless with a weapon. The mounted warrior was probably an Amazon. The action is clear enough from the fragment, but becomes clearer by comparison with the vases that have been put together by Dietrich von Bothmer, in his *Amazons in Greek Art*, under the heading of 'mounted Amazon to right, Greek(s) on the defensive'.<sup>1</sup> Two of the eleven vases in his list, nos. 23 and 22 bis, have groups that are especially like ours: a neck-amphora by the Cassel Painter, in Rhodes, and a bell-krater in Madrid: both later than our fragment, about 440-430 B.C.<sup>2</sup> In the group of no. 24, a stamnos of the same period as these two, formerly in the Péreire collection, the only difference is that the Greek is seen from behind and not from the front.<sup>3</sup> In none of these vases is the drawing so energetic as in the fragment from La Monédière.

Groups like ours, as well as the back-view variant seen on the Péreire stamnos, also occur on fourth-century vases: on pelikai, for example, in London and Amsterdam the Greek is in front-view; on others, in Brussels and Leningrad, in back-view.<sup>4</sup> A vigorous version of our group, on fragments of a fourth-century bell-krater, from Al Mina, in the Museum of Eton College, is published in PLATE I(b) by kind permission of Mr. G. A. D. Tait. There were two groups, and a great deal of the right-hand one is preserved: the booted feet of the Amazon; her right hand with parts of the spear, including the point; part of her chiton (white like the rest of her) and of her horse. Of her opponent, nearly all except the right forearm and hand and the left leg below mid-thigh. On the right, the handle began. Little of the left-hand pair remains: back of head, nape, left shoulder and upper arm, of a youth in an attitude somewhat similar, it seems, to that of the youth in the first group, but bending further over with the legs wider apart—perhaps even down on one knee. A white mark on the face (invisible in the reproduction) is hard to explain, it can hardly be the muzzle of a white horse.

A complete bell-krater in Vienna furnishes back-view counterparts to the Eton group, though in a later and inferior style.<sup>5</sup> The back-view variant is also recognisable in the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 175-6, nos. 18-27.

<sup>2</sup> Rhodes 12016: *Clara Rhodos* iii 276-7; *CV*, pl. 9, 1-2 and pl. 10, 3-4. Madrid 11077: Alvarez-Ossorio, pl. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Tableaux I.P.*, pl. 9, 35, whence Bielefeld *Arch. Vermutungen*, fig. 6: Group of Polygnotos.

<sup>4</sup> London F 14: Group G. Amsterdam inv. 957: Schefold *Untersuchungen*, fig. 64: by the Amazon Painter. Brussels A 908: *CV* e, pl. 4, 13: Group G. Leningrad: *Otchët* 1902, 55, fig. 96: Group G.

<sup>5</sup> Vienna 970: A, La Borde 1, pl. 20; A, von Lücken *Greek Vase Paintings*, pl. 96.



Amazon frieze of the Mausoleum,<sup>6</sup> and even on sarcophagi of the Roman period<sup>7</sup>; the front-view, in the frieze of the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia.<sup>8</sup> Forerunners of the back-view variant can be seen on black-figured vases: cups from the third quarter of the sixth century (the rider a Greek, the Amazon on foot), small vases from the beginning of the fifth (the Greek on foot, the Amazon mounted).<sup>9</sup>

To return to the red-figure pictures: we have not yet asked the question, just what is happening in the fragment from La Monédière. The figures, in the Greek manner, are flattened out on to one plane. The Amazon gallops straight at the Greek; he slips aside—away from the spectator, as it were, and into the background—avoids her spear, and as she passes strikes at her. It is not flight, but manœuvre. One cannot be certain that this is what the artist meant in all these groups, but in many of them it is. The action is apt to be obscured by the position of the Greek's spear, which the artist sometimes places on the hither side of the horse's head instead of on the off side; and similarly by the position of the horse's forelegs, which are sometimes on the off side of the Greek's body instead of on the hither side.

No. 18 in Bothmer's list of 'mounted Amazon, and Greek(s) on the defensive' is a big oinochoe in Ferrara which I had described as 'probably by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs'.<sup>10</sup> Bothmer has no doubt that it is in fact by him, and after seeing it once more I decided to include it, without query, in the list of the artist's works. I cannot say, however, that it bears any specially close relation to the fragment from La Monédière. The quality of the drawing, though adequate, is by no means choice; and although the two figures in the middle—mounted Amazon to right, Greek to right, turning round—look not unlike ours at first glance, on inspection the resemblance is seen to be rather superficial. The Greek, off balance and as if hard pressed, raises his spear, and a companion, firmly planted, thrusts with his; yet the Amazon, although she holds a spear, is not in a position of attack; her unmounted companion, although she carries a pelta, has neither spear nor sword; and the pair have the appearance, at most, of simply proceeding to the battlefield. One always hesitates to make such criticisms, in case one may have missed some point that was plain to the ancient observer, but both pairs, and the archer on the left, do strike one as a selection of figures in warlike attitudes rather than as a real battle-scene.

The Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, so called from the creatures on an enigmatic vase in Syracuse, was a follower of the Niobid Painter, but no mere follower: he has a pronounced character of his own. His vases are not numerous, and most of them are recent finds. Of some vase-painters it may be said that although recent finds have increased the catalogue of their work and enriched our mental picture of them by many fine strokes, the material already available fifty years ago would have been sufficient to give a correct notion of their nature and their quality. This could not be said of our artist. Hardly anything of his was known at the beginning of this century; and the last few years have seen important additions. Five vases and two fragments were assigned to him in *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, and a few other pieces said to be probably his or at least to recall him.<sup>11</sup> Since then, one of the fragments, Louvre G 649, part of a bell-krater, has been augmented by other sherds and is now seen to represent Herakles, Nike, and a king, although the exact subject is still uncertain. A volute-krater by our painter, with an extraordinary rendering of the death of Actaeon, was acquired by the Louvre a few years ago.<sup>12</sup> Another volute-krater, with the struggle of Lapiths and Centaurs at the wedding of Perithoos, has been recomposed from fragments

<sup>6</sup> Mausoleum, slab 1010.

<sup>7</sup> Redlich *Die Amazonensarkophage*, pl. 12, G 2.

<sup>8</sup> Humann *Magnesia*, pl. 12, 1b; pl. 13, 15k, right; pl. 13, 19p, right.

<sup>9</sup> Bothmer *Amazons*, pl. 56 and pl. 57, 1; *ibid.*, 83 nos. 124-6.

<sup>10</sup> Bothmer *Amazons* 175-6; *ARV* 427.

<sup>11</sup> *ARV* 427-8.

<sup>12</sup> *Revue des Arts* vii 123 (Devambez).



formerly in the cellars of the Louvre. A fragment in Tübingen, with part of a Centauro-machy, was said in *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* to recall the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs<sup>13</sup>: Brian Shefton has now seen that it belongs to the new volute-krater in Paris. The latest addition to the list is the excellent fragment from La Monédière.

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<sup>13</sup> ARV 426: Watzinger *Vasen in Tübingen*, pl. 28, E 97.

## ON STEPHANUS BYZANTIUS' TEXT OF STRABO

THE full publication, after long and expert study, of the remnant of the Vatican Palimpsest of Strabo (W. Aly and F. Sbordone, *de Strabonis Codice Rescripto*)<sup>1</sup> redeems this unique early MS. of the *Geographica* from the oblivion to which Kramer and Cobet consigned it, and justifies all Aly's travail upon it. Aly dates the script about A.D. 500;<sup>2</sup> and while recognising numerous errors and great carelessness on the part of scribe and corrector, he finds support for many of the readings of the palimpsest where they differ from the established text of the Byzantine MSS. of Strabo. He maintains that in the early sixth century there were two distinct traditions of the text current in Constantinople:

(i) That of the Vatican Palimpsest (V). Some of its variant readings seem to be echoed in marginal or interlinear corrections in the Byzantine MSS., and Aly therefore believes that V is the source from which such corrections were transmitted. If this is true, they may be freely drawn upon for the establishment of this very early tradition of the text.<sup>3</sup>

(ii) The tradition of the text preserved in our Byzantine MSS. of Strabo (L). Aly seeks to identify the archetype of L as the text of Strabo used by Stephanus Byzantius in the early years of Justinian's reign.<sup>4</sup>

Much of what Aly says about the Vatican Palimpsest is cogent. But in so far as his recognition of two (and only two) traditions of Strabo's text in the early sixth century depends on the claim that the archetype of L was the text used by Stephanus, it does not seem to me to be adequately established; and it is to this point that the present note is directed. Aly cites eight instances of Stephanus' use of Strabo which, in his opinion, prove his contention. There are of course other instances that might be cited; but, so far as I know, none are of any real substance. The passage in Aly is as follows:<sup>5</sup>

	Book	Page (Cas.)	Chapter (Kramer)	Kramer's pages	
1.	x	484	5.1	414.20	Σίκηνος = lemma Stephani, qui Strabonem laudat; <i>CIKINOC</i> V fol. 266 v ii 1.
2.	xi	502	4.5	446.23	Καμβυσσηρή E (ω') = lemma Stephani. <i>Καμβυσσηρή</i> cum codicibus stirpis ω V fol. 276 r ii 18 servavit.

<sup>1</sup> *Studi e Testi* no. 188 (Vatican, 1956).

<sup>2</sup> And Sbordone a little earlier (p. 273).

<sup>3</sup> Aly collects seven variants from the Byzantine MSS. which are more or less identical with readings in the surviving folios of V (p. 249); assuming an even distribution among the books, we might expect some fifty more in the parts of the *Geographica* not covered by V. Aly assumes that these corrections were transmitted through a sixth-century critical commentary on Strabo, based on V. But Diller has pointed out that there is nothing to indicate that there was ever a more elaborate commentary than

we now possess, and that many of the existing scholia are not as early as the sixth century (*Traditio* x (1954) 43 n. 25). Diller himself postulates an annotated archetype of our Byzantine MSS., which he ascribes to Photius in the third quarter of the ninth century (cf. also Sbordone, 284).

<sup>4</sup> Sbordone agrees with this (p. 283).

<sup>5</sup> P. 254. For greater convenience I have inserted references to Casaubon's pages. A is the principal MS. of the first half of Strabo, E and Epit. are the epitomes.



	Book	Page (Cas.)	Chapter (Kramer)	Kramer's pages	
3.	xi	528	14.5	494.1	<i>Ξεργηνή</i> A[L] = lemma Stephani, qui nomine auctoris omisso locum Strabonianum affert; falsam etymologiam, qua scriptura fulcitur, [Meineke's Steph. Byz.] p. 351.11 exponit. Ex nota marginali <i>ΖΕΡΑΗΝΗ</i> Cv supra veram scripturam elicuimus.
4.	ix	443	5.22	328.3	<i>Μόψου</i> τοῦ μάντεως A = Steph. p. 459.2; <i>μαντοῦς</i> Epit. ni fallimur e margine recepit.
5.	ix	443	5.22	328.4	<i>μόψος</i> A = Steph. p. 458.12, ubi Strabonis locum affert; <i>μόψοπος</i> Epit. ut supra.
6.	xiv	658	2.20	135.2	<i>λίμνη</i> L = Steph. s. <i>Καρύανδα</i> , qui locum Strabonis sine nomine affert; V periit. <i>λιμήν</i> ex Scylace Kr. recepit.
7.	xiii	603	1.45	41.17	<i>νέα κώμη</i> L = Steph. p. 471.1; verum nomen <i>Αἰνέα</i> Leaf e Strabonis locis vii F 21 (E), 24 (Epit.) et xii [C 552] 3.23 (p. 536.4) restituit.
8.	xvi	767	3.7	314.5	<i>δώρακτα</i> L; Stephanus s. lemmate <i>Δώρα</i> Strabonem laudat; tres litteras versu terminato neglexit. Verum nomen <i>Ὀαρακτα</i> Arrianus <i>Ind.</i> 37.2 exhibet, v. <i>RE</i> xvii col. 1679.

To take these eight points in turn:

1. (The island) *Σίκινος*, which V reads, is evidently the proper form, and L, with Stephanus, presents an inferior spelling.

2. *Καμβυσσηνή* (an eparchy in the Armenian highlands) occurs three times in this book (C 501, 502, 528): according to Kramer's apparatus, the MS. D (followed by h) reads *Καμβισ*—throughout (*Καμβισσηνή* in 528), C reads *Καμβισ*—in 501, 502 (but *Καμβισ*—in 528):<sup>6</sup> *Καμβισ*—rell. V shows *Καμβισσηνή* in 502. Stephanus, who gives *Καμβισσηνή*, does not name Strabo; but s.v. *Ξεργηνή* (Meineke), he appears from his wording to have drawn the two names *Ξ.* and *Κ.* from Strabo C 528, where V is in fact not preserved. Aly's 'servavit' seems to imply that V's is the true reading. But the name of the River Cambyzes, which flowed through this region to join the Cyrus (R. Kur), appears to be spelt in the same way as the Persian king's name in the MSS. of Dio Cassius (xxxvii 3.5), Mela (iii 41) and Pliny (*NH* vi 39); and it is therefore more natural to suppose that Strabo wrote *Καμβισσηνή*. If that is so, the intrusion of an *iota* in the name in V (C 502) and, irregularly, in the main group of L is surely accidental.

In the remaining cases, except (as we shall see) no. 6, V is not extant; and its readings must therefore be a matter of surmise.

3. *Ξεργηνή* (another eparchy in the same region). Aly also mentions this on his

<sup>6</sup> If Kramer's apparatus is right, his note 'et sic constanter' at C 501 is wrong and has led Müller and Aly into error.



p. 248, where (citing the form 'Derzene' in Pliny *NH* v 83) he says that the true reading in Strabo is *Δερζηνή*. The Armenian account of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity, which is falsely ascribed to the king's secretary Agathangelos, is said to name 'Derdschan'<sup>7</sup> at the point where *τὴν τῶν Ζερανιτῶν πατρίδα* is read in the Greek version;<sup>8</sup> and Aly rightly finds support in this for the form of the name given by Pliny. But the marginal note *ΖΕΡΑΗΝΗ* in two MSS. of Strabo does not look like a corruption of a hypothetical true reading *Δερζηνή*; it looks more like an attempt at a rendering of the early Byzantine form of the name which appears in the Greek version of Agathangelos; and if that is so, it does not constitute evidence of what Strabo wrote. There is thus no sufficient reason for supposing that Strabo did not write *Ξερζηνή*. It seems altogether more probable that he transmitted the name himself than that it was deliberately coined by some early scribe or editor of the *Geographica*.

4. Mopsos the seer was well known as the son of Manto, the daughter of Teiresias. At ix 443 the MSS. of Strabo read *ἀπὸ Μόψου τοῦ μάντεως τοῦ Τειρεσίου*: the editors alter *μάντεως τοῦ* to *Μαντοῦς τῆς*. Stephanus s.v. *Μόψιον* cites Strabo's ninth book: there follows an entry (*Μοψοπία*), in which he cites Callimachus (for the name Mopsos) and Heracleides Ponticus; then the entry *Μόψου ἐστία* . . . *ἀπὸ Μόψου τοῦ μάντεως. ὁ πολίτης κτλ.* Aly maintains that the word *μάντεως* in the MSS. of Strabo at C 443 is corrupt, and that Stephanus in the last entry cited here reproduces that error. His contention depends on this double assumption; and it depends also on the further assumption that the true reading (*i.e.* *Μαντοῦς*) was transmitted through V to the Palatine Epitome (Epit.).

Epit. here reads *ὅτι ἕτερος Μόψος ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Ἀττικὴ Μοψοπία, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Μαντοῦς τῆς Τειρεσίου θυγατρὸς παῖς, ἀφ' οὗ Μοψουεστία πόλις Κιλικίας*. This is the reason why the editors of Strabo have preferred to emend *μάντεως τοῦ* to *Μαντοῦς τῆς* in ix 443; and at first sight it appears to justify their choice. But in general the editors, being primarily concerned to set up a smooth literary text, have used E and Epit. as sources for the text without sufficiently considering the limits of their validity. The writer of Epit., which Diller believes to be a product of Photius' workroom,<sup>9</sup> did not scruple to add words or comments of his own to the text which he was following. In the present passage he has inserted a mention of Mopsouhestia, to which Strabo only refers in Book xiv; and if he did not carry the ancestry of Mopsos in his head, he could well have culled the phrase in question from that in xiv 642 (*Μόψω τῷ Μαντοῦς τῆς Τειρεσίου θυγατρὸς*). There is therefore no likelihood that Epit. is the heir to a better tradition of the text here in ix 443, and Aly's argument loses its cogency. But if this is so, there is no certainty that the accepted emendation in Strabo's text at this point is correct; for the error is soluble in other ways.

Finally, in the entry *Μόψου ἐστία* (above) Stephanus does not cite Strabo; and if he had felt it necessary to borrow his phrasing from Strabo, surely he would rather have had recourse to the relevant passage (on Mopsouhestia, xiv 675-6) where he would have found Mopsos' parentage quite differently expressed. Under the circumstances it seems easiest to suppose that Stephanus called Mopsos a *μάντις* on his own authority; various other

<sup>7</sup> *RE* s.v. 'Derzene'.

<sup>8</sup> Ps.-Agathangelos 134 (*Acta SS*, 30 Sept., S. Greg. Ep.) = 133 (de Lagarde, *Agathangelus u. die Akten Gregors v. Armenien*, Göttingen Abh. 35, 1888). G. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (Vatican, 1946; Studi e Testi no. 127) p. 209 emends *Ζερανιτῶν* to *Δερζανιτῶν*. The Greek Martyrion of S. Gregory in Madrid, published for the first time by Garitte, speaks of *Δερζῶν χώρα* (Garitte suggests emending to *Δερζενῶν*) and, in another passage, of *Δερζενή* (*loc. cit.*). The form *Ζερανιτῶν* in the Greek Agathangelos thus appears to be an isolated variant

in its context. But it can hardly be corrupt since it is supported by the scholium *Ζεραηνήν* in Cv of Strabo. In emending *Ζερανιτῶν* in the Greek Agathangelos Garitte was evidently unaware of the Strabo scholium, and in emending the scholium Aly was presumably unaware of the reading of the Greek Agathangelos. No doubt the Greek translator of the Armenian text of the Martyrion, unlike the Greek translator of Ps.-Agathangelos, was unacquainted with the Byzantine form of the name of the eparchy.

<sup>9</sup> *Traditio* x (1954) 31 ff., 44 ff.



ancient writers did so (see Tzschucke's note at ix 443), and indeed Strabo himself speaks of Mopsos as a *μάντις* in xiv 642.

5. Strabo (ix 443) and Stephanus (*s.v.* *Μόψιον*, citing Strabo's ninth book) give: ἄλλος δ' ἐστὶ Μόψος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Ἀττικὴ Μοψοπία.<sup>10</sup> This in itself seems unsatisfactory, and from Stephanus (*s.v.* *Μοψοπία*) we understand that the personal name should be *Μόψοψ*; this seems hitherto to have been overlooked, but in fact Lycophron *Alex.* 733, Tzetzes *ad loc.* (gen. *Μόψοπος*), confirms it. There is, however, no doubt that Stephanus read *Μόψος* in Strabo. Now in ix 397 (Attica) all MSS. of Strabo read *Μοψοπίαν δὲ ἀπὸ Μοψόπου*, and editors since Casaubon accept this and change the nominative in C 443 to *Μόψοπος* (which is found in two fifteenth-century MSS.). But it is difficult to believe that this can be the true reading. That *Mopsopos* is not the same person as Mopsos is altogether too self-evident; and if the remark was worth making at all, it would surely have been expressed rather differently so as to avoid laying the whole strain on the unaccented third syllable of the last word in the phrase. Indeed the name *Mopsopos* itself is very odd. The editors have been curiously indifferent to the problems they have created. Aly, in accepting the correction, actually cites the Palatine Epitome as reading *Μόψοπος* here,<sup>11</sup> and assumes that this is a correction derived from a better MS. tradition. This would be important, though not decisive, evidence in favour of *Μόψοπος*. But neither Kramer's nor Müller's (*GGM*) text of Epit. gives any hint of the reading *Μόψοπος*, and the context shows plainly that the name that its writer had in front of him was *Μόψος*: it seems rather that Aly (in company with Müller on Strabo ix 443) has been misled by the ambiguous punctuation of Kramer's critical note (ii 328, on l. 4) and that Epit. does not actually read *Μόψοπος* here. The authority for the reading is then not earlier than Gemistos Plethon in the fifteenth century, and it may be regarded as an emendation accepted into the 'vulgate' by Casaubon.

6. (Caryanda in Caria.)

Ps.-Scylax (98) 99 *Κρυήνδα νῆσος καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν (οὔτοι Κᾶρες).*

Stephanus *s.v.* 'Καρύανδα,' πόλις καὶ λίμνη ὁμώνυμος πλησίον Μίνδου καὶ Κῶ.

Strabo xiv 658 (L) *εἰτ' εὐθὺς ἡ Μίνδος λιμένα ἔχουσα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Βαργυλία, καὶ αὕτη πόλις· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ Καρύανδα λίμνη καὶ νῆσος ὁμώνυμος ταύτη, ἣν ὥκουν Καρυανδεῖς.* The emendation *λιμὴν* for *λίμνη* in Stephanus goes back to Holsten, who was studying Ps.-Scylax in the 1620s; and it was no doubt made without knowledge of the Strabo passage, which indicates that the *λίμνη* was not on the island but on the mainland. The corresponding emendation to *λιμὴν* in Strabo, to bring his text into line with Stephanus, cannot be attributed with certainty; it was printed in Tzschucke's edition (1808) with the comment that since it is called an island, Caryanda cannot have had its seat in a lake on the mainland, but in a gulf of the sea. Tzschucke had evidently overlooked the fact that *ὥκουν* is a past tense. Koraës, with his habitual perspicacity, observed that the feminine *ταύτη* no longer fits into the structure of the sentence, since *λιμὴν* seems to be invariably masculine; he emended to *·ταύτην ὥκουν*, and subsequent editors have omitted *ταύτη* or changed it to *τούτῳ*.

The editors have, however, overlooked the problem that they have thus invented. In the periplus of Ps.-Scylax the word *λιμὴν* has a distinct meaning; it is a harbour in which a vessel may lie secure. *Νῆσος καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν* means that there is a city on the island, and that it has such a harbour. How then can the harbour be on the mainland coast? Groskurd (*a.* 1833), who had a genuine respect for Strabo, paused to consider the problem created by the change to *λιμὴν*, and was hesitant in accepting the emendation; but he ventured to explain it by comparison with Cnidus, where an island lay close inshore and united with the mainland to form a harbour. Unfortunately his work was written a few years too soon for him to ascertain from the Admiralty charts that this is out of the

<sup>10</sup> With the variant *οἱ Ἀττικοὶ Μοψοπίαι* in MSS. of Stephanus.

<sup>11</sup> For the passage see under no. 4 above.



question, and subsequent editors have not realised that there is a problem. Indeed, editors after Kramer have not noted that *λιμὴν* is not in the MSS., though Newton (who traversed the coast in question), protested that it was an emendation; and in consequence scholars such as F. Jacoby, L. Robert, and Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor have taken *λιμὴν* to be the MS. reading in Strabo here. Bean and I have discussed the problem from the topographical point of view and given the relevant *testimonia* (except V, which was not then known);<sup>12</sup> and it is not necessary here to say more than that the MSS. reading *λίμνη* in Strabo and Stephanus seems in every way more satisfactory than the emendation *λιμὴν*. There was not time for Aly to know of this before his book went to press; and he cites Caryanda in the belief that *λιμὴν* is a universally accepted correction. If *λίμνη* is established as the true reading, the restoration of V is certain: *Καρύανδα λ[ίμνη] καὶ πόλις ὁμ[ώνυ]μος ταύτης, [ἦν ὡ]ικουν Καρυ[ανδεῖς]*. It is now possible to compare the three versions:

<i>Καρύανδα λίμνη καὶ νῆσος ὁμώνυμος ταύτη</i>	L
<i>Καρύανδα λίμνη καὶ πόλις ὁμώνυμος ταύτη</i>	V
<i>Καρύανδα πόλις καὶ λίμνη ὁμώνυμος</i>	Stephanus.

If Stephanus was here following Strabo only (though there is no reason to suppose that he was),<sup>13</sup> it must have been the tradition of V rather than that of L that he had in front of him.<sup>14</sup>

7. (Troad.) The MSS. of Strabo here (C 603) read *ἡ Νέα κόμη* and, lower down in the same section, *τῆς μὲν Αἰνέας* (or *Αἰνέας*): in xii 552 *Ἐνέαν κόμην*. Stephanus (*s.v.* *Νέαι*) has *ἔστι καὶ Νέα κόμη φρούριον Μυσίας*, which may reflect the first mention in C 603. Leaf emended in C 603 to *Αἰνέα Κόμη*. Aly follows Leaf, and assumes that Stephanus is reproducing an error of the archetype of L. But the words come in the last sentence of a long passage in which Strabo seems to be quoting Demetrius word for word (Meineke in fact prints the passage in quotation marks); so the form of the name should be as given by Demetrius at this point and need not necessarily correspond with that used by Strabo elsewhere. And—what is more serious—Pliny knows a 'Nea oppidum' [(in) ea *AEF*, (in) eo *R*] in the Troad with a perihyete image of Minerva (*NH* ii 210), whether or not this is identical with the 'oppidum Nee' (*Naeae F*, *Cnaeae F*<sup>2</sup>) which he names between Alexandria Troas and the Scamander (*NH* v 124). Leaf in fact, in emending *Νέα* in Strabo, assumed Stephanus' village to be identical with Pliny's *oppidum*; and it is a rather bold assumption that there is no connexion between them. Kramer on that ground preferred to keep *ἡ Νέα κόμη* in Strabo, and even suggested that *Νέα* should be read in all three passages of Strabo (his note on xii 552).<sup>15</sup> In any case the phrase *φρούριον Μυσίας*, which follows in Stephanus, is not derived from Strabo. Stephanus must therefore have had some other authority for the name Nea, and the name cannot be rejected as being simply due to a faulty tradition of Strabo's text.

8. (An island of the Persian Gulf.) Strabo's principal MSS. read *Δωράκτα* [*Δοράκτα* (Meineke in his Stephanus) or *Δόρακτα* (Kramer) or *Δύρακτα* (Müller, a misprint?) being the reading of some lesser ones]. Other ancient geographers give the name of this island

<sup>12</sup> *BSA* 1 (1955) 155-9.

<sup>13</sup> Because of the mention of Cos, which suggests that he consulted a periplus.

<sup>14</sup> Aly attempts to unite L and V in one of his conflated restorations (as appears from his pp. 223, 234, 254), i.e. *Κ. λιμὴν καὶ νῆσος καὶ πόλις ὁμώνυμος ταύτη* (the alternative order is ruled out by Strabo's immediately preceding words *καὶ αὕτη πόλις*, which imply that Caryanda was not in his time a city). But, apart from the topographical difficulty arising from

reading *λιμὴν*, this order of citation would be most peculiar, and the arrangement with the several members linked by subordinating *καὶ* is that of the periplus, but not Strabo's idiom. Aly's restoration is in fact another, more subtle attempt to resolve the besetting difficulty of *ταύτη* referring back to the masculine *λιμὴν*.

<sup>15</sup> For more recent discussion see Ruge in *RE s.v.* 'Nea'.



as beginning with 'Οο-, 'Οα-, and Οὐο-: the name seems to have survived into modern times with initial B.<sup>16</sup> 'Οάρακτα has been inserted in Strabo's text here by Koraës and Meineke; Müller suggested 'Αώρακτα. Stephanus cites the name on the authority of this passage of Strabo, which he quotes exactly as our MSS. have it except that he gives the name as Δῶρα. Aly considers that the form in Δωρ- was peculiar to Stephanus' copy of Strabo. But on the other hand, L shows the expected termination in -ακτα, whereas Stephanus definitely read the four-letter name Δῶρα since he offers Δωρίτης and Δωρηνός as the forms of the ethnic. This seems to be an exceedingly difficult case to judge; it is most unfortunate that V is not preserved at this point.

Of these eight passages cited as proving the identity of Stephanus' text and the archetype of L only the first one tells definitely in favour of the contention; and it is a very feeble testimony. Against this must be set the points where Stephanus' text differs from L. There are of course notable examples of divergence which could be adduced.<sup>17</sup> But close examination of a geographical text can only lead to the multiplication of error if it is not allied with knowledge of the geography and of the literary and other *testimonia*; and the following remarks are for that reason restricted to Books xiii init.-xiv 664, comprising exactly one-tenth of the whole *Geographica*. In Book xiii there are on an average two discrepancies between Stephanus and L per three citations, in Book xiv rather fewer but more significant. The majority consist of minor orthographical variations or slight verbal changes; but the general impression created is that of two MSS. traditions with fairly numerous minor differences of spelling. A good instance is xiv 639, Δράκανον L; Stephanus certainly read the uncommon form Δράκονον in his Strabo because he confirmed the error in the ethnics which he conjured up. The crux in xiv 645 (Ariouisia), which is one of the most notable in the whole of Strabo, has been brilliantly (and perhaps rightly) explained by Aly;<sup>18</sup> but in 650 L reads Aromata as against Aroma in V and Stephanus.<sup>19</sup>

Within the same limits of Books xiii-xiv it is perhaps worth considering one other aspect of the early tradition of Strabo's text as revealed by Aly's publication of the Vatican Palimpsest. Since we have considered whether L and Stephanus present the occasional bad reading in common, it is pertinent to enquire whether V and L also present errors in common, or whether the two streams are from the outset separate. In xiii 598 (Ilion, the place of the fig-tree), τῆς δὲ νῦν πόλεως πάμπλου ἀπέοικε (L), most editors have supposed the true reading to be ἀφέστηκε since Eustathius (reproducing Strabo's words, though in a different construction) writes ἀφεστηκώς. But V (fol. 329 r iii 29-31) has the same reading as L, and this makes it difficult to believe that Eustathius can have had a better text at his disposal. Aly suggests ἀπ' ἐστὶ ὥς > ἔοικεν,<sup>20</sup> thus admitting a common error. But it is of course possible to read ἀπέοικε, not in the sense of distance, but (as Groskurd and Müller in fact took it) that the situation just described does not fit with the present site of the city. This, then, though surprising, is not necessarily corrupt. But in the argument that Strabo develops towards the end of C 598 the text of L is certainly corrupt, and yet it is repeated by V.<sup>21</sup> In C 610 (58) the impossible ὥς τε, rejected by the editors, recurs

<sup>16</sup> For the *testimonia* see Stein in *RE* s.v. 'Οάρακτα.

<sup>17</sup> Aly's explanation of the anomaly in x 487 [(giants suppressed by Heracles) ὑστάτους L; ὑμειοτάτους (ὑμῖαν—Müller in his Strabo *ad loc.*, a misprint?) Stephanus, quoting this passage of Strabo and followed by Eustathius: Aly proposes ὑστάτους καὶ δεινοτάτους] is conjectural and mythologically questionable. Many such conflated restorations are proposed by Aly in order to harmonise corrupt readings in V (or here Stephanus) with satisfactory readings in L. They seem to rely unduly on the coincidence of the two traditions being

independently corrupted in different ways at the same point.

Another notable instance is the close correspondence of V (fol. 279 r iii 23-6; Aly, 196) with Stephanus, as against L (in xi 508). <sup>18</sup> P. 255.

<sup>19</sup> Aly offers a difficult conflated reading at this point (p. 223, fol. 358 r iii 12). <sup>20</sup> P. 204.

<sup>21</sup> It is not necessary to follow Leaf in his drastic rearrangement of this section; the root of Leaf's trouble, I suspect, is a misunderstanding of Demetrius' topography and the position of the Scamander mouth and Achaeans' Harbour. But, as Kramer



in V; also, in 611 the corrupt form *Συναγέλα* (*Συναγέλας* F) for *Συάγελα* *vel. sim.*<sup>22</sup> and in the quotation from Herodotus *ἐπιτήδειον* for *ἀνεπιτήδειον*. In 612 *init.*, in the line *καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ δάσσαντο μετὰ σφίσιν* (*ὕλεις Ἀχαιῶν*), L omits the last pair of words ('sed abesse haud facile potest', Kramer), V omits the last two pairs. In xiv 653 (6), *οὕτως* (DhF, *οὕτω* *rell.*) *συνωκισμένης*, the emendation *οὕτω* is absolutely necessary, but V nevertheless reads [*οὕ*]τω. In C 654 (10) (Rhode in Spain) V, like L, shows '*Ρόδον* ἔκτισαν': but since Kramer remarked at iii 160 *init.* (the same Rhode) that the false form '*Ροδόπη*' in L there is to be explained as having arisen from a correction of '*Ρόδος*' to '*Ρόδη*', it seems a fair assumption that '*Ρόδος*' may be Strabo's own spelling, and editors should not change it.<sup>23</sup> The spelling of the name *Φιλίτας* (LV) in 657 *fin.* is also not necessarily false; but *ὑπὲρ τῆς Κώας* (§18) is definitely so, as those who have stood on the two capes will know; not only is the location given peculiar and the use of *ὑπὲρ* strained, but the mention of the territory of Cos here is quite out of place. Meineke rightly read *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄκρας*. V not only has [*τῆς*] *Κωίας* here (fol. 362 r i 7) where it is wrong, but (unlike L) omits it a line or two higher up in front of *ἄκρα Σκανδαρία*. Here then it seems as if the error in L and V arises from the incorporation of a marginal correction in the text of an ancestor of the two. These common errors in L and V are very much more palpable than the common variants in L and Stephanus. At all events they must destroy any confidence that corruptions like *μάντεως*, *Μόψος* and *Δωράκτα* (above, nos. 4, 5, 8)—if they in fact are corruptions—would not have been present in V as well as in L.

Unfortunately the folios of V which I have studied in Aly's publication do not appear to present any instance of common error in V and L in a passage known to us also from a quotation in Stephanus. The readings of Stephanus in a few such instances might help to resolve the question of traditions of Strabo's text in the sixth century. But in so far as the less direct tests here applied are relevant to the issue, they lend no support to the view that there were only two texts of Strabo in Byzantium in the time of Stephanus. The tradition may have been a complex one.

In the nineteenth century a succession of great editors applied their skill to improving the text of Strabo; and it could fairly be said that Strabo was singularly well cared for a hundred years ago. But these texts, which scholars have in their hands today, are cultured texts—the distillation of the intense palaeographical industry of the nineteenth century coupled with a chrestomathic view of ancient geography.<sup>24</sup> Meineke's and Müller's own conjectures are distinguished in their critical notes in the Teubner and Didot editions. But Meineke gave no regular critical apparatus, and Müller was too selective and fallible in his; and consequently there are occasions when scholars who use these standard texts are not entirely to blame for mistaking the nineteenth-century 'vulgate' for the consensus of the Byzantine MSS.<sup>25</sup> The Teubner, Didot and (more recently) Loeb texts are scholarly

saw, *ἐπὶ θαλάττης πεδίων συμ*—(V, *vñ* L) *προσθιθεῖς* is impossible as it stands, and the text should probably be rearranged as he suggested. That amounts to a transposition of seven words in the text given by V and L. A little lower down (C 599) the text is again defective before *τὸ Τρωϊκὸν πεδίων*, but it seems to me that the reading of V could be justified here if there is room for *τί* or *ποῦ* after *συνέστηκε* (fol. 329 v iii 33); *εἰ* must then introduce a conditional clause and not (as has always been assumed) an indirect question: 'If,' asks Hestiaea, 'it was around the present site that the war was fought, then where is the Trojan plain . . . ?'

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the reverse corruption, four words earlier, in Leaf's own text: *σὺν ἡγαγεν*.

<sup>23</sup> Meineke, *Vindiciae Strab.* 32, insists on the reading of '*Ρόδη*', but evidently in ignorance of the mention in C 654.

<sup>24</sup> Meineke's *Vindiciae Straboniana* (1852) shows very clearly the erudition with which Strabo's text was revised.

<sup>25</sup> Aly, for instance, attributes to the MSS. the ill-begotten emendation *ἀπλῶν* in xiii 592 (p. 204, fol. 326 r ii 5/6); the MSS. read *ἀγαθῶν*. Again, scholars cite Strabo as saying that after the Cimmerians had destroyed Magnesia, the place was occupied by the *Ephesians* (xiv 647); this appears quite plainly in Meineke's text without any hint of another reading, yet all MSS. have *Μιλησίους*, which seems on general grounds more satisfactory.



presentations of Strabo's literary work. But the student of ancient geography, who needs to find out—if possible—what Strabo actually said and what names he cites, must have either Koraës' or Kramer's edition in front of him, however difficult they may be to procure.

The standard texts of Strabo belong to the half-century before modern method began to be seriously applied to the study of the material background of the ancient world; and in some respects they are antiquated. Since the early years of the present century it has been recognised that no one scholar can hope to master the whole of Strabo's geography until the text has been elucidated in a series of careful regional studies. Leaf showed the way in his edition of the first part of Book xiii; he traversed the Troad in 1911, studying at first hand the topography of the region, and brought a wide range of testimonia to bear upon his subject. But unfortunately his volume still stands alone. And Leaf himself lay under the spell of the great mid-nineteenth-century editors, so that he did not apprehend the supreme importance, in the study of the ancient geographers, of keeping the MS. tradition steadily in view. The Vatican Palimpsest, so skilfully edited by Aly, now offers the proof that much which the nineteenth-century editors recognised as Byzantine corruption or interpolation actually stood in the text of Strabo before the era of Byzantine scholarship, and therefore that greater respect should be paid to the MS. tradition as a whole. Aly has convincingly demonstrated this;<sup>26</sup> and there is every reason to hope that his new edition of Strabo, whose forthcoming publication has been announced since this paragraph was first written, will constitute a return to a sounder tradition of the text. At the same time the need for detailed regional studies of the *Geographica* must not be forgotten.

Leaf, on p. ix of the preface to his *Strabo on the Troad*, expressed his hope that the 'antiquated and inconvenient' system of reference to Strabo by Casaubon's pages would be abandoned in favour of reference by book, chapter and section; and the latter practice is now widely followed. Diller, on the other hand, has recently condemned the system of reference by chapter and section as 'cumbersome and not precise';<sup>27</sup> and a further disadvantage may be noted. The division into chapters and sections is arbitrary and varies from one edition to another; Kramer, for instance, made six, as against the prevailing five, chapters in Book xiv, and thus perverted the reference system of the second half of the book. If references given on this system are to be traced in Siebenkees-Tzschucke, Groskurd or Koraës, the reader must also keep a more recent text beside him for the purpose of converting chapter and section into Casaubon's pages. Diller advocates reference by Casaubon's pages (which is unambiguous and to hand in all the texts), but supplemented by the use of the letters A-D by which the pages were subdivided in the 1620 edition. This is of course not at present practicable for those who lack the 1620 edition. But it is clearly the one satisfactory course; and it will be a great convenience if the subdivision of Casaubon's pages is marked in future texts of Strabo.

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<sup>26</sup> See especially his pp. 237, 239 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Traditio* x 33 n. 23.



## THE TOMBS OF THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS AT THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES IN CONSTANTINOPLE

ONE of the most impressive manifestations of the majesty and the antiquity of the Byzantine Empire must have been the great series of imperial tombs in the mausoleums of Constantine and Justinian which were attached to the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> Beginning with the burial of Constantine the Great (d. 337), the mausoleums served as the resting-places of most of the emperors (often with members of their families) who reigned during the next seven centuries, the last emperor to be buried there being Constantine VIII (d. 1028). The mausoleums then became full, and the emperors began to be buried in other churches and monasteries in Constantinople, often in establishments which they themselves had founded.<sup>2</sup> There are not many comparable series of royal burials, and the presence of these tombs, as a visible record of the greatness of Byzantium, was one reason why the Church of the Holy Apostles enjoyed a celebrity only second to that of St. Sophia.

The emperors, beginning with Constantine the Great, understood very well the importance of placing the imperial burials in a worthy setting. The significance of the burials is illustrated by a report of a speech of Leo V, the Armenian (813-820), in which Leo is supposed to have remarked that the orthodox emperors were all buried respectably at the Holy Apostles, while the others died in exile or on the field of battle.<sup>3</sup> In reality most of the emperors who reigned before the time of Leo V were buried at the Holy Apostles, and nearly all of those who reigned between his time and the beginning of the eleventh century were buried there.<sup>4</sup>

The church and the mausoleums having perished not long after 1453, the tombs have been known only from the literary testimonia. There is a well-known list of the sarcophagi in the *Book of Ceremonies*, and two other catalogues are preserved in manuscripts in Paris, first published in DuCange and Banduri. The description of the Church of the Holy Apostles by Nikolaos Mesarites contains two chapters (xxxix-xl) describing the mausoleums

<sup>1</sup> The material published here was originally intended to be a part of a collaborative monograph on the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople which was to be prepared at the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, in Washington, D.C., under the direction of Professor A. M. Friend, Jr., by Professor Friend, Professor Paul A. Underwood, and the present writer. When the death of Professor Friend made the completion of the monograph impossible, the material on the royal Tombs became available for publication elsewhere. I am indebted to the late Professor Friend and to Professor Underwood for their advice in the study and elucidation of this material, and I am also grateful to Dumbarton Oaks for procuring photostats of the passages in MSS. in Paris which are edited here. These photostats, obtained through the kind offices of M. Jean Porcher, are deposited in the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library. It is a pleasure to be able to record here my indebtedness to Professor R. J. H. Jenkins for his friendly interest and encouragement of these studies.

<sup>2</sup> Ph. I. Koukoules, 'Τὰ κατὰ τὴν ταφὴν τῶν Βυζαντινῶν βασιλέων,' *Ἑπετ. Ἑταιρ. Βυζ. Σπουδ.*, xv (1939) 65-66.

<sup>3</sup> *Scr. incert. de Leone Bardae filio* 349 (Bonn ed.).

<sup>4</sup> The emperors who reigned between Leo V and Constantine VIII who were not buried at the Holy Apostles were Romanos I, 919-944, and his sons Stephen and Constantine, 944-945; and John I, 969-976. Romanos (who was buried at the Myrelaion (Kedr. ii 325, 12-13: Bonn ed.) and his sons would certainly not have been admitted to the mausoleum by Constantine VII, and probably were soon forgotten after Constantine VII's death. John I, being a usurper, would not have been admitted to the mausoleum. No record of his burial seems to have been preserved. Of the 107 sovereigns who occupied the throne between 395 and 1453, only 34 died natural deaths while on the throne; 8 died in battle or by accident, and the others abdicated or died by violence; cf. C. Diehl, *Les grands problèmes de l'histoire byzantine* (Paris, 1943) 49-50.



and their burials.<sup>5</sup> In addition, there are scattered notices in a number of writers which occasionally supply useful information concerning the tombs; but it is the three lists which have been mentioned, plus the chapters in Mesarites, which form our chief sources. It has been found that the transcriptions of the lists published by DuCange and Banduri are not wholly accurate, and that the lists deserve to be re-edited, with a new commentary; and in this process, renewed study has recovered further information on the origin of the three catalogues and their relationship to each other.

#### THE LISTS OF TOMBS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS

The list in the *Book of Ceremonies* (ii 42) is reprinted here from the text of Reiske's edition, published in the Bonn corpus (pp. 642-6), with a translation and commentary by the present writer.

The list published by DuCange is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Colbert 3607 = Fonds grec 1788 (fifteenth century), f. 69<sup>v</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>, printed in DuCange's *Constantinopolis christiana* (1680) Book iv 109-10, and not hitherto reprinted. For convenience of reference, this catalogue will here be called Anonymous List C.

Banduri's list is likewise preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Reg. 3058, 4 = Fonds grec 1783 (dated A.D. 1440), f. 71-3, printed in *Imperium orientale* (1711) i, pt. 2, 121-4, with commentary in vol. ii 807-16.<sup>6</sup> This list will here be called Anonymous List R. C and R are published here from photostats of the originals obtained through the courtesy of M. Jean Porcher, Conservateur des Manuscrits at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Banduri, considering that C and R were variants of the same catalogue, proceeded to combine them, inserting into his transcription of R items which were lacking in R but found in C. He did not, however, reconcile all the differences or discuss all the problems; and of course he had no knowledge of the list in the *Book of Ceremonies* (first published 1751-1754), which in some instances makes it possible to correct obvious errors in C and R. Reiske, in his commentary on the *Book of Ceremonies*, discussed and attempted to solve some of the discrepancies between C and R and between these and the catalogue in the *Book of Ceremonies*; but naturally he did not have occasion to examine all the problems presented.

The relationship of the lists was studied for the first time by J. B. Bury in his article on 'The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos' published in 1907.<sup>7</sup> The catalogue in the *Book of Ceremonies*, he shows, was compiled at the time of Constantine VII—ostensibly, of course, by the royal scholar himself—but contains two interpolations (references to Constantine VII's own tomb and to that of his mother Zoe) which were, from their phraseology, added not many years after Constantine's death, in the reign of his son Romanus II, 959-963, or in that of Nikephoros Phokas, 963-969. The texts published by DuCange and Banduri, Bury considered, were two different versions of another catalogue. This supposed list, which he called the 'Anonymous', mentions the tombs of Romanus II, of Nikephoros Phokas, of Theophano, and of Constantine VIII, 976 (1025)-1028, and so must have been compiled or edited after 1028. This 'Anonymous', Bury thought, was closely connected with the list in the *Book of Ceremonies*. The order of entries is generally the same, and many of the differences are caused merely by omissions from

<sup>5</sup> The *editio princeps*, edited by A. Heisenberg, is printed in his *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche* (Leipzig, 1908) ii. A new edition by the present writer (which had been prepared as a part of the monograph on the Church of the Apostles mentioned above), is published in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* xlvii (1957) 855-924.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits*

*grecs de la Bibl. Nat.* ii (Paris, 1888) 142-3. This list was reprinted by Bekker in Codinus, *Excerpta de antiquitatibus Constantinop.* (Bonn, 1843) 203-8, without Banduri's notes, and was again reprinted in Migne, *PG* clvii 725-40, with most but not all of Banduri's notes.

<sup>7</sup> *English Historical Review* xxii (1907) 209-27, esp. 217-19, 223-5.



one list or the other. Bury concluded that the 'Anonymous' was derived from the list in the *Book of Ceremonies*, rather than that both were derived from a common source.

Bury did not, for the purposes of his essay, have occasion to make a detailed study of these texts, and a renewed examination has indicated that the texts published by DuCange and Banduri are not different versions of one list, but are separate lists compiled or edited by different persons. It is true that many of the differences between C and R, and between them and the *Book of Ceremonies*, are slight and consist of omissions, ordinary clerical errors, and different order of entries. There are, however, differences between C and R which point clearly to their being separate redactions. Chief of these is the manner in which the misunderstanding of the identity of Constantine Pogonatos was handled. Constantine and his relatives are correctly listed in the *Book of Ceremonies*, but the compilers of C and R, thinking these entries wrong, or not understanding them, attempted to correct them, and arrived at quite different results, which it is impossible to reconcile into a single list of tombs (see the notes on the *Book of Ceremonies* 25-6, C 26, R 29, below). C has the apparently erroneous duplication of the sarcophagus of Michael II (§§14, 31) which is wholly lacking in R (see note on C 14). The entry for Nikephoros Phokas in R 14 preserves clear traces of its having been a later addition, while the corresponding entry in C (13) is in the routine formula.

Further evidence of the origin of the lists, not known to Bury, may be furnished by the association, with both the list in the *Book of Ceremonies* and anonymous list C, of lists of the Roman emperors. In the present text of the *Book of Ceremonies* this list of emperors is missing, but an entry in the index ( $\mu\beta'$ , p. 513 Bonn ed.) shows that preceding the catalogue of tombs there was a list of the emperors who reigned at Constantinople beginning with Constantine the Great. It is not stated how far the list extended, but presumably it reached at least to Constantine VII.<sup>8</sup> In C the list of tombs is preceded by a list of the Roman emperors, written in the same hand.<sup>9</sup> This list, however, begins with Julius Caesar and extends to Michael VIII (1261-1282). It was natural for a list of the imperial tombs to be accompanied by a list of emperors, which would, as Bury points out, serve as a chronological guide to the catalogue of tombs. The difference in length between the lists of emperors which accompany the two catalogues of tombs would suggest that at least anonymous list C was not derived wholly from the list in the *Book of Ceremonies*, but that both may go back to a common source. The catalogue of tombs in the *Book of Ceremonies* was certainly more carefully edited than lists C and R, and the editor of the catalogue in the *Book of Ceremonies* would have dropped from his list of emperors the rulers before Constantine the Great, who had no connexion with the catalogue of tombs, while in C, which was edited with less care, the traditional complete list of Roman emperors was retained.

Both C and R conclude with enumerations of tombs in various establishments elsewhere in Constantinople; R's list includes tombs in several places not mentioned in C. The list in the *Book of Ceremonies* includes these tombs and goes on to record others in still other establishments, these being mostly the tombs of lesser members of the imperial families, and of some court officials. Since this catalogue in the *Book of Ceremonies* is not concerned with the mausoleums at the Church of the Apostles, it is not reprinted here. The corresponding portions of C and R, however, are republished here in order to make the editions of these texts complete.

For convenience of reference, paragraph numbers have been added by the present editor to the texts of the lists; the pagination of the Bonn edition is also indicated in the list of the *Book of Ceremonies* and in R ('Codinus').

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bury, 215.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Omont, 143.



## LIST OF IMPERIAL TOMBS IN THE 'BOOK OF CEREMONIES', ii 42

- p. 642 B. *Περὶ τῶν τάφων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποτόλων.*  
*Ἡρῶν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.*
- p. 642,5 B. 1 *Ἐν πρώτοις κατὰ ἀνατολὰς κείται ὁ λάρναξ τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου πορφυροῦς, ἦτον Ῥωμαῖος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται αὐτὸς μετὰ Ἑλένης τῆς μακαρίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.*  
 2 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ πορφυροῦς Ῥωμαῖος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντῖος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.*
- p. 642,10 B. 3 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ πορφυροῦς Ῥωμαῖος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Θεοδόσιος ὁ μέγας.*  
 4 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ πράσινος ἱερακίτης, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Λέων ὁ μέγας.*  
 5 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ πορφυροῦς Ῥωμαῖος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Μαρκιανὸς μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Πουλχερίας.*
- p. 642,15 B. 6 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς.*  
 7 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ Ἀκυιτανός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Δίκωρος μετὰ Ἀρεάδης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.*  
 8 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ πράσιος λίθου Θετταλικῆς, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Μιχαὴλ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ υἱὸς Θεοφίλου. ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι ὁ τοιοῦτος λάρναξ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστίνου ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου. ἔκειτο δὲ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τῆς αὐγούστης, ὑποκάτω τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου |Θωμᾶ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αἱ στολαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων εὐρέθησαν. ἔλαβεν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ κύρις Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ κατέθετο αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα εἰς ἀπόθεσιν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μιχαήλ.*
- p. 643 B. 9 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Βασίλειος σὺν Εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ.*
- p. 643,5 B. 10 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ Σαγαρινός, ἦτον πνευμονούσιος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Λέων ὁ αἰοίδιμος σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντι τῷ Πορφυρογεννήτῳ.*  
 11 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ λευκὸς ὁ λεγόμενος βασιλίκιον, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς Βασιλείου.*
- p. 643,10 B. 12 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται ἡ ἁγία Θεοφανὼς ἡ πρώτη γυνὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Λέοντος σὺν Εὐδοκίᾳ τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτῆς.*  
 13 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ Βιθυνός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Ζωὴ ἡ δευτέρα γυνὴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λέοντος.*
- p. 643,15 B. 14 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Εὐδοκία ἡ τρίτη γυνὴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυροῦ Λέοντος ἡ ἐπονομαζομένη Βαῖνῃ.*  
 15 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ Προικονήσιος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκεινται Ἄννα καὶ Ἄννα αἱ θυγατέρες τοῦ μακαρίου Λέοντος καὶ Ζωῆς.*  
 16 *Ἐτερον λαρνάκιον μικρὸν ἀπὸ λίθου Σαγαρινοῦ, ἦτον πνευμονουσίον, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Βασίλειος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Κωνσταντίνου Πορφυρογεννήτου, καὶ Βάρδας ὁ υἱὸς Βασιλείου τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ.*
- p. 643,20 B. 17 *Ἐτερον λαρνάκιον μικρὸν ἀπὸ λίθου Σαγαρινοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται . . .*
- p. 644 B. *Ἡρῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰουστινιανοῦ.*
- p. 644,5 B. 18 *Πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν κόγχην κατὰ ἀνατολὰς πρῶτος λάρναξ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ, ἀπὸ λίθου ξένου καὶ ἀλλοκότου μέσσην χροιάν ἔχοντος τοῦ τε Βιθυνοῦ καὶ Χαλκηδωνίτου, παραπλησίως λίθῳ Ὀστρίτῃ.*  
 19 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Ἱεραπολίτου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Θεοδώρα ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰουστινιανοῦ.*  
 20 *Ἐτερος λάρναξ κείμενος πρὸς δυσμὰς πρὸς τὸ μέρος τὸ δεξιόν, τὴν χροιάν ῥοδοποικίλον Δοκιμινόν, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Εὐδοκία ἡ γυνὴ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μικροῦ.*



- p. 644,10 B. 21 "Ετερος λάρναξ λευκὸς Προικονήσιος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Ἰουστίνος ὁ μικρός.  
 22 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Προικονησίας, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Σοφία ἡ γυνὴ Ἰουστίνου.  
 23 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου λευκοῦ Δοκιμνοῦ ὀνυχίτου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Ἡράκλειος ὁ μέγας.
- p. 644,15 B. 24 "Ετερος λάρναξ πράσινος Θεσσαλός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Φαβία ἡ γυνὴ Ἡρακλείου.  
 25 "Ετερος λάρναξ Προικονήσιος Κωνσταντίνου Πωγωνάτου.  
 26 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου πρασίνου Θεσσαλικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Φαῦστα ἡ γυνὴ Κωνσταντίνου Πωγωνάτου.  
 27 "Ετερος λάρναξ Σαγαρινός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντίνος, ἔγγων Ἡρακλείου, υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πωγωνάτου.
- p. 644,20 B. 28 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Σαγαρινοῦ ἑκατοντάλιθος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Ἀναστάσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀρτέμιος.  
 29 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Ἱεραπολίτου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται ἡ γυνὴ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρτεμίου.
- p. 645 B. 30 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Προικονησίου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρος.  
 31 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου πρασίνου Θετταλικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπέκειτο Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰσαύρου ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Καβαλλῖνος, ἀλλ' ἐξέωθη ὑπὸ Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοδώρας, καὶ κατεκῆν τὸ δύστηνον αὐτοῦ σῶμα. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ λάρναξ αὐτοῦ ἐξέωθη καὶ κατεπρήσθη, καὶ ἐχρημάτισεν εἰς τὰ τοῦ Φάρου συστηματία. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἀββάκια τὰ ὄντα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Φάρῳ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λάρνακος τυγχάνοντά εἰσιν.
- p. 645,10 B. 32 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Προικονησίου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Εἰρήνη ἡ γυνὴ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Καβαλλίνου.  
 33 "Ετερος λάρναξ πράσινος Θεσσαλός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται ἡ γυνὴ Καβαλλίνου.  
 34 Σταταραία ἀπὸ λίθων Προικονησιῶν, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκεινται Κοσμῶ καὶ Εἰρήνῃ, ἀδελφαὶ Καβαλλίνου.
- p. 645,15 B. 35 "Ετερος λάρναξ Προικονήσιος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Λέων ὁ Χάζαρος, υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Καβαλλίνου.  
 36 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Προικονησίου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Εἰρήνη ἡ γυνὴ Λέοντος τοῦ Χαζάρου.  
 37 "Ετερος λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Μιχαὴλ ὁ Τραβλός.
- p. 645,20 B. 38 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Σαγαρινοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Θέκλα ἡ γυνὴ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Τραβλοῦ.  
 39 "Ετερος λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου πρασίνου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Θεόφιλος ὁ βασιλεὺς.  
 40 "Ετερον λαρνάκιον πράσινον, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς Θεοφίλου.  
 41 "Ετερον λαρνάκιον ἀπὸ λίθου Σαγαρινοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Μαρία ἡ θυγάτηρ Θεοφίλου.
- p. 646 B. Στοὰ ἡ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ.
- 42 Ἐν ταύτῃ ἀπόκεινται λάρνακες Ἀρκαδίου, Θεοδοσίου, υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Εὐδοξίας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ μὲν Ἀρκαδίου τάφος πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ὁ δὲ Θεοδοσίου πρὸς ἄρκτον, τῆς δὲ Εὐδοξίας ἀνατολικώτερος, ἀμφότεροι πορφυροῖ, ἦτον Ῥωμαῖοι.
- p. 646,5 B. Στοὰ ἡ πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ.
- 43 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ οὐσῇ πρὸς ἄρκτον κεῖται λάρναξ κυλινδροειδής, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται τὸ δύστηνον καὶ παμμίαρον σῶμα τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ,



p. 646, 10 B.

τὴν χροιάν πορφυροῦν, ἦτον 'Ρωμαῖον.

44 "Ἐτερος λάρναξ πορφυροῦς, ἦτον 'Ρωμαῖος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται τὸ σῶμα  
'Ιοβιανοῦ τοῦ μετὰ 'Ιουλιανὸν βασιλεύσαντος.

*Apparatus Criticus*

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| 8  | 'Ιουστινιανοῦ cod., corrected by Reiske (cf. his note, ii 760: Bonn ed.).                         | 20 | μεγάλου cod., μικροῦ Reiske; cf. commentary.            |
| 15 | Reiske conjectures "Ἄννα καὶ Εὐδοκία (ii 764); cf. C 12, R 13.                                    | 21 | 'Ιουστίνος: 'Ιουστινιανός cod., Reiske; cf. commentary. |
| 17 | After the beginning of this entry, the MS. is blank for the space of one line; cf. Reiske ii 766. | 43 | (heading) ἄρκτον Reiske, νότον cod.; cf. C 34, R 32.    |

*Translation*

CONCERNING THE TOMBS OF THE EMPERORS WHICH ARE IN THE  
CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES

*Heroon of the Holy and Great Constantine.*

- 1 In the principal place, to the east, lies the sarcophagus of St. Constantine, [of] porphyry, or rather 'Roman' [stone], in which he himself lies with the blessed Helen his mother.
- 2 Another sarcophagus, [of] porphyry Roman [stone], in which lies Constantius the son of Constantine the Great.
- 3 Another sarcophagus, porphyry Roman, in which lies Theodosius the Great.
- 4 Another sarcophagus, green hieracites, in which lies Leo the Great.
- 5 Another sarcophagus, porphyry Roman, in which lies Marcianus with his wife Pulcheria.
- 6 Another sarcophagus, green Thessalian, in which lies the Emperor Zeno.
- 7 Another sarcophagus, Aquitanian, in which lies Anastasios Dikoros with Ariadne his wife.
- 8 Another sarcophagus, of green Thessalian stone, in which lies the Emperor Michael, the son of Theophilos. Note that this sarcophagus of Michael is that of the Emperor Justin the Great. It lay in the monastery of the Augusta, below the Apostle St. Thomas, in which the robes of the apostles were found. And Lord Leo the Emperor took it and placed it here for the burial of the body of this Michael.
- 9 Another sarcophagus, green Thessalian, in which lies Basil with Eudokia and Alexander his son.
- 10 Another sarcophagus, Sagarian or *pneumonousian*, in which lies the renowned Leo with his son Constantine, who died later, the Porphyrogennetos.
- 11 Another sarcophagus, [of] white, so-called imperial, [stone], in which lies Constantine the son of Basil.
- 12 Another sarcophagus, green Thessalian, in which lies St. Theophano, the first wife of the blessed Leo, with Eudokia her daughter.
- 13 Another sarcophagus, Bithynian, in which lies Zoe the second wife of the same Leo.
- 14 Another sarcophagus, green Thessalian, in which lies Eudokia the third wife of the same Lord Leo, she who was surnamed Baïne.
- 15 Another sarcophagus, Proconesian, in which lie Anna and Anna the daughters of the blessed Leo and Zoe.
- 16 Another small sarcophagus, Sagarian or *pneumonousian*, in which lies Basil the brother of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and Bardas the son of Basil his grandfather.
- 17 Another small sarcophagus, of Sagarian stone, in which lies . . .



*Heroon of the Great Justinian*

- 18 At the apse itself, to the east, is the first sarcophagus, in which lies the body of Justinian, of unusual foreign stone, in colour between Bithynian and Chalcedonian, something like stone of Ostrite.
- 19 Another sarcophagus, of Hierapolitan stone, in which lies Theodora the wife of Justinian the Great.
- 20 Another sarcophagus lying to the west, on the right hand, of stone of Dokimion, of variegated rose colour, in which lies Eudokia the wife of Justinian the Younger.
- 21 Another sarcophagus, of white Proconesian stone, in which lies Justin the Younger.
- 22 Another sarcophagus, of Proconesian stone, in which lies Sophia the wife of Justin.
- 23 Another sarcophagus, of white stone of Dokimion, onyx, in which lies Heraklios the Great.
- 24 Another sarcophagus, green Thessalian, in which lies Fabia the wife of Heraklios.
- 25 Another sarcophagus, Proconesian, of Constantine Pogonatos.
- 26 Another sarcophagus, of green Thessalian stone, in which lies Fausta the wife of Constantine Pogonatos.
- 27 Another sarcophagus, Sagarian, in which lies Constantine, the descendant of Heraklios, the son of Constantine Pogonatos.
- 28 Another sarcophagus, of variegated Sagarian stone, in which lies Anastasios also called Artemios.
- 29 Another sarcophagus, of Hierapolitan stone, in which lies the wife of Anastasios also called Artemios.
- 30 Another sarcophagus, of Proconesian stone, in which lies Leo the Isaurian.
- 31 Another sarcophagus, of green Thessalian stone, in which lay Constantine, the son of the Isaurian, who was surnamed Kaballinos; but he was cast out by Michael and Theodora, and his cursed body was burned. Likewise his sarcophagus was cast out and broken up, and served for the foundations of the Pharos. And the great blocks which are in the Pharos belonged to this sarcophagus.
- 32 Another sarcophagus, of Proconesian stone, in which lies Eirene the wife of Constantine Kaballinos.
- 33 Another sarcophagus, green Thessalian, in which lies the wife of Kaballinos.
- 34 A small coffin of Proconesian stones, in which lie Kosmo and Eirene, sisters of Kaballinos.
- 35 Another sarcophagus, Proconesian, in which lies Leo the Chazar, son of Constantine Kaballinos.
- 36 Another sarcophagus, of Proconesian stone, in which lies Eirene the wife of Leo the Chazar.
- 37 Another sarcophagus, green Thessalian, in which lies Michael *Travlos*.
- 38 Another sarcophagus, of Sagarian stone, in which lies Thekla the wife of Michael *Travlos*.
- 39 Another sarcophagus, of green stone, in which lies Theophilos the Emperor.
- 40 Another small sarcophagus, green, in which lies Constantine the son of Theophilos.
- 41 Another small sarcophagus, of Sagarian stone, in which lies Maria the daughter of Theophilos.

*The Stoa to the South of the Same Church*

- 42 In this lie the sarcophagi of Arkadios, Theodosios, his son, and Eudoxia his mother. The tomb of Arkadios is to the south, that of Theodosios to the north, that of Eudoxia to the east, each of the two porphyry or Roman.



The *Stoa* to the North of the Same Church

- 43 In this *stoa*, which is to the north, lies a cylindrically-shaped sarcophagus, in which lies the cursed and wretched body of the apostate Julian, porphyry or Roman in colour.
- 44 Another sarcophagus, porphyry, or Roman, in which lies the body of Jovian, who ruled after Julian.

## Commentary

- 1 Constantine the Great, 306–337, and his mother Helen. *Ῥωμαῖος* was an epithet often applied to Egyptian porphyry; see DuCange, *Gloss.* s.v. *Ῥωμαῖον*. In the translations of these lists of tombs, an attempt has been made to reproduce the laconic style of the indications of the kinds of stone of which the sarcophagi were made. In many entries the word 'stone' is omitted, and the epithets are used as modifiers of *larnax*.
- 2 Constantius, 337–361. In the corresponding entry, C has the name of Constantine the Younger, 337–340, written out in full, while R has the name of Constantine in ligature. Since other evidence indicates that Constantius was buried in the Mausoleum, and since it is known that the body of Constantine II, who was killed in battle in Italy, was thrown into a river there (Seeck, *RE*, iv 1028, s.v. 'Constantinus', no. 3), it seems fairly certain that the entries in C and R are erroneous, the confusion of names being of course very easy.
- 3 Theodosios I, 379–395. In the corresponding entry R lists Theodosios I, while C lists Theodosios II. Both lists record the tomb of Theodosios II later (C 33, R 31, *Book of Ceremonies* 42). The entry in C at the present point is probably an error on the part of a scribe or editor, the confusion of *μικρός* and *μέγας* being very easy in such cases. See note on 42 below.
- 4 Leo I, 457–474. Note that beginning with this entry the present list differs somewhat in contents and order from C and R.
- 5 Marcianus, 450–457, and his wife Pulcheria.
- 6 Zeno, 474–491.
- 7 Anastasios, 491–518, and his wife Ariadne.
- 8 Michael III, the Drunkard, 842–867. His body, which had been buried at Chrysopolis, was brought to Constantinople with great honour by Leo VI (886–912) and buried in a sarcophagus at the Holy Apostles; see the account of Symeon Metaphrastes (*De Leone Basilii filio*, i, p. 700, 11–14: Bonn ed.). Instead of preparing a new sarcophagus for Michael's body, Leo used an old one; on the identity of this sarcophagus, which presents a problem, see below, pp. 48–51.
- 9 Basil I, 867–886, his second wife Eudokia, and his son Alexander, 886 (912)–913.
- 10 Leo VI, 886–912, and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, 913–959. This arrangement was evidently temporary, perhaps pending the preparation of a suitable sarcophagus for Constantine, for Mesarites (xxxix) mentions separate sarcophagi of Leo and Constantine; Constantine's sarcophagus would have been made, and his body placed in it, some time after the editing of the present list. Kedrenos (ii 338, 4–5, Bonn ed.) records the burial of Constantine in Leo's sarcophagus. The meaning of *πνευμονούσιος* here and below (16) is not clear. The entry in R (8) corresponding to the present one has *φλεγμενούσιος* which might mean 'flame-coloured', and *πνευμονούσιος* might be an error for *φλεγμενούσιος*.
- 11 Constantine, son of Basil I by his first wife Maria; created Augustus 869, died 879.
- 12 St. Theophano's body was originally placed temporarily in the Mausoleum pending the construction of a church adjacent to the Holy Apostles which Leo planned to build in her memory. Leo later changed the name of this new church to All the Saints, and Nikephoros Gregoras in his *Life* of Theophano says that Leo then transferred



Theophano's body to the monastery of St. Constantine, which the empress had founded. The body was certainly there later, but it is evident from the present passage that the transfer did not take place in Leo's time as Gregoras says it did. See my article 'The Church of All the Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, ix-x (1956) 301-5.

- 15 C and R mention only one Anna as occupant of this sarcophagus. Reiske, thinking it unlikely that two sisters would have the same name, conjectures that the second occupant was Eudokia, sister of Constantine VII; cf. his commentary, ii 764, and DuCange, *Familiae Byz.* 142. This, however, is not certain, and it would be quite possible for two sisters to be given the same name if the elder had died in infancy before the younger was born.

- 16 There is apparently a confusion in this entry in its present form. Basil II Bulgaroktonos, 976-1025, the brother of Constantine VIII, 976 (1025)-1028, called Porphyrogennetos (cf. C 16, R 16), was, according to Kedrenos (ii 480, 7-8: Bonn ed.), buried in the Church of St. John the Evangelist at the Hebdomon. Reiske examines the problem in detail, but confesses himself unable to solve it; cf. his commentary, ii 764-766 (Bonn ed.). Bury (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii (1907) 218) suggests, very plausibly, that this Basil is the son of Leo VI by Eudokia, who died in infancy. Thus the Bardas 'the son of Basil, his (Constantine VII's) grandfather', would be one of the several sons of Basil I whose names are not known (DuCange, *Familiae Byz.* 141). On the meaning of *πνευμονούσιος*, see note on §10 above.

- 17 After this entry the MS. is blank for the space of one line (Reiske, ii 766). After this point C and R have several entries, completing the list of the tombs in the Mausoleum of Constantine. All of these entries (with the exception of C's entry for Michael the Amorion, which may be an error; cf. the commentary on C 14) record burials which took place after the death of Constantine VII, so that this section of C and R must represent a redaction made later than the list of the *Book of Ceremonies*. C and R give no hint as to the name which is lost from the present entry.

- 18 Justinian I, 527-565.

- 19 Theodora, died 548.

- 20 Justinian I is not known to have had a wife named Eudokia and there is no evidence that Theodora ever bore this name; besides, her tomb has already been listed. C (19) and R (19) at this point record the wife of Justin, whose name C gives as Eudokia. However, neither Justin I nor Justin II is known to have had a wife of this name. The solution of the difficulty is indicated by the succeeding entry in the *Book of Ceremonies*, which ostensibly records Justinian II. This suggests that the present entry records Eudokia, wife of Justinian II, whose name is otherwise unknown, and that the common confusion of *μικρός* and *μέγας* again took place in this instance (although, as will be seen below, 'Justinian' in the succeeding entry is doubtless an error for 'Justin'). It thus seems certain that Reiske is right in correcting *μεγάλου* to *μικροῦ* here, and that the corresponding correction of *Ἰουστίνου* to *Ἰουστινιανου* is to be made in C and R.

- 21 The corresponding entries in C (20) and R (20) record Justin II, 565-578. These are supported by the succeeding entry in all the versions, which record Sophia, wife of Justin II. An entry for Justinian II, 685-695, 705-711, in the present place would be favoured by the preceding entry in the *Book of Ceremonies* (see the commentary above); but since Mesarites (xl) records the sarcophagus of Justin II in the Mausoleum of Justinian, while there appears to be no other testimony that Justinian II was buried there, it seems clear that the present entry must refer to Justin II, and that the not uncommon scribal confusion of Justinian and Justin has occurred here. Justinian II, who was decapitated by Philippikos, very likely did not receive any kind of honourable



burial; see p. 27. It is to be noted that Kedrenos (i 686, 20-22: Bonn ed.) records that Justin II and Sophia were buried together. Either they were later placed in separate sarcophagi, or Kedrenos' source hastily concluded that (as was often done) husband and wife were buried together. See also note on §8 above.

22 Sophia, wife of Justin II; see also notes on §§8, 21, above.

23 Heraklios, 610-641.

24 Fabia Eudokia, first wife of Heraklios. C and R wrongly call her Flavia.

25 Constantine III, also called Constans II, 641-668. According to Kedrenos (i 753, 13-15) Constantine II, his wife Anastasia and his son Constantine III were all buried in the same sarcophagus; none of the lists of tombs mentions Constantine II and Anastasia. It was formerly supposed that Constantine III's son, Constantine IV, 668-685, was known as Pogonatos, but it seems practically certain, on the basis of a study by E. W. Brooks ('Who was Constantine Pogonatus?' *BZ* xvii (1908) 460-462), that the epithet really belonged to Constantine III. The same conclusion was reached independently by W. Wroth in his Introduction to the *BMC Imp. Byz. Coins* (1908), i p. xxix. A confusion which arose in this connexion in C and R is discussed in the notes there.

26 So far as we know, Constantine III's wife was named Gregoria; whether Fausta was another name of Gregoria, or the name of another person, is not clear (*cf.* Brooks, 461). This entry is apparently connected with a difficulty felt by the editor of R, which led him to make changes in that version; see the commentary there.

27 Constantine IV, 668-685.

28 Anastasios II, Artemios, 713-716.

29 The name of Anastasios II's wife is not known.

30 Leo III, the Isaurian, 717-741.

31 Constantine V, Kopronymos, also called Kaballinos, 741-775. It is curious that the editor of this list records this sarcophagus in the usual way, as though it were still on view (*ἔτερος λάρναξ*), although it had, according to his own account, long since been removed and broken up. C (29) and R (28) mention the removal and destruction of the sarcophagus with no pretence of including it in the list. Kedrenos (ii 18, 18-20) mentions the removal and burning of the body. It will be noted that beginning at this point the enumeration of tombs in the *Book of Ceremonies* is much fuller than that in C and R.

32 Eirene was the first wife of Constantine V.

33 This could have been either Eudokia or Maria, the second and third wives of Constantine V; *cf.* DuCange, *Familiae Byz.* 125.

34 *Stataraia*, used to describe this sarcophagus in which Kosmo and Eirene, sisters of Constantine V, were buried, seems from the context to mean a sarcophagus designed for several persons. The full significance of the word, however, is not clear; *cf.* Reiske's commentary, ii 769.

35 Leo IV, 775-780, son of Constantine V and Eirene.

36 Eirene, wife of Leo IV. After Leo's death, she reigned jointly with their son Constantine VI, 780-797, and then alone, 797-802.

37 Michael II, the Amorian, also called Travlos, 820-829. C (31) states that Michael and his wife lay in the same sarcophagus, while the *Book of Ceremonies* here and in the succeeding entry assigns them to separate sarcophagi. The rearrangement of bodies seems to have taken place not infrequently, and since C and R appear to represent a later redaction than the list in the *Book of Ceremonies*, it seems plausible to suppose that at the time when the list in the last was compiled, Michael and Thekla occupied separate sarcophagi, but were (at some time before C and R were compiled) placed in one sarcophagus in order to make room in the mausoleum. The sarcophagus of



Michael is also placed in the Mausoleum of Constantine by C (14), but this appears to be an error; see the note *ad loc.*

38 Thekla, wife of Michael II; see preceding note.

39 Theophilos, 829–842.

40 On Constantine, son of Theophilos, see Wroth, *BMC Imp. Byz. Coins*, i pp. xlii–xliii; Vogt's commentary on the *Book of Ceremonies*, *Commentaire*, ii 2, n. 2; J. B. Bury, *Hist. of the Eastern Rom. Emp.* (London, 1912) 465–8; A. R. Bellinger, 'The Emperor Theophilus and the Lagbe Hoard', *Berytus* viii 2 (1944) 102–6.

41 On Maria, daughter of Theophilos, see the studies cited in the preceding note.

42 Arkadios, 395–408, his wife Eudoxia, and their son Theodosios II, 408–50. On the location and history of this *stoa*, see below, pp. 45–8. The sarcophagus of Theodosios II is placed by C (3) in the Mausoleum of Constantine. This appears to be an error, caused by the easy confusion of μικρός and μέγας.

43 Julian the Apostate, 361–363. Reiske's correction of the heading of this entry from 'south' to 'north' is certainly correct. On the location and history of this *stoa*, see below, p. 45.

44 Jovian, 363–364. In the absence of any statement to the contrary, it seems implied that this sarcophagus stood in the *stoa* mentioned in the preceding entry.

#### ANONYMOUS LIST, C

Τὰ ἐν τῷ ἡρώῳ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως μνήματα.

1 Ἐν τῷ ἡρώῳ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ἐν πρώτοις κατὰ ἀνατολὰς κεῖται ἡ λάρναξ τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου πορφυρᾶ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς ἁγίας Ἑλένης καὶ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.

2 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ πορφυρᾶ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.

3 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ πορφυρᾶ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Θεοδοσίος ὁ μικρός.

4 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ζήνων.

5 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ Ἀνακτητιανός, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἀναστάσιος καὶ Ἀριάδνη.

6 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Βασίλειος ὁ Μακεδών, Εὐδοκία καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος.

7 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ Σαγαρηνή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Λέων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.

8 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ λευκή, ἡ λεγομένη βασιλική, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς Βασιλείου.

9 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται τὸ λείψανον τῆς ἁγίας Θεοφανοῦς καὶ Εὐδοκία ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς.

10 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ Βιθηνή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ζωὴ ἡ δευτέρα γυνὴ Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

11 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Εὐδοκία ἡ τρίτη γυνὴ Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

12 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ Προικοννησία, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἄννα ἡ θυγάτηρ Λέοντος καὶ Ζωῆς.

13 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Νικηφόρος ὁ Φωκᾶς.

14 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Μιχαὴλ ὁ Ἀμορραῖος.

15 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ῥωμανὸς ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου, ὁ λεγόμενος τὸ καλὸν παιδίον.

16 Ἐσωθεν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ ἑτέρα λάρναξ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Βουλγαροκτόνου, οἱ υἱοὶ Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου καλὸν παιδίον· ὧν μίτηρ Θεοφανοῦς ἡ κειμένη εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ ἡρώῳ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰουστινιανοῦ.

17 Ἡρώον τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰουστινιανοῦ. Λάρναξ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἀπὸ λίθου ξένου καὶ ἀλλοκότου, μέσην χροιάν ἔχοντος τοῦ τε Βιθηνοῦ καὶ Χαλκηδονίτου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἰουστινιανός.

18 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Ἱεραπολίτου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Θεοδώρα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.



- 19 'Ετέρα λάρναξ πρὸς δυσμὰς εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τὸ χρῶμα ῥοδοποικίλος Δοκημινή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Εὐδοκία ἡ γυνὴ 'Ιουστινιανοῦ.
- 20 'Ετέρα λάρναξ λευκὴ Προικονησία, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται 'Ιουστίνος ὁ μικρός.
- 21 'Ετέρα λάρναξ Προικονησία, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Σοφία ἡ γυνὴ 'Ιουστίνου.
- 22 'Ετέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου λευκοῦ Δοκημινιανοῦ ὀνυχίτου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται 'Ηράκλειος ὁ μέγας.
- 23 'Ετέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Φλαβία ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.
- 24 'Ετέρα λάρναξ Προικονησία, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Πωγωνάτος.
- 25 'Ετέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Φαύστα.
- 26 'Ετέρα λάρναξ Σαγγαρινή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου υἱοῦ 'Ηρακλείου.
- 27 'Ετέρα λάρναξ ἑκατοντάλιθος ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κώνστας ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ 'Ηρακλείου.
- 28 'Ετέρα λάρναξ 'Ιεραπολίτης ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.
- 29 'Ετέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Προικονησίου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου · ἰστέον ὅτι ἡ λάρναξ τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου ἐξεβλήθη καὶ ἐκαύθη. ὁ δὲ λίθος τοῦ τάφου ἐπρήσθη, καὶ ἐχρημάτισε εἰς συστήματα τοῦ Παλατίου, καὶ ἀβάκια τὰ ὄντα ἐν τῷ Φόρῳ.
- 30 'Ετέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Προικονησίου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Λέων ὁ 'Ισαῦρος.
- 31 'Ετέρα λάρναξ Προικονησίου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Τραυλοῦ καὶ Θέκλας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.
- 32 'Ετέρα λάρναξ πράσινος ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Θεόφιλος.
- 33 Στὰ ἐτέρα πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ, ἥτις κατελύθη καὶ ἐστὶν ἀσκεπής, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται λαρνάκια τρία πορφυρᾷ 'Ρωμαῖα · τὸ ἐν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν 'Αρκαδίου · τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον Θεοδοσίου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ · τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν Εὐδοξίας.
- 34 Στὰ ἐτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐν ᾗ κεῖται λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου 'Ρωμαῖου, ἐν ᾗ δὲ καὶ ἀπετέθη τὸ παμμίαιον σῶμα 'Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ Παραβάτου.
- 35 'Ετέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου 'Ρωμαῖου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται 'Ιοβιανός.
- 36 'Ιστέον ὅτι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος ἐν τῇ Ξυλοκέρκῳ ἐν τῇ νάρθηκι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους ἴσταται λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου ἑκατονταλίθου ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντία ἡ τοῦ Μαυρικίου γυνὴ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν. ἐν δὲ τῇ καταφυγῇ τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ ἐν ᾗ ἴσταται λάρναξ καὶ ἀπετέθη τὸ σῶμα Μαυρικίου σφαγέντος ὑπὸ Φωκά.
- 37 'Ιστέον ὅτι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης τὰ Σταυρακίου, ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου ἴσταται λάρναξ Σταυρακίου καὶ Θεοφανοῦς τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.
- 38 'Ιστέον ὅτι ἐν τῇ γυναικείῳ μονῇ τῶν Γαστρίων εἰς τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐτάφη τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδώρας τῆς γυναικὸς Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἡ ὀρθοδοξοτάτη, καὶ αἱ τρεῖς αὐτῆς θυγατέρες Θέκλα, 'Αναστασία καὶ Πουλχερία.

### Apparatus Criticus

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1 τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ . . . : DuCange omitted καὶ.                 | 34 καὶ omitted by DuCange.   |
| 18 'Ιεραπολίτου cod.: DuCange erroneously read τετραπολίτου. | 36 Κωνσταντία cod., cf. R 34; Κωνσταντία DuCange. ἀπετέθη τὸ σῶμα cod.: ἀπετέθητο τὸ σῶμα DuCange. |
| 19 'Ιουστινιανοῦ: 'Ιουστίνου cod.                            | 37 καὶ Θεοφανοῦς cod.: καὶ τῆς Θεοφανοῦς DuCange.  |
| 26 Σαγγαρινή cod.: Σαγγαρική DuCange.                        | 38 τῆς γυναικός: τῆς omitted by DuCange.   |
| 30 ἀπὸ cod.: ἐκ DuCange.                                     |  |

### Commentary

- 1 For the identification and dates of the persons mentioned in both anonymous lists (C and R), see the commentary on the list in the *Book of Ceremonies*. In the transcriptions of these lists, grammatical and orthographical errors are reproduced as exactly as possible since they may be of significance for the filiation of the lists.



- 2 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 2.
- 3 This entry probably refers to Theodosios I instead of to Theodosios II; see notes on the *Book of Ceremonies* 3, 42.
- 4 In this and the succeeding entries, the contents and order of C differ from those of R and the *Book of Ceremonies*.
- 5 'Ανακτητιανός is an error for 'Aquitanian' ('Ακυτιανός); see the *Book of Ceremonies* 7, R 6.
- 7 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 10.
- 9 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 12.
- 12 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 15.
- 13 Nikephoros II Phokas, 963–969. Beginning with this entry, the sarcophagi recorded are all of persons who died after Constantine VII, with the exception of Michael II, whose appearance here may be an error (see note on 14). This list thus appears to have been compiled after that of the *Book of Ceremonies*. R 14 preserves a trace of the addition of the entries for Nikephoros Phokas, Romanos II, Constantine VIII and Theophano (see the note there).
- 14 Michael II, 820–829, entered here as 'the Amorian', appears again below, in the section on the Mausoleum of Justinian (31), under his other epithet Travlos. In R he is omitted in both places. In the *Book of Ceremonies* he is recorded only as 'Michael Travlos' (37) in the section on the Mausoleum of Justinian. In *Theoph. Cont.* ii 28 (= Kedr. ii 99, 15) it is stated that Michael II was buried in the Mausoleum of Justinian. In its second entry, C (31) states that in the Mausoleum of Justinian Michael and his wife lay in the same sarcophagus, while the *Book of Ceremonies* (37–38) assigns them to separate sarcophagi (*Theoph. Cont.* and Kedr. mention only the burial of Michael). While it is possible that these conflicting entries in C indicate that Michael's body was moved from one location to the other, the difference in the epithets by which Michael is described suggests that the present entry in C is an error by a scribe or editor who did not know that Michael the Amorian and Michael Travlos were the same person; knowing from the *Book of Ceremonies* 8 that the body of Michael III lay in the Mausoleum of Constantine, the editor of the present list might have supposed that this was Michael the Amorian, as distinguished (he thought) from Michael Travlos.
- 15 Romanos II, 959–963.
- 16 Constantine VIII, 976 (1025)–1028, and Theophano, in separate sarcophagi.
- 17 Note that *larnax* here is masculine.
- 19 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 20.
- 20 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 21.
- 23 Here and in R 23, Flavia; the *Book of Ceremonies* 24 has the correct form Fabia.
- 24 Constantine III (also called Constans II), 641–668; see below, note on §26.
- 26 There is no Constantius who was son of Constantine II and grandson of Heraklios. This and the succeeding entry, for Constans, son of Constantine II and grandson of Heraklios, are a result of the misunderstanding of the identity of Constantine Pogonatos which appears both here and in R, while the correct entries are made in the *Book of Ceremonies* 25 and 27 (see note on 25). The *Book of Ceremonies* lists the sarcophagi of (a) Constantine III Pogonatos; (b) Fausta his wife; (c) Constantine IV. The compilers of C and R evidently were confused by two problems, first by a doubt whether Constantine III or Constantine IV was called Pogonatos, and second by apparent ignorance of the fact that Constantine III was also called Constans II. As a result C lists (a) Constantine Pogonatos, actually Constantine III but supposed by the compiler to be Constantine IV; (b) Fausta; (c) 'Constantius', who never existed, but apparently was supposed to be Constantine III; and (d) Constans, wrongly supposed to



be different from Constantine III. R attempted a different solution, listing (a) Constantine Pogonatos, whom the compiler might have supposed to be either Constantine III or Constantine IV; (b) Fausta, and (c) Constans, whom the compiler did not know to be Constantine Pogonatos. On the source and processes of the confusion, see Brooks's study cited in the note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 25 (noting that Brooks overlooked C and used only R). In the process of these alterations, the assignments of the various persons to the various sarcophagi have been changed, as is indicated by the differing descriptions in the lists of the kinds of stone of which the sarcophagi were made (see note on R 29). According to Kedrenos (i 753, 13-15; 763, 23 ff.) Constantine II, 641, his wife Anastasia, and his son Constantine III, 641-668, were all buried in the same sarcophagus. None of the lists mentions Constantine II and Anastasia.

- 29 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 31. It is not clear whether the wife of Constantine listed here is Eirene, listed *ibid.* 32, or the unnamed other wife (either Eudokia or Maria) listed *ibid.* 33. A similar doubt exists in the case of the entry in R 28.
- 31 See note on §14 above.
- 33 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 42.
- 34 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 43.

#### ANONYMOUS LIST, R

- p. 203 B. Περὶ τῶν τάφων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀποστόλων.
- 1 Ἐν τῷ ἡρώῳ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ἐν πρώτοις κατὰ ἀνατολὰς κεῖται ἡ λάρναξ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου πορφυρᾷ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἑλένης.
  - 2 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ πορφυρᾷ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.
  - 3 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ πορφυρᾷ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Θεοδόσιος ὁ μέγας.
  - p. 204 B. 4 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος ἱερακίτις, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Λέων ὁ μέγας.
  - 5 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ πορφυρᾷ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Μαρκιανὸς καὶ Πουλχερία.
  - 6 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ Νικητιανή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Δίκωρος μετὰ Ἀριάδνης.
  - 7 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Βασίλειος ὁ Μακεδών, Εὐδοκία καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος.
  - 8 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ Σαγγαρινή φλεγμενούσιος, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Λέων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.
  - 9 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ λευκή, ἡ λεγομένη βασιλική, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.
  - 10 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται τὸ λεύκανον τῆς ἁγίας Θεοφανοῦς καὶ Εὐδοκίας τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς.
  - 11 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ Βιθυνή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ζωὴ ἡ δευτέρα γυνὴ Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοσόφου.
  - 12 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ἡ τρίτη γυνὴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λέοντος.
  - 13 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ Προικονησία, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ἡ θυγάτηρ Λέοντος Ἄννα.
  - 14 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἡρώῳ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, κεῖται δὲ Νικηφόρος ὁ Φωκᾶς.
  - p. 205 B. 15 Ἑτέρα λάρναξ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ῥωμανὸς ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου, ὁ λεγόμενος τὸ καλὸν παιδίον.
  - 16 Ἐσώθεν δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ ἑτέρα λάρναξ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος καὶ ἀδελφὸς βασιλέως Βασιλείου τοῦ Βουλγαροκτόνου. οὗτοί



εἰσιν υἱοὶ Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου καλοῦ παιδίου καὶ μητρὸς αὐτῶν Θεοφανοῦς, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται καὶ αὐτὴ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου.

Ἡρώων τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰουστινιανοῦ.

17 Λάρναξ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἀπὸ λίθου ξένου καὶ ἄλλοκότου, μέσην χροιάν ἔχουσα τοῦ τε Βιθυνοῦ καὶ Χαλκηδονίτου παραπλησίως λίθου Ὀστρέτου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἰουστινιανός.

18 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Ἱεραπολίτου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Θεοδώρα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.

19 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ πρὸς δυσμὰς εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος, τὴν χροιάν ῥοδοποικίλος, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ἡ γυνὴ Ἰουστινιανοῦ.

20 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ λευκὴ Προικοννήσιος, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἰουστίνος ὁ μικρός.

21 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ Προικοννήσιος, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Σοφία ἡ γυνὴ Ἰουστίνου.

p. 206 B. 22 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου λευκοῦ Δοκημίνου ὀνυχίτου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἡράκλειος.

23 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Φλαβία ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.

24 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ Προικοννησία, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Πωγωνάτος.

25 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος Θετταλή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Φαύστα.

26 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ Σαγγαρινή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κώνστας ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ Ἡρακλείου.

27 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ ἑκατοντάλιθος Σαγγαρινή, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.

28 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ Ἱεραπολίτις, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου. Ἰστέον ὅτι ἡ λάρναξ τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου ἐξεβλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώου παρὰ Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοδώρας, καὶ τὸ μὲν μισρὸν αὐτοῦ σῶμα κατεκαύθη, ὁ δὲ λίθος τοῦ τάφου ἐπρίσθη, καὶ ἐχρημάτισεν εἰς συστήματα τοῦ παλατίου.

29 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ὁ Ἰσαῦρος.

30 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ πράσινος, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται ὁ Θεόφιλος.

p. 207 B. 31 Στοὰ ἐτέρα, ἥτις ἐστὶ τὰ νῦν ἀσκέπαστος, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται λαρνάκια τρία πορφυρὰ Ῥωμαῖα, τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν Ἀρκαδίου, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον Θεοδοσίου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν Εὐδοξίας.

32 Στοὰ ἐτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐν ᾗ κεῖται λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου τιμίου Ῥωμαίου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπετέθη τὸ παμμίαρον σῶμα Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου.

33 Ἐτέρα λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Ῥωμαίου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Ἰοβιανός.

34 Ἰστέον ὅτι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος, πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόρτης τῆς Συλοκέρκου, ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους ἵσταται λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου ἑκατονταλίθου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντία ἡ τοῦ Μαυρικίου γυνὴ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ. ἐν δὲ τῇ καταφυγῇ τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἵσταται λάρναξ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται τὸ σῶμα Μαυρικίου σφαγέντος ἀπὸ Φωκᾶ.

35 Ἰστέον ὅτι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης τὰ Σταυρακίον, ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ προδρόμου ἵσταται λάρναξ Σταυρακίου βασιλέως καὶ Θεοφανοῦς τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.

36 Ἰστέον ὅτι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Λιβαδίων τῆς κυρᾶς Εὐφροσύνης ἵσταται λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου Βιθυνοῦ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς Εἰρήνης ὁ τυφλωθεὶς παρ' αὐτῆς, καὶ Μαρία ἡ πρώτη αὐτοῦ γυνὴ, ἡ γεγονυῖα ἐγγονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλαρέτου τοῦ ἐλεήμονος, καὶ αἱ δύο αὐτῶν θυγατέρες, Εἰρήνη καὶ Εὐφροσύνη, ἡ γυνὴ Μιχαὴλ βασιλέως τοῦ τραυλοῦ, καὶ Ἄννα ἡ θυγάτηρ Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως.

p. 208 B. 37 Ἰστέον ὅτι ἐν τῇ γυναικείῳ μονῇ τῶν Γαστρίων, εἰς τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐτάφη τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδώρας τῆς γυναικὸς Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ αἱ τρεῖς αὐτῆς θυγατέρες Θέκλα Ἀναστασία καὶ Πουλχερία.



*Apparatus Criticus*

- Title: *ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ* cod.: Band. prints *ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἁγίῳ*. 29 *ἀπὸ* cod.: Band. prints *ἐκ*.  
 1 *ἐν πρώτοις* cod.: Band. prints *ἐμπροσθεν*. 33 *Ἰοβιανός* Band.: *Ἰουλιανός* cod.  
 17 *παραπλησίως* cod.: Band. prints *παρά*. 36 *Ἰστέον ὅτι: εἰ δὲ* cod., cf. Bury, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*  
 19 *Ἰουστινιανοῦ: Ἰουστίνου* cod., Band. xxii (1907) 224.

*Commentary*

- 2 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 2.  
 3 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 3.  
 6 *Νικητιανή* is an error for 'Aquitanian' (*Ἀκυιτανός*); see the *Book of Ceremonies* 7, C 5.  
 8 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 10. *φλεγμενούσιος* might mean 'flame-coloured'; in the corresponding entry, *ibid.* 10, the epithet is *πνευμονούσιος*, the meaning of which is not clear, although it might be an error for *φλεγμενούσιος*.  
 9 In their corresponding entries C (8) and the *Book of Ceremonies* (11) record 'Constantine the son of Basil', i.e. Basil I's son by his first wife Maria, created Augustus 869, died 879. Banduri, in his commentary (ii 809), overlooking the reading of C, and not knowing the *Book of Ceremonies*, mistakenly took R's entry to be a repeated entry for Constantine VII.  
 10 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 12.  
 13 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 15.  
 14 The reference to the Mausoleum of Constantine, bracketed by Banduri and dropped from the Bonn and Migne reprints, is not to be deleted. It indicates the fashion in which this and the succeeding entries were added to an original text which did not contain entries for persons who died after the time of Constantine VII; the editor wished to make it clear (at least to himself) that these were sarcophagi which stood in the Mausoleum of Constantine. See note on C 13.  
 15 Romanos II, 959–963.  
 16 Constantine VIII, 976 (1025)–1028, and Theophano, in separate sarcophagi.  
 19 See notes on the *Book of Ceremonies* 20–1.  
 23 Here and in C 23, Flavia; the *Book of Ceremonies* 24 has the correct form Fabia.  
 24 On this and the succeeding entries, see notes on the *Book of Ceremonies* 25–6, C 26.  
 28 It is not clear whether the wife of Constantine listed here is Eirene, listed in the *Book of Ceremonies* 32, or the unnamed wife (either Eudokia or Maria) listed *ibid.* 33. A similar doubt exists in the case of the entry in C 29.  
 29 The absence of the name of the stone of the sarcophagus is connected with the readjustments occasioned by the misunderstanding of the identity of Constantine Pogonatos, discussed in the note on C 26. The results of the editorial reassignment of sarcophagi may be seen by comparison of the various stones enumerated in the *Book of Ceremonies* 25–30, C 24–30, and R 24–9. Because of the erroneous introduction of extra persons in C and R, without the corresponding introduction of extra sarcophagi, Leo's sarcophagi remained without a descriptive epithet, and the editor evidently did not think fit to supply one.  
 31 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 42.  
 32 See note on the *Book of Ceremonies* 43.

## THE MAUSOLEUM OF CONSTANTINE

Mesarites (xxxix) gives a systematic description of the principal tombs in this mausoleum, though he does not enumerate all of the sarcophagi which are known to have been in the mausoleum. He first mentions the sarcophagus of Constantine the Great, at the east of the building, presumably facing the visitor as he entered the building from the



west; Justinian's tomb likewise lay at the east of his mausoleum (see below). Then Mesarites mentions the tombs of Constantius 'at the south' and of Theodosios I 'at the north, opposite this'. These two tombs apparently faced each other at the ends of the north-south axis of the building. Then he goes on to speak of the tomb of Pulcheria, which he says is 'toward the east and closest to' that of Theodosios. After this he names a series of sarcophagi. He does not give their locations, but the way in which Pulcheria's is noted, and the number of tombs mentioned after it, indicates that starting with the tomb of Pulcheria, Mesarites conducts the visitor clockwise around the building, passing over the three tombs (of Constantine, Constantius and Theodosios) originally described; for the final number of tombs which he mentions is twelve, the last being in the 'inner' or central part of the building, and this would indicate a symmetrical arrangement of eleven tombs around the wall, the twelfth space being occupied by the door. The final tomb in the central part of the building, that of Constantine VIII, is presumably mentioned because this emperor had restored the building (Mesarites xxxix 12) and perhaps also because a twelfth tomb would fulfil the symbolism of the number of the apostles.<sup>10</sup>

There are eight other tombs which Mesarites does not speak of, whose existence is attested by the lists printed above. These are the sarcophagi of:

Leo I and Verina (in the same sarcophagus).

Michael III.

Constantine, son of Basil I.

Zoe, second wife of Leo VI.

Anna (and Eudokia?), daughters of Leo VI and Zoe.

Romanos II.

Theophano, wife of Romanos II.

Basil, son of Leo VI by Eudokia (?), and Bardas, son of Basil I (?), in the same sarcophagus.

There are other sarcophagi whose assignment to the Mausoleum of Constantine seems to be erroneous. These are the sarcophagi of Constantine, son of Constantine the Great, 337-340; Theodosios II, and Michael II. The entries for Constantine II seem to represent confusion with Constantius, and it seems more likely that the sarcophagus of Theodosios II and Michael II stood elsewhere (see further below).

In addition, the *Book of Ceremonies* (17) lists a sarcophagus the name of whose occupant was lost, or at least uncertain, since no name is given in the catalogue.

Thus we know of twenty-one sarcophagi which stood in the mausoleum. There are a few cases in which we get different information from different sources, for various reasons. Mesarites presumably limited his list to twelve because he did not wish to overload his description with names, and perhaps also because of the symbolism of the number. He mentions only Pulcheria, though other sources say that Marcianus and Pulcheria were buried together; and he mentions only Basil I, though other sources record that Eudokia and Alexander were buried in the same sarcophagus. Certainly Mesarites seems to have been anxious to avoid giving a list of names in his description of the Mausoleum of Justinian, where he mentions only six tombs, and then remarks that there is no point in naming the others (xl 10).

Mesarites speaks of separate sarcophagi of Leo VI and Constantine VII, while the list in the *Book of Ceremonies* and the anonymous lists state that they were buried together; evidently Constantine VII was placed temporarily in his father's sarcophagus, pending the preparation of a sarcophagus for himself, and was transferred later to this new sarcophagus. This practice may have been followed in other cases as well.

<sup>10</sup> This number twelve includes separate sarcophagi for Leo VI and Constantine VII, who had originally been buried together, and includes the sarcophagus of St. Theophano, which was later removed.



Our lists indicate that no burials were made in this mausoleum between the time of Anastasios I, 491–518, and Basil I, 867–886; the body of Michael III, 842–867, was brought to the mausoleum during the reign of Leo VI, 886–912.<sup>11</sup> Between Anastasios I and Basil I, the lists show, the emperors and their families were buried in the Mausoleum of Justinian.

#### THE MAUSOLEUM OF JUSTINIAN

We have less information about the tombs in this mausoleum than we have about the tombs in the Mausoleum of Constantine. Mesarites (xl), evidently feeling that his enumeration of the tombs in the Mausoleum of Constantine was sufficient for literary purposes, names only six of the sarcophagi in the Mausoleum of Justinian: Justinian's in the place of honour at the east, with that of Justin II toward the north on Justinian's right (the spectator's left), and that of Justin II's wife Sophia on the south, facing her husband's sarcophagus. Three other tombs—those of Heraklios, Theophilos, and Theodora—are mentioned but not located.

The list in the *Book of Ceremonies* and the anonymous lists likewise place Justinian's sarcophagus at the east of the building, but do not give the locations of the other tombs which Mesarites mentions. The *Book of Ceremonies* (18) states that the sarcophagus stood on the east, at the apse of the mausoleum.

The only other sarcophagus in this mausoleum whose location is specified is that of Eudokia, wife of Justinian II, which is said in the *Book of Ceremonies* and in the anonymous lists to have been placed 'toward the west, on the right-hand part', i.e. in the western arm of the building, on the southern side.

In addition to the seven sarcophagi listed above (those of Justinian, Theodora, Justin II, Sophia, Heraklios, Theophilos, Eudokia), sarcophagi of the following persons are known from other sources to have stood in this mausoleum. Unless otherwise stated, these sarcophagi are recorded in one or more of the three lists printed above.

Tiberius II, with Anastasia (in the same sarcophagus): *Chronicon Paschale* i 690, 14–16 (Bonn ed.).

Paul, father of Maurice Tiberius: Theophanes, *AM* 6085, 271, 28–32 (ed. De Boor).

Fabia, wife of Heraklios.

Constantine II, his wife Anastasia, and his son Constantine III (in the same sarcophagus).  
Fausta.

Constantine IV.

Anastasios II Artemios.

His wife, not named.

Leo III.

Constantine V (this sarcophagus was removed and broken up by Michael III and Theodora).

Eirene, his wife.

Another wife of Constantine V, not named (either Eudokia or Maria).

Kosmo and Eirene, sisters of Constantine V (in the same sarcophagus).

Leo IV.

Eirene.

Michael II and his wife (not named). They were at one time buried in separate sarcophagi, but later placed in one. Michael's tomb is placed by one list (probably erroneously) in the Mausoleum of Constantine.

Constantine, son of Theophilos.

Maria, daughter of Theophilos.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. H. Koethe, 'Das Konstantinsmausoleum und verwandte Denkmäler', *JdI* xlviii (1933) 188.



## STOAI TO THE NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE CHURCH

Julian the Apostate and Jovian are said to have been buried, in the tenth century, in separate sarcophagi in a *stoa* or *heroon* to the north of the Church of the Apostles, while Arkadios, Eudoxia and Theodosios II are said to have been buried, in separate sarcophagi, in a *stoa* to the south of the church.

There is a problem as to the location of the *stoai* mentioned. The list in the *Book of Ceremonies* introduces the notice of the sarcophagi of Arkadios, Eudoxia and Theodosios II (42) with the heading *στοὰ ἡ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ*, while the succeeding entries (42-3) for the sarcophagi of Julian and Jovian are placed under the heading *στοὰ ἡ πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ*. List C (33) more elaborately introduces the first notice (Arkadios, etc.) with the phrase 'another *stoa* to the south of the same church, which was demolished and is roofless', while the succeeding entries are introduced with the words *στοὰ ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς ἄρκτον* (note the different position of the words *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ*). List R (31) has still another introductory phrase, 'another *stoa*, which is now uncovered' (note the absence of *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ*) while the succeeding entry is introduced with the phrase used in C.

Still different indications of the locations are given by other sources. Kedrenos (i 586, 10-11) relates that the bodies of Arkadios and Eudoxia were buried 'in the Church of the Apostles, in the southern *stoa*'. The *Synopsis chronike* (57, 6-8, in Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aev. vii*) records that Julian's body was buried 'in the Church of the Apostles in the northern part in a separate *heroon*', and that Jovian and his wife Charito were buried 'in the *stoa* of the Holy Apostles'.

It is not difficult to see that these sometimes apparently contradictory statements refer, actually, to 'stoas' detached from the church, and to the north and south of it. In the headings in the list of tombs in the *Book of Ceremonies* (the most carefully edited of the three lists of tombs) the words *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ* must refer to the Church of the Apostles itself, rather than to the Mausoleum of Justinian, which has just been described; for while the mausoleum could have been called a *naos*,<sup>12</sup> the main title of this list states that it enumerates the tombs of the emperors *ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων*, while the sub-headings contain the term *heroon*, not *naos*, to denote the two mausoleums. The headings and sub-headings in C and R have evidently been shortened and recast in such a way that the significance of the words *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ* has been altered. The phraseology of Kedrenos and of the *Synopsis chronike* recalls the statement of Leo Grammatikos (p. 130, 19-20: Bonn ed.) that Justinian was buried 'in the Holy Apostles, toward the north', which means, of course, 'in the precinct of the Holy Apostles, in a *heroon* at the north of the church'. Kedrenos and the compiler of the *Synopsis*, equally mechanical workers, were not interested in giving the exact place of burial of Arkadios, Eudoxia and Julian; and finding in their sources statements that these persons were buried 'in a *stoa* at the Holy Apostles', they made an unwarranted inference and wrote 'in a *stoa* of the Holy Apostles'.

That the sarcophagi of Julian and Jovian, and of Arkadios, Eudoxia and Theodosios II lay in two independent buildings, presumably mausoleums, is suggested also by the record that the sarcophagi of Arkadios, Eudoxia and Theodosios II stood respectively 'toward the south', 'toward the east' and 'toward the north'. This suggests that the sarcophagi lay in a building of central, cruciform or trefoil plan with an entrance at the west. It should be recalled finally that *stoa* could well be applied to a building which we should call a mausoleum, since it was used not only to denote a colonnade or portico, but a building or part of a building which was enclosed by pillars or consisted basically of pillars supporting a roof.<sup>13</sup> Zonaras (xiii 4, 28) indeed calls the Mausoleum of Constantine a *stoa*.

<sup>12</sup> Mesarites refers to the Mausoleum of Constantine as a *νεώς*, xxxix 1.

<sup>13</sup> R. Delbrück, who did not know all of the evidence cited here, suggested (*Antike Porphywerke*

(Berlin, 1932) 223) that the 'stoas' in which Arkadios, Eudoxia, Theodosios II, Julian and Jovian were buried were the colonnades of the atrium.



If Julian, Jovian, Arkadios, Eudoxia and Theodosios II were buried in two separate mausoleums, this manner of burial raises the question of the date and purpose of such mausoleums, and their relation to the Mausoleum of Constantine. For the place of burial of Arkadios, Eudoxia and Theodosios II, the only testimony we have, outside the list of tombs in the *Book of Ceremonies*, is (1) the passage in Kedrenos quoted above, which, in garbled form, seems to give the same information as the *Book of Ceremonies*; (2) the statement of list C, 3, that Theodosios II lay in the Mausoleum of Constantine, which, being unsupported by other evidence, may well be an error caused by the common confusion of *μικρός* and *μέγας*; and (3) the circumstance that Ignatios of Smolensk,<sup>14</sup> who visited the church between 1389 and 1405, mentioned the sarcophagi of Constantine the Great and Theodosios II; this need not show that the sarcophagi were placed together, but need mean only that these were the only sarcophagi which he chose to mention. Here again the evidence of the list in the *Book of Ceremonies* alone seems reliable.

In the case of Jovian our other evidence is likewise not extensive. Philostorgios (viii 8, 108, 9: ed. Bidez) notes merely that Jovian's body was taken for burial 'to Constantinople', with no reference to the Holy Apostles. Zonaras (xiii 14, 23) writes that Jovian and his wife Charito were buried 'in the Holy Apostles'. The *Synopsis chronike*, as has been noted, states that Jovian and Charito were buried 'in the *stoa* of the Holy Apostles'.

Of Julian, however, we know that when his body was brought back from Persia it was buried, according to his expressed wish, at Tarsos, where it lay in a tomb outside the city, across a road from that of Maximinus Daia.<sup>15</sup>

When the body of Julian was taken to Constantinople, we do not know; the only source which mentions the transfer is Zonaras' statement that 'later the body was transferred to the imperial city' (xiii 13, 25). Thus the separate *stoa* in which Julian was buried in the tenth century was not constructed immediately after his death, or at least his body was not immediately placed in it. The question then arises as to where Jovian, who was eventually buried in the same *stoa* with Julian, was originally buried. The only writer contemporary with Jovian's death who mentions his burial is Ammianus, who tells us (xxvi 1, 3) only that Jovian was laid to rest *inter Augustorum reliquias*, which could mean that he was buried in the Mausoleum of Constantine, along with Constantine and Constantius, but need mean only that he was buried in the same general area as the Augusti but not necessarily in the same mausoleum. Jovian would no doubt have been considered eligible for burial in the imperial mausoleum (if it were the intention to bury all the Roman emperors there, and not merely the family of Constantine), for he was deified after his death, apparently being the last of the Roman emperors to receive this honour.<sup>16</sup> However, Jovian was the first Roman emperor, who was not a member of Constantine's family, who could either have been a candidate for burial in the Mausoleum of Constantine, or have been excluded from the mausoleum on grounds of non-membership in the founder's family. Thus if there were any question as to the use of the mausoleum, this question would have arisen when Jovian died.

The next Roman emperor to die was Valentinian I (364-375), and we are faced with the same question, since the only testimony to his burial is a brief note in Ammianus Marcellinus (xxx 10, 1) that Theodosios I buried Valentinian *inter divorum reliquias*, and a statement in the Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes (Migne, *PL* li 918; Mommsen, *Chronica minora*, ii 61) that Theodosios buried Valentinian *apud comitatum regio in sepulchro*. These notices could mean, as in the case of Jovian, either that Valentinian was buried in the

<sup>14</sup> Ed. S. V. Arsenieff, *Pravoslav. Palestin. Sbornik*, No. 12 (1887) 7-8.

