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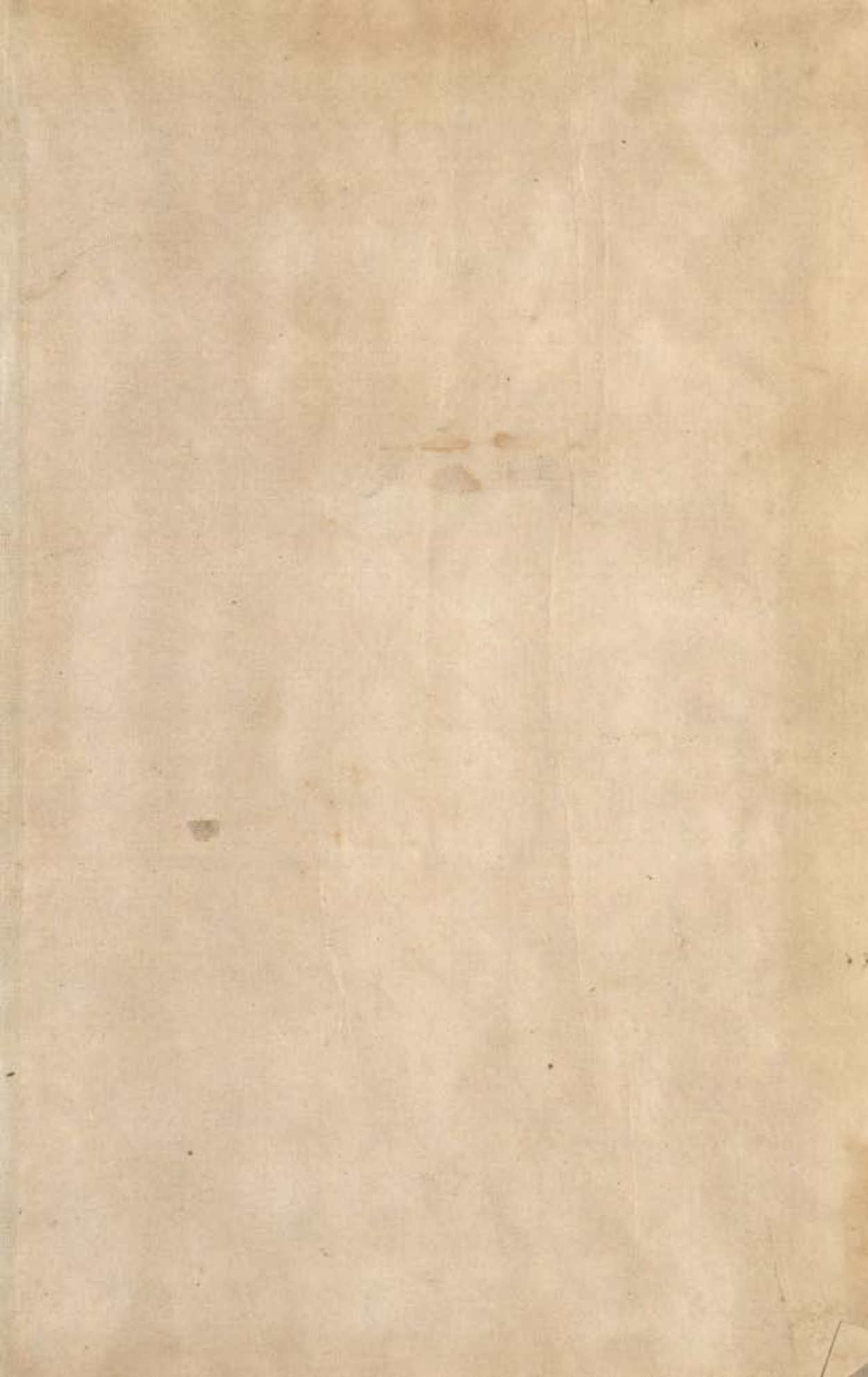
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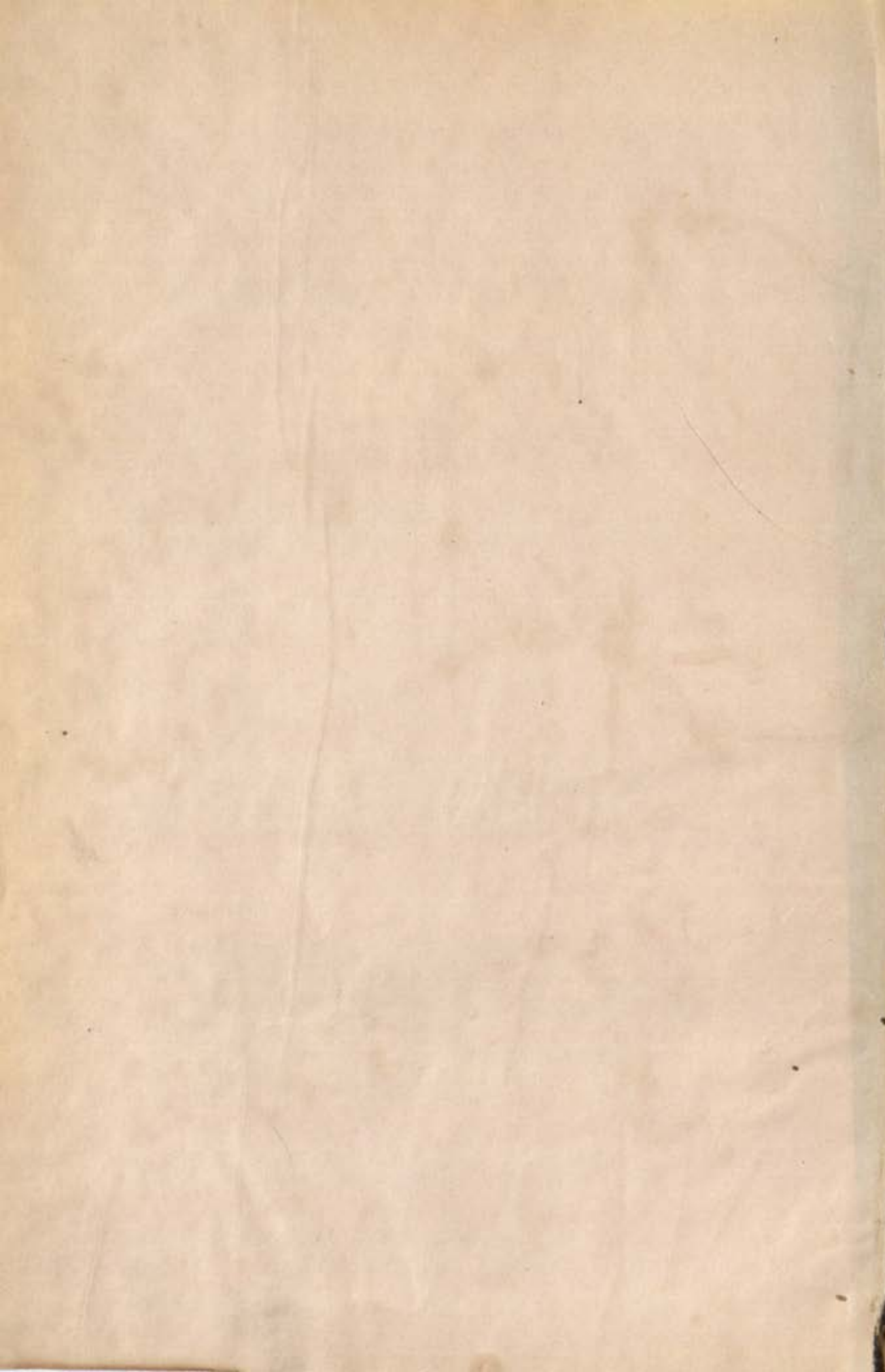
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VENICE, DUBROVNIK, PYLOS, EGLIANOS, KHORA, ATHENS, DAPHNI and ELEUSIS or SOUNION or BRAURON, DELOS, MYKONOS, VOLOS, THE METEORA, SAMOTHRACE, TROY, BOSPHORUS, ISTANBUL, EPHEBUS or PRIENE, RHODES, LINDOS or PHILERIMOS and KAMIROS, KNOSSOS, OLYMPIA, DURRES, APOLLONIA, SPLIT, TROGIR, VENICE.

Cruise No. 36

29th April to 15th May 1963

YUGOSLAVIA, GREECE, TURKEY, LEBANON, CYPRUS

VENICE, DUBROVNIK, OLYMPIA, ATHENS, DAPHNI and ELEUSIS or SOUNION or BRAURON, DELOS, ANTALYA, PERGE, ASPENDOS, BEIRUT with optional 2-day excursions to: BAGHDAD and BABYLON; JERUSALEM and BETHLEHEM; JERASH, JERICHO, DEAD SEA and JERUSALEM; PETRA; DAMASCUS; optional 1-day excursions to: PALMYRA; KRAK DES CHEVALIERS, TORTOSA and AMRIT; optional 1-day excursions to: BAALBEK; BEIT ED DIN; DOG RIVER and BYBLOS; FAMAGUSTA, SALAMIS, NICOSIA, ST. HILARION, BELLAPAI, KYRENIA, RHODES, KAMIROS, KNOSSOS, NAFAKTOS, DELPHI, VENICE.

Cruise No. 37

14th May to 30th May 1963

GREECE, TURKEY, CYPRUS, YUGOSLAVIA

VENICE, DELPHI, KNOSSOS, MALLIA, ANTALYA, PERGE, ASPENDOS, KYRENIA, BELLAPAI, ST. HILARION, NICOSIA or SOLI and VOUNI, RHODES, KAMIROS, EPHEBUS or PRIENE or MILETUS, PATMOS, PERGAMUM, BOSPHORUS, ISTANBUL, DELOS, MYKONOS, ATHENS, DAPHNI and ELEUSIS or SOUNION or BRAURON, OLYMPIA, KORCULA, VENICE.

Cruise No. 38

7th August to 23rd August 1963

ITALY, SICILY, GREECE, TURKEY, YUGOSLAVIA

GENOA, NAPLES, PAESTUM, PALERMO, MONREALE, SEGESTA or SOLUNTO, SYRACUSE, OLYMPIA, DELOS, MYKONOS, THASOS, SAMOTHRACE, ISTANBUL, EPHEBUS or PRIENE, RHODES, KAMIROS, ATHENS, DAPHNI and ELEUSIS or SOUNION or BRAURON (Optional overnight stay in ATHENS with visit to: DAPHNI, OSIOS LOUKAS and DELPHI; or DAPHNI, CORINTH CANAL, MYCENAE and OLD CORINTH), CORFU, PALAEOKASTRITSA, DUBROVNIK, KORCULA, VENICE.

Cruise No. 39

22nd August to 7th September 1963

YUGOSLAVIA, GREECE, TURKEY

VENICE, DUBROVNIK, OLYMPIA, NAUPLION, MYCENAE or TIRYNS and ASINE, EPIDAUROS, AEGINA, KNOSSOS, SANTORINI, RHODES, LINDOS or PHILERIMOS and KAMIROS, PATMOS, EPHEBUS, SAMOTHRACE, TROY, BOSPHORUS, ISTANBUL, DELOS, MYKONOS, ATHENS, DAPHNI and ELEUSIS or SOUNION or BRAURON (Optional overnight stay in ATHENS with visit to: DAPHNI, OSIOS LOUKAS and DELPHI; or DAPHNI, CORINTH CANAL, MYCENAE and OLD CORINTH), SPLIT, TROGIR, VENICE.

Cruise No. 40

6th September to 22nd September 1963

YUGOSLAVIA, GREECE, CYPRUS, TURKEY

VENICE, DUBROVNIK, OLYMPIA, KNOSSOS, MALLIA, ANTALYA, PERGE, ASPENDOS, KYRENIA, BELLAPAI, ST. HILARION, NICOSIA or SOLI and VOUNI, RHODES, KAMIROS, DELOS, MYKONOS, SAMOTHRACE, TROY, BOSPHORUS, ISTANBUL, EPHEBUS or PRIENE, ATHENS, DAPHNI and ELEUSIS or SOUNION or BRAURON (Optional overnight stay in ATHENS with visit to: DAPHNI, OSIOS LOUKAS and DELPHI; or DAPHNI, CORINTH CANAL, MYCENAE and OLD CORINTH), VENICE.

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MILESIAN POLITICS AND ATHENIAN PROPAGANDA

c. 460–440 B.C.

THE political history of Miletos in the mid-fifth century has until recently been reconstructed from five pieces of most reliable evidence, four of them epigraphical, of which three are contemporary with the events concerned.¹

I. THE FIRST QUOTA-LIST²

From this it appears that Miletos failed to pay tribute to Athens in 454/3: instead (col. vi 19–22), three talents were found by *Μιλεσιοι* | *[ε]χς Λερο* and a further sum by *[Μι]λεσιοι* | *[εκ Τ]ειχιουσσες*. There are no Milesian entries for 453/2, and Miletos herself only resumed payment in 452/1, as recorded in List III (col. ii 28). From this, and from comparison with the contemporary situation at Erythrai and with later events at Kolophon,³ it is inferred that Miletos was in revolt in 454/3, the loyal, pro-Athenian, party having taken refuge in Leros and Teichioussa, and that the revolt had been put down in time for the collection of 452/1.⁴

II. ATHENIAN REGULATIONS FOR MILETOS, 450/49⁵

This securely dated decree provides for the election of five Athenian magistrates to serve as advisers to the Aisymnetes and Prosetairoi of Miletos (lines 4–7): Athenian interference in the internal government of allied states was the regular consequence of revolt. The apparent discrepancy between the date of this decree and that given by the quota-lists for the end of the revolt is readily explained. The decree does not give the text of the oath required from a rebellious ally after surrender. Therefore there was a previous decree containing the oath together with the first regulations, to which the surviving decree is supplementary.

III

[Xenophon], *Ἀθ. Πολ.* iii 11, states that *ὅτε Μιλησίων ἐβλοντο* (subj. the Athenians) *τοὺς βελτίστους, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ἀποστάντες τὸν δῆμον κατέκοψαν*.

IV. MILESIAN BANISHMENT DECREE⁶

The surviving fragment of a local Milesian inscription, which from its letter-forms is thought to be not far from the middle of the fifth century, provides for the perpetual outlawry of the sons of Nympharetos, and of Alkimos and Kresphontes the sons of Stratonax—*καὶ*

¹ For statements of the earlier view, see A. G. Dunham, *A History of Miletus* (London, 1915) 132–8; J. H. Oliver, *TAPA* lxvi (1935) 177–98. I am grateful to Professor A. Andrewes and Mr Russell Meiggs for reading and discussing drafts of this paper.

² For the text of all lists, see B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* i (Harvard, 1939); or *SEG* v.

³ For Erythrai, see R. Meiggs, *JHS* lxiii (1943) 23–5; *ATL* iii (Princeton, 1950) 252–5. For Kolophon, 431/0 B.C., *Thuk.* iii 34.1, and the quota-

lists of Kolophon and Notion at the time; *ATL* iii 253, n. 36.

⁴ First suggested by Dunham, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *SEG* x 14; *ATL* ii D 11 (Pl. iv); Hill, *Sources*² B 30; Oliver, *op. cit.* The archon's name, restored in line 3, appears in full at line 63. On epigraphical and historical grounds I cannot accept the recent attempt to date this decree 426/5, by H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* x (1961) 174 ff.

⁶ Tod, *GHI* i² 35; *SIG*³ 58; *Milet* I. vi 100 ff., no. 187, with photograph.

αὐτὸς [καὶ] ἐκγονός. The inclusion of descendants yet unborn virtually proves that the offence thus punished was treason.⁷

V. MILESIAN DECREE OF 380/79 B.C.⁸

The preamble shows that at that date Miletos had a constitution modelled on the Athenian, with Epistates and Prytaneis bearing Athenian tribe-names. We learn elsewhere that ostracism was practised in the city.⁹ Such a constitution must have been introduced before the end of Athenian supremacy in 412. And if it was retained after the end of this dominion, then it cannot have been a novelty in 412.¹⁰

The simple hypothesis which this evidence suggested was that the revolt of 454/3 was crushed by the Athenians in 452/1; that it was initiated by the βέλτιστοι whom the Athenians had favoured, and ended in their banishment; and that two Athenian regulatory decrees established a new democratic political system. There is an insuperable objection to this hypothesis. The Athenian regulations of 450/49 make it clear that the sacred college of Aisymnetes and Prosetairoi still formed the government in that year; and that the constitution was oligarchic, not democratic.¹¹ Hence it is hard to suppose that the revolt of 454 had itself been oligarchic; though it remains formally possible that a close oligarchy had revolted, and had then been succeeded by one more broadly based. But the natural conclusion is that the revolt had been the work of a tyrant; that pseudo-Xenophon refers to the government in power in and after 450/49; and that his evidence proves that a fresh revolt took place after that date. A vague lower limit may be supplied from his phrase ἐν τὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου. The new hypothesis was put forward by Meiggs, who suspected that the second revolt took place in 448/7, since Miletos seems not to have paid tribute in that year and to have made her payment late in the following year.¹² This argument was rejected by the authors of *Athenian Tribute Lists*, who consider that Miletos' failure to pay in 448/7 reflects 'part of the widespread indecision which resulted from the Peace of Kallias'.¹³ They believe that Miletos made two payments in 447/6, one for the current year and one in arrears—whereas tribute lost by revolt was not customarily exacted from the succeeding loyal government.¹⁴ More recently, the question has been re-examined by Earp, who finds a better date for Meiggs' second revolt.¹⁵ Miletos paid in 447/6, and her tribute was halved to five talents from 443/2 onwards, while there is no evidence that she paid at all from 446/5 to 444/3. The suggestion is that she was in revolt during these years, and that the tribute was reduced to reward her recovery. Earp further suggests that the banishment decree was directed against the oligarchic leaders of this second revolt. A closer examination of the evidence confirms both parts of Earp's hypothesis, and gives body to the bare bones of his outline, in particular explaining why the Athenians should have supported an oligarchic government after the first revolt.

We have seen that the Milesian banishment decree, with its provision for the perpetual outlawry of whole families, must have been passed for the punishment of treason; and it is reasonable to assume that the treason was committed in one or other of the two revolts. But in which? That is, can those proscribed be the party defeated in 453/2, or must their

⁷ Cf. the Athenian decree against Arthemios of Zeleia, quoted by Dem., *Phil.* 42, αὐτὸν καὶ γένος.

⁸ Th. Wiegand, *Zweiter Bericht*, *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1901, 911: note lines 2-4. For the other tribe-names, cf. Wiegand, *Siebenter Bericht*, 1911, 66 f.

⁹ Schol. Aristoph., *Equit.* 855: also at Argos and Megara.

¹⁰ Cf. Dunham, *op. cit.*, 135 f.

¹¹ Cf. Meiggs, *op. cit.*, 27; *ATL* iii 150, 257. For

the nature of the Milesian offices, see G. de Sanctis, 'I Molpi di Mileto', *Studi in onore di P. Bonfante* (Milan, 1930) ii 671-9.

¹² *Loc. cit.*

¹³ *ATL* iii 257.

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*; *ibid.*, 35-6, 49.

¹⁵ A. J. Earp, 'Athens and Miletus ca. 450 B.C.', *Phoenix* viii (1954) 142-7, esp. 144 f.

condemnation relate to another occasion? It has been commonly supposed that this inscription records a 'law against tyrants', passed after the revolt of 454.¹⁶ Earp sensibly inquires why more than one family is included, though he recognises that a joint tyranny of two brothers is possible: 'While there are numerous instances of brothers sharing in a tyranny . . . , a joint tyranny by members of different families would be unique.'¹⁷ The difficulty goes further than that. The surviving part of the inscription is carried on a marble base which once held a stele. The opening part of the decree was carved on the stele itself, and what we have is merely an overflow. The decree may therefore be presumed to have been quite long, and in all probability embraced a much greater number of families than the two whose names open our fragment.

The most illuminating study of this inscription was published by Glotz more than half a century ago. He argued that the purpose of the decree was to banish the Neileid clan, who claimed descent from Neileus, son of King Kodros of Athens (himself descended from Neleus of Pylos) and founder of Ionian Miletos (Hdt. ix 97; Paus. vii 2.1).¹⁸ This was suggested by two of the names preserved, those of Alkimos and Kresphontes the sons of Stratonax. Alkimos was a son of Pylian Neleus.¹⁹ The name of Kresphontes is Messenian: its legendary bearer was that land's Herakleid conqueror, but he settled down amicably with the pre-Dorian population. The name is in fact wholly confined to Messenia, with the exception of this one occurrence at Miletos, and of one other on an epitaph at the Milesian colony of Pontic Apollonia.²⁰ Furthermore, Messenian Kresphontes had a son Aipyros (Paus. iv 3.8), and this name was borne by the founder of Priene, son of Milesian Neileus (Strabo 633).

Glotz further connected with the inscription two fragments of Nikolaos of Damaskos, *FGH Hist* 90 F 52-3, which tell how the Neileid Amphitres made himself tyrant in place of the legitimate king Leodamas, and how later one Epimenes was made Aisymnetes with a mandate to kill the tyrant's family. But of none of them was he able ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι—for they had fled—so he confiscated their property and set a price on their heads. οἱ δὲ ὄχοντο· οἱ μὲν δὴ Νηλεΐδαι κατελύθησαν ὥδε. The general purport of this is strikingly similar to that of our inscription. The reward due to anyone who kills the outlaws is to be paid from the confiscated property of Nympharetos. And, in particular, the phrase ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι recalls ἡν δὲ ἡ πολί[s ε]γκρατ(η)ς γενήται (line 7). Nikolaos' account may proceed from confusion and conflation of two events, an early Neileid tyranny at the end of the regal period followed by the family's expulsion, and a more recent condemnation of the family after some treasonable activity in the middle of the fifth century.

If it may be taken that our inscribed decree records the outlawry of the Neileids, then there can no longer be any real possibility that it was carried immediately after the failure of the 454 revolt. This emerges from a study of two further inscriptions. There survives a late Hellenistic copy of a set of Milesian sacred laws passed in the year 450/49, and giving the names of the current Aisymnetes and Prosetairoi, those in office at the time of the Athenian regulatory decree already mentioned.²¹ The dating of the sacred laws depends upon another local inscription, a Hellenistic list of Aisymnetai in annual succession since 525/4 B.C.²² The laws are dated in Philtes' term as Aisymnetes. With him are listed the Prosetairoi, among them Kretheus son of Hermonax representing the tribe Boreis. But

¹⁶ Tod, *ad loc.*; Meiggs, *op. cit.*, 26 f.; *ATL* iii 256.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 146—i.e. a joint tyranny of Nympharetos and Stratonax. Notice that they themselves are not outlawed, and so may be presumed dead already. One Nympharetos served as Aisymnetes in 503/2 (*Milet I* iii no. 122).

¹⁸ *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1906, 511 ff.; see also Wilamowitz, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1914, 75.

Glotz further suggested that the upper part of the stele contained an earlier (sixth-century) banishment of the Neileids: but this must have been destroyed when they returned.

¹⁹ Schol.^B *Iliad* xi 692.

²⁰ Cf. L. Robert, *Etudes Epigr. et Philol.* (Paris, 1938) 199 f., citing *BCH* xxv (1901) 317, no. 15d.

²¹ *SIG*³ 57; cf. Hill, *Sources*² B 115.

²² *Milet I* iii no. 122.

Pylian Neleus' mother was the wife of Kretheus²³—Neleus himself was the son of Poseidon—and any bearer of the name in Miletos must have been one of those who claimed Neileid descent.²⁴ It follows that the Neileids had not already been banished in 450/49; that since the Athenians still allowed them to rule, they had opposed the revolt of 454.²⁵

Further, it is evident that the governing oligarchy of 450/49 was still in power in 445/4, since Thrason son of Antileon, Prosetairos in the former year, served as Aisymnetes in the latter.²⁶ But 445/4 is the second year of the period during which Miletos is not known to have paid tribute, 446/5 to 444/3, and so possibly the second year of a new revolt.²⁷ Most significant is the probability that the Aisymnetes of the previous year, Peisistratos son of Agenor, was a Neileid: Nestor had a son named Peisistratos (*Odys.* iii 36, etc.); Agenor was Homeric, but a Trojan (*Iliad* xi 60).²⁸ There is, therefore, an excellent case for supposing that the oligarchic revolt mentioned by pseudo-Xenophon broke out in 446/5, and was the work of the wholly or partially Neileid oligarchy supported by Athens in 450/49. The decree of banishment will have been passed in 443, since Miletos paid tribute once more in 443/2, by which date therefore the revolt had been put down.

We may support our prosopographic conclusion by a constitutional argument. The Athenian regulations of 450/49, in which the Milesian government appears still to be oligarchic, mention also (lines 67 ff.) *hoi prytanes hoi Mileσιον*. Aristotle tells us that this ancient office was once made the foundation of a tyranny in Miletos (*Pol.* 1305a). Since an Athenian-style democracy had not yet been introduced, the officials are to be taken as 'the long established board of Milesian magistrates rather than as the standing committee of a council'.²⁹ We have already argued that the constitution with Prytaneis bearing Athenian tribe-names, in operation in 380/79, must have been established well before 412 (*supra*, p. 2). But the provisions of the decree outlawing the Neileids, dated epigraphically c. 450, were to be enforced by the *επιμηνιοι*, collectively known as an *επιμηνιη*, whose chairman was the *επιμηνιος*.³⁰ Was this an old office or a new one? Neither the word *επιμήνιος* nor any related form occurs anywhere in Greek at a date earlier than that of our inscription. Herodotos uses *τὰ ἐπιμήνια* of 'monthly offerings' in one chapter only (viii 41.2). Athenaios quotes a *psephisma* of Alkibiades containing the word, recorded on a stele in the Herakleion at Kynosargos (234c). Otherwise its occurrences

²³ *Odys.* xi 237: the founder of Minyan Iolkos, and father of Neleus' brothers Aison, Phereas, and Amythaon.

²⁴ Kretheus' tribe of the Boreis may have been especially Neileid: the name Boros is attached to only three legendary figures, of whom one was a descendant of Pylian Neleus and ancestor of the Kodrid family (Hellan., *FGH* 4 F 125; cf. Paus. ii 18.8—slightly discrepant; and, for a different view, M. B. Sakellariou, *La Migration Grecque en Ionie* (Athens, 1958) 256 ff., 73 ff.). Of the other Prosetairoi, Agamedes and his father Aristokrates may have claimed Minyan descent, for the names are Orchomenian; while Paus. iv 2.5 tells us of the tomb of the Messenian Lykos in Sikyon (but all three names are common elsewhere).

²⁵ In connexion with the fact that the loyalists in 454 were resident at Teichioussa, it is interesting that an inscription relating to one Philodemos (*SGDI* 5501; cf. B. Haussoullier, *Rev. de Phil.* xxi (1897) 38, no. 7), Aisymnetes in 67/6 B.C., describes him as *δημο[υ] | Τηχισσεων πατριας Νειλειδω[υ] | φρητρας Πελαγονιδων*—of the deme Teichioussa, the lineage of the Neileidai, the clan of the Pelagonidai'. (Pelagon

was a Pylian leader mentioned in *Iliad* iv 295.) It seems likely that Teichioussa was the traditional seat of the Neileids, and in the fifth century perhaps still their actual home.

²⁶ *SIG* 57.3-4, with *Milet* I. iii no. 122. Like Kretheus, he had represented the possibly Neileid tribe of Boreis.

²⁷ The dating of the revolt does not depend solely on an argument from silence. Miletos was attacked by Samian oligarchs in 441/0, and was surely then democratic. She paid tribute in 443/2 and 442/1. If her failure to pay in 448/7 is to be explained otherwise, as I believe (*supra*, p. 2 and n. 13), then there is no room for the oligarchic revolt and imposition of democracy except during the years 446/5 to 444/3.

²⁸ But the Linear B tablets have shown that many names, Trojan in Homer, were in use in Mykenaean Pylos: cf. D. H. F. Gray, *JHS* lxxviii (1958) 45 f.

²⁹ Cf. Meiggs, *op. cit.*, 27.

³⁰ Respectively lines 5, 11, 10, of *GHI* i² 35. For this office elsewhere, cf. Szanto, *REs.* v. 'Epimenioi'.

are all later than the fifth century.³¹ In the light of this evidence, it may be suggested that the institution of Epimenioi was later than 450/49, but earlier than the final form of the Athenian-style democracy; that a replica of the Athenian constitution was imposed following the downfall of the Neileids, but that the name of Prytaneis, still in use in 450/49, was too much associated with oligarchy and tyranny to be used, and was replaced by a modern word politically colourless; that finally, however, the old title was restored, either because passions had died down or because an oligarchic title carried a premium once more.³²

We are in a position to summarise the internal politics of Miletos in these years. I have spoken of 'the revolt of 454', meaning to imply nothing about the date of its actual beginning. It has been suggested that it in fact broke out six years previously, Miletos refusing to send a contingent for the Egyptian expedition then being mounted.³³ It must be emphasised that there is no positive evidence to prove that the revolt began earlier than the time of collection in the year of the first quota-list, early spring 453. On the other hand, the Aisymnetes of 457/6 was certainly a Neileid, Alkmeon son of Hipparchos.³⁴ This suggests that the revolt did not begin before 456. It may have begun in that year as a reaction to bad news from Egypt, or its outbreak may belong to one of the two following years. I would suggest that the urgency with which the Delian treasury was transferred to Athens in 454/3 becomes more intelligible if we may suppose that the revolts of Miletos, Erythrai, and perhaps other cities in Ionia, had already begun: the final disaster at Memphis in June 454³⁵ would not on its own make a Persian raid on Delos likely—particularly if fewer than ninety ships were lost³⁶—but with Ionian ports ready to receive the King's fleet an entirely new and perilous situation arose.

During the early fifties Miletos was governed by a pro-Athenian oligarchy in which the Neileids had some share. Between 456 and 454 the city seceded from the Confederacy, but was compelled to return and resume its tributary status in time for the collection of 452/1. Comparison with Erythrai, for whom regulations seem to have been issued in 453/2 but who paid no tribute in that year, suggests that an Athenian expedition to recover both cities was sent out in early spring 452.³⁷ At the time of the capitulation the Milesian government—presumably a medising tyrant or tyrants, as at Erythrai,³⁸ for democrats would not have revolted—was replaced by an oligarchy basically composed of Neileids who had remained loyal at Leros and Teichioussa. Further adjustments were made by the regulations of 450/49, when the government was still Neileid, as is shown by the presence of Kretheus among the Prosetairoi. The government was supported by the presence of an Athenian garrison, installed either now or in 452 (*ATL* ii D 11, line 77). Tribute was paid as usual in spring 446; but during the year the Milesian rulers, headed by the Neileid Peisistratos, noticed that Athens was fully occupied by the trouble in Euboia and Megara, and by the Spartan invasion of Attika, and took the opportunity to massacre the democratic opposition and to secede once more. This revolt was crushed in time for tribute to be paid in spring 442, but as a conciliatory gesture the assessment was halved and henceforth remained at five talents. The Neileids were outlawed, and a new constitution drafted

³¹ The treatise *de Natura Mulierum* (the word occurs in sect. 13) is of course pseudo-Hippokrateian and late.

³² Mr Meiggs suggests to me that the title may have been changed after the Samian Revolt, when Athens had completely secured Miletos.

³³ *ATL* iii 253.

³⁴ Alkmeon was a Pylian Neileid, Paus. ii 18.8. For Hipparchos, cf. the Athenian Peisistratids' claim to Neileid descent, *Hdt.* v 65.3.

³⁵ On the date, see Meiggs, *op. cit.*, 29 n. 42;

Gomme, *Comm.* i 370; *ATL* iii 168 f., 178; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii 328 n. 3.

³⁶ Forty, following the account of Ktesias, *Persica* 63, from a source independent of Thuk. i 104.2 (who is ambiguous here), since he names the Athenian commander Charitimides; and fifty *διδόχοι*, Thuk. i 110.4, of which most were destroyed. We do not know how many were Athenian, how many allied.

³⁷ Cf. *ATL* iii 254 f.

³⁸ *SEG* x 11 (*ATL* ii D 10; Hill, *Sources*² B 26) lines 33, 27.

after that of Athens herself, save only that the Prytaneis were called Epimenioi to avoid the associations which the former title held for Milesians.

The difficulty has always been to see why the Athenians supported an oligarchy at Miletos in the first place. Pseudo-Xenophon gave us no clue. Now we see the reason. Athens had built her claim to be the leader and mistress of the Eastern Greeks upon the ancient tradition of the Ionian Migration, of which the central feature was the colonisation of Miletos by Neileus, son of King Kodros of Athens.³⁹ The tradition is perhaps reflected by Solon, who calls Athens *πρεσβυτάτην . . . γαῖαν Ἰωνίας* (Fr. 4.2). According to Herodotos (v 97.2), Aristagoras of Miletos pleaded it as a reason why Athens should send ships to help the Ionian Revolt in 499. This need not be an anachronism, for it was at about that date that Pherekydes wrote of the settlement of Ionia by Kodros' sons.⁴⁰ When the Ionians rejected Spartan leadership and urged the Athenians to found the Delian Confederacy instead, they made their appeal *κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές* (Thuk. i 95.1). A cult of Neileus was maintained at Athens.⁴¹ While the Confederacy was still growing under the appearance of individual autonomy, it would be politically impossible for the Athenians to dismiss the Milesian Neileids: the continuance of their rule would be a focal point of Athenian propaganda. But when the pretence was abandoned and empire openly avowed after the failure of the Panhellenic Congress called for 449, the Neileids became expendable. Realising this, in 446 they resolved to stake all on a desperate attempt at secession.

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³⁹ Hdt. ix 97, cf. i 146 f.; see Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁴⁰ Cf. F. Jacoby, *Mnemosyne* Ser. III xiii (1947) 33, arguing for publication between 508/7 and 476/5. In *FGH* 3 F 155 Jacoby omits the bulk of Strabo's account, retaining only that part which made Androklos of Ephesos the leader of the Migration: I cannot here retail the very cogent arguments against such an exclusive view; nor enter into discussion of the reputedly contemporary (or even earlier) *Κτίσις Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰωνίας* of Kadmos of Miletos. Of other pre-Herodotean accounts, note that

Panyasis (Suidas, s.v.) wrote of Kodros, Neileus, and the Ionian Migration. Milesian acceptance of the tradition should be at least as early as the naming of Hipparchos, father of the Aisymnetes of 457/6 (*supra*, n. 34).

⁴¹ *IG* i² 94 (418/7 B.C.), line 3, *ερχσαι το ημερον το Κοδρο και το Νελεος και τες Βασιλες*. (See now R. E. Wycherley, *BSA* lv (1960) 60 ff.) The cult of Ion and the Eponymoi (cf. Hdt. v 66.2) *Ἀθνεθεν* at Samos (Hill, *Sources*² B 96 (d) ii-iii) will have been introduced in harmony with the same propaganda.

APETH AND BIA IN EURIPIDES' HERAKLES

DESPITE the discussions of a hundred years, the unity of Euripides' *Herakles* remains a problem. Most scholars have distinguished in the play three parts whose limits are marked by the apparition of Lussa with Iris (814) and by Herakles' recovery from madness (1088): but over the relationship of these three parts to each other and to the whole there has been little agreement. It is this relationship which I propose to consider.¹

The problem is baldly stated by Müller² who contented himself with complaining of the lack of unity involved in the 'combination in one piece of two actions so totally different as the deliverance of the children of Herakles from the persecutions of the blood-thirsty Lykos, and their murder by the hands of their frantic father'. Wilamowitz, followed with elaborations by Verrall, sought to diminish the shock by looking for some continuity between these two events and suggested that the madness developed naturally and gradually, and is already discernible in the earlier utterances and actions of Herakles.³ This view—Herakles the Megalomaniac—finds its way into Murray's Oxford Text and is accepted apparently by Dodds and certainly by Grube.⁴ But this shock of inconsequence is essential to the drama, and later scholars—Parmentier, Kitto, Ehrenberg—have quite rightly repudiated the megalomania theory.⁵ Müller was wrong in the first place to consider the relationship of two parts of a drama without the third. This sort of procedure leads to conclusions like that of Murray who in his discussion begins with part iii, alludes briefly to part ii and not at all to part i: he pronounces the play 'broken-backed'.⁶ Kitto on the other hand looks for 'one unifying idea'. But though he suggests one, he does not satisfactorily solve the difficulties he himself finds in part i ('Dramatic feebleness like this . . . the scenes are flat . . . dramatising a negative', etc., 240–2), and of Stasimon ii he concludes that it is 'neither itself a unity nor has it any connexion with the action or the thought' (265 *cf.* 244);⁷ and it is understandable that Norwood is unconvinced and reverts to the verdict of Murray.⁸

The only unhesitating, and I think successful, champion of the play's unity is J. T. Sheppard, in a paper which seems, strangely, to have been little noticed in subsequent discussions.⁹ Accepting the division into 'three episodes each excellent' Sheppard shows

¹ This article is developed from a paper read to the Edinburgh Classical Association in January 1959. I am very grateful to Professor H. D. F. Kitto and Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram for their helpful comments.

² K. O. Müller, *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece* (London, 1840) 372.

³ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Euripides Herakles*² (Berlin, 1895) 128; A. W. Verrall, *Four Plays of Euripides* (1905) 140 ff. L. H. G. Greenwood, *Aspects of Euripidean Tragedy* (1953) 59 ff., offers a more sophisticated presentation of Verrall's views.

⁴ Murray's *O.C.T.* line 575 with app. crit. See below, n. 25. E. R. Dodds, *CR* xliii (1929) 99; G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides* (London, 1941) 57, 252–6.

⁵ L. Parmentier, *Euripide* iii (Budé, 1923) Introduction to *Herakles*, 5. H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy* (London, 1939; Second Edition, 1950) 241–3. V. Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1946) X *Tragic Herakles* (144–66) 159.

⁶ G. Murray, *Euripides and his Age* (London, 1914) ch. iv; *Greek Studies* (Oxford, 1946) 112.

⁷ Parmentier, as Kitto complains (237), makes of the play a portrait rather than a drama. Ehrenberg follows Kitto's verdict on part i (158) and sees part iii as 'a weak and flat anticlimax'.

⁸ G. Norwood, *Essays on Euripidean Drama* (1954) 47 n. i. Norwood sees the action of this play as 'falling into halves' and calls all such plays 'ramshackle' (46). He is correct when he goes on to deplore attempts to 'force unity of action on recalcitrant material' since unity of action in his sense (unbroken sequence of cause and effect) is no more essential to dramatic unity than strict unity of time. But for that same reason 'falls into halves' and 'ramshackle' are misguided and misleading expressions.

⁹ J. T. Sheppard, *The Formal Beauty of the Hercules Furens CQ* x (1916) 72.

that they are all related to each other through the theme stated in the closing lines—*δοῖς δὲ πλοῦτον ἢ σθένος μᾶλλον φίλων | ἀγαθὸν πεπᾶσθαι βούλεται κακῶς φρονεῖ* (1425-6). This is a traditional Greek view and therefore easily discerned by the audience in its successive embodiments throughout the play—in the wealth of the conventional tyrant Lykos; in the friendship of Theseus; both prepared for by the allusions of Amphitryon to friendship and to wealth by the royal but fallen Megara. The aged weakness of the Chorus is the antithesis of strength, and strength is embodied above all in Herakles for whom it becomes also 'the source of his calamity'. The relevance of the choral odes is to be found in their handling of these themes, especially that of Herakles' strength.

This is a valuable thesis because it leads us to see that the recurrence of the themes implies in the action of the play a coherent abstract argument—What is the relative validity of human *φιλία*, strength and wealth? What is their relationship to the circumstances of human life—or, as the Greek stage put it, to the Olympian gods? The existence of such an argument I would make my point of departure; but thereafter I would like to suggest some modifications. My bare summary does little justice, of course, to Sheppard's subtlety, but still he is somewhat rigid in his allocation of themes to characters. The unity which he demonstrates is perhaps too mechanically formal. The organic structure of the plot will become more apparent if we consider the interrelationship of these themes as subordinates of a further general concept—*ἀρετή*; and particularly we must re-examine the relationship between Herakles' strength and his *ἀρετή*. In this way I hope to demonstrate more fully the unity inherent in the play's three parts.

It is the first part of the play which has been criticised most adversely. The charges are that it is melodramatic, and that it is flat and largely irrelevant.¹⁰ Euripides' reason for writing this as melodrama I shall consider at the end of my paper. My concern now is with the charge of flatness and irrelevance: and here we need to justify only the first 500 lines, since the 200 lines of part i which follow the entry of Herakles may be melodramatic, but their brisk relevance cannot be doubted. As to the relevance of the opening scenes—and perhaps we should note that the details of their plot form Euripides' largest single free invention in his handling of the traditional material¹¹ so that it would be surprising if they were not relevant—we may be helped by considering first the ode which occurs towards the end of part i—Stasimon ii (637-700)—in which Euripides has himself conveniently provided us with an even more complete distillation of the play's argument than in the merely gnomic allusion to wealth, strength and friendship in the closing lines of the work.¹²

Herakles has just completed his Labours, he has rescued his children and is on the point of killing Lykos. The ode that follows contains a central reflexion on *ἀρετή*. It looks back (680 ff.) to the *ἀρετή* of Herakles just displayed: it looks forward (655 ff., 669) to the brutal stupidity of the gods with which he is about to be rewarded. Only here in part i could both these reflexions occur. Earlier Herakles had been despaired of: after the death of Lykos the Chorus do not question—they extol the justice of the gods (738 ff.). Here only can they prompt the question which I take to be Euripides' prime concern in the play as a whole—What is the place of human *ἀρετή* in the universe? If the gods approve it, why do they not give a *φανερὸν χαρακτήρ' ἀρετᾶς* (659)? '*Ἀρετή* is good and Youth is good—*νεότης φίλον αἰεὶ* (637): both in their way the prime of life. These then should coincide in renewed youth, *δίδυμον ἦβαν*, a return from death (657, 661) for those who have *ἀρετή*. So the passing of Time would be on the side of the just, instead of bringing the *λυγρὸν φόνιόν τε γῆρας* (649) which so prominently throughout part i has prevented

¹⁰ E.g. Kitto, 240; Ehrenberg, 158; Norwood, 46. Murray leaves part i undiscussed. Cf. Greenwood, 82 ff.

¹¹ Wilamowitz, 108-9.

¹² It has been traditional to regard this ode as

extra-dramatic: F. A. Paley, *Euripides* iii (1860) 4; Wilamowitz, 132-3; Kitto, 265. Grube, 253 n. 1, is an exception, but only notices the allusions to youth and age as appropriate to the characters.

Amphitryon and the Chorus from realising their ἀρετή in opposition to the wickedness of Lykos. As it is, εἰλισσόμενός τις αἰὼν πλοῦτον μόνον αὔξει (671): Time is on the side of people like Lykos, of the τυραννίδος ὄλβος rejected in στρ. α' (644). Yet just for this precise moment Herakles has returned, one good man back from Hades.¹³ But only for this moment. In an instant the harmony will be shattered by Hera's sending of Madness. We shall be left again to realise that the gods do not possess σύνεσις καὶ σοφία κατ' ἄνδρας (655)¹⁴ and to ask the question of ἀντ. α'—What is the place of human ἀρετή in the universe? This question, with its concentration on ἀρετή is, I would like to show, a more helpful formulation of the 'abstract argument' of the play than one which includes only φιλία, strength and wealth. These are indeed themes, but the ἀρετή question is more than a theme. It is the play: the inexplicable overthrow by Hera of the conventional ἀρετή of Herakles followed by his recovery of a further ἀρετή prompt and (tragically) answer precisely this question. If ἀρετή, then, is the hub of the wheel, and the subordinate topics of the ode—Youth, Age and the passage of Time, Tyranny and Wealth—are the conditions under which ἀρετή is realised, and at the same time the actual themes of the drama, the spokes which radiate from the hub to every part of the play, we must, in attempting to justify the opening scenes, keep in mind the relationship of these themes to the architectonic question 'What is ἀρετή?'

In part i ἀρετή is most obviously embodied in Herakles, as Amphitryon, Megara and the Chorus constantly remind us. His ἀρετή, pre-eminently displayed in the Labours—γενναίων ἀρεταὶ πόνων (357)—is the inspiration of their hope and in despair of their fortitude (cf. 294).¹⁵ When he does arrive he exercises ἀρετή as it was generally understood—τοῖς φίλοις τ' εἶναι φίλον, τὰ τ' ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν (585-6)—by saving his family and killing Lykos. This is generally admitted, but is not by itself enough to occupy 500 lines.¹⁶ What positive function of their own have the minor characters? Part of the answer is Sheppard's—they embody the themes, Amphitryon φιλία, Lykos πλοῦτος, Megara the instability of riches, the Chorus lack of σθένος. To this we may add what we have learnt from Stasimon ii. They as well as Herakles embody ἀρετή: it is they who first present, in their reaction to the threat of death, the Chorus's question at 655 ff.: what is ἀρετή? This they do in a series of three 'debates' which the continually increasing threat of death saves from being merely theoretical: the Prologue provides a discussion between Megara and Amphitryon: Episode 1a (140-251) one between Amphitryon and Lykos; 1b (278-347) one between Amphitryon and Megara whose conclusions are carried forward into Episode 2a (451-513). The conditioning circumstances of the debate develop, but the topic is the same throughout. How are they to face death? What would be the choice of the ἀνὴρ ἀριστος (105)?

Amphitryon and Megara propose two very different answers to this question. The difference emerges in the Prologue and is completely developed by the end of Episode 1a. In Megara's opinion their doom is inescapable, δοκεῖν δὲ τὰδόκητ' οὐ χρή (92). One must, therefore, as she explains later (284-9, 294, 307-8), accept it as nobly as one can. But Amphitryon believes that one should never give up hope, never cease to look for the possibility of helping oneself. And this is said specifically to be virtuous action—οὗτος δ' ἀνὴρ ἀριστος ὅστις ἐλπίζει | πέποιθεν αἰεὶ· τὸ δ' ἀπορεῖν ἀνδρὸς κακοῦ (105-6). These two views of ἀρετή introduce the contrast that eventually relates the two main parts of the play as a whole, the contrast between the ἀρετή of Herakles the Deliverer, which seeks to mould circum-

¹³ Cf. also 297 καὶ τίς θανάτων ἦλθεν ἐξ "Αἰδου ποτε; and 735-6 μέγας ὁ πρόσθ' ἀναξ πάλιν ὑποστρέφει βίον ἐξ "Αἰδα.

¹⁴ I cannot agree with Wilamowitz' translation. σύνεσις καὶ σοφία go together, κατ' ἄνδρας with both 'If the gods had sense and wisdom as men'.

¹⁵ 17-25, 152-61, 175-87, 219-26, 348-435 (Stas. i), 575-82, 610-21, 700 refer to the Labours alone.

¹⁶ The objection to Kitto's explanation (238-44).

stances to man's intentions, and the ἀρετή of the stricken Herakles, which endures whatever happens with acceptance.

The debate between Amphitryon and Lykos in Episode 1a appears at first more theoretical than the first discussion. Lykos has arrived: Amphitryon's 'hope' seems even less justifiable—τὴν ἐλπίδ' ἀλκήν τ' εἰσορᾶτε μὴ θανεῖν; as Lykos asks on arrival (144); and he himself not so much concerned to dissuade Lykos from his purpose as to affirm angrily his own view of the nature of good action. For him this means, obviously, a defence of Herakles. In Lykos' eyes Herakles is already dead in Hades: therefore no true son of Zeus: hence an impostor in his claims to εὐγενία; a coward who fights merely with beasts (145-64). For Amphitryon he is the ἐσθλός, the ἀνὴρ ἄριστος (171-87), and he heightens his lustre by contrasting it with the δειλία of Lykos (210, 235)—his σοφία¹⁷ with the meanness of that ἐνλάβεια in whose name Lykos had justified child-murder (166); his exploits with Lykos' nonentity (182-7); his high birth with the other's upstart intrusion into Thebes (208-12).¹⁸ This flat contrast as such primarily serves Euripides' melodrama, whose intention we are to discuss later. Here our business is with Amphitryon's concern for the quality of Herakles and the Fatherhood of Zeus in themselves. These are less purely theoretical subjects than might appear, since they form the ground of Amphitryon's original definition of ἀρετή in terms of hope. Ἐλπίς here means the return of Herakles (97) and this depends on his bravery and, more, on his descent from Zeus, which should ensure the god's good-will. That, however, is Zeus' affair not his, as Amphitryon begins by saying (170); but as far as lies within his power, if he could really persuade Lykos of Herakles' worth, he might make Lykos desist from his violent intention.

Ἐλπίς is still the basis of Amphitryon's argument in that scene, but in the third debate, between Amphitryon and Megara (Episode 1b, 278-347), the circumstances have changed. Lykos has refused to reason¹⁹ and Megara's noble despair now carries conviction. She specifically rejects Amphitryon's theory—τὴν σὴν ἐλπίδα (295): she calls on his εὐγένεια (308)—οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν δειλίας θανεῖν σ' ὕπο (289): she would not even wish to save her sons δόξαν κακὴν λαβόντας (291). And now that the circumstances have changed Amphitryon (who is a εὐγενής) consents. We also note that, as the renunciation of his doctrine of hope logically demands, he disowns, not the Herakles whose return was the immediate ground for hope, but, significantly, Zeus, whose parentage should have been the guarantee of his return (339-47). Here is the same disillusionment with the gods as we saw in the second verse of Stasimon ii, and which we are to meet again in part iii—ἀρετὴ σε νικῶ θνητὸς ὢν (342) . . . ἀμαθὴς τις εἰ θεὸς ἢ δίκαιος οὐκ ἔφυν (347).

This conclusion forms the basis of Amphitryon's and Megara's resignation in what remains before the arrival of Herakles, the Funeral Procession (Episode 2a, 451-514). The speech of Megara is designed simply to concentrate attention on the (silent) children; properly, since their fate at the hands of Lykos or of Herakles is the occasion of the tragedy.²⁰ But Amphitryon at the end of the scene reverts for the last time to the topic of the 'debates', his hope of Zeus' help (cf. Megara's appeal 490-5 and the answer 520-1); and for the last time, heightening the contrast with Herakles' arrival, he renounces it—ὡς ἐλπίδας μὲν ὁ χρόνος οὐκ ἐπίσταται | σφῆζειν (506-7; cf. Stas. ii ἀλλ' ἐλυσσόμενός τις αἰὼν κτλ. 671 ff.).

In (if we may call it so) their propounding of these two 'theories of ἀρετή' we see, then,

¹⁷ 188, 202: the reference is to the bow, Herakles' chosen instrument. See n. 33.

¹⁸ Cf. the objections to Lykos as an outsider at 32, 256-7, 810 (where cf. δυσγένεια with 663).

¹⁹ Typically βιαίως—ἐγὼ δὲ δράσω σ' ἀντὶ τῶν λόγων κακῶς (239).

²⁰ Cf. the correspondence in detail between her description (239) of the three children and the

Messenger's of their three deaths (977-1000). Elsewhere Megara is rarely purely maternal without any concern for ἀρετή, and then because only through her could Euripides draw adequate attention to the children (cf. 71-9). Typical is her brief ἐγὼ φιλῶ μὲν τέκνα · πῶς γὰρ οὐ φιλῶ | ἄντικτον ἀμόχθησα; (280), dismissed by 291-2.

Amphitryon, Megara, and Lykos by his opposition, making in part i as important a positive contribution as Herakles to the main topic, the question about ἀρετή. But so, we must now add, does the Chorus, though more obliquely, by evincing a quality common also to Megara and Amphitryon—φιλία. All alike, in contrast to Lykos and Herakles, are what Amphitryon calls ἀσθενεῖς φίλοι (cf. 228).²¹ And for the connexion of this with ἀρετή we need only refer again to Stasimon ii. There we saw that the Chorus lament not simply for their weakness in age, but that the passage of Time has no regard for the deserts of ἀρετή. This is also the relevance to the main theme of their complaints of feebleness elsewhere: and Amphitryon is like them in this respect.²² They know what is right but are powerless. Time has made them sounds without substance (111–12, 229), ἀσθενεῖς φίλοι.

Their φιλία shorn of σθένος is their ἀρετή—or all that remains of it. For of all the themes—φιλία, wealth and tyranny, Time, strength and aged weakness—φιλία is the most intimately related to ἀρετή; a Greek commonplace expressed in Amphitryon's τοῖς φίλοις τ' εἶναι φίλον (585).²³ The other themes are conditions under which ἀρετή is realised: but φιλία is more than a condition. The word is almost interchangeable with ἀρετή. In Stasimon ii, though expressed for Herakles, φιλία is not named; but ἀρετή is. And for the same reason in part iii φίλοι, φιλία are named repeatedly,²⁴ ἀρετή hardly at all. But this does not mean that ἀρετή, embodied in the suffering Herakles, is not the topic of part iii; only that φιλία is the essential characteristic of this ἀρετή. This relationship of φιλία to ἀρετή which becomes finally explicit in Theseus and Herakles is already emergent, another positive contribution, in part i in the φιλία of Megara, Amphitryon and the Chorus, no less than in that of Herakles, which prompts him to exercise his ἀρετή on their behalf. Conversely it is the lack of φιλία in Zeus which immediately leads Amphitryon to infer the absence of ἀρετή in the god—σὺ δ' ἦσθ' ἄρ' ἤσسون ἢ δόκεις εἶναι φίλος ἀρετῇ σε νικῶ (341–2, cf. 346–7). Lykos too lacks ἀρετή because he lacks φιλία: 1425–6 are incidentally a complete verdict on him as well.

But this correlation of ἀρετή and φιλία obviously needs to be modified. Though often in practice interchangeable, they are not actually synonymous. For illustration we need look no further than Amphitryon's statement of conventional Greek thought: τοῖς φίλοις τ' εἶναι φίλον is complemented by τά τ' ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν: and in precisely this conjunction is involved the dilemma on which the whole tragic content of the play depends. In an ideal world εὖ δρᾶν might have been the whole sum of ἀρετή: εἰ δὲ θεοῖς ἦν σύνεσις καὶ σοφία κατ' ἄνδρας . . . no doubt it would. But the gods have ordained that ἀρετή should also involve κακῶς δρᾶν. Hence this tragedy.

This is to anticipate a point which must be fully examined when it becomes explicit in part iii: but we must anticipate since it is already foreshadowed in part i. At this stage the imperfections of the existing order are represented by the betrayal of Time, which not only fails to reward ἀρετή but even incapacitates it by old age, and rewards evil.²⁴ Herakles

²¹ Sheppard is wrong to allow no more to the Chorus than aged weakness (74); just as there is more in Amphitryon than φιλία and in Megara than fallen greatness.

²² Chorus: 107–29, 268–71, 312–14, 436–41. Amphitryon: 230–5; cf. 60, 508–10, 1077–80.

²³ Cf., e.g., Pl. Rep. i 334b ὠφελεῖν μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἢ δικαιοσύνη βλάπτειν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. For φιλία and ἀρετή in part i note 55–9, 84, 217–29, 266, 275–6, 280, 301, 341–6, 514, 531–2, 551, 558–61, 585, 628, 634–8, 762. In part ii note Lussa's ἐξ εὐγενοῦς . . . πέφυκα . . . φίλους (843–6). For φιλία in part iii see: Theseus 1154, 1156, 1169–71, 1202, 1215, 1220–1, 1223–5, 1234–6, 1336–9, 1398, 1403–4. Amphitryon, n. 28. Herakles' φιλία towards the

Chorus (last line of play) links with theirs in part i; 1252 associates φιλία/ἀρετή in his Labours. Other uses of φίλος/φιλία significant in the circumstances are 1106, 1147 (cf. 988, 1112), 1200, 1281, 1283, 1409. Note especially 1223: χάριν δὲ γηράσκουσιν ἐχθαίρω is a conventional Greek sentiment. The unexpected last word—φίλων—goes farther: the only proper cause for loathing is failure of φιλία. Cf. the handling of Time and ἀρετή in Stas. ii.

²⁴ This is emphasised ironically in the 'Triumph Song' (Stas. iii) where the Chorus suppose that χρόνος is on the side of justice (740, 777, 805). At 506–7 Amphitryon blames χρόνος because he must renounce his 'hope' in the triumph of justice: contrast his faith in χρόνος at 87.

can admittedly practise his ἀρετή. But on the other hand Lykos too can act, whereas Amphitryon and the Chorus are too old; the sons of Herakles are too young; Megara is not a man. Yet despite this nonsensical lack of *rapprochement* between man's vision and the gods' dispensation, which the Chorus complains of in Stasimon ii, Megara, Amphitryon and the Chorus nevertheless clearly make the assumption that there is still some course of action open to the weak which, however ineffective, will constitute ἀρετή: ἐμοί τε μίμη' ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀπωστέον says Megara (294). It is reminiscent of Aristotle's statement that for man, woman and slave different criteria of ἀρετή apply.²⁵ At the time and for those concerned they all display valid though different ἀρεταί: and this, again, anticipates part iii, where the ἀρετή of the stricken Herakles is one of acceptance, not of traditional Herculean achievement, but is none the less valid.

Enough has been said to justify part i *per se*, and the increasing need to refer to part iii in explanation of it suggests that we should now consider the relationship of these two parts from the standpoint of the closing scenes. The subordinate characters of part i have put before us two basic kinds of ἀρεταί—we might call them the ἀρετή of active achievement, and that of impotent endurance. The Herakles of part i embodies, as traditionally, the first kind: but in part iii his suffering leads him to display the second. In such a summary unity begins to appear. It will be revealed completely by a further question: What is the relationship between these two presentations of Herakles? What single judgment are we to pass on these two ἀρεταί relative to each other?

On this question it will be convenient to start by considering the opinion of Wilamowitz, since it is in my view erroneous in a basic way not fully corrected in any subsequent discussion. Wilamowitz (127–8) holds that the Herakles of part iii exhibits a higher ἀρετή which repudiates the ἀρετή of part i. The corollary is that the Herakles of part i was after all only a megalomaniac, and his quality not ἀρετή at all. As to the megalomania theory I need not repeat its refutation by Kitto (241–3).²⁶ Parmentier (5) and Ehrenberg (159), too, hold that the greatness and goodness of Herakles is 'the predominant impression we derive'. The onset of madness was, as our first impression suggests, sudden and unmotivated. We may add that it is possible to point to the precise line at which it begins—867—with a suddenness confirmed by the Messenger's narrative at 928–33. But if Herakles was good and great throughout, if the ἀρετή of part i is truly ἀρετή, in what sense can we speak of its rejection in part iii? Wilamowitz' suggestion of megalomania saves him from this inconsistency: but it is illogical in Parmentier (8) to reject megalomania, yet follow Wilamowitz' view that the active ἀρετή is repudiated by that of part iii. If, as I agree we must, we rehabilitate the Herakles of part i, we must reassess Wilamowitz' judgment of the relationship intended by Euripides between the earlier and the later forms of ἀρετή. The view I wish to substitute is, briefly, that the ἀρετή of part iii certainly includes more than that of part i, but does not annul it. They differ because the circumstances which evoke them differ: but the 'old' is retained. And the necessity of retaining it arises from the tragic view of life expressed in the play. According to Wilamowitz the 'new' ἀρετή consists essentially in the renunciation of βία. Βία is 'hateful to god'²⁷ and Euripides is offering a reformed conception of ἀρετή intended to sweep away the traditional Epic ideal of Dorian manliness. The reformed Herakles of part iii having renounced βία is interpreted as wholly passive. To answer this it is necessary for us to deny (a) the passivity of the 'new' Herakles and (b) its alleged cause, the renunciation of βία.

²⁵ Ar. Pol. 1260a20; Po. 1454a21. It is this consciousness of difference in status which prompts the form of expression at 574–5—τῷ γὰρ μ' ἀμύνειν μᾶλλον ἢ δάμαρτι χορῇ καὶ παισὶ καὶ γέροντι; Murray took the words as evidence of the onset of madness, and punctuated accordingly: but they mean simply

'Whom should I protect more than helpless dependants?' Amphitryon raises the question of 'status' at 41–2.

²⁶ See also Greenwood, 69 ff.

²⁷ Wilamowitz quotes μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν βίαν (Hel. 903).

(a) Part iii is chiefly concerned with Theseus and Herakles, and it is in their relationship that Wilamowitz sees (109-11, 129-30) a passive Herakles, worn out and capable of nothing more, the recipient of a gift entire—the new ἀρετή. That φιλία is the leading feature of their relationship is obviously true from Theseus' opening φίλοισιν ὄμμα δεικνύναι τὸ σόν (1215) to their departure, a ζεύγος φίλιον (1403).²⁸ And it is through this φιλία that Herakles is led to renounce suicide as δειλία (1347-8). The grounds for suicide were δύσκλεια and μίασμα;²⁹ but οὐδεὶς ἀλάστωρ τοῖς φίλοις ἐκ τῶν φίλων, in Theseus' words (1234). Δύσκλεια is determined by moral judgment, not by quarantine regulations, and it is the continued regard of an obviously noble Theseus which convinces Herakles that these grounds are illusory. According to rational human judgment Herakles is still noble—καλὸς γὰρ ἀστοῖς στέφανος Ἑλλήνων ὕπο | ἄνδρ' ἐσθλὸν ὠφελοῦντας εὐκλείας τυχεῖν (1334-5). The gift of Theseus consists in providing a motive such as can prompt Herakles in new circumstances *himself* to discover a new way to exercise his ἀρετή instead of destructively in suicide.³⁰ With ἀρετή itself he could not present him. 'New' or 'old', ἀρετή is an activity, not a passive state; and even if we speak of Herakles displaying acceptance, such acceptance entails endurance. Ἐγκαρτερήσω βίοντον are not the words of a passive figure.³¹ In the last lines of the play (1406-17) corrupt and obscure though they are, perhaps we see Herakles going if anything beyond Theseus in realising the implications of his new resolve.³² His desire to look upon his dead children and embrace his father is a demonstration of φιλία whose significance we are now able to appreciate fully. But Theseus gently rallies him: to Theseus this is still mere unmanliness (1407, 1410, 1412). He does not fully understand the new ἀρετή to which his arguments have helped his friend. Herakles who has experienced understands (1411): and to convince Theseus he has to contrast his own condition now with that of Theseus when he was in Hades—he still possesses λῆμα despite his circumstances (1415-17). The passage serves also, of course, to underline finally for the audience what might be less familiar in the new conception of ἀρετή: but in my present context the important point is that it is Herakles who underlines it for Theseus, not vice versa.

A particular passage is adduced by Wilamowitz (109) in support of his view. At 1386-8 Herakles requests Theseus' help in taking Kerberos back to Argos. To Wilamowitz this is evidence that 'Herakles feels no match for the vanquished Kerberos' and 'will undertake no more exploits'. This is more than the Greek says. Herakles asks Theseus to join him in the task (σύγκαμε, συγκατάστησον, not 'do it without me') because in his sorrow he cannot bear to be alone: this, that he requires friendship (perhaps—though this is not

²⁸ For their φιλία see note 23. Amphitryon's function in part iii is to support Theseus' role by his paternal φιλία (1111-13, 1206, 1220, 1409). Here he also implies a judgment on Zeus whose fatherhood Herakles accordingly rejects (1265). Note the contrast of Amphitryon's feelings with Zeus' implied in 1065-8 as against 1086-7. Amphitryon also introduces the idea of μίασμα by his fear not of death but that Herakles may kill his own father (1072-6, cf. 1056).

²⁹ 1294-8 describe nature's rejection of the polluted killer (μίασμα); 1281-90 its counterpart, δύσκλεια, the social ostracism which followed from belief in μίασμα. See also (δύσκλεια) 1152; (μίασμα) 1159-62, 1199-1201, 1233, 1399-1400.

³⁰ ὅστις εὐγενὴς βροτῶν | φέρει τὰ γ' ἐκ θεῶν πτόματ' οὐκ ἀναινέται (1227-8)—another 'definition' of ἀρετή, cf. Amphitryon's ὅστις ἐλπίσι | πέποιθεν αἰεὶ (105). Suicide is ἐπιτυχόντος ἀνθρώπου (1248), ἀμαθὶα θανεῖν (1254). Cf. n. 37.

³¹ 1351. Wilamowitz' correction βίοντον makes perfect sense: LP θάνατον makes none but is an understandable error if a scribe had not comprehended the nature of Herakles' resolve.

³² I interpret these difficult lines as follows: 1406-12 Herakles wishes to demonstrate his love to Amphitryon and his dead family. Theseus thinks this cowardice. Herakles (1411) shows it not to be. Theseus (1412) still misunderstands. 1413 (H.) 'Is my living a low act? You didn't think so just now.' 1414 (Th.) 'You are brought all too low' (he thinks only of ταπεινός: ζῶ = εἰμι) 'you are not that noble Herakles you were' (Wilamowitz' reading is better Greek, but MSS. would mean the same). 1415-17 (H.) 'Yet I still do possess λῆμα (i.e. my misfortunes have not deprived me of ἀρετή). Particular difficulties are the ambiguities of ζῶ ('Am I?' or 'In that I live am I?'): πρόσθεν ('just now'—when you were persuading me to live: or 'before the disaster').

necessary—with the suggestion that without it he might be tempted again to suicide), is the meaning of 1386—*λύπη τι παιδῶν μὴ πάθω μονούμενος*—not that he thinks he may be unequal to Kerberos.

(b) Another passage mentioned by Wilamowitz (129) brings us to our next problem, the alleged renunciation of *βία*. At 1235 he understands Herakles' *ἐπήνεσ' · εὖ δράσας δέ σ' οὐκ ἀναίνομαι* to mean that his rescue of Theseus from Hades is the only one of his former deeds which Herakles does not now disown as tainted with *βία*. In some contexts it could have meant this: but it need not. In this context Euripides is concerned from (1214) Theseus' first words to 1238 to build up the important theme of *φιλία*. The introduction of so significant a new idea as Wilamowitz sees here would hardly have been slipped in *en passant*, isolated from its context and stated only obliquely by implication. Euripides was a practical dramatist. The line simply means 'I agree: (whatever else I deny in your argument) we are *friends*'. But we can go beyond this negative argument to disprove the renunciation of *βία*, for Herakles immediately before the Kerberos passage expressly says that he does *not* renounce his former deeds. At 1377–85 he addresses the symbol of his *ἀρετή* (in this play as traditionally), his bow and arrows.³³ With them he killed his wife and children. Can he bear to carry them still? Yet with them *τὰ κάλλιστ' ἐξέπραξ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, and with them he will defend himself in future against his enemies (1382–4). He resolves to keep them—but *ἀθλίως* (1385). This means that we must cease to speak of an 'old' *ἀρετή* and a 'new' *ἀρετή* as separate states. The 'old' *ἀρετή* is an ingredient of the 'new'. But the 'new' also includes understanding, induced by suffering, of the hateful implications of action.³⁴

Herakles' decision here is crucial to the tragedy as such. The mere rejection of the admittedly distasteful implications of action may be pathetic in a broken man; or edifying; but it is not tragic.³⁵ Nor would the practical possibility of such a rejection have been imaginable for a Greek—even Euripides.³⁶ In taking back his bow Herakles recognises that not all circumstances³⁷ are to be met by tears and acquiescence and this is tragic precisely because it does *not* mean that therefore *βία* is not hateful. On the contrary, *βία* through him destroyed his wife and sons. Wilamowitz' *μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν βίαν* is from another play (*Hel.* 903). In this play rather *μισεῖ βίαν ἄνθρωπος*: but god ordains it, and man must—*ἀθλίως*—be the agent of what he hates. This takes us back to the tragic dilemma contained in that other line: *ἀρετή* is both, *τοῖς φίλοις τ' εἶναι φίλον τὰ τ' ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν* (585–6).

This view of the relationship of the two *ἀρεταί* makes a unity of parts i and iii. We must now briefly discuss the relevance of part ii in its light. The intervention of Hera through Iris and Lussa actively demonstrates our last conclusion. Far from hating *βία*,

³³ (a) The bow is used throughout the play with tragic effect as the symbol of Herakles' *ἀρετή*—*τόξα ... ἄ ... ἔσφριε πλευράς, ἐξ ἑμοῦ τ' ἔσφριετο* (1098–1100 cf. 1135); (i) associated with deeds of prowess, especially the Labours (hence the length of 188–203 of which Kitto (239) complains): 179–80, 188–203, 366–7, 392, 422, 472, 570; (ii) associated with child-killing: 942, 970, 977–1000, 1064, 1098–1100, 1135, 1377–85. (b) The consequent tragic dilemma of 1381—*εἴτ' οἶσω*;—is paralleled by the use of the traditional *καλλίνικος* (e.g. *τῷ καλλνίκῳ ... ὅπλῳ* 570) in the context both of traditional prowess (49, 570, 582, 681, 789) and of child-killing (961, 1046). (c) Parallel to the bow's function of associating the Labours and the child-killing is Euripides' alteration of the traditional chronology. He places the killing *after* the Labours and so makes them a continuous series (*τὸν λολισθιον πόνον ... παιδοκτονήσας*,

Reiske at 1279; cf. *λολισθιον* at 23). All involve *βία* (*ἀγὼ παρεσκεύαζον ἐκμοχθῶν βία* 1369) but all in the bow are accepted.

³⁴ Hence too Herakles finds the 'new', complex *ἀρετή* harder than the simple 'old', 1353–7, 1411.

³⁵ Thus Ehrenberg, accepting Wilamowitz' assessment of Herakles' later *ἀρετή* ('his future life will be without heroic deeds, even without any real content'—163) but affirming his early greatness (159) sees the whole as melodrama ending in anticlimax (161, 163) not tragedy.

³⁶ Wilamowitz (133) likens Herakles to Troades. But Troades complains of gratuitous and unnecessary *βία*: Herakles accepts, though sorrowfully, the inevitability of some *βία* in all action.

³⁷ Wilamowitz (130) sees Herakles' rejection of suicide as part of a total rejection of *βία*. But it is rejection of *βία* only in these circumstances.

the Olympians too belong to the same world as the violent Lykos. *Εἰ δὲ θεοῖς ἦν σύνεσις καὶ σοφία κατ' ἀνδρας . . . νῦν δὲ* Hera is the murderess of Megara and the children. She embodies *βία* and when Herakles while hating her acknowledges her (*"Ἡρα κρατεῖ"*³⁸) he is acknowledging that *βία* is part of our divinely decreed state just as he was in taking back his bow. The shock of this revelation at part ii is heightened by the Chorus's misguided celebration of Olympian *δίκη* in the triumphant Stasimon iii immediately before it (734–814, note especially the juxtaposition of 814–15). But it is man only who envisages the higher ideal. This play offers no divine support for it.³⁹ It is a tragedy because while affirming the validity of man's vision it insists that this is thwarted by divine decree.

In view of other interpretations of part ii it is necessary to insist on two points in detail. First, the amorality of the gods must not be palliated. When we see Lykos struck down we may be tempted, like the Chorus, to suppose *θεοὶ θεοὶ τῶν ἀδίκων μέλονσι καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἐπαίειν* (772): but when they promptly strike down the best of men, fresh from this act of justice and in the moment of sacrificing to themselves, we see we were wrong. But we must not complain of the lack of motivation. That is Euripides' point. The Olympians are without rational motives, completely unaware of the demands of human reason. Justice is a human vision. *Ἀρετῇ σε νικῶ θνητὸς ὦν θεὸν μέγαν* Amphitryon had rightly said of Zeus (342): *ἀμαθὴς τις εἰ θεὸς ἢ δίκαιος οὐκ ἔφυν* (347).⁴⁰ Similarly only man displays *φιλία*. *Δίκαια τοὺς τεκόντας ὠφελεῖν τέκνα* the Chorus tells Herakles (583). He tried to and so did Amphitryon (e.g. 317): Zeus did nothing, and Amphitryon is the father whom Herakles acknowledges (1265). Olympian gods lack all human qualities.⁴¹

Secondly, Herakles—who does possess human *ἀρετή*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *φιλία*—is wholly good throughout. If we look for *ἀμαρτίαι*, signs of *ὑβρις* or megalomania, we shall dilute the responsibility of Hera and so blur the point of the play. The relevance of Hera's intervention is that it is entirely hers and entirely inappropriate (831, 846). The greatness of Herakles provides the occasion of her attack; but it is not even the motive, far less the cause, and there is no *ὑβρις*. She, not it, is the sole 'source of his calamity'.⁴² Of course a play could have been written putting the view that 'a man's faults lie in himself'. But here Euripides' aim was to externalise the *βία* in which Herakles was involved, and so draw the distinction between human values and their irrational circumstances; to say rather 'there are irrational elements in life'. This is represented notably in his handling of the madness. This madness is not (as Wilamowitz and Verrall supposed) a personal failing, perceptibly developing. Lussa is the pawn of Hera completely: and though she must obey she is unwilling (858–61) thus completely dissociating herself from Herakles. It is repugnant

³⁸ 1253. Cf. 1303–7, 1311–12, 1393 (where the ambiguity of *"Ἡρας τύχη* recalls 20–1 *εἰθ' "Ἡρας εἴτε τοῦ χρέων*; cf. 1357 *τύχη δουλευτέον*). *Τύχη* and *χρέων* also at 307–11, 509, 1314–15, 1396.

³⁹ Herakles' so-called Platonic speech (1341–6) is no exception. As Kitto shows (246) Herakles is subsequently 'a very imperfect Platonist'. But even within the speech four of the six lines are only a statement of what we have already learnt, that gods are not human: if they have not human virtues nor have they human vices. The remaining couplet is not as Verrall and Greenwood see it, the cornerstone of the play. It is merely an allusion to contemporary speculation, insufficient to cancel optimistically the tragic resignation of the play as a whole.

⁴⁰ Cf. 212 *εἰ Ζεὺς δίκαιος εἶχεν εἰς ἡμᾶς φρένας*. The same is implied in Stas. iii: the Chorus, mistakenly attributing *δίκη* to Zeus, associates with it

his Fatherhood (800–5). For the typically Euripidean *ἀμαθής*, of Zeus, at 347, cf. Amphitryon's ironical *θεὸς . . . εἰ μάθοι* (1115). At 172 Lykos is *ἀμαθής*.

⁴¹ *Magn. Mor.* 1208b30 suggests itself—*ἄτοπον εἰ τις φαίη φιλεῖν τὸν Δία*. The position is nicely illustrated in a quotation kindly sent me by Professor Kitto: 'The sea does not assume its royal blue to please you. Its brute and dark desolation is not raised to overwhelm you; you disappear because you happen to be there.' (H. M. Tomlinson, *The Sea and the Jungle*.)

⁴² Megalomania has been discussed. *"Υβρις* is misleadingly suggested in phrases like 'sin of greatness' (Grube, 256); 'More than Nature can long endure' (Kitto, 247); even Ehrenberg's (160) 'No fault, no crime, his greatness alone is the reason for Hera's envy and hatred', suggests *φθόνος*, discussed below.

to her to attack a man so good (846 ff.) and when she must she exculpates him as clearly as possible—τέκν' ἀποκτείνασα πρῶτον· ὁ δὲ κανὼν οὐκ εἴσεται παῖδας οὓς ἔτικτ' ἐναίρων (864-5). The βία whose extreme form this madness represents is thus distinguished from the properly human as an external circumstance.⁴³

A ὕβρις or at least a φθόνος interpretation of part ii might be suggested by Iris' words at 841-2—Herakles must suffer ἢ θεοὶ μὲν οὐδαμοῦ τὰ θνητὰ δ' ἔσται μέγала μὴ δόντος δίκην. But even φθόνος, certainly ὕβρις, suppose a system where occurrences however unjust are predictable; whereas Euripides' Olympians are completely chaotic; and the suggestion must be resisted. This is one of many paradoxes which arise as soon as gods are conceived in human form. Euripides was well aware of these and exploited them fully;⁴⁴ but the gods are really utterly irrational. If, however, we do give them human form, we can only express this irrationality by crediting them with motives so low as to be virtually sub-human. So here the repugnantly primitive φθόνος-sense of the word δίκη, the most exalted Iris can attain to, contrasts with the lofty conception repeatedly voiced in the immediately preceding ode (737, 740-1, 755-6, 772-80, 813-14). The explanation is the same when Theseus at 1244 warns Herakles μὴ μέγα λέγων μείζον πάθης, and the other describes his persecution by Hera (1263 ff.): both are assuming anthropomorphic gods and speak accordingly. But Stasimon ii, Herakles' and Amphitryon's rejections of Zeus, the 'Platonic' speech (see note 39), above all the manner of Hera's intervention, make it plain that the Olympians really possess no human motives at all. They stand for a cosmic irrationality which recalcitrantly thwarts human ἀρετή even at its Herculean best.

But this insistence on the goodness of Herakles brings before us now one final problem. How in part i is it possible to represent this undiluted ἀρετή yet represent as well the βία which we now see to be its inevitable concomitant in action? To represent the ἀρετή of a suffering Herakles after the disaster consistently with a hatred of βία was by comparison straightforward. But how to represent his heroic action as inevitably tainted by the imperfection of things, yet make clear that nevertheless the man is still ἄριστος? Vice versa, how to show that κακῶς δρᾶν is indeed a part of ἀρετή yet is still κακόν? For Euripides this was a practical stage problem, and his solution was to begin by establishing with unshakeable certainty that Herakles is all good, and only then to complicate the picture by showing how βία nevertheless enters into good action.⁴⁵ That is, he began by writing a melodrama: so that our discussion here becomes the defence which I proposed to offer against the criticism that part i is melodramatic. Part i is black and white: βία too is represented undiluted in Lykos, as ἀρετή in Herakles. But the details of the two characters are drawn with such close parallelism that in retrospect Herakles, though by now we know him to be good, is seen nevertheless to be affected by the very βία which possessed Lykos. The point at which one is brought to see this is under the impact of the outrageous irruption of madness and the killing of the children. The essential difference between Lykos and Herakles—their motives for action—the killing of the children does not cancel; but it does reveal what actions good and bad alike have in common—violence.

Throughout part i, therefore, Lykos and Herakles alone are capable of action, and their actions are point for point alike.⁴⁶ Lykos 'removed' his political rival Kreon; Herakles 'murdered' Lykos. Lykos proposed to 'take precautions' (εὐλάβεια) against Kreon's

⁴³ Grube (255-6) notes the externality of the madness, but combining it (surely illogically?) with a theory of ὕβρις and megalomania turns it into a criticism of the man not of the gods.

⁴⁴ Euripides accepted the myth as a convenient vehicle. It is not his aim (as Wilamowitz argues, 134) to rationalise and reject it, making Herakles 'bring his sins down on his own head'.

⁴⁵ His success in doing this enables him to represent ἐπιεικής ἀνὴρ μεταβάλλον ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν and yet evoke 'pity and fear' not 'disgust' (Ar. Po. 1452b35).

⁴⁶ Perhaps the allusions to the past violence of Amphitryon's career (16, 60, 1077, 1258) support this theme.

family, Herakles to 'butcher' Lykos' partisans. We may interchange the verbs according to our sympathies but all are deeds of violence. Linguistically this is expressed by Lykos' absurdly extravagant arrangements for disposing of his victims (240-51) and Herakles' almost mock-heroic threats of vengeance on the traitors (565-73). Wilamowitz and Verrall were right in detecting a note of over-emphasis in Herakles' speech too; only its purpose is not as they thought to show Herakles already half-mad in the ordinary sense, but to suggest by its similarity to Lykos' bombast that violence forces its way into all action. Again, Lykos suffers, as Amphitryon warned him—*βία δὲ δράσης μηδὲν ἢ πείσῃ βίαν* (215): and so does Herakles suffer Hera's *βία*⁴⁷—not mortally, though that too would have ensued if human friendship had not had the power in this one case to overcome *βία*. Both are human and suffer; and in the mood of compassion evoked by the disaster we may see that the killing even of a villain is pitiable: *τά τ' ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν* is no less terrible for being necessary.

But above all Herakles achieves what Lykos would have liked to do: he kills Megara and the children. And more. Lykos at least never intended to shed blood at the altar (240, 319: contrast Herakles at 922, 995, 1145). Of course Herakles was possessed by Hera. But now Euripides introduces a new disturbing element. Herakles thought they were Eurystheus' children whom he was killing (970). Suppose they had been; and Herakles responsible for his actions? Certainly Amphitryon, though he protested against Lykos (206-7) appears to accept that child-killing is practical politics (39-40, 207-9) just as Lykos argued (165-9). With Herakles himself Euripides is careful not to compromise our impression of his goodness by saying definitely that he would kill children when sane; but he hints through the minor characters and through the veil of madness disturbingly enough to evoke an awareness that all *βία* partakes of the irrational element here embodied in the extreme form of madness. To this extent Amphitryon's suggestion is right—*οὐ τί πον φόνος σ' ἐβάκχευσεν νεκρῶν | οὐς ἄρτι καίνεις*; (966-7).⁴⁸ Wilamowitz' picture (128) of a megalomaniac brutalised by bloodshed is a caricature: but though Herakles is noble, bloodshed is brutal, the consequence of Cosmic Madness. This is underlined by Euripides' use of the theme of children's innocence as the ideal type of human relationships. In their world what spoils the relationships of adult man and man has by rights no place: *οὐ γὰρ δορός γε παῖδες ἴστανται πέλας* (1176). Themselves innocent, their proper due from adults is unqualified *φιλία*—*πάν δὲ φιλότεκνον γένος* (636). This reflexion by Herakles, significantly his last words before the disaster, is unnecessarily drawn out unless it carries such an ulterior implication. Children evoke man's properly human feelings regardless of wealth and 'worldly' distinctions (633-6). Here already is the opposition between human values and *χρήματα*, Youth and Time that immediately follows in Stasimon ii—*ἀ νεότης μοι φίλον αἰεὶ . . . μή μοι μήτ' Ἀσιητίδος τυραννίδος ὄλβος εἴη κτλ.* Child-killing above all else expresses the inhuman, and the good man could only kill his children when entirely possessed by irrational forces—*ὁ δὲ κανὼν οὐκ εἴσεται* (865). But this extreme case brings us to see what our concentration on his goodness and justice usually leads us to overlook—that the irrational forces its way into even his good and just activity.

To interpret Euripides' use of melodrama followed by 'complication of the picture' in this way may be thought perverse; as though the ultimate admission of *βία* gave away the whole position first set forth by the 'good' Herakles. I would defend the interpretation in that it accounts for all the details of the play and the manner of their dramatic ordering; and this is our initial task. The criticism if just would then become one of Euripides. But I think it would not be just. His method does not give away the whole position. There is point in answering that original question—What is the place of human *ἀρετή* in the uni-

⁴⁷ Cf. 727-8 *προσδόκα δὲ δρῶν κακῶς κακὸν τι πράξειν*. Ehrenberg (160) notes that *δοῦναι δίκην*, applied to Herakles by Iris (841), is applied four times elsewhere to Lykos. His explanation of the rela-

tionship of Lykos to Herakles is, however, the opposite of mine.

⁴⁸ For *βακχεύω* in connexion with madness see 899, *Λύσσα βακχεύσει*, 1085, 1142, 1119, 1122; cf. 894.

verse?—by drawing, even more rigorously than usual for Euripides, a distinction between human qualities and the irrational world in which they must be exercised. That his method of drawing it runs a risk of misunderstanding cannot be denied: too many modern scholars have misunderstood it. But the perversity has not been all Euripides'. In conclusion we might add in defence of the interpretation that it is confirmed by the function of precisely those major features of the plot which Euripides invented:⁴⁹ (a) The entire *Lykos Episode* was invented to represent βία without compromising Herakles. (b) *Child-killing* (traditionally the crime for which they atoned) is made to follow the *Labours* (see note 33(c)) to express the inevitable failure of even gratuitously philanthropic ἀρετή (εὐεργετῆς βροτοῖσι καὶ μέγας φίλος 1252). (c) *Theseus' philia* is traditional, but this particular exercise of it is invented to lead Herakles, through a fully human relationship contrasted with the amorality of the gods, to comprehend the tragic nature of action.

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⁴⁹ Cf. Ehrenberg, 158.

NOTES ON THREE ATHLETIC INSCRIPTIONS

I

IG xiv 1102; IGR i 153.

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης — — — πανκρατιαστῆς περιοδονεΐκης — — — ἀνέκκλητος
— — — μήτε ἐκκαλεσάμενος μήτε ἑτέρου κατ' ἐμοῦ τολμήσαντος ἐκκαλέσασθαι μήτε ἐπεξελθών
— — — μηδὲ καινὸν ἀγῶνα νεικήσας ἀλλὰ πάντας οὓς ποτε ἀπεγραψάμην ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάμμασιν
στεφανωθείς.

THIS is part of the famous inscription from the garden of S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome, giving the career of the pancratiast M. Aurelius Asclepiades, who was at the height of his powers c. A.D. 180. Moretti¹ describes it as 'Certainly the most interesting of all agonistic inscriptions, not so much for its length and the number of victories and festivals recorded in it as for the abundance of expressions peculiar to the world of athletics'.

Moretti's explanations of most of these expressions will command general agreement, but of those quoted above it is possible to take another view. The words ἀνέκκλητος and μήτε ἐκκαλεσάμενος—ἐκκαλέσασθαι he connects with προκαλεῖσθαι, and explains that Asclepiades was never challenged and never challenged anyone else. It is not easy to see why this should be a merit in a pancratiast. Moretti suggests that inferior athletes challenged to matches those whom they believed they could defeat, these matches being outside the normal contests, in which, of course, the competitors were paired by the κλῆρος. This is possible, and is supported by the word τολμήσαντος, but it is difficult to believe that a περιοδονεΐκης would think it worth mentioning, still less that he would repeat it. Moretti connects ἐπεξελθών with συνεξελθών, and interprets it 'He never agreed with an opponent to abandon a contest' or simply 'He never abandoned a contest'.

G. E. Bean, reviewing Moretti's book,² pointed out that a more likely interpretation of ἐκκαλεσάμενος and ἀνέκκλητος is that Asclepiades never appealed for a foul and was never appealed against. Of Moretti's explanation of ἐπεξελθών he writes, 'The difficulty is that on either of these views, ἐπι- is meaningless. . . ἐπεξελθεῖν has the meanings "attack", "accuse" and "proceed to extremes"; here it probably has some technical sense derived from one of these. Gardiner renders "enter a protest"'.

If Bean's interpretations are correct, and of this there can be little doubt, they will help us to understand better what is meant by μηδὲ καινὸν ἀγῶνα νεικήσας. Moretti explains καινὸς ἀγῶν as a newly-instituted festival, which would not attract athletes of established reputation. But this fails to take account of the following ἀλλὰ . . . 'I never won at a new festival, but was always crowned in the ring', is no sort of antithesis.

On this point Bean writes, 'Another dubious expression is μηδὲ καινὸν ἀγῶνα νεικήσας. Moretti understands "newly instituted" and so little known and little frequented by athletes of note. Gardiner says "new-fangled games". In its context here it ought to denote some kind of hollow victory not honestly earned in the arena. It would be tempting to take καινόν as standing for κενόν, but the orthography of the inscription is in general very correct'.

Gardiner's rendering gives a no more satisfactory antithesis than Moretti's, and before accepting Bean's tentative emendation, it is possible to attempt an explanation of the text as it stands, based on Asclepiades' claim that he never appealed or protested.

If a competitor appealed to the umpires or stewards, they could either award victory

¹ Moretti, *Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche* (hereafter IGA) 79. ² *AJA* lx (1956).

to one or other of the athletes or call for a new contest—a *καινὸς ἀγὼν* in fact. We have an example of the latter procedure under similar circumstances in Statius,³ who in his description of his funeral games leans far more heavily on contemporary athletic practice than on the Homeric tradition. The foot-race in these games is marred by the most blatant foul in the story of athletics in history or fiction. At the finish, as Parthenopaeus is about to cross the line, with his long hair streaming out behind him, Idas, lying second, seizes him by the hair and pulls him back. Adrastus, the president of the games, feebly orders the two to re-run the race, on opposite sides of the track this time to prevent any further incident. Happily justice is done and Parthenopaeus is the victor.

This then, I suggest, is the meaning of *καινὸς ἀγὼν* in our inscription. Clearly, if there were an appeal, some time would be needed for its consideration, and the crowning ceremony would have to be postponed. Asclepiades tells us that this never happened to him. His victories were all clear-cut and unquestioned, and he was always crowned *ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάμμασιν*. Greeks being Greeks, it is probable that this statement was not entirely true, but, as Dr Johnson said, in lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon oath.

II

Ephesos ii 72; *IAG* 75; lines 15, 16: (*νικῆσαντα*) *Ὀλύμπεια ἐν Ἀθήναις μόνον παροδεύσαντα*.

This inscription, ascribed by the epigraphists to the second half of the second century A.D., records the victories of an Ephesian pentathlete, whose name is lost, as boy, youth and man. He died at the age of 24, and his statue was erected by one M. Claudius Menander, himself an Ephesian pentathlete.

Of the phrase quoted above Moretti writes, 'I think it may mean that our athlete, passing through Athens, won without entering the arena, because his fame was such that on news of his arrival the other competitors abandoned the event'. This is reasonable, but it does not explain why the athlete found it necessary to record that he happened to be passing through Athens, or why he used the word *μόνον* instead of the usual *ἀκονιτί*.

A walk-over was not uncommon in Greek games of any period, as the inscriptions show. It was sometimes due to the reason given by Moretti. An inscription from Antioch in Pisidia⁴ records of one Claudius Marcianus that he won the wrestling *ὃν ἀποδυσάμενον παρητήσαντο οἱ ἀνταγωνισταί*—'As soon as his opponents saw him stripped, they begged to be excused'. But the word *μόνος* would hardly convey this. It would rather imply that our athlete was the only entrant, a circumstance to which he would be unlikely to call attention.

Bean accepts Moretti's view of *μόνον* but, connecting *παροδεύσαντα* with *πάροδος* as in a theatre, says, 'It seems more likely that *παροδεύειν* relates to the "entrance" of the competitors into the stadium (as of the chorus into the theatre) perhaps in the form of a parade as at some modern meetings. His mere entrance was enough to secure him a walk-over'.

I suggest that the words *μόνον παροδεύσαντα* should be taken together, and that the meaning of the phrase is to be sought in the well-known institutions, the *ξυστός* and the *σύνδοδος*, the professional associations of athletes and other competitors at festivals frequently mentioned in inscriptions⁵ of this era. It is reasonable to assume that one of the purposes of such an association was to make it easier for its members, by means of group travel, to reach the different festivals of the Greek world; we know of more than 200 of these festivals

³ *Theb.* vi 550 ff.

⁴ *JRS* iii 267, no. 12.

⁵ E.g., *IAG* 68, 71, 72, 77, 84. For a full treatment

of these associations vid. C. A. Forbes, 'Ancient Athletic Guilds', *Class. Phil.* 1 no. 4, October 1955.

which attracted a more than local entry at the time of our anonymous pentathlete. Probably, as the name *σύνδοδος* implies, each association arranged a circuit every year for its members to fit the year's programme of festivals.⁶

On one occasion, then, our athlete left the 'circus' of his companions to visit Athens, and while there he took the opportunity to enter for the Athenian Olympia. As this festival was not on the programme of his *xystus*, he competed and won without the moral, vocal or financial support of his fellows—*μόνον*.

III

IG 86; *SEG* xii 512; lines 12, 13: κοινὸν Ἀσίας νεικήσας πέμπτῳ ἀπλῶ Ὀπῆτων ποιήσας αὐτῷ τετράκις σύνδρομον.

This comes from an inscription on an altar found at Anazarbus in Asia Minor, assigned to the middle of the third century A.D., recording the victories of Demetrius of Salamis in the pentathlon and the stade. Moretti, who describes the passage quoted as 'veramente sconcertante', explains it as meaning that Demetrius defeated Optatus in the pentathlon by beating him in the fifth event, their scores having been level after the first four. He interprets ἀπλῶ as signifying that this fifth event was confined to Demetrius and Optatus.

Bean in his review agrees with Moretti that the event referred to is the pentathlon, but rightly says that the suggestion that Demetrius and Optatus were level after the first four events is one that the Greek cannot be made to yield. He goes on, 'A possible solution would be to read πέμπτῳ <πά>λῳ, "in the fifth event" (a meaning of πάλος not known elsewhere) and understand that Demetrius and Optatus tied for first place in each of the other four events. I do not in fact believe that this is the answer, but I must postpone discussion to another occasion'.

The chief crux is the word ἀπλῶ. Gough,⁷ who discovered and first published the inscription, suggested <δ>πλῳ; but this does nothing to solve the difficulties of the passage, and there is no other mention of Demetrius as a hoplitodrome. *SEG* adopts <πά>λῳ, attributing it to A. M. Woodward 'per epistulam adnuente Gough'. The reconsideration of the problem which Bean promised comes in his 'Victory in the Pentathlon'.⁸ Here he retains the reading ἀπλῶ, and suggests that the event referred to is the race in the pentathlon, which he places fourth in order of events, immediately after the three, the jump, discus and javelin, which are peculiar to the pentathlon. He writes, 'If we suppose that in the first triad Demetrius had two clear wins and Optatus one, and that no other competitor had two second places, the foot-race would be a "single" between these two. They dead-heated four times, till at the fifth attempt Demetrius won'. Bean is undoubtedly right in insisting that the Greek must mean that Demetrius won at the fifth attempt after four dead heats, but the meaning he gives to ἀπλῶ, a 'single' between Demetrius and Optatus, is not entirely satisfactory.