<sup>15</sup> Libanius, *Orat.* xviii 306; Amm. Marc. xxiii 2, 5; xxv 5, 1 (cf. 10, 1). See J. Bidez, *La Vie de l'empereur Julien* (Paris, 1930) 330.

<sup>16</sup> Eutropius x 18, 2; see E. Stein, *Gesch. des spätrom. Reiches*, i (Vienna, 1928) 266. Julian had likewise been deified (Eutrop. x 16, 2).



Mausoleum of Constantine, or somewhere in the precinct of the Church of the Apostles but not in the mausoleum. They could, however, equally well mean that Valentinian was buried in some other imperial burial-place.<sup>17</sup>

The next burial was that of Theodosios I (379–395), who was, according to Theophanes (*AM* 5886, 74, 18–19: ed. De Boor) and Kedrenos (i 574, 1–2: Bonn ed.), buried 'at the Holy Apostles'. In the tenth century, at least, his sarcophagus lay in the Mausoleum of Constantine, opposite that of Constantius, and on the (spectator's) left of that of Constantine the Great (Mesarites xxxix 3–6), an arrangement which would suggest that he was the next emperor after Constantius to be laid in the Mausoleum.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, while it is possible that Jovian and Valentinian I were originally buried in the Mausoleum of Constantine, and while there may be good reason to believe that they were so buried, there is no specific evidence that they were originally laid in that mausoleum.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, there is nothing which shows when (after 382) Julian's body was brought to Constantinople or when the *stoa* in which Julian and Jovian eventually lay was constructed. The reason for the construction of a separate mausoleum to receive the bodies of Julian and Jovian is likewise not entirely clear. Julian of course by his apostasy had in a sense forfeited the right to be buried with the other members of the family of Constantine, though he was duly deified after death; and it is easy to understand how there can have been no objection, but rather relief, when he was buried (in accordance with his own wishes) at Tarsos instead of at Constantinople. Nevertheless he had been a Roman emperor and it was eventually felt to be fitting for his body to be brought to Constantinople. At the same time, however, the taint of apostasy would have lingered, and it is presumably for this reason that he was laid in a separate mausoleum, which may have been constructed for the purpose.

Again, it is not easy to see why Jovian, originally buried somewhere in the precinct of the Holy Apostles, should eventually have become the companion of Julian. Jovian had no personal connexion with Julian; he had remained a Christian and had been allowed to continue in the imperial service only because useful officers were needed. It is possible that when Jovian died he was buried in a separate mausoleum constructed for the purpose because he was the first emperor to die who was not a member of Constantine's family (except of course for Julian, who was already buried in Tarsos), and there may have been an intention at that time to restrict the use of the Mausoleum of Constantine to members of his family. Jovian thus would have been buried separately and would have remained alone when it was later decided to continue to use the Mausoleum of Constantine. Then

<sup>17</sup> This suggestion is made by A. A. Vasiliev, 'Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople', *Dumbarton Oak Papers* iv (1938) 11. A. M. Schneider, 'Das Regium sepulchrum apud comitatum zu Konstantinopel', *Nachrichten d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1950, 15, believes that Marcellinus Comes uses *comitatus* to mean the imperial palace itself (a usage attested elsewhere), and adduces archaeological evidence for such a burial-place near the palace. This view encounters certain difficulties. *Comitatus* was originally, and perhaps more frequently, used to mean 'the imperial court' or 'the imperial suite', so that Marcellinus might have meant to say that Valentinian was buried among his 'imperial companions', that is, at the Church of the Apostles. In fact, one might wonder why Valentinian should not have been buried there. There appears to be no other literary evidence for an imperial mausoleum connected with the palace, either in Valentinian's day or later. For these reasons it is

difficult to accept Schneider's hypothesis, pending the discovery of fresh evidence.

<sup>18</sup> The body of Valens (364–378), who was killed in battle, was never found; Gratianus (367–383), who was assassinated, was refused burial; Valentinian II (375–392) was buried at Milan. See above, note 2.

<sup>19</sup> A law promulgated 30 July 381 (*Cod. Theod.* ix 17, 6) decreed that bodies which were contained in urns and sarcophagi and were to be kept above ground should be placed outside of cities, noting specifically that a church (or tomb) of apostles and martyrs (*apostolorum vel martyrum sedem*) could not be used for the burial of bodies (*humandis corporibus*). It seems likely that it would generally be considered that the bodies of the emperors and their families would be excepted from this last provision; in any case the law was not observed later with regard to the Church of the Apostles. On the law, see G. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher der christl. Kirche* (Freiburg i. B. 1897) 94.



when Julian's body was brought to Constantinople, it was laid with Jovian's, in order to keep the Apostate isolated from the reputable emperors. Jovian's reign had been short, and no one would have troubled to transfer his sarcophagus to one of the larger mausoleums. All this, however, while it is possible, is only hypothetical, and pending the discovery of further material, the construction of the *stoa* of Julian and Jovian must remain something of a mystery.

The evidence with regard to the *stoa* of Arkadios, Eudoxia and Theodosios II is more satisfactory, and it is possible to suggest the reasons for its construction. In the first place, the disposition of the sarcophagi (Arkadios on the south, Theodosios II on the north, Eudoxia on the east: *Book of Ceremonies* 42; C, 33; R, 31) suggests, as has been noted, a building of central, cruciform or trefoil plan. The situation of Eudoxia's sarcophagus in the place of honour at the east suggests that the building was erected by Eudoxia as a mausoleum for herself, her husband and their son. This suggestion is perfectly in keeping with what we know of the dominating and impulsive character of Eudoxia, and of the weakness and dull-wittedness of Arkadios.<sup>20</sup> Eudoxia must have considered herself the dominating figure of the reign, and could easily have persuaded Arkadios to approve, or at least to tolerate, the construction of a mausoleum in which she was to occupy the chief place.<sup>21</sup> She would also have had some justification for the construction of such a mausoleum in that Arkadios was the first emperor to rule only the eastern half of the empire. Thus, since his reign could be regarded as the inauguration of a new era, there would be some logic in the abandonment of the Mausoleum of Constantine and his successors, who had ruled both East and West, and in the erection of a new mausoleum for the first emperor of the East.<sup>22</sup> An alternative hypothesis would be to suppose that Theodosios II built the mausoleum and put his mother in the place of honour; but the construction of the building and arrangement of the sarcophagi seems more characteristic of Eudoxia than of Theodosios.

### THE SARCOPHAGUS OF MICHAEL III

In the list of imperial tombs in the *Book of Ceremonies*, some of the entries for the tombs of Justin I, Justinian I, and Justin II, are, in their present form, confusing and contradictory. Upon the solution of some of the problems which they present depends the identification of the sarcophagus in which Michael III was buried by Leo VI when Michael's body was brought to Constantinople from Chrysopolis. The passages in question are as follows:

1. In the list of sarcophagi in the Mausoleum of Constantine it is said (642, 16-643, 3, quoted above, p. 30, §8) that the green Thessalian sarcophagus in which Michael's body was buried at the Holy Apostles had been that of Justinian I. The account goes on to say that this sarcophagus had lain in the monastery called Augusta, below (i.e. near) the Church of St. Thomas, in which the robes of the apostles were found. Leo VI took it, and used it in the Mausoleum of Constantine for the burial of Michael III.

2. In the list of imperial burials in places other than the Holy Apostles, the *Book of Ceremonies* (646, 13-19) records that in the women's monastery called τὰ Ἰουστινίου, in the Church of St. Thomas, in a green Thessalian sarcophagus, lay the body of the Emperor

<sup>20</sup> See the account of Arkadios' reign by J. B. Bury, *Hist. of the Later Rom. Emp.* (London, 1923) i 107-59.

<sup>21</sup> Eudoxia died on October 6, 404, Arkadios on May 1, 408 (Bury, 159). At the time of Arkadios' death, Theodosios II was a child of seven years (Bury, 212).

<sup>22</sup> Honorius was buried in Rome: Paulus, *Hist.*

*Rom.* xiii 7, 197, 31 (ed. Droysen). Eudoxia's interest in building activities is attested by her sponsoring of the construction of the church at Gaza which was called the Eudoxiana in her honour; she provided the plan of the building (which was cruciform) and furnished columns for it. The church was begun in 402 and dedicated in 407: Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii*, ch. 75, 78, 84, 92 (ed. Grégoire-Kugener).



Justin, along with that of his wife Sophia. Their bodies were removed and were placed, in the same monastery, in a small coffin of Proconesian stone on which was inscribed 'Coffin of the Domestikos Alexander':

ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν τῇ γυναικίᾳ μονῇ τὰ Ἰουστίνου, ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ, ἐν λάρνακι ἀπὸ λίθου πρασίνου Θεσσαλοῦ ἀπέκειτο τὸ σῶμα Ἰουστίνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Σοφίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐξηνέχθη τὰ τούτων λεύβανα, καὶ κατετέθη ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μονῇ ἐν χαμοσορίου ἀπὸ λίθου Προικονησίου ἦτον Πικριμαίου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται "γλοσσόκομος Ἀλεξάνδρου Δομεστίκου".

3. In the list of tombs in the Mausoleum of Justinian (644, 2-12, quoted above, pp. 30-1 §§18-22) there are recorded in successive entries the sarcophagi of:

§18, Justinian I.

§19, Theodora, his wife.

§20, Eudokia, wife of Justinian II.

§21, Justinian II.

§22, Sophia, the wife of Justin.

There is nothing contradictory in these entries as they stand. They do, however, disagree in certain points with the other evidence for the sarcophagi of the same persons, which is as follows:

1. Justin I and Euphemia are said by several sources to have been buried in the women's monastery called the Augusta, which Justin I had built: *Patria* iii 183, 273, 6-9 (ed. Preger); 'Leo Grammatikos' 124, 12-15 (Bonn. ed.); Kedrenos i 642, 3-6 (Bonn. ed.).

2. Kedrenos (i 686, 20-22) states that Justin II and Sophia were buried together in one sarcophagus, in the Holy Apostles, immediately after the death of Justin; the sarcophagus was of Proconesian stone. Mesarites (xl 5-6) mentions the sarcophagi of Justin II and Sophia in the Mausoleum of Justinian. Either they were placed in separate sarcophagi before Mesarites' time, or Kedrenos' source hastily concluded that, in this case, as was often done, husband and wife were buried together.

3. In their opening entries for the sarcophagi of the Mausoleum of Justinian, the anonymous lists C and R (quoted above, pp. 37 f., 41) have entries quite different from those of the *Book of Ceremonies*:

§17, Justinian I.

§18, Theodora, his wife.

§19, Eudokia, the wife of Justin (her name is given by C, omitted by R).

§20, Justin II.

§21, Sophia, his wife.

There is disagreement between the *Book of Ceremonies* and the other sources in each of the three divisions of the evidence listed above. While one suspects at once that some of this disagreement has been produced by the easy confusion of the names of Justin I and II, of Justinian I and II, and of Justin and Justinian, it is not easy to see how the contradictions are to be solved and how the sarcophagi in question are to be identified.

In his commentary on the *Book of Ceremonies*, Reiske supposed (ii 760-761) that there was a contradiction between the statements on pp. 642 and 646 of his text with regard to the sarcophagi in question. In the first passage it is said that Michael III was buried in a sarcophagus which had been that of Justinian I; this had lain in the monastery called Augusta below, i.e. near, the Church of St. Thomas. Leo VI took this sarcophagus (which, it is implied, had not been used for the body of Justinian I) and buried Michael in it. In the second passage it is said that Justin and Sophia had been buried in the women's monastery called τὰ Ἰουστίνου, in the Church of St. Thomas. Their bodies were



removed, at some unspecified time, and placed in a small coffin in the same monastery. In both passages, the sarcophagus in question is said to be of green Thessalian stone. Reiske concluded that the sarcophagus was the same in each case and that the two passages should be combined so as to show that Michael was buried in a sarcophagus from which the bodies of Justin and his wife had been removed. Since the *Patria*, 'Leo Grammatikos' and Kedrenos record the burial of Justin I and Euphemia in the monastery called the Augusta, which Justin I had built, Reiske concluded that the text of the *Book of Ceremonies* is in error at this point. Accordingly he made (or suggested) the following emendations. At p. 642, 19, he proposed 'Justin' for 'Justinian' (making the change in his translation but not in his text). At p. 646, 16, he proposed 'Euphemia' for 'Sophia' (making the change in his translation but not in his text). The text as thus reconstituted would state (p. 642) that Michael was buried in a sarcophagus which had been that of Justin I, and (p. 646) that the bodies of Justin I and Euphemia had been removed from their original sarcophagus and placed in a small coffin. Thus the compiler of the *Book of Ceremonies* would make two incomplete statements concerning the sarcophagus. In the first passage (p. 642) he would say that Michael was buried by Leo in a sarcophagus which had been intended for someone else, but without stating how (if at all) this sarcophagus had originally been used. In the second passage (p. 646) he would say that the bodies of Justin I and Euphemia were removed from the original sarcophagus, without stating how (if at all) this sarcophagus was then employed.

Reiske's conclusions can be supported by other evidence which he did not adduce (part of which, indeed, he could not have known): (1) Kedrenos (cited above) states that Justin II was buried with his wife in the Holy Apostles immediately after his death. (2) C and R both record the sarcophagus of Justin II and Sophia in the Mausoleum of Justinian. (3) Mesarites (whose work was not yet published in Reiske's time) mentions the same sarcophagi in the Mausoleum of Justinian. It is plain, then, that the list of tombs in the Mausoleum of Justinian given in the *Book of Ceremonies* is mistaken in recording (§21) the sarcophagus of Justinian II in the position in the list in which the anonymous lists C and R record the sarcophagus of Justin II. This is made even more certain by the presence of Sophia's sarcophagus in the next entry in all the lists, and by the circumstances of Justinian II's death, which were such that he would not have been buried in the Holy Apostles, if indeed he was given honourable burial at all. All this evidence, combined with the testimony of the other sources concerning the construction of the monastery Augusta by Justin I, makes it reasonably sure that the entry at p. 646 of the *Book of Ceremonies* refers not to Justin II and Sophia but to Justin I and Euphemia. A scribe or editor thinking mistakenly that the reference was to Justin II, would easily have added the name of Sophia, or would have substituted it for the name of Euphemia. In this case we must, like Reiske, conclude that it was the bodies of Justin I and Euphemia which were removed from their original sarcophagus.

The writer of the passage at p. 646 does not say why the bodies were removed, but we cannot draw an argument from his silence. We must, however, consider further the question of whether this sarcophagus of Justin I and Euphemia was identical with that in which Michael III was finally buried. The reasons for thinking that the same sarcophagus is meant are (1) that the sarcophagus in which Michael was buried came (according to the entry on p. 642) from the Augusta monastery where it had been 'beneath' or 'near' the Church of St. Thomas; (2) that the sarcophagus of Justin I and Euphemia, when their bodies were removed from it, lay (according to the entry on p. 646) in the Church of St. Thomas—the church evidently being in or connected with the monastery; and (3) that in each case the sarcophagus is said to be of green Thessalian stone.

Although both passages are apparently incomplete, the points of contact between them seem sufficient to warrant the conclusion that they both refer to the same sarcophagus.



There is, however, one further consideration. In the *Book of Ceremonies* it is said (p. 642, 19) that Michael's sarcophagus had been that of Justinian I. Reiske, as we have seen, emended 'Justinian' to 'Justin'. Actually, if the passage is considered alone, independently of that on p. 646, this emendation is not necessary. The Augusta monastery had been founded by Justin I and Euphemia, who evidently intended it to be their place of burial. It is perfectly possible that at the time of his uncle's death, and in the years immediately following it, Justinian may have intended to have himself buried in his uncle's monastery. Thus there might have been a sarcophagus prepared for Justinian in this establishment. Justinian, at the beginning of his reign, may have been content to think of his uncle as the founder of a new dynasty, so that it would be appropriate for himself to be buried in the same place as Justin I. Later, when the construction of the new Holy Apostles, with its new Mausoleum, was undertaken, this original sarcophagus would probably have been abandoned, since the building of the new Mausoleum would naturally entail the preparation of a new and splendid sarcophagus, which doubtless would have been more magnificent than the one at the Augusta which dated from the beginning of Justinian's reign.

It seems possible, then, that Michael III was buried in the original sarcophagus designed for Justinian I, which had never been used. Admittedly this leaves unanswered the question of when, why and by whom the bodies of Justin I and his wife were removed from their original resting-place. Nevertheless there is another consideration which suggests that the first passage in the *Book of Ceremonies* really refers to an unused sarcophagus of Justinian I. One of Leo's first acts when he came to the throne was to send to Chrysopolis for Michael's body. Evidently he was so anxious to give it honourable burial that he could not wait for the preparation of a new sarcophagus, but would be content to use an existing sarcophagus if a suitable one were available. This being the case, we may suppose that Leo would prefer to use a sarcophagus which possessed, so to speak, some prestige and had an honourable history. In such circumstances it would seem more natural for him to employ an unused sarcophagus of Justinian than to eject Justin and Sophia from their resting-place.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> A. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950) 414-17, who did not take into account some of the evidence pointed out here (in particular, the passage in the *Book of Ceremonies* 646), concluded that Michael was buried in a sarcophagus which had been prepared for the use of Justin I in advance of that emperor's death, but remained vacant because Justin was buried in the sarcophagus in which the Empress Euphemia, who had predeceased him, already lay.

Vasiliev's suggestion is attractive, but it does not provide any plausible way in which some of the other evidence adduced here can be explained.

After the present paper was completed, an important study of the record in the *Book of Ceremonies* (c. 42, p. 643, 16 Bonn ed.) of the burial of the daughters of Leo VI was published by W. Ohnsorge, 'Zur Frage der Töchter Kaiser Leons VI', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* li (1958) 78-81.



## PROMETHEIA

THIS paper is a much revised version of that read to the Classical Association at Bangor on April 11, 1956; here I intend to concentrate on the development of the trilogy with particular reference to the *Prometheus Purphoros*, on the meaning of the trilogy and (in an excursus) on the questions of authenticity and date.

The Medicean Catalogue records three Prometheus plays by Aeschylus—our surviving *Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης*, the much-cited *Προμηθεὺς Λυόμενος* and the *Προμηθεὺς Πυρφόρος*; Pollux ix 156, x 64 (with citation) adds a *Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεύς*. The *Luomenos* followed on the *Desmotes* and included the actual release of Prometheus. Pollux' citation of the *Purkaeus* has an anapaest in the fourth foot, suggesting that the play was satyric and therefore probably to be identified with the satyric Prometheus recorded as accompanying the *Persae* group of plays; with it should probably be associated the verse in Plutarch: *τράγος γένειον ἄρα πενήθεις σύ γε* (TGF 207: τοῦ δὲ σατύρου τὸ πῦρ ὡς πρῶτον ὤφθη, κ.τ.λ.) and also the long fragment recovered from *Pap. Oxy.* 2245.<sup>1</sup> These last two items go some way to show that the *Purkaeus* dealt with the original discovery or bestowal of fire; with regard to its omission from the catalogue, it should be borne in mind more constantly than it has been that the other plays which accompanied the *Persae*—the *Phineus* and the *Glaukos of Potniai*—have been omitted too; and while it is hard to imagine what particular misfortune can have befallen a number of plays of the same group, it would be rash to assume that there can have been none. One might toy with the idea that the popular and patriotic *Persae* secured admission to the collection on which the catalogue is based, while the companion plays were later preserved from among Aeschylus' papers. What, then, of the *Purphoros*? Its vestiges are so slight that the many scholars who have doubted its separate existence may after all be right; Focke has suggested that if, as is likely, Aeschylus produced the *Prometheus* in Sicily, rules and conditions there may have restricted him, or allowed him to restrict himself, to a diology of *Desmotes* and *Luomenos*.<sup>2</sup> But since we know of two connected plays, and a third which may have been connected with them, there is surely a strong initial presumption that it was so connected; and I proceed to discuss its possible position in the trilogy. Since Westphal published his *Prolegomena zu Aischylos* in 1869, the great majority of scholars have believed that the *Purphoros* was the third play; for this Westphal adduced direct and indirect arguments (206 ff.). Directly, he first showed that elsewhere *πυρφόρος* always means 'equipped with fire', 'carrying a torch': but that does not prove that it means it here; for Euripides' title *Ἰππόλυτος Στεφανηφόρος* surely means not 'Hippolytus Garlanded', 'equipped with a garland', but 'Hippolytus bringing the garland', *sc.* to Artemis; in any case, the Greek for 'fire-bringing' is presumably *πυρφόρος*. Since titles, ancient and modern, and whether chosen by the author or another, are designed to capture the salient feature or scene for identification purposes, *Purphoros* would perhaps be applied most naturally to the bringing of fire to man at the beginning of the story. Secondly, Westphal referred to the scholion on *PV* 94: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ πυρφόρῳ γ' μυριάδας φησὶ δεδέσθαι αὐτόν*<sup>3</sup>—in

<sup>1</sup> So Fraenkel, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xxviii (1942) 245 ff.; Snell, *Gnomon* xxv (1953) 435; Murray, *OCT* (1955); Eckhart, *RE* xxiii 667; Lloyd-Jones, *Aeschylus* (Loeb Library) ii 562. All are 'blindly obstinate', however, in the sight of Terzaghi, *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze* viii 10 (1955) 512.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes* lxx (1930) 265; so Rose, *Handbook of Greek Literature*, 153 f. Professor Dodds inclines to believe that Aeschylus actually wrote only *Desmotes*

and *Luomenos* but was intending at the time of his death to write a first play to preface the *Desmotes*. I believe that this play was in fact the *Purphoros*, and that enough was written to struggle down into the catalogue; but it may well be that it was far from complete and the satyr-play wholly lacking. I am most grateful to Professor Dodds for allowing me the use of this unpublished paper: 'Prometheus Vincit and the progress of scholarship' (Dill Memorial Lecture).



his view, the use of the perfect infinitive implied that the bondage was over, and the *Purphoros* must therefore have followed the *Luomenos*.<sup>4</sup> This is very precarious. The scholiast comes upon v. 94: τὸν μυριετῇ χρόνον ἀθλεύσω, and thinks we would like to know just how long *did* Aeschylus conceive of Prometheus as bound; something in the *Purphoros* convinces him that Aeschylus conceived of Prometheus as bound for thirty thousand years, and he uses the perfect infinitive because Aeschylus was referring to something that happened before his time.<sup>5</sup> It is quite wrong to speak of 'ignoring or altering our only testimony'—we have no testimony as to the tense actually used by Aeschylus, and the scholiast may have drawn on the judgment pronounced upon Prometheus near the beginning of the story. In fact, Pohlenz (*Griechische Tragödie*<sup>2</sup> Erläuterungen 40) and others have shown that Hyginus, who draws on the scholiastic tradition, refers in the past tense to events which actually form part of a prophecy in the *Luomenos*. Indeed, it may be questioned if the scholion does not support the opposing view. Petersen (*Attische Tragödie*, p. 81) has argued that v. 94 would at any rate tie up nicely with a preceding prophecy; and there is also the problem of v. 774. There Prometheus gives the duration of his bondage as thirteen generations, and those who believe that the *Purphoros* was the last play of the trilogy must hold with Thomson that the audience would overlook the fact that thirteen generations amount to about four hundred years, not thirty thousand. Now to Herakleitos at least (Diels, *Fr. der Vorsok.*, 22a19), thirty years were a generation; so it seems to me a fairer presentation of this view to say that the audience, having been told (not, be it noted, left to reckon up) that Prometheus' bondage was to last thirteen generations, are later told that it lasted what, without a calculation worthy of the name, they would know for a thousand. And there is a further point which, while slight in itself, might turn a nicely balanced argument. At v. 958 f., Prometheus prophesies that he will see the present ruler unseated αἰσχιστα καὶ τάχιστα, cf. 940. If the thing that might prevent it—the release of Prometheus (769 ff.)—is thirty thousand years distant, could the otherwise certain downfall be called τάχιστα, whether absolutely or in relation to the reigns of Ouranos and Kronos (912)? I do not assert with confidence that it could not; but I am happier with my thirteen generations, and incline away from the view that Prometheus' bondage actually lasted thirty thousand years. If in fact the *Purphoros* was the first play of the trilogy, there is not the slightest difficulty, to my mind, in supposing that Zeus imposed a sentence which he later found inexpedient to carry out in full.<sup>6</sup>

Westphal's indirect arguments, though more elusive, are perhaps more interesting as involving the probable content of the trilogy. He claimed that events preceding the action of the *Desmotes* are so fully narrated within it that nothing is left to fill an earlier play; on the other hand, enough is still to happen at the end of the *Desmotes* to fill two later plays. 'The final goal', he asserts (p. 211) on the basis of hints in the *Desmotes*, 'is the reconciliation

<sup>3</sup> It does seem most unfortunate that the new OCT and the new RE article on Prometheus have again omitted αὐτόν from their version of this scholion.

<sup>4</sup> A further argument of Wilamowitz (*Aischylos Interpretationen*)—that the *Luomenos* cannot have been the last play of the trilogy, because the puppet, by which Prometheus was allegedly represented, could not just walk away when loosed, and a third play must have shown Prometheus really and truly free—would hardly deserve notice if it had not been recently revived by Terzaghi. It has not found favour with other puppet-fanciers; and about the puppet, Thomson (*Prometheus Bound* 138) and Pickard-Cambridge (*Theat. Dion. Ath.* 42) have said all that needs saying. I will only remark that the realistic

picture described by Achilles Tatius (*de Clit. et Leuc.* iii 8) of Prometheus attacked by the eagle may record how the actor in the *Luomenos* played the scene, the eagle being left to the imagination.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly when St. John (xi 2) wishes to identify Mary of Bethany, he calls her ἡ ἀλείψασα . . . καὶ ἔκμαζα, although this has not yet taken place. Professor Gomme has pointed out to me that, if the scholiast was trying to convey a tense in the original, it may well have been an imperative or a perfect present ('is bound') rather than a past; Hyginus, however, would be conveying a past if the tense were significant (*Astr.* 2.6 and 15).

<sup>6</sup> Of course, the foregoing argument would in itself support the assignment of any such prophecy or sentence to the *Purphoros* (Eckhart, 681).



of the two gods; this is made possible by Prometheus' possession of the secret [concerning Thetis], which he will reveal at the right time; but before he reveals it, he must be freed from his bonds by a descendant of Io; and before Zeus is reconciled with him, a god must go down to Hades in his stead.' Westphal concluded that the *Luomenos* contained the shooting of the eagle by Herakles, who then freed Prometheus in despite of Zeus; and that in the *Purphoros*, Prometheus revealed the secret, recommended the marriage of Thetis to Peleus and found in Chiron one ready to die in his stead; the trilogy closed with the institution of the torch-race in honour of Prometheus, to which the title *Purphoros* referred. Although Westphal did not admit it, his reconstruction was already shaken by Gomperz's publication of Philodemus' *De Pietate*, where it appears that, according to Aeschylus, Prometheus was released *because* he revealed the secret, which can hardly therefore have been revealed in the play after the release. Thomson (*Prometheus Bound* 18 ff.) proposed a more ingenious and perhaps more plausible reconstruction. In the *Luomenos*, Prometheus' mother, Ge-Themis, obtains his permission to reveal the secret to Zeus, who has now become a beneficent ruler; Herakles shoots the eagle and frees the prisoner without Zeus' permission; at the end of the play, we hear that Chiron is willing to surrender his immortality in Prometheus' stead, and Zeus to be reconciled with him. But Zeus is now angry with Herakles; and the *Purphoros* tells not only how Prometheus was readmitted into Olympus, and invested with the dignity of the Prometheia, but how Herakles was forgiven, how the lesser Mysteries of Eleusis were inaugurated for his sake, and how he himself was received into Heaven, and given Hebe to wife. It will be observed that if we set aside material obviously contained in the *Luomenos*—not only the release, that is to say, but also the command to mankind to wear garlands in memory of Prometheus' bondage (*TGF* 202)—and material frankly irrelevant to the story of Prometheus, the line of continuation in Westphal and Thomson depends on the two hints which Westphal underlined in the *Desmotes*, viz. that Prometheus is to be freed in despite of Zeus, and that a god must surrender immortality in his stead. The idea that Prometheus is to be freed in despite of Zeus, with all that that means for himself and his liberator, seems firmly rooted in the unimpeachable Greek of Io's question to Prometheus at v. 771: τίς οὖν ὁ λύσων σ' ἐστὶν ἄκοντος Διός;<sup>7</sup> and a responsible critic would probably pass straight on, remarking that the problems arising from ἄκοντος obviously do not require a whole extra play for their solution. But it seems appropriate to recall that the text of v. 771 has been challenged by one who was not concerned to refute anyone's theories about the later course of the trilogy. In his commentary on the *Desmotes*, Pauw endorsed Canter's complaint of the inconsistency of ἄκοντος—Hesiod (*Theog.* 529) said that Zeus agreed to the release of Prometheus and everything else in the *Desmotes* (166, 175, 191, 258, 375) suggests that Aeschylus followed Hesiod on this point. Moreover Pauw argued, effectively to my mind, that, when Io had just been told that only Prometheus, released from bondage, could avert calamity from Zeus, she could not explicitly assume that the release would be carried out against Zeus' will. A more natural assumption would be that Zeus would agree to the release in order to save himself—if one made the second assumption one might in the event prove it wrong and the first right, but that does not mean that one would make the first. Nor do I find Pauw's other argument wholly without force that, in vv. 987 ff., when Prometheus is hurling defiance at Zeus through Hermes, one would expect him to say that he will be freed in Zeus' despite if he believed it to be true. On the other hand, Pauw's emendation ἀρχοντος seems to me palmary in sense.<sup>8</sup> Io, having been told that Zeus may some day

<sup>7</sup> Schmid's attempt (*Untersuchungen zum Gefesselten Prometheus* 97 ff.; cf. Patin, *Études sur les Tragiques Grecs* 294 n.; Weil, *Études sur le Drame Antique* 86 ff.; Rose, *Commentary*, ad. loc.) to interpret away ἄκοντος Διός as meaning 'da (bis jetzt) oder wenn Zeus es nicht

will' is in clear defiance of the Greek as written.

<sup>8</sup> ἄκοντος or ἀρχοντος, Io still has Zeus' unwillingness in mind; but with ἄκοντος she seems to me to imply that it will have to be defied; with ἀρχοντος, merely that it will have to be got round. My own



fall, will have no difficulty in believing that Prometheus may some day be free. Now she hears that Prometheus may be free before Zeus has fallen, i.e. in time to save him, and the question 'Who is going to free you while Zeus is king?' seems to me exactly what she would be driven to ask. So I hope I am not going too far in asking that scholars should beware of building too much on the doctrine of Zeus' unwillingness. As a matter of fact, some (e.g. D. S. Robertson, *JHS* lxxi (1951) 150 ff.) see the defiance of Zeus not in the freeing of Prometheus but in the shooting of the eagle; for this the quotation in Plutarch (*TGF* 201) is surely insufficient, and it is inadmissible to cite v. 771 in support, though they do.

The idea that a god must surrender his immortality in Prometheus' stead arises from vv. 1026 ff.:

τοιούδ' ἐμὸν τέρμα μή τι προσδόκα,  
πρὶν ἂν θεῶν τις διάδοχος τῶν σῶν πόνων  
φανῇ, θελήσῃ τ' εἰς ἀναύγητον μολεῖν  
"Αἰδὴν κνεφαῖά τ' ἀμφὶ Ταρτάρου βάθῃ,

combined with two doubtful passages in Apollodorus (*Bibl.* ii 5, 4 and 11); the god is Chiron suffering from an incurable wound. To this there are serious objections. 'Go down into Hades' equals 'die' equals 'surrender immortality' may sound all right to us; but only twenty lines below Prometheus says:

εἷς τε κελαϊνὸν  
Τάρταρον ἄρδην ῥίψει δέμας  
τοῦμὸν ἀνάγκης στερραῖς δίναις  
πάντως ἐμέ γ' οὐ θανατώσει.

The choice of verb, *θανατοῦν* rather than *κτείνειν*, stresses the remoteness of death from divinity. So to say that Chiron goes down into Hades is not the same as to say he surrenders immortality. And if it were the same, there would still be the difficulty, often discussed and often ignored, that an exchange depends upon my wanting what you have, and having what you want; Prometheus and Chiron are both immortal, both in pain—what have they to exchange?<sup>9</sup> Robertson's solution, that the principals to the exchange are Chiron and Herakles, involves such a strained interpretation of the passage that it could only be accepted in desperation. Actually there is an exchange which Chiron could make with Prometheus. The notion of *γέλως*, of being laughed at in distress, had a lively effect upon the Greek imagination;<sup>10</sup> in vv. 152 ff., Prometheus wishes Zeus had cast him into Tartarus that neither god nor any other might mock him. Chiron too might want to hide his agony in Tartarus, whereas Prometheus would want to emerge from it against the time of his release. So *μόχθου* in v. 1026 should refer not to Prometheus' punishment in general but to the particular predicament of confinement in Tartarus; and when we reflect how easily Aeschylus could have written *τοιῶνδ' ἐμὸν μόχθων*, the singular is best accounted for that way. Perhaps we should see with Zieliński a reference to that form of the legend, otherwise appearing first in Horace, according to which Prometheus endured the eagle torture in Tartarus.<sup>11</sup> Then, as Professor Campbell has tentatively suggested to me, we

reason for conjecturing *ἄρδωντος*—I am most grateful to Professor A. Y. Campbell for reclaiming it for its rightful owner—was that it seemed unlike Aeschylus to convey important information by means of a gratuitous assumption followed by a tacit acceptance.

<sup>9</sup> Weil, *Études* 86 ff.; Körte, *Neue Jahrbücher* xlv (1920) 201 ff.; Robertson; Eckhart.

<sup>10</sup> Not only on the Greek: Fielding tells in the *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* how the watermen jeered

as he was carried, swollen with dropsy, to his ship. In *Agam.* 1523. Clytemnestra's words *μηδὲν ἐν "Αἰδοῦ μεγαλυνχεῖται* presuppose that Agamemnon, though he slew his daughter under constraint, would afterwards exult in the deed. In *Ajax* 988 there is no need to emend with Herwerden to bring in the notion of previous hostility.

<sup>11</sup> *Tragodumena* 34 ff. (*Epod.* xvii 67; cf. *carm.* ii 13, 37 and 18, 34).



might stress the participle in v. 1020 to obtain the sense: 'You will be hurled into Tartarus, not to emerge for a long time, and the eagle shall rend you.' But in general and in view of *TGF* 193.10: 'iam tertio me quoque . . .', I should be reluctant to admit that the eagle torture began before Prometheus returned to earth; and I wonder if instead I might venture *τοιόνδε* in v. 1026.<sup>12</sup> The sense would then be: 'You will be hurled into Tartarus; on your return the eagle will lacerate you; for such an end (and what an end!) to your predicament hope not until a god is willing to take your place. So there! (*πρὸς ταῦτα*).'<sup>13</sup> If I am right, Chiron's sacrifice was a minor incident in Prometheus' punishment, occurring in the interval between *Desmotes* and *Luomenos*, for the latter play opens with Prometheus restored to the upper world. This explains, though I admit that no special explanation is really necessary, why there is no word of Chiron in the extensive quotations from and references to the *Luomenos*.

In Germany, those who believe that the *Purphoros* came last in the trilogy have long ago stopped trying to fill it; Körte admits that we do not know what it contained, and Reinhardt suggests that it was a lyrical pendant like the last part of the *Eumenides*—this has the merit of defying rational opposition.<sup>13</sup>

'With the release of Prometheus', says Pohlenz (*Griechische Tragödie*<sup>2</sup> 77 f.), 'the conflict is at an end, externally and internally. Is it artistically conceivable that there was still a third whole play to follow? The institution of the Prometheia has been suggested for content. Very likely a reference was made to it at the end of the *Luomenos*, but after the reconciliation of the adversaries Aeschylus cannot possibly have filled a whole play with it.' 'Aeschylus', he continues, 'was depicting the mightiest conflict in the history of the world; the obvious phases are transgression, punishment, reconciliation. . . . The unprejudiced reader feels the carrying-out of the punishment as a continuation, and much in our play is more understandable if another has preceded. . . . We must conclude that the *Purphoros*, which was certainly combined with the other two plays, is not the Fire-equipped but the Fire-bringer, not the last but the first. Reconstruction is impossible. It is conceivable that, after the gods' council at which Prometheus averted the destruction of mankind, he talked to Ocean of their pitiful lot, declared and, against Ocean's advice, fulfilled his intention of giving them fire; later he joyfully related the effect upon mankind, then heard his punishment proclaimed. Who made up the Chorus we cannot guess—certainly not men.'<sup>14</sup> Our speculations amount to no more than a guessing-game; but the possibility of such an introduction is beyond dispute.' This is a sad retreat from Welcker, who was so thoughtful as to provide us with *dramatis personae* for all three plays, and I fear we may never reclaim very much of the ground. But it might be worth attending again to Cicero's words in *Tusculans*, ii 23. M. is admitting that there are limits to what philosophy can achieve; it tends to set one above pain but: *veniat Aeschylus, non poeta solum sed etiam Pythagoreus; sic enim accepimus. Quo modo fert apud eum Prometheus dolorem, quem excipit ob furtum Lemnium!*

*Unde ignis cluet mortalibus clam  
Divisus; eum doctus Prometheus  
Clepsisse dolo poenasque Iov:  
Fato expendisse supremo.*

<sup>12</sup> I do not suppose I am entitled to draw any encouragement from the existence of a *v.l.* τοῦ σοῦ δέ but I can probably point to a similar false assimilation in 112. Professor Gomme has pointed out to me that, in writing *διάδοχος* (cf. 464 and *TGF* 194, *ἐκδέκτορα*), Aeschylus only means that Chiron 'took over' Prometheus' troubles. This seems to me to relate them even more closely to the descent into Hades.

<sup>13</sup> *Aischylos als Regisseur und Theologe* 63. But 'a

procession does not make a play', Dodds; similarly Lesky, *Gesch. Griech. Lit.* 239.

<sup>14</sup> This rests, I suppose, on the rash assumption that the writer of the *Μουσική Ἱστορία—τινὲς ἤδη τῶν τραγωδιῶν αὐτοῦ διὰ μόνων οἰκονομοῦνται θεῶν, καθάπερ οἱ Προμηθεῖς*—had the *Purphoros* before him. The assumption, if correct, would tell rather against its being the third play, as in that case one would expect a human Chorus.



*has igitur poenas pendens adfixus ad Caucasum dicit haec:*

*Titanum suboles. . . . (TGF 193).*

A. cannot place these verses, and M. explains that, to illustrate his points, he sometimes makes his own renderings of Greek writers. In view of this, and as the whole point of the story is that it is a philosopher-poet who thus portrays the effect of pain, I cannot comprehend how anyone can ever have doubted that Prometheus' speech is translated from Aeschylus. Now the reason for Prometheus' punishment is less germane, and it might be thought that Cicero slipped it in inadvertently; and yet its very irrelevance convinces me that, having put Aeschylus in the witness-box, he could not have mentioned it and rammed it in with a citation, if he had nothing before him in the poet's text. We can be fairly certain that Prometheus' ῥῆσις in the *Luomenos* followed close on the introductory anapaests in which the Chorus of Titans described their journey from the ocean to the place of his confinement. What more natural than that, moving up the Red Sea (TGF 192) and heading perhaps for the Hellespont on their way to the mouth of the Phasis (TGF 191), their attention should be drawn to Lemnos, the next step in the famous beacon-chain, where it all began? If the citation: 'unde ignis cluet, etc.' were in fact a rendering of verses from the prologue of the *Luomenos*, or at least there were a reference there to the 'furtum Lemnium', then and then only could I comprehend their inclusion where they stand.<sup>15</sup> But it will be conceded, I imagine, that, after the silence of the *Desmotes*, Aeschylus would not be likely to introduce the 'furtum Lemnium' suddenly without having treated of it in an earlier play.

As for the *Luomenos* itself, I think more might be made of the scholiast's statement (on PV 167) that Zeus was pursuing Thetis through the Caucasus to secure her favours when Prometheus checked him by revealing the secret. Perhaps the best way to explain the contradiction between Prometheus' assertions that he will not reveal the secret till he is freed and the joint testimony of Philodemus (*De Pietate* 41) and Probus (ad *Ecl.* vi 43) that he was freed because he revealed it—and to save everyone's face—is to suppose that Prometheus had to reveal the secret unconditionally, because Zeus was about to take the fatal step. Perhaps when Herakles (corresponding to Hermes in the *Desmotes*, as Earth to Ocean) had shot the eagle and heard Prometheus' prophecies, but feared to release him against his father's will, Thetis (corresponding to Io) appeared in flight from Zeus, and Prometheus' hand was forced.

That Zeus in the *Desmotes* is a tyrant, that his behaviour can be matched in many particulars with the tyrant-type in political and literary tradition, and that certain of the alterations made by Aeschylus in the Hesiodic record are calculated to intensify this impression seems to me to have been established;<sup>16</sup> so far as I know, it has never been challenged by analysis of the evidence, but on the *a priori* ground that Aeschylus could not have portrayed Zeus so. And I proceed with Farnell to assert that Prometheus is blameless.<sup>17</sup> In deference to Zeus and (as they think) to Aristotle, critics have tried to scratch together a ἁμαρτία for him; but in his case as in Antigone's, common sense and common justice require that we should not find fault with him unless we can say that he ought to have acted otherwise. Ought he to have refrained from saving mankind and giving them fire? Critics have fastened on v. 266: ἐκὼν ἐκὼν ἡμαρτον, οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι. I agree with Farnell that no theory of ἁμαρτία as sin can possibly be built around these words; he means, half-ironically,

<sup>15</sup> Fraenkel (*Gnomon* vi (1930) 663) states the case for the Aeschylean ῥῆσις tersely and well, but I do not see why he assumes that the shorter citation is not by Aeschylus too (via Accius, of course).

<sup>16</sup> Thomson, *CR* xliii (1929) 3; *Prometheus Bound*, 6; Reinhardt, *Aeschylus* 42; Dodds.

<sup>17</sup> *JHS* liii (1933) 44. That of course is not to say that he is all-sufficient. Zeus may later have added political aspirations as in the *Protagoras*.



that he made an error of judgment in championing the weak against the strong.<sup>18</sup> A different approach was considered by Disen in 1824 in a famous letter to Welcker; Welcker rejected it, rightly in my opinion, but it has recently found a little support; Prometheus is deluded—not of course when he says he erred—but everywhere else.<sup>19</sup> This surely is asking too much of a dramatist and his audience. They have come with fairly open mind and imperfect perception to hear what he has to say; he may have difficulty in conveying it to them—he will certainly find it impossible to convey the opposite. Zeus then appears in the *Desmotēs* as a tyrant, arbitrary and unjust, and Mr. Lloyd-Jones's otherwise excellent recent article (*JHS* lxxvi (1956) 55) has not convinced me that there is no problem here in relation to the rest of Aeschylus' work. The Aeschylean Zeus administers a harsh and rigid system of justice; from *Ox. Pap.* 2256, fr. 9(a), 5 ff., we seem to learn that his supremacy originated in justice; why then did he deal so unjustly with Prometheus? For it is misleading to remark that 'few governments refer to the arbitration of abstract justice disputes with powers which have challenged their own authority'. The point is that Zeus 'began it' (in Aeschylean phrase) by seeking to destroy mankind. In evaluating this intention we should beware of leaning too heavily on Hesiod; for there is a clear contrast between the Hesiodic degenerative succession of races and Aeschylus' view of the rise of mankind from barbarism. It would be rash to suppose that a fifth-century audience in imperial Athens (or even in Syracuse) would take a Hesiodic view of the extinction of the one and only human race to which Aeschylus refers—the race of which they may well have thought themselves the culmination. I do not find Reinhardt's doctrine of the two aspects of divinity enlightening, and I reject as a freak Welcker's theory of an attack in the spirit of Xenophanes on the Zeus of tradition. So I am forced back on the solution first proposed by Disen of a developing Zeus. That Aeschylus conceived of gods who were capable of development seems to me attested by the *Eumenides*. I am aware that this has been challenged repeatedly;<sup>20</sup> and, were it a complete account of the Furies' behaviour to say that 'a handsome offer from Athene, backed by the threat of Zeus' thunder, induces them to abandon their design of avenging upon Athens the acquittal of Orestes, and to take up their quarters on the Acropolis', I should be prepared to abandon my parallel. But they do not just abandon their vengeance and accept a new abode; they shower Athens with blessings and promises until Athene shows signs of wilting. Was there before any sign of such benevolence—or, to put it bluntly, did any such benevolence before exist—in the Furies' make-up? And Professor Dodds has called attention to something else in the *Eumenides* which, though less explicit, bears more directly upon Zeus. When the Furies dispute Zeus' regard for filial piety by recalling how he imprisoned his own father, Kronos (640 ff.), Apollo does not attempt to justify Zeus, but simply remarks that imprisonment can be terminated.<sup>21</sup> Zeus, that is to say, has moved beyond the crudest form of retribution to something like benevolence. Turning to the *Prometheia*, we find the way of change prepared by constant reference to the tyrant's youth,<sup>22</sup> and at least one indication that development actually occurred. When at v. 980 Hermes says: ὦμοι· τόδε Ζεὺς τοῦτος οὐκ ἐπίσταται, may we not understand him as proclaiming the absence of pity and distress from Zeus' make-up?<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> If I understand him rightly, Solmsen (*Hesiod and Aeschylus* 144) accepts this in all seriousness as Prometheus' ἀμαρτία, together with his ἀθადία, i.e. rudeness to his torturers. Terzaghi (pp. 516 ff.) also succeeds in convicting him out of his own mouth; he is guilty of loving men too much (v. 123).

<sup>19</sup> Welcker, *Aeschylische Trilogie* 92 ff.; cf. Vandvik, *Prometheus of Hesiod and Aeschylus*; Davison, *TAPA* lxx (1949) 66 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Farnell, *JHS* liii (1933) 47; Reinhardt, 68 ff.; Lloyd-Jones; Lesky, 238.

<sup>21</sup> Not, be it noted, under threat of any secret, though possibly to avert the fulfilment of his father's curse (*PV* 910).

<sup>22</sup> We should not assume that the point about the gods' youth is the same here as in the *Eumenides*. There the affront to seniority is clearly brought out, but at, e.g. *PV* 35: ἅπας δὲ τραχὺς ὅστις ἂν νέον κρατῇ, the only possible contrast is with later development.

<sup>23</sup> βροτῶν δὲ τῶν ταλαιώρων λόγον οὐκ ἔσχεν οὐδένα (231).



Prometheus replies: ἀλλ' ἐκδιδάσκει πάνθ' ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος, and, sure enough, in the *Luomenos* (TGF 199, 6) we find ἰδὼν δ' ἀμηχανοῦντά σ' οἰκτιρεῖ πατήρ. So it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that Zeus developed the benevolent side of his nature, and that Prometheus ultimately revealed his secret not in order to save himself from torment but to preserve a benevolent ruler for his beloved humanity.<sup>24</sup> We need not employ moral terms to describe this development. Cosmically, Zeus was not wrong to wish to destroy the human race and start afresh; he was no more wrong to torment Io for the sake of Herakles to come than to sacrifice Dido for the eternal city. It is when we begin to think anthropocentrically (in the generation of Protagoras?) that *ex hypothesi* he stands condemned. This distinction may well have been apparent to those who had seen (or were to have seen) the preceding *Purphoros*—there the reformer, here the tyrant. I believe that at the very end of his life, after perfecting in the *Oresteia* his expression of the stern grace and harsh justice which characterise the final dispensation of Zeus, Aeschylus conceived for his masterpiece the idea of getting back behind the assumptions of the *Oresteia* and showing how the god who once regarded mankind as a wretched implement to be discarded or abused for his arbitrary if constructive purpose, sent at the last his son to suffer for their sake and free their benefactor.

*Excursus on authenticity and date.* Mounting awareness of the many differences between the *Desmotēs* and the other surviving plays of Aeschylus culminated in the denial of its authenticity, above all by Schmid in his *Untersuchungen zum Gefesselten Prometheus* (1929) and in *Litg.* i 3. 281 ff. (1940). For all the absurdity and arrogance of much of his argumentation and in spite of his many breath-taking *petitiones principii*, it may be doubted if justice has always been done to his thesis. Structural anomalies, as he himself admits, are conditioned by the hero's immobility; and the strange conception of Zeus, besides being hard to evaluate without the rest of the trilogy, ought not to be denied to a poet of Aeschylus' originality and imaginative power. But when these considerations are combined with specific differences of versification,<sup>25</sup> style<sup>26</sup> and language,<sup>27</sup> and all add up to a uniqueness which no one denies,<sup>28</sup> it must be admitted that the champions of authenticity have a case to answer. The case for authenticity may be too strong—it almost certainly is. To the Aeschylean assignation and the difficulty of postulating an unknown, to the relationship (real or apparent) to other plays about Prometheus and to our consciousness of a sublimity worthy

<sup>24</sup> Mr. Lloyd-Jones suggests that 'if Zeus has in the meantime reformed in character, it is odd that he should need the threat of impending disaster to lead him to pardon his noble adversary'. I should find it deeply satisfying dramatically if in the end the secret outlived its usefulness, and the welfare of Prometheus and of mankind depended on its willing surrender.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. the structure of the stichomythia (*Unters.* ch. 3b). Schmid fails to observe what is, in its way, as odd a thing as any in the *Prometheus*—correction before initial *q* at 713 and 992 (Maas, *Gött. Nachr.* 1934, i 1, 58; Murray, *OCT* 1955 *ad loc.*). I am sorely tempted to endorse Murray's statement: 'nusquam alibi in diverbiis syllaba brevis ante *p* initialem admissa est'; but I will content myself with saying that these instances stand out more starkly than anything else that could be cited (Descroix, *Trimètre Iambique* 20; Dodds, *ad Bacch.* 59, 1338). Maas' postulate of ἐνόμου at *Eum.* 232, *OT* 72 (where it was in the tradition at an early date) and *Bacch.* 1338 and Nauck's of ῥήματα at *Bacch.* 59

are easy, and a long syllable at *OT* 1289 would not involve a very striking breach of Porson's law. Whether we can refer this peculiarity—if it is one—to Sicilian influence is a moot point; Epicharmus' practice is unfortunately unknown, but Deinolochus may be presumed to have incorporated the adage ὅς ἐπὶ ῥόπαλον δραμεῖται (Kaibel, *Com. Graec. Frag.* 14) in a trochaic verse; and Herodas' marked preference for correction may reflect earlier practice in the genre.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. T. B. L. Webster, *AJP* lxii (1941) 385 ff. Schmid speaks of the 'transparent, unimaginative, yet studied reasoning' (*Unters.* 3d).

<sup>27</sup> I am surprised that anyone can peruse Schmid's list of linguistic anomalies in ch. 4 without misgiving.

<sup>28</sup> 'In vocabulary, metre and handling of the chorus, the entire *Prometheus* bears a newer stamp and differs from Aeschylus' other plays' (Körte). It is only fair to say that the new fragment of the *Myrmidons* (*Mélanges Bidez*, ii (1934) 968; Lloyd-Jones, *Aeschylus* (Loeb) ii 590) has a plainness and introspection which is not dissimilar.



of the poet whose name it bears we may add all that Schmid quaintly entitles 'Äschyleisches im Gefesselten Prometheus' and much beside. But at least we should summon up all our resources to explain the play's uniqueness. Körte, Focke and Pohlenz believe that Aeschylus was influenced by Epicharmus in Sicily; but the value of this suggestion is impaired by their early dating (469), for it is asking a lot if we are to assume that Aeschylus first succumbed to the comedian's influence, and then recovered enough to write the *Septem* in 467. Thomson puts the *Prometheus* last, but as Aeschylus died in 456, time alone can hardly account for the difference between it and the *Oresteia* of 458. All I can suggest is that we combine the two explanations; if we cannot put Aeschylus' death any later—its date is about as firmly fixed as any date can be—let us suppose that, in Sicily at the end of his life and perhaps already ill, he struggled to give dramatic expression to the ideas which had long been forming in his mind. This would go some way to explain the anomaly of the grandiose conception, the well-articulated structure, and some fine passages on the one hand and some rather meagre writing, particularly in the choral odes, on the other.<sup>29</sup> We shall not quarrel with Robertson's suggestion (*Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1938, 9; developed by Dodds) that the play may have been completed by Euphronion. It is always possible that the vv. 366–72 on the eruption of Etna had been composed soon after the eruption of 479 or 475 (their two breaches of *Correptio Attica* are vaguely reminiscent of the *Persae*), but it is absurd to suggest that Aeschylus could not have composed, or even that he would have been unlikely to compose them, many years later.<sup>30</sup>

In spite of Pohlenz and Murray, the view that Aeschylus did indeed compose the *Prometheus* at the end of his life has been gaining ground. The arguments of Harrison (*Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1921), Thompson (*Prom. Bound* 38 ff.), Denniston (*Greek Particles* lxvii ff., *CQ* (1936) 73 and 192), Yorke (*CQ* xxx (1936) 153), Knight (*JHS* lviii (1938) 51), Mullens (*GR* viii (1938–1939) 160) and Ceadel (*CQ* xxxv (1941) 85) seem to me too strong for any opposition that might be offered to them. I will only add that Yorke's statistics look even more impressive now that the anomalous early dating of the *Supplices* can be abandoned; that, whereas the *Supplices* (contrast 299 with 570) reflects the moment of change in portraiture of Io,<sup>31</sup> the *Prometheus* is presumably later; and that the virtual confinement to *Oresteia* and *Prometheus* of imagery borrowed from the rising science of medicine (cf. Stanford, *Aeschylus in his Style* 54 ff.) is particularly significant.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. Kranz, *Stasimon* 226 f.; the sentimental *sonst-jetzt* (555–60) of which Schmid complains compares unfavourably with the meaningful *ἐντεῖ* clause in *Ag.* 242 ff. (v. Fraenkel *ad loc.*). I do not think the Oceanus scene escapes unscathed from Schmid's rather indiscriminate bombardment; like Page (*Actors' Interpolations* 82 ff.), I feel 'a little uncomfortable'.

<sup>30</sup> Lesky, 237. Zuntz argues (*Political Plays of Eur.* 59) that Aeschylus drew on an earlier epic.

<sup>31</sup> Hoppin (*Harvard Studies* xii (1901) 335 ff.) shows that the vase-painters changed from representing Io as a cow to representing her as a horned maiden about 470. He strangely ignores *Supp.* 570.

<sup>32</sup> I am most grateful to Professor A. Y. Campbell for help with part of this paper.



## THE POPULATION OF ATHENS AGAIN

PROFESSOR A. H. M. JONES in the appendix to his new book (pp. 161-80), *Athenian Democracy* (see below, p. 182), tackles afresh the problem of the population of Athens during the Peloponnesian war, and introduces three novelties: that the 13,000 hoplites of Thucydides ii 13.6 mean hoplites of the age-classes 20 to 39, not 20 to 49 as most of us, if not all, have assumed from Lykourgos, *Leokrates* 39-40, and some other evidence; that *klerouchoi* (but not *apoikoi*<sup>1</sup>) remained in Athens, drawing rents from their *kleroi* in the subject states, all now within the hoplite census and included in the 13,000; and, the most important of the three, that to get a true picture of mortality rates and so of the relative strengths of different age-classes we must liken the Athenians to certain groups of persons in the Roman Empire between the first and third centuries A.D. and to India at the beginning of the present century, not to any European country during the last hundred years.

Jones takes me to task for suggesting that the at first sight surprising number of 'oldest and youngest' in the reserve to whom during the war was allotted the defence of the walls (Thuc. ii 13.7) was in part to be accounted for by the inclusion of all those in the classes 20 to 49 who were not fit for active service in the hoplite ranks, who would be a source of weakness rather than of strength to an army. 'There are serious objections to this theory', he says (p. 162). 'It is in the first place not what Thucydides says. Secondly, it is pure speculation, unsupported by any evidence.' 'Let us then', he adds, 'set aside this theory and examine the facts afresh.' This promises well. But we have difficulties to face at once. E.g. at ii 31.1, 3 πανστρατιᾷ means (according to Jones) hoplites of 20 to 39, as well as the cavalry and 3,000 metics, but at iv 94.1 those of 20 to 44, for Sokrates at 44 was a hoplite at Delion. Jones thinks that πανστρατιᾷ means not all hoplites within the age-groups called up, but all classes of soldiery—citizen and metic, cavalry, hoplite and ψιλος. Perhaps; but even so Thucydides' use of the word would be seriously misleading if he meant men up to 39 in one case and up to 44 in the other. It is not 'what he says', especially since Laches too fought at Delion in the ranks and he was older than Sokrates, and clearly, like Nikias, not a few months, but a few years older (Plato, *Lach.* 181b, *Symp.* 221a, *Lach.* 181d, 186c). 'There is reason to suppose therefore' (to quote Jones's favourite expression when he wants to speculate) that 50 was the age limit for hoplites in 424, and so in 431 as well.

Jones admits that at Athens (as at Sparta: Hdt. vii 229) individuals temporarily sick might have got exemption (cf. Dem. xix 124); but he insists that there was only one κατάλογος, not a second too of unfit men; this was the list of all hoplites of 18 to 59, and the call-up was by age-groups, ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις: 'neither at Athens nor anywhere else . . . is it recorded that liability for active or defence service was regulated by any other criterion but age'. I have never supposed anything else; but we must at least put to ourselves the question—if Jones's conclusion is correct, which of the following three statements is true—that all Athenians of hoplite rank up to 50 were as sturdy as Laches and Sokrates, fit to march and fight in heavy armour? or that unfit men, men who would fall behind in a march of 20 or 50 or 100 miles, in mountain country, and would be a source of weakness in formal hoplite fighting, regularly formed part of expeditionary forces? or that when Thucydides says so many men went on this or that campaign, he means a paper-figure—the *katalogos*-figure for the age-groups designated irrespective of the number who in fact stayed behind because they were exempt (as *bouleutai* or officials or trierarchs) or were in fact unfit (on this

<sup>1</sup> He accepts the rigid application of the distinction between κληροῦχοι and ἀποικοι made by Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor in *ATL* iii 285-6. But see Ehrenberg in *CP* xlvii (1952) 143-9.



below)? or, to put this last in another way, did Thucydides get his 13,000 in ii 13.6 from the known figures of those on active service in 431, or the 3,000 at Poteidaia and 10,000 in the Megarid from his *katalogos*-figure of 13.6? Jones, it seems, chooses the second of these (though he admits, p. 178, that the pestilence will have left many unfit for the Delion campaign, and, as we shall see, believes in a heavy mortality rate, and therefore much weakness, among Athenians over 40); that is to say, he equates apparently the *katalogos*-figure with that for the army on the march; but he nowhere states the problem. Lykourgos, be it noted, in the passage already cited, ch. 40, mentions all three classes of the exempt, τοὺς τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπειρηκότας καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἀφειμένους.<sup>2</sup> But Jones often writes as though training and physical fitness did not matter; even for the fleet he can speak of men just being called up to row, apparently whether skilled or unskilled.

It is worth while discussing briefly Thucydides' use of *πανστρατιᾶ*, and of *πανδημεί* which has a similar meaning except that it is used of civil as well as of military activities. Sometimes they are used to contrast with another force which is a selected one, i 107.5 (Athenians at Tanagra, *πανδημεί*, contrasted with the thousand Argives), ii 5.1 (Thebans near Plataia *πανστρατιᾶ*, by contrast with their troops who had entered the city), v 57.2, vi 7.2, vi 68.2 (an interesting case: from Nikias' speech to his troops, with some exaggeration, yet with some truth, for his men were selected troops and the Syracusans, defending the city *πανδημεί*, had every possible man called up); at times Thucydides explains what he means, i 90.3 (*τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεί τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας*, cf. v 82.6, at Argos), ii 31.1 (*Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεί, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι*—against Megara; *πανστρατιᾶ* four lines later), iv 90.1 (*Ἀθηναίους πανδημεί, αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους καὶ ξένων ὅσοι παρήσαν*) and 94.1 (*ὁπλῖται . . . ἱππῆς . . . ψιλοὶ . . . ἅτε πανστρατιᾶς ξένων τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἀστῶν γενομένης*)—these two of Delion; v 57.1 and 64.2 (*Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ Εἰλωτες*—contrast v 33.1, 54.1: cf. Grundy, *Thucydides* (1948) ii 223–5); while in many other places one or other of the words is used alone. What are we to infer? That everywhere they mean the same thing—all the different classes of the population where this would be relevant (in Akarnania, for instance, iii 94.1, and Phleious v 57.2, there may have been no metics)? Or does it only mean this when Thucydides says so (hence the difference between ii 31.1 and iv 90.1), and elsewhere the normal citizen army in full force, which would only include metics or *perioikoi* if it was the regular practice for them to be enrolled with the full citizens (with the rider that *Λακ. καὶ οἱ Εἰλωτες* means something different from *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* alone, though these would be accompanied by some helots, as they were on Sphakteria)? Jones is sure that the first answer is correct, or, if the second, that metics did in Athens regularly serve in the citizen army. There is no direct evidence for this in the fifth century, none for example in the lists of those killed in war (where we find occasionally *ξένοι* and *Λήμνιοι*, sometimes *τοξόται*, separately grouped, but not metics) any more than in Thucydides; and all that there is in the fourth is the passage in Xenophon's *Poroi* 2.2–5, which certainly implies this for the time at which it was written (the fifties of the fourth century, perhaps). It is a rhetorical passage: note *ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ πόλις γ' ἂν ὠφεληθείη εἰ οἱ πολῖται μετ' ἀλλήλων στρατεύοιντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ συντάττοντο αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ νῦν, Λυδοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Σύροι καὶ ἄλλοι παντοδαποὶ βάρβαροι· πολλοὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι τῶν μετοίκων.* (What would Lysias, I wonder, have thought of this?) We might put beside this *Hipparchikos* 9.3–6: 'it would be a good thing if Athens recruited 200 foreign cavalymen to make up the number of 1,000 citizen horse. . . . It might be as well too to enrol some metics—they would be ambitious to give good service'; *ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσων ἂν καλῶν ὄντων μεταδιδῶσιν οἱ πολῖται, φιλοτίμως ἐνίους ἐθέλοντας τὸ προσταχθὲν διαπράττεσθαι.* It may be that service with hoplites is included in τὰ ἄλλα, but the last

<sup>2</sup> These are not, I think, one class only, the old, as Burt translates in the Loeb edition, in spite of ἐπὶ γῆρως ὁδῶ below.



words do not suggest regular enrolment of all of the appropriate rank and age. There is no other direct evidence, even for the fourth century, not for example in Xenophon's or Diodoros' account of campaigns from the Corinthian war to Chaironeia, nor in the latter's of the war of 322 (where the word he uses, *πολιτικοί*, has to be strained to make it include metics, Jones, 150, n. 27); but this is enough for Professor Jones, who says: 'In the fifth century [the metics] were called up for Delium, and 3,000 were employed in this very year [431] for the invasion of the Megarid. It would seem that in principle and in practice metics were liable to service abroad, and that it was exceptional to reserve them for home defence, as in 431.' I think, on the other hand, that a stricter attention to what Thucydides says leads to the conclusion that metics served at home in principle and abroad only when he says they did, that he mentions them because such service was exceptional. Otherwise one might be led to believe that the 'oldest and youngest' also regularly served abroad because they did on a notable occasion a generation earlier (Thuc. i 105-6). Whatever else he may mean in ii 13.6-7 he does not intend to state an arrangement peculiar to that year—or rather to part of it, for the metics 'marched out'—in accord with normal practice according to Jones—that autumn.<sup>3</sup> Far better was an earlier suggestion by him that the 3,000 metics in the Megarid were substitutes for the 3,000 citizen troops then at Potidaia, where clearly there were no metic hoplites (see my *Commentary* ii p. 36 n.). Nor were there any in Perikles' and Hagnon's 4,000 in 430 B.C. (Thuc. ii 56.2, 58.1): see vi 31.2, a passage from which we also learn that when he said 4,000 he meant that number, not a paper figure, just as he meant numbers in the field when he calculated Spartan strength at Mantinea, v 68. Jones sums up: 'It has been argued above (see pp. 82-3) that there is reason to believe that the age distribution of the Athenian population was similar to that . . . of various areas of the Roman Empire. On this assumption, if 14,000 (the hoplite field army and the cavalry) represent the 20-39 age-groups, the 40-59s will have amounted to slightly under half that figure, rather less than 7,000. The two very large ephebic classes would have totalled rather over 2,000. There will then have been 9,000 citizens in the garrison army, and we are left with 7,000 metic hoplites, which seems not unreasonable.' Professor Jones has to 'assume' quite a lot (especially his 'very large ephebic classes') and build high on his very slender foundation. How slender will be seen below.

Two other questions first. I argued that Thucydides, in giving the number of deaths from the pestilence, iii 87.3, 'no fewer than 4,400 hoplites *ἐκ τῶν τάξεων* and 300 of the cavalry', uses the words *ἐκ τῶν τάξεων* to mean something different from *ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου*, 'from the regiments' (the 13,000 of ii 13.6) as distinct from the list of persons of hoplite census in the 42 age-groups 18 to 59, just as *ἵππῶν* means from the 1,000 cavalry, not from the census-classes of *hippeis* and *pentakosiomedimnoi*. Such a simple translation, giving the normal meaning of *τάξεις* (e.g. *Laches* 182a, *Nikias*, defending instruction of the young in the use of arms, says that, among other things, it will help in battle, *ὅταν ἐν τάξει δέη μάχεσθαι μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων · μέγιστον μέντοι αὐτοῦ ὄφελος ὅταν λυθῶσιν αἱ τάξεις*, or 191c, or, even more clearly, *Acharnians* 599-601,

τοῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ βδελυτόμενος ἐσπείσάμην,  
ὁρῶν πολιοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν  
νεανίας δ' οἴους σὺ διαδεδρακότας),

<sup>3</sup> I am at a loss to know what Jones means by 'Thucydides' language [at ii 13. 6-7 evidently] implies that because of the exceptionally heavy demands of defence, the number of men allocated to it was increased during these years'. Which years? If the Archidamian war, or 413 to 404 as well, this meets my point that metics did not then

normally serve abroad—they could at Delion because it was an urgent and exceptional campaign and other foreigners served too, and because there was no Peloponnesian invasion that year. I agree of course that 'the rules governing the employment of . . . the metics . . . might vary according to circumstances'; but I am surprised that Professor Jones does.



and which results in a rough accord in losses between the hoplites and cavalry, will not do for Professor Jones; for 'it is certain that all hoplites (with the possible exception of the ephebes) were entered in the tribal regiments (*τάξεις*)', and so the number 4,400 could only have been ascertained (I gather) by subtracting the number of survivors in the *katalogos* from the total *katalogos* of the year 432-431. But even Jones admits that the figure 13,000 in ii 13.6 was calculated, not guesswork, whether it means all men of hoplite rank of 20 to 39 as he believes, or all of 20 to 49 who were fit for active service, as I believe; and the figure 4,400 could have been calculated from it as easily as from the *katalogos*. He insists, however, that 'the whole argument is very flimsy': we have no reason to suppose that the cavalry did not lose much more heavily than the hoplites, and the proportions therefore of 20 per cent losses of the latter (4,400 out of *c.* 21,000, his figure for all hoplites of 20 to 59 (p. 179), or out of *c.* 23,000 if we include the ephebes) and 30 per cent of the cavalry 'must stand'.

Secondly, he thinks that Athenian *klerouchoi* regularly, after the Persian wars, stayed in Athens, drawing their revenues from the *kleroi* and with this help reaching or retaining the rank of hoplites. This would help to explain a very great increase in the number of hoplites in Athens between 480 and 430 relative to the number of *thetes*, if such an increase were known or could be surmised from the evidence. Unfortunately such an aid to surmise is not only 'not what Thucydides says' but contradicts him: *κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν* to Mytilene in 427, iii 50.2. This does not worry Jones, for 'one may wonder whether "to send out" was not by now a term of art' (p. 175: *ἀποπέμψαι* occurs in 45 other places in Thucydides, always in its plain and simple sense; *πέμψαι*, *ἐκπέμψαι* (of the *apoikoi* to Aigina), *ἀποστεῖλαι* are of course similarly used); what worries him (because it is necessary to someone else's theory) is that, if the *klerouchoi* were sent out but returned home *c.* 424 B.C., as I have suggested (*Robinson Studies*, ii 334-9; *Commentary*, ii 329-31), 'Thucydides would hardly have omitted so striking and sudden a reversal of policy'. That is indeed a difficulty, though we may remind ourselves that he omits mention of the increase of tribute in 425; but Thucydides is not our only evidence. Jones says of *IG* i<sup>2</sup>.60 (= Tod no. 63) only that its 'fragments demonstrate nothing more than that the Mytileneans had some dealings with cleruchs'; but this is not so. They demonstrate a very friendly attitude towards Mytilene, and there is twice mention of something that is *restored*, 'by the generals and the soldiers' (*ἀποδοθῆναι* [τὸν γέν] will fit, and *γῆς ἀνταποδο* [occurs later]); and to whom could they restore this something if not to the Mytileneans? Antiphon v 77 is also relevant.

The most important novelty introduced into the discussion by Jones—important if it were true—is to the problem of age-distribution in Athens, and indeed in the Greek world generally. I had done my best in my essay on the population of Athens to cite, as some sort of guide, the evidence of a large number of modern countries of Europe with differing climates and differing social conditions, and therefore different age-distribution, from 1871 to 1926; Jones prefers only England and Wales in 1946, and by contrast India in 1901-1910 and some statistics drawn up in A. R. Burn's most interesting study for certain classes of population—the palace bureaucracy (all slaves) in Carthage, in rural Africa and the military in some European provinces of the empire—during the first three centuries A.D. (*Past and Present*, 1953, no. 4.2-16); and finds that the Athenian figures are very like these last and those of India and not at all like those of England and Wales in 1946. 'There is no reason to believe that conditions in the fourth century B.C. in Athens and Attica were strikingly better than those in Carthage and Africa under the Principate, and in point of fact Mr. Burn's graphs, if applied to recorded Athenian figures, fit curiously well. The main conclusion . . . is that the Athenians suffered a uniformly high death-rate from the age of 20 to 60 so that of 500 young men of 20 not more than 100 survived to be 60. Having reached about 60 a man was, it appears, so tough that he might easily live another ten or fifteen years' (p. 83; the impressive graphs on p. 82). One of Mr. Burn's tables of figures



(on p. 16), all most carefully worked out and their value as evidence properly assessed, gives us the following interesting results for probable duration of life:

*Of those reaching the age of 15, in the groups shown below, one-half reach the following ages:*

I. AFRICAN PROVINCES	Males	Females
(a) Civil districts, North-West Africa, chiefly citizens	48	44
(b) Carthage, slaves and freedmen of 'Caesar's household'	38	33
(c) Lambaesis: cantonment and district	45	38
(d) Egypt, all classes (sexes not distinguished) <sup>4</sup>		36
(e) North Africa, except Egypt, Christian tombstones (fourth to sixth centuries)	52	47
II. EUROPEAN PROVINCES		
(a) Southern (average of three groups, with their districts)	44	36
(b) Danube (average of four groups)	40	33
(c) North Italy, Christian period	52	40
III. MODERN FIGURES		
(a) India (1931 census)	48	43
(b) Egypt (1927-1937)	51	49
(c) England and Wales (1946-1947)	72	76

The main force of these figures for Jones's argument is that they come from different parts of the Roman Empire, and while differing considerably from one another, all give a notably low expectation of life at 15 compared with a modern Western country. For all that, however, these figures taken from a chance survival of tombstones on which age at death is recorded, carefully as they have been assessed, are not sufficient to weaken inferences from certain other evidence for Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., most of it given in my essay but ignored by Professor Jones.

'There is no reason to believe that conditions in Athens were much better than in Carthage'; but there *is* reason to believe that the climate of Attica and the conditions of life of an Athenian of the hoplite class were different from the climate of Carthage and rural Africa and the conditions of life of a comparatively small slave class who formed a special bureaucracy in that city and of African farmers; and from the climate and conditions of India. (For we must remind ourselves, since Jones does not remind us, that the Athenian figures are of the hoplite and richer classes only.)

These Athenian figures to which Jones refers are those of *epheboi*, which may be taken as about 500 annual intake in the last third of the fourth century, and those of *diaitetai*, men in the last age-class of the *katalogos*, in their sixtieth year. Of these latter there is but one complete list, of 325-324 B.C., which gives 103 names, and part of another of 330-329 which gives 54 names for five phylai (D. M. Lewis, *BSA* 1 (1955) 27-9), but, as Lewis says, may have had a total as low as 100 or as high as 150. But for the statistics of population these figures for *diaitetai* (apart from the fact that we have only one complete, and two altogether) are only relevant if *all* men (of hoplite census or over) in their sixtieth year were entered as arbitrators, as all youths of 18, if not crippled, were trained as *epheboi*. But this was not so: our two inscriptions, like others of their kind, are dedications by men who had actually served, at the end of their year of duty, not of persons reaching the age of 60; and Aristotle tells us that holders of other offices and men abroad were exempt (*'Ath. pol.* 53.4-5). We are not to suppose, for example, that Perikles and Phokion, who

<sup>4</sup> These figures Burn takes from the study by Hombert and Préaux in *Chroniques d'Égypte*, 39/40 (1945) 139-46, and in *Pap. Lugduno-Batav.* v (1952).



were almost certainly *strategoi* in their sixtieth year, were entered as *diaitetai*, or that Nikias was, if, as is possible enough, his sixtieth year fell in 415-414 or 414-413. We may well doubt that Sokrates was listed, and for that matter, Plato. A good many *bouleutai*, *tamiai*, *agoranomoi* and the rest, and dicasts, will have been men of the hoplite class in their sixtieth year. There were very many such offices in Athens in which, in general, older men served; and, in these small figures, it does not require a large additional number to upset a comparison with the graphs (themselves of uncertain value) representing conditions in parts of the Roman Empire.

It should also at least be mentioned, though it cannot be of any use in statistics, in what a large proportion of the comparatively few cases where we have biographical detail, a ripe age was reached, by philosophers, artists, poets and statesmen, how many who did die in their late fifties or their sixties, active to the end, died by violence or in exceptional circumstances: Themistokles, Kimon, Perikles, Laches, Nikias, Thucydides, Sokrates, Chabrias, Hypereides, Demosthenes. Amongst the few who we know died a natural death in their early sixties was Aristotle; perhaps Aristophanes.<sup>5</sup> Sokrates in his seventieth year did not say that he was exceptionally old, but, as anyone in England might say now, 'I have not many years to live'.

Professor Jones says (p. 165), with reference to the second half of the fifth century, that 'it has been argued above that the age-distribution of the Athenian population was similar to that worked out by Mr. A. R. Burn for various areas of the Roman Empire', and to that of India at the beginning of this century; and this becomes on p. 177, 'modern populations of the same pattern as the Athenian—those of Egypt and India, for instance'. With all respect, that had not even been argued; the statement was based on figures, such as we have seen them to be, of the last third of the fourth century, not of the fifth. This is no slight or pedantic objection, because by his preference for Plutarch's figures over those of Diodoros for 322 B.C. (below, p. 67), Jones convinces himself that the citizen population of Athens had been nearly static since 400, while in the fifth, from 480 to 430, he says that 'it must have grown at a prodigious rate', in spite of much loss by emigration. But if so, whatever the chief cause of the growth, the age-distribution must have been very different at these two periods, and the figures for Carthage, etc., even if comparable for 330-320, are of no value for 480-430. But, as argued in *Population of Athens*, I do not believe in a static fourth century either. (The very heavy losses in the Peloponnesian War, by the way, which may well have reduced the citizen population to what it had been in 480, mainly from the pestilence and the long sufferings of the Decelean war, were caused not so much because children were victims as well as men—as Jones states—as because women were.)

It is also misleading to plot a graph of age-distribution in England and Wales in 1946 against one of India in 1901-1910 and possible ones of Carthage, etc., during the Principate; for the true contrast is not between the death-rates of persons over 40 but of infants and children, where the remarkable lowering of the death-rate in this country as in most of Europe and North America has been effected, practically, in this century only. A more valuable contrast than that with India would be one with the statistics of England in the middle of the last century, better still, where obtainable, in the middle of the eighteenth; and a more useful comparison with ancient Athens would be that with modern Greece where conditions of life, especially in the country, were, until quite recently, little altered since antiquity and what alteration there has been is to be seen in the abnormal growth of two large cities, Athens-Peiraeus and Salonica, rather than in the country as a whole. Moreover, it is not only that, as Jones says, a growth of material prosperity may lead to

<sup>5</sup> In fact I think that the evidence is in favour of the view that Aristophanes lived till c. 375 at least, if his son Araros first competed with a couple of plays given him by his father and first produced c. 374 (see *Pros. Att.*); but he was not very active after 388.



rapid increase of population, not only that such an increase implies a comparatively low death-rate (comparatively with birth-rate, that is), but it implies generally healthy conditions of life; and since we can scarcely believe that Athens in the fifth century enjoyed the exceptionally low death-rate of infants and children of modern Europe and America, we must suppose a survival of far more people to their sixties than Jones thinks he has established, a graph more like that of England and Wales in, say, 1870, than that of India in 1900. And if there was rapid mortality in men between 30 and 60, it is reasonable to suppose that weakness was widely spread too, and a much larger proportion of men of military age unfit for service in the field than I have supposed.

The only reason that Jones gives for not believing that in the fourth century the population of Athens increased is because he prefers Plutarch's figures about the restriction of the citizen-body by Antipatros in 322 (12,000 disfranchised) to those of Diodoros (22,000 disfranchised, 9,000 remained).<sup>6</sup> He does not bring evidence for his belief, but Plutarch's figure 'seems to me more likely', on p. 76, becomes positive statement later (p. 79); and 'there is reason to believe' that all of the 12,000 were *thetes*, men who 'had to serve when occasion demanded as rowers in the fleet'. I see no reason to believe that the disfranchised were all *thetes*. There were many poor hoplites, as Jones recognises elsewhere; and he has an interesting discussion on what happened if a hoplite farmer, who had just enough land to support him as a hoplite, had two sons who divided his land between them on his death. He thinks that the sons would become *thetes* unless, in certain favourable conditions, one of them gave up his share in the farm in order to trade in Athens or to emigrate as a colonist (or, I suppose, was lucky enough to stay in Athens as a *klerouchos*). I am not sure about this: Sokrates said at his trial that he had only one mina spare capital (which perhaps takes no account of his house), but that did not prevent him being a hoplite because his father had been one. Jones also discusses another difficult problem, the effect on the hoplite census of the fall in the value of money (not, I think, as great as he asserts): 'prices must have risen', he says, p. 166, when more silver was produced from Laurion; and 'especially from 449, when the reserve fund began to be spent on public works, considerable sums of tribute money were pumped into the Athenian economy'; and a little later (p. 167): 'these two factors, the real increase of personal and of house property and the apparent increase in the value of all property, including land, must have increased the number of hoplites, but it is difficult to believe that they alone can have doubled it. Many *thetes* must also have acquired land'. Changes of ownership of the land of Attica, very restricted in quantity, would not, of course, as Jones recognises, have had any effect on hoplite numbers unless large estates were broken up, and for this, as he says, there is no evidence (and in this case no evidence is practically decisive; indeed it is improbable that, at any rate since Solon, very large estates existed at all). So 'land must have been acquired abroad'. Write 'must have' four times on a page, and your theories become facts. But did this 'pumping of tribute money into the Attic economy' result necessarily in a devaluation of the drachma? Or did it result mainly in increased production in Attica and, more important, larger imports into Attica of consumption goods paid for in Attic coins—that is, by increased export of silver? And did the fall in the value of money, such as it was, greatly affect the number of hoplites? Membership of the class depended on ability to provide arms, and this, in

<sup>6</sup> Plut. *Phok.* 28.7; Diod. xviii 18.5. Jones says in a note that he cannot understand my argument (*Population* 18) that Diodoros' figure is alone consistent with those which he gives for the Lamian war; for the latter 'refer to hoplites only'. Whether I am right or wrong, my argument is clear enough: unlike Jones, I think (p. 8) the figure of 7,700 active service hoplites of 20 to 39 years of age implies about 14,000 to 15,000 hoplites living between the

ages 18 and 60, and, if 21,000, Plutarch's figure, were the true number of the whole male population over 18 (or even over 20), this would leave an improbably small number for the *thetes*. In addition, a large number of those disfranchised in 322 were settled in Thrace; a good many of those who stayed presumably joined in the emigration to Asia that followed Alexander's conquests; yet 21,000 citizens remained in the census of Demetrios (c. 314 B.C.).



terms of resources (land or a shop or a merchant-ship, and equipment) and of personal labour, remained roughly constant whatever the value of money. So it is difficult to be certain what Diodoros' and Plutarch's figure of 20 minae as the lower limit of property for the 9,000 citizens who remained after the disfranchisement really signified. It seems probable that this was the old monetary value of the Solonian standard for the *zeugitai*; but this only makes the problem more difficult, unless we assume a careless abbreviation of the original source by a writer followed by both Diodoros and Plutarch. I still think it probable that only property in land was recognised by the oligarchic reformers of 322.

Finally, if towards the end of the fourth century (but before the disfranchisement of 322 B.C.), with *c.* 500 men aged 18 of hoplite rank or richer, only about 100 reached the age of 60, and if the mortality figures for Carthage or for India as explained above are relevant for Athenian hoplites, we should obtain the following results:

At age 60	<i>c.</i> 100
At age 50 (as at Carthage)	<i>c.</i> 160, (as in India) 200
At age 40 (as at Carthage)	<i>c.</i> 240, (as in India) 300
At age 30 (as at Carthage)	<i>c.</i> 325, (as in India) 400.

This will make a tight squeeze for election to the *boule* if, with Sundwall, whom Jones follows (and there is reason in this), we believe that, though *thetes* were eligible, the majority of *bouleutai* were comparatively well off, most of them hoplites, and if they were generally older men. For membership was annual and no one could serve more than twice in his life; we have no evidence that even half the number who served once did in fact serve a second time, but if half did, it still means that more than 350 new members were elected every year. If most were over 40, the hoplite and richer classes would have been, on Jones's figures, not large enough to supply the necessary number themselves; if over 45, they fell far short of it. Besides the *bouleutai* there were the numerous other officials chosen annually none of whom could hold the same office twice, nor two offices at the same time. It is obvious that there must have been a much larger number of persons available than of places to be filled; a wide margin was necessary if the constitution was to work at all. And this applies to 460 B.C., 400, and 330 as well as to 430.

It will be seen that there is a good deal of 'pure speculation' in Professor Jones's paper, and, I think, that this speculation has not been controlled by sufficient study of what evidence we have.

A. W. GOMME.



## OSTRAKA AND THE LAW OF OSTRACISM—SOME POSSIBILITIES AND ASSUMPTIONS

IN his *History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford, 1952, pp. 159 ff.) Mr. Hignett rejected Aristotle's attribution of the law of ostracism to Kleisthenes and this rejection met with approval from R. J. Hopper in a review of his book in *JHS* lxxvi (1956) 141. In preferring a later date for the law, Androtion's date—or what is supposed to be Androtion's date, for without the full context of Harpokration's quotation we cannot be sure that the *τότε πρῶτον* of that passage is so precise in its reference as to imply a date significantly later than Aristotle's—Mr. Hignett relies mainly on the well-established argument (which he imagines may well have been Androtion's also) that 'the authors of such a law cannot have intended to let it remain a dead letter . . . it must have been passed not long before its first application' (p. 164). Indeed, this must be regarded as his only decisive (so intended) argument, for, as far as sources are concerned, he states 'the Atthidographers . . . had no documentary evidence for the date of the law' and 'the different dates given by different writers are all due to conjecture' (p. 160). Here he has the agreement of Jacoby, who says in *FGH* iii(b) (1954) 121 'there was as little documentary evidence for the introduction of ostracism as for the *Seisachtheia*' (i.e. none at all), but the latter's conclusion is more cautious—'our tradition does not allow of making a final decision between the dates of Androtion and Aristotle' (p. 124).

Our purpose in this paper is, first, to re-examine the historical (and even merely logical) possibilities in this question and to suggest that the more cautious conclusion is the proper one in the light of these possibilities; and, secondly, to review certain other conclusions, based on archaeological as well as literary evidence, arrived at by recent writers regarding the actual history of the institution, in order to see whether some of these too would not need to be more cautiously stated if all the possibilities were taken into account.

First, the date of the law: the law of ostracism was so framed that it could not be *simply* and *directly* brought into action by any individual person, however desirous to see a particular opponent ostracised. This would be hardly worth saying were it not for the misleading language sometimes used by modern writers—e.g. 'one natural opponent after another was ostracised—by him (*sc.* Themistokles)?'<sup>1</sup> where the question-mark implies that, if not Themistokles, then somebody else personally effected the ostracisms under consideration. Once it is kept clearly in mind, as a preliminary, that neither Themistokles nor any other individual could or ever did ostracise anybody—an ostracism being the result of a vote, indeed two votes, of the Athenian people—then at least the logical possibility of the law not being applied immediately after it was passed is apparent. In short, any person wishing to see his opponent ostracised had two problems ahead of him: first, he had to persuade the people to hold an ostracism at all, and second, he had to try to arrange that the particular person he had in mind was in fact ostracised and not somebody else or even himself (as is alleged to have happened in the case of Hyperbolos, and who knows whether it did not happen in other cases as well?—the history of the 480s might, indeed, make better sense on that assumption). With regard to the second problem, this surely involves an acceptance of the proposition that, whoever was responsible for the institution of ostracism, chose a time when he believed that he was strong for its introduction, if we follow Aristotle's suggestion that the immediate purpose of the law was that person's own advantage. Yet Jacoby writes regarding Aristotle's statements on the introduction of ostracism that, if taken seriously, they imply that the law belongs 'to one of the years . . .

<sup>1</sup> C. A. Robinson, Jr., *AJA* lvi (1952) 26.



when the attempt of Kleisthenes to come into contact with Persia had gravely shaken his position' (pp. 123-4). Surely, any time when Kleisthenes' position was gravely shaken was precisely *not* the time to introduce the law, if in fact he did introduce it, in case the people reacted in either of the two ways we have suggested. Fortunately we do not see any need to interpret Aristotle in this way. Another instance of the neglect of this same point, namely that *the people* decided how and whether ostracism should be used, is provided by a recent argument of Raubitschek<sup>2</sup> in favour of a late date for the law—'if the law of ostracism had been in force at the time (*sc.* 493 B.C.), Miltiades would have been subjected to its provisions'; here again, however, either the people might refuse to hold an ostrakophoria or Miltiades' opponents might feel that they had too little popular support to encourage the people to hold one.

Returning, however, to the remarks of Jacoby, here at any rate we have a reference to the well-known passage in Herodotos v 73-4, which we believe is important in relation to the question we are considering—the passage referring to Kleisthenes' dealings with Persia and the indignation which those dealings aroused at Athens. Even if we agree with Gomme<sup>3</sup> that Herodotos' story represents a defence against charges of Medism brought against the Alkmaionidai not at the time but two generations later, or, again, with another suggestion<sup>4</sup> that the overtures to Persia were made by a popular decision *contemporaneous* with that to recall Kleisthenes, we are still left with the bare minimum that there was a sharp division of opinion in Athens following these overtures, and that Kleisthenes either was criticised for a decision which he himself had advised or opposed a decision of the people already taken. In either case, if Kleisthenes unexpectedly found himself faced with a division of feeling of this kind soon after he had secured the passing of the law of ostracism but before the first possible occasion of its application, we may well have here the explanation why the law was not applied immediately or soon after it was passed. This possibility Mr. Hignett ignores; Jacoby at another point (p. 124) does recognise it, but still hints at the alternative account which we have rejected: 'it is conceivable that his (*sc.* Kleisthenes') policy in regard to Persia, and the indignation it aroused in Athens, gave him or (rather?) his opponents the occasion for applying the new measure, and that he was hoist with his own petard'. It would have been unreasonable, we have argued, for Kleisthenes to think either of instituting or appealing to the process of ostracism in such circumstances; rather it would be reasonable for him to wait until the storm had died down and even to hope—however sceptical we may be of Aelian's story (*VH* xiii 24.3)—that his opponents would not try to turn his own weapon against him.

A passage in Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 28.2) has indeed been taken to indicate that any loss of popularity by Kleisthenes was short-lived and that he soon recovered his position; but the passage in question, as Mr. Hignett recognises (p. 177), is of a very schematic nature, where Aristotle attempts to produce an unbroken sequence of leaders of the people balanced by those of the aristocratic party. At least, then, Kleisthenes' position may have been permanently damaged. It may be, of course, that he died soon afterwards, for he was 'no chicken' (to use Macan's language in his *Herodotus* ii 143 n.) when he introduced his reforms. Certainly we hear no more of him apart from the odd reference of Aristotle and the anecdote of Aelian already referred to. It should be emphasised, however, that we do not have definite information about *any* political leader at Athens in the decade immediately following Kleisthenes' reforms and that our evidence for the whole period between 506 and 487, whether for the external or internal history of Athens, is scanty in the extreme; so much so that even the creation of the new council by Kleisthenes, Mr. Hignett tells us (p. 149), 'cannot be regarded as beyond dispute' as far as reliable evidence is concerned. It is just this general lack of evidence, representing a 'gap' not merely in the history of

<sup>2</sup> A. E. Raubitschek, *AJA* lv (1951) 225.

<sup>3</sup> *AJP* lxx (1944) 321-39.

<sup>4</sup> M. F. McGregor, *HSCP* Suppl. i 77-8.



ostracism, supposing it to have begun in 506, which makes so hazardous any dogmatic assertion as to the date of its introduction.

At least, as has often been recognised, Aristotle is aware of the hiatus which his own statements concerning the introduction of ostracism involve and we may well argue that the *lectio difficilior* should carry a certain amount of weight in the historical sphere as it is allowed to do in the sphere of textual criticism—as long as it is not quite impossible. In this case it is not impossible, if only we keep in mind the simple fact of human experience that hopes and intentions are not seldom disappointed, especially when sudden changes of circumstances occur. Certainly to suggest merely that Aristotle ‘followed Androtion closely on the motive for the introduction of ostracism, while rejecting his date’ (Hignett, 160) and, again, that ‘the ascription to Kleisthenes in the Athenaion Politeia was probably derived from another Attidographer, whose dating seemed to the author more plausible than Androtion’s’ (*ibid.*), is to beg the whole question. What needs to be explained is *why* Aristotle should have gone out of his way to reject Androtion’s date, having followed him closely at other points, unless he had found some good reason for doing so; for, as far as plausibility is concerned, it is difficult to see how any other date could be regarded as more plausible than Androtion’s—that is why we should be suspicious of it. If it comes to a choice, indeed, we should be prepared to doubt the motive rather than the date as given by Aristotle; for attribution of motive is always open to suspicion, and it would not be impossible to find an equally plausible motive for Kleisthenes’ introduction of ostracism at this time. We shall later venture to suggest a possible alternative motive.

Whatever the fate of Kleisthenes, one of the few things agreed upon about Athenian politics in the period between 500 and 489, at least, is that they were characterised by political uncertainty and vacillation—as evidenced by the sending and recall of help during the Ionian revolt, the archonship of Hipparchos, the fine suffered by Phrynichos, the acquittal of Miltiades, etc. This again would suggest that no one political leader had such a preponderance of political support as to encourage him to advise the holding of an ostrakophoria in confident anticipation of his particular opponent being its inevitable victim. Busolt’s hypothesis is not, in fact, so easily disposed of as Mr. Hignett (p. 161) suggests, once the possibility that Kleisthenes may have had equal grounds for hesitation before 500 has been recognised.

In this sort of political situation, any one of three results might have occurred between 507 and 487, supposing that the law of ostracism had been passed at the earlier date: (a) Kleisthenes (or any other political leader) might have advised the holding of an ostrakophoria, but without success—which is consistent with what Aristotle says and with what Plutarch (*Aristides* 7) perhaps implies ἡδὲ δὲ που καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ μέγα φρονῶν . . . implying the possibility of an ostracism before Marathon? (b) the advice might have been accepted, but the minimum effective vote not attained when the ostrakophoria was held—which would only involve taking ἐχρήσαντο in a rather special sense in *Ath. Pol.* 22.3. (c) The advice might have been accepted but some other person than Hipparchos ostracised—contrary to what Aristotle says and to the evidence of other authorities.

We may leave (c) out of account here, as being the least likely of our possibilities; with regard to (a) we will merely observe that there would obviously be no current record of the people’s negative response to any invitation or opportunity to hold an ostrakophoria, whilst the long-continued existence of the law of ostracism after the date of the last ostracism, attested by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 43.5), should warn us against equating the non-application with the non-existence of the law in the earliest period. But (b) deserves more attention, I think, and is the most intriguing of our possibilities, especially because most modern writers seem to assume that every ostrakophoria did in fact result in some person being ostracised, whilst the correctness or otherwise of this assumption affects not only the question of the date of the law but also the actual history of ostracism.



Plutarch tells us (*Aristides* 7) that, after all the votes had been cast on the day of the ostrakophoria, the ostraka were not sorted out until the total poll was ascertained. There are different views as to the accuracy of Plutarch's account, but at least, as Mr. Hignett recognises (p. 166), it implies that a failure to reach the necessary minimum of votes was regarded as a practical possibility. As to how often such an eventuality might have occurred, much here obviously depends on our interpretation of the 6,000 votes—were they a quorum (accepted as such recently by A. Calderini, *L'Ostracismo* (Como, 1945) 37-9) or the minimum effective vote to be cast against a particular 'candidate' for ostracism? Mr. Hignett follows those who refer to the analogy of νόμοι ἐπ' ἀνδρί and of votes conferring ἀδεια (p. 166); yet, as Carcopino long ago argued in his *Histoire de l'ostracisme athenien*<sup>2</sup> (1935) 95 ff. (1st ed. 1909), a vote whereby a decision in favour of or against one man is given is only very roughly analogous to a vote which may be directed against any person (in this respect the term 'candidate' is rather unfortunate) or divided among any number of persons, it being possible in the latter case to incur ostracism even though less than half of the votes carried your name. This, though unreasonable, is perhaps not absurd; another consequence appears nothing less than an absurdity, namely that, if a man believed himself to be involved in a close contest in which he was likely to be defeated by a narrow majority, his obvious means of escape was to urge his supporters not to vote at all. Yet the first objection also becomes more considerable as a result of the large number of names now represented among the 1650 ostraka which have come to light.<sup>5</sup> The large 'scatter vote' on the occasion of ostracisms has, indeed, lately been taken as confirming Plutarch's account by Raubitschek (*Hesp.* xxiii (1954) 70-1) on the supposition that the slogan of the day of an ostrakophoria was 'Vote as you please, but vote'. But it may equally be taken to underline the possibility of a person being ostracised by a comparatively small number of votes. Moreover, the interval between the vote to hold an ostrakophoria and the ostrakophoria itself may reasonably be regarded as having been intended to enable as many as possible to vote, including those from the furthest demes—Plutarch (*Aristides* 7) refers to the people συνελθόντες εἰς ἄστυ πανταχόθεν on the occasion of the ostracism of Aristides—including many, in fact, like the yokel of this anecdote, who normally would not think of leaving their farms to take part in politics. Certainly it is not easy to find any other reason why the ostrakophoria was not held straight away, particularly if it was as difficult to raise a quorum as is sometimes represented. The 6,000 who decided concerning νόμοι ἐπ' ἀνδρί and the 6,000 who were annually selected for service in the heliastic courts were, no doubt, as Bonner argues,<sup>6</sup> regarded as representatives of the whole Athenian people. But it remains true that they were not in fact the whole people—as is clear in the case of the dikasts in particular since they included nobody under the age of 30 whereas presumably anybody from the age of 18 could vote in an ostrakophoria.<sup>7</sup> As for political matters, any difficulty in raising a quorum for routine, even though fairly important business, can hardly be regarded as a safe guide for estimating the number who might vote at an ostrakophoria where the fortunes of well-known public figures were at stake—as the attendance of members in the House of Commons on the occasion of the vote of large public funds (say) on the one hand and of a demand for an inquiry into the conduct of a minister of State on the other might remind us. In such circumstances, with an abnormally large voting body, the requirement of 6,000 votes against the individual to be ostracised would represent only a reasonable majority of those who might conceivably vote: this requirement would still, of course, involve a quorum of 6,000 but in this special case, where action

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 79. Also A. E. Raubitschek, *Actes du Deuxième Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine* (Paris, 1952) 62. Of about 60 names, half occur only once.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *CP* viii (1913) 223-5; also Bonner and Smith, *Admin. of Justice* 211 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 63.3 and 42.1—supposing that conditions of eligibility in the fifth and fourth centuries were the same.



was going to be taken against a citizen merely 'on suspicion', there would be demanded also unanimity amongst that number of voters in conditions where the quorum was likely to be very considerably exceeded.

In our last paragraph, however, we have made one assumption commonly made—as, for instance, by Raubitschek in the article just cited—which should be noticed. It is commonly assumed that the 'scatter vote' of which we have archaeological evidence represents ostraka cast on the occasion of ostracisms recorded by our literary authorities. This is a very convenient assumption, but it is an obvious possibility that some of them were cast on the occasion of ostrakophoriai of which we have no literary evidence and which may perhaps have led to no result—whatever our interpretation of the 6,000 votes may be; in this case, the scatter vote on the occasion of known ostracisms would be less than it might otherwise appear.

Let us look at a few of the points where the possibility of abortive ostrakophoriai becomes important. First, the 'scatter vote' assigned to the period of the 480s includes a noticeably large number of names<sup>8</sup> (though admittedly a very large percentage of the total number of ostraka so far discovered belong to this period), and it may be asked whether some of the ostraka belonging to it may not ante-date 487 B.C. In a number of cases ostraka have been found amongst pottery which is assigned to the sixth, or even seventh, century as well as to the fifth or later. Two ostraka bearing the name of Melanthios (*cf.* E. Vanderpool, *Hesp.* Suppl. viii (1949) 400-1) may be quoted as instances—and if this is the Melanthios who led the Athenian fleet to Ionia (*Herod.* v 97), then a date in the 490s would not be unreasonable for him to be voted against in an ostrakophoria; the failure of the expedition might well account for some votes against him—not that ostracism was officially intended as a punishment for failure in such an enterprise but private whims and prejudices must often have run counter to whatever may have been the official purpose behind the institution and these would no doubt be exploited on the occasion of ostrakophoriai. The problem connected with such ostraka is complicated, indeed, by the fact that writing on sherds did not begin with the introduction of ostracism at Athens, as noted by Vanderpool (p. 406), and some sherds must obviously antedate the institution even if it was introduced as early as 507. A geometric sherd bearing the name of Peisistratos (Vanderpool, 405-8) is one of the most problematic in this connexion. But, at least, it may be prejudging the issue to refuse to refer any ostrakon (in our special sense) to a date before 487 simply on the basis of our literary authorities.

Turning to the other end of the history of ostracism, it has been assumed by Raubitschek (*Hesp.* xxiii (1954) 70) that the ostraka cast against Kleophon and Philinos were cast in the year when Hyperbolos was ostracised. They might, however, have been cast in an abortive and unrecorded ostrakophoria in one of the immediately preceding or succeeding years. We need not exclude the succeeding years simply because Hyperbolos was the last person ostracised: for are we bound to assume that immediately after the ostracism (by mistake, as it were) of Hyperbolos, the people made up its mind never to have anything to do with the institution again—whilst, nevertheless, leaving the law of ostracism on the statute-books long into the fourth century B.C.? It is at least conceivable that, even after the ostracism of Hyperbolos,<sup>9</sup> another ostrakophoria was held in which Alkibiades, feeling himself again

<sup>8</sup> See below, pp. 76-8, Part I.

<sup>9</sup> This would admittedly be scarcely possible if it could be conclusively shown that the ostracism did not take place until 415. For the latest attempt to do this, on the supposition that the vital sentence in Theopompos (*FGH* 115 F. 96 Jacoby) is incomplete, *cf.* A. E. Raubitschek, 'Theopompos on Hyperbolos'—*Phoenix* ix (1955) 122-6. It is suggested that the fragment should read ἐξωστράκισαν τὸν

ὑπέρβολον ἐξ ἑτη <δημωγογήσαντα vel πρωτεύσαντα vel προστάτα αὐτῶν> and the six years be taken as referring to the period *before*, not *after*, the ostracism of Hyperbolos. One would, perhaps, have expected ἐπὶ rather than ἐξ ἑτη, however, to cover the 'little more than six years' which would on this theory have elapsed between Kleon's death and Hyperbolos' ostracism. *Cf.* also Hignett, 395-6 with regard to the date of this ostracism.



threatened, attempted to repeat the tactics which had succeeded so well on that famous occasion but only managed this time so to divide the vote (following Carcopino's interpretation of the 6,000) as to make it abortive. Such a hypothesis might help to explain the different accounts provided by Plutarch (*Alkib.* 13, *Aristides* 7 and *Nikias* 11) regarding the other 'candidates' on the occasion of Hyperbolos' ostracism, if we suppose that it was with Nikias that Alkibiades allied on the one occasion and with Phaiax on the other. It might even supply a reason why Hyperbolos is not mentioned in [Andokides] iv (for those who believe that this speech belongs to a genuine historical occasion), namely because it belongs to the occasion of an ostrakophoria later than that which resulted in Hyperbolos' ostracism and in which Alkibiades was again involved. Or if the view of the 6,000 as a quorum be adhered to, a failure to reach that quorum might have been due to popular disgust when it was seen that Alkibiades was likely to thwart the whole purpose of the ostrakophoria once again—a disgust expressed in a refusal to vote at all;<sup>10</sup> but from amongst those who did vote the ostraka cast against Kleophon and Philinos as well as against Phaiax might have come.

Even if we regard the whole idea of abortive ostrakophoriai as over-hypothetical, we should certainly allow for the possibility that a person whom we know from literary evidence to have been ostracised may not have been ostracised on the first occasion on which his name appeared on the sherds. The case of Themistokles is the most obvious instance here, for a very large number of the sherds which bear his name are, by reason of the strata in which they have been found, referred to a year (or several different years) when we know that he was *not* ostracised.<sup>11</sup> In the first edition<sup>12</sup> of his work on ostracism, Carcopino wrote 'l'ostracisme de Themistocle nous est attesté par un ostrakon édité par M. Zalon. . .'. More recent archaeological evidence has shown such statements to be insufficiently guarded. No sherd, of course, can be regarded in itself as evidence of the ostracism of the person whose name it bears, only as evidence that he was voted against. In this connexion one may wonder how far the reference to the ostracism of Menon, qualified by *τινὲς δὲ φασὶ* in Hesychius, can be regarded as strengthened by the eighty or so ostraka which have so far been discovered bearing his name.<sup>13</sup> It is not unlikely, especially in the case of the less well-known persons who figured as 'candidates' on the occasion of ostrakophoriai, that a doubt later arose as to whether they had in fact been ostracised or only voted against; and one can imagine such a doubt being exploited to discredit the son or descendants of such persons in later years by their political opponents.

Perhaps the most interesting and important case where considerations of this kind are relevant is that of the elder Alkibiades in view of the conclusion regarding the date of his ostracism which has recently been drawn by Vanderpool (*Hesp.* xxi (1952) 1 ff.) on the basis of evidence provided by the ostraka. The elder Alkibiades, it is argued, was ostracised not in 486, as has commonly been assumed and as perhaps the poor literary evidence suggests,<sup>14</sup> but in 460, the year after the ostracism of Kimon, on the grounds that two of the nine sherds which bear that name are to be referred on archaeological criteria to the second

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Vanderpool has raised (verbally) the interesting question whether the Athenians were likely or accustomed to resort to abstention or the 'walk-out' as practised all too often in the politics of certain countries today. The modern 'walk-out', however, is simply an expression of angry impotence which achieves nothing but publicity; in the case of an ostrakophoria, something could be achieved, on the quorum theory, by a refusal to vote—as must have been clear after the institution had been in existence 75 years.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. the 'hoard' of sherds prepared for use

against Themistokles probably in the 480s. Cf. O. Broneer, *Hesp.* vii (1938) 228–43.

<sup>12</sup> Not in the 2nd edition. Contrast there Carcopino's remarks (p. 126) on the Damon ostrakon: 'Pas plus qu'une hirondelle ne fait le printemps, un ostrakon ne saurait suffire à déterminer un ostracisme.'

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Hesp.* xxiv (1955) 286–9, where Raubitschek treats the ostracism of Menon as certain.

<sup>14</sup> Lysias xiv 39 and [Andok.] iv 34 might be held to imply that Alkibiades and Megakles were of the same generation.



quarter of the fifth century and to no other period—these two sherds confirming the probability that four others also belong to the same quarter. Now in this case the conclusion seems very probable, especially because what we know of the elder Alkibiades' political activities relates to the post-Persian war period rather than earlier (*cf.* Hatzfield, *Alcibiade* (1940) 15–17) and in view of the fact that ostraka of all persons definitely known to have been ostracised in the 480s have been found in contemporary deposits. Even so, it is fair to observe that the date of the ostracism in question is still not conclusively proved. The bare possibility remains that the six sherds represent an *unsuccessful* attempt to ostracise the elder Alkibiades and that sherds cast on the actual occasion of his ostracism have still to come to light (bearing in mind the erratic variation in the number of ostraka discovered representing particular names). Only, in fact, on grounds of general probability can it be said to be 'fair to assume that it (a particular ostrakon) was used on the occasion of his own ostracism and not on some other occasion when he may have been up' (Vanderpool, 4).

Returning, by way of postscript, to the question of the origin of ostracism, we may ask: Is there any significance in the fact that the holding of the ostrakophoria and the election of the strategoi took place in the same prytany? It has commonly been thought so, and Raubitschek has even asserted (*AJA* lv (1951) 224) 'the time within the year when ostracism took place was determined by that of the elections of the generals. Thus the law of ostracism cannot have been enacted until the office of general had been established'. It should be noted, at any rate, that a statement such as that of Carcopino that 'l'ostracisme pouvait se produire à temps pour écarter de la stratégie les trop grands ambitieux'<sup>15</sup> depends for its validity on interpreting *Ath. Pol.* 22.2 as referring to the election of the strategoi by the individual tribes and not by the whole people; for, as Raubitschek points out, a man who had gained or was capable of gaining enough support among the whole people as to be able to obtain election as strategos was not likely to be a victim of ostracism—and vice versa. But the interpretation of the passage in Aristotle is itself disputed;<sup>16</sup> and even if it were agreed that the generals in the first half of the fifth century were elected on a purely tribal basis, it would still not follow that the reform of the system for the selection of archons and the introduction of ostracism were effected at the same time. If anybody in 487 saw more than the military advantages consequent upon the use of lot for the election of the archons, it is possible that the advocates of the reform were able to quell any doubts by pointing out that the already existing law of ostracism (though perhaps as yet unapplied) might act as a safeguard against any general exploiting to his own political advantage the inevitable increase of his powers.

Who would have been the introducer of the law of ostracism if introduced in 488–487? Mr. Hignett (*cf.* pp. 185 and 189) suggests Themistokles or Aristides or 'their collaborators'. An argument from silence is always dangerous but in view of the story of Aelian that Kleisthenes was 'hoist by his own petard' and, on the other hand, of the many anecdotes which gathered about the name of Themistokles, we find it very strange that a similar story did not come to be retailed about that particular gentleman, seeing that he undoubtedly *was* ostracised, if he personally had anything to do with law. Perhaps, however, having rejected one hypothesis, we might offer another in connexion with an early date for the law which does not need to rely on Herod. v 73–4. It is this: that, although the early date is far from impossible even if we accept the statement that the law of ostracism was aimed at Hipparchos in particular, we should in fact reject this statement of motive and be content with Aristotle's assertion that the law was passed *διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν* (22.3) generally, together with his date; for the particular aim attributed to Kleisthenes might well be a false inference in the light of what actually happened or the construction

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* (2nd ed.) 70. *Cf.* Macan, *Herodotus* ii 143.

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion *cf.* Hignett, 169–70.



which the Alkmaionidai later chose to put upon the law—as part of their defence against the charge of Medism? On this basis, it must surely be admitted, if we take into account the past history of the Alkmaionid family which had come to terms with the tyrants' house at one time and broken with it at another, as suited its own ambitions, that the people had every reason to consider Kleisthenes himself as worthy of its suspicion, not least when adopting the role of constitutionalist and reformer. Might not his real aim be his own personal power? If this was so, then the institution of ostracism would serve admirably as an advertisement measure, designed to eliminate such suspicions, precisely because it could be applied against anybody, even, if need be, against Kleisthenes himself; not that Kleisthenes expected it to be so applied, but by emphasising this point he might well hope to create confidence, whether in the mind of the people or of other political leaders whom he needed as allies, with regard to his whole programme of legislation. The soundest piece of evidence in support of this interpretation is surely the nature of the law itself which represents nothing like a privilege; indeed, the two-edged (or multi-edged) character of the institution of ostracism and the various conditions by which its operation was hedged about made it anything but an ideal weapon for its alleged special purpose, the immediate removal of a particular political opponent; and this point applies equally, of course, to the suggestion that it was introduced shortly before 487 by the anti-Persian leaders. Could not they or Kleisthenes—as the case may be—do better than this if their position was so strong as the suggestion of a special and immediate purpose seems to imply? It is easier to believe that, having originally been intended to serve one purpose, ostracism eventually came to serve a more vital purpose at a time when Athens was threatened not merely by enemies within but by external dangers. It may be that it is the realisation that an (hitherto unused?) institution might be called upon to serve this new purpose which, if anything, we should attribute to the anti-Persian leaders at Athens—and with that realisation, an acceptance of the *risks* involved (a point generally neglected) to their own political prospects in invoking it to that end.<sup>17</sup>

#### NOTES ON THE DATING OF OSTRAKA

(These notes, in so far as they relate to ostraka from the Agora in particular, are largely based on statistics and other material very kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Vanderpool. It should be noted that the revised figures given here sometimes differ from those previously published and are themselves subject to revision.)

#### I. *The period before 480 B.C.*

The vast majority of more than 1,200 ostraka found in the Agora may be confidently assigned to this period, and about three-quarters of these derive from six groups detailed below. It is on the basis of such groups—in addition to other evidence, archaeological and literary, that it becomes possible to date a considerable number of ostraka fairly certainly within narrow limits and not merely within a more general period of ten or twenty years. The details below are intended to illustrate this:

<sup>17</sup> This paper was written whilst I was resident, on study-leave, at the British School in Athens. I would like to express my appreciation of the facilities placed at my disposal there and, in particular, to thank Mr. E. Vanderpool, of the American School, for the opportunity to see and discuss many of the

ostraka from the Agora excavations and for advice and comment on a number of points in this article; also to record my gratitude to Professor Gomme for criticism and suggestions in excess of ordinary editorial assistance.



Name	Groups						Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
Themistokles .. ..	65	172	18	23	1	2	281
Kallixenos .. ..	43	165	9	4	2	9	232
Hippokrates Alkmeon							
Alopekethen .. ..	43	48	7	2	1	3	104
Aristeides .. ..	2	5	5	18	3	3	36
Kydrokles .. ..	2	7					9
Habron .. ..	1	3					4
Abronychos .. ..	1	3					4
Eratyllos .. ..	1						1
Kleiboulos Nikodemou		2					2
Megakles Hippokratous		2			3		5
Charias Ph -- dou ..		1					1
Eretrieus .. ..		1					1
Onomastos Konthyleus		1					1
Arist. -- Charop. --				1			1
Hipparchos .. ..					2		2
Hippokrates Anaxileou					2		2
Boutalion .. ..					1		1
Fragments .. ..							214
							901

[Bibliography of groups: A—*Hesp.* ix (1940) 301–2 and Suppl. viii 395; B—*Hesp.* xvii (1948) 193–4, xix (1950) 337, 376–90, nos. 24, 31 and 25, also *CR* (1956) 200; C—*Hesp.* Suppl. iv (1940) 33; D—no publication; E—*Hesp.* xv (1946) 265 ff.; F—*Hesp.* xxiii (1954) 54.]

Group E, though the smallest, is nevertheless a key group here as being the only truly stratified group so far discovered and as containing the names of four men whom we know to have been either ostracised or involved in ostracisms in the 480s. The deposit in which the ostraka of this group were found was such as to require dates between 490 and 480 B.C., whilst—apart from one notable exception (one of the two Hipparchos ostraka)—the ostraka bearing the names of Themistokles, Aristeides, Megakles and Hipparchos were found at depths within the deposit relatively appropriate to the dates given by our literary authorities for the ostracisms of this period. Moreover, the first four names listed under group E are also the predominant names in the other five groups, suggesting that the majority of the ostraka cast against them date from the same ostrakophoria, which the stratification of group E on the one hand and our literary evidence on the other will scarcely allow to be other than that of 482 (when Aristeides was ostracised) or 483 possibly (when there is room for another ostracism which may have escaped notice by our literary authorities). It is not possible to decide certainly between these two years—but the fact that ostraka bearing the name of Aristeides are so poorly represented in the two largest groups should not be held to weigh against the later year—for it is quite possible to regard these as unrepresentative groups (i.e. unrepresentative of the *total* vote at an ostrakophoria) and we shall note another probable instance of this later.

If, however, the ostraka bearing the first four names are rightly assigned to 483 or 482, then there are strong grounds for assigning the 'lesser' candidates of the other groups also



to one of these two years, even though they may be represented by only a single ostrakon. Sometimes, on the other hand, the circumstances of the finding of ostraka are not so favourable, so that it becomes impossible (as in the case of Melanthios) to assign them to a period more definite than (e.g.) 'early fifth century' on purely archaeological evidence; moreover, in such cases, where we have only one ostrakon bearing a particular name—e.g. Eukrates—there may well be a doubt as to whether the ostrakon is an ostrakon in our special sense at all—it might be a mere name-tag or something equally insignificant.

Even so, the 'scatter-vote' for this period must include about 25 names.

## II. *The period after 480 B.C.*

For the period after 480 B.C. the dating of ostraka is, generally speaking, much less easy. The grand total of ostraka deriving from this period probably does not much exceed 200, most of them from the Kerameikos. Such groups as have been found were unstratified and have tended to raise problems rather than to solve them.

(1) *Themistokles*. Most of the ostraka with Themistokles' name appear to derive from the year(s) when he was *not* ostracised—indeed, it is apparently difficult to point to any ostraka from the Agora (and there are few from the Kerameikos) which could with certainty be assigned to the ostrakophoria of 47?, whether bearing Themistokles' name or that of any candidate in that year.

(2) *Mid-fifth century ostracisms*. The first group found at the Kerameikos (*cf.* Brueckner *AM* xl (1915) 1–24, also Carcopino, *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> 80–1, 88, 126 ff.) included ostraka as follows: Thukydides Melesiou 11, Kleippides 24, Andokides Leogorou 1, Teisandros Epilykou 1, Eucharides 1 and Damon 1. Here, then, is an unrepresentative group, if most of the ostraka are taken to derive from the occasion of Thukydides' ostracism. The name of Perikles does not appear at all whilst Kleippides has more than twice as many ostraka as Thukydides. As for the Damon ostrakon, this cannot help to settle when Damon was ostracised or, indeed, whether he was ostracised at all.

The more recently discovered group from the Kerameikos (*cf.* Peek *Kerameikos* iii, 'Inchriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln' (Berlin, 1941) 51–87) included 64 ostraka with the name of Kimon and 80 with that of Menon. But it is impossible to date Kimon's ostracism any more certainly as a result of the discovery, and the precise date boldly given by Raubitschek for Menon's ostracism is based on literary evidence—as is that given by Vanderpool for that of the elder Alkibiades, once it has been brought down to the second quarter of the fifth century by the sherds already referred to. Peek could only assign the ostracism of Menon to between 480 and 450, working on purely archaeological data.

The three ostraka against Kallias Didymiou come from the Agora, one of them with the name painted—which may imply an organised campaign against him but not necessarily a successful campaign (as suggested in *Hesp.* Suppl. viii 410), bearing in mind the 190 ostraka prepared for the ostrakophoria when Themistokles was not ostracised.

There appears to be a 'scatter-vote' of at least eight names belonging to this period.

(3) *The Final Ostracism*. Only about a score of ostraka can be referred to the period around this occasion, but these include a 'scatter-vote' of six names, besides those of Alkibiades, Hyperbolos and Phaiax, the latter with a highest 'score' of four. No ostraka with the name of Nikias have so far appeared, but this can scarcely be taken as at all confirming Theophrastus' account of this ostracism, as reported by Plutarch (*Nikias* 11 and *Alkib.* 13). Being mainly 'stray finds' none of these ostraka can be closely dated on purely archaeological grounds.



III. *General Summary*

Total of ostraka naming persons recorded as ostracised by literary authorities (including Menon, Damon and Kallias Didymiou but excluding 190 ostraka prepared but not used against Themistokles)	662 (12 names)
Total of ostraka naming persons <i>not</i> recorded as ostracised .. ..	540 (47 names)
Fragments, plus Themistokles' 190 .. ..	447
Total of ostraka .. ..	1,649

It will be noted that the total number of ostraka recovered to date represents about a quarter of that required to make a single ostrakophoria effective.

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## KASSANDRA

THREE reasons in particular have suggested the choice of Cassandra as the subject of this paper; though they may well be excuses rather than reasons, for I confess that she intrigues me. Firstly, her story is an interesting example of the development of a 'character' of Greek literature whose name has become a by-word in later times. Secondly, she affords an excellent chance of studying two very differently gifted dramatic artists at work on the same material; and thirdly, she illustrates very prettily the difficulties and dangers, as well as the advantages, of a very useful modern technique of literary criticism, a sort of mythical 'Formgeschichte', the study of the developing theme.

Few artists indeed are free of indebtedness either to contemporary artistic influences or to their predecessors in the same field, and this is especially true where the 'classical concept' is active—that is, where the subject of art tends to be a traditional one endlessly varied and developed by succeeding generations; any theme of renaissance painting will serve as illustration. So it is that the study of the development of the theme of Hamlet, for example, enables the critic to estimate more justly than before the originality of Shakespeare and the true intention of his play. But this kind of criticism is still an art and not a science, if I may use the conventional but really inaccurate distinction to which we are accustomed; for it is inevitably to some extent subjective and even 'viciously circular' in method. Too much should not be claimed for it, not only because the artist is subject to many influences which are not likely to be preserved in a literary tradition, however copious, but also because caprice, personal likings or animosities and the chances of daily life, to say nothing of genius itself, disturb the processes of logical analysis and scholarly evaluation of detail. Moreover, in the study of drama, it is fatally easy to argue in a circle and to prove from an author's treatment of his theme that he has in fact been subject to influences which have determined the treatment from which the influences have been deduced; almost as fatally easy as to decide that this or that speech is what the author really believes or wants to say, the poet speaking through the character. Euripides in particular has suffered from this kind of treatment, and it is hard to see how to avoid the pitfall—but all the same, there is something to be learnt from a study of his use of myth, particularly if he is credited with being what he really is—a playwright.

It would be more than rash to pretend that there is sufficient evidence to reconstruct with any certainty the epic and lyric material from which the dramatists developed their own portraits of Cassandra, but if we firmly reject unproven inferences from the narratives of Alexandrian and later mythographers, there still remains enough to make it possible to get some idea of the tradition from which there developed a full and living portrait of a seer-princess, just as Shakespeare's *Hamlet* developed from the sketches of Saxo and Belforest, or his *Antony and Cleopatra* from North's Plutarch.

In Book xiii of the *Iliad*, Cassandra first appears as one of Priam's<sup>1</sup> most marriageable daughters for whose hand Orthryoneus offered to drive the Achaeans from Troy in lieu of any other bride-price; one of the princesses whose fate, along with that of slain sons and 'tiny children dashed upon the ground in dread destruction', Priam foresees in Book xxii. But after Hector's death, when in Book xxiv (697 ff.) Priam sets off back to Troy with his son's mangled corpse, 'It was none other than Cassandra, fair as golden Aphrodite herself (*ικέλη χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη*), who having gone up to the citadel first of all the men and fair-zoned women, knew her father standing in the chariot and the herald, summoner of the

<sup>1</sup> 1. 365 *Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην*. So is Laodike in vi 252, but she of course had a husband.



people. Hector too she saw lying in his litter on the mules; and at that she wailed aloud and cried through all the town "Come now, men and women of Troy, and look upon Hector, if ever before ye rejoiced when he came home alive from battle; for all the city and folk used to delight in him." This lightning sketch brings her from the shadows into fuller and more personal existence and already contains some of the undertones of pathos and charm on which the dramatists were to work. One more hint remains to explain why she was chosen by Agamemnon, that ruthless but probably discriminating selector, as the most attractive among the captured virgins of Troy; for it must surely have been special distinction and charm which drew from his ghost, as it described the reception of the conquering hero at Argos, the words: 'Bitterest of all to hear was the voice of Priam's daughter, Cassandra, whom Klytemnestra, the deceiver, slew ἀμφ' ἐμοί. But I fell to the ground with my hands raised high, as I died pierced through by the sword' (*Od.* xi 421 ff.).

It is easy to read too much into a brief scene of this kind, but it is another example of the vivid power of imagination and the economy of effort with which Homer gives life and movement to every corner of this canvas, and it is just the kind of thing to set a dramatist's imagination working in turn; the details are not too clear—does ἀμφ' ἐμοί mean 'on top of me', 'near me' or even 'because of me'? (probably the first); and is Agamemnon raising his hands in a vain effort to help Cassandra, or to ward off his wife's hard-driven blow? Is Cassandra a guest at the treacherous banquet offered by Aegisthos and his mistress or is she serving her personal lord and master at table? No matter. She is there, and Agamemnon clearly 'loves' her for her pathetic charm and not simply for her good looks—even if we were right in supposing that Homer was so undiscerning as to mean nothing more than that by *ικέλη χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη*.

As far as Homer tells us, that is all; and despite Tzetzes' and Eustathius' ridiculous argument from the comparison with Aphrodite, we may believe the scholiast on xxiv 699 when he writes οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν αὐτὴν μάντιν ὁ ποιήτης—Homer did not know her as a seeress (or at any rate preferred to ignore it, for there is no reference in the *Iliad* to inspired prophecy and it is usual to assume that Homer disapproved of it).

When we turn to the Cyclic poems, which in reference to the tragedians bear more closely the relationship of Saxo Grammaticus to Shakespeare than does Homer himself, Cassandra emerges in sharper outline as an exceptionally gifted though still beautiful young woman, even from the misty and uncertain background of an epitome of Proclus' epitome of the subject-matter of the poems, and from the few fragments of the actual texts preserved at third-hand and worse by the scholarly or the pedantic. In the *Kypria*, on which Euripides clearly drew for his Trojan trilogy no less than Aeschylus for the legend of the Pleisthenidai (though Euripides diverged from it in his account of Polyxena in the *Troades* and of the death of Palamedes), Proclus' summary reports that before Paris set off for Greece not only Helenos but also Cassandra *περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προδηλοῖ*, though Bethe in *RE* (x 2 (1919) 2290 ff.) regards this, without much justification, as a doublet of the preceding description of Helenos who *περὶ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτῷ προθεσπίζει*. In Pindar (*Pyth.* xi 33) she is described as *μάντιν κόραν* in a way which suggests Pindar was not taking over a new invention of Aeschylus, as might on one view of the date of the *Oresteia* be possible, but referring to an accepted tradition, perhaps also reflected in the world of art, as we shall see later on; and it seems logical to suppose that this tradition originated with the saga material used by the author of the *Kypria*, whether Stasinos or some other.

For the *Iliupersis*, ascribed to Arctinus, and the *Little Iliad*, ascribed to Lesches, traditionally dated in the eighth or seventh centuries B.C., the evidence is complicated by Pausanias' irritating habit of referring to the *Iliupersis* of Lescheos of Pyrrha, when it seems likely that he really means the *Little Iliad*, at any rate in places. The *Iliupersis*, according to Proclus, recounted how, during the storming of the city and the division of the spoil,



Ajax the Lesser, the Locrian, while dragging off Cassandra forcibly from the altar where she had taken sanctuary, dragged off with her the wooden image of the goddess, an action which seems to fit well with his tempestuous character. The Greeks, incensed at the sacrilege, wished to stone him, but he escaped them by himself taking refuge on Athena's altar. The Alexandrians and their successors developed this story into an actual rape, and Mlle. Davreux<sup>2</sup> has recently attempted to renew the argument that this was already settled in the *Iliupersis* version by referring to sixth- and fifth-century vases in which Cassandra is represented as naked. Carl Robert<sup>3</sup> argues, however, that nakedness implies that she is a prophetess. Davreux's argument is not supported either by the very neutral phrase in which Pausanias (x 27.1) describes the trial of Ajax by the Greeks, ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰς Κασσάνδραν τολμήματος, as it was depicted in the mural painting of the sack of Troy executed by Polygnotos in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi. Pausanias' language would in any case tend to be coloured by the Alexandrian treatment of the story, even if we are to assume that τόλμημα must imply rape rather than abduction. Polygnotos' painting, dating from the middle of the fifth century B.C., was based, according to Pausanias, on Cyclic material and is a useful extra source of information about the pre-Alexandrian tradition, though Polygnotos clearly felt himself at liberty to invent names and characters and order his material to suit his purpose. Plutarch describes how in the picture 'Ajax the son of Oileus, holding a shield, stands by an altar taking an oath about the outrage on Cassandra. Cassandra is sitting on the ground and holds the image of Athena, for she had knocked the wooden image from its stand while Ajax was dragging her away from the Sanctuary'. All this apart, it seems unlikely that Cassandra would have been offered as prize to Agamemnon if she had already lost her virginity to Ajax. Lucian's comment in *Imagines* 7 on her graceful eyebrows and rosy cheeks in the picture is a reminder that beauty is one of her special attributes. The nature of Ajax's oath has been much discussed, and Robert (p. 1269) thinks he may have promised to send from his homeland the Locrian maidens—who for 1,000 years served as priestesses of Athena in Troy. Beyond this there is simply the implication from Proclus' summary, not to be used as certain evidence, that Athena turned against the Greeks and destroyed them at sea mainly because of Ajax's act of sacrilege, a hint which Euripides might reasonably be supposed to have followed up in the *Troades*, as did Libanius in his second *refutatio*, making the sacrilege the symbol of all Greek wrongdoing at Troy.

The *Little Iliad*, attributed to Lesches or Lescheos, which, according to Aristotle (*Poet.* 1459b 1–7), was the direct source of Euripides' *Troades*, appears in Proclus' summary to end with the admission of the Trojan Horse, but it seems likely that it contained also a version of the sack, since Schol. ad Lykoph. *Alex.* 1268 quotes lines which include the slaying of Astyanax by Neoptolemos and the division of prisoners. Also Pausanias, in his disputed account of the Polygnotos painting, ascribes to Lescheos an account of the slaughter of Priam by Neoptolemos, as a πάρεργον, by the gates and not at the altar. In the same passage he also implies that Koroibos came as a suitor for Cassandra in this account (as in Virg. *Aen.* ii 343). There is also some reason to believe that the *Little Iliad* included a prophecy by Cassandra at the time of the bringing in of the wooden horse, for this scene figures on the Tabula Iliaca, a fragmentary marble relief in the Capitol Museum of about the first century A.D., which professes to be based on the *Iliad*, the *Aethiopis*, the *Little Iliad* and the *Iliupersis* of Stesichoros.<sup>4</sup> There is nothing, however, to prove whether Stesichoros or the *Little Iliad* supplied the first mention of this prophecy, and the artist appears to have used his sources without much distinction.

In the *Nostoi* there can have been little about Cassandra apart from the scene in which

<sup>2</sup> *La Légende de la Prophétesse Cassandre* (Liège, 1942).

<sup>3</sup> *Griechische Heldensage* 1268 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer, *Commentary on Pausanias* v 361; Bowra, *Gk. Lyric Poetry* 103 ff.



the murder of Agamemnon was recounted. Proclus' summary makes no reference, however, to her presence.

How far the evidence of artists such as vase-painters can add to the details of the Cyclic story is far from clear and much debated. I am not competent to pronounce, but my instinct is to use it with very great reserve except as an indication of the general story current at a particular moment in history. In work of the sixth and fifth centuries the Ajax scene, a quite popular motive, is depicted in two different ways. In the first, which seems to agree with *Iliupersis*, Cassandra kneels before a Palladion round which her arms are wrapped, and is roughly seized by the hair by Ajax who tries to drag her from the statue. In the second type, which Mlle. Davreux thinks may be a little earlier, Athena herself replaces the statue and she faces Ajax in a menacing posture as she defends Cassandra. Whether this is based on an epic story or not we have no means of deciding. In both types Cassandra is frequently shown naked. Quite distinct and irrelevant to our present purpose are the later versions based on Callimachus<sup>5</sup> and Lykophron in which the statue is represented with averted eyes as Ajax attempts his rape. Among the most famous early representations of the scene is that briefly described by Pausanias (v 19.5) on the chest of Kypselos at Olympia, which came most probably from early sixth-century Corinth. It appears to agree with the *Iliupersis*.

Among the lyric poets, Stesichoros' inventive influence on the growth of myth must have been very great indeed, and it is more than tantalising that for the Cassandra story, as for many others, his scanty fragments provide no certain clue. His Oresteia clearly dealt with the death of Cassandra, and the whole scene was depicted as taking place at Lakedaimon, not Mycenae. Whether it was in general based on the *Odyssey*, as Van Leeuwen thought, or whether, as Davreux suggests from the account of Klytemnestra's dream, Stesichoros made Klytemnestra the murderess of Agamemnon for the first time, is quite uncertain. If the evidence of the Tabula Iliaca can be accepted, Stesichoros also dealt with the Ajax incident—but presumably the artist altered the circumstances to suit his composition, for he set the scene outside the temple.

From Ibykos (Fr. 16D) comes nothing more than a tribute to Cassandra's beauty in conventional terms γλαυκώπιδα Κασσάνδραν, ἑρασπιλόκαμον κούραν Πριάμου—and from Pindar *Pyth.* xi comes a rapid portrait of the murder of Agamemnon and Cassandra at Amyklai, where there were apparently memorials to both (Paus. iii 19.6). Cassandra is not given special prominence. It is probable that a fragment of *Paeon* viii is a prophecy of Cassandra's on the lines of the *Kypria*, made when Paris set out for Greece and recalling the dream of Hecuba which Euripides introduced into his *Alexandros*, the first play of the Trojan cycle of 415. Bacchylides also is said to have devoted an ode to her prophecy.<sup>6</sup>

How much more than has come down to us Aeschylus may have learnt from the tradition, we have no means of knowing, and I have purposely excluded conjecture from this account. For this reason no mention is made of the mythographers, Quintus Smyrnaeus and the late epic writers. Lykophron in his pedantically convoluted *Alexandra* invents or uses for the first time in extant literature, possibly drawing on Sophocles' *Lakonian Women*, the imprisonment of Cassandra by her father Priam; and perhaps following in the steps of Callimachus (or as some hold Timaeus) he allows her to have been actually violated by Ajax, though she still becomes, contrary to probability, the concubine of Agamemnon. Because of the rape, Athena's statue averts its eyes from the scene. His account of her death is mainly taken from the tragedians. In *Aeneid* ii the wooden horse episode is included but little is made of the Ajax scene (402 ff.: Ajax himself is not mentioned), which Ovid turned to account in the *Metamorphoses* (xiii 410, and *Amor.* i 7.17). Ovid, as well he might, developed the theme of Agamemnon's love for Cassandra, and Seneca wallowed in his recollections of tragedy and Homer, without adding anything new to the story.

<sup>5</sup> *Aitia* i. 413d in Schol. (AD) *Il.* xiii 6b.

<sup>6</sup> Porphyr. *S. ad Hor. Carm.* i 15; *Stat. Theb.* vii 330.



Without more knowledge than we possess, it is waste of time to conjecture how far Aeschylus invented his own version of the saga, but we can be quite certain that so consummate an artist, whose habit it was to fashion all his material to the pattern of his vision of life in the service of tragedy, used his creative imagination upon the hints and presages which he inherited. It is on his artistic method more than on the pattern of thought, the social beliefs and the artistic shibboleths of the first part of the fifth century that we must cast a weather eye when we attempt to watch him at work upon a character, and I hope that underneath the very different interpretations of the critics it is not over-optimistic to see a fair agreement about the general range and sweep of Aeschylus' genius. If ever a play can be 'monolithic' the *Agamemnon* deserves the adjective, for there is not a line nor a character nor a situation which is not in some way a development of the central theme—not a logical development, of course, but a multidimensional presentation of the workings of  $\alpha\tau\eta$  in the House of Atreus, as the creative imagination of the author moulded his material to work at once upon the eye, the ear, the nervous mechanism, the memory, the emotions, the reasoning faculties and the subconscious.

We may argue till the cows come home about the 'hamartia' and the character of Agamemnon, though personally I do not believe Aeschylus meant him to be either arrogantly proud or culpably cocksure; but Cassandra's scene, which is virtually the climax of the play, is without any doubt designed to bring together and compact for the onlooker what chorus and actors have so far each in his way launched at our different senses—and she does so because she can unite within a single personality the lyrico-mystico-tragicological imponderability of existence which it is the tragedian's business to illuminate as best he can. Fraenkel and many earlier commentators before him have noted the balanced artistry of the construction by which during the great kommos the chorus grow more as she grows less lyrical; and how song and speech are used in combination, each with all its resources, to provide an endless recession of depth and scope. Like the artist himself, Cassandra has a sixth sense which makes it possible for her to give palpable form and a name to the net, the bath, the axe, the dripping blood and the very Furies themselves, which we have so far dimly apprehended like the figures of kings in Macbeth's cauldron; and more, she can smell and transfer to our nostrils the stench of older bloodshed on the portals of the palace, the sickly sweet smell of roasting human flesh (still my worst memory of the Normandy countryside), and make it the symbol of a more general canker in life which Eliot's chorus also evoked. 'I have smelt death in the rose, death in the hollyhock, sweet-pea, hyacinth, primrose and cowslip . . . I have smelt corruption in the dish, incense in the latrine, the sewer in the incense, etc.' Finally she can foretell the eventual retribution on the murderess and her paramour, and so afford a premonition of the partial katharsis which the vengeance of Orestes affords. For Aeschylus Cassandra is first and foremost the  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\kappa\acute{o}\rho\alpha$  of Pindar, and she is a full-length portrait by a master hand, and almost certainly the first in Greek literature, of the inspired prophetess who, like the Pytho at Delphi, becomes in her trance the vehicle of the god she serves. During the long scene with Klytemnestra, Agamemnon's entry into the house treading on purple, and the stasimon, she has been entirely silent on the stage; but what follows makes it clear that this is not due to naïveté of technique, which shrank from employing a third actor in dialogue. When Klytemnestra returns to summon her indoors she remains no less silent and withdrawn. It is perhaps odd that her new mistress makes no reference to the priestly symbols she wears, but we may assume that anyone so well informed as Klytemnestra about the internal affairs of Troy knew of her prophetic gifts. Dramatically the silence is of the greatest value, for her first low cry to Apollo, the beginning of a long developing crescendo, at once makes it clear that it is on the god and his prophetic gift that all her mind has been unconsciously concentrated, as the horror of the scene penetrates her every sense. She is quite unaware of other persons on the stage until at line 1177 the frenzy dies away and she speaks



*propria persona*; the god who directs her is her destroyer, and she feels in advance the horror of her own fate as well as that of her master, in the ἐπισσύντους θεοφόρους τ' . . . ματαίους δύνas of her frenzy (l. 1150). Even so, she does not lose touch with her own nature and the pathos of her condition is increased, as is that of Ophelia in *Hamlet*,<sup>7</sup> by the reminder of what life might have been in her case by Skamander's side. Aeschylus did not, I am sure, forget that in Homer she was ἰκέλη χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ, and he contrives to remind us of it too. When the fit leaves her and she turns to speak in trimeters to the chorus, the preoccupation with Apollo is still there, as is the substance of her prophecy; all she says is meant to convince the chorus that this time, as always, she has spoken truly, as if the one thing she must do before her death is to break through the barrier of disbelief which has always been her fate. She uses her knowledge of the past to attempt to draw assent from the old men of Argos, and they indeed marvel at her information; and in the agony of her determination she reveals the secret she has never before revealed—a master touch of psychology, this, whether Aeschylus himself invented the story or whether, like the variant known to Eustathius in which she and her brother Helenos were left in Apollo's grove and a snake licked their ears, it was generally current in the tradition (both are typical of primitive conceptions of inspiration)—she reveals the secret that Apollo loved her, and that after accepting his love she failed him at the last moment, a sin (the word is ἡμπλακον) for which she paid by failing to win belief for the gift of prophecy which Loxias' embraces had already bestowed. Even as she speaks of it, a new wave of inspiration seizes her in partial control and again she moves in time from Thyestes' feast to Agamemnon's death; as she speaks, she realises that again the chorus have lost her meaning except where it concerns the past, and she pours out a new appeal to Apollo and an even clearer presage of her own slaughter. As she does so, she tears off her insignia as priestess, trampling them to destruction on the ground with curses and bidding them enrich some other with destruction in her stead. Even this action she feels is Apollo's doing, and after seeing her suffer the indignities of a false prophet he is imposing a final penalty of suffering at the block (cf. 1087 ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόνις τὸ δεύτερον). But she does not turn from this, as a Euripides heroine could certainly have done, to blasphemy or disbelief. The gods will in the end requite the human wrongdoing; and she prays resignedly for an easy death. She knows the god's power too well to hope to evade it; but even now she recoils, physically sickened, from the palace door before finally passing inside. As she finally goes, she appeals again for the chorus's testimony to her true gifts of prophecy when the guilty pair at length come to punishment, and prays that not only Agamemnon's but her own death may be set to their account. The chorus which immediately follows her exit displays that at last she has made her point—Agamemnon's death is now clearly present in the old men's hazy wits. A *leitmotif* of the scene is the word μάντις, since for Aeschylus it is Cassandra's special gift which is to the fore in her portrayal. Apollo the μάντις made her a seeress in turn, and she is no ψευδόμαντις (l. 1195), but ἀληθόμαντις (l. 1241), and the frenzy which envelops her is ὀρθομαντείας πόνος (l. 1215). The very trappings on which she tramples are μαντεῖα στέφη (l. 1265). Her action at this point is a sign of her humanity and the reality with which Aeschylus has conceived her. It is because, like Io in the *Prometheus*, whose sufferings are also bound up with a heavenly *affair de cœur* and whose character is worth studying in comparison with hers, she is at the same time a real, living person, wholly involved in the situation to which Apollo has brought her, and neither cynical nor disillusioned, except for the recurrent Greek pessimism about the impermanence of life (1327 ff.), that the power of *Ate*, the stain of blood guilt and the avenging furies become in turn real and dominating for the spectators. Goethe's letter to Humboldt, quoted by Pohlenz (*Griech. Tragödie* (1930) 101) is particularly applicable to Cassandra and her effect upon the audience: 'the weave of this primal tapestry ("Urteppich"—untranslatable) amazes me more

<sup>7</sup> Cf. T. R. Henn, *The Harvest of Tragedy* (1956), 128 f.



than ever—past, present and future are so beautifully integrated that the spectator becomes a seer, in other words, close to divinity. And that is after all in the last resort the final mark of success in poetry of any kind, at any level.' The whole tragedy and the character of *Kassandra* herself win belief and meaning with the audience, not because Aeschylus believes beyond any shadow of doubt in the literal existence of furies or the details of divine intercourse between girl and god, but because they are for him effective symbols of the unseen world in which man is willy-nilly involved; if he had neglected the human element in *Kassandra*, she would have failed to act upon us as the catalyst she in fact is and to bring us to grips with the divine, working its inscrutable will upon mankind. In Aeschylus, character is subservient to dramatic intention, which is as it should be; but when genius is at work in the theatre, even in a piece as lyrical in construction as the *Agamemnon*, the persons of the action will be consistent and lifelike, not cardboard figures jerked by strings from the grid above the stage. The credit goes, of course, mainly to the tragedian himself, but at the same time some must be set aside for the tradition to which Aeschylus remains indebted, for *Kassandra* the prophetess as well as *Kassandra* the princess. Apart from the hint in Pindar, there is nothing in earlier literature to suggest that *Kassandra* prophesied her own death outside the palace of the Atreidai; and this I take to have been Aeschylus' own and very significant invention to her story. All the same, it is not beyond the scope of earlier authors such as Stesichoros; but the *Kassandra* of the *Agamemnon* could be no one's but Aeschylus'. Professor Dodds, in his intriguing book *The Greeks and the Irrational* (p. 88, n. 45), points out with some justice that Aeschylus makes of her more of a 'clairvoyante' than a medium—a point to which we must return later when we consider Euripides' treatment of her prophetic powers. The distinction was not perhaps one of which Aeschylus himself would have been conscious, for there is no doubt that, like Io, she is *ἐνθεός*, and that for the most part she does not speak with her conscious mind, though she is aware of the significance of the message with which the god within her floods her heart, mind and body.<sup>8</sup> The little we know of the Pythia at Delphi does not suggest that she behaved differently, but again it is Aeschylus' special genius which allowed him to imagine the demeanour and the spiritual torment of a prophetess faced with her own destruction; and to have robbed her of understanding of her message or to have made her the mere vehicle of possession would have reduced the humanity and pathos of the scene and therefore the tragic veracity of the whole play.

It is very galling that nothing remains of Sophocles' *Kassandra*, who presumably figured as a main character in the *Lokrian Ajax*, and perhaps also in the *Lakonian Women* and the *Captive Women*—but we may be reasonably sure that Euripides, in real life as well as in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, was more strongly influenced by Aeschylus; and here a real comparison is practicable. All the same, the lack of information makes it impossible to be certain how much Euripides' *Kassandra* owes to his own invention when she differs from her predecessors, and judgment will depend largely on what we can learn of his general habits and predilections. Let us first look at the evidence of the plays. She occurs first in the *Andromache* (296 ff.). The chorus tell of the contest of the goddesses on Ida and of Kypris' victory with its fatal result for Troy. 'Would that his mother had cast Paris away over her head as a thing of evil before he dwelt on Ida's crag; when *Kassandra*, beside the inspired laurel, cried out to kill him, the mighty bane of Priam's city. To whom did she not go, which of the elders did she not beseech to slay the child?' Whether the laurel was at Priam's altar or in Apollo's temple is doubtful, but *Kassandra* is here depicted as a prophetess inspired by Apollo whose words were not heeded at the time of Paris' birth, a story repeated later in the *Alexandros*, as we shall see, and quite in keeping

<sup>8</sup> E. Rohde (*Psyche* 356-7 and n. 1—German edition) suggests that her cries are reminiscent of sybillic inspiration, and adjectives such as *φρενομανής* and *θεοφόρητος* (l. 1141) leave no doubt that she was thoroughly 'possessed' by her control, Apollo.



with the few remains of the *Kypria* we possess, as well as with the *Oresteia*. In the *Hecuba*, the enslaved queen of Troy, once again the prey of premonitions of disaster, asks (87 ff.): 'Where can I see Helenos, with his gift of inspiration, and Cassandra to interpret my dreams for me?' which perhaps suggests that the story of the joint inspiration of Helenos and Cassandra by the lick of a snake, which is reported by Schol. A on *Il.* vii 44 on the authority of Antiklides, was already current in the fifth century and was ignored by Aeschylus—a very far from certain conjecture, however, since Helenos was already clearly known as the most skilled of augurs in *Il.* vi 76, and Euripides might have coupled them in Hecuba's lyric on this evidence alone. Mlle. Davreux goes too far in attempting to distinguish here an older tradition in which Cassandra was an interpreter of dreams rather than a seer, though her connexion with the interpretation of Hecuba's dream in the *Alexandros*, which has yet to be considered, perhaps lends her argument some colour. In the chorus which follows Hecuba's lyrics, we learn that the fate of Polyxena depends on the outcome of a dispute between the Greek leaders in which Agamemnon supports clemency τῆς μαντιπόλου βάκχης ἀνέχων λέκτρα (*Hec.* 121), 'because he felt loyalty to his concubine, the seeress Bacchant Cassandra'. This passage too is an entirely consistent expansion of the motive of Agamemnon's genuine love for Cassandra already present by implication in Aeschylus and earlier lyric; and a very typically Euripidean one at that. He expanded it still further in the *Troades* (411 ff.) when Talthybios, the herald, expresses his bewilderment and disgust at the peculiar infatuation of his commanding officer for so unusual and unbalanced a creature. Equally noteworthy is the word 'Bacchant', for as we shall again see from the *Troades* this description replaces the Aeschylean μάντις and its kin and sets Cassandra in a different context, again typically Euripidean.

In the Trojan trilogy of 415 B.C. Cassandra emerges from the wings on to the stage itself, and since her part in the action of the lost *Alexandros* and the *Troades* in some ways fulfils a similar function to that she plays in the *Agamemnon*, and her scene in the *Troades* is clearly modelled on the earlier play, it seems worth while first of all to give a fairly full account of what has come down to us, in the hope that it will provide pointers to the interpretation of the plays, and to Euripides' treatment of Cassandra; and then to examine the points of similarity and difference. I must ask the reader to assume with me from evidence which need not be cited here that the three plays, *Alexandros*, *Palamedes* and *Troades* form a genuine trilogy, though not in the Aeschylean manner, and that therefore there underlies them a common dramatic purpose or theme, however discursively it may have been illustrated. From one point of view it might be summed up for the present in a fragment quoted in Strabo iv 1.7 and attributed by Snell and others to the *Alexandros*:

Ζεὺς γὰρ, κακὸν μὲν Τρωσί, πῆμα δ' Ἑλλάδι  
θέλων γενέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἐβούλευσεν πατήρ.

From another it may be described as a poetic presentation of the human error and wilfulness which, as exemplified in the Trojan story, brings suffering and disaster to victors no less than vanquished and robs war of glamour, glory or profit to all who indulge in it. Though contemporary events must have been much in Euripides' mind, we are not dealing with political propaganda or a 'pièce de circonstance', but with a mature artist's new presentation of an ancient subject to which he gives new shape and form after his lights, now following, now rebelling against the tradition of his predecessors. To grant less than this is to demote Euripides from the role of tragedian to that of social commentator and pamphleteer.

The *Alexandros*, despite many uncertainties of detail and of the exact scope of the action, was based on the second half of a myth according to which Paris was exposed at birth in consequence of a dream of Hecuba's in which she seemed to bear a flaming torch. The oracle of Apollo declared the boy would destroy Troy, and Cassandra (according to the



*Andromache*) had demanded his death; but in fact the nurse to whom he was handed over allowed him to survive, so that he became a shepherd on Ida, only to return to win victory from his brothers as an unknown rustic competitor in games inaugurated to commemorate his death. After much dispute, he barely escaped death at the hands of the envious Deiphobos by the discovery of his identity; and at the end of the play Aphrodite, or less possibly Cassandra, foretold the consequences of his journey to Greece and the abduction of Helen. The first half of the story was no doubt recounted in the prologue. The play's general trend is clear enough—it is one more example of the intractability of destiny and of human unwillingness and inability to accept and recognise it, just as in the story of Oedipus. The *Palamedes* appears to have presented one or another version of the slaying of Palamedes, a sort of latter-day Prometheus and human benefactor, by the Greek chiefs. His death was the result of a trumped-up charge of treacherous dealing with the enemy supported by the discovery on his camp site of a sum of gold previously hidden there. At the end of the play retribution was set in motion by Palamedes' brother Oiax, who wrote an account of his brother's death on oars and sent them across the sea to Nauplios, their father. He in turn lured the Greek fleet to destruction by false beacons in the very storm fore-ordained by Athena and Poseidon in the prologue to the *Troades*.

This prologue is in fact the balancing point of the trilogy and its importance has often been under-estimated. Both in form and matter it is clearly of the highest significance, and the lesson of its final line remains in our ears until the end of the play, so that no *deus ex machina* is required to establish justice or impose peace:

μῶρος δὲ θνητῶν, ὅστις ἐκπορθεῖ πόλεις,  
ναούς τε τύμβους θ', ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων,  
ἐρημία δοὺς αὐτὸς ὧλεθ' ὕστερον.

Here the fate of Troy and the conquering Greeks comes together and the destruction of the returning invaders is established beyond doubt. If the sufferings of Troy are uppermost in what follows, there are hints of the fate which awaits the Greeks, for example, 'Talthybios' comment on Agamemnon already quoted above; and in fact the horror of Astyanax's death and the other atrocities is so great, as Euripides presents it, that the audience is automatically reminded of the infatuation which precedes disaster, and so of the plans of the newly allied Poseidon and Athena. The effect would, I am certain, be even stronger if we could also have before us the full text of the *Palamedes*.

Kassandra and Hecuba alone appear in both the Trojan plays. In the *Troades* Hecuba seems almost to personify Troy and to focus for the audience the varied sufferings of her people and the royal house, and in the *Alexandros* she was evidently depicted as responsible for setting in motion the disastrous cycle of the Trojan war. Cassandra's role in both plays would appear to be once again the presentation of the divine plane, or of the supernatural as it impinges on humanity, for those who have eyes to see; and for this her fate of failing to persuade others by her prophecies makes her dramatically most effective. In the *Alexandros*, whether she took part in the action at the end or the beginning of the play, her unheeded advice to slay Paris was prominent and full of presage. In the *Troades*, as we shall see, her prescience of disaster to Agamemnon and the Greeks won no more belief with Hecuba and the chorus than her earlier prophecies; but those who have heard the prologue and know the story are more strongly than ever aware that she speaks nothing but the truth. In other words, Euripides uses her in his own way to do exactly what Aeschylus did with her in the *Agamemnon*, and equally without interfering with the human plane of action. But before making any further comparisons, let us look more closely at Cassandra herself.



Mention has already been made of her prophetic warnings in the *Alexandros*. A. Pertusi<sup>9</sup> recently argued with great ingenuity but no great power of conviction that in the *Palamedes* Euripides followed a curious variant of the myth attributed to Alkidamas, a rhetorician who lived not long after Euripides. Alkidamas wrote, or is credited with, an 'accusation of Palamedes by Odysseus',<sup>10</sup> no doubt written with an eye to Gorgias' defence of Palamedes, in the course of which Odysseus claims to have intercepted an arrow message of Palamedes from Paris promising him all that he had agreed with Telephos and in addition Cassandra as wife. Naturally Odysseus was unable to produce the message. If Euripides had indeed followed this story, it would be surprising, but not impossible, that no reference to it occurs in the *Troades*—but it is an attractive if illusory speculation what effect such a promise, or rather the fiction of it, would have had upon Agamemnon's infatuation for Cassandra. It is worth remembering that the *Palamedes* was condemned in antiquity as *ψυχρός*, presumably because it had no woman characters.<sup>11</sup>

In the prologue of the *Troades*, Athena gives as the reason for her *volte-face* and for her desire for revenge upon the Greeks the profanation of her temple by Ajax (69–71) and the failure of the Greeks to exact a penalty from him. We may deduce from line 453—ὡς ἐτ' οὖσ' ἀγνὴ χροά—that she escaped actual rape. Aristotle (*Poet.* 23.1459a) seems specifically to state that the *Troades* with seven other plays was taken from the *Little Iliad*, and it seems reasonable to suppose that here too Euripides followed his model, as he did over the punishment of Ajax. There is nothing particularly arbitrary or artificial, as Pertusi is inclined to think, in selecting this incident to typify the crimes of impiety on the Greek side; it is natural that Euripides should choose an example which serves to emphasise the importance of Cassandra in the trilogy and that Athena should feel specially personal rancour over a sin which was expiated by the maidens of Lokris for 1,000 years.

In the Parodos itself (line 169) Hecuba shouts out a special appeal, as the women gather to prepare for departure, 'not to send out her frenzied (ἐκβακχεύουσιν) Cassandra, the maenad, to put her to shame before the Greeks and heap pain on pain'. The passage is clearly in preparation for Cassandra's entry not long afterwards, and in its adjectives, ἐκβακχεύουσιν (whatever this active form means<sup>12</sup>) and μαινάδα emphasises the new Dionysiac vocabulary of possession which is Euripides' substitution for the μάντις-terminology of Aeschylus. The words αἰσχύναν Ἀργείοισιν are ambiguous, though I believe Parmentier's explanation, which I have adopted against the scholiast, is right and dramatically fitting. Could it perhaps, though, be a reference to Ajax and a reminder that in the prologue the seizure of Cassandra has helped to turn the scale against the Greeks?

After the Parodos Talthybios enters to proclaim the fate of the captives, and Hecuba asks specifically (247 ff.) about the fate of three of her family and her own. The three are Cassandra, Polyxena and Andromache in that order, all important in their different ways for the picture of suffering and wrong which is building up; for, though she does not appear, Polyxena's fate is very much in the forefront. Hecuba learns that Cassandra (τράμουνα she calls her) is to be the chosen prize of Agamemnon, not a slave for Klytemnestra, but his concubine. 'Do you mean this for Phoibos' virgin girl (τὴν Φοῖβου παρθένον), to whom he of the golden locks granted the boon of a celibate life?' 'Love of the inspired maiden fixed its shaft in him.' 'Then, child, cast away the holy keys and strip from your body the sacred emblems, the garlands you wear.' This is Euripides' only reference to the affaire-Phoibos of the *Agamemnon*, and it is not very explicit. It seems pointless to see in it a criticism by silence of the *Agamemnon*. His concern is clearly to add one more nail to the Greek coffin, another impiety to the list of high-handed actions against the laws of God; and the circumstances of Apollo's gift are not important. Cassandra is apparently both a

<sup>9</sup> *Dioniso*, xv (1952) 250 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Rose, *Handbook of Gk. Lit.* 285 n. 92, holds it to be work of a later Atticist.

<sup>11</sup> *Ar. Thesm.* 848.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Phaedrus* 245a, a very relevant passage on the subject of possession.



priestess of Apollo and a maenad, and like so many crazy people inspires mixed feelings of awe and shame. She is kept quietly on one side, out of the public eye. Such has no doubt been her regular treatment in Priam's household, and Hecuba, while convinced of her divine possession, shows no signs here or later of being convinced by events that she prophesies truly. These two preliminary references make it quite natural that, the lyrics over, Talthybios should ask at once for Cassandra to be sent out. As he does so a torch is seen inside the tent. Talthybios is alarmed at the possibility of some act of violence which may cause loss of booty to the Greeks and blame to him; but Hecuba reassures him that it is Cassandra—*μαῖνὰς θαάζει δεῦρο Κασσάνδρα δρόμῳ*. It is a most effective entrance, for carrying her torch<sup>13</sup> she bursts at once into a marriage song in honour of what she terms her fated match with Agamemnon. She carries herself the torch her mother should bear, since Hecuba is bowed down with her griefs; but she bids her and the chorus rejoice with her and appeals to Hymen, Hekate and to Apollo himself in whose laurelled temple (cf. *Andr.* 296 ff.) she serves as priestess. The chorus in horror appeal in trimeters to Hecuba to restrain her *βακχεύουσιν κόραν* lest she dance featly away to the Argive camp (this line seems to confirm the interpretation suggested for *αἰσχύναν Ἀργείοισιν* above); and the scene continues in iambs as Hecuba contrasts this strange wedding light with what might have been. She takes the torch from Cassandra and gently tells her that her maenad frenzy is no true torchbearing. Misfortune has not brought order to her muddled brain, but she is still adrift as always. As in the *Agamemnon*, Cassandra now explains lucidly in trimeters what she has danced in frenzy. The marriage is a matter of rejoicing and Hecuba should speed it. Unless Loxias is not a god, Agamemnon will find her a more destructive bride than Helen was, for she will kill him, ravage his home as he has ravaged Troy and take vengeance for her father and brothers. With the *Agamemnon* clearly in mind, she mentions but refuses to dilate on the ugly sequel—the axe, the murder of Klytemnestra and the upheaval in the house of Atreus—and instead, abruptly and artificially as it seems to us, embarks upon a dry comparison of the fortunes of vanquished and victors designed to demonstrate the contrast between the glorious sufferings of the Trojans in defence of home and the squalid disadvantages of death on service abroad and internal discord at home which beset the Greeks. From the tale of Greek misery, as she sees it, she turns away almost primly; but even Paris among the Trojans gets some credit for marrying the daughter of Zeus, without which he would never have been heard of.

If this is sophistic stuff, the moral which follows is sincere enough and it is Euripides, not Cassandra, who speaks (400-2)

*φεύγειν μὲν οὖν χρὴ πόλεμον ὅστις εὖ φρονεῖ.  
εἰ δ' ἐς τόδ' ἔλθοι, στέφανος οὐκ αἰσχρὸς πόλει  
καλῶς ὀλέσθαι, μὴ καλῶς δὲ δυσκλεές.*

—a summary well in keeping with Athena's prologue and with the subject of the trilogy. Talthybios grimly remarks that if Apollo had not bacchanted her out of her wits, she would have to pay for this sort of accompaniment to the Greek return from Troy, and goes on to ponder on the odd taste in women of his commanding general. But she is mad and he does not propose to worry his head about her abuse of the Greeks and praise of Trojans. She had better follow him to the ships *καλὸν νύμφευμα τῷ στρατηγᾷ*, 'a peach of a General's lady-love, indeed'. Hecuba, too, is to follow, to be, though he does not name him, Odysseus' slave. Cassandra ripostes with some pithy and very coherent remarks about heralds, and points out that Apollo has revealed a different fate for her mother—death in Troy and something worse which she will not mention (her transformation into a bitch according to the odd myth of the earlier 'Hecuba'). She then turns abruptly to a disrupted

<sup>13</sup> Bruno Menegazzi (L'Alessandro di Euripide, *Dioniso* xiv (1951) 172-97) points out that the torch is almost a Cassandra *leit-motif* in the trilogy.



and corrupt forecast of Odysseus' ten years of wanderings, from which she again breaks abruptly into trochaic tetrameters, arranged *a* (7 lines), *b* (4 lines), *a* (7 lines) and devoted to intense and moving portrayal of her own and Agamemnon's fate. In the central four lines she bids a tender and loving farewell to her sacred garlands, the bacchic symbols of the god she loves above all others. She tears them off at the cost of her flesh for the winds to bear them swiftly to the lord of prophecy while she is still a virgin. Then she asks the way to the ship. The winds will be fair, for they will find they have one of the three Erinyes on shipboard. 'A fair good-bye, mother. Do not shed a single tear. Dear country, my brothers and our father who lie beneath its soil, soon you will have me with you and I shall come to the world below with palms of victory, having sacked the palaces of the Atreidai by whom we ourselves were brought to destruction.' As she goes away in her sad triumph, Hecuba falls senseless to the ground, overcome by disasters past, present and yet to be; and when she revives it is to almost cynical abandonment of trust in God or man. The only consolation she can find is a sad catalogue of her former blessedness and what it has become—above all she laments the fate of Cassandra and Polyxena, shortly to be supplanted on the stage by Andromache and her son Astyanax.

Euripides' Cassandra, then, no less than Aeschylus', is utterly devoted to the god she serves, and there is nothing in her presentation or character to suggest distrust or disbelief in his existence or authority. Indeed, Euripides has chosen to avoid the story of Apollo's love for her which is the nodal point of Aeschylus' scene and which might well in his hands have developed on another occasion into a study in impiety; and he does not allow her to trample on the insignia of her office. He seems to have concentrated for the purpose of the trilogy on what is in Aeschylus' view the effect of Apollo's cheated love, i.e. her failure to convince her family and the world in general of her prophetic insight. The Ajax incident, irrelevant to Aeschylus, though clearly not unknown in view of our sources, is a major link in the story for Euripides; but he does not develop it beyond his immediate needs. He concentrates instead on presenting through the person of Cassandra a balance to the sufferings of Troy and a reminder of the wider workings of providence in such a way that it neither interferes with nor disturbs the human actors as they hasten to their several dooms—a reminder all the more important since it reinforces the declaration in the prologue of the folly of sacrilege and wanton destruction and the certainty of the retribution which is to follow *hors-de-scène* for the Greeks. This is the exact counterpart in a different setting, of her role in Aeschylus. She is not, like Aeschylus' Cassandra, concerned to establish her veracity, in order to impose the importance of what she has to say upon the audience or to feed the lyric intensity of the pathos by the irony of situation; for I imagine that Aeschylus' scene had established this side of her story beyond the need of repetition; and Euripides' imagination worked differently. Indeed she is, except in her sophistic excursus, a much less self-conscious creation, whose wild hymn to Hymen as she waves her wedding torch seems pathetically prescient of her own suffering, in denial of the triumph of revenge she foretells. This pathetic delusion, which is yet in a sense true, adds much to the 'Verwirrung', as the Germans would call it, which has settled upon the conquered city, and to the human aspects of the tragedy. Though no less devoted to her god she is in fact portrayed with a greater depth of human sympathy than her predecessor, and what she loses in spiritual power she gains in romantic and human appeal in a way which for Euripides' purpose is no less tragically effective.

In the construction of his scene Euripides has learnt much from Aeschylus, though he has not copied slavishly. The combination of lucid intervals with more intense possession, the lyrics and the tetrameters—very much a part of what may almost be called Euripides' return in old age to Aeschylean inspiration combined with experiment in new forms—even the vividly sophistic calculus of profit and loss in Cassandra's attempt to reverse the values of defeat, all re-echo something in the earlier play. The tempo is different



because there is no crisis in the *Troades*, while in the *Agamemnon* Times' winged chariot is pressing hard on Agamemnon's heels and will shortly overtake him. W. H. Friedrich in his *Euripides und Diphilos* sees another common point, and this time a common failing, in what he feels is a perceptible break between the lyrical raving and the iambic coherence of the two Kassandras. He objects not to the sudden change, which he regards as clinically possible, but to the way in which they both remember the detail and general nature of their ecstatic utterances; for he feels that since both are meant to be sincere, the change grates upon the audience and is fitting only for the charlatan. If our understanding of the two plays is not at fault, everything depends on convincing the audience of their sincerity. It is inconceivable that the two poets could have failed on so vital a point, and I conclude Friedrich to be in error. Certainly I am not conscious of his difficulty, though I feel a lack of parallels by which to judge in Greek literature; it certainly did not seem impossible to recollect possession in tranquillity to the author of the Book of Revelation, to say nothing of Apollo's protégé, Aristeas,<sup>14</sup> though they are of course 'Shamans', not mediums.

All the same, Euripides' Cassandra differs in her inspiration. All the words with which she is described come from the Dionysiac vocabulary and she tosses her head back in typical Bacchant fashion (*I.A.* 756). The link between Apollo and Dionysos is well known and there is nothing incongruous in attempting to portray possession in Dionysiac terms even with Apollo as the fountain head of inspiration, for Aeschylus himself describes him (*frag.* 341) as *ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Βακχεύς, ὁ μάντις*. In so doing, Euripides adds to her human appeal by linking her with the countless women in Greece who at some time felt the power of the god dwelling within them; and it is with this general power—the 'spiritual' breaking in upon the world of space and time—that his conception of tragedy is more concerned than with the personified gods of the Olympian heights, though he could not and I think dared not entirely dispense with their traditional personalities. At the same time there is almost certainly a distinction between Apolline and Bacchic inspiration which as far as can be seen was generally recognised by the Greeks themselves.<sup>15</sup> The worshipper of Dionysos identified himself with and became in some sense the god himself; and he did not prophesy, though Dodds (*p.* 86, *n.* 30) points out slight traces of this in the *Bacchae* 298 ff. and, in a Thracian context, in *Hdt.* vii 111. The rare mortals such as the Pythia who were inspired by Apollo did prophesy and did not identify themselves with the god, though they were the vehicle of his spirit. At Delphi the oracles were therefore given by Apollo in the first person. To Euripides the distinction seems to have been less important than the resemblances, as indeed it would seem to have been to Plato. He, in the *Phaedrus* (244a–245a), distinguishes only between the 'possessed' such as the Pythia and the Sibyl, and augurs and omen-readers who judge the future from signs. As a result, so it seems to me, Euripides' Cassandra loses the remote and special dedication which the more Apolline portrait of Aeschylus retains, and which makes more credible the attraction she holds for Agamemnon—Talthybios would not have felt it a perverted taste in his commanding officer to fall in love with so rare a spirit. In this, she is true to the Euripidean pattern with its special interest in human kind and its ways for their own sake and its close observation of psychology.

I do not propose to say very much about the sophistic section of Cassandra's argument, for that raises a wider general problem beyond my present scope. To a modern reader, even when he knows something of the Athenian passion for litigation and rhetoric and of the special influences at work in Euripides' day, this kind of thing seems to mark a flaw in Euripides' artistic understanding. But in our own day too playwrights such as Anouilh and Giraudoux are not afraid of blatantly anachronistic treatment of historical characters and ways of thought. Even if it strikes a jarring note in our ears, it does not in any way conflict with the general development of the play, and indeed does something in its way to

<sup>14</sup> *Hdt.* iv 13; Dodds, 162 *n.* 37.

<sup>15</sup> See Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* 200–1 for this view.



balance the tale of suffering at Troy set in motion long ago by the mistaken clemency which reserved Paris against the will of heaven. At the same time it is a reminder that under great stress we look for consolation where we can find it. It is wrong to expect that a tragedian who lives in an age of doubt and change will on analysis show a consistent and tidy philosophy of life and a theodicy which can be neatly labelled and explained. The contrast between the prayer to Zeus 'whatever I should name him' in the *Agamemnon* and Hecuba's prayer (*Tr.* 884 ff.) to 'Zeus, or Nature's compulsion, or the *νοῦς* of man' is a specially clear reminder that the inscrutability of the law of life under which man lives, whether it be called Destiny, Providence, Natural Law or God, seemed far greater to Euripides than to Aeschylus. I hope what I have tried to say about the role of Cassandra in the Trojan trilogy will help to show that here, no less than in the *Bacchae*, he still found it possible to use the stories and characters of the traditional mythology for a truly tragic presentation of the human situation as he experienced it in the middle of a great war and an intellectual revolution; and that his Cassandra, no less than Aeschylus', represents the divine as he saw it, breaking in upon the human situation. I hope to have shown that he found in his mighty predecessor a more vivid and evocative kind of inspiration than it is customary to suppose, without losing his own special and individual vision which is the true mark of artistic greatness.

Neither Euripides nor Aeschylus seem to have developed the character of Cassandra arbitrarily, and they have selected from the material available what best suited the essential role she plays in their tragedies—they are in fact stricter in this respect than we are often inclined to suppose.

None of their successors added in any real way either to her stature or her significance. Mythologically speaking, some intriguing questions remain to be answered. If it is the correct thing for inspired prophetesses to be regarded as the bride of the god they serve, how did the story arise of the special privilege granted by Apollo to Cassandra? She should have been his mistress in the normal way, but she alone held out and paid the price of disbelief, or perhaps was granted it as a mark of favour. After her death, according to Pausanias, iii 19.6, she was worshipped at Amyklai under the name Alexandra, and also (iii 25.6) at Sparta. At ii 16.6 there is doubt whether her grave was at Mycenae or Amyklai, and some versions (Plut. *Agis* 9) even put it at Thalamai. The worship may well be a late identification of no great significance. On her death, the last word goes to the scholiast on *Troades* 448 ff., lines in which Cassandra herself prophesies that her body will be eaten by wild beasts as it lies naked in a torrent bed near her bridegroom's tomb. After attempting an explanation, the scholiast adds sadly *ὅτι οὐδένης δὲ παραδίδοται ἡ Κασσάνδρα ἀταφος ἐκβεβλημένη*—'no source records that Cassandra failed to secure burial'. Perhaps here again is a reminder of the limitations imposed upon the study of myth and folklore by the mainly literary evidence we possess, and that only a fragment even of the literature of the classical centuries.

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# HELENOS, GOVERNOR OF CYPRUS<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES II-III)

It was not my original intention to devote a special study to the Helenos who governed Cyprus for the Ptolemies (as I believe) during the last two decades of the second century B.C. I stated my views about him briefly in 1937,<sup>2</sup> 1940<sup>3</sup> and again in 1953<sup>4</sup>; and, although these views have not been well received, I was content to let the matter rest at that. However, no sooner had I made this last pronouncement than we found<sup>5</sup> on the site of the Aphrodite temple at Old Paphos two new dedications of Helenos himself (our nos. 1 and 4 below); while in 1954 yet another inscription in his honour came to light at Salamis (no. 6). These compel me not merely to ascribe to Helenos both a text which I have wrongly restored (no. 3) and one, likewise from Old Paphos, by which for many years I have been baffled (no. 2), but in general to modify the opinions which I held about him. It seems proper, therefore, that I should assemble all the evidence that I know, and on my analysis of this venture what I trust may be my final reconstruction of the career of Helenos. Some fresh light will be thrown in the process upon the institutions and the history of Cyprus for the eight years which precede and the twelve which follow the death of Euergetes II in

<sup>1</sup> This article continues—and in some measure corrects and supplements—my ‘Seleucus and Theodorus’ (*Opusc. Ath.* i (1953) 130 ff.), which in effect is a study of Cyprus under Euergetes II. It has been read in typescript by Mr. T. C. Skeat, Deputy Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, and by Mr. P. M. Fraser, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford: I feel that anything which has passed the scrutiny of these two scholars must be both accurate and sensible, and to them for this and for their comments and criticisms my sincere thanks are due. Nevertheless, for the views which I express and for the mistakes which are still outstanding I am solely responsible. I am grateful also to my friends, Mr. A. H. S. Megaw, Director of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, and Mr. P. Dikaio, Curator of the Cyprus Museum, for their invitation to publish the inscriptions of the ‘Marble Forum’ at Salamis, now being excavated by their Department under the direction of Mr. V. Karageorghis; thus giving me access to our no. 6 below. My abbreviations are in the main those of *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* x. But I also use:

LBW for Le Bas et Waddington, *Voyage archéologique*, etc.

*Prosop. Ptol.* for W. Peremans and E. van 'T Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, Louvain, 1950.

And I cite by the authors' names the following:

H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, i-iii (München, 1944 and 1952).

E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt, The Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London, 1927).

D. Cohen, *De Magistratibus Aegyptiis externas Lagi-*

*darum regni provincias administrantibus* (Diss. Leiden, 1912).

G. Corradi, *Studi Ellenistici* (Torino, 1929).

Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* i (Cambridge, 1940).

M. Launey, *Récherches sur les Armées hellénistiques*, i and ii (Paris, 1949, 1950).

J. Lesquier, *Les Institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Paris, 1911).

P. M. Meyer, *Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer u. Römer in Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1900).

T. B. Mitford, ‘Seleucus and Theodorus’ in *Opusc. Ath.* i (1953) 130 ff.

W. Otto, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des VI Ptolemäers* (München, 1934).

W. Otto u. H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches* (München, 1938).

I. K. Peristianis, *Γενική Ἱστορία τῆς νήσου Κύπρου* (Nikosia, 1910).

M. L. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1897).

<sup>2</sup> *JHS* lvii (1937) 36. There, however, I supported Dittenberger (as against Otto, *RE* vii 2847f.) in ascribing Helenos' *strategia* to the reign of Euergetes II. But I was then able to read the first three lines only of the inscription I was editing, our no. 9 below.

<sup>3</sup> By letter to Sir George Hill: Hill, 201, 202. These are substantially the views I still hold. Cf. further my note, *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) 38 n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> T. B. Mitford, 147 f., 165 n. 118.

<sup>5</sup> In the course of excavations conducted by the Kouklia Expedition of the University of St. Andrews and the Liverpool Museum, under the direction of Mr. J. H. Iliffe and myself.



116 B.C. But I freely admit that much of the new evidence is difficult and ambiguous; and for this present study my chief claim is that it sets out facts which others also may interpret.

### THE EVIDENCE OF PAPYRI

Our inquiry may conveniently open with the Brussels papyrus, E.7155, admirably published in 1938 by editors of distinction.<sup>6</sup> For it names as the eponymous priest of Cleopatra III one Helenos, governor of 'the island'; and it is furthermore securely dated to the year 107-106 B.C. The relevant passage (lines 4 and 5) was read as follows:

[ - - - ἱερέως διὰ βίου βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας Θεᾶς Ἀφροδίτης <τ>ῆς καὶ Φιλομήτο[ρος] Ἑλένου τοῦ Ἀπολλ(οδώ)ου τοῦ τῆς φιλοστοργίαι τοῦ[βασιλέως συγγενοῦς καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς νήσου καὶ ναυάρχου κα[ὶ] γραμματ[έως] τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλῆαν - - -

This valuable notice will be discussed in due course. Here I would observe that in the patronymic we are confronted with a famous *crux*, which is still to be solved. Professors Hombert and Préaux, assuming an abbreviation, resolved it as Ἀπολλ(οδώ)ου. Their subsequent doubts, as reported to him by Sir Harold Bell, caused Hill firmly to reject this in favour of Ἀπολλ(ωνί)ου.<sup>7</sup> Neither has since received the unqualified approval of any scholar who has troubled to consult either the original papyrus or the excellent photograph which accompanies its publication<sup>8</sup>—and yet there are no other Greek names (unless we are prepared to admit *Apollodotos*) which can serve our purpose. Alternatively, if there was no abbreviation, the resulting Ἀπολλιξον or Ἀπολλιρον<sup>9</sup> are alike un-Greek and unknown. Only the first element of the patronymic therefore is established; but I would emphasise that, while neither Apollodoros nor Apollonios imposes itself, neither (and in particular the former)<sup>9a</sup> can be rejected with any confidence. It is regrettable

<sup>6</sup> M. Hombert et C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte* xiii (1938) 139 ff. (SB 8035).

<sup>7</sup> Hill, 202 n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the comments of S. R. K. Glanville and T. C. Skeat, *JEA* xl (1954) 57 f. Mlle. Préaux herself writes (in a letter to Mr. Skeat, dated April 13, 1954): 'Cette question me laisse très perplexe et M. Hombert, que j'ai consulté, partage cette perplexité. La planche annexée à la Chronique d'Égypte est très fidèle et l'inspection du papyrus lui-même ne m'a donné aucune certitude supplémentaire. Je ne vois pas ce qui autorise une résolution en Ἀπολλ(ωνί)ου de l'abréviation supposée. Mais la résolution Ἀπολλ(οδώ)ου ne s'impose pas non plus. Il nous avait semblé voir dans le groupe ρ les éléments d'un δ et surtout d'un ρ (voyez le ρ de Θεοδώρου à la ligne 9) et c'est cela qui nous avait amenés à considérer comme sûre la résolution Ἀπολλ(οδώ)ου, dont aujourd'hui nous doutons, sans pourtant admettre comme sûre ou seulement plus probable la résolution Ἀπολλ(ωνί)ου. L'abréviation même est insolite dans ce texte qui n'en comporte pas. . . Lire le mot sans supposer d'abréviation serait bien difficile aussi. . . La seule chose qui m'apparaisse certaine, c'est qu'aucune lecture ne paraît s'imposer.' I make no apology for quoting extensively from this admirable exposition.

<sup>9</sup> Thus Professor E. G. Turner observes (in a letter dated January 28, 1956): ' . . . abbreviation by omission of an important element of the word, above all

in a name which it is important to distinguish from other similar names, is unexampled; moreover it is not used later on in the same text, for in l. 9 there are two names ending in -δωρον written out in full. Moreover what lies between the λλ and the undoubted termination in ου does not seem to bear a mark of abbreviation. . . I imagine the editors supposed it might stand for a monogram, but I do not recollect one like it. . . I think therefore that we are bound to suppose that the scribe wrote out the name in full. . . In l. 6 one can see the *ductus* perfectly . . . and interpretation of it would lead to a reading Ἀπολλιξον. I imagine others have hesitated to accept this because it is not a known Greek name, and I feel the same hesitation. But I cannot read it as a known name, and other possibilities (Ἀπολλιρον, etc.) seem even wilder.' I am very grateful to Professor Turner for this suggestion which Mr. Skeat assures me he finds attractive.

<sup>9a</sup> But Mr. Fraser (who introduces *Apollodotos* as a possible alternative to *Apollodoros* and *Apollonios*) would reject Ἀπολλιξον, since elsewhere in this papyrus (e.g. lines 1-2) xi is rendered thus: ζ. The disputed sign he considers to be a compendium; and 'Ἀπολλ(οδώ)ου more attractive than Ἀπολλ(ωνί)ου, because if the sign is indeed a compendium there should presumably be an element in it corresponding to the nu—but there isn't. On the other hand, the expansion Ἀπολλ(οδώ)ου seems quite likely. Omicron, delta and tau (the latter consisting mainly



that the inscriptions are in this respect equally uninformative. These I now list in what I consider to be their chronological order.

### THE EVIDENCE OF INSCRIPTIONS

#### (1) *Helenos erects the statue of a son of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus.*

Kouklia (Old Paphos): fragment of a pedestal of a salmon-coloured local marble, broken away to left, right and below. Something, however, of the original upper surface may well be preserved above, although here the stone is rather rough and shows no trace of dowel-holes. Max. h. 0.165; w. 0.19; th. 0.105. The letters, cut with some neatness and regularity, have rounded incisions and slight serifs, and are from 0.01 to 0.016 high. Purchased on June 5, 1953, from children living by the Aphrodite temple, near which during the preceding winter they had found it in disturbed soil; now in the Chiftlik Museum at Kouklia (KX 131).

Unpublished. PLATE II.

[Ἀφροδίτῃ Πα]φίαι·  
[τὸν δεῖνα, τῶν πρώτων φιλ]ων, τὸν Θεοδώρ[ου]  
[τοῦ συγγενοῦς τοῦ βασιλ]έως καὶ στρατηγ[οῦ]  
[καὶ ναυάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέω]ς υἱόν, Ἐλε[ος]  
5 [Ἀπολλ - - - ον Κυρηναῖος], τῶν ἱσοτίμ[ων τοῖς]  
[πρώτοις φίλοις καὶ εἰσαγγ]ελέ[ω]ν[?]

That this fragment lay close to the right-hand margin of the inscription is indicated by the uncut space which follows the dedication and by the brevity of the supplements which are seemingly required on this side. To the left the extent of the *lacunae* is given by the all but certain restoration of lines 3 and 4. There is nothing to suggest that l. 6 is the last line: indeed, a pedestal of normal height could readily admit one further line.<sup>10</sup>

l. 2: of *rho* only the base of the upright survives.

l. 3: the tips of the upper and lower horizontal of *epsilon* are legible.

l. 4: the second *epsilon* is seemingly followed by an upright, of which the top may be preserved.

l. 5: after the second *tau* the upper part of a vertical *hasta* is clear. To the right of this the surface is damaged, but traces suggest the upper corner of *mu*.

l. 6: the four surviving letters of this line are as difficult as they are certainly important. To the

left the tip of what would appear to be rather a slanting than a horizontal *hasta* suggests rather *upsilon* than *epsilon* or *sigma* or *tau*. But the corresponding stroke in the *upsilon* of l. 4 seems very much more slender. Nor does the slightness of the angle favour either *kappa* or *chi*. Thereafter *lambda*, followed by a letter of which the base is lost: this, however, must be either *gamma* or *digamma*, unless it be a narrow *epsilon* hastily cut without its middle *hasta*. This narrowness may tell against both *digamma* and *epsilon*, so that *gamma* remains the easiest reading. But *gamma* would be so widely spaced from the undoubted *omega* which follows as to suggest a numeral. We shall discuss—and reject—the possibility that we have here a date. But we may note that the absence of a horizontal stroke above the second and third letters is without significance, for this stroke is almost invariably omitted in rendering numerals in the epigraphy of Hellenistic Cyprus.<sup>11</sup>

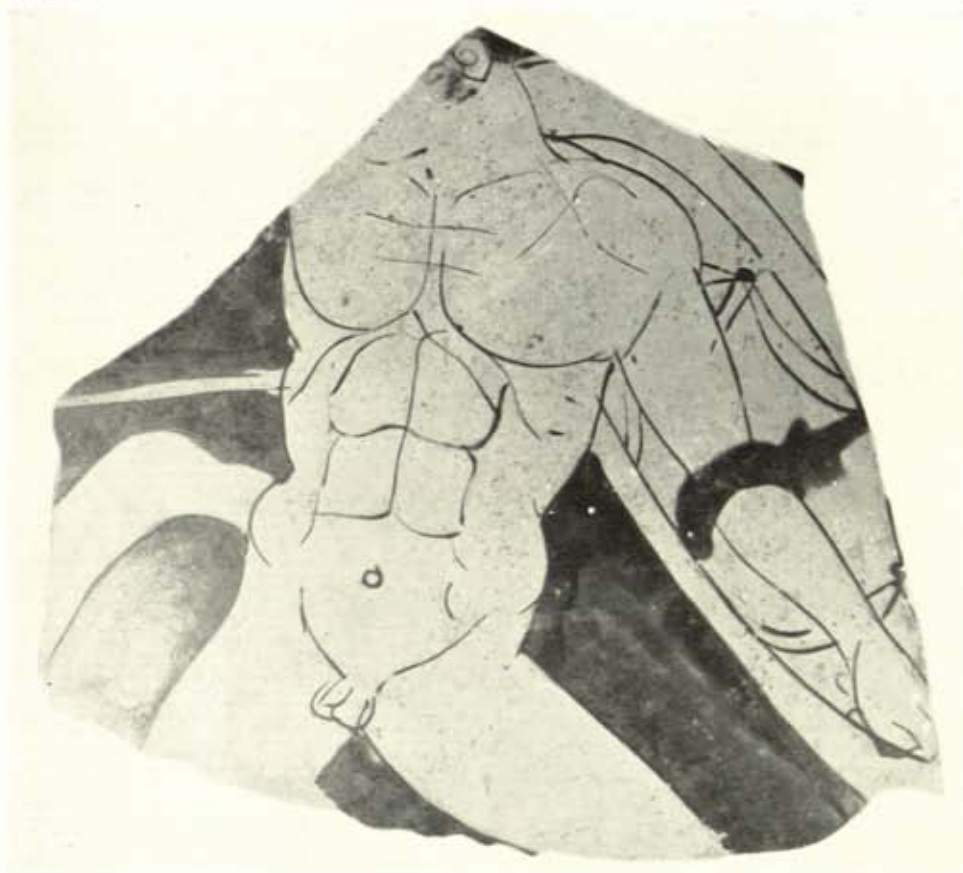
of the long tail below the line) can all be identified in the group.' Peremans and van 'T Dack, *Prosopographica in Studia Hellenistica* ix (1953) 11 ff. (*JEA* xli (1955) 133), however, accept Apollodoros without demur, identifying Helenos' father with the Apollodoros of *SB* 1568—but it may be that they are unaware of this controversy.

<sup>10</sup> Twenty-one pedestals of Old Paphos belonging to the reigns of Philometor, Euergetes II and Ptolemy Alexander are sufficiently undamaged for their height to be accurately measured. This varies from 0.215 to 0.33, with the average c. 0.27.

<sup>11</sup> Thus I note in seven undamaged occurrences of

dating, ranging in time from Euergetes I to Soter II, one instance only (unpublished, of the mid-second century) where the numeral has been over-scored; in eleven funerary inscriptions which give the age of the deceased again one only. The ceramic texts of Kafizin (*AJA* xxx (1926) 249 ff.; *CQ* xlv (1950) 97 ff.; *Dan. Arkæol. Kunsthist. Medd.* iv (1953) 1 ff.—but the vast majority of these is still to be published), which belong to the eighth and ninth decades of the third century, have out of approximately fifty-two dates a mere five with the numeral thus distinguished. But this stroke over the numeral becomes fashionable in the Roman period.





(a) Private Collection Coulommiers



(b) Eton College Museum

A VASE FRAGMENT FROM LA MONÉDIÈRE





No. 2



No. 6



No. 1



No. 4

HELENOS, GOVERNOR OF CYPRUS

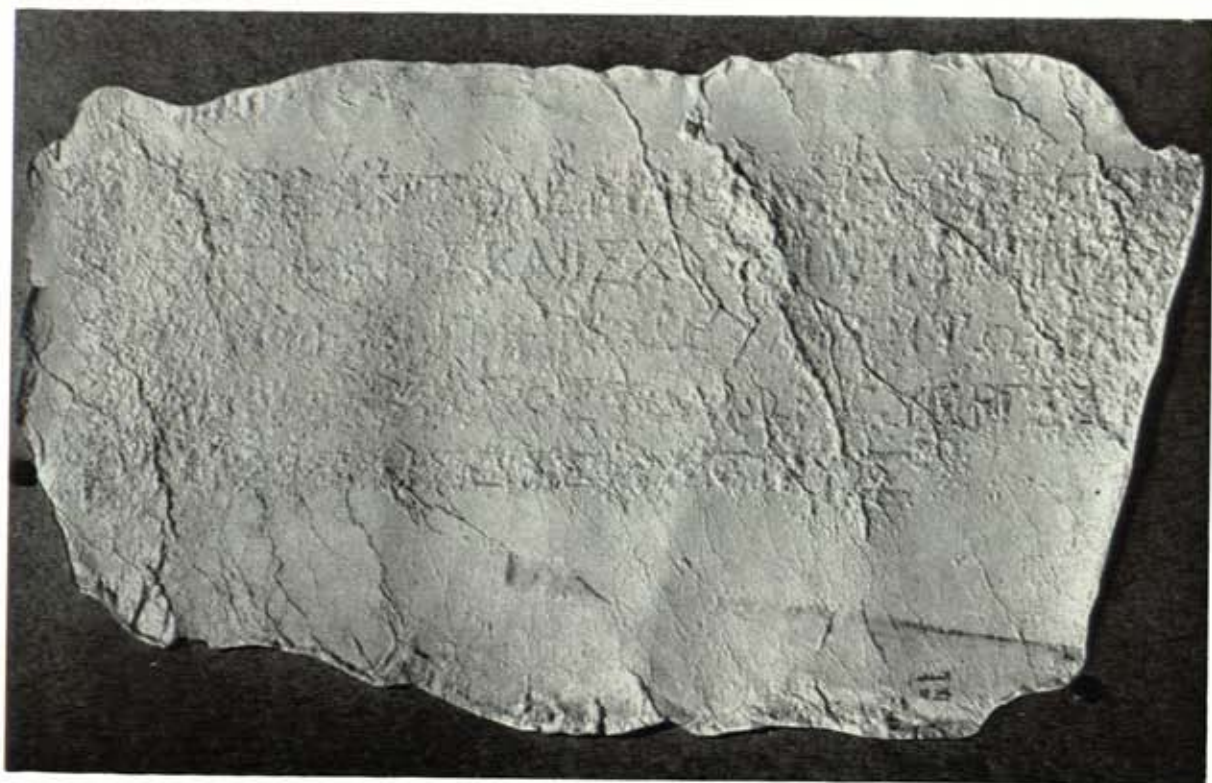




No. 7



No. 8



No. 11

HELENOS, GOVERNOR OF CYPRUS





No. 3 (Sc. 1 : 1)



No. 2 (Sc. 2 : 5)



No. 2



No. 4 (Sc. 4 : 5)



No. 4



No. 5 (Sc. c. 1 : 1)



No. 5





No. 1

RECENT ACQUISITIONS BY THE OTAGO MUSEUM



1



2

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN DUNBARTONSHIRE







(2) *Helenos erects a statue, probably that of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus.*

Kouklia (Old Paphos): three 'bits' of a pedestal of a local pink marble, discovered on March 20, 1888, during excavation of the Aphrodite temple. No exact provenance and no dimensions are recorded by the editors, who found the stone to be 'broken top and left'. They do not state whether their three 'bits' or any two of them join; but from the manner in which they are presented it would seem that the two smaller fragments, presumably with the initial letters of l. 4 on the one, of l. 5 on the other, while themselves contiguous, were separated from the main fragment. This last—for the two smaller pieces have long since vanished—was revised by me in 1936, built into the house of one Ali Eyub immediately to the north-east of the temple area, but in 1948 it was no longer to be seen. H. 0.125; w. 0.336. Letters somewhat narrow, slightly forward-tilting, lightly and rather untidily cut, with thickening at certain terminals; h. from 0.016 to 0.021. The forms, in particular the full-sized *omicron* and *omega*, suggest the later decades of the second century B.C.

JHS ix (1888) 245 no. 81. Cf. D. Cohen 91 n. 1. PLATE II.

[Θεόδωρον ? Σελεύκου? τὸν συγγενῇ]

[τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στρατηγὸς] γ καὶ

[ναύαρχον καὶ ἀρχιερέα, "Ε]λένος

Ἀ<πο>[λλ - - - ου Κ]υρηναῖος τῶν

5 ὁ<μ>[οτίμων τοῖς συγγ]ε<ν>έσι καὶ εἰσαγγελέων.

This may be compared with the published text:

	//////KAI
	//////////ΕΝΟΣ
ΑΡ'	ΥΡΗΝΑΙΟΣΤΩΝ
	//////////
ΟΛΛ	//////////ΙΚΑΙΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΕΩΝ

From the above the editors were content to offer merely "Ε]λένος | [- - - Κ]υρηναῖος τῶν | - - - καὶ εἰσαγγελέων. My squeeze shows that between lines 4 and 5 there was no line either defaced or rendered illegible through damage to the stone. It further shows vague markings which might indicate the top of a lost sixth line; but the editors, who had access to the stone before it was immured, imply by their silence that they found the pedestal complete below.

l. 2: *kappa* is preceded by the base of a seemingly vertical stroke.

l. 3: before *epsilon* a steeply angled *hasta*, which must belong either to *lambda* or to *mu*.

l. 4: I believe that the editors mistook a narrow *pi* for *rho*, and that their slanting stroke is in fact a segment of *omicron*—this last letter being of full size and not, as they show it, small.

l. 5 is more closely spaced than the lines above it. Here the *ΟΛΛ* with which the editors begin is not helpful, and it would seem that they failed to recognise *mu*. *Kappa* is preceded by a certain *iota* and the traces of four letters suggestive of *ΕΝΕΞ*.<sup>12</sup>

(3) *The Priests of Paphian Aphrodite erect the statue of Helenos as Governor of Cyprus.*

Kouklia (Old Paphos): a pedestal of a local pink marble, complete to the right, broken away to the left but in such a manner that something of the original left face may well be preserved. H. 0.315; w. 0.805; th. 0.41. From the width of the restored inscription and the extent of the margin to its right it is clear that the original pedestal was composed of two juxtaposed blocks; while the arrangement of three dowel-holes on the existing upper surface, together with the content of the inscription itself, postulates two, if not indeed three, statues. Found in 1888 by D. G. Hogarth and his colleagues on the surface in the 'south-western approach' to the Aphrodite temple; now in the Kouklia Museum. Letters

<sup>12</sup> The stone, here much damaged, preserves traces of the tops of four letters. These can readily be reconciled with *ΕΝΕΞ*, save that *nu* has seemingly a horizontal stroke at the top of it, while there is no

convincing vestige of its slanting *hasta*. This horizontal, however, is very probably casual, since it is somewhat tilted and erratic, while flaking of the surface may have removed the latter.



broad; lightly, somewhat erratically cut, with well-formed *apices*. The letter-forms are suggestive of the late second century B.C. Height from 0.015 to 0.023.

*JHS* ix (1888) 225 no. 1; T. B. Mitford, 164 no. 30. Cf. also D. Cohen, 5 n. 4; G. F. Hill, 199 and n. 1. Photograph: Mitford, fig. 11.

[οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς Παφίας Ἀ]φροδίτης  
[Ἐλενον, τὸν συγγενὴ τοῦ βα]σιλέως καὶ στρα[τη]γὸν  
[καὶ ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀρχικύ]νῃγον τῆς νήσου  
[καὶ τὴν δεῖνα τὴν γυναῖκα? καὶ Ἡλιοδόραν τὴν  
5 [θυγατέρα?, εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκε]ν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς.

I offer a revision of this inscription in *Opusc. Ath.*, but before I saw that it was to be connected with Helenos. The *strategos* in consequence I wrongly ascribed to the outset of the second Soter's independent reign in Cyprus.

l. 3: *JHS* [στρατ]ηγόν: Cohen [ἀρχικύν]ῃγον. The first *eta* was not, it would seem, preceded by *tau*, while there is some suggestion of the upper right-hand corner of *nu*.

l. 4 can hardly have included the priesthood

recorded by our no. 4, for the *lacuna* would seem too short for τὸν (καὶ) κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἱερέα . . .<sup>13</sup> It is probable that both the wife and the daughter of Helenos were here named; or, possibly, the son and daughter. But the son of a *strategos*, if of sufficient years to honour with a statue, would almost certainly possess rank;<sup>14</sup> while the phrase in normal use is τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὴν δεῖνα.

l. 5: the motive-formula of the Aphrodite priesthood, like the title, is standardised.<sup>15</sup>

(4) *Helenos, Governor of Cyprus, erects the statue of Ptolemy, elder Son of Euergetes and Kleopatra III.*

Kouklia (Old Paphos): pedestal of a fine white marble, lightly streaked with grey and red, broken into two closely fitting portions. These were found during excavation of the Aphrodite temple in the spring of 1888, the smaller (*a*) on March 29th, the larger (*b*) at a date not specified. After long being lost, the former was rediscovered by us in July 1953 in surface soil outside the north-east edge of the temple (KF 68, from Level I of Trench VII) and is now in the Chiftlik Museum. The latter may be seen in the Kouklia Museum. Together (*a*) and (*b*) give a pedestal 0.87 w., 0.3 h., 0.81 th. This carries two inscriptions: that on a shorter face complete and seemingly of Antonine date, published by D. G. Hogarth and his colleagues (who did not associate the fragments) as parts of two distinct documents.<sup>16</sup> The present inscription they did not notice. This occupies what was originally a longer face to the right of the Roman text. Here, however, the stone is now broken away, so that less than half of the inscribed surface, with at l. 3 a maximum width of 0.45, survives. With both inscriptions reading in the same direction, the upper side of the

<sup>13</sup> Or indeed for τὸν (καὶ) ἱερέα τῆς νήσου . . . , a very possible abbreviation of the title used by our no. 3.

<sup>14</sup> I am not aware of any exception to this rule. Thus Theodoros serving, admittedly in important capacities, under his father Seleukos, enjoys the rank τῶν πρώτων φίλων (T. B. Mitford, nos. 1, 9, 10 and 11). Theodoros' son in Theodoros' own *strategia* is in our no. 1 likewise a Chief Friend, in *ibid.* no. 21—by a restoration—an ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ. We may ask whether in this last inscription τὸν ἀρχισωματοφύλακα should not now be rejected in favour of τῶν πρώτων φίλων. Be that as it may, in neither is this son of Theodoros credited with any office. Some sixty years earlier and seemingly after the father's *strategia* had ended, one son of Polykrates of Argos, apparently the younger, was a Chief Friend (*Mnem.* vi (1938) 118), another a Captain of the Body Guard (unpublished)—once more without mention of any office. Finally, an adult grandson

serves Ptolemy of Megalopolis, Governor of Cyprus, with the lowly rank τῶν διαδόχων (*Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 12). It is clear that the sons of a *strategos* of the island were entitled, irrespective of office, to a high court rank, usually immediately below that of the father. We may compare at a lower plane the case of the ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως of Amathus, an ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, whose three sons, although they hold no office, are, by virtue of their father's position, διάδοχοι (*LBW* 2821a). I have occasion to discuss these Ptolemaic court ranks below on p. 108.

<sup>15</sup> In T. B. Mitford, 165 n. 115 are discussed briefly both formula and title, and the seven occurrences known to me of the Priesthood of the Paphian Aphrodite are listed.

<sup>16</sup> *JHS* ix (1888) nos. 97 and 114, respectively *IGR* iii 954 and 955. These were associated by me in *BSA* xlii (1948) 216 no. 6, and record the erection of the statue of an ? Antonine proconsul, one D. Felix Plautius Julianus.



pedestal has clearly twice been in use, but preserves no trace of dowel-holes. Our inscription, furthermore, has been deliberately but erratically defaced. The extent and purpose of this erasure are discussed below. Letters tall, narrow, with slender incisions, conspicuous serifs and *apices*; h. from 0.025 (*kappa*) to 0.033 (*sigma*). Notable forms are the almost V-shaped *upsilon* and large *omega*, both characteristic of the last decades of the second century B.C.

Unpublished. PLATE II.

Βασ[ι]λέω[ς] Πτολεμαίου Θεοῦ Εὐεργέτου υἱόν  
Πτολεμ[α]ῖον Ἐλ[ενος, ὁ συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγός]  
κ[αὶ ἀρχι]ερεὺς καὶ ἀρ[χικύνητος] τῆς νήσου, ὁ  
κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἱε[ρεὺς] - - - - -  
5 [Α]φροδ[ι]τη[ι] Παφίαι].

The inscription is complete above, to the left and below. A broad, vertical crack divides the existing surface. To the left of this, with the exception of the first and sixth letters of l. 1, every letter has been defaced, either partially (as notably in l. 1) or totally. Thus each of the six initial letters of l. 2 can, somewhat improbably, be recognised where their *hastae* run counter to the direction of erasure; but at the beginning of l. 3 only *kappa* is legible, at the beginning of l. 4 nothing. l. 5, some four letters shorter than those above it, has also been attacked, so that the first letter has vanished and of the *phi* only part of the loop is preserved. To the right of this crack, while lines 1 and 5 appear to have suffered heavily, l. 4 moderately, at the hands of the defacer, the last seven extant letters of l. 3 are undamaged. In my presentation of this complicated text I differentiate letters in *rasura* from those lost through fracture of the stone not with bold brackets but by under-scoring.

l. 3: in [ἀρχι]ερεὺς the first *epsilon* and the *rho* following it survive in vague outline; of the second *epsilon* much of the lower horizontal is quite clear.

In the final extant letter the upright is certain, as is the beginning of a stroke leaving it at right angles: *eta*, therefore, is the only alternative to *rho*. ἀρ[χικύνητος]: a restoration justified by the position of this word after ἀρχιερεὺς in OGI 143 and our no. 3.

l. 4: in νῆσον the first two letters, although obscured by weathering, are all but certain.

The short line 5 comprised almost with certainty the dedication to the Paphian Aphrodite, the title characteristic of this cult for the second and subsequent centuries—whereas throughout the third Aphrodite *simpliciter* occurs.<sup>17</sup> More usual admittedly at the head of the inscription, the dedication is well attested at the end;<sup>18</sup> and its present position may be explained by the emphasis thus given to the god Ptolemy (p. 112 below). The brevity of this line in itself strongly supports this interpretation; while to restore [Α]φροδ[ι]τη[ι]ς to give ἱε[ρεὺς] βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας Θεᾶς | [Α]φροδ[ι]τη[ι]ς Εὐεργετίδος (I shall argue) is inadmissible, since this priesthood of Helenos is attested only after the close of the following reign, was held for life and was not insular.

(5) *The City of Salamis erects the statue of Helenos, Tutor of Ptolemy Alexander.*

Salamis: a pedestal of slate-blue marble, broken away to the right and behind. Above are two heavy foot-shaped depressions. H. 0.285; w. 0.52; th. 0.76. The inscription, complete except to the right, is interrupted towards the end of the last three lines by two pits and has throughout been heavily defaced. There is no indication that the stone has been re-used to carry a second statue. The erasure, although seemingly made with hammer

<sup>17</sup> To the third century belong five of six instances of the dedication to Aphrodite *simpliciter*—the sixth being JHS ix (1888) no. 73 of the early second. Ἀφροδίτη Παφίαι occurs for the first time in LBW 2798, seemingly of the reign of Euergetes I, once again at the turn of the century (JHS ix (1888) no. 118), and thereafter regularly throughout the remainder of the Hellenistic era, invariably throughout the Roman. In passing, we may note that Παφίαι by itself is never found at either Old or New Paphos, four apparent occurrences being due to the fact that an adjoining block which carried Ἀφροδίτη has been either lost or not associated; further, that

the term *Aphrodite* has not as yet been attested in the syllabic epigraphy of Classical and Archaic Paphos, where we hear only of *Vanassa*, the Lady. For the Priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite at Old Paphos, cf. comments in T. B. Mitford, 165 and notes 115, 116.

<sup>18</sup> In Hellenistic inscriptions the dedication to Paphian Aphrodite concludes an inscription on three occasions: JHS ix (1888) no. 36 (twice) and JHS ix (1888) no. 70 = OGI 126 (A. Wilhelm, *S. B. Ak. Wien* ccxxiv (1946) 14 ff.). The latter is certainly, the former seemingly, of mid-second century date. Aphrodite *simpliciter* occurs five times in this position.



and chisel, is aimed rather at the individual letter than the line, and much therefore is still legible with certainty. The exact form of the letters is for the most part not now distinguishable; but it is clear that they were tall, narrow, with slender *hastae* and pronounced serifs. Omicron and omega appear somewhat shorter than the remaining letters; h. from 0.018 (omega of l. 3) to 0.024 (first epsilon of l. 4). Examined by me in July 1937 on the site of the Zeus temple at the southern end of the Great Forum, and left *in situ*.

Unpublished. Noticed, however, in T. B. Mitford, 165 n. 118. FIG. 1.

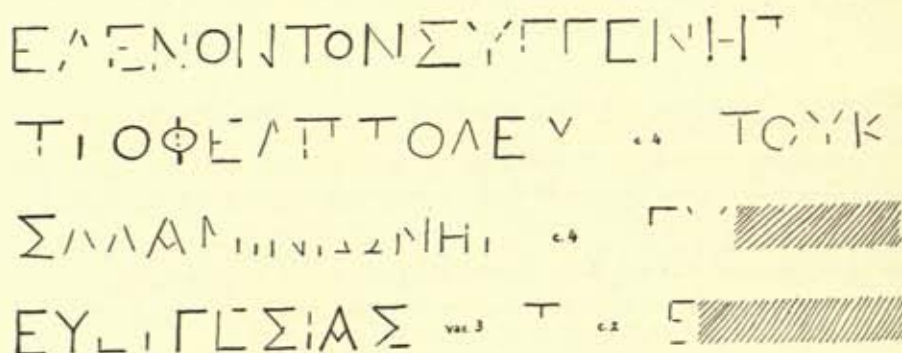


FIG. 1. Inscription No. 5

[\*Ελενον, τὸν συγγενῇ τ[οῦ βασιλέως καὶ]  
[τροφέα Πτο[λεμαίου] τ[οῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου]]  
[Σ[αλαμινί]ω[ν ἡ πόλις ἀρετῆς ἐνεκεν καὶ]]  
[εὐεργεσίας v. 4 τ[ῆς εἰς ἐαυτήν]]

On my squeezes the first three words of l. 1, *εὐεργεσίας* of l. 4 can be read with certainty. It is almost equally clear that l. 2 began with *τροφέα*, l. 3 with *sigma*. For the rest, it can be said that it is not inconsistent with the traces. Only in l. 4, after the

uncut space, would *epsilon* be easier than *tau*. This space, of some four letters' width, is significant, since it suggests that approximately as many letters follow as precede it.

(6) *The Dionysiac Artists of Cyprus erect the statue of Helenos as Governor of the Island and Tutor of the King.*

Salamis: an undamaged pedestal of slate-blue marble, 0.765 w., 0.355 h., 0.82 th. Above is a rectangular depression, with flat bottom and vertical sides, 0.01 in depth, more than 0.24 wide, more than 0.25 across, clearly to admit the plinth of the original statue. To the right of this depression is a dowel-hole, 0.145 in length and 0.08 wide. The surface of the stone to the right of that occupied by the present inscription is wider, and carries a second inscription which is inverted, approximately contemporaneous and not defaced. There can be little doubt that our text, engraved as it is on a narrower face, is the later. Neither is to be connected with the headless marble statue of Roman Imperial date which the pedestal now supports, and indeed did support for a century or more preceding the Arab raids; for it would seem that in the restorations and embellishments of the fifth-century sculptures were re-erected on the first bases which came to hand.<sup>19</sup> The inscribed surface is scarred throughout with light tool-marks, whereas the longer face to the right is smooth: a further indication that ours is not the original text. The letters have heavy *hastae*, with some thickening at terminals but no *apices*; h. from 0.02 (*omicron*) to 0.03 (*phi*). Found in March 1954 by Mr. V. Karageorghis (Assistant Curator of the Cyprus Museum)

<sup>19</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Karageorghis for this information. I have myself noted (*Byzantion* xx (1950) 140) a *floruit* in Cyprus during the latter part

of the fifth and the sixth century of our era, as attested by the excellence with which certain inscriptions of that period were engraved.



in excavations conducted by him for the Government of Cyprus in the so-called Marble Forum; left *in situ* at the north end of the East Stoa.

Unpublished. PLATE II.

Ἑλενον, τὸν συγγενῇ καὶ τροφέα  
τοῦ βασιλέως [sic] καὶ ἀρχιερέα καὶ  
στρατηγὸν τῆς νήσου, τὸ κοι-  
νὸν τῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κύπρον  
5 γραμματεῖοι [sic] περὶ τὸν Διόνυ-  
σον τεχνιτῶν εὐνοίας ἔνε-  
κεν τῆς εἰς ἐαυτό.

l. 1: of the first *epsilon* only the lower half, which is in vague outline, is legible. For the rest, the text is admirably preserved. In βασιλέως of l. 2 the lapi-

cide, while cutting *omicron*, has spaced this letter as if it were *omega*.

(7) *The Cilician Regiment erects the statue of Helenos as Governor of Cyprus and Tutor of the King.*

Kouklia (Old Paphos): an undamaged pedestal of marble, white and not (as the editors assert) pink; 0.89 w., 0.29 h., 0.72 th. Found in the last week of February 1888, during excavation of the Aphrodite temple, but neither exact date nor provenance are recorded. It is still to be seen in the excavated area. The letters are broad, well shaped, somewhat roughly cut, from 0.017 to 0.02 in height; their forms suggestive rather of the middle than the end of the second century B.C.

JHS ix (1888) 232 no. 20; OGI 148. Cf. M. L. Strack under no. 149; P. M. Meyer, 94 n. 351; G. Lefebvre, *Ann. Serv. Ant. Eg.* ix (1908) 236 ff.; I. K. Peristianis, 343; J. Lesquier, 334; D. Cohen, 6 no. 20 and n. 1; W. Otto, *RE* vii 2847, *Helenos*; G. Corradi, 279; E. Bevan, 123 n. 3 (with faulty reference); E. Kiessling, *RE* xvi 1894, *Nauarchos*; T. B. Mitford, JHS lvii (1937) 36; M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte* xiii (1938) 139 f.; W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 12 n. 6 and 220; G. F. Hill, 201 f.; M. Launey, 479, 1033, 1063; H. Bengtson, iii 233 no. 140; T. B. Mitford, 147 f.; W. Peremans and E. van 'T Dack, *Prosopographica in Studia Hellenistica* ix (1953) 15. PLATE III.

Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων  
Κιλικῶν Ἑλενον, τὸν συγγενῇ καὶ τροφέα  
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἀρχιερέα  
τῆς νήσου, φιλαγαθίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἐαυτό.

Although the surface is in places worn, the text is without difficulty. In l. 4 the editors read *ἐαυτοῦς*, but the faint marks which follow *omicron* are clearly accidental.

(8) *The Priests of Paphian Aphrodite erect the statue of Helenos as Governor of Cyprus and Tutor of the King.*

Kouklia (Old Paphos): pedestal of a brownish-pink marble, much pitted but in general outline complete. W. 0.78; h. 0.245; th. 0.79. Found in the spring of 1888 during excavation of the Aphrodite temple, but neither date nor exact provenance are recorded. It is still to be seen in the excavated area. On the upper surface are two foot-shaped depressions. Letters lightly cut, somewhat uneven, with conspicuous serifs; their height from 0.013 to 0.02. The forms are characteristic of the later half of the second century B.C.

JHS xi (1888) 251 no. 109. Cf. M. L. Stack *ad* no. 149; OGI *ad* 148; G. Lefebvre, *Ann. Serv. Ant. Eg.* ix (1908) 236; D. Cohen, 6 no. 21; W. Otto, *RE* vii 2847, *Helenos*; G. Corradi, 279 n. 1; T. B. Mitford, JHS lvii (1937) 36; W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 12 n. 6; M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte* xiii (1938) 139; G. F. Hill, 202 n. 1; M. Launey,



479, 1033, 1063; H. Bengtson, iii 233 no. 140; T. B. Mitford, 147 f.; W. Peremans and E. van 'T Dack, *Prosopographica in Studia Hellenistica* ix (1953) 15. PLATE III.

Ἐλε[νο]ν, τὸν συγγενῇ καὶ τροφέα τοῦ  
 βασιλέως καὶ [στ]ρατ[η]γὸν καὶ ἀρχιερέα  
 τῆς νήσου, οἱ ἱερ[ε]ῖς τῆς Παφίας  
 Ἀφροδίτης εὐεργεσ[ίας] ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς.

JHS: κα[ὶ] σ[τ]ρατ[η]γὸν; [ἱερ[ε]ῖς; εὐεργε[σίας] ἔνεκα.

- (9) *Simalos (?) erects the statue of Helenos as Governor of Cyprus, Tutor of the King and Priest of Kleopatra III.*

Salamis: a pedestal of slate-blue marble, found undamaged in the spring of 1890 during excavation of the 'Marble Forum', built into the 'eastern column wall towards its northern end'. Removed from this position, it may still be seen at the north end of the East Stoa. H. 0.415; w. 0.71; th. 0.725. The stone carries three defaced inscriptions: the present text, with the slightly older *OGI* 143 opposite, and *IGR* iii 994 of the Augustan age to the left. The significance of these defacings I shall discuss below. On the upper surface are three roughly foot-shaped depressions. The letters are closely spaced, narrow, somewhat hastily cut, with emphatic serifs and *apices*; their height from 0.016 to 0.028. The forms are characteristic of the second century B.C.

H. A. Tubbs, *JHS* xii (1891) no. 54; T. B. Mitford, *JHS* lvii (1937) 35 no. 10; *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) 38 n. 6. Cf. *B. Phil. Woch.* lvii (1937) 1396; M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte* xiii (1938) 143 ff.; W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 12 n. 6 and 220; R. Flacelière, J. and L. Robert, *REG* li (1938) 477; W. Otto, *S. B. Bayr. Ak.* 1939. 3, *Ptolemaica* 13 and n. 3; G. F. Hill, 201 f.; H. Bengtson, iii 233 no. 140; M. Launey, i 479 n. 7; T. B. Mitford, 147 and 165 with n. 118; W. Peremans and E. van 'T Dack, *Prosopographica in Studia Hellenistica* ix (1953) 16. FIG. 2.

ΕΛ ΕΝΟΙΤΟΙΣΥΝΓΕΝΗΤΡΟΤΕΛΤΟΥ  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΚΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΑΡΧΟΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΤΗΣ ΝΗΣΟΥ ΚΛΙΕΡΕΑ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ  
 ΒΑΣ. ΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΙΟΓΑΤΡΑΣ ΘΕΑΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ  
 ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΙΔΟΣ ΤΗ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΣΙΛΑΡΧΩΝ

FIG. 2. Inscription No. 9

[Ἐλενον, τὸν συγγενῇ καὶ τροφέα τοῦ]  
 [βασιλέως καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύαρχον]  
 [καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς νήσου καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου]  
 [βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας Θεᾶς Ἀφροδίτης]  
 5 [Εὐεργετίδος, Σίμαλος? γυμνασιαρχῶν.]

A difficult inscription, methodically defaced, so that no single letter has escaped attack. Nevertheless, with the aid of squeezes it is legible almost throughout, either from *apices* or from the vague

outlines of the characters. The text has been slowly established over the years. To H. A. Tubbs the inscription was 'hopeless'. In 1937 the first three lines were read with certainty, while for the



end I could offer only βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας θεᾶς ΔΙΑΕΤΗΣ | εὐεργέτην (?) ----- ἱερέων (?). In 1938, on the publication of the Brussels papyrus from which I quote above, I recognised the titles of Kleopatra III as the goddess Aphrodite Euergetis—thus leaving only the identity of the dedicator to be determined. My squeezes were examined by Professor Otto and his colleague Dr. Rehm with (I may safely say) a very critical eye;<sup>20</sup> my readings they tacitly accepted—with one exception. Otto found 'Αφροδίτης 'mit den vorhandenen Resten kaum vereinbar'; Rehm, while conceding that the line ended seemingly with ΔΙΤΗΣ, before this saw space for two rather than four letters, and no trace of my ΦΡ or for that matter my omicron. They conclude that the lapicide may indeed have intended 'Αφροδίτης, but in that case miscut it; that in any event the reading, however attractive, is uncertain.

In its defence I can only repeat that this inscription has been heavily defaced, so that Otto's inability to detect certain individual strokes—the upright of ρhi, the outline of omicron—is not significant.<sup>21</sup> The argument from lack of space is more cogent; but here I would point out that l. 4, the longest line of our inscription, is to the right somewhat more closely spaced; further, that, with omicron, a small letter, set well above the base line, the second, third and fourth letters of ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ, preceded and followed as they are by slanting hastae, in fact need occupy little more than the space of a single broad letter.

The restoration of l. 5 is new. γυμνασιαρχῶν I consider certain since, where hastae have not survived, the outline of each letter can be picked out. Between this and Εὐεργετίδος a space of some seven letters is adequately filled by the name Σίμαλος, which again conforms to traces.<sup>22</sup>

### THE HISTORICAL SETTING

It is my belief that these nine inscriptions, together with the passage I quote from the Brussels papyrus, concern one and the same man. From them (with the possible addition of yet one more inscription, OGI 181, which we shall in due course discuss) must come all that we can now learn about Helenos, for the coins and literature can tell us nothing. The inscriptions are arranged (as we have noted) in what I consider to be their chronological order; and with the last of them the papyrus is in my opinion roughly contemporaneous. Now the commentary which these documents demand will in effect constitute our study of Helenos' career. But before that can begin we should consider, however briefly, their historical setting—the dynastic vicissitudes of Ptolemaic Egypt in the days of the second Euergetes and his two sons, and, secondly, their successive governors of Cyprus, whose tenure of office tended to be a reflection of these vicissitudes. Against this background our documents will be the more readily intelligible; while they in their turn may cause us to modify certain of the accepted opinions.

In the late spring of 131 B.C. Euergetes II fled secretly to Cyprus with the younger Kleopatra III, his 'Queen and Wife', when the Alexandrian mob, instigated doubtless by the elder Kleopatra II, his 'Queen and Sister', made its sudden onslaught upon the palace.<sup>23</sup> I think it likely that the king stayed in the island two full years, but that his wife and court did not return to Egypt until the recovery of Alexandria in 127–126 B.C.<sup>24</sup> Be that as it

<sup>20</sup> W. Otto, S.B. Bayr. Ak. 1939. 3, Ptolemaica 13 and n. 3. Otto in this note thanks his colleague for a 'gemeinsame Prüfung der Abklatsche'. These I was prompted to send by Otto's severe strictures of my reading Θεᾶς 'Αφροδίτης | Εὐεργετίδος (Arch. Pap. xiii (1938) 38 n. 6), conveyed in the Nachträge to W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 220.

<sup>21</sup> Thus Otto himself speaks of the 'ungewöhnlich schlecht erhaltene und daher auch sehr schwer lesbare Inschrift'. He offers no reading for the end of l. 5.

<sup>22</sup> I long favoured the name 'Ερμελας. What remains, however, of the first letter resembles rather sigma than epsilon. The second is seemingly iota. The upper part of the right hasta of mu may survive, but for the rest this letter is represented by a defaced rectangle. What I originally took to be the uppermost horizontal of epsilon, a bold stroke, slightly

tilted, I now believe to have been caused by the defacer's chisel. It overrides a very faint triangular area, so marked as to suggest rather alpha than lambda. It is followed by a similar triangular area. Omicron and the final sigma conform to certain vague traces. Σίμαλος, I am convinced, is the easiest reading of this, the most difficult passage of the entire inscription.

<sup>23</sup> In W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 56 n. 1, April–May 131 B.C. is given as the date of the outbreak of revolution. Cf. further T. B. Mitford, 158.

<sup>24</sup> W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 99, place the recapture of Alexandria between August 127 and August 126 B.C. E. R. Bevan, 312, gives the traditional date of 129 B.C. There is, however, no compelling reason why the flight of Kleopatra II to Syria should coincide with the fall of the city. Otto's reasoning is accepted by Rostovtzeff, Hellenistic World 921.



may, in 124 this civil war was ended by a surprising reconciliation; and the Sister, who had taken refuge in Syria, we find once more in Alexandria on her old footing. Whereas between 131 and 124 Euergetes and Kleopatra III alone appear in the protocols of documents, thereafter (as it had been from 142 to 131) all three are named together until on June 28, 116, Euergetes died. His reign after the repudiation of the Sister in 142 is thus divided with these seven years of civil war against her into three distinct phases.

Euergetes was survived by the two sons of his marriage to Kleopatra III. The elder, Ptolemy Soter II, *strategos* of Cyprus at the time of his father's death, was recalled reluctantly by his mother to share her throne; while Kleopatra II in a mere matter of months was seemingly done away with, her memory and her cult certainly suppressed. Despite the formidable preference of Kleopatra III for her younger son, Alexander, Soter maintained his position precariously until in the autumn of 107 yet one more conspiracy drove him into headlong flight. He was promptly supplanted by Ptolemy Alexander who, after some three years as governor, had in 114-113 proclaimed himself king in Cyprus.<sup>25</sup> As for Soter, ejected from that island, his immediate refuge, by his mother's troops, he found sanctuary in Syria until his second and successful venture against Cyprus in 106-105. With his long reign in the island, which ended only with his recall to Egypt in 88 B.C. on his brother's expulsion and subsequent death; with Alexander's murder of his mother in 101 and the thirteen years of undisputed sovereignty which this assured him, I am not here primarily concerned. It is an ugly story, much of it darkened by the relentless figure of this woman whose thirst for power brought her house and kingdom to impotence; but Cyprus throughout the period with which we are dealing was that kingdom's sole remaining overseas dependency. As such it was administered by men of distinction in the interests of co-regents, often mutually antagonistic. On the *strategoi* of Euergetes II and his two successors I have already given my opinions elsewhere; but these in their chronological aspect it may be convenient to summarise in this manner:<sup>26</sup>

Seleukos, s. of Bithys . . . . .	144-c. 130 B.C.
Krokos . . . . .	c. 130-late 124 B.C.
Theodoros, s. of Seleukos . . . . .	late 124-c. 118 B.C.
Ptolemy, later Soter II . . . . .	c. 118-June 116 B.C.
Ptolemy, later Alexander I . . . . .	116-114/113 B.C.
Helenos . . . . .	114/113-105 B.C.
The <i>Strategos</i> of JHS ix no. 1 . . . . .	105-c. 101 B.C. <sup>27</sup>

The new evidence will cause us to modify certain of these opinions.