I suggest that the event involved was not the foot-race in the pentathlon but the stade, and that ἀπλοῦς (sc. δρόμος) or ἀπλοῦν (sc. στάδιον) was athletes' jargon for the stade as distinct from the diaulos. This view receives a certain amount of support from two inscriptions⁹ from Delphi, in each of which two equestrian events are named, the δίαυλος and the ἀκαμπτός. The latter, the 'race without a turn', is the exact equivalent of ἀπλοῦς. There is another way in which ἀπλοῦν may have acquired the meaning 'stade'. We do not certainly know the length of the foot-race in the pentathlon, but, when a pentathlete has a second string to his bow, from Phayllus onward it is usually the stade,¹⁰ so it is a reasonable

⁶ This may be the force of the epithet περιπολιστική applied to the σύνδοδος in inscriptions (e.g., *IG* 68).

⁷ M. R. E. Gough in *Anatolian Studies* ii 127.

⁸ *AJA* lx (1956) 361.

⁹ Dittenberger *Syll.*³ 697, 728.

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., *IG* 11, 60, 61, 82, 86.

presumption that this was the distance of the pentathlon race. If this was so, the stade as a solo event might well be called the *στάδιον ἀπλοῦν* to distinguish it from the *στάδιον τοῦ πεντάθλου*.¹¹ There is every reason why the colloquial *ἀπλῶ* should have been used in our inscription rather than *σταδίῳ*; the phrase *ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ σταδίῳ* would obviously have been highly ambiguous.

Moretti's reason for rejecting the obvious rendering of the words in the inscription is that 'When two competitors dead-heated, victory was declared sacred to the god (*ἱερά*), or else both athletes were crowned (*συστέφειν*), and the event was not repeated until there was an absolute victor'. Like all modern writers except Bean, Moretti has assumed that there was no distinction between a draw in the heavyweight events—boxing, wrestling and the pancration—and a dead-heat in running, jumping or throwing, and that the term *ἱερά* was used of all these. A re-examination of the scanty evidence suggests that the Greeks did make such a distinction, and that, sometimes at least, the procedure after a dead-heat was different. With one doubtful exception, all the inscriptions¹² in which *ἱερά* or *ἱερός στέφανος* occur appear to relate to wrestling, the pancration or the pentathlon, and it is noteworthy that when Polybius¹³ uses the phrase *ποιήσαντες ἱερόν τὸν στέφανον* metaphorically, he adds the words *καθάπερ ἀγαθοὶ παλαισταί*. A draw in the pentathlon (our own Demetrius drew twice at Isthmia) is accounted for by the fact that, if a clear winner had not emerged after the first four events, the fifth, the wrestling, was decisive. A draw in this bout would consequently involve a draw in the pentathlon.

In practice, a dead-heat and a draw call for different solutions. The obvious procedure after the former is to re-run the race or to have a further round of jumping or throwing. This calls for very little expenditure of time, always a valuable commodity at athletics meetings. There is one piece of evidence that this did happen. Herodotus¹⁴ records of Alexander, son of Amyntas king of Macedonia, that he ran in the stade at Olympia and *ξυνέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ*, a phrase which is always interpreted as meaning that he dead-heated for first place. But Alexander's name does not appear in the list of victors, nor is there any mention of a *ἱερά* in the stade. The only possible explanation, if Herodotus' statement is accepted, is that Alexander was defeated in the run-off. We have already seen another example of a race re-run, though not after a dead-heat, in Statius.

A draw in the heavyweight events was very different from a dead-heat. It must be remembered that bouts in Greece were not divided into rounds but continued uninterrupted in boxing and the pancration until one of the contestants acknowledged defeat, and in wrestling until one wrestler had won three falls. In wrestling the competitors sometimes remained locked in one another's embrace until the spectators were bored—as in the funeral games of Patroclus,¹⁵ where the president Achilles ended the match between Odysseus and Ajax after each had won one fall—or until night descended. A flowery inscription from Olympia,¹⁶ of the second century A.D., records of Ti. Claudius Rufus of Smyrna that in the pancration *μέχρι νυκτός, ὡς ἄστρα καταλαβεῖν, διεκατέρησε*, with the result that he was *πρώτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος* to secure a draw in the pancration at Olympia.¹⁷ Obviously in such circumstances it would have been useless for the stewards to order a new contest, and the only possible course was to declare the event drawn and either withhold the crown or crown the finalists jointly. How frequent such draws were we can judge from an inscrip-

¹¹ It is possible that this is the significance of *μονο-* in the word *μονοπάλη*, found in Bacchylides (xi 8) and in inscriptions (*IAG* 20, 29). The usual interpretation of the word is 'pure wrestling' as distinct from the mixed wrestling and boxing of the pancration. It appears more likely that it means 'wrestling as a separate event', distinguished thus from the wrestling in the pentathlon.

¹² E.g., *IAG* 71, 72, 77, 79.

¹³ xxxix 8, 9.

¹⁴ v 22.

¹⁵ *Il.* xxiii 700 ff.

¹⁶ *I. Ol.* 54, 55; *SIG*³ 1073.

¹⁷ It is claims like this that Lucilius parodies so wickedly in his epigram (*A.P.* xi 85), in which a long-distance runner is still running at midnight.

tion¹⁸ of the second century A.D., recording the exploits of M. Aurelius Hermagoras, a wrestler from Magnesia. He won 29 victories in Crown games and 127 in games with money prizes. He drew at Olympia and on 18 other occasions. Even if we allow for a few defeats, which Hermagoras naturally does not mention—presumably with an Olympic finalist they would not be many—this gives a proportion of over 10 per cent of drawn contests.

The only epigraphic evidence for a *ἱερά* in a running event occurs in an inscription¹⁹ from Corinth, recording the victors in a festival at Isthmia in A.D. 3. The pancration in both the boys' and youths' classes at this meeting was *ἱερός*. Another youths' event, which Peek conjectures to be the *dolichos*, ἐποιήθη *ἱερός*, and a further restoration by Peek would make the youths' *diaulos* also *ἱερός*. But obviously any conclusions based on two conjectural restorations would be highly dubious. Moreover, this inscription arouses the suspicion that the term *ἱερός* may have been used by the organisers of festivals to conceal the fact that there were no entries for an event.

Literature gives us one instance of *ἱερά* applied to a race, but it is Latin literature. The ageing Seneca describes²⁰ the races which he runs daily against a very young boy slave, Pharius. 'Hodie', he writes, 'quod raro cursoribus evenit, hieran fecimus.' This playful passage can hardly be held to prove that there was never a run-off after a dead-heat in a Greek race. It is even possible that Seneca purposely used the word 'hieran' to hint that at his age he had no intention of re-running the race with Pharius.

An example of runners in a dead-heat sharing the crown instead of re-running the race is afforded by an epigram²¹ of c. A.D. 250.

Εἰς δρόμος, εἰς στέφανος, νίκης κρίσις ἀμφοτέροισιν
ἔλλαχεν ἰσοταχῆς, οὖνομα δ' Ἰππόλυτος.
ταῦτα δὲ κηρύσσοντος ἀκούεις · Εὐαγρος ἡμῶν
στήσεν ἀγωνοθέτης εἰκόνας ἀμφοτέρων.

The singular οὖνομα δ' Ἰππόλυτος raises some doubts; presumably another epigram must have been inscribed under the second statue, incorporating the name of Hippolytus' rival.

We may therefore reach the following conclusions:

- (a) That the *ἱερά* or draw was frequent in the heavyweight events.
- (b) That after a dead-heat in a race, the race was sometimes re-run, and at other times the result was left as a dead-heat.
- (c) That our inscription records an extraordinary instance of a victory in a stade race after four dead-heats between two competitors.

Reasonably enough, Moretti calls this 'piuttosto strano'; but in a thousand years of athletic festivals all over the Greek world, even the strangest of coincidences was liable to happen at some time. Moreover, it is less unlikely that Demetrius and Optatus should have dead-heated four times in the same event than that they should have tied in the four separate events of the pentathlon—foot-race, jump, discus and javelin—as the reading <πά>λω requires. It is possible that judges in antiquity were readier than those of today to give a verdict of dead-heat in a race. The width of the track and consequent length of the finishing line, nearly 30 yards at Olympia, for instance, in itself made their task difficult and precluded the use of anything like a tape to help them.

If we are tempted to ask why this incident should have been mentioned in the inscription,

¹⁸ IG xiv 739; IGR i 444; IAG 77.

²⁰ Ep. lxxxiii 5.

¹⁹ SEG xi 61. Considered by Peek in *Gnomon* ix (1933).

²¹ Kaibel, 939.

we must remember that the athletes of Greece were as keen as their modern counterparts on 'records'.²² In the absence of stop-watches a Greek athlete could not claim a best performance; his claim was that he was the first ever to achieve some victory or combination of victories. In the fifth century B.C., Damonon of Sparta in an inscription²³ enumerating his victories at minor festivals in the Peloponnese makes the claim νικάσας ταῦτα ἅτ' οὐδεὶς πῆποκα τῶν νῦν, and from then on the phrases πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων and πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος recur ever more frequently. The lengths to which an athlete would go to find some category of priority for his achievements are amusingly illustrated by an inscription²⁴ of a Milesian runner whose name is lost. He is the 'first and only man' to achieve one group of victories; for three others he is 'first of all men'; for another, 'first and only man from Asia'; for a further three, 'first of the Ionians', and for two others, 'the first Milesian'.

Our Demetrius of Salamis does not state in so many words that he was πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος to dead-heat four times with the same man on the same day in the same event. He may well have thought it unnecessary to do so.²⁵

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²² Cf. M. N. Tod, 'Greek record-keeping and record-breaking', *CQ* xliii (1949).

²³ *IG* v 1 213; *IAG* 16.

²⁴ *IAG* 59.

²⁵ I wish to thank Mr D. M. Lewis for valuable help and advice in the preparation of this article.

SOME RUBRICS IN THE ATHENIAN QUOTA-LISTS

THE Rubrics to be discussed here are five in number: (πόλεις) ἄτακτοι, πόλεις αὐταί φόρον ταξάμεναι, πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν, ταῖσδε ἔταξαν οἱ τάκται ἐπὶ Κρ [. . .] ο γραμματεῦντος and ταῖσδε ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι ἔταξαν. They have often been discussed before, both singly and together,¹ but their relationship to each other was given a new prominence by Meritt's ordering of the lists for the Assessment Periods in which they appear. If his arrangement of them is accepted as a starting-point for discussion, the results for the tribute-history of the cities in these Rubrics are as set out in the table in *ATL* (iii 87).² From this general picture of the Rubrics the following points emerge:

(1) ἄτακτοι cities are first noted as such in *ATL*'s List 20 (435/4), in which five cases are observable—Gale, Pharbelos, Othoros, Chedrolos and Miltoros—all in the Thrakian panel.³ These cities may all have appeared in List 19 (436/5) making similar payments, but if *ATL*'s placing of their entries in that list is correct, they were not then noted as ἄτακτοι.⁴ Before List 19 two of them (Gale and Miltoros) had never made any appearance in the lists, as we have them, at all; one (Chedrolos) last appeared in 447/6 and was absent from a full panel in 443/2; and the remaining two (Pharbelos and Othoros) had appeared fairly regularly down to 441/0 and are not known to have been absent ever. In all cases where an ἄτακτος has paid before, it pays exactly the same amount as it paid in its latest known payment before 436/5.⁵

(2) In *ATL*'s List 21 (434/3) all the above ἄτακτοι are found either in the αὐταί Rubric (Gale, Pharbelos, Chedrolos and Miltoros) or in the ἰδιῶται Rubric (Othoros). One newcomer, making its first and last known payment, appears as ἄτακτος (Kystiros). It now appears that an ἄτακτος entering the αὐταί Rubric may find itself paying half its ἄτακτος tribute (Pharbelos), or double (Chedrolos), or three times as much (Miltoros), or more than three times (Gale): Othoros, on entering the ἰδιῶται Rubric, also has its tribute changed (reduced from 700 to 500 drachmai). They are now joined in these Rubrics by several other communities,⁶ not only from the Thrakian district (three in the αὐταί Rubric—Aioleion, Sarte and Pleume—nine in the ἰδιῶται—Piloros, Kleonai, Sinos, Pistasos, Tindaioi, Kithas, Smilla, Gigonos and Haisa), but also from the Hellespontine (Kallipolis in the αὐταί Rubric, Bysbikos in the ἰδιῶται) and from the islands (three in the αὐταί Rubric

¹ The most important contributions up to 1939 (hereafter referred to by their authors' names only) were made by U. Köhler, *Abh. Ak. Berlin* 1869 ii 136–7; G. Loeschcke, *De titulis aliquot atticis quaestiones historicae* (Diss. Bonn, 1876); G. Busolt, *Philologus* xli (1882) 652–718; R. Dahms, *De Atheniensium sociorum tributis quaestiones septem* (Diss. Berlin, 1904) 55–60; E. B. Couch, *AJA* xxxiii (1929) 502–14; H. Nesselhauf, *Klio*, Beiheft xxx, 1933, 58 ff.; U. Kahrstedt, *AJP* lvii (1936) 419–24; and H. Schaefer, *Hermes* lxxiv (1939) 225–64.

² B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. i (Harvard, 1939), see esp. pp. 455–7; vol. ii (Princeton, 1949); vol. iii (Princeton, 1950), see esp. pp. 68–9, 78–88, 195; vol. iv (Princeton, 1953).

³ In the case of Gale, the name has to be restored: on the grounds for this, see *ATL* iii 86. In the case

of Chedrolos, the word ἄτακτος has to be restored completely, but it is rendered virtually certain by the letter-spacing: see the photographs of the Second Stele, fragments 38, 46, and 51–2 in *ATL* i 84, 86; cp. also B. D. Meritt and A. B. West, *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.* xxxviii (1927) 34.

⁴ *ATL* iii 82 (for Miltoros, Pharbelos, Othoros and Chedrolos in List 19); *ATL* i 187 f.; iii 86 (for Gale).

⁵ For the earlier payments of Othoros and Chedrolos see esp. *ATL* i 11 (fig. 9), 64 and iii 61, 64, where the revised readings of *ATL* ii for Lists 7–9 and 12–13 are explained. It should be noted that the Thrakian Panel is complete for 443/2 and again for this year, 435/4.

⁶ For the position of all these cities (not always known) see the Map and Gazetteer sections of *ATL* (i 461 ff.; ii 84 ff.). For Chalkidike, cp. also D. W. Bradeen, *AJP* lxxiii (1952) 356 ff.

—Amorgos, Kasos and the Eteokarpathioi—two in the *ιδιωται*—Syme and the Diakres apo Chalkideon). None of these had ever appeared in the lists before, as far as we know.⁷ In *ATL*'s Lists 22 and 23 (433/2 and 432/1) these Rubrics continue with their membership apparently unchanged, except that some of the cities drop out.⁸ If *ATL* is right, we have no record for 431/0.

(3) In *ATL*'s Lists 25 and 26 (assigned to 430/29 and 429/8, but cp. pp. 27 f. below), such *αὐται* cities as remain in the lists at all are found (or plausibly restored) in the *τάκται* Rubric, while the remaining *ιδιωται* cities are found (or plausibly restored) in the *βουλή* Rubric. Most of the relevant quotas do not survive, but the few that do suggest that the new Rubrics involved no change of assessment. Thereafter these cities either disappear from the lists for ever (apart from some appearances in Assessments, which do not prove payment) or occur as normal payers in the body of the lists.

It seems clear that anyone offering an explanation of any one of these Rubrics must, if he accepts this general picture, explain the others at the same time in such a way that the parallelism of the *αὐται* and *ιδιωται* Rubrics is preserved and their descent from the *ἄτακτοι* and their apparent transfer into the *τάκται* and *βουλή* Rubrics respectively is reasonably accounted for. Broadly speaking only two rival solutions which attempt to do all this have as yet been evolved. The first, which may for convenience be termed the '*ATL* i view', since it can be found completely set out there, was in effect a provisional amalgamation of the theories of Busolt and Mrs Couch (on the *αὐται*) and of Köhler and Kahrstedt (on the *ιδιωται*). On this view the initiative in both cases came from Athens, who was countering local attempts at synoikism by the repressive use of 'apotaxis' and (in the case of some *ιδιωται* cities only) forcing in outlying states by diplomatic or military intervention. As a result some cities paid without being formally assessed in the second half of the fifth Assessment Period (438/7–435/4), the *Taktai* of the sixth Period (for whom Kr. . . was secretary) assessed some cities separately (*αὐται* = by themselves), i.e. applied apotaxis, and members of the Athenian public—also applying apotaxis, at any rate in some cases—added the names of other cities to the number of those to be assessed, additions which were subsequently ratified by the Boule and the Special Court in 430. On this view apotaxis (for which see *ATL* iii 195 f. and below pp. 38 ff.) is, as it were, the linking motive which accounts for the parallelism.

The second, which may be referred to as the 'Nesselhauf view', goes back in part to Loeschcke and, as far as I know, has never been fully developed by Nesselhauf or anyone else in the light of more recent researches on the Tribute Lists since Nesselhauf expounded it in 1933. It maintains that the initiative came from some of the cities, who volunteered to become subscribers to the League in the middle of an Assessment Period and after an interval without formal assessment were accepted as a special class of volunteers when the *Taktai* of 434 drew up their Assessment List for the new period (*αὐται* = of their own accord): other cities then joined in this arrangement, but Othoros in 434/3 decided not to, whereupon some individual citizens of Othoros, for economic gain, offered to pay the fee for their city's nominal membership: this idea was also accepted by Athens, and citizens of other communities accordingly availed themselves of it likewise. On this view the linking motive which accounts for the parallelism is the acceptance of 'volunteers'.

⁷ The Hellespontine Panel is complete for 443/2, 442/1 and 435/4; the Island Panel for 443/2, 442/1 and 441/0; and the Karian Panel, to which all the Rubric islanders except the Diakres apo Chalkideon would probably have belonged if they had been paying then, is complete for 442/1, 441/0 and 440/39.

⁸ In List 22 an unprecedented quota (33½ dr.)

appears in the *ιδιωται* Rubric opposite a city-name (lost) which occupied two or more lines. This could indicate a new member (cp. *ATL* iii 81, n. 28), though this would be odd in the middle of an assessment period: but it could also represent a partial payment on behalf of the *Poleis Krossidos* (Tindaioi, Kithas, Smilla, Gigonos and Haisa) who are all probably absent in the following years.

This interpretation of the *αὐταί* and *ιδιωταί* Rubrics was attacked from many quarters.⁹ In particular it was thought extremely unlikely that Athens would ever have allowed 'volunteers' to be given any form of special treatment and quite impossible for individual citizens to commit themselves (or their cities) to any form of political connexion with a foreign power. On the other hand, the *ATL* i view of the *αὐταί* Rubric was also criticised,¹⁰ mainly on grounds of translation, with the result that in *ATL* iii (80 ff.) it was to some extent modified. Mrs Couch's rendering of the *αὐταί* Rubric as 'cities assessed tribute separately' was now dropped and not all the cities found in this Rubric were regarded as the products of apotaxis. The new rendering was 'cities which accepted assessment by special arrangement', a favoured group, yet still one which owed its entry into the League to intervention, and perhaps armed intervention, by Athens. The *ἄτακτοι* simply had to wait for the Taktai of 434 to take office and regularise their assessment: Othoros for some reason made no agreement with them and so was omitted from their list: 'the town was promptly added by a citizen in the ekklesia'. The *ιδιωταί* cities are thus explained as before, though it is rather more strongly emphasised that, while some are cases of apotaxis, others are merely peripheral cities now drawn in. As for the *βουλή* Rubric, this now includes only those *ιδιωταί* cities which appealed to the special court (in the manner anticipated for 425 by Ag), not so much against the ratification of their inclusion by individual Athenians as against the assessment now taken over by the Taktai of 430 from the 'addendum' to the list of 434: the rest of the *ιδιωταί* cities, if they paid at all, were presumably in the normal list of payers in the seventh Assessment Period.

The *ATL* iii version was thus to some extent a compromise between the *ATL* i and the Nesselhauf views, neither of which seemed wholly satisfactory. Yet it seemed, as Gomme pointed out,¹¹ that it still refused to let the *αὐταί* Rubric mean what it says. In my view there is, when one considers both the language and the context of these Rubrics, a decisive case against not only Mrs Couch's rendering of the *αὐταί* Rubric but also Kahrstedt's rendering of the *ιδιωταί* Rubric, which is fatal for any historical reconstruction built on them; whereas the case against Nesselhauf's interpretation, even though that interpretation may require to be brought up to date and in some respects modified, is not decisive; and that, as a consequence, the postulates of the latter view will have to be borne in mind when considering the history of the Athenian Empire during the thirties of the fifth century and the preliminaries of the Peloponnesian War.

Throughout the following discussion I shall use *ATL*'s numbering and dating of the quota-lists and Assessment Periods, which in general I accept. A reservation, however, must be made at this point before proceeding further. The 'Second Stele' takes us down from List 16 (439/8) to List 23 (432/1), but the later lists were inscribed each on a separate stele year by year and their dating and arrangement becomes very much more difficult as a result. Hence, though few qualms, if any, may be felt about *ATL*'s disposition of the *ἄτακτοι*, *αὐταί* and *ιδιωταί* cities in Periods V and VI, it will be as well to remember that the immediate conversion of the *αὐταί* and *ιδιωταί* Rubrics into the *τάκται* and *βουλή* Rubrics respectively depends on Meritt's placing of *IG* i² 218 and 216/7 + 231 (= *SEG* v 28 and 25) in the following Assessment Period, Period VII.

The arguments for this are attractive rather than cogent: neither the order and dating of these two lists nor the restorations of the Rubrics in them (and in particular of the Rubric-

⁹ E.g. by A. B. West, *CP* xxx (1935) 81; Schaefer, 240 ff.; Meritt, *AJP* lv (1934) 281 ff.; Kahrstedt, 420 f.; cp. also W. Schwahn, *RE* xx i (1941) s.v. *Phoroi*, 550 (against Loeschke); *ATL* iii 83.

¹⁰ E.g. by T. Lenschau, *Bursians-Jahresbericht* ccxlv (1934) 52 f. (against Couch); A. W. Gomme, *CR* liv

(1940) 67 ff.; R. Meiggs, *EHR* lv (1940) 106.

¹¹ Γέρας: Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου (Ἐτ. Μακ. Σπονδῶν Ἐπιστ. Πραγματεῖαι, Σειρὰ Φιλολ. καὶ Θεολ., Athens, 1953) 35 ff. Cp. now H. B. Mattingly, *CQ* lv (1961) 156 f.

headings in *IG* i² 216/7) can yet be regarded as firmly and finally established. Indeed, since the first draft of this paper was written, H. B. Mattingly has challenged most of *ATL*'s conclusions here and brought these lists, among other things, back into the forefront of discussion. However, as I am mainly concerned with the Rubrics in the earlier lists and I see no reason as yet to doubt that the transfers *αὐταί-τάκται* and *ιδιωται-βουλή* took place soon after the beginning of the war, or that these Rubrics ceased to exist by 425/4 at the latest, I propose to take *ATL*'s presentation of the Rubrics of Period VII and its dating of the later lists as sufficiently near the truth to be included in the basic picture here and assumed as correct in the following discussion, even though it is clear that we are not on altogether firm ground after 432/1.¹²

A. THE TRANSLATION OF THE RUBRICS

Two requirements should be fulfilled by the correct translation of these Rubrics. The first is that it should be the most obvious interpretation of the words used. As in a modern telegram, ambiguity will creep in where brevity is in great demand: but the 'sender', in most circumstances, need not fear that the 'recipient' will go out of his way to assign unusual or recondite overtones to the message. It is for this reason particularly that Mrs Couch's translation of *πόλεις αὐταί φόρον ταξάμεναι*, 'cities assessed tribute separately', has been criticised. *αὐταί* could mean 'by themselves', even in fifth-century prose, in some contexts,¹³ but when associated not with the passive but with the middle *ταξάμεναι* would seem most naturally to be taken as meaning either 'they themselves' or 'of their own accord'. Similarly her attempt to show that *ταξάμεναι* in similar contexts bears a passive sense (unsuccessful in itself, as Gomme showed)¹⁴ is of little weight here in any case, where the middle forces of 'assessing themselves' or 'getting themselves assessed' are, it would seem, reinforced strongly by *αὐταί*. Nevertheless, it appears from the *τάκται* Rubric that these cities did not in fact assess themselves, or at any rate not without some participation by the Athenian assessors (see below, pp. 33 f.), so that the Rubric cannot be taken as meaning 'cities which themselves assessed themselves' (= *αὐταί ἑαυτὰς τάξασαι*) without some qualification. On the other hand, to translate 'cities which got themselves assessed of their own accord' involves a somewhat redundant use of *αὐτός* for which no one has yet produced an exact parallel.¹⁵ Yet, for the purposes of the Nesselhauf view, an emphatic subject remains possible with the middle voice given that, with new payers, the initiative might be expected to come from Athens and not from them. Thus Demosthenes says of Aphobos (xxix 28), *αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ μάρτυρας ψευδεῖς παρεσκεύασται περὶ τούτων* (which was precisely what he was accusing Demosthenes of doing). So here the Rubric may mean 'cities which themselves took the initiative' either 'in getting themselves assessed' or 'in proposing an assessment for themselves': their assessment, in other words, was a figure agreed on after negotiations between them and the *Taktai* (as all assessments probably were, apart from those against which the cities appealed), but in these particular cases the cities were abnormal in that it was they who had started the negotiations off. Whether

¹² For *ATL*'s arrangement see esp. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents* (Ann Arbor, 1932) 3 ff.; id., *Documents on Athenian Tribute* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937) 98 ff. and works there cited; *ATL* i 191 ff.; ii 29 ff. For Mattingly's views see *Historia* x (1961), 148 ff., esp. 166-8; *loc. cit.* n. 11, 154 ff.; and below, pp. 67 ff. (Wade-Gery and Meritt).

¹³ In the sense of 'not in company with others' (which is all that is required here), rather than 'individually': Couch, 512, cites Aristophanes, *Ach.*

504 ff. and Thucydides vi 37.1; cp. also Plato, *Parm.* 137A; Xenophon, *Anab.* ii 3.7.

¹⁴ Couch, 513; Gomme, *loc. cit.*, n. 10, 67 f.; *loc. cit.*, n. 11, 35 f.

¹⁵ For *αὐτός* in this sense, but with an active verb, cp. Sophokles (who may have been chairman of the Hellenotamiai in 443/2, see D. M. Lewis, *BSA* 1 (1955) 15; Meritt, *AJP* lxxx (1959) 189), *O.T.* 341; Thucydides iii 65.2, iv 60.2.

they volunteered to be assessed out of friendship for Athens or out of fear of what might happen to them if they did not, is another matter: this is how the Athenian officials concerned chose to describe them.

But at this point it is only fair to point out that cities which desired to get out of a *syntely* would presumably 'take the initiative in getting themselves assessed' in a very similar way: indeed, with *apotaxis* in mind, it is possible to take the Rubric as meaning 'cities which, taking independent action (i.e. without approaching Athens through their erstwhile *syntely*-head), got themselves assessed'. On grounds of language alone, therefore, it does not seem possible to decide definitely between the two rival views: it depends entirely on why one thinks the subject is being emphasised.

The significance of the *ιδιωται* Rubric is also difficult to feel sure about on grounds of language alone. The noun *ιδιωται* can, of course, refer to private individuals as opposed to officials, whether citizens of Athens or of other places.¹⁶ The verb *εγγράφειν* means to enrol in the literal sense of entering in a written document, such as a list of public debtors.¹⁷ But did these individuals enrol these cities in the *τάξις φόρον*, with the result that they were henceforth to pay tribute, or did they put their names down on the Tribute Lists as paying tribute, when in fact they had paid over the cash themselves? The *ATL* i view requires the former, the Nesselhauf view the latter. The former finds a close enough parallel in Thucydides i 132.5, where it is related that Pausanias' messenger to Artabazos, noticing that none of the previous messengers had ever returned, opened the sealed letter '*καὶ αὐτὸν ἦδρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν*': here again the infinitive conveys an intended result in the future. But the other version seems also possible: it might have been better if the participle *φερούσας* had occurred instead of the infinitive *φέρειν*—cp. [Dem.] xl 22, '*ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν ὁ Πάμφιλος ὀφείλων τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐγγέγραπται*'—but if one can enrol children as being named so-and-so in the *phratries*—cp. Dem. xxxix 4 '*ἐγγράφει τοῖς Ἀπατουρίοις τουτονὶ μὲν Βοιωτὸν εἰς τοὺς φράτορας, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον Πάμφιλον. Μαντίθεος ἐνεγεγράμμην ἐγὼ*'—it seems possible Greek to write '*ὡς ἐνεγράψαν φόρον φέρειν*' for 'they entered them on the list as paying tribute', a statement of (alleged) fact, not an order or suggestion for the future.

It is a pity that the Rubric had no room to tell us the officials on whose list the entry was made at the instigation of these *ιδιωται*—*τοῖς τάκταις* or *τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις* would have been decisive (cp. [Dem.] xliii 71 '*ἐγγραφόντων οἱ ἄρχοντες . . . τοῖς πράκτορσιν, ὁ τῷ δημοσίῳ γίγνεται* <ὁ δὲ τῇ θεῷ γίγνεται>¹⁸ *τοῖς ταμίαις τῶν τῆς θεοῦ*'). However, the second requirement to be fulfilled by the correct translation seems to me to make the former (*ATL* i) version for both this and the *αὐταί* Rubric quite unacceptable, and as there is nothing ambiguous in the language of the *τάκταις* and *βουλή* Rubrics we may now turn to consider this.

The second requirement is that the Rubric should make sense as a Rubric in the quota-lists, serving a purpose relevant to these documents. Every tribute-year must have involved the use of three basic documents, the *τάξις φόρον* of the current assessment period, the list of the tribute brought in and the list of the quotas thereof. The first was primarily the product of the *Boule* in general and of the *Taktai* in particular, who (at any rate in 425) were appointed by the *Boule* and probably only held office while they were fulfilling their function in an assessment year.¹⁹ As the assessment of 425 was in some ways exceptional, it is not easy to infer from Ag (even if one accepts *ATL*'s restorations of the text) what their

¹⁶ For Athenians, Schaefer compared Lykourgos i 34; *Ath. Pol.* 48.2; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1272B; *IG* i² 16, line 12. For others, cp., e.g., *IG* i² 39 = *ATL* ii 70 (D17), line 6 (Chalkis). The article is probably not just 'generic' but meant to signify certain individuals named in supporting documents (cp. Dahms, 58).

¹⁷ For the distinction between *εγγράφειν* and *ἀναγράφειν* see *ATL* iii 74.

¹⁸ Reiske's supplement.

¹⁹ *ATL* iii 84: presumably based mainly on Ag.

normal duties were in the Pentekontaetia. Their title, however, surely implies that they did not just make a list of the cities to be assessed but actually assessed them, and it seems unlikely that they did that before the arrival of the embassies summoned from the cities, who presumably produced some sort of statement of their current assets.²⁰ If they and the Taktai then agreed on a figure, well and good, though the final ratification was by the Boule: if they did not agree, then the case was thrashed out before a Special Court, at any rate in 425, when the court consisted of a thousand members; the Taktai probably argued the case for their figure and the city's ambassadors for theirs. We do not know when these Special Courts of Appeal were first established,²¹ but in 425 the Court's decision was binding on all parties. The revised list was then apparently drawn up by the Taktai, checked by the Court and finally ratified by the Boule. The *τάξις φόρου* was thus produced by various authorities in turn, whose precise functions are hard to disentangle. Broadly speaking, however, the Boule administered the assessment as a whole and saw that any instructions from the Demos were carried out, the Special Court adjudicated on controversial assessments, the Taktai drew up a basic assessment-list and later a revised one in the light of the Court's decisions, and the embassies from the cities exercised their powers of persuasion.²² As for the list of cities to be assessed, the Taktai presumably took over the names from the previous period, only adding or subtracting names when they had specific instructions to do so, via the Boule, from the Ekklesia.²³

In 425 two copies of the assessment-decree and of the resulting assessment-list were inscribed by the secretary of the Boule on stone stelai, one of which was set up in the Bouleuterion and the other on the Akropolis (Ag, lines 22–5). Apart from panel headings and totals, Ag is a straight list of names and assessments, with no Rubrics and no altered figures: unless the Special Court made no changes at all, this is a copy, as one would expect, of the final draft, incorporating the decisions of the Court and ratified by the Boule. The Taktai's first draft might survive in the records at their office, but it would no longer be of any great use; nor would any other official need to know by what stages the figures in the final draft had in fact been reached. If any other less permanent but more serviceable copies of the assessment-list circulated among the officials concerned with tribute, they would surely be clean copies of the final draft. It is not easy to see, however, how many officials would in fact need to have such copies. It appears from the decree of Kleinias (ATL's D7) that at its date (448/7?) the tribute money was handed over in the first place at a meeting of the Boule (line 17, cp. [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* iii 2), from which it has been inferred that the officials who first handled and checked it in were the Apodektai:²⁴ if so, they could

²⁰ ATL iii 77, cp. iv 121, s.v. Taktai, suggests that the assessment figure was 'revealed' to the ambassadors of the cities when they arrived at Athens in Maimakterion: they could then simply accept it or appeal. If this was true in 425, one wonders why the court only began to hear appeals in Posideion. With Schaefer's view (225 ff.) of the assessment system of Aristides, however, any interval could be taken up with meetings between the Taktai and the various embassies, and the first draft of the *τάξις φόρου* would be the outcome of the former's calculations based on the accounts presented by the latter.

²¹ ATL iii 79 f. thinks they were an innovation in 430 and that before that year the appeals were heard by a heliastic court and were few in number: but this depends partly on its interpretation of the *βουλή* Rubric (see p. 34, below). On Mattingly's view, *loc. cit.* n. 11, 156 f., the earliest

evidence for them belongs to 426/5 (IG i² 218 and Ag, lines 17–18) and the only other evidence to 425 (Ag, lines 16 ff.). This is economical, as he says, but I feel that it may be a false economy.

²² IG i² 39 (ATL ii D17), lines 25–7, 'καὶ τὸν φόρον ὑποτελῶ Ἀθηναῖοισιν ὃν ἂν πείθω Ἀθηναίους' (cp. IG i² 17 (ATL ii D16), lines 11–12), may thus be applicable to all future assessments: but cp. ATL iii 295; Mattingly, *JHS* lxxxi (1961) 128.

²³ For assessment decisions by the Ekklesia in exceptional cases, cp. ATL ii 48 f. (D3), lines 5–9, 29–32 (Methone); *ibid.*, 75 (D21), lines 17–18 (Aphytis).

²⁴ ATL ii 112 T 98a (Pollux viii 97); iii 12 ff.; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* ii 1133. 448/7 is ATL's date for D7; Mattingly, *loc. cit.*, n. 12, 150 ff., argues for 425/4, which would reduce, but not nullify, its value as evidence for procedure in the Pentekontaetia.

have listed the receipts and checked them against the assessments there and then, making known any deficiencies to the Boule much as they did in dealing with internal revenue each prytany (*Ath. Pol.* 48), in which case there would have been no need for the Hellenotamiai to examine the *τάξις φόρου* at all. Nevertheless, in the decree of Kleinias it is the Hellenotamiai who have to declare to the people, at a meeting of the Ekklesia summoned after the conclusion of the Dionysia, 'τῷ πόλεον τὰς ἀποδόσα[ς τῷ φόρον ἐ]ντελῆ καὶ τὰς ἐλλιπόσας χορίς, ἡσσαι [ἂν τινες ὄσων' (lines 20-2), and it is possibly they who are the subjects of a later clause in the decree (lines 44-7), 'τὸς δὲ [ἑλλεν]ο[ταμίας ἀναγράφαντας ἐ]ς πινάκιον λελ[ευκομένον ἀποφαίνεν καὶ τὸν τάχσιν τῷ φόρῳ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἡσσαι ἂν ἀποδοῶσιν ἐντελῆ κα]ὶ ἀπογ[ράφεν . . .', where the restorations depend partly on the comparable clause in the decree of Kleonymos of 426/5 (*ATL's* D8), 'ἀναγ[ραφόντων δὲ οἱ ἐλλ]ενοτα[μ]αίαι ἐς σανίδι τὰς [πόλεις τὰς ἐλλιπό]σας τῷ φό[ρ]ῳ καὶ τὸν ἀπαγόντ[ον τὰ ὀνόματα κα]ὶ τιθέναι [ἡ]εκάστοτε πρόσθε[ν τῷ βέματος' (lines 18-21). The headings of the quota-lists also make it plain that it was the Hellenotamiai who were responsible for assembling and handing over to the Tamiai the quotas due from each city's tribute to the Goddess. Thus, even if the Apodektai had some part in the proceedings (which I doubt), there was no question here of their handing over a lump sum to the relevant treasurers for future expenditure: the Hellenotamiai had to know what each city ought to have paid, what it had paid in fact, and what was still due from it: they therefore had access to a copy of the *τάξις φόρου*, drew up a list of the tribute received, city by city, and also produced, city by city, the quota-lists as we have them. On the other hand, the Tamiai of the Goddess need not have seen either the *τάξις φόρου* or the list of tribute paid in, unless it was part of their responsibility to see that they got exactly what was due to them. The Logistai, however, must have checked over the accounts before and after each transfer, at one time or another, and they must certainly have compared the list of tribute received with the *τάξις φόρου*, the quota-list with the list of tribute received and the entries in and out with the cash in hand at each treasury if they were to certify that all the officials concerned were doing their duty. It is fairly clear from the headings of Lists 1 and 3 (*ATL* ii 8-10) that they had already checked through the quota-list before it was finally inscribed on stone.

No doubt the most common type of discrepancy noted by a Logistes in this process would be where a city either had not paid at all or had not paid as much as it should have done according to the assessment-list. Under the procedure envisaged by the decree of Kleinias, however, both the Boule and the Demos would have had their attention drawn to these shortcomings at an earlier stage, and in any case there would not be much point in making a note on the tribute-list or on the quota-list about them: a black-list of defaulters was prepared separately. Sometimes, however, a city had paid less than might have been expected for some good and allowable reason, or had paid more than the assessment sum, or had in some other way achieved an entry on the tribute-list or on the quota-list which was not to be explained simply by reference to the *τάξις φόρου*. In such cases it probably would be convenient to have a note of some kind on the quota-list, though whether the Hellenotamiai would provide such notes for the sake of the Logistai, or the Logistai for the sake of tidy accounting, would seem to be a moot point. It is in such cases, and in such cases alone, I think, that the Rubrics that occur in these lists came to be employed.

If one looks through the list of Rubrics in *ATL* i 449 ff. one can see that they are all concerned with peculiarities of payment (excluding for the moment those at present under discussion). Thus, Methone, Haison and Dikaiopolis paid only their quota in List 26: an auditor, therefore, would not find a corresponding entry in the tribute-list, and it rather looks from the wording of the alternatives in *ATL's* D3 (lines 5-9) as though he might not find any entry in the *τάξις φόρου* of 430 either, the clue to the amounts received being

in the *τάξις φόρου* of 434 and in the decree.²⁵ Again, cities which paid an epiphora as well as their tribute would appear to have been paying oddly in excess when no note was made. Other Rubrics concern cities paying sums due not for the current year but for the year before, or paying all or part of their tribute in the form of a receipt from some Athenian official, which would affect the cash balance until some adjustment was made. In List 27 three payments are shown under the Rubric *αἶδε τῶν πόλεων Χερρονήσιοις συντελεῖς οὔσαι ἀπέδοσαν*: at first sight this may look like an explicit recording of apotaxis in a quota-list, but in fact it is there because several members of the syntely had defaulted: they were all down on the *τάξις φόρου* to make a combined payment of (probably) three talents as *Χερρονήσιοι*, which ought to have produced a quota of 300 drachmai, but without the Rubric it would seem only that three cities not named on the *τάξις φόρου* at all had between them brought in something less than a talent. Only *Μ[ετὰ Διονύσια]* in List 7 seems an absolutely unnecessary Rubric from an auditor's point of view (late payers almost certainly occur without remark at the end of Lists 5, 9 and 10), but even it (assuming the restoration to be correct, which seems far from certain) is concerned with a peculiarity of payment, not of assessment, and that is surely what one would expect Rubrics to be about in this context. For peculiarities concerned solely with the method or origin of assessment would have no proper place here: if anywhere, they would be noted in the records of the Taktai, either as amendments to the original draft of a *τάξις φόρου*, or as instructions from the Demos or Boule. It is hard to think of cases which would reasonably be the cause of Rubrics in the final draft of a *τάξις φόρου*, and even if such Rubrics ever occurred there would be no point in transcribing them in the tribute-list or quota-list. Nor can it well be maintained that these lists tended to copy the lay-out and details of the current *τάξις φόρου* in a slavish manner: they preserved the panel headings, of course, when there were any, since they were probably prescribed by some general instruction, but they did not preserve the order in which the cities were listed: in each assessment period the order in the quota-lists varies greatly, as a rule, year by year, being probably based on the order in which the money came in: even that order, however, was subject to the vagaries of scribes and masons before the versions which we have were finally produced.²⁶

For these reasons one would surely expect the remaining Rubrics, those at present under discussion, to be concerned, like the others, with peculiarities of payment. But it soon becomes evident that *ATL*'s renderings are not at all happy on this count. The *ἄτακτοι*, of course, are on any view cities which had not been assessed: a perfectly reasonable note, if there was no corresponding entry in the *τάξις φόρου* of 438 to explain their payments and show whether they had paid the sums due. The *πόλεις αὐταί* can be similarly accounted for as 'volunteers', if it is taken as a corollary that they were not, as such, included in the *τάξις φόρου*: alternatively it might be supposed that their location in a separate panel in both the *τάξις φόρου* and the tribute and quota-lists had been laid down by the Ekklesia as a general instruction, in the manner of the panel-headings. 'Cities assessed separately', on the other hand, are simply cases of apotaxis, a form of assessment which needs no note of any kind on the lists: they would simply be entered individually on the *τάξις φόρου* instead of under a group-name, and their individual quotas could be ticked off by a Logistes against

²⁵ I.e. when the Demos voted for the second alternative, the Taktai were instructed to erase Methone from the present assessment-list: the precise significance of *εἴτε φόρον δοκεῖ τάρτεω τὸν δῆμο[ν αὐτίκ]α μᾶλα* is obscure, but the inference made by *ATL* iii 135, n. 9, that the Taktai only assessed a city when there was a change in the amount, seems unnecessary: Methone, already in arrears and perhaps still robbed of most of her normal resources

by the activities of Perdikkas, may well have presented an exceptional case, calling for special instructions from the people to its assessors. Of course, if the year was not an assessment year, then a proposal that the Ekklesia should itself make an assessment straight away for Methone would be quite understandable: but for the date of D3 see below, n. 80.

²⁶ *ATL* iii 7, 12-14.

the individual assessments in the normal manner. It is, of course, possible to observe cases of syntelies and apotaxis in the quota-lists, but not because the cities have a Rubric on such occasions, only because we sometimes find area-names or entries like *Λύκιοι καὶ συντελεῖς* (see the list in *ATL* i 446 ff.) or single payments shown opposite two or more names in column, whereas at other times we find cities known to belong to such areas paying individually. The only case of this which does produce a Rubric is, as seen above, that of the Karian Cherronesioi in List 27, when some cities in that group defaulted and others did not: but that involved a peculiarity of payment. As for the rendering of *ATL* iii 85, 'cities which accepted assessment by special arrangement', as Gomme pointed out,²⁷ this is not a 'logical extension' of *αὐταί* in the sense of 'of their own accord', so that the Rubric heading does not make the point required, which it could easily have done: but it is at least a rendering that might occasion a general instruction for a separate panel.

It will now be seen that the *ιδιώται* Rubric is intelligible in its context if individual citizens of either Athens or Othoros²⁸ voluntarily paid a subscription to get Othoros counted as a member, for in that case she would certainly not appear on the *τάξις φόρου*. But the fact that an individual Athenian either named the figure of tribute which was finally agreed on or got up at any stage in the *Ekklesia* and said 'I propose that Othoros be added to this year's *τάξις φόρου*' should simply be a matter of past administrative history by the time the final draft of the *τάξις φόρου* was ratified and published. Even if such an addition was made after this publication, for the Hellenotamiai to have chosen to put such cities under a special Rubric would have been very odd indeed: they might well be aware of the unusual mode of recruitment or assessment involved, but there was no need for them to comment on it.

The Rubrics of *ATL*'s Lists 25 and 26 should be examined in the same way, come what may. Cities which had been in the *αὐταί* Rubric are now stated to be those 'for which the Taktai for whom Kr. . . . was secretary made an assessment' (note the dative case), while cities which had been in the *ιδιώται* Rubric are now stated to be those 'for which the Boule and the (Special Court of) one thousand five hundred made an assessment'. In the first case *ATL* (iii 83 f.) is surely right to suppose that Kr. . . . was secretary not of the present board of 430 (or why this periphrasis and why the Rubric at all?), nor of some specially created board in an off year (Gomme's idea,²⁹ but granted such an unlikely board, why the need for this Rubric now?), but of the board of 434, the year in which they became known as *πόλεις αὐταί φόρον ταξάμεναι*. An earlier year seems excluded by the fact that none of these *τάκται* cities occurs in the quota-lists before then. If this is right, the Rubric can only be a reference back for (or by) the auditors, telling one not to what circumstances these cities owed their peculiar status, but where to find the relevant minutes which authorised it—in this case, in the records of the Taktai of the previous assessment period. If the cities had merely been cases of apotaxis, it is hard to see much point in this. If, however, they had 'volunteered' and were for that reason allowed to contribute without being listed with the ordinary members of the League in the *τάξις φόρου* (so that they either did not appear on that document at all or only appeared in a special panel), then one only has to suppose that this arrangement still held good and that, although no actual change took place in 430, the back-reference appealed to the clerical minds of the officials concerned. The records of the Taktai of 434 provided the key to this persisting anomaly, because it was they who had been first instructed to agree an assessment with these cities while preserving some sort of distinction between them and the ordinary members. *ATL* iii (84 f.) gets

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*, n. 11, 37.

Athenian Metics, might have had some commercial interest in places like Othoros.

²⁸ The latter preserves the parallelism better and is in general more likely; but the former cannot be logically excluded, and even third parties, such as

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*, n. 10, 68 f.; *loc. cit.*, n. 11, 37.

very near to this by saying that the *αὐταί* cities were such as 'accepted assessment (by the Taktai of 434) by special arrangement', stipulating that they should not be subject to periodic adjustments in the future: it may be that they asked for and obtained such a concession (see below, p. 47), but what caused the Rubrics in the quota-lists was the fact that the secities were not listed with the ordinary members in the *τάξεις φόρου* of 434 and 430.

As for the *βουλή* Rubric, this has usually been taken as a reference to what happened to the *ιδιωται* cities in 430. According to *ATL* iii 80-1, the Taktai of 430 included in their normal *τάξεις φόρου* the cities whose names had been added by Athenian citizens in the Ekklesia to the *τάξεις φόρου* of 434, presumably at a late stage in the process of assessment and possibly too late for any appeal then: some of these cities appealed now, their cases went before the Special Court which decided the amounts, and the Boule set its seal on the resulting figures. If this is right, the large court of 1500 (half as large again as that for 425, a year when many appeals might have been expected)³⁰ had a pleasantly unencumbered session. But in fact there were probably hosts of appeals every assessment-year, the Special Courts may well have been established long before this, although this is our earliest evidence for them, and there was never any need to record appellants under a special Rubric in the quota-lists. It is much more likely that this, like the *τάκται* Rubric, is a reference back to 434: 'see the records of the Boule and the Special Court if you wish to know how these cities came to be making payments now without being in the *τάξεις φόρου*' (or alternatively 'without being listed among the ordinary members there'). In other words, when cities volunteered to pay, the Taktai in office were given instructions about arranging a figure with them; when individuals acting in a private capacity offered subscriptions, the Taktai could not act: they lacked instructions, perhaps, and in any case they could hardly see an official statement of the city's assets;³¹ but the Boule and the Special Court were more competent to deal with controversial assessments, more used to weighing arguments as well as figures on paper, and they, no doubt instructed by the Ekklesia, arrived at the figures in these cases. Thus the parallelism continues. Here too the Rubric, although it refers to records of a peculiar assessment, does so in order to explain a peculiarity of payment, and once again the root peculiarity that caused the Rubric to appear in the quota-lists was that there was not a normal corresponding entry in the current *τάξεις φόρου*. With this explanation, of course, all the *ιδιωται* cities which do not appear in the *βουλή* Rubric have failed to make any payment at all: and it is worth noting that in the full Thracian panel of List 25 not one of the ten Thracian *ιδιωται* cities of List 21 makes an appearance, though only one of them would seem to remain in the Rubric.

Thus, when the language and context of these Rubrics is considered, it seems inescapable to me that two categories of 'volunteer' payments are involved and that they cannot refer to apotaxis or any peculiarity of assessment only. It is now time to examine them in their historical context, where it has often been maintained, against Nesselhauf, that such 'volunteers' could not possibly have been tolerated.

³⁰ Assuming that the court sat collectively, like the large heliastic courts of 1000 or 1500 (Pollux viii 123, Dem. xxiv 9, Plut., *Per.* 32.4) or more (Lysias xiii 35-2000; Andokides i 17-6000), the number of jurors merely indicates the importance, not the amount of the business it was expected to deal with. Nevertheless the business inferred from this Rubric seems neither large nor important.

³¹ Perhaps it is for this reason that the entries in the *ιδιωται* Rubric of List 21 are by place-names

(Othoros, etc.) instead of by the normal corporate names of their citizen-bodies (Othorioi, etc.), except in the cases of the Diakres apo Chalkideon and the Tindaioi, who may represent country districts with no established community centre. (Yet note Steph. Byz., s.v. *Τίνθη-Θράκης Χαλκιδική πόλις*.) This was probably also done in Lists 22 and 23, but the names do not survive sufficiently to be sure. In the *βουλή* Rubric of List 26, on the other hand, Symaioi and Bysbikenoi occur.

B. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE RUBRICS

I. *The ἄτακτοι πόλεις of 435/4*

It seems beyond doubt that these cities—Gale, Miltoros, Othoros, Pharbelos and Chedrolos—were not on the current *τάξις φόρου* when they paid tribute in this year. Two distinct problems at once arise: (a) why were they not on the *τάξις φόρου*? and (b) why did they pay when they were not?

(a) Miltoros is not known ever to have paid before and may be a newcomer, but of the others, Gale is plausibly restored as paying in 436/5, while Othoros and Pharbelos fairly certainly paid in 436/5 and Chedrolos may have also. Before 436/5 Gale never appears at all and was certainly absent in 443/2, but the other three paid fairly regularly, it would seem: Othoros and Pharbelos paid as late as 441/0 and were never certainly absent, Chedrolos' last known payment was in 447/6 and it was certainly absent in 443/2.

Two alternative hypotheses are possible. Either one may suppose, with *ATL* (iii 61, 82 ff., 218, n. 109), that when they paid in 436/5 they paid as *ἄτακτοι*, just as in the following year, but the desirability of noting this fact had not then occurred to the officials concerned; or one may suppose that the payments in 436/5 were normal. In the latter case, all of them, with the possible exception of Miltoros, were on the *τάξις φόρου* of 438 (two of them for the first time, as far as we know), they paid normally in 436/5, they were then scratched off the *τάξις φόρου* in 435, yet forthwith returned to pay as *ἄτακτοι* in 434. In the former case, only Othoros, Pharbelos and Chedrolos need be supposed to have somehow ceased to be normal members of the League at some time between their last known normal payments and the spring of 435: if this happened before 438, then they were never put on the *τάξις φόρου* of that year and that was why they were *ἄτακτοι* when they made payments later in Period V, while Gale and Miltoros were *ἄτακτοι* because they came in as newcomers in the middle of that assessment period. This is by far the simpler hypothesis, involving only two rather mysterious developments instead of three, and allowing more breathing-space between the changes. Yet the element of mystery remains, and when one tries to find explanations for it, it becomes evident that a series of rapid alternations of policy or reactions to policy cannot be ruled out of account. At any rate something rather unusual must have caused these cities to cease to be members of the League in this manner, and this oddity lies at the roots of all these Rubrics and is a basic difficulty for all interpretations of them.

Two factors make it impossible to speculate with very much profit on this stage of the problem. The first is that all these cities are in the Thracian area. We know enough about the general situation here to feel confident that it was an interesting exercise-ground for diplomacy throughout these years: Perdikkas and his rivals struggling for control of an expanding Makedonia, Sitalkes in Thrace, the independent Thracians near the Strymon, Athens at last established at Amphipolis, signs of incipient synoikism in Chalkidike—all these can have been disturbing ingredients. But of the exact course of events we know virtually nothing. Secondly, we do not know the position of any of these *ἄτακτοι* cities. True, Gale has been attractively located by Meritt³² on the west side of Sithonia, north of Torone, where Herodotos (vii 122) places a 'Galepsos' which cannot be the same as the well-attested city of that name on the coast east of Amphipolis. Yet this cannot be regarded as certain, and the location of the others is quite unknown. Hence, while it is quite possible that the 'previous payers' who became *ἄτακτοι* all came from one quite small area, and even that all the *ἄτακτοι* did, we cannot be sure of this. Nor, indeed, can we be quite sure that there were no Island, Ionian or erstwhile Karian *ἄτακτοι*, since these panels are not complete in

³² *AJA* xxix (1925) 27; cp. *ATL* i 477. West's emendation of Thuc. v 18.6 on this basis (*AJP* lviii, 1937, 166 ff.) has been challenged by Gomme, *loc. cit.*, n. 11, 38 ff.

List 20. But the Hellespontine and Thracian panels are both complete, there were no Hellespontine and no other Thracian ἀτακτοί, and *ATL* (iii 86) is probably right in supposing that they were confined to the Thracian area. Moreover, of all the nineteen other cities subsequently involved with these in the Rubrics, not one is ever found paying in the earlier lists. The 'previous payers' are confined to the ἀτακτοί and compose the majority of these forerunners of the Rubrics. It looks, therefore, as though it was something which happened in Thrace or thereabouts, perhaps only involving a comparatively small area, which, by releasing certain cities from the then normal conditions of membership of the League (for to become ἀτακτοί and later αὐταί or ἰδιῶται cities they can hardly have simply seceded), led either Athens or the cities to devise a new category of membership, which at once began to include other cities which had never been members before. If Gale is in Sithonia, which can hardly hold all the others, the new arrangements were already seen to be applicable outside the original area in which the others may be supposed to be situated. (*ATL* iii, having abandoned *ATL* i's location of Othoros near Methone, does group all of them except Gale together, but only because of their similar Rubric history).³³ At any rate, by 434/3, the αὐταί and ἰδιῶται Rubrics have representatives from all quarters of the Empire.

What, then, was the root cause of the whole affair? It can hardly be just a decision by Athens to group these cities under one or more of their larger neighbours, an experiment in syntelisation then abandoned and reversed in the middle of Period V: for this would not mean that they ever ceased to be members and thus a subsequent decision to assess them individually again would merely result in their reappearance as normal members, without comment. Nor can they have been temporarily overwhelmed by, say, hostile Thracians and then recovered: something of this sort may well have happened more than once to Berge, which is absent from a full panel in 443/2 after being probably recovered for the first time in 447/6; but when Berge, after another interval without paying, reappears in 435/4, she is not noted as an ἀτακτος πόλις. Indeed, throughout the period of these Rubrics—436/5–429/8—it is noticeable that cities can appear as newcomers to the League or reappear after an apparently long absence without being noted as ἀτακτοί or put into one of the Rubrics. What probably happened normally in cases of temporary absentees, who may have had a good excuse for not paying, was that they continued to appear in the *τάξεις φόρου* every new assessment year under the previously agreed figure and thus required no note or Rubric whenever they began to pay again. When defaulters were listed in a different document (above, p. 30 f.), there was no need to comment on their absence in the quota-lists. Berge, indeed, may have been reassessed in 438, as she appears to be paying slightly less in 435/4 than she had done in 447/6, but this could be an adjustment authorised by the Ekklesia at the time of her recovery. The case of Brylleion, though a little later, may be similar. Her first known payment occurs in 433/2 after absences from full panels in 443/2, 442/1, and 435/4, but it is possible that she was a former member who had stopped paying, perhaps long before 443/2, because, say, she had been overrun by the Bithynians: in this case, she would still have an entry in the current *τάξεις φόρου* when she began to pay once more, and thus she did not go into a Rubric in 433/2. On the other hand Brylleion may have been paying for the first time in this assessment period: as we are unable to say whether her arrival was in the beginning or in the middle of the period,

³³ *ATL* i 489; iii 61; cp. ii 86. See also Bradeen, *loc. cit.*, n. 6, 371. He accepts Meritt's siting of Gale in Sithonia and conjectures that Miltoros was somewhere 'inland near Sithonia', as its rubric history is similar and it was Chalkidian (Theopompos, frag. 152, Jacoby): because of their slightly different rubric history he groups Othoros and Chedrolas with

Pharbelos, which as an Eretrian colony (Steph. Byz., s.v.) is not likely, in his opinion, to have been in or near Sithonia: he places them tentatively near Dikaia (Dikaiopolis), that being the only other Eretrian city to default in 432/1. But Dikaiopolis' absence then may well be involuntary, as she is in the *ἀπαρχή* Rubric with Methone in *ATL*'s Period VII.

since she may or may not have paid in 434/3, it is not clear whether she was in any sense *ἄτακτος* when she paid in 433/2, but at any rate she is not put in either of the Rubrics. Methone (below, p. 51 f.) may be another example of a newcomer in Period VI which was not put in these Rubrics, while in *ATL*'s Period VII there are the *Diakrioi en Euboiai*, the *Diakrioi en Rhodoi*, the *Brikandarioi en Rhodoi* and Thera. Thus not all who paid tribute for the first time, as far as we know, in these years were qualified for these Rubrics, and, although the cases of Berge and Brylleion do not prove the point, it seems likely that a city which merely returned to the fold in the middle of an assessment period after an absence due to circumstances beyond Athenian control would not for that reason alone be marked as *ἄτακτος* in the quota-lists, for there would still be a corresponding entry in the current *τάξις φόρου*.

For this reason an explanation of the *ἄτακτοι* on Nesselhauf's lines (68) is rather more attractive, though unsupported by evidence. Here the suggestion is that Athens resigned all her rights over these cities as a condition attached to some frontier-adjustment with, say, Perdikkas, or perhaps Philip or some Thracian tribe—a bargain made, perhaps, at the time of the foundation of Amphipolis, whereby Athens reaffirmed and defined her claims in the Strymon valley—which would include Berge—but made corresponding concessions elsewhere in this area and undertook to have no further territorial ambitions there.³⁴ As a result of such concessions two features at least of league membership in the thirties would have to go, if they had been previously found in the conceded area—Athenian garrisons and Athenian resident officials, civil or military. Again the abandoned cities would have to be absolved somehow from any oaths of loyalty which they had sworn or religious obligations which they had undertaken. Finally, whether or not they became tributary to someone else, they would have to be struck off the current *τάξις φόρου* at this point, doubtless on the instructions of the *Ekklesia*. All this is obviously pure conjecture, and *ATL* (iii 83) prudently refused to speculate about it at all. Yet, details apart, something of this sort seems the most likely hypothesis here, and it will be as well to bear this in mind as we proceed further.

(b) But why did these *ἄτακτοι* pay when they were not on the *τάξις φόρου*? Various explanations can be offered. It could be that the frontier agreement ceased to be operative because one party or the other broke the relevant treaty, whereupon Athens made the cities start paying again half-way through an assessment period. This might also account for the first payments of Gale and Miltoros, if they were all in the same frontier area. It would also account for the latter at least being *ἄτακτοι*, since they would be newcomers brought into the League in the middle of an assessment period. But it would not account for their being anything but perfectly normal members after 434/3, nor does it easily explain why the Rubrics which then took over these *ἄτακτοι* came also to include other cities scattered all over the Empire. Something of this sort is what *ATL* iii is suggesting (82 ff.), but the authors of *ATL* have not fully considered the problem of the 'previous payers' and are still influenced by the wraith of *apotaxis*. If a treaty with some other major power was involved and was still in existence, however, one can see why Athens might have to release these cities from their membership and why she might subsequently have to invent or accept some special category of payers which they could join without infringing the terms of the treaty. Without the treaty, and with no higher diplomacy involved, it is hard to see how Athens could come either to release these little cities or to have them back again as anything but normal payers, either at once or at the latest when the next assessment took place.

But given a treaty which was still in existence and still, ostensibly, being observed, it

³⁴ For the position of Berge, see *ATL* i 474; iii 219; record, see *ATL* iii 46, 62 f.; D. M. Lewis, *BSA* xlix Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* iii 575. For its tribute (1954) 26-8.

follows that these cities were not openly forced by Athens to start paying again: some sort of less obvious pressure is possible, but their contributions do not amount to much, and it is easier to suppose that they started to pay again because they wanted to. Why? Gomme's suggestion (*Il.cc.* n. 29) that they wanted protection from Athens against some of their neighbours does not square well with the treaty hypothesis. Busolt's suggestion (669), for the *ιδιώται*, that they were politically pro-Athenian is not perhaps very probable: at any rate they all seem to have dropped out again very promptly in 432 when Perdikkas was encouraging Chalkidike to revolt. Nesselhauf's view (62 ff.) was that they subscribed in order to gain certain economic advantages, and this must be examined in detail later. But it must be observed here that two alternatives are possible. They may have realised at once, or very soon, that by ceasing to be members of the League (not at their own desire), they were automatically disqualified from these advantages, which were confined to League members; or Athens, after their release, may have begun to confer benefits on members or to devise restrictions on non-members which made these cities want to come back again. With this last version, the essential regulations by Athens must be dated *c.* 436/5, and the attraction of it is that it explains the rapid influx of new members into the Rubrics in 434/3. On the other hand, if it was Athens' purpose by such regulations to get cities like Othoros back into the League and/or to attract new members, she would seem to be going to a lot of trouble for very little money, and she could have brought sufficient pressure on Amorgos, for instance, by much less indirect means. It is, therefore, more probable on the whole that the advantages confined to League members existed already when Othoros and the rest were released from membership, but no one dreamed that Athens would consider special arrangements for new subscribers until Othoros, Pharbelos and Chedrolos asked for and obtained such an arrangement. Then, almost at once, two other Thraceward cities (possibly both near neighbours of theirs), availed themselves of the same terms as new payers. This was the situation when the Taktai of 434 were appointed to make a new assessment.

II. *The Rubrics of Periods VI and VII.*

It would seem from what has been said above that, in the context of these quota-lists, the words *πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι* should mean 'cities which took the initiative in getting themselves assessed', or something of the kind, and that *πόλεις ὡς οἱ ιδιώται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν* should mean 'cities which (the) private individuals enrolled as paying tribute' and be taken to refer to the activities of interested persons, either Athenians or citizens of the cities concerned, in a private capacity, and not to Athenian citizens acting in a public capacity as members of the Ekklesia. Such renderings imply that Athens for a time admitted two categories of 'volunteers', in some cases at the official request of the subscribing cities, in others at the request of individuals making an unofficial approach. Obviously it is not easy to believe in either of these concessions, which imply a certain generous insouciance on the part of Athens which does not seem very characteristic. However, before proceeding to grapple with these difficulties, it may be as well to point out that interpretations which make the initiative come from Athens, i.e. involve *apotaxis*, have their difficulties too. As not all of them are insurmountable and as exponents of this view have tended to present their case without supporting evidence, an examination of it in detail will not be altogether superfluous.

(a) *Difficulties for apotaxis interpretations.*

In one case, it must be admitted, the name of a Rubric community does suggest *apotaxis*: the Diakres apo Chalkideon. They occur in the Island panel in A9 and in List 39 (*ATL* ii

36) and should certainly be connected in some way with Chalkis in Euboea.³⁵ Yet they are distinct from the Diakrioi en Euboiāi, since both are named in List 26 and in Ag. The evidence collected in *ATL*'s gazetteer (*ATL* i 480 f.) suggests that both these communities owed their name to a mountain or range of mountains known specifically in Euboea as the Diakria. But what does ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέων signify? Such modifiers are quite common in these lists, usually but not exclusively to distinguish two or more cities of the same name. An examination of those involving the preposition ἀπὸ³⁶ suggests that Διακρῆς ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέων, the only case in which the modifying term is not a city or a district but the name of a people, could conceivably mean 'the Diakreis up at the back of the territory of the Chalkidians'.³⁷ But it is clearly more natural to translate it as 'the Diakreis who are an offshoot from the Chalkidians', and one way in which such an offshoot could have got separated from Chalkis would be by apotaxis imposed by Athens at this time. It might also, however, indicate a group of backwoodsmen, Chalkidian by origin, who had withdrawn themselves from the advantages or disadvantages of active citizenship of Chalkis and preferred to live a life of uncultured self-sufficiency until now. (The Eteokarpathioi, who were also woodcutters,³⁸ sound rather similar.) At any rate, if their detachment from Chalkis is supposed to be due to apotaxis, one may wonder why Athens neglected to apply the same treatment to the other Diakrioi, in Euboea and Rhodes, in 434; on the other view it is easier to understand her roping in the rest of these forgotten hillmen in the early years of the war once she had had her attention drawn to their existence as a type. True, the Rubrics are still going on then, but their days are numbered: the conscripted recruits get no special terms in wartime but are drafted into the body of the lists.

Apart from this one rather puzzling case, however, it is not easy to make these Rubric cities look like the outcome of apotaxis. In the first place, the theory seems to involve a quite new use for apotaxis, which does not appear to have been employed in a repressive spirit before this time. At any rate, this seems to be a fair inference from its financial effect on the cities concerned. Where we do find cases of syntelies and apotaxis (see the list in *ATL* i 446 ff.) and can compare the payments 'before and after', in three cases certainly (Amynanda-Syangela in 444/3, Dion-Athenai Diades in 443/2, Perkote-Palai-perkote in 430/29) and possibly in a fourth (Dion-Olophyxos-Sane in 453/2) a change from syntely to apotaxis makes no change at all to the total payment of all the cities concerned, with the result that the tribute of the syntely-head is lowered. In all other cases, with one possible exception, the total tribute is apparently reduced by apotaxis: (certain cases are the Cherronesitai in 447/6, Mende-Skione-Therambos in 446/5, the Lemnioi c. 450; probable cases are Erythrai, etc., in 444/3, Mekyberna-Stolos-Polichnai in 453/2; the possible exception is Olynthos-Assera-Skabala in 453/2, which goes down on apotaxis if the quota for 454/3 is read as 316½ dr. with *ATL* i, but goes up if it is read as 266½ dr. with *ATL* ii: there is, however, no very good reason why one should prefer the one reading to the other (cp. *ATL* iii 6), unless it be that, if the earlier choice is kept, we have no cases at all of the total going up at apotaxis: in any case, even with the reading 266½ dr., the new quota for Olynthos by itself is lower than that for the whole group before the change). So here again the tribute of the syntely-head is lowered. In two of the cases cited above (Cherronesitai and Lemnioi) cleruchies are probably involved,

³⁵ Rather than with Chalkidike, as by Kahrstedt, 423: cp. Bradeen, *loc. cit.*, n. 6, 375, n. 103.

³⁶ The other cases are Dies apo Kenaïou, Dies apo tou Atho, Kedriatai apo Karias, Kryes apo Karias, Neapolis ap' Athenon, Cherronesitai ap' Agoras, and possibly Pasandes apo Kaunou and Karbasyandes apo Kaunou. See the Gazetteer in *ATL* i, s.vv. and on the Chersonese, V. Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1946), 121 ff.

³⁷ Thus in the cases of Pasanda and Karbasyanda ἀπὸ seems to mean 'in the neighbourhood of', cp. *ATL* i 532; G. E. Bean, *JHS* lxxiii (1953), 21 f.

³⁸ *IG* xii 1.977 = *Syll.*³ 129 = Tod, *GHI* ii no. 110. Their modifier ἐκ Καρπάθου in List 22 merely locates them: cp. the use of ἐξ Ἰκάρου in the cases of Thermai and Oine as an optional variant for ἐν Ἰκάρῳ.

a factor which would of itself lead to reduction in tribute, whether or not the plans for land-redistribution necessitated, as they well might, an individual reassessment for all the syntely-members. But, quite apart from these, it does not look from this evidence as though apotaxis was being used by Athens as a punitive or repressive or profit-making measure: on the contrary, one would expect it to be always reflected in the lowering of the tribute of the syntely-head. By contrast, in cases where we can see a change in the reverse direction, from apotaxis to syntely, there is either no change in the total payment (Aminanda-Syangela in 450/49, the same in 443/2, Dion-Athenai Diades in 446/5, Perkote-Palaiperkote in 433/2), or it goes up (Keos-Koresioi in 450/49, Lindos-Oiai in 448/7, Mende-Skione-Therambos in 450/49, Erythrai, etc., in 433/2), so that here one would always expect to see the tribute of the syntely-head rise. Indeed, of the two forms of assessment the syntely seems on the whole to be the worse fate and the change from apotaxis to syntely can follow a period of revolt or defaulting (as in the case of Dion-Athenai Diades in 446/5, cp. Perkote-Palaiperkote in 433/2 after an absence from full panel in 435/4) and tends to occur in years when the tribute may have been troublesome to collect. Apotaxis, on the other hand, is often, when a cleruchy is not involved, very temporary, perhaps following complaints from the minor cities in a syntely, and tends to be adopted in times of general peace. Apotaxis could, of course, result from repressive measures, as when Athens deprived Thasos of her possessions on the mainland (Thuc. i 101.3, cp. *ATL* iii 195), but there is no evidence for it being used by Athens as a regular weapon of repressive policy before 434/3, so that, if these Rubrics are a symptom of its use in such a way, this is something new.

This, of course, merely puts the apotaxis explanation on a par with the 'volunteer' one, which also posits something quite new. But this is not all. When one looks around for the syntely-heads from which these cities were now separated, they are very difficult to find. In Chalkidike this is complicated by the fact that, apart from Kleonai, none of the cities in either Rubric is firmly located. Mrs Couch (509) supposed that the previous payers in the *avtaí* Rubric—Pharbelos and Chedrolos—were themselves syntely-heads, Pharbelos being compensated for the loss of its syntely by having its tribute halved in 434/3, Chedrolos being doubly punished by having its syntely broken up and its tribute doubled. This is rather hard to swallow. Moreover, the inclusion of some syntely-heads in this Rubric would suggest that all the other syntely-heads who contributed syntely-members to these Rubrics should also be in them, unless they were non-tributary, like Samos, Lesbos and Chios. But these non-tributary members can scarcely be made to account for all the cities in these Rubrics, by any means: indeed, it is doubtful if they can account for any of them. Still less can Pharbelos, Chedrolos and Othoros account for them all. But all the other cities in the Rubrics have never appeared before, nor can one find suitable group-names in the earlier lists under which they could all have lain concealed. It only remains to look for possible syntely-heads outside the Rubrics, among near neighbours or political connexions of the Rubric cities.

To begin with the Thraceward area, Spartolos and Sermylia are possibilities, since both appear to have been syntely-heads in the forties:³⁹ but their tribute-behaviour at this time does not exhibit a coherent pattern any more than that of Pharbelos and Chedrolos: Spartolos' quota went up to 308½ dr. in 434/3 from 200 dr., which she had paid regularly since 454/3, and almost certainly was still paying in 435/4 (at any rate there is not room on the stone for 308½); Sermylia, on the other hand, which had paid a quota of 500 in Periods III and IV, is found paying only 450 in 435/4 and 434/3, a drop which probably was due to the assessment of 438. Argilos and Galepsos show a big drop in 433/2 compared with their last known previous payments (in 438/7 and 443/2 respectively) and are both absent in 435/4: but these fluctuations are probably to be associated with the founding of Amphipolis, just as those farther east (Ainos and Maroneia) may reflect deals with or defensive

³⁹ *ATL* i 448; cp. Busolt, 659 ff., Dahms, 58 ff., for earlier searches along these lines.

measures against Sitalkes.⁴⁰ Singos, which paid a quota of 200 dr. from 446/5 to 440/39 shows a rise to 300 dr. in 435/4, probably as a result of the assessment of 438, then a fall to 200 again in 434/3, only pays 100 in 433/2 and goes absent the next year. Other rises in the thirties, several of them reversions to the figure paid before 446/5, may well all go back to the assessment of 438 (Aigantioi, Assera, Aphytis, Dikaia par'Abdera, Mekyberna, Samothrake, Sane, Skabala, Stolos: Skabala paid a reduced figure in 435/4 and Stolos paid nothing then, but their assessments do not seem to have been altered in 434). Skione appears to rise sharply from 600 dr. (454/3-443/2) to 1500 in 435/4, and Potidaia shows a similar rise in 433/2; but this pattern may be the result of a scribe's error in List 20, in which case Potidaia's rise went back to Period V and Skione may have remained quite unchanged until she made a partial payment of 400 dr. in the troublesome year 432/1 (cp. *ATL* iii 64-5, 321). Other prominent cities which show no change are Olynthos, Akanthos, Torone and Mende: none of the neighbours of Kleonai on Athos or of Kystiros⁴¹ shows any change. In short, though there are some possibilities, no really clear pattern emerges where one might hope to find it.

The search gets harder when one turns to consider the cities in other areas, where the sites of most of them are known. Kirchhoff⁴² suggested that Amorgos was detached from Samos, Busolt that the two Hellespontine cities were detached from Byzantion.⁴³ The only evidence connecting Amorgos with Samos as early as this is 'Suidas' s.v. *Σιμωνίδης Κρίνων Ἀμοργίνος λαμβογράφος*, where it is said that Simonides, dated by 'Suidas' to the first half of the seventh century B.C., was a Samian by birth who led a colony of Samians to Amorgos. 'Suidas' s.v. *Ἀμοργος* talks also of Naxian settlements there. Such early settlements may be genuine and help to explain why the three cities of Amorgos (Aigiale, Arkesine and Minoa) sometimes referred to themselves as Milesians, Naxians and Samians respectively (cp. *IG* xii 7, pp. vii-viii and the inscriptions there cited); but there is no sign of this before Hellenistic times and later settlements may have taken place by then. At any rate this is hardly evidence for Amorgos being as a whole subordinate to any of these mother-cities in this period. Amorgos is near enough to Naxos, whose tribute remains constant in these years: other near neighbours are Ios, unchanged, and Astypalaia, which reverts in 434/3 to the higher quota it paid in Periods I to III. Samos, much further away, never paid tribute. If Amorgos was ever a dependency of Samos and was still so in the fifth century, this is an unusually widely spaced syntely: why did Samos not lose the Samian Peraia at the same time (cp. *ATL* iii 196), and what happened to Amorgos between 439 and 434/3? The revolt of Samos was finished off in time for any cities detached from her by Athens to be assessed in 438, so there is no case for supposing that she was down as *ἄτακτος*; there are no signs of any Rubrics at the end of Lists 19 or 20; but if she appeared as an ordinary payer then, why did she go into a Rubric in 434/3? As for Bysbikos and Kallipolis, there is no evidence at all to connect them with Byzantion, but as a matter of interest neither Byzantion nor the neighbouring cities in their part of the Propontis region show any change of quota at this time. Syme is thought by *ATL* i (pp. 552 f., 562 f.) to have been part of the Karian Chersonesos until now. This is geographically quite possible, but there is no positive evidence for it now.⁴⁴ Evidence for its being grouped with the 'Rhodian Chersonese' in

⁴⁰ For Athenian interests along the coasts of Sitalkes' kingdom, see Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* i 276-8; *ATL* i 204, 465, 547; iii 215-16, 308-12; J. M. F. May, *Ainos, Its History and Coinage* (Oxford Class. and Philos. Monographs, Oxford, 1950), esp. pp. 71 ff.

⁴¹ If correctly located by *ATL* i 509: the evidence there makes Thasos look the most likely candidate (cp. *ATL* iii 24, 88, 217), but Thasos' quota is unchanged in this period.

⁴² *Abh. Ak. Berlin* 1873, 22, n. 4; followed by Busolt, 663; Dahms, 59; Couch, 511; Schaefer, 242, n. 1.

⁴³ Busolt, 694; cp. Dahms, 60; Miltner, *RE* xix 1 (1937), s.v. Perikles, 773. Schaefer, 237, connects their acquisition with Perikles' expedition to the Pontus.

⁴⁴ Cp. P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford Class. and Philos. Monographs, Oxford, 1954), 84 ff., 138 ff.; *ATL* i 552 f., 562 f.;

the Rhodian Peraia as it survived under the Roman Empire does not carry much weight for the fifth century B.C., before the synoikism of Rhodes and its rise as a sea-power in its own right. Evidence for Syme having been under, or connected with, Rhodes before the Rhodian synoikism does not amount to much: the complete absence of any local coinage of its own is not absolutely certain and might be due to other reasons; foundation-myths and the existence there of 'ktoinai', religious sub-divisions found in Rhodes before the synoikism, are hardly enough to indicate a permanent dependence, persisting even under the dominion of Persia and of Athens. In any case, the Karian Cherronesioi continue to pay as such in 433/2 and 432/1, and pay a little more than they had done in Periods III and IV: why remove one member from the syntely but leave the rest as a syntely still, making them pay, not less, but more? As for Kasos and the Eteokarpathioi, on this theory they might be presumed to have lain concealed hitherto under Arkessesia or Karpathos: but the quotas of those cities remain quite unchanged now.⁴⁵ Similarly Chalkis in Euboea, from whom the Diakres apo Chalkideon were a detachment, if from anyone (see above, pp. 38 f.), shows no change in tribute at this time.

Thus the search for syntely-heads reveals no positive pattern. Judging from former cases of apotaxis, one would have expected the constant symptom to have been a drop in tribute, but this does not occur where and when we particularly want it. It must be granted, however, that some quite new policy for the use of apotaxis, as this would seem to be, might produce a quite different symptom: the syntely-head might be doubly punished by having its tribute raised, for example. Yet one does not find a consistent pattern of quota increases either. What one does find, in several most promising cases of syntely-heads, is absolutely no change at all. If this is the pattern, then Athens must be supposed to have informed Chalkis and Karpathos, for example, that the Diakres and the Eteokarpathioi, hitherto subscribing to their tribute, would henceforth make their contributions to Athens directly, but that Chalkis and Karpathos would have to go on paying the same amount as before. A harsh, but not impossible pronouncement, especially if Chalkis and Karpathos had to some extent concealed this element in their resources for assessment. With such a solution one can go on to draw up a promising list of syntely-heads, Olynthos, for instance, Akanthos, Torone, Abdera, Thasos, Kios, Ios, and for Syme (since the Cherronesioi show a rise) perhaps Knidos. And, since the operation is more a suppression of hitherto concealed syntelies than an attack on syntelies as such, we need not be surprised to find some syntelies still going on in Period VI (Erythrai, Perkote-Palaiperkote, the Cherronesioi and the Miletos group are examples), and even one in the Rubrics themselves (the Poleis Krossidos).⁴⁶

But all this does not explain, of course, why these cities had to be grouped into these Rubrics. Moreover, the 'symptom' of a guilty syntely-head is an unfortunately negative one, which allows for the possibility of an apotaxis theory but contributes no argument in its favour. Again, it leaves several questions unanswered in matters of detail. What, for instance, was the history of the ἀτακτοί? As *ATL* iii 83 puts it, 'Pharbelos, for example, pays tribute in the first four periods and is not assessed in 438/7; why, we cannot say, but the town was surely not annexed by a neighbour for a few years only, to be separated in 434/3

for the possibility that the Syme of these Rubrics was in Thrace, see D. M. Lewis, *Towards a Historian's Text of Thucydides* (Diss. Princeton, 1952), 44-6. Add now J. M. Cook, *JHS* lxxxi (1961), 56 ff., arguing for Knidos rather than Rhodes as the concealed syntely-head for both Syme and the Cherronesioi. Yet the latter must have been detached by 452/1, when they appear first in the quota-lists: why was Knidos left holding Syme until 434/3?

⁴⁵ Busolt, 686, followed by Dahms, 59, thought that they were under Rhodes until now, when they were removed to punish Rhodes for sympathising with the Samian revolt; but they had no evidence for this. The quota of Lindos rises from 600 to 1000 dr. between 440/39 and 433/2, those of Ialysos and Kameiros remain unchanged.

⁴⁶ *ATL* i 529 ff.: the cities are named individually in the Rubric, but share a common payment.

after contributing unassessed sums in 436/5 and 435/4'. This is indeed a difficulty, especially if we are supposing that Athens was only suppressing undisclosed syntelies: the disappearance of a previously regular payer into a syntely could hardly be contrived on the quiet. Again, why are Athenian officials so inefficient in giving effect to this policy? For, while they observe the cases of Gale, etc., in 436/5 (or 435/4) and of others like Kallipolis in 434/3, it is left to individuals in the assembly to add next-door cases like Kleonai and Bysbikos. These *ιδιωται* may, of course, have been exceptionally well-informed about the localities concerned, as Schaefer (242) supposes, and, although the word *ιδιωτης* has already come to denote the exact opposite by the time of Demosthenes,⁴⁷ it is not likely that the officials who drafted this Rubric-heading meant to imply that they were ignorant laymen, even if in fact their interference was such as might well have been resented. Yet it is odd that so much was left for them to do. Again, the case of Kystiros is queer: apparently neither the officials nor the laymen spotted this case in 434/3, for it is *ἄτακτος*; it has to be presumed (as, e.g., by Kahrstedt, 420, n. 18) that some general, passing by in the summer of 433, observed, reflected and took action. Again, how exactly does Othoros, with her previous tribute-history, both as a normal payer and as an *ἄτακτος*, get into the laymen's list?⁴⁸ Finally, there are, as we shall see, a great many small cities, very similar to these Rubric cities, which never appear in the lists of the Pentekontaetia at all, but are first found paying, or being assessed to pay, during the war (see below, pp. 45 f.): are they also cases of apotaxis or are they newcomers? Whichever they are, they indicate a curious slowness of approach to this problem by Athens. If they are cases of apotaxis, it is odd that in 434/3 Kallipolis and Bysbikos are called, but Tereia and the Arteioteichitai (to say nothing of their more inland and less accessible neighbours) are left alone. In the Thraceward region Akrothoon on Athos, near Kleonai, in Euboea the Diakrioi en Euboiai (see above, pp. 38 ff.), and in the south-east Aegean Telos and Saros present similar problems. If they are newcomers, some of them must have had a charmed life during the Pentekontaetia if Athens was really concerned then to collect every drachma she could get. Or was Belbina supplying ships down to at least 433/2?

It was no doubt considerations like these that led the authors of *ATL* to change their minds about the *αὐταί* Rubric and drop Mrs Couch's translation of it. In *ATL* iii 83 ff. they proposed (as has already been noted) a rather different version, and they admitted into this as well as into the *ιδιωται* Rubric both cities separated by apotaxis from neighbours and isolated or peripheral communities, some of which had not been members of the Empire before. It has already been seen that this rendering of the *αὐταί* Rubric is subject to the same sort of objections as that of Mrs Couch on the score of translation: it does not seem to be what the Rubric is saying and it does not account for its appearance as a Rubric in the quota-lists. Apart from that, this interpretation of the *αὐταί* Rubric is a distinct improvement. Doubtless some 'special arrangement' does lie at the root of this Rubric and the inclusion of new peripheral payers obviously reduces the problem of the search for syntely-heads. Apotaxis, however, still lingers on and the *ιδιωται* Rubric is interpreted as before. We now seem to have two quite different classes of community, both of them represented in two Rubrics which reflect a distinction in assessment which is not made at all clear by the Rubric-headings. Moreover, the stipulation that the tribute was not to be changed, which is, according to *ATL* iii, the principal or sole proviso in this special arrangement, did not apply to the assessment of 434/3, for the *ἄτακτοι* then had their assessments drastically revised.

ATL iii thus goes part of the way towards the Nesselhauf type of view, but stops half-way: for to go further would be to admit the possibility of cities in some sense volunteering. Yet this is surely what the *αὐταί* Rubric says that some of them did, while the *ιδιωται* Rubric is

⁴⁷ *Or.* iv 35; cp. Xenophon, *Mem.* iii 12.1.

⁴⁸ On the Nesselhauf view, of course, Othoros

simply changed its policy in 434/3, which is all too possible; it almost certainly joined the rebels in 432.

somehow parallel to it. Given this difficulty of translation in the context, we must feel very sure indeed that any form of voluntary payment now, distinct from the original voluntary participation in the Delian League, would be in no circumstances acceptable to Athens.

(b) *Volunteers and abstainers.*

It would seem impossible to hold that, at this stage in the history of the Athenian Empire, a city could volunteer to subscribe, in any sense, unless it either had never been a member of the League before or had been explicitly released from membership. How far then did Athens tolerate abstainers or condone withdrawals during the Pentekontaetia? To judge from Thucydides, not much. The example of Karystos showed what abstainers might expect (i 98.3). The example of Naxos (i 98.4) showed clearly enough that members were not going to be allowed to contract out of the League at their own discretion, and it is stressed that this became a precedent for further cases of coercion. This general attitude could, of course, be modified according to circumstances. The Dorian Kyklades were in this period left alone because of their Peloponnesian connexions, and Athens cut her losses in Karia and Lykia, for instance, when the enforcement of her claims appeared likely to be more costly and troublesome than they were worth.⁴⁹ But it is unlikely that she ever totally renounced her claims on the latter, and when she set about coercing the former during the war she was no doubt already conscious of the 'bad example' these abstainers provided for the rest of the allies, even if they guaranteed to remain neutral.⁵⁰ By 415 the only completely free allies left in the proper sphere of the Thalassocrat were those who were left alone 'καίπερ νησιώτας ὄντας καὶ εὐλήπτους . . . διότι ἐν χωρίοις ἐπικαίροις εἰσὶ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον' (vi 85.2).

It must be remembered, however, that Naxos and Thasos were accessible and important islands, while Karystos, like Skyros (quite apart from convenient allegations of Medism and piracy), lay near the vital sea-route that led out towards the Thraceward area and the Euxine alike. They were all in regions that had been of interest to Athens since the days of Peisistratos, and she had lost no time in re-establishing her influence in them after the discomfiture of Xerxes. Thus it does not follow that she would not on occasion excuse small or outlying cities from membership, if it suited her for diplomatic reasons, or that the subjugation of Karystos marked the start of a campaign to rope in all the εὐλήπτοι, however small, however insignificant strategically or financially.

In us, of course, the intensive and fascinating analysis of Athenian financial documents, which nowadays plays such a large part in the study of this period, tends to engender the feeling that the overriding concern for Athens in maintaining her Empire was with the money she got out of it in the form of tribute, and that in her financial dealings she was always interested in securing the maximum income possible in this way, down to the last drachma.⁵¹ The former was probably never the case, and the latter only after the outbreak of the Archidamian War. During the period of the Thirty Years Peace the tribute tends to go down rather than up in 446 (doubtless concessions for political reasons) and to revert to the pre-446 figure in 438, so that the overall picture is one of stabilisation rather than growth. Though the peace terms allowed Athens and Sparta to add new members to their leagues provided that they were neutral in 446/5, there are very few new payers in this period until we come to these Rubrics. The Citizenship Bill may have made it more difficult for tributary subscribers to convert themselves or their families into non-tributary beneficiaries in the ἔμμοσθος πόλις, but disappointed individuals seem to have been quite free to transfer themselves and their fortunes to Thouria. The establishment of colonies

⁴⁹ ATL iii 212 f.

⁵⁰ Thuc. v 94-9.

⁵¹ A view not borne out by Thucydides, see J. de

Romilly, *Thucydide et l'impérialisme Athénien* (Paris, 1947), 69 ff.

and cleruchies brought an increase in control in vital areas, but caused reductions in tribute. Local expenditure on war or defensive measures may in some cases have been accepted in lieu of tribute. Again, settlements following the suppression of revolts may have involved indemnities and losses of independence and territory, but the opportunity was not taken to step up the annual tribute significantly: Samos, indeed, continued as a non-tributary member. All this is not to deny the importance of the tribute as an element in Athens' wealth. It was the largest, though not the only, element in her income from the Empire.⁵² But this importance should not be exaggerated in discussing Athens' imperial policy as a whole. Perikles may have advised the Athenians at the beginning of the war, as Thucydides says (ii 13.2), to keep the allies under control, 'λέγων τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου'. But up to that time the emphasis seems to be on control and maintenance rather than on expansion for the sake of profit.

It is tempting at this point to adduce the number of new payers, many of them obviously *εὐληπτοί*, who are not found at all in the lists before the war, including those who are found only in the assessment-lists of 425 and 421 (*ATL*'s Ag and A10), since, whether they paid then or not, they are equally odd in not having appeared earlier. Leaving the Dorian Kyklades on one side, these still add up to an impressive total. But they will only be an argument for Athens' leniency towards abstainers during the Pentekontaetia if they are genuinely new payers and not cases of apotaxis or of previous payers who had defaulted years before, perhaps earlier than 454/3 in some cases, and now returned, or were summoned to return, to the fold. Apotaxis is always a possibility, after all, and there are no Rubrics in these cases to rule it out. In the cases of Drys, Zone and Sale in A10 apotaxis is fairly certainly the answer. We know from Antiphon that apotaxis was relevant to his speech *περὶ τοῦ Σαμοθράκων φόρου* and from Herodotos that Zone and Sale were part of the Samothrakian Peraia.⁵³ The Atkaiai Poleis of Ag constitute another case, a consequence of the revolt of Mytilene. There may well be others. Again, several of the apparent newcomers in Karia and Lykia in Ag will very likely have paid formerly. On the other hand, Herakleion, south of Methone, Serioiteichitai and Bisanthe on the north-western coast of the Propontis (hitherto under Sitalkes?), and the Euxine cities of Ag look like new ventures in areas hitherto not exploited for tribute. Others again, like Akrothoon on Athos (A10) and Belbina (Ag), both thoroughly *εὐληπτοί*, are most easily explained as unimportant abstainers hitherto disregarded. They could conceivably be cases of apotaxis—but from what syntelies?—but they were hardly in a position to be persistent defaulters. It must be observed, too, that several of them, when compared with the cities in these Rubrics, are not only small and insignificant or peripheral like them, but also associated geographically with them, producing interesting patterns of concentration. Thus in Euboia the Diakres apo Chalkideon of the *ἰδιῶται* and *βουλῆ* Rubrics are joined in 429/8 by the distinct Diakrioi en Euboiai and in Ag by Posideion. In the south-east Aegean the Eteokarpathioi, Kasos and Amorgos (*αὐταί*) and Syme (*ἰδιῶται*) first appear in 434/3, the Diakrioi en Rhodoi in 430/29, the Brikandarioi en Rhodoi in (probably) 429/8, Saros in 428/7, Telos in 427/6 and Keria in Ag. In the Gulf of Kios area, Kallipolis (*αὐταί*) and Bysbikos (*ἰδιῶται*) are joined by Brylleion in 433/2 (which was, however, not put into the Rubrics, see above, p. 36), by the Arteioiteichitai in 428/7, by Dareion, the Otlenoi, Pythopolis and Tereia in Ag. If these Rubrics pointed to apotaxis one could make interesting speculations here about the fifth-century Peraia of Rhodes, for instance. But as the Rubrics definitely seem to exclude apotaxis, it is possible that we are here dealing with abstention areas which Athens simply neglected during the Pentekontaetia. The existence of backwoodsmen in Euboia may seem odd, but the mountainous interior and the north-east coast were probably always

⁵² *ATL* iii 309, n. 45, 333 f., 339.

⁵³ Harpokration s.vv. *ἀπόταξις* and *συντελεῖς*

(= *ATL* ii 91, T 19-20); Hdt. vii 59.2; cp. *ATL* i 517 ff., 544. See also May, *op. cit.*, n. 40, 75, n. 1.

rather cut off and inhospitable, or at least ungetatable (for Dio of Prusa at least seems to have been entertained most hospitably).⁵⁴ None of the newcomers in the south-east Aegean is of any great size or wealth. As for the Gulf of Kios, the proximity of the Persian satrap and the configuration of the coastline combined to make this side of the sea, from Kyzikos to Kalchedon, of comparatively little value,⁵⁵ and the fluctuations of tribute of the few cities there which paid at all before the war (apart from Kios itself, which is regular enough except for one absence in 443/2) suggest a troublesome hinterland and perhaps a major crisis in that year: it is then that Kios and Astakos are both in trouble, and Memnon states that the Athenian colony sent to the latter, possibly in 435/4, was meant to strengthen it against the incessant attacks of the Bithynians under Doidalses.⁵⁶ All this makes it difficult to be sure how far we are dealing here with a revival of former Athenian influence and interest, similar to that in Karia. But the Rubrics, if rightly interpreted, show that in at least two cases this involved new subscriptions, and there may have been more.