#### HELENOS AND THEODOROS

It is gratifying to meet Theodoros s. of Seleukos as Governor of Cyprus, so unambiguously and in our first inscription; and this document—with, I suspect, our no. 2 likewise—

<sup>25</sup> But this, the traditional view, which I myself favour, is rejected by Otto and Bengtson (167 ff.) for their own somewhat tortuous reconstruction: Ptolemy Alexander, *strategos* of Cyprus from 114-113 B.C. was in 110 B.C. briefly restored to Egypt to share his mother's throne. On his expulsion and return to Cyprus, not merely did he keep the royal title, but he extended his reign retrospectively to include the years of his *strategia*. I shall discuss Otto's arguments below, p. 115; but I must here warn the

reader that they can still claim the weighty support not only of Bengtson in his *Strategie* but of T. C. Skeat and others.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. my 'Seleucus and Theodoros' in *Opusc. Ath.* i (1953) 130 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 166 I consigned this *strategos* to the first years of that second sojourn of Soter II in Cyprus which began in 106-105 B.C. We shall, however, find him in our no. 4 above to be none other than Helenos himself: p. 110 below.



may now be added to the 6 or 7 which already testify to his *strategia*.<sup>28</sup> This I have set between the latter part of 124 and approximately 118 B.C.: between the withdrawal of Krokos at the close of civil war and the assumption by the elder son of Euergetes of the office he was shortly to relinquish on his father's death. For to this son, represented as his *strategia* is by a single inscription,<sup>29</sup> it seemed reasonable to allot only the final year or so of that reign. Theodoros' titles here are strictly orthodox.<sup>30</sup> He was *στρατηγός*, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Cyprus; he was *ναύαρχος*, Admiral of the Ptolemaic fleet for Mediterranean waters, if not indeed for the entire empire;<sup>31</sup> he was *ἀρχιερεύς*, High Priest of all the island's cults, alike local and dynastic.<sup>32</sup> But the honorand of our inscription, the son of Theodoros, has not fared so well: as here, so in *JHS* ix (1888) nos. 12a 45 = *Opusc. Ath.* i (1953), 142 no. 21 (likewise from the Aphrodite temple of Old Paphos) his name is lost to us. I have indeed conjectured that he may have been that Seleukos who was 'kinsman' to Auletes, *στρατηγός* and *ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων* half-way through the following century—but in that case he must then have been a very old man.<sup>33</sup> Be that as it may, in this last inscription the *κοινόν* of the Lycian regiment, having set up statues of Theodoros and seemingly of his wife, the younger Olympias,<sup>34</sup> subsequently added on his right side that of this son also, extending his inscription across the new pedestal and on to the margin of his father's stone. Now if this is a correct interpretation of the chronological relationship of these three pedestals, the son presumably was not as yet of an age to honour in this manner when in 124 B.C. his father assumed office. For his high rank as 'Chief Friend', second in dignity only to that of his father, he enjoyed simply as son of a 'Kinsman', and not in recognition of age and responsibility.<sup>35</sup> Thus our no. 1, wherein he is honoured ostensibly in his own right, can hardly belong to the opening years of the *strategia*.

It is also pleasing that the restoration of the name Helenos, lying as this does very close to the right margin of the inscription, can be regarded as certain. This certainty extends indeed to Helenos' rank—but goes no further. Thus we are denied patronymic and ethnic, both of which clearly this stone once carried; and we must question the somewhat speculative restoration [*εἰσαγγ*][*ἐλ*][*έ*][*ω*][*ν*] with which seemingly our text was closed. 'Seemingly' I say advisedly, for a seventh line may well have existed, to state what office or offices (as

<sup>28</sup> These are: (1) *OGI* 156 + 158 = T. B. Mitford, no. 16. (2) *JHS* ix (1888) no. 12b = T. B. Mitford, no. 17. (3) *OGI* 157 = T. B. Mitford, no. 18. (4) *OGI* 162 = T. B. Mitford, no. 19. (5) *JHS* ix (1888) no. 82 = T. B. Mitford, no. 20. (6) *JHS* ix (1888) nos. 12a + 45 = T. B. Mitford, no. 21. And to these from its failure to mention the royal house in its motive-formula *OGI* 145 = T. B. Mitford, no. 23, is very probably to be added.

<sup>29</sup> *OGI* 143 = T. B. Mitford, no. 29, discussed below, p. 111.

<sup>30</sup> In the first of Theodoros' inscriptions, cited in n. 28 above, he is *στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ*: I have argued that this is the earliest document of Theodoros' *strategia*, since the term *αὐτοκράτωρ* is best explained as a survival from the period of civil war, when the *strategos* Krokos had viceregal powers. Soon, however, Theodoros' titular has reverted precisely to that of his father Seleukos. If this argument is valid, we have a further indication that our nos. 1 and 2 do not belong to the very outset of Theodoros' command.

<sup>31</sup> The *navarchia* is discussed in T. B. Mitford, 147 ff. Cf. also below, pp. 115 and 124.

<sup>32</sup> T. B. Mitford, 144 and n. 26.

<sup>33</sup> For this Seleukos, cf. *Prosop. Ptol.* no. 330. He occurs in *BGU* viii 1826, 1827 and 1828 (52–51 B.C.); 1761 (51–50 B.C.); 1847 (at the earliest 51–50 B.C.). I am not aware that there was in Ptolemaic Egypt any point in adolescence fixed for a 'coming of age'. This is discussed by Otto, 44 f., with reference in particular to the *πρωτοκλισία* and *ἀνακλητήρια* of Philometor, but he can only conclude that these festivities were staged at dates which were politically opportune. However, if 'Seleukos' was (shall we say) 12 when his statue was set beside that of his father, by the middle of the following century he was more than 80 years of age.

<sup>34</sup> For the *stemma* of the house of Bithys, T. B. Mitford, 170, with additions made by Glanville and Skeat, *JEA* xl (1954) 56 (Ariadne and Theodoris—for Krateia and Polykrateia are presumably identical—daughters of Theodoros, priestesses in 116–115); 51 (Artemo d. of Theodoros, *kanephoros* in 177–176). The inscription under Olympias' statue is, I believe, *OGI* 162 = T. B. Mitford, no. 19. Onto the left-hand margin of her stone the end of Theodoros' inscription seemingly in its turn trespassed.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. n. 17 above.



distinct from honorific court functions) Helenos may have held. These deficiencies, however, are in great measure repaired by our second inscription. Here once more the name Helenos occurs, but now associated with higher rank. As *ἰσότημος τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις* Helenos has already done honour to his *strategos* through the latter's son, a Chief Friend. Now he is himself *ὁμότιμος τοῖς συγγενέσι*, and as virtually his equal in dignity it is (as I believe) Theodoros' own statue that he erects at Old Paphos. For save in abnormal times—and such we have no reason to consider the last eight years of Euergetes—the only *συγγενής* in Cyprus was in fact the governor of the island, so that (while Helenos' own presence is in itself distinctly anomalous) it is not easy to think whom else he can be treating on these easy terms.<sup>36</sup> In passing, we may note that New Paphos had now superseded Salamis as the capital of Ptolemaic Cyprus, and thus the Aphrodite temple of Old Paphos some ten miles to the east-south-east was not merely (as it had long been) alike the ecumenical centre of Aphrodite worship and the island's chief cult-centre, but the *ἱερόν* of the capital city in which the governor himself resided.<sup>37</sup> As such, it can have had few, if any, rivals in the Ptolemaic empire for the dissemination of propaganda by individuals concerning themselves. Helenos in our two inscriptions is in effect publicising, albeit delicately, both his own rapid promotion and his intimacy with Theodoros and his house. Theodoros, I would add, had not merely won the confidence of Euergetes II: he enjoyed without doubt a still more potent asset in the support of the formidable wife, the younger Kleopatra. Long after he had ceased to govern the island and probably long after his death, among the eponyms of Alexandria for the year 107–106 B.C.—the very year of Kleopatra's short-lived triumph when her policy had at last achieved its two objectives, the elimination of Soter and the unification of her empire—we find Olympias, the aunt, and Polykrateia, the daughter, of Theodoros.<sup>38</sup> Who, we may now ask, was this man who was so ready to parade his loyalty to the regime? On what services did he base this tacit claim to further advancement?

On the testimony of our second inscription Helenos was a native of Cyrene. Euergetes was himself king of the Cyrenaica from 163 to 145 B.C.; and it may well be that Helenos went with him on his return to Egypt when Philometor died. His patronymic, of which the first three letters survived on the now missing fragment, began indubitably with *alpha*. The second letter was indeed shown by the editors as *rho*, but may well have been *pi* if the line of fracture fell at a slant—as it seems to have fallen—across the lower half of this letter. In support is the stroke which follows it in the editors' uncial rendering, since it is improbable that the stone was so broken as to preserve only the right-hand tip of *chi*. A segment of *omicron* along the line of fracture is a possible interpretation of this stroke. Thus

<sup>36</sup> Helenos would not erect the statue of a subordinate without a reason which he would be at pains to state. If, on the other hand, we consider his equals in rank, I would point out that in the epigraphy of Cyprus before the reign of Soter II there are precisely four occurrences of *συγγενεῖς* who were *not στρατηγοί*. These are: (1) Lochos, s. of Kallimedes, *ἐπομνηματογράφος* and *στρατηγὸς αυτοκράτωρ* of the Thebaid (*OGI* 147 = T. B. Mitford, 156 no. 24; very probably also *JHS* ix (1888) no. 71 = T. B. Mitford, 160 no. 28); (2) Diasthenes (*OGI* 146); (3) Aristokrates, the *ἐπομνηματογράφος* (*OGI* 163); (4) Isidoros, s. of Helenos, of Antioch, the *ἀρχιδέατρος* (*OGI* 181). All, however, are to be ascribed to periods when there was a king and his court in Cyprus. Thus I believe that Lochos served Euergetes during the civil war as his 'Secretary of State' in the island, and that Diasthenes was then a prominent courtier. Aristokrates and Isidoros would

seem to have played respectively the same parts under Ptolemy Alexander. These last two I discuss below.

<sup>37</sup> In the decree, *JHS* lv (1935) 75 ff., of Philometor's reign we find proof that the Aphrodite temple of Old Paphos was the senior *ἱερόν* of the new city, for it was there that the Senior Gunners were to offer sacrifice, while their juniors were relegated to a shrine of Leto at New Paphos—doubtless the regimental chapel of these Lycian mercenaries. On the transfer of the capital of Cyprus from Salamis to New Paphos, cf. the remarks in T. B. Mitford, 152 n. 71.

<sup>38</sup> *P. Brux. gr.* 7155, lines 6 and 7. Further evidence of Kleopatra's regard for Theodoros is given by the fact that in 116–115, the first effective year of her joint reign with Soter II, three daughters of Theodoros are among the eponymous priestesses of Alexandria (*JEA* xl (1954) 56).



'Α<πο> - - -; and with that we are inevitably reminded of 'Απολλ - - - ος,<sup>38a</sup> father of the Helenos of the Brussels papyrus of 107-106 B.C. I have already debated the difficulties of that patronymic. Our no. 2 does nothing to help us in our perplexity; but it does constrain us thus early to suspect that the Helenos of our inscription and the Helenos of the papyrus were the same man. To this we shall in due course return, to find that our suspicion is confirmed. Here we must consider our second question: what did he do?

In our first inscription (which we may date tentatively to about 120 B.C.) Helenos' rank is that τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις. We find him promoted in our second—which is therefore the younger, but at the most by some two or three years—to τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι. Dittenberger's explanation of this last term (for the former was in his day unknown) still, I believe, holds the field: since the 'Kinsmen' had a fixed establishment, until vacancies occurred, men whom the king wished to promote to their order were held on a waiting list but accorded the same honours.<sup>39</sup> So too with the rank immediately subordinate, that of the 'Chief Friends', for they likewise had their waiting list. In passing, we may note that neither was in itself a distinct rank, as Helenos himself demonstrates by being promoted directly from the one to the other, omitting the πρώτοι φίλοι proper—or at the most enjoying a membership so brief as to be nominal. Nor again is either without chronological significance, since I believe that the ὁμοτίμοι were established by Euergetes II towards the close of the civil war, when the king clearly had many men, hitherto obscure, to reward for their adherence to his cause; while the partisans of Kleopatra II were doubtless protected both by the terms of the reconciliation of 124 B.C. and by the subsequent decrees of amnesty. Thus of seven further instances of the ὁμοτίμοι known to me the earliest belongs to 125-124 B.C.<sup>40</sup> As for the ἰσοτίμοι, the evidence is certainly both less conclusive and more difficult to interpret; but it would seem that of five occurrences three may point to the outset of Euergetes' reign.<sup>41</sup> Be that as it may, Helenos' rank in these

<sup>38a</sup> Since Apollo was the patron of Cyrene, Apollodoros and Apollonios occur freely in the prosopography of that city. But the name of Helenos' sister, Thaubarion, known to us from the same Brussels papyrus as priestess of Kleopatra III in 107-106 is puzzling. It is not obviously Greek. Professor Cerny (as Mr. Skeat informs me) believes that it is not Egyptian. Can it be of Libyan origin? In the epigram *Anth. Pal.* v 184 of c. 300 B.C., a slave is instructed to buy his other flowers elsewhere in the market but roses only παρὰ Θανβορίον. In a discussion of the name Thaubarion—Thaubarion, F. Zucker (*Philol.* xcix (1954) 97 f.), who is likewise convinced that it is not Egyptian, notes that Cyrene was famous for its roses.

<sup>39</sup> Dittenberger, under *OGI* 177.

<sup>40</sup> *UPZ* 161, 20; 162, 12 and 14: Hermias, τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι. Further instances are (1) *P. Tebt.* 254: Asclepiades, ἐπὶ τῶν προσφ[ώνων] in 113 B.C.; (2) Grenfell and Hunt, *New Classical Fragments*, etc. 23, 1: Hermonax, in 108 B.C.; (3) *OGI* 177: Pantaleon, in 96-95 B.C.; (4) *Prosop. Ptol.* no. 267: name lost, but datable between 80 and 57 B.C.; (5) *BGU* viii 1772, 22, 31: Iatrokles, of 57-56 B.C.; (6) To these I add from Cyprus *JHS* ix (1888) no. 27, where I restore τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι, τὸν μαντιάρχην: from the presence of this mantiarch (of Aphrodite) the inscription cannot, I believe, be earlier than the reign of Soter II in Cyprus.

<sup>41</sup> The five occurrences are: (1) *Arch. Pap.* v (1913)

160 of Philae: τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις. This is subsequent to the marriage of Euergetes and Kleopatra III in 142 B.C. But here [ἐν τοῖς] πρώτοις φίλοις may be the correct supplement, Mr. Fraser suggests, citing *SB* 5021. (2) *JHS* xii (1891) nos. 2 + 21, two fragments of a Salaminian pedestal which I associate, to give τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις τοῦ βασιλέως. On palaeographic grounds I ascribe this to the end of the second century. (3) *P. Ryl.* 66: τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις, of the year 34 of Philometor?, 148-147 B.C.? This fragment, too mutilated for publication, is described by its editor as a 'document addressed to a high official, probably the ἐπιστράτηγος of the Thebaid, of whose title only [στρατηγῶν] Ἐρεθρά[ς] θαλάσσης] is preserved, containing as an enclosure a copy of another petition previously sent Παῶι τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ στρατηγῶν and mentioning Boethos who is perhaps to be identified with the *epistrategos* of that name. The identification is likely enough on palaeographic grounds and is not inconsistent with a reference in the enclosing document to the 34th year, i.e. of Philometor'. But Boethos, στρατηγός of the Thebaid at the close of Philometor's reign, was ἐπιστράτηγος a decade later (Bengtson iii 226 no. 119; 228 no. 124); while Paos was seemingly his immediate successor (*ibid.* 227 no. 120). It would appear that the editor's tentative date should be appreciably reduced. (4) *P. Ryl.* 253: Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις



two inscriptions is proof (more particularly when our nos. 3 and 4 are taken into consideration) that his promotion during the last years of Euergetes was abnormally rapid. Why this should have been, they do not say directly. But a hint, I believe, is conveyed by the term *εἰσαγγελεύς*.

Ushers occur in the *χώρα* of Hellenistic Egypt in attendance even upon minor officials; but here clearly we are concerned with the Corps of Ushers at the Ptolemaic court. These *εἰσαγγελεῖς* could be either courtiers who performed in fact these functions or men on whom was conferred membership of the corps as little more than an additional title.<sup>42</sup> Since at this date the court was resident in Alexandria, Helenos belongs manifestly to the latter category. Hitherto *εἰσαγγελεῖς* have occurred with the ranks *τῶν φίλων*,<sup>43</sup> *τῶν ἀρχισωματοφύλακων* (probably),<sup>44</sup> and *τῶν πρώτων φίλων*.<sup>45</sup> Helenos' is thus the highest as yet attested for an *εἰσαγγελεύς*; and the two indeed may appear somewhat oddly assorted. Certain it is that Helenos, when shortly after he won high office, was as ready to proclaim that as he was to omit his earlier title of Usher to the Court. His prominence at this date, I suspect, was due, not to any administrative duties in the island, but to a service he was actually rendering there to the royal house as a trusted courtier. But before we consider what this may have been, there are two objections which I think should first be met.

It may be argued that, while our no. 2 is in all probability complete below, no. 1 may very possibly have lost a further line. This could hardly have carried a motive-formula in what is in effect a private dedication,<sup>46</sup> but may well have disclosed Helenos' office—that such a restoration, indeed, as [καὶ ἐπὶ | τῇ γραμματείᾳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον δυνάμεων] would be alike plausible and compatible with the rank which Helenos in this inscription enjoys.<sup>47</sup> This, however, is the merest speculation, the more so as no such office could explain Helenos' anomalous position in the second—and almost contemporaneous—text in which

καὶ στρατηγῶν. This is repeated with, above *Ἀπολλ[ο]δώρει*, the correction [ω]ρίῳ. The editor suggests that this is part of a writing exercise. On the back is a property sale, dated κη' = 143/142 B.C. (5) *P. Wurzb.* 4: Pankrates, *τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς* | *[πρῶ]τοις φίλοις*. The date is given as c. 145 B.C. for reasons which are mainly prosopographical. This evidence does not, in my opinion, exclude the possibility that the institution of the *ἰσοτίμοι*, like that of the *ὁμότιμοι*, is to be ascribed to Euergetes. The former, indeed, appear to belong to the same generation, and it may be that after Euergetes no further *ἰσοτίμοι* were created. But the *ὁμότιμοι* continue to occur until the middle of the following century.

<sup>42</sup> In the inscription, W. Schubart, *Klio* xii (1912) 365 f. = SB 5021, Theagenes describes himself as *τῶν ἐφημερενόντων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰσαγγελέων*. Clearly this denotes actual as opposed to titular service at court.

<sup>43</sup> UPZ 12 and 13 of 158 B.C.: Poseidonios *τῶν φίλων καὶ εἰσαγγελέων καὶ στρατηγῶν*.

<sup>44</sup> In UPZ 122 and 123 of 157 B.C. this same Poseidonios is an *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ* but there is no further mention of *εἰσαγγελέων*: we may suppose either that he had relinquished this title or that on his promotion he no longer cared to proclaim it. We have the same alternative with Helenos in our nos. 3 and 4 above. The second may seem to us preferable in view of the diversity of rank permissible in an *εἰσαγγελεύς*.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. n. 42 above: Theagenes was a Chief Friend.

<sup>46</sup> For the complete absence of motive-formula in a private document, we may compare our no. 9, in which Helenos is honoured on terms of equality by a friend. Under the statues of kinsfolk the formula is regularly omitted, but the relationship to the dedicator is invariably stated. For Cypriot motive-formulae, cf. my remarks in *Opusc. Arch.* vi (1950) 9 n. 1; *Opusc. Ath.* i (1953) 146 n. 34; further, below, p. 130, for the deductions which may fairly be drawn from failure to include the royal house in the formulae of official inscriptions.

<sup>47</sup> For the *γραμματεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων* of Cyprus and his *γραμματεία*, cf. observations in T. B. Mitford, 136 n. 14. There are four occurrences, from the reigns of Epiphanes, Philometor and Euergetes II. In only one instance is the rank of this official preserved: Theodoros in OGI 155 is a Chief Friend. Admittedly, as son of a *strategos*, such may have been Theodoros' rank regardless of the office he held. On the other hand he would not have held a position inferior to his dignity; while there is good reason to suppose that the *γραμματεὺς* of the Cypriot forces was senior to the various city commandants, whose rank (with the sole exception of the important Salamis in OGI 155) was that of the *ἀρχισωματοφύλακες*. Against this, however, is the failure of the office to appear in the numerous inscriptions cut after 131 B.C.: indeed, it is suggested below, p. 127, that with the decline of the Cypriot garrison towards the close of Euergetes' reign it was subsumed in the *strategia*. That Helenos' first inscription should provide an exception is improbable.



he has honours equivalent to those of a 'Kinsman' but no administrative duties to justify this eminence.<sup>48</sup> Exception may also be taken to my restoration [εἰσαγγ]ελ<ε>ω[ν]? in our no. 1, where on the stone -ΑΓΩ only appears. Can this have been a date, dependent perhaps on some lost participle? For we have already noted that the over-scoring of letters used as numerals is rare in the epigraphy of Hellenistic Cyprus.<sup>49</sup> The years λγ'—and λζ'—of Euergetes are respectively 138–137 and 135–134 B.C. Either would make havoc of my arguments, setting as they would the *strategia* of Theodoros before the civil war. Now in the inscriptions of the island for this era I find on stone 14 dates, on the as yet unpublished sherds of Kafizin no less than 61.<sup>50</sup> Twice only in the first category, nine times in the second (and these nine exclusively in the Cypro-Arcadian dialect, expressed in the Cypriot syllabary) do we have ἔτους (Fέτους) and ἔτει (Fέτει).<sup>51</sup> For the rest, the symbol L (or Ḷ or Ḷ) = year is employed. With this symbol, the idiom requires that, when the date is independent of the grammatical structure of the inscription (and therefore either heads it, as normally, or marks its close) we have, e.g., L β'. When, however, the date is declined, the article is invariably added, while the symbol follows the numeral, to give, e.g., ἀπὸ τοῦ β' L. The ΑΓ or ΑΞ of our stone manifestly does not end our inscription. If then these letters form part of a date, this must be included in the grammatical structure of the document. But they are followed, not by L (or even by the *epsilon* of ἔτος) but by an indubitable *omega* (which, incidentally, could not be the initial letter of any Egyptian month). Further, we may note that a participle which accompanies a date precedes it, as we have, for example, γυμ[να]σιαρχήσαντα καλῶς τὸ ιβ' L and γραμματεῦν τὸ λβ' L.<sup>52</sup> But in our context there is no room before the suggested date for a participle. We may then turn with a greater confidence to our restoration [εἰσαγγ]ελ<ε>ω[ν], supported as this is by our second inscription; but to learn more of Helenos, we must look further afield.

#### THE FIRST STRATEGIA OF HELENOS

By a happy chance the *omega* in l. 1 of our fourth inscription is clear beyond dispute: a king's name in the possessive case, with (we may presume) his divine title, for the greater emphasis heads this document—but it is his son, a Ptolemy, named in the accusative at the outset of l. 2, whose statue was in fact set up. Now the two sons of Philometor were so honoured in Cyprus during their father's lifetime;<sup>53</sup> while Euergetes likewise had two sons (for Memphites, his child by the second Kleopatra, we need hardly consider),<sup>54</sup> of

<sup>48</sup> Cf. n. 36 above. Cyprus, in short, had for the second century a definite establishment. When persons of high rank occur outside this establishment, we must ask ourselves what they were doing in the island. Under Epiphanes and Philometor soldiers and military specialists, thereafter either courtiers or ministers of the crown, fall into this category.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. n. 11 above.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. n. 11 above.

<sup>51</sup> Thus in the *κοινή* of Hellenistic Cyprus in 64 dates ἔτος is written twice only; ἔτους ὡς Κίτιος ἀγρονόμῃ μζ', Ξανδοκοῦ ζ' in RA xxvii (1874) 89 no. 1 and [- - - τῶι] τρίτῳ ἔτει in JHS ix (1888) no. 67. In both the somewhat more complex phrasing would render the presence of the symbol L incongruous. Mr. Fraser observes that 'a desperate man could restore [ἔτου]ς ΑΓ, ὡς [- -]'. This indeed might suggest ὡς [e.g. οἱ Πάρις] ἀγρονόμῃ. But, apart from those of Citium and Lapethus, there existed in Hellenistic Cyprus no local eras; nor did these two outlive the close of the third century.

<sup>52</sup> OGI 166; JHS xii (1891) 170 no. 4 (as revised by myself).

<sup>53</sup> Ptolemy Eupator had three Cypriot statues to our knowledge: OGI 125, 126 (A. Wilhelm, S. B. Ak. Wien ccxxiv (1946) 14 ff.) and 127. I believe that JHS ix (1888) no. 17 concerns Neos Philopator before his elevation to a share of his father's throne.

<sup>54</sup> Memphites admittedly resided in Cyprus at the outset of the civil war of 131 B.C.—as a prisoner, however, in the hands of his father and half-sister, to be murdered at the age of 12 or 13. Otto and Bengtson have convincingly argued that Memphites was indeed the nominal dedicator of a statue of Kleopatra III set up at Delos (OGI 144) as part of a propagandist campaign against his own mother (W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 62 f.). Our no. 4 could serve no such purpose; nor could any governor of Cyprus honour Memphites in his own right. OGI 144 has indeed been re-edited as Inscr. Delos 1530. For Otto's justifiable mistrust of the new reading, W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 220. Cf. n. 69 below.



whom one was actually resident in the island at the time of his father's death. The prince of our no. 4, whose father was on the throne of Egypt, it may be suggested, might be a son of either Philometor or Euergetes. The engraving of the inscription, however, is in a style definitely later than the reign of Philometor; and there is another and a more compelling argument against the earlier date. The dedicator, from the presence of  $\kappa[\alpha\iota \alpha\rho\chi\iota] \epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , was clearly a governor of Cyprus—since from the days of Polykrates of Argos until the end of Ptolemaic rule the only High Priest to occur in the epigraphy of Cyprus is in fact the *strategos*. But we may go further. Here was a *strategos* who bore the additional title of  $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\kappa\upsilon\nu\eta\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , a title alien alike to the *strategia* of Epiphanes and Philometor and to the more developed *strategia* so abundantly documented by the inscriptions of Seleukos, Krokos and Theodoros. It has hitherto occurred twice only in the epigraphy of the island—and on each occasion as the final title of a *strategos*: in *OGI* 143 of Salamis, where it qualifies the prince Ptolemy, then Governor of Cyprus but soon to be known as Soter II, and is accordingly to be dated to the final year or so of Euergetes' reign; and again in *JHS* ix (1888) no. 1 (our no. 3), an inscription which I have recently discussed and dismissed—incorrectly—to the opening years of Soter's rule in Cyprus from 106–105 to 88 B.C.<sup>55</sup> It is important to observe that Theodoros at no point in his well-documented governorship, the close of which I ascribe approximately to 118 B.C., was  $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\kappa\upsilon\nu\eta\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ; whereas in the course of the next two years that title emerges. We are concerned therefore with a governorship, brief and hitherto unsuspected, which intervened between those of Theodoros and Euergetes' elder son. This governor was none other than Helenos himself; for the first two letters of his name we can recognise with certainty in our no. 4, while his presence in Cyprus with rank equivalent to that of the 'Kinsmen' we have just established for the years immediately preceding. It is now not difficult to identify the honorand of *JHS* ix (1888) no. 1 = *Opusc. Ath.* i (1953) no. 30 (our no. 3), for he is the same man. This brief *strategia* is thus represented by two inscriptions: in the first Helenos honours a prince who was a son of the reigning Ptolemy, in the second he is himself honoured by the priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite.

These two inscriptions are in a sense complementary, inasmuch as one has preserved the left, the other the right side of their respective texts. Together they show us that in this, on the evidence now available, the second phase of his career in Cyprus, Helenos omits to mention patronymic, ethnic and the honorific title of Usher to the Ptolemaic court—for I see no good reason to suppose that he was now deprived of this, as he certainly did not lose the others. Space on the pedestals of statues, which like the lettering tended to be of standard size, was limited. The times had changed and Helenos was eager to do justice to these changes. In passing we may note that, after Polykrates of Argos and Ptolemy of Alexandria who was surnamed Makron, no *strategos* (if we may judge by the surviving inscriptions) either gave or was given his ethnic.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, to generalise from the case of Seleukos, whose *strategia* is so generously documented but whose citizenship of both Rhodes and Alexandria is known to us only from inscriptions cut outside the Ptolemaic empire, this may have been, if not deliberate policy, at least politic in the times of Euergetes, Kleopatra the Wife and their younger son: Euergetes was no friend either of the Greek aristocracy of Alexandria or of Hellenism as such, whether domestic or foreign. As for the patronymic, it would indeed appear that a governor of Cyprus under the later Ptolemies, on reaching this almost viceregal eminence, tended to omit his father's name—

<sup>55</sup> T. B. Mitford, 164 no. 30.

<sup>56</sup> *OGI* 105, which is to be ascribed with certainty to Ptolemy 'Makron', *strategos* in the earlier part of Philometor's reign, is the last Cypriot inscription to give a governor's ethnic. That Pelops s. of Pelops and Ptolemy s. of Agesarchos were respectively of

Macedonian and Arcadian origin is known to us only from extraneous sources. Mr. Fraser, however, observes 'that there was a general levelling going on everywhere, exemplified also by the abandonment of patronymics. As their cities sank into obscurity, people were less concerned to advertise their origin.'



unless the latter was of a comparable distinction. Whereas Theodoros does not fail to proclaim himself the son of Seleukos, the antecedents of Krokos, for example, are quite unknown to us. The civil war gave prominence to *novi homines*; while the influx of distinguished men from Greece had ceased on the death of the philhellene and liberal Philometor.

Our two inscriptions, furthermore, co-operate to establish Helenos' titular. This has certain remarkable features. Helenos is Master of the Chase. To his High Priesthood of all the cults of Cyprus Helenos adds a subordinate—and unexampled—priesthood, which is likewise insular in scope. Helenos is not Admiral of the Ptolemaic Mediterranean fleet. Before we can discuss these anomalies, however, we must identify the honorand of our fourth inscription.

Helenos is now a full 'Kinsman', and his rapid progress to the summit of the court hierarchy is duly concluded. The absence of τοῦ βασιλέως after συγγενής in our no. 4 may cause indeed some uneasiness, since in the Cypriot epigraphy of Euergetes' day συγγενής has hitherto always been so qualified (unless it is immediately preceded by τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως). However, we have already encountered τῶν | ὁ(μ)οτίμων τοῖς συγγε(ν)έσι of Helenos in our somewhat earlier no. 2; while twice in the subsequent reign συγγενής simpliciter occurs at Old Paphos.<sup>57</sup> The omission therefore, postulated as it is by the maximum length of line which this pedestal, 0.87 m. in width, could carry, can thus be readily defended. Now it may appear to us somewhat odd that Helenos in our no. 2 must wait for his vacancy in the ranks of the 'Kinsmen', whereas in no. 3 such a vacancy occurs promptly on his assumption of the *strategia*. But there is, I think, an obvious explanation. By the year 118 B.C. Theodoros can hardly have been less than middle aged. Twenty-five years earlier he held a priesthood seemingly for all Cyprus.<sup>58</sup> At some date before 131 B.C. he combined under his father's authority the two most important subordinate offices in the island.<sup>59</sup> It would seem that he now died in harness. At hand was Helenos, already in possession of what was tantamount to the highest rank, clearly in great favour with Euergetes and the younger Kleopatra, rendering them a service which (as will appear) for all its importance was no impediment to his assumption of the *strategia*. For the vacancy in the establishment of the 'Kinsmen' caused by Theodoros' death, he was (it may be supposed) an automatic choice; but the *strategia* of Helenos has the look of an improvisation, alike from its brevity and from the identity of his successor. The latter, we shall now find, was no other than the honorand of our fourth inscription.

For it is manifest in these circumstances that the 'King's . . . son, Ptolemy' must be referred to one or other of the two sons of Euergetes and Kleopatra III. Of the elder, Pausanias in a well-known passage (i. 9.1) remarks that he knew no prince so hated by his own mother—for she refused to admit him, her eldest child, to any share of their sovereignty, prevailing upon her husband to send him away to Cyprus. In confirmation of Pausanias' story is the Salaminian OGI 143, already cited, wherein a prince, curtly designated as Πτολεμαῖον βασιλέως υἱόν is honoured as στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύαρχον καὶ ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀρχικύνηγον. This can only be the elder son, since the younger was indeed *strategos* but after his father's death, and furthermore throughout his career was distinguished where ambiguity could arise as Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος or ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Ἀλέξανδρος. Here we have emphatically a case in point: to describe the younger simply as 'Ptolemy' would lead to an intolerable confusion, the more so as (unlike his brother) he was then in Egypt. The honorand of our fourth inscription is, therefore, Soter, already resident in Cyprus but not yet *strategos*. To his father I give his formal designation, since without the full titular the remarkable emphasis placed upon him would lose point. It is indeed very possible to restore here Βασ[ι]λέω[ς] Πτολεμαίου υἱὸν πρεσβύτερον | Πτολεμ[α]ῖον; but to this it may further be objected that the almost contemporaneous OGI 143 is careful to

<sup>57</sup> OGI 163, 181.

<sup>58</sup> JHS ix (1888) 228 no. 11 = T. B. Mitford, 131 no. 2.

<sup>59</sup> In OGI 155 = T. B. Mitford, 138 no. 11. Theodoros is at once the commandant of Salamis and γραμματεὺς of the island's garrison.



let the name of the prince stand unqualified. I have elsewhere commented upon the silence which the epigraphy of Cyprus maintains with regard to Euergetes. In striking contrast to Cypriot esteem for Philometor, the island to our knowledge set up no less than twenty-seven statues to Euergetes' *strategoi* or their children or their wives, two more to his courtiers and yet another to a courtier's daughter—but to Euergetes himself not one. To his credit there stands one trivial *ex-voto*—and even this he must share with Philometor's widow.<sup>60</sup> Were it not for the conventional inclusion of the king and one or other or both of the two Kleopatras in the motive-formulae of the majority of these inscriptions—and even this convention was discontinued in Cyprus before his reign was ended—his name would be all but unknown in the island where his influence was profound and, oddly enough, often beneficial, alike in military, religious and political affairs.<sup>61</sup> The present document (in rather sharp contrast to the summary βασιλέως of *OGI* 143) confers the closest approximation to an honour to be conferred by Cyprus on this odious monarch. However, it is clear that even here it was not Euergetes himself but the succession to him which was uppermost in men's minds; and the phrasing of the inscription, as of *OGI* 143, is significant. The one emphasises (whereas the other merely states) that the prince was the son of the reigning Ptolemy; but neither the Regiment of Thracians at Salamis, nor (I think) Helenos as Governor at Old Paphos ventures in the face of the notorious hostility of Kleopatra III to proclaim him the elder son. This omission is very probably deliberate, when we reflect that Soter in 134 B.C., a mere child eight years of age, as Alexander priest is officially designated [Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γενομένου]ν ἐγ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης [Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς π]ρεσβυτάτου; and as πρεσβύτατος (τῶν παιδίων) or υἱὸς πρεσβύτερος he is frequently described throughout the vicissitudes of his long career.<sup>62</sup> Soter by the year 120 B.C. was 22 years old, and on any reckoning fully adult. Both Eupator and Neos Philopator in contrast were children when promoted to share their father's throne; and it can have been no secret to Helenos and these Thracians that he was in fact being relegated to the island—and hence doubtless their reticence in the matter of his seniority. It may not be fanciful, nevertheless, to detect evidence of sympathy for this young man in his misfortune, alike in the omission of his mother's name and in the title ἀρχικύνηγος which Helenos now assumes.

Although it does not so readily admit of argument, I am satisfied that the 'Wife', Kleopatra III, was no more popular in the island than her husband. She is indeed duly mentioned with Euergetes in the appropriate formulae, but for the rest during her lifetime, so far as the evidence permits us to judge, she had neither statue nor dedication to her credit. Furthermore, it was too readily assumed by Dittenberger that Artemo, daughter of Seleukos, described in *OGI* 159 = *Opusc. Ath.* i 138 no. 12, towards the outset, I suspect, of her father's *strategia*, as [ἱέρειαν βασιλίσσης] Kleopάτρας Θεᾶ[s] was priestess, not of the 'Sister', Kleopatra II, but of the 'Wife'.<sup>63</sup> With this we may compare from a papyrus

<sup>60</sup> I discuss at some length in *Opusc. Ath.* i (1953) 149 ff. the unpopularity of Euergetes in Cyprus. To the statues of his *strategoi*, their children and their wives which I there enumerate, our nos. 1, 2 and 3 are now to be added.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. discussion in T. B. Mitford, 147–56.

<sup>62</sup> For Soter as Alexander priest, *P. Teb.* iii 810; as υἱὸς πρεσβύτερος and πρεσβύτατος, cf. W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 46 n. 2; 169 f.

<sup>63</sup> Dittenberger ascribes *OGI* 159 (T. B. Mitford, 138 no. 12), as is now known, incorrectly, to the close of Euergetes' reign, when he supposes Kleopatra II to be already dead. The inscription in fact precedes the outbreak of civil war in 131 B.C., while Kleopatra II outlived her husband. Otto and

Bengtson do not, I believe, discuss either the priesthood of this inscription or that of the papyrus, Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment*, etc. 30, no. xii of c. 148 B.C. On the plinth of a terracotta cock, published by A. P. di Cesnola, *Salamina* 206 f., but of unknown though presumably Cypriot origin, is an inscription (Strack, 174) [τῇ] Kleopάτ[ραι] Βασ[ίλισσῃ]. This clearly should be emended to [Θεᾶ] Kleopάτ[ραι] Βασ[ίλισσῃ], with the text beginning and ending on the sides of the plinth. I imagine this likewise can be referred to Kleopatra II. I do not wish to stress this evidence, but am content to observe that alike in Cyprus and in Egypt there existed seemingly a cult of Kleopatra II, the Sister, as queen and goddess.



published by Grenfell [ἐφ' ἱερείων βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας. There is, in my opinion, nothing which forbids us to ascribe this worship to the elder Kleopatra II, the more so as her daughter from the time of her marriage was regularly venerated as Βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα Θεὰ Εὐεργέτις.<sup>64</sup> Alternatively, it is just conceivable that we have here a deliberate ambiguity, with, however, the 'Sister' clearly predominant in men's minds. Finally, I am tempted to explain the priesthood of Helenos in our no. 4 [ὁ κατὰ τὴν] νῆσον ἱε[ρεὺς - - -] by this cult of the mother, rather than that of the daughter. First, however, we must observe that it is thoroughly anomalous. In his capacity of High Priest the *strategos* (as we have seen) presided over all the cults of the island, alike local and dynastic. It was therefore superfluous for him to hold the priesthood of any individual worship; and the present instance is without parallel. When Ptolemy the Megalopolitan, as Governor of Cyprus, specifies certain of the cults for which he was responsible—that of Artemis, that of the dynasty—this is indeed unexampled, but he speaks nevertheless as High Priest.<sup>65</sup> When the *strategos* of our no. 9 is described as priest of Kleopatra III, we are informed that this priesthood was held for life, while the Brussels papyrus discloses that in scope it was not insular but imperial. Nor can we find refuge in the restoration [τόν | κατὰ τὴν] νῆσον ἱε[ρέα], and refer this to Soter, since the intrusion of the dedicator and his titles between honorand and priesthood would be a flagrant contravention of the idiom. Admitting then the anomaly of Helenos' priesthood, we may nevertheless venture certain comments upon it. It recurs neither in our no. 3 (which I therefore presume to be the earlier of this pair) nor in any of the subsequent inscriptions which we shall ascribe to this man. It was insular in its scope. If we may judge by our supplement of l. 3—which would itself need some compression to fit this stone—after ἱε[ρεὺς] no more than fourteen letters are missing. Now the priesthood doubtless was dynastic, for any normal priesthood would be a pointless addition to the High Priesthood; but it is not very profitable to speculate on possible supplements of this lacuna. We may have had here for example ἱε[ρεὺς Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν] as in OGI 137 of this very reign from Egypt; or, again—and more probably—ἱε[ρεὺς Κλεοπάτρας Θεᾶς] where the goddess would be the second Kleopatra. With the death of Euergetes in 116 B.C., of the 'Sister' in the year following,<sup>66</sup> Helenos' omission of either and of the latter in particular, would call for no explanation. But these arguments cannot be pressed. I content myself with the observation that the 'Wife' at any rate can hardly be involved, even if we are prepared to consider a more extensive restoration to include l. 5. For against ἱε[ρεὺς Κλεοπάτρας Θεᾶς | Ἀφροδ[ί]της Εὐεργετίδος] it can be objected that Kleopatra III was not identified with Aphrodite until a decade later;<sup>67</sup> that this precise priesthood is a creation of the year 107–106 B.C., when, however, it was held by Helenos for life and covered not Cyprus alone but the entire empire; finally, that Helenos might be expected to retain under this queen's predominance a priesthood of her which he had assumed before her husband's death. Thus evidence of any Cypriot regard for Kleopatra III is at the best very scanty, and may even be (as I am inclined to think) non-existent.

Irrespective, however, of the precise degree of her unpopularity in this island, the omission of her name both in OGI 143 and in our no. 4 is clearly significant. We have seen that Soter as Alexander priest had both his parents named; and I would add that sixteen inscriptions cut under the statues of Ptolemies in Cyprus, and ranging in time from

<sup>64</sup> Cf. W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 12 n. 6: 'von 142–141 v. Chr. . . an mit dem Titel Euergetis zu rechnen ist'. <sup>65</sup> *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 12.

<sup>66</sup> Otto and Bengtson demonstrate (136 ff.) that Kleopatra II vanished from the scene between December 116 and March 115, no doubt through some act of violence. Their reasoning is accepted by Skeat, *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung* xxxix (1954) 35.

<sup>67</sup> Otto and Bengtson find (p. 156) that the worship of Kleopatra III as Aphrodite occurs for the first time in the year 107–106; and there is every reason to suppose that it was indeed an innovation of that year to inaugurate her joint reign with Ptolemy Alexander and to advertise her recovery of Aphrodite's island.



the first Soter to the second, give both parents; and that the two texts we are now considering are unique in naming one parent only.<sup>68</sup> We are reminded of *OGI* 144 of Delos, admirably discussed by Otto and Bengtson,<sup>69</sup> wherein Memphites, [*Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου* | *Εὐεργέτου*], as prisoner in the hands of his father and the 'Wife' in Cyprus during the civil war, was forced before they killed him to lend his name to the erection of a statue of Kleopatra III, while conspicuously ignoring in the relevant inscription his own mother. It is Kleopatra III who is now in her turn ignored by Helenos and these Thracians; and we are entitled to give their silence its proper value—even as much of the significance of *OGI* 144 is derived from what it does not say. Doubtless they could plead—if they had cause to do so—that with two queens once more on the throne of Egypt, it was not for them to discriminate between them in their honourable mentions. I imagine, in fact, that they were not unaffected by the impending storm to which the omens pointed. Euergetes was clearly near his end; and the relegation of Soter was but the opening manoeuvre in the inevitable fight to the finish between mother and daughter. Helenos and his friends must not be too unguarded.

While I make these reservations, it would still seem that there was in the island, coupled with Cypriot dislike for the 'Wife', some measure of esteem and sympathy for her elder son. This last assertion I base on the title *ἀρχικύνηγος* which Helenos now assumes. It has occurred hitherto, not in Cyprus but (seemingly) in Lycia, a land of good hunting, in connexion with two Ptolemaic officers, a father and son, who served during the first quarter of the second century B.C.<sup>70</sup> To conform with the energetic tastes of a young prince residing in Cyprus in virtual exile, Helenos became Master of the Chase. When he himself was made *strategos*, understandably the prince retained the title. With his departure from the island in 116 B.C. we meet it no more. Pausanias tells us that the chief reason for his mother's hatred of him was the hope that her younger son would prove more docile.<sup>71</sup> In fact, not merely was Soter's character marked by a restless energy, but he is the last male Lagid with moral qualities which we may admire. His regard for Athens, manifested by benefactions which to our knowledge extended over the last thirty years of his life,<sup>72</sup> is

<sup>68</sup> Under eight royal statues or groups of statues no parents are named. But I here concern myself with inscriptions which give either one or both. Six of the sixteen inscriptions in the second category have still to be published.

<sup>69</sup> P. 62 and n. 2. Since this discussion *OGI* 144 has been revised by Roussel and Launey, *Inscr. Délos* 1530, where (possibly under the influence of Dittenberger's restoration) in l. 1 is read [*Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Βασιλ[ε]ως [Πτολεμαίου]*]. Since no son of Euergetes and Kleopatra II can have reigned either in Cyprus or in Egypt (unless indeed it can be argued that Memphites' co-regency was confined to Delos and was purely propagandist), I share Professor Otto's suspicion (*Nachträge* 220) of this new reading, based as it is upon the vestiges of two letters.

<sup>70</sup> *OGI* 99, now in the Museo Egizio in Turin, of unknown provenance, datable to the last years of Epiphanes. Dittenberger considers the *ἀρχικύνηγος* to be a high court functionary, concerned with *venationes quas rex animi causa habebat*; and doubtless this view in general is correct. It should, however, be noted that all epigraphic occurrences of the title (in contrast to the humble *ἀρχικύνηγοι* of the ostraca) are from the Ptolemaic empire. Cyprus has now three instances; while I suspect that *OGI* 99 is Lycian in provenance. For here Lycians thank

Ptolemy, a Chief Friend and Master of the Chase, through the person of his son, Ptolemy, a Captain of the Bodyguard and Master of the Chase, for services which he continues to render to the Lycian *κοινόν*. We may conjecture that these men were military 'experts' or 'attachés', who, being incidentally *ἀρχικύνηγοι* in Dittenberger's sense, were able in Lycia to indulge their sporting tastes. But the Cypriot *ἀρχικύνηγος* comes some sixty-five years later, and gives every indication of being an improvisation to meet a temporary local situation. Cf., however, *REG* xliii (1930) 361 f., where Roussel argues that the title *ἀρχικύνηγος* is essentially military; further, M. Launey, 1016 f.

<sup>71</sup> Pausanias i 9.1: *τῆς δὲ ἐξ τὸν παῖδα τῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ δονοῖας λέγουσιν ἄλλας τε αἰτίας καὶ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν νεώτερον τῶν παίδων κατήκοον ἔσεσθαι μάλλον ἠλπιζε*.

<sup>72</sup> *Inscr. Délos* 1531 attests the construction by Soter of a *ξυστός* at Delos 'for Apollo and the People of Athens' in (it is generally supposed) the year 111–110. Soter's friendly relations with that city, maintained throughout his Cypriot reign, are strikingly manifested by his subventions after the sack of Athens by Sulla. In contrast the Athenian *Πτολεμαῖα*, suppressed on the accession of Euergetes, remained in abeyance for fifty years. Cf. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos* 203; *Inscr. Délos*, in the commentary to no. 1531.



evidence of a philhellenism in sharp contrast to Euergetes' persecution of the Greek intellectuals of Alexandria and reminiscent of Philometor's fellowship with the cultured world of his day. These qualities were foreign to his brother, of whom it is recorded that in later life unless in his cups he was too corpulent to walk unaided.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, we shall find that our same Helenos, as governor to Alexander, was not Master of the Chase. Soter and Alexander were very different men.

This attitude, sympathetic with a touch of the paternal, on the part of Helenos towards the young man suggests an answer to the question which our first two inscriptions posed: what was Helenos' function in Cyprus then, with his high rank and court title but no office? When Soter was sent away to the island, Helenos was sent with him, to do him honour and (I have no doubt) to watch him. There are twelve inscriptions which concern *strategoi* from the years between 121 and 116 B.C. Of these eight or nine belong to Theodoros, two to Helenos, one to Soter. In default of better evidence, we may continue to allot these years in this proportion, so that Helenos has 118 and 117 for his *strategia*, and Soter perhaps only the year of his father's death. On this reckoning we may date the relegation of Soter to 120 or 119, when he was of such an age that his lack of recognition had become a scandal. But we may note that there can have been no pretence that this was promotion: Soter did not go to govern Cyprus; and, what is more, when Theodoros died, he was succeeded not by Soter but by Soter's guardian.

There is a problem still outstanding. From 142 to 105 B.C. all governors of Cyprus—with the sole exception of Helenos in the third, fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth of these inscriptions—added *ναύαρχος* to their existing titles of *στρατηγός* and *ἀρχιερεύς*. Only for the very close of his career in the island is the *ναυαρχία* attested by the Brussels papyrus and by our final text, and the discussion of this remarkable omission may best be postponed to that point in our inquiry.

#### HELENOS AND THE SONS OF EUERGETES

We have already dealt with Soter's brief *strategia*, to which I have tentatively given the last year and perhaps only the last months of his father's reign. For the circumstances of his recall, I refer to the able reconstruction of Professors Otto and Bengtson, whose magisterial work, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, is the indispensable guide to all students of later Ptolemaic times.<sup>74</sup> It is clear that Kleopatra II prevailed upon the *πλήθος* of Alexandria at the moment of Euergetes' death on June 28, 116 B.C., by imposing the accession of Soter, to frustrate her daughter's designs. But in this manifestly the 'Sister' was not playing a lone hand, and we need not doubt that she had a sizeable party in her support, a party which looked back to the more liberal days of Philometor and forward to the promise implicit in the character of his elder grandson. The eventual promotion of Soter, after some years of neglect, to the *strategia* of Cyprus must be the achievement, not of the *πλήθος*, but of this party; and we now see that the partisans of Kleopatra II, even before the death of Euergetes, were taking their counter-measures.

Of the years which follow I have already given a summary account. In this I differ somewhat markedly from the interpretation of Otto and Bengtson, which to my thinking is plausible but unsound. Briefly, they assume that Soter, recalled to Egypt, left behind him in Cyprus his sister-wife, Kleopatra IV, to secure himself a base in case of need. Shortly before March 115 he was forced by his mother to repudiate this wife; who thereupon raised for herself an army in Cyprus and with this sailed for Syria in 114–113 to offer her hand and her troops to Antiochos Kyzikenos. Alexander cannot, they argue, then have been *strategos* of Cyprus; and his arrival accordingly they postpone to this year of 114–113. Otto and Bengtson have further persuaded themselves that Alexander was recalled about

<sup>73</sup> Ath. xiii 550 B.

<sup>74</sup> Pages 112 ff.



mid-March 110 to share the throne in place of Soter, then maintaining himself in the χώρα, only to be ejected, however, at the latest by February 3, 109. Finally, the royal title that he then assumed he not merely retained in Cyprus, but on his final recall between the end of October and mid-November 107 included retrospectively the years of his *strategia* in his reign. Thus his mother's eleventh year, September 19, 107, to September 18, 106, was then equated with his own eighth.<sup>75</sup>

On all this I look, as I have said, with a certain diffidence.<sup>76</sup> Justin indeed observes (xxxix 3.3) . . . *Cleopatra non tam a viro repudiata quam a matre divortio viri dimissa Cyziceno in Syria nubit, eique ne nudum uxoris nomen adferret, exercitum Cypri sollicitatum velut dotalem ad maritum deducit*. But that Kleopatra IV did not accompany her husband on his return is a conjecture which indeed has its conveniences but is not well supported by evidence. There is no good reason to suppose that Soter at this early date had such cause to distrust the faction which had so recently and so sharply rebuffed his mother as to leave behind him a wife to whom he was known to be attached. Furthermore, our authorities do not distinguish chronologically between recall, divorce and the raising of these troops. But Otto, having convincingly demonstrated that the second Kleopatra was (shall we say?) 'liquidated' somewhere between December 116 and the following March, assumes this as a *terminus post quem* for the repudiation—although on his own admission<sup>77</sup> it might well have been part of the *concordat* reached in the summer of 116 very shortly after Euergetes' death. The status of Kleopatra IV, wife of the new king, must have presented—in the eyes of two ambitious queens—constitutional difficulties which called for immediate attention. Nor does the exploit of Kleopatra IV in itself preclude the presence of Alexander I in the island. We have already had reason to suppose that Kleopatra III was as unpopular in Cyprus as her mother and her elder son were esteemed. If Soter in 107 B.C. could land a fugitive—and yet after a sojourn of at the best a few months require an army from Egypt to eject him; if the general of that army could be executed for alleged connivance at his escape; if he was able in the following year to re-establish himself with little if any extraneous military support; if troops sent thereafter by his mother to oppose him merely deserted to his cause<sup>78</sup>—this success of his wife some ten years earlier, alike in finding refuge in the island to which she was well known and in withdrawing from it part of a sympathetic garrison, need not surprise us unduly. For the corollary, implicit in Otto's argument, that for some two years she was virtually mistress of the island, with (I presume) a docile *strategos* to do her bidding, is (as we shall find) not easy to reconcile with the epigraphic evidence. Perhaps, however, the chief objection to Otto's interpretation lies in the delay of three years in despatching Alexander to Cyprus as its governor. That this should be a condition of the original *concordat* is very understandable—Alexander simply taking the position which Soter had just vacated. But after the elimination of Kleopatra II her daughter was without rival, Soter humiliated and subordinate; why she should at that point have chosen to send her favourite son upon his travels I fail to appreciate.

The contention that Soter was dethroned in favour of his younger brother from late October 110 to December 110–January 109—and for that matter yet once more between March 10, 108 and May 28 following—I leave to others more familiar with the

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 147 ff. Bengtson, *Die Strategie* iii 139 n. 4, still adhered in 1952 to Otto's general chronology of these years.

<sup>76</sup> A diffidence shared by Hill, who is content (*A History of Cyprus* i 200 f.) with a more conservative interpretation of these events: Alexander began his *strategia* in the second half of 116, from 114–113 reckoned himself king, had no excursions to Alexandria until his recall in 108–107. My diffidence is

encouraged by the fact that Soter seems to have held the Alexander priesthood throughout the whole of his reign, with the exception of a few weeks in the autumn of 112 (*JEA* xl (1954) 57).

<sup>77</sup> P. 146: 'Natürlich kann man es nicht ohne weiteres als ausgeschlossen bezeichnen, dass ihre Verstoßung durch Soter II schon ein Teil jenes Kompromisses gewesen ist. . . .'

<sup>78</sup> Strabo Frag. 3 (*FHG* iii 491).



propagandist uses of the protocols of papyri to criticise.<sup>79</sup> But I am tempted to offer certain comments. The position of Kleopatra III as the dominant sovereign, named before her male colleague, was unprecedented—and indeed untidy, for the country—and Soter could have done very well without her. Secondly, Hellenistic sentiment found the rule of a female sovereign unsupported by a male co-regent, be it husband or son, virtually insufferable. Now to the dynastic tensions in Egypt during this reign a modern term, familiar but odious, may conveniently be applied: it was indeed a 'war of nerves' between the two rulers and their factions. Soter had but to secede from Alexandria—and not by any means as far afield as Cyrene, let alone Cyprus—while employing the title *Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες* of himself and his new wife, Kleopatra Selene,<sup>80</sup> for his mother's position to become precarious. Her riposte was to parade the name of Alexander, held perpetually *in terrorem*; and twice this gambit seemingly brought Soter to heel. On neither occasion do I think it likely that Alexander sat, however briefly, on the throne of Egypt or indeed even set sail from Cyprus. When he did succeed, we are expressly informed that he was at Pelusium lying in readiness—but by then the 'war of nerves' had been adroitly exchanged for a 'hot' one.

Now to these arguments of Otto and Bengtson which I find unconvincing—and with them I reckon their retrospective inclusion of the years of Alexander's *strategia* in his reign—it may further be objected that they are hard to reconcile with the Cypriot evidence. Otto and Bengtson did not concern themselves with Cyprus. But the complex titulature of the *strategos* of that island was highly sensitive to political vicissitudes. No less than thirty-three inscriptions of *strategoï* survive from the forty years which follow the death of Philometor; and to these another ten may be added of an equal political significance. By these each tenure of office, it would seem, and each dynastic phase is adequately documented. We might therefore expect documents which are demonstrably later than the death of Euergetes to reflect (if in no other way, by their scarcity or even non-existence) the dramatic reversals of fortune which Otto and Bengtson so ingeniously reconstruct: the *strategia* in effect usurped by Kleopatra IV, Alexander's four years of 'nominal' governorship, his kingship with its three restorations to the throne of Egypt.

Two documents, our no. 5 above and a votive plaque of Marium-Arsinoe, concern these first years. Both are of considerable interest. For the latter, inadequately published by myself, I now offer a revision.

(10) *A Plaque in honour of Kleopatra III and Ptolemy Soter II.*

Marium-Arsinoe: fragment of a white marble tablet, broken away to the left and above. Max. h. 0.185; w. 0.145; th. 0.043. Found at Polis-tis-Chrysochou in 1936 and brought to my notice by the then Commissioner of Paphos, it is now preserved in the local museum at Ktima. The inscription is lost to the left and possibly above also. Letters from 0.023 (l. 1) to 0.027 in h.; narrow, cramped and irregular, with conspicuous *apices*. FIG. 3.

*Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) 33 no. 15. Cf. W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 222.

[Βασιλίσσης Κ]λεοπάτρας  
[καὶ βασιλέως Π]τολεμαίου  
[Θεῶν Σωτ]ήρων

<sup>79</sup> But T. C. Skeat observes (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung* xxxix (1954) 36) that Otto and Bengtson 'have convincingly demonstrated that on at least two previous occasions Soter II had been temporarily dethroned in favour of his younger brother for short periods'. Cf. further Bengtson, *Die Strategie* iii 139 n. 4.

<sup>80</sup> Oliverio, *Documenti antichi dell' Africa Italiana* ii 259 ff. (*SEG* ix 5)—the letter of Soter and Kleopatra Selene to Cyrene. Further, the dedication of Stolos of Athens at Cyrene to the *Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες* and the decree of Cyrene in favour of these deities.



l. 3: *rho* is preceded almost certainly by the tip of an upright. The lettering of this line is broader, the *omega* indeed occupying as much space as three average letters above it. For the inscription as a whole the spacing of the extant letters is such that the proposed supplements would give it a vertical left margin.

Thus I now omit *ἐπέρ* at the beginning, reject [*Θεῶν Φιλομητόρων Σωτ*]*ήρων* at the end: the presence neither of the preposition nor of the historically easy *Φιλομητόρων* can be reconciled, I am convinced, with the width of stone and inscription, as given by our second line.

This fragment attests the recognition in Cyprus of Kleopatra III and Ptolemy (Philometor) Soter as joint sovereigns, with the mother, however, as the dominant partner. It must therefore belong to the years which immediately precede Alexander's elevation to the



FIG. 3. Inscription No. 10

throne of Cyprus. It further betrays that sympathy for the son which we have already encountered in the island; and we may note, incidentally, that 'Soter' by itself is the title favoured by this prince as king in Cyprus from 106–105 to 88 B.C.<sup>81</sup> There is a *dictum* of Otto and Bengtson that Soter *simpliciter* (or *Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες* to include Kleopatra V Selene, his second wife) indicates a temporary independence of the son from his mother.<sup>82</sup> This now calls for qualification. Mere sympathy for Soter would seem sufficient to exclude, at least in an unofficial context, the mockery of the term Philometor: a salutary warning against the fondness of some for interpreting such evidence according to their fancy, either as something to be taken on its strict face value or, alternatively, as propagandist.

<sup>81</sup> Six inscriptions testify to the use in Cyprus of the title Soter between 106–105 and Soter's death in 80 B.C.: (i) *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 17 (statue at Salamis). (ii) Unpublished inscription of Old Paphos, attesting the erection of a statue by the Aphrodite priesthood. (iii) *CIG* 2615 (T. B. Mitford, 1965 n. 115)—statue at New Paphos. (iv) *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 16 (altar at Citium in honour of Soter and his children). (v) *OGI* 172—a priest of

Ptolemy Soter. (vi) *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 18—priest of Ptolemy Soter. Exceptions are confined to documents which concern Berenike, Soter's daughter, wife of Alexander, co-regent of Soter after 88 B.C. These, *OGI* 174 and *JHS* xii (1891) no. 20, I shall discuss elsewhere.

<sup>82</sup> P. 175 n. 2: 'der 9. Ptolemäer den blossen Soter-beinamen nur in jener Zeit geführt hat, in der er mit seiner Mutter nicht vereint gewesen ist.'



To this same period is to be ascribed our no. 5. Of this, deplorably mutilated though it is, we may still say with certainty that it records the dedication of a statue of Helenos, as 'Kinsman' but not *strategos*. It further appears very likely that, as in our nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9, so here he was honoured as *τροφεύς* or tutor to Ptolemy Alexander I. Alexander, finally, is seemingly styled neither king (since *τ[οῦ βασιλέως]* is to be referred to his brother) nor governor. Now I imagine that Helenos, having attended Soter throughout the latter's brief *strategia*—for such, as we have seen, was then his proper function in the island—on Soter's recall remained, possibly as an acting governor, until after a lapse of weeks or it may be months (which we do not know) a successor arrived. This successor was likewise a prince and one whose childhood he had once tended. And so Helenos continues to render to him as courtier those services he had previously rendered to his brother. Pausanias remarks that Alexander was sent to Cyprus ostensibly indeed to govern—*λόγῳ μὲν στρατηγόν*—but in fact to make his mother through him the more formidable to Soter.<sup>83</sup> It is thus clear that neither Kleopatra III nor Alexander was content with a mere *strategia* of Cyprus. And this, I imagine, is reflected in our fifth inscription: the city of Salamis (if I have correctly restored the dedicant), while honouring the powerful Helenos and parading his intimate relationship with its master, tactfully omits to mention the latter's offices since these were distasteful to him. But be it noted that the mere presence of the experienced Helenos at precisely this time *without the strategia* implies that the governorship was then held by none other than Alexander himself. There is in fact no room for some unknown *στρατηγός* who might have been the tool of Kleopatra IV.

## ALEXANDER'S REIGN IN CYPRUS

Alexander in 114–113 proclaimed himself, with the collusion of his mother, king in Cyprus—and Helenos for the second time became governor of the island. Before this *strategia*, documented by our inscriptions nos. 6 to 9 inclusive, can be inspected in any detail, we should look closely at Alexander's kingship. Of this the evidence is provided in part by these same texts of Helenos, but more particularly by three pedestals and a stele from the Aphrodite temple of Old Paphos. Of these last one may fairly be described as unpublished.

- (11) *Ptolemaios and Ischyriion, Commanders of the Cypriot Fleet, erect the Statue of Ptolemy Alexander I as King in Cyprus.*

Kouklia (Old Paphos): pedestal of a slate-blue marble, except at edges and corners, complete. H. 0.33; w. 0.675; th. 0.82. The stone was inverted in the Severan era to carry a second statue, of which the inscription, *JHS* ix (1888) no. 86, was cut, not, as the editors state, on the back, but on one of the longer sides. To that period it is possible to ascribe the defacing of the present text. This last is itself seemingly palimpsest, and it would appear that our stone originally formed part of a composite pedestal of the third or early second century. Letters regular, lightly cut, from 0.014 to 0.021 in height. Found during excavation of the Aphrodite temple on March 21, 1888; now in the Kouklia Museum.

*JHS* ix (1888) 247 no. 93. Cf. T. B. Mitford, 133 n. 8; 148. PLATE III.

[[B]ασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον Θεὸν Ἀλέξαν[δρον]]  
 [[Πτολ]εμαῖος καὶ Ἰσχυ[ρί]ων, τῶν πρῶτω[ν]]  
 [[φίλ]ων τεταγμένοι δ' ἑπαρχοὶ τῶν κα[τὰ]]  
 [τῇν] νῆσον ἀποστόλων, εὐεργεσί[ας]]  
 [ἐνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς]

<sup>83</sup> Paus. i 9.2.



The editors could make nothing of this inscription, contenting themselves with offering for lines 4 and 5: . . . ὁ δὴ μ[ε]ν[ος] (ὁ) 'Ροδίων εὐεργεσί[ας] - - - ἔνεκα τῆς εἰ[ς] [ἐ]αυτοῦς. But its defacing is perfidious; and from squeezes enough is legible to establish a text which is throughout certain.

With the above we should consider *OGI* 181, which is today likewise in the Kouklia Museum. My revision confirms the published text:

Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον Θεὸν  
'Αλέξανδρον 'Ισίδωρος 'Ελένου  
'Αντιοχεὺς ὁ συγγενὴς καὶ  
ἀρχεδέατρος εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκεν.

Of great interest are the royal titles. Otto and Bengtson ignore *OGI* 181 in their discussion of Alexander's throne-names, and we may presume that they dismissed it as an expression of provincial ignorance. But the Aphrodite temple, far from being parochial, was in fact, as one of the great religious centres of the Hellenistic world, an important station for the transmission of propaganda. M. L. Strack ascribed *OGI* 181 to the eighteen days of Alexander II, and for this was duly taken to task by Dittenberger: that a reign so brief, so violently terminated should be attested epigraphically is all but incredible. But Dittenberger himself was content to demonstrate that the royal title of *OGI* 181, while it was to be referred to Alexander I, was without parallel—and therefore by implication without significance. This is not now the case. Two statues of this king were set up in the most frequented sanctuary of his kingdom by three of his most influential subordinates. The inscriptions cut beneath them were clearly well informed and can only mean that Alexander favoured for these few years of his Cypriot kingship an odd and distinctive title. Whereas his brother—when he had the chance—fancied himself as the God Soter, thus recalling the founder of the Ptolemaic monarchy, Alexander by merely displacing his personal name, could improve upon this: he became the God Alexander, architect of the Hellenistic world. Even after the return to Alexandria some trace of the Cypriot usage persists, for this, I believe, is the explanation of the remarkable *Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος Σωτήρος 'Αλεξάνδρου*<sup>84</sup> recorded for the year 10, and not (I think) noticed by Otto and Bengtson. As for the Seleucid royal letter of September 6, 109, this admittedly is addressed to 'King Ptolemy also known as Alexander', but it is no stumbling-block to our argument, for not only is it foreign but it speaks to a wider audience than Cyprus.<sup>85</sup>

Inscriptions attest the maintenance by Alexander of a court in Cyprus. Isidore of Antioch, son of Helenos, Kinsman and ἀρχεδέατρος in *OGI* 181, was on his own showing a courtier pure and simple, albeit of the highest rank. The presence of a Chief Taster to the King, a functionary attested epigraphically only for later Ptolemaic times but in origin Achaemenid,<sup>86</sup> in itself implies an establishment of considerable pretensions. But we must pause at this point to ask whether the father of this Isidore is (as has indeed been suggested)<sup>87</sup> the Helenos who at this precise date was governing the island. Helenos is a name of North Greek associations and heroic flavour, distinctly uncommon in Ptolemaic

<sup>84</sup> Cited by Dittenberger under *OGI* 181 from *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, xviii 2 (1865) 130 no. 5 col. 1.

<sup>85</sup> *OGI* 257 (C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence* nos. 71 and 72)—a grant of freedom to Seleucia in Pieria, advertised both in Cyprus and in Rome. I would add that *OGI* 257 is remarkable as the only foreign inscription of a public character to be found at Old Paphos. The Aphrodite temple, for all its fame, was no cosmopolitan centre like Delos or Delphi, either in Classical or Hellenistic or Roman

times. Its importance for the dissemination of propaganda was confined to the Ptolemaic empire.

<sup>86</sup> Dittenberger under *OGI* 169. Cf. further *Inscr. Délos* 1534; Oliverio, *Documenti Antichi dell' Africa Italiana* i 71 no. 9. The ἀρχεδέατρος was ἐπιστάτης τῆς ὅλης διακονίας: 'son service (observes Durrbach) s'étendit . . . à tout le service de la maison royale'. I would add that the four occurrences known to me are later than the death of Euergetes II.

<sup>87</sup> So Strack under his no. 149; Dittenberger under *OGI* 181.



Egypt, in Cyprus otherwise unknown.<sup>88</sup> It may be argued that it was Isidore and not his father who was a citizen of Antioch; that no less than two daughters and a sister of Euergetes found their way, either as brides or fugitives, to Seleucid courts—and presumably they went not unescorted. It is thus possible to invent a career for a son of Helenos of Cyrene (for our no. 3 need only imply that at the end of Euergetes' reign Helenos had no son in the island): a departure for Syria (shall we say) with (Kleopatra) Tryphaina, when she was sent as bride to Antiochos Grypos; the award of citizenship by Antioch, and on the execution of that queen by Antiochos Kyzikenos in 113 flight to Cyprus and the service of Alexander. But this is unprofitable speculation; and we may note against the identification that it is (I believe) unprecedented for a father and son simultaneously to enjoy the same high rank.<sup>89</sup> Thus the possibility that Isidore of Antioch (who may incidentally be the honorand of a contemporaneous Paphian decree)<sup>90</sup> was the son of Helenos of Cyrene must, on the evidence available to us, be disregarded: we cannot look as yet to *OGI* 181 for fresh information about the latter. To return, however, to Alexander's court. I have elsewhere considered the position of Aristokrates of *OGI* 163, 'Kinsman', *ὑπομνηματογράφος* and member of the Cypriot Dionysiac guild.<sup>91</sup> The *ὑπομνηματογράφοι* to the king in Alexandria and to his great *διοικητής* were among the grand functionaries of the realm; and I have argued that such a 'Secretary of State' could be found in Cyprus only when the island had an independent sovereign. Lochos son of Kallimedes served Euergetes (as I believe) in this capacity between the years 131 and 129;<sup>92</sup> while the manner in which the Dionysiac Artists are in *OGI* 163 described—with no mention of the *Θεοὶ Ἐνεργεῖται*—would seem to preclude the reign of Soter.<sup>93</sup> Some slight support for a later

<sup>88</sup> The name is best known in Helenos, son of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. As an indication of its rarity, I would point out that it occurs neither in Launey's exhaustive lists of the mercenaries and military cleruchs of the Hellenistic world, nor in the volumes of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* which are concerned with civil administration, army and police, nor again in the list of Alexandrian citizens in E. Vissar's *Alexandrinische Kulte*. Cf., however, Eirene d. of Helenos, *kanephoros* of 204–203 B.C. (*JEA* xl (1954) 47).

<sup>89</sup> But it might be argued that Isidore as a citizen of Antioch owed his high rank to Seleucid service. Again, if the father of Isidore of Antioch was Helenos of Cyrene, we would certainly expect some mention of Helenos' rank and office. Such was the invariable practice with Theodoros when serving under the command of his father. But, against this, we may note (1) that the rare name Helenos, if used without qualification in the confined circle of Alexander's Cypriot court, could not fail to suggest the *strategos* of the island; (2) that Isidore may deem that he has sufficient dignity to need no reflected glory from his father; alternatively, that his father was of such distinction as to require, like the *strategoi* of the third century, no mention of their titles. Mr. Fraser observes that Isidore, if the son of Helenos of Cyrene, should 'in a document outside Antioch call himself *Κυρηναῖος καὶ Ἀντιοχεύς*: that he is *Ἀντιοχεύς* only is *prima facie* a conclusive argument that he was not directly related'. And yet Seleukos, who was a citizen of both Rhodes and Alexandria, in Cyprus, far from giving both, gives neither.

<sup>90</sup> *JHS* ix (1888) no. 94 (*BCH* li (1927) 145)—a decree of the Dionysiac Artists, dated by the style of their title (cf. n. 93 below) either to Euergetes II or Ptolemy Alexander, in honour of an Isidoros, whose patronymic, rank (if any) and office are lost to us. That this decree and *OGI* 181 concern the same man is accepted by Strack under his no. 149.

<sup>91</sup> T. B. Mitford, 162 and n. 102.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 160 f.

<sup>93</sup> Within the Ptolemaic empire the Dionysiac Artists were closely connected with the ruling dynasty and played a propagandist role (*ibid.* 136 n. 14). Thus with Dionysus were regularly associated the parents of the reigning sovereign. Under Euergetes I we have for example the *Θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί* (*OGI* 50, 51); while in *SEG* vi 813 (T. B. Mitford, no. 10), seemingly the earliest Cypriot Dionysiac text, of the first years of Euergetes II, the Artists would appear to have named the *Θεοὶ Ἐπιφανεῖς*. After 142, however, with three sovereigns on the throne of Egypt, two the children of the *Θεοὶ Ἐπιφανεῖς*, one of the *Θεοὶ Φιλομήτορες*, they preserved a discreet silence. Nor did the death of Euergetes lessen the Artists' embarrassment: early in 115 B.C. to suppress the memory of the second Kleopatra the cult of the *Θεοὶ Ἐνεργεῖται* was banned, so that the *Θεὸς Ἐνεργεῖτης* thereafter appears alone. Alexander as king in Cyprus complied with his mother's will: Soter after 106–105 was at some pains to flaunt it. Hence the presence of the *Θεοὶ Ἐνεργεῖται* in the Artists' title in *OGI* 164, 166 (discussed below, n. 108) and *LBW* 2794 (Strack, no. 121).



rather than an earlier date is to be found in the omission after *συγγενοῦς* of the words *τοῦ βασιλέως*, an omission which is (with the sole exception of our no. 4) foreign, we have noted, to the epigraphic usages of Cyprus for the reign of Euergetes. We may therefore ascribe with some confidence *OGI* 163 to Alexander and accordingly conclude that he maintained a chancellery in the island.

The naval and military resources at the disposal of Alexander are not easily assessed. In general, however, it is clear that the organisation imposed at the outset of the preceding reign upon the island had by then in great measure broken down. This I have recently described in some detail,<sup>94</sup> but of the conclusions I then reached some must now be modified. Numerous inscriptions show that the powerful garrison of Cyprus was in 142 B.C. reorganised by Euergetes to such effect that thereafter—so long as his system persisted—the terms *στρατιῶται* and *δυνάμεις* do not occur.<sup>95</sup> In their stead we hear only of the *κοινά* of various ethnic groups. Thus the Lycians, for example, appear on no less than five occasions as the *κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων Λυκίων*; and military *κοινά* occur in all twelve times under Euergetes. Their officers were styled *οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων* e.g., *Λυκίων*—if we may generalise from the slender evidence which concerns them. I am further of opinion that the Lycian, Cilician and Ionian regiments were stationed permanently at New Paphos; Cretans, Thracians and others at Salamis; but I should add that in this Euergetes was apparently no innovator, for Lycians are conspicuous in the inscriptions of Paphos as early as the times of the first Euergetes, and at Salamis Cretans are to be found under Philometor.<sup>96</sup> Now to one surveying the Cypriot scene epigraphically for (shall I say) the century which follows the death of Epiphanes, certain landmarks become conspicuous. One such is the year 116 B.C. To confine myself to a class of documents as formal as the inscribed pedestals of statues, and to consider only the reign of Euergetes II: I note here seventeen 'military' inscriptions as against fifteen 'civil'.<sup>97</sup> I would add that *στρατηγοί* as such I reckon in the latter class, which includes incidentally our inscriptions, nos. 1 to 4. This military preponderance is somewhat more accentuated in the final eighteen years, the effective portion, of Philometor's reign.<sup>98</sup> After 116 B.C. however, there is a remarkable change. Of nine inscriptions from the first decade two only, our nos. 7 and 11, I class in the first category, and for the subsequent quarter of

<sup>94</sup> T. B. Mitford, 148–53.

<sup>95</sup> The sole exception is provided by the title of the (*γραμματεὺς*) *τῶν πεζικῶν καὶ ἱππικῶν δυνάμεων*: *OGI* 155.

<sup>96</sup> For Lycians and their neighbours serving in Paphos before the time of Euergetes: (1) *JHS* ix (1888) no. 103 (Launey, 470, 1222), an Aspendian, probably a soldier, of the mid-third century; (2) *JHS* ix (1888) no. 15 (Launey, 462, 849, 1221), eight mercenaries, of whom seven are Lycians; (3) *JHS* lv (1935) 75 ff. (Launey, 465, 957, 1015, 1061, 1220), a native of Patara, a high-ranking officer, honoured by troops who, from their worship of Leto, are themselves doubtless Lycians. For Salamis, the evidence is both later and very much less conclusive: *S. B. bayr. Ak.* 1888, 317 no. 6 (T. B. Mitford, 136 n. 14), seemingly of the reign of Philometor, concerns a native of Hierapytna; *OGI* 154 (T. B. Mitford, 169 n. 133) names a certain *Αεῦκος* who may be a Cretan. Both men, however, were honoured as *γραμματεῖς τῶν δυνάμεων* and not as soldiers: their presence does nothing to establish the existence of Cretan troops at Salamis before Euergetes.

<sup>97</sup> To consider inscriptions from Cyprus only, in the former category we have: *OGI* 108 (T. B. Mitford, 151 n. 68), 143, 145, 146, 147 (*ibid.* no. 24), 153, 157, 159 (*ibid.* no. 12), 162; *JHS* ix (1888) no. 11 (T. B. Mitford, no. 2), no. 12b (*ibid.* no. 17), no. 44, no. 71 (*ibid.* no. 28); *JHS* lvii (1937) no. 11 (T. B. Mitford, no. 26); *ibid.* no. 3, no. 21; *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 13 (A. Wilhelm, *Klio* xlviii *Beiheft* 1943, 53 ff.). To the latter category belong: *OGI* 152, 155, 160, 161; *JHS* ix (1888) no. 1 (T. B. Mitford, no. 30), no. 30, no. 92 (*ibid.* no. 25); *SEG* vi no. 809 (*ibid.* 146 n. 33), no. 813 (*ibid.* no. 10); *ibid.* no. 7, no. 9, no. 16 (*OGI* 156 + 158); our inscriptions nos. 1, 2 and 4 above.

<sup>98</sup> The proportion in official documents datable to the period between 163 and 145 B.C. is eight military to some five civil. In 163 Philometor became effectively the master of both Egypt and Cyprus; but in that same year the island was 'given' by Rome to Euergetes then in possession of Cyrene. Philometor's defiance of this gift coincided with his reinforcement and reorganisation of the Cypriot garrison: T. B. Mitford, 150.



a century the proportion is three out of twelve.<sup>99</sup> Certain conclusions may fairly be drawn from these figures. The formidable garrison of Philometor and the earlier years of Euergetes was manifestly a thing of the past. How far the strength of Cyprus was depleted by Euergetes for his reconquest of Egypt, we do not know. How far, if indeed at all, these withdrawals were made good is a fit subject for conjecture. In the governorship of Theodoros admittedly the Paphian *κοινά* are prominent;<sup>100</sup> but to this very period are to be ascribed the two *κοινά*, Thracian and Ionian, which have *συμπολιτευόμενοι* to bring their numbers up to establishment.<sup>101</sup> The Romans were encroaching drastically upon the recruiting areas, and simultaneously the Ptolemies, impoverished by civil war, had ceased to be attractive patrons. Indeed, it may be no mere chance that of our first four inscriptions, not one is military. Thus the exploit of Kleopatra IV was at the expense of a garrison already enfeebled, and must have inflicted a further blow alike to its strength and its morale. Now I have argued that Euergetes relieved the lesser cities of Cyprus of their local garrisons, to concentrate upon Paphos, the island's capital and headquarters of the *strategos*, upon Salamis and possibly Citium.<sup>102</sup> It was from Salamis, I imagine, that the young Kleopatra took her army, with the *strategos* Alexander and his entourage (which included, we presume, Helenos) relegated to the comparative remoteness of Paphos. There may have been little indeed to stop her, the more so as the last *ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως* or commandant of Salamis known to us was Theodoros in the *strategia* of his father; and there is good reason to suppose that after him the office was discontinued there as it had been elsewhere throughout the island.<sup>103</sup> There can have been no easy scapegoat on whom Kleopatra III could vent her indignation, since the *strategos* was none other than her favourite son, while Helenos, then a courtier without administrative responsibility, had his alibi. But these losses also, I take it, were never repaired, for it was unprofitable to maintain so far from Alexandria troops of a suspect loyalty when the ancient threat of a Seleucid invasion of the island, with Syria torn by protracted civil war, had become negligible. Our no. 7 is the last mention in Cyprus of the military *κοινά* of Euergetes' system, and the sole reference to land forces from the decade of Alexander's Cypriot sojourn.

In somewhat sharp contrast, our no. 11 is no relic of a disintegrating system: what it says is new and surprising. Two officers, otherwise unknown to us, command the naval forces based upon Cyprus. We may conjecture if we wish that they had separate commands at Paphos and at Salamis. Now Roman fleets had been operating in Greek waters for a full century, and the title of these officers is simply a Greek rendering of *praefecti classis*. *Ἐπαρχος* for *praefectus* is to be found as early as Polybius; and, if we must have epigraphic parallels with a naval connotation, we may point to its use in *LBW* 1841 of Aradus for Decimus Laelius, commander of Pompey's fleet, and in *SEG* iv 102 for Octavian. *Ἀπόστολος* in the sense of *στόλος*, while seemingly foreign both to papyri and the

<sup>99</sup> The three military inscriptions of Soter's Cypriot reign are: *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 16; *JHS* ix (1888) no. 67; *JHS* xii (1891) no. 20 (Strack no. 137).

<sup>100</sup> The Lycians: *JHS* ix (1888) no. 12b (T. B. Mitford, 17); *OGI* 162; *JHS* ix (1888) no. 45 (T. B. Mitford, no. 21). The Cilicians: *OGI* 157. The Ionians: *OGI* 145 (if, as I now suspect, this inscription concerns Theodoros).

<sup>101</sup> *OGI* 143, 145.

<sup>102</sup> T. B. Mitford, 152. Throughout the Hellenistic period Citium was clearly, alike from the military and the administrative aspect, the third city of Cyprus. From the reign of Epiphanes and the minority of Philometor two military inscriptions survive (*CIG* 2623; *IBM* 388) in addition to the

epitaph of an officer (*CIG* 2613). Thereafter we have nothing to suggest that Citium had any share in the military activity of the later years of Philometor and of Euergetes. The presence of the Larnaka Amnesty (*Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 14), like the Larnaka Altar of Soter's day (*ibid.* no. 16), is perhaps to be ascribed to abnormal circumstances. I believe that Citium lost the standing garrison which, with the other cities of the island, it had possessed since the outset of the Ptolemaic period, when at the beginning of Euergetes' reign the *ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως* was suppressed here as elsewhere in Cyprus—with, however, the temporary exception of Salamis.

<sup>103</sup> For Theodoros, *ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος*, cf. *OGI* 155. For the position of Salamis in this matter, cf. the preceding note.



inscriptions, is well attested by Lysias and Demosthenes.<sup>104</sup> From the very outset of the Ptolemaic period ships and the command of the sea played a vital part in the fortunes of Cyprus; but of this the inscriptions tell us virtually nothing. In 142 B.C., however, *ναύαρχος* was added to the titles of Seleukos as governor of the island; and it was retained by his successors, Krokos and Theodoros. In a recent examination of the Cypriot *ναυαρχία* I observe, when confronted with the anomalies which the career of Helenos in this respect presented, that 'as long as Cyprus and Egypt were under separate kings, the command of the fleet was retained naturally at Alexandria, so that a king in Cyprus had not the *ναυαρχία* to bestow'.<sup>105</sup> In our *ἐπαρχοὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀποστόλων* I found proof of this contention, for their command was expressly limited to such forces as were stationed in the island and was clearly devised to compensate for the loss of the *ναυαρχία*. But the career of Helenos has now to be re-written in the light of new evidence; and in the process my earlier *credo* is in some measure discredited. I must therefore finish the story of Helenos before I can restate my views on the Cypriot *ναυαρχία*.

#### THE SECOND STRATEGIA OF HELENOS AND THE CYPRIOT NAUARCHIA

Helenos became for the second time governor of Cyprus on the assumption of royalty by his master in 114-113 B.C. Our inscriptions, nos. 6, 7 and 8, are significant partly for their uniformity, suggesting as this does an uneventful *strategia*. No. 6, in which occurs the almost unparalleled and seemingly accidental precedence<sup>106</sup> of *ἀρχιερεὺς* over *στρατηγός*, emphasises (with yet another Salaminian text of like date, which is still to be published) the increasing influence during this period of the Dionysiac Artists. Their Cypriot inscriptions, which I listed in 1953, have now become nine: of these, three belong to Alexander (as against three for Euergetes and three for Soter's reign in Cyprus). The sudden intrusion of this truculent guild denotes a weakening in the authority of the *strategos* in his capacity of High Priest: a further indication that the central government was losing the power to maintain its old tight grip.<sup>107</sup> In the Aphrodite temple also statues of Helenos were set up, as we have noted, by garrison troops of New Paphos (no. 7) and by the Priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite—those same priests who but a few years before had honoured in like manner Helenos and his womenfolk (no. 3). In these few years, however, the times had changed: a statue under the later Ptolemies was less a work of art than a political manifesto.

With our ninth inscription comes a notable change. Here for the first time in his long connection with the island Helenos is *ναύαρχος* and, significantly, priest for life of Kleopatra III as the goddess Aphrodite Euergetis. It may safely be assumed that his authority as governor had been abruptly enlarged; that, whereas during the years immediately preceding the naval resources of the island could be adequately entrusted to two *ἐπαρχοὶ*

<sup>104</sup> *Ἀπόστολος* is not recorded in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*. Cf., however, Lysias xix 21; Demosthenes iii 5, etc. Further, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1629, l. 243 (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 305, lines 85-6), of 325-324 B.C.

To Mr. Fraser I owe a valuable note on *ἀπόστολος*. 'In the inscription *ἀπόστολος* is very little different from *ἀποστολή*: *ὥς ἂν ὁ ἀπόστολος γένηται*. Boeckh translates this "bis die Flotte abgegangen ist" (*Urkunden* 171), which gives the right sense. So also in the Orators. Lysias speaks of (*ἀργύριον*) *εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον* and Demosthenes iii 5 has *ἀφείτ' - - τὸν ἀπόστολον*. I find this meaning of departure or equipment of a fleet hard to combine with *ἐπαρχος*, unless it refers to ships despatched from Egypt. . . . It is worth recording that according to Hesychius *ἀπόστολος* also equals *στρατηγός κατὰ πλοῦν πεμπόμενος*.

We may then suppose that these ships were originally sent to Cyprus from Alexandria to enhance the power of Alexander's somewhat unstable kingdom, deprived as this was of the *navarchia*.

<sup>105</sup> *Opusc. Ath.* i (1953), 147.

<sup>106</sup> A similar precedence of *ἀρχιερεὺς* over *στρατηγός* in *JHS* ix (1888) no. 92 (T. B. Mitford, no. 25) I ascribe to confusion caused by Krokos' abnormal titulary.

<sup>107</sup> It is noteworthy that the Priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite (above, n. 15) and the Dionysiac Artists (above, n. 93) make a simultaneous entry upon the Cypriot scene at the outset of Euergetes' reign. Euergetes, to combat his unpopularity (above, p. 112), clearly made drastic concessions to both these bodies.



with the rank of Chief Friend, Cyprus had now become once more, as under the first three *strategoi* of Euergetes, headquarters of the Ptolemaic Mediterranean fleet. This command had then been and now was once more vested in the *strategia* of the island. All this can only mean that Cyprus and Egypt were again united. Now we have seen that Soter, ejected from Egypt in the last week of October 107 B.C., was promptly supplanted by Alexander, already at Pelusium awaiting his recall. We are informed, indeed, that Soter sought refuge in Cyprus; but he was soon forced by 'Kleopatra's general' to continue his flight to Seleucia-in-Pieria, this general incidentally being executed for permitting the escape. Admittedly, in 106-105 B.C., Soter successfully re-established himself in the island; but there was, nevertheless, a brief period when Kleopatra's ambitions had achieved their goal. How brief, we do not know. How long Soter maintained himself in Cyprus after the beginning of November 107—whether he was master of all, as I now believe, or part only of the island—when precisely between September 19, 106, and September 17, 105 B.C., he returned, we cannot tell.<sup>108</sup> It was an interval certainly of months, possibly of something more than a year. That our ninth inscription is a document of this period is, to my thinking, unquestionable, more particularly when Helenos' new priesthood is taken into consideration. This, we must bear in mind, is not qualified by *τῆς νήσου* and is expressly stated to be held for life. Otto, discussing the cult of Kleopatra III as Aphrodite argues not merely that it is to be dated to the joint reign of this queen and her younger son, but that it actually marks the inauguration of that reign.<sup>109</sup>

At this point we may turn to the Brussels papyrus, which is precisely dated to the same brief season of Kleopatra's triumph. Now I will not be intimidated into a denial that the Helenos whose career we have patiently followed from its Cypriot beginnings to this, the climax of his *strategia*, is the same man as the Helenos of the papyrus, [*τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς νήσου καὶ ναυάρχου καὶ γραμματ[έως] τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλῆαν*]. To claim that two contemporaneous occurrences of the same unusual name with the same unique

<sup>108</sup> Soter's reconquest of Cyprus followed closely upon his ejection. How closely, however, we do not know. Otto and Bengtson do not commit themselves on this point (p. 186): 'Soter ist die Rückkehr nach Kypern geglückt, und verschiedene Versuche der Königin in den folgenden Jahren bis 103 v. Chr. die Insel zurückzuerobern sind misslungen'; and the Larnaka Altar (*Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 16) is set 'frühestens im Jahre 107-106' (*Nachträge* 223). But the date is very probably given by the inscription *OGI* 166, wherein one Kallippos *τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Θεοῦς Εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν* (n. 93 above) and *γραμματεὺς* of the city of Paphos, has as his culminating distinction a successful year as gymnasiarch, *γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καλῶς τὸ ἔβ' L*. The year 12 is correctly referred by Dittenberger to Soter, and accordingly falls between September 19, 106, and September 17, 105 B.C. His further comment *eo anno hic titulus exaratus est* is, however, inaccurate: the date qualifies only the aorist participle which immediately precedes it, while the presence of the definite article in the accusative case can only denote that throughout the year in question Kallippos comported himself as gymnasiarch to the satisfaction of his native city. *OGI* 166 was thus cut after, but in all probability very shortly after, 106-105 B.C. The gymnasiarch of the Hellenistic age was an official, we have noted, of much political and social influence, in particular with troops either stationed or settled

in his city; and Kallippos' city was the capital of Cyprus. By the excellence of his performance, I take it, it is meant that he played a prominent part in the successful restoration of Soter—for this surely was the particular significance of the year 12. He is congratulated by Paphos after, but not long after, the conclusion of his year of office; for the queen included in the *Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν* is, I imagine, the second and not the third Kleopatra: Soter was doubtless eager to revive forthwith, as a mark of his independent sovereignty, the cult of his old ally, suppressed in Egypt since 115; whereas towards his mother, even after her death in 101, he can have felt no piety. I thus find no argument in the *Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν* of *OGI* 166 for placing that inscription after this last date. If a chronology of this difficult period may be hazarded on the testimony of *OGI* 166, it would seem (a) that Soter was in the island from the beginning of November 107 until in the following spring an expedition could be mounted against him from Egypt; (b) that the remainder of the year 106 may be allotted (to anticipate our conclusions) to the triumph of Helenos; (c) that Soter's return belongs possibly to the winter of 106-105, probably to the spring of 105 B.C.

<sup>109</sup> P. 157: 'Man könnte sogar vermuten, dass Kleopatra . . . der neuen Regierungsära eine besondere Weihe durch Schöpfung eines neuen Priester-tums hat geben wollen.'



office concern distinct individuals—merely to bolster up a *credo* rendered untenable by fresh evidence, is to stultify the methods and the aims of prosopography. I propose therefore to use the Brussels papyrus without more ado as a valuable addition to the *testimonia* of the Helenos I am considering. Otto and Bengtson curtly reject the restoration [διὰ βίου] as incompatible with an eponymous priesthood. But equally incongruous in this context is the catalogue of titles which follows the name of Helenos' father; and, in effect, we have here, inserted by the royal will into the dating formula of the year 107–106 B.C., a proclamation announcing the fulfilment of Kleopatra's programme. It takes the novel form of listing Helenos' offices—and I can cite no precedent for the remarkable emphasis placed by a reigning Ptolemy upon a subject. In consequence, since we are here dealing with the thoroughly abnormal, I find it hard to share Otto's distaste for [διὰ βίου]: of equally little use chronologically was, shall we say, Eirene's eponymous priesthood of Arsinoe Philopator, held by her for life or the king's pleasure, and in fact for twenty-eight or twenty-nine consecutive years.<sup>110</sup> In yet another attempt to dissociate papyrus from inscription, Otto points to τῆς καὶ Φιλομήτορος in the one, Εὐεργετίδος in the other. That both refer to the same queen is, however, not open to doubt; and we have noted in our no. 10 a possible Cypriot reluctance to apply to Kleopatra III the title Philometor with its happier connotations.

The papyrus is at pains to show that Helenos, by combining in his person offices which were insular—the *strategia*, the High Priesthood—with others which were imperial—the naval high command, the secretaryship of the navy—proves the return of Cyprus to the fold. The inscription, under no such compulsion, leaves ναύαρχον to be qualified by τῆς νήσου in its normal position as the second title of the governor. That the ναυαρχία of Cyprus in fact denoted command of the Ptolemaic navies for the Mediterranean and indeed (as the papyrus expressly states) for the whole empire, was in the island a commonplace which called for no comment.<sup>111</sup> In contrast, the γραμματεὺς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ is an officer

<sup>110</sup> *JEA* xl (1954) 47–51: her priesthood extended from 199–198 to 172–171 B.C. and very possibly embraced the year 171–170 likewise. The same priesthood was enjoyed by Artemo, daughter of Seleukos, from 141–140 to 116–115, her last recorded appearance. In like manner Soter occupied the priesthood of Alexander seemingly throughout his reign—with one brief interruption (n. 76 above); and there is reason to think that Alexander did likewise. In fact, by the year 107–106 the eponymous priesthoods of Alexandria had lost their chronological significance to political expediency; and the scribes do not bother with them after precisely this year.

<sup>111</sup> For the view that the *nauarchia* extended to the entire empire, cf. Tarn in *JHS* xxxi (1911) 256 ff.; *JHS* liii (1933) 61 ff. Tarn (who was not concerned with the *nauarchia* in relation to Cyprus) was further of opinion that the tenure of this office was for ten years: an opinion which cannot now be sustained. Cf. in this connexion De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* lxi (1933) 541. It must be conceded that Tarn's conception of the *nauarchia* has not been well received. It is criticised by Strack, *RE* xvi 1894 and recently by Bengtson, *Die Strategie* iii 143 f. There can indeed be little doubt that *strategoi* of Cyprus, at least for those two well-documented generations which precede 142 B.C., did in fact command warships based on Cypriot ports: firstly, these cannot have been

numerous, for throughout the period references to ships would be entirely wanting—were it not for the πεζοὶ καὶ καὶ ναυτικά[ς δυνάμεις] to whom the royal letter appended to the Larnaka Amnesty of (it is generally thought) 144 B.C. addresses itself—and then presumably the conditions were thoroughly abnormal, since Euergetes had just reduced by force a hostile island (*Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) no. 14); secondly, the *strategos*' authority was in every sphere of Cypriot life, military, religious and economic, so overpowering that it is difficult to admit an exception in naval affairs. At the close, however, of Philometor's reign Egypt evacuated her Aegean bases, Itanos and Thera; and I believe that squadrons stationed at these were now withdrawn to Cyprus, their command added to the functions of the *strategos*, his enhanced authority in these matters now made explicit. In support of the contention that the *nauarchia* of Cyprus from its inception in 142 B.C. (cf. T. B. Mitford, 147) embraced the Mediterranean, if not indeed the entire empire (as the Brussels papyrus attests for the year 107–106), are these considerations. Firstly, at no period is the *nauarchia* attested at Alexandria; and, secondly, it would seem that the *nauarchos* of the mid-third century, although based indeed upon the Aegean, included Cyprus within his province, and therefore in effect controlled all those waters. This last contention is based upon the inscription cut beneath the



otherwise unknown, alike in Cyprus and in Egypt. His counterpart, the *γραμματεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων* or *τῶν πεζικῶν καὶ ἱππικῶν δυνάμεων* occurs in the island with some regularity under Epiphanes, Philometor and at the outset of Euergetes' reign; but thereafter it vanishes.<sup>112</sup> It is conceivable that, with the Cypriot garrison reduced in size, the *γραμματεία* τῶν δυνάμεων was subsumed under the *strategia*. Possibly the *ναυαρχία* in like manner comprised the *γραμματεία τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*. This, unfamiliar in Egypt, it might be considered expedient to make explicit.

We may now with profit look more closely at Justin's brief narrative of these events.<sup>113</sup> Kleopatra III, not content with the ejection of Soter, *bello Cypri exultantem persequitur*. And he adds *unde pulso, interfecit ducem exercitus sui quod vivum eum e manibus emisisset*. These words can only mean that Soter had established himself in the island so effectively that it required the despatch of a force from Egypt and a selected commander to dislodge him. From this we may fairly deduce that Soter, since he fled destitute from Egypt, owed what strength he had to desertions from the local garrison; that Cyprus was then very probably under a deputy, since Soter's success would otherwise have done serious damage to Helenos' reputation; that Helenos, although *strategos*, was not given the command of the expeditionary force. I am tempted therefore to offer yet another reconstruction of these events. Helenos, I suggest, escorted Alexander on his return, thus leaving his province an easy conquest for the well-liked Soter. The recovery of Cyprus Kleopatra understandably entrusted, not to an elderly courtier and administrator, but to a soldier. And in due course Helenos, having participated (we may suppose) in the pomps and festivities which inaugurated the new reign, having functioned (it may be) as Kleopatra's priest, retired laden with his honours to resume his governorship. That he was permanently resident in Alexandria is not to be inferred from the papyrus. Indeed, its use of *νήσου* for the *Κύπρου* properly employed outside the island is a strong indication to the contrary.<sup>114</sup> These offices are Cypriot offices which in the *nauparchia* impinge upon Egypt; and we are not, *pace* Professor Otto, concerned here with a *ναύαρχος* and *γραμματεὺς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*, stationed in Alexandria but with an authority extended over the entire kingdom, who on the reunion with Cyprus, *ex officio* took that island under his wing.<sup>115</sup> The precedence of the *strategia* over the *nauparchia*

statue of Kallikrates son of Boiskos, the celebrated admiral of Arsinoe Philadelphos (*cf.* Launey, i 237 n. 6) in the Aphrodite temple of Old Paphos (*JHS* ix (1888) no. 99 = Meyer, 19, n. 67, an inscription unknown to Launey): this neither names the dedicant, nor gives his motive—it is content to acclaim Kallikrates simply as *ναύαρχος*. The implication is that his command included Cyprus.

<sup>112</sup> *Cf.* n. 47 above. Hombert and Préaux are mistaken in their assertion, *Chron. d'Égypte*, xiii (1938) 145, that a governor of Cyprus added to the other titles he enjoyed under Euergetes that of *γραμματεὺς τῶν πεζικῶν καὶ ἱππικῶν δυνάμεων*. 'Les fonctions de secrétaire des forces d'infanterie et de cavalerie de l'île semblent s'être ajoutées, au cours du règne d'Evergète II, à celles que cumulait déjà le gouverneur de Chypre' is the conclusion they base upon this mistake. The inscription *OGI* 154 does not in fact concern a *strategos* of the island (T. B. Mitford, 169 n. 132); while in *OGI* 155 it is the son of the *strategos*, who is secretary to the forces. It is indeed conceivable that the *strategos*, as his forces diminished in importance, assumed the *γραμματεία* but this is neither stated nor suggested by any Cypriot text: it is a conjecture, which may be of

service in explaining Helenos' title, *γραμματεὺς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*, in the Brussels papyrus.

<sup>113</sup> Justin xxxix 4.2.

<sup>114</sup> In connexion with its governor's title Cyprus within the island is invariably *ἡ νῆσος*; in foreign inscriptions which concern him (*OGI* 117, 140, 151; *SGDI* iv 1036; *Inscr. Cret.* i Lebena 33) only *Κύπρος* is to be found. The Brussels papyrus regards the titular of Helenos in this particular not from the Egyptian but from the Cypriot angle. In this connexion, it is noteworthy that the Dionysiac Artists (n. 93, above) speak of their Cypriot secretariat only—because theirs was an organisation notoriously international. The *δυνάμεις* of Philometor's 'new model army' (T. B. Mitford, 150) are stationed *ἐν Κύπρῳ*—to remind us that many of Philometor's garrison troops were of recent importation, in particular from Crete (*OGI* 116; Holleaux, *Arch. Pap.* vi (1920) 9; with the comments of Hill, 192 n. 2). In contrast, Euergetes' ethnic *κοινά* are invariably composed *τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων* —, save in those dedications made in foreign parts (*OGI* 151; *Inscr. Cret.* i Lebena 33 = *Rev. Phil.* xiii (1939) 153 f.).

<sup>115</sup> P. 185.



would in itself render such a notion untenable; while Cyprus could not be left to an 'absentee' *strategos*, an inviting target for the exiled Soter. From the *strategia* of Nikokreon, king of Salamis, to that of Demetrios and the eve of Actium, Cyprus knew no such creature.<sup>116</sup> I see no good reason to invent one at this critical moment in the island's history: the more so as the inscription actually implies the physical presence of Helenos in the island at this time.

It is now some years since I suggested tentatively that Soter, until his flight before Kleopatra's general, controlled the east of Cyprus only.<sup>117</sup> This suggestion I based upon the fact that the two Salaminian inscriptions then known to me, our nos. 5 and 9, were both defaced, the two Paphian, nos. 7 and 8, undamaged. As the erection of such statues was primarily of political significance, so *a fortiori* was their destruction: Euergetes, we are told, was goaded by his sister's attack upon his statues in Alexandria to revenge himself by the murder of their only son. Accordingly, I inferred disorders in Salamis at the time of Soter's flight, in the course of which Helenos' statues were vindictively thrown down. The more ample evidence of today does not support this argument. We know now of a further statue at Salamis (no. 6), of another at Old Paphos (no. 3), of which neither inscription is erased. In contrast, both the documents of Soter, *OGI* 143 of Salamis and our no. 4 of Old Paphos, have suffered heavily. It is indeed possible that of these four defaced inscriptions this last owes its condition to re-use of the pedestal in the Antonine era—possible, but unlikely, since in that archaizing age it was the rule to leave untouched the earlier text. However, the pedestal of no. 5 was never, I believe, re-used; while *OGI* 143 and our no. 9, cut as they are on the same stone, gain from this fact an added and unquestionable significance. They belong, as we have found, respectively to the months preceding July 116 and to this brief interlude of ten years later between Soter's flight from Cyprus and his return. Moreover, since Soter cannot have been thus slighted until that flight, this replacement of his statue by that of Helenos has its political message. Our no. 4 denotes very probably a similar assault at Paphos upon Soter's memory; and the message becomes more pointed, for it was Helenos himself who set that statue up. Helenos, in effect, is burning his boats. Not only must Soter suffer a *damnatio memoriae*, but the sympathy which Helenos once felt for him must be publicly renounced. All this suggests to me the presence and the personal intervention of Helenos. I find the same implication in the identity of the dedicator of our no. 9.

If I have correctly read the last line of this inscription, the dedicator is a Salaminian already known to us. Simalos, son of Timarchos, of that city honoured at Delos a Stolos, son of Theon, 'kinsman' and courtier of Ptolemy Soter, and in turn is honoured by him.<sup>118</sup> Whether Simalos is the son or grandson of Timarchos, son of Timarchos, of Salamis, *proxenos* and benefactor of Athens under Philometor, I leave *in medio*.<sup>119</sup> But the family had wide ramifications.<sup>120</sup> The virtues and the princely menage of Simalos are depicted in a sprightly poem cut beneath the formal inscription on his Delian pedestal: he is apostrophised as *προσφιλὲς Αἰγύπτου κοιρανίαις ἔρυμα*.<sup>121</sup> I propose to discuss at another

<sup>116</sup> *OGI* 165 indeed concerns one Potamon s. of Aegyptos, ἀντισ[τρ]ά[τ]ηγον τῆς νήσου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μετὰλλων, who has no rank and is gymnasiarch of Paphos. The title ἀντιστράτηγος is unparalleled, and this inscription I shall discuss elsewhere. Here we may note that it gives little support to any suggestion that Cyprus could be governed by a *strategos* resident in Egypt. I note above (p. 129) that Soter dispersed in 106–105 the accumulated powers of the *strategia*, retaining for himself that which was essential to his kingship of the island. Routine administration, and in particular direction of the revenue-producing mines, he was prepared to entrust to a native Cypriot, strengthening his hand with the

title of deputy governor.

<sup>117</sup> Hill, 201, n. 1.

<sup>118</sup> *Inscr. Délos* nos. 1533, 1534.

<sup>119</sup> *OGI* 118, dated by Dittenberger approximately to 170 B.C.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Roussel and Launey under *Inscr. Délos* no. 1533.

<sup>121</sup> To this the poet, Antisthenes of Paphos, proceeds to add: καὶ Ῥώμας ὑπάτοισι καὶ Ἀ[τ]θίδι Κ[ε]κροπος αἶγι. We must not press the poet too closely on his meaning; and I take it that these datives are dependent rather on *προσφιλὲς* than on *ἔρυμα*: Simalos, like his master, Soter, was careful to be on good terms with Rome and with Athens.



time and likewise from the Cypriot angle the quarter of a century for which Soter was still to reign in the island and in Egypt. Here I content myself with contemplating yet one more instance of that singular eclipse of Cyprus, social, military and administrative, under the Ptolemies which I have considered at some length elsewhere.<sup>122</sup> What we know of this distinguished family comes to us almost exclusively from foreign sources. Simalos, this 'friendly bulwark of Egypt's princes', who can meet Helenos on terms of easy equality, has nevertheless neither rank nor office, either here or in the Delian inscriptions. However, he was a gymnasiarch of Salamis for the year 107-106 or 106-105 B.C.<sup>123</sup> and as such the accepted leader of the military and pro-Ptolemaic element within his native city.<sup>124</sup> Helenos he honours in terms proper to a Cypriot *strategos*, and in so doing virtually establishes Helenos' presence in the island in this, the latter's brief triumph over the slighted and exiled Soter. Soter, indeed, had not long to wait for his revenge; but it would seem that he contented himself with a very partial attack upon the memory of a friend whom circumstances had driven into enmity: we know two statues only of Helenos which can have fallen to atone for these two of his own.

Helenos' career has now been traced—in so far as it is permitted to us—to its climax and close. His two governorships now fall into perspective; and it remains to consider the one outstanding problem which they present. My original opinion—that the *nauparchia* could not properly belong to Cyprus when Cyprus had a separate king—although this rested in part upon my belief, now disproved, that our no. 3 was to be ascribed to the outset of Soter's Cypriot reign—for the period under consideration still stands, albeit somewhat unsteadily. I am still satisfied that this is the explanation of the absence of the *vavapχία* in our nos. 6, 7 and 8, its presence in no. 9. But the corollary, that the *vavapχία* can only be wanting in times of a divided kingdom, is exploded by Helenos' first *strategia* when, as our nos. 3 and 4 show us, he was not *vavapχος*—in marked contrast to Soter, his immediate successor. It is clear that my original views were too rigid. Soter (as I shall argue elsewhere at greater length) after 106-105 dispersed the accumulated powers of the governor of Cyprus, himself retaining as king the authority but not the title of the *strategia* proper, scattering the functions of the High Priesthood among many, appointing a 'kinsman' and courtier to be his admiral of the fleet.<sup>125</sup> Again, in the days of Euergetes' exile and the civil war, the *vavapχία* of Krokos for strategic reasons took precedence over his *strategia*. I must concede an equal flexibility to the policies of the central government for these years 118 to 116 B.C.: Kleopatra III in her fear of her relegated son denied Helenos the *vavapχία*; but when the partisans of Kleopatra II were successful in promoting Soter to the relative eminence of the governorship of Cyprus, they saw to it (I imagine) that he was vested with the *strategia* as Theodoros had known it.