However, interesting though these groups may be, there need not, for this type of interpretation, be any rigid conformity to patterns. Provided that no large or important city appears among the supposed volunteers or prolonged abstainers, one island or city may elect to join the Delian League in 478/7 and its next-door neighbour may not. For the apotaxis type of interpretation, however, or any theory involving a purposeful policy on Athens' part, discrepancies, particularly within the same small area, do constitute a difficulty. In the case of Rhodes, for instance, why should her possessions be removed from her while those of Samos, who had revolted, were (with the alleged exception of Amorgos) left under her control, just as were those of Chios?⁵⁷ And if Telos and Syme are to be reckoned as Rhodian, why does one appear in the Rubrics and the other not till later? And why was Chalke, a more likely dependency than either of them, a separate normal payer from at latest 450/49?

It does not seem, then, that one can altogether rule out as impossible the abstention of small and unimportant communities during the Pentekontaetia on the ground that Athens insisted on uniformity long before the war and imposed tribute as a matter of principle on everyone within her reach as a Thalassocrat. Until the war she overlooked, it may well be, the insignificant, however *εὐληπτος*. It is thus not impossible that she would now tolerate voluntary accessions by small cities in the thirties, as she is thought to have tolerated certain local coinages, despite her earlier decree.⁵⁸ Yet why did they volunteer then? And why (since nearly all the normal payers had started by volunteering) were they put into abnormal categories and not in the normal *τάξις φόρου* list along with the rest?

(c) *Reasons for Volunteering.*

To take the second question first, as was said already, the reason for these cities appearing in these Rubrics on the quota-lists should be either because no corresponding entries appeared for them on the current *τάξις φόρου* at all or because they were separately classified under these or similar headings in that *τάξις φόρου* because of some general instruction from the Ekklesia, which the tribute and quota-lists were also bound by. In either event they have asked for and been granted a privileged position compared with that of the normal payers in the body of the lists. Yet this did not entail Busolt's 'Selbsteinschätzung' (659 ff.), for, if we have rightly interpreted the Rubrics of ATL's Period VII, the *ἀνταί* cities were assessed by the Taktai of 434 and the *ιδιωται* cities after negotiations with the Boule and the

⁵⁴ Or. vii, *passim*: a work of propaganda, but the setting is very interesting, cp. esp. chh. 21 ff.

⁵⁵ Cp. ATL iii 319.

⁵⁶ ATL i 471 f.

⁵⁷ ATL i 495 f.; iii 196.

⁵⁸ E. S. G. Robinson, *Hesp.*, suppl. viii (1949) 324 ff.; id., *Am. Num. Soc. Museum Notes* ix (1959) 3 ff.; ATL ii 61 ff. (D14). See, however, Mattingly, *loc. cit.*, n. 12, *passim*: he would date the Coinage Decree to c. 425.

Special Court, whose main business was with controversial assessments. Moreover, the Taktai and the Court, to judge from the changed assessments of the *ἄτακτοι*, went into the matter with some care. The newcomers, whether cities or individuals, had presumably to negotiate their assessments in the same way, on the basis of an agreed valuation. It must be because she was too late for any transactions with the Taktai or the Court that Kystiros paid as *ἄτακτος* in spring 433, her first and last appearance.

ATL iii (84) suggested that the *αὐταί* cities were all given some guarantee that, once their assessment was fixed in 434, it would not be altered in the future. This may be so, and could be true of the *ιδιωταί* cities as well, but as these Rubrics last for only two consecutive periods and only three of the relevant quotas survive in Period VII—and that incompletely—we are not in a position to be very confident about it. It is clear that Athens did not keep to this bargain in and after 425, when Ag and A10 show that several of these cities, though not all, had their assessments changed; but in any case if it is true that from 428/7 on they are all found in the body of the lists, if they appear at all, this strongly suggests that whatever privileges they may have had were swept away soon after the beginning of the Archidamian War.

However, it is also quite possible that there were other unattractive features of league-membership prevalent, if not universal, by now, and that it was from some of these that these cities stipulated that they should be exempt. The evidence suggests that the practice of having Athenian officials with supervisory powers permanently quartered on cities was already quite common:⁵⁹ there are not many cases specifically attested for the period before the war, but if the Coinage Decree (ATL's D14) is rightly dated to about the middle of the century, its wording suggests that it would then be the exception rather than the rule for a city with a local mint not to have any.⁶⁰ On the other hand, the same document makes it clear that they were not established in every city by then, nor is it likely that they ever were, despite the high figure of *Ath. Pol.* 24.3. That, however, does not necessarily mean that cities without a resident Athenian official were unaffected by this practice. If the Aphytis Decree (ATL's D21) shows that Therambos had no Athenian *ἀρχοντες*, it also shows that she was obliged to contribute her fair share towards the maintenance of those at Aphytis, that other cities round Aphytis had the same obligation, and that a similar arrangement existed already for the cities round Methone:⁶¹ in these two cases, at least, the officials must be supervising not just a city but a district. Again, the habit of issuing general decrees regulating the affairs of the Empire and binding on all members must have been objectionable at times and the privileged Methone was exempted from any which did not name her specifically in ATL's D3 and D4 of 430/29 and 426/5.⁶² The expropriations resulting from Athenian colonies or cleruchies, the establishment of permanent garrisons, the imposition of oaths of loyalty, the military or religious requirements—a city might well pause before committing itself to a connexion which could lead to any of these. Moreover, any city which owed allegiance to some other power would find it impossible to accept some of these features, and this may have been the position of Othoros, Pharbelos and Chedrolas, whose initiative in asking for a special status seems to have started all this. A special grant of immunity from such regulations as these would also account for the activity of the *ιδιωταί*,

⁵⁹ Cp. A. S. Nease, *Phoenix* ii (1949) 102 ff.; Meritt, *Doc. Ath. Tribute*, 15; *id.*, *Hesp.* xiii (1944) 218 ff.; ATL iii 142 ff.; Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* i 380 ff.; ii 34.

⁶⁰ ATL ii 67 (D14), clauses 1–4.

⁶¹ ATL ii 75 (D21), lines 6–8; cp. Meritt, *Hesp.* xiii (1944) 211 ff.: he regards the contributing cities in both cases (Methone and Aphytis) as identical, but *καθάπερ Μεθωνάων* κατὰ τὸ [αὐτὸν] πρῆγμα may surely mean only that the system was to be the same.

Aphytis' quota changes from 300 dr. to a figure requiring only one symbol in D21 (line 18): Meritt supposes a rise to 500 dr. If this is right, Aphytis may in fact have been made a syntely-head now over a group of small cities on Pallene or near it, of which Therambos was the chief.

⁶² ATL ii 48–9 (D3), lines 13–16; (D4), lines 41–7. Mattingly, *loc. cit.*, n. 11, *passim*, argues for winter 426/5 as the date of D3.

who, as Schaefer (240) saw, could hardly commit themselves or the city (if they were citizens thereof), or any city they cared to sponsor (if they were Athenians or third parties), to political or military control by Athens, but who might easily come to propose a business deal with no strings of this sort attached. On the other hand, we can hardly go so far as to suppose that these cities in the Rubrics were allowed to contract in and out of the League at will as subscribers on an annual basis. The fluctuations of Aioleion and Pleume, like the disappearance of most of the other Thraceward cities from 433 onwards, may be simply due to the revolt of Chalkidike and the troubles with Makedon; while the absence of the Eteokarpathioi in Lists 25 and 26 and of Kasos in List 25, though both pay regularly in 428/7, is scarcely enough to go on, since fluctuations of this sort, apparently unpenalised, occur often in the case of normal payers.⁶³

But though the grant of such privileges might account for these subscribers not being listed as normal members in the *τάξις φόρου*, there must also have been some positive advantages of membership to make these cities and individuals wish to subscribe at all, and they must have been advantages with a widespread appeal. Othoros, Pharbelos and Chedrolos may have found themselves outside the League for purely local and political reasons, but the distribution of the communities which joined them in these Rubrics should indicate that the benefits to be gained were of a much more general nature. A rush to form democracies and seek Athenian protection for them, a sudden upsurge of pro-Athenian feeling, the wish to escape from oppression by some more powerful neighbour—these and other political considerations are unlikely in themselves to have affected all these people simultaneously and do not explain the individual action of the *ιδιωται*. As Nesselhauf saw, an economic answer meets the case much more plausibly. In one way or another Athenian control of the markets, trade-routes and sources of raw materials for the Aegean world might easily have been making it increasingly difficult now, not only for pirates to interrupt, but also for non-members of the League to participate in trade, whether as carriers or as importers or as exporters, on reasonable terms.

Nesselhauf's formulation of this view (62 ff.) was that Athens in the early thirties began to concentrate on organising her Empire as a Thalassocracy and deliberately relinquished her hold on mainland Karia in 438/7 as part of this plan: from then on a gradually increasing monopolisation and control of trade and traffic by sea was being built up: no longer was piracy to be suppressed for the benefit of all genuine traders equally, as was still the expressed object of Perikles when he proposed the Panhellenic Congress (cp. Plutarch, *Per.* 17, 'περὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπως πλέωσι πάντες ἀδεῶς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγωσι'): having secured an exclusive hold on the main supply areas of food and war materials, notably by the foundation of Amphipolis and the Pontic Expedition of c. 436/5, the Thalassocrat could begin to bar not only the Peiraieus but all the harbours of the Empire to non-members as soon as she liked and to whatever extent she wished: it was the start of this process which produced these volunteer Rubrics.

Despite all the criticism it has met with, this still seems in general an attractive hypothesis, though there may be doubts about the precise situation in Karia in 438 or the dating of the expedition to the Euxine.⁶⁴ The trade of these cities might be extremely small in amount, but it could be of vital importance to them and, given such a policy of 'imperial preference' on the part of the Thalassocrat, they might well gain more money in a year by trading as nominal members of the League than they would lose in tribute.⁶⁵ The fact that many of them (almost all in Chalkidike) soon ceased to subscribe⁶⁶ may indicate only that they preferred to stop these payments as soon as they saw a chance of breaking

⁶³ The fluctuations and later appearances in the war years of these Rubric cities raise problems which I cannot deal with here: see esp. Mattingly, *loc. cit.*, n. 11, 158 f.

⁶⁴ For the latter, cp. *ATL* iii 114 ff.; J. H. Oliver, *Historia* vi (1957) 254 f.

⁶⁵ Points raised by Busolt, 669 (against Loeschcke).

⁶⁶ Cp. Couch, 510; Meritt, *AJP* lv (1934), 284 f.

Athens' strangle-hold, or that local pressures were too much for them. One might well ask, however, why, if Athens really wished to play the Thalassocrat and base her empire on the weapons of sea-power, she was so lenient to the resulting 'volunteers'. Leaving the original ἄτακτοι aside, what need was there to concede special status of any kind to Amorgos, for instance, whose submission to the Thalassocrat would seem very proper, though belated? This objection has already been dealt with in general terms above, but at this point it must be added that, if it was Athens' increasing control of Aegean trade that caused these cities to enter the Rubrics, the enrolment of these particular cities cannot have been one of her objectives in pursuing such a course. Either she was simply building up this system of control for its own sake, as a source of profit and as a weapon which could at once be brought into full use in the event of war, or, if she hoped to net any new tributary members in this way, it was not these rather pathetic little cities that she had in mind. They can only have been a slightly amusing by-product of an operation which had quite different purposes, and for this reason, until the war started, they were treated as such. At maximum strength in 434/3 they combined to produce just over five and a quarter talents tribute. Small wonder if in 430, though the war had begun, Athens did not, it seems, change the status of these volunteers: only later was the obvious step taken of absorbing them, if they had not already dropped out, into the normal list of members.

In general it may be said that no difficulty of this kind is sufficient to rule out this theory as a working hypothesis for the simple reason that our knowledge of Athenian imperial policy in these years is very incomplete. But by the same token very little evidence can be produced in support of it. Thucydides, rightly or wrongly, did not think along these lines, and we may well fight shy of crediting Athens with a full-scale policy of economic imperialism and confine the enquiry to trade in food and war materials and a liking for making money out of harbour dues, as Nesselhauf (62 f.) did out of deference to Hasebroek. But even in this field evidence for restrictive practices and the like in the period of the Archidamian War or later⁶⁷ cannot show that Athens was indulging before 432/1 in more than optimistic talk of the kind that Herodotos may have picked up on the subject of Epiteichismos and the Peloponnese.⁶⁸ For the Pentekontaetia some hints may be provided by inscriptions, but they are all either ambiguous or of disputed date. An argument built up from them might proceed as follows. As early as c. 449 (?)⁶⁹ Athens had attempted to secure a monopoly of the silver coinage in the Empire: the acquisition of a strangle-hold on trade was both a similar and an easier project. Though there is an obvious distinction between pirates or, in wartime, sea-raiders and unauthorised traders or blockade-runners, the very same measures which are most effective against the former—in particular the elimination of reception areas—can be at any time applied to the latter: perhaps there is a certain kinship between the undertaking required by the treaty of c. 430 (with an unknown state)⁷⁰ neither to receive pirates nor to engage in piracy and the demand that Poteidaia raze her walls on the Pallene side in 433/2.⁷¹ Very likely most of the important harbours in the Athenian Empire were already under strict supervision by resident Athenian officials, and many of them, especially those with independent powers like Perdikkas or Sitalkes in

⁶⁷ Cp., e.g., Ps.-Xenophon, *Ath. Pol.* ii 2-3, 11-13; *IG* i² 57 = *ATL* D4, lines 34-41; *IG* i² 58, lines 10 ff.; Meritt, *Hesp.* xiii (1944), 218. For fourth-century evidence, cp. Isokrates, *De Pace* 36; *Ath. Pol.* 51.3-4; Lykourgos, in *Leocr.* 27; [Dem.] xxxiv 37; xxxv 50-1. E. Ziebarth, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs und Seehandels* (Hamburg, 1929), 60 ff., argued that the law quoted in [Dem.] xxxv 51 was fifth century, as its provisions applied to Athenians, metics and ὅν οὗτοι κύριοι εἶναι: but these last need not be 'subject-allies'.

⁶⁸ Hdt. vii 235; ix 9.2.

⁶⁹ Cp. n. 58 above.

⁷⁰ *IG* i² 53, lines 7-8; cp. Meritt, *AJP* lxviii (1947), 312 ff. *IG* i² 87 (treaty with Halieis of 424/3) probably contained a similar stipulation (see *SEG* x 80; Meritt, *Hesp.* xiv (1945), 97 ff.), not inappropriately in view of Halieis' position and record.

⁷¹ Thuc. i 56.2; cp. Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* i 200; Miltner, *RE* xix 1, 773 (quoting Plut., *Per.* 16.2); *ATL* iii 321.

the neighbourhood, may have had permanent garrisons as well:⁷² at any rate, as early as c. 436 (?) Athens was able, it would seem, to blockade Arrhabaios and his allies by denying them the *χρησις ἐμπορίων* enjoyed by Perdikkas and his allies, much as she was able to blockade Perdikkas himself in 417/6.⁷³ Already, presumably, a ban on the use of emporia would amount to exclusion from all contacts with sea-borne trade: the need to deprive any allies of Arrhabaios of the use of the sea, the possibility of his importing or exporting through other uncontrolled emporia, do not seem to be envisaged here. Clearly it would be in the interest of those in Arrhabaios' position to establish such independent emporia, but Athens was probably alive to this danger: as early as c. 465 her views on emporia helped to cause the revolt of Thasos,⁷⁴ and in a decree establishing a colony (which from the lettering probably belongs to the thirties of the fifth century) we find what looks very like an order to the colonists to use only emporia approved by Athens and not to establish, or allow others to establish, other emporia alongside them.⁷⁵ A regulation that timber for oars should be exported only to the Peiraeus would be another interesting exercise in thalassocracy: in the same decree there is a mention of *κωπείες* two lines later, which could be a reference to this: it was certainly stipulated in the treaty with Perdikkas of (?) c. 436.⁷⁶

The tenuous nature of all this must be obvious. There is, of course, no doubt that if all, or nearly all, the harbours of the Aegean coasts were under Athens' control, with Athenian officials acting as harbour-masters, it could easily be made very difficult for any shipper to take on or unload cargo anywhere without Athens' approval.⁷⁷ Sooner or later either his clearance papers would be found to be not in order or his receipts for discharged cargo would not be satisfactory. If Athens wanted to make sure that certain articles, like timber for oars, only went to the Peiraeus, or that certain independent and unreliable shippers were squeezed out of business, it would be simple enough for her to organise a manifest system of this kind: the decree of Kleinias coped with tribute-carriers in the same sort of way.⁷⁸ But it is one thing to argue that the means and the temptation were there, quite another to prove that such a policy was actually pursued. Moreover, in order to satisfy the requirements of Nesselhauf's hypothesis we have to go further and suppose that Athens used her control of the harbours of the Aegean to impose dues, rationing of certain goods, or other disadvantageous terms on non-members of the League: for only some sort of 'imperial preference' will account for all these volunteers. A complete embargo on non-members trading in the Aegean cannot have existed before Perikles' Megarian

⁷² For Methone and Ainos, see n. 82 below; but see also Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* ii 34 on the need for caution here; Poteidaia, for instance, had not yet got an Athenian garrison in 432. Note also that Mytilene (privileged?) could expect to get archers and corn from the Pontus in 428, Thuc. iii 2.2, though the Hellespontophylakes were probably already operating some sort of rationing system (cp. n. 67 above, and *ATL* iii 311, n. 57).

⁷³ *IG* i² 71, lines 47-8 (much restored, though the general sense seems fairly clear); on the date, cp. *ATL* iii 313, n. 61; Mattingly, *loc. cit.*, n. 12, 168; Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.*, 621 f. For the blockade of 417/6, Thuc. v 83.4.

⁷⁴ Thuc. i 100.2. Cp. Hdt. ix 106.3, Diod. xi 37.1-3 for an earlier diplomatic crisis involving these emporia.

⁷⁵ *IG* i² 46, lines 7-9, 'χρησθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐμπορίοις δ]ὲ μὲ εἰ ἡ ἀ' Ἀθηναῖοι π[.] μὲ παρακαθιστάνα[ι]'. But the length of line is uncertain, so it is impossible to be sure that these words all belong to one sentence or topic.

⁷⁶ *IG* i² 46, line 11; *IG* i² 71, line 23; cp. Hdt. v 23.2, Andokides ii 11. For a similar monopoly in the fourth century, Tod, *GHI* ii, no. 162.

⁷⁷ Cp. *IG* i² 93, lines 11-18 (c. 413?); *ib.*, 58, lines 10 ff. (c. 426?). It is to be noted that in 414/3 Athens thought she could get in more money by substituting for tribute a 5 per cent tax 'τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν' (Thuc. vii 28.4): assuming that this applied to all ports in the empire (for which Aristophanes, *Frogs* 363, has been cited in evidence, but is most unlikely to be relevant), it suggests that the harbour-masters were more established and reliable than the Eklogeis in the cities. Alkibiades' innovation in 410 (Polybius iv 44.4, cp. Xenophon, *Hell.* i 5.19-22, Diod. xiii 64) was to levy tolls (at Chrysopolis) at ships merely passing by (*παράγωγιζεν*).

⁷⁸ *ATL* ii 50 f. (D7), lines 11 ff.; cp. B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* xiii (1944), 11 ff.; W. P. Wallace, Phoenix ii (1949), 70 ff.; D. M. Lewis, *ib.*, ix (1955), 32 ff.

Decree and does not seem to have been instituted by that decree, which applied specifically to Megara. It was, of course, Athens' way to proceed by almost imperceptible gradations in such matters, or so Thucydides (i 69.3) makes the Corinthians tell the Spartans, and the strangling of trade is a process which rather lends itself to gradual application. Yet the case for all this would be very much stronger if something like an Athenian Navigation Act appeared as 'D26' in *ATL* ii, and it is only negative comfort to reflect on how many of the decrees which do appear there would be entirely unknown if we had only literary sources at our disposal.

However, it remains true that it is very hard to think of another explanation which will answer, and though this one cannot be supported by much evidence neither can it be rejected simply because of lack of evidence. Given that we have good grounds for translating and interpreting these Rubrics in this way, they rather constitute an argument in favour of such a system of 'imperial preference' and do not require to be deduced from it. Yet this is rather a large and novel hypothesis to accept on the result of one very narrow inquiry. How do these volunteers and 'imperial preference' fit into the general historical context of these pre-war years?

(d) *The historical context of the Volunteers.*

If Athens' grip on Aegean and Pontic trade was already putting non-members at a disadvantage in the early thirties, two questions clearly arise: first, granted that the effect this had on the Rubric cities was unintentional, can its influence be seen on any more important non-members, either neutral or members of the Spartan alliance (for if it cannot, this may cast doubt on the whole theory): and second, does this constitute an element in Athens' preparations for a possible war with the Peloponnesians, or even have a claim to be considered among the causes of the war which broke out in 432/1?

Discussion of the first question, which is the only one I propose to deal with here, and that as briefly as possible, must be centred on two cities, one neutral and the other an ally of Sparta, about which we have some information in this period: Methone and Megara.⁷⁹ In neither case is the picture clear enough to give any positive support for this view of the Rubrics, but, once again, it does not rule it out. Methone would seem to have become a member of the League at this very time, and it is instructive to note the very different treatment meted out to her. Absent from a full panel in 435/4, she was assessed, if *ATL* is right, as a normal member in 434 to pay a tribute of three talents. She probably did pay this in 432/1.⁸⁰ In 430/29, however, she owed arrears of tribute for more than one year and was granted the privilege of paying only the quota on the amount assessed in 434, as were also Haison and Dikaiopolis in the same area. Unlike the cities in the Rubrics, Methone was a very valuable acquisition and was to be set up as an emporion with Athenian officials in residence and as the headquarters of Athenian administration in this area. Moreover, she suffered for this almost at once from the hostility of Perdikkas, who appears to have cut her off from the sea, though (as far as we know) he had no fleet, and from trading with the interior.⁸¹ In this case Athens enrolled a new member in the ordinary way and later compensated her for her losses by writing off her debts and absolving her from all but the religious element in her subscription, and in a manner which suggested that her contributions to the war effort were likely to continue for some time to be fully

⁷⁹ For Thera, cp. *ATL* iii 198, n. 24, 336—probably a case of acquisition by force. Cp. also Mattingly, *loc. cit.* n. 11, 159 f.

⁸⁰ But the alternative restoration [*Mapovitrai*] in List 23, ii 67, is possible (cp. *ATL* ii 3), and the

date of *ATL*'s D3 is disputed: cp. *ATL* iii 133 ff.; Mattingly, *loc. cit.*, n. 11, *passim* (he would date the entry of Methone to 431).

⁸¹ *ATL* ii 48 (D3), lines 18–23; for the site of Methone, *ATL* i 489.

incurred on the spot.⁸² A little later these arrangements were to become, it seems, the model for Aphytis.⁸³

Thus about 436 (?) Athens is found in *IG* i² 71 graciously allowing Arrhabaios and his allies to use the emporia on the same terms as Perdikkas and his allies: in 434 (or so it would seem) Methone, whose existence clearly depended on being a recognised emporion under these arrangements, joined the League, to which Haison and Dikaiopolis already belonged, as a normal member. There is no suggestion here of voluntary entry or special terms of membership on enrolment: the tightening of Athens' grip on trade may well have forced in Methone as it forced in the volunteers, but Methone was important.

Methone was also a neutral state and so could join the League without any breach of the peace of 446/5. The situation was quite different in the case of Megara, which must be considered in more detail.

It is clear that until Perikles passed what Thucydides calls τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα there can have been no complete ban on non-members using the harbours of the Athenian Empire, though they may have been for some time using them on disadvantageous terms. It seems also clear that Perikles' decree applied to Megara specifically, so that any other non-members interested in Aegean or Pontic trade were for the moment unaffected. What is not so clear is the date of Perikles' decree and to what extent Megarian trade was already being circumscribed by Athens before that time, and thanks to these uncertainties the Rubric volunteers can be fitted into the picture in at least two quite different ways. Thus Brunt⁸⁴ pointed out that Thucydides i 67 and Philochoros ap. Schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 605 (with Jacoby's punctuation, *FGH* 328, frag. 121) only give a *terminus ante quem* for the decree by dating Megara's complaints about it to the summer of 432 and to the archon year 432/1 respectively: Aristophanes himself (*Pax* 605 ff.), in a reconstruction of these events which openly involves an element of facetious ingenuity and is appropriately put into the mouth of Hermes, makes it follow from the trial of Pheidias, but this may only give at the most a rather questionable *terminus post quem* of 438/7:⁸⁵ later authorities, from Ephoros on, in one way or another make the decree a major cause of the war, but Thucydides does not. Brunt suggested that the decree was passed some years before 432: the Megarian complaints of that year, like the Aeginetan, were by this time standing grievances which had caused no international crisis when they first arose and only featured as diplomatic counters now: hence Thucydides rightly put no emphasis on them.

With this view the volunteers could be a result of a ban on Megarian trade soon extended to other non-members, in which case one would have to date the decree to 435 at the latest. But it is equally possible that the Megarian decree does belong to 433/2 but was merely the culmination of a long cold war between Athens and Megara which Thucydides, whose building up of his introductory material in *opus mixtum* in Book i leaves us in any case with no detailed information on the years between 439 and 433, may have regarded as a local side-show, *σμικρὰ καπιχώρα* indeed, which was not of sufficient importance to rank

⁸² *ATL* ii 48 (D3), lines 13-16; *ib.*, 49 (D4), lines 41-7. Methone may have had to maintain an Athenian or mercenary garrison: cp. May, *op. cit.*, n. 40, 77-84 on Ainos; he dates the revival of her local coinage to c. 435 and notes that it is largely small change—suitable for paying troops, but not for trade—down to c. 417/6. Ainos supplied a force of peltasts in 425 (Thuc. iv 28.4) and a contingent for Sicily in 415 (Thuc. vii 57.5).

⁸³ *ATL* ii 75 (D21), lines 5-6, 8, cites the same Methone Decree as a precedent for two regulations which are not covered by the surviving Methone

decrees and require another, earlier than D21, which was for some reason not reinscribed with *ATL*'s D 3-6; lines 17-18 (cp. D3, lines 29-32) also suggest the precedent of Methone, both in the solution adopted and in the procedure for taking a separate vote: cp. Meritt, *Hesp.* xiii (1944), 216 ff. Note also that Selymbria may have provided a partial precedent for Methone: cp. *ATL* i 547; May, *op. cit.* n. 40, 76.

⁸⁴ P. A. Brunt, 'The Megarian Decree', *AJP* lxxii (1951), 269 ff.

⁸⁵ Cp. F. E. Adcock, *CAH* v (1927), 477 ff.

with the affairs of Kerkyra and Poteidaia.⁸⁶ Of course, if this cold war was, as is often supposed,⁸⁷ designed to force Megara into alliance with Athens, its successful outcome would have involved a breach of the peace: but while it was going on, especially if the restrictions were applied gradually and only in 433/2 came to name Megara specifically, it would be a moot point whether the peace was being infringed or not: indeed even in 432 Megara seems to have claimed that it was (Thuc. i 67.4), Perikles that the decree was no more an infringement than the Spartan xenelasia (Thuc. i 144.2).⁸⁸ As Megara had not yielded to this pressure when the war began and was probably compensated for her annual economic losses thereafter, at any rate to some extent, by supplies from the Peloponnese or loot from Attica, it is impossible to say how near she came to surrender. But the Spartans may have emphasised their demand for the repeal of this decree (Thuc. i 139.1) because they knew that, if there had to be a war against Athens for other reasons, the possession of the Megarid was a vital strategic factor: without it, Athens had an alternative strategy, the evacuation of Attica and withdrawal within the Long Walls, but Sparta had not. Thus Thucydides could have been right in thinking that Sparta did not in any degree decide on war because of the wrongs of Megara.

With such a view as this the Rubrics may belong to the context of a cold war aimed primarily at Megara, though not explicitly at her until 433/2. There is, of course, a certain amount of other evidence to suggest that Athens had begun to make trouble for Megara before then. It has often been discussed, but will always remain very difficult to assess. First, Aristophanes (*Ach.* 515 ff.) makes Dikaiopolis say that informers in Athens had already formed a habit of denouncing and confiscating Megarian goods in the Athenian market before the kidnapping sequence began which he makes the cause of Perikles' decree: after that the Megarians began slowly to starve and finally appealed to Sparta. There is, on the one hand, no suggestion of omission to pay market dues here—the goods were Megarian and therefore confiscate; on the other hand, Dikaiopolis stresses that this was not the city's doing, the informers were acting on their own initiative. It is extremely hard to see how they could get away with this without some legal justification,⁸⁹ however unpopular Megarian traders may have been at Athens at that time. (But Aristophanes, of course, has to be careful not to speak ill of the city—*Ach.* 494 ff.) It is even harder to know how far, if at all, Dikaiopolis' highly individualistic account of the origins of the war with Sparta had to be founded, simply in order to be amusing, on historical fact.

Second, Thucydides (i 42.2) makes the Korinthian ambassadors at Athens at the time of the Kerkyra crisis in 433 argue that Athens should not form an alliance with Kerkyra as an insurance against a future Peloponnesian War which might never come off, for 'τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου . . . ἐν ἀφανεί ἔτι κεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ φανεράν ἔχθραν ἦδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσιν πρὸς Κορινθίους κτήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον διὰ Μεγαρέας ὑποψίας ὑφελεῖν μᾶλλον (ἢ γὰρ τελευταία χάρις καιρὸν ἔχουσα, κἂν ἐλάσσον ἦ, δύναται μείζον ἔγκλημα λῦσαι)'. This is, unfortunately, hopelessly ambiguous. On the one hand Thucydides could very well be referring back to 461/0, when Megara went over to Athens to gain protection from Korinth, very much as Kerkyra was now trying to do:⁹⁰ 'καὶ Κορινθίοις μὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος ἤρξατο πρῶτον ἐς Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι' (Thuc. i 103.4). On the other hand, Megara returned to the fold in 446 and Korinth claimed to

⁸⁶ Cp. J. de Romilly, *op. cit.*, n. 51, 22 ff.; E. Meyer, *Forschungen* ii (1899) 296 ff.; E. Schwartz, *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* (Bonn, 1919), 92 ff.; Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* i 465 ff.

⁸⁷ Cp. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii 2 (1904), 810 ff., for his and earlier views; J. R. Bonner, *CP* xvi (1921), 238 ff.; Miltner, *RE* xix 1, 777; Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* i 448; *ATL* iii 320 f.

⁸⁸ Cp. Nesselhauf, *Hermes* lxxix (1934), 286 ff.; *ATL* iii 304, n. 15.

⁸⁹ E.g. under a decree passed c. 446 B.C., as a reprisal for the massacre of the Athenian garrison at Megara (Thuc. i 114.1); cp. Thuc. i 67.4 'ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα'.

⁹⁰ *ATL* iii 321, n. 87.

have dissuaded the Peloponnesian League from sending help to Samos in 441/0,⁹¹ so the σφοδρὸν μῖσος presumably slumbered for a while; but the sense of injury and the ὑποψία seem still very much in existence in 433, since otherwise one could hardly ὑφέλειν from the stock thereof or μεῖζον ἔγκλημα λῦσαι. Moreover, ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον need not mean, as Brunt thought,⁹² 'which existed formerly (and is now over)'; it could (though certainly not so easily) mean 'which was in existence earlier (before the start of the Kerkyra affair) and still exists': undeniably it would have been clearer if Thucydides had written ἤδη instead of πρότερον, but he has characteristically involved himself in two different and overlapping temporal antitheses in this sentence, and ἤδη has already been used in the first one, in contrast to τὸ μέλλον and in the sense of 'here and now'. So, as Thucydides is not explicit on the point, it seems impossible to decide whether he means that the Corinthians were merely suspicious in 433 that Athens might one day try to repeat the 461/0 coup, or that they had had more recent grounds for suspecting that she was already trying to do so. But the second alternative cannot be altogether rejected.

However, whether or not Thucydides intended a reference to it here, a growing tension between Athens and Megara is quite probable from 441/0 onwards, as Gomme saw.⁹³ Megara may well have been among those in favour of sending help to Samos then, since her old colony Byzantion was also in revolt against Athens, though we do not know how far her connexions there still subsisted.⁹⁴ Megara may also have had cause to feel injured and resentful when Athens colonised Astakos and tightened her hold on the Euxine. She helped Korinth against Kerkyra in 435 and 433. Brunt argued that her Aegean trade may not have been as great now as formerly and that her dependence on Pontic corn may be exaggerated,⁹⁵ but it seems unlikely that she was completely self-supporting in cereals and she certainly complained loudly to Sparta at being cut off from all the Aegean harbours by Perikles' decree.

Thus, though no strong evidence for it is forthcoming, there is a possibility that Megara was faced by increasing economic pressure from Athens during the thirties, beginning some years before the appeal to Sparta in 432: the existence of such a cold war, in which Perikles' decree was merely a salient feature, could help to account for Thucydides' rejection of the decree as a determining cause of the war. Into this general context the hypothesis of 'imperial preference' can fit perfectly well and the pressure on non-members can be supposed to start in good time for the arrival of the ἄτακτοι in 435 or 434 and the unexpected spate of volunteers in 434, the year of Kr . . . s' secretaryship of the Taktai, the year of the Decrees of Kallias.⁹⁶

It is thus possible to reconcile the 'volunteer' hypothesis with what is known about Megara in at least two ways: with the first alternative the Megarian Decree is followed up by a general ban on non-members; with the second, which I prefer, restrictions on non-members, perhaps designed mainly with Megara in view rather than just for financial profit, form part of the preliminaries to the decree of Perikles. In either case, the volunteers are a small and unanticipated by-product of measures not aimed at them at all. Yet without them we should have no clue to an important element in the situation during these crucial years.

At this point these obscure Rubrics, which have occupied us here for so long, seem to be emerging into the main stream of political history. For the decree (or decrees) about trading-rights, of which, on this view, they appear to be a symptom, ought perhaps to figure in our lists of the Athenian preparations for war, of the provocations which angered members

⁹¹ Thuc. i 41.2.

⁹² Loc. cit., n. 84, 271, n. 9.

⁹³ Hist. Comm. Thuc. i 448.

⁹⁴ Megara seems to have shown an active interest in Byzantion in 411-09 B.C., cp. Thuc. viii 80.3; Xen., Hell. i 1.36, 3.15; Plut., Alk. 31.4.

⁹⁵ Loc. cit., n. 84, 276 f.

⁹⁶ Cp. ATL iii 320; Wade-Gery and Meritt, Hesp. xvi (1947), 279 ff.; R. Sealey, Proc. African Class. Ass. i (1958), 61 ff.

of the Peloponnesian League, of the grounds for Spartan fear of Athens' increasing power, and of the omissions of Thucydides. But a discussion of all these matters would be a lengthy and repetitive business and lies outside the scope of this paper. Suffice it that the case for Nesselhaufs view of these Rubrics has been presented for reconsideration and that some of the consequences of accepting it have been indicated.⁹⁷

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⁹⁷ I should like to record my gratitude (without incriminating them in any way) to Professor A. Andrewes, Mr. D. M. Lewis and Mr. R. Meiggs for

valuable help and criticism during the preparation of this article.

RIGHT AND LEFT IN GREEK PHILOSOPHY

THE purpose of this article is to consider how the symbolic associations which right and left had for the ancient Greeks influenced various theories and explanations in Greek philosophy of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The fact that certain manifest natural oppositions (e.g. right and left, male and female, light and darkness, up and down) often acquire powerful symbolic associations, standing for religious categories such as pure and impure, blessed and accursed, is well attested by anthropologists for many present-day societies.¹ Robert Hertz, in particular, has considered the significance of the widespread belief in the superiority of the right hand, in his essay 'La prééminence de la main droite: étude sur la polarité religieuse' [*Revue Philosophique* lxxviii (1909), 553 ff., recently translated into English by R. and C. Needham in *Death and the Right Hand* (London, 1960) 89 ff.²]. It is, of course, well known that the ancient Greeks shared some similar beliefs, associating right and left with lucky and unlucky, respectively, and light and darkness with safety, for example, and death. Yet the survival of certain such associations in Greek philosophy has not, I think, received the attention it deserves. I wish to document this aspect of the use of opposites in Greek philosophy in this paper, concentrating in the main upon the most interesting pair of opposites, right and left. Before I turn to the evidence in the philosophers themselves, two introductory notes are necessary. In the first, I shall consider briefly some of the evidence in anthropology which indicates how certain pairs of opposites are associated with, and symbolise, religious categories in many present-day societies. The second contains a general summary of the evidence for similar associations and beliefs in pre-philosophical Greek thought.

I

The superiority of the right hand might be thought to rest on purely anatomical factors. That there is a functional asymmetry of the brain—the left cerebral hemisphere being more developed, in some respects, than the right—is agreed (though whether this is the cause, or an effect, of the superior development of the right hand, is still an open question³). Yet even if we assume that there is a definite anatomical basis for the superiority of the right hand, this does not determine why many societies insist that the difference between the two hands should be not only maintained, but emphasised. The mutilation of the left arm is a practice which is reported in a number of societies. Evans-Pritchard, noting how Nuer youths put their left arm out of action for long periods by binding it with metal rings, said that the belief that underlies this and other Nuer practices is that 'the right side is the good side and the left side the evil side'.⁴ According to Hertz,⁵ the right is often thought to be the seat of sacred power, 'the source of everything that is good, favourable and legiti-

¹ I must express my gratitude to Professor Meyer Fortes and Mr Edmund Leach, Professor and Reader in Social Anthropology in the University of Cambridge, for their help on several questions of anthropology connected with this paper.

² I am grateful to Dr and Mrs Needham for permission to quote extracts from their translation of Hertz's essay.

³ Hertz remarked on the connexion between the predominance of the right hand and the superior development of the left part of the brain (*op. cit.*, 90,

see also Needham's note in his translation referring to G. B. D. Scott, *Man* lv (1955) 67 ff.), but suggested that as the exercise of an organ leads to the greater nourishment and consequent growth of that organ, we might as well say that we are left-brained because we are right-handed, as say that we are right-handed because we are left-brained.

⁴ Cf. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion* (Oxford, 1956) 234 ff., where a number of other practices illustrating this belief are given.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 100.

mate', while the left is the profane side, 'possessing no virtue other than . . . certain disturbing and suspect powers'. It is interesting to note that the right is not invariably the sacred side. Although the great majority of societies hold the right to be the honourable side, there are some instances of peoples who are predominantly right-handed, but who nevertheless consider the left the nobler side: among the Zunis⁶ the left and right sides are personified as brother gods, of which the left is the elder and wiser, and among the ancient Chinese,⁷ the left was Yang and therefore superior, the right Yin and inferior. This reversal of the usual associations indicates, to my mind, the part played by social, rather than purely physiological, factors in determining the attitude to right and left.

Many primitive peoples identify the right-hand side with what is sacred and pure, the left with the profane and the impure, and other pairs of opposites also acquire similar associations. Hertz⁸ has already discussed the associations which male and female have for the Maori, for example. The association of day, light and east with the powers of life and strength, and of night, darkness and west with the contrary powers of death and weakness, is very common. Further, as perhaps the natural resultant of this tendency to identify certain pairs of opposites with the sacred and the profane, we find that such pairs as day/night, right/left and male/female are often themselves correlated or identified, even where there is no manifest connexion between them. A single example of this may be mentioned.⁹ Evans-Pritchard notes that for the Nuer there are two sets of opposites, the one comprising the left side, weakness, femininity and evil, and the other the right side, strength, masculinity and goodness: east is associated with life, and west with death, but then east is also identified with right and west with left 'thus bringing into the left-right polarity the polar representations not only of life and death but also of the cardinal points east and west'.¹⁰

II

The evidence in anthropology shows quite clearly that in many present-day societies certain natural oppositions (especially right and left) are often associated with, or symbolise, important spiritual categories, e.g. 'sacred' and 'profane', 'pure' and 'impure'. Some of the associations which various natural oppositions had for the ancient Greeks are, no

⁶ As Evans-Pritchard notes (in his *Introduction to Death and the Right Hand*, 22), Hertz mentions this example (108 f.) only to dismiss it as a 'secondary development'. The fact that the Zuni are a peaceful agricultural people no doubt contributes to the relative estimation in which they hold the right, or spear, hand, and the left, or shield, hand.

⁷ Cf. M. Granet, *La Pensée Chinoise* (Paris, 1934) 361 ff. The Chinese attitude to this antithesis is complex, for while the Left is generally superior and Yang, and the Right inferior and Yin, yet in the sphere of what is itself common or inferior, the Right in some sense has precedence over the Left. Thus, the right hand is used for eating (Granet, 364). The right side is the appropriate side for women (while the left belongs to men, *id.*, 368).

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 97. Among the Maori 'man is sacred, woman is profane: excluded from ceremonies, she is admitted to them only for a function characteristic of her status, when a taboo is to be lifted, i.e. to bring about an intended profanation'. Cf. also Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, 234, on the Nuer belief that the female principle is associated with evil.

⁹ Many primitive societies appear to classify things generally into groups of opposites (often corresponding to opposite groups in the society itself). A number of notable examples of such classifications are given by J. M. Van der Kroef (*American Anthropologist* lvi (1954) 847 ff.), among them that of the people of Amboyna in Indonesia who, according to this authority, correlate pairs of opposites in the following way:

Left	Right
Female	Male
Coast or sea-side	Land or mountain-side
Below	Above
Earth	Heaven or sky
Spiritual	Worldly
Downwards	Upwards
Exterior	Interior
Behind	In Front
West	East
New	Old.

¹⁰ Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, 235

doubt, well known and need little comment. One antithesis of great importance is that between *sky* and *earth*, for with these are associated two fundamental religious distinctions, (1) the distinction between Olympian and chthonian deities,¹¹ and (2) the general distinction between gods and men, between the *ἐπουράνιοι* and the *ἐπιχθόνιοι*.¹² Another important pair of opposites is *light* and *darkness*. As R. Bultmann has shown with a wealth of documentation (*Philologus* xcvi (1948) 1 ff.), light, for the ancient Greeks, was the symbol of well-being, happiness, success and glory in life, and of life itself (while darkness and night were generally associated with the contraries of these). Among other pairs of opposites connected with sky and earth, or with light and darkness, *up* and *down* and *white* and *black* certainly have important symbolic values from an early stage.¹³ Although there appear to be no good grounds for believing that in early Greek religious practices *male* and *female* stood in an unvarying relationship of 'sacred' and 'profane' to one another (as Hertz suggested is the implication of Maori cults), it may be noted that women are usually thought of as inferior; and Hesiod, at least, repeatedly describes the first woman, Pandora, as an evil (e.g. *Th.* 570, 585, 600; *Op.* 57, 89), and even implies that she is the source of all evil for mankind.¹⁴

The associations which *right* and *left* themselves have in Homer and Hesiod may be considered in a little more detail. The fact that the right is the lucky, the left the unlucky, side for the Greeks, is well known: omens on the right are auspicious, those on the left inauspicious, in Homer, for example (e.g. *Il.* xxiv 315-21, *Od.* ii 146-54). But then the lucky direction, from left to right, was observed in many different activities, such as in the serving of wine round a group of guests (*Il.* i 597; cf. Plato, *Symp.* 223c, etc., and *Od.* xxi 141 ff., where the suitors try Odysseus' bow going from left to right of their company), and in the drawing of lots (at *Il.* vii 181 ff., the lot which has been cast is taken round the group of warriors from left to right until it is claimed by its owner). The right hand is used to greet people (e.g. *Od.* i 120 f.; cf. *δεξιόμοι*, e.g. *H. Hom.* vi 16), to pour a libation (e.g. *Il.* xxiv 283 ff.) and to give a solemn pledge (in Homer *δεξιά* is used with *σπονδαί* of a truce, e.g. *Il.* iv 159). Conversely, the left hand is unlucky. Two of the words for it are euphemisms *εὐώνυμος* and *ἀριστερός*, and a third *σκαῖός* comes to mean 'ill-omened' (as in Soph., *Aj.* 1225 'δῆλος δὲ μοῦστί σκαῖόν ἐκλύσων στόμα') and 'awkward' (e.g. Ar., *Vesp.* 1265 f.), like the French 'gauche', the opposite of *δεξιός* meaning 'clever' or 'skilful'.

Many natural oppositions had strong symbolic associations for the ancient Greeks.

¹¹ These two categories of gods are often referred to in invocations, e.g. Aesch., *Ag.*, 89, *Supp.* 24 f.; Eur., *Hec.* 146 f.; Plato, *Laws* 717ab. The importance of the distinction between them has been particularly stressed by Professor Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (London, 1950), ch. viii and ix; cf. p. 209 'The distinction between Olympian and chthonian, aetherial and sub-aetherial, or to put it more simply, between gods of the heaven and gods of the earth, is one which I hold to be fundamental for the understanding of Greek religion'.

¹² On this distinction, cf. Guthrie, *op. cit.*, 113 ff.

¹³ White is associated with good luck: a white vote was used, in classical times, for acquittal (e.g. Luc., *Harm.* 3); cf. the expression 'λευκή ἡμέρα' for a lucky day. Conversely, black is the colour of death (e.g. *Il.* ii 834) and is associated with various things and personifications of evil omen: in Aeschylus, for instance, it is used of the Erinyes (e.g. *Ag.* 462 f.) of misfortune (*Supp.* 89), of *Ἄτη* (*Ag.* 770) and of a curse (*Th.* 832). It may be that as a general rule

the colour of the victim sacrificed to an Olympian deity was white, that of the chthonians' sacrificial victims black (cf. *Il.* iii 103 ff., where a white ram and a black ewe are sacrificed to the sun and to earth). Other general distinctions between the rites associated with the Olympians and those of the chthonian deities have been collected by Guthrie, *op. cit.*, 221 f., and several of these reflect the symbolic associations of such pairs of opposites as up and down, high and low.

¹⁴ At *Th.* 591 ff. the whole race of women—Pandora's offspring—is 'ἀλόστον', a πῆμα μέγα to men, and at *Op.* 90 ff. it is said that before Pandora, men lived on earth free from evils, suffering and disease. The idea of the innate inferiority of women recurs, of course, in Greek philosophy: in the *Timaeus* 90cf, it is suggested that cowardly and unjust men are transformed to become women in their second incarnation, and Aristotle considers the female sex a deviation from type, a 'natural deformity', cf. *GA* 767b 6 ff., 775a 14 ff.

Although we cannot, of course, speak of any developed or systematic Table of Opposites in Homer or Hesiod, it is interesting to consider the correlations which are made between the positive poles of many of these pairs of opposites on the one hand, and between their negative poles on the other. The identification of light and east and the colour white, and sky and up, on the one hand, and of darkness and west and the colour black, and earth and down, on the other, corresponds to certain facts of observation. Again the conception of the earth as female (or a mother), and of the sky as a generating male, is based on an obvious analogy between the growth of plants and sexual reproduction. On the other hand, at *Il.* xii 238 ff. we find that *right* is identified with *east* and the sun, and *left* with the 'misty west'. This identification seems more arbitrary,¹⁵ though, as was noted above, there are parallels for it in other societies.

III

Having considered very briefly the symbolic associations of certain pairs of opposites in early Greek literature as a whole, my next task is to discuss how some of these beliefs may have influenced the theories of the Greek philosophers; and here I refer not only to religious or ethical doctrines, but also, and more especially, to some of the explanations which they put forward to account for various complex natural phenomena. In this context, the use of the opposites right and left is particularly remarkable.

The pairs right and left, male and female, light and darkness appear, of course, in the Pythagorean Table of Opposites given by Aristotle at *Metaph.* A 5 986a 22 ff.¹⁶ It is not certain which group or groups of Pythagoreans may have held the doctrine of the *συστοιχία*, nor can we date the Table in the form given by Aristotle with any great degree of assurance. One thing which is clear, however, is that the arranging of right, male and light on one side, the side of the good, and of left, female and darkness on the other, the side of the bad, corresponds to notions which are implicit, to a greater or less extent, in the earliest Greek writers. This feature of the Pythagorean Table could be seen as the explicit expression, or rationalisation, in ethical terms, of very early Greek beliefs.¹⁷ Elsewhere too in Greek philosophy, some of these pairs of opposites are correlated together in passages which have a religious or mystical context. In the eschatological myth in the Republic (614c f.) for example, the souls of men are imagined as divided by their judges into two groups: the just travel to the *right*, *upwards* through the *sky*, carrying tokens of their judgement on their *fronts*, and the unjust go to the *left*, *downwards* (into the *earth*) bearing their tokens

¹⁵ It has been suggested that Hector's words at *Il.* xii 238 ff., 'τῶν (sc. οἰωνῶν) οὐ τι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω, | εἰ τ' ἐπὶ δεξιῇ ἴωσι πρὸς ἥω τ' ἡέλιόν τε, | εἰ τ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἡερόεντα' refer simply to the position of the Trojan lines, facing North, but it is surely much more likely that they describe a general method of interpreting omens, in which ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ is identified with πρὸς ἥω. The theory (taken up more recently by J. Cuillandre, *La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques*, Paris, 1943) that right is identified with light because the worshipper faces the rising sun, which then passes to his right on its transit westwards, was rightly dismissed by Hertz, *op. cit.*, n. 86. A decisive argument against the theory is that we should expect the *opposite* correlation to be made by many peoples in the *southern* hemisphere (if they face the sun at its rising, it passes, of course, to their left) whereas this

is not the case: for the Maori and Australian aborigines, for example, right is the good side and is associated with life and light, as for the ancient Greeks.

¹⁶ The complete list of opposites is: πέρας ἀπειρον, περιττὸν ἄρτιον, ἐν πλῆθος, δεξιὸν ἀριστερόν, ἄρρεν θῆλην, ἡρεμοῦν κινούμενον, εὐθὺ καμπύλον, φῶς σκότος, ἀγαθὸν κακόν, τετράγωνον ἑτερόμηκες.

¹⁷ Cf. Hertz, *op. cit.*, n. 50. It may be noted that several of the so-called ἀκούσματα or σύμβολα attributed to the Pythagoreans (or rather to one sect of them) emphasise a ritual distinction between certain pairs of opposites, e.g. 'Putting on your shoes, start with the right foot; washing your feet, start with the left' (Iambl., *Protr.* 21 ἰα DK 58 C 6; cf. *V.P.* 83, DK C 4). 'Do not sacrifice a white cock' (Iambl., *V.P.* 84; cf. Diogenes' gloss, viii 34, DK C 3: τὸ μὲν λευκὸν τῆς τάγαθοῦ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ μέλαν τοῦ κακοῦ).

on their backs.¹⁸ But some of these opposites also figure in Greek philosophy in contexts where the purpose of the writer is to account for certain phenomena: we must now consider to what extent the theories and explanations based on these opposites are influenced by earlier beliefs and associations of ideas.

First, we may deal with a group of theories which aim to account for the differentiation of the sexes at birth. The theories which are attributed to Parmenides and to Anaxagoras were both based on the idea of a correlation between male and right, and between female and left. Parmenides apparently held that the sex of the child is determined by its position on the right or left side of the mother's womb (males are on the right, females on the left). Galen quotes Fr. 17 'δεξιτεροῖσιν μὲν κούρους, λαιοῖσι δὲ κόρας' and interprets it in this sense (in *Epid.* vi 48, xvii A 1002 K; cf. *Arist.*, *GA* 763b 34-764a 1, where, however, no specific author is mentioned). Of Parmenides' immediate successors, Empedocles held that the determining factor was the heat of the womb,¹⁹ but Anaxagoras again referred to a difference between right and left, though, unlike Parmenides, he suggested that the determining factor is the side of the body from which the father's seed comes (*Arist.*, *GA* 763b 30 ff.; DK 59 A 107; cf. *GA* 765a 3 ff.). A third version of this theory appears in the Hippocratic treatise *On Superfetation* (ch. 31, L viii 500 8 ff.; cf. also the theory attributed to a certain Leophanes and others by Aristotle, *GA* 765a 21 ff.²⁰): this is that the right testicle is responsible for male children, and the left for females. Other Hippocratic treatises make use of Parmenides' version of the theory (cf. *Epid.* ii sec. 6, ch. 15, L v 136 5 ff.; *Epid.* vi sec. 2, ch. 25, L v 290 7 f.; *Aph.* sec. 5, ch. 48, L iv 550 1 ff.; cf. *Prorrh.* ii ch. 24, L ix 56 19 ff.), or suggest other correlations between the male embryo and the right-hand side of the mother's body (cf. *Aph.* sec. 5, ch. 38, L iv 544 11 ff.). This is, surely, a remarkable series of theories. Although alternative suggestions are made on which part of the body, or which parent, determines the sex of the child, all these writers assume that *male* and *right* are connected, and so too *female* and *left*. We noted above the tendency to identify the positive poles of various pairs of opposites on the one hand, and their negative poles on the other (for which there is evidence not only from the ancient Greeks but from other peoples as well). It is interesting, then, that these attempted explanations of sex took the form of different applications of the theory that male and female derive from right and left respectively. It is impossible to determine what evidence (if any) Parmenides and others may have appealed to, in order to confirm their theories (it may well

¹⁸ Cf. *Laus* 717ab, where 'even' and 'left' are assigned as honours to the chthonian deities, and their superior opposites 'odd' and 'right' to the Olympians.

¹⁹ Galen, who quotes Fr. 67 'ἐν γὰρ θερμότερῳ τοῦ ἀρρενὸς ἐπλετο γαστήρ' in *Epid.* vi 48, xvii A 1002 K, probably took Empedocles' theory to be that males are formed in the hotter parts of the womb, females in the colder (he compares it directly with Parmenides' theory which also referred to different parts of the womb). But Aristotle, who quotes the equally ambiguous Fr. 65 at *GA* 723a 24 ff., took Empedocles to be referring to variations in temperature in the womb as a whole over the monthly cycle (the womb is hotter at the beginning of the cycle just after menstruation has occurred, cf. 764a 1 ff.). Censorinus' interpretation, 6,6, DK 31 A 81—that Empedocles, like Anaxagoras, held that males were formed by seed from the right-hand side of the body, females by seed from the left—should probably be ruled out: Aristotle clearly differentiates between those (among whom Empedocles) who held

'hot and cold' and those who held 'right and left' as the causes of male and female, cf. *GA* 765a 3 ff.

²⁰ The text of *GA* 765a 21 ff. appears to suggest that Leophanes' theory was that if the *right* testis is tied up, *males* will be produced. Yet either we should transpose the words ἀρρενοτοκεῖν and θηλυτοκεῖν, or they have been mentioned in this order (males first) without due regard for their correlation with what has gone before (right mentioned before left at a 23). That the theory in question was that the right testis is responsible for males (which are, then, produced when the *left* testis is tied up) is clear not only from the passage in *Superf.* L viii 500 8 ff., but from Aristotle's own subsequent remarks. At *GA* 765a 34 ff., he says that the earlier theories which took hot and cold, or right and left, to be the causes of male and female, were not altogether unreasonable, and it is clear that he correlates male with right (and hot), female with left (and cold) and not vice versa: seed from the right side will be hotter, more concocted, and therefore more fertile than seed from the left.

be that fictitious evidence was sometimes claimed to corroborate them, see below on Arist., *GA* 765a 25 ff.), but it seems likely that the earlier symbolic associations of these pairs of opposites contributed to fortify the belief in a connexion between the positive or superior terms, male and right. In contrast to the Greek theory, it may be noted that among the ancient Chinese (who held the left to be more honourable than the right) there were theorists who believed that an embryo on the left of the womb would be a boy, one on the right, a girl, proposing a theory opposite to that of the Greeks, but in keeping with their own associations for left and right.²¹

One group of theories put forward by some Presocratic philosophers and Hippocratic writers consists of attempted correlations between male and right, female and left. But we may now show how similar theories continued to appear in fourth-century philosophy, in Aristotle himself. Aristotle, it is true, rejects the idea that right and left in some way determine the sex of the child. He criticises the theory that the two sexes are formed in different parts of the womb in *GA* iv 1,²² and in so doing, he refers to the decisive evidence of anatomical dissections: 'moreover male and female twins are often found in the same part of the uterus: this we have observed sufficiently by dissection in all the Vivipara, both land-animals and fish' (*GA* 764a 33 ff.). His criticisms of Leophanes' theory (that sex is determined by the seed coming from the right or left testicle of the male parent) are also interesting. He says at *GA* 765a 25 ff. that some theorists claimed that when one of the testicles of a male parent animal was excised, certain results followed (i.e. their offspring were all of the same sex): 'but they lie; starting from what is likely, they guess what will happen, and they presuppose that it is so, before they see that it is in fact so'. These passages clearly mark an important step forward. Aristotle here insists on the careful use of evidence to verify or falsify the theories which were put forward. Where others had been content to assume that males were formed in the right side of the womb, and females in the left, Aristotle uses dissection to prove that this does not hold as an absolute rule.²³ It might be thought, on the basis of these passages, that Aristotle himself was free from preconceptions on the subject of right and left and other such opposites. But in point of fact, this is certainly not the case. His use of the pairs right and left, above and below, and front and back, in particular, is worth considering in detail.

In Aristotle's theory, right and left, above and below, front and back are not merely relative terms. Right, above and front are said to be the *ἀρχαί*, the starting-points or principles, not only of the three dimensions, breadth, length and depth, respectively (*Cael.* 284b 24 f.), but also of the three types of change, locomotion, growth and sensation, in living beings (*ibid.*, 284b 25 ff.). In *IA* ch. 4, 705b 29 ff., for example, Aristotle attempts to establish that all locomotion, in animals, proceeds from the right. The main evidence for this which he brings is (1) that men carry burdens on their left shoulders, (2) that they step off with the left foot—in both cases, according to Aristotle, the right is the side which initiates movement—and (3) that men defend themselves with their right limbs.²⁴ Because

²¹ Cf. Granet, *op. cit.*, 370.

²² The evidence from dissections is first introduced at *GA* 764a 33 ff. when Aristotle is criticising Empedocles' theory (that hot and cold are the causes of male and female), but it is also relevant to Parmenides' theory that males are produced on the right of the womb, females on the left, and Aristotle refers to it again when criticising that theory later, at *GA* 765a 3 ff. (cf. 16 ff.).

²³ A passage in *HA* vii 3 (583b 2 ff.) is interesting. There Aristotle says that the first movement of male embryos usually takes place on the right side of the womb, that of females on the left, although he goes on to qualify or correct this statement: 'οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'

ἀκρίβειαν γε τούτων οὐδεμίαν ὑποληπτέον'. This might, perhaps, be taken as evidence that, at one stage, Aristotle had been less critical of the theory that males are on the right, females on the left, of the womb.

²⁴ Aristotle also notes (*IA* 705b 33) that it is easier to hop on the left leg, and elsewhere (*PA* 671b 32 ff.) he says that men raise their right eyebrows more than their left. Some of his evidence seems to be contradictory: while he states that men step off with the left foot (*IA* 706a 6 ff.), he believes that horses step off with the off-fore (712a 25 ff.). His interpretation of much of the evidence which he adduces appears to be quite arbitrary.

he assumes that the motion of the heavenly sphere (which he thinks of as alive, cf. *ἐμψυχος*, *Cael.* 285a 29) must be 'from the right' and 'ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά',²⁵ he infers at *Cael.* 285b 22 ff. that the northern hemisphere, the one in which we live, is the lower of the two hemispheres. Again, because 'upwards' is defined in relation to the place from which food is distributed and from which growth begins (cf. e.g. *IA* 705a 32 f.), the 'upper' portion of plants will be where their roots are, and Aristotle accordingly speaks of plants as 'upside down' (e.g. *PA* 686b 31 ff.; *IA* 705b 6; cf. *PA* 683b 18 ff. on the Testacea). Right, above and front are, then, defined by certain functions, but Aristotle holds that these are *more honourable* than their opposites. Thus at *IA* 706b 12 f. he says that 'the starting-point is honourable, and above is more honourable than below, and front than back, and right than left'. Further, this notion becomes an important doctrine in anatomy, for Aristotle believes that 'as a whole, unless some more important object interferes, that which is better and more honourable tends to be above rather than below, in front rather than behind, on the right rather than on the left' (*PA* 665a 22 ff.). He uses this principle to explain such facts as the relative positions of the windpipe and the oesophagus (*PA* 665a 18 ff.), and of the 'great blood-vessel'²⁶ and the aorta (*PA* 667b 34 ff.),²⁷ as also to give an account of the function of the diaphragm (to separate the nobler, upper parts of the body from the less noble, lower parts, *PA* 672b 22 ff.). The faithfulness, one may almost say stubbornness, with which Aristotle adheres to his conception of the essential superiority of right to left, can be seen in his account of the position of the heart. This organ he considers to be the principle of life and the source of all movement and sensation in the animal (*PA* 665a 11 ff.). At *PA* 665b 18 ff., he says that the heart, in man, 'lies about the middle of the body, but rather in its upper than in its lower half, and more in front than behind. For nature has established the more honourable part in the more honourable position, where no greater purpose prevents this.' Faced with the obvious difficulty that the heart lies on the left side of the body and not on the more honourable right, Aristotle argues that this is to 'counterbalance the chilliness of the left side' (*PA* 666b 6 ff.). On this occasion, when he encounters an obvious and important fact which apparently runs counter to his theory of the superiority and greater nobility of the right-hand side, he does not abandon that theory, but refers to a second arbitrary assumption, the (purely imaginary) general distinction between the temperature of the two sides of the body.

In explaining the position of the heart in man, Aristotle refers to a difference in heat between the right and left sides of the body. In man, the heart is slightly inclined towards the left because the left side of the body is particularly cold in his case (cf. *PA* 666b 9 f.). Elsewhere too, he refers to differences in the heat and purity of the blood in accounting for

²⁵ On the complex problem of the meaning of the phrase 'ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά' as applied to circular motion, and its interpretation in *Cael.* 285b 20, cf. A. F. Braunlich, *AJP* lvii (1936) 245 ff.; cf. A. Boeckh, *Untersuchungen über das kosmische System des Platon* (Berlin, 1852) 112 ff.; H. D. Darbishire, *Reliquiae Philologicae* (Cambridge, 1895) 65 ff.; T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos* (Oxford, 1913) 231 ff. Whether 'ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά' applied to circular motion meant the direction which we call 'clockwise', or the direction we call 'counter-clockwise', the association with right marks it clearly as the *more honourable* direction.

²⁶ The blood-vessel which Aristotle calls ἡ μεγάλη φλέψ corresponds to the superior and inferior *Venae Cavae*: whether we take it also to include the right auricle of the heart itself will depend on how we interpret the three chambers of the heart which Aristotle recognises. See further n. 30.

²⁷ Cf. also on the relative position of the two kidneys (*PA* 671b 28 ff.): Aristotle believes that the right kidney is always higher than the left (although in fact this is not so, e.g. in man himself, where the left kidney is usually higher), and he gives the reason that motion starts from the right, and organs on the right push upwards above their opposites. He also believes that the right kidney is less fat than the left (*PA* 672a 23 ff.) and again explains this by referring to the right side being better suited for motion. Several more instances in which Aristotle explains the relative positions of organs, and other phenomena, by referring to the superiority of right, front and above over their opposites, left, back and below, are given by W. Ogle in a note to *PA* 648a 11 (Ox. trans., 1912).

the general superiority of the upper parts of the body over the lower, of the male animal over the female, and of the right side of the body over the left (*PA* 648a 2–13). At *PA* 670b 17 ff., he accounts for the ‘watery’ quality of the spleen in some animals partly by referring to the generally ‘wetter and colder nature of the left side’ of the body.²⁸ He then goes on ‘διήρηται γὰρ τῶν ἐναντίων ἕκαστον πρὸς τὴν συγγενῇ συστοιχίαν, οἷον δεξιὸν ἐναντίον ἀριστερῷ καὶ θερμὸν ἐναντίον ψυχρῷ· καὶ σύστοιχα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις εἰσὶ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον’ (*PA* 670b 20 ff.). It is interesting that this theory that the right side of the body is hotter than the left, is mentioned in *GA* iv 1 where Aristotle discusses what determines the sex of the embryo. Although, as already noted, he argues strongly in this chapter against earlier theories that the sex of the child is determined by the part of the womb in which it is conceived, yet at the end of his discussion of his predecessors’ ideas, at *GA* 765a 34 ff., he grants that ‘to suppose that the cause of male and female is heat and cold, or the secretion (ἀπόκρισις, i.e., seed) which comes from the right or the left side of the body, is not unreasonable (ἔχει τινὰ λόγον)’: the right side of the body is hotter than the left, and hotter semen, being more ‘concocted’, is more fertile than cold and therefore more likely to produce males. Though he goes on to say (b 4 ff.) that ‘to speak in this way is to seek the cause from too great a distance’, he does, to some extent, accommodate earlier views to his own theory.²⁹ Yet if we examine this theory of the greater heat of the right-hand side of the body more closely, it is apparent that Aristotle’s argument is circular. At *PA* 666b 6 ff., the heart is said to be on the left, in man, to counteract the chilliness of the left-hand side of the body. Yet elsewhere Aristotle suggests that the factor on which this difference in temperature depends is the heart itself. According to the account in *HA* and in *PA*,³⁰ the heart, in most species, has three chambers, of which the right-hand chamber is the largest and contains the most abundant and hottest blood,³¹ and at *PA* 667a 1 f., for example, he refers to this fact as the reason for the whole of the right-hand side of the body being hotter than the left. There would seem to be an anomaly in arguing (1) that in man the heart is on the left to counteract the excessive chilliness of that side, when (2) the difference in temperature between the two sides of the body is itself seen as the result of a difference in the temperature of the blood in the left and right chambers of the heart. Other things being equal, we should expect that the effect of the heart being displaced from the central position which Aristotle believes it occupies in the great majority of animals, would be to warm that side towards which it was displaced, and this is indeed the effect which Aristotle ascribes to the

²⁸ Aristotle believes that the spleen on the left in some way balances the liver on the right, cf. *PA* 669b 26 ff., 36 ff.

²⁹ According to Aristotle’s own theory, stated at *GA* 765b 8 ff., male and female are distinguished by their ability or inability to concoct and discharge semen, yet because concoction works by means of heat, males must be hotter than females (b 15 ff.). Further, it is due to a lack of heat that females are formed (the male element is too weak to master the female, 766b 15 ff.: Aristotle believes that young people, those in old age, and people of a ‘wet’ or ‘feminine’ disposition are all more likely to produce female children, *GA* 766b 27 ff., and these are all persons in whom the ‘natural heat’ is weak, b 33 f.).

³⁰ There is some doubt as to which are the three chambers of the heart to which Aristotle refers (e.g. *HA* 513a 27 ff.; *PA* 666b 21 ff., cf. *Somn. Vig.* 458a 15 ff.). Ogle (note to *PA*, loc. cit., Ox. trans.) took them to be the two ventricles and the left auricle (he thought the right auricle is taken to be part of the ‘great blood-vessel’, cf. *supra*, n. 26). D’Arcy Thomp-

son, on the other hand, took ‘the largest of the three chambers’ (*HA* 513a 32; cf. *PA* 666b 35 f.) to refer to the right auricle and ventricle combined (note to *HA*, loc. cit., Ox. trans., 1910), which would account for the statement that the other two chambers are ‘far smaller’ (*HA* 513a 34 f.) than the third. The suggestion that traditional or mystical ideas have influenced Aristotle in ascribing three chambers to the heart, cannot be ruled out, although many features of his account show, as Thompson said, ‘clear evidence of minute inquiry’.

³¹ Ogle (note to *PA* 666b 35 f.) pointed out that ‘in an animal, especially one killed by strangulation, as recommended by Aristotle . . ., the right side of the heart and the vessels connected with it would be found gorged with dark blood and contrasting strongly with the almost empty left side and vessels’. (At *HA* 511b 13 ff., Aristotle discusses the difficulties involved in making observations of the vascular system, and at 513a 12 ff., he recommends that the animal to be examined should be starved and then strangled).

heart being on the left in man: yet we are then left without a reason why the left-hand side, in man, should nevertheless be particularly cold.

Aristotle takes right, above and front to be ἀρχαί, and so superior to, and nobler than, their opposites. He believes, further, that the right-hand side is naturally more active and stronger than the left, not only in man, but also, as a general rule, throughout the animal kingdom. At *PA* 684a 27 f., he generalises: 'τοῖς γὰρ δεξιόις πάντα πέφυκε τὰ ζῶα δρᾶν μᾶλλον'.³² We may now consider to what extent Aristotle qualified his theory of the distinction between right and left in the light of his detailed observations of various biological species, or how far he went beyond, or misrepresented, the facts, in stating his conclusions. Although he states it as a general rule that limbs on the right are stronger than those on the left, he notes certain exceptions. He remarks at *PA* 684a 32 ff. that in the Lobsters (ἀστακοί) it is a matter of chance whether the right or the left claw is the bigger; but he goes on to say that the reason for this is that lobsters are deformed and do not use the claw for its natural purpose but for locomotion (a 35-b 1).³³ Again, such passages as *IA* 714b 8 ff. show that he recognises the fact that right and left are not clearly distinguished in such classes as the Testacea (although he does attempt to establish a functional distinction between right and left in his analysis of their method of locomotion³⁴): but again the reason which he gives for the lack of differentiation between right and left in the Testacea, is that they are a deformed class (cf. *IA* 714b 10 f.). On the other hand, some of Aristotle's statements on the subject of the distinction between right and left in animals are in need of qualification. Ogle noted that the remark at *PA* 684a 26 f. 'οἱ μὲν οὖν κάραβοι καὶ οἱ καρκίνοι πάντες τὴν δεξιὰν ἔχουσι χηλὴν μείζω καὶ ἰσχυροτέραν' is 'too absolute a statement'.³⁵ Perhaps more important is Aristotle's failure to recognise that the heart inclines to the left-hand side of the body in other species besides man, for he firmly believes that this is so in man alone (cf. *PA* 666b 6 ff.; cf. *HA* 496a 14 ff., 506b 32 ff.). Aristotle undoubtedly had detailed first-hand knowledge of the internal organs of a number of species of animals. It is strange, then, that there are several species, including some with whose internal anatomy he claims to be acquainted,³⁶ in which the heart inclines to the left, as it does in man.³⁷

Aristotle's knowledge of both the external and internal organs of animals, and of their behaviour, is vastly greater than that of any of his predecessors. One of the results of the many dissections which he carried out was to establish that male and female embryos are formed in either part of the uterus, right or left, in all the Vivipara. His observations of many lower species (especially of the Crustacea) are remarkably accurate and detailed. Yet one of the theories which he constantly maintains is that right is naturally and essen-

³² From *PA* 671b 30 f. and 672a 24 f., it appears that Aristotle held that the right side is naturally stronger (and 'drier') than the left. But in several passages he notes that the degree to which right and left are differentiated varies in different species, e.g. *HA* 497b 21 f.; *IA* 705b 21 ff.

³³ Cf. *HA* 526b 16 f., and a description of the two claws (chela) at 526a 15 ff. It is not true that the chela are used solely for locomotion (*PA* 684a 35 f.; cf. Ogle, note *ad loc.*): indeed Aristotle himself remarks at *HA* 526a 24 f. that they are naturally adapted for prehension.

³⁴ In some animals, right and left are distinguished not in form, but in function alone (cf. *Cael.* 285a 15 f., b 3 ff.). As regards the stromboid Testaceans, he says that they are 'δεξιὰ' because they do not move in the direction of the spire, but opposite to it (*IA* 706a 13 ff.; cf. *HA* 528b 8 ff., and Thompson's note). He appears to argue that

because they move in the direction opposite to the spire, therefore the spire must be assumed to be on the right-hand side.

³⁵ Cf. *IA* 714b 16 ff. Elsewhere, however, Aristotle is somewhat more cautious in his statement of the difference between right and left in the Carcini (Crabs) at least. Cf. *HA* 527b 6 f. 'ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πάντες τὴν δεξιὰν ἔχουσι μείζω χηλὴν καὶ ἰσχυροτέραν'.

³⁶ At *HA* 502b 25 f., Aristotle remarks that the monkey (κῆβος) and suchlike animals (e.g. ape and baboon, πίθηκος and κυνοκέφαλος cf. 502a 16 ff.) are found on dissection (διαυπεθέντα) to have similar internal organs to those of man. Yet in these animals (as also, e.g., in the mole) the heart is on the left. Cf. Ogle's note to *PA* 666b 6 ff.

³⁷ Aristotle's statement that in all animals which have kidneys the right one is higher (*PA* 671b 28) is another inaccuracy: in man, for example, the left kidney is generally slightly higher than the right.

tially superior to left. He believes that this is true in man, and man is the norm by which he judges the rest of the animal kingdom. As he puts it at *IA* 706a 19 f., for example, man is 'of all animals, most in accordance with nature', and at *PA* 656a 10 ff. in man alone, 'the natural parts are in their "natural" positions, and his upper part is turned towards that which is upper in the universe'.³⁸ The reason that he gives for the absence of any marked distinction between right and left in some species is, then, that they are imperfect or 'deformed' animals. He believes not only that there is what we might call a physiological distinction between right and left—the right side is hotter than the left—but also that in making this distinction nature fulfils an important purpose. The distinction between right and left is an *ideal* which is most fully exemplified in man (cf. *IA* 706a 21 f. 'διὸ καὶ τὰ δεξιὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μάλιστα δεξιὰ ἐστίν'). It might be said, then, that Aristotle's great knowledge of different biological species served rather to confirm than to weaken his belief in the natural superiority, and the greater nobility, of the right-hand side.

The history of this belief in the inherent superiority of the right-hand side has now been described with evidence from a variety of Greek thinkers down to Aristotle. The Pythagoreans placed right on the side of limit and good, left on the opposite side of the unlimited and evil. Parmenides, Anaxagoras and several Hippocratic writers assumed that the difference between male and female was to be derived from a difference between right and left, correlating the superior, and the inferior, poles of these two pairs of opposites. Aristotle explicitly states that right is the origin of locomotion, and is better and nobler than its opposite, and he uses this theory quite extensively in accounting for such facts as the position of various organs in the body. Not all the theorists who appear to have assumed the essential superiority of the right-hand side, are normally thought to have been influenced by Pythagoreanism. Though Parmenides' relation to the Pythagoreans may well have been close, Anaxagoras' theories bear few signs of direct Pythagorean influence. The Hippocratic treatises *On Epidemics* ii and iv are generally free from Pythagorean conceptions. Although Aristotle's use of the word 'συστοιχα' in connexion with his own theory of the pairs right and left, and hot and cold, at *PA* 670b 22, is reminiscent of the doctrine which he himself describes as 'τὰς ἀρχὰς . . . τὰς κατὰ συστοιχίαν λεγομένας' (*Metaph.* 986a 22 f.), yet on several occasions he explicitly contrasts his own account of these and other related opposites with that of the Pythagoreans;³⁹ and many of his detailed biological theories based on the distinction between right and left are clearly original. It seems, then, that the belief in the inherent superiority of the right-hand side is not an exclusively Pythagorean doctrine. Indeed, it may be suggested that in some of its elements, the Pythagorean *συστοιχία* itself merely defined and made explicit extremely old, and no doubt widespread, Greek beliefs.

Whether or not we accept Hertz's general theory that in primitive thought certain natural oppositions often stand for the categories of the 'sacred' and the 'profane', it will be granted that for the ancient Greeks, as for many other peoples, such antitheses as sky and earth, light and darkness, up and down, right and left, have powerful symbolic

³⁸ Cf. *HA* 494a 26 ff. It is interesting that elsewhere Aristotle states that man alone of all the animals can learn to be ambidextrous (*HA* 497b 31 f.; cf. *EN* 1134b 33 ff.; *MM* 1194b 31 ff.), yet he continues to believe that the right is 'most right-sided' in man (διὸ καὶ τὰ δεξιὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μάλιστα δεξιὰ ἐστίν, *IA* 706a 21 f.) and that the right is naturally better than the left and separated from it (*IA* 706a 20 f.).

³⁹ This is so especially in *Cael.* ii 2, where Aristotle

agrees with the Pythagorean idea that right and left apply to the universe as a whole (284b 6 ff.), but adopts the opposite view to theirs, saying that we live in the lower of the two hemispheres, and on the 'left', not, as the Pythagoreans said, in the upper hemisphere and on the 'right' (285b 23 ff.). He also criticises the Pythagoreans for not having recognised above and below, and front and back, as principles, as well as right and left (285a 10 ff.; cf. his own view, expressed at 284b 20 ff.).

associations. The values which attached to the opposites right and left in particular seem to influence some of the theories in which they figure in fifth- and fourth-century Greek philosophy. It was often assumed that right is essentially different from, and superior to, left, the one good, the other evil; or the one connected in some way with masculinity, the other with femininity; or the one thought to be honourable, and an *ἀρχή* (as in Aristotle), the other not honourable. The social factors which are involved in the greater development of the right hand itself, do not pass unnoticed by Greek philosophers (Plato, especially, remarked how childhood training contributes to the greater usefulness of the right hand).⁴⁰ But the belief persisted that right is 'naturally' superior to, stronger and nobler than the left. In Aristotle, the distinction between right and left is conceived not merely as a physiological fact, but as an *ideal*, to which the animal kingdom aspires, but which is most fully exemplified in man. Even a detailed knowledge of different biological species, in many of which there is no distinction, or no marked distinction, between right and left, did not uproot Aristotle's belief that right is naturally stronger and more honourable than left: on the contrary, that knowledge led him to conclude that the differentiation between right and left in man is a mark of man's superiority to the animals, and of his greater perfection.

The two elements, of dogmatic belief, and of empirical observation, are closely interwoven in the history of theories based on right and left. The element of dogmatic assumption appears first of all in the superstitious belief that right is 'lucky' and left 'unlucky', but we have seen that the assumption that right is essentially different from, and nobler than, left, persists in Greek philosophy right down to Aristotle. Yet many Greek philosophers and medical theorists carried out extensive observations, particularly in biology. Sometimes these observations led to the rejection of a particular theory based on the belief in the superiority of the right-hand side, as when Aristotle's dissections established that males and females are not always formed in the right and left sides of the womb respectively. More often, however, when the results of observations did not tally with preconceived opinions (for example, when it was seen that the heart inclined to the left side of the body, in man), those opinions were not abandoned: on the contrary, they were retained, and further dogmatic assumptions were introduced in order to account for the phenomena. It is, perhaps, particularly remarkable that Aristotle, who conducted the most extensive and rigorous biological investigations in antiquity, should nevertheless have firmly and constantly maintained a theory of the distinction between right and left which owes much to the traditional symbolic associations which those opposites had for the ancient Greeks.

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⁴⁰ A radical view of the effects of training and habit on the use of the two hands is expressed in the *Laws* (794d-795d) where Plato recommends that children should be taught to use both hands equally. He criticises the view that right and left are naturally different in their usefulness, pointing out that this is not the case with the feet and the lower limbs

(794d 5 ff.). He says 'τὰ δὲ κατὰ χεῖρας ἀνόλα τροφῶν καὶ μητέρων οἷον χολοὶ γηγόναντες ἕκαστοι'. He notes that athletes can become quite ambidextrous, and he says that the Scythians are in fact so. (Aristotle too recognises that we can become ambidextrous, but says that the right side is still naturally stronger than the left: *EN* 1134b 33 ff.; cf. *MM* 1194b 31 ff.)

THE DATING OF DOCUMENTS TO THE MID-FIFTH CENTURY—I

In his paper 'The Athenian Coinage Decree', in *Historia* x (1961) 148–88, Mattingly proposes to date this decree (Tod 67: *ATL* ii D14: the 'Decree of Klearchos') to 425/4.¹ This involves two important principles, historical and epigraphic. Historically, he contends that a measure of this coercive sort is out of place in the middle of the century (it is dated in *ATL* to 449/8) and finds its proper context in the time of Kleon's ascendancy, in the latter part of the Archidamian War. Epigraphically, since one copy in which this decree is preserved (the only copy which uses the Attic alphabet) writes *sigma* always with three bars (ς), Mattingly is led to challenge the current epigraphic doctrine, namely, that in Attic inscriptions this form of *sigma* is not used (at least in the 'chancery style', for a public decree) later than 446.

The epigraphic doctrine about three-bar *sigma* is not self-evidently true, and it is fair and right that it should be called in question. We believe it is true in fact, and that the use of three-bar *sigma* in the Kos copy of D14 creates a strong presumption that Mattingly's date is too low. We deal with the documents alleged by Mattingly to run counter to this doctrine, and hope to show (in each case) that they do not. We deal with these and other documents under three heads: first, the two from which Mattingly starts, the decree of Klearchos about coinage and the decree of Kleinias about the collection of tribute; next, some other decrees concerning Athens' allies; last, those which are concerned with building projects.

Historically, Mattingly's acute observations have obliged us to rethink our problems and in some cases, we believe, have helped us to clearer understanding. But in no single case have we found reason to accept his date.

I. DECREES OF KLEINIAS AND KLEARCHOS: D7 AND D14

Much of Mattingly's first and longest section (pp. 150–69) is devoted to the Decree of Kleinias (*ATL* ii D7: *SEG* x 31). In *ATL* ii 50, we dated this decree to 448/7: Mattingly down-dates it to some time after the second decree in Ag (*ATL* ii 41, lines 55–8), that is, to the winter of 425/4 or later. If he is right, then here is one eminently coercive decree which belongs in fact to the time of Kleon's ascendancy but has been put by us near the middle of the century. Is not D14 a document of similar temper? Should not it too be down-dated?

Mattingly recalls that these two decrees, D7 and D14, have had rather similar epigraphic fortunes. Not many years ago both were commonly thought to belong to the twenties. In 1933 Tod gave D14 in his *Selections* as no. 67, with the date 'about 423 B.C.' In *ATL* i (1939) we dated D7 'before 426' and did not suppose that it was very much

¹ We shall, for brevity, refer to the documents included in *ATL* ii by the letter and number there used: Ag [425/4] for the assessment of 425 with Thoudippos' two decrees; D7 [448/7], decree of Kleinias; D8 [426/5], decree of Kleonymos with amendments; D10 [453/2], Erythrai; D11 [450/49], Miletos; D12 [450/49], 'Congress Decree'; D13 [450/49], 'Papyrus Decree'; D14 [449/8], decree of Klearchos (coinage); D15 [447/6], Kolophon; D16 [446/5], Eretria; D17 [446/5], Chalkis; D18 [439/8],

Samos; D19 [437/6?], 'Springhouse' decree. The dates in brackets are those as given in *ATL* ii. Other documents which come in question are: *SEG* x 15, the treaty with Hermione; *IG* i² 24 (*SEG* x 30), the first Nike decree; *SEG* x 24, decree about *epistatai* for Eleusis; *SEG* xii 26, about the tribute-gathering squadron; *SEG* x 44, about some building project (Eleusinion?). We refer to these by volume and number of *SEG*.

before: we thought, in fact, that it came before D8 (426/5) but after D3 (430/29).² But then, later, each decree received an important new fragment, and in each case this led to a revision of the date.

In 1935 Segre announced, and in 1938 published, the Kos fragment of D14, in which the *sigma* has regularly only three bars.³ He concluded that the decree belonged to a time when this form of *sigma* was still current in Athens, that is, probably before 446. The effects of such a decree in the early 'forties were recognised by E. S. G. Robinson in a fairly general cessation of non-Attic issues of coinage at this time among Athens' allies.⁴ Another indication of date has been alleged: the heralds who are to make announcement to the allies are four in number and are sent to four districts, namely, Islands, [Ionia], Hellespont, Thrace. To this matter (which is cardinal in Mattingly's argument) we will return below; for the present it is enough to note that the allies appear to have been grouped in *five* districts (the above four, *plus* Karia) in assessment Periods I, III, IV; in *four* districts (Karia being absorbed in Ionia) in Period V and onwards; and probably (if not quite certainly: *ATL* i 496, and iii 31, 68) in *four* districts in Period II (450/46). On this count too, then, a date in the early 'forties was indicated, or at least it made no trouble.

The new fragment of D7 was discovered in 1938, and published in 1944 by Hill and Meritt in *Hesperia* xiii 1-15. More substantial than any of the fragments known before, it established the length of line and allowed a reasonable restoration of the first 46 lines, including, in line 5, the proposer's name, Kleinias, and in lines 26-8, almost certainly, the fact that here too four heralds were to be sent to the same four districts as in D14, named pretty certainly in the same order. The decree's purpose, stated in lines 8-11, was to see action taken 'so that the tribute be each year gathered and brought to Athens'. Hill and Meritt inferred that it belonged, like D14, to the critical years of assessment Period II, when tribute was omitted for a year and then reimposed. They suggested in particular (p. 9) that D7 was responsible for the remarkable 'appendix' which distinguishes list 8 of 447 from other lists. The best-known Kleinias, the father of Alkibiades, was killed in the battle of Koroneia, probably in the spring of 446: Hill and Meritt supposed that this decree belonged to the last year of his life.

The decree D7 stands thus in the forefront of Mattingly's argument. It raises important questions of evidence and method and requires a rather lengthy examination.

Mattingly rejects our epigraphic and prosopographic arguments from the character of the letters and from the name Kleinias; since the name Kleinias is quite inconclusive and the character of the letters is part of the *res iudicanda*, this is fair enough, but merely negative. His argument from the *temper* of D7 is more positive: he finds the same temper in D8 of 426/5, in A9 of 425/4, and in *SEG* xii 26 which he proposes (*Historia* x 156) to date in 426/5. But he allows that to date a document at all narrowly from one's impression of its temper is a subjective business: he therefore lays most weight on two particular points.

First (*Historia* x 153), the Panathenaic obligation, the 'cow and panoply'. Mattingly contends that this obligation was first laid on the tributary cities by Thoudippos in A9 (lines 55-8) in 425/4, that Kleinias in D7 (lines 41-3) takes cognisance of this obligation, and that therefore D7 is later than A9.

Second (*ibid.*, pp. 158-69), the heralds' journeys. He contends that the heralds, in D7 and D14, are sent to four districts and that these are the four tribute districts spoken of above: that these four districts were probably not formed before 438: that the order in which the four were named changed from one assessment to another, and that the order

² It was not feasible to number our documents strictly by date even in *ATL* i, since D3-4-5-6 come all on one stone. But our enumeration 'D7' implied that we supposed Kleinias' decree to come after D3, which we dated 430/29.

³ *Clara Rhodos* ix (1938) 151-78.

⁴ *Hesperia* Suppl. viii (1949) 324-40.

used in D7 and D14 was first established by the *taktai* of 425/4, in the second part of Ag.⁵ This is a more complicated argument, vulnerable at several points; and specially, the doctrine that the order of districts must stay constant within an assessment period even after annual lists were cut on separate stones raises considerable difficulties. But *prima facie* the conclusion is that both D7 and D14 are later than the second part of Ag.

Cow and Panoply.

The phrase 'cow and panoply' is restored in three fifth-century inscriptions. In IG i² 45 (Tod 44), 11–12, this is named as an obligation of the colonists at Brea (447/6?: ATL iii 286 n. 49): βούν δὲ καὶ π[ανθοπλ | λαν ἀπά]γεν ἐς Παναθέναια τὰ μεγάλ[α - -]. In Ag, 57, in a second decree moved by Thoudippos in a later prytany of 425/4, the cities assessed for tribute in that year are given the same obligation: βδ[ν καὶ πανθοπλ]λ[αν ἀπά]γεν ἐς Παναθ[ε]νάια τὰ μεγάλ[α] ἡπάσας. In D7, 41–3, after detailed instructions about 'any Athenian [or ally who offends concerning] tribute', we hear that the same procedure shall apply to an offence 'about the bringing of the cow or of the panoply': [- - καὶ ἐ]άν τις περὶ τὴν ἀπα[γογῆ]ν τῆς βοῦς ἢ [τῆς πανθοπλίας] ἀδικῇ, τὰς γραφὰ[s ἐνα] | ι κατ' αὐτῷ κ[αὶ τὴν ζεμίαν κ]ατὰ ταυτά.

Brea was a colony, but it looks as if Kleinias, in D7, takes the obligation to apply to the tributary cities. Mattingly contends (p. 153) that the obligation was proper to colonists and that it was Thoudippos, in 425/4, who extended it to the tributary cities. The question is, was Thoudippos the first to make this extension?

This is a question of a sort which we shall encounter more than once. In D8, 38–47, in 426/5, *epimeletai* are established to deal with some class of financial prosecutions: is this their first establishment? In IG i² 25 (Tod 73: SEG x 85) Kallias orders in 424/3 that a named stipend be paid to Athena Nike's priestess: is this the first effective order for the payment? To the two questions just posed we shall, below, give negative answers with some confidence: *epimeletai* of this kind were appointed for certain recurring emergencies; the priestess has been receiving her stipend regularly. For the 'cow and panoply', the fact that Thoudippos' order constitutes the sole business of his second decree makes it certain that he is not merely reaffirming something already existent. The evidence needs to be examined in detail.

The reader will have noticed how little is left of the word *πανθοπλία* in the three places where it is restored. In IG i¹ 31 Brea's obligation was restored thus: βούν δὲ καὶ [πρόβατα | δύο ἀπά]γεν; and for Thoudippos (IG i¹ 37) the word was left unrestored: βδ[ν καὶ. . . .]λ[. . . ἀπά]γεν - -].⁶ The word *πανθοπλίαν* was restored in both places on the evidence of *Inscriptionen von Priene* 5, in which Priene votes, shortly before 325 B.C., to send to Athens for each four-yearly Panathenaia a panoply in memory of ancient kinship and friendship. We must probably understand this 'ancient kinship' in the sense that Priene was a colony of Athens and that she assumes the consequent obligation. At the end of the fourth century (307 B.C.) we hear once more of the Panathenaic panoply, in IG ii² 456. In fragment *a*, lines 7–9, we hear that the Kolophonians are colonists of Athens, and in fragment *b*, lines 3–8, that the herald shall announce 'at the Panathenaic athletic contest [in the stadion] that the Kolophonian demos dedicates [the crown?] and the panoply as *aristeion* to Athena':⁷ ἀνατίθησι

⁵ In Thoudippos' decree, Ag lines 5–6, the areas which the heralds shall visit are named (probably: much is restored) in this order: Ionia-Karia, Thrace, Islands, Hellespont. In the list of names which follows (*ibid.*, lines 61 ff.) the tribute districts come in the order: Islands, Ionia, Hellespont (with Akte), Thrace (with Euxine). Mattingly supposes (pp. 166, 168) that Thoudippos uses the order current in Period VIII, whereas in the list of names the *taktai*

established the new order for Period IX (see below, p. 73). We take this disagreement between Thoudippos and the *taktai* to be one sign of many that the order was relatively indifferent.

⁶ Actually βδ[ν καὶ. . . .]λ: but this was an oversight, since the majuscule (p. 19) shows the position of *lambda* plainly, under the ε of [τ]ῆς.

⁷ So Demosthenes, xxii 72: οἱ σύμμαχοι ἀριστεῖον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ.

--- τὴν πανοπλίαν ἀριστεῖον τεῖ Ἀθ[ηναί]α -. These two examples of a panoply sent to the Panathenaia were the grounds for restoring the word *πανθοπλία* in our three texts; in both cases there is some suggestion that a panoply is a proper gift for colonists.

This has now been confirmed by an inscription discovered on the south slope of the Acropolis which shows that the Parians, in the time of the second Athenian confederacy, sent a cow and panoply precisely because they were acknowledged to be Athenian colonists:⁸ [κ]ατὰ τὰ πά[τρια καὶ εἰς Παναθῆν]αῖα βδν καὶ πανο[πλίαν καὶ εἰς Διονύ]σια βδν καὶ φαλλό[ν] ἀ[π]ά[γε]ν ἀριστεῖον ἐπειδὴ [τ]υγχάνουσ[ι] ἀποικοὶ ὅ[ν]τες τ[οῦ] δήμου τῶ Ἀθηναίων. The Athenian decree is followed on the stone by a decree of the allies dated on the last day of Skirophorion in the archonship of Asteios (373/2), and the Athenian decree itself probably belongs in 372/1. The text depends somewhat on restoration, but the references to Paros (Παρίο[ι]s in line 9) and to the cow and panoply (βδν καὶ πανο[πλίαν] in lines 3-4) seem reasonably certain.

The sending of cows to the Panathenaia by colonists is also attested by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 386: ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις βοὺν τυθισόμενον⁹ ἔπεμπον. In consequence (the scholiast says) there was a great abundance of meat at this festival. In the passage annotated, Sokrates is asked what causes thunder, and replies 'you have surely before now gorged yourself on beef-broth at the Panathenaia,¹⁰ and made noises like thunder?'

It is evident that 'cow and panoply' were an offering proper to colonists, and our restoration of the single letter *kappa* in Ag, line 58, as part of the phrase [καθάπερ ἀποικ]οι (or the like) is to that extent supported: Thoudippos orders, in his brief second decree, that the cities named in the list shall all (*ἡπάσας*) provide cow and panoply, and shall join the procession like colonists.

The question is, of course, who exactly were colonists. Mattingly (p. 153) refers to the 'fiction' that all the Ionian allies were daughter-cities: in his note 24 he cites Her. i 146 f. and ix 106. Whether 'fiction' is the proper word is a question which need not detain us: a fiction which both Herodotos and Thucydides¹¹ took to be true need not, in this context, be distinguished from fact. Thoudippos was certainly not the first to take for granted that the Ionians were Athenian colonists. First, then, we may consider what Thoudippos meant, and, after that, inquire into the history of the cow and panoply.

Mattingly observes (p. 153) that Thoudippos' order 'required a special measure, in a new prytany', and concludes that 'we have really no right to deny Thoudippos originality'. But what is the real meaning of the separate decree in a new prytany? Surely it is that the list has now been compiled, with its abnormal dimensions and unfamiliar names. Surely, in face of that, the operative word in the order is *ἡπάσας*; some 400 cities have been listed, and the Panathenaic obligation (or privilege?) was to apply to *all*. It is possible, no doubt,

⁸ J. H. Oliver, *AJA* xl (1936) 461 ff. An improved text is given by Silvio Accame, *La lega ateniese del sec. IV a. C.* (1941) 230, from which our quotation here is taken.

⁹ It would be more correct to say *τυθισομένην*. The gender is clear in D7, and on the Parthenon Frieze; and the fact that Athena required *cows* for sacrifice is noted by two scholiasts on *Iliad* B 550, who conclude that in this line of Homer the bulls are for Erechtheus.

¹⁰ When Aristophanes wrote Thoudippos had made his Panathenaic ordinance (winter 425/4) but it could not take effect until the Great Panathenaia in late July of 422. The play was presumably written in 424 for its performance in the spring of 423:

if it was really revised for the spring of 422 (as one hypothesis says; cf. Holwerda in *Mnemosyne* xi (1958) 32-41) the revision will still fall in the interval between the new ordinance and its first application. It is perhaps worth noting that, even so, this Panathenaic gorging is set in the *past* (ἤδη), not the future.

¹¹ The Athenian colonists, for Thucydides (i 12.4), are 'the Ionians and most of the Islanders'. This no doubt includes Euboeia; see Strabo (x 1.8 = C 447), and cf. Hekataios, *FGrH*, i F 119 (Aiklos and Kothos).

that Thoudippos was the first to admit the cities in this wholesale fashion to the Panathenaic procession, that hitherto only Ionian cities had taken part.

In the fifth century we distinguish two kinds of colonies: the ancient foundations of which Herodotos and Thucydides speak—and also Pindar and Aristophanes¹²—and then such modern foundations as Eion and Brea. The important difference is that the ancient foundations were liable for tribute, the modern were not: a few relatively modern foundations (Sigeion, Lemnos) form a small intermediate group. We may presume that the Panathenaic obligations of all were alike. When did the obligation to provide cow and panoply become usual?

We note at once that in D10, lines 3–8, Erythrai is given a Panathenaic obligation which is *not* (and which surely *excludes*) the cow and panoply. We believe that D10 is of 453/2 B.C., and consequently that from such cities as Erythrai the cow and panoply had not been required for the festival of 454 and were not yet (in 453/2) required prospectively for that of 450. Three occasions seem feasible: either they were required for the festival of 450, in connexion with the second assessment; or, at the 'Panathenaic synod' of 450 agreement was reached for 446;¹³ or else the requirement, for 446 and thenceforth, was part of the reorganisation consequent on the peace with Persia.

We suggest, tentatively, that when the treasure was moved from Delos to Athens an effort was made to give Athena, and the Panathenaia, the same kind of significance as the Delian Apollo had possessed, which had made Delos the appropriate centre in the early years of the League. If that was so, there is no need for surprise that the new plans were still incomplete in 453/2.

Before we summarise our tentative conclusions in this matter, there is another question to be asked: what became of the panoplies? The cows (more than 100?) were sacrificed and eaten, so that rich and poor alike could gorge themselves. We have already observed (n. 10) that this gorging was standard practice before Thoudippos' ordinance took effect. But panoplies arriving on the Acropolis in hundreds were not consumable. What became of them? It is possible, we suggest, that they were stored in the Chalkotheke, whose construction has been dated by G. P. Stevens to about the middle of the fifth century.¹⁴

We summarise. The belief that many of the allies were Athenian colonists existed from the start; perhaps a majority, when we include Euboia and count the secondary colonies founded by, e.g., Miletos and Eretria. In 454 the treasure was moved from Delos to Athens, under stress of war: it chanced to be a Great Panathenaic year, and the idea was born that the League be assimilated to a system of colonies, with the four-yearly Great Panathenaia as their common feast. The dues were fixed, as cow and panoply, some time after D10 (453/2) and before D7 (448/7). Since the cost was not heavy and it admitted to the procession, we may perhaps suppose it was thought less a burden than a privilege, and so was not a unilateral Athenian fiat but a resolution of the League. After the peace the privilege might be less prized, and Kleinias is prepared for 'offences' in this matter.

In 425 Thoudippos proposes a specially rigorous assessment. The resulting list was enormous and contained some names which had not been included since before the peace with Persia and some which had never been included. Thoudippos' second motion is at least some weeks later than his first. We suggest that he had seen the list, with its large number of places which had never yet taken part in a Panathenaic procession. Are they *all* to send cow and panoply? Yes, *all*. And they shall join the procession.

¹² Pindar, *Paean* ii 28–29: Abdera, a colony of Teos, spoke of Athens as 'mother of my mother'. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 582, is significant for its emotional content.

¹³ For the question whether or not the Delian synods were replaced by some kind of 'Panathenaic synods', see *ATL* iii 138–41.

¹⁴ *Hesperia* Suppl. iii 9, 36.

Heralds' Journeys.

'More disturbing than this,¹⁵ however, is the fact that both Kleinias' and Klearchos' Decrees show the Empire divided into four geographical districts' (Mattingly, 158). They show this (so far as they show it) by the journeys which they prescribe to their heralds. Klearchos (D14 9) orders that heralds be sent 'one to Islands, one to [Ionia], one to Hellespont, one to Thrace'; Kleinias (D7 25-8) orders that, of four heralds, 'two shall sail in a fast trireme to the cities in [Islands] and [Ionia] and two to those in [Hellespont] and Thrace'. The supplements are pretty large (we have bracketed the names which are restored *in toto*), but we believe that no alternative to them is seriously likely; and we are not concerned to dispute that, in the Assessment Period in question, the cities had been assessed in four districts, not five:¹⁶ that is to say, the 'Kariic phoros' was combined with the 'Ionic phoros'.

This is not 100 per cent evident. But we are not concerned to dispute that, if the Kariic phoros had in this period been assessed separately, the name Karia might be specified in the heralds' instructions.¹⁷ We believe, in fact, that both decrees are of Period II, and that in Period II tribute *was* assessed in four districts. This (once more) is not 100 per cent evident.¹⁸ Nor, of course, is it 100 per cent evident that the decrees in question (D14 and D7) belong in Period II; and we recognise the element of circularity if we use either of these things to *establish* the other. Yet each of them, separately, seems to us probable. And, what is methodologically more important, it quite certainly cannot be demonstrated that there were *five* districts in Period II:¹⁹ a faint suspicion that perhaps there were should not be used to exclude D7 and D14 from it.

We have avoided, so far, speaking in this connexion of D12, Perikles' Congress Decree. Here too certain heralds are sent out to certain named areas. This decree has been assigned by many scholars to Period II: and we, personally, regard it as virtually certain that the decree is *after* there was peace with Persia and *before* the Parthenon was begun—*sc.* that it is of Period II. Twenty heralds are to go to 'all Greeks living in Europe or Asia, small city and great': they are to go in four parties of five. Roughly (there is one considerable exception²⁰) the first two parties are to visit the tributary cities, the second two are to visit the Greek Peninsula. The area to be covered by the first two parties is thus described by Plutarch:

five were to summon the Ionians and Dorians in Asia and the Islanders as far as Lesbos and Rhodes,

five were to visit the places in Hellespont and Thrace as far as Byzantion.

These two journeys have a certain likeness to the two journeys prescribed by Kleinias (D7, 25-8: as above, we bracket merely those names which are restored *in toto*):

two shall sail in a fast trireme to the cities in [Islands] and [Ionia], and two to those in [Hellespont] and Thrace.

They have a likeness perhaps also to the four journeys prescribed by Klearchos in D14: to Islands, [Ionia], Hellespont, Thrace.

When Segre was in process of dating D14 back to the early forties, he seized upon this

¹⁵ *Sc.* than the argument as presented in his preceding pages against an early date for D7 and D14.

¹⁶ *ATL* iii 12.

¹⁷ We must, however, emphasise that Thoudippos (as now restored) *does* specify Karia, although the tribute district named from Karia had long ago disappeared. This fact is briefly noted by Mattingly (p. 159, n. 52).

¹⁸ *ATL* iii 31, n. 6.

¹⁹ The evidence for the existence of *four* districts, and not five, in Period II is set forth in detail in *ATL* iii 30-2. Its validity is not impaired by Mattingly's observations (p. 159 with n. 51).

²⁰ Euboia is not included with 'Islands', but goes with the northern part of the mainland.

likeness as confirmation of his belief that both decrees D14 and D12 belonged to Period II.²¹ The relevant clause of D7 had not yet been found: in publishing it, Hill and Meritt accepted Segre's conclusion,²² and inferred that all three decrees (D7, D12, D14) were of Period II and that the heralds' journeys in all three indicated that there were then four districts, not five.²³

We still believe these conclusions are in fact substantially correct. The argumentation may need some revision, but before we attempt this we must follow Mattingly's argument further. He does not contest Segre's view that in D12 the two first parties of five imply the existence of four districts, not five:²⁴ the conclusion he draws is that D12, also, cannot be earlier than 438. This, in turn, compels him to deny the existence of a peace with Persia,²⁵ and to dissociate the decree's building programme from the Parthenon (not to mention the Hephaisteion and the Ares temple or the temples at Sounion, Rhamnous.

'Nor is this all.²⁶ A still more awkward conclusion follows. The order of districts in the decree is precisely that fixed by the assessment of 438 B.C., namely Ionia Islands Hellespont and Thrace. Perikles will naturally have copied the current official practice. I believe that Kleinias did the same.'

The doctrine is that the tribute-districts had throughout each assessment period an official order (fixed perhaps by the *taktai* who made the assessment: see note 5 above), and that a person making a decree would conform to that order if he had occasion to specify areas of the empire. These occasions are in fact always heralds' journeys: the mover of a decree who prescribed such journeys would be bound to adhere to the order established for the current assessment period. It is a doctrine to which we have all in some degree subscribed: but perhaps it only needs to be stated in plain terms, and to be taken with the rigour with which Mattingly has taken it, for its unreasonableness to be seen. It has led Mattingly into great difficulties.

Thoudippos, as we have seen (note 5 above) uses, in lines 5-6 of A9, an order different from what the *taktai* use in A9, lines 61 ff. Mattingly wishes Thoudippos to use the order current in the preceding period (Period VIII) and proposes, accordingly, a rearrangement of the single-stele lists between 430 and 425 and of the assumed assessments. The following table shows our arrangement, and also the order in which the four areas are named:

430	A7				
430/29	List 25	Ionia	Thrace	Islands	Hellespont
429/8	List 26	Thrace	Islands	Hellespont	Ionia
428	A8				
428/7	List 27	?	?	Hellespont	Ionia
427/6					
or	List 28	?	?	?	Ionia
426/5					
425	A9: Thoudippos	[Ionia-Karia]	[Thrace]	Islands	Hellespont
	A9: <i>Taktai</i>	Islands	Ionia	Hellespont (with Akte)	Thrace (with Euxine)

This is the *ATL* arrangement. The order changes within Period VII, and (if Thoudippos be considered as evidence for Period VIII) it changes back again in Period VIII. Mattingly (if we understand what he says on p. 167) puts A8 in 426, leaving the normal four years for Period VII: to this Period VII he assigns our Lists 28, 27, 26 (in that order).

²¹ *Clara Rhodos* ix (1938) 168.

²² *Hesperia* xiii (1944) 8.

²³ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁴ *Historia* x (1961) 159-61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 161.

²⁶ We quote Mattingly's words (p. 166); the italics are ours.

His Period VIII lasts one year only, 426/5: to that year he assigns our List 25. He thus obtains, for Period VII, the consistent order 'Thrace, Islands, Hellespont, Ionia'. The order 'Ionia, Thrace, Islands, Hellespont' now belongs to Period VIII; and Thoudippos uses the order of Period VIII, as on Mattingly's view he should.

Mattingly's arrangement is in fact impossible. Nisyros in List 27 is in Ionia, in List 26 in Islands: this shows that these two lists belong to different periods, more conclusively (we submit) than considerations of 'order' could show the contrary.²⁷ We understand that Mattingly's statement of his thesis on p. 167 is provisional, and is to be presented afresh in revised form. Meanwhile we reaffirm, with some confidence, that the order of districts might appear differently within a period in the single-stele lists, and that Thoudippos in Ag used the order which he chose, not that dictated to him by any preceding list.

We come back, then, to the heralds' journeys. There are no records from Periods I, III, IV, none, that is, from periods where there were certainly five districts. Whether in such periods a special herald would have gone to Karia we do not know. There is no sign that in each of the tribute districts there was a centre where announcements for the district could be made; and without that there would not be much point in a special herald for Karia. If (as we think) Klearchos in Period II and Thoudippos at the end of Period VIII both sent in four directions, we suggest that this was dictated rather by geography than by the book-keeping practice of the times. This is clearer still, we think, for Kleinias' two directions, and even more for the two directions which are chiefly relevant in D12.

In D12 certain limits are named: Lesbos, Rhodes, Byzantion. Lesbos serves to separate the first area from the second; Rhodes and Byzantion are outward limits and exclude the Euxine and the Levant. This is no doubt partly due to the terms of the treaty with Persia. These two first areas in D12 are not unlike Kleinias' two: their first party goes east, their second north. Kleinias gives less detail than Perikles seems to have done, but clearly his northern party is not to go into the Euxine, and probably his eastern party will not go to Kilikia. Yet if his decree was the follow-up of Ag these omissions are surprising.

We summarise this section. To Mattingly's two particular points about D7 we would answer: (1) we do not know in what exact circumstances the obligation of cow and panoply was imposed, nor exactly on whom, but we find no difficulty in supposing that by 448/7 it had been imposed widely enough for possible offences to require Kleinias' attention, and (2) we believe that instructions to the heralds were based chiefly on geography, and in particular that the order in which the areas were named in these instructions has no necessary connexion with the order of the districts in tribute documents. We are disposed, therefore, to maintain our dates for D7 and D14, without claiming that the date of either is 100 per cent certain. On certain points, however, we confess that we feel more positive: e.g. that peace was made with Persia in 450/49; that D12 and D13 are the more or less immediate consequences of this peace; and that after 446 the three-barred sigma was not used, at least normally, in the chancery style.

(To be concluded)

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²⁷ There are other obstacles to Mattingly's scheme, besides Nisyros. Besbikos in List 26 is in a rubric, in List 27 in the main panel. Aphytis by D21 is granted the privilege of paying only *aparche*, but in Lists 25 and 26 is not in the *aparche* rubric but in the main panel. The likenesses between Lists 25 and 26 (Mattingly, 167, line 9, calls them SEG v 28 and 25) are not accounted for by their being 'consecu-

tive', if they are divided by an assessment. The phrase [ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς] αἰας ἀρχῆς is not very likely to be used of an annual office; nor is ταῖσδε [ἐ]ταχσαν ἡοὶ τάτται ἐπὶ Κρ[...]ο γραμματεῦντος a likely way of specifying the immediately preceding year. But we forbear to pursue further so provisional a statement.

SCHLIEMANN'S LETTERS TO MAX MÜLLER IN OXFORD

(PLATES I-III)

IN 1938 Sir William Max Muller of London, son of the Oxford philologist Max Müller, lent me a volume containing some seventy letters by Schliemann to use in my publications of Schliemann's correspondence. In January 1945 I deposited these in one of two suitcases, full of original letters, copies, and photographs, in the official bunker at Schwerin, for safety from air-raids. In the next three years all my efforts, and those of the museum staff, to recover the suitcases were of no avail, and on March 5, 1948, the administration of Mecklenburg replied to my renewed queries that they had both been lost. In the summer of 1958 an agent from Schwerin discovered this collection, all that has survived from the two suitcases, in a book-shop in West Berlin. It was recovered and returned to the widow of its previous owner in London. Agamemnon Schliemann (the son) and Sir William Max Muller had at the time given me permission to use the letters as a supplement to my two books, *Schliemann-Briefwechsel* i (1953) and ii (1958) and a selection of them is published here.

Ten other letters from Schliemann to Müller of the years 1874-83 which were not in the collection have been found after renewed study of several volumes of Schliemann's letter-books.

INTRODUCTION

On June 15, 1873, Schliemann brought to a close, once and for all, as he thought, his three-year excavations at Troy. He had decided to do this in mid-May,¹ and had already, the evening before, 'permitted the priest of Jenishehir, who also looked after the physical well-being of his flock since he was the inn-keeper, to bless the excavations in the presence of all the workmen'.² He was satisfied that he had 'uncovered and proved the existence of Homer's Troy, and shown that the Iliad is based on facts', as he claimed in his last report from Troy, written in Athens on June 17th;³ or as he wrote at the end of the year in the Introduction to his book, *Trojanische Alterthümer*, 'that there really was a Troy . . . and that the Iliad—albeit in an exaggerated manner—sings of this city and the true history of its tragic end'.⁴ The massive circuit walls, gates and towers, vases, weapons and equipment, and the unexpected find of the great treasure of gold on June 7th⁵ convinced him that 'here a new world had been revealed for archaeology'.

But there were still many questions left unanswered. Not least about the figurines and face-urns,⁶ in which he saw the symbols of Troy's patron goddess, γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,⁷ despite the unanimous disapproval of other scholars. In his last excavation report from Troy he had been led to draw comparisons with the βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη of Mycenae.⁸ Then there were the tiles and pottery which he had picked out from many other sherds in his first visit, in 1868, on the west slope. The rightward- and leftward-running swastikas

The following abbreviations are used:

Alt. = Schliemann, *Trojanische Alterthümer* (1874).

Myk. = Schliemann, *Mykenae* (1878).

Br. = E. Meyer, *Briefe von Heinrich Schliemann* (1936).

Bw. i, ii = E. Meyer, *Schliemann-Briefwechsel* i (1953), ii (1958).

The Introduction has been translated by the Editor.

¹ *Hisarlik-Tagebuch* 298.

² Alt. 305.

³ Alt. xii.

⁴ *Hisarlik-Tgb.* 300.

⁵ Alt. 121 f.; cf. *Ilios* 318-51, 372-89; Bw. ii 34, 53 et saepe.

⁶ Alt. xxxv et sqq.; cf. *Ilios* 318-30, 817 ff. (H. Brugsch).

⁷ Schliemann, *Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja* 142; Alt. 313.

⁸ Bw. i 230.

('Svastika' and 'Sauvastika')⁹ on vases and whorls were still not satisfactorily explained. Among the 'Inscriptions'¹⁰ there were many clear or probable characters which he was at some pains to understand; whether they meant something or were decorative or religious symbols. The great treasure¹¹ had still to be given its right typological, chronological and ethnological setting in the newly discovered culture of Troy.

His understanding of Homer, who had led him to Troy, had already changed somewhat during the three years of his first series of excavations at Troy. Trusting the evidence of the Iliad, which he 'believed like the Creed'¹² he had dug through 15 metres of deposit down to the bedrock at Hisarlik. He was perfectly sure that Homer's knowledge of the topography and climate of the Troad came from a personal visit, but in his last report (June 17, 1873) he came to the conclusion that 'Homer is an epic poet and not an historian'. This led him to consider the relationship of history to myth, for he could discern the historical truth which lay behind the stories. The sceptical approach to the historical background of the great epics of world literature, of India, Germany and Greece, which had characterised scholarship from the days of F. A. Wolf, to Lachmann, to Müllenhoff and Max Müller, had been answered by Schliemann with the spade; and not least the Bunarbaschi theory which E. Curtius especially had championed. But he had other battles to fight for this revolutionary idea, quite apart from the many technical problems about the architecture and the evidence for earthquakes¹³ which had been early noted, the natural and disturbed successions of levels, and the divisions of cultural periods¹⁴ in view of the concurrence of stone implements and a highly-developed metal culture.

Schliemann's education had been seriously interrupted, a fact he regretted all his life. He lacked what he most longed for, an education in the humanities. This was a gap which even his command of so many different languages could not fill. He worked so much alone that he was still a self-taught man in 1879, when Virchow first got to know him. He was conscious of the novelty of his plans and the importance of his deep excavations. From early in 1873 he gave up his destructive operations in the upper levels of Hisarlik. His early journeys (among others, to North and Central America in 1850-2, to Egypt in 1859, round the world in 1864-6)¹⁵ had made a profound impression on him. He had learned much about the history of architecture and about differences of race, from Panama and Mexico, from the Near and Far East (India and China). His thirst for knowledge was slaked in the great and comprehensive collections from Madrid to Constantinople and Cairo. This sum of knowledge soon led him to draw the sort of comparisons which were the hall-mark of philology, mythology and the study of the history of religion in those days. But he was still boldly eclectic and unmethodical in these matters.

The many problems which he had to face went far beyond the Homeric question and the evidence of his excavations long gave him much to worry about.¹⁶ But his strong will and toughness supported him in the face of all difficulties. He could command all the scholarly literature about Troy and Homer as well as the whole range of Greek history, the poets and ancient historians. This all lent weight to his purpose and considerably increased his self-confidence. And it helped him over the feeling of inferiority which he had long suffered.

When he started his excavations at Hisarlik scholars were no longer much interested

⁹ *Alt.* 48 ff., 93, 111, 114 ff., 259; cf. *Ilios* 389-97; *Troja* 132 ff., 143 *et saepe*.

¹⁰ *Alt.* li *et seq.*; cf. *Ilios* 699-712, 766 ff. (Sayce), and on this, von Bissing in Otto, *Handbuch* i 147, 157 f.; *Troja* xxvii-xxx.

¹¹ *Alt.* 289-303; cf. *Ilios* 505-65; Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* 326 ff. (Götze); H. Schmidt, *Schliemanns Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer* 224-47.

¹² *Alt.* xi.

¹³ *Alt.* 43; *Bw.* i 166, nn. 225, 266; cf. *Ilios* 26; *Troja* 19, 29.

¹⁴ *Bw.* i nn. 262-4.

¹⁵ *Bw.* i 40-66, 125, 287 ff., 367 f.; *Bw.* ii 11-31 with nn. 1-23 *et saepe*.

¹⁶ *Bw.* i nn. 261-6.

in Troy. Archaeologists were devoting themselves to the study of ancient works of art, under the lead of H. Brunn; historians thought that Bunarbaschi had settled the problems about the Homeric battles; philologists were in the main attending to textual criticism of the Homeric poems, while the schools, at a lower level, were concerned with the language and with historical and social problems. After the mid-century prehistoric studies were becoming better organised and Virchow was the first practising excavator to visit Troy, in 1879, and later (1881) the Caucasus.¹⁷ Schliemann's start at Troy and his results certainly opened a new world to science, although at the beginning his technique of excavation was so amateurish. Then came his inadequate publication in the form of a diary, and the unfortunate *Atlas trojanischer Alterthümer* which had been advertised in the most high-flown terms but only disappointed with the poor quality of its illustrations.

Frank Calvert supported his identification of Hisarlik as the scene of the Trojan War and the Homeric poems, in answer to Maclaren,¹⁸ and gave him much good advice. Schliemann had at an early date recognised the need for professional, specialist discussion. But it is not right to set him between the 'normative-classicist thought of Winckelmann' and the 'source-hunting' historians of the nineteenth century, or to see an inner contradiction in his anxiety for scholarly recognition. A personality of the breadth and variety of Schliemann's cannot be defined by ordinary standards or labels.¹⁹ His desire for information and help arose from his unsophisticated personality, such as was revealed in his naïve words to E. Curtius in 1872 'I have often felt the need for the good advice of a man like you'.²⁰ He opened his heart in this way to anyone who he thought understood him and took him seriously. In this respect F. Thierfelder²¹ struck the truth in his portrait-study of Schliemann, although when he wrote in 1947 only the first of my publications of the letters²² was available. He says 'Schliemann longed for recognition by scholars and since the most determined opposition came from Germans he always sought out German scholars as collaborators'.

Schliemann soon turned to E. Curtius, 'the celebrated author'. After the unsuccessful trial excavation at Hisarlik in 1870 he called on him in Berlin in July 1871 before going on to London. Curtius visited the Troad²³ on his way to Pergamon in August of the same year, in the company of B. Starck, F. Adler, G. Hirschfeld and Major Regely. At that time he could get no clear idea of the extent and importance of Schliemann's project from the few trial trenches. After his first season at Hisarlik, in the autumn of 1871, Schliemann sent him a most detailed letter²⁴ about what had happened and squeezes of the Greek inscriptions. There soon followed two dispatches with photographs of the 'symbolic devices' and copies of other inscriptions and the 'vases and cups with faces'. At Curtius' request he had a plaster cast made of the Helios metope²⁵ excavated in the temple of Athena for the Berlin Museum, as he did later for Newton at the British Museum and A. Conze at Vienna. From the end of July 1872 to the end of September there were four more letters about the discovery of the 'giant buildings in the soil of Ilium'. Then the correspondence broke off. It matters little whether this was the result of Curtius' lecture on December 9, 1871, at a 'Winckelmannsfest' in which he repeated the argument that Bunarbaschi was the Homeric city,²⁶ or of his behaviour in the negotiations with the Greek

¹⁷ R. Virchow, *Das Gräberfeld von Koban im Lande der Osseten* (1883); Schliemann, *Ilios* 72 ff., et saepe; *Troja* 318 f., et saepe; cf. E. Meyer, *Rudolf Virchow* (1956) 141, 171.

¹⁸ C. Maclaren, *Dissertation on the topography of Troy* (1822); *The Plain of Troy described* (1863); cf. *Ilios* 24.

¹⁹ *Gnomon* 1954, 493 f.

²⁰ *Bw.* i no. 172 of February 3, 1872.

²¹ *Mitt. des Inst. für Auslandsbeziehungen* viii (1958) 5-47, esp. 29.

²² *Ibid.* 46.

²³ 'Ausflug nach Kleinasien und Griechenland', *Preuss. Jb.* xxix (1872) 52 ff.

²⁴ *Bw.* i 198 ff.

²⁵ *Ilios* 694 ff.; *Bw.* i no. 191 and n. 299.

²⁶ In detail to Calvert, *Bw.* i no. 194.

government over Olympia. In mid-1882 Schliemann assumed that Curtius and the Archaeological Society, which he ran, were annoyed with him. Certainly at that time the closing of the excavations at Olympia were bringing Curtius a great deal of administrative work. Fürst Bülow accompanied him on a tour of Greece in the summer of 1877 and found his incessant attacks and scorn of Schliemann quite disagreeable. G. von Eckenbrecher said that Curtius was a very moody man.²⁷

Alexander Conze soon took Curtius' place.²⁸ Before his excavations on Samothrace he had visited Schliemann in Troy (April 26-28, 1873), together with G. Niemann and the architect A. Hauser.²⁹ Unlike Curtius, who had visited Hisarlik two years before when work had barely begun, Conze was able to get an adequate idea of Schliemann's work in the big north-south trench, 14 to 16 metres deep, and of the colossal outer walls with the gate and towers at the south and south-west. He saw Troy a few weeks before the intended end of the season and despite the rainy weather. The aims of the two men were very close, to expose extensive sites: the Sanctuary of the Mysteries on Samothrace, the citadel at Hisarlik. Conze's later excavations at Pergamon were conceived in much the same manner. But in 1874/5 he still supported the identification of Troy at Bunarbaschi. After a brief exchange over Conze's lecture in Vienna about Schliemann's excavation they still entertained considerable respect for each other and exchanged books. Schliemann asked Conze on January 17, 1874, to be indulgent about his excavation report, the *Atlas*, since 'I had a whole new world before me in the depths of Ilium and had everything to learn by myself'. The esteem which Conze felt for Schliemann, despite the irregularities of his method, was shown in his proposal at the end of 1873 that the Trojan treasure should be exhibited in Berlin. Of Virchow's collaboration at Troy he felt, in 1880, 'content that at last careful observation and deliberation were being exercised in the handling of the important finds'. According to R. Schöne it was Conze who, with the discreet co-operation of R. Virchow, saw that W. Dörpfeld took over from Schliemann in 1882. In the last three years of his life Schliemann opened his heart to Conze, then General Secretary of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin, in his anxiety to ensure the continued collaboration of Dörpfeld and to find adequate room for his Trojan Collection, and not least with his romantic account of the find of the axe-heads.³⁰

In 1879 R. Virchow, a professional prehistorian, arrived at Troy. What is more important, he too encouraged Schliemann in a more scholarly approach to his work. In 1882 came W. Dörpfeld, fresh from his experience as architect at Olympia, to solve in an exemplary manner the, for him, unfamiliar problems of the confused stratigraphy of Hisarlik with spade and plane-table.

Towards the end of 1873 Max Müller joined Schliemann's circle, a scholar of comparative philology, mythology and the history of religion. Just as Virchow had finished his 'life-work' in medicine on Cellularpathology, a basic study in medical therapy, in 1858, so had Max Müller in Oxford assured his reputation as a philologist with his edition of the Rigveda, the 1,028 second-millennium hymns with Sayana's fourteenth-century commentary, in six volumes, from 1849 to 1874. He had been inspired to do this by the lectures of Eugène Burnouf in the Collège de France in 1846/7. He collected the manuscript evidence for his work in the then Royal Library in Paris, and, after he moved to England, in the Bodleian at Oxford and East India House in London. Chr. R. J. von Bunsen, the Prussian envoy, and a savant of the old style, was in London from 1842 to 1854. He introduced Müller, then twenty-five years old, to the Director of the East India Company, prepared the way for his publication and advised him in a friendly manner of the need for

²⁷ von Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten* iv (1931) 423 f.; cf. *Bw.* i 208.

²⁸ See most recently C. Weickert in *AA* 1953, 159 ff.; *Br.* 293 n.; *Bw.* i n. 354.

²⁹ From Saturday evening to Monday morning. *Hisarlik-Tgb.* 207 f.

³⁰ *Bw.* ii no. 344 *et saepe*; cf. nn. 396, 397.

occasional reports on the progress of his work. Von Bunsen spoke then of a 'life's work'.³¹ The main purpose was to edit the oldest Sanskrit text, 'which leads us to the very beginnings of the language and thought of the Aryan peoples', and, for its religious content, rivalled the Bible and the Koran, and to apply to it the disciplines of comparative philology and comparative religion. This work brought Müller to the chair of Comparative Philology, established in Oxford in 1868, which he took up on October 27th with an Inaugural Address on the value of his subject as a branch of academic studies.

Reports on his work on the Rigveda appeared as *Chips from a German Workshop* in the years 1867 to 1875, and in German as *Essays* from 1869 to 1876. Four bulky volumes held the results of his researches in the history of language, religion and mythology. With his double series of twenty-one lectures, *Lectures on the Science of Language* (German, *Vorlesungen über die Wissenschaft der Sprache*) in 1861 he aroused a real and much wider interest in language studies in England. From his teachers, H. Brockhaus (in Leipzig from 1841) in Sanskrit and F. Bopp (Berlin, 1844) in the wide field of comparative philology (cf. *Enc. Brit.*, 1874), he had built up his system of research on the works of the leading German scholars of the day, W. von Schlegel, W. von Humboldt and Jakob Grimm. His development as a prominent philologist can be followed in his lively memoirs—*Alte Zeiten—Alte Freunde* (1901) and *Aus meinem Leben* (1902), as well as G. A. Müller's *The Life and Letters of the Rt Hon F. M. Müller* (2 vols., 1902). He considered comparative philology a study senior to that of classical philology.³² He called language 'the living and speaking evidence for the whole history of mankind'.³³ To his *Rigveda* he added, after three years devoted to rest as well as his new plans, the great joint work *Sacred Books of the East* (1879-99, 50 vols.). These two collections formed the foundation of his comprehensive learning and his views, so firmly based on the study of language.

For Religion his attitude was that for us Christians it was, like our mother-tongue, of incomparable importance, but that from the historical standpoint it was but one of many, to be understood by comparisons with the other religious movements of mankind, of Aryans, Greeks, Romans, Persians and Indians. His aim was to arouse interest too in comparative religion and mythology, and for the results to be laid before students of the texts.³⁴ Myth seemed to him for a while the forerunner of religion, and, next to language, man's most original creation. But in most instances, especially the Rigveda, he saw in it the anthropomorphic embodiment of natural phenomena. Thus to him the stories of the vulnerability of Achilles, of Sifrit and Baldur, and of Isfendiyar, in only certain parts of their bodies, seemed 'fragments of sun-myths'.³⁵ In the mass of personalities in Greek myth, and its effects in epic, tragedy and philosophy, he recognised that there might occasionally be some historical tradition. But it is not on the whole possible to find in his writings any clear distinction in content and relative date drawn between history and myth, or between myth and religion. Myth may be here 'history turned into story', there 'story turned into history'.³⁶ His only measure was the genealogical principle, based on etymology, in the Indo-Germanic sphere. He thought little of Homer, in whom he saw an imaginative poet rather than the fashioner of Greek mythology; or, like Xenophanes, of Hesiod.³⁷

Into this sovereign sphere of comparative philology and religion and of the vast range of science which could embrace Layard's excavations at Nineveh, Darwin, and Schleiden's studies in the physiology of plants, thrust Schliemann with his very first letter of October 18,

³¹ *Essays* i, vi et seq.; and in his address in Strasbourg University in 1872, *ibid.* iv 107. In publishing 82 letters from Bunsen of the years 1848-59 (*Essays* iii 334-513) he paid a warm tribute to his great patron.

³² *Essays* ii 134 ff.

³³ *Vorlesungen* 25.

³⁴ *Essays* i, xxxi.

³⁵ *Essays* ii 98 ff.

³⁶ *Vorlesungen* (1861) 10; *Essays* ii 147 ff.; cf. *Einleitung in die Vergleichende Religionswissenschaft* (1874) 304.

³⁷ On the philosophy of Mythology in *Einleitung* 307 ff.

1873. He was aroused by a critical article by Müller in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Müller had declared against the attribution of the gold treasure of Troy to the mythical King Priam, as he did in later letters against the identification of Pallas Athene, patron of Troy, in the face-urns, and later still, the relationship of the female figurines at Mycenae with Hera boôpis. There were some similarities in the early lives of both men, Schliemann and Müller. The fathers of them both were skilled tellers of myths and sagas to their children. For all the significance these stories held in his youth Müller had recognised the limits of their value. But for all his life Schliemann was absorbed by the stories of his childhood, especially by Homer, even when he found even older settlements beneath the level of the Troy which he took for Homer's. From time to time he tried to break himself of his reliance on Homer in his search for true scholarship—yet in the last year of his life he was still haunted by his visionary meeting with Pallas Athene at the find of the ceremonial axe-heads.

Schliemann lived and worked with Homer, and sought in him the realisation of his youthful ambitions. Both his achievements and his errors have to be understood in the light of this. Müller had sought out the earliest of the Indian religious texts and from then was dedicated to the study of the history of language. That is why he never found his way to Troy, which was Schliemann's beginning and end. As well as the comparatively few inscriptions and characters incised on clay which he found, Schliemann could work with the mass of archaeological material—houses, furniture, weapons and jewellery—but in his interpretation of them he transgressed the limits set by serious scholarship. His discovery of a new world for archaeology at Troy seemed to Müller to be Schliemann's undoubted achievement and distinction, and he gladly acknowledged it.

Müller was soon convinced by the variety of Schliemann's finds 'that here was a Troy', as he told Gladstone at the end of May 1874. This, for an uncompromising Homerist of Lachmann's school, was a most serious admission. Bunarbaschi was soon being forgotten. Müller replied quite quickly and concisely to the various questions which Schliemann put to him with his very first letters. The scholar spoke objectively to the devout believer in Homer. In Homer he saw the inventions of a poet's imagination. Henceforward he drew a distinction between the fiction full of myth and the historical elements in the saga of Troy. He recognised the true significance of Schliemann's discoveries in their content and what could be inferred from them. Here we find again Müller's great dissatisfaction with Schelling's philosophy of history and of the history of religion in particular, which had originally, as well as Bopp's personality, brought him to Berlin in 1844.

After ninety years those problems of Athena glaukôpis and Hera boôpis can be seen as simply wayward fancies of the excavator of Troy. Müller was in fact rather embarrassed by Schliemann's descent on Mycenae early in 1874 to find the proof he needed, and later by the great excavations of 1876. In view of the unexpected results, whose significance lay beyond his primary aims and which included the discovery of the first grave circle and the rich royal tombs, we can forgive him this romantic impulsiveness. For years afterwards he hoped that Müller would come to be convinced of the rightness of his theory as he had developed it in his *Mykenae* (1878, pp. 22–5). Müller had yet again in 1875 returned to the subject 'History and Myth' (*Bw.* i, no. 255) and stressed the great period in time between, on the one hand, the Attila or the Priam of history and, on the other, the heroes of the Nibelungen and of Homer; just as in his earlier letters he had pointed out the very different pictures of Charlemagne given by Einhard and by the French ballad-writers of the Middle Ages. He admitted that Athena and Hera were 'owl-eyed' and 'cow-eyed' at Troy and Mycenae respectively. Finally, he reminded archaeologists that Greece's oldest antiquities were the word-stems of her language, which carry us far beyond anything which can be excavated at Hisarlik. To the questions about the symbolic character of the swastika which were raised in letters 3 and 6 he gave the comprehensive answer which was published in *Ilios* (1880) 389–92.

Almost more important than the information which was imparted with such scholarly reserve in Müller's letters were the remarks which contained barely veiled admonishment or instruction, like that found in Virchow's letters of 1878 during a similar collaboration. He repeatedly acknowledged the importance of Schliemann's discoveries, and just as often remarked that in scholarly matters 'opinions are naturally divided', hoping thus to damp down Schliemann's fervent temperament.³⁸ But such men tend to regard any criticism as a malignant personal attack and fly to take up the pen against it. This was the point of Müller's reference to the old saw '*audiat et altera pars*', and his readiness to cut out of Schliemann's writing such 'answers' and one-sided arguments, to avoid unnecessary bitterness, as in the Stillman affair. He had opened the way to *The Times* for him. The reports from Mycenae were, from the third instalment, edited by Müller's soothing pen. Schliemann accepted and gladly followed his advice to make his reports short. He was most grateful and satisfied at the social and political results of his letter to *The Times* in 1876 about Ibrahim Pasha, which had been worked over by Müller and which led to the Governor's removal.

Schliemann's loss of interest in the progress of the excavations at Mycenae³⁹ has been hitherto unexplained, but the answer is now clear. It was the personality of the archaeologist Stamatakis who had been appointed supervisor of the work and who hindered it in many different ways. As soon as Schliemann got back to Athens at the beginning of December he decided 'I shall excavate no more in Greece'. These were two men who were utterly different in character and background. Schliemann's wife Sophie tried to intercede between them, usually in vain. G. Oikonomos and Schliemann's daughter, Mrs Andromache Mela, told me in 1937 about the often explosive situation in that year. It was another eight years before Schliemann started digging Tiryns. Finally, in 1886, he prepared for further excavation at Mycenae together with Dörpfeld, when Tsountas was present. We get a very clear picture of the difficulties of digging at Mycenae, where, at the start, his draughtsman abandoned him in the scorching heat, and where the November rains threatened to choke the graves with mud.

Of his contemporaries, the Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro, who took a serious interest in comparative philology, deserves especial mention. At the request of the Turkish government Schliemann showed him his excavations at Troy in the second half of October 1876, and he also visited the excavation at Mycenae soon afterwards. The Emperor later made a trip to Switzerland (Interlaken) with Müller, whose works he knew, and there engaged him all day in discussion of his work on the Rigveda. The Sanskrit scholar Martin Haug of Munich, who had helped Schliemann with some of his 'inscriptions', was particularly esteemed by Müller for his collaboration in the Zend-avesta and for his valuable researches in Poona (1859-66). The letters make useful additions to Schliemann's report on his first season at Orchomenos (December 1880) and the later one, in 1886. And particular value attaches to his account of his visit to Knossos in 1886, together with Dörpfeld.

In December 1877 he began to suffer again from the pains in his ears which he had first felt before his world cruise in 1864 and had been treated by Professor von Troeltsch of Würzburg, and in 1880 came the first intimations of his coming death. He expressed then his deep thanks for Müller's help by sending him two gems from the Hellenistic levels of Troy, as he did also his publishers Brockhaus and Murray and his friend Virchow.

Schliemann always took trouble to keep the goodwill of those who helped him, as is shown not least by the warm tone with which he ends his letters; but we best appreciate the depth and sincerity of his feelings in his letter of sympathy on the death of Müller's daughter. The one and a half pages in Müller's biography (i 448 f.) do scant justice to the part Schliemann played in his life. Schliemann's daughter told me in 1937 that her impression after meeting Max Müller was of a princely scholar, and a great contrast with

³⁸ *Bw.* i 264; ii 63.

³⁹ *Cf. Bw.* ii n. 237.

that other learned man of Oxford, A. H. Sayce, who was so slim, so widely-travelled and equally benevolent. Müller and Schliemann, apart from their German origin, had much in common in their careers and attitude to life. Both had to face serious hardships in their formative years. What sustained both of them was their firm belief in the life's work which they had chosen (*Aus meinem Leben*, 11).

Schliemann's letters to Müller which are published here for the first time have particular importance as sources of new or supplementary information about contemporaries—Ibrahim Pasha, Emperor Dom Pedro, P. Stamatakis, A. H. Sayce and others—and for the course and circumstances of the excavation at Mycenae. And not least they tell us much about Schliemann as a letter-writer and about his opinions on Homer as poet and creator of Greek myth. They throw light on the arrangement of the Troy exhibition in the South Kensington Museum and the attitude of the London public and learned societies in the city. They are full of evidence for Müller's constant readiness to offer information or help, and for the part he played in editing Schliemann's reports for *The Times*. The clear tone of the scholar shows itself in his answers to Schliemann. What remains so remarkable is the way that Schliemann, generally such a self-willed man, so often followed the advice that he was given.

THE LETTERS

The numbers in brackets refer to the serial numbers in the letter-book. Schliemann's text has been accurately transcribed, but the letters *a* and *o* are sometimes not easily distinguished in his handwriting.

I (1)

Athens 18th Oct 1873

Dear Sir

In the article⁴⁰ on Priam's treasure in the Pall Mall gazette of 2^d inst I at once recognize the style of the author of the "Essays" and hasten to send you enclosed some trojan inscriptions. Pray, inform me at once if you can decipher any of them or at least indicate in what languages they are, for I suppose they are in 2 idioms. . . .

If you want further information I shall but be too happy to give it you, because I have always been your admirer and repeatedly referred in my work to your testimony.

In reading my book you must not scorn if you find contradictions, for I have discovered at Troy a new world for archeology, among the hundred thousand wonderful things which I have brought to light there is none you find in any museum; thus I had to learn & explain everything by myself and often ventured conjectures, which a week later I saw upset by contrary evidence. Prehistoric times begin in Ilium just below the ruins of the greek colony, say at an average depth of 2 mètres, and from that depth off down to the virgin rock in 14 & 16 mètres you find rough stone implements and splendidly polished axes of diorit together with implements and weapons of *pure* copper, sometimes silver ornaments, rarely ornaments of gold. But you distinctly see the strata of 4 different prehistoric nations, of which the 1st, in 2 to 4 m depths must have had framehouses, the 2^d in 4 to 7 m buildings of small stones joined with clay; the 3^d, in 7 to 10 m edifices of dried brick and the 4th in 10 to 14 or 16 m houses of huge stones. All of them worshipped a female divinity with an helmeted owlshead—the hundreds of idols vases and goblets on which this goddess is

⁴⁰ The article 'The Treasure of Priam' (65 lines, unsigned) does full justice to Schliemann but it ends with Müller's observation: 'The Trojan war, in its original form, is pure mythology, though the myth may afterwards have been connected with historical events and real localities. . . . The days of this

mythological euhemerism are gone, and not even Dr Schliemann's treasures will bring them back.' Lady Wanda Max Muller (London) kindly sent me a photo-copy of the article. For Müller's replies: *Bw.* i nos. 219, 228, 233, 241, 255; ii nos. 16, 31, 35, 39, 147, 224, 232.

modelled leave no doubt about it and this being the *sole* divinity represented by plastic art it must have been the *πολιοῦχος θεά*. Since I find this protective divinity in the depth of that Ilion, the site of which has in all antiquity been believed to be identic with the site of the homeric Troy, I naturally conclude that it is intended to represent the *γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη* of Homer. This discovery of mine was at once accepted and warmly applauded by Mr Barthelemy de St Hilaire and Émile Burnouf, though the latter had only a short time before—in his “*Légende Athénienne*”—explained that *γλαυκῶπις* meant: “with a glancing face”.

If you think differently I shall be very grateful to you if you will give me your opinion on this important subject.

Your theory that the trojan war is a myth which may have been adapted to a certain locality and to certain events is altogether contradicted by facts. Homer came three centuries after the war to the Troade and could never have seen, neither the great circuit-walls, nor the Skaian gates, nor Iliums great Tower, for not only all these buildings had been buried 2 and 3 mètres deep by Troys red ashes and calcinated stones, but another large palace had stood for centuries on the buried remnants of the old palace and extended over the gates and part of the tower. But still Homer describes the Gates to be *in* the great Tower and so I found them. He knew Troys monuments by the tradition, for ever since the great catastrophe Iliums tragic fate had been in the mouths of numerous rhapsodes. I identify the Trojans with the 2^d nation which inhabited the premises, for only with that nation the Great Tower, the circuit walls the double gate way by which the beautifully paved street leads down to the Plain, and the old kings palace, which lies just before the gates, can possibly have been in use; you find all these monuments in a depth of 8 to 8 1/2 m. I call the large building just above the gate the kings palace, for it is built on an artificial hill, in the most prominent part of the mount, and it has thick walls of stones, joined with clay, whilst, except some small stone houses in the depths of the Minervatemple I never found anything else but houses built of dried brick with the Trojans, though I dug up 3/4 of the whole city. I further call the palace the kings palace because I found in it the most splendid objects I ever discovered. I found also in it a large silver vase with a magnificent goblet of electron and I found close to it, on the great wall, a treasure of inestimable value, such as you hardly find now in an imperial palace. I call the treasure Priams-treasure, because I found it on the wall which, as well as the adjoining Skaean gates, had been evidently in use until the great catastrophe, I found it buried in the palace's red ashes and on these ashes a wall 20 feet high of stones joined with earth which had been built by the succeeding nation. It was therefore beyond any doubt the treasure of the last king, of the king who reigned when the catastrophe happened and this king being called Priamos by Homer I call the treasure Priams treasure and have no other evidence for the correctness of the name.

2 (2)

Athens 9 Novbr 1873

In reply to your esteemed lines of 27th ult, which I have perused with very great interest, I am glad to be able to send you herewith of the largest inscription a most accurate copy. . . .

Your remarks on the *glaukōpis* I find very just and so interesting that I have added them at the very end of my introduction, of course under your name. But certainly I have left out that you say the owlheaded deity of Troy cannot be the *θεά γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη* as conceived in the homeric [poems] for by a glance on the 218 tablets of the Atlas of my work you would have seen that this ne soutient pas un moment de discussion. You yourself say the ideal conception and the naming of the goddess came first and to change it into the idol with an owlshead, in which the figurative intention is forgotten, is the work of a later & materializing age. Consequently you think the homeric poems were made

before the idol with an owlshead. This is altogether impossible. 1000 facts speak against it. The greek colony on the sacred premises was probably founded abt 700 and cannot possibly have been founded later than 600 years before Christ and below it you find the ruins of 4 distinct nations which have dwelt successively on the isolated rock Hissarlik and left there an accumulation of rubbish 12 to 14 m or 40 to 46 1/2 feet thick. This accumulation is the work of many ages nay, of more than 2000 years. You find the owlheaded idol in 2 meters depth and you find it in 14 meters depth and even there you see it once as *monogram*, which seems to me to prove that it had been for a long time in use. The french scholars, who examined my collection, unanimously put the trojan war at a *much earlier* period than is done by history and still the trojan nation is that to which the ruins in 10 to 7 meters depth belong and below them you see the gigantic ruins of a different nation which left an accumulation of rubbish 4 to 6 meters thick. To give you any idea of the great age of those ruins I remark that in Italy you only find owls in the terramares, *below the most ancient etruscan settlements* those trojan terracotta cones with arian religious symbols which you find in immense masses in Troy *already* in 2 meters depth. On the other hand you cannot attribute to the homeric songs a higher age than 1000 years before Chr at the very utmost.

But from your interesting discussion on the *γλαυκῶπις* which I accept on all other heads I infer that the Trojans or at least the first nation which settled on the rock Hissarlik spoke greek then otherwise they would not have made the owlshead as the ideal idea of *γλαυκῶπις*.

Many thanks for your kind offer to publish a fuller acc^t of my discoveries in the english press; for the moment I am overwhelmed with occupation but shall profit of your obliging offer as soon as I have time to write. . . .

3 (3)



Athens 13 Nov 1873

I have answered your kind letter of 27 ult on the 9th inst in such a hurry that I omitted to reply to several of your remarks. I am very happy indeed to see that you take so great an interest in my discoveries and should of course feel very gratified if you could come here to see my trojan collection. But to exhibit it in London is quite out of the question for it is very large and I would require more than 300 immense baskets and many casks & bones to transport it, and to send there only one specimen of each type is not worth the while. However it is possible that I sell it "en bloc" to one of the large european Museums so that you do not want to go to the Orient to see it.

Nothing can be more interesting to me than to hear your opinion what are the historical and what the mythological elements of the Ilias.

Regarding the trojan inscriptions I feel sure you are right that they show a phenician or very early greek character, the more so since it is evident from your explanation of the *γλαυκῶπις* that the Trojans or at least the first settlers at Hissarlik spoke greek.

Professor Haug at Munich finds some similarity between the trojan inscriptions and the inscription found at Idalion in Cyprus but it appears he has not yet found the key to the former. I have the strongest hope you will be able to make out the meaning of them. It is understood that I get photographed for you both the seal and the other vase. I have a great many seals but as I think all others have mere monuments figurés I do not send you copies. You remember perhaps a trojan inscription I published in the *Augsburger allgemeine Zeitung* 2 years ago and which was translated by a german "*Διέων*". I do not send you a copy of it for I have found out by comparison beyond any doubt that it consists altogether of symbolic signs, and that what the german thought to be an 'I' is a man in the attitude of prayer, with two uplifted arms, and then follow 3 suastikas (卐) and the last sign is the lightning. It has cost me a long time to learn the meaning of the

sign  which is of very frequent occurrence at Troy; but having met it several times together with the symbolic signs of the , the lightning and antilopes I know for certain it can not mean any thing else but the holy altar with fire on it.

I enclose another copy of the inscription on the fusaiole

I remain respectfully

Dear Sir

your admirer

HySchliemann

4 (5)

Athens 8 Feby 1874

In answer to your esteemed letter of 27th ult I have deeply regretted your article against me in the "Academy" and since you publicly provoke me to prove my arguments, I have not hesitated a moment to do so. . . .

In reading my english or german article you will at once perceive that I have fought you chivalrously, and such being the case you can of course not take ill anything contained in my dissertation. I leave it to you to judge with what success I have fought you and, if you publish an answer to my article, you would very much oblige me indeed by sending me a copy of it so as to enable me to give a reply, for otherwise I am in the impossibility to do so because I hardly ever saw an english paper here.

The german edition of my book having been published on the 2^d inst you will have received a copy of it, both text and atlas, long before this reaches you. You will also have seen in the english papers full particulars of the second treasure discovered by me end of March but stolen from me by 2 of my workmen and now seized upon by the Ottoman government. Whilst never yet a gold pearl had been found in the strata of prehistoric ages, the ruins and red ashes of Troy seem to abound with treasures, which can not leave any doubt in your mind that the city has been extremely rich and suddenly overtaken and destroyed by the ennemy, for in ordinary conflagrations people always find the time or the means to save their gold. And precisely because Troy was exceedingly rich and therefore powerful the tale of its tragic fate has remained in fresh memory and has been handed down by tradition to the latest posterity; besides it must have been in the mouths of numerous contemporary and subsequent rhapsodes, till at last it was reproduced by the divine Homer whose poems have been preserved solely on acc^t of their great superiority to all others. Here I show you an entire city in the exact spot which by the tradition of all antiquity was identified with the site of Troy, of Troy the existence of which has never been doubted by the highest classical authorities; here I show you the trojan monuments precisely so as they are described by Homer who could never have seen them; here I show you hundreds of idols of the *γλαυκῶπις* patron deity Minerva; here I show you 25000 objects of the household and the treasures of the inhabitants of a city which—as is proved by every thing—must have been destroyed by a sudden attack of the ennemy. I think you will acknowledge that this multitude of wonderful facts is heavenfar different from the Mahabharata, the Hahnemeh or the Niebelunge, in which you cannot show me anything, whilst here I show you everything. . . .

Of the trojan war I feel sanguine to find proofs in the depth of *Μυκῆναι*, but for the excavations there I must needs wait for a good Ministry in Greece. . . .

5 (6)

Athens 12th March 1874

I duly received your kind lines of 11th ult contents of which I have perused with much

interest. I am now able to communicate to you a very interesting discovery.⁴¹ Having solicited from the greek ministry the permission to make excavations at Mycenae and without waiting for an answer which I knew would be negative, I hurried to the Argolide and representing to the local authorities that I would get in a few days the permission to excavate and that I have now only come to make soundings in order to ascertain what the accumulation of rubbish amounts to in the different localities of Mycenae, I at once went to investigate its acropolis in 34 different places and to dig on the 1st terrace, which runs nearly horizontally with the lions' gate 6, and on the 2^d terrace two wells and attained the rock on the 1st terrace in 20, 18 1/2, 17 and 15 and on the 2^d in 20 and 12 feet depth. I have dug up there very wonderful pottery with splendidly painted ornamentation, 2 stone axes, a flint-arrow, a number of idols of which no less than 5 are Junos with a "polos" on the head and a number of the little red cows of terracotta. Of all the more characteristic objects Mr E. Burnouf and his daughter have made drawings, which I send to day to the Institut de France, together with a long article I have written on these explorations and which, I have no doubt, will be published by the Institut both in the Comptes rendus des Séances and in the Moniteur Universel. If I have gathered so many idols of Juno and so many cows in those quite insignificant excavations I must find many hundreds and *very likely* thousands of them in clearing away the 15000 Cubic mètres of rubbish which cover the 1st terrace. Thus it is evident that Juno was the patron deity of Mykene and that the cow was her *sacred animal*. But the cow can only have become her sacred animal at a period when people began to find it ugly to represent their greatest female deity with a cow's head. In fact, when Juno got a female face, her sacred animal, the cow, arose from her former cow's head. But the period of this transformation lies long before the foundation of Mykene's cyclopien walls and lions gate, for I only found there Junos with a very *compressed* (comprimé) face and a large polos out on the head, and many cows, but *no* idol with a cows head.

It is true that the myth of Juno in connexion with the cow appear to be concentrated in the Argolide, but still I am sure that Here βοῶπις, has also had a cow's head at Samos and in Asia minor I believe it the more since I have dug up in Ilium 3 beautiful cow's heads with long horns which you see represented in my atlas. . . .

6 (8)

Athens 16th May 1874.

I have only today the leisure to thank you for your very kind and interesting letter of 28th March, for I have had here for the last 7 weeks a fearful war with the Turkish gov^t,⁴² which has sent hither the Director of the Constantinople-museum to make legal proceedings against me in order to wrench from me one half of all my Trojan antiquities. At last yesterday the Court unanimously rejected their unjust claim, and I think therefore they will now accept my former proposal to indemnify them by continuing the Trojan excavations for 3 or 4 months with 100 or 150 laborers, at my expense and for the exclusive benefit of the Turkish Museum. Owing to the fight with the Turks I have unfortunately not been able to continue the excavations at Mykene, and now it is too late, for, as soon as the Turks have accepted my proposal I must be off to America where I am called by a very urgent affair. But I shall not forget the excavations at Mykene, for which I hold now

⁴¹ Cf. *Bw.* i nos. 234, 237, 238; ii no. 7. He had applied to Evstratiadis and the Ministry for permission to excavate at Mycenae already on April 4, 1870. He declared himself ready to work for only half the finds, or even 'faire les fouilles seulement pour la gloire'. He had made an appointment with

Evstratiadis to visit Mycenae on the 13th/25th of April.

⁴² The case ended on April 13, 1875. Cf. *Bw.* i no. 263 and nn. 431, 432. Schliemann to Müller (April 5, 1874): 'I find it so exceedingly awkward not to be able now to touch the Turkish territory.'

the permission of the greek gov^t. I intend building here a museum for my Trojan antiquities as well as for those I discover in Greece. . . .

7 (10)

on board of the Simeto, on the way from the Hellespont to Athens 1st July 1876

My dear Sir

My warmest thanks for your kind lines, from which I am delighted to see that you have retired for a year and a half to the beautiful city of Dresden, for I have always been afraid you would overwork yourself. But, in the name of your beautiful family, in the name of Germany whose pride you are, in the name of science, for which you have done more than any man has ever done or will ever do and which expects still so much of you, *do now rest* for 1 1/2 year. But alas, I know too well your wonderful activity as to think you able to rest even for a single week. Of course I have read over and over again with the *greatest admiration* the prospectus of the sacred cities you are going to disinter, but if I could persuade you to delay this gigantic work for 1 1/2 year, I would think it the greatest service I have ever done to the world. Besides you ought to consider that, since there is much more distraction in Dresden than in Oxford, your profound studies would fatigue you in the former much more than in the latter place.

After having endured for two months the most shameless treatment from the Governor of the Dardanelles and the Archipelago,⁴³ I have left on the 29th ult in despair and shall not return before he is not removed. I shall fight hard, nay shall "faire jouer tous les efforts" to get him out of my way. You could *greatly assist me in this* if you would beg the editor of the *Times* to accept the enclosed article. If you do *not* find it fit so as it is—pray—make it acceptable by your corrections. You do an immense service to science, for as soon as that brute is removed I can continue the excavations. I thought *not* to dig any more in the lowest city, but, since you are so much interested in it, I promise to dig there for a week at least and to let you have the whole result of this digging *undivided*. In examining again and again the layers of ruins & rubbish of the *first* city in my great trench, I find that they slope towards the great tower, which belongs to the 2^d city; either consequently the *first* town has been but *very small*; indeed it appears to have consisted but of a couple of large buildings of one of which you see two powerful walls, and thus Otto Keller may be perfectly right who maintained (in his "die Entdeckung Ilium's zu Hissarlik") that there must have stood at first on the rock of Hissarlik a single Sanctuary of the Phrygian Ate, this is also confirmed by the Apollodorus (III, 12.3). But to what immense antiquity must this temple belong! In this primitive city are *so many* riddles to solve and I would have had such great joy to point every thing out to you or to the party of Dr Rolleston, Mr Sayce & Mr Mahaffy; but the brutal pasha made me again on the 27th ult such a scandal that it was impossible for me to wait any longer. I leave all my carts, wheelbarrows, implements etc in a neighbouring village, so that I can easily continue the works when the brute is put out.

On an average my trenches are by 10 feet *less* deep than when I left 3 years ago, for the ruins have washed down much rubbish. . . .

8 (11)

Athens 8th July 1876

The Troad

. . . If possible still more unhappy than all his other erroneous statements are our superficial observer's [Mr Gallenga] sarcastical remarks "on the sacrificial altar in the Temple of Minerva"⁴⁴ with the drain for carrying away the blood of the victims". I have

⁴³ Cf. *Bw.* ii 45-52.

⁴⁴ Supplement to *Bw.* ii no. 19; cf. *Alt.* 162, 183,

211 f., 220 ff.; *Ilios* 200 ff., 370 f., 680 ff.; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen* 105.

repeatedly stated in my "Troy and its Remains", which he criticizes without having read it, that I discovered *no* Temple in any one of the 4 prehistoric cities; that I only discovered 17 feet below the foundations of the later Greek Minerva Temple, the prehistoric sacrificial altar, of which page 278 gives a splendid engraving. As explained page 277, it stood on a pedestal of bricks, which had been dried in the sun & which had been actually burnt by the great Trojan conflagration, without acquiring any stability. On the pedestal lay a tablet of micated slate, on which stood the altar stone, a slab of slate granite abt 5 1/4 feet long and 5 1/2 feet broad. The upperpart of the stone was cut into the form of a crescent, probably for killing upon it the animal which was intended for sacrifice. Abt 4 feet below the altar was a channel made of slabs of green slate, which probably served to carry off the blood. Hoping to find a treasure in this altar, the villagers have destroyed the tablet and cut the sacrificial stone in three or more pieces, two of which can be seen peeping out of the ground at the W. side of the pedestal, and they must strike the eye of every visitor who does not purposely shut both eyes. The pedestal itself, which Mr Gallenga has been pleased to style "the altar" has been partly washed away by the winterrains and only a small portion of it is visible above ground. The channel for carrying away the blood of the victims is now burried in the rubbish which the winterrains have accumulated upon it, but if Mr Gallenga cares to see it, he can have this pleasure, for 6 pence, for one laborer will bring it to light in less than an hour. Did his desire to ascertain the truth not go quite so far?— . . .

9 (12a)

Athens 16th July 1876.

I hope you will be pleased with the enclosed article on *Olympia*, and, should you decide to send it to the Times, I trust this paper would be remunerated by it for the trouble the two last uninteresting articles of mine may have given. I could have written better English had I not been obliged to translate, extract or abreviate Mr Deligeorges' Greek text. I am sorry this friend has forgotten to state that, to safe expense, the excavators throw all the rubbish in another part of the Altis and not in the rivers. I foresaw that they would do so and warned them, in my article "Olympia" of 13th Sept 1874 [*Bw.* i 277 f.], against this enormous blunder, which makes them at least double trouble and expense.

I have solicited here the permission to excavate the Treasury of Minyas in Orchomenos, Tiryns & Mycene; without any doubt I shall at once get it and hope to begin the excavations, in spite of the tremendous heat, before the end of this month. Since all those places are national property, I derive from these excavations *no* other benefit than the satisfaction to enrich science interest, because the sites of prehistoric cities in Greece are still pure virgin soil. The only thing I am afraid of is the Sun.

10 (14)

Mycenae 23 Augst 1876

I have to thank you for your kind letter of 28th ult and gladly follow your very wise advise to let the matter, regarding the answer to Gallenga rest. You are right that I shall find many opportunities to answer him when again excavating at Troy. You are further right that, what people remember now is the unreasonable conduct of the governor of the Dardanelles. In fact every mail proves this to me and still to day a letter from General Cesnola, who writes me that the same Ibrahim Pasha has been for years Governor of Cyprus when he was U.S. consul there and that he has had to suffer a great deal from that barbarian. I do not know whether I told you that I also applied to Sir H. Elliot, Mr Gladstone having given me to him a strong recommendation through the F.O. I have explained the whole matter to him and begged him in the name of science to get Ibrahim Pasha removed, for the Gr Vezir does all he desires. But he has not answered me, and I conclude from

his silence that he does not care enough about archaeology to assist me. Thus all my hopes are solely on the effect of your splendid article.

Enclosed I have great pleasure in sending you the drawings of two basreliefs⁴⁵ which must derive from the time of the Lions above the famous gate, thus from abt 1200 B.C. Pray examine attentively the signs behind the warrior and above the animal on N° 1 and the ovals on the left of N.2. You would of course immensely oblige the scientific world if you send to the Times, together with my enclosed article, any explanations you can give either regarding the signs or regarding the sculptures, or regarding the other things I enumerate in my article.

11 (16)

Mycenae 28 Augst 1876

I hasten to send you the drawings of two more *tombstones* with basreliefs. Four were discovered the day before yesterday, but these are the more remarkable ones. I shall be glad to have your opinion on them. In all 51 tombs⁴⁶ have hitherto been brought to light in the 34 mètres long and 34 mètres broad trench near the Lions gate; all of them are on the virgin soil in 4 to 3 mètres below the surface. To find such a mass of sepulchres in the most prominent place of the acropolis puzzles me not a little.

By Pausanias acc^t of the latter it certainly appears that he saw here the tombs of Agamemnon and of all his followers who were killed together with him by *Κλυταιμνήστρα*, and still it is utterly impossible that he could have seen any one of the above tombs, which must have been buried at his time just as deep as they are now, because, as I see in every one of the "talus" the accumulation of rubbish is the result of long series of prehistoric households, on the top of which is the 1 *mètre* deep layer of Hellenic ruins, which not even reach the time of the Roman conquest. And in spite of all that Pau[sanias'] words are precise and hardly admit of another interpretation. By saying that he saw the Lionsgate and that *Κλυταιμνήστρα* and *Αἰγισθος* were buried *outside* the walls not having been deemed worthy to be buried inside, where Agamemnon and his companions repose, he cannot speak of any other walls than of the gigantic walls of the acropolis. Since I last wrote on an average 30 idols and 30 cows have been found daily.

Handmade pottery, perfectly of the same kind as at Tiryns, is found here in quantities on the virgin soil and particularly near the circuit wall, where the accumulation of rubbish is exactly 20 feet deep.

Another great problem to me is the one cyclopean house, which has entirely been dug up and has 16 feet high walls but *no* door. Mrs Schliemann suggests that it is a tomb, and I would not hesitate to accept her opinion, had not the large room evidently been burned out, in fact the 4 walls are still black. But in writing this I remember that just above this edifice were the calcined remains of a Hellenic house which had evidently been destroyed by a tremendous conflagration and thus the roof of the tomb may have broken in and the combustible may have fallen into it. I shall clear the chamber of the house this week of the ashes and rubbish which fill it and may find there the key to the mystery.

I have driven another 66 feet long and broad trench into the acropolis and shall now not wonder any more if I find the whole first platform of the acropolis one vast cemetery. I shall only continue to wonder how it could ever be used as such. You certainly agree with me that the basreliefs of which I send you the drawings⁴⁷ can impossibly be dated

⁴⁵ For the excavation and results see *Myk.* and *Bw.* ii nos. 26-30, 32, with nn. 56-68. On August 12th Schliemann thanked him warmly 'for the marvellous manner in which you have re-modelled my article against the Pasha'.

⁴⁶ An early mistake; cf. *Myk.* 386, and no. 19 of

September 6, 1876. Schliemann was first clear about the number of graves in his letter of November 16, 1876 (no. 28).

⁴⁷ Schliemann had cabled for an 'additional painter' (August 25, 1876). Both artists had left him in the lurch on September 25th.

back to the first inhabitants of the place, whom I am ready to fix at 2000 B.C. As explained in my article to the Times these sculptures can not be put back farther than 1200 B.C., that is to say to the most glorious time in the history of Mycenae, when all the treasures were built; and that the Mycenaeans should at that epoch devoted the most imposing, nay the only somewhat broad & large place of this fortress to a burying ground that is very strange indeed.

I have made some, but not much progress yet in the digging up of the Treasury, for the difficulties are there very great. All the week I have worked with 92 men and 5 horse-carts. I have much to suffer here from the arrogance of the Greek government official [Stamatakis] and telegraphed to the minister to give me at once *πληρεστάτην ικανοποίησιν*, threatening that otherwise I leave at once. If I spend 300 francs daily for the benefit of Greece I do not suffer myself to be humbugged.

12 (18)

Mycenae near Argos 2 Sept 1876

From your kind lines of 19th ult I was exceedingly sorry to see that your splendid boy is laid up with fever & I shall rejoice to hear by your next that it has been of no consequence and that he is allright again. I think myself that the climate on the shore of the Lake of Geneva will be more congenial to you and your dear family and beg you will not omit to give me your address there, as I wish to keep you always au courant of my excavations. . . .

I am at a loss how to thank you for having kindly again written on my behalf to the Editor of the Times. My first article on Mycenae has not been published yet, but, as you have the Editor's promise, I feel confident that it will appear soon. Should you happen to address him again, pray, assure him that in future he shall only receive short articles from me never exceeding two pages. I feel quite ashamed that my 2^d article on Mycenae is so long, but as it contains the account of the tombs & so many other things of general interest, I hope it will be inserted, for it would be a pity if the thread of any narrative of the Mycenae excavations were interrupted by the omission of this article.

Mr Fr Lenormant has sent me a copy of his book *Les Antiquités de la Troade*, contents of which have appeared in the Novbr, Decbr, January, Feby, March & April numbers of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. He endeavours to prove by the Egyptian inscriptions that Ilium was in the 14th century B.C. a powerful state, shows that the Trojan war has taken place in abt 1200 B.C., ascribes to my Trojan antiquities a very remote antiquity and maintains therefore that I have discovered the Troy destroyed by Hercules and not that destroyed by Agamemnon. But you told me, if I am right, that you do *not* accept the opinion of those who infer from the inscriptions in Medinet Habou that the Trojans took part on the expedition against Egypt! . . .

I just hear from the Dardanelles that an order had been received from the Grand Vezir to grant me all possible facilities and assistance. I know that this order has solely been provoked by your wonderful article of the 24th July in the all powerful Times and remain eternally your debtor. I have now again every hope to be able to resume the works at Troy by the 1 March next. I hope you will come out to Hissarlik yourself in April and May, and, if so, the promised excavation in the lowest city shall take place in your presence. . . .

13 (20)

Mykenae near Argos 25 Sep 1876

. . . I am quite in despair to day, my painter having left me and all the painters in Athens refusing to come out here in spite of the enormous salary I offer them. But, it is true the life is *terrible* here; there is *no shade*, all is dirty and the privations of all kinds

are literally overwhelming. One must have the *holy fire* for science to support all this, and you can not demand that a painter should have it. . . .

Enclosed a few drawings of Juno idols; excuse me I cannot draw better. . . .

14 (25)

on board the *Selinunte* on the way from the
Hellas to the Pireus, 20th Oct 1876

I have much pleasure in sending you herewith my *very short* fourth article on my excavations in Mycenae and a *summary* account of the Brazilian Emperor's visit to Troy⁴⁸ and should feel gratified if you would find them worthy to be accepted by the *Times*.

I may add that Ibrahim Pasha, the governor General, received me now with great honours. He said that the *Times* article against him had been reproduced by all Constantinople papers and had called forth the Vezirial rescript which you know; but that I might write against him what I liked, he would nevertheless remain in his place. By the contractions of his face it was however evident that on this latter point he is anything but sure and that he is very much afraid of me.

I hope to resume the excavations in Mycenae on the 24th inst. and remain, in expectation of good news regarding your and your family's health
the Emperor spoke of you
with veneration and told me
he has all your books





15 (27)

Mycenae 15th Novbr 1876

I beg you a thousand pardons that I have not answered sooner your very kind letter of 16th ult, which came to hand on the 28th; but Mrs Schliemann and I, we have been so enormously occupied here ever since my return from Troy that we often think we have eaten when we have not got any thing all the day.

With extreme joy I hear that your splendid boy is quite well again.

Pray, accept once more my heartiest thanks for your extreme kindness with regard to my articles for the *Times*. I hope my 2^d article from Mycenae will have been published and you shall henceforward only get *very short* articles for the *Times*, though the news I have now to give is of capital interest. But in order that I may not take up too much of your precious time, I will here only say, that I found below the 3 first, sculptured tombstones a square tomb 26 1/2 feet long & 11 2/3 feet broad; the depth of it I cannot yet determine as it has not yet been entirely emptied; but it certainly exceeds 14 1/2 feet below the surface of the rock and 33 feet below the surface of the acropolis as it was when I began the diggings. As this tomb borders on the wall which supports the double circular parallel rows of tombstones and as this wall goes even through the N.W. angle of the tomb, the latter has evidently been entirely emptied when the wall was built, for I found in it

13 gold buttons with splendidly engraved *spiral* ornaments, or with  
or  which are evidently the âranî  and masses of gold blades with impressed circles or spiral ornaments, but nothing in situ and often separated by 3 or 6 feet. . . . I have now begun to dig up the tomb of the tombstone with the basrelief of the 2 serpents and that of 2 other unsculptured tombstones of the 2^d row. I believe there are still more such large tombs in the large circle of the double parallel row of slabs and shall not leave

⁴⁸ Cf. Fr. F. Sommer, Sao Paulo, 'Sprachlehrer am kaiserlichen Hofe von Metropolis', *Mitt. des Inst. für Auslandsbeziehungen* viii (1958) 45-8, esp. 45 f. (on

Schliemann), 46 ff. (on Müller); cf. Müller, *Alte Zeiten—Alte Freunde* (1901) 214-17.

Mycenae before I have not dug up all of them. The 2 tombs with the gold ornaments are filled to the top with rubbish.

The treasury has given me *immense trouble* and though I have been working in it for more than 2 months with a large number of laborers & 2 horsecarts, it is still far from being entirely excavated. But I have brought to light the whole centre of it to the *virgin soil* and the threshold of the door. As yet *nothing* of particular interest has been found in it.

I have had here for 14 days a photographer who has made me about 80 negatives and prepares the copies in Athens. As soon as I return there I will send you a number of copies of the most important objects; also some *idols*. Unless we have rainy days I shall not be able to send you further articles for the Times before I return to Athens, for I now work also on Sundays.

As the wall with the circular rows of slabs passes through part of the first tomb and as the 2^d tomb, which is undisturbed, only contains most ancient handmade pottery, we now have the certainty that these tombs are *far more* ancient than the double parallel row of slabs, which has probably been erected at a much posterior time in honour of the heroes of immortal glory who, according to the tradition, lay buried in those immense ☐ tombs. Otherwise I cannot explain it.

I intend to exhibit my whole *Trojan* collection for one year in the British Museum to make it better known, but the Trustees write me through Mr Winter Jones, the principal librarian, that the Museum is too crowded and no room for so large a collection. Mr Gladstone writes me it would be better to exhibit it on the South Kensington Museum. But is it there safe enough and do you advise me to exhibit it there? I have been so ignominiously, so shamefully attacked by the German scholars for the last three years that I intend to publish my work on Mycenae in English. It will contain probably not less than 90 plates & plans. Do you advise me to offer it to Mr John Murray? Would he accept it when I tell him that I make it his interest to do so? or what shall I do with it? It would be still more easy to me to write it in French or German; but in France such things are *not* appreciated and in Germany I have *against me* the whole "*presse*" since Prussia has commenced the excavation in Olympia.

Excuse my dirty letter; but we are living here in great dirt and misery. Believe me yours very truly HySchliemann
do you rather advise me to accept the offer of the French government to exhibit the Trojan collection in the Louvre?

16 (32)

Mycenae 24th Novbr 1876

There are in all 5 tombs, in the smallest of which I found yesterday the bones of a man and a woman covered by at *least* five kilograms of jewels of pure gold,⁴⁹ with the most wonderful archaic, impressed ornaments; even the smallest leaf is covered with them. To make only a superficial description of the treasure would require more than a week. Today I emptied the tomb and still gathered there more than $\frac{1}{16}$ kilograms of beautifully ornamented gold leaf; also many earrings and ornaments representing an altar with 2 birds; one earring represents Hercules slaying the lion. There is no end to the variety of the ornaments. There were also found two scepters with wonderfully ciselled crystal handles and many large bronze vessels and many gold vessels. I telegraphed to day to the Times. I had hardly touched the second tomb when I found a beautifully ornamented gold cup & 4 large bronze vessels. This tomb is the largest and will probably give most gold.

I have now the firmest conviction that these are the tombs which, as Pausanias, accord-

⁴⁹ Cf. *Bw.* ii n. 61.

ing to the accredited tradition, says, belong to Atreus, Agamenon, Cassandra, Eurymedon etc. But how different is the civilisation which this treasure shows from that of Troy! I write you this in the midst of a great turmoil.

17 (33)

Mycenae 27th Nov 1876

. . . Pray, write to the Editor of the Times^{49a} that owing to the *immense* number and the variety of objects which compose the Treasure, I shall only by the end of the week be able to commence my report on same; that I beg him meanwhile to publish the two enclosed letters, which will be followed by a short third one, after which I shall exclusively treat of the tombs and the treasures, the most wonderful in the world, for here I lay before the public thousands of objects of gold with the richest imaginable ornamentation, of an epoch of which the sole monuments hitherto known were the 3 friezes in the British Museum; and, what is still a thousand times more important, I found these treasures, in the presence of hundreds of witnesses, in the immense rockcut tombs, which the tradition of all antiquity attributed to the ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, the εὐρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων, to Cassandra, to Eurymedon, to their companions and to Atreus.

But these immense treasures make the Greeks tremble of their shadow; thus delay after delay in the excavation; for two days they have stopped me saying that the governor of the province must be present and the governor came but said two officials from Athens must assist. But at all events I hope to continue the work to morrow and to finish it this week.

please publish what you

please about the Treasure;

I can only make a deep bow before every article of yours

18 (34)

Athens 6th Decbr 1876

On my arrival here today I found your kind lines of 20th ult, for which please accept my warmest thanks. As you may imagine, I have read with paramount interest your friend, the Rev^d Mr Sayce's article on Mycenae. But if the (the) pottery of Mycenae already so much interested you and him, what will your astonishment then be when you see the enormous masses of Mycenaean jewels, on which every inch is covered with the most splendid ornamentation!!! In fact, the quantity is so large that, to say little, it would fill, when exhibited, two of the *largest* saloons in the British Museum. . . .

Most likely the Mycenaean treasures will be exhibited in the new Academy here, of which no doubt a Museum will be made, for we have here no Academicians. On the 10th inst I shall be able to send you 2 or 3 more short articles for the Times. I am happy to see that all my articles (no. 2: Mycenae I-IV and the acct of the Brazilian Emperor's visit to Ilium) had appeared in the Times and thank you cordially for your powerful support. Any modifications you have thought proper to introduce are of course acknowledged with gratitude by me. I at once write to London to send me all the numbers of the Times of November, which by an unexplainable circumstance, have been lost probably in Argos. You shall get by next steamer the idols I promised you. In consequence of the *treasures* I hope Mr John Murray will undertake the publication of my work Mycenae.

10 Decbr . . . Your very kind letter of 27th ult has come to hand and claims my heartiest thanks. I assure you that nothing in the world could be more flattering to me than your appreciation of my labours; nothing could stimulate my zeal more than your kind words. . . .

^{49a} The Librarian of *The Times* tells me he was got his name wrong repeatedly. then Thomas Chenery. Schliemann seems to have

When Rossini had written *Guillaume Tell* he wrote no more, for he was sure that he could never produce any thing like it in grandour. I ought to do the same in *Greece* at least. The treasure I found is so immense, that the Greek and Roman jewels of all the museums in the world do not make up one quarter of the quantity; and as to quality, the Mycenaean treasure stands alone; no museum in the world possesses even a single potsherd of the epoch of the treasure. Thus I shall excavate no more in Greece; but I shall excavate henceforward in Asia Minor and I recommence Ilium as soon as I can do it without fear to be killed. At present it is not safe in the Troade and even my never daunted servant Nicolas writes me to wait. . . .

19 (36)

Athens 21th Decbr 1876

I am indeed at a loss how to thank you for the very kind manner in which you mention my name in the Times. I am really delighted to see that you are so much pleased with my discoveries. But how much more would science gain if you were with me in the excavations! You must at all events accompany me to Troy and remain with me during the whole time of the explorations. Rely upon it, I will make you comfortable there and, *united*, we shall do wonders. But, as my servant reports, who just arrives from Troy, the Troad is very unsafe at present, for the troops, which continually pass there, now give up to despondencies and murders and robberies are on the order of the day. But, if peace is maintained, all will be safe again very soon. I shall know it when it is perfectly safe to go and will give you early information.

If the Prussian gov^t does not find anything worth speaking of at Olympia, it is merely because they work like ignorant fools, without tact, order or system and throw all the rubbish on the very site of Altis, within 50 yards of the site they excavate. No archaeological researches can succeed unless they are made with tact, order and system. With one third of the money the Prussian gov^t has spent I would have done wonders. Instead of beginning blindly at a certain spot, I would, like I did in spring 1874 in Mycenae, have first thoroughly studied the topography and would have accomplished this in 2 weeks, by sinking 200 shafts down to the virgin soil; after that I would have made 2 tramways with waggons and would have thrown all the rubbish into the *Ἀλφειός*.

Immense treasures of art, probably also of gold, are hidden at Olympia but the gentlemen, who have been sent out, seem to be too learned to make excavations.

The Mycenae treasures and other collections, except the sculptures have arrived here on the 19th inst and have been deposited in the Hellenic Bank until a proper place be found and fitted up where they may be exhibited. . . .

I avail myself with much pleasure of this opportunity to wish you and your dear family a very happy new year; may it be an epoch of continual joy and happiness to you all. At the same time I thank you most cordially for all the kindness you have shown me and shall be most happy to find frequent opportunities to serve you in return.

I shall probably send you only one or two articles more for the Times to establish the identity of the 5 tombs with the 5 tombs mentioned by Pausanias. After that I shall write my book.

20 (38)

Athens 31 Decbr 1876

I sent you on the 28th inst via Paris my last article [No. 6] on Mycenae. In forwarding it I thought it was so well written, but in reading the copy today I found several blunders therein. My only hope is that you have read and corrected it a little. The statements it contains are allright, but it contains transgressions against the English syntax. In reading today the wonderful article on Mycenae in the Times of the 18th Mrs Schliemann involun-

tarily exclaimed: "that no body else than our venerated friend in Dresden can have written". . . .

I fear it is very cold nasty weather with you; here we have nearly always a cloudless sky and I take every morning my bath in the open sea.

Jealousy throws always new obstacles in my way and I have not been able yet to commence photographing the treasures. But I shall call this morning again on the Ministers and hope to be able to begin to morrow. Pray, do not show the Mycenaean potsherds etc to any body, because I would lose all my credit here in Greece if any thing appears in the papers of my having sent the slightest fragment abroad. Nay, they are so jealous here that the Arch. society cannot decide to accede to my request to let me have 100 common potsherds out of the millions of beautiful things I have given them.

Believe me, I have had hard times in Mycenae. I had here an overseer⁵⁰ not a bit better than that furious Turk [Isset Effendi] whom I had in Troy; in fact, a man who would have made an excellent executioner, but who was an insupportable burden in scientific researches. Only τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, made Mr^s S. & me endure all; πάταξον μὲν ἄκουσον δέ. They all beg me to continue the work; but I won't do it. I shall act as Rossini did after having written Guillaume Tell. I sincerely wish to hear that you and Mr^s M. are well.

21 (39)

Athens 21st Jany 1877

From your very kind letter of 7th inst I see that you have received my letter of 31th, but not that of 28th ult, by which I sent you my last article for the *Times*. I had sent it through my Paris houseagent Mr Beaurain because I thought you would get it in this way quicker. But it appears that, Mr B. having been absent from Paris, my letter has remained in his office until his return. I hope you will have received it long since. I had just written that letter of 28th ult when I received your heartrending tidings of your dear child's death. I therefore wrote you in P.S. "Mit innigster Wehmuth lese ich soeben Ihren lieben Brief vom 19^{ten} ds u mit heißen Thränen beweinen meine Frau u ich das Sie u Ihre Gemahlin betroffene Unglück. Wir wissen aus herzerreißender Erfahrung was es heißt geliebte Kinder zu verlieren u versuchen nicht Sie zu trösten, denn ich kenne Ihr seelig entschlafenes Töchterchen u meine Worte des Trostes würden nur Ihren Schmerz vermehren. Aber nur das möchte ich Ihnen u Ihrer lieben Frau zu beachten empfehlen, daß Gott, indem er Ihnen Ihr kostbares Kleinod entriß, seine weisen Absichten hatte; vielleicht erkennen Sie diese seine Absichten schon jetzt, vielleicht erst nach längerer Zeit, vielleicht auch nie, aber vertrauen Sie darauf, er meinte es wohl mit Ihnen."

When at the end of 1869 I lost my eldest daughter I thought at first I should never overcome the grief but I have overcome it. Yes, the father will overcome it and will succeed in forgetting his deceased child, the husband will forget his beloved wife and the wife will forget her adored husband, but the mother—will never get consoled of the loss of her darling child and thus Mr^s Müller is still much more to be pitied than you. I would give all the world to be able to find words to console you and her. I feel all the immensity of your loss, for I know your dear deceased child. But, for Heaven's sake, do not give up to despair; reflect that you and Mrs Muller have the two finest children in the world left, that it is your duty to live and care for them; think besides that your deceased child is now happier than we all are, that with all your sighs and tears you cannot revive her and ruin yourselves. Think of the celebrated verses which Державинъ sung out when he was dying:

⁵⁰ Stamatakis; cf. nos. 34, 39, 48; *Troja* 282 f.; *Bw.* ii 267 n. 237.

Рѣка время въ своемъ теченіи
 уноситъ всѣ дѣла людей,
 И топить въ пропасти забвенія
 Народы царства и царей.
 А если что и остается
 Отъ эвука лиры и трубы,
 То вѣчности жерломъ пожрѣтся
 Но общее не увидѣть судьбы.

(The river of time in its course takes all human things away and drowns in the abyss of oblivion nations, empires and emperors. But if some thing has remained by the sound the lyre or the trumpet, eternity swallows up with its jaws and nothing escapes its fate.)

I think inflammation of the membranes of the brain is also called congestion of the brain, of which my brother died. That is a fearful disease. I am fanatic of cold water; here is no *ὕδροθεραπεία*, and I therefore row out every morning into the open sea to take my bath even when it freezes; I do it to prevent sickness. But if [I] were in Dresden or elsewhere, where the famous Kaltwassercuranstalten are I would for myself in *no* sickness use anything else than cold watercure; I think also that this cure is with congestion of the brain a thousand times safer than *any* medicine in the world. . . .

The few terracottas I sent are your property and please do with them according to your pleasure. But, if you give them away, for science sake do *not* give away a particle of the few things from Mycenae, but keep them for yourself; they are unique and, as I shall not dig any more in Mycenae, I can never send you others. . . .

22 (40)

Athens 28th Jany 1877

. . . In making last Sunday an *Ἱχθυογραφία* of the double circular row of slabs with the five tombs and the large cyclopean house immediately south of it, my engineer Mr Drosinos saw in the latter a tomb, which I had excavated without being aware of it and in which only very little rubbish had remained, and, in removing this he found 4 large golden vases of 18 centimeters in height and two signet-rings with intaglio work, one of them representing a palmtree and 7 women. The vases are ornamented with swans. I telegraphed this to the Times, but can give you more details only by next post, because the jewels will no doubt arrive here on the 30th inst.

For Heavens sake please write to the Times that, the Greek Arch Society not having obtained yet a suitable locality where to put up the treasures, they have not been able yet to order the glass cases and cupboards, and thus I have no hope that they can be exhibited this year. They allow my photographer to photograph the jewels little by little and I hope he will get through with the job by the end of February, but the public cannot see any thing. However a small part (not more than $\frac{1}{8}$ part of the whole) was the day before yesterday shown to Lord & Lady Salisbury and yesterday to the King and Queen of Greece, who were accompanied by the Duke of Edinburgh and the Grand Duchess his wife. . . .

23 (45)

London 4 Apr 1877
Charing + Hotel

. . . It was very interesting to me that you made a speech on Mycenae in Dresden the same evening when I made mine on the same subject in Burlington house [Society of Antiquaries]. I have two more to make next week; one on Troy in the Brit Arch Assoc in

the large hall of the Institute of Brit Architects and another on Mycenae in the Athenaeum [Club].⁵¹

I beg you very much to read in the *Koelner Zeitung* of 24 March my answer to Curtius, who makes a fool of himself. Of course the photogr are for you, but, pray, do not allow any body to copy them. When you see the other photographs you will accept all my theories.

24 (48)

Athenaeum Club 12th Decbr 1877
Pall Mall⁵²

... You are right, I have overworked myself; the Mycenae excavations with a brute as a delegate from the Greek government, then the taking of the hundreds of photographs, then the writing of the English text of my book, then the German translation, the correction of the engravings and all the English and German proofsheets, then the tremendous work to make from my Trojan museum the collection for the S.K. Museum, to catalogue and to pack it, then my unfortunate deafness—all this together has had a ruinous effect on my constitution, and I want rest, which however I shall not find before the grave, because I am accustomed to great activity, and could not stand it to live a single day without some serious occupation. But as I have now to build a new house in Athens⁵³ that will give me some distraction.

I am extremely happy to see that my book is so highly thought of by such severe critics as Messrs Newton and Gardner; the latter I had never seen before, and still he expressed himself yesterday in his conference at Birmingham with immense enthusiasm regarding the book of which he writes the review in the *Quarterly*. Mr Newton's recension in the *Edinburgh Review* is hardly less enthusiastic. This touches me to tears and repays me hundredfold for all I have suffered.

On Saturday you will see A. S. Murray's recension in the *Academy*; it can impossibly be anything else than a libel, because that man can write nothing else than libels, he never speaks well of any one.

25 (49)

Athens 22^d Feby 1878

In warmly thanking you and Mrs Muller for your kind reception, and in heartily wishing you that these lines may find you both and your splendid children in good health & spirits, I have to point out to you a libel in *Frasers Magazine* for February written by W^m C. Borlase, President of the Royal Institution at Cornwall and entitled "A Visit to Dr Schliemann's Troy", which for the number of its inculpations and the vehemence of its attacks leaves far behind it any libel that has been written against me before. First of all I must tell that I have in the *Troade* a foul fiend of the name Frank Calvert, who has given the text as well to the libel of Mr Ga[l]lenga as to that of W^m Simpson in *Frasers Mag.* of July last and to the libel now before us. That Calvert has been libelling me for years; I answered him in the *Guardian* three times, showing by my last answer that he is of bad faith and a liar, and therefore his further libels were refused by the Press. But, never daunted, he now enrages the English travellers against me by his ill representation and explications of the ruins at Hissarlik and persuades them to attack me. There would no doubt have been an end to all this, had it not been for the Mycenian treasures, and for the Trojan treasure now exposed in the South Kensington Museum, because both these

⁵¹ Schliemann was in London from April to the end of July to prepare his *Mycenae* (1878). He was quite exhausted with the 'daily banquets' (June 19th), the last being in the Goldsmith's Hall and with the Greek colony.

⁵² Written at the end of the arrangements for the Troy Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum (November 20th—end of December).

⁵³ Cf. *Bw.* ii 193, fig.

items have imported a sort of frenetic jealousy to many of those who, like W^m Borlase, have all their lives excavated and found *no* treasures. I have answered in the Times of 16th Augst last W^m Simpson's libel and have crushed the man; but to answer the present one I would have to repeat again the whole story I told in August, and besides I would do too much honour to my libeller. I therefore beg you most warmly to do me the favour to send to the Times a short general answer to my libellers *without* referring specially to the article in Frasers [Magazine] and without even mentioning its author's name. His accusations are:

- 1) that the foul libel of Comnos in 1874, to which *you* kindly published my answer in the Academy, contained the sacred truth
- 2) that Fr Calvert first showed me Troy-Hissarlik. This he indeed maintained in the Levant Herald, but I proved in the Guardian his falsehood. Besides many eminent men have long ago maintained that theory; Maclaren already in 1822.
- 3) that it is a joke to suppose that the small ruins I laid free can be the same which I described; but all the engravings I gave were made by excellent photographers or painters, none by myself and I scrupulously described the things as I found them; my only fault was that I called the tower "Ilians Great Tower", the Gate "the Scaean gate" etc.
- 4) he accuses me of having destroyed precious basreliefs; an absurd falsehood.
- 5) he accuses me of false representation of facts, for he found the passage of the Gate blocked up by continuous sidewall of a line of miserable hovels drawn at right angles across his path. But I have repeatedly explained that immediately to the N. of the Gate is a mansion larger than the rest, into which the gatepassage leads, the ruins of this mansion are covered by a layer of stones and red ashes 8 or 9 feet thick, and on that layer stands another prehistoric house, which I left in situ, for I was afraid that my description of the ruins would otherwise not be believed. But now, in recommencing the excavations, and I hope to recommence them as soon as the certainty has passed that I shall be killed by the marauders, my very first care shall be to lay free the *whole* of the lower house, for those crazy accusations make me wild.
- 6) my libeller attacks me for not having stated that Nicolas, my cook and cashier assisted me in securing the Treasure. But which servant in the world will not boast to have shared in a famous act of his master? Nicolas never came into the trenches and never saw the treasure or the key of copper which was found with it. I swear on the bones of my father that the key was found together with the treasure, precisely so as I described it in my book. M^{rs} Schliemann of course was present and assisted me; she never left me.
- 7) my libeller further insinuates that the treasure (*for which I have had with the Turkish government a lawsuit which lasted 12 months and which caused my house and furniture to be sequestered and entailed me an expense of £4000 for hiding it away and £2000 indemnity to Turkey*) is a forgery, Nicolas only remembering that there was a large quantity of bronze articles, and further his description of the site of the treasure differing from mine.