#### OTHER VIEWS ON HELENOS

Many scholars have tried their hand at Helenos' career; and he has been assigned to the reign of every Ptolemy from Epiphanes to Alexander II.<sup>126</sup> It would be ungenerous to

<sup>122</sup> T. B. Mitford, 154 ff.

<sup>123</sup> But Salamis under Philometor possessed at least three gymnasia: *LBW* 2756 (Strack, 99).

<sup>124</sup> Cf. n. 108 above; and in general, Launey, ii 813 ff.

<sup>125</sup> *Inscr. Délos* 1534, an inscription which I ascribe to Soter's reign in Cyprus, a view which I shall defend elsewhere.

<sup>126</sup> Thus Meyer, 93: Ptolemy Alexander II. M. L. Strack, under his no. 149: Helenos, being the father of the Isidoros of *OGI* 181 (Strack, 149) who

served Ptolemy Alexander II, to be ascribed with probability to Alexander I. Lesquier, 334: either the first or the second Alexander. Dittenberger, ad *OGI* 148: towards the close of Euergetes' reign, the king to whom Helenos was *τροφεύς* being that familiar ghost, a son of Euergetes who reigned as co-regent in Cyprus. G. Lefebvre, *Ann. du Service* ix (1908) 236 f. agrees with Dittenberger. E. Kiessling, *RE* vii 2847, 1935, 1894: Epiphanes. Otto, *RE* vii 2847, *Helenus*: Epiphanes. Cohen, 6 n. 1: Epiphanes to Euergetes 11.



criticise earlier work, based for some fifty years upon two inscriptions only, our nos. 7 and 8, enigmatic documents (for they give no royal names either in their motive-formulae or with the king to whom they refer), indifferently published (for their editors have vouchsafed us no palaeographic information). For want of fresh fuel the debate died down. With the publication, however, in 1937 of our no. 9, in January 1938 of the Brussels papyrus, the sparks once more began to fly. After a brief vacillation<sup>127</sup> and a further contribution to the text of this last inscription in 1938, I offered in 1940 the considered opinion which I have outlined above.<sup>128</sup> Concurrently, Professor Otto, abandoning of necessity his earlier position—that Helenos served either Epiphanes or Philometor in the days before the Cypriot *vavapχία*—fell back upon defences of considerable strength: Helenos of the papyrus and Helenos of our inscriptions were different men, the former securely anchored to the year 107–106, the latter to be ascribed to the outset of Euergetes' reign with his first two documents preceding, the third following the institution of the *vavapχία*.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, the cult of Kleopatra III as Euergetis—or Aphrodite Euergetis—indicated (to Professor Otto) that Helenos' *strategia* not merely persisted after the marriage of that queen, but existed at a period when Kleopatra II was (according to Professor Otto) not co-regent, namely either 142 or 140 or 131–124 or 123.<sup>130</sup> The prince, then, to whom Helenos had once been *τροφεύς* was none other than Euergetes himself. I am not clear how Otto would reconcile the third (which he tends to favour) or the fourth of these periods with a *strategia* which began at the outset of this reign; but if we concede him for his first Helenos the opening five years or so of Euergetes, the position, as I have observed, is a strong one—in *vacuo*. I notice that it can still claim the support of Professor Bengtson in his masterly work, *Die Strategie*,<sup>131</sup> while it differs but little from the reconstruction of Professors Hombert and Préaux, who set the Helenos of our nos. 7 and 8 'à une date antérieure à 146', but attribute no. 9 to the Helenos of their papyrus.<sup>132</sup> On their suggested *stemma*: Helenos I–Apollodoros–Helenos II, Otto looked indeed with benevolence.<sup>133</sup> With that the controversy became once more quiescent. The latest authorities to concern themselves with Helenos<sup>134</sup> after alluding to these rival theories, observe that 'this is a very complicated question to which there is as yet no final answer'.

Otto was in certain respects unfortunate. Few Hellenistic lands are for any period so heavily documented as is Cyprus between the years 163 and 105 B.C. Inscriptions with elaborate motive-formulae permit a reconstruction in outline of the political history of the island approximately to the close of Theodoros' *strategia*, when (as we have noted) the declaration of loyalty was finally discontinued.<sup>135</sup> Cyprus is the last place, therefore, that Otto should have chosen for the disposal of any inconvenient by-products of his researches. It was also his misfortune that his untimely death should be followed at no great interval by this crop of fresh evidence. Palaeographically, this little *corpus* belongs uniformly rather to the end than to the middle of the second century; while its guarded references to royal persons place it in that period of great political tension which set in with the relegation of

<sup>127</sup> Under *JHS* lvii (1937) no. 10 I supported Dittenberger's dating.

<sup>128</sup> Communicated to Hill (q.v. 201 ff.).

<sup>129</sup> W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 12, n. 6; 17 n. 5; and, in particular, *Nachträge* 220. Further, *S. B. bayr. Ak.* (1939) *Ptolemaica* 13 n. 1. While Otto is not to be shaken in these opinions, I observe that in these same *Ptolemaica* 14 n. 1 he takes out an insurance policy against the possibility of *Ἀποδότης Εὐεργετίδος* being (as it is) the correct reading of Kleopatra III's cult-title in our no. 9 above. Cf. further F. Zucker, *Philologus* xcvi (1954) 98.

<sup>130</sup> But I must confess to the same measure of uneasiness with regard to all but the third of these

periods, as I feel with the vicissitudes with which Otto enlivens the joint reign of Soter and his mother (n. 76 above).

<sup>131</sup> *Die Strategie* iii 233.

<sup>132</sup> *Chron. d'Égypte* xxv (1938) 143 (following Otto, *RE* vii 2847).

<sup>133</sup> W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 17 n. 5. But Otto is firm in his denial that the father of Helenos can be the Apollodoros of the Koptos inscription, *Rev. Épig.* i (1913) 109 ff., which Otto's own treatment (pp. 1–22) has rendered famous.

<sup>134</sup> S. R. K. Glanville and T. C. Skeat, *JEA* xl (1954) 57 f.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. T. B. Mitford, 144 n. 25.



Soter about the year 120 B.C. and was only terminated nineteen years later by the murder of Kleopatra III and the recognition by her sons of the *status quo*. Internal evidence now links the first *strategia* of Helenos to that of Theodoros and amply confirms this *terminus post quem*.

## CONCLUSION

Epigraphy can tell us little indeed about the personalities and the motives of men; and I regret that Helenos had no historian. How precious now appear in contrast the casual comments of Polybius upon the characters of his contemporaries, Polykrates of Argos and Ptolemy of Megalopolis, predecessors of Helenos. Here, I suspect, we had a person of some distinction, certainly of great political dexterity, *gnarus sub Nerone temporum*. I have conjectured that this native of Cyrene, having there won the confidence of Euergetes, accompanied him on his return to Egypt in 145 B.C. That Helenos was then at the least a grown man is implied by the fact that he was *τροφεύς* to Ptolemy Alexander—this denoting, I take it, some supervision of the *βασιλικοὶ παῖδες*, the prince and his *σύντροφοι*.<sup>136</sup> Since the birth of Alexander fell in 141 or shortly thereafter,<sup>137</sup> his boyhood would belong to the years immediately preceding the outbreak of civil war and more particularly perhaps to the period of the court's exile in Cyprus. Helenos by then surely was a person of some years and responsibility. It is very possible that he shared that exile; not impossible that he was *τροφεύς* to Soter also, since the two princes, whose births were separated at the most by very few years, were presumably of the same company. Helenos, admittedly, in our no. 4 makes no such claim, but Soter was then not king and furthermore in virtual exile. If we can give any weight to these hypotheses, his arrival in Cyprus about the year 120 B.C. in attendance upon Soter becomes doubly appropriate, the esteem of Euergetes and Kleopatra III which he manifestly enjoyed readily intelligible. That he had then relatively junior rank as compared with others who had shared their king's flight—the 'kinsmen' Lochos, Krokos, Diasthenes, Aristokrates—is doubtless to be explained by his relative youth. We have noted his rapid progress in the last years of Euergetes to the *strategia*, his surprising demotion in favour of Soter before Euergetes died. It is, however, the success of Helenos in picking his path through the pitfalls of the ensuing decade which I find so thoroughly impressive: the easy transfer of his services from one royal *strategos* to another; his escape from the fury with which Kleopatra III must have greeted her daughter's exploit, as attested by the award of his second *strategia*; his loss of his province to Soter, followed however, by a prompt and triumphant return. That Helenos in 107–106 enjoyed honours without close precedent in the history of the Ptolemaic realm we have already noted. On the part which chance may have played in this long career, and against that how much was due to competence, loyalty and political acumen, unhappily we shall never know. Nevertheless, I suspect some smack of real distinction: the times were indeed evil, and yet (it is well to remember) *posse etiam sub malis principibus bonos viros esse*. Within a year, however, of this, the climax of his fame, Helenos has abruptly vanished from our sight—whether by death, violent (in the course, it may be, of Soter's retaking of Cyprus) or natural (for by then he may well have been some seventy years of age), whether by retirement, ignominious or honourable, we are totally ignorant. Inscriptions at this point fail us; while the scribes after precisely this date no longer troubled themselves in their papyri with the eponyms of the year.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> *Σύντροφος*, however, is a term which has not as yet occurred in Ptolemaic Egypt. For these *βασιλικοὶ παῖδες*, cf. Bevan, 123. For the terms *τροφεύς* and *τιθηνός*, cf. Otto, *Geschichte der Zeit des VI Ptolemäers* 3 n. 1.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. W. Otto and H. Bengtson, 50 n. 5 for a discussion of the seniority of Kleopatra's five children.

<sup>138</sup> *JEA* xl (1954) 58.



## PTOLEMY'S MAP OF SCOTLAND

It has long been recognised as a puzzling fact that in Ptolemy's map of the British Isles Great Britain is turned abruptly to the east from about latitude  $55^{\circ}$  north (corresponding roughly to the area of Scotland) so as to make a right angle approximately with the southern part of the country. It may be of interest to review briefly various tentative explanations of this peculiar fact which have been advanced during the last three-quarters of a century, and to add yet another to the list.<sup>1</sup>

In 1885 H. Bradley suggested that either Ptolemy or one of his predecessors had before him three sectional maps representing respectively England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that in fitting the three maps together Ptolemy or his predecessor fell into the mistake of turning the oblong map of Scotland the wrong way. T. G. Rylands next put forward his view that the error was due to a faulty observation of a lunar eclipse at Duncansby Head causing an error of longitude, together with a faulty gnomonic observation at the same place causing an error of latitude.<sup>2</sup> In 1894 H. Kiepert was clearly getting nearer the truth when he wrote: 'The only coherent, though often deficient source for the knowledge of the [British] islands that has come down to us from the most flourishing period of the Empire, is the map of Ptolemy, the result of a combination of the lines of roads and of the coasting expeditions during the first century of Roman occupation. One great fault, however, has crept into the map by his having made use also of a totally different source, namely the astronomical fixations of latitude executed by Pytheas in the time of the earliest Greek mercantile expeditions to these regions of high latitudes.' In a footnote to this observation he added: 'These fixations stop at a borderline at the highest point reached in the north, which according to the itinerary sources would have been crossed in a northward direction, and thus the Alexandrian scholar was forced to give the northern half of the island a bend towards the east, the only possible direction, in consequence of which all the localities of Caledonia have been shifted from their proper positions by about a quarter of a circle.'

At about the same time Hugo Berger, in his *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen* 631, stated what is in my view the real reason, but merely as a possibility: 'The northern part of Britain, however, is twisted at right angles towards the east in a remarkable fashion, and the Orkades islands and the island of Thule lie over its most easterly end. Mannert suspects, not without reason, that this occurred because an extension of the country would have led to too high latitudes, but it is also possible that in his [Ptolemy's] sketch

<sup>1</sup> I append a list of the chief modern works quoted, to which I refer merely by the name of the author, except where he has written more than one work:

Anderson, J. G. C., *Tacitus, Agricola* (1922).

Berger, H., (1) *Die geographischen Fragmente des Hipparch* (Leipzig 1869); (2) *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes* (Leipzig 1880); (3) *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, 2nd ed. (1903); (4) *Berichte der Verh. der Ges. der Wiss., Leipzig Phil.-Hist.* xlix.

Bradley, H., *Archaeologia* xlviii (1885).

Cuntz, O., *Die Geographie des Ptolemaios* (1923).

Fischer, J., *Cl. Ptolemaei Geographiae Cod. Urb. Gr.* 82, *Tomus Prodrumus, Pars i* (1932).

Flinders Petrie, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland* lii (1917-1918).

Honigsmann, E., *RE* iv A (1931).

Kiepert, H., *Formae Orbis Antiqui*; commentary on Map xxvi: *Insulae Britannicae*.

Kubitschek, W., *RE* x (1919).

Mette, H. J., *Pytheas von Massalia* (1952).

Ramsay, W. M., *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*; *Royal Geographical Soc. Suppl. Papers* iv (1890).

Richmond, I. A., *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland* lvi (1922).

Rylands, T. G., *The Geography of Ptolemy Elucidated* (Dublin 1893).

Schnabel, P., *S.B. Ber. Ak. Phil.-Hist.* (1930).

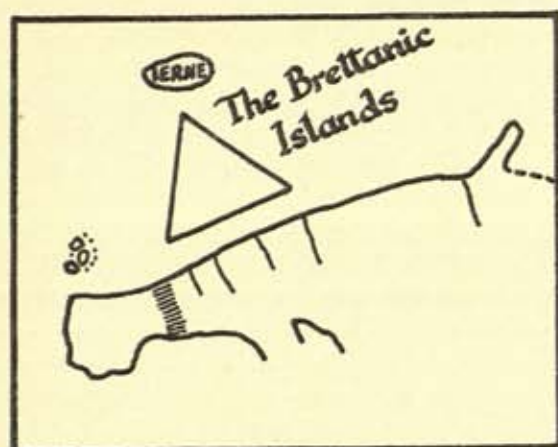
Schütte, G., *Scottish Geographical Review* xxx (1914) 57-77, 294-8, 617-24; xxxi (1915) 371-81, 580-9.

Thomson, J. O., *Hist. of Anc. Geography* (1948).

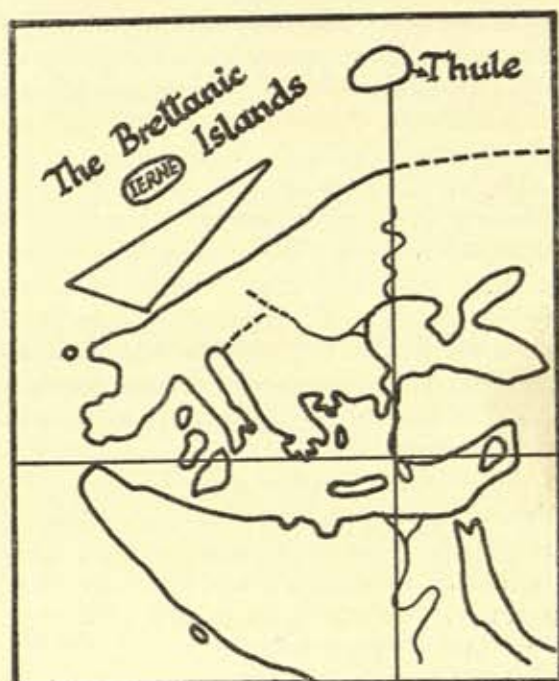
Zimmer, H., *Abh. Ber. Ak.* (1909, 1910).

<sup>2</sup> Rylands, 32, 66, 77 ff.

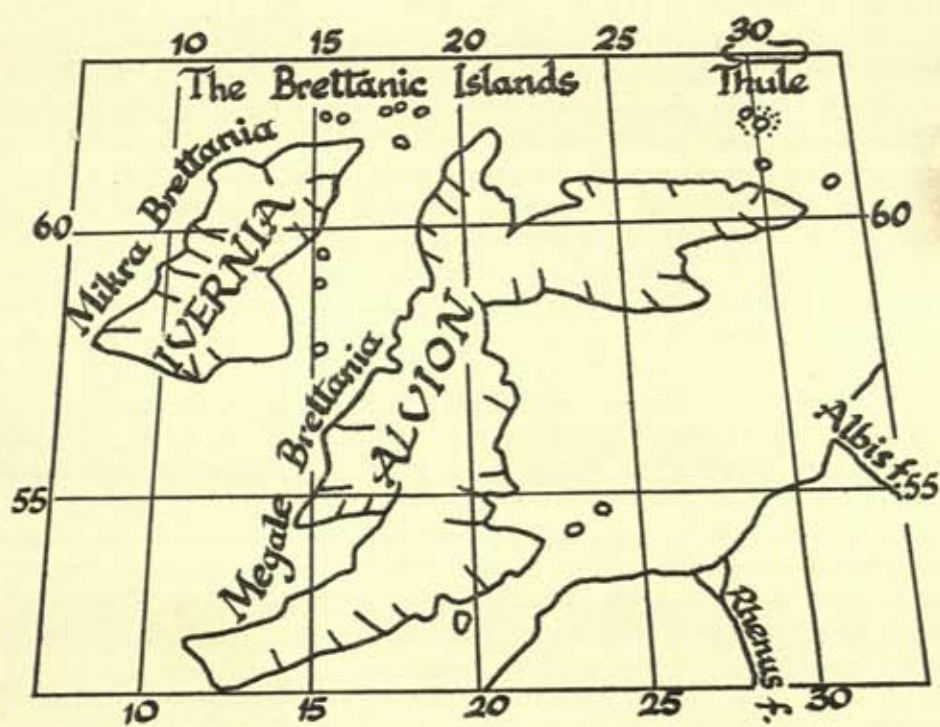




STRABO



ERATOSTHENES



PTOLEMY

FIG. 1



regard for the position given the island by Eratosthenes again came into play.' It is surprising that Berger never did actually come to solve the problem as he has supplied many of the elements necessary for its solution both in the book just mentioned and more particularly in his earlier work on the fragments of Eratosthenes.

Later investigations of the subject have unfortunately not pursued the line of inquiry hinted at more or less vaguely by Kiepert and Berger. Professor Flinders Petrie wrote: 'Thus the great distortion can be definitely run down to the mistake of reckoning the day in Yorkshire to include twenty minutes more twilight than was reckoned in London or Nairn.'<sup>3</sup> Again, in a later volume of the same journal, I. A. Richmond accepted the basis of the work of T. G. Rylands, mentioned above, and tried to work further upon it. The latest reference to the problem which I can find is in a note by the late Professor J. G. C. Anderson where the author wishes to absolve Ptolemy of blame, by suggesting that the distortion may be due to errors in the transmission of his figures.<sup>4</sup>

It is my conviction that, however great the merit of their work in other ways, the views of the scholars mentioned regarding Ptolemy's map are mistaken, with the exception of Kiepert and Berger who at least guide us in the right direction, and that the solution of the problem is rather to be sought in the general history of Greek geography and cartography, particularly as these arts and sciences were influenced by the advance of the Roman Empire to Gaul and Britain in the period 50 B.C. to A.D. 100. The distortion of the map of Scotland is not due to any positive action of Ptolemy or his predecessors, as has often been stated or implied, but rather to a correction of the position of Britain carried out by Marinus of Tyre or one of his predecessors. This correction could not include Scotland, as sufficient information on this land was not available, and Scotland was therefore left distorted as it had been on all the maps since the time of Eratosthenes and Pytheas. It would seem logical to discuss the development of Greek geographical ideas concerning the islands of the north-west in three stages, the first considering the earlier Greek views represented chiefly by Pytheas, Eratosthenes, Hipparchos and Strabo; the second, the new geographical information of Roman date from the time of Julius Caesar onwards; and the third, the later stage of Greek geographical information in Marinus, Ptolemy, and their sources.

We may begin by considering the shape of Britain as it lay off the coast of Europe in the map of Eratosthenes, with the dimensions given by Pytheas, namely 7,500 stadia for what is now called the south coast, 15,000 for the east coast, and 20,000 for the west coast.<sup>5</sup> These dimensions give an obtuse angle of 122° at Kantion and the island is regarded as stretching very far away to the north-east with what is actually the west coast facing rather towards the north. Eratosthenes had adopted the idea of the rectangular shape of the inhabited earth from his predecessors Demokritos and Eudoxos,<sup>6</sup> as opposed to the circular shape of the old Ionic maps, and it was this rectangular shape which led to the importance of the British islands and Thule as the geographical features delimiting the latitude of the *oikoumene* to the north. There was no possibility of establishing a high latitude on the Russian steppes (*ἡ σκυθικὴ ἐρημία*)<sup>7</sup> where Herodotos had described the air as being full of feathers,<sup>8</sup> a description clearly imitated, and perhaps surpassed, by Pytheas in his description of the sea north of Thule as an amalgam of earth, sea and sky.<sup>9</sup> The convexity of Spain and Portugal was wrongly supposed to provide by far the greatest continental western extension of longitude (which fact in itself shows that the British islands and Thule were thought of as lying much further to the north-east), so that the importance of the British islands plus Thule was that of providing a geographical limit of latitude of the *oikoumene* in the north. This is of course the reason for the endless argument on the point in Strabo and for his outrageous attempts (after Polybios) at discrediting the authority of Pytheas,

<sup>3</sup> Flinders Petrie, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson, 56.

<sup>7</sup> Arist. *Ach.* 704.

<sup>5</sup> Berger, *Erat.* 373.

<sup>8</sup> Hdt. iv. 31; cf. the story of Sataspes iv. 43.

<sup>6</sup> Agathemerios i 2, *GGM* ii 471.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo ii 4.1 f., p. 104; Mette F 7a.



Eratosthenes and Hipparchos primarily in regard to the latitude of Thule and secondarily in regard to that of the British Isles.<sup>10</sup>

Berger points out that Strabo omits the line of the Eratosthenic parallels through those areas where the authority of Eratosthenes was challenged, that is especially Europe.<sup>11</sup> Strabo goes on to conduct a kind of Parthian campaign against the parallels of high latitude in Hipparchos, from 43° to 61° north latitude. Making a quick raid on Eastern Europe along the 3,800 stadia running north from Byzantium to Borysthenes he gazes with incredulity at an alleged further 11,500 stadia north to Thule.<sup>12</sup> Thence he retreats to his base at Marseilles to conduct a more slogging campaign up the west coast. Starting from the (incorrect) equation of Marseilles with Byzantium he asserts that Keltike ends at the ocean 3,700 stadia to the north, that is on the parallel of Borysthenes,<sup>12a</sup> and here he finds a marvellous opportunity for honest indignation and a cheap victory over Hipparchos who had simply used the word Keltike in the older and wider sense of Pytheas.<sup>13</sup> Somewhere at this point Brettanike begins. Its longest side lies along Keltike but stretches north and east to a point 6,300 stadia north of Marseilles. Ierne in turn lies north of Britain, 9,000 stadia north of Marseilles or 5,000 north of Keltike.<sup>14</sup> He goes on to mention a point north of Ierne at which Hipparchos had (ridiculously in Strabo's view) placed the south of Britain.<sup>15</sup>

Berger remarks that in the course of this running campaign of expostulation Strabo has apparently lost 2° of latitude but continues nevertheless to give us the Hipparchic 'phenomena' (altitude of sun and length of longest day) for points (in Britain and Ireland according to Strabo) where the figures of Hipparchos give a latitude 2° higher than that provided by Strabo's measurements in stadia north of Marseilles.<sup>16</sup> A distance of 6,300 stadia north of Marseilles (43°), using the degree of Eratosthenes and Hipparchos equivalent to 700 stadia, gives a latitude of 52°, whereas the Hipparchic figure of 6 cubits or 12° for the sun's altitude at the winter solstice gives a latitude of 54° for the same place. Similarly a distance of 9,100 stadia north of Marseilles gives a latitude of 56°, whereas the figures of Hipparchos for the same place, that is a solar altitude of 4 cubits or 8° and a longest day of 18 hours, give a latitude of 58°. Berger supposes that the most likely reason for this discrepancy is that Strabo's eye wandered in hastily consulting the table of 'phenomena' in Hipparchos. But a little reflexion will show that the reason is rather that Strabo was bound to make this 'mistake', for it was not really a 'mistake' at all and only became apparent when new knowledge of modern times substituted a new value for the degree differing from that assumed by Eratosthenes and Hipparchos.

Hipparchos approved of Eratosthenes' measurement of the meridian arc from Alexandria to Syene as one-fiftieth part of a great circle without in any way accepting as mathematically correct the resulting value for the earth's circumference. He merely accepted it as a working hypothesis, knowing that this length made no difference to the working out of his proportional table of latitudes within the 90° running from the equator to the north pole, each with its appropriate 'phenomena'.<sup>18</sup> Strabo's figures for Gaul, Britain and Ierne are not taken from Hipparchos, as Berger understandably imagined in view of the divisibility of 6,300 and 9,100 by 700. On the contrary they are taken both from dead reckoning in Gaul,<sup>19</sup> and from rough estimates or mere guesswork farther north. These

<sup>10</sup> *E.g.* i 4.3-4, p. 63; iv 5.5, p. 201.

<sup>11</sup> ii 1.40-1, pp. 92-4; 4.1-2, p. 104; 4.4, p. 107; Berger, *Erat.* 190.

<sup>12</sup> i 4.2, p. 63

<sup>12a</sup> ii 1.12, p. 72; 1.18, p. 75.

<sup>13</sup> Berger, *Hipp.* 67 ff.

<sup>14</sup> i 4.3-4, p. 63; ii 1.13, p. 72; 1.18, p. 75; iv 5.1, p. 199; 5.4, p. 201.

<sup>15</sup> ii 1.18, p. 75.

<sup>16</sup> Thomson here accepts Berger's view that Strabo garbled the evidence of Pytheas (Thomson 207, cf. 147).

<sup>17</sup> ii 1.18, p. 75; 5.42, p. 135.

<sup>18</sup> Berger, *Hipp.* 25, 34, 36-7; *Geschichte* 468-9, 473.

<sup>19</sup> ii 1.12, p. 72; iv 1.11, pp. 185-6.



partly real figures, wrongly calculated at 700 stadia per degree, are then rounded off to the nearest points on the table of 'phenomena' of Hipparchos, where the measurements are strictly proportional and the length of the degree, whether real or assumed, does not arise.

Strabo describes his own procedure as being the same as that of Eratosthenes: *οὐ . . . γεωμετρικῶς . . . ἀλλὰ γεωγραφικῶς μᾶλλον* (ii 1.41, p. 94). From the astronomically fixed base at Marseilles his reckonings are as follows: Marseilles to the coast of Keltike, 3,700 or 3,800 stadia (ii 1.12, pp. 71-2; 5.8, p. 115); Keltike to Ierne, not more than 5,000 stadia (ii 1.13, p. 72; 1.17, p. 74); length (*μῆκος*) of Britain along Keltike, 5,000 stadia (i 4.3, p. 63; ii 5.28, p. 128); Marseilles to the centre of Britain, not more than 5,000 stadia (i 4.4, p. 63); centre of Britain to the neighbourhood of Ierne, not more than 4,000 stadia (i 4.4, p. 63); Britain to Ierne is not known (ii 5.8, p. 115); from Britain to the limit of the *oikoumene* is 3,000 or 4,000 stadia (ii 5.8, p. 115); Britons live 6,300 stadia north of Marseilles, or 2,500 north of Keltike (ii 1.18, p. 75; 3,800 plus 2,500 equal 6,300).

From these data we can see that Strabo was eager to express an opinion on the chief points north of Keltike which were of importance in the work of Pytheas, Eratosthenes and Hipparchos. Of these three points (Thule, Ireland and Britain) he rejects Thule but brings in the other two, giving Ierne as a point rounded off to the distance 9,100 stadia above Marseilles on the scale of Hipparchos and Britain as one rounded off to 6,300 stadia north of the same (that is 4° lower than Ierne; we shall meet these 4° again). If we ask how the error recorded by Berger arose, we can answer at once that there was no error here on the part of Strabo. He merely equated his roughly estimated distances in stadia north of Marseilles with the nearest point in the stadiastic scale of Hipparchos, adding the astro-nomic data of Hipparchos, or at least part of them. We know of course that with a degree of 700 stadia his measurements were one-seventh too high. In the 9,100 stadia reckoned from Marseilles to Ierne therefore his number of degrees was reckoned as thirteen-sevenths (= thirteen-sixths) of a degree too low, which accounts for the discrepancy of 2° between his 56° and the 58° of Hipparchos. In the 6,300 stadia reckoned to England the number of degrees was taken as nine-sevenths (= nine-sixths) too low, and we must either round this off to the next integer upwards, or much more probably consider that Strabo simply reckoned that 6,300 stadia was 2,800 stadia less than 9,100 and therefore four points lower down on the scale of Hipparchos, from which he then read off the appropriate 'phenomena'. We should, however, keep in mind that Strabo is guilty here of no mistake of any kind. The 'mistake' could only arise as the result of a new measurement of the circumference of the earth and consequently of the degree. This we know was done either by Poseidonios or rather by an authority whom Poseidonios accepted, giving a degree of 500 stadia, which was later accepted by Marinus and Ptolemy.<sup>20</sup> But Strabo accepted the older measurement. It was not until modern times that a more exact measurement of the degree was established and only then that the 'error' of Strabo became visible.

The reasoning of this argument may perhaps be clarified by the use of a hypothetical analogy. Let us suppose that Hipparchos and consequently Strabo had accepted the alternative degree length of 500 stadia which we know to have been maintained by other astronomers before Hipparchos or contemporary with him.<sup>21</sup> In this case Strabo's supposedly measured figures of 9,100 and 6,300 stadia north of Marseilles would have become respectively 18° and 12 $\frac{3}{5}$ ° north of Marseilles. Rounding off the latter figure to 13° we find that Strabo would have equated his two points with 61° and 56° north latitude. These are now too high for the correlated 'phenomena' of Hipparchos which again are 58° and 54°, giving discrepancies of 3° below in one case and 2° below in the other. The fact to bear in mind is that the reckonings of Hipparchos were true (approximately) for each and every

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Berger, *Geschichte* 579 ff.; Fischer, 61 ff.; Schnabel, 226 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Berger, *Hipp.* 25; Strabo i 4.1, p. 62; ii 5.7, p. 113; 5.34, p. 132.



size of a spherical earth which itself was the centre of a spherical universe. The earth might vary in size from the one extreme of being a mere point in the centre to the other extreme of being as large as the containing universe itself, and still all the relations laid down in the 'phenomena' of Hipparchos would remain valid. Only a more precise value for the degree could reveal discrepancies in the values either of Strabo or of Ptolemy. There have of course been many modern reckonings of the value of a degree of latitude and longitude at various points on the surface of the earth from the sixteenth century onwards, and particularly since the time of the famous expeditions of members of the French Academy of Sciences in the eighteenth century. If Strabo had been an astronomer and if his measurements in Gaul had been extremely exact and if the tables of Hipparchos had been highly accurate, then Strabo might have discovered discrepancies between his figures and the latitude tables of Hipparchos, and he might have calculated afresh the circumference of the earth and have obtained a more accurate value for the degree. But of these three conditions only the third came anywhere near to being fulfilled.

We may now pass on to another difficulty in Strabo's criticisms of his predecessors' opinions about these northern latitudes. In ii 1.18, p. 75, Strabo says that Hipparchos, trusting Pytheas, puts the area where the sun rises less than 3 cubits and where the longest day is 19 hours, in the south of Britain, that is at  $61^{\circ}$  north latitude; and further on in the same passage he says that the most southerly of the Britons live north of the area 9,100 stadia north of Marseilles, where the sun's altitude is 4 cubits, and the longest day is 18 hours, that is at  $58^{\circ}$  north latitude. This shows that in Hipparchos Britain stretched north from above  $58^{\circ}$  to at least  $61^{\circ}$  north latitude. In i 4.4, p. 63, and ii 1.12, pp. 71-2, however, we are told that Hipparchos put the parallel through Britain at 3,700 stadia above Marseilles. This provides a vague latitude for Britain of  $48^{\circ}$  north latitude, a figure quite at variance with his other reckoning, even if we assume that it is the south of Britain that is intended. Berger offers no solution of this difficulty, although he clarifies the different usages by Hipparchos and Strabo of the word Keltike. 'Strabo (he says) was unwilling to hand down the points which Hipparchos had accepted from among the localities defined by Pytheas, and which he had co-ordinated with his parallels, since he regarded the information of Pytheas as unworthy of belief, and the places concerned as lying beyond the known and inhabited world and therefore useless. Merely in a critical aside, however, he affords us a slight indication which points towards his general opinion.'<sup>22</sup> This critical aside is the passage quoted above from ii 1.18, p. 75. I think it is possible to defend Hipparchos against the utter confusion of thought of which Strabo accuses him. The problem is similar to that which arose in the case of the word Keltike. Here the word is Brettanike, which, apparently from the time of Pytheas onwards, was used alike for Britain, Ireland and the adjacent islands. It was natural to call Britain the large Brettanike and Ireland the little Brettanike. Ptolemy calls Ireland little Britain, and gives its latitude in the *Almagest* (ii 6) as  $58^{\circ}$  to  $61^{\circ}$  north latitude. This clearly corresponds to the position of the northern Brettanike in Hipparchos and Strabo. Ireland in Hipparchos, as also in Strabo, lies quite north of Britain, so that we can understand the remark that the south of Brettanike (= Ireland) lies north of Brettanike (= Britain). Britain itself is a larger island with a lower latitude which is that referred to in Strabo i 4.4, p. 63, and ii 1.12, pp. 71-2.

I do not think we can absolve Strabo of deliberately misleading his readers as regards the views of Hipparchos, in almost exactly the same way as Berger has shown that he misled them in regard to his use of the word Keltike. But those who are most familiar with Strabo are also most familiar with his peculiar misrepresentations caused variously by ignorance, bad faith, a naïve megalomania, or some combination of these qualities.<sup>23</sup> It would be unrealistic to think that Strabo was attempting to achieve any exact degree of accuracy in

<sup>22</sup> Berger, *Hipp.* 67.

<sup>23</sup> On Strabo's psychology, cf. Honigmann, 90 ff.



his references to these high latitudes. Through the distrust of Pytheas inspired in him by Polybios and Artemidoros he ventures to attack Eratosthenes and Hipparchos, who followed the guidance of Pytheas; and he does not shrink from omitting or mangling their evidence. Nevertheless his account of the west coast of Europe is still far more dependent on them than he seems to be aware or at least is willing to admit. Berger has shown that the outline of the west coast of Europe in Eratosthenes and later authorities (except partly in Strabo, who attempts to minimise the westward projection of the peninsula of Brittany) comes from the observations of Pytheas, and the same is obviously true of the position of the off-shore islands.<sup>24</sup> Strabo quotes Hipparchos here as following Pytheas, and we can assume that Eratosthenes did much the same in the intervening period.<sup>25</sup> As in the case of the peninsula of Brittany, Strabo attempts to show his intellectual independence by disbelieving altogether in Thule, but he still accepts fundamentally the position given to Ireland and Britain by Eratosthenes, with Ireland north of Britain. At the same time, however, he reduces the latitude of Ireland from the figure of Hipparchos (north of  $58^\circ$  to beyond  $61^\circ$ ) to 9,000 stadia above Marseilles (=  $58^\circ$ : i 4.4, p. 63), and that of Britain from somewhere south of  $58^\circ$  (we have not got the exact figures of Hipparchos except for the south: i 4.4, p. 63, and ii 1.12, pp. 71-2) to between 3,800 and 6,300 stadia north of Marseilles, which is roughly  $48^\circ$  to  $52^\circ$  ( $54^\circ$  in Hipparchos). From his figures given earlier it is clear that, while he makes Britain run mainly east to west,<sup>26</sup> he was extremely vague about the position of the islands, and that particularly in the case of Ireland he was quite ready to add or subtract 1,000 stadia or more. It is when we consider his account of Britain in detail, however, that we begin to appreciate the full measure of his incompetence in visualising its geographical position.

Caesar, whom Strabo had studied,<sup>27</sup> had made decisive changes in the picture given by Eratosthenes, whose work he had read:

*'[Britannia] insula natura triquetra, cuius unum latus est contra Galliam. Huius lateris alter angulus, qui est ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves appellantur, ad orientem solem, inferior ad meridiem spectat. Hoc pertinet circiter milia passuum quingenta. Alterum vergit ad Hispaniam atque occidentem solem; qua ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia, sed pari spatio transmissus atque ex Gallia est in Britanniam. In hoc medio cursu est insula quae appellatur Mona: complures praeterea minores subiectae insulae existimantur, de quibus insulis non nulli scripserunt dies continuos XXX sub bruma esse noctem. Nos nihil de eo percontationibus reperiebamus nisi certis ex aqua mensuris breviores esse quam in continenti noctes videbamus. Huius est longitudo lateris, ut fert illorum opinio, septingentorum milium. Tertium est contra septentriones, cui parti nulla est obiecta terra; sed eius angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat. Hoc milia passuum octingenta in longitudinem esse existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies centum milium passuum' (BG v 13).*

Caesar gives much shorter lengths for the sides than did Pytheas, and places the south coast nearer the French coast than did Eratosthenes. But his main innovation lay in making a change in the longest side. For Eratosthenes this was the actual west coast, although he imagined it rather as running north-east to south-west. Caesar makes the east coast the longest side, and moreover makes its line run more or less east to west, since the angle formed at the apex looks towards Germany rather than Gaul. Ireland is then put to the west or south-west between Britain and Spain. In addition we find that there are certain small islands in the neighbourhood of Ireland of which it has been written that their night at midwinter lasts for thirty days. According to Ptolemy (*Almagest* ii 6) a similar item of information for the longest day at midsummer would refer to latitude  $67^\circ$  north,

<sup>24</sup> Berger, *Erat.* 217.

<sup>25</sup> Despite Berger, *Erat.* 219. Cf. Strabo ii 4.2,

p. 104.

<sup>26</sup> i 4.3, p. 63; ii 5.28, p. 128; iv 5.1, p. 199.

<sup>27</sup> iv 3.3, p. 193; 4.1, p. 194; 5.2, p. 199.



a figure which the *Nautical Almanac* shows to be true within 15 minutes, making no correction for semi-diameter, dip, or refraction. The *Almanac* similarly shows that the latitude for a night of thirty days in midwinter will be but a few minutes greater, again making no corrections. This information, which obviously refers to Thule, must have come from Eratosthenes.<sup>28</sup> Berger says that Caesar has mistaken one side of the triangle of Eratosthenes for the other ('*Er verwechselt die Seiten*'), but it must surely be clear that the shifting of Ireland and Thule from the north to the west means that Caesar has pivoted the triangle of Eratosthenes approximately 90° to the west on the point of Kantion.<sup>29</sup> I do not think that Caesar would have done this merely to disparage the view of Eratosthenes whom he does not mention here and whom he obviously respected.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that with a better alignment of the south coast and better information about the length of the sides he felt that he was possessed of superior knowledge, particularly since we can assume that his mathematical proficiency would not enable him to see that the length of the sides of Eratosthenes' triangle necessitated a large obtuse angle at Kantion (122°). Caesar changes this to a narrow acute angle (60° is the angle subtended by the side 7, in a triangle whose sides are 5, 7, and 8), bringing Lands End nearer to the French coast ('*inferior ad meridiem spectat*') as we see from Strabo, and therefore pivoting the triangle as a whole through approximately 90°.

It is this verbal picture presented by Caesar which Strabo now quite ineffectually strives to combine with the cartographic tradition of Eratosthenes. He accepts Caesar's view of the south coast of Britain, but he in turn makes it into the longest side; and he even proceeds to labour the point by insisting that Britain stretches on an east-west axis for from 4,300 to 5,000 stadia parallel to the coast of Gaul from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, while the peninsula of Brittany is abolished.<sup>31</sup> About the other two sides he provides no information, although the shadow of the Eratosthenic map is still discernible in other very vague passages which seem still to show a triangular Britain stretching south-west opposite Spain, and north-east to the Elbe.<sup>32</sup> Ireland, however, he leaves quite definitely to the north of Britain. Caesar's view that north was west was clearly not destined to prevail against the Greek cartographic tradition which was strong enough to generate geographical theories of its own. It is interesting to note, as Berger points out,<sup>33</sup> that Pliny (*NH* iv 103) and Mela (iii 6.6) preserve the Eratosthenic theory of the position of Ireland. Caesar's theory, on the other hand, is accepted by Tacitus (*Agricola* 24), by an anonymous geographer (Anonymus, *geogr. comp.* 13, *GGM* ii 497), and by Orosius (*Hist.* i 2, p. 28 *ed.* Haverc.). In this matter Caesar's theory temporarily lost the day. But in the matter of twisting the apex of the triangle of Britain into the Atlantic, so that the east coast faced north, his theory prevailed; and this fact, combined with the view expressed by himself and Strabo that the south coast was anchored to that of Gaul, and with the information derived from the Roman network of roads in Britain in the first century A.D., conspired to force a 'Roman' theory of the position of south Britain on the Greek geographers which, when combined with the original Eratosthenic position of Scotland and Ireland, resulted in the well-known distortion of Scotland which is the subject of this article.

In this connexion it should always be remembered that there is no separate word to distinguish Scotland from England. The larger island Brettanike includes both, and Scotland can only be differentiated by calling it the northern part of Brettanike or by using the later Roman word Caledonia. Perhaps it may not be illusory to think that some feeling of difficulty in regard to the shape of Britain, clearly latent in Strabo, is also

<sup>28</sup> Strabo i 4.4, p. 63; ii 5.42-3, p. 135.

<sup>29</sup> That Caesar should do this throws a glaring light on the standard of education of the upper classes in the late Roman Republic.

<sup>30</sup> *BG* vi 24.2.

<sup>31</sup> Berger, *Erat.* 214 ff.; Strabo ii 5.28, p. 128; iv 5.1, p. 199.

<sup>32</sup> Berger, *Erat.* 213; Strabo iv 5.1, p. 199; vii 3.1, p. 295.

<sup>33</sup> *Erat.* 376.



to be seen in Livy, Fabius Rusticus, and Tacitus, who abandoned the triangular form in favour of the shape of a *scutula*, or a double-axe head, or of a wedge at the northern end (Tacitus, *Agr.* 10). Pliny, writing about A.D. 70, gives the following account of Britain and Ireland:

*'Ex adverso huius situs Britannia insula clara Graecis nostrisque monimentis inter septentrionem et occidentem iacet, Germaniae, Galliae, Hispaniae, multo maximis Europae partibus magno intervallo adversa. Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britanniae vocarentur omnes de quibus mox paulo dicemus. Haec abest a Gesoriaco Morinorum gentis litore proximo traiectu L. Circuitu patere [XXXXVIII] LXXXV Pytheas et Isidorus tradunt, XXX prope iam annis notitiam eius Romanis armis non ultra vicinitatem silvae Calidoniae propagentibus. Agrippa longitudinem DCCC esse, latitudinem CCC credit, eandem Hiberniae, sed longitudinem CC minorem. Super eam haec sita abest brevissimo transitu a Silurum gente XXX' (NH iv 102-3).*

The first part of this account comes from Isidoros of Charax quoting Pytheas, and gives us the map of Pytheas and Eratosthenes with the original over-large dimensions of Britain, and even the wide passage separating the south coast at both ends from the French coast. This is followed, however, by a more modern and interesting statement taken from the map (or commentary) of Agrippa.<sup>34</sup> Here Agrippa gives the east-west measurement of Britain as 800 miles and the north-south measurement as 300. Ireland has the same north-south measurement as Britain, but its east-west measurement is 600 miles. There is no possibility of misunderstanding the words *longitudo* and *latitudo*. They are literal translations of the corresponding Greek words, which had indeed been technical terms for over four hundred years.<sup>35</sup>

Strabo's description of the shape of Ireland corresponds with that of the map of Agrippa, without giving any dimensions:

*Εἰςὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν νῆσοι μικραὶ· μεγάλη δ' ἡ Ἰέρνη, πρὸς ἄρκτον αὐτῇ παραβεβλημένη, προμήκης μᾶλλον [ῆ] πλάτος ἔχουσα. (iv 5.4, p. 201).*

The last phrase can only be translated: 'With its greatest dimension east to west rather than north to south.' The meaning of *προμήκης* is well illustrated in a passage of Agathemerios in which after speaking of the round Ionic maps he refers to the emergence of the idea of the rectangular *oikoumene* with Demokritos: *πρῶτος δὲ Δημόκριτος, πολὺπειρος ἀνὴρ, συνείδεν ὅτι προμήκης ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ, ἡμιόλιον τὸ μῆκος τοῦ πλάτους ἔχουσα.*<sup>36</sup> The same view is expressed incidentally in a passage of Ptolemy: *τῷ γοῦν τοῦ Φιλήμονος λόγῳ, δι' οὗ τὸ μῆκος τῆς Ἰουερνίας νήσου, τὸ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς, ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι παραδέδωκεν, οὐ συγκατατίθεται διὰ τὸ φάναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἐμπόρων ἀκηκοέναι. (Geog. i 11.8).* Ptolemy remarks here that his predecessor Marinus did not accept the statement of Philemon giving the longitude of Ireland from east to west as a journey of twenty days, because Philemon said that he obtained this information from merchants. What Marinus suspected was not so much the question of longitude as the figure of twenty days, derived from merchants who were elsewhere thought to have exaggerated their travel-mileage, notably on the long land-route to China.

The views expressed here, placing the long axis of Britain on a line from east to west and that of Ireland parallel to it on the north, merely distort slightly the position which these islands had held, as we have already seen, on the map of Eratosthenes and continued to hold on the map of Agrippa; for Agrippa's map clearly followed Greek models closely,

<sup>34</sup> On the map of Agrippa see Kubitschek *Meteor.* ii 5, 362b; Strabo ii 4.7, p. 108; iii 1.3, 2100-12.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Agathemerios i 2, *GGM* ii 471; Arist.,

p. 137.

<sup>36</sup> Agathemerios *ibid.*



with the addition perhaps of a little extra information in the area of Western Europe derived from travellers, merchants and soldiers.<sup>37</sup> Pliny's position for Britain (iv 100: '*Britannia . . . inter septentrionem et occidentem iacet*') means that the lie of the island is from north to west. Ireland is again '*super eam*', that is to the north or north-west of Britain as in the fixed tradition of Greek cartography. The account of the islands in Pomponius Mela is even more specifically Eratosthenic than that in Pliny:

*'Ceterum, ut adhuc habuimus, inter septentrionem occidentemque proiecta, grandi angulo Rheni ostia prospicit: deinde obliqua retro latera abstrahit, altero Galliam, altero Germaniam spectans: tum rursus perpetuo margine directi litoris ab tergo obducta, iterum se in diversos angulos cuneat triquetra'* (iii 6.6).

Britain is still a triangle lying north to west with the large angle of Pytheas at Kantion looking towards the mouth of the Rhine, and the two sides enclosing this angle running south-west and north-east to form the angles at the base of the triangle. Ireland again lies north or north-west of Britain, forming a rectangle nearly as great as the larger island ('*super Britanniam Iverna est, paene par spatio, sed utrinque aequali tractu litorum oblonga*').

Perhaps it may now be evident that, despite Caesar's theory of the position of the British islands, which was accepted in part by Strabo and repeated by Tacitus (*Agr.* 24), the prevalent view during the first century A.D. was quite uncompromisingly that of Eratosthenes. For all the strictures of Hipparchos it was Eratosthenes who chiefly determined the cartographic tradition of later antiquity, and this tradition was clearly not to be lightly disturbed. It was inevitable, however, that the volume of more exact information which slowly began to become available following the Roman invasion of southern England in A.D. 43, particularly after the rapid advance of the Roman military roads with their system of milestones up towards the Scottish border, should ultimately affect the work of the cartographers. This first occurred, so far as our information goes, at the end of the first and the beginning of the second centuries A.D. in the successive maps and accompanying treatises of the geographer Marinus of Tyre, the main source of the extant cartographical work of Ptolemy of Alexandria. I find it difficult to concur with the views of those who hold that Ptolemy's work was to any great extent independent of that of Marinus. He seems to have depended on Marinus in cartography, as he did on Hipparchos in astronomy and on Poseidonios in the *Tetrabiblos*; and his independence consisted largely in a rearrangement of the material of Marinus and the use of a new type of map-projection, with the omission of the ethnography and everything extraneous to the arid materials of his *Introduction to Cartography*. We know from Ptolemy that Marinus was a conscientious worker and that he had consulted every source available which might forward his research, the progressive nature of which is sufficiently indicated by the numerous editions of his work, each of which except the last, as I understand the phrase in Ptolemy, was accompanied by its appropriate map.<sup>38</sup> Marinus therefore was a man who, though presumably far removed from Western sources of information, might be trusted to have obtained and used Roman information, official and otherwise, although we may suspect that the information was not always up to date. We know specifically that he used the reports of Roman soldiers and merchants on Africa,<sup>39</sup> and the reports of Greek travellers and geographers on China and Ireland.<sup>40</sup> It is very probable therefore that it was he, and not some unknown predecessor, who collected and handed on most of the exact information that Ptolemy possessed concerning the British islands.

The studies of G. Schütte have thrown much light on the influence exercised by Roman

<sup>37</sup> Compare for instance Pliny's phrase about the length of the coast of Germany (*NH* iv 99): '*haud multum ora deerit Graecorum opinioni et longitudini ab Agrippa proditae*'.

<sup>38</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* i 6.1, 17.1.

<sup>39</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* i 8.5.

<sup>40</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* i 11.7-8.



sources on the material which we find in Ptolemy, both in regard to Latin forms of place-names and also to information derived from recently built Roman road networks. In particular Schütte believes that the Ptolemaic map of Germany is not only related to the Roman itineraries such as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Antonini*, but reveals in itself all the characteristics of the itinerary type.<sup>41</sup> The itineraries were like the modern schematic representations of railway systems, and did not pretend to offer a correct topography. It is equally evident that some information about the Roman milestone system in England was available to Ptolemy, and there can be no reasonable doubt that Marinus was among the first to exploit this information. We may perhaps conjecture that it was the work of Marinus that forged the link between the Greek cartographic tradition and the new knowledge derived from the Roman road-system with its mileage reckonings together with the miscellaneous information collected from officials, merchants and other travellers on areas both within and without the Empire.<sup>42</sup>

In a chapter of his *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen* Berger has admirably deduced the main lines of the geographic work of Marinus from the odd references and animadversions in Ptolemy. Only the north-west corner of his map concerns us here. We have to keep in mind the fact that Marinus accepted the measurement of the degree at 500 stadia from Poseidonios. This new and equally wrong measurement was not due to any fault of Poseidonios,<sup>43</sup> and its later acceptance by Marinus was perhaps the result of casual and misleading references to the activity of Poseidonios in later geographers such as Strabo, who understood neither the method of Eudoxos nor that of Eratosthenes for measuring the earth's circumference. Marinus cannot, however, be absolved of a 'frightful carelessness in the use of his materials' in this respect.<sup>44</sup> He was a geographer working on the lines of Eratosthenes rather than Hipparchos. Nevertheless he took many of his parallels from Hipparchos, just as Strabo had done. He also used reports of itineraries from West Africa and reports of ships' captains from East Africa to establish his southern parallels beginning at 24° south latitude. For the more northerly parallels he had like his predecessors to go to the north-west. Berger says that the appearance of no small number of (new) geographical names in the table of Ptolemy (*Almagest* ii 6) can be attributed to Marinus, who took from Hipparchos what he could use as a geographer and then employed the increased geographical knowledge of his own time to provide further points of support for his parallels.<sup>45</sup> Such points or names in the north are: southern Britain 51° 40', then the mouth of the Rhine, the mouth of the Don, and especially the information on Great and Little Britain (a distinction which Ptolemy drops in his *Geography*), that is Brigantion 55°, mid-Britain 56°, Katuraktonion 57°, south of Little Britain 58°, middle of Little Britain 59° 30', north of Little Britain 61°, and the Ebudic isles 62°. Thule was put far to the west compared with Eratosthenes (*Geog.* ii 3.32), namely between 29° and 31° 40' east longitude, the reckoning being taken from the Fortunate Isles, which were placed 2½° west of Cape St. Vincent. Marinus placed Thule no longer on the Polar Circle but at 63° (*Ptol. Geog.* i 7.1), a change probably due to the expedition of Agricola's fleet mentioned by Tacitus (*Agr.* 10). In regard to his map we have further to remember that his parallels and meridians were straight lines intersecting at right angles. The parallels were merely reduced to four-fifths of the degree length on the chief line of longitude through Rhodes, which made the longitudes expand greatly to the north and contract unduly towards the equator.<sup>46</sup> The main meridians were sixteen in number enclosing his *oikoumene*, 225° in longitude, at intervals of 15°.

<sup>41</sup> Schütte, xxxi 580-9.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Plut., *de def. orac.* xviii, and the valuable series of articles by Zimmer.

<sup>43</sup> If we accept Berger's argument, *Geschichte* 577-82, more fully developed in Berger, *Berichte*

53-77. Thomson, in accord with the plan of his work, only mentions this problem and does not discuss it in detail (Thomson, 212-13, 334).

<sup>44</sup> Berger, *Geschichte* 593.

<sup>45</sup> Berger, *Geschichte* 612. <sup>46</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* i 20.4.



My earlier interpretation of Strabo's remarks on the two Britains in Hipparchos shows, I think, that this terminology in regard to Ireland and England, 'Little and Great Britain', is not an invention of Marinus but goes back at least to Hipparchos and perhaps to Eratosthenes and Pytheas. Berger seems to suggest that he himself understood Little Britain as Scotland, although he never specifically says so. If this was his view, however, it was certainly quite untenable. This is proved not only by the fact that the word *Brettanike*, when it refers to the large island, always means England plus Scotland (the distinction in area being itself based on the ethnical consequences of invasions which occurred centuries later), but also and more particularly by my argument stated above concerning the 'Britain' north of Britain in what was the traditional position of Ireland on the map. Further, there is the natural and fully attested fact that Ireland is always the small island compared with the neighbouring great island while both, including also Thule and many smaller islands, share the common name of 'British' islands, so that an early use of the terms 'Little Britain' and 'Great Britain' was a perfectly natural, indeed inevitable development. Apart from this I entirely accept Berger's view that the list of new names in *Almagest* ii 6 is a set of identifications by Marinus of geographical points with certain steps on his ladder of parallels.

One may ask what effects were produced by the acceptance of a fundamental unit, the degree, as being equal to 500 stadia instead of 700. We find for instance that the 5,000 stadia of Eratosthenes between Syene and Alexandria has now to become 3,500 stadia between 24° and 31°,<sup>47</sup> while the second test interval for measuring the earth's circumference, the 3,750 stadia between Alexandria and Rhodes, becomes about 2,700 stadia. This argues a fundamental incompetence in the mathematical and astronomical bases of geography in Marinus—a wilting of the traditional Greek curiosity about the nature of things which is barely compensated for by his undoubtedly great merits as a compiler and analyst of masses of heterogeneous geographical and ethnographic material. More pertinent to our theme is the effect of the curtailed degree on positions in northern latitudes.

Berger proves that the map of Western Europe in Ptolemy shows an excellent basis which is in general the design of Eratosthenes after Pytheas. Some of the errors in Strabo caused by Polybios (iii 38) are rectified.<sup>48</sup> The coast of France, Belgium, Holland, up to Jutland is given reasonably correctly. South Britain and the Bristol Channel are very well presented. Ireland is properly positioned towards the British coast. But the north part of Britain, that is Scotland, is nevertheless extraordinarily twisted. It is to be understood that the figures in Ptolemy must be reduced by one-sixth to approach reality, i.e. the degree of 500 stadia must be transformed into one of 600 stadia. This same point has of course already been observed in the case of the degree of 700 stadia. But we must avoid being wise after the event. For us it is now known that the degree is about 600 stadia, but neither Hipparchos nor Ptolemy knew this, and they had to work by their own lights. Hipparchos may be excused for using the degree of Eratosthenes with an adequate caution about its uncertainty, but neither Marinus nor Ptolemy can be absolved quite so lightly.<sup>49</sup>

Ptolemy has informed us of his exact procedure as concerns astronomic and stadiastic data, together with a note on previously existing knowledge:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ μόνος ὁ Ἰππάρχος ἐπ' ὀλίγων πόλεων, ὡς πρὸς τοσοῦτον πλῆθος τῶν κατατασσομένων ἐν τῇ γεωγραφίᾳ, ἐξάρματα τοῦ βορείου πόλου παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς κείμενα παραλλήλους, ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ τινες τῶν ἀντικειμένων τόπων, οὐ τοὺς ἴσων ἀπέχοντας τοῦ ἡσημερινοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς τοὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὄντας μεσημβρινοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν διάπλους οὐρίοις ἀπαρκτίαις ἢ νότοις διανύεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν

<sup>47</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* iv 5.9, 5.73.

<sup>48</sup> Berger, *Geschichte* 511, 543 ff., 629 ff.

<sup>49</sup> On this question see Ptol., *Geog.* i 11.2, vii 5.12;

Schnabel; Fischer; Kubitschek, 2069 ff., 2077 ff.;

Berger, *Geschichte* 579 ff. Berger's view seems more acceptable than that of Schnabel.



διαστημάτων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἢ δυσμὰς ὁλοσχερεστέρας ἔτυχε παραδόσεως, οὐ ράθυμιά τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ταῖς ἱστορίαις, ἀλλ' ἴσως τῷ μηδέπω τὸ πρόχειρον κατελιγῆθαι τῆς μαθηματικωτέρας ἐπισκέψεως, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ πλείους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐν διαφόροις τόποις τετηρημένων σεληνιακῶν ἐκλείψεων,—ὡς τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις πέμπτης ὥρας φανείσαν, ἐν δὲ Καρχηδόνι δευτέρας,—ἀναγραφῆς ἡξιῶσθαι, ἐξ ὧν ἐφαίνεται ἂν, πόσους ἀπέχουσιν ἀλλήλων οἱ τόποι χρόνους ἰσημερινούς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἢ δυσμὰς· εὐλογον ἂν εἶη, καὶ τὸν τούτοις ἀκολουθῶς γεωγραφήσονται τὰ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἀκριβεστέρων τηρήσεων εἰλημμένα προϋποτίθεσθαι τῇ καταγραφῇ, καθάπερ θεμελίου, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφαρμόζειν τούτοις, ἕως ἂν αἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλα θέσεις αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα τηρῶσιν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα συμφώνως τὰς ἀδιστακτοτέρας τῶν παραδόσεων. (*Geog.* i. 4.2.)

'Hipparchos had supplied the altitude of the pole (for reckoning latitude) only in the case of a few cities compared with the vast number of points to be located on the map, and had extended this in some cases to points of the same latitude (*e.g.* his parallels of Rhodes, Byzantium and Borysthenes). After his time other scholars had made lists of corresponding points, not points equidistant from the equator but simply points on the same meridian, using the fact that voyages were made from one to the other with north or south winds directly astern. Most reckonings of distances, however, in the east and west especially, depend on a rough reckoning, not through the inertia of the investigators, but rather because their mathematical capacity had not advanced to that stage of ready usage, and because more lunar eclipses simultaneously observed in different places had not been adjudged worthy of record—eclipses such as that seen at Arbela at the fifth hour and at Carthage at the second, which would have made clear how many equinoctial hours the places concerned were apart to east or west. It would seem reasonable, therefore, in order to draw a map in accordance with this information, to regard the more accurate observations as the basis, as it were the foundation, of the map. The information derived from other sources should then be made to fit in with these observations, until the reciprocal locations of the second class of information, together with their positionings with reference to the first-mentioned class, preserve with the greatest possible measure of agreement the least doubtful versions of the traditional information.'

We may notice here two fundamental facts, firstly the lack of astronomical observations later than those of Hipparchos, and secondly the clear distinction between the values of the information available in the familiar Mediterranean on the one hand, and in the far-distant east and west on the other. The distinction between 'accurate information' and 'rough reckoning' comes from *Geog.* i 2.2 where the latter is defined as dead reckoning, and therefore what Ptolemy tells us here in so many words is that positions in the west are determined by dead reckoning and not by any astronomical observations.<sup>50</sup> It is unfortunate that this plain statement of fact by Ptolemy has been so long ignored by those scholars who in writing of the British Isles allow themselves the assumption of a gnomonic reading or even an observation of a lunar eclipse in order to support their argument. If we now turn to examine Ptolemy's figures we shall see that his practice follows his theory in the north-west of Europe.

His base-line here is, as we would expect, the parallel of Marseilles, 43° north latitude. The first point which becomes clear is that he has translated the degree of 700 stadia into that of 500. Thus where Strabo gave 3,800 stadia from Marseilles to the north coast of France Ptolemy makes it run from 50° to 53° north latitude, that is 7 to 10 *new* degrees north of Marseilles, which gives an approximate equivalent of 3,500 to 5,000 stadia.<sup>51</sup> Again, his nineteenth parallel, in the most southerly part of Britain,<sup>52</sup> presumably through the Lizard, runs at 51° 30' or 51° 40', that is 8½° or 8⅔° north of Marseilles, equivalent to

<sup>50</sup> On the reckonings of Pytheas, see Berger, *Geschichte* 327 ff.; cf. Caesar, *BG* v 13, quoted above.

<sup>51</sup> Berger, *Geschichte* 630; Ptol., *Geog.* ii 8.1 f., 9.1.

<sup>52</sup> Ptol., *Almagest* ii 6.



4,250 or 4,333 stadia. We must multiply these figures by five-sixths to reduce them to what we know to be the value of a degree, and the result is  $50\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  or  $50\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$  for the Lizard, a very accurate reckoning, and even more so when we consider that his reading for Marseilles is not  $43^{\circ}$  but rather  $43^{\circ} 4'$ . The next two parallels in Ptolemy are the mouths of the Rhine and the Don, both of which are placed too high, especially the latter. There then follows the list of six points which really concern us, followed by the Ebudic islands and Thule.<sup>53</sup> Of the six points the first three are in Great Britain, the second three in Little Britain, and they ascend the scale of parallels like steps in a ladder: Brigantion in Great Britain  $55^{\circ}$ , middle of Great Britain  $56^{\circ}$ , Katuraktonion in Great Britain  $57^{\circ}$ , south parts of Little Britain  $58^{\circ}$ , middle of Little Britain  $59^{\circ} 30'$ , north of Little Britain  $61^{\circ}$ . These are followed in turn by the Ebudic islands  $62^{\circ}$ , the island of Thule  $63^{\circ}$ , and unknown Scythian tribes  $64^{\circ} 30'$ , at which point Ptolemy runs out of geographical names. Reducing these values as before by one-sixth in the interval from Marseilles (the astronomically fixed point) northward to the point in question we get the following: Brigantion  $53^{\circ}$ , mid-Britain  $53^{\circ} 50'$ , Katuraktonion  $54^{\circ} 40'$ , south Little Britain  $55^{\circ} 30'$ , middle Little Britain  $56^{\circ} 45'$ , north Little Britain  $58^{\circ}$ , Ebudic islands  $58^{\circ} 50'$ , Thule  $59^{\circ} 40'$ .

There is a number of important things to be learnt from this table. First, it is a purely conventional table, using a one-degree interval (one new degree of 500 stadia) in Great Britain and a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  degree interval in Little Britain. The unknown Brigantion and the south, middle and north terminology confirm one's belief in the conventional nature of the points chosen. Secondly, the figures for Britain, to judge from the Lizard and Katuraktonion (Catterick), are very correct. The figures Lizard  $50^{\circ}$  and mid-Britain  $53^{\circ} 50'$  show that north Britain (*i.e.* Scotland) ends at  $57^{\circ} 40'$ , and that Scotland therefore is already twisted to the east in the *Almagest*. We can assume that this feature is carried over from Marinus. Thirdly, the position and size of Little Britain (= Ireland) is by comparison with that of Britain very erroneous. After the reduction it is still  $4^{\circ}$  too high, as it always had been too high since the map of Eratosthenes, despite the efforts of Caesar to change its position. Lastly, the direction of the main axis of Ireland has clearly been changed from east-west to north-south, and we must ask why. The long axis east-west is clearly established in Agrippa (Pliny), Strabo and Philemon in the passages already quoted, while the long axis north-south is just as clearly fixed in Ptol. *Geog.* ii 1.4-5 and ii 2.2-4. We know, moreover, that Ptolemy had made no change in the map of Marinus in this respect, since if he had he would have specifically mentioned it. It becomes evident that Marinus has changed the position of Ireland in the same way that he changed that of southern Brettanike, and that therefore Ireland's traditional position as parallel to Britain in Eratosthenes, Strabo, Caesar ('*pari spatio transmissus*' BG v 13) and Agrippa ('*brevissimo transitu a Silurum gente XXX*' Pliny iv 103) has drawn it into line with southern Britain rather than with northern Britain (= Scotland). We may further connect this change in the general position of Ireland with Marinus' note on Philemon quoted by Ptolemy (*Geog.* i 11.8, quoted above). Where Marinus disagreed with a recorded travel-distance on land we know that he reduced it by half or slightly more, as he does in *Geog.* i 8.3-4 and i 11.5. He specifically disagreed with Philemon's reckoning of the east-west axis in Ireland as twenty days' journey or approximately 420 Roman miles (*Geog.* i 11.4). This figure he presumably reduced to 210 Roman or 192 English miles, and having changed the direction of the axis, longitude became latitude, and this became the north-south dimension. This is exactly the north-south distance given by Ptolemy from North Cape to South Cape ( $3\frac{1}{4}$  new degrees = 192 English miles).

Perhaps sufficient evidence has now been adduced to show that the fairly accurate information on England is due to the Roman conquest of the country in the first century

<sup>53</sup> Ptol., *Almagest* ii 6.



A.D., and that Marinus must have had knowledge of the early grid of roads running to the north which enabled him to choose suitable conventional points for each step on his scale of degrees. He had also, as shown above, some information on the dimensions of Ireland, which, whether appearing in Pliny's quotations from the map of Agrippa, or in Philemon, ultimately derived from Gaulish and British merchants visiting Ireland in the first century A.D. His general information on Scotland was extremely poor. If one asks whether Agricola's fleet did not bring back better evidence about the shape and dimensions of the north of Britain the answer must be doubtful. The intricacies of the western Scottish coast are enough to confuse even experienced sailors, and it is improbable that anyone on board could bring back the requisite astronomical data. Even if this were the case it is certain that Marinus was unaware of any fresh information on Scotland, and continued to give it the mainly east-west axis which it had been given since the time of Pytheas and Eratosthenes.<sup>54</sup> To this extent we can answer Macduff's question, 'Stands Scotland where it did?' Scotland stood where it did, on the Greek maps from Pytheas to Ptolemy and for centuries afterwards, so long as the maps based on Ptolemy were reproduced without correction in this quarter.

This does not mean that there is no information in Ptolemy of historical and linguistic value. His evidence on Dacia, a country equally beyond the Roman border, is regarded as excellent,<sup>55</sup> and there is no reason to think that the case is very different in the matter of Ireland and Scotland. But the astronomical data (so-called) have no scientific value as such. Ptolemy describes his method clearly at the beginning of his second book:

Ἀρξόμεθα δ' ἐντεῦθεν τῆς κατὰ μέρος ὑφήγησews, ἐκείνο προλαβόντες · ὅτι τὰς τῶν τετριμμένων τόπων μοιρογραφίας μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχειν νομιστέον διὰ τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ ὡς ἐπίπαν ὁμολογούμενον τῶν παραδόσεων · τὰς δὲ τῶν μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐφοδευθέντων ἕνεκεν τοῦ σπανίου καὶ ἀδιαβεβαιώτου τῆς ἱστορίας ὀλοσχερέστερον ἐπιλελογίσθαι κατὰ συνεγγισμὸν τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀξιοπιστότερον εἰλημμένων θέσεων ἢ σχηματισμῶν · ἵνα μὴδὲν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐνταχθισμένων εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης ἀόριστον ἔχη τὸν τρόπον<sup>56</sup> (*leg.* τόπον).

'I now begin my detailed introduction with this proviso; we must regard the longitude and latitude of well-known areas as nearly correct because of the continuous and generally recognised evidence in this respect. But the positions of areas not traversed in this way we must regard as rather rough reckonings because of the scanty and unconfirmed nature of the evidence, as an approximation, that is, to the positions or shapes most credibly established, so that every point to be located throughout the extent of my map of the whole inhabited world may have its definite place.' Giving a longitude and latitude then is merely a way of fixing points on a map, and we may be certain that the information was normally taken from the map of Marinus. The astronomical data are therefore merely a translation into different terms of information derived from the authorities of Marinus, and they share all the uncertainties of date and value which qualified his different kinds of evidence.

Ptolemy is of course aware of the great unreliability of the evidence derived from land-travel and from sea-voyages. He considers the question specifically<sup>57</sup> and later at great length in his criticisms of Marinus.<sup>58</sup> In chapters 7 to 9 of his first book he criticises the

<sup>54</sup> Thomson (p. 236) here represents a view rather close to that of Mannert (quoted from Berger on p. 132 above). It is true that Strabo is strongly inclined to compress the width of the *oikoumene* at various points, yet he leaves Britain a triangle. Marinus has rather the opposite inclination and yet he distorts the north of Britain. It would be absurd to attribute the distortion to a deliberate falsification

of Marinus, and consequently it must be due to his following the older information regarding the north of Britain available to him in the work of Pytheas, Eratosthenes and others.

<sup>55</sup> Schütte, xxx 67 ff.; cf. Kubitschek, 2070 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* ii 1.2, cf. 9.8.

<sup>57</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* i 2.4.

<sup>58</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* i 7 and following chapters.



latitudinal dimensions of Marinus derived from (a) astronomical data, (b) measurements by land, and (c) measurements by sea. In chapters 11 to 14 he delivers a similar criticism of his longitude. At the beginning of chapter 15 he summarises all this preceding section as being a curtailment of the general dimensions of longitude in the east and latitude to the south, which shows clearly that he had no such criticism to make in the north-west. Having thus discussed the general outlines of the work of Marinus he then devotes three more chapters (15 to 17) to the mistakes in detail of his predecessor's work. In these the only mention of the British Isles is a note in chapter 15.6 to the effect that the text of Marinus gives Noviomagus as 59 miles south of London, whereas the parallel in the map shows it as rather north of London. In Book ii of the *Geography* Noviomagus is given as 35 minutes south of London, or about 34 miles. It seems that Ptolemy here has manipulated the Roman road-grid and put Noviomagus roughly half-way between the two positions variously assigned to it by Marinus.

It is generally recognised that a passage at the end of *Almagest* ii forecasts the writing of a geographical work with a catalogue of longitudes and latitudes of notable cities as an appendix:

ἐφωδευμένης δὴ καὶ τῆς τῶν γωνιῶν πραγματείας, λείποντος δὲ τοῖς ὑποτιθεμένοις τοῦ τὰς ἐποχὰς τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισημασίας ἀξίων πόλεων ἐπεσκέφθαι κατὰ μῆκος καὶ κατὰ πλάτος πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς φαινομένων ἐπιλογισμοὺς τὴν μὲν τοιαύτην ἔκθεσιν ἐξαίρετον καὶ γεωγραφικῆς ἐχομένην πραγματείας καθ' αὐτὴν ὑπ' ὅψιν ποιησόμεθα ἀκολουθήσαντες ταῖς τῶν ἐπεξεργασμένων ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος ἱστορίαις καὶ παραγράφοντες ὅσας μοίρας ἀπέχει τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ τῶν πόλεων ἐκάστη κατὰ τὸν δι' αὐτῆς γραφόμενον μεσημβρινόν, καὶ πόσας οὗτος τοῦ δι' Ἀλεξανδρείας γραφομένου μεσημβρινοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἢ δύσεως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοῦτον ἡμῖν συνίστασθαι τοὺς τῶν ἐποχῶν χρόνους. (ii 13).

This appendix exists in a later and amplified form in Book viii of the *Geography*. Its information is presumably earlier than that contained in the main body of the *Geography* which was written later, and so we can postulate three successive stages for the information on the British Isles, namely *Almagest* ii 6, *Geog.* viii, and *Geog.* ii.<sup>59</sup> If we tabulate the information derived from these three sources, on the points running north from Vectis to Thule, we find that in nine cases (out of fourteen) the evidence is identical, in two nearly so, while in the remaining three, namely Katuraktonion, Vectis and London, the variants run from 1° to 4°. The variants for Vectis and London must be due to some MS. corruption, but it is possible that the change in Katuraktonion from 57° to 58° may be intentional. It might mean that there were reports that Ireland was not so far north of Britain as had been supposed, and therefore the top step of the scale of parallels within Britain is made level at 58° with the south of Ireland instead of remaining one step below at 57°.

It must then be recognised that the system of Ptolemy in giving locations is highly

<sup>59</sup> J. Fischer, in his work on Ptolemy (see n. 1), states that the *πρόχειροι κανόνες*, of which there is as yet no critical edition, is a still later work giving additions to and differences from the tables of *Geog.* viii, agreeing more closely with the data of the earlier books. Fischer thinks that these tables are an improved version of those in the *Geography*, based largely on new information. Otto Cuntz argues on the contrary that the positions given in this work are borrowings or corruptions from the data of the *Geography*. It would be premature to express a definite opinion before adequate critical editions of both this work and the *Geography* are available. Meanwhile it may be said that the MSS. readings

given by Fischer on the British Isles provide nothing of interest other than a tendency to reduce the latitude of the middle of Ireland by 1° 10'. The latitude of 66° for Thule in the printed Oxford edition of 1712 (*Geog. veteris scriptores Graeci minores*, vol. iii) seems to be a retention of the old latitude of Thule from one of the early works of Marinus. Considering the fact that no information reached Ptolemy about his major inaccuracies regarding Scotland it seems very unlikely that he was in a position to get information causing him to shift the positions of towns in Ireland by seventy or less miles, and indeed he states that the evidence of Marinus was most lacking in regard to cities of the interior (*Geog.* i 18.6).



conventionalised with a very low degree of accuracy, as indeed he himself admits in his very first chapter.<sup>60</sup> His minimal unit is 5', but anyone who cares to plot out the British Isles with his figures will be well aware that his real unit of measurement is 15' or even 30'. Whatever check there may have been on his manipulation of the evidence by reason of the existence of itineraries within the empire,<sup>61</sup> outside it there was little in the way of guidance but the wild surmise which Strabo had castigated in Eratosthenes.<sup>62</sup> As a field of study therefore the identification of places in Scotland and Ireland with those mentioned in Ptolemy is fully open to those who are qualified to deal with it whether from the linguistic or from other points of view; and I hope I have shown, for those who would undertake the task, that their scope and freedom of speculation need not be hampered by the *damnosa hereditas* of a list of apparently astronomical data which in fact never really existed.

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<sup>60</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* i 1.5-6.

<sup>61</sup> Ramsay, 69-74; Kubitschek.

<sup>62</sup> στοιχασμός, Strabo, *Geog.* i 4.4, p. 63.



## THE INSTITUTION OF THE HELLENOTAMIAE

At the very beginning of the Delian Confederacy, in describing its organisation during the winter of 478-477 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> Thucydides records (i 96) that permanent arrangements were made for the collection of contributions in money from those cities which preferred to supply cash rather than ships for the furtherance of the new League's activities. These arrangements included the establishment of officials to receive, disburse, and be generally responsible for the cash funds, but Thucydides' brief account of their appointment has given rise to difficulties. He says, in the barest terms, καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίους κατέστη ἀρχή, οἱ ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον. The last four words are loosely attached to describe the office's function and are explicative of Ἑλληνοταμίαι, not Ἀθηναίους: what concerns us are the seven words before the comma.

Thucydides' phrase, with its emphatic τότε πρῶτον, clearly puts out of court the idea of E. M. Walker<sup>2</sup> that the Hellenotamiae began when the tribute-lists began, i.e. in 454-453, when the treasury of the Confederacy was moved from Delos to Athens and Athenian control of it was more firmly secured. Walker's view was adequately refuted both by Gomme<sup>3</sup> and by the authors of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*;<sup>4</sup> it also runs contrary to the sense of Xenophon's remark (*Poroi* 5.5) about the acquisition of control of fleet and treasury by Athens. Since the Athenians commanded τὸ ναυτικόν from 478, as the result of εὐεργεσία, the treasurership must have been Athenian from the same date—or so, unless he be held to ignore all chronological distinctions, Xenophon clearly implies.

It is obvious also from Thucydides that we are at the beginning point of a series—'then for the first time'; the use of ἀρχή, the term for regular and annual offices, leads us to assume that the treasurership was continuously filled. Was it in fact filled by Athenians? It may be unnecessary to see more in Thucydides' imprecise introduction of the simple Ἀθηναίους than that the Athenians were at the back of the establishment of the new office—'the Athenians had it set up'<sup>5</sup>—leaving it uncertain whether the personnel consisted of Athenians or allies;<sup>6</sup> but the impression made by the phrase is certainly more exact than that. To keep the term of reference of the dative so vague, while grammatically possible, seems to strain the sense. We can hardly avoid concluding that the Hellenotamiae were Athenians and Athenians only from the start. Glotz is clear on the point<sup>7</sup> and Laistner also seems to commit himself thus far.<sup>8</sup>

On these points, then, agreement seems general: but it has been widely supposed that the treasurership of the Greeks was Athenian in the sense not only that Athenian citizens filled it but also that Athenian citizens had the sole right of election to it, i.e. that the Hellenotamiae, from 478 onwards, constituted an Athenian ἀρχή to which election was

<sup>1</sup> B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute-Lists* iii 1950 (quoted hereafter as *ATL* iii) 158, 225-43.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge Ancient History* v 41, 46, 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Commentary on Thucydides* i 86, 272-3, 279.

<sup>4</sup> *ATL* iii 230, with note 26.

<sup>5</sup> So M. F. McGregor criticising the view of Gomme noted above, in *AJP* lxxvii (1946) 270. 'Gomme is firm in his belief that the Hellenotamiae formed an Athenian magistracy from 478-477 B.C. This may be true; but it is not certain, neither is it accurate to write that "Thucydides expressly states

that it was instituted, as an Athenian office, at the beginning of the League". It was instituted by the Athenians, I venture to say, but it *may* have been an allied board of some sort, despite Gomme's rather casual dismissal of Walker's proposal.'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Walker's 'Delian magistrates', *CAH* v 46.

<sup>7</sup> *Histoire grecque* ii (1948) 116—'dix hellénotames, Athéniens de naissance'.

<sup>8</sup> *History of the Greek World*, 479-323 B.C. (2nd ed. 1947) 6—'Athenian too were the financial officers (ἑλληνοταμίαι).'



made by the Athenian demos in the same way as for any other financial office.<sup>9</sup> This was no doubt true of the post-454 period: since the treasury was then located in Athens and the task of safeguarding it was in the hands of the Treasurers of Athena, the residuary duties of receiving and disbursing were better entrusted to a purely Athenian magistracy, chosen, as Hignett with justification believes, by direct election rather than by lot. But was it also true of the first quarter-century of the League's existence?

That is not what Thucydides expressly says. *Kathistasthai* used intransitively in the vaguest terms, as *constitui* or simply as *fieri* or *esse*, is a favourite word with him; the dative used with it is ordinarily the *dativus commodi vel incommodi*. So, for ethnics such as that with which we are concerned here, iii 102.6, iv 78.2, vi 59.2; so too, in particular, of a state of war, i 103.4, 105.2. Neither in these nor in similar instances does the dative contain any sense of agency, and that the Athenians elected to the new federal office appears, if the Thucydidean phrase be strictly regarded, as an extra point read into it by commentators but not inherent in it by nature. If we regard the treasurership of the Greeks in 478-477 as an Athenian magistracy in the full sense, we ought not, on this argument, to claim Thucydides' express authority for it.

Lacking other evidence for the office at its earliest stage, we may consider the general argument of the Confederacy's character at the time. The Athenians possessed the right to military leadership—this the allies had pressed on them at Byzantium in the autumn of 478; and a fundamental inequality of status was further implied by the bilateral character of the initial oaths of confederation. But did, or could, Athenian hegemony go so far as to include sole rights of election, in Athens, to the Confederacy's most important non-military function? Even as regards the generals we can hardly conclude that they were, at any rate in the early days, appointed to their position in the Confederacy by the bare *fiat* of the Athenian demos. It must be supposed that there were two stages to the process, first an election to the Athenian *strategia* by the Athenian demos, and later an election to the Confederacy's *strategia* by the allied synod. It may well have been the case that at the latter election only one candidate was nominated, but the election, however much of a formality, must surely have taken place.

It might be argued, however, that acceptance of Athenian *ἡγεμονία* also involved the acceptance, without argument or ratification, of any general whom the Athenians chose to send out in command of the allied fleet. The general in command during the Confederacy's early years seems regularly to have been Cimon, an appointment which would in any case have been popular with the members and certain of ratification, if ratification was required: hence the importance of the question is more theoretical than actual, in that both sides were in fact content with whatever procedure took place. But we do hear of 'fellow-generals', as for instance in Plut., *Cimon* 8.7-8: were these, too, simply 'accepted' by the confederates, whatever their qualifications or popularity with the allies?

It is true that in the two leagues which formed the available precedents for the constitutional arrangements of the Delian Confederacy, acceptance of hegemony did involve acceptance of the leaders appointed by the hegemon. The members of the Peloponnesian League served under the king or nauarch appointed to lead the expedition, whoever he might be. In the Hellenic League the allies, prepared for once to sink their parochialism in the common interest, accepted without argument the appointments of Leonidas, Pausanias and Eurybiadas to command the combined forces once they had agreed to entrust themselves to Spartan leadership. With these precedents it could be maintained that the same

<sup>9</sup> This goes back as far as Grote (*History of Greece* v 359), but in more recent times has been adopted by Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* ii 1, 64 f.; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* 1132, 1341; Berve, *Griech. Gesch.* i 270; Bengtson, *Griech. Gesch.* 176; Gomme,

*Commentary* i, loc. cit.; Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution* 244; Larsen, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* li (1940) 186, 199; id., *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* 60; *ATL* iii 230.



principle was followed in the new confederacy with regard to the rights of the hegemon, and that Athens under those rights could appoint generals and treasurers as she chose, without any need for the 'double election' suggested above.

On the other hand, the genesis of the new organisation differed from that of its predecessors. It was founded in a spirit of reaction from the dictatorial tendencies of Sparta's nominee under the old system, and expressly sought to avoid some of the abuses existing under the Spartan-led coalitions. If ever the members of the Delian Confederacy were acting and organising ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου they were doing so then. I find it hard to believe that in these circumstances Athenian ἡγεμονία could have been extended so far;<sup>10</sup> it is more likely that the members claimed at least the right to ratify the nominations and more probably the right to select among the ten Athenian generals nominated. The popularity of Cimon was perhaps responsible for turning the election into a formality more rapidly than might otherwise have been the case.

I envisage that a clause was written into the original constitution of the Confederacy to the effect 'that an Athenian shall command the armed forces of the Confederacy'. A similar clause could have applied to the treasurership—'there are to be ten treasurers, and the treasurers are to be Athenian': that an election by the synod would in consequence have been required we can hardly doubt. How, in that case, were the nominations made? We know nothing of the number of representatives sent to Delos for the synods by each member-city, nor do we know how these were appointed. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that, apart from the *stratego*i who were (while in office) in a sense 'international' executives, the Athenians may have sent ten ordinary delegates, elected on the basis of one per *phyle*, and that these may have been elected, *en bloc*, as Hellenotamiae at the synod to which they went. It is of course true that this may be regarded as having in effect amounted to the appointment of the treasurers by the Athenian demos, and it might have done so the more obviously as time went on; but this is by no means the same as to say that the treasurership constituted, and was at the outset acknowledged by all to be, an ordinary Athenian magistracy, and that is what, if I understand it aright, the general consensus of the commentators in fact asserts. Nor is it likely that such a provision could have been written into the original constitution, with the justice and equality of which the allies were apparently content: the inequalities inherent in it were only borne in on them later,<sup>11</sup> and so transparent an application of Athenian hegemony in 478 would, I submit, hardly have been accepted.

It can scarcely be claimed that the transference of so large a measure of financial power to Athens' hands at the beginning of the Confederacy's history would have been justified, and should therefore be credible to us, because of Athens' greater financial experience. Hitherto the Athenians had had no more of it than the day-to-day business of city and temple administration would have offered. As late as 483 a sudden mining surplus at Laurium was almost dealt with on the elementary basis of a *viritim* distribution. Other

<sup>10</sup> For the same reason the argument of N. G. L. Hammond (*CR* n.s. viii (1958) 33) that the Athenians may not have been members of the Confederate synod in the same way that the Spartans were not present at the meetings of members of the Peloponnesian League, does not carry conviction. The assignment to Athens of a single vote, on a parity with the smallest and weakest of the participants, bore every appearance of *ισότης* and was an arrangement which would have been hailed, at the inception of the League, as worthy of the fair-mindedness of Aristides, presumably to be regarded as the brain behind the original constitution. But Athens'

position, though theoretically weak, in fact proved exceptionally strong (*cf.* J. A. O. Larsen, *Class. Phil.* xlv (1949) 176-7), and the establishment in the fourth-century Confederacy of a *συνέδριον* of which Athens was expressly not a member must be seen in the light of the reaction against the abuses of the earlier League so evident in the provisions of its successor. It was clearly believed that, in the light of experience, the old Peloponnesian arrangements would prove more equitable than those of the first Delian Confederacy had turned out to be.

<sup>11</sup> This at least is the tenor of the Mytilenæans' description in Thuc. iii 10-11.



cities, especially the more important and wealthy in Ionia, could with justice have challenged any Athenian claim to superior knowledge.

It is possible that the appointment of Hellenotamiae as League officials by the League synod continued until 454. In that event Walker may at least be allowed the credit of having emphasised that date in the history of the office, even though he did so for wrong reasons to secure a wrong answer. It may even be reflected by Andocides (iii 37-8), who in a rhetorical passage describes Athens' acquisition of power, which, he says, was the fruit of persuasion, trickery, bribery, and force. In giving instances of each method, he cites as examples of the power of persuasion (a) that the Athenians talked the allies into granting to them the *σύλλογος τῶν νεῶν* and to paying money instead of ships, and (b) that the Athenians also persuaded the allies to have the Treasurers of the Greeks appointed at Athens (*Ἀθήνησι*).<sup>12</sup> The changeover from ship-payment to cash-payment we know to have been a gradual but continuing process, complete (so far as it was completed) by 450.<sup>13</sup> That the *σύλλογος τῶν νεῶν* was to take place at Athens reflects, I believe, the activities of Cimon (Plut., *Cim.* 11) who in the interests of efficiency was eager to establish a homogeneous fleet and to persuade the allies, on that account, to contribute money rather than ships. We may see in Plutarch's story not only the final move to consolidate the *φόρος* (as West saw it)<sup>14</sup> but a reorganisation of the system of naval concentration, centred exclusively on Athens. In both cases we are dealing with that period from 454 to 445 when the transformation of the League into the Empire became really clear, and it is to the same period, most likely to 454-453, that Andocides' other reference belongs. The allies were persuaded that thereafter the whole process was best left in Athenian hands, and the Treasurership of the Greeks as an Athenian magistracy had effectively come into being.

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<sup>12</sup> πείσαντες μὲν οὖν Ἀθήνησι ποιήσασθαι τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων Ἑλληνοταμίαν.

Dalmeyda (Budé ed.) translates 'par la persuasion, quand nous obtînmes que les Hellénotames préposés

au Trésor commun fussent des Athéniens', but this is not quite what Andocides says.

<sup>13</sup> *ATL* iii 250. Potidaea, a possible exception in period 3, paid cash in period 4. <sup>14</sup> *ATL* iii 249.



## THE TEMPLE OF HEPHAISTOS

IN 1930 Judeich gave his opinion strongly in favour of the identification of the 'Theseion' as the temple of Hephaistos,<sup>1</sup> and the identification has been widely accepted. The excavators of the agora have adopted it and regard the archaeological discoveries as settling the matter. Dinsmoor wrote in 1941,<sup>2</sup> 'Now that the American excavations have brought to light the foundries, casting-pits and slag-furnaces of the metal-workers' quarter . . . there can no longer be any doubt as to this attribution'. Apparently there still is some doubt. H. Koch in his recent book on the building<sup>3</sup> has continued to deny the identification strongly and renewed former attempts to reinstate Theseus in some way. He had already objected to the 'Garden of Hephaistos' discovered in the precincts of the temple and maintained that all this planting of trees and shrubs was more appropriate to Theseus, with whom were associated Phytalos and the Phytalidai (in fact the garden is appropriate to the site, an attractive setting for the temple, whoever is the occupant). Reviewers have treated his ideas with considerable respect and even favour. H. Plommer in *Gnomon* xxix (1957) 33 shares the doubts about Hephaistos, but sees difficulties in Theseus too, and leaves the matter open. J. F. Healy in *JHS* lxxvi (1956) 135 seems inclined to agree with Koch. The name 'Theseion' is tending to shed its well-deserved inverted commas. The impression may be given that the whole subject is in the melting-pot again; this note is an attempt to pull it out, in particular by considering the vital evidence of Pausanias.

I do not wish to say much about the sculpture, except to point out that it does not weaken the ascription of the temple to Hephaistos. It was no doubt a superficial interpretation of the occurrence of Theseus which gave rise in comparatively recent times to the popular name<sup>4</sup> (one should not imagine that the mere existence of this name is in any sense an argument for Theseus). Koch like others before him has used the sculpture to support the claims of Theseus. The relation of decorative sculpture to the cult of a temple is a complicated and disputed question. Probably no one would now maintain that sculptors had a more or less free choice of motifs; but they certainly had a good deal of latitude, and could choose subjects which were of very broad relevance and illustrated the general character and spirit of the cult rather than specific legends about the deity. The significance of a legend in the particular locality and at the time concerned was also a factor which counted with them. E. Lapalus<sup>5</sup> discusses this question, and says that such decoration 'peut être d'inspiration sacrée, sans refléter, pour autant, directement et naïvement la personne même du dieu dont elle pare la demeure'. E. C. Olsen<sup>6</sup> goes so far as to use the reliefs as an argument for Hephaistos, and infers from the principles on which the subjects of such reliefs were chosen (he is not concerned with the pediments) that 'the presence of Herakles and Theseus indicates that they have no direct relation whatever to the actual cult of the temple'. This is saying too much; more safely and moderately, Olsen maintains that the reliefs show men triumphing over barbarous enemies by means of the arts which they owe to Hephaistos and to Athena. The deity is commemorated and worshipped in such sculpture 'by selecting from the common fund of myth and legend the events in which the god's particular power is seen at work'.<sup>7</sup> One must bear in mind that Athena shared the cult, and this gave the artists a much wider scope, comparable with the

<sup>1</sup> *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, 365 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesp.*, Supplement v 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen* (1955) 9 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* i (1951) 356 ff.

<sup>5</sup> It first occurs in the fifteenth century; see Koch, *Studien* 9; cf. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* i 743.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Fronton Sculpté en Grèce* (1947) 346.

<sup>7</sup> *AJA* xlii (1938) 276-87.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 284.



range open to the Parthenon sculptors. H. A. Thompson shows<sup>8</sup> that his reconstruction of the pedimental sculpture is not inappropriate to a temple which Athena shared with Hephaistos. One need not expect any special and precise reference to Hephaistos on the exterior of the temple. Appropriate and sufficient honour was done to him in the cult statue, and perhaps its subsidiary decoration.<sup>9</sup> Besides being occupied by Athena too, this was the temple of the agora district *par excellence*, overlooking and dominating the centre of the city's life. The sculpture cannot be decisive in any direction; it suits well enough the assumption that here we have Pausanias' temple of Hephaistos, with Athena as partner, 'above the Kerameikos'.

Plommer remarks that Koch omits one possible argument that the temple was no Hephaisteion. Why, if the temple was finished by 440 B.C., were no cult statues installed till twenty years later? *IG* i<sup>2</sup> 370-1 shows that this was the date of the statues of Athena and Hephaistos. There is no answer, except that such delays could occur, for reasons we do not know, as probably happened at Olympia; and there are possibly indications that such a delay did take place at this temple. The treatment of the blocks which very probably belong to the base has suggested a date late in the fifth century, as Dinsmoor points out;<sup>10</sup> and in a pit a little to the south-west of the temple have been found fragments of moulds of date and character suitable for the cult statues.<sup>11</sup>

Koch and the reviewers quoted all make light of the evidence of metal-working in the vicinity. But it is very impressive in bulk, and can hardly be accounted for by work merely incidental to the shrine; one is justified in speaking of a metal-workers' quarter here. This is not decisive, of course, nor is such literary evidence as that of Andokides,<sup>12</sup> who speaks of going up from a bronze-foundry to the Hephaisteion; but taken in conjunction with our main and crucial authority Pausanias it has a cumulative and corroborative effect.

Healy writes, 'topographical arguments favouring the Hephaisteion attribution (based on Paus. i 14.6) remain invalid, as K. implies, until the Stoa Basileios is identified with certainty'. If one could securely identify the stoa in the north-west of the agora, which is in any case the stoa of Zeus, with the Basileios, Pausanias' words about the temple of Hephaistos—that it stands 'above the Kerameikos', i.e. the agora, 'and the stoa called Basileios'—would be an admirable description of the position of the existing temple, and there would hardly be room for doubt.<sup>13</sup> But even if the two are distinct, Pausanias' description while not so fitting is not untrue or even inept. The Basileios must then have been very closely to the north of the stoa of Zeus—the line of the road from the Dipylon is known and there is very little room to fit the Basileios in. One should bear in mind that Pausanias' starting-point, and his principal point of recurrence in the agora area, is where he enters at the north-west. This is as it were his base of operations in exploring the agora; the streets running south, south-east and east from here are the lines which he takes to cover the ground. The Basileios is the first and most important building on the side of the agora above which the temple stood. At i 14.6 we are perhaps to imagine him back at this point and saying in effect, 'The temple of Hephaistos stands up above the agora as you enter it' from the north-west. This is a reasonable way of describing the position of the existing temple. Pausanias' ways of indicating the relation of monuments to each other are only too often regrettably loose and indeterminate. In the present instance this is not so if the Basileios and Zeus stoas are identical, and not badly so if they are distinct. Even on the less favourable assumption the argument from Pausanias carries weight.

In fact Pausanias' whole manner of introducing the temple of Hephaistos provides a

<sup>8</sup> *Hesp.* xviii (1949) 252-3.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. S. Karouzou in *AM* lxx-lxx (1954-5) 68-94.

<sup>10</sup> *Hesp.* Supplement v 105 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 109 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *De Mysteriis* 40; cf. *The Athenian Agora* iii, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (1957) 98.

<sup>13</sup> In fact I believe in the identity of the two stoas, while admitting that only excavation further north can finally settle the problem; for a recent discussion see R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora Grecque* (1951) 320 ff.; cf. *Agora* iii (*Testimonia*) 30.



strong argument for the identification, quite apart from consideration of the Basileios. He might have included the temple in the first stage of his *periegesis* of the agora—while making his way down the west side—by means of an excursion up the hillside above. Instead, he concentrates on the monuments along the western street of the agora proper, and then follows the Panathenaic Street south-east as far as the Eleusinion on the slope leading up to the Acropolis. One can perhaps imagine him looking back at the Kolonos and the temple crowning it, and becoming aware that he has missed something 'worth seeing'. He goes back to his starting-point and repairs the omission. One can hardly believe that it is any other than the extant temple which attracts his attention. Fifty years ago Ernest Gardner,<sup>14</sup> after suggesting that of recorded shrines that of Herakles in Melite had most in its favour, refused to commit himself to any definite identification, because the temple might be one not mentioned by Pausanias or anyone else; the temple, he maintained, now by accident of its preservation very conspicuous, might have been by no means so conspicuous in ancient times. The temple must in any case have housed an important cult, and it would indeed be strange if not a single text, literary or epigraphical, contained a reference to it. But we know a great deal more about the whole area and its monuments than Gardner did. The temple was certainly conspicuous in ancient times too. It was the centre piece of the Kolonos and must have formed an architectural culmination to the buildings on the west side of the agora, which it dominated from the hill above—the effect can be seen well in the reconstructed agora model. It is almost unthinkable that Pausanias, glancing back at the Kolonos, ignored this building and singled out another, necessarily less dominant, as being 'above the Kerameikos', i.e. the agora.

One is reluctant to leave the great temple without a name; and what are the alternatives to Hephaistos? The process of elimination has gone far. Ares, Apollo, Zeus Soter are now securely placed in the agora below. As recently as 1951 C. Picard was still stoutly maintaining<sup>15</sup> that the temple was the Eleusinion, and the garden that of Kore, not Hephaistos and Athena; a mass of evidence now places the Eleusinion to the south-east of the agora. Herakles in Melite, strongly advocated at one time by Wachsmuth,<sup>16</sup> as against Theseus, cannot be flatly ruled out like all these, but never had much in his favour and can much better be placed further to the south, without a temple, in an area not covered by Pausanias, who missed the Eurysakeion also.<sup>17</sup> If one is determined to contest Hephaistos' occupancy, it seems to have become necessary to invent a counter-claimant.

One fact should be stated uncompromisingly—this temple was not *the* Theseion, if one uses the term, as one should, of the shrine of Theseus in which Kimon laid the hero's bones. If the temple belonged to Theseus it was *another* Theseion, which to say the least of it is somewhat surprising. Yet Koch sometimes seems to speak of it as *the* Theseion, or at least does not make himself clear on this point. Plommer in his review raises difficulties on grounds of dating and the unlikelihood that the Theseion had a temple in it. There is no need to rely on such criteria. The Theseion simply was not on this site, but over on the other side of the agora, 'in the middle of the city by the gymnasium',<sup>18</sup> i.e. the Ptolemaion, at a point where Pausanias was leaving the agora in a south-easterly direction. The topographical evidence is unmistakable.

Koch believes Herakles was associated with Theseus in the temple. Healy remarks, 'he proposes for the temple the logical title "Theseion-Herakleion"'. There is no literary or epigraphical evidence for such a cult. Euripides (*Herakles*, 1328–31) makes Theseus say he will hand over *τεμῆνη* everywhere in the land to Herakles; he says nothing of sharing

<sup>14</sup> *Ancient Athens* (1907) 424.

<sup>15</sup> *RA* (1951) 108–10.

<sup>16</sup> *Die Stadt Athen* i 357 ff.; cf. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup> 365 n. 2; *AJA* lxiii (1959) 67.

<sup>17</sup> This was probably to the south of the extant

temple; see *Agora* iii (*Testimonia*) 90 ff.; Pausanias mentions it later, when at Salamis (i 35.3).

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch, *Theseus* 36.2; cf. Pausanias i 17. 2–3; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 15.4.



them. Plutarch says on the authority of Philochoros<sup>19</sup> that Theseus consecrated to Herakles all his *τεμένη* except four. These four can be accounted for satisfactorily—the shrine where the bones were laid, one at Peiraeus, one probably in the Long Walls, one at Kolonos Hippios.<sup>20</sup> Thucydides says<sup>21</sup> that the Athenians slept one night under arms *ἐν Θησείῳ τῷ ἐν πόλει*. He clearly contrasts a shrine—a single shrine—in the city with another or others outside.

It is difficult to believe in view of this that the temple on the Kolonos was a Theseion of any kind; and it is difficult to believe that this great and conspicuous shrine houses a cult wholly unknown from literary and epigraphical records. Hephaistos remains much the strongest candidate; the key authority Pausanias gives him good support. One should not invent a cult to take his place. There is much that continues uncertain in the agora district; the temple of Hephaistos is an identification which though not proved outright one can gratefully accept.

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#### ADDENDUM

During a recent visit to Athens I heard from Professor E. Vanderpool that discoveries made in building operations have thrown further light on the lines of the roads approaching the agora at the north-west, leading him to the conclusion that there was not room for another major building at this point (I would like to place the Herms in the limited space available), and that the Basileios and Zeus Stoa were one. I should like to thank Professor Vanderpool for showing me the draft of an article which is to appear shortly, and Professor H. A. Thompson, Professor F. Brommer and other colleagues at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton for helpful discussion.

R. E. W.

<sup>19</sup> *Theseus* 35.2; Jacoby, *FGH* iiiB, no. 328, 18.

<sup>20</sup> Andokides, *de Mysteriis* 45 (Long Walls); Pausanias i 30.4 (Kolonos Hippios); *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2498 (Peiraeus).

<sup>21</sup> vi 61.2. Schol. on Aischines iii 13 does speak

of *δνὸ Θησεῖα ἐν τῇ πόλει*, but the note is corrupt and confused and can hardly count against Thucydides and the literary evidence generally, which speaks simply of 'the Theseion'; see *Agora* iii (*Testimonia*) 113 ff.



## NOTES

### Recent Acquisitions by the Otago Museum

During the past few years the Otago Museum has acquired by purchase and through the generosity of benefactors,<sup>1</sup> a number of ancient works of art which deserve publication.

(1) Terra-cotta Gorgoneion antefix. (E. 55.74; PLATE V top.) From Taranto. Height 0.175 m. The lower left corner, with part of the gorgon's check and beard, and a serpent, has been lost, and there is a less important break along the upper right edge. Neither of the breaks seems to be recent. Light buff, rather coarse clay, originally decorated with thick white slip, of which only traces (clearly visible in the photograph) are left. The eyeballs were painted black, and traces of black and red paint are visible on the hair.

Serpents rearing themselves from below the cheeks on either side are a feature of several Tarentine gorgoneia,<sup>2</sup> dating from the sixth century B.C. onwards, of which perhaps the best known is that in New York.<sup>3</sup> Rather later examples are in the British Museum.<sup>4</sup> Our piece, with strong tusks and still monstrous mouth and tongue, should belong in the archaic period. But the nose seems to be shrinking to human proportions, though it has not yet reached them, and the eyes, with their distinctly modelled lids and tear-ducts, cannot be very early. Perhaps the beginning of the fifth century B.C. is a likely date. Our gorgon is distinguished from most of its fellows

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 1, 2 and 4 in the following list were purchased through the Fels Fund. Nos. 3 and 5, both formerly in the Barden collection, are the gift of Mr. E. and the Misses De Beer. For the accompanying photographs—the work of Mr. Franz Barta of Dunedin—a special grant was made available by the Museum Management Committee. I am indebted to my colleagues in Dunedin, especially to Professor G. R. Manton, for their advice, and to Mr. Denys Haynes, Mr. R. A. Higgins, and Mr. R. D. Barnett for examining and offering advice upon photographs which I submitted to their judgment, and for many other courtesies.

The registration number and alleged provenance is given at the beginning of the description of each object.

<sup>2</sup> See now Laviosa, 'Le Antefisse Fittili di Taranto' in *Arch. Classica* vi (1954). Her pl. 69, 2 is perhaps closest to ours in general form, though the hair seems straighter and the modelling of the face less subtle.

<sup>3</sup> Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*, pl. 14, fig. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum* i nos. 1251 bis, 1270.

by the treatment of its hair—short waving locks parted in the middle instead of tight clustered curls.<sup>5</sup> The absence of bounding lines enclosing the whole composition is also unusual.

(2) Terracotta water-spout in the form of a lioness' head. (E. 55.63; PLATE IV.) From Sicily. Length from nose to end of pipe 0.205 m. Complete, except for part of the rim of the disc from which the head emerges, the breaking of the canine teeth, and minor injuries to the surface. Light yellow, rather gritty, clay. Thin yellow slip. Black paint used on the eyeballs and eyelids, and for a sort of stylised palmette under each ear (most clearly visible on the left side) below which is a single painted line passing under the chin.

The spout consists of a circular disc 0.185 m. in diameter and 0.017 m. thick, behind which is a short length of pipe (internal diameter about 0.06 m.). From the front of the disc projects a spout in the form of a lioness' head with open mouth. The want of a mane may be taken as an indication of sex. The form of the disc and pipe indicate that this spout originally discharged water in some fountain house. They would be unsuitable for the guttering of a roof. The comparatively small size of the head also suggests that it was intended to be seen from no very great distance.

Though vigorously and beautifully modelled, this head was probably not studied from life. In particular, it lacks the characteristic wrinkles across the top of the muzzle, to which Dr. Jacobsthal has called attention.<sup>6</sup> And the paint-marks below the ears do not seem to me to correspond to anything in nature; perhaps they were intended for a collar with a tasselled fastening under the ear, but they do not continue over the top of the head.

The end of the archaic period, perhaps about 480 B.C., seems a likely date for this piece, but I can find no very close parallel to it. The want of a mane is most unusual. Maneless 'panthers' are sometimes shown on vase paintings of fountain-houses, but they seem to be merely a conventional frontal representation of the more familiar lions.<sup>7</sup>

(3) Bronze Nike attachment from the neck of a large vessel. (F. 54.82; PLATE IV.) Height 0.095 m. The right foot has been broken and joined at the ankle. The toes, with part of the stand on which they rested, are lost.

The back is undecorated, and flat except for a narrow horizontal projection behind the bracket

<sup>5</sup> But cf. Van Buren, *Figurative Terra Cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium*, pl. 2, figs. 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *JHS* lxxi (1951) 89.

<sup>7</sup> Dunkley in *BSA* xxxvi (1935-1936) 194-5.



that springs from the top of the head. This bracket seems originally to have ended in volutes on either side, with a small palmette between them. A complete example was found at Perachora.<sup>8</sup> Payne shows that these figures decorated the necks of large bronze vessels, whose rims were supported on the horizontal projection at the back. His example is finer than ours, with the pinions of the wings modelled separately in relief, instead of being indicated merely by incision on a flat surface. He dates it about the middle of the sixth century B.C. Ours, with its flat drapery and awkward transition between the profile legs and frontal torso, looks considerably earlier, but perhaps allowance should be made for the different quality of the workmanship.

(4) Pair of silver bracelets. (E. 56.20; PLATE IV.) From Amastris in Paphlagonia. Diameter 0.063 m. Solid silver, apparently cast from the same mould, details being added afterwards by incision and the use of a small hollow and rounded punch. Torque-shaped, the ends being decorated with rams' heads in a crude but vigorous and effective style. All are similarly executed. The mouth is shown by a single long incision, and incision is used for the nostrils and on the horns, and for the fleece except immediately over the forehead, where a single row of overlapping punch-marks renders the tight curls of wool. The eyes are formed of similar punch-marks surrounded by incised circles. Immediately behind the horns a single band of punch-marks separates the head from a decorated zone, 0.013 m. long, covered with a vigorously incised herring-bone pattern. A second band of punch-marks, between deeply incised lines, ends the decoration.

These pieces are no. 31 in Herbert A. Cahn's *Catalogue of Auction Sale XVI* (Basle, June 30, 1956). They are there described as 'Very good early Greek work', but their antiquity and merit seem more certain than their Greek origin. The British Museum has a gold-plated bronze bracelet from Kourion in Cyprus, ending in rams' heads,<sup>9</sup> but in an altogether more refined style, with 'a ring of loop-shaped leaves in wire' replacing the incised herring-bone pattern of the decorated zones behind the heads. This is dated about 400 B.C. The style of a gold ram's-head bracelet in the Benaki Museum, which has been assigned to the fourth century B.C.,<sup>10</sup> is still more delicate, as befits its material, but seems to me to be soft and wanting in vigour. The decorated zones behind the heads are filled with elaborate filigree palmettes.

Bracelets of the same general form, ending in the

heads of animals, are also known from Scythia, and from Persia, both in the Achaemenid and the Sassanian periods. Rams' heads are not very common, lions being the general favourite, though horses, calves and other beasts are also known. I have not noted any that come very close to ours; perhaps the nearest is a solid silver bracelet ending in calves' heads, which, though of uncertain provenance, is probably Achaemenid work of the fifth century B.C.<sup>11</sup>

The crude, though forceful, style of our pieces is more likely to be local than to belong to one of the sophisticated centres of civilisation. If they are indeed from Amastris, it is most probable that they were made during the Achaemenid period, when Asia Minor was under Persian control, and perhaps early in it, so that they may be regarded as collateral ancestors at least of the Greek ram's head bracelets. But Mr. R. D. Barnett, to whose valuable observations I am much indebted, would not exclude the possibility that they are Sassanian.

(5) Gold ear-ring. (F. 54.104; PLATE IV.) Greatest diameter (from top of horns to lower edge of ring) 0.045 m. The ring consists of a lion's head (length 0.02 m.) of thin sheet gold applied over core of unknown material. From the forehead, between the tall pointed ears, two horns of serrated gold wire curve upwards and backwards to touch the back of the head, where they end in tight spirals. Between them rises a single fine strip of sheet gold, perhaps representing the forelock, which also curves back to the back of the head. The eyes are inlaid with glass paste. The naturalistically modelled mask is separated from the back of the head and neck; these carry filigree ornament and taper to a point, whence emerges a loop formed of a double twist of fine gold wire between two straight wires, of which the outer one is broken. At the other end of the loop these elements combine and form a hook, which engages in a ring of gold wire emerging from the lion's mouth.