I now warmly beg you to send at once an article to the Times in which you express your profound regret to see my libellers continue to attack and torment me, and the discoveries I made do not deserve such a foul treatment; that I obtained a new *firman* for Hissarlik and shall resume the excavations there as soon as there is any safety for my life; that then the uncovering of the house immediately above the gate shall be my first labour, and that all those who had expressed the opinion that the house *bars* the passage and is consequently later than the gate are friendly invited to assist at the work and convince themselves of the truth. Regarding the genuineness of the Trojan treasure it is a strange mode of pro-

ceeding to ask my cook who never assisted in the excavations and never saw the treasure; that the genuiness was confirmed by the two small treasures which had equally been found at a depth of 30 feet and had been stolen from me by two of my labourers; that these two small treasures had been confiscated on my labourers by the Turkish authorities and were now in the Imperial Museum in Constantinople, whose Director, Dr Philip Dethier, had published them, with engravings, in the *Revue Archéologique* for June 1876; the ornaments showing the most striking resemblance to those of the Trojan Treasure now in the South Kensington Museum. You might add that it is but natural that nearly all the Trojan houses were of sundried bricks, which formed also the building material of Niniveh, Babylon and all ancient cities of Egypt, but that the ruins we now see must be only the substructions of lofty wooden houses or towers, also that the gate & stone tower must have borne immense wooden towers, for otherwise no mortal man can explain the tremendous layer of red ashes and rubbish 6-9 feet thick left by one conflagration. Please add that I intend not to stop before I have not uncovered the whole of the city in 23 to 33 feet below the surface, which was destroyed by fire and to which the gate & tower belong; that the work cannot be carried on with a less number than 150 daily labourers, and many horsecars, that consequently the daily expense amounts to 16-20 £, and that a man who sacrifices thus his fortune from pure love for science and still brings the things he finds to London, not for sale, but merely by a hearty sympathy for the intelligent English public, that such a man stands above all libels.

Do *not* mention a word of Fraser, and do *not* name my libellers for that would be too much honour for them. I send you Dr Dethiers article on the Treasures stolen from me. For Heaven's sake do not refuse to write the article however short, and do not omit to lay stress on my invitation to all archaeologists to assist at the excavations. . . .

26 (54)

Athens: November 22, 1879

Our mutual friend Professor Sayce having informed me some days ago that you were ill and had a medical man to attend on you, Mrs Schliemann and I we have been much grieved and were overjoyed in receiving today your very kind note of the 12th inst. with a most valuable dissertation on the  for which I tender you my most hearty thanks. Your letter as well as the document you sent give me the gratifying proof that you are convalescent. For all Gods sake do not overwork yourself. It is a privilege of a superior genius to correct the proofsheets of eight separate works at once, but it must undermine your physical forces; so for the sake of your friends, for the sake of science take things more easy. I shall not recopy your dissertation, I shall put it into my manuscript as it is and you shall of course get the proofs, but I shall not send the work to the printer before having finished the whole manuscript, and most carefully perused it again and re-examined the numerous quotations from authors. Besides I have not got the engravings yet which I ought to fix in twice right places.

Many thanks for your kind permission to send you in future my letters for the Times. I shall write some as soon as I am a little freer.

With fervent wishes for your and your charming family's good health I remain
with kindest regards
Your constant admirer

27 (58)

Athens 9th Decbr 1880

On our return here today from Orchomenos,⁵⁴ where we excavated the so called Treasury

⁵⁴ November/December, 1880, March/April, 1881. 245 ff. (1886), 266 f.; *Troy* (1884) 303 f.
Cf. *Orchomenos* (1881); *Br.* 175 f.; *Bw.* ii 117 (1880),

of Minyas, we found here your kind lines of 26th ult, which called forth tears of joy both with M^{rs} S. and myself, for we are wont to consider you the summit of learning and the supreme judge in scientific matters. We therefore awaited your judgement as to our *Ilios* with trembling fear and are now overwhelmed with delight seeing that it is so favorable.

We both beg you to accept our hearty, our warmest thanks and remain with kindest regards to you and the great professor your amiable lady,

yours very truly

In the Treasury we found *no* gold but many sculptured blocks; a horsehoof of marble and similar objects seem to indicate that there has been a small sanctuary; this appears to be confirmed by layers of burnt matter 13 ft deep (probably the remains of sacrifices) with which the smoothed rocks is covered. From the 5th course (inclus.) of marble blocks, of which the beehivelike building is composed, upwards there is a bronze nail in *every* block. These nails once retained the bronze plates with which the whole interior was covered. It explains the χαλκοβατὲς δῶ of Jove mentioned by Homer, as well as the bronze palaces of Alcinoos & Menelaos. Our most important discovery was a door, 7ft high which leads by a passage abt 8 ft long to a thalamos, whose marble ceiling is all overcovered with basreliefs representing spirals interwoven with flowers; all around is a large border filled with very large rosettes each of 16 treble flowerleaves. But the ceiling, though consisting of very large slabs abt 1 ft 6 inch thick, has given way under ponderous weight of the superincumbent earth and the great cold & rain prevented me from excavating it, the more so as I suspect it to be very long. But in the beginning of April I hope to explore it. Painted pottery like in Mycenae, you find at Orchomenos only near the surface. In digging deeper and deeper you find nothing but monochrome black or yellow wheelmade and handmade pottery like the oldest in the Mycenae tombs. But I often found also fragments of *glazed* blue, green, yellow etc pottery perfectly identic with the present Turkish pottery, except of course in shape. Thus this glazed pottery existed already in a *very* remote antiquity.

An urgent affair calls me to London. If possible I go to see you, but, of course, only for one hour, for I know how precious your minutes are to science.

28 (59)

London 29 Dec 1880.

My dear Professor Müller

You will be pleased to hear that I am removing the Trojan Collection from the S.K. Museum to Berlin having made a donation of it to the German nation, under the condition that it should be put up in the new Ethnological Museum and that all the rooms in which it will be exhibited should bear my name. But this museum having only just been commenced it will be provisionally exhibited in the new Kunstgewerbe Museum. I have been over to Berlin to select the saloons for it and shall put it up myself in May next; now I send over the cases which are not to be unpacked until after my arrival in May. As soon as the German emperor has accepted the donation it will be made public and cause an immense enthusiasm all over Germany. The German people have libelled me for 7 years, but now they have come round and my *Ilios* is highly appreciated by them. Besides, in getting old, my attachment for my mother country *increases*; you see it in my autobiography, and I prefer to present the dearest jewels I have to my libellers because they are my countrymen, and, I feel sure that full justice will be done me though only after my death. . . .

29 (60)

London 31th Decbr 1880

From your very kind lines of yesterday I am overjoyed to see that you approve of my

decision to donate my Trojan Collection to the German Nation.⁵⁵ Nay, I feel certain the Germans are the only people who are able to appreciate the donation and with whom it will live for many centuries to come. They will make it public as soon as the German emperor has accepted the donation and I therefore beg you not to write about it to the Times until then. It will make a great noise in Germany, for it is unique and contains 20 times more gold than the Cesnola collection, besides being by a thousand years more ancient. Now the English people commence to perceive its great value, for Mr Newton, who 4 years ago refused to receive it on loan in the British Museum, requested me to name any price as he felt sure Mr Gladstone would persuade Parliament to buy it. I told him it had never been for sale, but that, had he shown the same interest for it 4 years ago, I might have donated it to the Br. Museum, as I was at that time overpowered by the libels of the German scholars. How strange it is that in England people always come too late!

With the exception of the triglyph with the beautiful metope, the bronzes and some large pottery all is now packed. But I have many thousands of potsherds of the different Trojan cities at Athens and shall but be too happy to send you an assortment of them for Prof^r Roll[e]ston's⁵⁶ Museum. I am exceedingly sorry to hear that he is suffering. He has certainly overworked himself. Unfortunately he cannot be quiet, and I am sure he works even at Florence as hard as at Oxford. I may send you the Assortment of fragments by Sayce, who promised me his visit at Athens in January.

Certainly you fought bravely for me in England when I was forsaken by every one else, and had it not been for the encouragement you gave me I should have morally succumbed. I have, therefore, always felt for you and your dear family a warm and sincere attachment, which could only increase by my admiration for your wonderful work. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to see you and your dear family be it only for one hour, but Mr Schliemann is ill and I must hurry to Brindisi to catch the steamer. . . . Many thanks for your kind promise to present in my name to the University the copy of Ilios which Mr Murray will send you.

Your portrait shall be suspended above my desk

I think there will be in all about 40 very large chests for Berlin. I shall put the things up in May if I live

30 (64).

Troy bei den Dardanellen, 26 März 1882.

[written in German, by Dörpfeld]

Hochverehrter Herr Professor Müller!

Aus Ihrem lieben Schreiben vom 10. dss. war es mir sehr schmerzlich zu vernehmen, daß unser Freund Sayce⁵⁷ die ihm, auf Ihre Veranlassung, mitgegebene kleine Sammlung trojanischer und anderer Alterthümer in seinem Namen der Universität Oxford übergeben, sogar ohne Ihrer dabei zu erwähnen. Es versteht sich daß ich nur auf Wunsch überhaupt darauf einging, Alterthümer nach Oxford zu schicken; ich that es aber mit lebhafter Freude, weil ich wußte, daß Sie Ihrem lieben kranken Freunde Rolleston eine angenehme Ueberraschung damit zu bereiten gedachten. Da ich Ihnen schrieb, daß ich wegen des Ausfuhrverbotes von Alterthümern aus Griechenland nicht im Stande sei, die Kiste direkt zu expediren, so schlugen Sie vor dieselbe mit Sayce, der damals in Aegypten war, und über Athen zurückzukehren gedachte, zu senden, und haben sowohl Sie ihm darüber geschrieben, als ich selbst. Leider aber bin ich nicht im Stande, ihn darüber zur Rede

⁵⁵ H. Schmidt, *loc. cit.*; *Br.* 75, 177 ff.; *Bw.* ii 117.

⁵⁶ George R. Rolleston (1829-81), Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at Oxford. Practising as a doctor in the British Civil Hospital in Smyrna, 1855-7, and for a while at Sebastopol and travelling

through Palestine (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Schliemann had intended to let him choose something for his collection, but he did not live to do so.

⁵⁷ Schliemann and his wife had waited for Sayce in vain at the steamer in Piraeus on February 3, 1881.

zu stellen, da er mir vor einem Monat nach Athen schrieb, daß er sehr leidend von Aegypten zurückgekommen sei und ihm sein Arzt befohlen hätte, England ganz zu verlassen und fortan in Aegypten zu wohnen. In Folge dessen habe ich ihm den Vorschlag gemacht, gegen ein sehr hohes Honorar, vom 1. April bis zum 1. August hier bei mir in Troja zuzubringen; denn ich glaube bestimmt, daß die hiesige feuchte Hitze ebenso segensreich auf ihn wirken würde als das Klima Aegyptens. Ich habe aber bis jetzt noch keine Antwort von ihm. Ich halte ihn für einen grundehrlichen Mann und glaube bestimmt, er hat es nur vergessen, daß Sie der Urheber der Sendung waren. Wenn Ihr würdiger Freund Rolleston am Leben geblieben wäre, so wäre es denn auch natürlich nicht so gekommen.

Ich wiederhole, die Sache ist mir sehr peinlich. Ich danke Ihnen recht sehr für die freundlichen Wünsche fürs Gelingen meiner hiesigen Arbeiten, mit denen ich im großartigen Maaßstabe beschäftigt bin. Ich halte bis 164 Arbeiter und mehrere Pferdekarren, bin jetzt noch mit der Erforschung des Theaters beschäftigt, werde aber, sobald ich damit fertig bin, 250 Schachte und Gräben in der unteren Stadt abteufen, um mich mit deren unterirdischen Topographie vertraut zu machen. Darauf auch alle noch übrigen Heldengräber der Troas untersuchen und viele andere wichtige Punkte dieser hochwichtigen Gegend erforschen, welches mir jetzt kraft meines neuen Fermans möglich ist.

Leider ist es mir unmöglich, August und September in Athen zuzubringen, da ich nach Beendigung der hiesigen Arbeiten nothgedrungen über Hals und Kopf mit meiner Familie nach Paris eilen muß, um dort die französische Ausgabe meines an Firmin, Didot & Co. verkauften Werkes "Ilios" fertig zu bringen, die noch weit zurück ist, jedenfalls aber Anfang Dezember erscheinen muß. . . .

[in his own writing]

I am forced to dictate my letter in German or french as none of my architects understands English, whilst I myself cannot write in the evening my eyes being inflamed by the pulverem troianum

31 (65).

Troy near the Dardanelles 24th May 1882

I hasten to inform you that by a letter of the 8th inst Prof^r Sayce writes me: "The Council to day, by a special vote, has declared its intention of proposing that an Honorary Degree shall be conferred upon you, if you can come to take it. The honorary degrees this year will be conferred on June 14th. The rule is not to decree the granting of Honorary Degrees until (at the earliest) a fortnight before the date of the Encaenia when they are conferred; but as you are so far away and engaged in the work of excavating, your Degree has been thus brought forward early in the Term in order that you may be able, if possible, to come and accept it. I represented that it took some time both for a letter to reach you & for you to come to England, and also that with the work of excavating going on it would be necessary for you to have time to make preparations before leaving Troy. If you cannot come by the 14th June to receive the Degree, there have been precedents for postponing taking the Honorary Degree, when voted, until the Encaenia⁵⁸ of the following year."

As Sayce's letter has been 16 days on the road & as he writes that he leaves on the 30 May for Asia, there is no possibility for me to make him receive my answer. I therefore beg you will kindly settle it with the Council that, instead of this 14th June, I have to come to Oxford on that date next year to receive my Degree. Pray, explain to them that I am working here with 150 men and the two most eminent German architects and that until 1st August, I cannot leave for an hour. Tell them that we have discovered in the great burnt *stratum* two perfectly different cities, to the lower of which served as foundations all those mighty housewalls which I had hitherto, by mistake attributed to the 2^d city.

⁵⁸ 'The annual commemoration of founders and benefactors at Oxford (1651).'

This 1st burnt city had a *lower* city and Hissarlik was merely its acropolis. This is proved by the walls and the pottery, as well as by two vast brick-buildings, one of which 43 ft broad and 100 ft long, the other 23 ft broad & less than 100 ft long, which appears to be temples, for a *separate* gateway, flanked by enormous towers, leads up to them. There are besides only 3 or 4 other large buildings, apparently dwellinghouses, in the acropolis and not a single small building. Very imposing are the great city walls, whose substructions of large blocks are 33 ft high and were superseded by great brick walls. It appears that all the treasures I found in former years belonged to this first burnt city. In the temples I find copper nails of very peculiar form weighing from 1000 to 1190 grammes, and is here every thing else in this proportion. The 2^d burnt city (the 3^d city from the rock), which I hitherto held to be Troy, has but *very small* houses and *no lower* city.

Athens is a *furnace* in August and September; pray, come in any other month with your whole family and make my house your own; your arrival will at all times be hailed with joyful enthusiasm.

Tell me when you come. Could you not come to Troy now?

32 (66)

Athens: December 7th 1882

[in another hand]

I received your dissertation on the Treasures found on the Oxus⁵⁹ and at Mykenae, and hailed it with great joy, because it proved to me that you have not forgotten me; unfortunately I cannot endorse your theory, nor will it be endorsed by any one of the thousands of archaeologists who have examined the Mycenae Treasures, all of whom unanimously attribute them to the 12th–15th Century B.C. It is not the gold alone by which you can judge but it is the "ensemble" of the burial, and particularly the enormous quantities of pottery contained in the tombs. We are perfectly cognizant of the terracottas in use at the time of the Battle of Plataea 479 B.C. It is a black glazed Hellenic pottery; we have a splendid specimen of it in the fragment with the archaic inscription, given on page 115 in my "Mycenae"; of this inscription we have the certainty that it belongs to the 6th century B.C. But still it is at least by 350 or 400 years later than the pottery with geometrical pottery and rude representations of animals, which latter was before my excavations in Mycenae always considered as the most ancient in Greece. This ancient pottery you find in Mycenae everywhere outside the tombs and even in the Treasury, but not a trace of it was found amongst the enormous masses of pottery in the Royal Tombs, all of which consisted exclusively of pottery so ancient as had never before been found in Greece, and of which N^o 232, 233 on page 160 give you fair specimens. Now I ask you: whether it is possible to think that, if the burials had taken place in the year 479 B.C., people should have opened recesses a thousand years older to ornament the tombs with that much ancient pottery? I wish you and your dear family a happy Christmas and a most happy new year may it be to all of you a year of joy and continued prosperity.

33 (67)

Athens 11th Novbr 1883

In consequence of your postcard, which I found here on our return, I at once wrote to the Grand Hôtel du Louvre, and recd. to day your welcome letter of 18th ult. I return you and your amiable lady a thousand thanks for your kind sympathy with my ill health. "*Troja*", of which Murray has sent you on my acc^t a copy, and which I brought out simultaneously in English and in German, was too much for me, the more so as I had to work

⁵⁹ Müller was quite wrong in connecting the Oxus find of 1877 (gold coins, jewellery, etc., of the sixth to second centuries B.C.) with Mycenae, and

Schliemann's answer is understandable. In a way Müller was anticipating F. C. Penrose's mis-dating of Tiryns; cf. *Bw.* ii 243 *et saepe*.



up at the same time, for Firmin-Didot & Co of Paris, the French edition of *Ilios*. In vain did I seek some rest in the little village of Ankershagen in Mecklenburg, in the watering place of Wildungen, on the Isle of Wight etc, every where I was assailed from three sides by proofs, every where I had to work 12 hours daily, and so I am overworked for the present, and, as you rightly say, I require rest. A genius of a superior order, like yourself, can work out at the same time 8 different books, whilst a common mortal like myself is killed by less than half that number. But today I am "à jour" with the French edition, and can now begin to read interesting works and take some rest. I shall even do small work in the neighbourhood, such as Libadeia (the Trophonion), Marathon etc, but large excavations are out of the question now. But rest on my oars for the rest of my life is impossible, unless my present state of health does not improve. But if I recover my health I shall do Crete, and should I fail to come to an arrangement with the Cretan parliament, I may make Egypt or Bactria my field of operations. The latter has tormented Mr S.'s and my mind for some time, for we think *great* services could be rendered there to science. . . .

I have read with amazement the programme of the Sacred Books edited by you. What a giant of knowledge you are to do such work!

I shall be delighted to learn that you have been pleased with my "Troja". . . .

34 (69) in the village Makryteichi on the site of *Κνωσός* in Crete 22 May 1886

My collaborator, Dr Dörpfeld, and I we have examined most carefully the site of Knossos,⁶⁰ which is marked by potsherds and ruins of the Roman time. Nothing is visible above ground, which might be referred to the so called heroic age,—not even a fragment of terracotta—except on a hillock, almost of the size of the Pergamos of Troy, which is situated in the middle of the town and appears to us to be altogether artificial. Two large wellwrought blocks of hard limestone, which were peeping out from the ground and looked like tombs, induced Mr Minos Kalokairinos of Heracleion to dig here 6 years ago [1878] five holes, in which came to light an outerwall and parts of walls with antae of a vast edifice *similar* to the prehistoric palace of Tiryns, and apparently of the same age, for the pottery found in it is perfectly identical with that found in Tiryns and in the royal sepulchres at Mycenae. These finds are the more curious as the holes were only dug 2 *mètres* deep. If such things turn up so close to the surface, it is to be expected that archaeological wonders will be found in the lower strata of *débris*. I have therefore resolved to excavate this hillock systematically and to put off the Acropolis of Mycenae until *Κνωσός* is done. Dr Dörpfeld will serve me in both works as architect. As I work from pure love for science and give up the finds to the Museum at Heracleion, I have not the slightest difficulty to get the permission to excavate at *Κνωσός* or wherever I like in Crete. On the contrary, my arrival in Crete produced a storm of enthusiasm in the better classes of the Greek population, and as soon as the Cretan parliament meets (say at the end of July) a law will be made for the expropriation of lands for scientific explorations, so that the hillock in Knossos may be had at a low price, for otherwise the proprietors think their lands are gold mines and ask monstrous prices. So f.i. a miller on the site of Gortyn asked me £2000 for a piece of ground which is not larger than your house.

Enclosed two sign which we copied from a large block in a corridor brought to light in one of the holes dug by Minos Kalokairinos:  . By its splendid situation close to the Asiatic coast, its delicious climate and its exuberant fertility, Crete must have been coveted from the first by the peoples of the coastlands; besides the most ancient myths refer to Crete, and especially to *Κνωσός*, I should therefore not at all wonder if I

⁶⁰ Müller's answer in *Bw.* ii no. 232. Cf. Haussollier in *BCH* 1880, 124 ff.; E. Fabricius in *AM* 1888, 135.

found here on the virgin soil the remnants of a civilization, in comparison to which even the Trojan war is an event of yesterday.

I hope to begin the work here in November, but shall have to import laborers, for the olive-crop promises to be the largest on record and bids fair to occupy all hands.

35 (70)

Athens 25th May 1886

I forgot whether I wrote you from *Kνωσσός*, that Minos Kalokairinos found in one of the 5 holes dug by him, a corridor with 12 large *πίθοι*, decorated with the ornamentation in relief of the Trojan *πίθοι*, all of them contained lentils or very small beans.

The palace was destroyed by fire, for the lower part of the *πίθοι*, which was sunk in the ground, shows no trace of fire, whereas the upper part has been blackened by the intense heat to which it has been exposed.

Pray, publish *nothing* of my intention to excavate at *Kνωσσός*, for my libeller, Sti[l]lman,⁶¹ the Times' correspondent, has in vain solicited the permission to do so, and I am afraid he might make me *chicanes* at Constantinople if he hears of my intention and sure prospect to get the permission.

E. MEYER.

Berlin.

⁶¹ In 1881 Stillman, United States Consul in Canca, thought that Kalokairinos' excavations had revealed the Labyrinth; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, vi 298 f.

A NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE Ia. A letter of Schliemann's. Paris, October 7, 1879. Letter-book, p. 53. Showing the Swastika and Sauvastika, and, as Schliemann thought, a fire-altar and Zeus' thunderbolt.

PLATE Ib. Letter from Schliemann to Müller from Mycenae, November 21, 1876 (Letter-book no. 30, enclosure to letter no. 31). 'I beg leave to send you a bad drawing of a *gold cup* and a *gold diadem*, as well as of a *bronze lance* found to day in the tomb marked by the basrelief of the 2 serpents.' Cf. *Myk.-Tgb.*, p. 59 right, of November 20, 1876, but probably written on the night of the 21st. It shows the gold cup (cf. *Myk.* 335, fig. 453), lance (*ibid.*, 60 left) and diadem (*ibid.*, 335). The diadem and lance seem to have been drawn by Schliemann himself, and this is probably also true of the cup.

PLATE IIa. 'The second relief-stela.' Above, three rows of spirals; below, warrior on a chariot. *Mykenae-Tagebuch*, p. 37 right, August 26, 1876. Cf. *Myk.* 91, fig. 140.

PLATE IIb. 'The third relief-stela.' Above, chariot; below, two patterns of three double-spirals. *Myk.-Tgb.*, p. 42 right, September 8, 1876. Cf. *Myk.* 95, fig. 141.

PLATE IIIa. 'The fourth stela with two snakes.' *Myk.-Tgb.*, p. 43 right, September 12, 1876. Cf. *Myk.* 103, fig. 142.

PLATE IIIb. Max Müller in his study in Oxford. Reproduced by the kindness of Lady Wanda M. Muller.

THE SONG OF THYRSIS

How and why did Daphnis meet his end?¹ The story of Daphnis was in origin Sicilian and its most popular and consistent form goes back at least to the Sicilian writers, Timaeus² and Stesichorus (Aelian, *Vera Hist.* 10.18). It occurs also in Diodorus Siculus (4.84) and the scholia on Vergil (Servius, ad *Ecl.* 5.20, 8.68; Philarg. ad *Ecl.* 5.20). According to this version Daphnis, who was the son of a Nymph and had been exposed under a laurel bush from which he took his name, was a herdsman. He was loved by a Nymph³ and plighted his troth to her, promising γυναικὶ μὴ πλησιάζειν. He was, however, seduced by a beautiful princess and, as a punishment, was blinded and, in some accounts, fell to his death from a cliff.

Opinion has long been divided whether in his treatment of Daphnis Theocritus follows the popular version or elaborated an original story of his own (or, it may be, followed a version otherwise unknown to us). We know of other such original versions, by Hermesianax⁴ and Sositheus⁵ so that a striking departure from the old tradition would not be unprecedented. His casual allusions to Daphnis are all ambiguous or uninformative (5.20, 81; *Epigr.* 2, 3, 5) while *Idyll* 8 must be discounted since it is certainly not from his pen. We are left, therefore, with *Idyll* 7.73-5 and *Idyll* 1.64-142. Thyrsis' song is, however, far from being a straightforward narrative. It is throughout allusive, seeming to assume from the listener familiarity with the story. The salient points of it may be summarised: Daphnis is languishing with love (66, 78). The gods visit him. Hermes comes first from a hill, which is a feature of the landscape (77, πρᾶτιστος ἀπ' ὤρεος), and asks with whom Daphnis is in love. He receives no reply. Then Priapus, who also is unanswered, teases Daphnis with his love and reveals that the maiden wanders the countryside looking for him.⁶ Finally Aphrodite comes and Daphnis at last breaks out into a tirade against the miseries brought on mankind by Love. He ends by taking leave of his surroundings and, despite an attempt by Aphrodite to revive him, dies.

If Theocritus is not following the Sicilian version, the field is thrown open for a wide range of reconstructions.⁷ Welcker,⁸ for instance, held that Daphnis was enthralled by a Nymph (Nais) but jilted her; Nais pursued him and Aphrodite aided her by trying to revive his love; Daphnis however boasted that he would never yield to love and in anger and revenge Aphrodite made him the victim of a hopeless passion for a maiden (Xenea; cf. 7.73), from which he languished. K. F. Hermann⁹ produced a modified account whereby Daphnis, having plighted his troth to a Nymph (Nais) and agreed not to have intercourse with any other woman, excited the anger of Aphrodite by his self-control: she inspired a hopeless passion for a strange maiden (ξενέας) from which he languished. Hermann's reconstruction was not generally followed but did effectively influence subsequent interpretations by the stress which he laid on Daphnis' self-control. That aspect

¹ I am deeply indebted to Professor P. H. Lloyd-Jones and Mr J. P. Barron who read an early draft of this note and made most valuable suggestions.

² *FGH* 566 A 83. Jacoby holds that Theocritus' version is different throughout.

³ Her name is variously given: Echenais (Timaeus), Thalia (Sositheus), Nomia (Servius, ad *Ecl.* 8.68) or Lyca (Philargyrius). There is equal diversity over the name of the princess.

⁴ *Σ* Theocr. 8.53 d.

⁵ Servius, ad *Ecl.* 8.68.

⁶ 85 ζᾶρεισ'. There should be no need to defend the reading.

⁷ Summaries of the older discussions in Stoll, Roscher, s.v. 'Daphnis' (1); Knaack, *RE* s.v. 'Daphnis' (1).

⁸ *Jahrb. f. Philol.* iii (1829), 284 ff. = *Kl. Schriften* 1. 188-204; a somewhat similar view is held by Jacobi, *Handwörterbuch d. Gr. u. Röm. Mythol.*

⁹ *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen* (1845), 1072 ff.

was taken up by G. A. Gebauer¹⁰ who observed that Theocritus only refers to one woman (82 ἀ δέ τῃ κώρᾳ) whereas previous interpretations had assumed two, a nymph and a maiden. He, therefore, discarded any connexion with the traditional story and propounded a radically new version. Daphnis was a second Hippolytus: he had vowed to resist love. Aphrodite was affronted and angered by such audacious arrogance and inspired in him an overpowering passion. Rather than gratify it and thereby break his vow, Daphnis chose to languish and die. This reconstruction has been widely accepted, e.g. by Reitzenstein,¹¹ Helm¹² and Legrand,¹³ and is reproduced in the commentaries (Fritzsche-Hiller, Cholmeley, Gow).

I do not think that it can be right. It depends upon two mistranslations and one unverified assumption. Even in the interpretations of Welcker and Hermann Aphrodite is alleged to be angry at Daphnis' attitude. His death, whatever form it took, is argued to have been directly caused by the irate goddess, but this fit of pique has no other warrant in the text than line 96 (λάβρη μὲν γελάουσα βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχοισα) where Zuntz has recently demonstrated¹⁴ that the conflicting emotions were not 'delight' and 'anger' but 'delight' and 'sorrow'. Aphrodite is secretly amused at the sight of the love-lorn Daphnis but pretends to be sorry or distressed. The picture recalls Sappho, fr. 1.13-15

σὺ δ', ὦ μάκαιρα,
μειδιαίσεις' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ
ἦρε' ὅττι δηῦτε πέπονθα.

Page¹⁵ comments: 'Aphrodite smiles at Sappho's anguish . . . for a most obvious reason: because she is amused. A little impatient, but tolerant, as a mother with a troublesome child.' It always affords Aphrodite amusement when mortals become involved in love-affairs. Thus, there is no good reason for supposing that Aphrodite is angry as she was angry with Hippolytus for refusing to recognise her power or that Daphnis has elected to hold himself aloof from all love-affairs and is punished for stiff-necked self-abnegation. Nothing in the song makes Aphrodite responsible for Daphnis' death.

The second mistranslation affects the import of Priapus' remarks. ἀ δύσερός τις ἄγαν καὶ ἀμήχανος ἐσσί (85) is translated by Gow 'ah, truly, cursed in love and helpless art thou', and is understood to mean that Daphnis is being mocked as too gauche, too chaste or too shy to confess his love. On the current interpretation of the song Daphnis having vowed himself to chastity is afflicted with a passion for a girl but steadfastly declines to yield to it. His noble self-abnegation is, on this view, ridiculed by Priapus who maintains that it is not because Daphnis is sworn to chastity that he holds back but because he is backward, bad at loving. This does not seem an attested meaning of δύσερος. The word is rare.¹⁶ In its earliest occurrences it means 'loving that which one ought not to love'. So Euripides, *Hipp.* 193-4

τοῦ δ' ὅτι τοῦτο στίλβει κατὰ γῆν
δυσέρωτες δὴ φαινόμεθ' ὄντες,

Thucydides 6.13.2 δυσέρωτας εἶναι τῶν ἀπιόντων, Xenophon, *Oec.* 12.13 οἱ τῶν ἀφροδισίων δυσέρωτες, Lysias 4.8 ἀλλ' οὗτος ἐναντίως τοῖς ἄλλοις δύσερός ἐστι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω βούλεται and Callimachus, *Epigr.* 41.6 λιθόλευστος κείνη καὶ δύσερος.

In all these cases there is also some suggestion that the love is pathological or unbalanced. That sense is developed in the Hellenistic period so that δύσερος is standard in the Anthology

¹⁰ *De Poetarum Graecorum Bucolicorum inprimis Theocriti carminibus in Eclogis a Vergilio adumbratis* (Diss. Leipzig, 1856), 74-83.

¹¹ *Epigram u. Skolion*, 144 ff.

¹² *Philologus* lviii (1899), 111-20.

¹³ *Étude sur Théocrite*, 144 ff.

¹⁴ *CQ* x (1960), 37-40.

¹⁵ *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 15.

¹⁶ It is not found, for instance, in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Bacchylides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Isaeus, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle or Menander.

for someone who is obsessed with sex, who is 'in a bad way'. So frequently in Meleager (*AP* 12.23, 52, 79, 81, 125, 137) and Strato (e.g., *AP* 12.13 ἡτρουὺς εὐρόν ποτ' ἐγὼ λείους δυσέρωτας).¹⁷ Later writers use the word loosely to denote anyone who is unbalanced by love (e.g., Plutarch, *Cicero* 20 πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὥσπερ οἱ δυσέρωντες ἀφορῶν; Dion 16; Lucian, *Tim.* 26). It will be seen that throughout its history there is a consistent thread of meaning: the love is always in some way improper or abnormal. Nowhere is there any hint of the sense 'bad at loving'. The point, therefore, must be that Daphnis is in love with someone whom he has no business to love and the only situation which would seem to satisfy these conditions is if he is already engaged to someone else and is no longer a free agent. Priapus' obscene allusion to goatherds and goats is relevant because of their proverbial promiscuity (Suidas, s.v. *Λύδος*; Antipater, *AP* 11.327). Daphnis, he jests, wants (like a goat) to get at the girls but cannot because he has plighted his troth to a nymph. He is *δύσερος* (so also at 6.7). Presumably the girl that he has improperly fallen in love with is the *κῶρα* of line 82. Since *κῶρα* is used by Theocritus indiscriminately of nymphs (11.25, 30; cf. 17.36) and mortal maidens, the choice of word cannot be used to determine the status of the girl but her apparent ignorance of Daphnis' whereabouts is a strong pointer that she is mortal. Nymphs might be expected to know. To that extent it is reasonable to detect at least one of the traditional features of the Daphnis story in the song of Thyrsis. Daphnis is in love with a mortal maiden, with whom he should have had no dealings because he was engaged by a previous troth.

The situation disclosed by appreciating the meaning of lines 85 and 96 would fit either of two states of affairs. Either Daphnis, engaged to a nymph but languishing with love for a maiden which he resists, voluntarily finds a way out in suicide. This in substance was Hermann's reconstruction. Alternatively, the data will square with the Sicilian story. Daphnis, although bound by his oath to the nymph, has fallen for the maiden and been seduced by her. Now he is dying: his death is not suicide but an 'accident' contrived by the vengeance of the nymph. To decide between these two interpretations we should look at the unverified assumption made by Welcker and others that Daphnis simply died by pining away. Nowhere is it stated that Daphnis actually did die of love. *τάκεσθαι*, used twice (66, 82), is capable of a wide range of meaning, from 'to be consumed with love for, to love passionately' to 'to fade, pine away', but there seems to be no case where the process denoted by *τάκεσθαι* does actually result in death without the intervention of some other agency. Even Anacreon who is addressed *Σμερδίη ὦ ἐπὶ Θρηκὶ τακείς καὶ ἐπ' ἔσχατον ὁστεύν* (Dioscurides, *AP* 7.31) lived to meet a violent end. *τάκεσθαι* would never be used in a coroner's verdict as the efficient cause of my death even if my obituaries stated that I died of unrequited love. If this is right then there is a strong presumption that Daphnis did not die simply of a broken heart but that there was a more direct and efficient agency which actually compassed his end. In other words if death was self-inflicted Daphnis performed some action other than *τάκεσθαι* to bring it about. If, on the other hand, death was engineered by a person or persons unknown (e.g., the nymph), that person or persons must have done something to Daphnis to kill him. What in either case that action was depends on how line 140 is taken.

Theocritus, it must be admitted, has veiled the whole story in a cloak of allusive obscurity, nowhere more so than when he describes Daphnis' last moments—*ἔβα ρόον · ἔκλυσε δῖνα*. Two main lines of exposition of these words have held the field. The school of thought which believes Daphnis to have faded away takes the words as no more than a poetical periphrasis for 'died': *ρόον*, scil. *Ἀχέροντος*. The interpretation has a pedigree which goes back to ancient commentators (*τούτεστιν ἀπέθανε καὶ [διὰ] τὸν Ἀχέροντα διήλθε · ἦλθεν*

¹⁷ It does not seem possible to determine the exact force of the word in *Lyr. Adesp.* 7. 16 (*Coll. Alex.*, ed. Powell, 185) where bees are described as *πηλουργοὶ δυσέρωτες*. The treatment of the word by LSJ is hardly adequate.

εἰς τὸν Ἀχέροντα ἦγον ἀπέθανε) and is shared, e.g., by Welcker, Briggs, Fritzsche, Meineke, Prescott,¹⁸ Wilamowitz,¹⁹ Cholmeley and Gow. Quite apart from the unverified assumption as to the implications of *τάκεσθαι*, the interpretation is vulnerable to damaging objections. There is no parallel in such periphrases for the ellipse of the name of the river of Hades.²⁰ Besides, the dead passed over the river and were not submerged in it. Cumulatively the objections amount to demonstrating that Daphnis' death was caused by some other agency than mere unrequited love. If that solution fails, the stream must be a real and not an infernal stream. A second approach is to translate *ἔβα ῥόον* as 'he passed away into a stream', i.e., 'he turned into a flood' but here the accusative construction is unendurable.²¹

The words *ἔβα ῥόον* have defied elucidation, yet they should mean no more than 'he went to the river'; that is, Daphnis died by drowning—literally. This simple explanation was, to my knowledge, first proposed by Gebauer who loosely translated the Greek as *se praecipitavit in fluctus*. In reviving his explanation, I would add two new considerations which may strengthen the case. Editors are taken aback by the bare *ῥόον*, but *ῥόον* at the close of the song recalls *ποταμοῖο μέγαν ῥόον* . . . Ἀνάπῳ at its beginning (68). It is a familiar habit of Hellenistic as well as Attic poets to round off a section by an echo of its opening.²² The stream must be a real stream, the stream of Anapus which Thyrsis complains that the nymphs had deserted when Daphnis was dying. This leads to the second point. The song opens with a complaint which takes the nymphs to task for their absence. Yet why ask the nymphs why they had abandoned their post and were absent when Daphnis died unless to insinuate that if they had been present they could have saved Daphnis? And the only death which water-nymphs can prevent is death by drowning (*cf.* 13.43 ff.).

It seems to me, therefore, inescapable that Daphnis did not die of languishing but of drowning in the waters of the river Anapus.²³ A singularly appropriate death—if he was engaged to a nymph. It remains to determine whether Theocritus regarded his death as voluntary (suicide) or inflicted by someone else. We do not hear of suicide from any other source but this is not in itself any objection. It would be a nice twist to an old story. But there are two facts, one negative and one positive, which taken together may indicate that Theocritus is being tortuous but not original. If Daphnis' death was voluntary, it is hard to see why Aphrodite should have been unable to prevent it (139), whereas she could not effectively have interfered with a merited punishment for infidelity. On the positive side, there seems to have been one line of the traditional, Sicilian story which in addition to the regular punishment of blinding made Daphnis fall to his death off a cliff²⁴ (*Σ* Theocr. 8.93 (K) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φασὶ τυφλωθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλώμενον κατακρημνισθῆναι). The same point is amplified in the twenty-second epigram of Callimachus where Daphnis is assumed to fall from a cliff into the water:

Ἀστακίδην τὸν Κρήτα τὸν αἰπόλον ἤρπασε Νύμφη
ἐξ ὄρεος καὶ νῦν ἱερὸς Ἀστακίδης ·
οὐκέτι Δικταίησιν ὑπὸ δρυσίν, οὐκέτι Δάφνιν
ποιμένες, Ἀστακίδην δ' αἰὲν αἰεσόμεθα.

¹⁸ *Class. Phil.* iv (1909), 321; *cf.* *Harvard Studies* x (1899), 121–40; *CR* xvii (1903), 107–11.

¹⁹ *Rede u. Vorträge* (1913), 298 ff.

²⁰ It could, of course, be replaced by conjecture; e.g. *χαῖδα φθισίμβροτος ἔκλυσε δίνα* (C. P. Jones).

The only other conjecture worth noting is Madvig's *ἔβα ῥόον ἔκλυσε δίνα* (*Adv. Crit.* 1. 293).

²¹ So Hermann; Schwartz, *Nachr. Gött. Gesell.*, 1904, 285 ff. Prescott, in his last discussion of the problem (*CQ* vii (1913), 176 ff.), met the objection to the acc. *ῥόον* by modifying Hermann's translation to the extent of taking *ῥόον* as an acc. of motion 'he

disappeared into the waters of the water-sprite', his nymph-mistress, and a spring resulted.

²² For this device in Theocritus see Gow, *CR* lvi (1942), 111; in Aeschylus, Fraenkel on *Agamemnon* 1196.

²³ So Milton, of course, took the passage, as the opening lines of Lycidas show.

²⁴ Servius, ad *Ecl.* 8.68 *luminibus orbatus est deinde in lapidem versus*: a good example of a Servian scholion derived from a commentary on Theocritus with all the attendant hazards of mistranslation; see Fraenkel, *JRS* xxxix (1949), 154.

The nymph to whom Daphnis had been unfaithful got her revenge when he plunged from the mountain into the water. She was claiming back her own. Theocritus does not explicitly say a word about infidelity, blindness or revenge but there is a mountain (77; cf. 69), and there is a river (68, 140) and there is a mortal maiden (82) with whom Daphnis should not be in love. Added together they are clues—no doubt intentionally difficult clues—to lead his well-read and educated readers to fill in the gaps for themselves and to admire his ingenuity of allusion. His Sicilian upbringing must have introduced him to the Sicilian story and cryptic reference to a familiar tale is, *a priori*, more to be expected than radical innovation. When Theocritus recalls the story in *Idyll* 7.73–5 it is these same three clues only, the maiden, the mountain and the river, which he lists

ὥς ποκα τᾷς Ξενέας ἠράσσατο Δάφνις ὁ βούτας
 χῶς ὄρος ἀμφεπονείτο καὶ ὥς δρύες αὐτὸν ἐθρήνεον
 'Ιμέρα²⁵ αἶτε φύοντι παρ' ὄχθαισιν ποταμοῖο.

R. M. OGILVIE.

Errachd.

²⁵ For the change of locality from Syracuse to Himera see Wilamowitz, *Sapph. u. Simon.* 240.

THE DATE OF THE FALL OF ITHOME

THE problem of the date of the surrender of the Messenians blockaded by the Spartans at Ithome has been subjected to considerable discussion in recent years.¹ From this discussion two main attitudes have emerged:

(a) The majority hold the view that the surrender took place round about 460, and that the phrase 'δεκάτω ἔτει' in Thucydides' account (i 103.1) requires emendation, though they are not agreed on what the text should be.²

(b) A minority view, put forward by Scharf, and independently and in greater detail by Hammond, agrees in putting the surrender early, round about 460, but keeps 'δεκάτω' in the text of Thucydides, and supposes that his calculation was made not from the revolt that followed hard upon the famous earthquake (which is the usual view), but from an alleged earlier rising dated to 469/8. In a rather different form this view is also held by Sealey.

Little attention, however, has been paid to what may be called the traditional or pre-Krüger theory, that Thucydides did indeed write 'δεκάτω ἔτει' in his text, that he was counting from the revolt that followed the earthquake, and that in consequence his date for the end of the revolt was 456/5, although he mentioned it in i 103 out of due chronological order.³ It is the main purpose of this paper to put forward some arguments in defence of this traditional view, and this will be attempted in section III. But it is necessary first to discuss certain aspects of the currently popular theories: in section I the majority view will be examined with special reference to what is certainly the most detailed and persuasive statement of it, that in *ATL*, and in section II some consideration will be given to the Scharf-Hammond theory.

I

There are three points in the *ATL* discussion which I propose to examine in detail:

- (A) The argument from the Tanagra campaign (p. 165).
- (B) The evidence of [Xenophon] *Ath. Pol.* iii 11 (pp. 167-8).
- (C) The possible chronological overlap in Thucydides i 108-9 (pp. 168-73).

(A) The Tanagra campaign has often been used in the past as an argument for the earlier date for the end of the blockade on the grounds that the Spartan expedition to central Greece that ended at Tanagra would have been impossible if the blockade of Ithome

¹ Notably by A. W. Gomme (*Commentary on Thucydides* i 401-11); G. Klaffenbach ('Das Jahr der Kapitulation von Ithome' in *Historia* i 231-5); Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor (*The Athenian Tribute Lists* iii 162-73); S. Accame (in *Riv. d. Fil.* 30 (1952) 113-19); D. M. Lewis ('Ithome Again' in *Historia* ii 412-18); J. Scharf ('Noch einmal Ithome' in *Historia* iii 153-62); N. G. L. Hammond ('Studies in Greek Chronology of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.' in *Historia* iv; cf. especially sec. I, 371-81); and R. Sealey ('The Great Earthquake in Lacedaemon' in *Historia* vi 368-71). In this paper the authors of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* will be referred

to collectively as *ATL*, and reference to their discussion in volume iii will be by page only. Similarly reference to the other discussions mentioned in this note will be by author's name and page only.

² Klaffenbach and *ATL* accept Krüger's emendation 'τεράτῳ ἔ.' (so also H. Bengtson in his *Griechische Geschichte* 183 n. 4), but Gomme prefers 'ἔκτῳ ἔ.', and Lewis 'πέμπτῳ ἔ.'. The MSS. are unanimous in reading 'δεκάτῳ'.

³ Of the writers mentioned in n. 1 above only Accame is prepared to accept the traditional view to any extent. F. Jacoby is also sympathetic (*FGH. Hist.* III b Suppl. vol. ii 366-8).

had still been in progress. This argument is based on an erroneous view of the size and purpose of the original expeditionary force, and if my reconstruction⁴ of the Tanagra campaign is correct, the argument loses its force. *ATL* has not attempted to revive this view, but instead stresses the naval side of the campaign, and argues that the attempt made by the Athenians to prevent the Spartan expeditionary force from returning to the Peloponnese by sea would have been impossible if the Athenians had not already had possession of Naupaktos for use as a naval base.

This is a new and ingenious argument, but it loses most of its value through being based on two implicit and unproved assumptions:

(i) That the Spartan commanders were capable of making a just and exact appreciation of the strategic effect of the presence of an Athenian fleet in the Corinthian Gulf; and

(ii) That at this date the Spartans had control of the Achaean cities on the south coast of the Gulf.

As far as (i) is concerned, it would be rash to suppose that Nikomedes and his colleagues knew exactly what a squadron of triremes could or could not do, and it is quite possible that the mere presence of an Athenian squadron in the Gulf of Corinth, wherever its base was, would have been enough to deter them from returning to the Peloponnese by sea. Assumption (ii), however, is a more serious affair, as the whole strategic position in the Gulf, as presented in *ATL*, depends on its correctness. Yet its validity also is very dubious, since the little information we have about the Achaean cities in the fifth century suggests that they were not under Spartan control at the time of the Tanagra campaign. In 480/79 the Achaeans had taken no part in the defence of Greece; in the autumn of 454 they made an alliance with Athens,⁵ but this alliance was broken off by the terms of the Thirty Years' Peace.⁶ It does not appear that this breaking off of the Athenian alliance entailed for the Achaeans membership of the Spartan confederacy, since in 431 only one of their cities, Pellene, was a member, and the others did not join till the year after the battle of Mantinea.⁷ It seems therefore unlikely that the Spartans had any control over the Achaean ports in the years 459-7. If this conclusion is correct, the whole strategic picture is changed. For if the Spartan force in central Greece was to return by sea, there were only two possible terminal points for the voyage, whatever the port of embarkation might have been:⁸

(a) One of the isthmus ports (i.e. Sikyon, or the western port of Corinth, Lechaion); or

(b) Kyllene, the port of Elis, right outside the mouth of the Gulf (a very much longer voyage, and therefore less likely).

Now if the Spartans were to return by route (a), Pegai was a better base for an Athenian intercepting squadron than Naupaktos, as a glance at the map will show. In the event of an attempt to use the longer route (b), an Athenian squadron at Naupaktos would certainly make it quite impossible, but the possession of that base would not have been absolutely essential for the purpose, as there were other possible alternatives: a squadron based on Kephallenia or Zakynthos would suffice to make the final stages of the trip sufficiently hazardous.⁹ It can only be concluded therefore that the naval side of the Tanagra

⁴ See *JHS* lxx 75-6.

⁵ *Thuc.* i 111.3. The date is that given in *ATL*.

⁶ *Thuc.* i 115.1.

⁷ *Thuc.* ii 9.2; v 82.1.

⁸ This applies in reverse to the outward journey as well. Accame argues (pp. 114-15) that the Spartans would not have started their expedition at all if Naupaktos had been in Athenian hands at the time, but this is unfortunately inconclusive: the

crucial factor in the strategy of the expedition was not the control of Naupaktos but the presence or absence of Athenian ships in the Gulf. Cf. Lewis, 413.

⁹ There is no evidence to show that either island was under Athenian control at this date. Indeed, Diodorus (xi 84.7) ascribes the occupation of both places to the expedition of Tolmides in the following year, though the silence of Thucydides (i 108.5) makes this detail of Diodorus' account suspect.

campaign did not depend on Athenian control of Naupaktos, and that this argument put forward in *ATL* cannot be used to support the early date for the fall of Ithome.¹⁰

(B) There is no doubt that the words of [Xenophon] quoted in *ATL* (p. 167) imply quite clearly that the siege of Ithome ended before hostilities broke out between Athens and Sparta, though the vagueness of the author's phraseology makes it difficult to refer his words ('Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναίους') to any definite event. What is much more doubtful is the value of this piece of evidence. [Xenophon] was not a historian, carefully weighing the implications of every word he wrote, but a political pamphleteer with an axe to grind, so that, to borrow Gomme's words, 'we shall not then, if we are wise, depend on X. for the truth'.¹¹ It is unfortunate that we cannot check the accuracy of the other alleged facts produced by the author in this passage, though the difficulties of interpreting his reference to the Boeotians are notorious. But in any case the vagueness of [Xenophon]'s phraseology makes it hardly safe to deduce from this passage anything more than that he regarded the blockade of Ithome, considered as a single event, as having been earlier in time than the Tanagra campaign, exactly as Herodotus regarded it in ix 35, a passage which, as *ATL* admits, 'amounts to very little'.¹²

Consequently it is difficult not to think that *ATL* has considerably overestimated the value of [Xenophon]'s evidence. Certainly to say that 'his evidence is worth a very great deal' and that 'it is testimony incomparably superior to anything in Trogus or Diodorus' (p. 167) is much too strong.¹³ Contemporary evidence is not inevitably more reliable than that of a later historian, especially when the contemporary writer is swayed by partisan passions. As far as Diodorus is concerned, the vital part of his evidence is not the dates by archon-years given for the beginning and end of the Ithome affair, but his statement in xi 64.4 that it lasted ten years, since this, as *ATL* agrees, was probably derived from Ephoros.¹⁴ Now Ephoros may not have been a good historian, but he had more evidence for this period than is available to us (though we cannot be sure what use he made of it), and if when he found 'δεκάτῳ ἔτει' in his text of Thucydides it did not strike him as being in any way odd or unlikely, that ought certainly to carry some weight.¹⁵ For this reason I find it very difficult to accept the evidence of [Xenophon] as being 'incomparably superior' to that of Ephoros-Diodorus: it would be much fairer to regard the two items as equally valuable, or valueless.

(C) The main argument used in *ATL* is that derived from Thucydides' method: since all the other events in this section of Book I are mentioned in strict chronological order, it is argued, the reference to the fall of Ithome must also be in its proper temporal setting;

¹⁰ This section was written before the publication of Hammond's article in which he reaches very similar conclusions. Cf. his p. 405, n. 3.

¹¹ In *Ath. Stud. presented to W. S. Ferguson* 222.

¹² *ATL* 167. The context of the Herodotus passage (ix 35) clearly calls for a reference not to a lengthy siege but to a pitched battle, such as we know from another reference in Herodotus (ix 64.2) took place in the early stages of the revolt. There is therefore no need to emend the text in ix 35, where the MSS. do not mention Ithome at all but an obscure place called Isthmos (cf. How and Wells, *ad loc.*). Even if Herodotus were referring in this passage to the blockade, it is difficult to see in what other order he could have put his list of operations, since on any conceivable chronology the greater part of the blockade preceded Tanagra.

¹³ Hammond also exaggerates the value of this source: 'against this fifth-century document there can be no appeal' (p. 373).

¹⁴ For this point see further in section II below.

¹⁵ It seems to be generally agreed that the supposed corruption in Thucydides' text took place not later than the middle of the fourth century, i.e. within a generation of the original publication: Klaffenbach (p. 235) goes so far as to attribute it to the original editor. Lewis on the other hand argues that Ephoros got his story of a ten years' siege not from Thucydides at all, but from some other writer of the fifth century, perhaps Charon of Lampsakos. This is quite possible, as Ephoros clearly had other sources available for the history of the Pentekontaetia, but it is not susceptible of proof.

and since the reading 'δεκάτω ἔτει' implies that it took place several years later than the events mentioned after it in Thucydides' narrative, that reading must be wrong. Now *ATL* has realised that if this argument is to remain valid there must be no trace of any other chronological disturbance in the rest of the section on the Pentekontaetia. But the authors have also seen that if the usual dates are accepted for the expedition of Tolmides (late summer 456) and for the disaster in Egypt (spring 454), another chronological overlap is produced in Thucydides' narrative; for by working backwards from the end of the Egyptian expedition we get mid-winter 457/6 as the latest possible date for the first definite event mentioned in i 109, the embassy of Megabazos to Sparta, which would thus have taken place at least six months *before* the expedition of Tolmides, which is described by Thucydides at the end of the previous chapter. There are two possible escapes from this dilemma. One alternative, to date the Egyptian disaster a year later, in 453, is not accepted in *ATL*, correctly in my opinion, because of the difficulties it creates in the dating of subsequent events.¹⁶ They have therefore adopted the other alternative, and propose to date Tolmides' expedition to the summer of 457 and the Tanagra campaign to the year before. This does not create any fresh difficulties, but it does involve abandoning what evidence there is for the date of the two campaigns outside of Thucydides' narrative, viz. Diodorus and the Scholiast on Aischines *de Falsa Legatione* for Tolmides, and Diodorus for Tanagra.¹⁷ In the past the Scholiast has enjoyed a considerable reputation for accuracy, which *ATL* attempts to destroy by examining the correctness with which he dates other events by archon-years. They manage to convict him of two errors, one of dating the disaster at Drabeskos under Lysikrates (453/2) instead of Lysitheos (465/4), the other of putting the Peace of Nikias in the year of Aristion (421/0) rather than in that of Alkaios (422/1). But of these errors the former at least is clearly only a slip arising from a not uncommon confusion between two similar names, and as the list of dated events compiled in *ATL* (p. 170) shows, the Scholiast was right rather more often than he was wrong. His evidence therefore for the date of Tolmides' expedition cannot be too lightly disregarded, especially when it has the support, for what it is worth, of Diodorus: the agreement of the two sources does at least suggest that in this case the Scholiast has correctly reproduced his source, which may well have been derived ultimately from an Atthis.¹⁸

ATL goes on to support the dating of Tanagra to 458 by appealing to two passages from very much earlier writers, Pindar (*Isthm.* vii) and Theopompos (frag. 88 Jacoby). The former passage is inevitably so vague as to be quite inconclusive, and it is difficult to see any good reason why Pindar's prayer at the end of the poem for a Pythian victory for Strepsiades should not refer to an event that was still two years distant at the time of writing. The passage of Theopompos, however, requires some discussion, as, in contradiction to *ATL*, it seems to me that for what it is worth it supports Diodorus' date for Tanagra. For the recall of Kimon mentioned in this fragment can have taken place, if at all, immediately after the battle, as Plutarch's account clearly implies it did,¹⁹ at a moment when the credit of his political opponents must have been weakened by the failure of their attempt to trap the Spartan force in central Greece and by the quite serious losses suffered in the battle. It is very hard to believe, as *ATL* appears to do, that his recall could have been voted over a year after the battle, when the victory at Oenophyta and its brilliant sequel had presumably restored the prestige of the radical leaders. Consequently it can only be

¹⁶ If on the other hand the Egyptian expedition is put at any earlier date (as it is, e.g., by Scharf, 'Die erste ägyptische Expedition der Athener', in *Historia* iii 308-25), it will be quite impossible to avoid the overlap in Thucydides' narrative.

¹⁷ Tanagra: Diod. xi 79-80; Tolmides: Diod. xi 84, schol. Aisch. ii 75.

¹⁸ Diodorus' date for Tanagra does not require separate consideration, since it stands or falls with his evidence and that of the Scholiast for the date of Tolmides' expedition. It is clear from Thucydides' narrative of these events (i 107-8) that they were not separated by any great period of time.

¹⁹ Plut. *Kimon* 17.8.

concluded that the chronological indications of the Theopompos fragment apply just as much to Tanagra as to the alleged recall of Kimon, and that his evidence therefore fixes both the battle and the recall to a date more than four but less than five years after the ostracism of Kimon in the spring of 461, i.e. to the summer of 457. Thus his evidence supports that of Diodorus for the date of Tanagra, though it must be admitted that it may not in fact be worth very much.

I conclude therefore that the ancient evidence for the Tanagra campaign and the expedition of Tolmides, other than that of Thucydides, all supports the traditional dates, and that this evidence is worth rather more than *ATL* would allow. Consequently it is better to retain the traditional dates and to suppose instead a slight chronological overlap in Thucydides' narrative between the end of chap. 108 and the beginning of chap. 109.²⁰ If that is accepted, the argument for emending 'δεκάτῳ ἔτει' in 103.1 derived from Thucydides' method is so far weakened as to lose its force.

Thus the case for the early date for the fall of Ithome, as put forward in *ATL*, has little foundation. Three points in particular must be stressed:

(1) The external evidence can safely be disregarded: Herodotus is inconclusive, and [Xenophon] and Ephoros-Diodorus cancel one another out, though, if it were necessary to choose between them, unlike *ATL*, I should pick Diodorus as being on the whole the less unreliable.

(2) There is no good historical argument for an early date, whereas, as I hope to show in section III, there are several strong ones for the later date.

(3) The argument from Thucydides' method is very much weakened by the existence in this part of his work of at least one more chronological overlap which cannot be removed without doing violence to the ancient evidence, apart from Thucydides, for the dates of Tanagra and Tolmides' expedition. But in any case the argument seems to me fundamentally unsound. For when the text of an ancient author presents us with an apparent exception to his usual method, whether it be a question of grammar, metre, orthography, or, as here, of historical method, we are surely not justified in removing it by emendation, unless there is either clear evidence of corruption in the MSS. or very strong external evidence. If we appeal only to the author's usual practice we are in danger of assuming a superhuman degree of consistency that ought not to be attributed to any author, not even the greatest.

II

The theory of Scharf and Hammond is, in brief, that the Messenian revolt did indeed last for nearly ten years, as the MSS. of Thucydides say, but that it began in 469/8 and ended in 460/59; hence the fall of Ithome is in the right chronological place in Thucydides' narrative, though Hammond at any rate is not particularly concerned to save his credit in this respect.²¹

This theory suffers from at least three serious defects:

(i) It supposes that when Thucydides says in i 103 that Ithome fell 'δεκάτῳ ἔτει' he is counting not from the outbreak after the great earthquake, which he has mentioned in

²⁰ Some recent discussions of the Egyptian expedition have assumed rather more extensive overlaps in Thucydides' narrative: see, e.g., Accame (pp. 117-19) and J. Barns, 'Cimon and the First Athenian Expedition to Cyprus' (*Historia* ii 163-76; cf. especially pp. 174-5).

²¹ He assumes overlaps in connexion with the Egyptian expedition (pp. 396-405) and dates to 457/6 the Athenian occupation of Naupaktos and the settlement there of the Messenians, which Thucydides mentions immediately after the fall of Ithome in i 103 (p. 403; cf. esp. n. 1).

chap. 101, but from an earlier rising to which he has made no reference anywhere in his text. Not many will find this easy to accept.

(ii) It implies that the Spartan promise to assist Thasos by mounting an invasion of Attica, recorded by Thucydides in i 101.1-2, was made at a time when at least some of the inhabitants of Messenia were in open revolt against their Spartan masters. This also does not seem very likely.

(iii) The evidence for trouble in Messenia before the earthquake is slight, and consists of two items only:

(a) The account of Diodorus (xi 63-4), who narrates under the archonship of Apsephion (469/8) the whole course of the rebellion except the final capitulation, which he mentions in connexion with the expedition of Tolmides, in the year of Kallias (456/5) (xi 84.7-8).

(b) A statement by the Scholiast on Ar. *Lysistrata* 1141-4, who gives a brief account of the revolt, and dates it, apparently on the authority of Philochoros, 'in the twelfth year after Plataea, in the archonship of Theagenides' (468/7).

Of this material the evidence of Diodorus is obviously suspect, because of the contradiction between his dates by archon-years and the statement in his text (xi 64.4) that the war lasted ten years. There is no need to attempt to remove the contradiction, as Hammond does,²² since Diodorus contrived to contradict himself in very similar fashion over the dates of the Cypriot revolt of the second decade of the fourth century: he puts its beginning under Nikoteles (391/0), which is probably correct, and its end under Dexitheos (385/4), yet in his text he says that it lasted nearly ten years, which is confirmed by all the other evidence.²³ It is clear then that for chronological purposes at any rate the only thing of any value in his account of the Messenian revolt is his statement that it lasted ten years, since that was probably derived from Ephoros, whereas his dating by archon-years of its terminal points may well have been his own unaided effort.²⁴ The evidence of the Scholiast is hardly more reliable. His material may have come originally from Philochoros, though it is not at all certain how much of it did, but it has clearly suffered compression and distortion on the way, and it is by no means clear to which of the events he mentions the date is supposed to apply: it is on the whole more likely that Philochoros would have given a date for Kimon's expedition to Ithome than for the outbreak of the revolt, which as an event of purely Spartan history was not relevant to his subject.²⁵

For these reasons therefore it seems to me that the theory of Scharf and Hammond does not provide a satisfactory solution of the problem. Much the same can be said of the revised version of their theory put forward by Sealey, which attempts to avoid two of the difficulties mentioned above, (i) and (iii), by supposing that the great earthquake at Sparta and the beginning of the Helot revolt both took place in 469, and not, as usually believed, in 465/4, and (ii) simply by refusing to accept Thucydides' story of the Spartan promise to help Thasos. This early date for the earthquake is obtained by counting backwards from the end of the blockade of Ithome, which, it is assumed, is mentioned by Thucydides in its correct chronological context in i 103.1, where the reading of the MSS. is accepted. The only other evidence adduced in support of it is that of the scholium on *Lysistrata* 1141-4, the value of which has already been discussed. Thus it will be seen that the evidence for

²² P. 373. His scheme supposes a gap of three years between the capitulation of the Messenians and their settlement at Naupaktos, an interval of which there is no hint in Thucydides' brief account.

²³ For the details see Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii 2, 226-30.

²⁴ For Diodorus' chronology of the period see W. Kolbe, 'Diodorus Wert für die Geschichte der Pentekontaetie', in *Hermes* lxxii 241-69, and, more briefly, Gomme, 51-4.

²⁵ The point is discussed in detail by Jacoby, *FGr Hist.*, III b Suppl. vols. i 455-61; ii 365-71.

Sealey's new date is not very impressive. Moreover, if this restatement evades some of the difficulties raised by the original form of the theory, it encounters some fresh ones of its own. First there is Thucydides' account of the earthquake in i 101.2, which has hitherto been taken as fixing it chronologically to the revolt of Thasos. To avoid this difficulty Sealey re-interprets the words 'διεκωλυθήσαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ' as meaning 'they were prevented by the earthquake which had occurred previously'. This is a rendering of the Greek which is very difficult to accept, and one which would surely require either the perfect participle or the addition of some temporal adverb, e.g. 'ὑπὸ τοῦ πρότερον γενομένου σεισμοῦ'. A more accurate version of the sentence as it stands would be 'they were prevented by the occurrence of the earthquake' (i.e. the famous one). For this is, I take it, an example of the aorist used without any strong temporal force, and the function of the participle is not so much to indicate a chronological relationship as to stress that it was the actual occurrence of the earthquake that hindered the Spartans.²⁶ Another difficulty that is raised by this early date for the earthquake is the long gap between it and the expedition of Kimon to Ithome in 462, a date which is reasonably secure. Sealey (pp. 370-1) fills the gap by accepting, with Hammond, the story of Plutarch (*Kimon* 16-17) that Kimon led two separate expeditions to Ithome. This is a desperate remedy; there is no hint in any of the other sources that there was ever more than one such expedition, and the supposition that there were two raises a number of problems. In the first place, no reason for the withdrawal of the first one is supplied by Plutarch's narrative; and secondly the violent opposition to Kimon's proposal, which is recorded by Plutarch in connexion with the first expedition, is hard to understand if it is placed in 468/7, not long after Kimon's great victory at the Eurymedon, but fits in very much better in 462, by which time his opponents in Athens had begun to gain strength.²⁷ The most reasonable conclusion is therefore that the traditional date for the earthquake is correct, and that this revised version of Hammond's theory is no more tenable than the original form.

III

I begin the defence of the reading of Thucydides' MSS. in i 103.1 by calling attention to the fourth and last paragraph of the same chapter, the implications of which have not, I think, been previously noticed. In this paragraph Thucydides describes the transfer of Megara's political loyalties from Sparta to Athens after a border dispute with Corinth, and the occupation by Athenian forces of the city of Megara and its two ports, and concludes with the comment 'καὶ Κορινθίοις μὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος ἤρξατο πρῶτον ἐς Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι'. It seems to me that one thing at any rate is implied by this comment, and that is that at the time of the Megarian alliance Naupaktos was not yet in Athenian hands. For unless modern ideas of the importance to Corinth of trade with the West are grossly exaggerated, it is difficult to believe that the Corinthians could calmly watch the occupation of Naupaktos by their greatest trade rivals and only subsequently be roused to fierce hatred of Athens by the Megarian alliance. Yet that is what Thucydides in effect says, if we insist that the events of this chapter are all mentioned in strict chronological order. But if we retain the reading of the MSS. in the first paragraph, and with it the late date for the fall of Ithome and the occupation of Naupaktos,²⁸ the whole difficulty

²⁶ There is a very close parallel in Thuc. viii 6.5, the only real difference being that in this passage there is no definite article: it is inserted in i 101 because the earthquake to which Thuc. there alludes was so famous (cf. also iii 89.1 and v 45.4). I am indebted to Professor A. Cameron for discussion of

this point, and in particular for several references to parallel passages.

²⁷ See W. G. Forrest, 'Themistokles and Argos', in *CQ N.S.* x 221-41, and esp. p. 240.

²⁸ The two events go closely together, or so Thucydides at any rate thought: cf. n. 22 above.

disappears and Thucydides' comment on the results of the Megarian alliance becomes eminently reasonable.²⁹

The main argument for the defence, however, is that with the late date for the fall of Ithome and the occupation of Naupaktos the history of the early years of the First Peloponnesian War is reasonable and comprehensible, whereas if these two events are put before the outbreak of hostilities the course of events is obscure and unreasonable. This of course is an argument that would not normally be legitimate: it is for the historian to deduce his interpretation from the facts, not to force them into a preconceived pattern. But here it is for once quite admissible. For when it is proposed to alter the shape of one of the pieces of a historical puzzle, it is clearly fair and reasonable to reply that with its new shape it will not fit the other pieces as well as it does already.

The effect on the history of these years of the date of the two events in question is best seen in connexion with the policy of the two chief powers involved, Sparta and Athens. As far as Sparta is concerned, one of the most striking aspects of the early years of the war is her utter failure to take any real step to assist her allies against Athens. Between 460 and 456 the Peloponnesian fleets were driven out of the Saronic Gulf, and Aigina was forced to become a tributary ally of Athens: yet during these years Sparta took no action to assist her allies. It is of course true that once the fleets of her allies had been defeated Sparta could do nothing to assist Aigina directly,³⁰ but the presence of even a small Spartan contingent with the Peloponnesian force that invaded the Megarid in a vain attempt to raise the siege of Aigina might have made all the difference to the outcome of that venture. But the Spartans made no move on that occasion, and in fact, apart from Tanagra and the battle of Oenoe, if that shadowy event is rightly to be placed in this period, there is no evidence of any activity on their part from the beginning of the war right down to 454, when according to Diodorus they sent help to Sikyon when it was being attacked by an Athenian force under Pericles.³¹ It is difficult to explain this inactivity merely on the grounds of apathy, especially when it is remembered that Aigina had quite recently helped Sparta against the Messenian rebels, an act that was still remembered with gratitude in 431.³² It would of course be possible to ascribe Spartan inactivity to loss of manpower in the great earthquake and the subsequent fighting. But it is clear that the accounts of Spartan losses in some of the later writers are greatly exaggerated, since several passages in

²⁹ This consideration serves at least to cancel out the argument from Thucydides' use in connexion with the settlement of the Messenians at Naupaktos of the phrase 'κατ' ἐχθρὸς ἦδη τὸ Λακεδαιμόνιον', which is often taken as a reference to the dismissal of Kimon and its effect on Spartan-Athenian relations (Gomme, 304; *ATL* 164). On the other hand Hammond (p. 403) sees in it a reference to Tanagra.

³⁰ It could be claimed that the Tanagra campaign was intended to assist Aigina by diverting the attention of the Athenians, but as I have pointed out elsewhere (*JHS* lxx 75-6), there is no hint in Thucydides' account (i 107.2-108.2) that the Spartans had any motive other than initially the desire to help Doris and subsequently the instinct for self-preservation.

³¹ Diod. xi 88.2. Thucydides (i 111.2) does not mention the Spartans, but his silence is not conclusive.

³² Thuc. ii 27.2. An attempt has recently been made by D. MacDowell ('Aigina and the Delian League', *JHS* lxxx 118-21) to show that Aigina was never a member of the Peloponnesian League, but

instead was a founder-member of the Delian League. This theory, however, does not take sufficient account of:

(i) The basic improbability that after twenty years of more or less continuous hostility to Athens Aigina would then in 478/7 join an Athenian-dominated confederacy (co-operation in 480 proves nothing).

(ii) The fact that in mentioning the outbreak of hostilities with Aigina Thucydides (i 105.2) carefully avoids the word 'revolt', though he has previously used it of Naxos (98.4) and Thasos (100.2), and uses it again of Byzantium and by implication of Samos (115.5). Against this Diodorus' use of the word (xi 70.2) is unimpressive.

Moreover, that Aigina was indeed a member of the Peloponnesian League is suggested both by the presence of Aiginetan allies at the naval battle near the island (Thuc. i 105.2: who were these if not Peloponnesians?) and by the presence of unofficial representatives of Aigina at the congress of Spartan allies in 432 (Thuc. i 67.2).

Thucydides suggest that by 431 these losses had been made good.³³ Hence while a decline in manpower may have been one cause of Spartan inactivity, it is unlikely to have been the only one. Another possible explanation might be preoccupation with Argos, since it is clear enough that a state of war already existed between Sparta and Argos at the time of the Athens-Argos alliance³⁴ and continued down to the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Peace between the two states in 452/1. This also is not a very satisfactory explanation. For it is obvious that at this time Argos presented only a mild threat, since the Spartans were able to send some troops to central Greece in 457; and in fact we know of no operations at all on the Argive borders in these years apart from Oenoe, an engagement which for all its contemporary fame was certainly little more than an unimportant skirmish.³⁵ The absence of any major clash in a war between two such inveterate enemies is odd, and it can be explained only if we suppose that both sides had their hands tied to a considerable extent, Sparta by the continued blockade of Ithome, and Argos by the reduction of Mycenae or Tiryns or both.³⁶ I conclude therefore that the general inactivity of Sparta in this period, and in particular the absence of any major clash with Argos, is reasonable only on the supposition that the blockade of Ithome continued down to the tenth year after the earthquake, as the MSS. of Thucydides say it did.

If an early date for the fall of Ithome makes Spartan inactivity difficult to explain, the same date both for Ithome and for the closely linked occupation of Naupaktos raises parallel difficulties in the explanation of Athenian activity in these years, both in regard to Athens' foreign policy as a whole and more particularly in connexion with her naval strategy in the war against the Peloponnesians. Modern historians have often censured the radical leaders in Athens for their recklessness in challenging both the Persians and the Peloponnesians at one and the same time from 461 onwards,³⁷ and there is of course no denying the optimism and vigour of Athenian leadership at this time. But clearly it makes Athenian foreign policy more reasonable, though perhaps less heroic, if we can suppose that the leading state of the Peloponnese was immobilised by the blockade of Ithome when the war in Greece broke out and continued to be so tied until the winter of 456/5 or thereabouts. In this connexion the complete cessation of Athenian operations in Greece after 454 may be significant, though other factors may be equally important, in particular the failure of the Egyptian expedition.³⁸

In the narrower sphere of naval strategy the adoption of an early date for the occupation of Naupaktos makes it very difficult to fit the episode into existing accounts of Athenian

³³ Thuc. i 1.1, 19, ii 11.1; cf. Gomme, 298-9, 360. For an exaggerated account of Spartan losses cf. Diodorus xi 63.1 ('more than twenty thousand'): some other late accounts suggest much lighter losses, e.g. Polyaeus i 41.3.

³⁴ Thuc. i 102.4 "Ἀργεῖοις τοῖς ἐκείνων (sc. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων) πολέμοις ξέμμαχοι ἐγένοντο". Cf. Gomme, *ad loc.*

³⁵ For an example from comparatively modern times of a battle whose contemporary fame far outstripped its basic importance cf. the action in the Napoleonic Wars which gave its name to Maida Vale.

³⁶ Forrest (*op. cit.*, 232) dates the Argive attack on Mycenae to c. 469, the start of trouble with Tiryns to c. 466, and its final fall to 465/4. The reduction of Tiryns, however, could have been a long business, and its end could easily be dated several years later without upsetting the rest of Forrest's scheme, which is attractive if in places highly conjectural. On the other hand Andrewes

('Sparta and Arcadia' in *Phoenix* vi 1-5) puts the reduction of Mycenae in 465/4, and that of Tiryns earlier, before 470.

³⁷ E.g. Walker, in *CAH* v 92.

³⁸ The traditional picture of large-scale disaster in Egypt should perhaps be modified in the light of Wallace's reconstruction (*TAPA* lxvii 252-60; cf. Scharf in *Historia* iii 308-25). But even in this version Athenian losses were at least 70 triremes together with an unknown but presumably considerable number of hoplites (Scharf, 323, reckons 1,500-1,700): this is surely serious enough.

An alternative explanation might be found in the revolts of Erythrai and Miletos with some of their dependencies which have been deduced in *ATL* (pp. 252-7) from the Tribute Quota Lists, though the complete absence of any reference to such revolts in Thucydides suggests that in his opinion they were not of major importance, nor perhaps as lengthy as *ATL* supposes.

operations in Greek waters in the period. By itself the rest of the evidence presents a reasonable and coherent picture of the development of Athenian naval power. In the opening campaigns of the war against the Peloponnesians the hostile fleets were swept clean out of the Saronic Gulf, and the blockade of Aigina begun; then in 457 at the time of the Tanagra campaign an Athenian squadron appears for the first time in the Gulf of Corinth, presumably after sailing right round the Peloponnese;³⁹ in the following summer a fleet under the command of Tolmides certainly did circumnavigate the Peloponnese, as Thucydides expressly states,⁴⁰ and thereafter there may well have been an Athenian squadron more or less permanently stationed in the Gulf, based probably on Pegai.⁴¹ This is an account into which the occupation of Naupaktos fits neatly only if the later date is retained. For if the earthquake is put in the winter of 465/4, the most likely date, counting to 'the tenth year' gives the summer or autumn of 455 as the date of the surrender of the Helots. As it is clear from Thucydides that the occupation of Naupaktos by the Athenians did not long precede the fall of Ithome, it can therefore be dated to the spring of 455 or the late summer or autumn of 456 at the earliest, that is to say exactly in the period in which we know that Athenian fleets were operating in the neighbourhood.⁴² On the other hand the adoption of the early date for the occupation of Naupaktos involves the supposition that even before the outbreak of hostilities in Greece an Athenian squadron had sailed right round the Peloponnese into the Gulf of Corinth, and that too at a time when Aigina was still independent and the fleets of Corinth and her friends had not yet been eliminated from the Saronic Gulf.⁴³ Such a supposition seems to me to be extremely unlikely. I conclude therefore that in relation to the general policy and naval strategy of Athens also the later date for the fall of Ithome and the occupation of Naupaktos makes sense, whereas any date that would put them before the Megarian alliance does not.⁴⁴

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³⁹ It is usually assumed that this squadron had sailed right round the Peloponnese on the strength of Thucydides' use of the verb *περιπλεῖν* in i 107.3. I am not convinced that this is an entirely valid inference, but as the point is not material to my main thesis I do not propose to discuss it here.

⁴⁰ Tolmides' expedition presents something of a problem in that it subsequently enjoyed far greater fame than its actual achievements, as recorded by Thucydides (i 108.5), would seem to warrant. (The additional details provided by later writers are mostly quite unreliable.) Its reputation would be explained if it could be assumed that this was the first time Athenian ships had made the trip, and that previous operations in the Gulf of Corinth (i.e. the Tanagra campaign) had been carried out by a squadron based on Pegai.

⁴¹ This is a reasonable inference from Thucydides' mention of *ταῖς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Πηγαῖς* in connexion with Pericles' campaign in 454 (i 111.2).

⁴² It is just possible that Diodorus may after all be right when he adds the occupation of Naupaktos

to the list of Tolmides' exploits (xi 84.7), though some of the other details in his account of the expedition are obviously wrong. If he is right, it can only be supposed that Thucydides failed to mention it in the right place because he had already referred to it in i 103. It may be added that, although the usual assumption that the occupation was carried out by the Athenian fleet is probably correct, in the first few years after Oenophyta an occupation *by land* is not completely impossible.

⁴³ It is also possible that in 461 (the date for the occupation of Naupaktos given by *ATL* and Gomme) there were considerable Athenian forces operating in the Levant: cf. Barns, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ I am greatly indebted to Professor Andrewes, who read and discussed with me an earlier draft of this paper. This does not mean that he necessarily agrees with everything that is said in it, still less that he is in any way responsible for its remaining defects, which but for his advice would have been much more numerous.

THE GREEK KITCHEN

(PLATES IV-VIII)

THE utensils which I am going to describe and discuss in the following pages are the ordinary utensils of Greek, mainly Athenian, households in the classical period; they have been found in abundance, are not special articles and may therefore serve to furnish a fairly complete picture of the classical *batterie de cuisine*. It is only in the last generation that material has come to hand which enables us to venture some way to understanding the methods of ancient Greek cooking. The Excavations of the Athenian Agora, in which the majority of the cooking pots on PLATES IV-VIII have been found, have produced evidence for the contents of Greek kitchens in most periods of Greek history, objects for the most part thrown away when broken as the result either of public or of private sacrifices.¹ Rarely, in contrast with Pompeii,² are the contents of the kitchen found in the places where they were used. Thus other evidence must be brought forward to supplement the archaeological, and this evidence is of two kinds: literary and artistic. Our literary knowledge of

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The following abbreviations have been used:

Amyx. D. A. Amyx, 'The Attic Stelai: Vases and other Containers', *Hesperia* xxvii (1958) 163-307.

Blümner, *TT*. H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* i-iv (1875-87); i, second edition (1912).

Cloché. P. Cloché, *Les classes, les métiers, le trafic* (1931).

Higgins, *Catalogue*. R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* i (1954).

Majewski, *KMSG*. K. Majewski, *Kultura Materialna Starożytności Grecji* (1956).

Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue*. S. Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue Raisonné des Figurines et Reliefs en terre-cuite Grecs, Etrusques et Romains* i (1954).

Moritz. L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (1958).

Picard, *VP*. C. Picard, *La Vie privée dans la Grèce classique* (1930).

Schefold, *Meisterwerke*. K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (1960).

TEL. *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art, Le Musée du Louvre Editions TEL* i-iii (1935-8).

Winter, *Typen*. F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* (1903).

¹ Annual reports of the excavations appear in *Hesperia*. A number of deposits containing classical cooking ware have also been published in *Hesperia*; see especially iv (1935) 476-523 (Talcott), v (1936) 333-54 (Talcott), xviii (1949) 298-351 (Corbett), xxii (1953) 59-115 (Boulter); also Agora Picture Book no. 1, *Pots and Pans*. Similar often closely related material from the excavations of the American School both at Corinth and on the Acropolis North Slope is likewise to be found in *Hesperia*, as will be noted below. The full documentation for many of the plain pots mentioned in this article has been provided by D. A. Amyx in his commentary on the Attic Stelai, *Hesperia* xxvii (1958) 163-307, here referred to by the author's name alone. I have derived much help from his thoroughgoing study, as the text and notes will show. A catalogue of the household and kitchen wares from the Athenian Agora will be included in the presentation of the black glazed and plain wares of the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries, by B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, to appear in the *Athenian Agora* series. The section on plain wares is being prepared by Miss Talcott, with whom I have discussed the material presented here. Detailed information as to dates, deposit evidence, measurements, etc., will be found in that catalogue. All the Agora vases illustrated here belong to the classical period, excepting only those indicated in the captions. The scale shown in the illustrations measures 5 cm.

² A. Mau, *Pompeii* (Eng. ed. 1899) 260-2; Gusman, *Pompeii, The City, its Life and Art* (Eng. ed. 1906) 279-80; A. Mau, *Pompeii in Leben und Kunst* (1908) 273-5; Thedenat, *Pompeii Histoire—Vie Privée* (1910) 95-8; B. Flower and E. Rosenbaum, *Apicius: The Roman Cookery Book* (1958) 29-38 (contributed by Miss Joan Liversidge). For later Roman cooking utensils found in Egypt, see *AJA* xxv (1921) 37-54 (Harcum) and *Archaeology* viii (1955) 81.

Greek cookery is derived in the main from the quotations preserved by Athenaeus;³ other authors refer to cookery incidentally and rarely provide a straight description. As cookery changed little in antiquity, Latin authors will also help, Varro and Cato, both useful because serious, the comedians and the newly edited cookery book of Apicius.⁴ Petronius also has information to impart, but this is *haute cuisine*, a realm which is not our concern for the present. The artistic evidence belongs to two categories. The scenes on black- and red-figure vases provide us with some information (see, e.g., PLATES VII 2, VIII 6). The scenes on the vases are limited, and the majority of the representations is concerned with the pounding of grain with a pestle⁵ or with cutting up meat and fish;⁶ a third category shows 'splanchnoptes' and the preparations for religious festivals.⁷ More important are terracotta figurines which show the everyday occupations of baker, butcher and cook. A list, as complete as I can make it on the basis of published or readily accessible material, is to be found as an Appendix. The majority of these belong to the late archaic period, but one is of Mycenaean date (Appendix no. 27) and a few belong to the fourth century. Using these different bodies of material, we may gain some idea of the workings of the Greek kitchen.

That tastes and appetites differed is continually mentioned by ancient authors, and thus we must consider briefly what the Greeks ate before we can grasp the significance of their utensils. The Spartans were abstemious, the Boeotians coarse and given to gluttony,

³ See T. R. Glover, *The Challenge of the Greek* (1943) 'The Gastronomers' 131-54.

⁴ Flower and Rosenbaum, *op. cit.*

⁵ (i) Leningrad 206: *Ber. Sächs.* 1867 pl. 1.4; Blümner, *TT* i 22 fig. 1 = i² 19 fig. 3; Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Mortarium' 2008 fig. 5149; *AM* xli (1916) 57 fig. 11 (von Massow); Cloché, pl. 9.2; Bonnard, *Greek Civilization from the Iliad to the Parthenon* (1957) pl. 21; *ABV* 309: 95 The Swing painter; Attic b.f. neck-amphora, c. 550 B.C.

(ii) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 546 (inv. 13.205): *AJA* xxiii (1919) 280 fig. 1A (Fairbanks); Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 150; Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases* i (1928) pl. 58; *Mon. Piot* xliii (1949) 42-9 (Villard); Ionian b.f. lebes, c. 530 B.C.

(iii) Eleusis 1055: *AM* xli (1916) 58 fig. 13 (von Massow); b.f. sherd.

(iv) Athens NM, CC 1927 (inv. 5815): *AM* xix (1894) 346 (Koerte); Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Histrio' 221 fig. 3860; *Ausonia* ii (1907) 173 fig. 25 (Romagnoli); Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* (1920) pl. 87.1; Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1939) 92 fig. 136, (1961) 48 fig. 203; Trendall, *Phlyax Vases* (1959) 21 no. 14; Corinthian r.f. bell-krater, second quarter of the fourth century.

(v) See n. 45, and PLATE VII 2.

⁶ (i) Louvre E 635: *Mon. Inst* vi pl. 33; Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre* i (1897) pl. 49; Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Coena' 1270 fig. 1690; Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (1929) fig. 203; Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (1931) no. 780; *TEL* ii 273D; Majewski, *KMSG* 212 fig. 225; Frel, *Źeeké Vázý* (1956) fig. 100; PLATE VIII 6; Corinthian column-krater, c. 600 B.C.

(ii) Berlin 1915: Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder* iv (1858) pl. 316.1 and 4; *Dedalo* vii (1926/7) 410 (Rizzo); Picard, *VP* pl. 51.1; Schaal,

Vom Tauschhandel zum Welthandel (1931) pl. 22.1; Majewski, *KMSG* 390 fig. 409, 184; Parnicki-Pudelko, *Agora* (1957) 61 fig. 25; *ABV* 377: 247 The Leagros Group; Attic b.f. oinochoe, c. 510 B.C.

(iii) Erlangen inv. 486: *AM* lxv (1940) pl. 2.2 (Lullies); Rumpf, *MuZ* pl. 23.6; Grünhagen, *Antike Originalarbeiten der Kunstsammlung des Instituts* (1948) pl. 16; *ARV* 165: 16 The Syleus painter; Attic r.f. pelike, c. 490 B.C.

(iv) Munich 2347: *AM* lxv (1940) pl. 2.1 (Lullies); Rumpf *MuZ* pl. 23.7; Boeotian r.f. pelike, late archaic.

(v) Lugano, von Schoen: Lullies, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst* (1955) pl. 24.62; Attic r.f. lekythos, c. 470 B.C.

(vi) Cefalù, Mandralisca Mus.: *Dedalo* vii (1926/7) 402 and 408 (Rizzo); Cloché, pl. 36.2; *AAN* xii (1932) 326 (Pace); D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (1947) frontispiece; Pareti and Griffo, *Das antike Sizilien* (n.d.) pl. 163; Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1961) 106 fig. 414; Campanian r.f. bell-krater, c. 350 B.C.

(vii) *Ars Antiqua* i (1959) pl. 50.110; Attic b.f. hydria, 500-490 B.C.

⁷ For the splanchnoptes, see *JdI* xlv (1929) 117-18, esp. n. 1 (Schweitzer), *JHS* lix (1939) 16-17 and 20-22 (Beazley), *CVA* Bonn, text to pl. 34.10 (Greifenhagen). For religious festivals, see a b.f. hydria in the Villa Giulia (*Ann.* xxiv-xxvi, n.s. viii-x (1946/8) 49 fig. 1 and pls. 3-6 (Ricci); Rumpf, *MuZ* pl. 15.5; Vighi, *The New Museum of Villa Giulia* (1958) pl. 41; *JHS* lxxviii (1958) pl. 2a (Boardman) and a fragmentary Attic b.f. volute krater in the Acropolis Collection, Athens 654a (Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* i pl. 42; *BCH* lxxix (1955) pl. 9 (Karouzou)).

the Thessalians gourmets, the Sicilians gourmands and the Athenians renowned for their simple tastes, conforming to foreign opinions of the Greeks who were thought always to stop eating while still hungry and to starve in luxury.⁸ The basis of Greek diet was farinaceous: bread, porridge and groats, but a great variety of vegetables was also eaten: beans, garlic, lentils, radish, beet and salads, since these substances—legumina and cereals—were cheap.⁹ Fish, both fresh and pickled, such as Copaic eels, Phaleric sprats, tunny, anchovies and Pontic herring, provided the chief dish and, though not eaten by Homeric heroes, became in classical times the gourmet's delight. Meat—beef, lamb, pork and goat—was eaten less frequently, and the principal occasion at which it was eaten was the religious sacrifice,¹⁰ but sausages, consisting of the great gut of pig or other animal stuffed with intestines and approximating more nearly to our black pudding, were to be found in the homes of rich and poor alike. Cheese and olives were staple commodities, eggs were boiled or eaten raw, honey was used for sweetening, and the fruits, dates, figs and apples were highly esteemed.

For the Athenians, there were two types of food only: bread, σῖτος, and anything eaten with bread, ὄψον. The latter could mean salt, cheese and even vegetables, but it denoted fish mainly, indicating the important place it eventually held in the Greek diet.¹¹ Let us consider bread first, as Athenian loaves and cakes were celebrated,¹² and, since it was the staple food of the Greeks, we must devote some time to its making and baking. By the end of the fifth century bread could be bought in the market, and Thearion was a prominent baker of that time.¹³ Evidence for communal bakeries would seem to exist for the sixth century, for two terracottas (Appendix nos. 1 and 2) show groups of figures attending to the various processes of breadmaking. Nothing is known of these large bakeries, but we do have utensils for the baking of bread at home. Of first importance was a substantial bin for the storage of the meal (PLATE IV 1),¹⁴ holding either barley meal, made from κριθαί, or wheat meal, made from πυρός.¹⁵ That it contained a cereal of some sort is evidenced by its inset lip shaped to receive a well-fitting lid to keep out the insects. A wide base to prevent tipping and two vertical handles to facilitate lifting add to its usefulness. The main point to note, however, is that its material is terracotta, and certainly until the fourth century the majority of household utensils were made of clay. The *argumentum ex absentia* for bronze cannot stand up against the multitudinous evidence provided by the Agora Excavations for the use of terracotta in the kitchen.¹⁶ Prices also indicate that

⁸ Spartans: Plut. *de Esu Carn.* i 5; *de San. Tuend.* 12. Boeotians: Pindar *O.* vi 90; Plut. *de Esu Carn.* i 6; Ath. ix 410d, x 417b–418b. Thessalians: Eriphos *fr.* 6 (Kock ii 430). Sicilians: Plato *Rep.* 404d; Aristoph. *fr.* 216 (Kock i 446); Ath. xii 518c. Athenians: Euboulos *fr.* 9 (Kock ii 167); Plut. *Symp.* iv 4.2, *de San. Tuend.* 9; Ath. iv 131. Greeks: Hdt. i 133, vii 102; Antiphanes *fr.* 172 (Kock ii 81).

⁹ For eating and eating habits, see Becker, *Charicles* (Eng. ed. 1895) 310–32 (Excursus 1 to scene VI, The Meals); T. R. Glover, *The Challenge of the Greek* (1943) 'Feeding the Athenians' 86–110; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iii (1955) 84–105; C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall and T. I. Williams, *A History of Technology* ii (1956) 103–46 (contributed by R. J. Forbes). For the difference between Mycenaean and later diet, see *TAPA* lxxxix (1958) 44–65 (Howe) and *BICS* viii (1961) 15–22 (Richardson). For food in the Bronze Age, see K. F. Vickery, *Food in Early Greece* (1936).

¹⁰ Forbes, *op. cit.*, 97–8 and see n. 7.

¹¹ For ὄψον, see esp. Plato *Rep.* 372c and *The Athenian Agora* iii (1957) 194–5 (Wycheley).

¹² Lynkeus of Samos *ap.* Ath. iii 109d, Antiphanes *fr.* 176 (Kock ii 83), Antiphanes *fr.* 179 (Kock ii 84).

¹³ Markets for bread: Aristoph. *Vesp.* 238, *Ran.* 858 (Moritz, 34–5 notes that their existence appears not to be known outside Athens. On the evidence of Appendix nos. 1 and 2, they would seem to exist in Boeotia). Bakers: Xen. *Mem.* ii 7, 3 ff. Thearion: Aristoph. *fr.* 1 (Kock i 392), Plato *Gorgias* 518b, Antiphanes *fr.* 176 (Kock ii 83).

¹⁴ Tub and lid: P 4864 and P 11787b. Amyx, pl. 48a and 197 n. 75; pl. 48f and 205 n. 38 (the inventory number there incorrectly cited as P 11007). Some much larger examples of this same general type are also preserved, *cf.* n. 22 below.

¹⁵ For the meaning of these words and of ἀλφίτα and ἀλευρα, see *CQ* xliii (1949) 113–17 (Moritz) and Moritz, 149–50.

¹⁶ See the *Hesperia* articles quoted in n. 1 and *Pots and Pans*, *passim*.

clay was cheap, bronze dear;¹⁷ and such utensils as shown on PLATES IV–VII were easily replaceable, although in the absence of proper soap they were difficult to clean. There were two different compositions of clay for kitchen articles: the well-known fabric of smooth texture used for finer wares, figured or black, appears in a somewhat heavier household version, often banded and with some variations in finish, for storage bins such as PLATE IV 1, and for mixing bowls, as PLATE V 2. The other composition, which may be called the true kitchen fabric, or cooking ware, contains particles of sand or grit, is much rougher to the touch and in Attica at least is more often built up by hand than wheelmade. It is tough, relatively water-tight and resistant to fire, and is used for casseroles, saucepans, frying pans, braziers, ovens and water-jars (PLATES IV–VII). Liquids, such as oil and vinegar, and some foodstuffs, such as olives and pickled fish, would also need to be kept in storage for a number of days, as they would be bought in bulk.¹⁸ The containers on PLATE IV 5¹⁹ are perhaps the types of jar for the purpose, the left approximating in shape to the coarse wine jar, though smaller in size, the right more bulbous and squat but basically the same shape. The narrow neck could be sealed, most likely with cork. For the storage of smaller amounts of supplies, whether dry or moist, or possibly for bringing food to the table, open basins, a simple version of the well-known lekanis, may have served (PLATE IV 3);²⁰ their lids, not shown here, are very similar to those of the meal-bin (PLATE IV 1). For this dry-storage bin, the likeliest Greek word is σιπήνη,²¹ and Amyx argues persuasively for this correspondence, whilst not claiming a definite identification.²² κυψέλη also has claims to attention,²³ though its other uses (e.g., wine-vessel, beehive, part of a furnace)²⁴ would suggest variations in shape, and the representations on the coins of Kypselia show little connexion with the shape in hand.²⁵ For the liquid-storage jar, the names ἀμφορεύς and ἀμφορείδιον, στάμνος and σταμνίον are all equally possible; the size of the two examples shown would suggest diminutives.²⁶ For the small open basins, the name λεκανίς suits.²⁷

¹⁷ For the latest statement on pot prices, see Amyx, 287–307, with full bibliography.

¹⁸ For items kept in the house, see, e.g., Aristoph. *Thesm.* 419–21 (ἄλειπον, ἔλαιον, οἶνον) and 486 (κεδρίδας, ἀνθηθον, σπᾶκον).