It was been observed that the horned lion is the head of the Persian lion-griffin.<sup>12</sup> Similar ear-rings are known both from the Greek cities of the Black Sea coast<sup>13</sup> and from Cyprus<sup>14</sup>—areas subject to Greek and Iranian influences. Ours might come from either, and probably dates from the beginning of the Hellenistic era.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Payne, *Perachora* i pl. 42, 3-4 and p. 134. Dunbabin adds a reference to *RM* xxxviii-xxxix (1923-1924) 427 fig. 22.

<sup>9</sup> F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the British Museum*, no. 1985.

<sup>10</sup> *AA* 1939, 237 f., fig. 6 (for the date see p. 226). Noted by Cahn, *loc cit.*

<sup>11</sup> D. Talbot Rice in Pope, *Survey of Persian Art* i 379 (cf. iv pl. 122 H).

<sup>12</sup> Berta Segall, *Museum Benaki, Athen: Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten* 61, no. 49.

<sup>13</sup> E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* 298 fig. 293.

<sup>14</sup> Marshall nos. 1803-4.

<sup>15</sup> For the type, cf. Hadaczek, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker* 46 ff.



## Two Inscriptions found in Dunbartonshire

Two inscriptions of the Roman Empire have been found in 1957 in the Roseneath Peninsula, north of the Firth of Clyde. They do not appear to have been published, so far as has hitherto been discovered, either locally or in any corpus; nor has an account of them published in the *Glasgow Herald* resulted in any light being thrown upon their provenance. They were noticed by a resident of Kilcreggan, Mr. A. H. Turner, in the grounds of Roseneath Castle, a nineteenth-century building now standing derelict; the present tenant, a farmer engaged in keeping poultry in the great dining-hall (a suggestively sub-Roman situation), had given Mr. Turner permission to remove stone from the grounds for his rockery, and presented him with the inscriptions when they were discovered. They are now in Mr. Turner's possession. Mr. Turner writes:

(The house) 'was built by a Mr. Richardson who was a sugar-merchant at Greenock and owned a vessel called *Hound*, in which he made considerable voyages. The family appears to be no longer in existence.'

The stones may therefore be supposed to have been lifted in the nineteenth century from somewhere on the coast of the former Turkish Empire. Their material is limestone.

## 1. PLATE V.1.

(Swags and pendant tassels)

DECVRIONES  
ET · FAM · THEOPOMPI · IVLIAE  
MVSAENVTRICICLASSICIE[T  
LVCI · HONORIS CASA

ΔΕΚΟΥΡΙΩΝΕΣ ΚΑΙΗΦΑΜΙΛΙΑ  
ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΥΙΟΥΛΙΑΙΜ[ΟΥ  
ΣΗΙΤΡΟΦΩΙΚΑΣΣΙΚΟΥΚΑΙΛ[ΟΥΚΙ  
ΟΥΤΙΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

'The Town Council and the Household of Theopompus, in honour of Julia Musa, Nurse of Classicus and Lucius.'

The text is unusual and intriguing, leaving one to wonder what Musa, presumably a freedwoman, had managed to do, to be honoured with an inscription by the *Decuriones*. The appearance of an official Latin text before the Greek, and that of the Julian family name, may suggest that the town was one of the early imperial Roman colonies in the Greek-speaking world; while the second-rate lettering, the occurrence of three mistakes (a C cut first, under the S of *honoris*, and CASA for *causa*, l. 4, and ΚΑΣΣΙΚΟΥ for ΚΛΑΣΣΙΚΟΥ, l. 7) and the cursive ε in ll. 5, 6, and M in l. 8, suggest the third century. One may hazard the guess that Classicus and Lucius,

probably Julii and, if so, Roman citizens of many generations' standing, of the family which Musa had served, had gone into government service, and that through the good offices of their former Nanny they had been induced to speak a word in the right quarter on behalf of the municipality when in trouble, probably of a financial nature.

## 2. PLATE V.2.

(Frieze; then swags, cut away)

*vacat* Cross, or early form of XP,  
with traces of A, W below  
the arms.

EYTYXIAΣ  
ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ  
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

A *cippus*, to which the asymmetrically placed Chi-Rho may have been added later, perhaps when persecution ended in the Constantinian period. The traces of A, W, which are faint but seem certain, were detected by Professor John Foster, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish both the above texts.

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Addenda to  
'Early Greek Ships of Two Levels'

In my article in the previous issue of this Journal (*JHS* lxxviii (1958) 12) one of the points I tried to make was that the two-level ship was not, as is usually thought, a transient phase between the single-level ship and the trireme, but that representations of it appeared not long before 700 B.C. and continued until after the trireme is thought to have been introduced into Greece, i.e. during the third quarter of the sixth century.

I have since seen in the National Museum, Athens, a representation of a two-level ship on a Proto-Attic fragment from Phaleron, which, as Mr. John Boardman informed me, was published by Kourouniotes in *AE* 1911, 251, fig. 19 top left, but which has been overlooked by all those writers on Greek ships known to me. The new photograph (FIG. 1) was kindly sent me by Madame Stassinopoulou of the National Museum. It shows the section of a hull amidships. The lower level of oarsmen row through square ports; only their chests and arms are showing: from an upper level are clearly drawn oars which cross the side of the ship between the oars of the lower level. The ship resembles those on the Late Geometric fragments, Athens 265-6 (Kirk nos. 31-2, pl. 40, 3-4, whence my pl. 14, b-c in *JHS* 1958) and strengthens my argument that these too are two-level ships, the difference being that in Proto-Attic the artist was not averse to the overlapping of forms involved in painting the oars of the upper level right



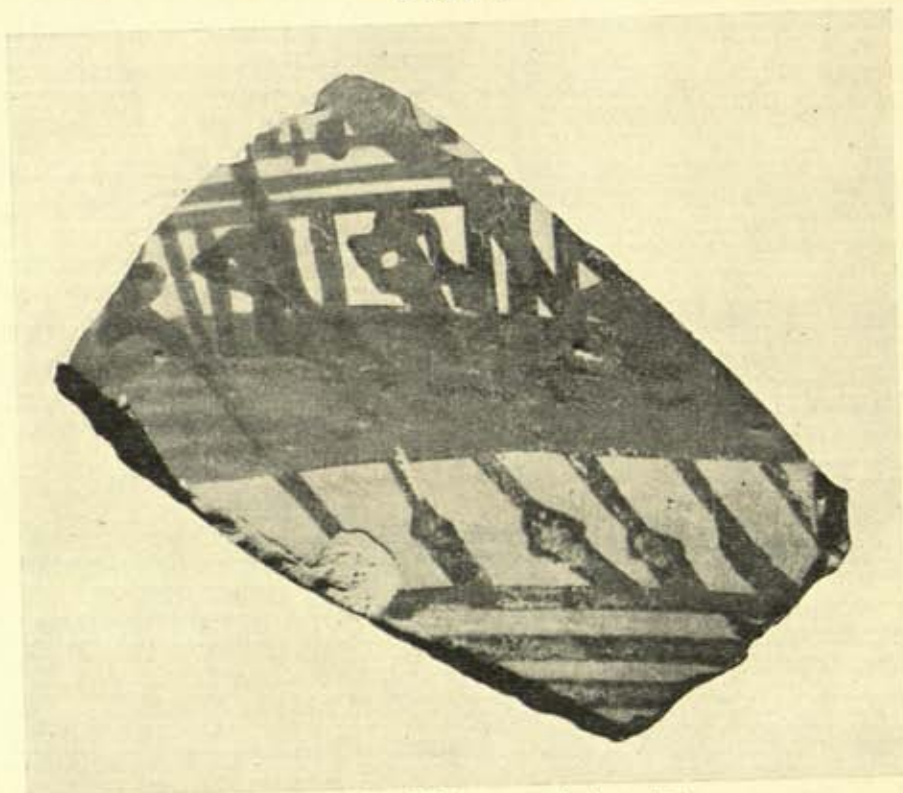


FIG 1. Athens NM 15992. Scale  $\epsilon$ . 4:3.

across the hull, but the Geometric painter cut off the oars of the upper level (and apparently of the lower level) at the gunwale. This fragment also provides

a certain example of a two-level ship for the seventh century, a period which in my list was represented only by the Corinthian plaque of doubtful date.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Líricos Griegos: Elegiacos y Yambógrafos Arcaicos (Siglos VII-V A.C.).** Texto y traducción por FRANCISCO R. ADRADOS. Volumen I. (Colección Hispánica de Autores Griegos y Latinos patrocinada por las Universidades Españolas). Barcelona: Alma Mater, 1956. Pp. xxxiv+252.

GALLIANO (M. F.) **Safo** (Cuadernos de la 'Fundación Pastor' I). Madrid, 1956. Pp. 90.

When Bishop Fox, about 1517, was looking for the man to hold the readership in Greek in his new college of Corpus Christi at Oxford, his choice fell upon the Spanish humanist, Luis Vives; and it is to me, as one of Fox's *alumni*, a strange and not entirely satisfactory thought that from that time until well on in the present century Greek scholarship in this country appears to have pursued its way in deepening ignorance of anything which Greek scholars in Spain might be doing (they do not receive so much as a glance in the article 'Scholarship (Modern)' in the  *OCD*). Whatever may be the reason for this lack of interest, it can no longer be justified; the two works now under review would suffice to show that henceforward any serious student of Greek literature who has not at least a reading knowledge of Spanish will be more and more likely to find 'wisdom at one entrance quite shut out'.

Professor Adrados' well printed and handsomely bound work is devoted, as its title shows, to providing a text and Spanish translation of the archaic Greek elegiac and iambic poets; of the present volume nearly half is devoted to Archilochus, and the remainder is divided between Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Semonides, Solon, Mimnermus, Phocylides, Demodocus and Asius (Hipponax, Theognis and Xenophanes will presumably provide the main subjects for Volume II). A concise general introduction is devoted to the archaic period as a background for elegiac and iambic poetry, the origins and topics of this poetry and the reasons for its form, the manner in which it was published and preserved, and the principles to be followed in the present edition. Then come a very full general bibliography and a list of abbreviations (mainly titles of periodicals). The section devoted to each author begins with a special introduction and bibliography; the Greek text and translation face one another (Greek on the left, as in a Loeb edition); the translation, where translation is possible (and there are large expanses of the right-hand pages which would have served the Bellman as a chart), is provided with brief explanatory notes in Spanish; and the text has three apparatuses, of Homeric parallels, sources, and variant readings. Adrados follows Diehl in omitting all 'fragments' which do not contain actual words of a given author, and in reproducing every scrap of

writing on papyrus, even down to such pathetic flotsam as *POxy* 2310, fr. 8-26 (= Archil. fr. 135-51, pp. 68-73); he is more austere than Diehl in that he never gives any of the context of any 'quotation fragment' (to use Professor Page's convenient term). His translations read smoothly and, so far as I can judge, are generally accurate—but at times he seems to me to go rather farther than the evidence justifies in reading between the letters of papyrus fragments.

Every student of the lyric poets knows that we sorely need two things—a new *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* to replace the second and third volumes of Bergk, and a new anthology which could be put into the hands of undergraduates with some confidence that they could use it as a foundation for their own reading. Adrados' book seems to me to answer neither of these requirements; as has already been shown it is far from complete, and on the other hand it is far from suitable for beginners in this difficult field—the notes are inadequate, the scraps of papyrus texts can only discourage the new reader, and the bibliographies give no clue to tell the beginner which of the many works listed are there because of their fundamental importance, and which are there simply because they exist. On the other hand, advanced students of the lyric poets will find his work helpful in many ways; the full bibliographies are most useful, and Adrados has a clear synoptic view of the period and a stimulating manner of expression. A good book, I think we can safely say—but it might have been much better.

Professor Galiano announces that his essay on Sappho is to be taken as the first in a series of studies under the general title 'The discovery of love in Greece'—a perilous topic indeed, though if he navigates the hazards which still await him with the skill which he has shown in passing between the Scylla of Wilamowitz and the Charybdis of Havelock Ellis in this monograph, there is good reason to expect that he will produce a memorable and valuable work of scholarship. He is a fine linguist and extraordinarily well-read in the literature and scholarship of many languages; his knowledge of English literature is as thorough as his command of the spoken language is fluent, and it is evident that French, German and Italian have as few secrets from him as have Spanish and English—and withal he shows cool judgment and great psychological sympathy in his discussion of a number of very difficult subjects. And yet . . . and yet . . . the more I read his fascinating and well-argued discussions, the more it is borne in upon me that we simply do not know enough about Sappho to be confident of the truth of anything which we may believe about her; we cannot really tell what she thought or felt,



or why she wrote as she did—and it is possible that we have as little right to argue from what we know of her works to her way of life, as we should have in the case of Emily Brontë, if her works had come down to us in a comparably fragmentary condition. Galiano, in my judgment, has written about as good a study of Sappho as is possible on the evidence available today; but to me the main lesson of his work appears to be that anyone who sets out to write about Sappho *plenum opus aleae tractat*, and that too with unfair dice—the fell tooth of time has spared the *canes*, from Cratinus to Pierre Louys, but even Sappho's own invocation could hardly guarantee a throw of *Venus*.

J. A. DAVISON.

**Aeschylus.** Vol. II. Loeb Edition. Reprinted with a new appendix by H. Lloyd-Jones, containing the more considerable fragments published since 1930 and a new text of 50 fragments. London: Heinemann. 1957. Pp. 611. 15s.

This being for the most part a reprint, the review deals only with the Appendix, which is a welcome addition, carefully done. It contains the following fragments, numbered consecutively with those already included. 273, *P. Oxyr.* xviii, no. 2159, the new fragment of the *Glaukos Pontios*; 274-5, the fragments of the *Diktyulkoï*, Vitelli-Norsa in *Bull. de la Soc. royale d'arch. d'Alex.* no. 28 (1933), 115 + *P. Oxyr.* xviii, no. 2161; 276, *P. Oxyr.* xviii, no. 2163, the *Isthmiastai*; 277, Vitelli-Norsa *ibid.*, 108, the famous fragment of the *Niobe*; 278, *P. Oxyr.* xx, no. 2245, doubtfully from the *Prom. Pyrkaeus*; 279, *P. Oxyr.* xviii, no. 2164, of doubtful identification; 280, *P. Oxyr.* xx, no. 2251, unknown play; 281, *P. Oxyr.* xx, no. 2256, again unknown; 282, same, again unknown, Justice speaking; 283, *ibid.*, no. 2253, prologue (?) of an uncertain play; 284, *ibid.*, no. 2256, fragment of a chorus mentioning the death of the greater Aias and apparently expressing fears that someone else will come to a like end; 285 *ibid.*, no. 2253, fragment describing the pyre of Herakles, possibly from the *Herakleidae*; 286, defiant speech by Achilles (from the *Myrmidones*?), Vitelli-Norsa, *Mélanges Bidez* (1934), p. 968; 287, *P. Oxyr.* xx, no. 2257, hypothesis, perhaps of *Aitnaiai*; 288, *ibid.*, no. 2256, the notorious papyrus scrap supposed to indicate a comparatively late date for the Danaid tetralogy. For good measure, there is added (pp. 599 ff.) a re-examination of fgt. 50 (99 Nauck<sup>2</sup>), based on a photograph of the original ill-written papyrus.

In handling all this difficult and uncertain material, the editor shows good sense, diligence, and much wise scepticism, refusing again and again to be led to theorise ahead of his data in favour of any hypothesis, however specious. In the text he admits conjectures and supplements a little more freely than would befit a strictly critical edition, but this is a Loeb volume, which ought to be as readable as possible, if intelligent guessing at defective or corrupt places will make it so. I give an example

or two of the corrections. Fgt. 275, 768 (the line-numbers are known from a marginal note), the text begins —*θοῦσα*, the first letter being doubtful. Assuming it to be a theta, the editor supplies *ἀλλ' ὀφέ περ μα-*, which I think not very likely. The speaker, quite probably Seilenos addressing Danae, is paying court to her and bidding her learn to accept his protection and goodwill. But why is she said to be late in learning to do so? So far as we can tell, she has come ashore on Seriphos but a little while ago, and Seilenos, if it is he, is a new acquaintance. *Ibid.* 773, again a line which has lost its beginning, Danae is praying to several powers, including the *θεοὶ γενέθλιοι* and, pretty certainly, Zeus. It is suggested that the missing words are *Ἄργον τε κρήναι*. But springs or spring-nymphs are strictly local powers and she is far from Argos. Soph., *OC* 1333 is not parallel, as suggested in the cr. note, for there a Theban appeals to a Theban by the memory of their familiar native cults and no deity is actually addressed. If the suggestion is on the right lines, I would supply rather something like *χώρας τε νόμοι*. Incidentally, the *θεοὶ γενέθλιοι* are not 'gods of my fathers' but *die Götter . . . unter deren Schutz die Kinder und die Ehen stehen* (Höfer in Roscher's *Lex.* v, col. 124, 55 ff.), and Danae has her baby with her.

My strongest disagreement is with fgt. 288, which the editor takes as proving a late date for the *Suppliants*. In my opinion, it proves no such thing. In its damaged state it tells us that under some unknown archon the *Danaides* and *Amymone* were awarded first prize, certain plays doubtfully of Sophokles and the very obscure Mesatos (apparently) coming second and third. Firstly, the ill-written scrap (it makes little sense without emendation) is poor evidence for anything; secondly, if it means what it seems to mean, it most likely refers to a revival of old plays, as Murray supposed (*Aeschyli tragoediae*<sup>2</sup>, p. 2); and finally, if it were certainly a list of fifth-century performances from a good hand, I would refuse to believe it in face of the overwhelming internal evidence that the *Suppliants* is early work, written before Aeschylus quite knew what to do with his second actor. That is why I have not troubled to mention it in my commentary on the plays. In like manner, I would pay no attention whatever if someone discovered an Elizabethan letter which said that Shakespeare, encouraged by the good reception of *A Winter's Tale*, had nearly finished a new comedy to be entitled *Love's Labour's Lost*.

H. J. ROSE.

ROSE (H. J.) **A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus** (2 vols.). (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde; Nieuwe Reeks, Deel lxiv, nos. 1 (1957) and 2 (1958)). Amsterdam. Paper, 48s. 6d. each volume; cloth, 70s. each volume.

An adequate commentary on the whole of



Aeschylus might take a lifetime to produce, and could scarcely be achieved by any scholar who has not early Greek poetry as his primary interest. We have here the notes of a professor of Greek who has lectured on Aeschylus for many years, a scholar who has made notable contributions to many branches of learning, but is particularly well known for his immense knowledge of ancient cult and ritual, his solid common sense and the clarity and liveliness which mark both his more specialised productions and those intended for the general reader.

Internal evidence suggests that the work was complete long before publication; for the new material that has been made available since the war has been comparatively little utilised. Eduard Fraenkel's great edition of the *Agamemnon* seems to have been used only in the comments on that play; a great pity, since this work needs to be very carefully taken account of in any study of any part of Aeschylus' work. An appendix at the end of vol. ii contains comments on some of the views expressed in Denniston and Page's edition of this play; but these comments are brief, selective and perhaps a trifle hurried. Rose has assumed that the student has before him the text of Wilamowitz, Mazon or Murray, probably that of Murray; but the new readings of Murray's much improved second edition of 1955 (which Rose incorrectly cites as 'Murray-Maas') are mentioned only in occasional footnotes. No account seems to have been taken of the new papyrus fragments published in vols. xviii and xx of the Oxyrhynchus series, nor is there any mention of the Index Aeschyleus of G. Italie (Leiden, 1955). These facts are enough to show that the commentary cannot claim to be based on the whole body of modern material bearing on the subject.

Rose recognises that a great part of any commentary on this writer must be devoted to textual problems. These he attacks with his usual clear-headedness and common sense; and though as he modestly admits he has little that is new to contribute to his constitution of the text, the Aeschylean scholar will be well advised to look up his remarks upon any passage he may have to deal with. In a commentary on the whole of Aeschylus the space available for textual and linguistic comment is necessarily restricted; and Rose seems to me to fall short of the shrewd judgment shown, say, by Denniston and Page in deciding what to put in and what to leave out. Too often he approaches a deeply corrupt passage with an excessive confidence in the possibility of its being restored and in his own ability to restore it; too often he states one possible view without warning the reader that several others are equally possible. There are wide differences between the texts of the *Agamemnon* printed by Fraenkel, Denniston-Page and Murray in his second edition; but it is significant that all three go further than any of their predecessors in the use of the obelus.

Rose frankly tells us that he has abstained from

trying to show what light ancient art throws upon the plays because he is not competent to do so; and he warns us that he offers little aesthetic criticism, another branch of study in which he is clearly not at home. There is less excuse for his failure to offer any comments, except incidental ones and these not particularly helpful, on the metre. The most valuable part of the book, as might have been expected, is contained in those notes in which Rose's vast knowledge of cult and ritual find expression. These deserve careful study on the part of experts; but Rose's general view of the poet's world outlook remains rigidly conservative. Of the construction and subject-matter of the plays he has not much to say. He seems to me inclined to exaggerate the naturalism of early tragedy, and the closeness of its relation to the events of the time at which its authors wrote.

In sum, the book is one which professional scholars will sometimes find it useful to consult, particularly when factual questions concerning cult and ritual are in question. But it cannot be recommended to less advanced students, partly because of its dogmatism and its failure to take account of recent new material, but still more because of its enormous cost. It is good that it has been published; but it would be idle to pretend it was a substantial contribution to the understanding of Aeschylus.

HUGH LLOYD-JONES.

KITTO (H. D. F.) **Sophocles, dramatist and philosopher.** London: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. 64. 7s. 6d.

MÉAUTIS (G.) **Sophocle: Essai sur le héros tragique.** Paris: Albin Michel, 1957. Pp. 291. Fr. 825.

Not much need be said about these two popular books about Sophocles except that they are extremely easy to read and will give the general reader, for whom they are designed, an excellent view of what the plays of Sophocles are about, with ample and well-translated illustrations, showing their writers' close acquaintance with the text and their refusal to be led too far away from it; Professor Kitto has one very good passage in which he discusses the difficulty of keeping in translation the effects of alliteration and assonance and the variation between long words and short words (it is surprising to have Electra's speech with the urn described five pages later as 'so simple and so affecting'). Professor Méautis takes the plays one by one: *Ajax*, *Philoctetes*, the Theban plays in the order of their events, *Electra*, *Trachiniae*. Professor Kitto in his much smaller compass concentrates on the *Electra* with side glances at the other plays, and calls his three lectures human drama, divine drama, human and divine drama. In the first chapter he has much good to say about the plays as pieces for the theatre, and in the second and third he steers a satisfactory middle course between those who regard Sophoclean gods as conventional



and those who regard Sophoclean heroes as puppets. 'To the modern reader the play [OT] at once poses the question of determinism and free will. But if we read what Sophocles wrote and designed, we see that to him the material of the story posed quite a different antithesis: Is the human universe governed by chance, in which case morality and religion have no status, or does it obey law?' This is excellent.

In general Professor Méautis's position is not far from this, although he perhaps sees the gods more personally than Professor Kitto does and speaks sometimes as if Sophoclean heroes achieve some sort of salvation through suffering; but the weight as in Professor Kitto's book is evenly distributed between gods and men; both are real in Sophocles' world, and the reality of the one does not detract from the reality of the other. Many of Professor Méautis's detailed interpretations are interesting even where one may disagree with them. The present reviewer does not think that Ajax omits Tekmessa from his farewell (687 f.) because of *une sourde rancune* felt by a man who lives with a woman incapable of understanding the best in him, nor that the character of Kreon is of a singular unity, shown in germ in the *Tyrannus* and developed in the *Coloneus* and the *Antigone*, but there is something gained by pointing out that Kreon in all the plays is 'a mediocrity who does not belong to the race of heroes', whether he is or is not 'driven by a secret, profound envy of the Labdacids'. Professor Méautis is thought-provoking even where one may disagree.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

KNOX (B.) *Oedipus at Thebes*. Yale: University Press, 1957. (London: Oxford University Press.) Pp. viii + 280, with 1 plate. 35s.

This is a detailed study of certain aspects of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles. The first chapter discusses the character of Oedipus as here presented, with some reference to problems of destiny and personal responsibility. Chapter Two draws attention to a resemblance between the character of Oedipus and the generalised concept 'the Athenian character' as revealed in speeches in Thucydides and other fifth-century writings, and maintains that in Oedipus the *τύραννος* the audience are meant to see, among other things, the *τύραννος πόλις*. Thus the author explains the dramatic relevance of the stanza beginning *ὄβρις φρενέει τύραννον* (873 ff.) on the ground that Oedipus and the Athenian polis are so closely associated in the mind of the spectator that Sophocles can attribute to Oedipus faults not actually to be found in the hero of the play but in the actions of the city of which he is the dramatic symbol. Chapter Three deals with the relationship between ideas in the play, especially in the mind of Oedipus, and current tendencies in the thought of the fifth century. The author here makes much of the frequent occurrence in the play of words which he takes to be specially associated with the philosophic and scientific movements of the age. The next

chapter discusses the attitude of Oedipus and Iocasta to oracles and ultimately to the gods themselves, and here again a likeness is drawn between the period of enlightenment, with its agnosticism and confidence in the self-sufficiency of the human intellect, followed by disillusionment before the end of the fifth century, and the intellectual progress of Oedipus and Iocasta, with their growing rationalism and scepticism 'set in an ironic dramatic framework where it is exposed as wrong from the start'. The last chapter, like the first, is entitled *Hero*, since as the play began with the greatness of Oedipus in his day of power, so it ends with his greatness in disaster. We see how, when the initial shock is past, Oedipus is still the same man, and the old imperious energy and dominating personality begin to re-assert themselves. Oedipus is a paradigm not only of his own city and age, but also of all mankind. 'Man is not equated to the gods, but man at his greatest, as in Oedipus, is capable of something which the gods, by definition, cannot experience; the proud tragic view of Sophocles sees in the fragility and inevitable defeat of human greatness the possibility of a purely human heroism to which the gods can never attain, for the condition of their existence is everlasting victory.' The book ends with seventy pages of notes, giving either the Greek text or references for all passages in Greek literature mentioned throughout the book and further detailed illustration of points made therein, a selective bibliography and an index.

I have given some indication of the general line of thought in this study of the OT, but not of the wealth of detailed discussion and illustration which makes it so valuable a contribution to the understanding of the play. I find, however, some difficulty in accepting Knox's interpretation just as it stands. The comparison of the character of Oedipus with that of the Athenian people is interesting, but the resemblance is perhaps exaggerated by stressing points of likeness and passing more lightly over points of dissimilarity. For instance, if the Athenian *ἀρχή* was thought of as a *τυραννίς* it was because it was partly at any rate held together by force and because of real or imagined oppression of their subjects by the Athenians, whereas Oedipus was offered the throne of Thebes and there is no indication that he had ceased to rule by consent or that his government was deemed oppressive. There is also a more fundamental objection. If one studies the play with the possibility of this resemblance in mind, and certain passages in Thucydides fresh in one's memory, a good many similarities may certainly be detected; but are any of them sufficiently clear and striking to impose themselves upon an audience which, I suspect, would neither start with such a clear conception of its own national characteristics nor be on the watch for their appearance in a Theban monarch on the stage? The author himself has some doubt, since he admits (p. 99) that the resemblance may not be consciously recognised. I will not attempt to pursue the matter into the realm of the



subconscious, though I am not denying its possible relevance.

In the chapters on the relationship of the play to tendencies of thought in the fifth century I find the linguistic argument on the whole the least convincing part of the book. The author collects a number of words such as *ζητεῖν*, *σκοπεῖν*, *τεκμαίρεσθαι*, *ιστορεῖν*, *διδάσκειν*, *γνώμη*, *νοῦς*, *φροντίς*, which occur on a rough average five or six times each in the course of the play and which he takes to be characteristic of the current scientific and philosophical terminology. These words thus underline the resemblance between the rationalism of Oedipus and that of the sophistic age. But in the first place when these words are collected together they attract much more attention than when they are encountered in the course of the play, where there is nothing to make them stand out from the context. Secondly, it is true that such words are naturally much used of the operations of thinkers, but it is not established that their connotation is predominantly scientific. For example *ζητεῖν*, which is stressed as 'one of the distinctive words of the new scientific outlook', is naturally common in philosophical, medical and other scientific contexts, and, though it occurs once in Homer, once in Hesiod and twice in the *PV* of Aeschylus, it is possible to argue that it is not a poetic word. No reference, however, is made to the fact that it is common enough, both of physical and mental search, in Aristophanes and other writers of Old Comedy. Surely the evidence as a whole suggests that in the last three decades of the century it was merely the ordinary word, with no special connotation. It is of course more frequent in the *OT* than in other plays of Sophocles, because most of this play is concerned with a search, in which, as Knox admirably brings out, Oedipus is both the hunter and the quarry, the seeker and the sought. However, if this line of argument is inconclusive, it may still be true that the scepticism of Oedipus and Iocasta in relation to the oracles is meant to recall the spirit of scientific rationalism and scepticism which, though possibly not shared by very many of the audience, would at least be known to many. So perhaps when Sophocles shows the intellectual self-sufficiency and pride of Oedipus humbled by bitter experience, he means to affirm his own belief and to sound a warning note. If, however, the play was meant as a prophetic vision, it is true that bitter experience was in store for Athens, too, and may well have shaken the confidence of those who had believed in the supremacy of human reason and foresight; but otherwise the prophecy breaks down, since it could hardly be said that Athens, like Oedipus, learned by experience to acknowledge the divine order and obey the gods. Nor can I quite believe that the 'resurgence' of Oedipus in the last scene is a 'prophetic vision of a defeated Athens which will rise to a greatness beyond anything she had attained in victory'. But of course such speculations cannot be disproved.

In general Knox is right, I think, to hold that the more we know about the mental and moral atmosphere of the age in which the dramatist lived and wrote, the more likely we are to see the play as he intended and to appreciate both its particular relevance to that age and its permanent significance; and also right to hold that the figure of Oedipus represents something more than a legendary Theban king. On the other hand, he appears to go beyond the evidence of the play in the degree to which he thinks of Oedipus as resembling sometimes the Athenian people and sometimes a particular intellectual circle; Oedipus was far from being another Protagoras. The historical approach can be misleading if it involves overstressing what is lightly touched upon by Sophocles and keeping in the foreground what should be in the background, or at any rate the middle distance. Knox seems to me to come nearest to the essence of the play in several passages in his last chapter, as for example, from the last paragraph: 'Sophocles' tragedy presents us with a terrible affirmation of man's subordinate position in the universe, and at the same time with a heroic vision of man's victory in defeat.'

Since I have devoted most of my space to comments on points of detail and method which struck me as open to criticism, I will end by repeating that I regard the whole book as a scholarly and stimulating piece of work, well worth the attention of anyone interested in Sophocles and Greek drama in general.

P. T. STEVENS.

STROHM (H.) **Euripides**. Interpretationen zur dramatischen Form [Zetemata, 15]. Munich: Beck, 1957. Pp. 185. DM. 18.

The author believes that an objective study of the form of Euripidean drama may help to clear away many of the derogatory clichés and prejudices which still obscure our view of the third of the great Athenian tragic poets. The first part is an examination of certain dramatic themes in isolation: the agon and 'altarmotiv', the willing sacrifice, the Intrigue, whether alone or combined with recognition; all types of these are carefully analysed, and variations and new developments noted as the poet warmed to his technique. There is no question of mere imitative repetition from one play to another, or of a growing rigidity of type; each theme is individually realised and has its appropriate dramatic function in its own play. In the late plays one theme or another may characterise the whole structure: *Or.* is 'agonal', *Hel.*, *Bacch.*, *IA* turn on deception, *Ion* on recognition. But there are certain ways of using the themes which distinguish Euripides from Sophocles: his typical agon, for instance, is not, like that of Creon and Haimon, Teucer and the Atridae, Oedipus and Teiresias, about an issue as yet undecided, where the failure of the one party to 'learn' his mistake has consequences in the action; it is concerned with rival interpretations of the past and



has no practical outcome, but serves to illuminate the attitudes of the parties and their fundamental uncompromising dissidence. [The word 'law-court' nowhere occurs in this connection, but is surely relevant.]

The second section deals with 'dramaturgy', particularly 'Triebkräfte', the successive impulses that keep the action moving. It is a question of some importance, since this powerful forward movement is one aspect of the immense superiority of Athenian tragedy over its later imitators in the same or similar subjects. But the account given here is not very helpful. The English reader is perhaps at a disadvantage; German 'Formanalyse' has by unremitting practice acquired an immense vocabulary of abstract concepts, which seem able to spin their own complicated patterns but for the unpractised foreigner make the effort of following disproportionate to the enlightenment received. Here, for instance, is a typical paragraph:

'So sind in der *Alkestis* zwei Momente vereinigt: der Gegensatz zwischen einer in der Vorgeschichte begründeten Zuständlichkeit, die auf der Bühne ihre Konsequenzen entfaltet, und andererseits einem dramatisch vorgeführten, als persönliche Leistung erscheinenden Neuansatz; sodann eine Beziehung von Spiel und Gegenspiel, die den Gegensatz von Nichtwissen und Wissen dramatisch fruchtbar macht und durch blossen Blickpunktwechsel die Handlung voranführt.' The different strands in the plot of the *Alkestis* are indeed cunningly interwoven, but such a description does not make the manner of it notably clearer. And the summing up of principle: 'Die Bewegungsmomente, die auf der Bühne ausgespielt werden, restless zu Ausdrucksträgern zu machen, scheint sich also als Grundgesetz der euripideischen Dramaturgie behaupten zu lassen', even after a great deal of detailed analysis, lacks cogency in so tortuous a form. There is much preoccupation with symmetries, responsions and complex subtleties of construction, but the reader is sometimes inclined to wonder how much of these Rahmen and Bogenstellungen could, even indirectly, so impress itself upon the Athenian audience as actually to contribute to the effectiveness of the play in performance.

One reason for reserve in the face of these analyses is the monotonous award of highest distinction to every play in turn. (Only *Rhesus* and *Cyclops* are omitted here, though a future study of these is promised.) All are structural masterpieces, though perhaps some of the late plays—notably *Phoen.*, *Or.* and *IA*—are more masterly than the others. Those of us who ever thought *Held.* somewhat feeble and episodic, *Andr.* a disunity, *Phoen.* overcrowded and over-sensational are severely castigated for superficiality; indeed, the self-devotion of Menoikeus in the last seems to be the culmination of Euripides' exquisitely subtle technique in this type of scene. Valid and interesting judgments which emerge from time to time lose some of their force by being pressed

too far; thus the slightly nightmarish quality of *Or.*, in which the characters struggle with increasing frenzy, and always in vain, to accomplish some decisive action, which in the end is taken out of their hands by Apollo, is well brought out, only to be watered down to a general 'deep mistrust of all human action' in Euripides—with the end of *IT* as one of the further illustrations.

In fact, like so many of the products of modern scholarship, this book might be found more interesting, and perhaps more rewarding, to write than to read.

A. M. DALE.

NEWIGER (H.-J.) **Metapher und Allegorie. Studien zu Aristophanes.** [Zetemata, Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 16.] Munich: Beck, 1957. Pp. xiv + 185. DM. 18.

Dr. Newiger's book is made up of a series of studies of the role of personifications in Aristophanes: first Demos in the *Knights*, who is the most fully treated; then the choruses of *Clouds*, *Wasps* and *Birds*; then some minor figures, like Polemos and Theoria in the *Peace*; and finally the two Logoi of *Clouds*, and Penia and Ploutos in the *Plutus*—the whole being rounded off with a brief introduction and conclusion, a select list of books and papers quoted, and indexes. The work was completed in 1953, when part of it was submitted as a dissertation at Kiel, though it has been possible to add brief notes on some of the most relevant studies published since then. 'Metapher und Allegorie' is the title because, as we find, Dr. Newiger wishes to show in discussing the dramatic function of the personifications what part metaphor plays in their composition, and in what sense any of them can be described as allegorical. None the less (p. 9), his object is not to argue over terminology, but to draw attention to the various means employed by Aristophanes to portray the abstract in action, and to mark the formal differences in his use of personified figures: they cannot profitably be discussed as a unity (pp. 2 f., 178) any more than the whole story of Aristophanic metaphor can be told by cataloguing the comparisons in which 'swallows, bees, weaving, rowing and so on' are used (p. 6, n. 1).

Aristophanes' vivid imagery very readily treats abstracts, animals and objects as persons (and of course the converse): for instance, at *Frogs* 939 ff., Euripides is made to speak of Techne, the Tragic Art, as a fat lady puffed out by Aeschylus' grandiloquence, whom he took over and put on his own light diet (pp. 130 ff.); in the parabasis of the *Peace*, 754 ff., Cleon is described as a grotesque monster with an anthology of unpleasant attributes from myth and reality. Since Aristophanes is writing for the stage, the imagery may be visual as well as verbal, as when Euripides' Muse is summoned at *Frogs* 1305 ff., and we infer from the context that her physical appearance reinforced the message of the



words; and further, in the case which interests Dr. Newiger most, the imagery may be presented not only in spectacle but by characters and in action.

A good example of the last kind of representation is *Peace* 236-88, discussed at pp. 113 f. Cleon and Brasidas have been killed in the fighting at Amphipolis: Aristophanes accordingly brings on the figure of War preparing to grind the Greek cities into a paste, but held up for lack of a pestle, which neither Athens nor Sparta can lend him, having lost theirs. 'The leather-merchant who stirred up all Greece' (270) has already been called a pestle and stirrer in the *Knights* (984, cf. *Peace* 654); Polemos and his assistant, Kydoimos, are personifications with a long ancestry who are here made into dramatic characters in order to translate the imagery into action, and it is illuminating to compare the descriptive personification of Polemos at *Ach.* 978 ff. (pp. 114, 119). The scene is enlivened (typically) with some elaborate word-play—e.g. the town Prasiai suggests leaks; and—a minor point worth noting—Aristophanes gives the audience one of the basic metaphors in description (*τρίβειν* 231) before they see it illustrated. A similar verbal basis is observable, and has not always been observed, in many scenes of Aristophanic comedy, including some famous ones where no personification is involved, as with Socrates in the basket (*Clouds* 223 ff., p. 56) and Telephus at the block (*Ach.* 318, 366, 496, pp. 123 f.: see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1277).

There is therefore no shortage of interesting material, and Dr. Newiger interprets his terms of reference so generously as to remark in passing on a good many detailed problems of text and interpretation, as well as on such perennial themes as the identity of Basileia in the *Birds* (he opts for Athena, pp. 92 ff.), and the extent of revision in the surviving *Clouds* (pp. 143-52, an unsatisfying discussion of a topic which deserved a fuller treatment or none). All this, combined with the fact that the general method of exposition is to narrate substantial portions of the action of the plays with snatches of translation and running commentary, gives the book a certain diffuseness which is to some extent mitigated by careful arrangement and subdivision, including the use of small type.

The general conclusion is that most of the figures discussed should be regarded as instruments of comic symbolism (p. 178), and not as allegorical; the exceptions are the two Logoi, Penia, and Ploutos: they are allegorical in that the emphasis is on the concept embodied by the figure, and not on the figure as a dramatic portrait. Penia and the Logoi are figures of debate, 'rhetorische Personifikationen . . . die nicht der Verdichtung, sondern der Entfaltung eines Gedankens dienen' (*ibid.*); Ploutos, like Demos in the *Knights*, is a character with a major part in the action, but whereas Demos is invented to stand *pars pro toto* for the contemporary Athenian people and is a figure in a situation created from visualised imagery, Ploutos is an existing divinity

with conventional traits of character, whose predominant function is to represent the concept wealth: 'die personale Vorstellung ist nur Hülle, wird als Angelpunkt der Handlung (Heilung der Blindheit) gebraucht und hat nur an dieser Stelle "Bildwert"' (p. 179, cf. especially 49, 104, 165 f.).

One may welcome this result as a corrective to the misleading freedom with which the term 'allegorical' has been applied to characters in Aristophanes—in more than one language—without necessarily accepting Dr. Newiger's modified Hegelian terminology as the best and sharpest of all instruments of criticism. The painstaking analysis does bring out some major points—the wide range of the personifications, their different functions, the ease with which Aristophanes slips from image to reality and back, or plays with both at once, or changes an image, or discards it: here I think particularly of the first chapter on the *Knights*, and the interesting comparison offered by the three choruses discussed in the second. Other points seem to me to be wrongly valued or missed: for instance, the concentration on the linguistic basis of personification (p. 5 f.) leads to the singular statement that 'ἐπιτροπένειν provides, so to speak, the basic metaphor' of the *Knights* (p. 49, cf. 104); and to a much over-simplified diagram of the genesis of personifications from metaphor on p. 122; it also leads, correspondingly, to an under-assessment of the visual, religious and historical aspects of some of the figures discussed (e.g. Ploutos: note that the description of him in 266 is dismissed as irrelevant, p. 169, n. 2).

The high standard of mechanical accuracy is not often to be faulted: a few misprints can be corrected on sight; the reference to Wilamowitz, *Über die Wespen* should consistently be to *Kl. Schriften* I, not to both I and II; p. 77, l. 8, for 1037 read 1073; p. 140 n. 2 should surely mention *Cl.* 986. The *Literaturverzeichnis* might well have been purged of some tangentially relevant items in favour of, e.g., on the *Knights*, Neil's edition; Bruns, *Literarisches Porträt*, 168 ff.; and A. Rumpf, *AJA* 55 (1951) 1 ff., on Parrhasios' portrait of Demos: note also on some later portraits E. Buschor, *Misc. Acad. Berol.* (1950) ii. 2 25 ff., and Homer A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 52 ff.

To sum up, although the book leaves a good deal open for further discussion, it impresses one generally as a conscientious and a thought-provoking piece of work on a large and complicated subject.

E. W. HANDLEY.

**Aristophanes against War:** The *Acharnians*, The *Peace*, *Lysistrata*, trans. P. DICKINSON. London: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xviii + 157. 18s.

**Sophocles:** *Ajax* (trans. J. MOORE), *The Women of Trachis* (trans. M. JAMESON), *Electra* and *Philoctetes* (trans. D. GRENE). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. Pp. 254. 28s.



**Ten Greek Plays in Contemporary Translations**

edited and in part translated with an introduction by L. R. LIND. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957. Pp. xxviii + 419. \$1.15.

These three books have a common aim: to present Greek drama to the modern reader in modern English translations. The measure of their success varies as widely as their interpretation of what the term 'modern English' involves, the latter ranging from Eliot-inspired free verse to colloquial, even slangy prose.

Dickinson's translations of Aristophanes are here outstanding: partly, one suspects, because of the unifying effect of a single translator handling a set of plays with one underlying theme, but chiefly because the translator has the rare ability to recreate in living terms the original character of the plays, based on a sensitivity to Aristophanes and his background that fails him only once. This is in the stimulating introduction which deals with the poet's historical and literary environment and the problems of his translation. In it he argues for Aristophanes' pacifism and panhellenism: an argument long ago destroyed by Gomme (C.R. 52, 1933).

Dickinson handles with unflagging vitality a free verse with variable stresses which generally suits Aristophanes' own verse forms well. The diction is vigorous and Rabelaisian; invective and bawdiness are reproduced directly, forcefully, felicitously, shockingly in a way unthinkable half a century ago, thanks to the modern licence to print expletives and indecencies without which honest translation of Aristophanes is impossible. Our sensibilities are rightly shocked. But the translator is not hereby aiming at a crib's accuracy; he recreates, condensing the original justifiably in places (though not, I feel, at P. 716 f.), occasionally omitting a passage (coprology at P. 1255 ff. is tedious: but why omit *Lys.* 319-25?), or exuberantly adding a quip not Aristophanes' own (out of character only at P. 677 f. and 700 f.). There are a few liberties taken with the distribution of parts and with the meaning (*Ach.* 62; P. 642; *Lys.* 369, 562, 754-5), only one of which is important: to translate *τὰ δέοντα* at P. 764 as 'with taste' gives the wrong impression of Aristophanes' purpose.

But these are details. In general effect the translations are true to life; scenes like the muck-raking introduction to the Peace and the ragging of Cinesias in the *Lysistrata* stand out in the translation as they do in the original. The invective comes across powerfully: e.g. P. 182-3 or *Lys.* 367.

I'll tie your lungs in a love knot, I'll tug out your guts,

while the jokes, puns and double entendres are rendered with a wit that is almost uncanny (e.g. *Lys.* 757, 824). Character and language are wedded in a fashion that makes modern sense without being untrue to Aristophanes; Lamachus sounds and reads like a (stage) regular-army officer, and Lampito

like a down-to-brass-tacks Lancastrian. And in the Aristophanic tradition, use is made of modern overtones and echoes. The Megara-decree scion (*Ach.* 532) is reborn as a calypso; the oracle (*Lys.* 770 ff.) has overtones of biblical prose; the patriotic Acharnians (235) echo Churchill; in the rescue of Peace from the pit we have 'blacklegs' and 'going slow'.

Dickinson's renderings of the choral parts of the plays enjoy the same virtues, but here occasionally the use of variably-stressed lines destroys much of the effect of, for instance, the anapaests and the epirrhemes of the Acharnians' parabasis, where a regular pulse is essential, and vigour and imagination are not enough. The translator is fluent in such rhythmic verse: Trygaeus mounts to heaven with (P. 82)

Charily, gingerly, gently my jackass;

all the more reason to lament its absence where most needed. The other choral pieces are well done—invective, ridicule, or that combination of imaginative poetry and ribaldry that is normally the despair of translators; an excellent example of Dickinson's methods here is the second stanza of the hymn to Phales in the Acharnians:

O Phales, Oh!

How immeasurably sweeter  
To stroll through my coverts  
And find a lovely girl there

Trespassing—

Strymodoros' daughter Thratta—  
To detain, to tumble over,  
And trespass you know where,

O Phales, Phales,

And trespass you know where;  
Leaving Lamachos to fight.

The Chicago translation of the non-Theban plays of Sophocles is a further instalment in a series designed by its editors, David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, to cover all Greek tragedy. It conforms to the pattern set by its predecessors (reviews in *JHS* 1957, 327 f.; 1958, 135 f.); it shares their methods, virtues and vices. Each of the four plays has its own, brief introduction, expounding the background and significance of the play; these are admirable, considering their length, but occasionally one would wish them more space to develop their theses: why should the translator of the *Ajax*, for instance, be surprised that forgiveness of one's enemies is 'outside the ethical universe of Sophocles'? The notion, to my knowledge, did not become prevalent until Christian times. The non-lyric parts of Moore's *Ajax*, in blank verse, have a forceful, colloquial idiom which fits the abusive argumentation of the second half of the play far better than the great speeches of Ajax and Tecmessa, where Moore's unadorned accuracy conveys the pathos but not the poetry. Perhaps the translator is at his best in the



lyric portions of the play: his free verse occasionally is very moving—

It was he that denied my share  
In the sweet companionship  
Of garland and sweet cup;  
And miserly he grudged me  
The flute's soft lovely clamor. . . .

None cares

That my locks are damp with the thick continual  
dew

Which is all my thought of Troy. (1199 ff.)

His scholarship leaves little to be desired: at 189 and 1363 the sense is inadequately conveyed, 198-9 seem to be omitted, and 1268 is ambiguous.

Jameson's *Trachiniae* likewise uses blank verse and an up-to-date (though markedly less colloquial) idiom. In style elegantly bald, accurate at times to excessive literality—

It has not been a short time—first a year,  
By now still more . . . (44-5)—

it rises to heights where the imagery is vivid, as in the choruses:

Shimmering night as she lies despoiled brings you  
To birth at dawn, lays you to bed ablaze (94-5).

There are few faults of detail; occasionally explanatory wordiness devitalises an image (29 ff.), Heracles' entrance is signalled a few verses too early, and one or two passages are ambiguous (99, 997).

The other two plays are translated by Grene, using a much freer blank verse form than his partners, in a modern, not over-colloquial idiom which tends to wordiness. The *Philoctetes* is the more successful; there are few places to quibble over (but 'his' is misleading at 625, and what has happened to 1109?), and many felicities of expression such as 'the deep male growl of the sea-lashed headland' in the hero's farewell to Lemnos at the end of the play. The comparative failure of the *Electra* translation, where the felicities are no fewer, is due to Grene's inability to avoid a ludicrous banality at moments of extravagant emotion, like the recognition scene:

Voice, have you come? . . . and  
Do my arms hold you? (1322 ff.)

There are a few inaccuracies of sense and overtone, (e.g. at 1177 does Orestes really call his sister a 'distinguished beauty?'), and a few jarring colloquialisms. At 1417 occurs the one misprint I have noticed in the book: 'courses' for 'curses'.

But for all these quibbles, this volume does give an excellent impression of some of Sophocles' qualities. Lind's selection of ten Greek plays seems to be more ambitious. As a very cheap and sturdily-produced paper-back, it is clearly designed to introduce many Greekless Americans to the ancient drama. The plan of the book is excellently laid out for this purpose. There is an introduction to explain the background of Greek drama, with information about

the individual dramatists and the structure and verse forms of their plays; the ten plays chosen for translation are an interesting cross-section of extant Attic drama, even if the Euripidean selection (*Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Suppliants* and *Bacchae*) is a little unflattering to the poet; the book closes with an excellent glossary of proper names and a full bibliography to help the reader to pursue his interests further.

It is singularly unfortunate, therefore, that the results of so excellent a plan are so poor, and the blame for this must rest largely on the editor. His general introduction to the book contains much that is excellent; but interlarded with that are so many wild statements (e.g. that Euripides was 'obliged' to relate the myths in his prologues because 'the knowledge of mythology seems to have declined' in his day), so many infuriating half-truths (e.g. that the aim of the *Frogs* was to charge Euripides with contributing to the decay of Athenian morals), that one shudders to think what opinions a Greekless reader will get from it. In selecting his translations, the editor has been able to make use of previously published versions, and in fact only the four I have asterisked are new versions:

AESCHYLUS: *Prometheus Bound* (Rex Warner); *Agamemnon* (Louis McNeice); SOPHOCLES: *Antigone* (S. O'Sheel); \**Oedipus Rex* (A. Cook); *Philoctetes* (Kathleen Freeman); EURIPIDES: *Alcestis* (R. Aldington); \**Suppliants* and \**Andromache* (L. R. Lind); \**Bacchae* (H. Birkhead); ARISTOPHANES: *Lysistrata* (C. T. Murphy).

Of these translations, probably only McNeice's great translation of the *Agamemnon*, alive with modern imagery, and Warner's *Prometheus*, pithy and forceful, though at times, one would think, unspeakable on the stage (280, 'bird-path of air' would trip a modern Hegelochus), are likely to be well known in this country. Of the others two, perhaps, deserve special mention. Murphy's *Lysistrata*, though inferior to Dickinson's and Dudley Fitt's versions by far, can be read with enjoyment, although its faintly out-of-date literary diction with insertions of modern expletives and what I take to be American slang will not appeal to everyone, and there are occasional absurdities (e.g. in the chorus, 1291 ff., Alleluia, hurrah and Euoi occurring together make strange bed-fellows). But he is a very competent versifier, and his rendering of Melanion's tale (781 ff.) deserves quotation:

Once there was a likely lad,  
Melanion they name him;  
The thought of marriage made him mad,  
For which I cannot blame him.

Miss Freeman's version of the *Philoctetes* is an attempt to produce an acting version in colloquial prose or free verse which is often indistinguishable from prose. It has a lively force that often is effective: 'To hell with Troy' at 1200 may not be Sophoclean, but it is good theatre! However, when



Sophocles aspires to imagery, his poetic oil mixes badly with the translator's colloquialisms:

Quick! Think of something new!

The man's come back: he's here, quite close at hand!

—And he's no shepherd, playing on his pipe,

But he's a man who's forced to yelp with pain. . . .  
(212 ff.).

Many images and some verses disappear, and there are a few disturbing inaccuracies (289, 853-4, 890) to mar the version; but it would be interesting to see this on the stage. This, I fear, cannot be said of the remaining six versions, which seem to be utterly unactable, and in their pedestrian style very nearly unreadable. To these six, as well as to the *Philocletes*, the editor has added separate introductions which in the case of the *Alcestis*, where he quotes with approval Drew's theory that the returned Alcestis is no more than a gruesome corpse, and in that of the *Bacchae*, where Norwood's 'hypnosis' theory alone is mentioned as an interpretation of the play, are very misleading. The translations themselves neither require nor deserve detailed discussion; it is enough to say that in addition to their pedestrian style they bristle with schoolboyish inaccuracies (e.g. *Andr.* 975 is utterly misunderstood, 'I might marry you/As kin to me, yet it was hard since I'm forced out') and schoolboyish literalities (*Sup.* 1123 ff. 'I bring, I bring, poor mother, father's bones from the fire'); there are even schoolboy howlers (*Alc.* 29, 'In the city'). The Greekless reader who approaches Greek drama by way of these translations is likely to be discouraged from it for ever.

W. G. ARNOTT.

**Démotène. Plaidoyers civils.** Tome II (Discours XXXIX-XLVIII). Texte établi et traduit par Louis Gernet (Association G. Budé). Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1957. Pp. 252, mostly double. Price not stated.

M. Gernet continues his good work, along the lines laid down in his first volume. What was said generally of text, apparatus and translation when that volume was reviewed in this Journal (lxxvii (1957), pp. 330-1) need not be repeated.

G. has adopted about a dozen conjectures of his own, of which the following are the most noteworthy: XLIII 66: τοὺς ἀγνῆας for τὰς ἀγνῆας: an attractive change (in the translation read 'agnēis' for 'agnēis'); it may be noted in passing that L & S, s.v. κνισάω, say that τὰς ἀγνῆας 'never' occurs. XLIV 55: ἐπ' ἐκείνον for ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον. XLVI 18: ὅτ' ἂν ὁ πατήρ ἐπιτρέψῃ: Dain pointed out to G. that the similarity of the restored words, in uncials and abbreviated, to ΕΠΙΤ would explain their disappearance. XLVI 14: παραπονῶν for παρανόμων: 'scripsi coll. XLVIII 56', in preference to Wesseling's παρανοῶν; but in XLVIII 56, in place of παραπονῶν of the MSS., G. has in fact printed

παρανοῶν, which has the support also of Lysias frag. 74 and Isaeus VI 9. In proposing to delete the clause about ἐταίρῃ in the law quoted in XLVI 26 G. shows perhaps too much faith in the orderliness of the Athenian legal code; who would have 'interpolated' this clause? In substituting Τεθράσιος, shown by a recently discovered inscription to be the correct reading in XLI 3 (and printed already by the Loeb editor), for Θριάσιος, given by all the MSS., G. remarks: 'La mauvaise leçon est instructive quant à la tradition: on a substitué un nom de dème connu à un autre qu'on ignorait—et cela très anciennement.' XLII 1: [δοῦναι], recommended for deletion, should not have been omitted from the text. XLV 55: ἀπάντεν should be ἀπάντων. I have noticed only two or three other trifling misprints.

The explanatory introductions and footnotes to each speech are again most helpful. However, in discussing *antidosis*, with which XLII is concerned, G. is for once more confusing than convincing; for he is not content to point out that in the fourth century an exchange of properties was not seriously envisaged, but in insisting, paradoxically, that a proposal or challenge to exchange properties did not figure anywhere in the procedure he has to try to explain away phrases giving the opposite impression.

Some small points: XXXIX 7 (Note complémentaire, p. 249): the reference might equally well be to the symmories for εἰσφορά. P. 77 n. 2: one misses a reference to Hopper, *BSA* xlvii (1953), esp. pp. 250-2; see now also Lauffer, *Die Bergwerksklaven von Laureion* ii, pp. 158 ff. P. 72 n. 2 and elsewhere: reference to the *editio minor* of *IG* would be more convenient. XLI 29: ἔχον must surely be translated 'être en possession' (sc. of the house as security) rather than 'les détenir', for there is no suggestion that the speaker had actually received the drachmas. XLV 26: the words οὐ τῶν Πισίωνος have been left untranslated. XLVII 56: Πύργος probably means 'workshop' rather than 'l'étage supérieure' (cf. Hasebroek, *Hermes* 1922, pp. 621-3).

C. RODEWALD.

DELEBECQUE (É.) **Essai sur la vie de Xénophon.** [Études et Commentaires, XXV]. Paris: Klincksieck, 1957. Pp. 532, with 3 maps. Fr. 3800.

The purpose of this very large book is stated to be the investigation of the material and intellectual life of Xenophon in order better to understand his personality. For this it is essential that we should be able to see Xenophon's intellectual life in its chronological development, and this in turn requires an established chronology for his writings. But in many cases we can only infer the dates of his works from what we suppose to be their place in Xenophon's intellectual development. Hence a need to start from several points at once, hence the enormous complication of the task, hence the justification for



the length of the present book. The author's method, which is in many ways novel, is to start from known facts about the life of Xenophon, to ask what was bound to be or was likely to be the effect of such events upon the attitudes of the person who experienced them, then to look at the writings and seek for traces or instances of such attitudes. Using this method with great subtlety and elaboration Delebecque has constructed both an emotional and intellectual life for Xenophon in chronological terms, and at the same time a chronology of the writings in terms of Xenophon's intellectual and emotional reactions to the events of his life. The whole book abounds in new questions and new answers, and it is a work which will have to be used by all those who wish in the future to write about Xenophon. Only a reading of the work as a whole can convey an adequate idea of the richness of the material and the freshness of approach.

When this has been said it may seem absurd to complain of omissions. None the less it is probably a mistake when the author not merely eschews (pp. 11-12) for his own use the method of stylistic statistics, but also affirms his belief that in the case of Xenophon they can lead to no very useful chronological conclusions. Despite the distasteful and banal nature of the work, this is a method which will probably have to be used in all cases where the chronological order of a man's writings is uncertain, and the special features in the case of Xenophon simply mean, as also in the case of Aristotle, that the task is immensely more complicated but none the less indispensable. Working with other tools Delebecque has achieved a peculiar insight into the psychology of Xenophon which is extremely persuasive. We see Xenophon, an Athenian in exile in Spartan lands for most of his life, pulled always between longing for his own country and admiration for her official enemies. One is left after reading the book with the feeling that this simply must have been the case. But when we look more closely at the particular chronological constructions which Delebecque offers, doubts and incredulities are almost certain to arise.

Sometimes, through sheer lack of any evidence of the kind for which he is looking, Delebecque has to use extremely weak arguments, as when we are told (p. 346) that the gaiety of Xenophon in the *Symposium* is the gaiety of a man who after harsh years of exile breathes with full lungs the free air of his native land, and this is used to date the work to 365-362 B.C. and to place it later than Plato's *Symposium*. On other occasions he is the victim of his own subtlety, as when he argues (pp. 217 ff.) that Xenophon blackens Anytus in his *Apology* because Plato had given too indulgent a picture of him in the *Meno*. No admirer of Socrates needed any such motive for disliking one of Socrates' accusers.

The most startling and perhaps the most important individual conclusion is that which concerns the first two books of the *Hellenica*. Briefly, Delebecque argues that the Xenophon who wrote these books is

not the Xenophon of the Expedition of Cyrus, he has not yet the knowledge and feelings which must have been those of a man who had undergone the experiences described in the *Anabasis*. Therefore, he concludes, the two books of the *Hellenica* were completed in 402 B.C. before Xenophon left Athens, except for ii 4-43. What then of the tradition that Xenophon continued the history of Thucydides? This is a tradition which Delebecque is anxious to keep; indeed, he supposes that Xenophon is using Thucydides' own *παλαιόμενα*. He argues that we do not know for certain that Thucydides died after Archelaus in 399—all we know for certain is that he returned to Athens in 404 or soon after. He might have died in or before 402. Even so the time is rather short for the publication of Thucydides' history, Xenophon's collection and working up of material, and his completion and publication of *Hellenica* I-II before he left for Asia Minor in the spring of 401. This difficulty is lessened if we can suppose that the material was already in draft form before the death of Thucydides—Thucydides' own *γέγραφε* of the whole war in v 26.1 is here brought into the argument. Thucydides on his return from exile may have needed a secretary—perhaps the secretary was Xenophon himself, who was thus familiar with the material before the death of Thucydides. Finally we are told that the beginnings of the *Hellenica* may have been written (*rédigé*) by Xenophon before the death of Thucydides if this death did not take place before 401.

Now this or something like it is presumably what we would have to suppose happened if we knew for certain that the first two books of the *Hellenica* were written before 401. Stylometric considerations do point to an early date for these two books, but the period 399-394 would satisfy this evidence. Delebecque cites a very large number of cases where he thinks that Xenophon would have written differently if Socrates were already dead and he had already the experience and knowledge which we see in the *Anabasis*. But every one of them can be explained in one of two ways—either Xenophon is himself trying to write like Thucydides in these books, a thing which he is not trying to do elsewhere, or else he is using the material which Thucydides left without re-writing it as he might have done. Thus we cannot rule out the period after 399 for the writing of these books.

G. B. KERFERD.

**Plutarch: Moralia V. I.** EDIDERUNT C. HUBERT, M. POHLENZ. Leipzig: Teubner, 1957. Pp. xxx + 142. DM 7.40.

For those who are interested in Plutarch's political writings a new and authoritative text has long been a major desideratum. The *Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum* and *Ad principem ineruditum* were edited with a commentary by J. Frerichs in 1929 (*Plutarchi Libelli duo Politici*, Göttingen). Fowler's translation of these and the other,



more important, political works in the Loeb Classical Library was made from a text necessarily based on the edition of Bernardakis but accepting a number of subsequent corrections. Now the long-felt need has to a very great extent been satisfied by the new Teubner text of the *Maxime cum principibus, Ad principem ineruditum, An seni sit gerenda res publica, Praecepta gerendae rei publicae, De tribus rei publicae generibus* and *De vitando aere alieno*.

The long preface is by M. Pohlenz, and the text itself is the work of C. Hubert. The present reviewer has had occasion elsewhere (*JHS* lxxvi (1956) 117-18) to notice the diversity of outlook and methods of these two scholars, and this fascicule emphasises the diversity. With considerable skill Pohlenz discusses the MSS. and their relationships, assesses their respective values for the several essays in this fascicule, and offers a number of ingenious explanations of corrupt passages, together with his own emendations. While the *apparatus* reports the variants of the best MSS., the general principle adopted is to omit the 'chaff' of the inferior ones (p. xxiii, 18-20). XyJ are made the basis for textual reconstruction in the first three essays, y being described as *maxima . . . fide dignus*. Nevertheless, y's readings are often eccentric and sometimes stupid (e.g. 46.27, 55.18, etc.), and it is the combined authority of XyJ which commands most respect.

Hubert accepts some of Pohlenz' emendations into the text, but others are mentioned only in the *apparatus*, while in the text a less spectacular solution is preferred: this results at times in a strange lack of congruence between text and preface. Pohlenz tends to rewrite Plutarch, but Hubert's conservatism permits only the minimum corrections necessary to elicit sense from the MSS. In a number of places Hubert defends the readings of codd. with explanatory notes (e.g. 91.20, 97.5 ff., 102.24, 104.6, 109.24, 129.1-3). In some places this practice is commendable, e.g. 91.20 (*cf. IG* v 2.268, ll.18-20 for a clear parallel—epigraphical parallels are unfortunately beyond the scope of this edition), but elsewhere defence of the MSS. readings appears perverse, e.g. 104.6, where the particular explanation offered is infelicitous. *τελέαρχος* and *τελεαρχία* of the MSS. are retained at 811b (91.8.11) for *τέλμαρχος* and *τελμαρχία*. The duties of this office, as described by Plutarch, might appear to demand *τελμαρχία*, but there is no evidence that this was ever an important office, or even an office at all, at Thebes. Until other evidence comes to light, the MSS. reading is as good as any. Elsewhere Hubert introduces small changes for the sake of accuracy (e.g. 50.18), or suggests them to avoid hiatus (e.g. 91.9; but here the hiatus remains in the text). In some passages one is still left with a feeling of dissatisfaction. E.g. in 51.20 the simile is incomplete, and the change of *ἔτι* to *εἶτα* would possibly be an improvement: in 52.12 *πατρονόμων* is the title of actual Spartan officials, and the words *ἀρχόντων*

and *παιδαγωγῶν* sit uneasily in the same context and have the appearance of a gloss—and the point of *τινων*, in its present position, is not easy to understand. In 105.2 the correction of *ὄντα* to *ὄντι* (a reading of GΦ) produces a strange order of words, which Hubert explains by the need to avoid hiatus. Incidentally, if Plutarch had wanted to eliminate hiatus completely, surely he could have avoided *οἶον* in 41.6 (where Pohlenz would have preferred *οἶον οἶ*) and *ἀρχὴ ἀνδρα* in 91.9 (where a conjecture is made by Hubert in the *apparatus*).

In general, there is much to be thankful for in this edition. Hubert is to be congratulated on producing a text which, while still susceptible of improvement, has certainly filled a great need and will remain standard for many years, while the references to parallel passages can be used with profit by anyone who would study the political works in detail.

A number of errors and misprints have been noted: p. x 8 *κωψόν*, p. xx 8 *vetustionibus*, 8.1 (*apparatus*) *convertero*, 76.24 *Αλκαίων*, 93.18 *δ*, 98.12 (*apparatus*) *τραγωδίας*, 112.11 (*apparatus*) for *χρυσόν* l.2' read *χρυσόν* l.11'; 116.15 sqq. the title of Tarn's book, in the parallel passages, contains an error.

A. J. GOSSAGE.

#### ERNESTO VALGIGLIO: *Plutarco, Vita di Mario*.

Introduzione, testo e commento. Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1956. Pp. xxviii + 223. Paper, L. 800.

As part of the series I Classici della Nuova Italia, this edition, intended for school use, aims at stressing in its commentary original criticism and modern aesthetical and philological interpretation. It has an introduction of twenty-four pages, nine on P. as a biographer and literary artist, thirteen on Marius as a general and a politician and two giving a chronological table of the years 156-7 to 86 B.C. The text is largely that of Ziegler's 1915 Teubner edition, but reference has also been made to that of Doehner (1857), Sintenis (1891) and Perrin (the 1950 Loeb reprint). The paragraph notation is Doehner's, and there is no *apparatus*. The commentary is of considerable length, and Ziegler's citations of parallel passages have been largely incorporated therein. For the purpose of the commentary the text is divided into three parts: I: chap. 1-3; II: chap. 4-45; III: chap. 46. Part II is further divided into seven sections in the following way: (1) chap. 4-6; (2) 7-12; (3a) 13-21; (3b) 22-27; (4) 28-31; (5) 32-35; (6) 36-40; (7) 41-45. There is appended to text and commentary a three-page Index of Proper Names and a single page index detailing the structure of the edition.

V.'s scanty indexing is a grave defect even in a work at school level. The commentary is in fact, despite the general policy of the series, almost entirely historical. Any discussion of Marius' career involves much gleaning of scattered grains of information in



collation of source material and of prosopographical, numismatic and epigraphic findings. Only a limited amount of this gleaning has been done, but even so the book presents a great deal of fact with no adequate system of reference.

In so far as concerns the collation of source material this fault of method has two results. Firstly, a relevant passage is sometimes not cited; secondly, lists of relevant passages are sometimes incomplete, even when these concern merely the Marius himself. To substantiate (Loeb paragraph notation is used throughout for my references to the Life): on p. xxiii, in speaking of Marius' erection of temples, Valgiglio fails to mention the temple to Jove which Valerius Maximus assigns to Marius at 1.7.5. On p. 20, in discussing Marius' friendly relations with the Metelli, V. should have cited the passage telling of Marius' (presumably friendly) relationship with their leader and kinsman, Scaurus (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi 116). On p. 29 V. says that Marius lacked the financial resources for success in politics by means of bribery of the electorate, referring to the years 113 following. Yet Marius seems to have become a publicanus in these years, according to Diodorus xxxv 38, which V. fails to mention. On p. 77, speaking of Catulus' popularity with nobles and commons, V. omits to state that he had already had three failures in his candidature for the Consulship and would therefore in normal circumstances not have stood again (Cic., *Planc.* 12; cf. Badian, *Historia*, Band VI, 1957, Heft 3, p. 322). On p. 128, V. says that Marius lacked 'malleabilità di carattere' as a politician; he should in fairness qualify this remark by citing Dio xxvi 89.2 on Marius' powers of dissimulation and Cic., *De Orat.*, ii 196 (Marius' tears at Aquilius' trial) as an instance of them. In p. 133 mention of Marius' projected settlements in Gaul should surely involve mention of Eporodia and Vell., 1.15.5. On p. 162 discussion of the word 'Solonius' should mention the fact that this was the name of a Gallic town taken by a descendant L. Marius, legate of C. Pomptinus in 61-60 and is therefore probably anachronistic (cf. Dio xxxvii 48.1).

Failures to complete lists of relevant passages sometimes result in errors in the generalisations based on the imperfect lists. On p. xxii, V. speaks of 'aperte illegalità, che non erano nel suo temperamento, incline, per natura e per educazione, all'ordine e alla disciplina'. This remark, which is contradicted by Vell. ii 23.1 incidentally, is followed by the statement that Marius' arbitrary and revolutionary grant of the citizenship to the Camerini was an act dictated by circumstances (his treachery to the Metelli both as Tribune and when Numidicus was his commander-in-chief in Africa should also have been considered here). All Marius' recorded decisions on points of law in fact show an arbitrary, independent and self-reliant nature; Mar. 4.2-3, 5.5, 14.5, 38.3. These other cases should have been reviewed before making this generalisation as it is

(a) debated, and (b) fundamental to the reconstruction of Marius. On p. xxvi, n. 1 V. defends the thesis that Marius was afraid of Sulla's imminent return in 86 B.C. Systematic reference to the Marius reveals plainly that chap. 41-5 all rest on a mistaken chronology which greatly foreshortens Sulla's Asiatic campaigns: 41.1, speaking of the quarrel of Cinna and Octavius in Rome (87) mentions as contemporaneous Sulla's fighting in Bœotia (86); 45.6 strongly suggests that P. was under the impression that Marius' death (86) and his son's Consulship, campaign and death (82) follow immediately. Similar foreshortening appears also in the Pompey, chap. 4-5, and at Crassus, 6.1 P. expressly states that Cinna lived eight months (he was actually murdered in 84) after his entry into Rome (in 87). The whole of P.'s reconstruction of Marius' death is based on a thorough-going anachronism, and this attempt to defend it is perverse and distorting to any picture of the historical situation at the time. On p. 214, discussing the number of days Marius took to die, V. says that the number may be mystic not historical, but fails to cite the two most apposite parallels: the deaths, each in seven days, of Jugurtha and Aulus Pompeius; 12.4 and 17.6 respectively; cf. also the paired Life, Pyrr. 17.1.

Lack of system is also evident in V.'s bibliographical references (there is no bibliography). These are occasionally vague in the extreme, especially with English works, e.g. p. xiii, n. 1: 'gli storici moderni . . . sono generalmente orientati in questo senso: Passerini, T. Frank, Weynand, ecc.'. Passerini and Weynand have both been cited before (p. vii, n. 1 and p. vi n. 1 respectively: a list of short titles would be helpful), but this is the first mention of Frank. There is no reference to a specific book or article, let alone page. A similar reference to 'Mommsen, Greenidge' is made on p. xiv (end of first paragraph), and another occurs at the end of paragraph two on p. xv, where Frank's name reappears. It is cited a third time in this loose fashion on p. xxiv. So on p. 27, at the end of the notes on 5.5, appears the slipshod reference: 'così il WEYNAND, in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* sv. "Marius" ' actually *RE* 1935, Supplbd. 6, s. 1368-9.

This vagueness suggests what is the fact, namely a failure fully to assimilate the bibliography prerequisite to a modern edition: e.g. neither on p. ix, nor in the discussion upon chap. 2.1 at p. 7 does V. mention the science of physiognomy, which is surely in point here, or any works upon it (Forster, *Scriptors Physiognomici* 1893, 11, *Sylloge locorum physiognomicorum* pp. 237-352; Evans, *HSP* xlii (1935) 43-84; *TAPA* lxii (1941) 96-108). On p. x bottom, when speaking of vivid and autobiographical writers, V. might well have cited Smith, *CQ*, xxxiv (1940) 1 f. (esp. 7-8) and 165 f., as these monographs, though written without reference to Passerini, whom he does cite, substantiate the latter's findings (*Athenaeum* xii (1934) 377-8). At p. xiii, n. 1, it becomes obvious that V. is ignorant of



Broughton's fundamental work, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1951, which is in fact nowhere cited. In discussing Marius' propraetorship (?) in 114 on p. xv and his command in 88 on p. xxiv, n. 1, the obvious reference work is Jashemski, *The Origin and History of the Proconsular and Propraetorian Imperium* to 27 B.C., 1950. At p. xvi, n. 1 V. should mention Messer's article in *CP* xv (1920) 158-75 and on p. xviii, n. 1, Donnadieu, *REA* lvi (1954) 281-96. On p. xix 'in Africa, già Metello aveva compiuto il più dell'impresa' (which is hard to reconcile with p. 55, note to 10.6) V. should refer to Holroyd's monograph, which gives a most convincingly argued case to the contrary (*JRS* xviii, 1928, 1-20), and to Last's examination of the *Bellum Jugurthinum* in *CAH* 9 (1951) 113-16. The discussion of the Marian colonies at p. xxiii, n. 1 should mention Quoniam, *CRAI* (1950) 332-3. The discussion of the Marian Massacre, which too readily accepts P.'s overdrawings, on pp. xxv and 202 f. does not mention Bennett, *Cinna and His Times*, Diss. Chicago, 1923, pp. 24-35, which conclusively draws a much less blood-bespattered picture. On p. 69 the discussion of Jugurtha's death should take into consideration Le Gall's monograph on the subject (*RP* xviii (1944) 94-100). On pp. 114-15 the commentary to chap. 25.2 should quote my article in *CQ* xlix (1955) 201-5. V. has used Passerini (*cf.* p. vii, n. 1), yet when he differs widely from him he does not mention the fact: *cf.* V., p. 142 and Passerini, pp. 353-5, and V., p. 185 and Passerini, pp. 373-4, on the matters of Marius' 'eclipse' following the year 100, and his reception in Sicily during his exile respectively. The explanation of Marius' enmity for Antonius given at p. 205 shows weakness in prosopographic method: *cf.* Badian, *Historia* above, 331-3 and 341-2. The introduction to V.'s part III on p. 215 ought to mention Barbu as he discusses this particular chapter (*Les Procédés de la peinture des caractères et la véracité historique dans les biographies de Plutarque* (1934) chap. 6, section 3).

Chap. 12.4 really demands some mention of the coinage associated with Marius; it receives none, presumably because Weyand, whom V. follows closely, incorrectly says that Marius has no coinage definitely connected with him (1366). One coin at least must be mentioned at chap. 10.5 (V. pp. 55-6): that of Faustus Sulla which depicts the betrayal by Bocchus of Jugurtha to Sulla Felix (Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952) no. 879). Two others are commonly associated with the Marians (the denarius of C. Mamilius Limetanus, Sydenham, no. 741, and that of C. Marius Capito, Sydenham, no. 744). At p. xxiii, n. 1, and on p. 133 reference might well have been made to coinages obviously connected with veteran settlement (C. Marius, *cf.* Capito, Sydenham no. 744, and L. Julius, *ibid.*, no. 585—especially as the latter's gens is connected with a veteran settlement in Cercina (Broughton, 1.577) of importance for the exile of Marius).

On P.'s sources V. commences by saying: 'la citazione non ci autorizza a dedurre un uso ampio dell'autore citato' (p. vi). A statement like this should not be made without reference to modern opinion, which is in fact not with V. over this point (*cf.* Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 1 (1945) 59-60; Griffith in Platnauer, *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship* (1954) 172). But this part of the introduction is cautious, well documented, and sound. Much could have been done by examining the internal evidence of the *Life* on the lines of Last's discussion of the *Bellum Jugurthinum* in *CAH* 9 (1951) 113-16.

In general, V. adopts the orthodox interpretation of Marius' career without adequately refuting the heterodox view. His treatment of the text is conservative and his philological commentary is meagre, because of his predominantly historical bent. What treatment there is of aesthetic problems fails to consider stylistic arrangement. Yet P. uses repetitions of symbolism, vocabulary and even proper names to link passages together (*cf.* 10.5-6 and 32.2-3; 2.3-3.3 and 34.1-5 + 5-6; and both the latter passages with 45.3 + 6-7). V.'s threefold division of the text quite obscures P.'s design.

T. F. CARNEY.

CLAGETT (M.) **Greek Science in Antiquity.**

London: Abelard-Schumann, 1957. Pp. xii + 217. 18s.

This book is a very useful introduction for non-specialists to the history of science in the ancient world. It differs from some other similar works in the marked attention that is given to the fate of Greek science in later antiquity; indeed the author, we are told, is preparing a volume on medieval science that will take up the story of the development of science where this volume leaves off.

In a brief but interesting survey of non-Hellenic science in Egypt and Mesopotamia it is pointed out that advances in those areas were made primarily in mathematics and astronomy and in some aspects of medical practice. Non-Greek science is characterised as largely empirical and observational with little regard to theory. Unlike the Greeks the Babylonians did not assume geometrical models; their procedures (e.g. in predicting lunar phenomena) were entirely arithmetical. I would agree with the author on the apparent lack of generality in Oriental science, but one must remember that even in astronomy the absence of a geometrical model is not tantamount to proof that there was no generalising and generalised thinking: I am sure astronomers would agree that it is not inconceivable that observational data might be organised into a mathematically coherent system on a purely arithmetical basis. The author himself quite rightly points out that a certain generality was obviously implied even in the specific problems (and their solutions) of Egyptian geometry. The key to advances in Babylonian mathematics is seen in their remarkably facile number system. The



Babylonians also are said to have 'laid an extraordinary base for the subsequent development of algebra'.

In a chapter on the origins of Greek science the factors making for the growth and development of science are discussed. In this chapter the discussion and criticism of the Aristotelian doctrine on induction seems to me to be out of place, or at any rate to have been given a disproportionate amount of space, even though we must, of course, not forget that Aristotle's argument may have been to a certain extent abstracted and systematised from earlier and contemporary practice. On the whole the author seems to me to give too much attention to Aristotle and his posterity, to the detriment of a more searching examination of the connection between science and philosophy in earlier times. A similar criticism may be made on the chapter concerned with Greek medicine. This, too, is rather sketchy on the Hippocratic corpus; and one would have liked to see some discussion of temple medicine. Galen is treated more generously, and perhaps that is justified in view of his later influence. In the chapter on Greek mathematics one misses a more detailed treatment of earlier mathematical thought; and there is hardly a mention of musical mathematics and its relation to the rest of mathematical science. The author does indeed mention the Pythagorean discovery of the relation of string length to pitch. In doing so he quotes the statement by Theon of Smyrna to the effect that one of the methods used in investigating these ratios was the comparison of weights suspended from the strings. It would perhaps have been useful if the author had pointed out here that whatever else may be true about the tradition in general, and this part of it in particular, one thing is certain, namely that the method here mentioned by Theon cannot really have had any part in the history of the discovery. Whereas pitch varies inversely with the length of the string, it does not vary directly with the weight suspended from the string but with the square root of this weight.

The author's concentration on Aristotelian physics may, all things considered, be justified; but one would have liked to hear a little more of pre-Aristotelian physical theory; and one certainly misses, in the next chapter, a discussion of earlier, especially Pythagorean, astronomical theories. But here we get very good clear explanations of what was involved in the attempts of Greek astronomers to save the phenomena, concise and lucid accounts of Eudoxus' system based on the assumption of concentric spheres, of Aristarchus' heliocentric hypothesis, of Eratosthenes' determination of the circumference of the earth, and of the eccentric and epicyclic systems.

In the chapter on Roman science the author rightly points out that the decline of science in the Roman period was connected with the lack of interest in pure mathematics. He stresses the engineering feats of the Romans and makes clear that machines were used more extensively than is thought

by some scholars; he mentions in this connection water pumps, hydraulic organs, odometers (to measure distances covered by a moving vehicle) and an ingenious device for bringing building material from the quarries to the site of the temple of Diana at Ephesus. (The reader interested in the technological application of science will find a wealth of material in Cohen and Drabkin, *Source Book in Greek Science*, a work to which Claggett often refers.)

The remaining part of the book deals with science in late antiquity. There are good discussions on Hermetic literature, on the relation between astronomy and astrology, and on early alchemy. One point that is new and indeed surprising to the present reviewer is what appears to be a convincing demonstration of the link between Aristotelian doctrine and alchemical theory.

This is not an over-ambitious book. It makes no claim to originality in treatment or in matter; added to this lack of pretension it has the very considerable virtue of extraordinary lucidity, both in textual exposition and in its illustrative drawings.

A. WASSERSTEIN.

MONDOLFO (RODOLFO) *L'infinito nel pensiero dell' antichità classica*. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1956. Pp. x + 635. L. 5,000.

This is a second edition of a work first published in 1934 under the title of *L'infinito nel pensiero dei Greci*. It has been extended by a new section of some 65 pages dealing with 'The Infinite of the Instant and the Subjective Infinite' and concluding with an appendix on 'The Infinite and the Logical Antinomies in Ancient Philosophy'. The main part of the book does not appear to have been greatly altered, references to studies published since 1934 being introduced mostly in the footnotes. (These, by the way, are not all included in the index.) Two appendixes in the middle of the book, 'The Rotation of the Earth in Plato' and 'Plato and the Astronomical System of Philolaus', are mainly devoted to discussion of the work of Cornford and Cherniss in this field, but it is disappointing to find that little account has been taken of other important studies, many of them in English, which have appeared since 1934. Thus, whereas Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy*, as in so many continental books, is constantly referred to, no mention is made of Guthrie's *Orpheus*, Jaeger's *Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, Raven's *Pythagoreans and Eleatics*, or Cornford's *Principium Sapientiae*, which are all closely relevant to the author's subject at various points. The most recent book mentioned is Zafiropulo's *L'école éléate* (1950). (Not that Mondolfo, for all his eighty years, has retired from active scholarship—he announces that he has an edition of Heraclitus on the stocks, amongst other things.)

The central thesis of the book is that the traditional 'classical' view of the Greeks has over-stressed their pre-occupation with limit, symmetry, harmony and



such ideals, and has under-rated their feeling for the infinite in its various forms. It was characteristic of the restless, many-sided Greek intellect that it could appreciate both these aspects of reality, though without ever quite resolving the tension between them.

There are four main sections, as well as the added fifth one mentioned above, and the best that can be done in the space here available is to indicate briefly the lines on which the work proceeds and some of the more interesting views put forward.

(1) *The Setting of the Problem, and the Origin of the Notion of the Infinite in Greece.* Mondolfo states his thesis, and begins its development by tracing some rather tenuous connexions between the Greeks' awakening sense of the infinite and their early adventures in distant travel and their deep-rooted interest in music.

(2) *The Infinite in Time, and Eternity.* After noting some vague adumbrations in Homer, Mondolfo distinguishes various stages that marked the Greek thinkers' efforts to devise a theory of time, e.g. the emergence of the idea of ever-recurring cycles of change, as in Heraclitus and Empedocles, culminating in the Great Year of the Stoics; the Pythagorean conception of time as being in some sense drawn in from the surrounding infinite space; the atomists' expression of time as an endless chain of cause and effect. Plato first states the transcendental view of time as 'the moving image of eternity', later developed by the Neo-Platonists. Two somewhat conflicting definitions of the (temporal) infinite are found in Aristotle, (a) 'such that we can always take a part beyond what has already been taken' (*Physics* 207a7—strictly this refers to spatial infinity), and (b) 'a length of time which cannot be exceeded' (*De Caelo* 283a9). The latter formulation is a striking anticipation of a modern view of the infinite, and in this sense, as Mondolfo shows in some of the most perceptive pages in the book (pp. 134 ff., cf. pp. 461-3, 487), infinity, becoming synonymous with ultimate perfection and divine power, was even considered by Aristotle to be a worthy attribute of his Prime Mover, pure actuality though the latter was. The author also notes that *past* time was another inescapable instance of what Aristotle professed to abhor, an *actual* infinite.

(3) *Infinite Number and the Infinitesimal.* The discovery of irrational numbers killed the number-atomism of the Pythagoreans. Reviving an old controversy, Mondolfo plumps for innumerable co-existent worlds in Anaximander, with an impressive weight of argument. Though he does not mention Cornford's article in *CQ* (1934), he has evidently now won Jaeger over to his side (cf. *Paideia*, E.T. Vol. 1, p. 455, n. 56). This section ends with the full development of the theory of infinite numbers by Archimedes.

(4) *The Infinite of Spatial Extension and the Infinite*

*of Divine, Universal Power.* This is the most substantial and valuable portion of the book, with several especially good chapters on Plato and Aristotle. Mondolfo follows Calogero in believing the One of Parmenides to be infinite and his cosmology to be fundamentally of a dynamic character—a subtle, paradoxical, and in the end incredible view. He warmly defends the undoubtedly infinite Being of Melissus against Aristotle's charge of *petitio principii*. He agrees with Schiaparelli that the cosmology of the *Timaeus* is based on a Philolaic model, and also accepts Plutarch's testimony that in his old age Plato no longer considered the earth worthy to occupy the centre of the kosmos. This change of view is traced to the Pythagorean discovery that varying positions of an observer on the earth's supposed orbit (or even on its stationary surface) produced no parallax effect in the relative positions of the fixed stars and that these must therefore be an (almost) infinite distance away. Along with this conclusion, Mondolfo supposes (p. 435), Plato must have accepted the infinite extent of the universe. (Yet could one see a star if it was strictly an infinite distance away?) On the vexed question of the rotation of the earth in the *Timaeus* Mondolfo supports Cherniss against Cornford. The contradictions in which Aristotle became involved between his theory of Place and his theory of the Unmoved Mover(s) are clearly expounded ('quel problema del luogo, che era il suo tarlo roditore', p. 473). At the opposite extreme Epicurus, as Mondolfo shows, landed in equal difficulties when, being opposed to Aristotle's infinite (potential) divisibility, though feeling none of his repugnance towards the infinitely great, he found himself compelled to draw an arbitrary line at a point short of the infinitesimal and to develop a thoroughly inconsistent theory about the *minimae partes* of the atom.

(5) *The Infinite of the Instant and the Subjective Infinite.* This last section is not so rewarding, suffering from a good deal of repetition of earlier matter (this is often necessitated by the plan of the book), and from a want of clarity in the subject under discussion, which tends to shade off so easily into the sublime or the numinous or simply vague feelings of exaltation. Nothing, however, is said about the subjective experiences of artists or of those who contemplate their works (opposite valuations may be found in Plutarch's *Pericles* 1 and Dio Chrysostom xii 51). And surely the lovers of antiquity had their moments of transport (cf. Plato, *A.P.* v 78)?

The book is attractively produced, and there are only a few unimportant misprints and wrong references. One finishes reading it with the feeling that one has been sitting (admittedly for rather a tedious length of time) at the feet of a venerable scholar who has calmly dispensed the wisdom gained from a lifetime's reflexion on his theme.

E. R. HILL.



ROBIN (LÉON). *Les Rapports de l'Être et de la Connaissance d'après Platon*. Ed. P. M. Schuhl. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957. Pp. 156. Portrait frontispiece. Fr. 720.

This book reproduces a course of twenty-five lectures given at the Sorbonne in 1932-1933. Selected from a large body of unpublished MSS., it is issued as being typical of Robin's views on Plato's thought.

After an introductory section, the course starts with a study of the allegory of the Cave in relation to the similes of the Sun and the Line. Here, as throughout the book, the analysis is detailed and subtle; and in this element lies perhaps the chief value of the work for students today. In the interpretation of the Line, the reading *ἄνισα τμήματα* is strongly supported as symbolising degrees of clarity and truth. A long section on 'les réalités de l'expérience' considers further Plato's treatment of the world of opinion, leading via the *Theaetetus* to study of the concepts of space, time and material substance as developed in the *Timaeus*; R. follows tradition in placing this dialogue at the far end of the later period. Plato's attitude to material things is represented (p. 84) as developing from mistrust, as of mere illusions, to recognition of the status of 'essential materiality' in the scheme of the universe, as representing for human experience the design of the creative Ideas.

In the next long section, 'la réalité intelligible', the logical problems of the later dialogues are studied in similar detail as working out the interrelations of the Ideas (the author prefers this traditional translation). It is insisted that in this later phase Plato has not abandoned ontology for logic; and a final return is made to the topic of the relation of the Ideas to the material world, for which they are 'unmoved causes of movement'. Here, as elsewhere, the author stresses the probable importance of the lost oral teaching, and also the value of Aristotle's testimony on the Platonic system as well as his criticism of some of its phases.

Finally touching on theology, R. maintains that the *δημιουργός* of the *Timaeus* is not God, but an agent (mythical?) of the Ideas as prime causes. The nearest approach to the God of theology, but not his equivalent, is the Good in the *Republic*—a supreme reality which is transcendent, for Plato is no pantheist.

The book may be welcomed as giving further insight into the thoughts of a master mind upon his favourite theme.

D. TARRANT.

WEIL (SIMONE). *Intimations of Christianity Among the Ancient Greeks*. Edited and translated by Elizabeth C. Geissbuhler. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. Pp. 208. 25s.

This book comprises a selection of chapters from the author's posthumously-published works *La*

*Source Grecque* and *Les Intuitions Pré-chrétiennes*. The English translation reads easily, and special interest attaches to the attractive re-renderings of Simone Weil's own translations of passages from the *Iliad* and from tragedy.

The 'intimations' here expounded are those divined by the intuition of the already Christian believer. Without suggesting that the Greek writers themselves had conscious foregleams of Christian faith, the author claims to find in many places a symbolic equivalence to the coming doctrines. A few instances may suffice. The quest of the soul by God is symbolised by the rape of Persephone in the *Hymn to Demeter*, also by the *Electra* of Sophocles, where Electra is the forlorn soul and Orestes 'God who dies and is resurrected' (p. 8). The *Iliad*, as the poem of Might, carrying the theme of 'human destitution', finds its complement in the Gospels, 'the last and most marvellous expression of Greek genius' (p. 52), fraught with the message of love and pity. The works of Plato, 'an authentic mystic' (p. 77), are full of the theme of the love of God. It is (p. 134) 'a complete mistake' to relate the metaphor of the Cave to knowledge and intelligence. The topic of love is elaborated from the *Symposium*, where epithets and statements are cited indiscriminately from any and all of the speeches, without regard to spirit or context. On the myths we have the typical statement (p. 112), 'Plato never tells all in these myths. It is not arbitrary to extend them'. More specifically dogmatic conclusions are drawn from (e.g.) *Timaeus* 30-4, where (p. 92) the Father, the Only Son and the Model typify the Trinity. Again (p. 145), the formula *αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μεθ' αὐτοῦ* 'might well have a relationship with the Trinity', indicating as it does 'two relationships within a unity'.

Athena's epithet Tritogene, 'whose most natural meaning is the third born' (in defiance of quantity and of traditional interpretation), is associated (p. 128) with the Holy Spirit. So one might go on. The chapter on 'The Pythagorean Doctrine' carries symbolism to its most intricate and recondite extremes.

There is some interesting exegesis amid these fancyings. *Quaerit sua dogmata quisque*. The 'intimations' suggested are cogent only in the light of preconceived belief, and then as a rule by arbitrary strain of meaning.

D. TARRANT.

FONDATION HARDT. *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*. Tome III. Recherches sur la tradition platonicienne. Vandoeuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt. [Cambridge: Heffer.] 1958. Pp. 242. £2 os. od.

The 'Platonic Tradition' is a vast and ill-defined subject which, if it were interpreted not unreasonably liberally, might involve a conference called to consider it in discussing anything from the textual criticism of the fragments of Speusippus to the philosophy of Whitehead. The third of the *Entretiens*



*Hardt*, which met at Vandoeuvres in 1955, did in fact limit its subject rather more closely than this. With two exceptions the papers in this volume confine themselves to the Platonism, pagan and Christian, of the Roman Empire and the philosophical developments which led up to it. But even so the volume makes a less coherent impression, and is more difficult to consider as a whole, than the volumes which preceded it or the collection of studies on the sources of Plotinus which is to follow it: though this does not detract from the great value of some of the individual studies. It is also unfortunate that it has proved impossible in this volume to provide the full reports of the discussions of the various papers which appeared in the earlier volumes and will appear again in the volume on Plotinus which is to follow. Professor Gigon's summaries, though admirably clear, only make us conscious of what we have lost in not having the complete discussions before us.

Of the two papers which stand rather apart from the main collection the first, by Professor Guthrie, on *Plato's Views on the Nature of the Soul*, is a contribution of great importance to Platonic studies. It is unlikely that all Platonic scholars will accept his view that a single consistent teaching about the nature and immortality of the soul is to be found alike in *Phaedo*, *Republic*, *Phaedrus*, *Timaeus*, and *Lysis* (signs of disagreement are already apparent in the summary of the discussion): but his paper seems to me by far the best and most convincing treatment that I have seen of the very puzzling evidence of these dialogues. The other, the last in the volume, by Dr. Walzer, is an excellent introduction to a subject much too much neglected by historians of ancient philosophy, the influence of Platonism on the philosophy of Islam.

Professor Gigon's *Die Erneuerung der Philosophie in der Zeit Ciceros* contains, as is usual in studies of this kind, very little about Cicero himself, whose name is used almost as a convenient abbreviation for 'Posidonius, Panaetius and Antiochus'. It is in fact a brilliant study of the attitudes of ancient philosophers to the history of philosophy and of the emergence of that classicism, that appeal to the authority of the ancients, which is so characteristic a feature of the age of Cicero and the periods which follow it. Professor Theiler's *Gott und Seele im kaiserzeitlichen Denken* gives us a sample of his immense erudition in a somewhat compressed and staccato form. Every page of it contains matter for serious discussion (the section on Plotinus and Gnosticism is particularly interesting and important), and the absence of a full report of the discussion is here particularly regrettable. Professor Courcelle's account of some interpretations of Aeneid VI influenced by Neoplatonism will be of even greater interest to students of Virgil than to students of ancient philosophy. Professor Waszink contributes an admirably balanced introduction to the study of the influence of Platonism on early Christian thought; as a guide to

and an example of the methods of patient detailed scrutiny which need to be followed in this extremely complex field it could hardly be bettered. And finally, before Walzer's concluding essay on Islamic philosophy, Professor Marrou contributes an appreciation of Clement of Alexandria, written with his usual clarity, charm and passionate conviction, which should certainly lead classical scholars to want to read more than most of us have managed to of this most attractive Christian humanist.

It should be mentioned that Courcelle's paper is provided with a full bibliography and Waszink's with a useful short book-list. There are indices of authors and texts and of subjects treated.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

RABINOWITZ (W. GERSON). *Aristotle's 'Protrepticus' and the Sources of its Reconstruction*. I. University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1957. Pp. 1-96. 18s.

In the latest edition of Aristotle's 'fragments' (Sir David Ross's Oxford Text) thirty pages are filled by the *Protrepticus*. Mr. Rabinowitz tries to persuade us to reduce the number to (at the most) one. His arguments are serious, detailed and learned (as one would expect of a pupil of Professor Cherniss), and it is certainly necessary for Aristotelian scholars to take note of them. But not, I think, to agree with all of them.

This review is concerned with the first half of the work; the second half is not yet published. The last paragraph, however, makes it clear that the method will remain the same, and the conclusions will be similar. The first twenty pages are taken up with a useful critical summary of earlier work. Then Rabinowitz begins a patient examination of the 'fragments' one by one.

#### *Testimonia*

What was the relation between Aristotle's *Protrepticus* and Cicero's *Hortensius*? Trebellius Pollio remarks that Cicero wrote the *Hortensius* 'ad exemplum protreptici'. Or should it have a capital P? It is now generally assumed that the reference is to Aristotle's *Protrepticus*; but R. rightly resurrects the arguments of Bernays, Hirzel and Hartlich against this assumption. There is sufficient evidence for the existence of a generic concept of protreptic at Pollio's date—note particularly that Ausonius described his Idylls as composed 'instar protreptici'. (For a similar use of 'ad exemplum' one might add Sidonius *Epist.* (carm. 22) 6: haec me ad defensionis exemplum posuisse sufficiat.)

I think we might take this point as settled. Aristotle's *Protrepticus* was of course a prominent member of the class to which Cicero apparently wished to contribute, but that does not take us far. Incidentally, this destroys one of the strongest arguments for thinking that Aristotle's *Protrepticus* was a dialogue.



## Fr. 1

R. concludes that Aristotle's purpose was to persuade Themison to be patron of a school of philosophy in Cyprus.

## Fr. 2

It is possible to agree with Rabinowitz about the syllogism in fr. 2. Clearly, the syllogism as given by all the commentators except Alexander is Stoic in form. We must accept only Alexander's evidence, which is simply that in the *Protrepticus* Aristotle pointed out that even 'εἴτε χρῆ φιλοσοφεῖν εἴτε μὴ' is a philosophical question. Lactantius, quoting Cicero's *Hortensius* (we may allow that Cicero borrowed so much from Aristotle), adds a reason for this: 'philosophi est disputare quid in vita faciendum vel non faciendum sit'. Rabinowitz argues that this adds 'an ethical twist' not present in Alexander and probably Stoic in origin. But this is not so: Alexander has 'εἴτε χρῆ φιλοσοφεῖν . . .', and this is a question for ethics.

## Fr. 3

From Stobaeus. The reasons for its attribution to the *Protrepticus* are (1) that Stobaeus puts it under the heading 'Ἀριστοτέλους' and it does not seem to come from any known work; (2) its conclusion is 'πῶς οὖν . . . φιλοσοφητέον ἐστὶ'; and its general tone is protreptic.

Rabinowitz attacks the attribution. (a) Stobaeus is unreliable. The extract might be from a digest of Aristotle's writings (R. supports this with a list of passages dealing with 'the topics of the fragment' in *EN*, *Pol.* and *Met.*), or it might be from a later Peripatetic dialogue which used Aristotle as a spokesman (e.g. Theophrastus' *περὶ εὐδαιμονίας*). (b) Even if it is a bit of lost Aristotle, it is still quite uncertain that it comes from the *Protrepticus*; many other works may have contained protreptic bits (R. quotes a list of other protreptic bits in Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca and Iamblichus).

Against this, I should argue (a) that since the lemma says it is from Aristotle, Aristotle is the most probable source; and it is probably not a digest of other Aristotelian works, since the similes, which are important to the argument, do not occur in the extant works of Aristotle. R.'s list of 'topics' is rather arbitrary. (b) It is certain that Aristotle wrote a work called *Protrepticus*, and (from fr. 1-2) that it dealt with the concept 'φιλοσοφεῖν' and the question 'εἰ χρῆ φιλοσοφεῖν'. So an unknown Aristotelian passage ending 'πῶς οὖν φιλοσοφητέον;' may be ascribed to the *Protrepticus*—not certainly, of course, but until a more plausible suggestion is made. I retain fr. 3.

## Fr. 4

R. is convincing. His conclusion is that this is probably a condensation by Iamblichus himself of passages taken from Plato *Alc.* 1 129c-135a and *Pol.* 289d-290e, 303d-5c. He supports this with an interesting reappraisal of Iamblichus' originality,

using as an example the remodelling of Plato's *Euthydemus* 278c-282a in Iambl. *Protr.* 24.22-26.24 (Pistelli).

It must be observed that the issue is a very difficult one. R. says that all the features are explained if the Neo-Platonist Iamblichus adapted certain passages of Plato; others say, if . . . Iamblichus adapted a passage of Aristotle which adapted . . . Plato. What test could possibly settle this? Perhaps the presence of 'Aristotelian language'. R. ignores Prof. Düring's study of this in his 'Problems in Aristotle's *Protrepticus*' (*Eranos* 52, 1954, 151-2). But to tell the truth, Düring's examples of Aristotelian language are not convincing; they ought to be both Aristotelian and non-Platonic. If Chrysippus actually quoted the words of this passage, as Düring alleges, I should be convinced; but I cannot find any such quotation at the place mentioned (*SVF* ii 41.23).

## Fr. 5

Fr. 5A Iambl. *Protr.* 37.22-41.5

5B Proclus in *Eucl.* 1, 28.13-22

5C Iambl. *CMS* 79.1-81.7

Proclus in 5B mentions Aristotle by name. 5A at the end reproduces the argument of 5B. 5C provides the questions answered in 5A (and anyway a near-doublet of 5A follows 5C in Iamblichus *CMS*). Moreover, the theme is protreptic.

This is the essence of the case for fr. 5. R. objects on two grounds: (a) Proclus is probably quoting Aristotle's authority only for the clause which precedes the formula mentioning Aristotle; and his source is not *Protrepticus* but various passages of the treatises. Hence all grounds for the ascription of 5A and 5C to Aristotle's *Protrepticus* have vanished. (b) 5A contains a doctrine about the objects of mathematics which is certainly non-Aristotelian.

Against (a): According to R., Proclus is here quoting Aristotle's authority only for the thesis that maths. is desirable for its own sake. But this is a theme which has been treated in the preceding page: so why should Proclus mention Aristotle in this special context? It is not true that Proclus never elsewhere uses the relative in this kind of formula: he does so in *in Alc.* 339, 11, and the citation follows the formula (though it is not truly parallel). It is not true that 'καὶ' may indicate a hint of doubt: the only proof of this quoted by R. (*in Eucl.* 192.9-10 contrasted with 33.25-6) is refuted by *in Alc.* 23.8. That the main body of 5B is at least Aristotelian in origin is confirmed, in my view, by *Met.* 981b 20-5. I conclude that Proclus is claiming Aristotle's authority for the thesis (not the wording) of the whole of 5B. Whether or not his source was the *Protrepticus* we cannot decide without looking at 5A and C.

(b) The sentence of 5A which R. says cannot possibly be by Aristotle is this: αἰτία τε μᾶλλον τὰ πρότερα τῶν ὑστέρων· ἐκείνων γὰρ ἀναρρομένων ἀναρεῖται τὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἔχοντα, μήκη μὲν ἀριθμῶν, ἐπίπεδα δὲ μηκῶν, στερεὰ δὲ ἐπιπέδων. . . .



This doctrine, says R., is attacked again and again by Aristotle in the *Metaphysics*, and can be shown to belong to Iamblichus himself.

But compare the following passages of Aristotle, not mentioned by R.: ἀπλῶς μὲν οὖν γνωριμώτερον τὸ πρότερον τοῦ ὑστέρον, ὅσον στιγμή γραμμῆς καὶ γραμμῇ ἐπιπέδου καὶ ἐπίπεδον στερεοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ μόνος ἀριθμοῦ. (*Topics* 141b 5.) The criterion of priority used in the *Topics* is συναναίρεσις (see 123a 14, 141b 28); I can't find any other criterion which Aristotle might be using here. This is confirmed by *Anal. Post.* 73a 34-6 καθ' αὐτὰ δ' ὅσα ὑπάρχει τε ἐν τῷ τί ἐστίν, ὅσον τριγώνῳ γραμμῇ καὶ γραμμῇ στιγμή (ἡ γὰρ ὁσὰ αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶ . . .).

The passage R. objects to can thus be paralleled by parts of the Aristotelian treatises. I could understand an attack on the ground that the treatises (and not the *Protrepticus*) were Iamblichus' source. But R.'s attack on the ground that the doctrine is necessarily non-Aristotelian is absurd. (Unless it is just numbers, as opposed to points, which R. objects to: I will concede that Iamblichus may have substituted numbers for points.)

The case for fr. 5, so it seems to me, remains untouched by R.'s arguments: if it is to be attacked, it must be on other grounds than these. But if we accept a single section of Iamblichus' *Protrepticus* as being derived from Aristotle's *Protrepticus*, the case for all the others is immeasurably strengthened. R. claims that Iamblichus may have borrowed from many Aristotelian works. So he may: but the *Protrepticus* seems the likeliest source of material for a *Protrepticus*. R. has some hard work ahead of him in Vol. II.

D. J. FURLEY.

FORES (F. H.) **Philosophical Greek.** The University of Chicago Press and C.U.P., 1957. Pp. xii + 321. 37s. 6d.

As the title suggests, and the preface avers, this book is primarily aimed at those wishing to read philosophical Greek, but the preface also aims at 'students of linguistics, literary criticism, physics, biology, or of other disciplines' which need a technical vocabulary. This is unfortunate, because it tempts the author to fall between two stools. The emphasis on Aristotle throughout, especially in the passages for translation, makes the book suitable only for those whose primary interests lie in the fields Aristotle covers, but the author seems to have been tempted by his hope of a wider audience to adopt a philological approach which serves only to make the book unnecessarily complex and forbidding to the philosopher, who can in any case study philology elsewhere if and when he needs to. The author seems to envisage the presence of a teacher (p. 265), but one would think the book would be needed largely, at least, by adult philosophers who have already passed their student days without learning Greek.

The book in effect consists of three parts: First

(about half the book) some fifty lessons containing instruction, vocabulary, sentences or passages for translation into English, and sentences for translation into Greek. Then come about thirty pages of selections from Aristotle (also the beginning of the *Charmides* and some Menander proverbs) with explanatory notes. The rest of the book consists of paradigms, a summary of some syntax, philological information, word-lists, vocabularies, English index, and Greek index (whose fourteen entries could better have been included in the English).

The author has a passion for accents, and nouns differing only in this respect or in quantity are given separate paradigms, often widely separated (*ἀγορά* on p. 8, *μάχαρα* on p. 23). This is only one instance of the unnecessary complexity that pervades the book, and which consists partly in the magnification of small distinctions (as here), partly in repetition (the first twenty-four lessons repeat in full the paradigms they treat of, and the paradigms at the end of the book contain unnecessary duplications), and partly in scattering information that would be easier to learn in one go (this applies to, e.g., the rules of contraction and the accent, as well as the paradigms).

In contrast to this profusion of grammatical information syntax is treated rather grudgingly. Information on it is scattered and summarised, but sometimes this condensation is illuminating (e.g. the assimilation of various types of clause in §481-9), and there are good lessons on the uses of the oblique cases.

No key is provided for the sentences, and only the first Aristotle extract has a translation. The notes to the extracts are short and helpful, but their paucity presupposes a rather intelligent learner. The Greek-English vocabulary gives full information and frequent back-references to the text. A neat typological device allows considerable etymological and other information to be given. The book would profit greatly by a radical condensation of the grammar to allow for an expansion and unification of the syntax, and the provision of more notes and translations for the exercises.

A. R. LACEY.

CLARK (D. L.) **Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education.** New York: Columbia University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1957. Pp. xii + 285. 36s.

Although this book covers much of the same ground as Professor M. L. Clarke's *Rhetoric at Rome* published in 1953, the approach and treatment are entirely different. The earlier book deals with the subject historically, starting with the Greek background and ending with Ennodius and Cassiodorus; the account of rhetorical developments during the successive stages is objective and dispassionate, and there is a reluctance to draw conclusions or pass judgments. The present book, on the other hand, gives a general picture of rhetorical instruction in the ancient world and tries to deduce from it lessons



which may be of educational value in modern times.

This method inevitably involves the author in some difficulties. In the first place it is not clear what is meant by 'Greco-Roman Education'. The preface certainly implies that the book is intended to give an account of the part played by rhetoric in ancient education generally. If this is so, the treatment of Greek rhetoric and rhetoricians is very thin, particularly of the earlier and in many ways more interesting stages. Some account of rhetorical instruction in Greece is given in the first two chapters which serve as an introduction to the rest of the book. They are mainly concerned with the function and value of rhetoric and the different conceptions held of it by Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle. Gorgias is discussed very briefly, Protagoras' name does not even appear in the index, the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* and Theophrastus receive but the briefest mention. Scarcely anything is said about instruction in legal speaking in Greece, which except in the school of Isocrates appears to have dominated rhetorical theory in pre-Aristotelian times.

Non-historical treatment of the subject-matter is mainly responsible for this cursory account of rhetoric in Classical Greece. Clark claims that it is possible without serious distortion to give a general description of rhetorical education in the areas controlled by Republican and Imperial Rome, but the methods used in Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. will obviously not fit into this scheme. The bulk of the book therefore deals with rhetorical teaching in the Roman world. A short sketch of Roman education in the third chapter is followed by more detailed chapters on 'The Precepts of Rhetoric', 'Imitation', 'The Elementary Exercises', and 'Declamation'. The arid technical material on which these chapters are based is presented in a very readable form and the reader is infected with the author's enthusiasm for his subject. English translations, often of some length, are given from the ancient authorities; technical terms are clearly explained and illustrated by specific examples.

Some subjects would have come better in a historical survey than under these chapter headings, as, for example, Aristotle's three types of oratory in Chapter IV, and the 'lecture on rhetoric' in Plato's *Phaedrus* and the conflict between Atticism and Asianism in Chapter V. Throughout the book there is a tendency to make statements with a confidence which is not justified by the evidence, e.g. that Gorgias introduced rhetoric to Athens in 427 B.C. (p. 26), that the surviving fragments of the art of rhetoric attributed to Isocrates are authentic (p. 95), that the *Phaedrus* 'concludes with a passage of praise for Isocrates as a philosophical rhetorician' (p. 166), that all ancient teachers believed rhetoric should teach virtue and justice (p. 264).

It would be unwise to overstress such criticisms because this work is not meant to be a textbook on rhetoric or rhetorical education. In the words of

the author 'it is written primarily for teachers', and by this he means not teachers of Greek and Latin, but educators generally. Clark recognises the vices of ancient rhetoric (although he is more indulgent to them than most scholars), but he believes that many of its better precepts could be profitably adapted for use in modern education. Throughout the book he makes it clear that he has been inspired by Isocrates' ideal of a higher rhetoric which has a moral and educative value as well as a practical purpose. In his Epilogue it is often difficult to say whether he is expressing his own views or paraphrasing passages of Isocrates. The sincerity and enthusiasm with which he pleads his case win the sympathy of the reader, but to teachers in England and most European countries today the educational principles which he advocates will probably seem remote and unreal. There may be more scope for putting these ideals into practice in America, where something of the rhetorical tradition survives in schools and universities.

H. LL. HUDSON-WILLIAMS.

PARKE (H. W.) and WORMELL (D. E. W.) **The Delphic Oracle.** Vol. I. The History. Pp. x + 436. Vol. II. The Oracular Responses. Pp. xxxvi + 271. Oxford: Blackwell, 1956. 84s.

This is the second edition of a well-known work, of which the first edition (in one volume) was reviewed in this journal in 1942 (lxii 90). The large addition (accounting for the very large increase in price) is the second volume, of texts (prose and verse), with 'Prolegomena' (replacing one of the sections of ed. 1) on the form of the oracles and the sources in which they have been preserved. The texts, with details of 'enquirer', 'enquiry', 'reply', general context, and alternative versions where extant, are divided into nine periods, which are not and perhaps could not be in exact correspondence by date or definition with the historical divisions of Volume I. 'Mythical or fictitious oracles' (of interest for the period in which they were invented), those of uncertain date, and 'dubious and pseudonymous oracles' are distinguished. References to the texts are frequently given in the chapter notes of Volume I, but not references in Volume II to the discussion in Volume I, though it is not too difficult to discover the comment on the principal oracles. Volume II is a remarkably useful collection of material, which it should have been possible to purchase separately. In Volume I there have been made some relatively small additions throughout, some increase in the notes, and transference in some cases of material from text to notes. The 'Select Bibliography' has been brought up to date. The 'History' has also been considerably reorganised, and reflects a more critical approach in the changes in arrangement. Cf. p. 93 of edition 2, the transfer of the Messenian Oracles (of late origin) to the chapter on 'Oracles in the Hellenistic Period', pp. 248 ff. Apart from this, really important



additions or changes are rare. Gomme's criticism (*CQ* liv 158-9) is therefore in part met by the provision of texts of the oracles, but Volume I remains as it was in edition 1, a book not of controversy but of information' (*JHS* lxii (1942) 90). Professor Parke has again made the oracles the framework of his account. This may not be the best way to write a history of Delphi, but he has produced a valuable work, free of excesses of conjecture and controversy.

R. J. HOPPER.

LEVI (M. A.) **La Lotta politica nel Mondo antico.** Milan: Mondadori, 1955. Pp. 251. L. 600.

This small but interesting and instructive book sets out to describe the basis and conception of sovereignty in the different societies of the ancient world, and the political struggles and tensions that ensued from the particular conception. We are shown in whose hands each form of polity put real power, which groups were able to exercise power and influence, and the limitations which the basic concept imposed on its society in its political evolution.

The book is arranged chronologically, beginning with the theocratic kingdoms of the Near East, continuing with the Aegean monarchies, and proceeding thence to the Greek states and the Hellenistic kingdoms, and finally to Rome and the Roman Empire, which occupy the last three chapters. This arrangement has the obvious advantage of showing the evolution from the theocratic monarchies of the earliest times, through monarchies that depended on the support of an aristocracy, to aristocracy and then democracy, ending up with an autocracy which by deliberately seeking a divine sanction for itself seemed not so very different from the earlier monarchies. It also enables the author to indicate the influences exerted on later societies by the political conceptions of older but contemporary ones; and, what is equally important, it enables one to realise the limitation and sometimes the almost complete absence of such influences. This is most valuable; it makes clear by implication how little a society is influenced in its basic values and outlook by the values and views of others; that every society has to work out its own destiny from its own values and axioms, which it may modify, but never wholly abandons. This is well brought out by the author in dealing with Rome; he emphasises the originality of Rome's political experience and development, and her quite different ways of handling political situations; and he leaves no doubt that in his estimation Rome had no wish to borrow from the experience of others, whose political experience had little effect on that of Rome.

In a book of this size the author must necessarily commit himself to ideas and theories which others may perhaps question, nor can he hope to analyse the phenomena which are his data; he can only describe them and show their consequences. It is,

in fact, a descriptive political history of the ancient world, and a very good one. His description of the evolution of Greece and Athens is particularly stimulating; the importance of religion as a unifying force which transcended the city-state, the importance of the oracles in diminishing the power of the kings and others by making the voice of god independent of the ruler, the development of the Athenian state from an aristocracy to a middle-class society is done clearly and forcefully. He shows the dilemma of the Conservatives at Athens in the early fifth century, when they would have preferred to look to the Spartan army rather than to the Athenian navy; and he describes the dethronement of the oracle by human reason as the judge in political matters. But one is no nearer understanding why Greece and particularly Athens developed in this way, nor why the city-state did in fact finally become sovereign in Greece. Similarly he rightly emphasises Rome's preference for making alliances with her conquered enemies rather than imposing garrisons on them; but the surprising fact that she did behave in this way, particularly in view of her own earlier Etruscan experience, is accepted as a datum, which explains the direction of her development, but is itself not subjected to analysis.

Such a limitation is only to be expected in a book of this size; the author has succeeded in presenting the political evolution of the ancient world in a clear and stimulating way, such that the reader finds himself constantly asking himself the next question. It is a valuable contribution to the understanding of ancient political theory and practice by a historian who knows what is important and significant in the story; and as such it will commend itself to all who are interested in these problems; and it will draw attention to points in the development whose significance might otherwise escape their notice.

R. E. SMITH.

JONES (A. H. M.) **Athenian Democracy.** Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957. Pp. 198. 21s.

Professor Jones has collected into a conveniently sized but rather expensive book six essays, four recently published but not easily accessible to classical students, and two new. They all, as he says, 'deal with the same theme and are closely interlocked'. *The Economic Basis of the Athenian Democracy; The Athens of Demosthenes; The Athenian Democracy and its Critics; The Social Structure of Athens in the Fourth Century; How Did it Work?* and an appendix about as long as the essays, on *The Citizen Population: Athens During the Peloponnesian War*. All are clearly written and, in general, well argued, and while there is little that is novel (Grote had a good deal of it), it was probably worth saying again, especially for younger students and the general public. Not that I would suggest that this is not a learned book—it is, and useful to scholars, with hundreds of footnotes, all tucked away at the end.



I would criticise it on two counts, both in different ways concerned with the treatment of the evidence. In the fifth essay, for example (one of the new ones) on *How Did the Democracy Work?* Jones has a good account of the various formulae found in decrees, in a discussion of the powers of *boule* and *ekklesia*; but when I read (p. 117), 'using these clues it is often possible to distinguish when the initiative came from the council and when it left the assembly a free choice', I supposed him to mean that the *boule* could so act if it chose—an opinion of its powers from which one would strongly dissent. On the next page, however, we find, 'the general conclusion which emerges from the inscriptions is that the council was not a policy-making body'; and we agree. 'This conclusion is borne out by the reports of debates in the assembly in Thucydides. All the great issues were debated in the assembly and decided there'; 'the orators do not add greatly to our knowledge'. What is important is that Thucydides and the orators (of course confirming each other) make certain what we should never have known from inscriptions alone—for formulae (*cf. le roi le veut*) can mean almost anything; Jones just reverses the order of significance of the evidence. Similarly, he does no more than refer to the rules for election to the *boule* ensuring that no corporate feeling would develop; but this is the essential. And its principal function was not to 'act as some check on possibly irresponsible conduct by the assembly', though it might do so, but to prepare business for it so that the constitution, with its all-powerful assembly, could work. The different kinds of evidence are not here properly valued.

My second instance is the third essay on the democracy and its critics. These are the philosophers and the historians: the former, now and again, include Ps.-Xenophon (of all men) and Isokrates—the ageing Isokrates, then 'more philosophic', not the young man who wrote *Panegyrikos*—the latter are Thucydides and Xenophon, equally valued. 'Only the orators were democrats.' But no attempt is made to distinguish between one critic and another, their outlook on politics and their aim in writing; Plato and Thucydides especially are misunderstood. The latter's epitaphios gets a mention or two (but a passage in that of Lysias, ii 18–19, 'perhaps sums up best the ideals of Athenian democracy'), but we may read this in the first paragraph of the essay: 'it is curious that in the abundant literature produced in the greatest democracy of Greece there survives no statement of democratic political theory', and in the last this: 'in the absence of any coherent statement of the democratic case, most modern historians have rather uncritically accepted the oligarchic view of Athens. . . . In this article I have tried to reconstruct the theory of government in which democrats believed.' And the epitaphios—'its peculiarities of diction and its general tone, which is in conflict with Thucydides' own outlook, suggest that it is a fairly faithful production of what Pericles really said';

even so, it would be of some relevance in this essay, and Thucydides' outlook, determined by Jones solely on the one sentence, viii 97.2, might be judged by its inclusion in his *History*—the amount of space he gave to it and its position. The treatment of Plato is even more niggardly: reference is made to the passage in *Protagoras* 319b ff. for its statement of the democratic doctrine, but none to *Kriton*, and no word is wasted on giving us something about Plato's purpose in *The Republic*. Instead we get phrases which might come from a party speech, such as 'Plato's friends in the Thirty' (we know, after all, what he thought of them), and remarks about 'his contempt for manual labour' and the *oligarchic* view, 'developed at length by Plato, that government was an art, demanding the highest skill'; which is most misleading; for this was not the view of the ordinary oligarch, and Plato is not at all sympathetic towards 'oligarchy' either in individual or state. Most remarkable of all perhaps is this: 'on one point the Athenians [i.e. as democrats] were distrustful of human nature, on its ability to resist the temptations of power. . . . The philosophers [as critics of Athenian democracy] were strangely blind to this danger.' As a statement about Plato this would be hard to beat.

Professor Jones has much of interest about the structure of Athenian society, about agriculture, manufacture and commerce, which has indeed been said before, but may well be repeated; and especially about relations between rich and poor in Demosthenes' time (though he misses the irony of xxi 83, and, surely, misunderstands the 'humble' attitude of lvii 25, 31, 35, 45). He might have improved his pages on agriculture by a comparison with present-day farming in Attica, which, by the nature of things, has changed little in essentials; and on the large *petit-bourgeois*, hard-working element in Athenian society, which was not an especial characteristic of the fourth century, he could have used the evidence of Aristophanes a great deal more than he has. For the chapter on the democracy and its critics indeed he says, 'I have not, save for occasional references, included Aristophanes . . . in my survey, because . . . I hold that he wrote comedies and not political tracts', which is one of the oddest reasons I know; but in any case Aristophanes, who only appears elsewhere in occasional footnotes (including such a misleading one as 'the vulgar abuse of Cleon and other politicians as being low persons engaged in trade . . . in the *Knights*', everywhere illumines the problems discussed in this book. Plato misunderstood, Aristophanes practically ignored: not a good basis for a book on Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries.

The two novelties in the book are the treatment of the population problem, about which I have a note elsewhere in this volume, and of Thucydides on the attitude of the subject states in the Athenian empire towards Athens. He discusses the contradiction between 'the enthusiasm of the majority of men for the Peloponnesian cause' at the beginning of the



war (ii 8.4-5) and 'the excitement among her subjects after the defeat in Sicily' (viii 2) on the one hand, and the narrative of events on the other, which in most cases shows a majority of citizens siding with Athens against their own leaders or at least not enthusiastic against her; and he adopts the recently published view of Mr. de Ste. Croix (*Historia* iii, 1954-1955, 1-41) to explain the contradiction, that Thucydides did not understand the political world that he was writing about: that he was a very honest fellow who wrote down most scrupulously what he observed, as it happened, of the conduct of the masses in the cities without understanding, because he had always lived in a narrow circle of aristocratic friends (both before and after his exile), knew nothing about democracy beyond their commonplace jibes, and just did not see that *οἱ πολλοί* in the cities might be supposed to be included in *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* of ii 8.4: *μὰ τὴν ἐνθὺν καὶ ἀπράγμων*, he, somehow or other, but certainly blindly, included as well the *Epitaphios* and iii 47.2 and vii 69.2 among the speeches he wrote out. This view does not become more convincing, to my mind, when Professor Jones adds this about Thucydides' 'uncharitable view of his native city' (as shown e.g. in the Melian dialogue): 'his attitude was also probably due to a deep-seated and perhaps unconscious desire to find a moral justification for the fall of Athens. It was not enough to say that it was due to the folly of the democratic politicians whom he so much disliked. [Do these include Alcibiades?] It must have been deserved. Athens had suffered grievously; this could not have been so if she had not sinned greatly.' This seems to imply, too, that the *History* was all written after 404; but that little problem is not here discussed.

A. W. GOMME.

EHRENBERG (V.) **Der Staat der Griechen I. Der hellenische Staat.** Leipzig: Teubner, 1957. Pp. 122. DM. 9.

This book is a second edition of Part I of the author's *Der Griechische Staat* (in Band III of Gercke-Norden's *Einleitung*, 1932) published as an independent book and heavily augmented in the light of twenty-five years' research. Apart from much re-writing within the original framework, most valuable additions (especially in a work which possesses no detailed footnotes) are: the much larger number of citations in the text of ancient authorities and inscriptions; an up-to-date bibliography for each chapter and section; and an index (not found in the first edition). But the framework of chapters and sections remains unaltered; the main argument is the same; and in spite of its greater length this, like the first edition, still contains a remarkable amount in a very short space.

The central theme is necessarily the Polis. Chapter I, which describes the geographical, tribal, religious, and aristocratic conditions from which the Polis grew, is, naturally, augmented as much as any

other part of the book, in the light of our increased knowledge about Mycenaean and Homeric Greece; and more space is given to the contribution of the aristocracy. Chapter II examines one by one the institutions, functions and actual working of the Polis (an arrangement which makes for some repetition as each institution and office is examined separately; but which is perhaps necessary in what the author specifically calls a handbook). The resulting picture (summarised in a valuable section 'Vom Wesen der Polis') is of the Polis as a 'family' of 'subordinate family' groups, whose strength and limitations arose from the lack of a conscious distinction between the Polis as a unit and the sum of its individual members.

It becomes clear from this chapter that the Polis was not in practice co-extensive with the whole society of which it formed the nucleus, although modern students often tend (like Plato in the *Republic*) to speak loosely as though it were. Nor does Dr. Ehrenberg make it his concern to discuss more than briefly in this book (he has done so elsewhere) the metics and slaves whose efforts were essential, though not always successful, in supplementing the inherent weaknesses, primarily economic, which arose from the attempt to live the life of the Polis in isolation from the whole society to which it really belonged.

The limitations in actual practice of these ideals of autonomy and autocracy are the starting point for Chapter III, which discusses the development of the Polis-form in early confederacies and its ultimate supersession in later federal leagues.

Occasionally Dr. Ehrenberg speaks somewhat defensively of his undertaking to treat the Polis in abstraction as 'Idealtypus': but apart from his success in doing that, every generalisation is so fully supported with concrete examples that in the course of his abstract argument he also presents a handbook of Greek political institutions. This should make the book invaluable as an introduction for students, apart from its interest to scholars, and it is therefore good to learn that the author is preparing an English edition.

H. H. O. CHALK.

LABARBE (J.) **La loi navale de Thémistocle** [Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule CXLIII]. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1957. Pp. 238. Fr. 750.

In this book L. discusses the exploitation of the Attic silver-mines, Themistokles' conversion of the profit from them into triremes, and the population and military and naval strength of Athens in the early fifth century, employing conclusions as to the numbers of the Greek ships in 480 which he published in 1952 (*BCH* lxxvi 384-441). His main purpose is to show that all the demographic indications of this material are harmonisable.

First, he explains the discrepancies between the accounts of what Themistokles did by supposing that



he passed two decrees, each appropriating 100 talents of mining-revenue for the construction of 100 triremes—one such sum from the established mines at Laureion, the other from the new mines at Maroneia; Plutarch (*Them.* 4.1-3) refers to the former, Aristotle (*Ἀθ. πολ.* 22.7) to the latter, and Herodotus (vii 144.1), using 'Laureion' in a wider sense, to both. In each case the contractors had purchased a triennial lease for 100 talents, payable in three equal annual instalments. Thus the money set apart for the ships was 200 talents: but the distributions to the people at 10 drachmas a head which the decrees prevented would each have been met from the revenue of a single year, 66⅔ talents. The intended recipients, who therefore numbered 40,000, are distinguished by Herodotus' adverb *ὁρχιδόν* (not *ὁρχηδόν*): that is, they included not merely the citizens, who since Kleisthenes were those registered in the demes at the age of 18, but also the youths aged 16 to 18 registered in the phratries at the legal age of puberty according to the older system under which such distributions had first been made. Allowing for these youths, L. arrives at a figure between 38,208 and 38,955 for the citizen-body proper at the time of the projected distributions (say 482/1).

L. holds that when the decrees were passed Athens already possessed at least 50 triremes; she began the campaign of 480 with 270: therefore the extra triremes built in the early summer of 480 (Hdt. *ibid.* § 2) numbered 15 to 20, the quantity we should, moreover, expect from the rate of building of the 200. They were paid for out of a sum of 66⅔ talents, the first instalment of mining-revenue due under a new contract. The balance of about 48 talents was the sum distributed to the combatants before Salamis at eight drachmas per man (*Ἀθ. πολ.* 23.1). These therefore numbered 36,000.

This figure agrees with those implied by the Athenian contingents in the battles of 480-479. The complement of a trireme was 200 men. At Artemision 34,676 Athenians, 800 Plataians and 724 Cretans manned 181 triremes; at Salamis 35,280 Athenians and 720 Cretans manned 180 triremes; at Mykale 27,440 Athenians and 560 Cretans manned 140 triremes (the 250 of Diod. xi 34.2 less the 110 of Hdt. viii 131.1), while at the same time 8,000 Athenian hoplites were serving at Plataia. All Athenians aged 18 to 59 were mobilised, so that allowing for those aged 60 or more we reach a figure of about 40,000 for the whole citizen-body. The population had therefore increased by one-third since 499/8, when it numbered 30,000 (Hdt. v 97.2). There was a proportionate increase over the two or three years preceding the war.

It is impossible to withhold admiration for L.'s mastery of the ancient evidence and of the modern work done on it, for the clarity of his exposition, the high standard of accuracy achieved (mistakes noted on pp. 25 and 210 only), or the wealth and ingenuity of his arguments. But, while many of these are convincing, some are not; some unwarrantable

assumptions are made, and some important factors neglected.

(1) At the outset L. puts the question: '100 ou 200 navires? 100 ou 200 talents?' (p. 21). But no authority mentions 200 talents and L.'s explanation of the divergent tradition, improbable in itself, does not show that this sum played any part in the events.

(2) The assumption that the money devoted to the triremes would have yielded *three* distributions at 10 drachmas a head (p. 76) is not really made good and is, moreover, hard to reconcile with Herodotus' words.

(3) The calculation that the distribution at 8 drachmas a head was made with a sum of 48 talents (pp. 131 f.) rests on far too many assumptions to command any credence at all.

(4) L. fails to show convincingly (p. 159) that the stock figure of 30,000 Athenians in Hdt. v 97.2 really belongs to 499/8.

(5) His arguments in *BCH* are attractive, but have not disposed of Tarn's view (*JHS* xxviii (1908) 219 f.) of the discrepancy between Aeschylus and Herodotus.

(6) He makes insufficient allowance for the losses at Artemision in *men* (acknowledged on p. 182).

(7) He ignores the Athenian hoplites who, during the battle of Salamis, were drawn up on the shore of Salamis island (Hdt. viii 95). His attempt in *BCH* (439) to make them the crews of 10 triremes is a failure. Can we be sure that any Athenians of hoplite census served as oarsmen in 480?

(8) He makes insufficient allowance for the men of military age unfit for service.

(9) He assumes too readily (p. 181) that Athens made no military use of metics.

Altogether, the data will not bear the precise interpretations which L. seeks to put on them (*cf.* Jones *Athenian Democracy* 8, 161). But in the more modest aim expressed on p. 10 [*faire mieux évaluer et la complexité et les interférences (des questions)*] he has certainly succeeded: and he has made no small contribution to our knowledge of the subject-matter.

T. J. CADOUX.

LAUFFER (S.) *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion*. Erste Teil: Arbeits- und Betriebsverhältnisse, Rechtsstellung. Abh. der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1955, Nr. 12. Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaft und der Literatur. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1956. Pp. 118. DM 9.

As the author of this work shows in his introduction, the Athenian mines at Laureion have, since Boeckh, been the subject of repeated study. The silver extracted from them has been taken to represent a major factor in the economy of Athens. They provide the principal instance of Athenian industry, and, despite the many problems discussed by Lauffer and others, the bulk of information available on the mines is far greater than in the case of any other Athenian economic activity except agriculture. Also



they appear to have been the most important sphere of slave employment. The increasing interest in ancient technology, and the discovery and publication by Miss Crosby of new fragments of *poletai* inscriptions in the Athenian Agora containing further examples of mine leases to supplement those in *IG* (2), have renewed interest in the administration of the mines, and directed attention afresh to the literary and lexicographical evidence, and to the many problems of detail which this presents, including the position of the State in relation to the mines and mine-lessees, the organisation of the concessions and of the related activities of ore-preparation and smelting, the legal code controlling the exploitation of the mines, the relations of free citizens to the mining industry, and the status and condition of the slaves employed in them. Apart from the increasing number of lease inscriptions, the rest of the documentary and literary evidence remains much as it did in Boeckh's day (1815), though subjected to repeated examination especially from the legal aspect. A place of particular importance, due rather to its unique concern with the mines and mining slaves as a source of revenue than to the penetration of its author, has been accorded to the pamphlet *Περὶ Πόρων* preserved among the works of Xenophon. The archaeological evidence, provided by examination of mine shafts, and workings, cisterns, and ore-washing and smelting establishments, which involves questions of dating, technique and topography, has been little increased since the time of Cordella (1871) and Ardaillon (1897). This is understandable because of the peculiar technical qualifications necessary for such an investigation, but much to be regretted, since only by archaeological work will certain questions, e.g. of the relations of mines and *ergasteria*, the possible dating of the latter, and the division of concessions, be resolved, though it is unlikely that any archaeological investigation will give clear evidence on the commencement and development of the working of the mines. An equally serious problem is the very scant literary and epigraphical evidence for the sixth and fifth centuries, and, indeed, for the earlier part of the fourth, though a continuous and considerable activity is generally assumed from the period of Peisistratus, broken only by the Spartan occupation of Decelea. An account of the mines and the related problems is therefore, at present, largely one of the later fourth century B.C. Eventually, no doubt, the American topographical investigations in south-east Attica will throw light on the development of the mining area.

Professor Lauffer, therefore, like other writers on the subject, can produce little new evidence on any aspect of the mines, or much that is earlier than the fourth century, but he interprets such evidence as is available with skill and penetration. Basically the theme of his work is the employment of slaves in the mines, their working conditions, relations to their owners and employers, varying technical status, and association as property with *metalla* and *ergasteria*.

This involves consideration of the legal problems presented by the speeches of the Demosthenic corpus concerned directly or indirectly with the mines and with mortgage practice. He is thus concerned also to discuss terminology, which is a particularly valuable part of his work. In considering the conditions under which they laboured he presents an account of equipment and mining practice, based mainly on Cordella and Ardaillon. It is extremely useful to have this evidence re-examined. As in all matters concerned with the Athenian economy there is a strong temptation in connection with the mines to draw too many conclusions from inadequate statistics. The calculations based by Lauffer on dimensions of mine shafts and workings, and the lamps used, while involving many unknowns, carry more conviction, as practical procedures which could be tested by experiment, than those relating to the cost of slaves and the return on investment in them which are based on the *Περὶ Πόρων* and the scant figures available from other sources. It is difficult to believe that the author of the *Περὶ Πόρων* (who could not see for instance, that the price of silver would fluctuate with production) had any clear conception of the working out of his schemes. The evidence from the orators suffers from the partial and strongly partisan character of nearly all information which is closely related to the speaker's argument. None the less, Lauffer presents the arguments fairly and with a wealth of detail. Indeed the great value of his work is the marshalling of a great volume of detailed information and references to modern authorities who have discussed it. In the present state of the evidence there is much that is obscure and controversial, which can be profitably discussed only in considerable detail. It is sufficient to say that this is the first part of a work of basic importance for the study of the Attic mines, and an indispensable contribution to the study of slavery in Attica.

R. J. HOPPER.

BROWN (T. S.) *Timaeus of Tauromenium* [University of California Publications in History. Vol. 55]. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. Pp. vii + 165. \$3.50.

A Sicilian patriot flourishing in Athens, a professional historian famous for his literary style, a bookish man full of personal vindictiveness—Timaeus is interesting in himself as well as for his place in Hellenistic scholarship. Also, since Polybius handled him so severely, we need to know more about him in order to judge Polybius. But the fragments of his work are scanty, and it is dangerous to argue from 'source criticism' of Diodorus. We are fortunate, therefore, that Truesdell Brown has applied his skill and experience in Hellenistic historiography to the problems connected with Timaeus. He deals with his life, the main features of his history, and the criticisms of Polybius.

The first question is chronological. When was



Timaeus in Athens? Was this after political activity in Sicily? When did he return home—or did he return? The evidence does not allow a definite answer; yet it is important to have a view of Timaeus' intellectual setting. If he carried his history to 264–263 B.C., where Polybius began, he was still alive c. 260. In Bk. 34 he spoke of fifty years' residence in Athens, and we know from Diodorus (21.17.1 *φυγάδευθελς*) that he was banished by Agathocles. Now the son of Andromachus would not have been safe in Tauromenium after 317; but if he was in Athens only from this date, he cannot have returned home before 267, over twenty years after he was safe, since Agathocles died in 289. Would he have delayed any return so long? Or was he already in Athens in 317, when he fell under Agathocles' ban? This is the angle from which B. approaches the question, for a significant reason. Timaeus mentions his long period of residence in Athens in Bk. 34, the first of five books dealing with Agathocles. His bitterness in these books was so extreme as to shock even Polybius and Diodorus. B. attributes this to the personal effect upon Timaeus of seeing the results of Agathocles' rule for himself—in Sicily, after returning within a decade from the tyrant's death. The earlier books had been written at a desk in Athens—so Polybius could call him 'impractical'—but in Bk. 34, after referring to his exile, he took up contemporary Sicilian history on the spot, where it touched him closely, and the academic historian could not suppress the angry man.

This is fair argument from the tone of the evidence; but if Timaeus left Athens in 289–278, we have to look for signs of his presence there as early as 339–329. B. makes three points. First, with reference to Locri, Timaeus criticised Aristotle for speaking as if he were 'one of the generals who had defeated the Persians in battle at the Cilician Gates', which suggests a time between Issus (333) and Gaugamela (331). We may note that if he treated Aristotle on Locri in Bk. 9, this must have been reminiscence. Secondly, he attacked Callisthenes for supporting divine honours for Alexander, in a way that reflects the early years after Alexander's death. Thirdly, in accusing Demochares of indecent behaviour in Bk. 38 he may have been casting back to contemporary knowledge of affairs in Athens. For what it is worth, this evidence helps B.'s case that Timaeus went to Athens as a young student, and did most of his work there. If so, no wonder Polybius called him an armchair historian!

There is less to discuss when B. reconstructs the character of Timaeus' work. In his *Olympionicae* the historian drew up parallel lists of Spartan kings, ephors, archons and priestesses of Hera alongside the Olympic victors to establish a system of comparative chronology for Greek history. Here even Polybius had to acknowledge his careful examination of the records. After a short survey of Timaeus' predecessors in the field of Sicilian history, B. turns to his

main history. He treats first 'Geography, Myth, and Prehistory'. Two points emerge: first, Timaeus appreciated the Massiliote Pytheas, though he is as ignorant as Polybius of the results of scientific geography in Alexandria (on this matter see F. W. Walbank in *Class. et Med.* ix (1948), 155), secondly, he related Greek legends to the West; e.g. the Argonauts, Troy and Rome. This was in the fashion of Hellenistic mythography, with a Western bias. Further, Timaeus seems to have conceived primitive life as a state of virtue, from which people degenerated through luxury.

In 'The Good Old Days' B. shows how Timaeus handled Greek history from the colonisation of the West till 409 B.C. Like the gods and heroes earlier, now the Western Greeks contributed to Hellenism through their statesmen, philosophers, poets and soldiers, until they, too, degenerated. Within this general development Timaeus showed the influence of men and events, especially the rise of Syracuse, Gelon's victory against Carthage, the resistance to Athens, until Selinus, Himera and Acragas fell before Carthage. B. treats Timaeus and Polybius on Locri, and these historians along with Thucydides on the Conference of Gela (424); his analysis is detailed and careful, helped (as throughout the work) by full translation of the relevant passages. The Bull of Phalaris comes up for discussion—or rather the various and conflicting manifestations of the bull in the tradition from Pindar to Diodorus. Using the Scholiast on Pindar *Pyth.* i. 185, B. attributes to Timaeus the statement not only that the Acragantines threw the bull into the sea but that a bull exhibited in the city represented the River Gela. But if the Carthaginians looted Acragas thoroughly in 406–405, it was surely not Timaeus but the Scholiast who mentioned the river bull (along with the story of Perilaus being burnt in Phalaris' bull). Note Walbank's remarks on Polybius and Diodorus (*CR* lix (1945), p. 39), and add Dunbabin's Rhodian bull (*The Western Greeks*, p. 320) as that most likely to have given rise to the legend.

On 'Modern Times', that is, from 409 to 264, B. makes the most of the scanty fragments, including one about Democles, a courtier of Dionysius the Younger, which illustrates Timaeus' style (F 32); and he defines the problems involved in the 'source criticism' of Diodorus, Bks. 13–16 and 18–20. As he says, since Laqueur was over-speculative, 'what is needed badly is a careful study of the sources of Diodorus, book by book'. This chapter closes with the significant evidence for Timaeus' treatment of Agathocles.

B.'s discussion of 'Timaeus and his Critics' is a valuable contribution to the study of Polybius in Bk. 12. He begins with Polybius' treatment of Phylarchus to show that 'far from being an impartial judge of the works of others' the Achaean 'is at the mercy of his own prejudices' and arbitrary in using his authorities. Then, gathering up the threads of his earlier analysis, he surveys Polybius' criticisms of



Timaeus—the reader can be referred without reservation to this excellent section—and concludes, very justly, that Polybius can only be understood in the light of his narrow, utilitarian view of history, which left him blind to the Herodotean interest in the past for its own sake, as Timaeus' readers found it in his work. Timaeus has a worthy critic in this monograph: it is not only careful and acute but sympathetic and readable.

A. H. McDONALD.

**De Strabonis codice rescripto cuius reliquiae in codicibus Vaticanis Vat. Gr. 2306 et 2061A servatae sunt.** Scripsit WOLFGANGUS ALY. Corollarium adiecit FRANCISCUS SBORDONE. Pp. xxiv + 285, with 36 plates, qto. Città del Vaticano, 1956. DM 34.

**Strabons Geographika in 17 Büchern. Text, Übersetzung und erläuternde Anmerkungen.** VON WOLFGANG ALY. Band 4: **Strabon von Amaseia. Untersuchungen über Text, Aufbau, und Quellen der Geographika.** Pp. 518, with 6 sketch-maps and 1 map. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1957. DM 32.

The text of Strabo has been based on medieval MSS. going back to an archetype which was often used by Stephanus of Byzantium for his geographical lexicon (about A.D. 530). But there survive, buried under later writings, considerable passages from a text independent of that tradition. It is found in 69 parchment pages, each written in three columns; apart from three pages still kept at Grottaferrata there are 44 and 22 in the Vatican. Parts of this palimpsest were published by G. Cozza Luza in 1875-98, and now, after some twenty-eight years' work, latterly shared by F. Sbordone, W. Aly gives us this monumental edition of all that is recoverable. The script is very old, uncial of about A.D. 500, and thus actually older than the lost archetype known to Stephanus. The editors are aware that it would have been more agreeable for the reader to place before him a full and emended text; but it has seemed best to them to reproduce the uncial lettering exactly in so far as it is now legible, resisting any temptation to fill lacunae. They add an elaborate critical commentary (pp. 145-261) on a text which is plainly of considerable authority: 'licet sescenties scriba peccaverit temeritate, tarditate ingenii, ignavia, subest editio princeps'. The extant passages are very unequally distributed over Strabo's Books I and VIII-XVII: fairly ample relics are supplied for damaged parts of VIII and IX (on Greece), as at viii 6.21, completing the view from the Acrocorinth.

In his other work Aly is severe on modern editors, including the much-used Meineke, with his hunting of interpolations. This Band 4 is the first to be published in its series (apparently six are envisaged). Aly claims only to lay a foundation for the great

commentary called for by Leaf many years ago. In fact he ranges far and wide over practically all Strabo's books. Of various minor topics raised some seem hardly worth their special sections, but no doubt these help to clear the ground. A lengthy discussion of the Chalybes and Homer's Alybe (pp. 54-65) is justified by Strabo's local interest and his foible of fussing over Homer's omniscience. A pervading question for Aly is that of Strabo's choice of sources and his methods in using and citing them. Strabo values personal witness, though not himself a great traveller, having never been west of Etruria. As next best thing he likes to use eye-witnesses such as Alexander's companions and later the envoy Megasthenes for India or Pompey's companions for the Caucasus, though they are sometimes unreliable. He did travel through Egypt with his friend the Prefect Allius Gallus, and touches on theories of the Nile-flood (see an interesting section in Aly, pp. 69-73). He heard good details of Gallus' expedition into Arabia (25-24 B.C., Aly 164-78). Novel is Aly's use of fragments quoted by Stephanus from one Uranus, a Hellenised Arab who liked explaining Arab names (Aly 179-90). Strabo also heard of a boom in the sea-trade from Egypt to India, but Aly (171-3) reacts against a recent tendency to push back the date of the skipper Hippalus. Very detailed is Aly's analysis (138-56) of the figures reported for the routes through Iran (and along its coast) to India: these regions were prominent in the attempt at scientific mapping begun by Eratosthenes. For such geography proper the most important feature of Aly's book is the section on 'the position of Britain' (385-95). The explorer Pytheas went all the way to Iceland, Aly thinks, and on his report Hipparchus built his system of parallels (390-4, with reasons for keeping *κατὰ τὰ νοτιώτερα* at ii 1.18, which many editors change to 'northern').

Among many things one would like to mention the ingenious defence of Strabo's conception of the Alpine mountain and river system (281-4, 291-4). The story that Eudoxus went round Africa is rejected outright as a Hellenistic romance (111-14).

The above may give an idea of the varied contents of this book, which achieves and promises much towards a highly desirable *magnum opus*.

J. O. THOMSON.

**Études Mycéniennes.** Actes du Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens (Gif-sur-Yvette, 3-7 avril 1956). Publiées par les soins de M. Lejeune. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1956. Pp. 280. Fr. 2,000.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Michael Ventris and begins with a photograph of him among the other participants in the First International Colloquium on Mycenaean texts held at Gif-sur-Yvette in April 1956. The book consists of three main sections: communications, reports and discussions, resolutions. The first communication is



Michael Ventris' bibliography for the years 1953-1955; this is a model in form: authors, with their addresses, are arranged alphabetically, and their works are numbered for easy reference, MVI, etc.; the future was discussed later (p. 219) and is secured by Resolution No. 4, according to which this bibliography will be continued every six months in *Minos* and an analysis will be issued annually by the London Institute of Classical Studies as *Studies in Mycenaean Inscriptions and Dialect*, of which three numbers have already appeared giving recent interpretations of vocabulary words and place names, tablets studied in detail, and a subject index. This work is very useful for a subject in which advances are being made so rapidly in such widely different places. At the same time E. L. Bennett (209-26) discussed the project of a corpus of Linear B inscriptions and an index, and M. Ventris discussed the problems of standardising the transliteration into phonetic values. The desirability of a corpus containing for every tablet photographs, drawings from the original, and a copy in standardised Mycenaean characters was agreed; more immediately it was hoped to secure the following productions: from E. L. Bennett, an edition of the Knossos tablets on the same lines as his edition of the Pylos tablets; from M. Lejeune, a transliteration of the Pylos tablets; from E. L. Bennett, a new edition of his index, and from P. Meriggi and G. Pugliese Caratelli, an *editio minor* of all inscriptions in Linear A. A permanent commission was established to carry these resolutions into effect.

C. D. Ktistopoulos lists and classifies all instances of words which show a change of termination. J. Sundwall discusses certain ideograms, particularly cases when both ideogram and adjunct appear in Linear A as well as Linear B. M. Lejeune notes the richness of Mycenaean in *a*-vowel signs and the difficulty of distinguishing them clearly. V. Georgiev gave a paper on the phonetic value of certain signs, some of them very rare, some of them at present treated as alternatives to other signs, e.g. no. 16 (*pa*<sub>2</sub>) is interpreted *qa*, no. 56 (*pa*<sub>3</sub>) as *pha*. J. Chadwick's discussion of sibilants treats also the occasional alternation of *z*- with *k*- and *d*- and the identification of no. 85 as *si*<sup>2</sup>. Later in the volume (237) he reports on problems of interpretation of Linear B, the principles employed in the identification of syllabic signs and ideograms, and in the interpretation of words and texts. The ensuing discussion took into account also Georgiev's paper. H. Mühlestein notes the alternation of the forms *ku-ru-so*, *ku-ru-si-jo* for the adjective 'golden' and suggests an explanation. P. Chantraine lists feminine agent nouns in *-tria*. M. S. Ruipérez interprets *ko-re-te* as a military official, whose title survives in the parallel word *koiranos*. E. L. Bennett analyses the Aa, Ab and Ad tablets from Pylos which list women and children, and attributes them to five scribes; his interpretation of them as workshop groups seems to the reviewer improbable. M. Lejeune analyses the Na, Ng, Nn tablets from Pylos;

his restoration of Nn 831/1 as *ko-ri-to, ri-no* is seductive; but his interpretation of Na 926 disregards the normal Mycenaean order which goes from the lower line to the upper. The whole study is most valuable. The two remaining papers on Linear B, E. Risch on the position of the Mycenaean dialect and V. Georgiev on the Creto-Mycenaean koine, are further elaborated in Risch's report (249). Georgiev believes in a common mixed Mycenaean language accurately represented by the orthography of the tablets. Risch concludes that Mycenaean is an archaic dialect, a Southern Greek existing at a period when the ancestors of Arcado-Cypriote and Ionian were little differentiated. In the discussion Bennett made a very interesting point about the orthography of particular scribes. (The latest edition of Chantraine's *Grammaire Homérique* contains a chapter on Mycenaean language and its relation to Homeric language.) The final papers by Ktistopoulos, Meriggi and O. Masson, and the reports by Meriggi and Masson, deal with the relations between Linear A, Linear B, and Cypro-Minoan.

A review cannot do justice to the great learning and the amount of acute observation to be found in this book. The first impression must be the amount of profitable work that has gone on in many different countries since the publication of Ventris' and Chadwick's first article in this journal in the autumn of 1953. The second impression is that a small working conference of experts, discussing papers already circulated by its members, is a most valuable method both of forwarding a new subject and of ensuring uniformity in presentation, etc. With the publication of new texts the picture of Mycenaean civilisation will become more detailed and more precise; in this first stage the linguists played the greatest part. As the work advances the contribution of archaeologists, historians of religion, and economic historians will be more and more necessary, and the survey will have to include the Near East and Egypt as well as Greece, Crete and Cyprus. Michael Ventris had the rare virtue of combining the essentials of many disciplines, a ranging vision which sought linguistic and archaeological parallels far afield, a synoptic view of Mycenaean civilisation as a whole, but also a practical feeling of what this tablet meant to the man who wrote it and the people whom it recorded. His modesty and charm must have contributed much to what has come to be known as *l'esprit de Gif*. May it survive to bless the team of experts who must now continue his work.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

LEJEUNE (M.) *Mémoires de Philologie mycénienne; première série (1955-1957)*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1958. Pp. 402. Fr. 3,500.

The first, and most exciting, stage in the decipherment of the Linear B script was over by the end of 1956. At that date the new subject had progressed



from a tentative theory to a solidly based discipline, which could not be shaken by partial or ill-informed criticisms. The second stage, that of consolidating the gains, had already begun, and the process of discarding the ephemeral and organising the permanent into a coherent system still continues. In this Professor Michel Lejeune has played a notable part; it was he who with Professor P. Chantraine organised the First International Colloquium on Minoan and Mycenaean Studies at Paris in 1956, and who subsequently edited the contributions to it under the title *Études Mycéniennes*. He has now collected in a convenient volume fifteen of his own studies of special problems, six of them new, the others printed before in various journals. As an Appendix he has compiled a useful list of the Knossos tablets in serial order (up to 6068), giving their classification and, if joined, the number under which they are now quoted.

Such a collection of articles is in no sense a guide to the new discipline; the reader is expected to have some acquaintance with the texts and the principles underlying their interpretation. Equally no time is wasted on the critics of the decipherment (p. 205).

It will be convenient to rearrange the chapters by subjects rather than to adhere to the chronological order in which they are printed. The last is dated November 1957, only a year before publication, so here at least we can follow the author's dictum: 'le mycénien doit se manger chaud'. A section of Addenda bring the book down to April 1958 by including notes on the latest texts from Pylos and Mycenae.

Chapter xv reviews the system of notation and discusses briefly the relationship between Linear A and B; there are too many discrepancies to allow any theory of direct derivation, and Lejeune is surely right in suggesting that the authors of Linear B had before them at least an accessory model as well as Linear A. It is more doubtful if the confusion of  $\lambda$  and  $\rho$  is to be connected with the extra series of signs for  $\delta$ ; the Cypriot syllabary, as Lejeune sees, is a serious obstacle to this theory.

Lejeune's attempt to reduce the empirically determined syllabary to a rational system is only partially successful. He divides the signs into fundamental, complementary (doublets), and special. The five special signs (*dwe*, *dwo*, *kwe*, *nwa*, *pte*) he regards as 'minor deviations' from the principle that signs note only consonant plus vowel (Chapter xii with Addenda). Such a deviation may be justified; the English alphabet would certainly resist any attempt at systematisation. But I have suggested elsewhere that whatever apparent deviations there are in usage, the underlying principle is that the original system on which Linear B was based had palatalised and labialised as well as plain consonants. The advantage of this view is not only its regularity, but also that it provides an explanation for the 'doublets'. If sign \*76 (*ra*<sub>2</sub>) had originally the value *r'a*, this would have had little use in Greek; true, the group *rya* occurred at some stage in the history of words such as

*μοῖρα* (<\*μῶρ-ya), but in general it was eliminated, so that *ra*<sub>2</sub> (\*76) became a homophone of *ra*<sub>1</sub> (\*60), or it was put to use to note *ria* (especially in the suffix of feminine agent nouns -*τρια*, written both -*ti-ri-ja* and -*ti-ra*<sub>2</sub>).

This principle, that signs of the palatalised (and labialised) group may optionally be read as containing two vowels, helps to explain the disputed *z*-series. Lejeune has always regarded these as noting a 'sifflante forte' (Greek-*σσ*-), as distinct from *s* ('sifflante normale'). The transcription *z* was chosen for convenience, and to suggest the Greek ζ; i.e. the contrast was primarily between affricate and sibilant, not voiced and unvoiced sibilant. It is a fact, however, that in almost all cases *z* represents a voiced sound, while classical -*σσ*- is represented by *s* (note especially *pa-sa-ro* = *πασσάλω*, and *wa-na-s* in words probably connected with *ἄνασσα*); the two certain exceptions are *su-za* and *ka-zo-e*, which I would now explain as a reversion to the value with full vowel: *sukiai* 'fig-trees', *kakioes* 'of poorer quality'. Lejeune is obliged to assume the existence of 'allegro' forms *sussai*, *kassioes*, which do not exist in classical Greek, though supported to some extent by such words as *ἐλάσσων*, *βράσσων*, etc. The latest evidence has involved a modification of my earlier views, but I still think this offers a more likely line of explanation. New evidence may be required to settle the problem.

The chapter on labio-velars (xiv) is a good sample of Lejeune's admirably methodical approach. He discusses first the spellings *ke-we*, *ku-we*, *ko-wo*, etc., where these note *kw* (or *χ<sup>h</sup>*); the fact that these secondary groups at morphological junctions are kept distinct from labio-velars or original \**kw* is one of the few clues to the pronunciation of Mycenaean *q*. The labio-velars are then classified according to the nature of the following sound, and the complete list of examples is quoted and discussed.

In the field of morphology there are chapters on reduplication (xi) and the termination -*qi* (viii). Lejeune's conclusions about the latter are: (1) that it is essentially a termination of the first and third declensions; (2) it is essentially used in the plural (I should have said almost exclusively); (3) it is employed with locative and instrumental force. But it is open to doubt whether the locative force is certain; it is used either of things with instrumental force (as *ἀπαρτῖται ἀντὶαρι* 'fitted with reins') or of places. But there exists another 'dative' plural ending; in the first declension -(a)-*i*, in the third -*si*, and although *pa-ki-ja-si* and *pa-ki-ja-pi* may be simply variant forms for the locative, a much more attractive explanation is that -*pi* is the mark of the ablative. Lists which consist principally of place-names are normally either distributions, when the name is put in the accusative with the suffix -*δε* (e.g. PY Vn20), or contributions in which case the suffix -*pi* appears in plural names of the first and third declensions (e.g. PY An1, Cn719, Ma-series). Lists in the 'dative' (locative) are rarer (e.g. Cn608). There is no



Mycenaean preposition known denoting origin, for  $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$  is used only in compounds, and  $\epsilon\kappa$  ( $\epsilon\zeta$ ?) is so far completely absent. Alleged cases of the suffix  $-\theta\epsilon\upsilon$  are rare and mainly unconvincing; thus it is hard to see how the dialect expressed origin unless the ablative survived with distinctive forms in some declensions; that not all such forms should be recognisable in the script is no obstacle to this theory.

Two chapters (ix and xii) are devoted to lexical studies: the word spelt *da-ma* or *du-ma* is analysed and shown to mean 'intendant'. A number of Mycenaean words have been interpreted as containing  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ ; Lejeune examines them and cautiously concludes with 'non liquet'.

Perhaps the most important chapters are those devoted to specific groups of tablets: wheels (ii, vi), and the Pylos tribute-lists of the series *Ma-* and *Na-* (iv, vii). It is worth noting that in general Lejeune's conclusions, reached independently, agree with the more summary treatment of these subjects in *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*.

The particular temptation of scholars confronted with a difficult text is always emendation. Mycenaean tablets, like papyri and inscriptions, are original documents, not transmitted texts; therefore emendation is only possible on the supposition of a scribal error, and must be very sparingly used. None the less, Mycenaean like other scribes frequently did make mistakes, and when one aberrant form is opposed to a number of regular ones, we need not hesitate to emend. But the peculiar difficulties of Mycenaean epigraphy make the reading of the tablets, many of them ill-preserved, frequently uncertain; and the published editions, admirable as they are, offer little means of correcting possibly mistaken identifications by the editor. Corrected readings should only be offered on inspection of the original or good photographs; not on the so-called facsimiles, which show not what is on the tablet, but what the editor thought was significant. Lejeune occasionally fails to observe this rule, and to distinguish between emendations and corrected readings. At p. 335 he treats Miss Lang's reading *a-qi-ja-i* as an 'erreur de lecture' for *i-qi-ja-i* on the authority of T. B. L. Webster; the tablet is excellently preserved and carefully written, and there is no doubt that *a-qi-ja-i* is what the scribe wrote; that he meant to write *i-qi-ja-i* is an attractive speculation but no more.

An error in the reverse sense occurs at p. 207, where Lejeune complains that in *Documents Ventris* and I 'arbitrarily corrected' *di-we i-je-we* (PY Tn316 rev. 10) into *di-<wo> i-je-<re>-we*. He has confused two things: *di-wo* is my correction of the reading, confirmed by Ventris and others; *i-je-<re>-we* is an emendation arising from this correction; it may be wrong, but it is not arbitrary.

Other mistaken readings quoted are: p. 279 KN Db1204 the correct reading is *qe-ro*, not *qe-ro<sub>2</sub>*; p. 309 note 107 PY An519.2 read *zo-wo*, not *wo-zo*; p. 343 note 39 Lejeune is wrong in rejecting the

emendation of *a-re-ro* (PY Un718.8) to *a-re-pa* on the ground that the accompanying monogram is  $A+RE+RO$ ; it is in fact  $A+RE+PA$  (in ascending order) as can be seen from the facsimile; Bennett's transcription is at fault here.

These criticisms are of course marginal. This book represents a major contribution to the study of Mycenaean Greek by a very distinguished scholar, and it sets an excellent example of intelligent theorising combined with level-headed judgment.

JOHN CHADWICK.

RUIJGH (C. J.) *L'élément achéen dans la langue épique*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957. Pp. 178. Fl. 11.50.

STRUNK (K.) *Die sogenannten Äolismen der homerischen Sprache (Diss.)*. Köln, 1957. 128 pp.

The dialect of our Homer is Ionic. But behind it we can discover the unsuppressed traces of Aeolic. Hence it follows that epic poetry, first practised and elaborated by Aeolian bards, was taken over and adapted to their own dialect by Ionian singers.

This is still current doctrine; see, e.g. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* i 107. However, even if we take Aeolic to include Thessalian and Boeotian, and admit that 'Aeolic' epic poetry was first produced at the princely courts of Thessaly (e.g. Hoffmann-Debrunner, *Gesch. der griech. Sprache* i, 1953, 68), it remains rather puzzling why the subject-matter, and the whole world, of the Homeric epics is neither that of the Aeolis nor that of Thessaly but—Mycenaean. For this reason it is *a priori* tempting to think that epic poetry came into being at those courts whose exploits are commemorated, that is in the Peloponnese, and this theory was proposed as early as 1834 by F. W. Ritschl. Such a theory can be supported by the observation that in the epic vocabulary there are many words that are only found in Arcadian and Cyprian, the two dialects of Classical Greece which can claim direct descent from the language spoken at the Mycenaean courts.

In recent years various scholars have therefore been led to postulate a more complex line of development for epic poetry: starting from the Mycenaean courts, where its language was 'Achaean', it was carried to the Aeolis and then given its final shape in Ionia. This view was challenged in 1950 by M. Leumann who, in his stimulating and provocative *Homerische Wörter*, suggested that the Arcadian and Cyprian epic words were not genuine dialect elements, but, on the contrary, taken from the epics. If this is true, the vocabulary agreements cannot be used to prove an Achaean phase of epic diction.

Ruijgh's dissertation is, in substance, an attempt to disprove Leumann's thesis, and to prove that the assumption of an Achaean phase in epic poetry is inescapable. In order to show that the Arcado-Cyprian (henceforth A-C) words of the epics must go back to 'Achaean' times, he exploits the method



applied by Parry to the study of noun-epitheton combinations: if a word is firmly embedded in certain parts of the hexameter and appears in formulaic use, it has a chance 'd'être un élément ancien et traditionnel de la diction épique' (p. 11). If, on the other hand, Leumann's method does not produce any serious objections in a given case, then that particular word is a genuine A-C dialect word. If such a word is also 'formulaic', epic diction must have received it from Mycenaean poetry.

The particle *αὐτάρ* is subjected to detailed treatment along these lines (pp. 29-43). It is examined in all its combinations, in its preference for certain places in the verse, etc. The results confirm that it is 'formulaic'. Other particles (*ἰδέ*, *νυ*), the inf. in *-ῆναι*, verbs in *-ζω* with forms in *-ξ* (e.g. *ἀβροτάζομεν*), military terms of the Mycenaean period (*φάσγανον*, *ἀορ*, *ἐγγος*, etc.), are discussed in the same way. These categories establish an Achaeian element, and therewith an Achaeian phase in epic poetry.

Although I am in sympathy with the author's thesis, I cannot say that the method is entirely cogent. The flaw in the argument drawn from vocabulary elements is that it either overshoots the mark or falls short of it. To put it linguistically: if a word is formulaic, that does not of necessity prove that it was coined before 1200, since the available four centuries or so (down to 800) provide enough time for any word to become firmly embedded in epic diction; if, on the other hand, it is older than 1200, we cannot prove that it was confined to A-C. Thus, e.g., examining the particle *νυ*, Ruijgh reaches the conclusion that it is Achaeian; at the same time he maintains that *νυ* corresponds to Skt. *nu*, and the combination *νύ κε* to Skt. *nu kam*. But if this is true, we can hardly rule out the possibility, to say the least, that *νυ* (*κε*) was inherited by the other dialects as well, and it is unsafe to use it as a criterion.

Much more reliable evidence is provided by phonology and morphology, as will be seen from Strunk's book. But with Ruijgh the morphological aspect, even when treated, remains of secondary importance. This is surprising since his book thus acquires a slightly outdated, pre-decipherment look. Not that he is unaware of this revolutionary event; on the contrary, his mastery of all modern literature on the subject is superb. But it seems that his method was devised before Ventris's feat and could not undergo any significant change. He probably also thought that it could stand on its own.

As it is, the most valuable part of his book is the discussion of Leumann's method (p. 98 f.). His criticism of Leumann's theses is in many cases convincing, and scholars interested in the 'artificial' creations of epic diction will have to consult his work. But in his attempt to rescue all 'dialect-words' from the stigma of epic borrowing he sometimes goes too far; the defence of the (Arc.) phrase *ἄματα πάντα* or the gloss *λικάβας* as genuine, is hardly convincing.

In the discussion of *λάας* the absence of *ῥ* in Myc. *raeya* is overlooked.

Two more points are worth noting. Ruijgh firmly holds to the view that an Aeolic phase is safely established; this will be discussed in connection with Strunk's thesis. Secondly, he tries to prove that Mycenaean Greek was already divided into three branches: Achaeian, Ionic and Aeolic. For the distinct character of Aeolic he relies on the analogical dat. pl. *-εσσι* which, he thinks, is of Mycenaean date. His main argument is that *-εσσι* is based on *-οισι*, *-αῖσι* (which is not cogent) and that these were absent from Mycenaean (and hence must have existed in pre-Aeolic); for, he states, Myc. *-ο-ι*, *-α-ι* cannot represent *-οῖσι*, *-αῖσι* because *ς* was already restored in Mycenaean, as shown by *δῶσσι*. This is rather unconvincing, since the restoration in one morphological category does not necessarily entail the same procedure in a different category at the same time.

While Ruijgh concentrates on the vocabulary, the alternative approach is adopted by Strunk. If the long-sought-for Mycenaean poetry now has a real basis in the linguistic facts revealed by the Mycenaean tablets, the question arises whether an intermediate Aeolic phase is necessary at all, especially as the Aeolis never played an important role. Besides, if there was an Aeolic epos, how is it that the epic features of Lesbian poetry are all Homeric? Why should not the Ionians of Attica have taken their epic direct from the Mycenaean? As the decipherers put it: 'Should we not conclude that the "Aeolic" stratum . . . is not the Aeolic of Lesbos but a much older Achaeian (i.e. Mycenaean, *O.Sz.*) form which had already set the conventions of epic verse within the 2nd millennium B.C.?' (Ventris-Chadwick, *JHS* lxxiii, 103).

Clearly, the question can only be answered in the affirmative, if the so-called Aeolicisms can be eliminated. In fact, Strunk sets out to prove that all 'Aeolic' features can be explained as reflecting Mycenaean Greek, or archaisms in general which are not characteristic of any one dialect. The following points of phonology and morphology are discussed. (1) *π β φ* from labiovelars before front-vowels (*πίσυνες*, *πέλομαι*, etc.). (2) Digamma-combinations resulting in *νρ νλ*, etc. (*ταλαύρινος*). (3) *ο* from sonant liquids (*ἡμβροτον*). (4) Consonant-gemination (*ἐρεβεννός*). (5) Dual forms. (6) Gen. in *-οιο*, *-ᾶο*, *-ᾷον*. (7) Dat. pl. in *-εσσι*. (8) Patronymics in *-ῖος* (*Τελαμώνιος Αἰας*). (9) *-φι*. (10) Unthematic inflection of contract verbs. (11) Inf. in *-μεν*, *-μεναι*. (12) Perf. forms with present-inflection (*κεκλήγοντες* sim.). (13) Aorist-type *κάλεσσα*. (14) *-ξ* in *-ζω* verbs (*ἐνάριζα*, *πολεμίζομεν*). (15) Peculiarities of prepositions and adverbs.

Almost all these features (2.3.5.6.7.8.9; 12?) can be shown to be shared by Mycenaean (and/or A-C). But even where a feature is commonly agreed to be lacking in Mycenaean, Strunk often finds variations in the dialects which make the Homeric irregularity understandable as other than Aeolic. In some cases his attempt seems rather



forced. Concerning the labiovelars, e.g., he tries to show that labials before *ε* appear in Achaean, as shown by Cypr. *πείσαι* 'pay' (*πείπταμ'ερον* is also considered), possibly *opi* representing *ope* from *\*yok<sup>w</sup>e* (= *ōte*), and even Arc. *ινφορβίεν* from *\*bhrsg<sup>w</sup>i-*, cf. Lithu. *brizgilas* 'bridle, rein'. But an *ope* could not derive from *\*yok<sup>w</sup>e* since even Mycenaean has *o-le*, and the Arc. verb, whose meaning is uncertain, cannot be regarded as evidence. The Cyprian examples can be explained differently—although Strunk criticises such attempts—and it cannot be taken for granted that the Pamphylian name *Πλώρας* is identical with *πλώρ*.

Consonant-gemination (no. 4), usually considered a clear Aeolic feature, is, in Strunk's view, also Arcadian. But the gemination in *ταυννί* (from *ταυσ-νι*), etc., is admittedly a later, sandhi-phenomenon, and cannot be compared with *ἐρεβεσσος*; the same applies to Strunk's 'decisive' example *ἀμφίλλογον* from *ἀμφις-λ-*. I do not think therefore that gemination can be accepted for A-C. But the question is whether Hom. *ἔμμε ἔμμεναι*, etc., require an Aeolic phase. Now there is a natural tendency to regard the difference between Aeolic (Lesbian-Thessalian)-*μμ-*, etc., and the other dialects' *-μ-* preceded by a lengthened vowel as something very old, perhaps pre-Doric. But in point of fact it is just as possible to view the development of *\*σελασνā* as passing through *σελπαῖā*, *σελα'vā*, and the latter may have been the stage reached in Mycenaean. In that case forms like *ἔμμε ἐρεβεννός* can be regarded as pre-Doric archaisms surviving in Homer (along with *-āo*, etc.), and the only question is how *ἔμμε ἐρεβένος* came to be spelt *ἔμμε*, etc., instead of *ἔμμε*, etc. And here we can hardly escape the conclusion that the spelling (and pronunciation) of our epic text was influenced by the Aeolic dialect of Asia Minor (and Lesbos): wherever the normal Ionic development would have led to forms non-existent in Ionic, the speech-form of the neighbouring Aeolis was adopted. This is to assume a certain amount of influence from Aeolic, but not a full-scale Aeolic stage in the development of epic poetry.

With regard to the infinitives in *-μεν*, *-μεναι*, Strunk suggests that Hom. *-μεν*, found neither in Myc. nor in A-C, but widespread in Western Greek, represents a Proto-Greek archaism lost in the Eastern dialects, while *-μεναι*, only attested in Lesbian, 'remains a difficulty'.

The unthematic inflexion of contract verbs in *-έω*, the rule in A-C, and, less consistently, in Aeolic, would again seem to be in favour of Strunk's thesis. But, as he notes (p. 92), Myc. *torok<sup>w</sup>eyomēno* shows that the innovation occurred later. However, 'die Entstehung der homerischen Sprache ist in einer mundartlichen Zwischenperiode des Mykenischen und des Arkado-Kyprischen, also etwa einem "Spätmykenischen" zu denken, und das bereitet wohl keinerlei Schwierigkeit'. Perhaps so, but it remains disquieting.

On the whole, one is inclined to support Strunk's

thesis if only because it is intrinsically so plausible; cf. e.g. Webster, *Eranos* 54, 1956, 48. I do not believe that all 'Aeolic' features have been eliminated. In particular, the labials from labiovelars refuse to be labelled Mycenaean. There can be no doubt, however, that the game was worth the candle so diligently burnt by Dr. Strunk.

OSWALD SZEMERÉNYI.

SMYTH (H. W.) *Greek Grammar*. Revised by Gordon M. Messing. Harvard University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1956. Pp xviii + 784. 80s.

Among one-volume grammars of Greek and among Greek grammars in English H. W. Smyth's *Greek Grammar for Colleges* (1920) held a leading position by reason both of its fullness of detail and of its excellent indexes, which made its use easy and pleasant. In the new edition (renamed simply *Greek Grammar*), as in the old, the only important omission is prosody. As a descriptive grammar it admirably suits the needs of the advanced student who requires a quick answer to such questions as whether a particular verb uses its future middle as passive, or whether *τὸ μή* is commoner than *τοῦ μή* with infinitive after verbs of preventing. In Schwyzler's bibliography, *Griech. Gram.* i, xlvii, Smyth is listed together with Kaegi 'wegen der sprachgeschichtlichen Erläuterungen'. The student who inclines to an interest in the history of Greek sounds and forms will find his interest stimulated and in part satisfied by the sketch of Greek historical phonetics (strangely called Euphony) in Part I, and by many indications throughout Part II. It must be admitted that the language in which these are expressed is often quaint, and the more general and theoretical statements on syntax similarly old-fashioned and sometimes misleading. However, a Greek grammar is not valued for its linguistic theory nor consulted for general syntactical definitions which, whatever their shortcomings, do not impair its descriptions of Greek forms and usages.

In reviewing a new edition it is appropriate to consider especially its differences from the old. The editor's preface reveals how meagre the revision has perforce had to be. The changes bearing on historical and comparative grammar in Parts I and II, like the corrections which have been, in Messing's words, 'silently inserted', are neither so numerous nor separately so conspicuous as to be discovered without a line-by-line comparison of the two editions. Messing admits that it has been impossible to 'take into consideration all the multitudinous pertinent literature in the field of Greek grammar since Smyth's day'. This statement is borne out by trial soundings, e.g. in the paragraphs on particles and on the use of the present participle with *εἰμί*. In paragraph 1793, where Smyth wrote 'In Attic *ἄν* is found with the future in a few passages which are now generally emended', Messing has substituted

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'... which have often been emended', so recognising the changed consensus or at least greater caution of the authorities. Revision of a text, when changes of pagination are to be severely restricted, is liable notwithstanding all care to cause an occasional awkwardness. For example, an historical note on the two types of vowel gradation has been added to paragraph 35 without making clear that only one of the types is mentioned and illustrated in this paragraph. The note might have been better appended to the following paragraph, in which both types are tabulated side by side. Four changes of greater extent are mentioned in the editor's preface. An empty space towards the end of the book (p. 722) has been used for a note on the designation of days of the month, with a reference to it standing instead of the original inadequate note in 350d. The old paragraph on numeral notation, 348, has been superseded by a much more detailed treatment in a new paragraph 348A; 348, thus vacated, has been filled by a new note on abbreviations. The Supplementary Bibliography is intentionally short, including only books 'of the sort most likely to be immediately useful to the reader'. It may be asked why Lejeune's *Traité de phonétique grecque* did not qualify for admission on these terms.

The notes on numeral notation and on the days of the month were contributed, according to the preface, by Professor Sterling Dow. Only in the Introduction—'The Greek Language and its Dialects'—does the editor seem to have had a fairly free hand. He has introduced very many improvements both of substance and of expression. After a much needed recasting of the first sentence (which would have been still better if he had not imported an allusion to 'three millennia from the Homeric writings to the present day') he has added three sentences to adumbrate the coming and settlement of the Greeks, sentences to the controversial character of which the reader will be alerted by the opening formulae 'There is reason to believe . . .'. It has been plausibly conjectured . . . Messing's revision of the paragraph on the Indo-European languages and the place of Greek among them is not only fuller but, as one would expect, bears the professional stamp which was lacking in Smyth's account. The paragraph on the dialects has some notable improvements, but shows signs of compromise with the original. Smyth accepted the traditional threefold classification of the dialects as Aeolic, Doric and Ionic, while conceding that some (Arcadian, Cyprian and the north-west Greek dialects) did not fall within it. Messing retains the threefold classification, but with a suggestion that it is less inappropriate to a book concerned chiefly with the literary language. At the same time he adds a reference to the testimony of inscriptions, and to the greater multiplicity of dialects and dialect relations which they reveal. His mention of the 'basic division' into East Greek, which includes Aeolic and Attic-Ionic, and West Greek, to which Doric belongs, seems inconsistent

with Smyth's statement, which he retains, 'Aeolic and Doric are more nearly related to each other than either is to Ionic'. The paragraphs on the literary dialects, Attic and the Koine, are almost unchanged, but that on Modern Greek now gives a more balanced and intelligible account of the relations of the written and colloquial forms to each other and to the ancient language.

The changes which Messing has introduced, though far less extensive than even the modest revision originally planned, considerably enhance the value of an already valuable book. He is to be congratulated on the adroitness with which he has carried out these improvements with so little disturbance of the text. Thanks are due also to Harvard University and especially to its Department of Classics for so worthy a service to Greek studies.

D. M. JONES.

PLEKET (H. W.) **The Greek Inscriptions in the 'Rijksmuseum van Oudheden' at Leyden.**

Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958. Pp. xvi + 103, with 16 plates. Price not stated.

Thanks to the intelligent activities of members of the Dutch commercial colony in Smyrna during the preceding two centuries, the Rijksmuseum at Leyden had acquired approximately 150 Greek inscriptions by the year 1902, since when there seem to have been no further accessions. The first systematic publication, by L. J. F. Janssen in 1840, comprised forty texts gathered from various parts of the Greek world, including ten from Athens and Attica and thirteen from Smyrna. Most of these were incorporated by Boeckh in *CIG*. The next lot of acquisitions, forty in all, was published by C. Leemans in the *Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences* (Amsterdam) in 1886 and 1890. Both these and the more recent accessions of the period 1890–1902, obtained mostly through members of the Van Lennep family in Smyrna, were found either in that city or elsewhere in western Asia Minor, but unfortunately the attribution to Smyrna, given to most of them in the Museum inventory, is often dubious and sometimes definitely incorrect.

It is the latest group, amounting to about seventy texts in all, a few of which have already been published elsewhere, which forms the subject of the present publication, a handsome quarto volume, well printed and easy to handle. The author has thoughtfully provided, in two Appendices, full lists of the inscriptions published by Janssen and Leemans, together with up-to-date bibliographies, adding a few photographs; and he illustrates all of the stones which he now publishes, except nos. 1 and 53 of which photographs have appeared in previous publications. No less than 55 of these 70 texts are epitaphs (nos. 1–6, 8–51, 53, 66–9); four are dedications (nos. 7 and 54–6) and nine (nos. 57–65) are classed as decrees, leaving no. 52 a lintel-block (?) with a puzzling Christian text and no. 70, a metrical list



of taboos ordained for votaries of Dionysos (now SEG xiv 752).

I add a few notes on some of the more interesting stones: In no. 1 (originally published by Janssen), P. supports the traditional reading 'Απολλώνιος νείκας μη', κτλ. against Robert's version (*Gladiateurs*, p. 210, no. 242); no. 4 (from Ilium) includes mention of two φράτραι, Πηγάσων and Φιλοκεσαρέων; no. 5, a tombstone erected by οἱ φιλαγριππῆται συμβιωταί, is discussed at some length, with the conclusion that this was not an association for the cult of Agrippa as a divine being, but was founded to pay tribute to his memory as a benefactor. Nos. 8 and 50 give interesting details of the construction of tomb-chambers with the compartments (ἐνσώρια) for sarcophagi in them. No. 10 commemorates one Νεικήτης . . . ἱατρός ἤρωος ἐτῶν θ', a native of Tiejion on the coast of Paphlagonia, who had perhaps pursued his medical training at Smyrna and had qualified by the time he was nineteen, as was not unusual (P. quotes literary evidence in support). To these must be added the four metrical epitaphs (nos. 66-9) previously communicated to Peek for inclusion in his *Griechische Versinschriften* (1874, 1540, 1545, 1423).

Among the few dedications, no. 7 (cf. addendum on p. 23) records one to the Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη of a στρατηγός by his steward (οἰκονόμος), with the unusual construction of Ἀ.Τ. in the accusative, followed by καθιέρωσεν, and no. 55, from Alexandria, is well known (Dessau, *ILS* 8846).

Among the texts classed as decrees are some of much more importance, notably no. 57. This is dated to the consulate of Augustus and Agrippa (27 B.C.) and contains a short rescript, in their names, forbidding the annexation, or purchase, or acceptance as gifts, of public or sacred precincts (τόποι) and properties ([ἀναθέ]ματα, as convincingly restored by P.), and requiring their restoration to their original owners. This is followed by a letter in Latin from the provincial governor L. Vinicius to the city of Cyme ordering that the *fanum Liberei Patris* be restored to the god by one Lysias who had acquired it, apparently by a πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει. The Greek version of this letter, which followed, is only partly preserved. P. discusses, with a wealth of detail (pp. 51-66), the legal and religious aspects of such a transaction, and the implications of this interference by Augustus in the affairs of a Senatorial Province, for which he finds the legal basis in his consular *imperium*. The words *iussu Augusti Caesaris* (ii. l. 4 f.) seem decisively to confirm this interpretation.

No. 58 consists of twelve fragments, some of which have been reunited, of a stele inscribed with an elaborate dossier concerning, it seems, the θυμελική σύνοδος τῶν τεχνιτῶν. Although no single line can be fully restored, enough is preserved to indicate that in response to an embassy to Antoninus Pius copies of decrees and regulations posted in Rome were sent for the guidance of the city (or cities?) which wished to take some action concerning this *synodos* of Dionysiac artists. Note, e.g., the division into κεφάλαια

(fragments DEFG, l. 6; ἄλλο κεφάλαιον, M, l. 3), the date with the names of the consuls of A.D. 150, and the insertion into the Greek text of a short, but obscure, Latin phrase (DEFG l. 17), to which I revert below. No. 59, likewise incomplete, concerns a lease of temple-land, with a clause indicating the sub-letting of some (or all?) of it: l. 9, ἡξίον παραχωρ[εῖν or - - - [ῆσαι - - - P. seems to be needlessly mystified by the letters ΔΙΑΔΕΞΕΤΕΜΕ in the last line but one, which is followed by a date Ἐπὶ Γρανιανοῦ μηνός - - - in the last. In any case he should not have tried to restore [ε]διδάξετε as an aorist, but the sense is surely indicated by the previous line: ὅπερ εἰ μὲν εὐλόγον καλῶς ἐστι (as P. restores it), followed by [εἰ δὲ μὴ . . .], διδάξετέ με 'if this is not correct (?), you must inform me'. Evidently some Roman official had undertaken to decide some disputed point or condition in this lease, and this is the end of his finding.

No. 62 seems much more likely to be part of a statue-base than a decree, for the first three (?) lines are apparently metrical (l. 3, - - - ἱεροῖο Μέλῃτος) and are followed by the names of officials, headed by - - - Ἀρτεμιδώρου - - - τὸν χειρ[ι]οτονημένον ἀρχ[οντα] (mis-read by P. as -μένον but the final nu is clear on the photograph). This surely indicates that the son of Artemidoros was honoured by the official colleagues of his city, which we can recognise as Smyrna from the allusion to the river Meles. Moreover, in l. 9 for P.'s εὐκοσμία τοῦ ΒΡ, I feel that ταμία τοῦ Βρ[ευσίου] would be much more appropriate. No. 63, a fragmentary decree in untidy Hellenistic lettering, yields little beyond a date, εἰνῆς καὶ νέας τοῦ μηνός - - -, in l. 5 and a resolution about voting a decision, [δο]ῦναι τὴν διαχειροτο[ίαν], in l. 9. In spite of P.'s objection to reading παιδίον in l. 10 the ρι seems almost certain on the photograph, so perhaps the decree ordered a decision about either the paternity of a boy or the status of a slave.

No. 64 seems to be misplaced among the decrees, since it contains only six lines, with letters 0.035 m. high, and is more likely to be a public regulation concerning official seating (in the συνεδρίον), in view of διάζωσμα [sic] in l. 4; and in l. 5 where P. has no explanation for the first three surviving letters ΗΤΤ, the only possible reading seems to be - - - παρὰ (or πρὸς?) τῷ ὄσπλ[η] ἡμι τοῦ συνεδρίου]. [Cf. ὄσπληξ as meaning the boundary-fence or enclosing-wall of a tomb-chamber, at Aphrodisias (*CIG* 2824, l. 14).]

It will be seen that the texts with which P. deals are of very varied types and demand a correspondingly wide range of learning for their interpretation. Of this his commentaries give ample proof, and his mastery of the relevant material is accompanied by sound judgment and an admirable command of lucid English, which will be welcomed by many readers to whom Dutch is less familiar. They will not be troubled by occasional un-English turns of phrase, which need not be quoted here. A few slips which have escaped correction include *IG* vii, i for



IG v, i (p. 65), *παίδιον* (p. 77), but *νίος* (p. 78), 'scrotch' for scratch, 'incertain', and 'recommandation'. The famous Lycian benefactor of the second century after Christ appears as 'Opraomas', but we can hardly attribute to the printer 'Adalia in Phrygia' (p. xiii).

One could scarcely expect that P., a welcome recruit to epigraphical studies, should have found the right answer to every problem raised by these documents, especially in the more fragmentary ones; and it is in no critical spirit that I offer a few further suggestions, for no. 58 in particular: C, l. 2 (cf. p. 71, l. 7), for *Παλα[τίω]* read *Παλα[τίω]* (cf. *Mon. Anc.* 19.1); DEFG l. 11, [*Φιλομ*]ηλεῖς seems the only possible restoration, presumably introducing a reply to the citizens of Philomelium; *ib.* l. 17, in the Latin quotation [*si (?) qu]is ea templet* II AGIT NON, ID for II seems a necessary correction, confirmed, I think, by the photograph, and implying 'if anyone attempts these things he does so in spite of (some prohibition or disapproval)?'. In *HIKL* l. 12, accepting P.'s suggestion (p. 72) [*κατακ*]λίσεις, we should, I think, substitute for his [*κατακ*]λίσεις ταῖς γ[ενομέναις] τῶν Σ - - the words - - ταῖς γ[ενομέναις] τῶν Σ[εβαστῶν] ἡμέραις, followed, probably, by αὐθις ποτε ψηφισθησομένης ἡμέραις in l. 14, giving us a list of days on which certain celebrations were sanctioned. This in turn suggests that in l. 4 *ΗΛΩΔ* might be restored as [*μη* πλέον] ἢ δώδεκα, restricting the number of θυ[σῖαι] mentioned in the line above. (Cf. *θυσία δωδεκάβοιος*, *CIG add.* 3847b.) Finally, no. 52 can hardly be an epitaph, as it is carved on a long frieze or lintel, and its Christian phrasing—τοῦ βίου τοὺς θορόβους and . . . σκινὰς *K(vpío)v* . . . suggests that it comes from a church.

A. M. WOODWARD.

WIEGAND (T.) *Didyma*. II. Teil: Die Inschriften, von A. Rehm, herausgegeben von R. Harder. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1958. Pp. xv + 391 with 108 figs.

This massive volume, issued under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute, marks the triumphant completion of a long and arduous task. The site of the temple of Didyma,<sup>1</sup> one of the most renowned of the ancient world, was visited by Cyriac of Ancona in 1446, and later by various travellers, mostly British, but it was not until 1895-1897 that serious excavations were begun by the French scholar Bernard Haussoullier, and these were continued in 1905 and subsequently by the

Berlin Museums under the direction of Theodor Wiegand. The task of collecting and editing all the inscriptions from the site was entrusted in 1914 to Albert Rehm, and Haussoullier was invited, and willingly consented, to collaborate with him. Though the First World War prevented close co-operation, Haussoullier gave continued assistance and, shortly before his death in 1926, provided that his epigraphical papers and squeezes, deposited in the library of the Institut de France, should be fully accessible to German and other scholars; of this opportunity Rehm availed himself in 1931 and again in 1942. On July 31, 1949, he died, leaving, in a manuscript of 1,898 quarto pages, the text of the projected volume save for the preface, introduction and index. Richard Harder was, as Rehm had wished, chosen to see the book through the press, and he has fulfilled his exacting task with exemplary *pietas* and self-effacement: 'meine Hinzufügungen', he writes (p. vii), 'sind rein redaktioneller Art und möglichst sparsam'. He wisely decided to include two of Rehm's papers not intended to form part of this volume—the note (pp. 281-2) on 'Der Baubeginn in Didyma' and the lecture (pp. 321-5) entitled 'Über die Inschriften von Didyma', which affords an ideal introduction to the book and might well have served as a prologue rather than an epilogue. His early death on September 4, 1957, robbed him of the satisfaction of seeing the actual publication of the work. To Christiane Grunwald we owe the invaluable indexes of gods, persons, places, words and subjects, (pp. 327-80), the chronological table (pp. 380-7), and the lists of passages discussed and of previous publications of Didymeian inscriptions (pp. 388-91), which immensely facilitate the use of the work.

The printing and illustration are excellent. Of the 108 figures 36 are line-drawings or facsimiles, and the remaining 72 are photographs of inscriptions or (rarely) of squeezes, stuck in blank spaces left for that purpose in the letterpress. This device brings the photos into close proximity to the texts they illustrate and obviates the necessity of using a glossy paper throughout, but it involves a danger that the photos, often adhering only at one corner or along one edge, may become detached and, even if not damaged or lost, may cause some labour in restoring them to their proper places.

The collection numbers 623 inscriptions, some of which comprise many parts; they range in length from 221 long lines (no. 27) to a single word, and in time from the first half of the sixth century B.C. (no. 1) to at least A.D. 988 (no. 597). The archaic period is represented by nos. 1-19, mostly votive and all (except nos. 5 and 10, which consist of a single line) inscribed *boustrophedon*, including four (nos. 1, 2, 5, 6) brought by Newton to the British Museum. Then follows a gap of two centuries, due to the destruction of the sanctuary by the Persians, but with the opening years of the third century and the rebuilding of the temple on a much larger scale by Seleucus I

<sup>1</sup> In view of the widespread use of the name Branchidae, it is noteworthy that the place-name *Διδύμεια*, the divine epiklesis *Διδυμεύς* and the festival-name *Διδύμεια* occur in scores of inscriptions, whereas the *Βραγχίδα* are nowhere mentioned, though in an epigram dating from the time of the Flavians or Trajan Apollo is addressed as *Ἀπόλλων ὄναξ, τέμενος ἀμφέπων Βράγχον* (no. 219.6).



came a revival of the prestige of Didyma which lasted through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The detailed accounts of the rebuilding (nos. 20-47) and other 'Bau-urkunden' (nos. 48-64a) are of great architectural interest and form the longest and most important section of the work. Horoi are few and simple (nos. 65-71), but, as we should expect, dedications (nos. 72-140), honorary inscriptions and records of athletic victories (nos. 141-201) are numerous, as are those commemorating *προφήται*, *ὑδροφόροι*, *ταμίαι* and other officials (nos. 202-423). The temple-inventories (nos. 424-78) are followed by a small but historically valuable group of decrees, treaties and royal or imperial letters (nos. 479-95), and these by ten oracular questions and/or answers (nos. 496-505; cf. 217), of which the majority are unfortunately mutilated. Less interesting are the remaining classes—graffiti (nos. 506-23), epitaphs (nos. 524-79), 'varia' (nos. 580-95) and Byzantine inscriptions (nos. 596-615). In every part of his work Rehm has shown himself a master—in the copying and restoration of texts, the commentaries on individual inscriptions or groups, and the exploitation of their palaeographical, linguistic, historical and religious value. His detailed treatment in thirty-six folio pages of the graffiti on the temple and the stadium (nos. 49-50a) well illustrates the thoroughness with which he carried out his task.

Not that the book is flawless; the long period of its preparation, including two World Wars and their aftermath as well as the deaths of its author and its editor, could not leave it wholly scatheless. A short list of *corrigenda* appears on the final page, and it would serve no useful purpose were I to add all the others which I have noted, but I mention a few, if only to show how trivial many of them are. In re-editing nos. 89 and 90, Rehm refers to his own *editio princeps* in *Philologus* 93.74-84, and adds suggestions made privately by Keil and Herzog, but does not mention Grégoire's treatment in *Byzantion* 14.320-1 and Wilhelm's reply in *Jahreshefte* 35.164-9. In no. 159 *SEG* 4.467 is not cited, nor the article on *Σύνθρονος Δίκης* by E. H. Kantorowicz in *AJA* 57.65-70. To no. 181 Harder adds 'Vgl. jetzt J. et L. Robert, *REG* 63, 1955, Bull. Épig. 76'; but '63' should be '68' and '76' is the page-reference to the offprint, while in the published volume of *REG* 68 the page is 260 and the item 196. In no. 217 Harder does not refer to his article in the Jacoby *Festschrift* (*Navicula Chiloniensis*, 88-97), which may have appeared when this part of the book was already in print. In the important decree no. 479 (= *OGI* 213) I find no mention of *SEG* 4.470, where further references occur. Ten Didymean inscriptions are edited, and two excerpted, in *GDI* 5494 ff., but I see no specific reference to *GDI* under any of the texts in question, nor in the list of 'Frühere Publikationen' (pp. 389-91), from which *SEG*, *OGI*, Schwyzler's *DGE* and Welles' *Royal Correspondence* are also notable absentees. In the index of persons

s.v. 'Ἀχόλιος I find 'siehe Ἀλλιος', but a search s.v. Ἀλλιος proves vain; in that of Greek words the *τρίς* of no. 77a 6 is missing, *ἐξελείν* is derived from *ἐκλαμβάνω*, *μέμνην* from *μέλλω*, and *φιλοδοξήσαντος* from *φιλοδοκέω*, while in no. 590 and in the index the verb *τίγ[γαν]* appears, presumably for *θίγ[γαν]*.

But enough of criticism. As I close the book my dominant impression is that of a masterpiece, which will serve as a *monumentum aere perennius* to the skill, the learning and the devotion of Albert Rehm and as a striking embodiment of the highest traditions of German scholarship.

MARCUS N. TOD.

**Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum.** Vol. I. Ed.

V. A. TCHERIKOVER and A. FUKS. Harvard University Press (London: O.U.P.), 1957. Pp. xx + 294. 90s.

This is the first of three volumes containing revised texts with translation and commentary of all published Greek papyri and ostraca shown beyond reasonable doubt to relate to Jews and Judaism; it is devoted to the Ptolemaic period. An introduction establishes rigorous criteria for deciding between 'Jewish' and 'non-Jewish' papyri, while the Prolegomena provide a general survey of Jewish life in Graeco-Roman Egypt, reviewing all the thorny problems raised by the sources and reminding us of many important facts which, though known, are often ignored.

The co-operation of papyrologists of many countries has enabled the editors to correct many errors and make many useful suggestions. In 1 (= P. Col. Zen. 59003), 5 they conjecture [Σι]δώνιον; they suggest that the Pasis of 9 (= P. Col. Zen. 59241) may be a shepherd employed by Zenon; they argue that 18 (= P. Hib. 96) had only six witnesses, like other deeds of this type, and that οὔτοι, referring to three of them, should be read for -οὔτοι in l. 13; on 22 (= P. Teb. 820) they make several interesting suggestions about Samareia and its relationship to Cercesephis, and in 26 (= P. Freib. 12b) several good restorations; from the smallness of the lots of land in 29 (= P. Teb. 1019) they deduce that Ptolemaic settlers were compelled to cultivate supplementary allotments (cf. the later *ἐπιβολή*!); in introducing 48-96, ostraca-receipts of banks, they make a sober re-examination of two of Wilcken's views; in 126 (= P. Petr. iii. 7), 13 they restore [οἰκετικὰ σώμ]ατα and in l. 15 Ἀπολλ[ώνιον ὑπόχρεων], discussing at length the legal problems involved; under 127 they assemble five papyri mentioning Dositheus son of Drimylus as a basis for a possible sketch of his career. These are but a few results of a meticulous study of the historical significance of each text in the light of a special knowledge of the period; the elucidation of onomastic is particularly fascinating, though your reviewer is not competent to criticise it.

But while as historians the editors have done admirable work, as papyrologists they have not



always exercised the same care. For example, 43 (= P. Ryl. 578) has a new dating (second century B.C.) after a 'renewed revision' [*sic*] by Turner, the now accepted correction of ἐκλογὴν in l. 6 to the less startling ἐκάστην, an improved rendering of l. 7, and the correct one of the numeral in l. 13. But the wrong accent in l. 18 is perpetuated, new errors are introduced in ll. 13-14—for <τε>τελεκότος read {τε}τετελεκότος—and in line-numbering, and the dot under the epsilon in l. 21 is omitted. The text of 134 (= P. Teb. 86, 14-31) shows misunderstanding of the *editio princeps*: the figures before (ὦν) in l. 15, which are not irrelevant but represent the '5 13/32 arourai' bracketed in the translation, have been erroneously omitted, and so have μνη( )ίς at the end of the line. The translations, too, are sometimes unsatisfactory: that, for example, of 5, most confusing with the present punctuation, of 13, 3-4 which makes no sense of the text and disregards the syntax, of 35, 13-14, where 'needs hay-harvest as well' might be preferable, of 135, 4 (διά with articular infinitive as 'that . . .') and 5 (παρ' Ἰουδαίου as 'by a Jew'), ἔρρωσο in 10 being ignored altogether. In dealing with this document (P. Grenf. 43), the editors are so preoccupied with their attempt to reverse the 'anti-Semitic' bias of their predecessors and to prove their admittedly plausible explanation of πορείαν in l. 8 that they neglect their more pedestrian duties: poor translation apart, the note on ll. 4-5 is confused and probably mistaken, and hardly entitles them to describe Wilcken's interpretation as 'superficial'. In 130, 15 ἐπιλογ . . . ιτος is translated 'blames', but no note is offered in explanation nor are we told whether other possibilities, e.g. ἐπιλογέοντος, were considered. The suggestion πρό(τερον) κομογραμματεῖ in l. 21 is interesting, but is there evidence of the use of such an abbreviation at this time? If not, πρό <σοῦ> might be more feasible. As for ὑπέρ in 141, 2, there are in fact many examples of its bearing the meaning 'about'. In the same line ἔρρωσται is printed without explanation; presumably it is for ἔρρωσθαι, in which case the accent is incorrect (cf. συνταγιά[στον] in 138, 13, Κερκεναίρις in 21, 14 n.). The rendering '5 1/16 with arakos' in 31, 70 misunderstands the original text, nor is it easy to see the significance of the round brackets in 14, 23. Finally, it is dangerous to say of any restoration that it 'exactly fits the lacuna' (5, 2 n.), especially when it contains 28 letters.

It is a tribute to the editors' attempt to produce an unbiased picture of Egyptian Jewry that their own natural sympathies only rarely betray themselves. But possibly they have occasionally been too intent on emphasising the impermeability of Judaism to local influences. To say, for example, that they do not expect to find πολλή χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς in a letter written for a Jew 'probably by a Greek amanuensis' is to turn a blind eye to the formalities of correspondence and to similar anomalies in the Arab period and indeed at all times in history, as attested

by their own common rendering of the non-religious ἔρρωσο not by 'Farewell' but by 'Goodbye'!

B. R. REES.

SCHAUENBURG (K.) Ed. **Charites: Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft.** Bonn: Athenäum-Verlag, 1957. Pp. 279. 7 text figures. 36 plates. DM 28.

This is the Langlotz 'Festschrift'. In his preface E. Boehringer observes that he and the honorand were averse to the publication of this book. If that is so, it is well that they were overruled. Far better a separate book than a whole year's issue of a standard journal diverted from the discharge of its more proper functions. And there are some fine new pictures, with several articles of capital importance. The keynote of this 'Festschrift' is moderation—in size, length of articles and price. It is well produced; only the print is small, that of the footnotes distressingly so. The majority of the contributions are concerned with Greek art and archaeology.

Bittel publishes a prehistoric incised vase with tea-cosy lid found in Mysia, which provides a link with Thermi in Lesbos. Von Gerkan seeks to remove an anomaly of the Samian Heraeum by identifying the rectangular 'monopteros' alongside the entrance of the second dipteron as an ash altar. Cahn skilfully arranges the archaic coinage of Lindos, tracing its development and influence on Cnidian and Cypriot issues; and Schwabacher offers some scholia on the new coin of pre-selected outline attributed to Tissaphernes.

In an article that—despite his own hesitation in the matter—was well worth printing, Möbius indicts the Boston Throne but cannot quite bring himself to condemn it as a forgery. Erika Simon speculates on some aspects of Didymaeon Apollo, and strives to establish that he was already a sun-god in archaic times. Schuchhardt makes some conjectural attributions to the sculptor Onatas. Semni Karouzou traces the scheme of Michelangelo's Christ in S. Maria sopra Minerva back to the Parthenon, with Bacchic sarcophagi as the presumed link in the transmission. Anti publishes a head in Padua from a fourth-century Attic grave stele. Kleiner treats of sculptural types of Helios.

Amandry demonstrates that many victor monuments at Olympia were made a considerable time after the event, and suggests that the dedication of victor statues only started about 500 B.C.; he produces legitimate arguments for a lower dating of Ageladas' career and a higher dating of Polyclitus I (the chryselephantine Hera at Argos being conjecturally assigned to Polyclitus II, who is made the grandson). This article is especially important as a demonstration of the insecure foundations on which the accepted views rest.

Langlotz' pioneer work on Laconian in his *Bildhauerschulen* has borne fruit in this volume. Hafner offers new photographs of the archaic hydria of



Telestas (now in Mainz) and ascribes it to the known sculptor of that name; while Rumpf screws up the argument for the Laconian origin of the Vix crater and clarifies the term *κρατήρ Λακωνικός*. Karouzos publishes a fine late archaic bronze figurine from Laconia, and suggests that we have here an appearance (unique in cult) of Apollo Hyperdexios. Kirsten argues that the much-discussed vase-name *κῶθων* should be given to the vase-form whose conventional name among archaeologists is 'lakaina'; this may be partly right, but for the everyday drinking-mug a vertical-handler with strongly flaring lip would fit the descriptions better: e.g. ribbed 'cream-jugs', and low-handled 'kantharoi'; for the very numerous Laconian miniatures of this form ('skyphoi') see *BSA* xlv 273 f.

Reconstituting from fragments a Marpessa's Choice by the Triptolemos Painter, Beazley lists illustrations of the story and illuminates the last, conservative phase of this artist. Gisela Richter publishes a lekythos of the Brygos Painter. Hausmann recognises trophies of the Eurymedon in the *aphlasta* depicted on an Acropolis sherd. Trendall publishes three red-figured vases in Sydney which could stand for summer breeze, spring picnic and winter shopping; the breeze, conveniently inscribed, is noted by T. as the earliest known rendering of an *αὔρα* in art. Hampe publishes a Geometric terracotta plaque resembling a toy shovel and discusses with good sense the significance of the swastika.

Brommer collects representations of the Attic kings and finds that (apart from Theseus) they are restricted to the fifth century; he suggests that they are virtually creations of this era, serving political ends, and that it is vain to look for them in art before that time. The Cleisthenic tribe-names might be cited in this connection.

J. Bérard's argument for distinguishing Sirinos (named on the archaic staters of Sybarite type) from Ionic Siris takes an honoured place among his contributions to south Italian history. Schweitzer discourses on the 'Mediterranean Bull-religion'. Herbig convincingly explains the story on a *cista* from Palestrina as that of the Etruscan boy-deity Tages. Herter maintains (what few readers will have doubted) that *σῶμα* in *Il.* iii 23 does not signify carrion, but his contention that the word therefore means 'body, no matter whether alive or dead' seems nevertheless strained. H. Schaefer discusses, in connection with Leonidas, the funerary *εἰδωλα* of Spartan kings whose bodies had not been brought home; while declining to take up a position in a controversial issue, he appears to insist that the *εἰδωλον* of Leonidas must on religious grounds have been a realistic likeness and played its part in the evolution of Greek portraiture. Schefold correlates early Roman reliefs and Pompeian styles, and von Salis interprets the paintings of the bath suite in the House of the Menander.

Raubitschek's article on the 'Ditty of Datis' is enthralling. He restores convincingly the words *τὸν*

*Δατίδος ἀδελφόν* on an *ostrakon* of Aristides, and from this and other evidence he sheds new light on A.'s career in the years of crisis. Deichmann subjects the literary and archaeological evidence for the timber roofing of Christian basilicas to a careful scrutiny and finds that the open roof (i.e. without a flat ceiling) and barrel vault are well attested into the Middle Ages; and Kantorowicz traces the twin symbols of rule from the bow and Graces of Delian Apollo to 'Ex Utroque Caesar' in the sixteenth century. The editor's selfless devotion is demonstrated by the fact that his own essay on *Dionysiac instrumentum domesticum* is the only one in which the references to the plates break down.

J. M. COOK.

LAWRENCE (A. W.) **Greek Architecture.** Penguin Books Ltd. 1957. Pp. xxxiv + 327. 152 plates, 173 figures and 3 maps. 63s.

Professor Lawrence's contribution to the Pelican History of Art Series is a beautiful book, and a sound and comprehensive treatment of the subject in all its aspects. In his Foreword the author disclaims any intention of replacing Robertson and Dinsmoor, to whom he refers readers 'who require more information upon individual temples, decorative conventions, and technical matters, as well as those who demand comprehensive glossaries and bibliographies'. But in fact L. will satisfy the majority of readers on all these subjects. His 'highly selective' bibliography, given chapter by chapter, extends to ten double-columned pages; and one would in fact have welcomed a short glossary for the sake of completeness and convenience.

L. warns the reader that though the date of publication is 1957, he had to bring his work to a final conclusion in September 1955. For such an elaborately illustrated book the interval is not unduly long.

One can hardly find fault with the illustrations. The plans and diagrams in the text are large and easy to look at; wherever necessary they are clearly and uniformly redrawn, and lettering and scales (given in both metres and feet) are gratifyingly legible. Acknowledgment is made to Mr. Donald Bell-Scott for this good work. But someone has blundered in fig. 137. This is entitled 'Restored plan of house, Olynthus', but in fact it gives a second plan of the palace at Larisa, which is unfortunately unlike anything ever built at Olynthus, though this will not be obvious to the casual reader. In the clear and comprehensive diagram of the Doric order given on p. xxx the temple of Aphaia at Aegina is dated 470-450 B.C., instead of earlier as in the text (p. 144). The plates are excellent. One need only say that acknowledgment is most frequently made to Alison Frantz, and that the other contributors do not disgrace her. Many unusual subjects are shown in both diagrams and plates.

L. devotes a proportionately long section of his book to a very satisfying account of pre-classical



architecture, because 'no other writer has collated the whole body of information now available'—up to 1955, the reader should always bear in mind—and because he feels that 'the degree of relationship to Hellenic architecture' needs to be shown. At the other end he attempts to do justice to Hellenistic architecture, though here his account is not so full or so coherent.

In the main body of the book one is very conscious of the problems of arrangement inevitably created by the complexity of the subject. The development of the orders, decorative detail, the form and proportions of the temple, other building types, planning—all these subjects have to be carried forward concurrently. Everything of importance, and some things which are curious rather than significant in the scheme of Greek architecture, find a place in the end, though sometimes it is rather artificially contrived. After a sound treatment of early temples and the development of the orders, in the central chapters 'Early Fifth Century Temples' is followed by 'Early Sanctuaries and the Acropolis', in which the general plan of such sites as Olympia is discussed, and the Acropolis and its individual buildings are described. Then we have 'Niceties of Doric Design' and 'Late Fifth-Century Temples Except on the Acropolis'; and 'Circular Buildings', in which the growth of Corinthian Order is incorporated. One admires the author's ingenuity. Now and then his sense of proportion is peculiar. Towards the end are chapters on 'Town-planning and Halls before 330' and 'Hellenistic Town-planning and Halls'; and in the latter L. includes less than half a page on gymnasia, 'regardless of date'—less than he devotes in an earlier chapter on 'Masonry, Vaulting, and Public Works' to a mere curiosity, the Tower of the Winds. In this chapter he gives an admirable brief account of fortification walls, a subject to which he has devoted special study, remarking that 'expenditure on defence restricted most of the Greek states in other forms of public works'; and his page on fountain-houses shows how he can give the essentials of a subsidiary but interesting subject in a short space.

In making detailed comments one must be selective, and the following points are taken almost entirely from the later chapters, which may tend to be neglected by reviewers. Difficulties of arrangement continue to arise; and it is perhaps a pity that L. writes about houses before town-planning, and so describes the houses of Olynthus in detail before giving the general plan of the residential quarters. The 'pastas' in these houses (p. 142) is generally taken to be the long room stretching right across the house on the north side of the court. One's knowledge of Athenian houses is not so safe as L. seems to imply on p. 240; and some of those found in the crowded 'industrial district' south of the agora, though modest and somewhat irregular, were not 'mean little houses'. I would not say that the monument of Lysicrates was in an 'unsanctified position on an ordinary street' (p. 187). The

Metroon (p. 268) was not much like any normal house-type, and has been aptly compared to the library building at Pergamon. In fig. 144 the word 'Altars' seems to have got itself attached to what is undoubtedly the base of the Eponymous Heroes. The Tower of the Winds does not stand within the Roman agora (p. 279). In the Greek stadium (dealt with rather sketchily on p. 280) there was not normally a barrier along the central line; and the curved end may be quite a late feature.

It is interesting to find L. drawing on his African experience (*cf.* p. 13), and revealing in his Epilogue that as a result 'I picture the Greeks as more alien than I used to think them, and far more vividly'. But it is surprising to find that a paragraph 'written to describe present-day mentality in the West African bush . . . has required no modification except a change in tense to make it applicable to the average Greek of the fifth century'; and one wonders if the scene of sacrifice at a Greek altar was quite as horrible as depicted on p. 289.

In this last chapter L. emphasises once more the essential independence of Greek architecture. 'Whereas Egyptian and Asiatic influences had been profound during the Bronze Age'—and even then 'the native element is perhaps fundamental in the great architectural expression of Minoan civilisation, the palaces' (p. 22)—'the effects upon Hellenic architecture were comparatively trivial'. Similarly in an earlier context he says (p. 112), 'In general conception the Doric temple' (with its 'petrified carpentry', p. 99) had nothing in common with contemporary design in the older civilised countries.

Those who insist on the useful, functional character of architecture should reflect on a final paradox. The Parthenon, 'regarded from the standpoint of utility as a building, is ridiculous' (p. 293); yet (p. 295) it 'is the one building in the world which may be regarded as absolutely right'.

R. E. WYCHERLEY.

**LULLIES (R.) and HIRMER (M.) *Greek Sculpture.***

London: Thames and Hudson, 1956. Pp. 88, with 256 monochrome plates and 8 colour plates. 75s.

By a remarkable feat of publishing we are offered 264 large photographs of original Greek sculpture for 75 shillings; photographs nearly all good, and some excellent. The eight colour plates are welcome, particularly those of the bronzes; for the first time, practically, the reader far from museums can get the feel of the material. The selection of works for reproduction cannot be seriously criticised, if we accept the book's declared policy of excluding (without despising) Roman copies. It is representative, with the addition of several live sculptures which have not found their way into earlier anthologies: one of the metopes with dancing women from the Heraeum of the Foce del Sele, the terra-cotta Zeus and Ganymede from Olympia (the clear colour



plate of this is a revelation), and the Melos tondo. And proper respect is paid to Hellenistic sculpture. There are but few striking omissions—among them the slabs by the more conservative master of the Siphnian Treasury, and the Bassae frieze. But on the whole the reader, lay or specialist, has already more than his money's worth in the plates alone.

The text, in the original German, must have been the peer of the plates. In his short introduction Professor Lullies surveys the great subject for the general reader, making him aware (and who could do more in twenty-two pages?) of other questions besides the central one of stylistic development: technique, colour, the original purposes of the sculpture, the social and intellectual background. One could question some of his concepts (especially in his recurring discussion of the relation between figure and background in reliefs, where the terms used, while possibly meaningful in the context of German thought, are not so in English)—but it would have to be at length.

Lullies' notes on the plates (pp. 35–81) will be useful to specialists also. There is a full verbal description of each object; heights, materials, restorations are faithfully detailed; and each note is rounded off with a reasonable bibliography, including at least the first and the latest publications. One of the most interesting and important features is the very careful attention given throughout to traces of colour. There is certainly no book in English which assembles as much detailed information on this subject.

Where so much material is minutely discussed, there are sure to be some matters on which one could disagree. But the solid facts, where checked, prove generally reliable, and what to this reviewer have occasionally seemed errors of taste or interpretation are, at least, generous errors. We must, though, examine one clear mistake which will have very odd results if it is perpetuated. In discussing the authenticity of the Olympia Hermes (Plates 220–3) Lullies writes that Pausanias' remark *τέχνη δὲ ἐστὶ Πραξιτέλου* means 'the manner is that of Praxiteles', as if by this formula Pausanias implied some doubt or reservation about the authorship. The same suggestion is found in other writers, e.g. Ch. Picard, *Manuel IV*, Part 2 (1954), p. 257 and note. Is there any truth in it? Of the Athena Promachos also Pausanias writes that it is *τέχνη Φειδίου* (i. 28.2); the authorship of the Aphrodite Ourania at Elis is reported by the same phrase (vi. 25.1); the Tyrannicides are *Κριτίου τέχνη* (i. 8.5)—and in the same breath he adds *τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίους ἐποίησεν Ἀντήνορ*: clearly no difference is implied here). For each of these statues there is of course independent evidence that they were truly the work of the masters named by Pausanias. And Lullies himself, on plate 199, seems to accept the Brauronian Artemis as a work of Praxiteles—for which our only evidence is the remark *Πραξιτέλου μὲν τέχνη τὸ ἀγάλμα* (Paus. i.

23.7). Some of the modern arguments against the belief that the Hermes is a fourth-century original are indeed formidable, as Lullies (following Blümel) rightly stresses; but the argument from Pausanias' phraseology is not one of them, and will, if pressed, make havoc of our art-histories.

A few other criticisms may be recorded more briefly:

Note on pl. 28–9: it is twice stated that the garland worn by the Rampin Rider is of *ivy*, which is impossible; no doubt Lullies himself wrote *Eppich* (= ivy or celery).

Note on pl. 44–51 (cf. on pl. 62–4): the author speaks as if it were certain, which it is not, that the more advanced of the Siphnian Treasury masters was a Parian.

Note on pl. 69 ff.: the dating of the West and East pediments of the Aegina temple to c. 510 and c. 490 B.C. respectively, though interesting, is not generally accepted; in a book which will be widely read by classical scholars who are not specialists on Greek art, it would be as well to make this plain.

Note on pl. 102–3: the painted garland worn by the Zeus of the Olympia terracotta is of olive, not of laurel.

Note on pl. 201–4: English scholars, at least, might be less positive than Lullies in distributing the Mausoleum slabs among the four famous sculptors mentioned by Pliny. Compare for example the remarks by Ashmole, referred to in the bibliography to this note.

Much injury has been done by incompetent translating. Passage after passage has been turned into a lingo which can only be understood by someone who has previous knowledge both of the subject and of German. Little need be said of the bibliographical hints cast in the form 'to the reconstruction of west pediment lastly E. Schmidt . . .' (pl. 69). But what will the ordinary reader make of the remark (on the Piombino Apollo, pl. 88–91), 'the author was a Toreutian from a Dorian district of south Italy or Sicily'? Or of this (on the Boston head, pl. 228–9)—'like the prototypes of the so-called female Herculeses, it was no doubt a sepulchral statue'? He will thumb many reference-works before he hits on the truth: *ein Toreutiker, die sogenannten Herkulanerinnen*. But perhaps we ought to be tolerant of a translator who, besides forming the epithets 'insular Ionian', 'Lesser Asian', and 'Pergamonian', has coined the imaginative 'Chiotic'.

In any case it would be ungrateful to dwell long on such faults; they have nothing to do with Lullies, who (as the present writer learns) was not even given the opportunity to check the English edition before it was published. It is only to be hoped that, when the well-deserved second edition appears, his book may be as good in its English form as it must have been in the German.

C. J. HERINGTON.



BOTHMER (D. VON) **Amazons in Greek Art**  
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. xxvii +  
252, with 90 plates. £8 8s. od.

The author tells us that this work started as a doctoral thesis on *Amazons in Greek Art to the End of Attic Black-Figure*; that it has now been entirely rewritten and brought down to the end of the fifth century; that Etruscan and Italiote Amazons have been excluded but will be treated elsewhere; and that within those limits an attempt has been made to include all Amazons known to him. He has in fact listed well over a thousand monuments, of which about two-thirds are Attic black-figure vases and a high proportion of the rest Attic red-figure. The result is extremely useful. Anyone who now wants to know how Amazons, their equipment and their activities were represented in Greek art at these periods will find it conveniently set out, and it will be possible to place newly-found representations as they appear in the framework provided. There is, moreover, a great deal of interesting and sometimes entertaining information provided by the way. Yet one may feel some doubts about the plan of the work: the attempt to include all known Amazons hardly seems to justify itself. The valuable classification of representations would be hardly less valuable supported by select than by inclusive lists. New material constantly turns up, so that all lists perforce become fortuitously selective; and it is arguable that they are less affected if they are consciously pruned from the start. The situation with lists of artists' works is not quite the same, since the recreation of an artist's personality needs all the evidence available, and exclusion implies rejection. On the other side there are things one would have liked added. The author frequently refers to the literary tradition and evidently knows it well, and a chapter summarising the literary evidence for the various Amazon myths at different periods would have been welcome. Also, while the detailed discussions are admirable, one misses a general summing up, considering such questions as the reason for the sudden promotion of Amazons into the major arts in the last decades of the sixth century after they had been extremely popular in Attic vase-painting for some fifty years. Perhaps one day the author will trace the history of the subject through the fourth century and later, and with it give us his conclusions on the whole. They would be well worth having. A few points of detail: 73 (iv 2 and 3): it is true that Exekias' 'second London vase is less careful and certainly less imaginative than the first', but it is perhaps worth remarking that Memnon and his Ethiopians on the other side are of better quality and should perhaps be regarded as the obverse. 88 (iii 201): the fallen Greek seems to derive from the giants of the archaic marble pediment on the Acropolis, though seen from behind. 113 f. (vi 8): the owl and three letters look put in to fill an unintended gap in the composition; they recall the reverse of an Athenian coin, and were perhaps suggested by the

proximity of helmeted heads—a free-association doodle. 115 (vi 12): The action as described suggests that v. B. may be over-cautious in doubting the girdles on vii 5 and 6; could the curious motive on iii 112 also be an echo of it? 142 (ix 17; also x 29): a phallos as an Amazon's shield-device must be a joke; so perhaps the ithyphallic mule of ix 64 and the satyr-heads of earlier vases. 154 (ix 34): the idea that the bathing women are Amazons, too, is charming and convincingly argued. 160 (ix 87): I am not happy about the explanation of this strange little picture. Would not a fugitive cling to or sit on the altar? This looks more like someone trying to propitiate an angry deity: an errant companion of Artemis, as Kallisto? 165 (x 1): interesting arguments marshalled in favour of Furtwaengler's view (which v. B. does not definitely accept) that the great Bologna calyx-krater is by the Penthesilea Painter. These last two chapters are full of value. 213: excellent suggestion that the curve of the Amazon in group I from the Parthenon shield has been misunderstood and was conditioned by the frame (cf. the Penthesilea cup). 216: by an unfortunate slip in this admirable discussion it is suggested that Kresilas' name is an emendation at Pliny 34, 53 as well as 34, 75. 222: xi 82 is not illustrated at pl. 90.3 nor elsewhere; but in general the accuracy is as admirable as the whole production. Lastly, one fifth-century Amazon is omitted. True, she is lost, but she shows vividly through Pausanias' description of Polygnotus' *Underworld*: 'Above them is Paris, not yet bearded. He is clapping his hands in a rustic gesture, and one would say that he was doing it to call Penthesilea to him. Penthesilea has her eyes in Paris' direction, but by the inclination of her countenance she seems to be overlooking him and to hold him of no account. She is shown as a maiden, and has a bow of the Scythian form and a leopard-skin on her shoulders'.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

SAKELLARIOU (A. XÉNAKI-) **Les cachets minoens de la collection Giamalakis**. Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1958. Pp. xix + 95, with 30 plates. Fr. 5,000.