¹⁹ Jars: left, P 20801; right, P 6175.

²⁰ Household lekanides: P 11005, *Hesperia* xviii (1949) 334, 88; Amyx, 205, n. 35; P 11004, *Hesperia* xviii (1949) pl. 96.87; Amyx, 205, n. 35 and pl. 48 f.; *Pots and Pans*, fig. 43; P 11006, *Hesperia* xviii (1949), 334, 89; Amyx, 205, n. 35.

²¹ Aristoph. *Eq.* 1296, Pl. 806, fr. 541 (Kock i 528).

²² Amyx, 195–7; for similar tubs from Corinth, see *Hesperia* vi (1937) 302 fig. 34, 196–7.

²³ Aristoph. *Pax* 631, and *schol.*; Suidas; Hesychius; *schol. ad Lucian Lex.* 145.

²⁴ P. N. Ure (*Origin of Tyranny* (1922) 199–207) pointed out three possible representations of the κυψέλη as part of a furnace, two of which are (i) and (ii) below; (iii) and (iv) are also closely connected.

(i) British Museum B 507: Picard, *VP* pl. 55.3; Cloché, pl. 23.3 and 6; *ABV* 426: 9 The Keyside Class; Attic b.f. oinochoe, late sixth century B.C.

(ii) Berlin F 2294: FR pl. 135; Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (1921) 178 fig. 128; Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium II Vasen* (1932) pl. 53; Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* (1933) fig. 52; Picard, *VP* pl. 56.1; Cloché, pl. 24 and

25.1; *Atlas of the Classical World* 65 fig. 130; Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke* (1960) pl. 64; *ARV* 263.1 The Foundry painter; Attic r.f. cup, c. 490 B.C.

(iii) Oxford 518: *JHS* xxiv (1904) 305, above; FR iii 81; Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (1926) fig. 102; *CVA* Oxford i (iii) pl. 2 (94) 8; Cloché, pl. 23.5; *ARV* 231: 22 The Antiphon painter; Attic r.f. cup, c. 480 B.C.

(iv) Agora P 15210: Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (1951) fig. 19.227; Webster, *Art and Literature in 4th century Athens* (1956) pl. 2; Attic r.f. chous, late fifth century. For a recent discussion of κυψέλη, see *AJA* lxv (1961) 265 (Kardara).

²⁵ For the coins of Kypselia (and the later coins of Hebryzelmis, Cotys and Cersobleptes which adopted the type), see *HN* 257; *BMC* Thrac 110 and 202 ff; May, *Ainas* (1950) 96 n. 2, and pl. 10. K 1–3.

²⁶ For the connexion of ἀμφορεύς and στάμνος, see Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (1935) 8; *BCH* lxxix (1955) 365 figs. 37–8 and *Hesperia* xxv (1956) 196 (a sekoma of the first century B.C. found on Thasos); Amyx, 190–5. See now further V. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade* (Agora Picture Book no. 6, 1961).

²⁷ Aristoph. *fr.* 805 (Kock i 578), Photius s.v. λεκάνη. Another possible name is λεκάνιον: Aristoph. *Ach.* 1110 and *Schol.*, ad loc. See also Corbett, *Hesperia* xviii (1949) 304.

For the preparation of the bread²⁸ the cereal was ground on a quern of the type shown on the left of PLATE IV 4.²⁹ Both lower stone and the actual grinding stone are made of a dark, highly abrasive, volcanic stone, and the person grinding perhaps knelt at one end. The lower stone is rectangular and thicker at one end than the other, thus guiding the direction of the flour, the grinder kneeling at the thicker end. Directing the flour was also helped in many cases by the marking of herring-bone striations on the two surfaces in contact. The upper stone has a flat grinding surface and a convex upper surface; the stone gradually tapers to each end where it was then of a size for gripping.³⁰ Egyptian statuettes show the saddle quern in use³¹ and a similar posture is found on a Greek terracotta (Appendix no. 24). Kneeling was, no doubt, the most effective position for pressing down one's whole weight to grind, but with some of the terracottas the distinction between grinding and kneading is difficult to draw (especially with those figures fashioned only to the waist, PLATE VII 3, 4: Appendix nos. 25-6) and in some cases the grinding figure seems to be standing (PLATE VIII 1: Appendix no. 29, cf. also nos. 27 and 28). The saddle-quern was, with the hopper-rubber developed from it,³² the only means of grinding corn in the Greek classical period. Until recently,³³ the pestle and mortar were thought to have been an alternative process to the quern. This now seems not to have been the case. Ancient nomenclature and modern equivalents can perhaps take most of the blame for the mistake. There are two sets of words which are concerned with rubbing and pounding: (i) *δοῖδνξ* or *ἀλετριβανος* (Lat. *pistillum*) and *θυεία* or *ἰγδῖς* (Lat. *mortarium*); and (ii) *ὑπερον*³⁴ (Lat. *pilum*) and *δαμος* (Lat. *pila*). The literary evidence for the first set points to some such combination as is shown on the right of PLATE IV 4.³⁵ Certainly *δοῖδνξ* was a small round object³⁶ and abundant quantities of hemispherical stones, in various stages of attrition, have been found.³⁷ The *θυεία* could be round and of stone, but the very presence of descriptive adjectives points to a need for them; they would be otiose, were the object always of such shape and material. The *θυεία* was used for a variety of purposes and was a useful household object.³⁸ The shallow bowls shown, heavily built but not difficult to handle, are often mould-made, and were most commonly manufactured at Corinth.³⁹ They show variations on the basic shape, some without handles and spout, some lacking one or the other, others provided with both. The floor is often covered with grit to provide a convenient rubbing surface. At times the *θυεία* seems to have approximated in use to a mixing-bowl; it is possibly a variety of the *θυεία* that is at the feet of the woman grating cheese on PLATE VIII 3 (Appendix no. 56). The second set of words are easier to identify; they are the true pestle and mortar. *ὑπερον* was a long implement, narrow in the middle;⁴⁰ its material would most naturally be wood, though other substances are attested.⁴¹ The object is often represented, and on a red-figured cup in the Louvre depicting the sack of Troy, the soldier facing

²⁸ For all problems of milling and related subjects I have found L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (1958) of very great value. The following paragraphs have been saved from many errors by his common sense.

²⁹ Quern: ST 243. Grinder: ST 588.

³⁰ For other examples see *Hesperia* Suppl. iv (1940) 25-8, and 143-4 and fig. 104 (Thompson); Robinson and Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus* viii (1938) 326-7 and pl. 79; Déonna, *Délos* xviii (1938) 123-9 and pls. 48-9.

³¹ E.g., the figures shown in Moritz, pl. 1a and pl. 2a.

³² See Moritz, ch. vii.

³³ See Moritz, ch. vi.

³⁴ Now certainly *ὑπερον*; see Amyx, 238.

³⁵ Grinding-bowls: P 15206; P 9423, *Pots and Pans* fig. 35, right. Grinders: ST 229, ST 260, ST 320, ST 552, ST 554, ST 641, ST 651.

³⁶ Schol. ad Aristoph. *Eq.* 984; and the proverb *δοῖδνξ αὖξαι* (Zenob. *Prov.* 3.40).

³⁷ See, e.g., Déonna, *Délos* xviii (1938) pl. 46.

³⁸ Round: Aristoph. *Nub.* 676, *Vesp.* 924. Stone: Aristoph. *Pl.* 710, and see Moritz, 22 n. 4.

³⁹ *Hesperia* xxiii (1954) 109-37 and pls. 25-33 (Weinberg), and see Déonna, *Délos* xviii (1938) 109-14. See also Appendix nos. 57-64.

⁴⁰ Hesiod, *Op.* 423.

⁴¹ Amyx, 239.

Andromache who herself swings a pestle is named "Υπερος.⁴² The long pole is gripped by the narrow waist and thrust vertically into the ὄλμος. The latter was of wood or stone and is found represented on many of the scenes showing pestles. Although extant specimens are naturally of stone, wood would have been easier and cheaper to carve to the required shape which demanded a deep hollow in the top.⁴³ The gruesome Homeric simile of *Il.* xi 147 has been well explained as a reference to a wooden mortar carved from a log of wood with a hole sunk down in its centre.⁴⁴ An unpublished representation in the possession of Mrs Serpieri⁴⁵ gives the usual shape (PLATE VII 2). The drawing is on a black-figured Boeotian lekythos, of the middle of the sixth century, belonging to a type called 'geometricising'. The three scenes on the lekythos are stages in the breadmaking process; the first and, by its size and position, the most important would seem to be that connected with the pestle and mortar. This is odd in view of the fact that the pestle and mortar were not used for the grinding of grain, but for the removal of the husks from it, and indeed must not be automatically connected with breadmaking, as they were used for a variety of purposes, since dried fish, peas, beans and drugs were pounded in them.⁴⁶ The two smaller figures between the women and the mortar seem to be shaking sistra, and this may be so, for we know that the flute at least was used in Greek and Etruscan cooking where the actions of a group of people had to be co-ordinated.⁴⁷ In this case it is essential that the alternate pounding be maintained. The figure to the left of the central group is smaller than the two main figures and is standing on a stool. Her arms are stretched to some sort of table and her attitude could signify grinding or kneading the dough. Closely resembling this figure is the well-known Rhodian figurine, of the middle of the fifth century (PLATE VII 3: Appendix no. 26). This jointed doll swings at the hips and shoulders, moving her arms backwards and forwards along the tray. The object in her hands is modern, the original having disappeared, so we have a choice of supplying her with the upper stone of a quern for grinding or with a lump of dough for kneading. If she is kneading, then her tray is a κάρδοπος or μάκτρα.⁴⁸ The kneading-tray or table was usually round, occasionally oblong, could be made of stone, wood or terracotta, and there are many representations of the article (Appendix nos. 35-53).⁴⁹ A red-figure pelike in Berkeley⁵⁰ shows kneading in progress with a satyr resting a bowl on his knees; this may be, as suggested, the preparation of

⁴² For vase representations where the pestle is used as a pestle, see n. 5; for other representations, mainly mythological, see *JdI* xxiii (1908) 79-84 and 181-4 (Kropatscheck), and Amyx, 238 nn. 47-8. The Louvre cup is G 152: Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre* iii (1922) pl. 121; FR pl. 25; Pfuhl, *MuZ* figs. 419-20; Pfuhl, *Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting* (1926) pl. 36; *REG* xlix (1936) pl. 7, fig. 6; *TEL* iii 18B; *Recueil Charles Dugas* (1960) pl. 6; *ARV* 245:1 The Brygos painter.

⁴³ For mortars see Déonna, *Délos* xviii (1938) 103-7; Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus* viii (1938) 335-6 and pl. 79; Amyx, 235-8; Moritz, ch. iv.

⁴⁴ *Eranos* xlv (1946) 54-5 (Palmer).

⁴⁵ The lekythos is published by kind permission of Mrs Serpieri. Mrs A. D. Ure first brought this pot to my notice, generously lent me her photographs and supplied me with information about its date and fabric. For the term 'geometricising' see Pfuhl, *MuZ* i 207; *JHS* xlix (1929) 160-71, and lv (1935) 227-8 (Ure).

⁴⁶ Moritz, 24 and nn. 5-8 *ad loc.*

⁴⁷ See the terracotta, Appendix no. 3. Etruscans kneading to the flute: *Ath.* xii 518b and the painting

from the Tomba Golini: Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings* (1922) fig. 33. For music and milling see Moritz, 31 and nn. 2 and 3 *ad loc.*

⁴⁸ Amyx, 239-41. Amyx notes the similarity between the standed kardopos and the louterion which appear in successive entries on the Attic Stelai.

⁴⁹ The fact that at Aristoph. *Nub.* 669 the roundness of the κάρδοπος is stressed should mean that this was not always the shape. Μάκτρα could mean bath and sarcophagus as well as kneading-trough, see *CPh* iv (1909) 203-4 (Johnson); *RA* xxix-xxx (1948) 162-5 (Chantraine); Amyx, 240, n. 59. For representation of a kneading-trough later than the terracottas see two early third-century Megarian bowls, Louvre CA 936, Athens National Museum 11797, replicas from the same mould: *AE* 1914, 51 fig. 3 (Versakis); *AE* 1917, 151-7 (Kourouniotis); Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à reliefs* (1922) 300 no. 27 and 301 fig. 56; *AJA* xli (1937) 88-9 (Rostovtzeff); Frel *'Recké Vázy* (1956) fig. 179; Moritz, 13 fig. 1; Hausmann, *Hell. Reliefbecher* pls. 18, 19, 20.2 (HB 8a, b).

⁵⁰ UCMA 8/4583; *AJA* xlix (1945) 509 figs. 1-4 The Geras painter (Amyx), cf. Athens, Ak. 1525: Graef-Langlotz, i pl. 82.

μαῖζα in a σκάφη, but the words κάρδοπος, μάκτρα, θυεῖα and σκάφη seem all to have been closely related.⁵¹ The problem to decide for the lekythos is whether the black-figure artist would omit the grinding or the kneading from his representation. The pot has suffered badly at this side, and one would like to know what is under the table. It looks from the painting that remains to be a dog, and such animals were often to be found in the dining room. For, in the absence of table napkins, small lumps of bread—ἀπομαγδαλία⁵²—were used, on which the diners wiped their fingers. This done, the pieces were thrown to the dogs, and indeed these pseudonapkins were called κυνάδες by the Spartans⁵³—‘bits for the dog’. Perhaps we should consider the animal depicted here as a restless prospector. To balance this picture, there is, on the other side of the women at the mortar, the final and hardest process in breadmaking—the actual baking. The picture needs little explanation: the oven, set on legs, was doubtless of clay, the fire kindled beneath has a boy to tend it and to ensure that the heat remains constant. The baker (it is not possible to say whether the figure is male or female) is seated in front of the oven and turns the contents with a stick. Ovens of this type are common amongst terracotta figurines (Appendix nos. 6–20) and one of the finest specimens (PLATE VIII 4: Appendix no. 15), of the early fifth century, closely resembles the illustration on the lekythos. Naturally there are variations in the structure, as can be seen by comparing PLATE VIII 2 and FIG. 1 (Appendix nos. 7, 20) with PLATE VIII 4 (Appendix no. 15). It is unsafe, however, to draw too definite conclusions about details from what are essentially slight products of a minor craft. Actual specimens of ovens very closely akin to these have been found, and it can readily be seen that the oven on PLATE V 1⁵⁴ has the same basic components for the upper part, which is separate, whilst the whole is portable. Mobility is a marked characteristic of Greek cooking equipment. The cover has the remains of a floor preserved in the left-hand corner at the back and the drawings in FIG. 2 indicate how the oven was heated. Since the charcoal was placed in the shallow receptacle under the floor of the oven, a slit was left at the back, and the floor was not flush with the edge of the base at back or front, enabling a draught to be maintained under it. By this means it approximated to the more common type of four-legged oven described above. A likely name for this type of oven is ἱπνός;⁵⁵ the purpose of the ἱπνός, in its main sense, was for baking, and the presence of a small figure on a terracotta in Vienna (Appendix no. 16) and the fragmentary remains of one in the Louvre (Appendix no. 8) might connect the shape with the mention of ἱπνός and ἐπιστάτης at Aristophanes *Aves* 436 (and Schol., *ad loc.*).⁵⁶



FIG. 1. London 564.

⁵¹ Schol. ad Aristoph. *Nub.* 669 translates κάρδοπος by σκαφίδιον; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Pl.* 545 translates μάκτρα by σκάφη and θυεῖα ἐπιμήκης; Aristoph. *fr.* 417 (Kock i 500) mentions σκαφίδας and μάκτρας together and σκάφη is mentioned a number of times in connexion with kneading: *EM* 803; Pollux i 245, vi 64, vii 22. Pollux i 245 gives θυεῖα as a synonym for κάρδοπος.

⁵² Aristoph. *Eq.* 413–16; Pollux vi 93.

⁵³ Polemon *fr.* 77, Preller *ap.* Ath. ix 409d; Pollux vi 93; Hesychius s.v.

⁵⁴ Oven: P 14165. Brazier: P 2116. Both:

Pots and Pans fig. 37. For bread, see *Eranos Vindobonensis* 1893, 372 ff. (Benndorf), dated but still useful.

⁵⁵ Hdt. v 92 η, Aristoph. *Av.* 436, *Pl.* 815, Aristophanes *fr.* 176 (Kock ii 83).

⁵⁶ Another representation of a small figure, here at a kiln, is to be seen on a fragmentary Corinthian b.f. pinax in Berlin (*frr.* 683, 757, 822, 829: *AD* ii pl. 39.12; *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* (1898) 75 (Pernice); Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1903) 191, fig. 31).

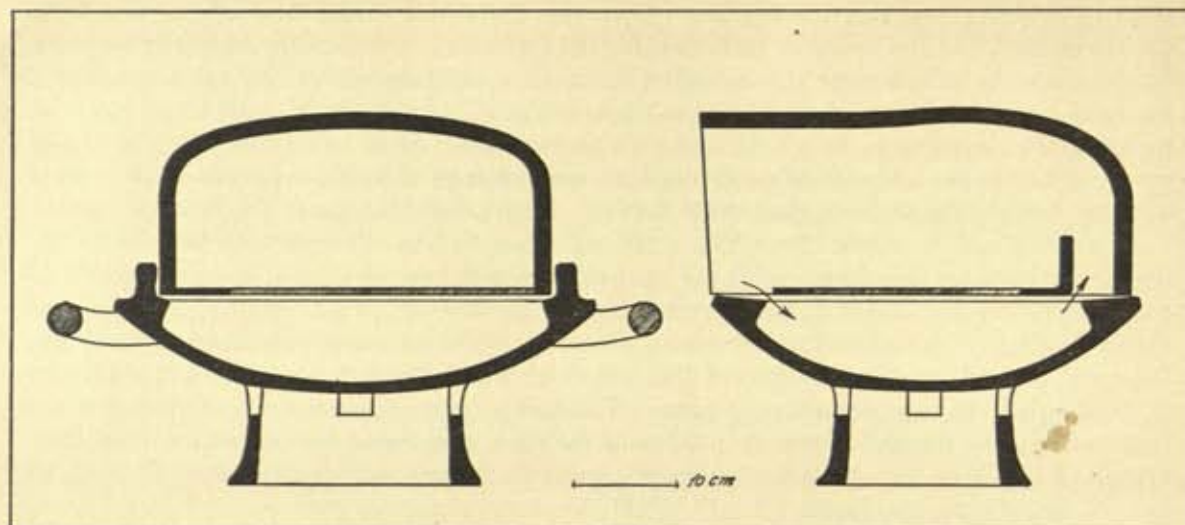


FIG. 2. Agora P 14165 and P 2116.

A simpler method of baking used a dome-shaped cover (PLATE IV 2),⁵⁷ the Greek name being *πυγυεύς*.⁵⁸ In Latin the name was *testu*,⁵⁹ and Cato (*R.R.* 74) gives directions for making bread: *manus mortariumque bene lavato. farinam in mortarium indito, aquae paulatim addito subigitoque pulchre. ubi bene subegeris, defingito coquitoque sub testu*. The way in which this was done was as follows. A space on the floor was cleared, and a small heap of lighted coals set down. The baking cover was placed over them or hung above them, and when the inside of the cover was hot enough, it was raised and the coals swept to one side. On to the warm floor was set the dough and the cover fitted over it, with leaves sometimes placed underneath the dough. The coals were then heaped over the sides of the cover (traces of burning can be seen on the right-hand specimen) and the bread was then left to bake.⁶⁰

Not all bread was baked. For the poorer classes there was *μαῖζα*, a dough made from barley meal, compounded with honey, salt and oil.⁶¹ Barley is a cereal, the husks of which cannot be removed by ordinary threshing and, before the removal of the husks, the grain has to undergo a roasting process. PLATE IV 6, right⁶² shows what may have been the utensil for the purpose at home. It is a shallow dish with a handle in the shape of a loop into which the thumb is inserted, the fingers of the hand spreading out on the underside. The name for this utensil was perhaps *φρύγτρον* or barley-parcher, and, as beans were also roasted, a similar utensil, called *σεῖσων*, would be used for them.⁶³ The kneading of the dough and other types of mixing were done in large bowls (PLATE V 2).⁶⁴ They have a capacious body, two horizontal handles and a stout foot. The glaze which covers the inside of the bowls is a sure indication that they were used for liquids as well as solids; also the

⁵⁷ Baking covers: P 10133; P 8862, *Pots and Pans* fig. 36.

⁵⁸ Aristoph. *Nub.* 96 and Schol. *ad loc.*; cf. *Av.* 1001 and *CQ* xxxi (1937) 25 (Wycheley).

⁵⁹ Or *testum*: Cato *R.R.* 76. 2, 76. 4, 84. 2, Pliny xxx 39; *tegula*: Ovid *Fasti* vi 316; *testa*: Seneca *Ep.* xc 23.

⁶⁰ This method of baking is still found today in the Balkans (*The Listener* lvi, no. 1435 (September 27, 1956) 464-5). In the summer of 1959, a metal object, the shape of which was that of the *πυγυεύς*,

was seen at Loutsa on the east coast of Attica. It was there used for cooking meat, being hung over a dug-out hollow filled with coals.

⁶¹ Moritz, xxi-xxii and 150 with refs. *ad locc.*

⁶² Barley-parcher: P 4462, *Pots and Pans* fig. 40 left, at back.

⁶³ *φρύγτρον*: Polyzel. *fr.* 6 (Kock i 791); Pollux i 246. *σεῖσων*: Alexis *fr.* 134 (Kock ii 345); Axionicus *fr.* 7 (Kock ii 415); Pollux vii 181; Hesychius *s.v.*

⁶⁴ Lekanai: P 25757, *Pots and Pans* fig. 22, right; P 13016; P 6151.

middle specimen is furnished with a lip for pouring. These bowls were called *λεκάναι* and their uses were myriad: sick-bowl, wash-basin, wine-vat, hod, as well as being primarily a container for food.⁶⁵

We have noted that most of the utensils connected with breadmaking were portable; even the oven need not in every case be a fixed item. The natural conclusion to draw from this fact is that the word 'kitchen', when applied to ancient Greek homes, indicates less location than function, and when we turn from breadmaking and examine the other methods of cooking, this conclusion is reinforced. To cook by dry heat—to grill, fry or roast—was *ὀπτάν*,⁶⁶ and, if we remove the top from the portable baking oven (PLATE V 1), we have the most common type of brazier, the *ἐσχάρα* (PLATE V 3).⁶⁷ To the right of the square brazier is shown a round specimen which would seem to be less suitable for the double duty performed by the square one. The shallow receptacle, as we noted above, received the coals, and on the lugs at the sides rested spits for holding small fish or pieces of meat in the manner of modern Greek *σουβλάκια* or kebabs. The handles are a prominent feature, and most braziers show, from the considerable traces of burning on them, that they were subjected to hard wear. Closely allied to the brazier is the grill (PLATE V 5),⁶⁸ round or square, provided with a handle for hanging when not in use and supplied with four feet to allow small lumps of charcoal underneath. These grills would be placed straight over the coals, or, if there was a need for them to be portable, across the top of the brazier or in a flat-bottomed pan which would contain the coals (PLATE V 5, below). The greater amount of burning on the inside of the pan suggests that it was more normally used for this purpose, but it could naturally be used separately. *τάγηνον* is suggested as the correct term for it.⁶⁹ A simple fan or *ρίπισ*⁷⁰ was used to help the flame, as the area and amount of coals would necessarily be small, and the terracotta on PLATE VIII 5 (Appendix no. 21), of the early fifth century, shows a man tending a grill with a large square mat in his left hand, to waft the flames (*cf.* Appendix no. 23).

To boil and stew was *ἐβειν*,⁷¹ a type of cooking not known in the Homeric poems but common in later centuries. There were two sources for the water: the fountain and the courtyard well. Both had their special jar (PLATE V 7):⁷² the *ὕδρια*, or *κάλπις*,⁷³ for the fountain, with one vertical handle for carrying when empty, two horizontal side-handles for hoisting the full jar on to one's head, and the *κάδος*,⁷⁴ to which a bail-handle and rope

⁶⁵ Amyx, 202-5, where the references are given. The *lekane* is frequently represented on vases (e.g., *Pots and Pans* figs. 12, 19 and 21), but has usually been described as a *krater*.

⁶⁶ *ὀπτάν*: Hdt. i 119, ix 120; Aristoph. *Av.* 1690, *fr.* 627 (Kock i 548); Euboulos *fr.* 120 (Kock ii 207).

⁶⁷ *Escharai*: P 2116 (see n. 54), P 2362, *Hesperia* iv (1935) 515 fig. 27, 82; Amyx, 230 n. 94. The evidence for applying the name *ἐσχάρα* to this shape is set out by Amyx, 229-31.

⁶⁸ Rectangular grill, P 26165 and circular grill, P 26166: both, *Pots and Pans* fig. 45; *Hesperia* xxviii (1959) pl. 22e and 100, n. 21. Frying-pan, P 21945; *Hesperia* xxii (1953) pl. 36.119; *Pots and Pans* fig. 40 right, at back. No satisfactory name has, as yet, been found for the grill. *γαστροπότης*, suggested by Amyx, 232, is a doubtful candidate. Perhaps this too was an *eschara*. Other grills are: Agora P 8305 (Amyx, pl. 49d), one from Olympia (E. Kunze and H. Schliel, *IV Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia 1940-41* (1944) 103 figs. 87-8, one from Delos, B 3879 (Déonna, *Délos* xviii (1938)

229 fig. 254 and pl. 630, of lead, and see *ibid.*, 228 nn. 6-7 for refs.).

⁶⁹ *τάγηνον*: Aristoph. *Eq.* 929; Plato *Com. fr.* 173 (Kock i 646); Euboulos *fr.* 109 (Kock ii 203) and *cf.* Ath. vi 228d.

⁷⁰ *ρίπισ*: Aristoph. *Ach.* 669, 888; Euboulos *fr.* 75 (Kock ii 190).

⁷¹ *ἐβειν*: Hdt. i 48, i 119, iv 61; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 239, 280, *Ec.* 845.

⁷² *Hydria*: P 20558, *Pots and Pans* fig. 15, right. *Kados*: P 1207.

⁷³ *ὕδρια* and *κάλπις* are interchangeable, see Aristoph. *Lys.* 328, 358, 370. *ὕδρια* appears retrograde on the François vase (*ABV* 67: 1). See Fölzer, *Die Hydria* (1906) *passim*; Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (1935) 11-12; Amyx, 200-1 and refs. *ad loc.*

⁷⁴ *κάδος*: Aristoph. *Ec.* 1002-4; Men. *Dysk.* 190, 576, 582, 626. See *RA* 1933 i 154-62 (Philippart); Caskey and Beazley, *Attic Vase-Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* ii (1954) 34-6; Amyx, 186-90. Amyx, 188-9, notes the absence of the *kados* from

were attached for lowering down the well. For drawing or for carrying smaller quantities of water simple jugs (PLATE VI 2)⁷⁵ were always available. The usual pot in which the water was heated was the χύτρα (PLATE VI 1),⁷⁶ the commonest cooking pot of antiquity.⁷⁷ Besides its use as a kettle, the chytra also did duty as a saucepan in which meat and soup were boiled (Appendix nos. 66–70).⁷⁸ The absence of any foot indicates that they were set in some heating device. These were various. One such is the barrel cooker, by far the largest terracotta heater (PLATE V 6).⁷⁹ The principle is simple: the small hole at the bottom ensures a draught and brushwood is the most likely fuel that was used to heat it. Such a large brazier would naturally take only a large pot, and they are rare. The smaller and more numerous pots were accommodated on stands; the two on either side of PLATE V 4 show a convenient arrangement.⁸⁰ Slightly more than a half cylinder, the stands taper towards the top and are provided with the usual handle. The specimen on the left has horizontal tabs protruding inwards to support the pot, the other at the right has pointed ends to grip it. They were pushed towards the fire, and the numerous pots which have burning on the side away from the handle show what a serviceable utensil the stand was. Its history can be traced back to early Helladic times with little change in the essential shape,⁸¹ its simplicity and usefulness ensuring a long life. The central pot on PLATE V 4 is an individualist, demanding no assistance from stands, itself equipped with three legs and flanged to receive a lid. Again the shape has a long history, this time extending to Mycenaean times,⁸² but the arrangement in the classical period must have seemed clumsy to housewives accustomed to the more flexible combination of casserole and brazier. For stewing one needs a covered vessel, and this requirement is fulfilled by the casserole or λοπάς⁸³ (PLATE VI 3).⁸⁴ On the left we have one which forms a bridge between the chytra and the more normal lopas. It has vertical handles at the rim and a deep rounded body like the chytra, yet the offset lip and the mouth fashioned for a lid relate it to the lopas

Agora deposits of the later fifth and fourth centuries, and suggests that this may be due to a more extensive use of metal vessels, which have not survived. There is no real evidence to this effect, however, and little to suggest that bronze pots were a significant part of the normal equipment of the average household of classical Greek times. The absence of water pots from Agora well-fillings of the later fifth and fourth centuries seems more probably due to the fact that few 'use-fillings' of this period have been dug, and those very scanty.

⁷⁵ Jug: P 23184.

⁷⁶ Chytrai (in order of size): P 21947, *Hesperia* xxii (1953) pl. 35.115; Amyx, pl. 48h and 212, n. 88. P 20813, *Pots and Pans* fig. 40, left. P 24913. P 23188, *Pots and Pans* fig. 62. P 24864. P 19845.

⁷⁷ χύτρα: the word is painted on a chytra in Corinth, C 48–65; *Hesperia* xviii (1949) pl. 16.15 and 16, right (Weinberg; name read by Lang); Amyx, 211–12. It is represented twice on red-figured vases:

(i) Warsaw Nat. Mus. inv. 142290: *Gaz. Arch.* ix (1884) pls. 44–6; de Witte, *Description des Collections d'antiquités conservées à l'Hôtel Lambert* (1886) pl. 22; Cook, *Zeus* i (1914), 424 fig. 305; Picard, *VP* pl. 15.3; Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Dios Kodion' 265 fig. 2450, s.v. 'Lustratio' 1410 fig. 4686; *CVA Goltchov* (i) pl. 32 (32) 3a; *ARV* 376: 62 The Leningrad painter; Attic r.f. hydria, c. 460 B.C.

(ii) Oxford 521: *Adl* 1865 pls. P–Q; *JHS* xxiv

(1904) 307; *CVA Oxford* i (iii) pl. 26 (118) 2–3; *ARV* 323: 5 Early work of Hermonax?; Attic r.f. stamnos, c. 470 B.C.

⁷⁸ Aristoph. *Eq.* 1174, *Av.* 78, *Ran.* 983, *Ec.* 1092, *Pl.* 673, 683, 686; *fr.* 591 (Kock i 542).

⁷⁹ Barrel cooker: P 17822. Chytra: P 18532. Both: *Pots and Pans* fig. 44, centre.

⁸⁰ Chytra and cooking-stand: P 23189, *Pots and Pans* fig. 40, second from right. P 8396, *Hesperia* Suppl. ii 191 fig. 141, C 165 (Young); *The Athenian Agora* viii, *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery*, pl. 11.211 (Brann). Tripod-casserole: P 13710. Chytra and cooking-stand: P 25007 and P 25008. Both: *Hesperia* xxv (1956) pl. 17b; *Pots and Pans* fig. 42.

⁸¹ See *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* i (1951) 106–7 and pl. 3c–d (Harland); and Mylonas, *Aghios Kosmas* (1959) figs. 172–3.

⁸² Tripod cooking pots are well known in Mycenaean contexts: see, e.g., those from the North Slope of the Acropolis, *Hesperia* viii (1939) 398–9 fig. 81 (Broneer). It is difficult to tell in some of the terracottas (e.g., Appendix nos. 66 and 67) whether the legs on which the pots stand are separate or attached.

⁸³ Amyx, 197 n. 74, 210 n. 76 and pl. 49c. That the lopas had a lid is suggested by the combination of the word πύλω with it at Aristoph. *Vesp.* 511.

⁸⁴ Lopas and variants: P 8875, *Archaeology* x (1957) 193. P 13564. P 25771, *Pots and Pans* fig. 39, right.

proper. The two specimens on the right give the extremes of the lopades, whilst being basically similar: rounded but shallow body, offset lip and handles to be grasped horizontally and rising to the level of the rim which is flanged to receive a lid. The spout which is to be seen on the right-hand pot (and see PLATE VI 5) is in many cases vestigial, as it is not pierced right through the wall of the pot, and indeed the angle at which it is set on the body makes the explanation that it was for pouring difficult, as in a number of cases the spout is vertical. Where it is pierced through it could provide a useful outlet for steam; where there is no opening the explanation of the vestigial spout may lie in its being a socket to receive a wooden stick, when the contents of the pot needed attention. The round bottom again betrays a stand for the casserole, and small cylindrical braziers perform this function admirably (PLATE VI 5).⁸⁵ The idea of the cylindrical brazier is easy to understand: the charcoal was placed inside, the fire then both fed and fanned through the stoke-hole; openings in the wall of the pot facilitated a draught. The pot was set either on a rim shaped to receive it, or on small studs raising the pot and further aiding the draught. Handles were attached to the braziers, once more for ease of transport.

Variations on these semi-cylindrical and cylindrical braziers have a long history after the classical period. In Hellenistic times the commonest brazier consisted of a bowl-shaped container for coals made in one with a substantial stand (PLATE VI 6, left).⁸⁶ Instead of the simple studs the rim is provided with rectangular protuberances adorned with the heads of satyrs, whose beards jut out to form the resting surfaces for the pot. Provision for the draught is made by holes or slits in the bottom of the bowl; the ash collected at the bottom of the stand.⁸⁷ To the Roman period, dating from the first century of our era, belongs the utensil on the right of PLATE VI 6.⁸⁸ The simple half-cylinder is now attached to a dish which is furnished with feet. A heap of coals could be placed in the open half of the dish and moved into the half cylinder when required. Conversely, the ashes could be raked out of the brazier when there was no more use for them and the open half of the dish could serve as a base for pots which were to be kept warm. The handle is no longer needed, as the whole dish is portable, but the ends of the half-cylinder are still provided with points to ensure that the pot sits securely. To illustrate the continuity of cooking utensils still further, the two braziers on PLATE VI 4⁸⁹ give us the classical and modern types: the one on the left is of the classical period, and we have seen examples of it before, the one on the right is of recent manufacture from the island of Siphnos, and combines the draught holes of the classical brazier with the stand and bowl of the Hellenistic.

We have now discussed most of the terracotta utensils that would be to hand in the classical Greek kitchen. What else can we add? Ladles (κύαθοι), of wood, terracotta and bronze, were used, though wooden ones are only a surmise, as none are extant, terracotta ones are rare, and bronze ones seem to have been used almost exclusively for wine.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Lopades and braziers: Deep lopas, P 21948, *Hesperia* xxii (1953) pl. 36.112. Brazier, P 21958, *Hesperia* xxii (1953) pl. 36.123; *Archaeology* x (1957) 197; Amyx, pl. 49b and 230, n. 96. Shallow lopas, P 14655. Brazier, P 16521. Both: *Pots and Pans* fig. 44, left.

⁸⁶ Hellenistic brazier: P 7039. The handles have been restored wrongly and should curve inwards more tightly.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of this type of brazier, see *Jdl* v (1890) 118-41 (Conze); *Jdl* vi (1891) 110-24 (Furtwängler); *Jdl* viii (1893) 218-29 (Mayer); *BCH* xxix (1905) 373-404 (Mayence); *Hesperia* iii (1934) 420-1 and 466-8 (Thompson).

⁸⁸ Roman brazier: P 14122, *The Athenian Agora* v,

Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology (1959) 34-5 and pl. 38. G 123 (Robinson).

⁸⁹ Classical brazier: P 19598. The modern brazier is housed in the Stoa of Attalos; cf. *Jdl* xii (1897) 162 fig. 2; *Antiquity* xii (1938) 470 and pl. 4, right.

⁹⁰ Only metal ladles have been studied, see *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* v (1942) 40-55, with full notes (Hill). The usual name was κύαθος, and two ladles have incised on them, one of the fifth century in Königsberg (inv. F 28: Lullies, *Antike Kleinkunst in Königsberg* Pr. (1937) pl. 31.192) the name κάθος, the other in private possession in America, of the third century (*AJA* xlvii (1943) 209 ff.) the name κύαθος. See also, Robinson, *Olynthus* x (1941) 194-8 and pl. 50 with refs.

PLATE VII 1⁹¹ shows a terracotta ladle, which is glazed on the bowl but has a reserved handle—the regular practice, and it also gives an indication of the variety of narrow-mouthed oil-jugs. The black-glazed pair were most likely for perfumed oil and are not kitchen articles; the two on the right perhaps held cooking or table oil.⁹² The large jug to the left, looking startlingly like a modern kettle, is something of a mystery; its wide mouth will now allow liquid to be poured out drop by drop and is unlikely to have been stopped with cork or sponge; its similarity in shape to the others may not indicate a similarity of purpose. Strainers (ῥήμοι) (PLATE IV 6)⁹³ and sieves were various, the latter especially being produced in a variety of materials.⁹⁴ Funnels (χῶναι) have not been found in any great numbers, and those that have been found in the Agora Excavations are for the most part of later Greek times, though their representation on vases is not uncommon.⁹⁵ The cheese grater (τυρόκνηστις), which we have mentioned before in connexion with Appendix no. 56, was a flat, perforated piece of bronze or terracotta (ones of silver and copper have also been found) with a handle fixed on its upper face;⁹⁶ meat hooks (κρέαγραι), like funnels, seem to have been dispensable items.⁹⁷ Cutlery was not used at table, for bread acted as a spoon, and fingers were more agile than knives and forks. For the cook, however, a cleaver (μάχαιρα) would be needed, and one such is to be seen on a Corinthian column-krater of the early sixth century (PLATE VIII 6).⁹⁸ Here we see the cook and his assistant holding a piece of meat between them, and the cook also has a cleaver in his right hand ready to chop the meat.

Details of the classical Greek house are not well known, and no new excavation seems to assist in clarifying the rather dim picture. The majority of houses have not revealed any trace of a fixed hearth or kitchen, though the evidence from Olynthos shows that by the fourth century kitchens were becoming common.⁹⁹ The kitchen utensils, which have been briefly described above, show that the search for the presence of kitchens from architectural features is unlikely to prove very fruitful, as the ovens, braziers and grills were portable, as well as the pots, to be set in a corner or hung on the wall when not in use.¹⁰⁰

APPENDIX

I have tried to arrange this list in groups according to the subject shown. This has not always been strictly possible, as some terracottas show more than one subject and

⁹¹ Ladle and jugs: above, P 18899, P 4739, P 19701; centre, ladle, P 10082 + 24190; below, P 12785, P 2361, *Hesperia* iv (1935) 494, no. 75.

⁹² The modern term, askos, has no ancient justification. See, for the finer ones, *AJA* xxv (1921) 325–36 (Beazley), for all shapes, *AA* 1929 cols. 235–66 (Waldauer), and for the larger and coarser ones, *Hesperia* iv (1935) 495, 75 and 512 (Talcott).

⁹³ Strainer: P 16387, Amyx, pl. 499 and 262, n. 46.

⁹⁴ *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* v (1942) 40–55 (Hill); Amyx, 259–64; Moritz, 159–63.

⁹⁵ Amyx, 255–9. The three representations are mentioned by Amyx, 258–9.

⁹⁶ τυρόκνηστις: Aristoph. *Vesp.* 938, 963, *Av.* 1579, *Lys.* 231–2, fr. 7 (Kock i 394); Pollux x 104. See Appendix nos. 54 and 56 for representations. Jacobsthal (*AM* lxii (1932) 1–7) collects some actual cheese graters. See also Robinson, *Olynthus* x (1941) 191–4 and pls. 48–9.

⁹⁷ For meat-hooks (ancient name κρέαγραι, see Schol. ad Aristoph. *Eq.* 772), see Richter, *Greek,*

Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1915) 236–7, no. 665; Beazley and Magi, *Raccolta Guglielmi* (1939) 213 ff., nn. 86–8, pl. 63 and bibl.; Robinson, *Olynthus* x (1941) 198 and pl. 50 and see text for list of others. A representation of this implement can be seen on a red-figure stamnos, Berlin 2188 (Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* (1927) pl. 96a; Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium ii Vasen* (1932) pl. 57; *ARV* 192: 1 The Hephaisteion painter; early fifth century B.C.).

⁹⁸ See n. 6(i); for other representations of cleavers, see n. 6(ii)–(vi) and Appendix no. 65.

⁹⁹ For a good general resumé of knowledge up to 1938, see *RE* Suppl. vii cols. 224–78 (Robinson). What can be done with small evidence, modern analogies and sound surmise is shown in *BCH* lxxx (1956) 483–506 (Svoronos-Hadjimichaelis) on chimneys and kitchens.

¹⁰⁰ For the use of walls, shelves and cupboards, see *AJA* xlix (1945) 513 (Amyx) and *Collection Latomus* xxviii (1957) 420 ff. (Richter).

some, though only depicting one subject, may be interpreted in more than one way, e.g., the grinding and kneading figures. As for dates and place of manufacture, the details given below have been taken from the publications, except where patently absurd. For sensible remarks about date, see *Ann.* xxiv-vi n.s. viii-x (1946/8) 13-16 (Blegen) and about place of manufacture, see *Corinth* xv, part 2 (1952) 206-7 (Stillwell). Many of the terracottas I know only from published photographs.

Bakehouses (1-5)

These have been put together to show the existence of communal bakeries. By far the most important are nos. 1 and 2. Amyx gives photographs of them, but Kourouniotis' drawings are needed to clarify the details. No. 3 gives the type of communal kneaders, and, although restored in parts, the flute player at the end seems to be genuine.

As noted above, it is not always possible clearly to distinguish grinders from kneaders. In the case of no. 3, however, the position of the hands indicates that no great pressure is being applied.

1. Athens NM 4431: *AE* 1896 pl. 11.2 (Kourouniotis); Winter, *Typen* 34.2; Blümner, *TT*² i 62 fig. 24; Majewski, *KMSG* 203 fig. 212; Amyx, pl. 50a; Argive, middle of the sixth century.

2. Athens NM 5773: *AE* 1896 pl. 11.1 (Kourouniotis); Winter, *Typen* 34.3; Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Pistor' 495 fig. 5694; Blümner, *TT*² i 69 fig. 29; Majewski, *KMSG* 203 fig. 211; Amyx, pl. 50b; Argive, c. 525 B.C.

3. Louvre B116: *RA* 3rd series xxxiv (1899) 11 fig. 8; *BCH* xxiv (1900) pl. 9.1 (Pottier); Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Pistor' 496 fig. 5695; Pottier, *Diphilos et les modeleurs de terres cuites grecques* (1909)

pl. 6; *AE* 1924, 111; Cloché, pl. 35.2; Bossert and Zschietzschmann, *Hellas and Rome* 143, below; *TEL* ii 172A; Besques-Mollard, *Tanagra* (1950) fig. 2; Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes*² (1951) pl. 11b; Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue* i pl. 15; Majewski, *KMSG* 202 fig. 210; *Atlas of the Classical World* (1959) 64 fig. 123; from Thebes, late sixth century.

4. Munich, Loeb collection: Sieveking, *Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb* i (1916) pl. 3; Majewski, *KMSG* 201 fig. 209; Corinthian (?), sixth century.

5. From the Argive Heraeum: Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* ii (1905) 43 fig. 86. 279; Argive (?), archaic.

Ovens (6-20)

These differ only in details. No. 6 has a lid by the side of the oven, no. 18 has a lid resting on top. No. 10 is unusual, as the oven is set on a larger base which accommodates a table as well. Many of the figurines have small bowls by the side of the oven, perhaps for holding the cakes when done.

6. Copenhagen, Danish NM 156 (inv. 4829): Winter, *Typen* 263; Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas, Danish National Museum* (1941) pl. 17; Majewski, *KMSG* 209 fig. 218; from Thebes, early sixth century.

7. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. 2164: Verhoogen, *Guide Sommaire* pl. 2b; *PLATE* VIII 2; Boeotian, late sixth century.

8. Louvre B117: Heuzey, *Les Figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* (1883) pl. 39.1; Huish, *Greek Terracotta Statuettes* (1900) 18 fig. 4; Pottier, *Diphilos et les modeleurs de terres cuites grecques* (1909) pl. 6; Blümner, *TT*² i 70 fig. 30; Cloché, pl. 30.1; *TEL* ii 173G; Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue* i pl. 15; Majewski, *KMSG* 211 fig. 224; from Tanagra, late sixth century.

9. Munich, Loeb collection: Sieveking, *Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb* i (1916) pl. 4.2; Bossert and Zschietzschmann, *Hellas and Rome* 220, bottom; Majewski, *KMSG* 209 fig. 219; Boeotian, late sixth century.

10. Lugano, Dr Hans Freiherr von Schoen collection: Neugebauer, *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz* (1938) pl. 40.96; Lullies, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst* (1955) pl. 53.129; Schefold, *Meisterwerke* 184, no. 192; Boeotian, late sixth century.

11. Athens, private collection: *AE* 1898 pl. 13.1; from Thebes, early fifth century.

12. Athens, private collection: *AE* 1898 pl. 13.2; from Thebes, early fifth century.

13. From Megara: *Sotheby Sale Catalogue* 19 June 1961, no. 124; c. 500 B.C.

13A. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. V. 1814: unpublished; *BSA* xiv (1907/8) 297 n. 12; Boeotian, late sixth century.

14. Auction Basle *MM* x (1951) no. 363; Boeotian, c. 500 B.C.

15. Berlin, Staatliche Museen inv. 31.644: *Berliner Museen* lvii (1936) 25 (Neugebauer); *Pots and Pans* fig. 38; *PLATE* VIII 4; Boeotian, early fifth century.

16. Vienna, private collection: Winter, *Typen* 35.10; Boeotian (?), early fifth century.

17. Berlin 7684: Winter, *Typen* 35.12; from Vari, early fifth century.

18. Berlin 8343: Winter, *Typen* 35.11; Boeotian, early fifth century.

19. Athens NM 12992: unpublished; Boeotian, late sixth century.

20. British Museum 564: Higgins, *Catalogue* pl. 73.564; FIG. 1; Aeolian, early fifth century.

Grills (21-3)

No. 22 is in bad condition, and I am not sure of the genuineness of no. 23.

21. Berlin 6674: *AZ* 1874 pl. 14; Winter, *Typen* 35.3; Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique* (1884) ii pl. 84; Pottier, *Les Statuettes de Terre cuite dans l'Antiquité* (1890) 47 fig. 17; Neugebauer, *Die Technik des Alltags* (1919) 100 fig. 164 = *The Technical Arts of the Ancients* (1930) 98 fig. 164; Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten* (1926) pl. 11a; Cloché, pl. 35.1; Majewski, *KMSG* 208 fig. 217; *Pots and Pans* fig. 46; PLATE VIII 5; from Tanagra, early fifth century.

22. Louvre B119: *BCH* xxiv (1900) pl. 10.3; Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue* i pl. 16; from Thespiae, late sixth century.

23. Athens NM, Stathatou collection: *Arkeologiska Forskningar och Fynd* (1952) 56 fig. 9 (Holmberg); Boeotian, late sixth century.

Grinders (24-30)

The kneeling figure (no. 24) is the easiest to connect with grinding (see Moritz, ch. v). Moritz, pl. 2a, shows a kneeling figure which must, as he says, be connected with grinding (Louvre CA 1144: *BCH* xxiv (1900) pl. 11.4). It is not, however, Greek but Egyptian. Madame Mollard-Besques, who supplied me with this information, says that the man who sold the terracotta stated that it came from Thebes, which Moritz takes to be Boeotian Thebes. The half figures (nos. 25-6) may be thought to be kneeling or standing, more likely the former. However, the Mycenaean figure (no. 27) and the Rhodian (no. 28), which are so remarkably similar, also the Oxford terracotta (no. 29), would seem to be grinding figures, even though they are standing. The Rhodian and Oxford figures show a raised block in the centre of a broad basin, and the women appear to be pushing the upper stone across the block, causing the flour to accumulate around in the basin. Mrs Lisa Wace French tells me that fragments of other Mycenaean figures like no. 27 have been found at Mycenae. A further interesting parallel for the Rhodian figurine is one from a grave at Bisenzio, Etruria, the figure being similarly attached to a tripod basin (Rome, Museo Preistorico inv. 51762: Montelius, *La Civilisation Primitive en Italie* ii (1904) pl. 255.2; Muller-Karpe, *Vom Anfang Roms* (*RM Erg* v, 1959) pl. 18.4). Grinding is perhaps represented on a black-figured fragment in Athens (Akr. 2525: Graef-Langlotz, i pl. 104).

24. Lausanne, Marion Schuster collection: Scheffold, *Meisterwerke* 184, no. 193; Boeotian, c. 500 B.C.

25. Southampton, Diana Sparkes: PLATE VII 4; Argive; mid-sixth century.

26. British Museum 233: Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camirus* (1875) pl. 22.3; Winter, *Typen* 169.3; Walters, *BMCat* pl. 6, bottom, middle; Webster, *Greek Terracottas* (1950) pl. 25; Higgins, *Catalogue* pl. 39.233; Moritz, pl. 1b; PLATE VII 3; Rhodian, middle of the fifth century.

27. Athens, private possession: *Ann.* xxiv-vi n.s. viii-x (1946/8) 15 figs. 1-4 (Blegen); Mycenaean, Late Helladic III.

28. British Museum 234: Hutton, *Greek Terracotta Statuettes* (1899) fig. 3; Winter, *Typen* 34.5; Higgins, *Catalogue* pl. 39.234; Majewski, *KMSG* 206 fig. 215; *Pots and Pans* fig. 34; Rhodian, middle of the fifth century.

29. Oxford G 39: PLATE VIII 1; Boeotian, early fifth century.

30. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum: Scheurleer, *Catalogus eener Verzameling Egyptische, Grieksche, Romeinsche en Oudheden* (1909) pl. 16.191; Boeotian, sixth century.

Mortars and Pestles (31-4)

This group is proportionally much smaller than the same subject in vase painting, see n. 5. I am not sure of the genuineness of no. 34.

31. Berlin 7681: Winter, *Typen* 33.9; Blümner, *TT*² i 19 fig. 4; *AM* xli (1916) 57 fig. 12; Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten* (1926) pl. 9a; Majewski, *KMSG* 197 fig. 205; from Tanagra, late sixth century.

32. Louvre B120: *BCH* xxiv (1900) pl. 10.1; Picard, *VP* pl. 52.3; *TEL* ii 172C; Besques-Mollard,

Tanagra (1950) fig. 19; Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue* i pl. 16; *Pots and Pans* fig. 33; from Tanagra, late sixth century.

33. Louvre B121: Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue* pl. 16; late sixth century.

34. Athens, NM, Stathatou collection: unpublished; Boeotian, c. 500 B.C.

Kneading Tables (35-53)

A large group, this seems to have been one of the first types produced. The kneading table used for final kneading and for the shaping of loaves and cakes varies considerably between figures. Mrs Stillwell (*Corinth* xv part 2 (1952) 206-7) notes a difference between the Argive, Boeotian and Corinthian forms of stand. Déonna (*Délos* xviii (1938) 48-53) has some interesting remarks on the columnar supports common for the kneading trays. These are also found represented on vases, e.g., r.f. cup in Corneto, Tarquinia RC 1116 (*Eranos Vindobonensis* (1893) 381 fig. 2; *CVA* Tarquinia i (xxv) pl. 10 (1162) 4; *ARV* 291: 192 Douris) and b.f. stand (*Auktion Basle MM* xviii (1958) pl. 30.102). Nos. 45 and 46 have a lamp attached to, or balanced on, the edge of the basin.

35. Corinth KT64-1; Stillwell, *Corinth* xv part 2 (1952) pl. 45 (Class xxxiii, no. 17); Corinthian, seventh to sixth centuries.

36. Corinth KT64-2; Stillwell, *Corinth* xv part 2 (1952) pl. 45 (Class xxxiii no. 18); Corinthian, seventh to sixth centuries.

37. From Mycenae: Schliemann *Mycenae* (1878) pl. 19.109; Argive (?), seventh century (?).

37A. From Mycenae: *BSA* xlviii (1953) 63 fig. 36, I 12 (J. M. Cook); Argive, seventh to sixth centuries. Two similar but fragmentary ones were also found.

38. From the Spartan Menelaion: *BSA* xv (1908/9) 122 fig. 4, nos. 48, 49, 52; seventh century.

39. From Artemis Orthia: *BSA* xiv (1907/1908) 50 fig. 1, q, r, s, t; Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (1929) pl. 40.13-15 and 157, fig. 111; seventh century. Fr. of about 20 are said to have been found.

40. From Perachora: Payne, *Perachora* i (1940) pl. 111, nos. 264 and 265. These two, together with no. 266, are said by Jenkins (*ibid.*, 248) to be Argive; Stillwell (*op. cit.*, 207) says 265 is perhaps Corinthian. 265 is early sixth century, 264 and 266 are second half of sixth.

41. From Tiryns: Schliemann, *Tiryns* (1886) 149, 76; *AA* 1896, 107; Winter, *Typen* 34.1; Argive, second half of sixth century.

42. From the Argive Heraeum: Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* ii (1905) 18 fig. 15.24; Argive, second half of sixth century.

43. From Tiryns: Schliemann, *Tiryns* i 83 fig. 21.142; Argive, second half of sixth century.

44. Karlsruhe, Landesmuseum B 2731: unpublished; Boeotian, sixth century.

45. Athens NM 4044: *AE* 1896 pl. 12.3; Winter, *Typen* 34.8; Blümner, *TT*² i 66 fig. 27; Majewski, *KMSG* 205 fig. 214; from Tanagra c. 500 B.C.

46. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts inv. 97.352: *Festschrift für James Loeb* (1930) 46 fig. 2 (described under no. 1); Chase, *A Guide to the Classical Collection* (1950) 39 fig. 46, top, middle; Boeotian, late sixth century.

47. Athens NM 4052: *AE* 1896 pl. 12.4; Winter, *Typen* 34.9; Blümner, *TT*² i 66 fig. 28; Majewski, *KMSG* 207 fig. 216; from Eretria, c. 500 B.C.

48. Cassel, Museum Friedericianum: Winter, *Typen* 35.7.

49. New York, Metropolitan Museum 36.11.4 Fletcher Fund: *Bull. Metr. Mus.* xxxii (1937) 17 fig. 2; Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection* (1953) pl. 52 i; Boeotian, early fifth century.

50. Binningen, F. Schwitler collection: Schefold, *Meisterwerke* 184, no. 191; Boeotian, c. 500 B.C.

51. Berlin 7682: Winter, *Typen* 35.6; from Tanagra.

52. Bonn, University Museum: Winter, *Typen* 34.4; from Tanagra.

53. *Auktion Basle MM* xi (1953) no. 297; Boeotian, sixth century.

Grinding bowls (54-64)

The earlier bowls are only sketchily modelled and vary considerably in detail, as do the actual examples; the later ones (nos. 57-64) follow closely the known development in the shape of rim, handles and spout. The Corinthian origin of the later terracottas agrees with the origin of the actual bowls.

54. From Rhitsona, 267: *BSA* xiv (1907/8) 296, fig. 21 and pl. 7b (Burrows and Ure); Boeotian, c. 500 B.C.

55. Munich, Loeb collection: Sieveking, *Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb* i (1916) pl. 4.1; Boeotian, late sixth century.

56. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts inv. 01.7783: *BSA* xiv (1907/8) 296 fig. 20; Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (1926) fig. 107; *Festschrift für James Loeb* (1930) 46 fig. 1 (described under no. 2); *AM* lvii (1932) Beil. 1 (Jacobsthal); Chase, *A Guide to the Classical Collection* (1950) 39 fig. 46, centre, left; PLATE VIII. 3; Boeotian; early fifth century.

57-8. Leningrad Hermitage 909F and G: *C. Rend.* 1877 pl. 6.9 and 10; Winter, *Typen* 224.11; late fifth century.

59. Bonn, University Museum: Winter, *Typen* 224.10; from Corinth, late fifth century.

60. British Museum 957: Higgins, *Catalogue* pl. 135.957; Corinthian, late fifth century.

61. British Museum 958: Higgins, *Catalogue* pl. 135.958; Corinthian, late fifth century.

62. British Museum 969: Walters, *BMCat* pl. 6, bottom, left; Higgins, *Catalogue* pl. 136.969; Corinthian, early fourth century.

63. Athens NM 12980: unpublished; Corinthian, late fifth or early fourth century.

64. Basle, private collection: *Auction Basle MM* xvi (1956) pl. 9.44; Schefold, *Meisterwerke* 252, no. 318; Corinthian, fourth century.

Butcher (65)

This subject is more common in vase-painting, see n. 6.

65. Louvre B122: *TEL* ii 187D; Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue* i pl. 16; from Thebes, late sixth century.

Chytrai (66-70)

The chytra is rarely shown on vases, see n. 77, but is quite common amongst terracottas. No. 67 may not be a chytra, but a *κακκάβη*, which had three feet (Photius *s.v.*). Mme Mollard-Besques, in her description of the terracotta, says that the pot is 'une marmite à trois pieds et deux anses'. I have seen only photographs of the piece.

66. Berlin 8349: Winter, *Typen* 34.6; Majewski, *KMSG* 211 fig. 223; Boeotian (?), seventh to sixth centuries.

67. Louvre B118: *BCH* xxiv (1900) pl. 11.3 (Pottier); *TEL* ii 172D; Besques-Mollard, *Tanagra* (1950) fig. 3; Mollard-Besques *Catalogue* i pl. 15; from Tanagra, late sixth century.

68. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts inv. 97.349: *Boston Museum Report* 1897, 32 no. 5; *Festschrift für James Loeb* (1930) 47 fig. 6; Richter, *Archaic Greek Art* (1949) fig. 247; Boeotian, c. 500 B.C.

69. Athens NM 4045: *AE* 1898 pl. 13.4 (described under no. 3); Winter, *Typen* 35.4; Boeotian, late sixth century.

70. Boston Museum of Fine Arts inv. 01.7788: *Festschrift für James Loeb* (1930) 46 fig. 3; Klein, *Child Life in Greek Art* (1932) pl. 32 D; Chase, *A Guide to the Classical Collection* (1950) 39, fig. 46, top left; *Pots and Pans* fig. 41; Boeotian, early fifth century.

Cake Pans (71-5)

Kourouniotis (*AE* 1896, 215) suggests that the pan is a *πλάθανον*. No. 73 has a pan shaped like a winnowing corb or liknon (*JHS* xxiii (1903) 292-334) and may not belong to this group.

71. Berlin 7683: Winter, *Typen* 35.8; Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten* (1926) pl. 9b; from Thisbe.

72. Berlin 8485: Winter, *Typen* 33.6.

73. Athens NM 4042: *AE* 1898 pl. 13.3; Winter, *Typen* 35.5; from Tanagra, late sixth century.

74. Athens NM 4756: *AE* 1896 pl. 12.6; from Tanagra.

75. Leipzig inv. T1900: Paul, *Antike Welt in Ton* (1959) pl. 11.23; Boeotian, early fifth century.

Mixer (76)

This is an unusual type and one not found in Winter, *Typen*. The figure has a bowl between her knees and seems to be mixing or stirring.

76. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum: Scheurleer, *Catalogus eener Verzameling Egyptische, Griekse,*

Romeinsche en Oudheden (1909) pl. 18.190; Boeotian, sixth century.

Miscellanea (77-84)

I have put at the end those terracottas which are either non-Greek or doubtfully connected with cooking, and those on which I have too little information to place certainly,

or of which I have no picture. Nos. 77 and 78 are from Elaious, on the Thracian Chersonese, and may represent cooks, but alternative suggestions of potter and vintner are equally plausible. Nos. 79-81 are Cypriot, no 79 similar to nos. 77 and 78, but certainly showing a barrel-cooker, as there are five cakes inside, no. 80 showing milling and sieving, and no. 81 a man holding a lump of dough, presumably a kneader. No. 82 also shows a kneader, or maybe a grinder, nos. 83 and 84 are kneaders.

77. Louvre B302: Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue* i pl. 33; from Elaious, late sixth century.

78. Louvre B304: Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue* i pl. 33; from Elaious, late sixth century.

79. New York, Cesnola collection 2122: Cesnola, *A descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum, New York* ii (1894) pl. 10.73; Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (1914) 348; McClees, *Daily Life of the Greeks and Romans* (1941) 41 fig. 49; Cypriot.

80. New York, Cesnola collection 2120: Cesnola, *op. cit.*, pl. 10, 75; Myres, *op. cit.*, 346; McClees, *op. cit.*, 41 fig. 50; Cypriot.

81. Hamburg Museum inv. 1930. 44: *AA* 1935 col. 88, fig. 17; Cypriot.

82. Louvre inv. AO 1846: *BCH* xviii (1894) pl. 17.3; Winter, *Typen* 34.7; from Phoenicia.

83. From Medma: *NSc* 1917, 47 fig. 14; Locrian, early fifth century.

84. British Museum 1206: Higgins, *Catalogue* pl. 164. 1206; Locrian, early fifth century.

There remain a few about which information is scant. There is a description of a pestle and mortar figure, but no picture, in *AA* 1902, 111, no. 2, in the Albertinum, Dresden. Two other Cypriot terracottas are listed, but not illustrated, in Cesnola, *op. cit.*, nos. 2121 and 2123. Chase (*Festschrift für James Loeb* (1930) 49) quotes a description in French from *Catalogue de la Collection d'antiquités grecques de M. O. Rayet* 17, no. 56, as a comparison for our no. 68. Winter (*Typen* 35.4, note) compares our no. 69 with *Catalogue de la Collection Rayet* (1886) 6, no. 8, from Tanagra, presumably another chytra figure. I have seen neither of the last mentioned books, so cannot say for certain whether they are one and the same.

85. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. V.1674: unpublished; Cypriot.

Information on this terracotta came too late for inclusion with the Cypriot terracottas above. It, like them, stands aside from the main categories assembled above, and again the subject, though certainly connected with food, is difficult to make out in detail. A woman is seated at a bowl on a stand, in which there seems to be dough or a cake, whilst on the floor to the left is a dish containing cakes. A dog is sniffing at the dish. The photograph of this terracotta I owe to the kindness of Dr Rudolf Noll, of the Kunsthistorisches Museum.

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FOUR LEKYTHOI IN CHALCIS

(PLATES IX-X)

THERE are in Chalcis Museum¹ four black-figured lekythoi of sixth-century date.² Two, nos. 567 and 569, were mentioned by Professor Haspels in *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* 28 f.,^{2a} but the others have not, as far as I am aware, been noticed. None of them fits neatly into any Attic group, though three can be loosely connected with the Dolphin class. One is certainly from Styra. The finding-place of the others is not recorded, but there can be no doubt that they are from sites in Euboea. The close resemblance between Attic and Eretrian vase-painting makes it difficult to distinguish Atticising work made in Eretria from Attic imports, while so far black-figured vases of the archaic period from workshops in Chalcis have not been recognised.³ Nevertheless a study of the four lekythoi now in Chalcis reveals affinities with the few vases that are already known to be of Euboean origin and indicates that they should be classed with them rather than with Attic.

The first, no. 960 (ht. 19.5 cm.) is seen on PLATE IX.1-3 (2 is from the same negative as 1 with the red and white retouched). The shape of the vase can be seen in the illustrations and needs no comment. On the shoulder opening flowers, black with a central petal in applied white, alternate with red buds. On the body a panther faces a grazing stag with one group of four fine dots between them and another beneath the body of the stag. Though the general appearance of the vase is not noticeably unlike Attic some unusual features can be observed. First, the three gently curving brush strokes which emphasise and embellish the ribs of the panther are not accompanied by incised lines. Though it is common enough to find incision and no paint on this part of an animal, it is only very rarely that we find paint with no incision. For parallels we have to turn to two of the Eretrian grave amphorae in Athens.⁴ Both the Wedding and the Herakles amphorae show important vestiges of an earlier unincised style of painting,⁵ for on the first the whole of the back of the vase lacks incision, on the second the whole of the foot. Some scenes show a compromise between the incised and the unincised, part of the scene, or even part of a figure, lacking the usual incisions.⁶ So here, in the case of our panther, though incision is used on the head, legs and hindquarters, the ribs are merely painted, without the incised lines to which the painting is normally only an adjunct. See PLATE IX.2 and compare the ribs of the panther with those of the completely unincised lions on the back of the neck of the Eretrian Wedding amphora, *BICS* vi pl. 1.1. Further, as has already been pointed out in this *Journal*,⁷ the markings in red that brighten up the bodies of Eretrian animals are shapely and ornamental, generally tapering downwards. Between the incised lines on the hindquarters of both the panther and the stag we have decorative markings of this kind, broader at the top, making a gentle curve and tapering to a point at the base, while the three on the ribs of the panther, though smaller, are also well shaped.

¹ I am indebted to Dr J. Papademetriou for permission to work in Chalcis Museum and to publish the vases here discussed; to Mrs S. Karouzou for permission to publish a lekythos in Athens and details from the Peleus amphora, Athens 12076; and to Mr John Boardman for the photographs used for PLATES IX.1-3, X.1, 2.

² A fifth, decorated only with ivy leaves and chevrons, is figured in *BSA* lv (1960) pl. 55.4.

^{2a} For 569 see *BSA* xlvii (1952) 46, n. 309 and *AJA* xlv (1941) 64, n. 4.

³ We are not here concerned with the question of the vases generally known as 'Chalcidian'.

⁴ 1004: CC667 (Wedding) and 12075: N889 (Herakles). See Boardman *BSA* xlvii (1952) 30 ff.

⁵ *BICS* vi (1959) 1 f.

⁶ Cf. the Judgment of Paris on the Wedding amphora, *ibid.*, 1 f., pl. 2.3.

⁷ *JHS* lxxx (1960) 162.

Another detail worth notice is the white line down the front of the neck of the panther. This line can be found on Attic vases, but it is far more often absent.⁸ It is, however, in evidence on all the bulls of the procession on the Eretrian Wedding amphora, *JHS* lxxx (1960) pl. 13.4, 5, and on the bull in the interior of the lekane formerly in the Humboldt University, Berlin, *ibid.*, 164 f., pl. 13.3, which there is reason to regard as Euboean. It should also be observed that on the shoulder of Chalcis 960 the red lotus buds lack the usual black undercoat, the red being painted directly on the clay. In this they correspond with the buds on the lid of the Wedding amphora and those on the lekane in Tübingen that goes closely with it, *ibid.*, pl. 9.6, 1, 2. Finally, there are the groups of dots in the field. These were specially beloved by Eretrian painters. There are clusters of five between the sirens on the foot of the Wedding amphora, *BSA* xlvii (1952) pl. 9a, and between the rams at a lotus on the back of the shoulder of the Herakles amphora, *JHS* lxxx (1960) pl. 10.7; a group of six beneath a handle of the Herakles amphora, *BSA* xlvii (1952) 25 fig. 21f; and a group of three in Boardman's early Eretrian group C, *ibid.*, fig. 21e. Attic painters rarely use them.

These various peculiarities, well represented on the few Euboean vases that we know, but occurring only very occasionally among the vast quantity of contemporary Attic that has come down to us, tend to show that this lekythos, found at Styra in the south of Euboea, should be assigned to a Euboean workshop. It takes with it Syracuse 11398, Haspels *ABL* pl. 5.4, lion facing ram; between them a group of three dots. In shape this vase agrees with the lekythos from Styra and the drawing of the animals is very similar. The flowers and buds on the shoulder have some incision, it is true, and the buds are black with red added at the base. This may indicate a different hand or a slightly later date, but the pattern is fundamentally the same, and the two vases must have issued from the same workshop. The lekythos in Syracuse comes from a grave in Megara Hyblaea. Another, less like the Styra vase and probably only distantly related, is a lekythos from Olbia now in Leningrad, *AA* 1912, 360 fig. 50, with a bull facing a lion over a diminutive basin⁹ or dish; in the field a group of three dots. The bull has a white line down its neck like the Eretrian bulls mentioned above and the panther of Chalcis 960. On the shoulder large buds pointing down alternate with smaller pointing up, all black. The place of finding of these vases does not tell against the attribution to Euboea. There is no reason to suppose that enterprising cities like Chalcis and Eretria did not export their wares.¹⁰ Their numerous colonies in Sicily may be expected to provide a market and act as centres of distribution, while Mrs V. M. Skudnova's recognition of fragments in the Hermitage from a grave in Olbia as Eretrian¹¹ puts it beyond doubt that Euboean pottery travelled as far as South Russia.¹²

The second lekythos in Chalcis with which we are concerned is no. 569 (ht. presd. 12 cm.), PLATE X.1 and (coloured) 2. The mouth is lost and there was apparently no neck, but merely a thick drip-ring. In a panel, bordered at the top by black tongues within a scalloped edging, stands a swan flapping its wings; beneath one wing there is a group of three dots. We already possess some Eretrian swans. The swan procession above the Judgment of Paris on the Wedding amphora, *BICS* vi (1959) pl. 2.3,¹³ hardly provides a basis for comparison since the wings there are folded and the figures are archaic and stiff, but we notice how the long white breastline plays a striking part in both. A better parallel is found on the foot of the later Peleus amphora.¹⁴ The swan next to the

⁸ *JHS* lxxx (1960) 165 and n. 26.

⁹ The fountain basin on the neck-amphora by the painter of London B 76 with Troilos and Polyxena, *CV Brit. Mus.* iii pl. 35.1, is equally small.

¹⁰ Pace R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* 104, referring to Eretria.

¹¹ *Soobshcheniya* (Hermitage) xvi (1959) 48 f.

¹² Cf. the Euboean fourth-century vase with palmette decoration in Oxford which is said to have come from South Russia, *BSA* lv (1960) pl. 56.6, 8; *CV* i pl. 48.18.

¹³ Four of the birds on 3c are painted up.

¹⁴ Athens 12076: N890. See Boardman, *BSA* xlvii (1952) 38 f., pl. 9c.

man in the second row down, PLATE X.4, is near to the Chalcis swan. They are not identical. The painter of the Peleus vase was in the habit of concealing the rear part of the forward wing of his birds behind the breast, which bulges forward more than usual, while the wing of the Chalcis swan is represented in the normal fashion. Rather nearer is the siren on a lekythos of similar shape, Athens 1149 (CC 684; ht. 19 cm.), PLATE X.5, 6, which comes from Chalcis. This vase probably supplies us with the shape of the missing mouth of Chalcis 569. The siren is close to those of the Peleus amphora. Compare, for example, the siren next to the swan just referred to on the foot, PLATE X.4, lower row, and the one flanked by lions on the lid of the same vase, PLATE X.3, 7. The treatment of the red and white wing-stripes is very close to that on the more heavily built siren in the third row of the Peleus foot, PLATE IX.7. I know of no Attic swan or siren that is nearer than these from Eretria to the swan and siren of the two lekythoi in or from Chalcis, and Miss Haspels, who also refers to Athens 1149 in connexion with Chalcis 569 (*ABL* 28), has nothing very close to compare with either of them. The one vase with which she does link Chalcis 569 is a lekythos in New York,¹⁵ Gallatin *CV* pl. 2.15. It is of the same shape as the other two, though slimmer, and has the same mouth and drip-ring as Athens 1149. The body is decorated with a pair of lions which are akin to the lion on the lekythos from Megara Hyblaea in Syracuse, and there is the usual group of three dots in the field. I regard both the Chalcis swan and the New York lions as Euboean, and put with them the siren from Chalcis in Athens.

The next is a shoulder lekythos, no. 567 (ht. 18.5 cm.), PLATE IX.4, 5, on which a youth is seen pursuing a woman, watched by a spectator. This vase is related to a group of lekythoi associated with a lekane in Amsterdam decorated with a centauromachy, *JHS* lxxx (1960) pls. 11.3, 12.1-3, which has been shown to be Euboean.¹⁶ One of the lekythoi, formerly in the Lehmann collection, now in New York in the collection of Mr Walter C. Baker, is very close to the lekane. It shows a horseman between two gesticulating youths, one striding and one running, *Collection Lehmann* no. 101 pl. 6, and other lekythoi of the group have similar running youths, associated with animals or centaurs, sometimes wearing a red baldric or sash over the right shoulder. The shoulder decoration consists of black buds, generally separated by black spots, and frequently the alternate buds have white sepals. The Chalcis lekythos 567, which has already been connected with the Lehmann lekythos by Miss Haspels (*ABL* 29), stands on the fringe of this group. The clay is yellow under the foot, matching that of the swan lekythos 569; the surface of the rest of the vase has been ruddled.

The fourth lekythos, no. 568 (ht. presd. 9.5 cm.), PLATE IX.6, has lost both mouth and handle. It is fatter and more rounded than any of the foregoing. The shoulder has three large buds, downward pointing, two of them with white sepals painted on the clay and now barely visible. On the body stands a panther with a white line running down its nose between two incised lines and a white belly-line. There are two coarse black blobs in the field. It is a rough piece of work and looks like a caricature of the panthers on the foot of the Peleus amphora; compare, for instance, the panther of PLATE IX.7. Related to this lekythos is one on the market with similar, though thinner, buds on the shoulder, two of them with white sepals. Its main decoration is a roughly painted gorgon flying between two pillars. The yellow clay and excessively streaky glaze of this gorgon lekythos are undoubtedly Euboean. The clay of Chalcis 568 is slightly more orange, similar to that of no. 960 from Styra.

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¹⁵ Inv. 41.162.36. See Beazley, *ABV* 458.

¹⁶ *JHS* lxxx (1960) 164. I propose to deal more fully with this group later.

NOTES

Addenda to 'Notes on the Panathenaea'

(JHS lxxviii (1958) 23-42)

(i) By an oversight which I can neither explain nor excuse, I entirely failed to take account of the relevant Panathenaic amphorae attributed by Sir John Beazley to the Eucharides Painter (*ABV* 396):

9. Athens, Acropolis 947, fr. . . B, man holding *auloi* (Graef, Heft 2, pl. 61).

10. Leningrad from Kerch. A, Athena; B, aulete on platform between two men on ground level, both leaning on *rhabdoi*. *Arch. Anz.* 1912, 339-40, figs. 23(A), 24(B).

12. Athens, Acropolis 1060, fr. . . B, two men on platform (= aulode and accompanist?) facing standing man with *rhabdos* (Graef, Heft 2, pl. 62).¹

(ii) Since my article appeared, Dr Dorothy Kent Hill of the Walters Art Gallery (to whom I am indebted for most of the references on which these addenda are based) has published in *AJA* lxiii (1959), pl. 47 (fig. 3—A, fig. 4—B) a further Panathenaic amphora which she attributes to the Eucharides Painter:

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.2107 (acquired 1958). A, Athena; B, man on platform playing *kithara* between two men leaning on *rhabdoi*.

These four vases should be added to the Appendix to my article (p. 42) as nos. 6a-6d. Their existence may well be thought to render even more striking than it already seemed to be the absence of all comparable evidence from the middle decades of the fifth century, and to reinforce my suggestion, at p. 35 of my article, that there was a period from about 470 to about 450 when musical contests were not held.

(iii) Other vases which may have some relevance are:

(a) Two Panathenaics:

(1) Norwich 4. "A, Athena; B, acontist with aulete"² (*ABV* 369, Leagros Group 115).

(2) San Simeon, Hearst 9931. "A, Athena; B, *diskos*-thrower and acontist with aulete" (*ABV* 369, Leagros Group 118).

(b) Certain *pelikai* most recently discussed by D.

¹ I omit Beazley's no. 11 (Athens, Acropolis 939, fr.), since all that is visible in Graef's illustration (Heft 2, pl. 58) is the lower half of a male figure, which might be that of a judge or spectator and which tells us nothing about the nature of the contest in question.

² In this list, as in the Appendix to my article,

von Bothmer (*JHS* lxxi (1951) 40-7; his number is given at the beginning of each entry):

(1) 3. Palermo 156. "A, chariot scene; B, aulode and accompanist between two 'judges'."

(2) 4. Bologna (inv.) Coll. Palagi 1431. A, Dionysus offers *kantharos* to seated Athena, who faces seated Heracles (he turns away to play with dog); B, man playing *kithara* on platform, between two seated men with *rhabdoi* (*ARV* 150, Nikoxenos Painter 38). *CVA* Italy vii (Bologna, Museo Civico ii), pl. 25.

(3) 38. Dunedin E. 48.226. "A, Athena and Ares in gigantomachy; B, man on platform between standing man [judge or trainer?] and seated man [audience?]." Very near Acheloos Painter (von Bothmer). The performer here may well be a rhapsode (no sign of any accompaniment); if so this is the first example to be recognised of a scene from a rhapsodic contest. The gigantomachy scene has obvious Panathenaic associations.

(4) 55. Florence, *NSe* 6 Ser. x (1934), 423-4 (confiscated from a resident in Campiglia Marittima). A, robed man on platform before altar (the altar is a new, and I think un-Panathenaic, feature) playing *kithara* between two men leaning on *rhabdoi* (the right-hand leaner has on his head what *NSe* calls a small *petasos*; should it not be 'a wreath?'); B, woman carried off by satyr, chariot pursuing. *NSe* as above, fig. 78 a (A), b (B).

(5) 60. Sydney 47.07. "A and B, aulete and 'judge' (restored)."

(6) Neck-pelike 5. New York 07.286.72. A, man on platform playing *kithara*; B, aulode and accompanist on platform. *JHS* lxxi pl. 22 a (A), b (B).

(7) 63. Gela, Navarra-Salonia. "A, aulode and accompanist with 'judge'; B, aulete between two 'pyrrhic dancers'."

(8) 62. Athens NM 485, Collignon-Couve 787. A, bearded man in 'himation' playing 'lyre' for dancing man in 'chlamys'; "B, aulete standing before dancing 'warrior' [pyrrhichist?]" *CVA* Greece i (Athens, Musée Nationale i), pl. 5-4 (A). A has nothing to do with any formal contest, but B may have some Panathenaic connexion.

(9) 12. Once New York, de Morgan. "A, woman with *krotala* between two dancing men;

double quotation marks mean that I have not seen the vase or a picture of it; single quotation marks mean that I report my authority's description of the person or thing in question, but without going bail for its correctness; a man described as a 'judge' may be a trainer or simply a member of the audience—and so on.

B, 'judge', aulete and jumper." This vase, and nos. (10) and (11) below are apparently akin in subject to (a) (1) and (2) above.

(10) 40. New York 49.11.1. A, ambush of Silenus; B, two boxers sparring, accompanied by aulete. *JHS* lxxi pl. 20a and fig. 1 (A), pl. 20b and fig. 2 (B).

(11) 54. Cassel, Prince Philip of Hesse. "A, aulete and athlete; B, 'trainer' and acontist."

(iv) R. Harder, *Kleine Schriften* (ed. W. Marg, 1960), 129 n. 17, refers to an article by Gabriel Welter (*Arch. Anz.* 1939, 1-22), in which it is argued that the private cult of Athena Nike on the Acropolis bastion, established about 550-540 B.C., should be connected with a victory in the Panathenaea, rather than with any military victory (pp. 12-13). Welter's reference to the establishment of the state cult by a decree moved by one Glaucus between 450 and 446 B.C. (*IG* i² 24 = Tod 40) fits in very well with my suggestion that Pericles' reorganisation of the Panathenaea was made in time to take effect at the Great Panathenaea of 446; the Panathenaic relevance of Athena Nike in the fourth century is established by *IG* ii² 334.20-2 (Welter, 13-15).

(v) Mr D. M. Lewis of Christ Church, Oxford, kindly told me some time ago that he had at last discovered an official reference to τὰ Παρθέναια τὰ μικρά, in a new fragment from the top of *IG* ii² 334.¹ But it has still to be proved that this was already official language in the fifth century.

(vi) I am grateful to Mr P. E. Corbett (*JHS* lxxx (1960) 57) for pointing out the relevance to my argument of the references to Erichthonius in *Marmor Parium*, ep. 10, and in (Eratosthenes) *Catasterismi* 13. Mr Corbett is obviously right to find it "hard to believe that if in reality they (sc. ordinary chariot races) were first incorporated in the festival in the sixth century, their institution could be ascribed to mythical times" (p. 58); and his following comment, "moreover, the ancient sources say nothing at all about chariot races when speaking of the changes made in the sixth century", is so incontestably correct as to make me wish that I had phrased my references to the equestrian contests in such a way as to emphasise that chariot racing at least was traditionally an original element in the festival.

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The Parties Who Honoured Paulina in Aspendos

The statue base in Aspendos published by D. Hereward in *JHS* lxxviii (1958) 59-61 no. 3 is unusual, perhaps unique, in that it mentions not one but several groups each called οἱ περὶ τὸν δαίμονα. J./L. Robert comment on them, understanding that

¹ See his article, *Hesperia* xxviii (1959) 239-47; text on p. 240; line 19 Παν[αθηναίων τῶν μικρῶν τ].

in all there are five groups (*REG* lxxii (1959) 258 no. 452); but there is uncertainty. This is one of several problems which, as Miss Hereward remarks, the text presents. She reads:

[γυμνα]σι[αρχοῦντος]
[—2—] εἰον Φλάον [ιου—3 or 4—]
[—2—] υ Πάυλιαν ἐ[— — —]
[—?2—] αν ἀνδριάντι ἐ[κ τῶν ι]
5 δῶν · οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνα[σίον ·]
οἱ περὶ Φλάονιον Σωσιπά[τρον]
καὶ περὶ Κλαύδιον [Π]ύρρον καί — — —
περὶ Ξενοκλέα ΔΙΙΜΑΡ [—?3—]
καὶ οἱ περὶ Φηρέαν Ἀφροδ[— — —]
10 καὶ οἱ περὶ Δημήτριον Ἀρε[— — —]
ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.

First, the edges. The numbers of letters missing at the beginnings of the first four lines, and at the ends of all but one line, are not established, yet they determine much else. The Roberts complain, and rightly, that instead of a photograph and squeeze, there is only a drawing, necessarily subjective; but I have found my confidence in it growing as I worked. It is not often so, but the drawing is to be preferred to the transcription in several places.

The left side is said to be preserved in part. This can be confirmed on the drawing, by sketching in the parts of the letters missing at the edge in lines 5-10: they give an even and satisfactory margin. The right side is broken away, but stone remains for 0.01 m. (surely not '0.1' as on p. 59) to the right of the last preserved letter in line 9. On this (right) side also restorations can be sketched in, and a margin, sufficiently even, and causing line 11 to be exactly centred, can be established. On this basis all of the gaps at the ends can be determined more accurately than in the previous text.

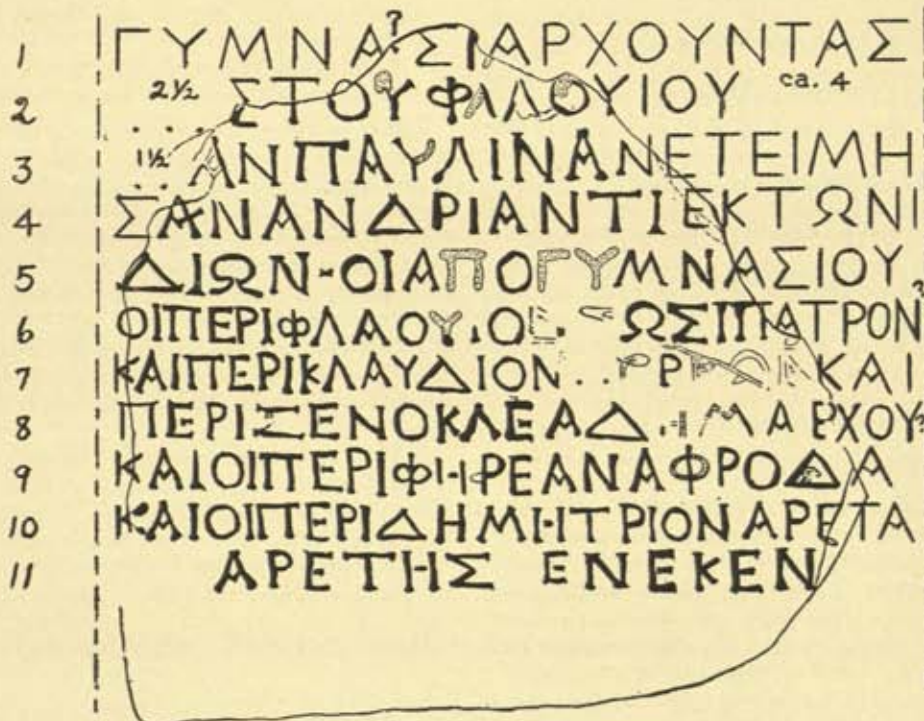
The last words of lines 8, 9 and 10 are read, respectively, ΔΙΙΜΑΡ[- (there was a Zeus Marna at Gaza), Ἀφροδ[-, and Ἀρε[-. The editor suggested as an open possibility that all should be restored as deities, in the dative. The statue would then be a dedication, by three parties, to the three different gods; or better, she suggested, lines 8-10 would give names of deities each of which was worshipped by one of the parties.

The Roberts have given their verdict against this. They are of course right: it would be unexampled and, it seems to me, unthinkable, even if space permitted (line 9 is opposed); and if the men in lines 8, 9 and 10 could do without patronymics; and if three gymnasia, or three cults, existed in Aspendos, for Zeus Marna of Gaza, for Aphrodite, and for Ares. The words are not names of gods; I return to them *infra*. The statue was put up to honour Paulina; not as a dedication, nor an expression of devotion, to any deity.

The central and hardest puzzle is the restoration of line 5, οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνα[—]. The restoration depends on the identity of the parties named after this phrase in

lines 6–10. They too are in the nominative, grammatically in apposition to the phrase in line 5; it is they who honoured Paulina. With a [Gymnasiarkhos] in line 1, and with a phrase that might mean ex-Gymnasiarkhoi in line 5, Miss Hereward took the persons named in lines 6–10 to be ἀπογυμνα[σίου], i.e., five former Gymnasiarkhoi. It seemed natural and proper to speak of those who attended a gymnasium as οἱ περὶ him who was its

disappears. In line 1, if it is correctly restored, the Gymnasiarch of one gymnasium is named for dating. Presumably this is the gymnasium where Paulina's statue was to stand; and of course the further presumption is that she had given money to this gymnasium. It would seem odd to have persons from other gymnasia—if I am right (*infra*) about the parties, and there are only three, they would have to be exclusively from other gymnasia—uniting to



After JHS lxxviii (1958) 59 fig. 4. The area within the irregular line has not been touched. Outside it, the original sides are indicated and, in thin lines, letters are restored.

head in their time. The Roberts were inclined to follow this lead, although they recognised with her, what is now quite certain, that the restoration cannot be οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνα[σίου]. It can hardly be longer than οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνα[σίων], which, under the compulsion of spacing, had been adopted by Miss Hereward. The phrase seemed not to say what ought to be meant.

The evidence for identifying the five men of lines 6–10 as ex-Gymnasiarkhoi was the feeling that the names of deities at the ends of lines 8, 9, 10 could hardly be a triple coincidence. They must, therefore, be deities. In line 8, however, the drawing appears to read not, as printed in the transcription, ΔΙΜΑ— but rather ΔΗΜΑ—. Miss Hereward admits this possibility, and herself supplies as alternatives what are, I think, correct restorations for all three lines, 8, 9 and 10. They are of course patronymics; two of them happen to be theophoric names.

Once the deities are gone, the evidence for the involvement of men from several different gymnasia

contribute to a statue for this gymnasium, in honour of a benefactor of this gymnasium.

It is by no means impossible, but I know of no instance where the members of a gymnasium are called οἱ περὶ its head; nor of a gymnasium having three heads.

A simpler notion is to suppose that only one gymnasium and only one Gymnasiarch are involved. Line 5 can then be restored οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνα[σίου]: it was not named, perhaps because there was only one gymnasium in Aspendos, or because every reader would know that the gymnasium where he then was was the gymnasium of the inscription.

The parties contributing to the statue are οἱ ἀπὸ this gymnasium. If it had said οἱ περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον, that would have meant the staff of the gymnasium: for a full discussion see HSCP lxiii (1958) 423–36 and TAPA 91 (1960) 381–409. The preposition used by Lucian for Peripatetics, C. A. Forbes has pointed out to me, is ἐκ: Eun. 3, Pisc. 43: οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου. Other similar phrases, LSJ s.v. iii 3. Lucian also

uses ἀπό with the same meaning: οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου; οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, *Comp.* 6. There is no implication of having left the school. Hence in the present instance we have to deal with persons still participating in the management or other activities of the gymnasium.

The text may be given as follows:

- 1 [γυμνα]σῖα[ρχοῦντος]
- 2 [σ]τον Φλάου[ιον] -- -- --
- 3 [σ]αν Παύλιναν [ἐτελμην]
- 4 [σ]αν ἀνδριάντι ἐ[κ τῶν ι]
- 5 δίων - οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνα[σίου]
- 6 οἱ περὶ Φλάουιον Σωσίπ[ατρον]
- 7 καὶ περὶ Κλαύδιον [Π]ύρρον [καὶ]
- 8 περὶ Ξενοκλέα Δημάρ[χον]
- 9 καὶ οἱ περὶ Φηρέαν Ἀφροδ[ῶ]
- 10 καὶ οἱ περὶ Δημήτριον Ἀρε[τᾶ]
- 11 οὗ ἀρετῆς = ἔνεκεν [οὗ]

Commentary on individual lines

Line 1. The first stroke is faulty. The next letter, sigma, dotted in the text, is present complete in the drawing, and after it iota and, vaguely, part of an alpha or lambda. Extra large letters [ΓΥΜΝΑ] will fill the space, perhaps, but the trace before the sigma would fit only kappa. The remainder of the restoration, however, fits the space nicely. (Here and wherever possible, space requirements of letters are based on the space occupied by the same letters preserved in other lines. In other reckonings, iota is counted as half a full letter.)

Line 2. Not ΕΙΟΥ but, as the drawing shows, for the first letter, and the spacing for the second, ΣΤΟΥ.

Line 3. The previous text disregards the first alpha.

Line 4. The editor hesitates about whether to restore ἐτελμηναν in lines 2-3 or in 3-4, but it fits only the latter if syllabification is (as it should be) respected.

Line 5. *Supra*. The short dash is an interpunct.

Line 6. The length of Σωσίπ[ατρον] makes it dubious, being too long, but all lines after 4 are ended with words, and the last two letters may have been written small, [ΤΡΟΝ] as often, e.g. in P. Graindor, *Album* pl. 22, line 10. The name is known locally, and is to be preferred: otherwise some shorter name, e.g. Σώσιπ[πον]. The trace of a letter shown at the edge is too remote to be part of an alpha.

Line 7. The space left in the transcription for οἱ at the end of the line should be closed; no οἱ.

Line 8. The readings and spacings for the patronymic are dubious.

Line 9. There is room for only 1½ letters.

Line 10. Room for 1½ letters.

Clearly the first names in lines 6-8 are preceded by only one οἱ. If more had been wanted, they would have been inscribed: there was room on the stone. The number of groups is therefore three:

Those around Phlaouios Sosipa[ros?] and Klaudios son of Pyrrhos and Xenokles son of Demar[khos?];

Those around Phereas son of Aphrodas;

Those around Demetrios son of Aretas.

If this is correct, there is a group οἱ περὶ three persons, for which I do not know a parallel. And it follows that the five men named are not Gymnasiarkhoi. After all, six gymnasia (counting him of line 1) would be a large number for Aspendos. The five men (or ephēboi?) doubtless all attended one gymnasium, of which [---]στος Φλάου[ιος] --- was Gymnasiarkhos. In any Greek gymnasium there were doubtless many age-groups and/or groups formed on other bases. One such group apparently acknowledged three leaders, Sophronistai or the like.

In time the phrase οἱ περὶ, κτλ., came to be used to mean only the one person, e.g. οἱ περὶ Φαβρίκιον (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20) meant Fabricius himself. But in the present text, that would not explain the two omissions of οἱ; besides, it may well be a literary usage and not likely to turn up in inscriptions.

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Addendum on the Statue of a Gallus

In *JHS* lxxx 90 I reproduced the upper part of Montfaucon's engraving showing the statue of a Gallus, which I (and others) supposed to be lost. I am indebted to Mr C. C. Vermeule for drawing my attention to his 'Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis' in *AJA* lix, from which I learnt (p. 89) that the statue was in the Earl of Pembroke's collection at Wilton, and that it was of Severan or late Antonine date. Mr Vermeule's reference to Michaelis enabled me to trace its history a little farther back.

In 1731, twelve years after its publication by Montfaucon, Cary Creed reproduced it in a volume of etchings after sculptures in the Pembroke Collection, and inscribed the etching 'Attis, Cybele's high Priest Cloathed as a Woman it is grav'd in Montfaucon without the Head my Lord having bought it before with ye Mazarine Collection'. It is hardly plain whether head or torso or both came from the Mazarin Collection, but the head crowned by a Phrygian cap is plainly alien. Lord Pembroke kindly told me that the head was much restored, and that with it the figure was 5 ft. 9 in. in height. Michaelis (p. 715) mentioned it among the pieces

etched by Creed which he had failed to find at Wilton. It, is however, at Wilton no longer, for, with other marbles, it was sold there on July 3, 1961. It was reproduced in Christie's catalogue of the sale (lot 147, wrongly assigned to the second century B.C.), fell to an Italian bidder at 1,100 guineas, and is destined for the Musei Capitolini.