Seals have inevitably occupied a prominent position in Minoan studies since they first took Sir Arthur Evans to Crete. Not only are they of great artistic importance, but their diverse iconography brings them to the fore in most discussions of Minoan problems. The publication by Mme. Sakellariou of 426 Minoan seals in the collection of Dr. Giamalakis at Herakleion for l'École Française d'Athènes is therefore particularly welcome, and doubly so for S.'s admirable treatment of the material. In a valuable introduction, S. succinctly presents a reasoned summary of the development of Minoan glyptics, which greatly enhances the interest and value of the catalogue itself. In preference to the threefold system proposed by F. Matz thirty years ago, S. establishes four chronological stages—Prepalatial



(= EM. II-MM. I-Ib); Period of the First Palaces; Period of the Second Palaces (= MM. III-LM. IIIa); Postpalatial—and lists the stratigraphic contexts upon which this arrangement is based. She takes each period in turn, and considers its distinguishing features in terms of materials, seal types and motifs. She follows developments in composition and draughtsmanship from the earliest beginnings to the peak of achievement in the Second Palatial period, and the Postpalatial deterioration. Within the Second Palatial period, she isolates four distinct styles, which she calls 'Naturalist'; 'décoratif palatial'; 'schématique' and 'talasmanique'. The two former seem to originate in the First Palatial period; they include many of the masterpieces. The latter are shown to have been, in the main, hasty and, in some cases, mass produced work, pointing the way to the final deterioration. S. shows the development of seal cutting as a smooth and gradual process, with one phase shading imperceptibly into another.

The catalogue itself is arranged under three main heads—Prepalatial and Period of the First Palaces have sections to themselves, but S. has grouped the Second Palatial and Postpalatial material together, demonstrating the nicety of the distinction between the two when style is the sole criterion of date. This is inevitable from her classification, where the finest period includes more than the seeds of its subsequent deterioration. It is also a salutary illustration of the fact that no system of classification applied to an evolutionary series of objects can be taken literally without running into Procrustean difficulties, difficulties which S. has avoided successfully. Indeed, she insists that within the three sections she has made no attempt at chronological arrangement. Her subdivisions are based either on seal form, or type and style of motif.

Each seal is described in detail, and is illustrated by the photograph of an impression. A few seals are themselves reproduced, and one could wish there had been more. About one-fifth are further illustrated by a series of Piet de Jong's incomparable drawings. One cannot overestimate the importance of de Jong's contribution to the understanding and appreciation of the prehistoric Aegean world; his drawings of the Giamalakis seals once more reveal both his artistry and his understanding of the material with which he has dealt so notably for the last forty years.

S. discusses the broader implications of the subject matter of several of her seals, and we are treated to well documented and thoughtful essays on a wide range of subjects, from the problems associated with bull-jumping to the interpretation of such highly controversial representations as the 'façade architectonique' and 'petit sanctuaire rustique'. Many of these essays are incorporated in the body of the catalogue, but some longer treatments are reserved for an appendix. The value of this would have been

greater could the catalogue have been indexed. Indeed, many users of the catalogue will probably regret the lack of an analytic index, which could, for example, simplify the search for a specific motif, or show immediately the range of hieroglyphic symbols offered by the collection.

There are, however, relatively few criticisms to be made of this book, particularly if its limited objectives are kept in view. The descriptions of the materials of which the seals are made lack precision, and even though it may be objected that the terms used are hallowed by long appearance in archaeological literature, it is time, surely, that the petrologists were asked for advice, so that such terms as 'pierre ordinaire', 'pierre rougeâtre' and 'pierre dure verdâtre' disappeared. At times, the care with which S. concentrates on the component parts of a design clouds her perception of the seal as a whole. Take, for example, the lovely fish on no. 328, which she describes as having its head joined to its body by two 'croissants', where in fact it is the gills which the artist not merely intended, but has skilfully and realistically portrayed. Though usually she is extremely sane on matters of interpretation, occasionally her ideas are coloured by the mumbo-jumbo of Minoan scholarship. Thus, in the case of no. 372, where the reviewer sees a fine hound entreating its master, S. has a 'cynocéphale' before a man—or is it some scene of worship?—she is not very sure. In the case of the ship on no. 341, all six ropes are probably mast stays, and what she takes to be linear ornament on the sail is surely nothing more than the lashings by which the sail is secured when the vessel is at rest. In general, the book is simple to use, though at times illustrations take some finding, since in the interests of symmetry the seals are often out of their numbered sequence on the plates. The scale of the photographs is nowhere referred to; it seems to be intended for 1:1, but none of those checked was quite accurate. The recording of the scale on the drawings is at times erratic—thus, no. 164 should show 2:1 and 4:1, not merely 2:1. Either the measurements quoted for no. 168 are wrong, or the scales at which its drawings are said to be made. In plate xxviii, a typesetter's error has omitted the numbers of seals 365 and 367.

But these are trivial points, and do nothing to impair the excellence of a work which should be in the hands not only of those intimately concerned with Minoan glyptics, but of all students of Aegean prehistory. At a time when most of us are deeply concerned at the discrepancy between eagerness to excavate and reluctance to publish, it is heartening to find the successful accomplishment of a project such as this; our gratitude belongs not only to Mme. Sakellariou and the French School, but to Dr. Giamalakis, whose enthusiasm has ensured the preservation of this important material in accessible form.

H. W. CATLING.



BARNETT (R. D.) **A catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with other examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum.** London: British Museum, 1957. Pp. 252, with 132 plates and 92 text figures. £8 8s. od.

The appearance of Dr. Barnett's detailed and comprehensive catalogue of the Nimrud ivories which are now in the collections of the British Museum, is not only opportune but of prime importance at a time when the site of Nimrud is still yielding ivories to the excavations of Professor Mallowan and the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. But this volume is much more than a catalogue; the shapes and motifs of the Loftus and the Layard group, and the comparative study of similar collections of ivories from Palestine, Syria, Assyria, Greece and Etruria are valuable not only to students of the archaeology of Nimrud itself, but to those interested in many different related problems. In elaboration of his suggestion, first made in 1935, that the origin of the 'Syrian style' must be found in north Syria, Dr. Barnett now produces evidence suggesting that the Loftus group, over half of which are carved in this style, was originally made in the city of Hama. Certainly, as the mass of worked ivory fragments from that site and now in the Museum of Copenhagen testify, Hama was an important centre for ivory working. The discussion of the ornamental flame-like pattern found on the hindquarters of lions and sphinxes contains the interesting new suggestion that it was derived from the art of Mitanni and that it is a 'trait born of an engraver's tool in the metal working arts'. If the home of the Loftus group is rightly identified as Hama, and if the author's views on the connection of this school of ivory carving with the Hurrians are accepted, then his comparisons between some of the details of the Loftus scenes, Urartian bronze work, the metal work of the Idaean cave in Crete, the *tridacna* shells (those found not only in Assyria but in Etruria), the Nimrud bronze bowls and some of the ivory work found in Etruria gain fresh significance, and suggest that Urartian and Phoenician metal-smiths may have been in contact with ivory workers in Hama.

An important fact often ignored by scholars, but discussed in some detail by Dr. Barnett, is that the peculiar physiognomy of the human beings illustrated by Hurrian art (enormous eyes, protruding nose and pinched mouth) known, to name two examples, from the statues of Idrimi, King of Alalakh, and that from Jabalat Al Baida, occurs in many of the ivories of the Syrian style from Nimrud. The author's opinion is stated on p. 42. 'To suggest that a given anthropological type must be associated with a particular language is of course misleading, but there can be little doubt that the features, presumably considered beautiful by the sculptor of Idrimi and the Loftus ivories, had some counterpart in a living type, and that this type was spread through some part of the area occupied by the Hurrians, and that it

remained popular and acceptable in north-east Syria long after they had disappeared as a linguistic entity.' This suggestion throws light on many puzzling occurrences of the 'Armenoid' type which can be found on many of the Tell Halaf reliefs at Zandjirli and in a peculiarly exaggerated form at Karatepe. At Zandjirli a good example can be found on the chariot relief of a bowman, wearing the distinctive Urartian tight-fitting crested helmet of the type found on the Balawat gates, riding in a chariot with a lion's head shield fixed to the back. This relief presumably dates from the early eighth century, when Zandjirli became part of the Urartian empire. One of the hunting scenes from Carchemish also reproduces this curious physical type with long nose, high forehead and protruding chin, again in connection with the circular lion shield. Now if the original home of the Hurrian people can be located in the region of Lake Van, the centre of the later kingdom of Urartu, a plausible hypothesis which at present rests on linguistic and not archaeological evidence, Dr. Barnett's suggestion that the ornamental flame-like pattern on the hindquarters of the animals and sphinxes in the Loftus group and on ivories from Hama should be regarded as a legacy of the earlier Hurrian tradition would explain the occurrences of this feature on north Syrian sculpture dating from the period of Urartian domination. The subsequent westward spread of both this distinctive artistic feature and the peculiar 'Armenoid' physiognomy then becomes more comprehensible. Bowmen showing these peculiar physical characteristics combined with Urartian crested helmets occur at Fortezza and the type can be found among early Etruscan bronze figurines and in Etruscan sculpture. The well-known figure riding a dolphin from Vulci, now in the Valle Giulia museum, and the head from Orvieto, are typical examples. The flame pattern also can be found not only on the Urartian reliefs from Ankara and on Corinthian vases, but in Italy on the stone grave reliefs from Tarquinia, and forms part of the strong oriental influence discernible in both early and later Etruscan art, which must derive in the first instance from the activities of Asiatic metal-smiths and ivory workers. In Etruria, the Bernardini tomb provides clear examples of ivories not only of local manufacture but also imported from Western Asia, and which, as Barnett remarks on p. 129, 'are distinguished from the remainder by being the only items carved in open-work . . . illustrating griffins climbing in the volute tree exactly like our series (Nimrud) D.1-9'. This is of prime importance for scholars interested in Etruscan ivory working. Since Professor Mallowan's excavations more can be added to this section, and several other interesting comparisons between Nimrud and Etruria can also be found among ivories from Marsiliana.

The plates throughout are clear, and attention has been paid to detail and different viewpoints. These are invaluable for students of ancient Asiatic ivory



working, and when considered alongside the material recently excavated by Professor Mallowan testify to the extraordinarily artistic and technical skill possessed by the Phoenician and Syrian craftsmen and the enormous production of their workshops.

K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP.

RUMPF (A.) **Stilphasen der spätantiken Kunst.**

Ein Versuch. [Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abh. Heft 44.] Köln & Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1957. Pp. 52, with 40 plates. DM. 9.80.

The author of this book is a classical archaeologist, and he looks at the period as one in which the living tradition of classical art still played a major role. Among the conflicting influences, classical themes and the classical conception of form continually re-emerge; the period is thus revealed as continuing those tendencies which are apparent in art throughout the whole Imperial period. The Philhellene reaction of Hadrian's day finds a close parallel, if on a far lesser scale, in the works of pagan 'Klein-kunst', such as the diptych of the Symmachi and the Nicomachi in the late fourth century A.D. Looked at in this light the period takes on a new interest for the classical archaeologist who has tended to regard it as outside his proper orbit.

In its accepted limits, the Late Antique runs from the reign of Diocletian to that of Justinian. R.'s purpose is to give an account of its main stylistic phases within a framework of fixed chronological points. In this he succeeds very well; the fixed points are numerous and the stylistic groupings are convincing. It is the first time that such an analysis has been attempted for the whole period, and the book must become a valuable introduction to the study of related problems—the development of Christian iconography, the foundations of the Byzantine style and other themes which are not touched upon.

The classical tradition which seems to be dead in the uncompromising ugliness of the Tetrarchy style emerges to something like a Renaissance in the early fourth century. This revival is not only apparent in form and subject but enters deeply into the spirit of such a work as the stele of a boy from Ostia (*La Critica d'Arte*, 1938, pp. 49–56) which might well have found a place in this book. With this 'Renaissance' belongs a revived taste for works of classical antiquity, both originals and copies. R.'s dating of the famous Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo to this period is interesting and should probably be accepted, but there is doubt about the Jupiter Verospis and the statuette of Athena from Epidaurus might be second rather than fourth century.

The contrary tendencies in the art of the period are well illustrated in the reaction to the decadent classicism of the late fourth century. The strength and boldness of the figures on the Probus diptych are a refreshing change from the feeble prettiness of the

earlier phase. This interplay of classical and non-classical elements gives life and interest to the art of a civilisation in confusion and decline, and it is not until the final abandonment of the idea of a unified empire that the driving force of classical antiquity becomes wholly alien to the art of the time.

No doubt the book is oversimplified. The stylistic phases of the period are probably not as closely fixed chronologically nor the artistic unity of the Empire at the time so certain a fact as R. gives us to believe, but broad outlines of stylistic change in the period are clearly explained and must be accepted. The exposition is excellent and the bibliography very full. The pictures are very adequate for purposes of rapid comparison and make up in quantity—there are 189 in all—for what they lack in quality, and, as R. says, most of the objects are well illustrated in accessible books.

D. E. STRONG.

LAUMONIER (A.) **Exploration Archéologique de Délos. XXIII: Les Figurines de terre cuite.**

Paris: Boccard, 1956. Pp. 320, with 106 plates. Price not stated.

The publication of the terracottas from Delos and Rheneia has long been awaited, and this handsome book amply justifies our expectations. The author modestly states that his purpose is merely to present the material; in fact he does more. The very arrangement of a mass of material of this nature demands considerable research, but we are given more than this.

Some 1,400 terracottas and fragments of terracottas are catalogued. Of this total, some 1,100 are assigned to the later second and early first centuries B.C. The remainder cover the Mycenaean, Geometric, Archaic, Classical and Roman periods, with the almost complete exception of the fourth and third centuries B.C.

An introduction lists the find-spots, with their validity for establishing a chronology. For the earlier periods, neither tombs nor deposits are of much help, but for the Late Hellenistic period, the houses and above all the workshops are of paramount importance, since some can be dated by external means, and others by cross-links in the shape of identical terracottas, which are listed.

The catalogue proper is arranged chronologically. Each piece is illustrated and is described in the following order: general description; colour of clay; dimensions; provenance; discussion. Detailed dating is seldom attempted for individual pieces, but the general chronology is outlined in introductory paragraphs. In view of the difficulty of dating terracottas, and the diversity of dates of identical pieces which can be dated, this procedure is sound. Laumonier differs from the reviewer in dating certain Rhodian archaic pieces rather higher. The evidence is slight, but he may be right.

Attributions are sound, where they are attempted. It is sometimes possible to identify fabrics by



distinctive clays but there are always doubtful pieces. At Delos the question is further complicated by the absence of good clay on the island, and the consequent necessity for coroplasts to import their raw material.

The early pieces are mostly already known, and have little new to tell us. It is, however, of great interest that a Rhodian protome (no. 109) is inscribed with a dedication to Hera. We may infer that, in this case at least, this goddess is represented. Laumonier further makes the good point that the equipping of a common type with wings (no. 60) is proof that a goddess is also represented in the normal wingless form.

It is the Late Hellenistic pieces which are really important. It is now made possible to date many types, known to belong roughly to this period, by other than stylistic means. And it is interesting to note how completely the 'Tanagra' style of the late fourth and third centuries had died out by the later second. Many types known from Myrina and Smyrna can now be securely dated, and it is gratifying that the dating in most cases supports the stylistic deductions of Mrs. Thompson and Kleiner. Moreover, a number of types, previously known only from heads, are now given a body.

The concordances and indices are good; and the plates maintain a high standard in a very difficult field, although the black backgrounds not infrequently entail loss of definition.

R. A. HIGGINS.

GHALI-KAHIL (L. B.) **Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène dans les textes et les documents figurés.** Text and plates. Paris: De Boccard, 1955. Pp. 364, with 104 plates. Price not stated.

Among recent comprehensive studies on a mythological theme in ancient literature and art, the French doctoral thesis of Mrs. Ghali ranks as a very valuable, in many ways well conceived and exemplary, contribution to the scholarship of ancient civilisation. The author has chosen as her subject the myth of Paris and Helen, a story with many diverse and colourful events; Mrs. Ghali does not limit herself to the study of the visit of Paris in Sparta and to his seduction of Helen, but she deals also with those incidents at 'the other end', in Troy, where after twenty years of bitter confusion Menelaos recovers Helen and departs with her for Sparta. A few documents (cat. nos. 106-11, pp. 144 ff.; cat. nos. 168-9, pp. 195 f.) even deal with the wedding procession of Menelaos and Helen in Sparta, which are juxtaposed to the middle Corinthian column-krater in New York (p. 117, no. 112, pl. 40.1) with the wedding procession of Paris and Helen in Troy.

One of the great merits of the work is the detailed consideration of the literary sources from Homer to the Latin poets given as background to the figured material. Almost one-third of the thesis is dedicated to a discussion of the myth of Paris, Helen and

Menelaos as treated by Greek and Roman authors. The multiple aspects of individual literary interpretation in the epos, in lyric poetry, and in Attic tragedy, are astounding. Since the written documents thus form a very solid and well-conceived frame, the picture within the frame, i.e. the monuments, mostly vase-paintings, which depict the events at Sparta and at Troy, gain in intensity and in significance and also throw an interesting light on the mutual connections and, in many cases, close relationships between ancient literature and art.

The thesis naturally concentrates on the Greek monuments from the middle of the sixth to the late fourth century B.C., because the myth of Helen was more plentifully represented at this than at any other time. The small number of Roman documents is probably not surprising, since Aeneas, the glorious ancestor of the Romans, has accompanied Paris to Sparta and thus plays an essential role in the abduction of Helen, which is eventually the reason for the sack of Troy.

The author has arranged the material in three main sections dealing with (a) the literature from Homer to and including the lyric poets and the earliest known figured objects to about 430 B.C.; (b) Attic tragedy and fourth century B.C. literature and the monuments from the end of the fifth century (425 B.C.) to the end of the fourth century B.C.; (c) Hellenistic and Roman literature and the monuments of these two periods. There is a chapter on Helen in Etruscan art, which depicts the heroine on mirrors, bronze cists, and urns. Concluding sections deal with the *Palinodie* of Helen, Herodotus and the rationalisation of the legends, the rape of Helen by Theseus, and the earliest monuments showing Helen, the interpretation of which is in many cases very uncertain.

Since the majority of the monuments belong to the red-figure style of vase-painting, black-figure vases are often mentioned together with the former in the same group, if the subject represented is basically the same. An example is section (b) on p. 78, nos. 42 ff., where two black-figured versions of the pursuit of Helen by Menelaos (nos. 42-3) are followed by as many as nine red-figured vase-paintings, including an Etruscan amphora in the British Museum (no. 52, pl. 55). At first sight the mentioning together of so many monuments of different origin may seem confusing; but, since these monuments belong together from the point of view of subject, the arrangement of the monuments as conceived by the author seems a plausible one.

Before I attempt to clarify some points of interpretation in referring to individual monuments, I would like to raise one question concerning the inclusion of some later red-figure vase-paintings in the first major section (a), which deals with the epic and lyric literature and the respective artistic monuments. It is surprising to see that the *amphoriskos* in Berlin (p. 59, no. 14, pl. 8.2-3), the wonderful egg, formerly in the Guennol collection (p. 66, no. 23,



pl. 5, 1-4), and the Vatican oinochoe (p. 90, no. 72, pl. 66, 1-3) are mentioned in this section. These three works of art date from the latter part of the fifth century B.C.; they follow closely the art of the Parthenon, of Pheidias and his disciples. Not on the basis of this relationship, but only on account of the date of these monuments, which serve best to illustrate my point, one would imagine that the impact of epic and lyric literature was slight, whereas the influence of Attic tragedy was overwhelmingly important. And this is indeed the case. The act of profound meditation in the figure of Helen and the great number of eloquent personifications on the Berlin amphoriskos, the juxtaposition of highly refined psychological notions on the Vatican oinochoe (see below, comment to pp. 90 and 253), and last the dramatic flight of Helen and Paris on the Guennol egg, all of these aspects attest the dependence of these monuments on Greek tragedy, and as such ought to have been dealt with much more emphatically than is the case on pp. 97 f. In this passage the author considers the possibility that the Vatican oinochoe in which one of Helen's breasts is supposedly bared had some influence upon contemporary writers. This does not seem to me to be valid, since both breasts of Helen are actually covered by the overfold of the peplos, as I attempt to show below.

The author furthermore states (p. 118) that 'toutes les représentations de l'époque archaïque de la figure noire et celle du style sévère suivent fidèlement la tendance des poètes épiques'. And the author includes in her statement the superb skyphos by Makron in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (p. 53, no. 11, pl. 4; see also comment below to p. 52). But the delightful elegance and the luxuriant joy in the visualisation of so many fascinating details recall poems by Bacchylides, a contemporary of Makron, hence connections with lyric and not epic poetry.

It is evident that the wealth of material which the author has approached so satisfactorily from as many angles as possible, nevertheless prompts some suggestions for a reconsideration of given interpretations, for corrections, and for general criticism.

p. 50, no. 7, pl. 3, 1: Concerning the gesture of the left hand of the left-hand warrior, 'qui abaisse une main gauche secourable, comme pour l'aider à avancer'. Possibly he is also trying to prevent the woman's escaping. This interpretation can be supported, I think, by the drawn sword in the warrior's right hand.

p. 51, no. 10, pl. 3, 2: The author thinks that Helen's right hand expresses a gesture of hesitation. Could not the gesture be related also to the drawn sword in Paris' right hand? Helen is willing to follow, but she minds that Paris gives the flight the aspect of an armed, forced abduction.

p. 51, conclusion, type I: The author has carefully considered the identification of the figures on the monuments (cat. nos. 1-10) with Helen and Paris. In the discussion of the meaning of the

wreath on the shield bands from Olympia (nos. 1-2) a cross reference ought to have been made to the oinochoe in the Villa Giulia, p. 108, 2b. This vase-painting shows how dangerous it is to limit oneself in the interpretation of an attribute to only one possible meaning. Or is it merely due to the 'thoughtlessness' of the painter that he has 'exceptionally' given a wreath to Helen? See also pp. 318 ff. for the description of the geometric dinos from Thebes in the British Museum in London.

p. 53, no. 11: Add G. H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Antiquities. A Guide to the Classical Collection* (1950), p. 66, fig. 73.

p. 55, Conclusion, type II: The author thinks that Paris and Aeneas are represented as warriors on the obverse of the skyphos by Makron in Boston (cat. no. 11, pl. 4). I cannot agree with her view. Aeneas has the petasos and sandals, as well as two lances, as do many travellers on Greek vase-paintings. The helmet which is worn by Paris is not a cogent reason to call him a warrior, since Menelaos has a helmet in the picture of the wedding scene (!) on the lekythos Berlin F 2205 (cat. no. 107, pl. 85, 2), but none of the regular attributes of a warrior (shield, greaves, corselet, sword). A glance at pls. 1-3 with Paris and Aeneas as warriors, seem fully to support the view that Makron had travellers and not warriors in his mind.

p. 59, no. 14, pl. 8, 2-3: I am not convinced that Helen is seated 'sur les genoux d'Aphrodite'. As a matter of fact, the knees of the goddess appear behind Helen's back. Both then, it is true, are seated closely together on the rock, Aphrodite in three-quarter view to left, Helen in profile to right. It was difficult for the artist to render the notion of the spacial depth of two bodies, one behind the other. But the way the garment is spread over the rock leaves, in my opinion, no doubt that Helen is seated on the rock and that she is leaning against Aphrodite's thighs and her knees.

p. 61, no. 15, pl. 9, 1-2: What is the function of Eros? Here and less evidently in no. 114, p. 158, pl. 11, it is in a kind of proleptic composition, through the presence of the emissary of Aphrodite that Helen feels the growth of her affection for Paris. We have strictly speaking a composition consisting of two parts: in the right half of the obverse of the cup the arrival of Paris in Menelaos' palace; in the left half the effects of Paris' visit in Sparta, ingeniously indicated by Love personified (= the figure of Eros) and by the struggle which has seized the soul of Helen.

p. 63, no. 16, pl. 10: Various difficulties present themselves in the interpretation of the three fragments. Is Helen represented seated or standing? Her head which comes close to the rim of the calyx-krater, the lower part of which could be indicated by the fragmentary black line in the left upper half of the sherd, suggests that Helen is standing rather than sitting. A similar line occurs on fragment pl. 10, 2, with the name of Aphrodite and Eros just



below the line. Secondly, why does Helen bow her head? Certainly because the latter is at the same level as the head of the standing Aphrodite, whom she does not want to face. If Helen were seated she could look straight ahead and still avoid the penetrating look of the standing goddess. Thirdly, I have doubts as to Mrs. Ghali's reconstruction of the whole scene, with one seated figure in the left half of the picture and three standing figures in the right half of the picture. This is not a 'classical' composition—the date of the fragments is about 450 B.C.—in which the figures are usually more evenly distributed, with emphasis either in the centre of the composition or at both ends. If Helen were standing, we should have two two-figure groups, Helen and Aphrodite, and Paris and Aeneas respectively, with Paris possibly looking back at Aeneas. In such a composition the figures were satisfactorily balanced. That there was no figure behind Helen or to the extreme left in the vase-painting may be indicated by the fragmentary black line at the edge of the sherd pl. 10, 1, which possibly belongs to a scroll (*cf.* pl. 10, 3). There is yet one more difficulty which deserves our attention. For the sake of the interpretation it should not be overlooked that the remains of the garment on fragment pl. 10, 3 may belong to the mantle of Aphrodite on fragment pl. 10, 2. If this were the case, the whole composition of the scene would have to be reconsidered.

p. 63, no. 17, pl. 8, 1: Is there really room for a seated figure to the right of the helmeted youth?

p. 65, no. 20, pl. 15, 1: Aphrodite sits on a camp stool, which is represented in three-quarter view, as can be concluded from the position of the goddess' legs and from the upper oval ends to which the legs of the stool are fastened. One half of one of these oval ends appears a little below the right knee of Paris. At the same level as the latter, there is the knee of Aphrodite's left leg; the oblique line formed by the lower left leg suggests that her left foot was set behind the right foot; the right leg of Aphrodite which is covered by both mantle and chiton, is outlined by means of a vertical line; a pad of her mantle rests on the left thigh and an edge of the mantle hangs down between the far leg of the stool and the left leg of Aphrodite, parallel to Paris' right leg. The attitude of Aphrodite's head and upper body in profile to left made the rendering of the three-quarter view of the legs necessary. But the painter was not very successful in this rendering, and furthermore, the present state of preservation of the dish does not allow a clear view of all details.

p. 66, no. 23, pl. 5, 1-4: In the description of the scene the author should have noted the shrub which separates the figure of Eros from that of Aeneas and serves as means to indicate the first and last figure in the composition. The ground over which Aeneas (!) and the chariot of Paris swiftly flee is strewn with stones.

p. 70, note 1: I do not understand the reference: '*cf. ibid.*, fig. 17', following a reference to Beazley, *ARV*.

p. 72, no. 28: For Alb. 350, read Alb. 358.

p. 73, no. 31: For Alb. 358, read Alb. 350. For 'gauche' in the second line of the description read 'droite'.

p. 73, no. 32: Add Beazley, *ABV*, p. 141, no. 2 (group of London B 174). As far as I can see there is very little that is ancient in this vase.

p. 74, no. 36, pl. 46, 1: In the fourth line of the description read 'gauche' for 'droite'. Is the black line below Menelaos' left upper arm part of the sword held in Menelaos' right hand? *Cp.* no. 85, pl. 76, 2.

p. 78, no. 43, pl. 47, 1: It is hardly Helen's intention to touch the head (better: the helmet) of Menelaos. The gesture of Helen's right hand is a conventional one in scenes of flight. It so happens that Helen's fingers come close to the helmet of Menelaos without any further significance implied.

p. 80, no. 50, pl. 53, 1: line 3 of the description, after 'épaule' add 'gauche'. Does not Helen actually touch Menelaos' upper body in her 'gesture of supplication'?

p. 80, no. 52, pl. 45: line 6 of the description: for 'avant' read 'arrière'.

p. 81, no. 54, pl. 56, 2: In contrast to the author, I think that Aphrodite is very moved by the flight of Helen. The gesture of the goddess's right hand expresses her emotion as regards the fierce pursuit of Helen by Menelaos.

p. 83, no. 56, pl. 58, 2: I cannot agree with the interpretation of the figure of Athena. The goddess does not seem to stop Menelaos in his pursuit, she plays no active role. One has to consider the place of action, the city of Troy, where Athena and Apollo were prominent gods. The goddesses, who for a number of reasons actively intervened in the pursuit of Helen, are Aphrodite and Peitho.

p. 87, no. 60, pl. 60, 1-3: Possibly the right arm of Helen was simply held to left (or backward), and therefore disappears behind the shield of Menelaos.

p. 90, no. 72, pl. 66, 1-3: 'Pour une fois inattentive à sa toilette, elle a laissé pendre ses cheveux en désordre.' It seems to me that the disordered, loose hair of Helen is suggesting the swift flight of hers, and furthermore emphasises her fright. In regard to the flight one could also notice the folds of the peplos which fall over the right breast of Helen and indicate her movement to right, whereas the vertical stacked folds over her left breast rather suggest the interruption of the flight at the vertically erect palladium. The author states on p. 98 that 'les peintres montrent Hélène dévoilant un sein'. This detail is not mentioned in the description of the oinochoe on pp. 90 f., and I do not think that the statement can be supported by any evidence in the drawing of the Vatican vase. Both breasts are covered by the overfold of the peplos. The author was misled in her interpretation by the drawing of the folds between which the breasts project prominently. They are rendered in the archaic way, i.e. in profile to right and left respectively.



p. 95, no. 77, pl. 67, 1-2: Does the painting in the interior of the shield stand in any relationship to the myth of Helen and Menelaos?

p. 100, no. 89, pl. 78, 4: For *ABV*, p. 271, read *ABV*, p. 272.

p. 102, no. 96: Now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. *MMB* vol. xv, no. 7, March 1957, p. 169, upper right.

p. 103, no. 100, pl. 82, 1: Remarkably delightful expression in the physiognomies and attitudes of both figures.

p. 105, note: for 'Catal. nos. 83 à 96' read 'Catal. nos. 97-102'.

p. 109, *c* and *h*, as well as other vases listed under 2 on pp. 108 ff. represent more likely the departure of a warrior (or of warriors) than the recovery of Helen. See also p. 111 *passim*.

Throughout chapter B, *The Return of Helen: Menelaos and Helen* (pp. 71 ff.) Mrs. Ghali interprets the gesture of Helen's right or left hand which holds on to the edge of the mantle as the well-known gesture of *ἀνακαλυπτήριον*. While looking at the vase-paintings listed in this chapter, I have often wondered if this interpretation is the correct one. Judging from the danger which Helen faces, namely the naked sword of Menelaos, one would be inclined to think that Helen seeks refuge and protection behind her mantle and is about to cover herself up. In the same context the question arises, whether in grasping the self-same edge of the mantle of Helen, Menelaos intends to draw his wife toward himself (as the author suggests, see e.g. text to no. 28), or, whether he seeks to prevent Helen protecting herself by means of the mantle. Now, it seems to me that the picture on 1 d, p. 107, pl. 84, 3, supports the latter interpretation—Menelaos has not seized the edge of Helen's mantle, but her right arm, which is covered by the mantle and with which she sought to protect herself. That other vase-painters have intended to represent something similar becomes evident while looking at further vase-paintings, notably no. 88, pl. 79, 2. Unfortunately the literary tradition regarding the recovery of Helen helps little in the interpretation of the vase-paintings discussed in chapter B. While dealing with the *Iliupersis* by Arctinos and the *Small Iliad* by Lesches (pp. 31 f.), Mrs. Ghali correctly states that 'la scène piquante du sein découvert est trop moderne pour l'époque de Lesches'. The author has successfully separated two groups of vase-paintings, (a) in which Menelaos faces Helen, menaces her with his sword, and, according to Mrs. Ghali, draws Helen toward him by means of the edge of the mantle; (b) in which Menelaos walks off in the same direction as Helen, but turns himself back toward her, holding the sword and grasping the mantle. The monuments in group (a) (pp. 71 ff., nos. 24-41) are connected by the author with the *Small Iliad* by Lesches, in which we are told that Menelaos meets Helen during the sack of Troy (cf. p. 77). The vase-paintings in group (b) (pp. 99 ff., nos. 83-96) are related to the *Iliupersis*

by Arctinos, in which the poet narrates that Menelaos led Helen to the Greek ships (cf. p. 105). Hence the motive of the walking off of Menelaos and Helen in these latter documents. Since in both pictorial versions of the two literary themes Menelaos has drawn his sword, it seems to the reviewer as if Helen were seeking protection behind her mantle.

With the intervention of Aphrodite in the later development of Greek Art, we have a figure who acts as *dea ex machina*. Eros, too, soothes the anger of Menelaos, his beneficent influence being most ingeniously indicated by the sword which drops from Menelaos' hand on several vase-paintings. If we speak, with Mrs. Ghali, of a ritual gesture known as the *ἀνακαλυπτήριον*, I fail to see the connection of this gesture with Helen, since she is no longer a bride, nor is she being abducted, but is being recovered by Menelaos. It is true that there is no difference in the gesture of Helen in scenes of the recovery, such as e.g. nos. 27 ff. and the recently discovered fragments from Smyrna with the wedding procession of Menelaos and Helen (no. 106, pl. 87, 1). But whereas on the latter vase Menelaos rides peacefully beside his wife and the gesture of Helen is indeed the ritual gesture of the *ἀνακαλυπτήριον*, I doubt that this very gesture in the recovery scenes can be interpreted in the same way, since Menelaos is not kindly disposed toward his consort.

p. 116: Would one not expect Menelaos to be unarmed at the wedding? I cannot see anything strange in the fact that Menelaos is unarmed on no. 108, pl. 85, 1; but find it, on the contrary, difficult to believe that Menelaos should appear fully armed in the wedding procession with Helen, as on no. 109, pl. 87, 3.

p. 158, no. 114: see above, no. 15.

p. 159, no. 117, pl. 14, 1-4: Except for the two-figure group of Paris and Eros, I fail to see the relationship of the composition on this vase to that on the Berlin Amphoriskos, no. 14, pl. 8, 2-3 (cf. also p. 176 *passim*). It is natural that Paris looks at Helen on the present oinochoe, since Eros is pointing at her. Helen herself has ceased to play the lyre as her right hand with the *plektron* indicates and she is contemplating Paris. Eros indeed is a *trait d'union* between Helen and Paris, thus the figures form a three-figure group closed within itself. On the amphoriskos in Berlin the principal figures constitute two very distinct two-figure groups, with no direct relationship to each other, except that Aphrodite persuades Helen, while Eros, her emissary, is conversing with Paris.

p. 168, no. 128, pl. 19, 1-2: line 6 of the description, for 'vers la gauche' read 'vers la droite'. Helen's right hand rests in her lap and not on her knees. The young man in the upper right corner seems simply to be holding the pithos in an oblique position.

p. 169, no. 129, pl. 20: Could not the female figures with sceptres in the lower register of this



vase-painting represent the female companions of Helen, such as princesses of neighbouring towns of Sparta, rather than divinities? Likewise, in regard to no. 132, p. 170, pl. 23, 2, which depicts three male figures with lances and a stick respectively, I could imagine that these figures were friends of Paris rather than the Dioscuri and Aeneas.

p. 175, no. 139, pl. 25: After Harvard, add: University, Cambridge, Mass.

p. 181, no. 149, pl. 30, 2: It seems to me that Helen looks at Paris and not into her mirror; the fingers of her right hand play with the fillet, which Helen was about to tie around her head, when her attention was attracted by the speech of Paris. Is not the object in Hermes' left hand an omphalos cup of precious metal (?) with bosses?

p. 182, no. 151, pl. 29, 1: Is Paris really seated, with the right foot on an elevation and the left hand at the right knee in an attitude so similar to the Hermes Lansdowne? The vine-arbour above the figures suggests a pergola underneath which Helen receives Paris. But there is also the element of landscape in the stones on the ground and the elevation mentioned earlier.

p. 184, no. 154, pl. 27: To the bibliography add V. Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles* (1954), pl. 1 (frontispiece). The old interpretation of the vase-painting, namely Antigone before Creon, is to be preferred for a number of reasons. Paris lacks any of the attributes so familiar to him. The garment suggests a servant or guard, and not a princely figure who arrives back at Troy with a ship laden with treasures from the Phoenician coast. Except for the chlamys worn by the second guard, it is the identity of the garment which makes one believe that Antigone is surrounded by the subordinates of Creon. Is not the left hand of Antigone rendered in a pleading gesture?

p. 186, no. 157, pl. 28, 1-2: Arrival of Paris with companions in Sparta?

p. 191, no. 162, pl. 83, 1: Does not the right-hand figure, no doubt an armed Phrygian similar to the Trojan next to the Palladium, form part of the three-figure group, a composition consisting of Menelaos, Helen, and the Trojan?

p. 192, no. 163, pl. 72, 1: I prefer to recognise in the seat of Aphrodite and Helen a rock instead of an 'autel schématisé'. I cannot see the traits of an elderly woman in Aphrodite's physiognomy.

p. 192, no. 164, pl. 73, 2-4: Is not the broad patterned belt which covers about half of the upper body of Aphrodite, from just below the breasts to the thighs, perhaps an Etruscan version of the *κεστός ἱμάς ποικίλον* (Iliad 14, 215)? For the attitude of Helen's body, cf. also p. 270, no. 225, pl. 94, 1.

p. 198, relief mirror, pl. 33, no. 1: The mirror represents more likely Paris in company of Aphrodite after the Judgment of Paris. The glance of Paris' eyes suggests that he is not concerned about the figure seated next to him, but that he is brooding about the future and the promise which Aphrodite has made.

Helen stands not in reality, but in Paris' imagination, in all her beauty and splendour before him.

p. 199, line: for pl. XXXV, 2, read pl. XXXII, 2.

pp. 230 f., no. 176, pl. 37, 1: I fail to see the relationship between the group of Aphrodite and Helen on this painting and the same group of figures on the r.f. amphoriskos in Berlin, p. 59, no. 14, pl. 8, 2-3. The Heimarmene painter stands isolated with his attractive composition; Aphrodite faces Helen; the latter is rendered in a deeply meditative attitude; these details in the rendering make all the difference between this group of two figures and those in the neo-Attic reliefs (pp. 225 ff., nos. 170-5) on the one hand, and the Pompeian painting (p. 230, no. 176) on the other. L. Curtius (*Vermächtnis*, p. 120, cf. the present study, p. 231, note 1) stated that on the neo-Attic reliefs both two-figure groups have been developed in the spirit of the fourth century B.C. art, the groups of male figures less, those of the female figures more. But I cannot see with Mrs. Ghali any relationship between Paris on her pl. 37, 1 and 'l'esprit polyclééen'. The statue that comes to my mind when looking at Paris is the Hellenistic Ruler in the Terme Museum, who may well attempt to re-evolve the Polycléitan ideal, but is based entirely on the physical ideal of Hellenistic times; and so is the figure of Paris.

pp. 233 f., no. 180, pl. 39, 1: It could be that Helen rests her feet on a very low footstool, but hardly upon a pillow. It seems to me that the preservation of the painting makes the discussion of other details difficult, such as e.g. the quiver of Paris.

p. 234, no. 182, pl. 36, 3: I would suggest that Paris looks toward the right, not exactly at Helen, but in her direction.

p. 238, no. 188, pl. 6, 3-4: What is the date of the sarcophagus?

p. 242, last line: for *qni* read *qui*.

pp. 243 f., no. 195, pl. 41, 5: I agree with the author's interpretation of the scene, but I do not think that the comparison with the relief in Florence, cat. no. 175, pl. 36, 1-2 is well chosen to support her identification of the figures.

p. 247, no. 201: second but last line of the description: for 'Troyens' read 'Troyennes'.

p. 250: Concerning the pictorial and/or sculptural prototype of the two-figure group of Aphrodite and Helen on the one, and Paris and Eros on the other hand, I do not believe that the prototype is much earlier than the very end of the fifth century B.C. Both groups on the amphoriskos in Berlin, p. 59, no. 14, pl. 8, 2-3, still reflect the art of Phidias and his pupils (cf. p. 64, no. 19, and W. Hahland, *Studien zur attischen Vasenmalerei um 400 v. Chr.*, pp. 23 ff.). At the end of the fifth century B.C. painters and sculptors (as reflected in the neo-Attic reliefs) represent Aphrodite and Helen seated side by side and not facing one another; noteworthy changes in the attitude of Paris have occurred; Paris' arms are no longer lowered, as on the Berlin amphoriskos, but one hand at least holds the lances at the level of the



head (no. 115, pl. 12, 3; no. 118, pl. 12, 4; no. 20, pl. 15, 1; the neo-Attic reliefs, nos. 170 ff., pls. 34 ff.). The Pompeian painter of the fresco in the Casa di Amantius (no. 176, pl. 37, 1) goes far beyond any former attempt in the linking together of the protagonists. Mrs. Ghali has the tendency to give the composition on the amphoriskos in Berlin too great an importance (cf. also p. 328, conclusion). It has been shown that the composition of the grouping together of the two figures of Helen and Aphrodite is exceptional and that it has found no successors; it is the latter, i.e. the sons of the collaborators of Pheidias, who are responsible for the pictorial and sculptural prototype which was of so lasting influence upon the art of Greece and Rome after 400 B.C.

p. 253: The author suggests that it is a literary tradition which has inspired the representation of Peitho. But is it necessary to explain the presence of Peitho on a number of vase-paintings on account of this literary tradition? It seems to me that she is an all-essential element in the meeting of Paris and Helen. Mrs. Ghali herself states that Peitho is 'une émanation d'Aphrodite, une force vivante dégagee de la déesse' (p. 254). Such a conception of the helpmate of Aphrodite fully justifies her presence on so many monuments with the myth of Helen. Peitho cannot be called 'une figure de remplissage' (p. 254) on the oinochoe in the Vatican (no. 72, pl. 46). It is the presence of Peitho which makes Menelaos desist from killing his wife. Does not the overwhelming dramatic effect of the truly wonderful vase-painting consist above all in the juxtaposition of relaxed, nonchalant, and almost playful figures (Aphrodite and Peitho) with others, which express fright, terror and wrath (Helen and Menelaos). If our painter has substituted the male figure in the left-hand metope of the Parthenon which depicts the same myth by the figure of Peitho, it was not merely for the sake of 'remplissage'. For that purpose he could have chosen the companion of Menelaos from the metope. The vase-painter decided himself for Peitho, because he felt the profound meaning inherent in this figure. Whether or not the two metopes of the Parthenon are inspired by a pictorial prototype of an Iliupersis as the author thinks (p. 327, top) is difficult to say. The painter of the Vatican oinochoe seems to have chosen the Parthenon metopes as prototype, but one cannot but admire the important change that has occurred with the introduction of the figure of Peitho!

p. 265, no. 208: first line of the description: for Malakisch read Malafisch.

p. 266, no. 213, pl. 91, 2: The description of the mirror ought to have mentioned the hare in the segment.

p. 267, no. 216, pl. 89, 1: This is a very unusual scene. There is a winged creature between Elina and Turan, and there seem to be two sirens below the table. Do these figures have any specific significance in the present context?

p. 272, no. 229, pl. 95: Some imagination is needed

to follow the interpretation of the two two-figure groups as Paris and Nike and Helen and Menelaos respectively.

p. 275, no. 233, pl. 97, 2: The central figure is very likely Aeneas (cf. no. 235).

p. 281: The deeper meaning of the representation of the rape of Helen on Etruscan urns could best be explained on basis of the symbolism of rape on mortuary monuments. In this context it is important to note that 'le départ est toujours figuré comme rapt, jamais comme une fuite volontaire' (the italics are mine).

p. 291, note 2: add to the bibliography K. Reinhardt, *Von Werken und Formen, Vorträge und Aufsätze* (1948), pp. 163 ff.

p. 310, note 3: add S. Karousou, *Amasis* (1956), no. 34, pl. 19, 2.

p. 310, note 4: add eadem, *ibid.*, no. 55, pls. 19, 1; 20, 2.

p. 310, note 8: The suggestion for the identification of Corone with a famous contemporary hetaira in Athens was already made by Lullies, *Griechische Vasen* (1953), p. 13.

It might have been useful for the reader if the author had added the references to the plates after each mention of the numbers in the catalogue, e.g. p. 187, note 1: 'cf. Cat. nos. 152-3, pls. 6, 2 and 41'. The plates contain the museum nos. of the vases, but give no reference to the nos. of the monument as listed in her catalogue.

In the chapter entitled 'Le premier rapt d'Hélène' (pp. 305 ff.), in which the author reviews the literary and artistic monuments which deal with the rape of Helen by Theseus, one could have expected the author to make some reference to the southern frieze of the Siphnian treasury, which, as is well known, depicts a scene of abduction. Since the detailed discussion of the Siphnian treasury in P. de La Coste-Mesellière, *Au musée de Delphes* (1936), pp. 237 ff., no serious attempt has been made to my knowledge to reconsider the subject of the southern frieze. I was inclined elsewhere (*Parisurteil*, p. 44) to accept the interpretation of the western frieze as a representation of the Judgment of Paris. However, I have stated that it is difficult to cite any close iconographic parallel in vase-painting from the late sixth to the middle of the fourth century B.C. for the very peculiar composition in the frieze. I have been wondering recently whether the southern frieze of the Siphnian treasury may perhaps depict the myth of the abduction of Helen by Paris. Mrs. Ghali's chapter on the abduction of Helen by Theseus has strengthened my inclinations in this respect.

In regard to a possible interpretation of the southern frieze as the abduction of Helen by Paris, I am considering two major problems.

First, the question of the *thematic unity* in the decoration of the Treasury.<sup>1</sup> Subordinated to the northern frieze with the battle of the Gods against the Giants (= Greeks v. Trojans) are the western

<sup>1</sup> Picard-Miré, *Delphes*, pls. 60 ff.



frieze with (a) the Judgment of Paris, the southern frieze with (b) the abduction of Helen by Paris, and the eastern frieze with (c) the assembly of the Olympians watching the fight for a fallen warrior between some of the foremost Greek and Trojan heroes. The western and southern friezes (a, b) are related to two episodes preceding the Greek expedition to Troy (Cyprian Songs), whereas the eastern frieze (c) depicts the battle at Troy (Iliad).

Second, the complete lack of any iconographic parallel in the repertory of the Judgment of Paris to the western frieze, would be true also for the rape of Helen in the southern frieze. Scholars have tried to identify the abduction scene with the myth of Pelops and Hippodameia, the rape of the daughters of Leukippos, as well as the abduction of Antiope by Theseus. With equal right, I think, we may suggest the abduction of Helen. Elements in the sculptured slabs from the southern frieze as far as they are preserved lend themselves to the proposed interpretation. The woman who is lifted into the chariot does not offer any resistance. Paris is accompanied by several companions (= brothers), of whom at least one drove a second chariot, while a younger brother of Paris rides on a horse. Since there is an altar in one of the slabs, the event has been related to a scene in a sanctuary. But has not every Mycenaean palace its sacred hearth? Does not the sculptor very skilfully dramatise the violation of the hospitality by juxtaposing the abduction to the altar of Zeus ξένιος?

In conclusion it may be said that it is much more likely that the southern frieze is to be identified with the abduction of Helen by Paris than with any other myths of abduction which have formerly been considered by archaeologists.

CHRISTOPH CLAIRMONT.

GOLDMAN (H.) **Excavations at Gözlü Kale, Tarsus. Vol. II. From the Neolithic through the Bronze Age.** Text and plates. Princeton: University Press, 1956 (London: Oxford University Press). Pp. x + 373, 458 plates and 26 plans. £14 8s. od.

To a very welcome extent the strata at Tarsus are a complement to those of Mersin, and the two sites together now afford a more or less coherent framework for Cilician prehistory through neolithic, chalcolithic and Bronze Age times. At Mersin all the post-Ubaidian levels were telescoped; whereas at Tarsus the Ubaid and a new late chalcolithic phase are well established and two millennia of successive Bronze Age phases fully represented.

It is perhaps inevitable that Miss Goldman's Tarsus should be compared with Garstang's *Prehistoric Mersin* (Oxford, 1953). The latter, with the whole cultural content of each successive phase dealt with *seriatim*, with its illustrations opposite the relevant text most of the time, with its useful stratigraphic table and eye-catching elevations and restorations of structures, is a very readable book

which is easy to use. But Miss Goldman and the Princeton University Press have preferred a more austere model; there are successive chapters on the buildings and habitation levels, the pottery, the seals, the bronzes and so on, and one must turn the pages in order to extract the picture of any given phase; all the illustrations are in a separate volume with the briefest of sub-titles; the system of arranging the numbered pots out of serial order makes them hard to find quickly; there are, in short, few concessions to the frivolous reader. Yet no serious student of the subject will regret that *Tarsus* has been presented to us with this detail, on a Trojan scale and with memorable objectivity.

The neolithic material is admittedly scanty, and, as at Mersin, work was severely restricted by ground water. The culture is essentially the same as that of Mersin. Tarsus is important nevertheless as adding necessary weight to the concept of a well-defined Syro-Cilician neolithic culture, best known at present from Mersin and the Amuq A sites. Professor Mellink might well have added to her brief remarks on the context of this important group.

Recent work is demonstrating cultural and chronological divisions within the often vaguely quoted 'neolithic dark burnished wares of the Near East'. A very few published sherds from Ras Shamra link this site with the Mersin-Amuq A group. But to the south the Byblos A and Tabbat al-Hamman assemblages appear to belong to a distinct variant from the main northern group. (The material from the M level at Hama is hardly known in sufficient detail for discussion, but must fall into one of these two groups.) The Sakçe Gözü 'neolithic', again, is somewhat different, and very probably later (perhaps parallel with Amuq B?). Further to the east, on the Upper Euphrates and Khabur, the published dark burnished sherds from the lowest, 'Samarra', level of Chagar Bazar (*Iraq*, III, pl. iii, 8-13) are more in the Sakçe Gözü tradition (especially *ibid.* no. 10 and even no. 12) than like the Mersin Amuq A group: and both these and the similar dark wares from Carchemish and Tell Halaf seem rather to relate to Amuq B on the one hand and to the Hassuna culture, focused on the Upper Tigris sites, on the other. The whole of this material requires further study by those who wish to derive the impressed wares of neolithic Greece and the West Mediterranean from an eastern source. At many of the sites in question the relevant dark burnished wares are not only neolithic, but persist or recur in later levels side by side with light surfaced painted chalcolithic fabrics; and it is in these later manifestations that they yield some of the best parallels for, for example, neolithic Crete (*cf. Mersin*, figs. 36, 49; 93, 8, *BSA* xlviii, pl. 30). *Tarsus*, as we shall see, throws some light on the circumstances in which wares requiring two different firing techniques might be produced concurrently.

While on the subject of western relations, one must note with regret the lack of stratification for the pattern burnished sherds, fig. 230, c and d, for these



may relate directly to Sakçe Gözü Amuq B and/or to the Tigani II phase of Samos, and might have provided invaluable correlations eastwards and westwards.

The earlier chalcolithic stages are represented only by unstratified sherds. The Ubaid material is stratified and more abundant and is taken (by Professor Mellink) as including the grey burnished wares which at Mersin were designated as 'Uruk'. There follows a well-documented Late Chalcolithic, characterised by chaff-tempered wares, plain or painted in chevrons and stripes. This phase, unknown from Mersin, is equivalent to a 'Western Uruk'. Jar burials of the same period contain successive interments of children in the crouched position.

There follows the Early Bronze Age, so-called 'without reference to the actual composition of the metal'. Pleasure at the abolition of the old 'Copper Age' terminology is tempered by an uncertainty as to whether the EBA metal objects were in fact of bronze or copper—a question which appears to remain unanswered.

The flourishing town life of Tarsus in EBA I (c. 3000–c. 2700) and II (c. 2700–c. 2400) could well have resulted from the influence of trade with the higher civilisations, via Syria, upon the native chalcolithic cultures. At the same time the motifs of the incised wares of EBA II (figs. 255, 257–9) suggest a connection westwards with Early Cycladic forms (cf. *Phylakopi* pls. IV, V) as do also some of the jug shapes, and other details of form. From a most interesting appendix by Professor Matson on pottery techniques there emerge notable points. The type pottery, 'red gritty ware' of Syrian affinities, had been fired at above 800°. In certain other fabrics, some of which were direct descendants of chalcolithic types, there had been a widespread use of dung temper. And there was contemporary use of both simple and improved kilns. Were the former domestic and native and the latter professional and foreign-derived?

After clear signs of destruction and an invasion, EBA III (c. 2400–c. 2100) is established with different house plans and pottery clearly reminiscent of late Troy II to Troy IV. Syrian influence, however, never wholly eclipsed, is reasserted after a second major upheaval in the 'transitional' introductory phase (c. 2100–c. 1900) of the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1900–c. 1650), corresponding to the 'transitional' early MBA of Syria and Palestine, well known from Jericho. An increasing number of authors are confident in associating these disturbances and those of early MBA Greece with the arrival of Indo-European speaking peoples. And it is interesting to notice the parallels between the dark-on-light painted wares of MBA Tarsus, admittedly Syrian, with Middle Helladic and, especially, Middle Cycladic matt-painted pottery (cf. *Tarsus*, fig. 287, *Phylakopi*, pl. XII).

Without any further major break in continuity at the site, Central Anatolian Hittite influence becomes

increasingly apparent in LBA I. To the end of this period may be assigned the seal of King Išputahšu, the discovery of which at Tarsus identifies Kizzuwatna as in Cilicia, since Išputahšu figures in the Boğazköy tablets as an apparently independent ruler of Kizzuwatna, who concluded a treaty with the Hittite king Telepinu (c. 1450). So Tarsus emerges into the sphere of history, while at the same time riveting the attention of prehistorians on a LBA I hoard including nineteen flat axes—a type which at this site has a life ranging from EBA II (c. 2700–c. 2400) to LBA I (c. 1650–c. 1450)!

No evidence of iron-using was found in the Hittite levels proper (LBA IIA, c. 1450–c. 1225). Granted that iron-smithing may have been the speciality rather than the mainstay of Hittite economy, it is a disappointment to find no trace of it in the town which, says Miss Goldman (p. 349), 'may have been the capital or at least an important city' of Kizzuwatna itself. The structural remains are at all events sufficiently monumental for the capital, although as in many of the other periods, one seems to have found the ground floor storerooms of buildings rather than anything more imposing.

LBA IIB (c. 1225–c. 1100) saw the destruction of the Hittite town by marauders bringing Mycenaean pottery. The wares range from early LH IIIc from the Argolid or Attica to locally made versions and finally to sub-Mycenaean: if the last is really Furumark's LH IIIc2 Miss Goldman may have to revise the dates quoted, since LH IIIc2 is now supposed not to have begun before 1075 (Furumark *Op. Arch.* III, p. 262).

The format is similar to Blegen's *Troy*, in that a whole volume is devoted to illustrations, consisting of 460 pages of photographs and drawings, and 26 plans. Where so much has been achieved upon such a scale, one is hesitant to criticise. Of the 214 photographs of house remains and associated structures, the general views or 'panoramas', composed of two or more prints, deserve special mention: but not all the photographs are interesting or instructive, and not all of them well reproduced. The Tarsus houses of EBA I and II, with their clay hearth-units—hooded hearths with built-in chair-shaped benches, storage bins and pot-stands—afford an unusually intimate glimpse of third millennium domesticity, and one wonders whether an equally objective, fuller (and cheaper) picture of these interior arrangements could not have been given by line-drawings of careful reconstructions in the style of *Mersin*, figs. 80a and 83; so also for the supposed EBA II tavern (p. 18), the MBA hearth with horse-shoe screen and probable timber superstructure for smoking meat (p. 18) and the LBA IIA 'Manger Room', for example. Similarly in the illustration of the flaked stone artefacts, too great use has been made of the camera at the expense of the pen, and the only too few line drawings (figs. 409, 410) are indifferently executed. Mr. de Jong's drawings of the pottery on the other hand are beyond reproach, and



his drawings of the Hittite hieroglyphic seals and sealings are outstanding.

A. FURNESS OZANNE.

SCHMIDT (E. F.) **Persepolis II. Contents of the Treasury and other discoveries** [University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, LXIX]. Chicago: University Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1957. Pp. xx + 166, with 89 plates and 29 text figures. £31 17s. 6d.

A preliminary survey of the University of Chicago excavations at Persepolis and other sites in the homeland of the Achaemenids was published by E. F. Schmidt in 1939 (*OIC* 21). This brief but fully illustrated report served as an excellent introduction to the three projected volumes which were to form a series in the Oriental Institute of Chicago publications. Within twenty years of this preliminary report, *Persepolis I* and *II* have been published, and we eagerly await the completion of this immensely valuable series on Achaemenian archaeological material.

*Persepolis II* concludes the report on many seasons of excavations at the site (1935-39). It is less comprehensive in its scope than the preceding volume, for *Persepolis II* mainly deals with the minor antiquities recovered from the Treasury. Nevertheless, authentic objects of foreign manufacture provide material of far wider cosmopolitan interest to the archaeologist. Trophies of war, and tribute from the satrapies of the Empire collected by successive generations of Achaemenid kings, formed a large part of the contents of royal treasure houses.

Schmidt discusses the minor antiquities in distinct groups in the first part of the book. Part II deals with the Cemetery of Persepolis Spring, and analyses of various substances, including Egyptian Blue and Glass. The general treatment of this volume is along the lines of *Persepolis I*, the primary aim of the author being to present the vast quantity of material as a detailed report of the first scientific excavation of an exclusively Achaemenian site. The method of presentation is that of a catalogue, accompanied by tabulated lists and an additional index of field numbers of objects registered in both volumes. The emphasis is rather on the analysis than on the synthesis of a significant period of Iranian archaeological history. Introductions to the various groups of minor antiquities are brief; summaries of general conclusions are not favoured by the author, a criticism which applies to both *Persepolis I* and *Persepolis II*. Admittedly these volumes are planned for the specialist reader, and not for the layman. Nevertheless, the reading would have been much facilitated, if not simplified, had the author channelled his expert knowledge of the subject into a general conclusion on each topic under discussion. Also a final chapter treating the material in perspective would have been of invaluable help to the student. Almost every page of the text is heavily annotated with

bibliographical footnotes; these are of much value as references to non-Achaemenian material, related to the objects from the Treasury. It is only on rare occasions that Schmidt discusses in the text the extent of foreign influences evident in Achaemenian minor antiquities; their mention is restricted to footnotes. Thus these data are all the more valuable to the reader wishing to pursue certain aspects in detail, and the omission of any form of bibliography either in *Persepolis I* or *Persepolis II* is very much to be regretted.

The book is richly illustrated, and maintains the high standard of all University of Chicago Press publications; yet this volume somehow lacks the visual appeal of *Persepolis I*. A point of definite criticism is the absence of line-drawings of seal impressions. Plate 13, no. 65, for instance, is a seal of great interest; but were it not for the catalogue it would be impossible to decipher any of its details.

Despite the mention made by several classical writers of treasures at various Achaemenian capitals (*PI*<sup>1</sup>, p. 156), Persepolis has as yet the only excavated example of this type of structure, built during the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes I (*ibid.*, p. 200). In 331 B.C., Tiridates, the commander of the Persepolis garrison, submitted to Alexander and his advancing army. Before the final sack of the royal capital, Alexander undoubtedly ordered the removal of the choicest treasures from the palaces; according to Plutarch (*Alexander*, 37), the animal transport required to carry the Macedonian loot to Ecbatana consisted of 10,000 mules and 5,000 camels. The most thorough ransacking of the Persepolis Treasury is evident in the type of objects left behind, for though they are of archaeological value, they do not suggest by their quality the richness of Achaemenian treasures depicted on Persepolitan reliefs. There can be little doubt that the present content of the Treasury are in no way a representative selection of its original inventory.

*Persepolis II* makes a marked contribution to the as yet incomplete study of Achaemenian glyptic; extensive quantities of inscribed seals (several with the names of royal owners) were recovered from the Treasury. The seal patterns fall within the limited repertoire of art themes used at Persepolis. Scenes of the hunt and chase, normally absent in the monumental art of the period, are depicted in miniature in some of the designs (pl. 10).

Of those seals representing figures standing in worship before a fire altar, pl. 7, no. 20 is of particular interest. The pre-Achaemenian rock-cut tomb of Qizqapan in Kurdistan (*Iraq* i, fig. 2) bears a façade relief of similar theme, but with the significant omissions of the Ahuramazda symbol, and the pestle and mortar. Though the type of stepped altar of the seal is frequently represented in Achaemenian art, the figures standing in worship are always dressed in the Persian *candys*, and not in Median

<sup>1</sup> *PI* has been used throughout as an abbreviation for *Persepolis I*, *OIP* LXVIII.



costume. The seal is not of an early period, however, because the pestle and mortar in the design suggest to Schmidt a date not earlier than c. 450 B.C. (p. 26). Such inscribed vessels, used for extracting the sacred Haoma juice (pl. 23), do not precede this date. This evidence of Iranian influence on a later period of Achaemenian art is of value, especially when so little material is available on the art of the Median period.

The winged genius with triple *atef* crown on seal no. 65 (pl. 13) resembles that in the unique gatehouse relief of Pasargadae (*PI*, fig. 7, B). The main difference lies in the shape of the wings, which are of the upturned Achaemenian variety in the seal, but of the straight Assyrian type in the relief; the former detail does not appear in Achaemenian art before the reign of Darius I. Though uninscribed, Schmidt places this seal between 492 and 459 B.C. (p. 18), a date well supported by the stylistic detail of the wings. Our earlier suggestion that line-drawings should accompany illustrations of seals could be applied very profitably to this example.

A votive cylinder of neo-Babylonian date (pl. 26, 2), is of significance because of the light it throws on two early Achaemenian structures. These stone towers, one at Naqsh-e Rostam and the other at Pasargadae, have striking architectural features, some of which are not repeated in other Achaemenian edifices. They represent three-storied buildings with blind windows in the form of recessed niches. No actual prototype is known for these towers, though R. D. Barnett (*Iraq* xix, p. 74) points out a near parallel in a recently excavated tower at Karmir-Blur. However, the structure on the neo-Babylonian seal is also a three-storied building, with similar recessed windows; thus, superimposed on the earlier Urartian influence, there may also be a neo-Babylonian source of inspiration in the style of these problematical Achaemenian constructions.

Schmidt describes certain stamp seals as having 'Grecized' patterns (pl. 12); these objects may have been the property of Greeks in Persian employ at Persepolis. This accounts for the representation of nude figures, male (pl. 12) and female (pl. 17, 68), a form of human portrayal which would have been anathema to Achaemenian taste.

The two outstanding examples of sculpture from the Treasury are both objects of foreign manufacture; of these the white marble torso of a Greek lady of the fifth century (pl. 29) appears to have aroused some controversy among classical art historians about its provenance and dating (p. 66). Of special interest to those concerned with Achaemenian art is the series of 'stacked folds' in the skirt, seen also in the Persian *candys*; this detail, in our opinion, is too often used to emphasise the Greek contribution to Persian art. The lions of the bronze tripod cast in a single piece (pl. 33) are less stylised than Achaemenian examples (*PI*, pl. 28, B), particularly in their facial markings. Schmidt (p. 69) is unable to locate the provenance of this object; but F. J. Tritsch

(*JHS* lxii, p. 105) has suggested parallels from Greece and Asia Minor, and has mentioned a 'striking resemblance to an early archaic group from the Heraeum at Olympia'.

The selection of jewellery is particularly disappointing (pl. 43-6), for there is nothing to match the beauty of Achaemenian ornaments from the Susa sarcophagus and the Oxus Treasure, or of those in the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (*JNES* xvi, 1). Indeed no comprehensive collection of Achaemenian jewellery is available for study, and it is regrettable that Persepolis has failed to make good this gap.

Moreover, the metal vessels (pl. 68) do not suggest the high quality of the decorated and inscribed bowls of Darius I (Metropolitan Museum), Xerxes I (Teheran Museum) and Artaxerxes I (Oriental Institute, Chicago). Those from the Treasury are of bronze, and not of the more commonly used gold and silver, a fact which further emphasises the thorough ransacking of the Treasury prior to its destruction.

*Persepolis II* is the first publication to adequately illustrate and discuss the pottery of the period, an essential addition to Achaemenian archaeological studies. The pottery is mainly of utilitarian type, as most of it was recovered from the Garrison Quarters. In Persian court ceremonial there was little use for earthenware vessels, besides which a stigma was attached to vessels not made of metal: 'Among the Persians any man who falls under the king's displeasure uses earthenware drinking-cups' (Ctesias quoted by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, xi, 464).

Of some historical significance was the discovery in the Garrison Quarters of eight foundation documents of Xerxes I, which had never been used for the purpose intended (p. 51). Four of these provide confirmatory evidence on the Achaemenid succession—when Darius I became king, his father and grandfather were still alive, and, as mentioned by Herodotus (vii, 3), Xerxes was Darius' chosen heir though he was not born to the purple. This gives a positive identification of the Crown Prince in the Treasury orthostat reliefs (*PI*, pl. 121) as Xerxes I. Thus the inscriptions and sculptures from the Treasury area have fully substantiated the historical accuracy of statements for which Herodotus has hitherto been the sole authority.

VERA S. KATRAK.

**Ugaritica III. Mission de Ras Shamra. Vol. VIII. Sceaux et cylindres hittites, épée gravée du cartouche de Mineptah, tablettes chypro-minoennes et autres découvertes nouvelles de Ras Shamra.** By C. F.-A. SCHAEFFER. Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1956. Pp. xi + 302, with 8 plates and 239 text figures. Fr. 4,000.

In this, the third volume of reports on the excavations at Ugarit, Messrs. Geuthner preserve the same high standard of production, and Professor Schaeffer's



account, as usual, is not only stimulating but extremely readable.

The first chapter discusses the political relationship of Ugarit with the Empire of Hatti as illustrated by seals and cylinders. From the archives south of the palace of Ugarit came three impressions on tablets of the personal seal of the great King Suppiluliumas and his queen Tawananna with a legend in the Accadian script. These tablets, according to M. Nougayrol, belong to a series of eight documents outlining the preliminary conditions for a treaty of alliance between the Hittite king and Niqmad, King of Ugarit, and referring to their enemies the kings of Nuhasse, Mukish and Nii who had joined the pro-Egyptian group of states hostile to Hatti.

Two other tablets from this area bore the impressions of the seal of Mursil II with the legend 'seal of Mursil, great King, King of Hatti, hero' but the context of these has not yet been thoroughly studied.

No sealings of Muwatalli and Urhi-Teshub were found in these archives, but there were some impressions of the royal seal of Hattusil III and his wife Pudu-hepa, one from an agreement between the Hittite Emperor and Niqmepa of Ugarit concerning some merchants and artisans of the city of Ura who were wont to work in Ugarit in the summer and return home in the winter, another referring to the murder of some merchants at Apsuna, and in a third document the Hittite king promises to send back any Ugarit fugitives found on the Habiru territory under his control.

Another interesting tablet stamped with Pudu-hepa's seal guarantees compensation to a Ugarit ship-owner whose vessel had been sunk outside territorial waters. Impressions of a fine royal seal of Tudhaliya IV were found on a tablet referring to the divorce of Ammistamru, King of Ugarit, from his wife, the daughter of Bentesina, King of Amurru, but this was the last imperial Hittite sealing found at Ugarit. Communications between the two states may have been severed during the reigns of Arnuandas III and Suppiluliumas II.

Other tablets were found, however, stamped with the seals of kings or ambassadors of the late Hittite states such as Carchemish including those of the kings Initeshub and Talmi-Teshub and their officials.

Three other tablets, also referring to Ammistamru's divorce were stamped with the seal of Shaushga-Muwa, King of Amurru. The documents shed a flood of light on the feudal organisation of the great Hittite empire. Thus Suppiluliumas I employed at least eight great seals and at least five small ones, and was absent from his capital for twenty years on end. At Ugarit on the other hand the same royal seal was employed for several generations and bore not the name of the reigning monarch but of two ancestors who were presumably the founders of the dynasty.

The royal seal of Ugarit therefore had a more religious, less personal sanction than that of Hatti, and in the disturbed Hyksos period (when the

original seal had perhaps been lost or broken) the seal of Kassite type employed by Niqmadu II was obviously copied from the Babylonian seal of earlier days. Apart from the official royal seal, however, the kings and queens of Ugarit also had their own personal seals.

The most extraordinary individual find of 1950, however, was a royal seal of Mursil II of Hatti, the only surviving example of such a seal. How was the seal lost and how did it arrive at Ugarit? One can only suppose that it was brought by some plenipotentiary official to Mursil to seal some treaty or agreement with the King of Ugarit, but how it came to be abandoned there is still a mystery.

As a supplement to Chapter I Schaeffer illustrates two Hittite objects, one an electrum pendant showing a Hittite Minotaur between two attendants found in a mixed deposit of jewellery south-west of the temple at Baal at Ras Shamra and apparently dating from the fourteenth century B.C., the other a Hittite cylinder seal in black stone found at Aleppo.

Chapter II by E. Laroche discusses in detail the hieroglyphic texts of the Hittite seals found in the palace at Ugarit. I am not competent to discuss his transcriptions, but assuming the probability of their correctness note some interesting conclusions on the royal family of Hatti and on the meaning of the word *tabarnas* and on the kings of Carchemish and Amurru especially for the general reader the useful little synchronistic table on page 133.

H. G. Guterbock provides a note on the translation of the hieroglyphs on the royal seal of Mursil II.

In Chapter II Schaeffer and his colleagues discuss the relations between Ugarit and Egypt. A fragment of an alabaster vase, dated by Madame Desroches Noblecourt to the period between the reign of Amenophis IV and that of Ay inclusive, illustrates the marriage of Niqmadu, King of Ugarit, to an Egyptian princess (an unusual, if not unprecedented, occurrence).

In discussing the goats represented in Eighteenth Dynasty art, Madame Desroches Noblecourt makes the distinction between 'le bouquetin de Nubie' with its horns recurved almost in a full circle and 'le bouquetin sauvage' (*capra aegagrus*) with high horns and only the tips recurved, and suggests that the goat's head handle on a vase in Rekhmara's tomb borne by a man of Keftiu represents a Nubian goat. She appears to be right but the inference to be drawn is rather remarkable for the 'bouquetin de Nubie' which she illustrates on fig. 143 is the living image of a modern 'agrimi' from Crete or Antimelos. In other words, the so-called '*capra aegagrus creticus*' resembled the Nubian rather than the Syrian type.

M. Schaeffer discusses an interesting group of weapons comprising a slashing sword with tang for the handle inscribed with the cartouche of Mineptah, a better preserved and more archaic form than the oft-quoted fragment with the cartouche of Seti II, intermediate between the Bronze Age rapiers and



the broad 'Griffzungenschwert' of Central Europe. With this sword were found a girdle dagger with flanged handle-tang (a type familiar in the Middle East from Crete to Mesopotamia) a javelin point, and a trident with long points paralleled in Persia, Byblos and as far west as Vetulonia.

P. Krieger translates and comments on the 'marriage scarab' of Amenophis III and Queen Tj found in the royal palace at Ugarit.

The third chapter deals with the relations between Ugarit and Cyprus. C. Masson discusses the Cypro-Minoan inscriptions from this site, the four signs on the silver vase found in 1953 and fragments of other tablets.

The clay tablet has a repertoire of twenty-five different signs which differ somewhat from the Cypro-Minoan syllabaries elsewhere (such as the fifty-seven signs on the much longer tablet from Enkomi) so that M. Masson classifies these signs as a variant syllabary which he terms 'le Chypro-Minoen d'Ugarit'.

Chapter IV, dealing with bronze arms and tools, is in two parts. Part I discusses sixty-four arms and tools in bronze dedicated to the grand priest of Ugarit (some bearing an inscription in cuneiform to that effect). The date of this hoard is the fourteenth or even the end of the fifteenth century B.C.

The fine long cut and thrust swords are heavier and perhaps more serviceable than the one inscribed with Menephtah's name. The socketed adzes remind one of Mesopotamian types, the spear heads with folded sockets Minoan forms, but despite this air of cosmopolitanism the weapons and tools would appear to have been made by the local smiths.

Part two discusses some royal weapons found in the palace, a sword like one represented in the hand of a king on a Ugarit ivory and a socketed battle axe with ribbed socket.

Thus Schaeffer and his colleagues have provided quite a varied diet for different palates in the volume.

R. W. HUTCHINSON.

MYLONAS (G. E.) **Ancient Mycenae, the capital city of Agamemnon** [The Page-Barbour Lectures for 1955 at the University of Virginia]. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. Pp. ix + 201, with 87 illustrations. 45s.

This is a useful and important book: useful as a critical summary of the prehistoric antiquities of Mycenae and the history of their exploration, important as a comprehensive (but not final) account of the new Grave Circle by one of its principal excavators. But archaeological criticism of the major monuments is strangely accompanied by a sentimental credulity which can give equal or greater authority to legendary statements. Thus the earliest Cyclopean walls are attributed to Perseus, who is dated by the traditional (or fictional?) record of Heracles in the Parian Marble to the middle of the fourteenth century. Professor Mylonas admits that

this date may be in conflict with archaeological evidence, but cites Pausanias to the effect that 'the Greeks knew that Perseus was the builder of Mycenae'. The Greeks also knew (according to Herodotus and at a time much nearer to the alleged events) that Perses, son of Perseus and Andromeda and brother of Gorgophone, was the ancestor of the Persians. The structure of the legends needs to be examined with as much care and caution as Professor Mylonas has applied to that of the Lion Gate. Apart from the mythical proclivity, for which allowance is easily made, his judgments are strongly independent and objective, and a welcome illumination of a field which has often been obscured by personalities.

The excavation of the new Grave Circle (B) puts an end to the old controversy of the *tholos* tombs by revealing that the Clytemnestra *tholos* was built over a large part of the circle when its boundary wall and *stelai* were buried and forgotten. A prehistoric deposit of stone chips above the wall proves that this area was used as a masons' yard in the construction of the *tholos* or some other Late Helladic building. Circle B, being found in its original condition, also explains the construction and reconstruction of Schliemann's Circle (A) inside the fortress. The two circles are nearly of the same size and were similarly fenced; B was the older (end of M.H.), but they overlap in time. Twenty-four graves were found in B, of which fourteen are large shaft-graves like the six of A and contained similar intact and multiple burials. The fewer graves and richer furniture of A, as well as the exceptional respect which that circle received, shows that those burials were royal; but the shaft-graves of B also belonged to wealthy or otherwise distinguished people. The two circles may have been special enclosures in a large cemetery; A was preserved and reconditioned when the Lion Gate and the south-western section of the Cyclopean wall were added to the *peribolos*. The most significant discovery in B is perhaps the vaulted chamber-tomb of Syrian type built inside the reused and enlarged shaft-grave *Rho*. It was found empty, but pottery of the Minoan palace style is associated with it. Though Professor Mylonas does not say so, it seems likely that the tomb was struck and cleared when the Clytemnestra *tholos* was built over it. No evidence of grave-cults was found in either circle.

Proper observation of the contents of the new tombs has resolved many of the doubts and difficulties that Schliemann left behind him. The graves were roofed about three feet above the floor with brushwood or thin flagstones laid on horizontal beams and sealed with clay, the shaft above being filled with earth, topped with a small mound and marked with a carved or plain or perhaps painted tombstone. There were no coffins or cremations. The multiple burials were not contemporaneous but successive, the earlier bones and furniture being roughly set aside when the later burials were made, as in L.H.



chamber-tombs. Thin gold plaques were sewn or stuck on clothes of men and women, but the larger bands and cruciform rosettes were women's head-ornaments. The crystal balls were pinheads, and the pins were used to fasten women's garments on the shoulders. A vivid portrait of a bearded Mycenaean is cut on a small amethyst sealstone from Grave F. The illustrations are excellent, particularly the photographs of grave-groups in position. There is a strangely uncorrected misprint in the date of the historical destruction of Mycenae by the Argives. It is mentioned five times in the text, twice as 468 and three times as 486, although one of the misprints is accompanied by the statement that the destruction was after the time of the Persian War.

E. J. F.

ÅSTRÖM (PAUL) **The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age**. Pp. xviii + 307, with 19 text figures and 40 end figures. Lund, 1957. Price not stated.

This monograph is an advance publication of the Middle Bronze Age section of the forthcoming *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vol. iv, Pt. 1, which will complete the series of volumes that summarise the results of the 1927-31 Expedition.

Å. describes the very limited architectural remains, the tomb types and the quite unlimited mass of material objects, and discusses their relative chronology and foreign relations. He has revised the Absolute Chronology, and winds up with a brief general summary. Since he has incorporated much published and unpublished material besides that yielded by the Swedish Expedition, his book is not merely a summary of the Expedition's results, but a general synthesis of the period. It is accordingly disappointing to find how very specialised and selective his account is. Å., who was undoubtedly handicapped by having little personal knowledge of the island, appears to see the period only as a series of typological and chronological problems; he deals with these in meticulous detail, and has produced some very stimulating and valuable ideas. But having once reduced his material to order, he might surely have attempted to interpret it in terms of human activity, and to give some idea of how the island worked during the Middle Bronze Age, and of the nature of its relationships with neighbouring countries. It is particularly disappointing to find no discussion of M.C. topography, or of its context in the settlement pattern of the periods which precede and which follow it. A score or more of M.C. sites are mentioned, but there is no map of Cyprus to show where they are; reference to innumerable sites outside Cyprus seems to call for a general Near Eastern map, but it, too, is lacking.

Å. has very little to say about the economic background of the Middle Bronze Age, apart from some rather perfunctory references to the copper industry. He considers copper was exported to surrounding countries, though—however probable this may be—the supporting evidence is not at all satisfactory. He

might usefully have said something on the domestic aspects of the industry, though some understanding of the interrelationship of the mining areas with the distribution of settlement would have been necessary. His neglect of topography has similarly precluded any consideration of such topics as land utilisation, exploitation of water resources, or communications. Neither has he drawn sufficient attention to the extremely interesting shift that before the end of M.C. III took place in the centres of power and prosperity from the north coast to the south and east coasts. This process, evidently resulting from the evolution of a self-contained agricultural society into one that increasingly depended upon overseas trade, was to reach its zenith in the Late Bronze Age at such prosperous port towns as Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni and Kouklia.

A difficulty which Å. cannot be blamed for failing entirely to overcome was to make intelligible a period which has no very obvious beginning or end, and enable those not already steeped in the whole Cypriot Bronze Age to read his book with profit. As he recognises, M.C. grows as imperceptibly out of E.C. as, in its turn, L.C. emerges from M.C. and, in consequence, for much of his material, Å. cannot tell the full story. The inconvenience of not having the whole Bronze Age before one is perhaps clearest in the treatment of the metal objects, for a proper understanding of which the E.C. material is essential. The M.C. industry is merely an episode in a story which lasts from the start of E.C. until the thirteenth century B.C., when the metal industry was revolutionised by the influence of Aegean settlers. Å., unfortunately, does not deal with manufacturing methods, and gives no estimate of the capabilities of the M.C. smiths. He might have called attention to their apparent ignorance of the two-piece mould and to their really astonishing conservatism both in technique and in repertory. His suggestion that the few shaft-hole axes found in Cyprus were probably made there is almost certainly incorrect. His 'Scrapers' might be better called 'Razors', and all his 'Knives' are really 'Daggers', whether or not they were at times used knife-fashion. He has overlooked Flat Adzes in his list of tools.

Å.'s great interest is clearly in pottery, to which he devotes most of his text and illustrations. It is questionable whether his corpus of White Painted pottery was really needed; an informed summary would have been more helpful. Since he is only familiar with that part of the Cyprus Museum collections of which photographs exist in Sweden, it is, anyway, not a genuine corpus at all; the Cyprus Museum could produce many pot shapes and types of ornament unknown to him. He rightly sees that Red-on-Black and Red-on-Red are basically the same fabric, and that there are two varieties of Red-on-Black, though his 'slipped variety' is more common than he allows. He has not stated clearly enough that Red-on-Black is prolific in the Karpas, but quite rare further west. He is, however, very



sound on other ceramic distinctions between the east of Cyprus and the rest of the island. He is to be congratulated on the high quality of the pottery drawings, though some may regret that they were not supplemented by more photographs.

Å. is most provocative on Relative and Absolute Chronology. Several burial groups previously assigned to the end of E.C. have been put in M.C. I, while, at the other end, some M.C. III material is assigned to L.C. I. While there was, no doubt, a substantial M.C. hangover in the early stages of L.C. I, Å. seems over-confident of his identification of shapes in M.C. fabrics which otherwise only occur in L.C. I. He does not make sufficient allowance for local retardation; evidence can be found in several parts of the island suggesting that a predominantly M.C. culture continued in the remoter parts long after changes associated with the onset of L.C. had taken place elsewhere. Å. cannot disprove a M.C. III level at Enkomi merely by suggesting that the material (which he has not seen) assigned to this period by the site's two eminent excavators is in fact of M.C. type but of L.C. date—a very dangerous argument.

According to Å.'s Absolute Chronology, Middle Cypriot occupies the period 1800–1600 B.C., against the previous estimate of 2100–1600 B.C. This is a bold position to take, since, apart from the sketchily documented excavation at Kalopsidha (a site which, in many ways, is not at all typical), the Cypriot end of the argument depends on tomb groups, in whose reliability Å. seems at times to have too much confidence. His initial date rests on the M.M. Ia bridge-spouted jar in Lapithos T.6, its context dated by J. R. Stewart to the transition between E.C. IIIA and IIIB; the same scholar assigns seventy-five years to E.C. IIIB, so that Å., allowing twenty-five years for the Minoan pot to reach Cyprus and be buried, starts M.C. I one hundred years after his own date for the beginning of M.M. Ia, which he puts at 1900 B.C., after disagreeing with existing Minoan dates. He rightly stresses that his date for the start of M.C. is, however, only approximate. He might have checked the result given by the Lapithos pot against the dates and contexts of the other E.M. III–M.M. I objects found in Cypriot tomb groups. (Å. mentions in an aside that Stewart will propose a date during the twenty-first century B.C. for the beginning of E.C. I, so the whole Bronze Age chronology is to be drastically lowered.) Space forbids a detailed examination of all Å.'s chronological arguments for establishing fixed points within M.C.; he has tackled a surprisingly wide number of problems in the chronologies which supply his synchronisms, only rarely agreeing with dates already advanced. It might have been better to put the transition of M.C. III to L.C. I at 1600–1550 B.C., rather than insist upon the change as soon as the fabrics specifically associated with L.C. first appear.

Some minor shortcomings are evidently due to the book's primary status as an inaugural dissertation,

which doubtless accounts for the constant reference to books not yet in print and to the contents of unpublished tomb groups. It may explain, but cannot excuse, Å.'s failure to use standard abbreviations in his citations, the accumulated effect of which must have added substantially to the price of his book. We have *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* and *Journ. Hell. Stud.* for the standard *BSA*, *SCE* and *JHS*—and these are by no means the worst.

Å. has amassed a vast amount of most useful information about the objects of M.C. material culture, and an immense and valuable documentation on their relationships and chronology. It is to be hoped that it will not be long before he brings all this to life by writing about the Middle Bronze Age itself.

H. W. CATLING.

VOLLGRAFF (W.) *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythéen à Argos (École française d'Athènes, Études Péloponnésiennes I)*. Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1956. Pp. 127, with 11 plates and 76 text figs. Price not stated.

Professor Vollgraff has devoted much of his life to the study of ancient Argos. In this volume, with the assistance of W. van der Pluym and Anna Roes, he gives the authoritative account of his excavations in 1902–1906 at the oracular sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus at Deiras. The remains here described are those, long familiar to students, between the Larisa and the Aspis.

The whole enclosure rose in a series of low terraces, with a grand rock-cut stairway 90 feet wide leading up to the terrace of Apollo; the temple seems to have occupied the right flank of this terrace, with a tholos contained in a court beyond; and a higher area at the top left corner of the temenos is recognised by V. as the precinct of Athena Oxyderkes—the patron goddess of archaeologists earlier in the present century. The beginning of a cult at Deiras is dated to the eighth century by Geometric potsherds.

One would like to know more of the architectural history of this arrangement. V. assigns the general plan to the late sixth century, but it is not clear whether the evidence for the dating is sufficient. Unfortunately no trace of the temple of Apollo has been found under the Byzantine basilican church here; and when one considers how denuded the sanctuary area is, one must be grateful to V. for having recovered so much of its architectural history.

On the temple terrace V. identified an oracular building with an earlier staircase leading up to it. Using the early Hellenistic inscription which records the remodelling of the sanctuary, he argues that this building contained Γᾱς ὀμφαλὸν καὶ τ[ᾱ]ν περιστάιν καὶ τὸ φάργμα, together with an altar and water installations; but this seems to be incompatible with the text of the inscription, where only the θηαῦρός is named as being inside the oracular building, and it seems to unbalance the account of the Hellenistic restorations. On this account V.'s



attempt to reconstruct the history of the oracular cult at Argos and Delphi seems partly misconceived, though his remarks on the oracle at Delphi merit close attention.

The tholos was a circular colonnaded monument set in a small walled precinct. V. argues, not unattractively, that this was a pavilion for musicians. But, if your reviewer may intrude a suggestion of his own, this is the one construction on the spot that would fit with the *peristasis* and *phragma* of the omphalos, and this identification would make better sense of the Hellenistic remodelling of the sanctuary.

Of the shrine of Athena barely enough remains to permit a certain identification. But in the cistern which occupies the precinct a cache of three marble statuettes was found. V. recognises them as copies of cult statues at the great *hieron* of Epidauros, and he believes that the sanctuary at Deiras had close links with Epidauros. His discussion of this subject is important for the study both of sculptural types and of the *θεοὶ Μελίχιοι*.

We have every reason to be grateful to the French School for publishing this account of an important excavation, and to the author for the learned commentary on the cults of Argos and the light he has thrown on those of the greater sanctuaries.

J. M. COOK.

**Olympia. VI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia.** VON E. KUNZE. Winter 1953-1954 und 1954-1955. [Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.] Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1958. Pp. 225. 138 text figures, 7 plans. 76 plates. DM 48.

This latest report from Olympia has many of the ingredients of the last: the finest in bronzes and clay statuary, with inscriptions and other minor objects. The account of the 1953-1955 excavations gives the measure of the site's inexhaustible riches with new bronzes from the Stadion area and the discovery of Phidias' workshop in which the chryselephantine Zeus was assembled.

Kunze again contributes many of the essays. The most important deals with two early types of Greek helmet whose development can be traced, almost in entirety, through the finds in Olympia. The first is the conical helmet of the Geometric period. It is a pity that the full publication of the panoply from Argos came too late for the helmet to be considered in full, as it is the only one with its plume-holder intact. There are seventh-century representations of the conical helmet although its main period of use was probably earlier. Kunze rejects Willemsen's recent attempt to date in the eighth century the three Olympian bronze warriors equipped with them. The second type is the so-called Illyrian helmet whose earliest history is Greek and geometric despite its later popularity in the north. Here the stylistic development is more easily discerned as the series is a long one, and the later examples have decorative

details or inscriptions to help the dating. These studies of helmets are to be continued in later reports; indeed some valuable comments on the Corinthian helmets have already appeared in the Olympia publications.

A further contribution to the study of Greek armour is a chapter on shield attachments; by quoting all earlier publications of relevant pieces from Olympia this becomes the *locus classicus* for the subject.

Kunze's third contribution presents the superb clay Athena head, of about 490 B.C., and the evidence for the rest of the three-quarter life-size group to which she belongs.

Herrmann publishes some decorative bronze plaques, discusses the volute and palmette trees which appear on them, and is rightly shy of dates. Walter spins two short essays around a good Hellenistic clay statuette of Pan, and a goodish Roman copy, from a herm, of a fifth-century head of Zeus; he is fearless with dates. Of Eckstein's inscriptions a fragment of the base of an honorific statue of Hiero II of Syracuse is noteworthy.

Mallwitz and Walter describe the excavation of and finds from Hellenistic and Early Roman houses south of the Kladeos baths. This chapter invites comment on the method of presentation. All the chapters in the report are written in a narrative, discursive style. For individual objects this is excellent. For groups, like the bronzes, it makes for easier reading, but unless lists are provided (as always by Kunze), it makes the work very difficult to use. For an excavation report and finds, without any sort of catalogue, it is impossible. Dimensions and individual descriptions of objects somehow get forgotten, and although the scholarship and care of the authors inspire confidence their work is almost unusable. This antiquated method of publishing excavated material stands in sorry contrast with the excellence and clarity of presentation of the other studies.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

JEPPESEN (KRISTIAN) **Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches.** Vol. i, Part 1. The Propylaea. C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund. 1955. Pp. ix + 52, with 30 text figures and 23 pls. Sw. Kr. 35.

This is the first instalment of a long series of publications grouped into four volumes each of which will comprise several parts, in which the final results of the Swedish excavations of the sanctuary of Labraunda will be incorporated. These excavations were started in 1948 on the initiative of the late Professor Axel W. Persson, who actually directed the first three seasons to 1950 when, during the preparations for the 1951 season, he suddenly died. The leadership was then taken over by Professor Gösta Säfström.

The object of the present publication is the detailed study of the two marble Propylaea which gave



access from the south and the east to an oblong square at the south-east corner of the Labraundan sanctuary. Together with adjacent buildings, the two Propylaea form a group round a rectangular open space while the roads through the gates cross each other at the foot of a wide staircase leading uphill in the direction of the sanctuary proper (see topographical sketch plan in pocket of back cover).

The South Propylaea excavated in 1949 under the supervision of T. I. Dahlén of Uppsala is a symmetrically planned building with two identical porticos of which the southern one was more prominent and impressive and carried, on the architrave, a votive inscription (pl. xxi showing restored front). This was fragmentary but was completed by Mr. Crampa and recorded a dedication by Idrieus Mausolos's younger brother, who reigned from 351 to 344 B.C. The order used is pure Ionic of the fourth-century style of Asia Minor characterised by the following features: (1) Typical column bases, anta bases and anta capitals as in the Mausoleum, the Temple of Athena at Priene, the Nereid Monument at Xanthos and other Asia Minor monuments (p. 30); (2) A frieze-less entablature (*cf.* the Temple of Asclepius at Priene and the 'Sarcophagus of the mourning women'); (3) Patterns (*cf.* the Mausoleum and the Priene temples).

The East Propylaea, which were similarly excavated in 1949 by Dahlén, are identical to the south as far as height is concerned. But the design and style of the floral ornament on the anta capitals of both buildings vary greatly. Judging from the style of the lily flower with six petals, in perspective view, used on the East Propylaea, the author is inclined to attribute the latter to a somewhat later date, i.e. the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.

It would be outside the scope of this review to enter into the details so minutely set forth by the author, who offers ample comparative material, describes every piece of the remains with remarkable and conscientious precision, and throws into relief every bit of evidence recorded in the course of the excavation. The study of the remains is supplemented by a bibliography compiled by E. Berggren and by half-tone plates and drawings, which were all prepared by the author with the exception of pl. 1, which is the work of Dahlén.

This first report is a good harbinger of what is to follow. It promises that the whole series of publications will be a worthy conclusion to the careful and conscientious work carried out at Labraunda by the Swedish expedition and a fitting monument to that distinguished scholar who first led it.

P. DIKAIOS.

**Corinth. Vol. XVI. Mediaeval architecture in the central area of Corinth.** By R. L. SCRANTON. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies, 1957. Pp. xvi + 147, with 36 plates, 7 plans and 15 text figs. \$10.

For many years this volume has been expected

eagerly by all who have any concern with any form of Byzantine archaeology. For Corinth had remained a town of some importance until the end of the Byzantine empire. St. John Chrysostom describes it as 'the first city of Hellas'. It was the capital of the province of Achaia. Later it seems to have become the headquarters both of a Theme and of a silk industry. Later there was to be a tangled interlude under Frankish rulers. Then it was reconquered by the Palaiologoi and the beauty of its houses was praised in Byzantine verse. It was not taken by the Turks until 1458.

It was known that Byzantine Corinth occupied the central area of the classical city; its market place roughly coincided with the Agora, there was a three-apsed church on the Bema, the Governor's Palace lay a little to the north-west. However uninterested in Imperial Hellenistic or Byzantine archaeology the American excavators might be, they were thus bound to uncover the Byzantine city during their search for the classical. During two surveys of the site I had noted that there had been a great deal of destruction, But remembering the reputation of the American School at Athens and the financial resources which have so long been at its disposal, I had assumed that what had been destroyed had also been recorded. What has really happened at Corinth is expressed concisely in the preface of this volume: 'At first little effort was made to keep detailed records of medieval remains. Very soon the excavators began to keep records of non-classical discoveries, but at this distance of time it is almost impossible to interpret the notations satisfactorily. From the 1920's more useful records are available, and in the early 1930's an effort was made to keep general systematic accounts according to a co-ordinated plan. Thus our view of the area as a whole contains some sections which are completely blank, some only vaguely distinguishable, and others with fairly sharp and rounded detail'. It is not always easy to distinguish in this volume which section is which; sometimes it becomes apparent almost in an aside—'we can no longer study the Governor's Palace', 'this west road soon becomes lost to us because of radical destruction in the area and our lack of records', 'records of the Byzantine remains found then are no longer available', 'For the region west of the Propylaea we have no details available from the records of the excavations'. But it is probable that though only some parts of the site were completely destroyed without any record, much of the recording of the rest was careless enough. This would explain why there is so very little about stratification in a volume that deals with a thousand years of continuous occupation. It would also excuse the descriptions of the provenance of so many of the objects illustrated in the plates; it is not enough to be informed that carvings were found 'west of the Temple of Apollo'.

None of this is a criticism of Dr. Scranton. In his own words, 'the basic credit' must be given to



the many members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

GERVASE MATHEW.

**DIEHL (CHARLES) *Byzantium: Greatness and Decline*.** Translated by N. Walford. With Introduction and Bibliography by P. Charanis. Rutgers Byzantine Series. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1957. Pp. xviii + 366 + 40 illustrations. \$8.50.

Diehl gave outstanding service to Byzantine studies. His strength lies in his combination of an historian's approach with a rare gift for brilliant reconstruction of personalities and events. His historical imagination was always firmly grounded in his original sources. This is well demonstrated in his *Grandeur and Decline*, first published in 1919, and now admirably translated in the Byzantine Series of Rutgers University.

This stimulating study, touching as it does on most of the major problems of the medieval Roman Empire, cannot fail to fire the enthusiasm of those who wish for an introduction to Byzantium. But many problems of Byzantine history are highly controversial, and some of the views which Diehl put forward have already been vigorously challenged, and indeed modified by recent research. This is particularly true of iconoclasm and of agrarian policy, and above all of the extent to which the Empire did—or did not—undergo 'orientalisation'. All this is pointed out in an excellent Introduction by Professor Charanis. He also adds an admirable critical Bibliography, and it is probably by oversight that G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols., Budapest, now in the 2nd edition, 1958, does not stand side by side with Krumbacher's *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur* on p. 352. The only trouble is that the casual general reader with his all too casual methods will probably skip both Introduction and Bibliography and be swept along by Diehl's compelling story oblivious of all else. For this reason it might have been desirable to have used footnotes to indicate where interpretations and views seem open to serious question.

The book is beautifully produced and generously illustrated.

J. M. HUSSEY.

**The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople.**

Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire. By PAUL J. ALEXANDER. Pp. xii + 287, with 1 plate. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 50s.

Nicephorus (c. 758–828), like his namesake and fellow-historian Gregoras five centuries later, sacrificed his position in the defence of Orthodox doctrine against heresy and the Orthodox conscience against dictation from the State. His Patriarchate (806–815) was marked, and terminated, by the reaction instigated by Leo V against the restoration of religious images. Professor Alexander has already estab-

lished himself as the champion of the second period of iconoclasm against those who would dismiss it as a pale reflection of the first. Nicephorus is therefore one of his heroes. But this book is more than a mere essay in the rehabilitation of an underrated churchman and his age; it is a fundamental contribution to the study of the history and theory of the iconoclastic movement as a whole.

The Edict of Leo III in 730 was the first official expression of what Ostrogorsky has called the 'latent iconophobia' in Byzantium. The 'crypto-iconoclasts', when their hour struck, could produce several already well-formulated theories based on the Mosaic Law or on a neoplatonic distinction between Truth and Art. Alexander contends, however (*pace* Ostrogorsky), that the *christological* argument was not developed by their theologians as early as Leo III, and that it was his son Constantine V who first had the brilliant idea of identifying iconophiles with Nestorians and Monophysites—thus raising the image problem to a vital dogmatic issue; and it was Constantine who remained for Nicephorus and later orthodox apologists 'the great enemy'.

Differences between the secular and the regular clergy, which were aggravated by the iconoclastic dispute, bedevilled the ecclesiastical career of Nicephorus, himself a layman promoted to the Patriarchate over the heads of such strong monastic claimants as Theodore of Studios. The *ἀκρίβεια* of the Studite monks, after the first restoration of Orthodoxy in 787, conflicted with imperial and patriarchal *οἰκονομία* on many issues, not least over the 'Moechian affair'; and here there is an interesting new interpretation of the evidence. The Emperor (Nicephorus I) urged the reinstatement of the priest Joseph, who had earlier been excommunicated for performing the adulterous marriage of Constantine VI and his mistress Theodote. Bury and others have regarded this as a test case deliberately raised by the Emperor to affirm the principle 'princeps legibus solutus'. But this, as Alexander says, hardly accords with his 'conciliatory attitude' in other respects; and from two hitherto neglected texts it appears in fact that Joseph had been instrumental in bringing the rebel Bardanes Turcus to terms in 803 and so averting civil war. It was for this reason, for his 'services to the Crown', that the Emperor wished him to be reinstated, merely as a personal favour and without invoking any constitutional principles. But the Studites clung to the letter of the law, broke communion with their Emperor and his Patriarch, and even flirted with the Papacy. The Church was thus divided in face of the iconoclast revival in 813. Alexander discusses the importance for this revival of the 'soldiers' in the capital, whom Nicephorus later characterised as veterans 'ousted from the military registers' and natural troublemakers. He suggests that these men were survivors of the *πρωτοὶ* whom Nicephorus I had recruited for his Bulgarian campaign, and who were later turned out on the streets by Michael Rangabe, under Studite pressure,



'because of their iconoclastic leanings'. This may be stretching the evidence; but if true it affords another instance of how the Studites became hoist with their own petard.

At all events the Patriarch himself could not compromise over so large an issue as the veneration of images; and Leo V's authoritarianism made the second iconoclastic conflict, unlike the first, a battle between Church and State from the start. Nicephorus resigned and was deported; and iconoclasm triumphed once again at the Council of 815. It is clear that the Council was mainly supported by the city clergy, but Alexander shows that it had many active adherents beyond Constantinople (even among the monks), and that persecution of the iconophiles was more widespread than has been supposed.

The latter part of the book deals with the literary remains of Nicephorus, historical and theological. Alexander argues convincingly that Nicephorus' *History (Breviarium)* is a continuation of the *Historiae* of Theophylact Simocatta; and further that the common source used by Nicephorus and Theophanes (*Chronographia*) was not an iconoclast pamphlet but 'a (lost) iconophile chronicle written after the death of Constantine V'. In an Appendix he summarises the contents of the unpublished *Refutatio et Eversio* of Nicephorus (of which he promises an edited text)—a work which contains (*inter alia*) valuable quotations from the *Horos* and the *florilegium* of the Council of 815. Nicephorus' iconological theories are of special interest. Alexander traces three stages in the development of iconophile apologetics in the eighth and ninth centuries, the last being that represented by Nicephorus, and also (perhaps with greater skill and to greater effect) by Theodore of Studios, when 'scholastic' or Aristotelian terms and logic were first exploited in the defence of religious images.

But the theories of the theologians in the second period of iconoclasm were perhaps a little too academic, for in practice the opposing sides were at cross-purposes; and Nicephorus' contribution, though learned and outspoken, soon passed into obscurity after his death. Alexander maintains that this was because his arguments were directed against the past pronouncements of iconoclasts such as Constantine V, which were 'replaced by the decrees of a new iconoclastic council assembled during the reign of Theophilus'. But the evidence for this council is doubtful. Could it not be that his work was neglected because it was almost confined to the purely theological aspect of a situation which had become increasingly political in character; because Nicephorus himself obstinately refused to side with the noisier element among the Orthodox for whom the issue had widened out into the perennial problem of relations between Church and State, and because, once exiled, he 'pointedly refrained from interfering in ecclesiastical matters'? Given his somewhat passive role in the defence of Orthodoxy it is perhaps not surprising that his name should have been eclipsed in later times by a more colourful and active

martyr for the icons, Theodore Graptos. In the fourteenth century, the same Nicephorus Gregoras (ii, 940 ff.) believed that the treatise *contra Eusebium* from which he quoted to discomfit the Hesychast 'innovators' was the work of that 'great Doctor' and 'champion of the Church' Theodore Graptos, when in fact it was by Nicephorus. Such was the mild and learned Patriarch's honour in his own country.

In so generous a bibliography one misses a reference to N. H. Baynes, 'Idolatry and the Early Church', *Byz. Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955); and it seems a pity that in a work published in 1958 references could not be given to the 1956 English edition of Ostrogorsky's *History*.

D. M. NICOL.

GOODACRE (H.) **A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire.** London: Spink. 1957. Pp. xi + 308. £5 5s. od.

There has recently been a growing realisation that both Byzantine studies and numismatics have been dangerously neglected in Britain. It would appear unfortunate therefore that the first book to be published on Byzantine numismatics in this country since the war should prove to be a photographic reprint of the last British publication on the subject twenty-five years ago. Byzantine studies, not least in numismatics, have been considerably enriched since then, and it is pleasing to note the work of British scholars in aiding that advance. Even so, as the only book on Byzantine coinage available in print is the expensive 1954 reprint of Sabatier's work originally issued almost a century ago, a welcome may fairly be extended to Goodacre's well-tryed and useful handbook. The three paper-covered parts now appear as a single well-bound volume with eight pages of addenda. In one or two places the illustrations have suffered in the course of reprinting.

Goodacre's book was designed for the beginner in this long, complex, and often baffling series, and it would be unfair to blame the publishers for not undertaking a much more complete revision of the text or for not issuing a new work altogether. Scholars and reviewers have too little knowledge of the financial risks involved. Yet it is abundantly clear that a complete rewriting was required. The most serious fault in Goodacre at the time of its issue was the cavalier treatment accorded to bronze pieces. These coins are constantly met with to the embarrassment of the uninitiated: there is indeed still no easy or handy guide to this part of the subject. Above all, the beginner needs help with coins so badly shaped, weakly struck and frequently overstruck, as these coins commonly are. The immense variation in weights—for bronze pieces were tokens only—cannot fail to be disturbing, for a *folles* may scale more than 360 grains or less than 40. It is significant that only one of the notes in the newly added pages is concerned with bronze: it was clearly impossible to work satisfactorily from the basis laid down



by Goodacre, and an important work in this respect still remains to be done.

The new addenda make reference not only to some newly discovered types and reattributions of known pieces, but also to a dozen articles of importance by Bertelé, Grierson, Longuet and other scholars. These would indeed bring the reader up to date, but they are widely scattered and some by no means easy to find. It would have been better if the material could have been incorporated in the text, if the book was really for the beginner.

There might have been room for additions on these lines and also for fuller treatment of the bronze issues, if the decision had been taken to scrap the 'biographical notes' which preface the description of each emperor's coins. The notes are sensational and anecdotal in character, strongly influenced by the popular histories of Byzantium produced by Oman and Foord. The works of Bury, Diehl, Vasiliev and Ostrogorsky—all now available in English—have rendered something more solid than this a necessity and something more closely related to the problems of the coins might have been expected. It might have been better still to cut this section to a minimum of essential dates so as to give the space to more illustrations and descriptions of coins.

Illustration has proved the best aid to identification and numismatic books and catalogues are now usually accompanied by numerous plates of excellent quality. Collotype reproduction can be so good as even to flatter the material at times. By these standards the photogravure of the illustrations in Goodacre is, at its best, unworthy, but once again the whole composition of the book would have to be changed if collotype plates were to be used. One more point of criticism must be noted. One of the useful practical points in the original edition was the provision of some guidance on the value of the coins

described. As is explained in the new introduction, these prices 'bear no reference to those of today', but they have been retained. It is not only the value of money that has changed: the relative value of individual pieces has been changed by the discovery of hoards like that at Hama with its thousands of Justin II solidi, and of continual smaller finds in the course of building operations round Istanbul or Jerusalem for instance.

All this amounts to saying that a new book on Byzantine coinage would have been preferable to this reprint. Advances have been such that there is a place now for several books to consolidate recent discoveries and to point out the problems that need detailed attention. This reprint of Goodacre's book will be eagerly welcomed by those who have had to rely on libraries to provide them with any book of reference: it will have been of real worth if it inspires more collectors to begin the serious study of Byzantine numismatics and encourages them to further reading and research. The real importance of a scholarly approach to coins for both the historian and the archaeologist may be seen from some of the work of Mr. Grierson on the reign of Heraclius to which reference is made in the addenda under (j). Here the evidence of coins is used to add to the scanty contemporary literary sources, as well as to confirm them. In addition the gold coinage of Carthage is identified without any specific mint mark, and part of the legend interpreted as a precise date given in indictional years. Marks and letters are not engraved on the small area of a coin die without reason, and the meaning of many such marks is yet to be discovered. The whole subject is full of challenges, and it is to be hoped that this reprint will encourage more into this fascinating field, whetting rather than satisfying their appetite.

P. D. WHITTING.



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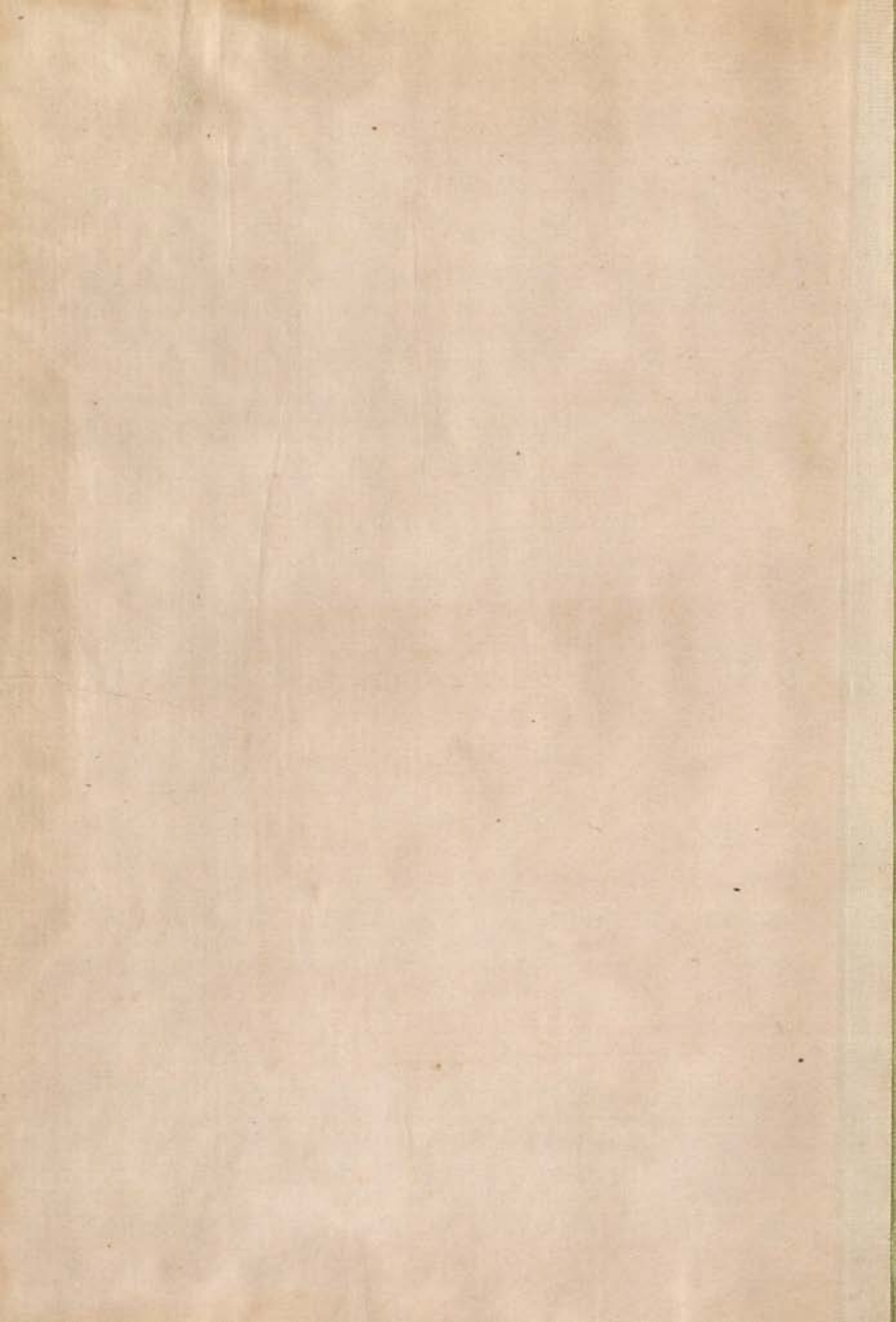
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