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A note on αὐτοματίζω in Connexion with Prophecy

In his carefully balanced and analytical investigation of the ὄρκιον τῶν οἰκιστῆρων of Cyrene (JHS lxxx 94-111), A. J. Graham seems to me to have been somewhat misled in his treatment of the verb αὐτοματίζω by the not very exact entry in LSJ *Add. et Corr.* 2055. Under the original entry in LSJ the meanings are correctly enough given. The fourth-century B.C. authors quoted used it either of persons—'to act of oneself, act off-hand or unadvisedly' (X. Cyr. 4.5.21) or of things—'to act spontaneously' (Arist. GA 715-27). But when after the publication of the Cyrene inscription the entry was amended and amplified to cover the activity of the Pythia, the editors rather unfortunately chose simply to translate it to 'deliver an oracle'. Hence Graham following them writes that 'contemporary (i.e., fourth-century) uses of the word which have been recorded are quite different in meaning', and concludes that 'it is an unusual word and χρῶν would be expected in its place'.

The purpose of this note is to suggest that αὐτοματίζω did not mean simply to deliver an oracle, but had a quite specific and technical meaning when applied to the action of the Pythia or other prophet, namely 'to speak without (or before) being questioned' and so 'to prophesy spontaneously'. Of the instances cited in LSJ the earliest (DS 16.92) is the only one which does not refer to the Pythia: here at the festival where Philip II of Macedon was assassinated the Athenian embassy had produced a prophetic ill omen by the proclamation that anyone who plotted against Philip might be extradited. Diodorus' comment is διὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτοματιζούσης φήμης ὥσπερ θεῖα τι προνοία διεσήμαινε τὸ δαμόνιον, κτλ.—where evidently the participle does not mean simply a 'prophetic utterance' but a 'spontaneously prophetic' utterance. That this is the meaning of the verb can be seen more clearly in another passage in Diodorus where he uses the compound ἀπαντοματίζω. (This passage and its use is not noted in LSJ.) DS 35.13 (Exc. Vat. p. 105), ὅτι τοῦ Ἀττάλου τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως χρησ-τηριαζομένου περὶ τινος, ἀπαντοματίσαι τὴν Πυθίαν φάσι. θάρσει, ταυροκέρως, ἐξεῖς βασιλίδι τιμήν, which is followed by another line modelled on the famous

address to Cypselus (Hdt. 5.92.81). Evidently in each of these two instances it was supposed that the Pythia prophesied the enquirer's future sovereignty spontaneously when the enquirer had come with a quite different question, and probably even before the question had been put. This was a favourite motive in Delphic legend. None of the instances need be taken as historic: besides the two cited above, they are Lycurgus (Parke and Wormell, no. 29) and Kalasiris (*ibid.*, no. 514). Plutarch (2.4512e) recognised the practice as peculiarly appropriate to the god who claimed καὶ κοινοῦ ξυνήμι καὶ οὐ λαλέοντο; ἀκούω. The other examples of αὐτοματίζω grouped under the same meaning in LSJ *Add. et Corr.* will all suit the specific meaning which I have suggested, or at least not reject it.

Aristid. Or. 28(49)103. The orator is defending himself against criticism of an impromptu passage in a previous speech. He asks the critic: ἢ καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς χρησμολόγους, ὅταν αὐτοματιζώσιν, ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσεις, ἐπιτηρῶν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ βλέμμα; the emphasis is on the spontaneity of the utterance which should not be tested by normal standards of oratory.

Ath. 1. 31b(Epit.). ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ, φήσαν, ὁ θεὸς ἡτόματίσε· πίνε οἶνον, κτλ (Parke and Wormell, no. 321). The whole context of this probably unhistoric oracle is very obscure, no question is recorded, and it can be taken to have been meant for a spontaneous utterance.

Sch. E. Andr. 445. The well-known hexameter ἀ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν (Parke and Wormell, no. 222) is here introduced as a fragment from Aristotle (*fr.* 544)—καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ θεοῦ αὐτοματισθὲν προστίθῃσιν ἔπος. Again no proper context for the oracle is known and no enquiry recorded. These last two instances might actually have belonged to normal consultations, but if so, it is perhaps significant that these are the two latest occurrences of the word. The earlier occurrences of the verb certainly belong with and even stress the meaning of spontaneity.

If we return and apply this meaning to the context in the ὄρκιον it should mean 'since Apollo gave a spontaneous prophecy to Battus and the Theraeans to colonise Cyrene'. This phrase does not exactly fit with either the Theraean or the Cyrenaean version of the enquiry at Delphi, as given by Herodotus. In the Theraean version the prophecy was to this extent spontaneous that Grinnus, the king of Thera, had come to enquire about other matters. But though he indicates Battus as a suitable alternative founder the Pythia does not apparently address Battus. In the Cyrenaean version the prophecy also is possibly to be regarded as spontaneous. Battus, the stammerer, had come to enquire about his voice. Herodotus writes as though he had already put his question when the Pythia uttered: Βάττ', ἐπὶ φῶνῃν ἦλθες, ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, κτλ (Parke and Wormell, no 39). But Battus' surprised rejoinder is ὦναξ ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σέ χρησόμενος περὶ τῆς φῶνης,

σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρῆς. It might also be objected that in this instance at least the oracle is not addressed to the Theraeans. (In the other version I suppose the address to the king could be taken to apply to the people of Thera also.) The justification for the addition of the Theraeans to Battus in the *ὄρκιον* may be because in both versions, after an interval of distress in Thera, the islanders send to Delphi and receive confirmation of the order of the colony.

Here we may call in the evidence of Pindar. He not unexpectedly gives the Cyrenaean version in the 4th Pythian dedicated to the King of Cyrene. Battus (not Grinnus) is the enquirer at Delphi (*P* 4.6) told to colonise Libya in a phrase that sounds like an echo of the hexameters quoted by Herodotus. Also a little later the Pythia is said to address Battus *αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ*. The commentators recognise this as at least referring to the fact that Battus had not asked for this sort of a response, but for one to cure his stammer. But I think it meant just the same as *αὐτομάτιζεν* in the *ὄρκιον*. The address to Battus was spontaneous, before he had put his question. Therefore appropriately Pindar goes on *ᾧ* (the Pythia) *σε χαίρειν ἐς τρίς αὐδάσαισα πεπρωμένον βασιλεῖ ἄμφανεν Κυράνα*. The Pythia greeted Battus with auspicious phrases that revealed him as king of Cyrene. (We need not worry over the triple salutation or the reference to Cyrene in place of Libya. I take it that Pindar is simply emphasising the terms of the prophecy in his paraphrase.)

Also Pindar knew and elsewhere mentioned the appropriate sequel. The cure of Battus' stammer was produced by shock treatment when he encountered a lion in Africa (*Pi P* 5.57, with schol.). This is a proper pattern for a Delphic legend. The prosaic enquirer such as Tisamenus the Iamid asks for offspring and is told he will win five contests. These prove not to be athletic but military and also Tisamenus has descendants (Parke and Wormell, no. 107). But curiously as it may seem the cure of Battus' stammer is not mentioned in Herodotus, though it is likely that he was collecting his material later than Pindar. The reason is that he was not prepared to tell the story of Battus as though it were an ordinary *λόγος* which he had heard. He had, in this instance, a critical theory that *Βάττος* in the oracle really meant king, the Pythia having used a Libyan word. So he does not want to stress the aspect that it was the story of a stammerer surprisingly cured.

This argument would suggest, then, that so far as the use of the verb *αὐτοματιζέω* is concerned the *ὄρκιον τῶν οἰκιστῶν* is referring to the legend of Battus in approximately the Cyrenaean version known both to Pindar and Herodotus. Unless one is to suppose that this version is historically sound, this part at least of the *ὄρκιον* is not authentic.

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Iambic Rhythm in Plutarch's 'Life of Marius'

In a recent article¹ on Plutarch's style in the *Marius*, T. F. Carney, asserting Plutarch's 'ability to orchestrate the action of a passage in the words used to express that action', quotes 37.1

ὁρῶσιν ἐπιπέων ἵλην πρόσσθεν ἐλαύνοντα

and states that this is an all but complete Iambic Septenarius or Octonarius. How far does it fall short? *ὁρῶσιν ἐπιπέων* will occupy not the first $1\frac{1}{2}$ metra of the line but the second $\frac{1}{2}$ metron and the next metron, as the two long syllables of *ἵλην* cannot occupy the second half of a metron. The next $1\frac{1}{2}$ metra, then, are *ἵλην πρόσσθεν ἐλαύν-*. Here we must stop, as the remainder of *ἐλαύνοντα* cannot stand in the second half of a metron, *-οντα* being long. Altogether, then, we have $\frac{1}{2}$ metron followed by $2\frac{1}{2}$ metra, with *-οντα* excluded. In fact, it would be better not to think of a Septenarius or Octonarius and to be content with saying that the quoted words show a strong iambic rhythm. Or we might say that an iambic passage *ὁρῶσιν ἐπιπέων* is immediately followed by another iambic passage *ἵλην πρόσσθεν ἐλαύν-*.

Further consideration of this chapter shows that it contains a number of iambic passages. The very first words *ἦδη δὲ Μιντοῦρνης πόλεως Ἰταλίας* are one such. Later we find *ὡς οὖν ἕκαστος, ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καί, κατὰ γαίην τὸ πλοῖον ἦ*. It is surely doubtful whether in such an iambic context any onomatopoeic significance can rightly be claimed for *ὁρῶσιν ἐπιπέων ἵλην πρόσσθεν ἐλαύνοντα* on the ground of its iambic structure.

Even so, without making this specific claim, it might be suggested that the free use of iambic rhythm in this chapter is due to the writer's desire to bring out the dramatic nature of his theme. In 43 there is another dramatic description, and here again we find iambic passages: *Κίνας μὲν οὖν . . . ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ φιλοφρόνους . . . , Μάριος δὲ τῷ δέφρῳ παρειστῆκει, and, ἐντυγχάνοντα τῷ . . . ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς μαχαίρ-*. No doubt other instances could be adduced.

But this will not stand. It must be recognised that Plutarch also uses iambic rhythm in passages which are not dramatic. A few examples are

*Ῥωμαῖος, οὔτε φάλλον οὐδὲν οὔτε χρηστὸν ἔκ
καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἐπ' οὐδενί
πράττων. ὁ δ' οἶκος οὗτος
ἐντυγχάνουσι σκορπίοις*, all in 40.

Then in 41 we have

εἰδὼς Μετέλλων τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν,

an iambic trimeter where the sense is banal.

Let us now turn to the earlier part of the *Life* and consider four consecutive chapters where much of the subject-matter is, one would have thought, quite prosaic.

In 8 there is a perfect choliambic line:

¹ *JHS* lxxx (1960), 24-31.

ἄκοντα τὸν Μέτελλον ἐκβιασθῆναι

and in 9 what might pass for an iambic line from Comedy:¹

παρὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν πολὺν.

Then a little later in the same chapter:

μάτην ἀπεχθάνεσθαι
ὁ δῆμος αὐτόν, ἡδόμενός τε τῇ βουλῇ
προπηλακίζομένη
κόμην μετρῶν αἰεὶ φρονήματος,

all within about four lines.

In 10 after ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγων καὶ πλανώμενος and ἐπὶ στρατείᾳ. ὥς δὲ πιστεύσας we have another choliambic

ἐπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς σπέρμα τῆς ἀνηκέστου.

In 11 there are numerous iambic passages. Among these are an iambic tetrameter, with the last $\frac{1}{2}$ metron missing,

μήκει τε χώρας, ἣν ἐπῆλθον, ἡγνοοῦντο, τίνες;

and a perfect iambic trimeter

εἶσω διήκειν, οὐρανοῦ δ' εἰληγέται.

Rhythm is to be found in the prose of Greek writers; and much work has been done to establish its nature. My purpose has been very limited: to show that in a part of one work of one writer one verse-rhythm is prominent, but at the same time to suggest that there is no certain connexion between its use and the meaning or feeling in the passages where it is used.

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Did Arethas Read Athenaeus?

(PLATE XI)

I begin this note by announcing a palaeographical discovery of some interest concerning the famous Venetian manuscript of Athenaeus (MS. Marcianus gr. 447), which is our only source for most of the text of that author.² Examination of the handwriting has convinced me that folios 3-348, nearly the whole manuscript, were written by John the Calligrapher, the scribe who was commissioned by Arethas of Caesarea to produce well-known and important copies of Plato (MS. E. D. Clarke 39) and Aristides (MS. Laurentianus Plut. 60.3 and Parisinus gr. 2951). The accompanying illustration should make the identity clear (see PLATE XI). It is worth noting that owing to a special circumstance the two previously published facsimiles³ did

¹ Cf., e.g., παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν τῶν ἄνω (Ar., Birds, 1533).

² P. Maas, in *BZ* xxxviii (1938) 201-2.

³ *BZ* xlv (1952) pl. 1, and Wattenbach and von Velsen, *Exempla Codicum Graecorum Litteris Minusculis Scriptorum* (Heidelberg, 1878) pl. 29.

not permit the identification of the hand. They were both selected from a part of the book where John wrote in a rather larger hand than usual; for in this manuscript, unlike the others that he copied, his writing gradually became larger as he progressed. This, however, was a habit common to many scribes and does not cast any doubt on the validity of identifying his hand here.

The first consequence of identifying the hand is that it becomes possible to date the manuscript fairly precisely. The other books written by John are dated to A.D. 895 and c. A.D. 917-28, and as the span of thirty-five years is at least as long as a calligrapher can be assumed to have exercised his profession, it seems reasonable to place the Athenaeus between the two other books.

From this dating it is possible to make an interesting inference about the development of classical scholarship in Byzantium in the ninth and tenth centuries. Athenaeus seems not to have been known to Photius; there is at any rate no first-hand knowledge of him in the *Bibliotheca*¹ or the *Lexicon*,² and I am not convinced by Reitzenstein's suggestion that Photius' knowledge of Athenaeus can be seen from an entry in the *Etymologicum Genuinum*.³ If this view is correct, the Venice manuscript is the earliest sign of any reading of Athenaeus during the revival of scholarship, and it is interesting to find such a text, which must have had little or no appeal to anyone but an accomplished scholar, being studied in the decades immediately following the death of Photius, and therefore earlier than any of the classical poets.

I pass now to an equally relevant but inevitably speculative matter: who was the first owner of the Venice MS.? As the other manuscripts written by the same scribe were ordered by Arethas, it is at least worth considering if the same can be true of the Athenaeus. There is admittedly no trace of Arethas' hand in the MS. as it is now. Nevertheless it would not be altogether surprising to find a book from Arethas' library not containing marginalia by him. The annotations in his copy of Aristotle's logical works (MS. Urbinas gr. 35) come to an end at folio 29, and if the first 29 folios together with the last folio, which has his note of ownership, were lost, there would be no sign that the book was his; this would make the volume comparable to the Athe-

¹ In the *Bibliotheca* Athenaeus is mentioned only once and then as a source used by Sopatros (103 a 32).

² The discovery of a complete text of the *Lexicon*, announced in *Gnomon* xxxii (1960) 95, may of course disprove this.

³ Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* 59-60. The entry ἡγητορία in the *Et. Gen.* is attributed to Photius in the MS. tradition and depends in part on a knowledge of Athenaeus 3.74d. This might imply a knowledge of Athenaeus, but the facts are uncertain, for the word appears in Photius' *Lexicon* (p. 253 Naber) as ἡγητρία, with only the first half of the entry found in the *Et. Gen.* and therefore without the facts that depend on Athenaeus.

naeus, which now lacks about fifty folios at the beginning and has been damaged at the end where an owner's signature may once have stood.

But the problem must also be approached from the other side by asking if there is anything in the writings of Arethas that suggests he knew Athenaeus,¹ and if so whether any inference can be made about the manuscript that he used. Unfortunately by no means all Arethas' work has been edited, but in his scholia to Lucian there is one passage that raises the whole problem. Commenting on the *Lexiphanes*, section 3 (p. 194 ed. Rabe) he quotes fr. 55K of Antiphanes. This fragment is otherwise known only from Athenaeus 487d and 666e; it is therefore extremely plausible to suppose that Arethas found

¹ See E. Zardini, *Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses: München, 1958* (Munich, 1960) 677. Unfortunately Zardini's references in a footnote to Kaibel and Wilamowitz do not seem to confirm his point and probably are misprints.

it in Athenaeus, although it is just possible that it survived in another author known to Arethas and since lost. However, if one accepts this as evidence that Arethas had read Athenaeus, a difficulty arises, in that the text of Antiphanes is very corrupt in both passages of Athenaeus where it is quoted, but in the scholium to Lucian it appears with the addition of three important words which restore the metre and sense to a considerable degree. One has therefore to suppose that Arethas knew a MS. of Athenaeus with a much better text than the Codex Marcianus, or that he read the Codex Marcianus and emended the text. But the emendation is very difficult and there is no evidence of Arethas' ability as a conjectural critic. Hence it seems unlikely that Arethas owned the Codex Marcianus; if he read Athenaeus at all he used a different and superior copy.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

MARÓT (K.) **Die Anfänge der griechischen Literatur: Vorfragen.** Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. 1960. Pp. 528. 13 plates. Price not stated.

After many years of research in the allied fields of folk-lore and literary history the author has set down exhaustively in this notable work his reply to the question posed by Wilamowitz 'Wie jemand darauf kommen konnte, Epen in vielen tausend Versen zu verfertigen'.

The book, which is a new German edition of a work originally published in 1956 is divided into four long chapters, each of which is documented with full references to all relevant literature and articles bearing on specific points.

The first two chapters deal with the Muses and Sirens under separate headings, but virtually together. Indeed the reviewer himself is taken to task for boldly venturing 'gegen Wilamowitz und Buschor' (CR N.S. II, 1952, p. 62) 'die Grenze zwischen Sirenen und Musen auf der Grundlage vertiefen'. For Marót Muses, Sirens, Charites and Nymphs are all basically of like nature and expressive of *mana*. The original Muse again was a singular entity, as both the reviewer (*ibidem*) and Stanford have failed to see. When Hesiod says the Muses ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χόρον ἐνεποίησαντο he is using the verb as equivalent to *imperare* in Wagenvoort's sense, i.e. 'fruchtbar machen'. Pindar's phrase κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασαν θεοπεσιάνων ἐπέων has been misunderstood. Marót finds a parallel to the rhapsode's staff in Herodotus' story of the Hyperborean Abaris, who carried an arrow round the world. The rod, in fact, is a symbol of Apollo, the power that inspires the shaman.

Marót rightly distinguishes between the 'prä-Sirenen' of the *Odyssey* and the oriental *Mischwesen* of the monuments. Buschor's attempt to correct Weicker are vitiated by his own insistence on the priority of the tomb Sirens. This standpoint had been challenged by the reviewer (*ibidem* 61), as Marót himself acknowledges. All attempts to derive 'Siren' from a Greek ἑρμιον are doomed. A derivation from the oriental root *šir*, 'fascination', seems more likely. Probably the Siren legend reached the Greeks through the Phoenicians and was adopted by them as their own. The inscription ΣΙΠΕΝ ΕΙΜΙ, far from proving that the oriental *Mischwesen* were true Sirens in origin, merely illustrates the familiar truth 'dass man neue Dinge mit alten Namen bezeichnet'.

Marót's attempt to demonstrate the development of myth diagrammatically is a good example of the methods employed by those nurtured in the disciplines of *Volkspsychologie* and *Volks-etymologie*.

In the third chapter Marót is at pains to prove the

'ursprüngliche Allgemeinheit des Hexameters'. The author agrees with Wace that writing must have existed in some form during the Dark Age. Aristotle regarded the heroic rhythm as *σειμὸς καὶ λεκτικὴς ἀρμονίας δεόμενος*, and the iambic as the metre of everyday speech. But the former was conceivably the tongue of a priestly caste before it was adopted by the Achaeans. Here Marót follows Autran and claims support from Linear B. Indeed the words of the Mycenaean-Greek language 'leichter in einem dactylischen Rhythmus fügten'. The answer to the problem of epic composition is found in 'die genaue Beschaffenheit der sog. Formeln', as Milman Parry and, more recently, Horváth observed in their studies of modern heroic poetry. Rhythm is ultimately a physical entity. The hexameter expressed the 'Pulsschlag' of the Mycenaean Greeks.

The final chapter describes how the epic developed out of the Zauberspruch. Pre-Homeric poetry was compound largely of catalogues, *κλέα* and genealogies. The Catalogue of the Ships far from being a superfluous adjunct, as Macrobius supposed, constitutes an integral part of the *Iliad*. Its aim is not to provide a mere 'Inhaltsverzeichnis' but to heighten the sense of epic grandeur.

It is impossible to deal adequately with a work of such range and erudition in a short review. Where Wilamowitz, Rose, Nilsson, Bowra, Weicker, Kunze, Buschor, Webster, Parry, H. Fränkel, Dornseiff and even Bergson and Goethe are constantly quoted, few of the opinions expressed can claim much degree of originality. Nevertheless the book's chief value lies in its staggering comprehensiveness and the extraordinary diligence with which the author has collected and discussed almost all important views. (I missed references to A. R. Burn's important paper on the Muse cult, and to anything written by Denys Page.) At the same time it is important to remember that few of the problems discussed admit of any final answer and that attempts to solve them must, by their very nature, be based largely on inference and speculation.

The book is attractively produced and illustrated. Printers' errors seems relatively few. I noted misprints on pp. 44 and 411.

J. R. T. POLLARD.

LORD (A. B.) **The Singer of Tales.** (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 24.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. (London: Oxford U.P.) 1960. Pp. xv + 309. £1 15s. 0d.

For Hellenists the chief interest of this book lies in the application to Homer of the results of Parry's and Lord's researches amongst Southern Slavic

singers; but Lord is not only concerned with Greek and Serbocroatian poetry. He discusses evidence for the oral, formulaic, character of certain medieval epics, and his work will be read by many students of comparative literature; appropriately there is a preface by Professor Harry Levin, who points out that 'the epic is not merely a *genre* but a way of life'.

The conclusions drawn by Lord from the study of South Slavic oral epic include these:—There are two concepts of song: the *story* of a song, for instance the wedding of Smailagić Meho, includes all singings of it, but the *performance* of a song, such as Avdo Međedović's song 'The Wedding of Smailagić Meho' recorded in July 1935, is unique. Two performances are never identical, and there is no original of any song. Oral epic poetry is always 'multiform' and fluid. Before the invention of recording machines such as Parry and Lord used, the opportunities for recording in writing an actual performance were few: with two singers, the second repeating the first line by line, a good scribe can write down a poem, but Lord claims that the method is not well suited to long epic texts. A good singer can, however, take his time and dictate. What he dictates will be different from an oral performance—the additional time he has may even make the composition of each line harder, not easier—but, Lord argues, a singer endowed with exceptional imagination and having several days for his dictation will employ every artifice to enrich his song. A mediocre singer, however, cannot take advantage of the opportunities offered by dictation; his verse-making will be stilted, and he will lack the resources needed for sustained composition. Lord claims that there can never be such a thing as a transitional text, because no singer can be an oral and a writing poet at any one time in his life. A collector who asked a barely literate poet to put down an 'autograph oral' text would obtain a poor poem doing no justice to the song or to the singer. Lord next considers the relevance to Homer of these inferences from South Slavic poetry.

Parry's masterly proof of the oral, formulaic, character of the Homeric poems is independent of the Southern Slavic evidence. His analyses of the Homeric formula and enjambement lead to the inescapable conclusion, which only the perverse try to escape, that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the products of an oral, non-literate, tradition. How then were they ever written down? 'By dictation', answers Lord; 'they are oral dictated texts.' They cannot be oral performances because there were no recording machines in ancient Greece. They cannot be texts written by a singer, for they belong to the genuine oral tradition, and, besides, are far too good to be 'autograph oral' texts. Therefore they are dictated texts, and, Lord adds, the person who dictated them was Homer. He makes the interesting suggestion that the Homeric epics, the *Cycle*, and the works of Hesiod were recorded because Greeks had brought the idea of written epics from further east, having perhaps heard of the library of Sargon II.

The evidence collected by Lord does make it less likely that Homer wrote, and the oral theory is certainly compatible with the idea that there was single monumental composer of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. But even if we accept without reservation Lord's general conclusions from South Slavic poetry—and he does, I think, tend to underestimate the ability of really good singers to preserve the exact words of traditional songs—we may still question the propriety of arguing directly from the *guslar* to the *ἀοιδός*. Lord has found that identical oral performances are unknown in modern Yugoslavia: what he has not shown is that they were impossible in early Aeolis and Ionia. His conclusion that the Homeric poems are oral dictated texts is not the only possible one. He has paid far too little attention to the possibility of oral transmission verbatim (cf. G. S. Kirk, *CQ* N.S. 10 (1960), 271–81): by writing '... sacred texts which must be preserved word for word, if there be such, could not be oral in any but the most literal sense' he defines away the problem. Suppose, for example, as we may, that the oral poet Homer did not dictate his poems; suppose even that he lived before the Phoenician script was used in Greece: may the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* properly be called his? 'No,' would answer Lord, 'the question is inadmissible—there are no originals of oral poems.' But if the songs were transmitted more or less verbatim they may certainly be called Homer's, and the conditions for such a transmission may well have existed in Chios: for suppose that the songs were preserved verbatim by the piety of the Homeridae; then they are certainly Homer's, even if Homer never knew the Phoenician script. Lord's studies of Serbocroatian songs are of great value; but they do not prove that Homer dictated his songs.

The book contains extensive quotations from South Slavic songs: Lord's discussion of them is especially to be commended, and the notes on medieval epic offer opportunities for a fresh approach to the textual criticism of *Beowulf*, the *Song of Roland*, and *Digenis Akritas*. Lord sincerely believes that he has come near to answering the Homeric question; he has indeed done much for the study of oral epic, but the Homeric question, which Parry made easier to state, but not easier to answer, is still with us.

G. L. HUXLEY.

LAMEERE (W.) **Aperçus de paléographie homérique, à propos des papyrus de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée des collections de Gand, de Bruxelles et de Louvain.** Antwerp-Amsterdam: Standaard Boekhandel. Paris-Bruxelles: Erasmé. 1960. Pp. xx + 269, with 11 plates and 34 text figures. Price not stated.

The sub-title of this splendidly produced book, 'A Propos des Papyrus de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée des Collections de Gand, de Bruxelles et de Louvain', is exact so far as it goes, since the main structure of the book is provided by detailed treatment of nine

papyri, 1 (unpublished) in Louvain University Library, 2-8 in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, and 9 in Ghent University Library. Of those previously published, 2 (Pack 471: *Il.* i 534-46, I A.D.), 3 (Pack 551: *Il.* iv 199-274, I A.D.) and 5 (Pack 693: *Il.* xii 265-92, II/III A.D.) were first published by M. Hombert and Mlle Préaux in 1938 (*Chron. d'Ég.* 26, 383-7); 4 (*POxy* 759, Pack 583: *Il.* v 662-82, II/III A.D.), 6 (*POxy* 573, Pack 890: *Od.* xix 452-71, III A.D.), 7 (*POxy* 773, Pack 804: *Od.* ii 304-11, IV A.D.), 8 (*POxy* 1818, Pack 770: codex, parts of *Il.* xxii-xxiii, V/VI A.D.) and 9 (*POxy* 1817, Pack 738: codex, parts of *Il.* xvii-xviii, VI A.D.) have been known since 1922 at latest. Though it would certainly be wrong to write off the rest of M. Lameere's book as *crambe repetita*, it is inevitable that the primary interest of his book for most readers will be his edition of the unpublished Louvain fragment which he has placed first (on strictly chronological grounds, be it said). This, found by the late Mgr Lefort (to whose memory the book is dedicated) among a collection of Coptic papyri and presented by him to Louvain University, contains the beginning and end of *Od.* xxii, the last line of which is followed immediately by *Od.* xxiii 1; Lameere dates the papyrus to the third century B.C., and uses it as a text for a wide-ranging discussion of the evidence for book-division in the early editions of Homer. These general discussions, another example of which is that on the lay-out of illustrated texts in the early Byzantine period in connexion with 7, not only justify the generalising title of the book, but give the work its main interest for Homeric students.

After an extensive short-title bibliography (pp. ix-xx) which gives a compendious guide to the literature (both on papyrology and on the textual criticism of Homer), Lameere provides a short introduction on matters of method and principle (1-13), detailed accounts (with full transcripts) of his nine papyri in chronological order, each with its discussion (2 and 4-6 being classified as 'small fragments' are dealt with quite briefly; 2 and 5 are not even illustrated) (14-204), and a conclusion (205-39) devoted mainly to statistics. Then there are four 'Notes complémentaires' on matters arising out of the discussions (241-51), followed by concordances and a very useful 'First Supplement to Pack's Catalogue' containing 109 items (253-60). Figures 1-30 (pp. 192-203) give examples of coronides and colophons, 31-3 (211-13) are graphs illustrating aspects of papyrological chronology, and 34 is a *stemma* of printed editions of two *anecdota* discussed in one of the 'Notes complémentaires'. Of the plates, III-IV and VI are devoted to the Bankes papyrus (*PLond* 128 = *PLitLond* 27), V(a) to a Bodleian fragment, XI to a page of a Roman MS., and the rest to Lameere's 1, 3-4 and 6-9: the main part of 1 is (rather unfortunately, to my way of thinking) reproduced in colour. After the plates come a table of illustrations, six pages of addenda

and a list of contents. There is (*horresco referens*) no index at all.

This book is emphatically not 'easy reading', but it contains a great deal of very valuable information for those who have the patience to look for it. An important lesson which Homeric critics should learn from it is that one should be chary of taking one's information about the content of papyrus fragments from the *editiones principes*, particularly when those editions were produced more than a quarter of a century ago. Not only readings but datings call for a periodical check in the light of newer discoveries and that check can be carried out only on the papyri themselves (photographs are not enough). The papyri from Oxyrhynchus published by the Egypt Exploration Fund are, as this book may serve to remind us, widely distributed among the libraries of the world; how can the ordinary enquirer find out where a particular one now is? Like Rosa Dartle, 'I ask for information'.

J. A. DAVISON.

ERBSE (H.) *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien.* (Zetemata, 24.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1960. Pp. xi + 443. DM 38.

Homeric studies have been periodically illuminated from the time of Wolf by brilliant theories and dazzling discoveries, by which effort has been diverted from fields where more patience is needed for less dramatic results. The principal Homeric scholia have thus escaped critical edition since Dindorf, yet form perhaps the finest collection of ancient and Byzantine scholarship extant upon a single theme. This work which, with E.'s article 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Iliasscholien' in *Mnemosyne* 6 (1953) 1 ff., is a virtual introduction to his projected edition of the *Iliad*-scholia, has begun to restore the balance.

Behind the extant scholia lie two compilations, dated roughly to the ninth century. To the first of these, which has a textual and critical bias, the names of Apion and (?) Herodorus (ApH) came to be attached, while the second, the ancestor of the B-scholia and the Townley scholia, is anonymous and chiefly exegetic. The critical matter in ApH derives in the main from the *viernänerkommentar* (VMK), i.e. a collection of notes from Didymus, Aristonicus, Nicanor, and Herodian. The descent of the VMK was elucidated in the *Mnemosyne* article, but E. now corrects the *stemma* there printed by returning to the view that ApH is ancestral, and not parallel, to the A-scholia. These relationships being already established, it remains in the present work to purge the A-scholia of intrusive matter derived from various grammarians and to examine the contributions of Eustathius, the Etymologica, Suidas, and the minor group of h-scholia (with *stemma*) to the reconstruction of ApH and VMK. In the past it has been the B-scholia that have suffered most from neglect and misconception, and E.'s work on this

collection is enough to make the traditional label appear a misnomer. The two chapters on these scholia are justly placed at the head of the study. Following Bekker and the *editio princeps* of Vilhoison Dindorf relied almost exclusively on the testimony of Venetus B, but this MS. besides being defective in places is shown to be inferior to the slightly later C (Laurentianus 32.3), and eight other MSS. deserve attention. From these and from the Townley-scholia the antecedent commentary c may be reconstructed. The Townley-scholia and the dependent Geneva-scholia are an independent and often superior witness to c, but their character is not discussed here, having been treated by E. in a separate article in *Rh. Mus.* 95 (1952) 170 ff. The second chapter inquires into the relation of Porphyry's *Quaestiones Homericae* to the B-scholia. There are many anonymous notes which in form resemble marked excerpts from Porphyry. The editor of the *Quaestiones*, H. Schrader, claimed these for his author: E. now claims them back for c, and for good measure enlarges upon the principles to be followed in re-editing Porphyry and, a most difficult operation, in sifting out his genuine fragments. A second section to the book, of equal bulk to the first, deals with the *testimonia* of grammarians and compilations: Choeroboscus, *Epimerismoi*, *Eclogai*, Stephanus, Methodius, Orus, Orion, Ammonius, Apollonius Dyscolus, Herodian (with a chapter on Herodian's system of accents), and Apollonius Sophistes.

Despite its bulk E.'s work contains not a word of popularisation even at the highest level and makes most exacting and continuous demands on the scholarship of its readers. It is obstinately *verbal*, and eschews even such visual aids as complete *stemma* or diagrams of the arrangement of the various sorts of scholia on the pages of the MSS. In the interest of concision this rigour is probably justified: it certainly makes apparent the need for an introduction to the study of the Homeric scholia written at a more humble intellectual level. The brevity of the Indices (two lists only: scholia quoted and Greek words) will be time-consuming, even if supplemented by monographs from E.'s pupils like Baar's *Index zu den Iliasscholien*.

J. B. HAINSWORTH.

SCHWARTZ (J.) **Pseudo-Hesiodica. Recherches sur la composition, la diffusion et la disparition ancienne d'oeuvres attribuées à Hésiode.** Leiden: Brill. 1960. Pp. 662. Fl. 35.

The fact that Schwartz has produced a book of over six hundred pages on the lost works attributed to Hesiod suggests an extensive treatment. His claim to have consulted more than three hundred books and articles or a quick glance at the list of contents will confirm the impression. Indeed the first two parts of the book contain much that is

exciting and provide a valuable supplement to earlier discussions of the fragments. Schwartz rightly maintains that his predecessors too frequently based their deductions on preconceived notions. Yet he himself can be no less arbitrary in his opinion, as is shown by his reasons for rejecting *P.S.I.* 130 (363) and his treatment of the first fifty-six verses of the *Aspis* (463-5). In his discussion of the latter passage, moreover, we encounter one of those annoying misprints which sometimes mar his text, since *P. Oxy.* 2355 appears throughout as *P. Oxy.* 2354. But it is the third section of the book which is most likely to attract the attention of the general reader. Here Schwartz traces the history and influence of the *Catalogue*. Unhappily he does not appear to be in touch with the latest trends in Homeric studies, and many will be unable to accept his methods and the conclusions which result. In the main we are presented with a reassessment of old evidence, but Schwartz also publishes a new papyrus text of the *Catalogue*, *P.I.F.A.O.* 322 (265-81). This consists of twelve fragments of varying length, the largest containing twenty-five lines. The last eight of these coincide with the opening lines of *P. Oxy.* 421 so as to give us, when *P. Berl.* 7497 is added, a continuous passage of forty-one verses. The fragment deals with the story of Mestra, which perhaps formed the end of the *Ehoie* of Canace, and the *Ehoie* of Eurynome. Both heroines had the god Poseidon as their lover. A conjecture, described as *la seule possible*, would mean that the two themes were coupled together by a simple $\eta \eta \text{ o} \eta \eta$ formula. Other fragments expand the story of Erysichthon and Mestra.

The first section examines the traditional evidence (13-198). Schwartz argues that the titles *Catalogue of Women*, *Ehoiai* and *Great Ehoiai* all refer to one and the same poem. The variation in title merely reflects a difference in the terminology employed by the scholars of Alexandria and Pergamum. He denies the existence of a poem by Hesiod on the descent of Theseus into the Underworld, and therefore ascribes *P. Ibscher* to the *Minyas*. A long chapter on the ultimate sources of our citations is apt to get somewhat indigestible. Schwartz occasionally sets out his conclusions in the form of a table, and we could well do with more of these. Particularly intriguing are his comments on the link between Asclepiades of Myrlea and Theon, especially the theory that it was the destruction of the Library by fire which caused Theon to make use of Pergamene critical material. The argument depends on our accepting a date about 60 B.C. for the birth of Theon. Part Two is mostly concerned with the structure and contents of the *Catalogue* (199-483). Schwartz also discusses the other poems sensibly without minimising the gaps in our knowledge. He believes that Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* is of no use for reconstructing the plan of the *Catalogue*. *P.I.F.A.O.* 322, *P. Oxy.* 2354 and the lists of the sons of the gods such as we find in Hyginus imply that the subject-matter was grouped by gods, especially Zeus, Poseidon and Apollo, each

god being the parent of a number of children by a series of different women.

According to Schwartz the basic *Catalogue* existed at the end of the seventh century B.C. It took another century, however, to reach its final form. He includes among the later parts of the poem the *Catalogue of Helen's Suitors*, which he tries to relate to historical events, especially the wooing of Agariste. But his arguments are unconvincing. So too is his attempt to establish a geographical relationship between different schools of epic poetry. More might have been revealed if Schwartz had extended a short appendix on metre by a study of language along the lines formulated by Webster (most recently in *Glotta* xxxviii (1960) 251 ff.) In the chapter on the literary influence of the *Catalogue* mention could have been made of *P. Oxy.* 2359 under the heading of Stesichorus. Finally he argues that a little after 480 B.C. an edition of Hesiod, including the *Catalogue* and the *Maxims of Chiron*, was available at Athens. True research on Hesiod began with Aristotle and the *Peripatetics*, and was continued at Alexandria and Pergamum.

The criticism of details and even complete disagreement on many points must not blind one to the merits of Schwartz' work. It is impossible not to admire the labour poured into this book, although much of it may seem to have been misguided effort. But I refuse to admit that the *Catalogue* was quite such a depressing poem as Schwartz would have us believe, and I certainly see no compelling reason why we must exclude passages of direct speech from the *Catalogue*.

P. WALCOT.

WEBSTER (T. B. L.) **Greek Art and Literature 700-530 B.C.: The Beginnings of Modern Civilization.** London: Methuen. 1960. Pp. xviii + 125. 15 plates. £1 2s. 6d.

This little book contains the de Carle lectures delivered at the University of Otago in 1959. In them Professor Webster completes the parallel histories of Greek literature and art which he began in 1939. But in this final volume he has attempted something more. 'In what respects can we say that the ancient Greeks were modern, more modern than the Middle Ages, more modern than large portions of humanity today?' he asks in his introduction, and concludes that their relevance is best illustrated by their unique contribution to 'three essential elements in modern civilisation: individual responsibility, drama, science and philosophy'.

Professor Webster is nothing if not up to date. He has absorbed all the more recent views and theories concerning the major problems of Greek studies, and pronounces with his customary, modest aplomb. The first of his four chapters deals with 'the characters in their setting', who between 700 and 530 B.C. broke away from the epic tradition. Homer (by whom he means 'the author or authors

of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*') was in Webster's view 'a genius who exploited three existing conditions, love of the past, love of festivals, and the alphabet'. The author conjures up a lively picture of the Delian festival, the setting for which 'the blind man from rocky Chios', composed. There too local choirs, singing in local dialect, were sent to compete, or poems in dialect were sent to be sung by the maidens who 'can imitate the speech and rhythm of all men'. Indeed it was Arion's decision to forsake his native Aeolic and to adopt native Corinthian Doric for his choruses that probably accounts for the 'superficial Doric' of the choruses of Attic tragedy.

Professor Webster repeats the views which he had already advanced at greater length in 'From Mycenae to Homer', with regard to Homer's debt to Mycenaean epic (hypothetical) and the possibility that he wrote in the time of the hoplite revolution. The post-Homeric literary revolution was represented in art by the change from Geometric to the new individual vigour of seventh-century B.C. Orientalising vases. But perhaps everyone will not go all the way with Professor Webster in maintaining that 'this is the spirit and the style in which Solon justifies the ways of Zeus to men'.

In the second chapter the author has much to say concerning the lyric poets, and in particular Archilochus, the 'first of the Angry Young Men'. Alcaeus and Sappho, like Archilochus himself, were fascinated by Hesiod's (and surely Professor Webster might have added Homer's) view of the soul-mastering, limbo-losing nature of physical passion. But it was a new conception of *psyche* which first became articulate at this period, culminating in 'the new ideal of the democratic man'. This is reflected in art by the disappearance of the archaic smile which Professor Webster believes represented 'court manners'.

In the chapter on the drama Professor Webster attempts to resolve Pickard-Cambridge's difficulty concerning the apparent anomaly of a satyr chorus singing about the dead. The fat men portrayed on archaic vases represent, in his view, padded actors in fertility scenes, and being associated with Dionysus were also connected with death. But the connexion of Dionysus with death has yet to be proved, as indeed has Gilbert Murray's theory about the dying vegetation origin of Greek drama, which Webster still favours. In his view drama was a revival, like Dionysus himself, from the Mycenaean age.

The final chapter is perhaps the most novel and important in the book. Greek philosophy grew out of the primeval cosmogonies of Homer and Hesiod, to which the unique Ionian contribution was the conscious substitution of stuff for gods or godlike conceptions. The Mycenaean heritage is never far from Webster's thoughts, and he finds parallels to the abstract notions of philosophy in the employment of adjectives functioning as nouns in Linear B. Heraclitus was influenced by the harmony of Pythagoras, and the rhetorical syllogisms of Plato derived from the same source.

This is a stimulating and well-argued epitome of what might well be. Professor Webster's points, however controversial, are documented with full notes and lists of monuments, all of which bear witness to the author's unflagging industry and remarkable erudition. The book is attractively produced and illustrated with photographs of relevant artifacts. I have not checked all the author's references, but could not find that to Pausanias on p. 9.

J. R. T. POLLARD.

BURN (A. R.) **The Lyric Age of Greece.** London: Edward Arnold. 1960. Pp. xvi + 422, with 6 maps. 42s.

Mr Burn, who accepts Karl Jaspers' doctrine of the *Achsenzeit*, tells us that his aim is 'to produce an account of the Greek world in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. . . . in one volume of moderate size'. This account is in four parts, the first of which deals with 'Greece at the Dawn of History' (pp. 3-37) in two chapters, devoted to 'The Legacy of the Bronze Age' and to the development of 'The Cities' down to the beginnings of the age of colonisation. Part II ('The Expansion of Greece', 41-154) has five chapters, which deal successively with 'Greece and the East', 'Greece and the West, and the Rise of Corinth', 'The Aegean and Asia Minor, c. 700-640', 'The Greeks and the Black Sea' (going down to Scythia in the time of Herodotus), and 'Egypt, Cyrenaica and the Further West, c. 640-500' (which is found to embrace the decline of Assyria and the rise of Persia). This part is mainly political and military; in Part III ('The Revolution in Greek Society', 157-324) we return to the beginning of the seventh century, with chapters on 'The New Age and the New Poetry: Archilochos', 'The Peloponnese, from Alkman to Tyrtaos' (Burn never explains why he puts the two poets in this order or treats them as marking significant chronological limits), 'The Isthmus and the North: The New Lands' (with a note on the Seven Wise Men), 'Power and Poetry in Ionia' (the 'featured' poets here being Phocylides and Hipponax), 'The Lyric Age of Lesbos', 'Theognis and the Decline of Megara', 'Sparta and Reaction' (sixth century), 'Athens and the Middle Way' (Cylon to Solon) and 'Athens and the Aegean, 590-510'. Part IV ('The Revolution in Greek Thought', 327-401) deals successively with 'The Natural Philosophers' (Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Xenophanes), 'The Mystery Religions' (beginning with Dionysus and the drama, mentioning the Cabiri and Curetes, and ending with Eleusis), 'Pythagoras and Western Greek Thought', and 'Herakleitos of Ephesos'. A short appendix 'On the dates in this book' (403-8) is followed by an index, which finds room for 'Balliol Rhymes' but not for any modern writer except 'Toynbee, A. J.'. There is a list of abbreviations, but no bibliography; there are a great many footnotes with references to authorities, and some in which Burn has copied one of the

most irritating mannerisms of H. G. Wells, quoting comments by scholars who read his proofs with their initials appended.

Mr Burn set himself an extremely difficult task: the material is extensive and almost indescribably heterogeneous, but at the same time fragmentary in the last degree, and the weaving of it into a continuous account of what Burn himself calls 'the expansion and transformation of the Greek world, as one process' calls for a very orderly and continuously critical mind, equipped with great powers of collation and synthesis, derived either from a phenomenal memory for detail or a well-designed card index. It will, I fear, be obvious from my brief account of the contents of this book that Mr Burn is lacking in all these respects. The book is chaotic in its arrangement, critical only by fits and starts, and often ill-informed—particularly so in dealing with matters affecting the history of literature and thought; the absence from among the authorities appealed to of Lesky's history of Greek literature, of H. Fränkel's *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* and *Wege und Formen des frühgriechischen Denkens*, and of Bowra's *Greek Lyric Poetry* are conspicuous indications of Burn's failure to equip himself to do justice to these fundamental aspects of his chosen theme. The only reference to Bowra which I have noted is a cavil against his acceptance of a more traditional date for Tyrtaeus than that preferred by Burn; here, as in many other cases, we come upon Burn's 'King Charles' Head', chronology—he is fond of marking down accepted dates in a way which can hardly fail to confuse even well instructed readers. What the 'Greekless readers' whose 'needs' Burn claims to 'have kept consistently in view' will make of it all, I cannot imagine.

This book may be succinctly described (in words used recently, in a very different context, by a reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement*) as 'straining the scholar's patience and the reviewer's discretion'. I hope that I shall not be thought impatient or indiscreet if I end by observing that, in my opinion, only those who already know enough about the subject not to need this book will be able to read it safely.

J. A. DAVISON.

DUCHEMIN (J.) **La houlette et la lyre: recherche sur les origines pastorales de la poésie. 1. Hermès et Apollon.** Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1960. Pp. 379. Price not stated.

Nobody who has read Mlle. Duchemin's earlier book on Pindar will deny that this French scholar possesses power of imagination. Now she presents us with the first part of a study which sets out to show how poetry evolved against the background of pastoral society. Here her evidence is mainly mythological and designed to prove that Hermes and Apollo both combine the essential functions and attributes of *dieux pasteurs et dieux musiciens*. The

same kind of a dual character can be traced in the case of Pan or a hero like Heracles or, on the human level, Hesiod, for among primitive peoples the same person is shepherd and poet and fashions his gods in his own image. Duchemin draws on Indian and Sumerian mythology, and on the Bible to support her thesis that Hermes and Apollo were originally gods, both probably from Asia, who led the flocks as they migrated in search of new pastures, and showed the way with song. Their rivalry goes back to an association with different species of animals and the greater antiquity of Hermes in Greece.

For much of the book we are presented with pictures of pastoral communities taken from every corner of the globe. Duchemin's authorities range from the Tassili paintings to Kazantzakis' *Christ Recrucified*. There is, however, one glaring omission. Apart from one slight reference to the first Ventris-Chadwick article, the Linear B tablets are ignored. Yet they provide invaluable evidence for the pattern of agriculture and land-holding in Mycenaean Greece. We are heavily indebted to them for our knowledge of Greek religion at that time, while they could also have helped Duchemin in minor matters such as the importance of archers in the armies of the period. The corresponding archaeological material is overlooked. One wonders what Duchemin would have made of a fresco from Pylos where a figure, wearing a long robe and sitting on a rock, plays a lyre, while a bird rises to one side. Some of her statements about the oriental evidence could do with supplementation. E. I. Gordon, for example, has now added considerably to our knowledge of the animal fable in the Near East in an article which should have been available to Mlle. Duchemin (*Journal of Cuneiform Studies* xii (1958) 1 ff.).

But Duchemin does use her sources convincingly to reveal the effect that music can have on man and beast. Music, magic and medicine are intimately related. The flocks require protection from the attacks of wild animals, and the magical charm of music as well as the bow offers a means of defence. The shepherd must guard his charges against physical illness and supernatural dangers. Thus we find Apollo associated with the bow, medicine and purification. The flocks have to be led in safety along their routes with their master as guide. A similar role befalls Hermes, who develops from guide into the god who watches over commercial activities, gatherings and then the meetings of athletes. The order and discipline which hold the flocks together reappear in settled communities. The idea of rule and law is common to both types of society, and this explains why Apollo becomes connected with the foundation of cities. An examination of νόμος law or melody and ποιός place of pasturage convinces Duchemin that the pastoral significance is fundamental.

A close sympathy exists between man and animal. Enkidu's loss of innocence in the Epic of Gilgamesh reflects an eternal nostalgia for the time when both

lived together in amity. The hunter feels for the animal he hunts. The criophorus type of statue, representing a man carrying a sick or newly born animal, or Polyphemus and his ram and Odysseus and Argus show the same to be true when hunting gives way to the domestication of animals. The birds, too, have their part to play. Indeed it was their song which led to man's discovery of music and poetry. Birds also feature in divination. Starting from Aristophanes' *Birds*, Duchemin goes on to discuss the shaman, who assumes the costume and character of a bird when, through a state of ecstasy, he tries to affect a cure or penetrate into the other world as guide of the dead. To know the language of the birds is to know all the secrets of nature, and it is by their mastery of song that Apollo becomes an oracular god and Hermes the guide of the dead.

There is obviously plenty in the book to interest the student of literature, of religion or simply of early man, and Duchemin's own enthusiasm for her subject makes it a pleasure to read. It is a pity, however, that she so often prefers to quote extracts in translation rather than to reproduce the actual Greek.

P. WALCOT.

BIEBER (M.) *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*. 2nd ed. Princeton, N. J. University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1961. Pp. xxiv + 343. 900 illus. £5 5s. 0d.

Prof. Bieber has been for more than fifty years an acknowledged expert on Greek and Roman dramatic monuments. The new edition of her *History* is a marvel of compression with a wealth of illustration. The illustrations are smaller than in the first edition but much more numerous and perfectly usable. The chief addition to the text is a new chapter about the survival of ancient drama and recent performances of ancient plays. The rest of the book discusses origins, the history of drama, the history of the theatre, the history of production, the history of acting, and other performances (besides tragedy and comedy) which took place in the ancient theatre. Prof. Bieber does therefore pack a great deal into her 270 pages, which are greatly reduced in size by the 866 pictures which they carry. For the non-specialist the text is a mine of information on every aspect of ancient drama throughout its history; for the specialist Prof. Bieber has provided immensely useful bibliography with further examples in 30 pages of notes, in which she is also sometimes able to record views which conflict with her own, although more often she has only room for references to the works in which those views are expressed.

It is one of the penalties of compression that she has not been able to argue fully other theories of the origin of tragedy and comedy or of the development of theatre building or to give the evidence for a precise chronology of changes in masks and costumes of tragedy, satyr play, and comedy, such as she gave

for tragic costume and footwear in *Das Dresdner Schauspieler-relief* in 1907. Considerable precision is possible now that so many dated monuments of every kind of material are available, and precise dating raises the interesting problem of who was responsible for the periodical changes which took place between the death of Terence and the later imperial period.

The preface is dated 1957 and the bronze mask from the Peiraeus is the only more recent find included. Some key monuments have been discovered or published since then: e.g. the geometric fragment with padded dancers from Miletus (Hommel), the Attic bell krater with Dionysos and maenads from Spina (Ricconi), the Attic bell krater with dithyramb singers in Copenhagen (Friis Johansen), the Paestan bell krater with Phrynus and Pyronides at Salerno (Sestieri), the third century Agora terracotta of the tragic Herakles (D. B. Thompson).

I append some notes on points of detail:

p. 1, to say that Arion gave the singers of the dithyramb the costume of the satyrs and that this dress was taken over into the satyr drama smooths over the complications of this development excessively.

p. 6, the satyrs of the Boston hydria surely must be the chorus of a satyr play and not dithyramb singers, and the old satyrs of the Polion krater cannot be 'taken from comedy' because of the inscription.

p. 10, the Cyclops vase is now in the British Museum.

p. 11, the Würzburg fragments were painted in Athens, not in Tarentum.

p. 23, not a 'cup of the Eretria Master' but a chous.

p. 26, fig. 90, probably not actors but chorusmen, since masks and clothes are identical. (The clothes of this and fig. 74, with other early vases, when compared with figs. 31-5, suggest that not much reliance should be placed on *Vita Aeschyli*.)

p. 29, note that the Tereus (?) is Paestan, fourth century.

p. 30, this Euripides relief is surely Hadrianic.

p. 33, the Antigone vase is more likely to be inspired by Atydamas than Euripides (cf. Séchan, 274 f.).

p. 38, n. 8 and 10, Alfred Körte, not Gustav.

p. 39-40, some New Comedy statuettes seem to have crept into the Middle Comedy illustrations: fig. 151-2, costume and style; fig. 153, Myrina and signed; fig. 155, from third century context in Tarentum; fig. 156, costume and style; fig. 168, old woman holding a skull (Hellenistic idea).

p. 48, fig. 203, correctly termed Corinthian in note 54. I do not see how the Attic vases figs. 184, 202, 208, 209-10 can be dissociated as farce from the terracottas, which are accepted as comedy.

p. 66, the Attic Iphigenia vase (*Greek Theatre Production*, no. A8) is better evidence for the staging of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* than the fourth-century

Campanian vase, which may have no relation to production.

p. 74, it should be made clear that the only evidence for *scaena ductilis* is Servius (and what he means is completely obscure) and that Pollux only uses *katablemata* in connexion with *periaktoi*.

p. 80, figs. 291-3, probably comedy rather than tragedy (see Rumpf, *loc. cit.*); fig. 293 is in Mykonos, not Athens.

p. 82, fig. 300, poets rather than actors (ordinary clothes, not costume).

p. 87, the Parian marble does not mention the *Orge*.

p. 88, the *Achaeans* (Oesws mosaic) is more likely to have a contemporary than a mythological subject: cf. *Ox. Pap.*, no. 2462.

p. 93, fig. 325-6, the naked bodies with perilous drapery cannot belong to the heads, and the heads need not therefore be either contemporary or from the same place.

p. 94, fig. 331 is probably not dramatic.

p. 95, in the absence of knowledge of what a New Comedy chorus looked like the masked musicians of the Dioskorides mosaic are better explained as actors.

p. 96-7, figs. 349, 352, 357 are probably not dramatic.

p. 99, fig. 369, perhaps tragic because of his boots; fig. 370, probably not dramatic; fig. 371, not soldier and parasite but soldier-slave and slave (both have slave mouths).

p. 103, the statuette fig. 400, was found with the statuette illustrated in fig. 155, not with the one illustrated in fig. 378.

p. 104, fig. 411, not bronze but a terracotta moulded vase.

pp. 111, 120, 124, *thyroma* is not, I think, an opening but a background (including a door) which fills an opening; a scene set *inside* an opening would surely never be heard in an open-air theatre.

p. 129, has a welcome admission that all the so-called phlyax vases are older than the literary farce of Rhinthon, and yet Rhinthon is continually cited through the chapter, even on the New York vase 'dated about 400 B.C.'.

p. 139, on the Berlin Assteas is Eumnestus a misprint for Gymnolos as given by Trendall (*Phlyax Vases*, no. 70)?

p. 152, the Terence illustrations do not belong in a chapter on plays of the Republic because, although Prof. Bieber is right in tracing them back to a performance, the costumes preclude a date for that performance before the third century A.D.

p. 161, fig. 582, the youthful figure shows 'quilted' tights below the himation and therefore must, I think, be male; for the head compare Phaedria in the *aedicula* of the *Phormio* illustration.

p. 162, fig. 588, can Odysseus in an Astyanax scene be old and distressed?

p. 166, the statement about Timotheus needs revising, but he is not relevant here.

p. 168, in the very useful references for performances

at Rome in the time of the Republic, read Athenaeus XIV, 615; Tacitus, *Annales*, XIV, 20-1.

p. 227 ff., Prof. Bieber believes that wall-paintings in Pompeii represent contemporary performances of Roman tragedy and comedy, among them the *Oedipus* of Seneca. There are two distinct questions: are they contemporary originals or copies of earlier pictures, and do they represent Greek or Roman plays? Against their being contemporary originals (apart from the general Pompeian practice of copying) are the absence of high-soled boots on some of the tragic pictures and the early Hellenistic stylisation of some of the comic masks; the high-soled boots in two of the tragic pictures do not themselves demand an original later than the second century B.C. For their being pictures of Greek plays is the close correspondence between the musicians in the Dioscurides mosaic (and in its repetition in a painting at Stabiae) with terracottas from Myrina (see p. 95). I am not convinced that the little staircases with masks on them are necessarily Roman or that the past history of such staircases is exclusively Italian (cf. fig. 202), but I would agree that, whereas the pictures are probably copies of Greek originals, the painted masks set in decorative architecture may very well portray contemporary masks.

p. 239, Wall-painting from Necropolis at Cyrene, perhaps the two figures top left come from comedy, and the words of the inscription ἀλλ' ἐνδομήκεν ἡ θύρα προέρχεται αὐτός are spoken by the young man.

p. 241 ff., Prof. Bieber's explanation of the third-century Ostia and Agora moulds as moulds for cakes to be given to the audiences at dramatic festivals is convincing, but fig. 793 must be comic not tragic, as the figures have neither kothoroi nor onkos; she explains the very interesting Agora mould with its inscription COMEDIA PYLADES as a mythological comedy *Pylades*, in which Electra's peasant husband sits at her feet; this is certainly comedy and, as the Latin inscription implies, either Roman comedy or comedy for Roman consumption. I am loath to admit a mythological theme either in Greek New Comedy or in a Roman adaptation and believe that *Pylades* is the name of an actor, as Sir John Beazley originally suggested to me. The tragic actor, fig. 799, must, I think, be taking a male not a female part: the swinging brows are unparalleled on a female mask. The Lateran mosaic has two sets of three masks, a tragic set and a comic set: the set illustrated as tragic, fig. 802, is rightly, as it seems to me, regarded as the comic set by Rumpf, Simon, and Krien; the similar masks from the theatre at Ostia (fig. 805) are also comic; only the Herakles there is tragic.

p. 250, fig. 832a-b, Prof. Bieber takes these very interesting fragments as a single tragic scene, but the three figures on the left probably belong to comedy because of their quilted tights and the crook held by one of them.

p. 262, for Bradford read Bradfield.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

DRIVER (T. F.) *The Sense of History in Greek and Shakespearean Drama*. New York: Columbia University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1960. Pp. viii + 231. 40s.

Mr Driver's thesis is 'that variant structures are evident in the Greek and the Shakespearean drama, and the assumptions regarding time and history in their respective ages go far to account for them' (p. 9). The book is divided into three parts. Part I discusses the connexion between drama and history, and the Greek and the Judaeo-Christian attitudes to history. Part II is an excursus on dramatic form. Part III consists of comparisons between four pairs of plays: the *Persians* and *Richard III*, the *Oresteia* and *Hamlet*, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Macbeth*, and the *Alceste* and *The Winter's Tale*, together with a conclusion. An appendix contains notes on the choice of plays.

Drama and history, Driver argues, are closely connected in that they are both concerned with events which involve human thought and feeling, and both are concerned to discover meanings and patterns in the flow of events. The term history is used to describe both human action, thought and feeling and the meaning or aim found in the flow of events, together with the 'time-setting' of events in the objective world. But this is confused. Neither Greek drama nor history, as Driver agrees, attempts to find meaning in the temporal process. Nor is it clear that history, much less drama, must be concerned to find meaning in time because each deals with events in time. A consideration of Aristotle's dictum about poetry and history might have opened up this question, but, according to Driver, Aristotle joined drama and history, and what Aristotle joined could not easily be put asunder. Again, to link together, in the definition of history, human action and meaning in time suggests that an interest in human action necessarily implies this sort of meaning, and absence of this sort of meaning precludes important human action, which is false.

There is less to question in the rest of Part I. Greek thought turns to permanent laws; Jewish and Christian thought is 'history-centered'. Historians will probably feel that proper weight is not given to others' qualifications of Collingwood's views on permanent law in Thucydides. It also seems impolitic to quote so many Christian theologians, however distinguished, as authorities on Greek thought.

Dramatic form is discussed, for the most part sensibly, in Part II, but it is only briefly at the end that form is converted into terms of time, and it is not clear that the questions about time which are there suggested do in fact define form adequately. There is no discussion of form in terms of history as opposed to time. The result is that form in relation to time and history is left vague, as history earlier is left confused.

The main argument of Part III may perhaps be stated thus: Time and character are limited in

Greek tragedy because it is primarily concerned with permanent laws; they are important in Shakespeare because they are related to a controlling purpose. But proof should be offered that these effects are produced by these causes. This is not done. Before this, the facts must be clearly established. In Greek tragedy at least, they are open to criticism and question. It is doubtful whether so narrow a range of plays can suffice for the argument. The choice of two plays by Aeschylus should be justified; the comparison between the *Persians* and *Richard III* is full of false implications; conclusions about character are drawn from a brief look at the *Oresteia*. Driver thus exaggerates the neglect of time and character, but it will be granted that they are more limited than in Shakespeare. On the other hand, very careful argument is required to show that the primary concern of all Greek tragedy is with permanent law. This is not attempted. Even within the range of chosen plays no law is found for the *Alcestis*, and Kitto's law for the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is given in a line without discussion.

The book seems to me to have grave weaknesses both in the statement and argument of its thesis and in the presentation of the evidence. Some points may be added in conclusion. Particular arguments are sometimes very odd. The style does not make a hard argument easier. Gaps must be expected in the bibliography of so wide-ranging a book, but the absence of D. W. Lucas, Webster and Grube is surprising. There is a notable mistranslation of *Alcestis* 788 f. on p. 174. The Greek quotations do not seem to have been read in proof, if the number of misprints, including words omitted, is a guide. Pages 106 ff., 131 f. and 174 especially need attention.

A. E. HINDS.

SOPHOCLES. Tragedias: Edipo Rey, Edipo en Colono. Ed. I. Errandonea. Vol. I. Barcelona: Ediciones Alma Mater. 1959. Pp. xxxvii + 201. 225 ptas.

This volume is planned as the first of a series by the same editor presenting Sophocles to the Spanish reader. There is a general Introduction discussing the life and art of Sophocles and the MSS. and editions of the plays, and each play has a separate introduction. The text is accompanied by a critical apparatus (fuller than the Budé) and a prose translation into Spanish. The book is beautifully bound and printed, but rather large for its purpose. This may be the reason why room has not been found for the *Life* or the hypotheses.

In the Introduction Sr. Errandonea expresses the 'perfectionist' view of Sophocles in what seems to this reviewer an exaggerated form. Sophocles is the artist so perfect, so conformist and at one with his 'pueblo' that he seems to be left with practically nothing individual. His universal art is entirely above political or contemporary allusion, and even the one characteristic that one had thought certainly

belonged to him—that of being a specialist in depicting character—is denied him ('la característica de Sófocles es el no tener ninguna característica', p. xx). There is only one fault that Errandonea can find with him, and that is a feature which is not usually regarded as a blemish: the frequency of suicide in his plays! (p. xii). These criticisms made, I hasten to say that Errandonea presents his material interestingly, with enthusiasm and a certain freshness very welcome in Sophoclean studies. A considerable part of the Introduction is devoted to expounding the theory for which Errandonea is best known, namely, that the chorus in Sophocles is to be regarded as an actor. Stated generally this theory looks like little more than a rather one-sided restatement of Aristotle's words (*Poet.* 18 τὸν χορὸν δ' ἔνα δὲ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, κ.τ.λ.), and to have nothing more important to contribute than is usually taken from these words. It acquires, however, an unexpected significance when applied, as Errandonea applies it, to the second stasimon of the *O.T.* Everyone knows the difficulty, in this famous ode, of deciding whose is the hubris to which the chorus object, who is the 'tyrant' they have in mind. The common view is that Oedipus is meant, or Oedipus together with Jocasta. And it is perhaps this assumption more than anything else that impels scholars to look for a moral hamartia in Oedipus, in order to justify the chorus' rebuke. On Errandonea's interpretation this wider implication does not arise, since the hubris referred to is that of Laius. The chorus can have Laius in mind, even outside the immediate context of the play, because, on this theory, they really are old men of Thebes, old men with finite existences and circumstantial memories ('son ancianos—para proporcionar con sus recuerdos el trasfondo que en las tragedias del ciclo tebano le es necesario para sus fines estéticos', p. 11). The moral hamartia of Oedipus has never seemed to me a useful conception (the arguments against it are stated most cogently by Errandonea, pp. 15 ff., and by Mazon-Dain in their Introduction to the play), and Errandonea's theory of the stasimon, even if it does not completely explain it, may be nearer to an explanation, it appears to me, than has been generally appreciated.

Errandonea's text is interesting and literate. He seems to have a good intuitive understanding of the Greek, he tries to make up his mind what Sophocles wrote, and he is not afraid to print it. At *O.C.* 243, for instance, where Mazon-Dain print Desrousseaux's πατρός ὑπὲρ τοῦτον μόνον ἄγομαι he reads τοῦμοῦ, just as good palaeographically and better in sense (their version is repetitious after 238 f. πατέρα τόνδ' - - - οὐκ ἀνέλατ'). He gives on the whole a truer reading, I think, of the first kommos of the *O.C.* than do Mazon-Dain. On the other hand, being more individualistic, he is more wayward. At *O.C.* 1187 f. τὰ τοι καλῶς/ εὐρημέν' ἔργα τῷ λόγῳ μῆνεται, where most editors alter καλῶς to κακῶς he retains the MSS. reading, not, I think, happily. At

149 f. ε ε, ἀλαῶν ὀμμάτων. ἄρα καὶ ἴσθα φντάλμιος; φντάλμιος, whatever it means (and however one punctuates), must refer to Oedipus' eyes and cannot possibly mean 'are you Antigone's father?' At 138 φωνῇ γὰρ ὁρῶ, τὸ φατιζόμενον is not 'con los oídos veo lo que se dice', but 'as they say' (so Mazon-Dain).

There are a few other small points of criticism. In the section describing the MSS. the Leyden palimpsest (the importance of which is so clearly described in Vol. I of Mazon-Dain) is not mentioned. There is a misinterpretation, in the Introduction, of Plutarch's story of the award of the prize to Sophocles in 468: it was Cimon and the other generals, not the archons, who adjudicated. Errandonea has a curious and, it seems to me, erratic view of the order of composition of the plays, being prepared to put the *O.T.* before *Antigone* (p. xvii). Misprints are infrequent, but there is an unfortunate one at *O.T.* 876, ἀκρότατον γείσ' ἀναβῆσ' (for ἀκρότατα). Such small blemishes apart, the book is a valuable, if individualistic, contribution to Sophoclean studies, and one will look forward expectantly to its successors. It will be particularly interesting to have Errandonea's text of the more corrupt plays.

J. H. KELLS.

SOPHOCLES. **Tome iii. Philoctète. Oedipe à Colone.** Ed. A. Dain. Trans. P. Mazon. [Association G. Budé.] Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1960. Pp. viii + 156. NFr. 15.

The third volume of Mazon-Dain's Sophocles is like its predecessors, being admirably succinct, well-informed, clear-minded, and above all sane, if somewhat limited at times, in its approach to Sophocles. Mazon-Dain do not try to interpret him as the perfect artist, in whom everything has a deep inner significance. Therefore they can see the epiphany of Herakles in *Philoctetes* simply as an external and more or less artificial device for adapting the play's end to history and theatrical convention (compare the attempts of Weinstock and Whitman to argue that Herakles represents Philoctetes' own will). The play itself is a play of character and morality ('le drame c'est celui de la conscience luttant contre son intérêt') and its true conclusion 'le triomphe de la justice, telle qu'une âme jeune et droite l'a comprise et défendue'. Therefore the hero is Neoptolemos, not Philoctetes. In an important sense, this is true. But it is not the whole story. The play's maturity, in fact, depends upon the balance of the characters, and its issues are perhaps even larger than that of individual conscience, important and exquisitely moving as that is. The fact is that this play ends in a moral impasse—were it not for the *deus ex machina*. Perhaps the latter is not after all so adventitious. I do not understand them when they say that the play contains 'longueurs'.

The *Coloneus* (which M.-D. relate, very properly, to the cavalry-action of 407/6 in which Athens repulsed Boeotian invaders) is, they say, not merely

long but slow (I hesitate to comment on this, never having seen the play performed). It is a sort of grand canvas on which Sophocles tried to express 'le somme de tous les modes d'expressions que l'art tragique était parvenu s'assimiler à la fin du v^e siècle'. Also, as they point out, it contains some of Sophocles' finest poetry and has, from the very beginning, a certain tone of 'apaisante grandeur' which has influenced many later poets. M.-D. do justice to the very important theme of the self-justification of Oedipus, but again, as with *Philoctetes*, it seems to me that they have not dealt fully with the issues of the play. The self-justification of Oedipus is important not for itself only, but because it is a part of his struggle to maintain his integrity against almost superhuman misfortune and suffering. In this he is the fellow of Philoctetes, and his harshness towards Polynices is a parallel to Philoctetes' bitterness against the Greeks.

Perhaps the most admirable feature of M.-D.'s edition are the footnotes on matters of history, mythology and the like. Sophocles, whose general meaning is usually tolerably clear, lends himself particularly to unhampered reading, with only the accompaniment of such unobtrusive but judicious aids to understanding. When these notes dealt with points of interpretation, I found them generally excellent, but sometimes open to criticism, as is M.-D.'s text and translation. In the difficult first kommos of the *O.C.* I felt that their version was not always acute, and found myself preferring the Spanish one of Errandonea. The following points seem worth mentioning. l. 142 μή μ' - - - προσίδητ' ἄνομον, 'ne me regardez pas, je suis un hors la loi': this contradicts everything Oedipus says about himself. Translate, with the scholiast, 'do not regard me as lawless' (so Errandonea). l. 161 τῶν, ξένη πάμμορ', εὖ φύλαξαι. μετὰσταθ', ἀπόβαθι: there should be no colon after φύλαξαι. τῶν (as Tyrrell showed beyond reasonable doubt in *CR* 2. 140—in 1888!) goes with μετὰσταθ', ἀπόβαθι. No progress is made with understanding such lines because editors (Errandonea here also) disregard the figure of hyperbaton. l. 169 πρόσθεν δ' ἀπερέκον: not 'écarte-toi de danger', but 'forbear to talk' (so the scholiast and Errandonea). l. 194 ἄλις, ὥς ἀκούεις: not 'pas plus loin, je te dis', but 'that's enough the way you are heeding my words', i.e. you are obeying instructions correctly. At 71 the same tolerance of a jerky punctuation as at 161 gives ὥς πρὸς τί; λέξον ἢ καταρτύσων μολεῖν, inferior in sense, as Jebb shows, to the line read continuously. On a point of wider meaning M.-D. comment upon *Phil.* 719 ff. 'le chocer croit que Néoptolème, qui soutient Philoctète, va le ramener dans son pays'. If they do, they have changed their tune remarkably at 828 ff., where they tempt Neoptolemos to desert Philoctetes. Surely in 719 ff. they must be playing a part. True, they have not heard Odysseus' preliminary instructions to Neoptolemos. But they know very well what it is all about.

As reviewers of the previous volumes have pointed out, M.-D. are conservative—even unduly conservative—in their text. At the same time they have only a limited space available for recording conjectures. The result is that they sometimes print faulty or doubtful Greek with what seems insufficient critical comment. Witness the following. *Phil.* 23 f. *ἄ μοι προσελθὼν σίγα σημαίν' εἴτ' ἔχει| χάρον πρὸς αὐτὸν τόνδ' ἔτ'* (Blaydes' obvious, if not fully convincing, solution not mentioned, and the translation suggests that *ἄ* may be the subject of *ἔχει*!), 43 *ἀλλ' ἢ πῖ φορβῆς νόστον ἐξελήλυθεν* (no note), 228 *καλούμενον* (meaningless, but no note), 534 *δοικὸν εἰσοίκῃσιν* (no note on the dubious *εἰσοίκῃσιν*), 782 *ἀλλὰ δέδοικ'*, *ὦ παῖ, μή μ' ἀτελὲς εὖχῃ* (no comment on the improbability of the dochmiac or on the unintelligibility of *μ(ε)*), but the editor's content with Desrousseaux's *εὖχῃ* for MSS. *εὖχῃ*), 1138 (insufficient critical note), 1149 (no note), 1207 *κρᾶτ' ἀπὸ πάντα καὶ ἄθρα τέμω χερὶ* (a man cannot cut off his own head, much less proceed to cut off the rest of him: Hermann's *χρᾶτ'* should at least have been mentioned, if not adopted). At *Phil.* 724 f. *πατρὸν ἄγει πρὸς ἀλλὰν/Μαλιάδων νυμφᾶν/Σπερχεῖο τε παρ' ὄχθαις, ὄχθαις* is surely a simple mistake for *ὄχθας* (G's reading), and should not have been given preference. Again at *O.C.* 367 *ἔρις* must be a mistake for *ἔρως*, but the latter is not even mentioned as a variant. At 547† *καὶ γὰρ ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ ὤλεσα* (Codd. *ἀπώλεσα*), Mekler's brilliant emendation *καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὖς ἐφόνευσ' ἔμ' ἀπώλεσαν*, which sheds the only light on an otherwise dark passage (actually Mekler's idea could be expressed with a much simpler alteration of the MSS.—*καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὖς ἐφόνευσα καὶ ὤλεσαν*), is not mentioned, though a gratuitous compliment is paid to Porson for replacing *ἄλλους* with the equally meaningless *ἄνους*. In this volume at least, however, M.-D. are not consistent in their conservatism, sometimes boldly preferring unconventional sense to traditional nonsense. Thus at *Phil.* 1218 they happily accept Lachmann's *αἰλινον* for *τι δεινόν*, at 266 Musgrave's *τῆδ' for τῆσδ'* (but would the line not be better punctuated *νόστον καταθνήσκοντα τῆδ', ?*) 273–5 Desrousseaux's good transposition, 426 Jebb's good *δὲ αὖ τῶδ' ἄνδρ' ἔλεξας*, 1094 Jackson's *ἄλωσιν οὐκέτ' ἴσχω*, *O.C.* 281 Desrousseaux's *θεῶν* (to go hyperbatically with *φονίην* in 280) for the MSS. *βροτῶν*, 1583 Wilamowitz's *ὡς λογιγῶτα| κείνον τὸν αἰεὶ βίοντον ἐξεπίστασο* (which I now think right, though I suggest elsewhere a hyperbatic construing of the sentence with the MSS. *λελοιπῶτα*).

Such criticism of details springs from the desire which we all feel to read our Sophocles in the best modern text that can possibly be produced. A new text, produced carefully by two such eminent scholars, was bound to raise expectation that we should at last have such a text. It is hard to live up to such expectation and therefore not surprising that M.-D. have not entirely fulfilled it. In so far as they have not done so, this is no doubt largely due to the limitations of the kind of book they have

been commissioned to write. As this had other (most admirable) ends to serve than that of producing a definitive text of Sophocles, we should be grateful that, while serving those ends, they have also managed to go so far in showing how a superior text could be produced.

J. H. KELLS.

MADDALENA (A.) *Sofocle*. Turin: Edizioni di 'Filosofia'. 1959. Pp. vi + 419. L. 3,000.

The series to which this book belongs is not intended for specialist classical scholars: the book will be instructive to undergraduates reading some Greek plays in translation and to general readers. It goes in detail through all the seven plays, explaining in each case the myth and the circumstances of the action, giving a smooth rendering of a large part of the Greek, a few lines at a time, with a continuous paraphrase and running commentary elucidating the sequence of thought of each separate passage. The commentary deals with moral and psychological points; the interpretation is of the general significance of the plays, it is 'psychological' and, inevitably, lopsided; it takes no account, for example, of the formal and rhetorical character of Greek writing and of the structure of tragic speeches, or of the significance of proverbial gnomes and common-places, considerations which must inevitably have modified M.'s psychological interpretations. Occasionally a word or a phrase or a short passage is transliterated.

The most interesting part of the book is the full notes which come at the end of each chapter. They are numerous, ranging from 86 arising out of the discussion of the *Ajax* to 107 on the chapter on the *O.T.* In these notes Sr. Maddalena discusses those interpretations of other scholars that are concerned with the same kind of question in particular passages which especially engage his own interest. One may often disagree with his views; but within the limits of inquiry that he sets himself, his discussion is sensible, and his judgment sound. The notes are written in a more plain and direct style than the chapters they annotate; they are all the more useful for that, and the comparative austerity of the writing is a welcome contrast to some of the more lush passages of the book. Sr. Maddalena has a remarkable knowledge of modern studies of Sophocles—Italian, English, French and German. Sometimes these are referred to more for the sake of completeness of reference than for other reasons.

If there are plenty of difficult and subtle passages in Sophocles where you would give a lot for a fresh, honest analysis, attempting to consider textual and linguistic difficulties and to 'get the stuff out' as a basis for a more general interpretation, this is not the shop to go to: Sr. Maddalena's smooth rendering and general paraphrase often begs the question. (It is not always clear what edition he is translating. Where he does attempt to investigate the meaning of the Greek in a particular passage, he proves not

at all helpful.) The seven chapters are too long, the notes too numerous, and many of these too are unnecessarily long; but still the whole is written with unflagging zest. It would almost certainly be hard for any reader to say at the end exactly what he had learned from the book, but Sr. Maddalena loves his author and discusses him with an enthusiasm that will be found catching, and there can be no doubt that for young students and the readers for whom it is intended this book will be very useful and valuable.

M. HARTLEY.

SPIRA (A.) **Untersuchungen zum Deus ex machina bei Sophokles und Euripides.**

[Diss.] Mainz: the Author. 1960. Pp. 167. DM 12.

In this Frankfurt dissertation of 1957, Dr Spira undertakes to prove that the *deus ex machina* is not just a device to save a theatrically helpless plot, but an integral part of the whole plot, as part of the original plan.

He discusses the motives for the employment of it, and as an inevitable corollary, the problem of the nature of the gods in Euripides. But he is primarily concerned with a line of inquiry which he regards as fundamental: what does the appearance of the *deus ex machina* mean to the persons in the drama?

In contrast with previous methods, which he condemns as deductive, he undertakes to employ an inductive method—namely the detailed analysis of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and Euripides' *Ion*, as two typical plays which reveal different employment of the *deus ex machina*. This analysis takes up about half the dissertation. The other half, based upon the findings of the analysis, deals with the *deus ex machina* in Euripides.

Spira claims to trace a connexion between *deus ex machina* and *ethopoeia*, character in Sophocles being properly understood as *ἠθολογία*, and distinguished from the Aristotelian *ἦθος*.

His analysis quite justifiably shows an existentialist tendency, for he maintains that Herakles appears in order to solve a human 'limit-situation' (*Grenzsituation*)—which makes the plot similar to that of Euripides' *Orestes* (pp. 27, 140). He firmly rejects W. Büchner's view that Philoctetes sufficiently regained his faith in humanity, after Neoptolemus' revelation of the truth, to abandon his resistance suddenly. He holds rather that although on the verge of giving in, Philoctetes did not actually do so visibly and dramatically before the appearance of the deity. In other words, that the psychological category is inadequate: the new category is the epiphany, which indeed breaks in violently, without psychological preparation, and brings about a change of heart from a different, a new level. That this was the plan of the drama from the beginning is shown in the prologue (pp. 28-9). And this same plan is revealed in the prologues of other Greek tragedies (p. 163).

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Spira rejects the view that *Ion* is a criticism of the gods (p. 77). He seems to reject Murray's theory of a nativity-play if it is taken to mean that *Ion* has a specific ritual background, but is prepared to accept it as part of the Euripidean dramaturgy which operates on more than one level (*vielschichtig*, p. 79). He regards *Ion* as a mature work, with a preconceived artistic unity in all its parts. The human situation here shows not a clash of motives as in *Philoctetes*, but a lack of human understanding. He insists that we have in it a threat to order, which requires to be restored. The tribal succession proclaimed by Athena was a matter of high politics: it is meant seriously, bringing the dramatic action into the context of the city-state and its contemporary policy. In the fate of *Ion* and Creusa the Athenian audience experience the peril and the rescue of a significant moment in their own primitive history. So the appearance of Athena cannot be just a farce (pp. 78-9). The mood of the play, with its overstrained persons and their attitude to the gods, reflects the devil's kitchen of the polis, which was for the poet and his audience their *kosmos* (p. 79).

Spira would equate *κάθαρσις* with what he calls *restitutio ordinis*—the restoration at the end of a tragedy of the disturbed order. This is found in tragedies with both happy and unhappy ending. The fallacy of attributing a non-tragic character to certain plays of Euripides is refuted when we see that this restoration of the disturbed order constitutes their tragic character. This clearly occurs in Shakespeare, too, among the moderns, but was lost sight of owing to the erroneous doctrine of a false theory of verisimilitude (p. 158, n. 12).

There is much more in Dr Spira's dissertation than can be shown here, for acute observations abound on every page. It may be remarked summarily that it provides the basis for a new aesthetic appreciation of the *deus ex machina*, Aristotle's recommendation (*Poet.* 1454a-b) being rejected as based on a misconception.

Misprints are: *emfindet* p. 30; *μηχανή* and *μηχανή* p. 149; prologue p. 166.

R. A. BROWNE.

Fondation Hardt. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique. Tome vi. Euripide. Vandoeuvres-Geneva: Fondation Hardt (Cambridge: Heffer). 1960. Pp. vi + 290. £2 10s. od.

These were the last Conversations to be held in the presence of their original host, Baron Hardt, who died three months later, though happily his Foundation survives. There are seven papers, each with following discussion: (1) J. C. Kamerbeek: *Mythe et réalité dans l'œuvre d'Euripide*, which sees an antinomy, sharp enough to be disconcerting at times, between the poet's fascinated exploration of the corpus of myths, extending even to an almost Alexandrian pursuit of recondite detail and aetiology,

G

and the precision of his realistic genre-painting and psychological realism. The discussion turned on the tension between these aspects: does one argue away dissonances by detailed interpretation of the plays, or admit them as inevitable? (2) A. Rivier: *L'élément démonique chez Euripide jusqu'en 428*. This he regards as a surviving link between gods and men in Euripides' belief, particularly in the central figures of earlier plays, dominated as they are by this superhuman force which also coincides with the passion within them, at once *ἐμφυτός τε καὶ θεήλατος*. Much of the paper and the subsequent discussion naturally turned on the figure of Medea. (3) H. Diller: *Umwelt und Masse als dramatische Faktoren bei Euripides*. The whole milieu, the circumstance surrounding the actors in the drama, is caught up in the action. It is no accident that women are so often central characters; they are peculiarly dependent on surrounding circumstance. A striking innovation in his tragedies is the number of cases where mass-action, or the threat of it, plays a vital part in the development of the plot—*Andr., Hec., Or., Bacch., IA*. (4) A. Lesky: *Psychologie bei Euripides*. In the wide divergence of opinion the two poles are perhaps Wilamowitz, whose Phaedra for instance is so like Hedda Gabler (and there are many modern critics who follow the same lines), and Zürcher, who argues that Euripides neither could nor wished to create rounded 'characters' from which the action springs, though at shorter range in the dialogue he will show many acutely observed psychological reactions. In arguing for a different approach, the paper is full of the good things one naturally expects from the author, but here as elsewhere in the discussions one longs for sharper opposition. All the party seem agreed that Zürcher's is a deleterious influence, yet one may feel that his presence could have provoked a really searching discussion on what makes a tragic personage unvergesslichen und unverwechselbaren. Medea, he might have said, is all that, and yet no more credible or consistent or 'real' a character for it. Lesky himself appears much more aware of the difficulties than the rest of the company. (5) R. P. Winnington-Ingram's *Hippolytus: a study in causation* takes up again, from a different angle, the notion of environment, and shows with much subtlety how Euripides uses it to give depth and solidity to the psychology of his characters in this play. (6) G. Zuntz: *On Euripides' Helena: theology and irony*, an unusual interpretation of this puzzling play. It seems to be (like the 'Political Plays') basically occupied with the great problem facing Euripidean man: how to live in a godless world. The old Servant and Theonoe, and the Chorus 1137-64 are perhaps the most debatable reinterpretations in depth; the discussion showed a certain restiveness in face of a serious textual modification, involving lacuna, required for Theonoe in this aspect. (Is one entitled to say that acceptance of the text would convict Euripides of an 'irresponsible stage-manoeuvre' or a 'superfluous rhetorical display',

therefore he must have written something else?). (7) V. Martin: *Euripide et Ménandre face à leur public*. The fact that Euripides was always 'granted a chorus' but won so few victories suggests that he was liked by a small but influential avant-garde but not so popular with the general public in his lifetime; roughly the same might be said of Menander.

A serious review of so disparate a series of articles and conversations would require far too much space here. All lovers of Euripides will want to read this book.

A. M. DALE.

TURYN (A.) **The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides.** Illinois: University Press. 1957. Pp. x + 415, with 24 plates. \$6.

Professor Turyn's volume on the MSS. of Euripides follows the pattern of his earlier work on Sophocles and Aeschylus, and is now well known to scholars. He sets out to demonstrate that in the 'triad' our texts do not take sufficient account of the younger 'veteres' which he calls 'recentiores', these being manuscripts mostly later in date than 1300 A.D. and therefore liable to Byzantine interpolation. To assess these MSS., more knowledge is necessary of interpolations in the text of Euripides made by Byzantine editors and Turyn therefore aims first of all at identifying the Byzantine editions by his familiar method, for which he uses primarily the MS. T (Rome Bibl. Angelica, greco 14) containing the Euripidean Triad with scholia, and claims that it is the authentic exemplar of the Triclinian edition of the Euripidean triad. He distinguishes (a) pages corrected by Triclinius and furnished by him with Thoman scholia and glosses, written with the rounded breathing of his earlier period, and later supplemented by Moschopulean scholia with angular breathings (post 1319) and personal notes often in brownish ink, and (b) pages written by Triclinius, of which some contain dialogue and are written with round breathings and in black ink, and were later supplemented by Moschopulean scholia with square breathings; and others, containing lyrics, are written with angular breathings. He argues, therefore, that Triclinius must have worked on this MS. from about 1310 to 1325, dates which help to suggest a possible chronology for Triclinius' work on Greek authors. Turyn then proceeds to isolate the Thoman and Moschopulean collections, chooses representative MSS. for study and deduces that there were two separate Thoman editions; which were preceded by the work of Moschopoulos and by notes and paraphrases, as opposed to a revised text, from the hand of Maximus Planudes (c. 1255-1305). Whether Planudes or Moschopoulos was the earlier is uncertain. Turyn quotes on pp. 81-2 four passages to prove that Moschopoulos' work on Euripides preceded that of Thomas; they are not conclusive but the hypothesis is not unlikely. At the end of the

series came Triclinius himself. Turyn traces Planudean scholia in V, which he thinks, arguing partly from the fact that in Y *Troades* is an apograph of V, passed early in the fourteenth century through a scriptorium in Constantinople rich in Planudean influence; in the MS. Y (Naples, Bibl. Naz. III MS. II F 9), and its kindred MS. Florence, Bibl. Laur. Conv. Soppr. 98 which he calls Yf, in the Wolfenbüttel Gudianus graec. 15 and in Venice 469. MSS. with primarily Thoman affiliations he classifies with the symbol Y and Moschopulean ones with X.

To act as control for the Moschopulean and Thoman texts of the Triad he relies mainly on MBVH, with some reference to A (despite some Byzantine interpolations) and to the two twelfth-century gnomologies Vatopedi 36 and Venice 507; and if it is permissible to anticipate a later conclusion, as Turyn so often does in his own exposition, the evidence of G. A. Longman on the gnomologies (*CQ* NS Vol. IX (1959), pp. 129-41; *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* no. 4 (1957), pp. 60-1) suggests that they are not *gemelli* as Turyn states, but that the Venice MS. is a copy of Vatopedianus. They share readings which differ from the other *vetustiores* and suggest that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there existed more and more varied MSS. than Turyn believes and that the process of *contaminatio*, which Turyn virtually ignores, was very strongly at work. It is unlikely that this situation can be fully resolved, but a careful study with exact collation of B, D, O and other MSS. might well yield some useful results, when compared with P and L, and demonstrate the existence of a number of texts midway between M and L. We should note also that the fact that *Troades* is omitted from the gnomologies is evidence that texts of the annotated plays without *Troades* were current in the twelfth century and that its omission from L and presence in P must be considered in this light.

To these *vetustiores* he adds his *recentiores*, choosing mainly R (Vatic. 1135 dated c. 1300) and S (Salamanca 31, dated 1326) supplemented on occasion by the related Sa (Vatic. 1345). Their evidence is at times worth recording in a full apparatus, but they do not appear to be of great importance to the text. His descriptions are thorough and valuable, as is his elucidation of the Moschopulean and Thoman texts. Chapter VIII deals with the dyad, *Hecuba Orestes*, which was, he thinks, established in the fifteenth century.

The most controversial section of the book begins with Chapter VIII in which he turns to the LP tradition. Turyn is, as is now well known, convinced that L and P are *gemelli*, but despite his very great contribution to our knowledge of these MSS., his argument does not carry conviction, even though it has attractive features. I should agree with Lloyd-Jones (*Gnomon* Band 30, 1958, p. 505) that Turyn has demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt:

(1) That Nicolaus Triclinius wrote 119^r-154^r of L and that many of the corrections ascribed to 'I' and

some of the hypotheses and titles throughout the Euripidean section of L were the work of Demetrius Triclinius himself (though his confident ascriptions of alterations and minor glosses to Triclinius (e.g. 85^r) seem much less convincing, and are not a good basis for argument), and

(2) That L originated in Triclinius' circle, presumably in Thessalonica and was at any rate planned, if not executed, as a homogeneous work, though not necessarily by Triclinius himself—a view which is supported by valuable new information about watermarks in the different sections of the MS.

This new information implies that if the unannotated plays in P (Vat. Palat. 287 and Laur. Conv. Soppr. 172) were copied from L, as modern scholars have mostly supposed on the evidence of Vitelli and Wecklein and of later collators, the copying took place early in the fourteenth century, before L had been corrected and furnished with metrical notes and other glosses by Triclinius, though not perhaps before he had made some alterations. Turyn on p. 273 lists as examples eleven passages where he believes that P does in fact record corrections made by L^T as he now calls 'I'; but there seems no certainty at all that they are not merely corrections by L himself or a contemporary diorthotes. Even if they are by Triclinius, the evidence of his work on the Rome MS. Angelica 14 shows him operating piecemeal over a period of up to twenty years, and there is therefore no reason why P should not have copied the unannotated plays from L before Triclinius gave his main attention to it, but after some preliminary corrections. Turyn himself agrees that there is no palaeographical argument against assigning P to the early fourteenth century instead of the later half to which Wilamowitz assigned it. Turyn's hypothesis, if it were clearly demonstrable, has the advantage of neatness and simplicity, and provides an easy explanation of the occasional better readings in P not found in L, but according to Turyn correctly transcribed by P from their common source; but his attempt on pp. 270 ff. to prove that P could not have copied L produces no passage which cannot be as satisfactorily, if not better, explained by P misreading L's script, by the well-attested inaccuracy of P, or as a contemporary conjecture. I have worked through these examples twice with the facsimiles of L and P in my possession and concur with the findings of Lloyd-Jones (*Gnomon*, pp. 506-7); it seems unnecessary to set them out in detail. The peculiarities of L's hand are marked and it seems over-elaborate to postulate the same peculiarities in his source to explain what seem to be clearly misreadings of it, as Turyn does on p. 268. Turyn's theory also puts him in some difficulty over *Troades* and *Bacchae*. Since he believes that L, P and Triclinius all had access to the source of L, he is forced to explain (p. 280) the omission of the second half of *Bacchae* as fortuitous, and the superiority of P's text as due to lack of zeal by L at this stage, and also by Triclinius during revision. Here, and on

p. 24 he seems to treat *Bacchae* as an 'unannotated' play; and yet at p. 94 n. he concludes (rightly) on the evidence of its inclusion in a gnomology that it belonged to the selected ones, a point later confirmed by the evidence of *Christus Patiens* (p. 311). It seems much more likely to suppose that P had access to at least one other MS. containing the whole of the *Bacchae* than that L's forerunner contained a unique text. The omission of *Troades* from L was noted at the end of the MS. by Triclinius apparently some time after his original note that it contained eighteen plays of Euripides—surely an inconceivable situation if he had at his disposal the source of L and this contained the *Troades*. When he turns to the annotated plays, he explains the greater divergence of L and P on the grounds that 157^r–191 of L, which contain *Hipp.*, *Med.*, *Alc.*, *Andr.*, were written by the main scribe in his least careful script and that he made more blunders here than elsewhere in copying his source; and he attacks with some justice the theory of Wecklein and Maas that P did a systematic comparison with other MSS. of the MABV type to improve his text. It is more likely that P had access to contaminated MSS. sharing something of both main traditions, as the previous discussion of the Vatopedi gnomology suggests. Lloyd-Jones has dealt thoroughly with Turyn's further argument based on Harleianus 5743 (called Q), and concludes rightly that it tells us only that Q copied *Tro.* 1–610 from P's source, but that it does not help to identify it. It may well have been a MS. of this kind midway between the main streams of the tradition. Turyn himself provides further evidence of the same point on p. 297 where the arguments to *Medea* and *Rhesus* in Milan Bibl. Ambrosiana O 123 sup. demonstrate their descent not, as he thinks, from the common source of L P Q but from a tradition shared by them in part.

In Chapter X Turyn turns to a survey of the *veteres* and in Chapter IX to an account of apographs of extant MSS. He prefaces the survey with a surprisingly brief justification of a 'stemma' printed on p. 308, and does not succeed in establishing by the examples he quotes the separate existence of his various sub-classes. All the evidence, including that of his own '*recentiores*', points to the likelihood of contamination before the execution of the more recent of our existing *veteres* and to the existence during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of mixed texts of the annotated plays which have not survived. The MS. Turyn calls W (Mount Athos *Μονή Ιβήρων* 161), is probably a typical descendant of many such. Some further progress may yet be possible, but I doubt if the problem is capable of resolution unless new evidence comes to hand.

Turyn has proved beyond doubt the need for a really full and up-to-date edition of the text of Euripides which would provide in its apparatus adequate evidence for the further study of the text. His own contribution to its preparation is of outstanding merit and thoroughness and will be indis-

pensable to its editor, even though his solution seems too tidy for the facts; and no small credit is due also to his printer and readers for so much accuracy in a desperately complicated text.

P. G. MASON.

Andocides, De reditu: introduzione e commento, by U. Albin. Firenze: Felice le Monnier. 1961. Pp. 118. L. 1,200.

This edition, which belongs to the series of classical texts with commentary issued by the University of Florence, provides the second oration of Andocides with an up-to-date commentary. The text follows Blass-Fuhr very closely, but with some improvements in the lay-out of the apparatus criticus. Deviations from the Teubner text appear to be only four:

21 προειδήτε, defended with reference to Lysias III, 44; Dem. XXIII, 7.

22 ὠφελήθησθε, defended against Fuhr's ὠφελήσεσθε.

22 μή retained before βούλεσθε in the second *ei*-clause.

26 πρόπαππος, defended with reference to Raubitschek, *Rhein. Mus.* 1955, pp. 258–62 (a different Leogoras from the one mentioned in I, 106).

The introduction is admirably Italian in its attention to psychological factors both in the personality of the orator and in the history of his age. It contains an original discussion of his style and his oratorical methods. His typical carelessness is illustrated by his tendency to express the same notion in different words when occasion arises to repeat it (pp. 25–6). This view might be challenged, because although the procedure is quite unlike the artistic *μεταβολή*, it could be deliberately casual. In his commentary Professor Albin brings out Andocides' peculiarities and shows also where he agrees with the practice of the early prose writers. He corrects some views which are erroneous, e.g. the alleged distinction between *τεκμήριον* and *σημείον* (p. 53) and Marchant's allegation that *ὄνσμενής* is rare in prose (p. 49). His treatment of the particles is very careful, showing both original thought and judicious use of Denniston. Admirable also is the attention which he pays to orthography, accident, syntax, usage and synonymic. Certain minor but important points of usage were passed over by Marchant but receive attention here, e.g. the force of the demonstrative in *τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ* 1 *et al.*; the uniqueness of the article in *τάς Ἀθήνας* 12. An objection might be raised *re εὐθαρσεῖν* 16, where Professor Albin sees in the infinitive 'un semplice infinito consecutivo-finale'. His notes here would seem to imply that A. W. Spratt and M. H. Morgan were making a fuss over nothing—which is absurd. Spratt quoted in Marchant's edition (1889) p. 175 cited as a parallel Thuc. III, 40: *ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀμαρτεῖν λήγονται*. Let us at least have from Professor Albin some further examples of the infinitive without article used like

this in prose. But this is a minor point amid so much which is admirable in the exposition of grammatical and stylistic phenomena. Political institutions and realia are also carefully dealt with, e.g. in the notes on *ἐν ἀπορρίπτῳ* 19; *κοπέας* 11; *δοῦλοι ἀνθρώποις καὶ ξένους παντοδατοῖς* 23. To sum up, the edition shows everywhere a command of the relevant literature and a soundness of judgment in the treatment of the problems. It should prove an indispensable aid to the study of Andocides.

R. A. BROWNE.

BUCHHEIT (V.) **Untersuchungen zur Theorie des Genos epideiktikon von Gorgias bis Aristoteles.** Munich: M. Hueber. 1960. Pp. 260. DM 29.80.

In brief outline Dr Buchheit's theme is as follows. The Sophists made only a limited contribution to the development of the encomium. Gorgias' importance in this respect has been overstressed because he was concerned only with stylistic ornament and the technique of persuasion; ethical considerations were disregarded by him. Isocrates went an important step further because his encomia were designed to have educative value. He showed something more than technical skill in composition as he had regard for the qualities of the person praised. Nevertheless he belongs to the Sophistic tradition because his evaluation of these qualities was purely subjective. He represents the highest point reached in the development of the Sophistic encomium, the theory of which is treated in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. Philosophers had a higher conception of the encomium. Plato had no use for its traditional form, but insisted that it must be based on truth; the encomiast must have knowledge of the subject praised, dialectical skill, and psychological insight. In the *Rhetoric* Aristotle developed Plato's scattered and incidental precepts into a systematic theory which was radically different from that of the Sophists.

It seems to me a fundamental weakness of this book that Buchheit follows Aristotle in confining his study of epideictic oratory almost exclusively to the encomium, and that he does not include the *epitaphius*, speeches delivered at panhellenic gatherings, and other epideictic forms. It is difficult to make much progress in the study of epideictic oratory without examining the different kinds of composition traditionally associated with it and discovering as far as possible their probable origin and their relation to each other. The encomium does not in itself constitute a clearly defined branch of literature or oratory. In its serious form it has obvious affinities with its lyric counterpart. The paradoxical encomium, however, is allied to legal oratory and should be classed with such *ἐπιδεικτικὰ* as the *Eroticus* ascribed by Plato to Lysias in the *Phaedrus*, i.e. as an exercise or demonstration in proving *τὸν ἥττω λόγον*.

In his survey of the development of the encomium Buchheit takes too little account of the different aims

which its composers had in view. The sole purpose of the trivial Sophistic encomium, as of other trivial *ἐπιδεικτικὰ*, was to exercise or display rhetorical skill; ethical considerations were irrelevant. To associate Isocrates with this type of composition is misleading, because the use he made of the encomium was entirely different. It was merely one of many rhetorical forms which he adapted in various ways to express his views. The *Helen* and *Busiris* are serious works of literary criticism. In both the encomium is only part of the work and serves to illustrate the points which Isocrates wishes to make. Buchheit's analysis of these two works is in many ways penetrating, but I think he fails to see why Isocrates attacks the *ἀπολογία* element in the encomia which he criticises. The reason must be his desire to dissociate himself from legal oratory and the trivial *ἐπιδεικτικὰ* which is allied to it. For the same reason I think Buchheit fails to see why at the beginning of the *Antidosis* Isocrates contrasts his own speech with those written for *ἀγῶνες* and *ἐπιδεικτικὰ*. Here, as elsewhere, Isocrates is anxious that his own work should not be confused with legal speeches or the quasi-legal *ἐπιδεικτικὰ*.

In the course of the book Buchheit tries to solve many problems which have for long been the subject for dispute. His explanations of Plato's motives in writing the *Menexenus* and the *Phaedrus* are convincing as far as they go. The evidence with which he supports his theory that the *Symposium* is a reply to Isocrates' *Helen* is totally inadequate. Particularly unlikely is his view that there is parody of Isocrates in Agathon's speech. Plato was far too precise and discerning a critic to confuse Gorgianism with Isocratean Greek. Amongst other views which Buchheit maintains is a denial that Anaximenes was the author of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, an assertion that in the original version of the *Rhetoric* Aristotle did not deal with the encomium, but conceived the idea of a third branch of oratory at a comparatively late stage, and a claim that there is no inconsistency between Aristotle's treatment of the encomium in the first and third books.

Any review of a work which raises so many controversial questions must be to some extent subjective. Others may find some of Dr Buchheit's theories more convincing than I do. His book is at any rate to be welcomed as it treats in learned detail a neglected subject which has a wider importance for Greek literature than its somewhat arid rhetorical background suggests.

H. LI. HUDSON-WILLIAMS.

Menander. Dyscolos. Ed. J. Bingen. (Textus minores, xxvi.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1960. Pp. xvi + 52. Fl. 5.50.

GRONINGEN (B. A. VAN) **Le Dyscolos de Ménandre: étude critique du texte.** (Verhandelingen der k. Ned. Akad. van Wetenschappen, afd. letterkunde, n.r. 67, 3.) Amsterdam: North-

Holland Publishing Co. 1960. Pp. 160.
£2 os. 0d.

Menander. Dyskolos. Ed. W. Kraus. (Sitz.
österreich. Akad., phil.-hist. Klasse, 234, 4.)
Vienna: R. M. Rohrer. 1960. Pp. 126.
ö.S 85.

Since the publication of the first edition of the *Dyskolos* in the spring of 1958, the number of articles, reviews, and even new editions devoted to the establishment of an improved text of the play has been legion. The contributions of Professors Bingen, van Groningen, and Kraus to this end cannot be overestimated; but let it be said at once that while Bingen's text incorporates many novel and stimulating ideas, it has already been surpassed by more recent editions; the commentaries of van Groningen and Kraus, on the other hand, with their full discussions of the readings of the papyrus and of the suggestions published by their fellow scholars, provide an indispensable basis for any future study of the text of this play.

Bingen's aim, presumably, was to produce a cheap text for use in schools and universities. His edition contains a useful introduction in English about the plot of the *Dyskolos*, its merits, and its place in Greek literature; there is nothing new here, but Bingen's views are sensible, his facts mainly accurate (though the impression that he gives on p. x, where he talks about 'a still unpublished *Samia*', is likely to mislead his readers into believing that the whole of that play has now been discovered), and his English fairly good (though 'personage' is not the English word commonly used to translate *πρόσωπον*, and 'prepositive' and 'postpositive' are strange synonyms for 'proclitic' and 'enclitic'). The text itself is of considerable interest, although one can point to many flaws and errors of judgment. These include an excessive inclination to insert his own conjectures and supplements into the text in places where there are other and preferable solutions to the difficulties: e.g., v. 42, Martin's *ἡκοῖτε* fits the gap in the papyrus better than Bingen's *ἐλθόντε*, and v. 599, Bingen's *κλίμακα* is hardly a plausible supplement before *καὶ σχοινίον*: the retriever would require one of these two methods of descent, not both. Nor is Bingen always wise in his adoption of the conjectures of others: Barigazzi's at 148 and 445, Martin's at 498, Diano's at 917, for instance. And few would retain the reading of the papyrus with Bingen at, e.g., 279, 483 (*λαβόν*), 396 and 960 (*ἐς*). These examples are few out of many, but against them must be weighed Bingen's happier ideas: such as the supplement [*δσον ἐστὶ*] at 247, and the punctuation at 438 and 572-3; while *ἀπολεῖ μ'* at 412 and the repeated *λεβοῖτιον* at 473 are ingenious fancies, though perhaps not convincing ones. Bingen's edition may be summed up, therefore, as interesting but not reliable.

The critical editions and commentaries of van Groningen and Kraus are best taken together, for in many ways they are complementary to each other.

Van Groningen's discussions of the text, in which the readings of the papyrus and all available conjectures are discussed at full length, are usually models of clear exposition and logical argument on the pattern *ἀρκτέον ἀπὸ τῶν γροφίμων*; and scholars will be continuously grateful to this editor for collecting all the passages where the papyrus is guilty of particular sorts of error: e.g., confusion between *ο* and *ου* (on v. 7) and *στ* and *τ* (12), haplography (14), *lectiones duplices* (26), 'prose order' (105), as well as for so clearly tabulating the different ways in which scholars have distributed the parts at vv. 909-58 (cf. also the *addendum*). Kraus' comments, on the other hand, are normally less full but more incisive, often adroitly citing the illuminating parallel or producing the decisive argument. Inevitably there are a great number of places where Kraus and van Groningen come to diametrically opposed conclusions; this is due partly to the inherent difficulties of the text itself, and partly to the occasionally strange conclusions reached by both scholars.

Van Groningen, for instance, is sometimes unsound in his judgment: he argues against the cast list's identification of Chacreas as a parasite (p. 12), forgetting that this identification is confirmed by the characteristic tones of the speech at 57 ff.; and few would agree with van Groningen's interpretation of 407 (the function of the *γάρι* is made clear in Denniston, *Greek Particles*,² 61 f.), 739-40 (see Kraus), or 892 (the cook's typical *ἀλαζονεία* is all the explanation we need). His discussion of Ritchie's theory at 430 ff. is neither accurate nor fair, and his own idea here (that Getas forms one of the party entering with Sostratus' mother) falls to the ground as soon as it is realised that Ritchie's assumption of Getas' entry from the shrine is no more than a simple deduction from the fact that Getas went into the shrine at the end of the previous act. Finally, van Groningen makes a few metrical blunders (e.g., conjecture at 528; *ᾄν* is long at 356), occasionally reports the readings of the papyrus incorrectly (610, 713), and once quotes the wrong reference in error (*Heros* 1 for 17 on vv. 219-20).

A similar catalogue might be compiled for Kraus. A few implausible arguments might be noted (350-5; 657 where for the use of *βεβαμμένον* cf. Antiphanes 25, Theophrastus *Char.* 9, 8), as well as a tendency to prefer an over-ingenious explanation to the obvious one (892); and once or twice Kraus completely misses the point—*μακάριε ἄνθρωπε* at 701, for example, does not refer to Cnemon's good fortune at being able to get up, but to his being helped by the girl whom Sostratus loves. Again, Kraus is sometimes too dogmatic in his assumptions: *non liquet* would be the wiser conclusion at 759-62, and we do not need to posit *ἔχειν* in the gap at the beginning of 837.

But these and similar criticisms could be levelled at virtually any commentary on a newly discovered text. However, it is not the deficiencies here exemplified, and the effect that they have on the

text added by Kraus and van Groningen to their commentaries, that are ultimately of importance; nor indeed the misprints that tend to disfigure van Groningen's edition more than Kraus'. All these imperfections are of little account when judged against the positive merits of the two editions. In their forewords, both editors explain that their aims are limited merely to reviewing the state of the text of the *Dyskolos* in the light of the flood of conjectures already inundating it. These aims are most worthily achieved.

W. G. ARNOTT.

Apollonius Rhodius. *Argonautica*. Ed. H. Fränkel. [Script. class. bibl. Oxon.] Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1961. Pp. xxiv + 267. £1 1s. 0d.

This new edition of the *Argonautica* by Fränkel in the O.C.T. series is all the more welcome because necessary. It contains in the customary manner of these volumes text with *apparatus criticus*, followed by an index nominum, and preceded by a preface, replete with new and valuable information, which includes among its salient features a revolutionary treatment of the manuscripts and the most sensible solution yet of the *proēkdois* problem.

A previous maximum of twenty-six manuscripts is increased to fifty-two. These derive ultimately from an archetype with variants and are classifiable into three groups, descended from three non-extant hyparchetypes, designated m w k. The chief witnesses of each group are respectively: m = Laurentianus Gr. 32.9 (L); Ambrosianus 120 (B. 26 sup.); w = Laurentianus Gr. 32.16 (S); Guelpherbytanus Aug. 2996 (G); k = Parisinus Gr. 2727 (P); Escorialensis iii 3 (E). m and w are totally dependent upon the archetype. How far this total dependence extends to LA SG, is not stated. Certain, by Fränkel's own confession, inexplicable coincidences in peculiar error between k and A, k and SG, k and S or G, suggest that these manuscripts are not entirely free from contamination. The more complex tradition of k depends partly upon the archetype, partly upon other exemplars. The single stemmatic representation of the tradition concerns only LA SG, m and w, and the archetype; it would have been an advantage if k too had been given even an approximate position in this stemma. Turning to individual manuscripts we find the mythical superiority of L manifestly disproved—SG preserves a slightly better text than LA—and the value of S, a brother of G, is fully recognised and acted upon.

In the best tradition of prefatory remarks on Apollonius the *proēkdois*-enigma once again proved an irresistible attraction. Fränkel proposes that the *Argonautica* was subjected to constant revision; that, at the various stages of revision, copies were taken for private use; that *proēkdois* denotes the earlier of two later editions by different men, based upon different copies. Yet while adducing in evidence

the two Aristarchean editions of Homer, he fails to realise their full implication, that *proēkdois* might equally well denote the earlier of two editions by one man.

Never sparing with emendation whenever the MSS. are in the least unsatisfactory, Fränkel adopted an attitude towards the text which is open to accusations of attempted rewriting. His justification lies, by specific attribution, in the paucity of textual critics on the *Argonautica* and the overwhelming authority of L among them, and, indirectly, by a statistical analysis of papyri which are shown to preserve one hitherto unknown original reading in every ten lines. Despite this attitude Fränkel's objectivity is exemplified by the fullness of his *App. Crit.* which contains, besides all useful readings of LA-SG, the considerably increased evidence of the Indirect Tradition; papyrus readings; references to relevant passages in Homer, Callimachus, etc.; and an almost exhaustive collection of likely conjectures, matched by the equally numerous suggestions of Fränkel himself. Noteworthy among the latter are: I 18 ἔτι κλείουσιν—explained 'per carmina quae etiam exstant', I 767—S. περ ἐπ' ἐλπίδι: LA. ἐπ' ἐλπίδι: PE. νυν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. Comparing ἐπιτορπῆς Call. *Hymn* 2.32; περιτορπᾶσθαι; and Il. 721 sqq. Fränkel proposes *περιτορπῆδα*. Despite its boldness it might well be right.

If this somewhat revolutionary and informative edition does not always find favour, it is geared to provoke a reaction. No longer will textual critics be impeded by shortage of material nor progress stayed by notions conceived in the nineteenth century. Many obscure modes of expression, hitherto ascribed to Apollonius, are visibly the products of a corrupt transmission. The time is at hand for a reappraisal of the *Argonautica* as poetry.

P. KINGSTON.

Plutarch. *Vitae parallelae*. Ed. C. Lindskog and K. Ziegler. I, 2. 2nd ed. by K. Ziegler. [Bibliotheca Teubneriana.] Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1959. Pp. viii + 374. DM 16.80.

This fascicle contains the *Lives* of Pericles, Fabius Maximus, Nicias, Crassus, Marcius, Alcibiades, Demosthenes and Cicero. It is principally based upon the MSS. *Seitenstettensis* (S), *Vaticanus* 138, *Marcianus* 385 and *Parisinus* 1671 jointly termed (Y) and *Matritensis* (N.) N, first used in this edition for the establishing of the *Lives* of this fascicle, has not been directly consulted by Z. He did collate the readings in 1908 for Lindskog's use in their joint edition of 1914; in 1943, however, the cards containing this collation perished along with the rest of Z.'s books in his home in Berlin. In consequence he has relied upon the *apparatus criticus* of the 1914 edition, in which his collation of N was very fully recorded. However, a microfilm of MS. N's *Lives* of Nicias and Crassus was consulted by Z. in March of 1959. This revealed only two cases of

superior readings either unnoticed by Z. in the original collation of N or passed over by Lindskog in using Z.'s *scholia* (the typographical error in the note recording all this, p. v bottom, obviously should read *codicis*). It must be observed, however, that, as N also represents a good tradition on the *Lives* of Alcibiades, Demosthenes and Cicero, this failure to check against the MS. is bound to have resulted in the failure to record other such better readings—particularly as the consultation of the microfilm revealed twenty-six hitherto unrecorded significant variant readings in the two *Lives* it covered (recorded on p. 374 in an *addendum* that can easily be overlooked in using the *apparatus criticus* to the text).

Z. has also used, for chapters 15, 7–33 of the *Life* of Crassus, the pseudo-Appian's *Parthica*, which seems to have been based on a better MS. of the *Lives* of Anthony and Crassus than has survived. In view of this some discussion of the relevance of (Pseudo-) Andocides IV to the text of the *Life* of Alcibiades seems called for: certainly Burn's rebuttal of Jebb's contention that the oration draws on Plutarch's *Life* is unconvincingly argued.¹ Z. does not answer Erbse's criticisms of his acceptance of Fock's view on the twofold recension of N (*Gnomon* 30, 1958, 526), but merely states his view that inquiry into Plutarchean usage and factual background relevant to a disputed reading is a better method of establishing the text than reliance on an MSS. genealogy. Certainly there is no general decision for Y or S against N in the establishing of this text; each crux has been decided on the merits of the readings provided there.

In the case of modern works of textual emendation concerning these *Lives* it frequently happens that Z. does not mention all emendations put forward in an article which he has consulted. Thus Erbse's well-argued *δκτώ* for *δέκα* at *Dem.* 24, 2 (*RhM.* C, 1957, 289–90) and his most convincing *νυστάσει* for *δυστάσει* at *Cic.* 9, 3 (*ibid.*, 290–1) are not recorded; this is also the case with Kronenberg's defence of the MSS. *μηδέν* at *Marc.* 15, 2 (*Mnem.* I (ser. 3) 1934, 164), *ὡς <εἰκόσ> οὐτ'* at *Marc.* 21, 5 (*Mnem.* op. cit., 164), *<ἀπόλυσιν>* at *Alc.* 4, 3 (*ibid.*, 165), *κενκόλω* for *καλῶς* at *Alc.* 38, 3 (*ibid.*, 165–6), and his demonstration that hiatus after *Κορινθίῳ* is licit at *Cic.* 17, 6 (*ibid.*, 167). Similarly the return to the MSS. *καθιέντος* at *Crass.* 22, 1 from the *σκιάζοντος* of the 1914 edition is presumably owed to Kronenberg's comments at *Mnem.* V (ser. 3) 1937, 304. Helmbold's emendations (*Mnem.* IX (ser. 3) 1941, 607) are not considered: apart from that to *Cic.* 30, 5 (*Λέντων <ὡς> τοῦς*—p. 63), which seems to arise from an imperfect appreciation of the Plutarchean circumlocution *τοῦς περὶ τόν*, these are worth consideration: *ἡττημένους* for *ἡττωμένους* at *Fab. Max.* 13, 7 (p. 62); *πολεμῶ* *δυσεκβλάστον <ὄν>*

at *Marc.* 2, 1; *αὐτῶ* for *αὐτῶ* at *Alc.* 12, 3; *<τὸ> Ταυρέαν* at *Alc.* 16, 5 and *ἐπειθε* for *ἐπεισε* at *Cic.* 42, 3 (all on p. 63). And, in view of the citation of Meinhardt's dissertation on p. 1, it might not be inappropriate to draw attention to the discussion of *Per.* 23, 4 by C. D. Morris, 'On a probable error in Plutarch', *AJP* III, 1882, 456–60.

T. F. CARNEY.

HELMBOLD (W. C.) and O'NEIL (E. N.) **Plutarch's Quotations.** (Philological Monographs, 19.) Baltimore: The American Philological Association (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.) 1959. Pp. xiii + 76. Price not stated.

This study consists of a four-page preface, two notes (on the method of citation and on abbreviations), and a 76-page list of quotations, references or paraphrases. All references to an author are collected beneath his name in an alphabetical list of authors; where references are numerous, they are first grouped around a list of his cited works, then related to collections of fragments and finally subjoined without correlation of location where, as with *loci*, Plutarch's reference is not directly attributable. Very full listing of references/reminiscences has been aimed at, but some lack of thoroughness is suggested by the fact that, of the twelve authors cited in the *Marius*, a *Life* with which the reviewer is familiar, two—C. Piso (45,8—where Ziegler refers to *HRF*, p. 374) and P. Rutilius Rufus (28,8: Ziegler refers to *HRF*, p. 122)—are not mentioned at all and one of the two Platonic passages (46,1) is not indexed. Moreover, the method of citation adopted does not make for easy reference: reference to the *Lives* is normally by chapter and chapter-subdivision, not by MS. page and subdivision; reference to the *Moralia* by MS. page and subdivision alone does not indicate the Plutarchean study involved, and what are really footnotes are incorporated with the text (pp. 1, 17, 53, 56, 58, 63 and 67).

In their Preface the authors raise the questions of whether Plutarch was familiar with this or that work (p. vii), verified quotations or desired accuracy (p. ix). A by-product of a study such as this should have been statistical tables bearing on these questions: from the card-index used to obtain the List it would not have been difficult to evolve (1) a reverse index (collating citations of authors in individual *Lives* and *Moralia* under a list of P.'s works), (2) a frequency count of authors—and their individual works—cited, and (3) a pair of tables, for *Moralia* and *Lives* respectively, relating citations, in round figures subsumed under authors (reading downwards), to a list of P.'s works, in order of composition (reading across, top). The latter table would of course involve the problem of the inconsistencies in P.'s self-citation (nowhere mentioned); which is so important as to necessitate, in a work of this nature, a marshalling of his self-citations (not

¹ A. R. Burn, 'A Biographical Source on Phaiax and Alcibiades', *CQ* (NS) IV, 1954, 138–42; Jebb's arguments are discussed at p. 141.

attempted: cf. p. 63). Without such complementary statistical information the listing only half fulfills its purpose.

There are other infelicities in method: in the second paragraph of the Preface one finds the statement: 'Surprisingly little has been done about this, (P.'s sources) however, and almost all of it is recent.' Under exceptions the editors fail to notice, e.g. the work of Haug (1854), Klapp (1862), and Peter (1865) on historical sources, and of Amoncit (1887) and Apelt (1905) on literary sources. There is no formal bibliography, and weakness in this regard is manifest: to rely solely on self-made collections of quotations for the *Moralia* and Ziegler's for the *Lives* (p. viii), when at least thirteen articles specifically on P.'s sources have been written since 1935, involves serious, and needless, limitation. As to whether P. verified his quotations, an unsubstantiated statement will not do in a work of this nature; either statistical evidence or reference to specialist study (e.g. Howind's of 1921) is required. The list of causes of misquotation given at p. ix by no means exhausts all possibilities (cf. Sandbach, *CQ* 34, 1940, 23) and, on P.'s standards, reference to Gomme (*Commentary on Thucydides*, 1, 1950, 54 f.) is surely inevitable.

In view of this bibliographical weakness it is to be regretted that the editors did not make their appeal, asking specialists in other authors to re-read the text of P. with their own authors in mind—p. viii, prior to publication. A circular letter to appropriate scholars would have elicited much useful information, whereas it is doubtful whether a specialist in, say, Aeschylus, can reasonably be expected to know of this appeal. This work would have been much improved had such a survey been effected and the further statistical analyses outlined above been appended to complete its framework of reference.

T. F. CARNEY.

DOVER (K. J.) **Greek Word Order.** Cambridge: the University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii + 72. 15s.

Research into the wider problems inherent in Greek word order has, on the whole, been neglected by English scholars. Denniston in his *Greek Prose Style* (see *JHS* 1955, pp. 161-2) only briefly considered this aspect of composition (ch. 3).

Greek is a fluid language both in form and in expression and an analysis, therefore, of any long continuous passage of prose reveals many elements of indeterminacy; occasionally, however, some conformity to limited patterns may be distinguished. In the present work, based mainly on his J. H. Gray lectures, Professor Dover aims at isolating the principles which justify the description of a given word order as 'normal', or 'right'. Herodotus and documentary inscriptions necessarily provide the 'natural' material for examination since fourth century or later prose is often the result of studied

artificiality. Although Isocrates' attitude to word order, euphony, and rhythm may be determined from his speeches, it is clearly impossible to derive from these any principles of universal applicability.

Professor Dover in outlining the most important determinants of word order (pp. 3 ff.) examines ten possible analyses of the by now familiar *Προταγόρας ἦκει*. The explanation, however, of the order in this example lies surely in the simple fact that it is the person rather than the action which is more important in the context—a less complicated variation of his category vi? The proper name, not unnaturally, occupies the position of emphasis: cf. Carrière, *Stylistique grecque pratique*, p. 102, who follows Denniston, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Dover, however, finds the term 'emphasis' unsatisfactory in that it is not exclusive, being employed both to describe words which are 'the focus of the speaker's emotion and words which are essential to the clarity of his argument' (32).

Chapters 2-4 discuss and illustrate the main determinants of word order—lexical (12 ff.), syntactical (25 ff.) and logical (32 ff.). Most Greek words are, in fact, 'mobile', being able indiscriminately to occupy any position in the sentence. There are, however, words of fixed relationship: obvious examples are enclitics. In connexion with post-positives and prepositives Professor Dover examines the part they play in three types of minimal utterance and in the strange, yet common, use of a particle after the definite article or a preposition (16). Carrière, *op. cit.*, p. 100, asserts that 'La seule place fixe est celle de la *particule de liaison*'. This is clearly an over-simplification of the problem since a further limiting factor is provided by words to which the description 'preferential' is applied. Such words tend to begin a clause (interrogatives and negatives) and so impose the beginnings of a basic pattern of order. The conclusions are supported by statistical evidence obtained from an analysis of passages from Herodotus, Lysias and Plato.

Syntactical determinants (ch. 3) provide a problem of a different character since, although in fifth and fourth century prose the subject tends to precede the verb, there are numerous reversals of this elementary rule which need explanation. Professor Dover, therefore, considers the further effect of preferential and ordinary words. Statistics, however, fail to establish any rule, and he concludes with justification that 'all patterns of order which are describable in syntactical terms are secondary phenomena' (31).

Chapter 4 is the most comprehensive and is devoted to a detailed study of logical determinants: emphasis (32 ff.), logical categories (34 ff.), Concomitants (41 ff.) and Nuclei (53 ff.) are among the topics treated.

The final chapter contains a brief definition and discussion of style but with the individual author's choice of word order as the main term of reference.

There is an index of epigraphical and literary passages cited.

Professor Dover in this detailed consideration of the general problems of Greek word order has made a timely and useful contribution to an important field of linguistic study.

J. F. HEALY.

CARRIÈRE (J.) *Stylistique grecque pratique.*

La phrase de la prose classique. Paris:

Klincksieck. 1960. Pp. xvi + 220. NFr 14.

The main theme, style in Greek prose, continues the examination of problems implied in *Greek Word Order*, ch. V. Professor Carrière covers much the same field as Denniston, *Greek Prose Style*, but his account of the language is intended, while illustrating the resources of Greek, essentially to act as a practical manual 'pour familiariser nos jeunes hellénistes, tellement novices encore au début de leurs études supérieures, avec la langue de la prose grecque classique' (xiii).

Dover, *op. cit.*, p. 66, defined style as 'an epiphenomenon of language, a group of aspects of language' but we are here provided with a more familiar definition 'La stylistique décrit les procédés par lesquels . . . un écrivain opère un choix qui lui permet d'exprimer son originalité de penseur ou d'artiste' (ix).

The work is in two main sections: in part I the author discusses the elements of the sentence illustrating the use of article, pronouns and verbal expressions. The underlying problem is the effect of deliberate choice within the syntactical framework. Many of our prose usages seemingly based on intuition are herein analysed and explained in rational terms. Effective use is made of linguistic parallels in comparing the resources of Greek and French.

Part II which is, perhaps, the more significant section, examines the different types of sentence (simple, composée, et complexe), beginning with a brief mention only of word order (99-103). Two further chapters (VI-VII) are devoted to the study of parataxis and hypotaxis.

Chapter VIII summarises, to some extent, the main Greek styles: three passages from Xenophon, Lysias and Plato are considered. The commentary is necessarily limited in a work of this scope, but the essential elements are clearly stated. A short section on prose rhythm is also included (192 ff.).

There are two indexes, but a separate, comprehensive list of passages cited would have been a useful addition. The few misprints, inadvertently omitted from the list of errata (*cf.* 193, n. 1), are not likely to mislead.

Professor Carrière, bearing in mind the scope of his work, writes towards the end of his preface 'le style de la prose grecque a non seulement ses techniques, mais son esthétique, et tout n'est pas fait lorsque l'on a correctement bâti ses phrases et diligemment sauvegardé le sens'. This is a particularly apposite observation and one which should clearly be taken

to heart by those to whom this book is primarily addressed and who will find herein a mine of information.

J. F. HEALY.

DAHLMANN (H.) and MERKELBACH (R.) *Ed.*

Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik.

Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1959.

Pp. 307. DM 39.

This *festschrift* for Professor Jachmann contains eighteen papers by his colleagues and friends, eight of them on Greek subjects. Eduard Fraenkel has more than twenty pages on the text of Aristophanes' *Birds*. No bold innovations here, but sound judgment based on unrivalled learning. L. Koenen on Tereus in the same play discusses line 16, suggesting *ὄρνιθον* instead of *ὄρνιθον*, and lines 279-95.

From the *Birds* to the *Clouds*. C. F. Russo writes on «Nuvole» non recitate e «Nuvole» recitate, analysing the debate of the two Logoi from the point of view of theatrical technique. This theme may have only a limited interest for many readers, but the author handles his strands with a firm hand. A fourth contribution on the Old Comedy, by B. Marzullo, consists of some thirty notes on the fragments of Cratinus. Criticism of such isolated fragments is arduous, but M. scores on fragments 12, 238, 406 (Kock). He is mistaken on *fr.* 108, where the emendation *διολοι<ς>* is necessary, and writes nonsense on *fr.* 222: there is no verb *χορεύω* or *χορεύω* meaning 'to dance'.

The critical contributions by Reinhold Merkelbach, the co-editor of this volume, range from the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* to the novelists of imperial times. The first of these interpretations is fascinating. In *Hom. Hymn to Dem.* 407 our only MS. reads *εὐτέ μοι Ἑρμῆς ἤ<θ> ἐριονόιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς*. Here F. Bücheler had objected to the disyllabic form *Ἑρμῆς*, and his superior judgment has recently been borne out by *Pap. Oxy.* 2379 (Part xxiii, p. 98). This little scrap reads *εὐτέ μοι ἄγγελος ἤλ[and Merkelbach completes the line with an ἤλ[θ' ἐριονόιος Ἀργεῖφόντης*, thus removing the obnoxious proper name altogether. On no. 25 of his copious collection I would like to say that in Theocr. xi 2 the emendation *οὔτε τι πιστόν* (= *πινόμενον*), for which he quotes Latte, goes back to Ahrens; *cf.* also *A. Pr.* 480 *οὐδ' ἡριστόν οὐδ' πιστόν*.

A. Dihle is at pains to show that in Soph. *El.* lines 20-2 are nothing but an actor's interpolation. He concentrates his attack on the last of these lines

ἴν' οὐκέτ' ὀκνεῖν καιρός, ἀλλ' ἔργον ἀκμή,

which has never before been subjected to such a close scrutiny. He finds fault here with the use of the particles and with the whole structure of the antithesis. This rests formally on the words *καιρός* and *ἀκμή*, which, so he says on p. 52, have both an exposed place, each of them at the end of one half of the line. This is of course true of *ἀκμή*, but I am not so sure about the other word. The line has two

caesurae, the penthemimeres and the hephthemimeres, and I believe that the former is more important here, although there is a pause, marked by a comma in our editions, after the latter. A sensible actor will certainly stress the two words which really matter, *ἀκμή* and *ἔργον*. Further, this sentence should be compared with a similar passage in the *Philoctetes*. Both plays, *El.* and *Phil.*, have been called 'plays of intrigue', which lends some weight to such a comparison. The passage I mean is found in a corresponding place, at the very beginning of the tragedy, lines 12-15, where the two words *ἀκμή* and *ἔργον* occur, though the latter has here the different meaning 'task', not 'deed'. This seems to prove that both notions were closely associated in the poet's mind and that the incriminated line in the *Electra* is indeed genuine. Dr. Dihle is of course anxious to discredit also line 20, but here he is quite definitely unsuccessful. The words *τῷ ἀνδρῶν* do not strike me as a 'prosaic, rather shapeless *faute de mieux* expression', but on the contrary as eminently Sophoclean, see *El.* 1369 *οὗτις ἀνδρῶν*, *Ant.* 248 *τίς ἀνδρῶν*. In fine, myriads of students must have seen in these lines the powerful conclusion of the old man's speech, and despite my admiration for Dihle's subtle argument I do not feel like quoting in his favour the old sage's word *εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι*.

F. Solmsen writes on 'Textprobleme im zehnten Buch der Platonischen Nomoi', an esoteric paper from which I mention just one item, 897b, where the Athenian asks a disjunctive question *τὸ φρονίμον καὶ ἀρετῆς πλήρες ἢ τὸ μηδέτερον κεκτημένον*. Our critic would prefer here *τὸ φρονίμον καὶ ἀρετῆς πλήρες*. In the reading of our MSS. the word *φρόν*, being used as a noun, has its article, so it should at least be *τὸ τοῦ φρονίμου*, but I see no reason for a change.

Finally W. Theiler is represented by a paper 'Liebesgespräch und Pastourelle'. His remarks upon [Theocr.] xxii, the so-called *Oaristys*, are to the point, and what follows about similar bucolic dialogues shows a catholic and discerning scholarship. At the end he prints such a pastourelle in rhyming Latin verse by Walter of Châtillon, eight enjoyable stanzas.

An admirable Index Locorum gives even a casual reader an idea of the wealth of information to be found in this valuable book.

W. MOREL.

THOMSON (G.) **Greek Lyric Metre.** 2nd ed. Cambridge: W. Heffer. 1961. Pp. xiii + 165. £1 5s. 0d.

This is substantially the same book as the 1929 edition, 'with only a few alterations'. For 'some corrections and modifications' the author refers us to his editions of *PV* and *Oresteia*, and for 'some substantial developments' to his 'Studies in Ancient Greek Society', Vol. I. He would now also reject several interpretations of particular passages, but

has nevertheless reprinted the whole because he 'hesitates to tamper with a work of youthful enthusiasm for fear of burying the poetry under a load of learning, as so many scholars have done'. This is discouraging. Does it matter so little to the reader whether any particular passage is wrongly interpreted or not? And is the general theory so intimately involved in these wrong interpretations that they cannot easily be corrected? If so, what respect does the reader owe it? To reprint it as it stands is to put a high value on one's own youthful enthusiasms; and to regard Greek lyric metre as a subject in which youthful enthusiasm can be relied on for a substantial contribution to our understanding is perhaps natural in one's youth but more surprising thirty years after. (Nor have those thirty years been a featureless blank in metrical studies.) If, as one may suspect, the main reason is really ease and cheapness of reproduction, that is a legitimate consideration and would be better admitted; the only question then is whether the value of the book for metrical studies is such that a reprint was desirable.

T. divides lyric rhythms into Dorian (dactylo-epitrite), Ionian, Aeolian, Paeonic (cretic, bacchiac, dochmiac), each containing a number of stock phrases. The reader may wonder what has happened to iambic here, but we find it brought into Paeonic, since any of this group, especially dochmiac, may be combined with 'pure iambic' (—). Dochmiacs are either 'slow' or 'quick' (with resolution of one long), the former being either — — — — — or — — — — — or — — — — —. No warning is given that the first of these is the dochmiac which has descended to us from Hephaestion, while the other two are evolved *ad hoc*, as part of this system, by a novel method of splitting up the lines of choruses in A. Ag. *κρόκον βαράς δ' ἐς | πίδαρ χέονσα* — — — — — | — — — — —, *Αἰὼς πλαγὰν | ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν* — — — — — | — — — — —. It is all so simple, so rhythmical, though perhaps to a Frenchman, say, it might appear less self-evident. T. does admit, in a footnote, that it is not certain that the Greeks recognised 'ictus' or beat, but claims that the English reader will find it easier to distinguish between the various rhythms if he assumes that they did. That is undeniable, and provided we are conscious of merely using 'ictus' as a device to aid our own ear to recognise phrases which have been correctly isolated in the first place there is no harm done; the danger is of letting our ictus-based hearing determine our analysis into phrases.

The elaborate schemes of 'link' (any awkward segment left between phrases), 'overlap' and 'echo' are the kind of subjective game which one can so easily play with the infinitely malleable sequences of Greek syllables; here and there, when not over-elaborate, they offer a valid and helpful observation, sometimes they merely obfuscate, as when in Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 21 *θεῶν δ' ἔφετμαῖς | Ἰξίωνα φανὶ ταῦτα | βροτοῖς* we are asked to hear doch., pher., iambus, the last

five syllables forming another doch. $\cup - - \cup -$ by overlap (the extra syllable at the beginning of pher. is not explained). It is not always clear what happens to ictus in these overlaps where there is a conflict, e.g. E. Alc. 443 $\lambda\mu\nu\alpha\nu$ 'Αχεροντιαν πορεύσας $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ δικώπω, where $\lambda\mu\nu\alpha\nu$ is left stranded (link?), 'Αχεροντιαν πορεύσας is Anacreontic $\cup\cup - \cup - \cup -$, and $-\sigma\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ δικώπω is pher. by overlap $-\cup\cup - \cup -$. Has $-\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ictus or not?

Where the chapter analysing the shape of strophes ('Musical Form in Greek Poetry') keeps clear of this notion of 'overlap' it is straightforward and satisfactory, though slight.

The chapter on 'Significant Rhythm'—the association, based on the work of Headlam, of particular rhythms with particular themes—does not push its conclusions to absurd lengths as some upholders of this doctrine have done, but for the most part can only succeed in making its points by a highly selective use of evidence (and with the help of 'overlap'). The remainder of the book consists of metrical analyses from some plays and Pindaric odes; these again suffer from the same inadequate and ill-disciplined concepts of analysis. Greek metric is a complex and difficult study, and it is simply not true that 'all that is required to grasp the principles of Greek metre is a sense of rhythm and of poetry'. Certainly much simplification is needed for beginners, but unless the simplifying process is based on rigorously applied and hard-won knowledge the result will be only a falsified simplicity.

A. M. DALE.

BRICE (W. C.) **Inscriptions in the Minoan Linear Script of Class A, edited from the Notes of Sir Arthur Evans and Sir John Myres.** London: The Society of Antiquaries. 1961. Pp. xii + 33. 3 tables. 62 plates (+ 19 of vocabulary). £3 3s. od.

Piety and space alike forbid a description of the page-proofs of *Scripta Minoa III*, for which this book is a surrogate. It is enough to say that only those who saw them can really appreciate Brice's achievement. He has included photographs where before there were none. These are new and excellent of the tablets, though not always of the other inscriptions. He has adopted Carratelli's L numeration instead of the AB system. The Minoan Fount, that clumsiest of white elephants, has been jettisoned except in the much abbreviated introduction, where nobody with any sentiment will grudge what one hopes are its few final appearances. Additions include a table of variant forms, an experimental analysis of the ligatures, and reverse index. There are several previously unpublished inscriptions. Above all the vocabulary and the text, whose independence was a marked feature of the earlier stage, are now mutually consistent.

All this deserves such high praise that dissatisfaction

seems ungracious. But it is inevitable if one measures the book against absolute standards.

First the text. An ideal text would provide (a) photograph; (b) drawing; (c) a formalised transcription preserving for each sign the number and direction of the original strokes but eliminating accidental scratches and malformations; (d) an identification of the signs; (e) an *apparatus criticus*. In his text of the tablets Brice gives only (a) and (d). The omission of (b) is sensible enough, since Carratelli's drawings are unlikely to be rivalled. But the omissions of (c) and (e) are disastrous. The state of our knowledge of Linear A is such that decisive interpretations are not always possible. But Brice is continually forced to make them since his method excludes the indication of alternative possibilities. The most the reader can expect is a mark of doubt—and even these are conservatively awarded. Moreover, the identification that is provided makes the worst of both worlds. It uses Minoan characters. Therefore the layman cannot consult it without having spent a preliminary week learning the script. But the characters, though drawn, are rigidly standardised. So they are of no value to the specialist who can neither tell what particular form of a sign was used in a particular inscription nor judge in cases of doubt how Brice has reached his identification.

A minor fault in the presentation of the tablets is the inconsistent use of ruled lines. These sometimes give Brice's opinion of where the heading ends, and sometimes represent lines on the tablets (e.g. HT 8, 9b, 22 but not IV 5!). There is also false consistency. Every tablet, however fragmentary, is resolutely presented in list form. So are the inscriptions on the clay figurines (V 2 and 3)! Rigid uniformity, however, is not a charge that can be levelled against Brice's treatment of the other sacral and non-accounting inscriptions. See for an example the unequal share of testimony allotted to the two Knossos cups (II 1 and 2).

But when these criticisms have been made—and some of them are fundamental—one must stress that Brice's text is very far from valueless. It is always carefully considered, and provides many improved (as well as many wrong) readings. These cannot be discussed in a short review, but decipherers please note the disappearance of *sa-sa-me* from HT 23.

Basic to any edition is the signary. Here Brice is sound. He follows Carratelli closely, but not slavishly. There is some rationalisation. L10, 40, 73 are rightly transferred to the list of ligatures, L47, 112, 124, 134 to that of metrical signs. Questionable are the transfers of Lc38 and 39 to the L series, and the identifications of L9 and L41 with L56, and of L72 with L94. L48, 52, 75, 81, and Lc52 are each further discriminated. Several additions are made, of which L'31 should have been listed as a ligature, and L'37 as a variant of L82. L12 is wrongly retained (in I 1 and I 15 read L31, in II 1 read L100). The 4th sign on HT 6a l. 3

should be distinguished since a normal L95 occurs on the reverse. The list of variant forms is sometimes incomplete, and sometimes mistaken (e.g. L30 no. 3 = L31; L66 no. 4 either = L88 or the sign on V 5 = L66). Nor are the type examples always well chosen (e.g. 52, 77, 78). Table 2 omits the fraction values of Furumark and Ventris though the publication where they occur is mentioned in the bibliography (Furumark 1956 *abb.* 6).

Finally the introductory comment. Much of this is, quite properly, a summary of Myres' views—though with occasional reversions to Evans (e.g. the expression 'phrases' instead of 'sign-groups' on plate XXa). Of more recent work some is discussed at length and some ignored. The resulting patchiness is strange until one realises that the criterion of admission is whether the new work falls within the pattern foreseen by the original architects. There is to be no anachronism. In particular the last word on Linear B is to be left with S.M. II. There is not even a mention of Bennett's now universally accepted classification of the Linear B signs, let alone of a phonetic value. The single reference (p. xi) to Ventris' decipherment is carefully non-committal, and no word in text or bibliography gives any hint of the wide acceptance it has received.

In a work so evidently carried through *pietatis causa* lavishness of production is fitting, but not false extravagance. A black mark for the printers who have left blank (or virtually blank) 17 pages out of 144, and who have arranged that on four occasions such pages shall face each other.

To sum up. The book is not definitive since it cannot be safely used without recourse to the primary publications. But its completeness (up to 1957/8), its photographs, and the careful work that has gone into the construction of the text have ensured that it will remain for a long time indispensable.

M. POPE.

WINDEKENS (A. J. VAN) *Études pélasgiques*. (Bibliothèque du *Museum*, 49.) Louvain: Institut Orientaliste. 1960. Pp. xi + 163. Fr.b. 300.

The theory that a considerable element of Greek vocabulary is borrowed from an otherwise unknown Indo-European language, for convenience labelled Pelasgian, has in it nothing intrinsically unlikely; just as a small number of good etymologies would suffice to establish it, so dissatisfaction with even a large proportion of Pelasgian explanations does not entail its total rejection. In the first part of the book two general questions are considered, the evidence for a change of I-E *i* to *ē* in the presence of nasals (strangely contrary to the change of *ē* to *i* before nasal + dental stop) and the possibility of a Pelasgian dialect in which a shift of stops is absent; as this shift has always seemed the most striking feature of Pelasgian phonology, and was involved in the inception of the theory, the evidential value of

the words claimed to attest its absence will need careful assessment.

Van Windekens' acute and justified criticisms of other men's views show him to be well aware of the importance of meaning in etymology. Since, however, this is a field where subjective and personal judgment is unavoidable, he will not expect to convince all his critics with each of the numerous explanations of names and words which constitute the second part of his book. Of the names few can be properly said to have meaning at all. Sometimes a connexion of meaning is too remote and involved to provide adequate support for the suggested etymology, e.g. of *σῶμα*, pp. 95–8; surely 'dead' is not a 'sens fondamental' of *οἱ καμνόντες, οἱ κεκμηκότες*, but a special development linked to the particular tenses. Any similarity of meaning between *ἀταλός* and *adulescens* (p. 81 f.), far from justifying an I-E connexion, must be fortuitous; *adulescens* means 'young man' not in virtue of its pre-verb and verbal root (contrast *adultus*), but of its inchoative and participial suffixes.

There are, on the other hand, some etymologies both formally and semantically adequate. Among these pride of place goes to those of *σῶκος, σοκέω* (p. 80 f.) and *κοθέω* (p. 104 f.). It is regrettable that the latter word is very uncertainly attested, and that for both the suggested cognates are confined to a very restricted range of languages. Another impressive example, though rather less clear formally, is that of the group *τίταξ, τιτίρη* (pp. 92 ff.) and *Τιτάν* (p. 119 f.). A number of other suggestions are in varying degrees acceptable on the basis of the Pelasgian theory, but not such as to give much independent support to it; among them those on *λάπαθον, ἀσκέω, γῆ, λαϊκάς, σίμβλος*. This part of the book ends with a summary of conclusions about Pelasgian language and culture; on the linguistic side the character of Pelasgian emerges as that of a Satem language with western, especially Germanic, and Slavic affinities.

The third and shortest part, on the name *Σίντιες*, argues from the Homeric association of the Sinties with Hephaestus that they were not an ethnic but a religious group. The etymology based on this argument, ingenious though it is, suffers from the fact that this, like so many names, has strictly no ascertainable meaning.

D. M. JONES.

LOCHNER-HÜTTENBACH (F.) *Die Pelasger*. Vienna: Gerold & Co. 1960. Pp. vii + 190. ö.S 100.

The author is a pupil of Brandenstein, and here corroborates that scholar's views on 'vorgriechisch' in the Aegean and Adriatic world, in particular that the Pelasgians were a branch of the Illyrian group of peoples, having nothing to do with the Tyrrhenians, and that they did not speak that Indo-European language of which lexical and phono-

logical features have been extricated, with some measure of agreement, from the vocabulary of Greek and which many call 'Pelagic' ('pseudo-Pelagic' is now Brandenstein's preference). This is safe enough: few would now, like Wilamowitz, write the Pelasgians off as purely fictitious, but nothing positively links them with 'Pelagic', and if their cult was 'Indo-European' (*Il.* xvi 233 ff.; but cf. *Hdt.* ii 52) an Illyrian origin is a sufficient explanation. Moreover, the equation of Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians, probably first in Hellanicus, falls foul of the traditional characterisation of the former as a highly respected people, the latter as mere brigands. Lochner-Hüttenbach's own contributions are to support 'Creston' at *Hdt.* i 57, 'Pelargicon' as the original epithet of the Athenian wall, and Pelasgians in Italy; he adds (170-7) several hitherto unremarked connexions of Pelasgian and Illyrian names. The book has three main sections—a useful list of literary references to the Pelasgians, culled from some ninety-one Greek and thirty-four Latin sources; an evaluation of these, with especial consideration of the folk-dispersal; and a discussion of the linguistic data. The central chapter is the most helpful, convincingly assigning many traditional Pelasgian sites to the Tyrrhenians and retaining as Pelasgian (in Greece) only parts of Thessaly, Epirus, Attica, North Peloponnese, Crete and some other islands (Lesbos?), the Troad and Chalcidice (133). The bad name of some Pelasgians at Athens (*Hdt.* vi fin.) and their connexion with Lemnos are explained in terms of a temporary incursion into Attica of, in effect, Tyrrhenians (110 f.).

One misses archaeological considerations: the Pelasgians are not related here to late neolithic sites, and no time-scale appears (perhaps as well, as the Minoan-Mycenaean evidence is ignored; yet one of the author's chief signs of Illyrian, *teut-*, may appear on Knossos tablet X 292 *te-u-to*). The linguistic discussion is thin. Even if marginally relevant intricacies are omitted (e.g. are the phonological differences of 'Pelagic' and Etruscan merely dialectal, and where might Tyrrhenian—*Τυρσηνολ* ~ *τύρσις*?—now fit in, and where Lycian?), yet the crucial nature of the centum/satem (Illyrian/Pelagic) distinction, which is not an Indo-European *intra*-dialectal differential, should be made clear. The features of 'Pelagic' are briefly noted (96 f.; cf. conveniently Georgiev's exposition in *Proc. Eighth Internat. Cong. Ling.*, 406 ff.), but the contrasting reflexes of Illyrian are taken for granted and sometimes suspicious: *akr-* (160) could be Greek; and if *Ἐπειοί* derive from **ekyos* (173, after Krahe) one looks for an explanation of the cluster-reduction. Laconian *ὠβά* might reflect an Illyrian form of **δ(i)bhā* (161, after Brandenstein; one knows the IE root **Hibh-*); but *Οἰβαλοῖς* with its different vocalism does not help this notion, and what of Hesychius' *ὠάς*, *ὠρή* and (Thess.) *οὔα*, suggesting that here as elsewhere Lac. β is a partly phonic, partly graphic variation of *ῥ*? The suffix *-ss-* is not assigned to any particular language, but

-nt(h)-, at least in the form *-nt-*, is said to be essentially Illyrian; of the tide of argument for a Luwian origin of either suffix no ripple has reached Styria. Still, the author admits the paradox that Laris(s)a, that most Pelasgian of names (the chief town of Pelasgiotis, and the name of the citadel at Argos), has a different dissemination from the Pelasgians themselves.

Some points are wisely left unsolved (e.g. the etymology of *Πελασγοί*). Elsewhere there is some slanting: the Pelasgian-Tyrrhenian confusion is attributed to cohabitation (104), and the inconvenient onomastic ties with Thracian nullified by remarks on the equivocal nature of place-name evidence (164 f., 167); why then take similar pointers to Illyrian at face value? Hellanicus' *floruit* was not two hundred years later than Alcaeus' (102); Aeschylus does not mention Arcadia at *Suppl.* 250 ff. (117); Herodotus (i 56) does not really call the Pelasgians Ionic (141), but speaks so of the Athenians, presumably after their mysterious transfer from Pelasgian to Hellenic stock. And did Thucydides really take his topographical knowledge of Acte from Herodotus (164 f.)?

To van Windekens' 1952 and 1954 treatises on 'Pelagic' (96, n. 10) add his 'Pelagisch und Westindogermanisch—neues Material', *Die Sprache*, iv (1958), 128 ff., and now *Études Pélasgiques*, 1960.

Misprints are numerous but not troublesome. 'Pelagis' (114) should be Pelasgia; and, if annoying, it is perhaps venial that Burn appears as 'Burns', (126).

N. E. COLLINGE.

HÄSSLER (M.) **Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden.** (Berliner juristische Abhandlungen, 3.) Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1960. Pp. 126. DM 16.

This monograph, based on a dissertation submitted at the University of Freiburg in 1959, re-examines the meaning and legal significance of the formula *ἡ συγγραφή κυρία ἐστὶν* to A.D. 350, after which its usage appears to have changed. The noun and adjective are first found together in Demosthenes, then in inscriptions, and finally in numerous legal documents from Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Egypt; in the papyri the formula appears both in its simple form and variously expanded, and has been the subject of much discussion and not a little controversy among jurists.

Hässler, a pupil of H. J. Wolff, maintains that by the insertion of the *κύρια*-clause private agreements were pronounced 'authoritative' ('maßgeblich'); they were endowed with absolute power of proof as to the correctness of their contents and safeguarded against future objections. The additions to the simple formula—*πανταχῇ* (-οῦ) *ἐπιβεβαιωμένη*, *παντὶ τῷ ἐπιφέροντι*, and in the imperial period *ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατεχωρισμένον*—extended this power of proof and this safeguard beyond the area of juris-

diction in which they originally applied, whenever the authorised possessor of a document could establish his qualifications and sought to enforce the conditions of the agreement, usually a loan. Thus the private document was given the same legal status as the public document already possessed by virtue of having been drawn up officially. Finally, the *hypographe* made known the identity of the person drawing up the bill and afforded subjective confirmation of conclusion of the contract.

The legal subtleties of this interpretation of the clause and its adjuncts must await the verdict of classical jurists. In the meantime papyrologists and others who have to translate *κύριος* in this context will note that Hässler has made out a good case for the rendering 'authoritative' instead of 'valid', thus confirming after a thorough investigation the view of Partsch, Pringsheim, and H. J. Wolff. N.T. scholars will also need to consider the significance of this rendering for the semantic history of *κύριος* as a theological term.

B. R. REES.

Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum. Vol. 2. Ed. V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for the Magnes Press, the Hebrew University (London: Oxford U.P.), 1960. Pp. xv + 283. £4 16s. od.

This series crowns the distinguished career of Victor Tcherikover as historian of the Jews of the diaspora; unfortunately he died before completion of the second volume, but his work is being continued by his equally devoted collaborator, Alexander Fuks, who will be responsible for the third and last volume with the assistance of M. Stern. The completed series will be an indispensable aid to students of Graeco-Roman Egypt, both as a collection of sources and for its re-assessment of the problems involved in their interpretation. Vol. II assembles 60 papyri and 249 ostraca of the Roman period, divided into five sections, VII–XI in the continuous series.

The eight *synchoreseis* in Section VII give a glimpse of Jewish life in Alexandria during the years of the Augustan settlement, confirming the impression derived from Philo that only a small part of the Jewish population at this period belonged to the rich business class. The only evidence for the working of the Jewish jurisdiction is the existence of a Jewish registry (143), but two documents (143, 144) contradict Jewish law in permitting a wife to divorce her husband and a woman to be represented by a *κύριος*, variations in practice not unexpected within the orbit of a Greek community. The translation of this Section is not always faithful to the text nor is the *apparatus criticus* always complete. Minor technical faults are the suggestion *Kal<σ>ap(ος)* (145, 7), which is made to look more attractive than it is by the omission of the dots under *και*—did the editors consider P. Mich. 145 III, iv 5 in this con-

nexion?—and the numeral ζ (148, 10), which should be σ; in 145 the omission of ll. 28–38 should have been more clearly indicated.

Section VIII contains well-known papyri concerned with the 'Jewish Question in Alexandria'. The editors do not accept the ascription of the 'Boule-papyrus' (150) to the principate of Claudius or to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, also dismissing Turner's explanation that it is a Greek translation of a Latin original. Probably they rely too much on the assumption that only Augustus is styled *Καὶσαρ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα* in Egypt: this may be so in official Latin documents, which was part of Turner's argument, but there would be no lack of parallels to such a usage in the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. An interesting suggestion in 151, 2 is that 'Alexandrian' was altered to 'Jew of the people of Alexandria' in order to define the man's status as a taxpayer. 152 is brought no nearer to a solution: the valiant attempt to exonerate Jewish moneylenders (ll. 23 ff.) is unconvincing, and the suggestion that *ἡγεμόνος* (ll. 23 f.) is a proper name is vitiated by syntactical difficulties and mistranslation of *διὰ*. On 153, the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrines, the editors are sceptical of its value as evidence of Claudius' personality and political capacity, and make many valuable contributions. But the translation of the crux in ll. 21 f. has had to be greatly strained to overthrow Bell's interpretation, strengthened as it is by *ταμεινόμενος* in l. 77, and the interpretation of *γνησιωτέρας* (l. 27) is questionable, the comparison with *φορτικωτέρας* (l. 37) being unsound. The argumentation in 88 n. is doubtful: why is it necessary to assume an earlier, official inquiry on which the edict in Josephus is based, why should not *ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως* and *διακοῦσας ἀμφοτέρων* be references to an earlier part of the debate which has just taken place, and why should not *βεβαιοῦσιν* bear a non-technical sense? Finally, to the note on l. 96 it should be added that, even though *νόσον* is probably not a reference to Christianity, it was on political grounds and as a possible source of revolution that Christianity was objected to initially, being often confused by the government with Judaism. In 154, 31 n. the comments of J. Schwartz in his review of Musurillo (*Chron. d'Eg.* xxx 59) are ignored, and Musurillo's omission of *χειρο-* in 158a, V, 7 perpetuated. The *Acta Isidori* (156) are dated to A.D. 41 *pace* Bell and others.

Section IX, consisting of ostraca from the Jewish quarter of Edfu, offers new information about the 'Jewish tax', its change of name, amount, and chronology.

Section X contains early Roman documents, confirming the heavy burden of taxation on the Jews, and XI papyri bearing on the revolt of A.D. 115/17. In both sections the translator again nods occasionally, and there are minor defects in punctuation of text and presentation of notes. Comment is required on *πέμψαι* with the punctuation adopted (431, 11), *κομμάτον* (443 I, 4), *ᾧ* (444 I, 11), *διδάστημα*

(446, 30-1). On the relationship between Aline and Apollonius (436) H. Thierfelder, *Die Geschwisterehe*, pp. 34 ff. should now be consulted, and possibly too Schwartz' rejection of *Ἰππαρόν* (435 IV, 4). There seems to be some inconsistency between nn. 14-17 and 29-31 on 442, and the note on 424, 1 obscures the clarity of Tcherikover's comment on the use of biblical names by Christians in Vol. I, p. xvii.

B. R. REES.

POUILLON (J.) **Choix d'inscriptions grecques.**

Textes, traductions et notes [Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, IV]. Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1960. Pp. 195. NFr 10.

This volume is intended, in the editor's words, 'apporter à un étudiant d'Histoire ou de Lettres Classiques un ensemble de textes complets qu'il pût lire sans peine... essentiellement des textes complets dont la diversité pouvait éveiller les curiosités, ouvrir les perspectives, susciter l'intérêt'. The fifty-three texts selected should certainly achieve these purposes to a large extent, and students who are assumed to be unfamiliar hitherto with the contribution that inscriptions can offer to a fuller understanding of Greek history and life, will welcome the careful translation and the concise notes that follow. It is not clear to what extent the work has been shared between the editor and the persons named as having collaborated in it, but it could certainly have been improved by a stricter final revision. The texts are divided into fifteen sections, but actually nos. I-VII may be grouped together as illustrating decrees of various types, and these are followed by Official Letters; Laws, decree-laws and contracts; Inventories; Acts of manumission; Dedications; Funerary inscriptions, and finally the 'Asoka' inscription from Kandahar. The chronological and geographical distribution of this material shows a definite leaning towards the Hellenistic period, and a commendable width of range, extending from Macedonia and Thasos to Apollonia in Cyrenaica, and eastwards as far as Neocaesarea, Laodicea Mediae and even Kandahar. Students of fifth-century history will find nothing between Gelon's dedication at Delphi and that of Lysander, except the Thasian laws forbidding revolutionary activities (in 411/9 B.C.), and besides these only the Athenian decrees for the Samians (405/3 B.C.). For the fourth-century Athens provides seven out of the eleven texts given, Delphi, Olynthos, Samos and Amorgos one each, and the third century is represented by fifteen texts from widely distributed sources. The same is true of the remaining twenty-two texts from the following centuries.

Whatever one may feel (or students may think) of the scantiness of the material for the fifth century, an undeniable merit of the selection as a whole lies in the generous provision of important texts published mostly within the last ten years, or even less, such as the decree for Orthagoras of Araxa (no. 4), two

passed respectively by the garrison and the *παρόικοι* at Rhamnus in the late third century (nos. 19, 20 discovered and published by Professor Pouilloux himself), the decree of the Acarnanian Confederacy from Olympia, concerning the control of the temple of Apollo at Actium (no. 29), and the unusually interesting decree from Samos for Antileon of Chalkis, who ransomed Samian prisoners sent to Athens for execution (c. 320 B.C., no. 8).

In brief, this is a varied and interesting collection of texts, and the short historical and occasional grammatical notes will be certainly helpful to the students for whom it is intended. It must be admitted that some of these err on the side of brevity in their anxiety to avoid controversial topics (e.g. the uncertainty as to the date of the Orthagoras decree), and in some cases ignore difficulties, such as the curious restoration *ἀπ[ὸ] τ[ῆ]ς* (no. 38, l. 24), which is in fact a non-existent word, and should surely be read as *ἀπ[ὸ] τ[ῆ]ς* (confirmed by the photograph in the original publication and required by the context). Moreover, the notes or the *lemmata* in several instances omit helpful references. If, for example, Tod's *GHI* is cited for the decrees for the Samians, why should not it be added for no. 9 (= *GHI* ii 167) or no. 43 (*GHI* i 17)? References to *SEG* might well have been added for the Beroia manumission document of 235 B.C. (no. 38 = *SEG* xii 314) and for the list of manumissions from Scotussa (no. 40 = *SEG* xv 370), of which only a portion is given here. And surely *OGI* 214 should have been cited for no. 37 (the donations of Seleucus to the sanctuary at Didyma); and an opportunity should have been found somewhere for directing the readers' attention to the comprehensive bibliography to be found in Hondius' *Saxa Loquuntur*. The Greek index is full, but not exhaustive: among omissions noted in a rapid check are *ἀνομιμαίτων* (no. 4, l. 22) and *μεθόδια* (*ibid.*, l. 69) and *ἴσον* (no. 3, l. 40, misprinted there as *ἴσον*); *ἀναζεῦξαιτος* (no. 3, l. 10) should not have been indexed under *ἀναζεῦξαιτος*, and 'publication' should not have been left uncorrected on p. 13.

A. M. WOODWARD.

Samothrace. Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Ed. K. Lehmann. [Bollingen Series LX.] Vol. 2. Part I. The inscriptions on stone. By P. M. Fraser. Vol. 2. Part II. The inscriptions on ceramics and minor objects. By K. Lehmann. New York: Pantheon Books. 1960. Pp. xiii + 163, with 29 plates, and a map; and pp. viii + 154, with 13 plates and numerous text figures. \$15.

With these two fascicles the series of nine volumes projected for publication of the results of excavations directed by Professor Karl Lehmann between 1938 and 1957 (seriously interrupted, however, by war) is fittingly advanced. For the *connoisseur* of Aegean

islands Samothrace has a rich and peculiar flavour of its own: majestic, isolated, commanding the Thracian seas, populated originally from the north and infected accordingly with the mysterious and fervent religions of Thrace but attracted nevertheless steadily into the higher civilisation of the south and south-east. These inscriptions document the process—but they do so, it is admitted, fitfully and sparsely. As the editor himself insists in his foreword, the present work contains those Greek and Latin inscriptions discovered in the course of his own excavations. It is not concerned therefore with any revision or repetition of documents already included in *IG* xii 8—save for some rare and happy excursions by Fraser (Appendix I: a revised text of the important *IG* xii 8, 156; Appendix IIIb: the present state of *ibid.* 160–2, 170, 173; Appendix IV: a collation of *ibid.* 188, now at Bignor Park in Sussex). Secondly, if we may fairly judge by what survives, literacy came somewhat reluctantly to Samothrace—and Fraser indeed can confidently claim a fourth-century date for two only of his stones (nos. 1, 64). And the πόλις as opposed to the *ιερόν* of the Great Gods was at all periods tolerably undistinguished.

That both fascicules are admirably produced, generously spaced, copiously illustrated (but I find no photograph for no. 43) is what we now expect of the Bollingen series and the Pantheon Press. The inscriptions on stone, ninety-one in number, are preceded by an introduction, brief (pp. 3–17) but of fundamental importance, wherein Fraser very effectively demolishes much of that reconstruction by Friedrich (*IG* xii 8) and others which has long passed for the Hellenistic history of the island. That Fraser's own interpretation is significant for the political history of the Macedonian and Ptolemaic monarchies in particular, for periods in general of great obscurity, I need hardly emphasise. They are followed by twenty-nine plates and exhaustive indices. Of the inscriptions themselves space permits me to note only the outstanding: No. 1 is a fragment of a decree of the city of Samothrace of fourth-century date in the Aeolic dialect, thus betraying a dominant Aeolic element in the Greek population of the island, hitherto unsuspected; no. 5 a corn-law of the second century B.C. establishing a permanent machinery for the provisioning of the city. In no. 9 we find a convincing reconstruction of the dedication *Hesperia* xxii 1953, 18 ff. (*SEG* xii 396), which would reject the [*App*]υδαῖος of Lehmann (the half-brother of Alexander) in favour of an as yet unidentified Ἀδαῖος. No. 22 is a long list of *θεωπολ* of the third century B.C., grouped under their cities—unfortunately very illegible. Nos. 28, 32, 36, 53, etc., show us Romans of distinction, Republican and Imperial, on pilgrimage for initiation into the mysteries. No. 64 is the remnant of a long text of the earlier fourth century B.C., our chief document in the non-Greek and arguably Thracian language of the original population.

Of criticism I have little to offer. The work is

evidence of excellent proof-reading; but I note the following slips: in the *lemmata* to nos. 42, 53 and 78a (pp. 96, 103, 129) for *right* read *left*, and *vice versa*; of nos. 41, 46 and 63 (pp. 95, 98, 118) for 0.040, 0.060 and 0.040 read 0.40, 0.60 and 0.40. Some slight correction, moreover, is called for in the actual texts. Thus read in no. 17 [*Απ*]ολλοφάνου for [*Απ*]ολλοφάνου, in no. 18 Λευκίων υἱόν for Λεύκιον υἱόν. In no. 26 I prefer Θεόδωρ[ος] and Διονύσι[ος] and Ἀσκληπ— to Θεόδω[τος], Διων—, Ἀ— respectively. In no. 28c the position of the restored left margin—in my opinion—demands for lines 12–14 [*Χα*]ρίδαμος[ς] | [*Χα*]ρίδαμος[ς] | [*Κλ*]έων? in place of the editor's [*Α*]ρίδαμος | [*Α*]ρίδαμος[ς] | [*Α*]έων. In no. 34 space within the pediment seemingly precludes *Primus*, and I suspect that here REX was in fact incised—the more so since patently we are concerned with an eponymous βασιλεύς. In no. 38 for Varro II . . . etc., I offer *Varronis ser[ui]* | *Vilius* | [*U*]rsus | [*E*]urus (or [*D*]urus). In no. 50 on p. 102 line 4 is omitted, so that C. Modius Asclepiades is lost to the prosopography of Samothrace. In no. 53 M' (Manius) should be substituted for M. (Marcus); in no. 59 Ἀρισταγόρου for Ἀρισταγόρα. Finally, two suggestions, both somewhat hazardous. No. 66, cut on a fragment of a moulded plaque, is datable palaeographically to the later decades of the third century—when Samothrace was a Ptolemaic possession. It appears to me to be a royal votive, and admits some such restoration as Βασιλε[ὺς Πτολεμαῖος] | καὶ [Βασίλισσα Βερενίκη] | Θεοὶ Ἐνεργέται | Θεοὶς Μεγάλους. But the royal names may very well be in the dative case and the plaque an offering to these sovereigns—or their immediate successors. Secondly, no. 20—if an opinion based solely on the excellent photograph on plate IX is warranted—may begin with *TO*. If we can further concede the possibility of an indented left margin to the inscription, a balanced result can nevertheless be achieved on these lines:

τὸ λοετρὸν τ[οῦτο]
[τ]ὸ μέγα πρὸ ἑτῶν Κ[.]? συμπεσόν
ἀναγεῶντε ἐντε[χῶς τοῦ]
[Ἰο]υστινιανοῦ ἔτους [c.g. δεκάτου]

The inscription states—abnormally, I concede—that restoration is in progress in some year or other of Justinian's reign.

But a truce to these *minutiae*. Fascicule I makes an important contribution to Hellenistic history and—on a lower plane—to the story and the cult of Samothrace. With Fasc. II (which I find notable for its epichoric texts, in the main *graffiti*, dating from the sixth to the fourth century, nos. 1–64, and for its chart of the Samothracian alphabet, p. 41) it forms a volume which no student in the interrelated fields of Greek epigraphy and history can afford merely to borrow—and not to possess for himself.

T. B. MITFORD.

Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, 3^e partie: le supplément grec. iii, nos. 901-1371. Par C. Astruc et M.-L. Concasty. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale. 1960. Pp. xiii + 789. Price not stated.

The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris possesses the greatest collection of Greek manuscripts in the world—just under five thousand, a few hundred more than the Vatican library. Until recently the only guide to its incomparable riches was H. Omont's *Inventaire Sommaire* (1886/8), eked out by the eighteenth-century folio catalogues of the *Ancien fonds grec*—the old royal collection—(1740), and the *Fonds Coislin* (1715). The *Inventaire Sommaire* was an astonishing piece of work to be done by one busy man, and three generations of scholars have been grateful for it. But it was chillingly laconic—and occasionally wrong. And since only three hundred copies were printed, it was almost as great a rarity as the manuscripts which it described; there is only one copy accessible in London, and not more than three or four in the whole of England.

In 1945 the first volume of a new catalogue appeared, that of the *Fonds Coislin* by Mgr R. Devreese, and set a standard of accuracy and exhaustiveness which make it, along with the four volumes so far published of the catalogue of the *Codices Vaticani Graeci* (1923/50), the model for all future catalogues. In the present volume M. Astruc and Mlle. Concasty brilliantly continue the work of their master Devreese. They have begun by describing the last third of the *Supplément grec*, comprising manuscripts acquired by the library from 1875 to the present day. These are the least known among the treasures of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and indeed nos. 1330-71, acquired too late to be included in the last supplement to the *Inventaire Sommaire* (1912), have never been described in print at all.

Unlike the *Fonds Coislin*, the private collection of a connoisseur, the *Supplément grec* is a random group with no unity. There are few important manuscripts of classical texts; the unique manuscripts of the *Gymnasticus* of Philostratus (no. 1256) and of the second collection of the *Fables* of Babrius (no. 1245), and a ninth-century uncial fragment of the *Sophistici Elenchi* of Aristotle (no. 1362) are the items most likely to be of interest to classical scholars. But let us not forget, in an age which has seen the work of Aubreton, Irigoin, Turyn and others on the history and transmission of classical texts, the two late manuscripts of the whole *Iliad* (nos. 1095 and 1352), the sixteenth-century school selections of classical poetry with scholia and glosses (e.g. nos. 1229 and 1347), the fifteenth-century Theocritus (no. 1024), and other such epigoni. Those with a taste for the history of scholarship might be interested in the collected papers of Vilhoison (nos. 926-66), La Porte du Theil (nos. 967-8), and Emmanuel Miller (nos. 1342-6).

The great bulk of the collection consists of Christian, Byzantine, and post-Byzantine texts, from the

sixth-century illuminated *Codex Sinopensis* of St Matthew (no. 1286) to the manuscript of Nikolaos Dossios' *Ἀσθη καὶ φύλλα* (no. 1367), written in 1917. Byzantinists will find much to fascinate them. Apart from the lost conclusion of Matthew Camariotes' *Contra Plethonem* (no. 1248) and the eleventh-century *Gnomologion* of John Georgides (no. 1246), to which M. Alphonse Dain draws attention in his preface, there are a great number of other anecdotes. In a cursory reading the reviewer was struck by the poem in political verses on the destruction of Troy, apparently independent both of Hermoniakos and of western sources (no. 926), the grammatical miscellany containing numerous quotations from classical authors (no. 1194), the parody of a Byzantine funeral oration in a manuscript of late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (no. 1284 V), and the tenth-century medical collection, apparently unexploited by editors (no. 1297). In an index on pp. 699-728 656 *incipits* of unpublished or untraced texts are recorded.

Now it is one thing to recognise a manuscript of Homer or Herodotus: it is quite another to identify the texts in a Byzantine miscellany—*experto crede*. The ingenuity, patience and erudition with which the editors have traced almost every tiny fragment to its source are beyond praise. The twinge of jealousy one feels at seeing how many minor identifications one might have made have been pre-empted is succeeded by admiration for the identifications one could never have made. A beautiful example of this kind of detective work is offered by no. 1087, a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscript which appears to be a copy of the vernacular paraphrase of the *Nomocanon* of Manuel Malaxos, and is so described by Omont in the *Inventaire Sommaire* iii 337. An account of what it really contains fills fifteen quarto pages and reveals much unpublished canonical material.

In the notes on the external appearance and history of each manuscript the same learning and *ἀκρίβεια* is displayed. 104 named copyists—many of whom are not in Vogel-Gardthausen—are recorded. Rulings are not mentioned; but perhaps the material collected by the Lakes only proves that no two Greek manuscripts are ruled alike.

Amid so much information there are no doubt occasional slips. Only those who say nothing make no mistakes. The only error noticed by the reviewer is in connexion with no. 1090 (p. 213); the thirteen letters of George Lacapenus are all edited by S. Lindstam, *Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zariadae epistulae XXXII*, Gothenburg, 1924, whereas the catalogue records only the publication of letters 1-10 in Lindstam's earlier edition of 1910.

One sometimes wonders whether the thoroughness and detail demanded of the cataloguer today are worth paying for in the long delay before his work appears. Consideration of the present volume resolves the reviewer's doubts. This is a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ*, and if there are any left to care for Greek

manuscripts a hundred years hence, they will bless the names of Charles Astruc and Marie-Louise Concasty.

ROBERT BROWNING.

Antinoopolis Papyri: Part II. Ed. with trans. and notes by J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliaccus. London: Egypt Exploration Society. 1960. Pp. xi + 133, with 4 plates. £6 10s. od.

The present volume continues the publication of papyri from Antinoopolis begun by Mr C. H. Roberts in 1950. On this occasion the work of editing has been shared between Dr Barns, who is responsible for the literary papyri, and Professor Zilliaccus, who is responsible for the documents. The papyri are accompanied by introductions and notes, which, though brief, are always useful and to the point, as well as by translations wherever possible, and in general the high standard customary in publications of the Egypt Exploration Society is fully maintained.

There are four theological papyri, including a copy of the Paternoster in the form of a miniature 'book' (54). Pride of place among the new classical texts belongs to 55, nine fragments of a parchment codex, the longest of twenty lines, containing a work of New Comedy. The case for attributing it to Menander, *Misogynes* (and for including Koerte's 796 among the fragments of the play) is well presented by the editor, though the arguments, as he admits, are somewhat slender. His proposed reconstruction of the plot, however, seems unlikely to prove generally acceptable. The other new verse texts are all hexameter poems of uncertain authorship.

The diversity of the new prose fragments can be best illustrated by a few examples: 60 is a commentary on a poetic work, 61 a philosophical treatise, perhaps by Chrysippus, 62 an oratorical work presumably by Dinarchus as he is the author of the text on the verso, 63 a description of a battle in which *Αὐγούστου* appears, and 66 a good example of a prescription compounded of one part medical knowledge to three parts magic.

Perhaps the most important of the fragments of extant authors are 81, which solves an old crux at Dinarchus, *In Philoclem*, 4,¹ and 86, Hipparchus, *Aphorisms* V and VII, which has several noteworthy variants. Others which are textually interesting include 71, Hesiod, *Theogony*, 72, a tiny scrap of Euripides, *Bacchar*, and 85 [Plutarch], *Epitome de Placitis Philosophorum*. The papyri do not often suggest improvements to the texts which we already possess, but even when they have readings which are probably inferior (as 84, which supports the colourless *ἐτόλμησαν* for *ἐτλήσαν* at Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 96) or which show no variation from the MSS., they serve to give us an impressive picture of the wide range of literature available at Antino-

opolis. (In 80, 39, to judge from the photograph, we can keep the MSS. text by reading *ἐκτε[σι]ν* (l. -ειν) instead of *ἐκτε[σα]ν*, as the scribe's orthography is poor.)

The twenty-four documents, mostly of the Byzantine period, with the sixth century predominating, are a cross-section of varied interest and represent a useful, if unspectacular, contribution to our knowledge. Seven are private contracts including a lease of land (89) which shows several variations from the usual stereotyped formulae (we should perhaps read *τ[α]μεια[κῶν]* (l. *ταμιακῶν*) at l. 18), and a contract hiring out a workman (91), which is especially valuable because of its sixth-century date (does not *κακῶ(σως)* (l. 4) simply mean 'illness'?). A memorandum (92) is noteworthy for its orthography and syntactical peculiarities. An unusually important private letter (96), which mentions two hitherto unknown members of the *officium* of the *dux*, a *διαταγματάριος* and an *ἀδιοβάρτης* [sic], and a declaration to a pagarch (97) add to our information on sixth-century administration. Flavius Athanasius, *scholasticus* of the *forum Thebaidis*, is attested for the first time in 104. Other interesting papyri include a report of a trial before a certain Archias in which torture is employed (87), a petition to a *strategus*, Aurelius Sarapion *alias* Apollonianus who is already a well-known figure (88), and a list of contributions for 'the day of the late Colluthus', perhaps a collection for his funeral (109).

We shall look forward to the appearance of the third (and probably last) volume in the series, on which, as we are informed in an introductory note to this volume, much work has already been done.

J. D. THOMAS.

KAHN (C. H.) **Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology.** New York: Columbia University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1960. Pp. xvii + 250. 3 plates. £2 10s. od.

K. regards Anaximander as the originator of the fundamental ideas found in all pre-Socratic systems of cosmology; in this study he tries to reconstruct his thought, using the common features of the later systems to supplement our direct information about Anaximander himself. The first part of his book consists of a detailed discussion of the doxographical evidence. It is followed by a broader survey of Anaximander's views and their relationship to earlier (pre-philosophical) and later doctrines.

In the introduction to the doxographical part of the book K. argues that Theophrastus, though greatly influenced by Aristotle's interpretation of his predecessors, took some pains to report them correctly in the expository section of his *φυσικῶν δόξαι*, and that his account can be accepted as fundamentally correct, especially where it differs from Aristotle's. The rest of this section is divided under no fewer than twenty-three headings dealing with parts of Anaximander's doctrine. Under each, the extant

¹ But see now Lloyd-Jones in *CR* xi (1961) p. 203.

doxographical references are given first, then any relevant statements of Aristotle or those later authorities whose dependence on Theophrastus is uncertain. This arrangement is intended to facilitate a word for word comparison of the texts and to reproduce as closely as possible the order in which Theophrastus treated the same topics. But it has meant splitting the texts into excessively short pieces and separating some which are related; e.g. the passages grouped in sections four (entitled 'Heavens and κόσμος') and nine ('Innumerable Worlds') cannot really be considered apart. It would be easier for the reader to appreciate the overall relationship of the sources if the most important texts had been printed entire in parallel columns. Each set of passages is accompanied by a careful and generally sound commentary dealing with textual matters and details of interpretation, but there is less discussion of alternative views of controversial passages than might be expected in a book of this length.

The first chapter of the main section of the book contains a more systematic account of Anaximander's picture of the world as it actually exists, leaving aside the question of its origin; it includes translations of the texts given in sections ten to twenty-three of the doxography. K. rightly emphasises the geometrical, rationalistic (as opposed to empirical) character of Anaximander's thought, exemplified by his doctrine of the shape and position of the world and the numerical ratios by which the sizes of the circles of heavenly bodies are governed. This part of his doctrine was rejected by the later Ionians but inspired Pythagoras and the 'Western' tradition. His explanation of meteorological phenomena, on the other hand, became the prototype of all later theories about this subject. In the next chapter K. tries to show that the classical doctrine of elements and opposites is derived almost entirely from Anaximander, only the limitation of their number to four being due to Empedocles. Anaximander's only extant fragment is discussed in the third chapter. K. maintains that Theophrastus' quotation extends further than is generally believed, and that it only concerns the cyclic interchange of the elements and has no bearing on the question whether Anaximander believed in a periodic destruction of the world; K. himself leaves this question open. A concluding chapter summarises the development of Greek cosmological ideas and illustrates their dependence on Anaximander. There are two appendices, on the origin of the term κόσμος and on Anaximander's ἀείρον. This subject is relegated to an appendix, in spite of its importance, because it is not directly relevant to the development of Ionian cosmology.

In the course of his argument K. naturally touches upon many points which cannot be discussed in a short review. Much of what he has to say is interesting and suggestive. But not all his arguments carry conviction. In particular, his eagerness to emphasise the continuity of Greek ideas about the physical world sometimes leads him to obliterate important

distinctions. Because air and (presumably) the sun played leading parts in Anaximander's meteorology, K. suggests (pp. 106 ff.) that there is a direct link between his doctrine and the 'divine' air of Euripides (fr. 941) and Aristophanes' *Clouds*, and the Stoic idea that the sun is the ἡγεμονικόν of the world. On p. 153 he remarks that Anaximander may have borrowed Homeric terms for some of his new concepts; such rationalisation was common in the fifth century, but there is no evidence for it in the remains of the early Milesians or Xenophanes, and since these philosophers were still trying to break away from overtly mythical forms of thought it would have been natural for them to avoid mythological language as far as possible. The theory of elements, too, changed more radically than K. admits. His determination to ignore these differences, arising as it does from his whole approach to his material, seriously reduces the value of his work.

The book is sumptuously produced and I did not notice any misprints. There are no references in the index to the passages quoted in the notes on p. 147.

H. B. GOTTSCHALK.

VICAIRE (P.) *Platon: critique littéraire*. (Études et commentaires, xxxiv.) [Thèse.] Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1960. Pp. v + 448. NFr. 36.

This must surely become a standard work. M. Vicaire has written an admirably complete and thorough survey of Plato's evaluation of all Greek literature except the historians. The many relevant passages in the dialogues are studied not once but from several points of view: as evidence of the development of Plato's attitude; in relation to his judgments on particular writers; as illustrations of his division of the genres, his methods of criticism, his use of critical terms. Each of the many problems that arise is considered with good sense and appreciation of both sides of the question. Frequent references to the vast modern literature of the subject reinforce the discussion of the text; and this complex mass of material is presented in a clear and orderly fashion which makes a long book pleasant to read and easy to use for reference—all the easier, thanks to a full bibliography and index of passages mentioned. The only aspect on which one might ask for more is the relation of Plato's views to the general Greek conception of literature and its place in human life.

Plato is usually seen as a bitterly hostile critic of literature, whose enmity is typified by his attacks on sophistic rhetoric or the expulsion of the poets from the ideal state. Vicaire regards this as a misconception derived from over-emphasis on certain sections of the early dialogues, the *Republic*, and the *Laos*. He is at pains to show that there is a note of positive appreciation in many passages, especially in the later works. Tyrtaeus, Solon, Theognis and Pindar are praised and approved. Even Homer is

not always condemned, but becomes the chief beneficiary of the change towards tolerance between the *Republic* and the *Laws*: 'cet homme connaissait, aimait le poète, et finalement lui a beaucoup pardonné'. Only tragedy is treated with consistent hostility. Plato is more severe on the orators than on the poets, but the great Socratic speeches of the *Apology*, the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus* show that he recognises a good rhetoric as well as a bad. Even rigorous condemnation on principle is sometimes softened by an ironic smile: 'l'ironie et le goût, allant de pair, apportent les corrections nécessaires, tantôt visibles, tantôt impondérables, aux lourdeurs du dogmatisme'. In all Plato's criticism Vicaire sees a positive purpose: 'elle ne se hâte de condamner ce qui est condamnable que pour justifier ce qui le mérite, et au besoin pour l'améliorer, le transformer'.

The other accusation commonly brought against Plato is inconsistency, especially in his attitude towards the poets: how is the belittling of poetry as *σκία σκίας* in *Republic* X to be reconciled with the praise of poetic inspiration elsewhere? This charge Vicaire also rejects. He admits that there is no one 'formule sommaire' for Plato's view of poetry. On the surface Plato's judgments show an extraordinary diversity of standard and approach, partly because most of them are incidental to some other purpose; but beneath this variety Vicaire claims to find a single basis. The chapter *Mimesis et Inspiration*, in which he presents his views on this point, is the most interesting and the most controversial in the book.

Μίμησις and *ἐκθρονισμὸς*, as he sees them, are not opposite or even alternative theories of poetic creation, but complementary: 'l'inspiration, qui met le poète en état de créer, par là-même le conduit à imiter, puisque tout acte créateur suppose l'existence d'un modèle idéal ou concret, auquel se réfère nécessairement celui qui crée'. Hence *Republic* X and the *Phaedrus* describe the same process from different points of view. The *mimesis* involved in most poetry, and especially in the mere representation practised in the theatre, finds its models in the world of appearance; this is the level of inspiration of the versifiers who are placed in only the sixth category of souls (*Phaedr.* 248e). But there must also be a higher *mimesis* given to the 'gentle and pure souls' whose inspired poetry educates posterity (*Phaedr.* 245a); they follow divine models, since for them 'l'ébranlement intérieur qu'ils subissent les met en état d'approcher assez de la vérité pour en transmettre une suffisante image'. Vicaire identifies these exceptional beings with the good poets, portrayers of the image of noble character, who may be retained in the ideal state (*Rep.* 401b, 607a). Plato himself, he suggests, has much of their quality, for he is truly *μουσικός*, 'poète en même temps que philosophe, docile à la puissance impérieuse du Beau qui est aussi le Bien'. His dialogues are drama as it should be, inspired by the best of models, the life and death of Socrates.

There are basic points here which it is difficult to

accept. The doctrine of *mimesis* in *Republic* X, it may be objected, expressly covers all poetry (cf. 599b-c, 600c), and the only models which poets copy are particulars: there is no ground in Plato's text for raising even the best poet to the status of the *Timaeus* Demiurge and making him an imitator of Forms. The 'good' poets of the *Republic* may well seem to reappear in the admirable but uninspired elders of *Laws* VIII (829d)—a passage which Vicaire finds 'curious' and 'surprising'—rather than in the *Phaedrus*. Also open to question is Vicaire's account of the emergence of Plato's theory of inspiration, which involves the improbability of placing the *Ion* after the *Meno* and treating the *Cratylus* as though it were earlier than both.

Vicaire fails to carry conviction on this issue, as others have failed before him. But this detracts little from the excellence of one of the most valuable books on Plato produced in recent years.

H. C. BALDREY.

MORROW (G. R.) *Plato's Cretan City: a Historical Interpretation of the Laws*. Princeton: University Press (London: Oxford U.P.), 1960. Pp. xxii + 623. £5 os. od.

To crown his many excellent studies of particular parts of the *Laws*, Professor Morrow now offers this work of synthesis. His aim is to interpret in some detail the main institutions of Magnesia (the state of the *Laws*) 'by comparing or contrasting them with the historical laws and social institutions of Plato's Greece, and in the light of the concepts and traditions current in his day' (p. viii). Part One examines the influence of Crete, Sparta and Athens on Plato's political thought; Part Two dissects the institutions of Magnesia in the light of these influences; Part Three attempts an assessment of the broad political principles that governed Plato when he constructed his 'second-best' state. These principles Morrow considers to be the mixed constitution, the rule of law, and the rule of philosophy. There is an invaluable index of passages cited from the *Laws* and other works of Plato, and a very full general index of subjects discussed.

Such a comprehensive and systematic interpretation of the *Laws* has long been needed; Morrow has succeeded brilliantly in reducing the chaotic mass of material in the *Laws* to order, and in elucidating the main themes of Plato's later political thought. He has conclusively demonstrated something which has long been partially realised—that the institutions of Magnesia are firmly based on those of contemporary Greece, but with important modifications to suit Plato's purposes. The book is so finely produced and engagingly written that it seems almost boorish to venture criticism, but a few words of warning must be said. In spite of its bulk, *Plato's Cretan City* has considerable limitations. What it gains in breadth, it frequently lacks in depth; for a detailed study of many parts of Plato's legislation, Morrow does no

more than whet the appetite. Take for instance the subject of homicide. The reader will find no one section given over to a systematic examination of the topic; turning to the index, he is presented with about twenty references to widely scattered pages; pursuing these, he will find résumés of the major points in Plato's law of homicide, and brief comparisons or contrasts between it and Attic law. Similarly, the law of assault and battery, which fills several pages of detailed legislation in the *Laws*, has to be content with a few cursory references. This somewhat superficial and piecemeal treatment of these topics makes it difficult to carry away a clear picture. The way Morrow has arranged his material in Part Two is largely responsible. We find such general headings as 'Property and the Family', 'Administration of Justice' and 'Religion': clearly a given topic—homicide is an example—can fall under all these headings. Of course, Morrow has not set out to write a series of detailed studies, and he is well aware of these limitations. But *Plato's Cretan City* may well give the impression of completeness and finality; the truth is that much detailed work has been done which is barely mentioned in this book, and much more remains to be tackled before Plato's achievement as a legislator can be appraised exactly.

Concerning the broader questions of interpretation, I have only one serious quarrel. It is of course true (p. 579) that there is a good deal of 'empirical legal material' in the *Republic*, but Morrow goes too far in seeing the Guardians themselves as subject to the rule of law—'sovereigns bound in *foro interno* by the laws under which they rule' (p. 582). The passages he quotes do not support his argument. The basic premise of the *Republic* is that the rulers are supremely wise; there can be no question of their being subject to the laws of Callipolis (which are for the lower orders: laws are merely a tool of the Guardians' rule); being subject to laws implies the possibility of conflict, and if a conflict occurred between a Guardian and a given law, that would be a judgment on the law, not on the Guardian. Of course the Guardians will obey the laws, but only because the Guardians' wishes and the laws are identical. It is therefore misleading of Morrow to talk of rulers in the *Republic* 'bound' by law (p. 582). The rulers in the *Laws*, by contrast, are bound, simply because the assumption of the *Republic*—that we may have perfect rulers—is not made in the later work.

The book has a number of minor blemishes. Morrow seems sometimes to adopt two different interpretations of the same passage. P. 395 gives a fundamentally different meaning to 847e to that given on p. 105; p. 276 and n. 80 (cf. 277 n. 82) and p. 474 (esp. n. 240), on whether Plato's suit for impiety is a *γραφή* or a *δίκη*, seem irreconcilable.

The production of the book is of a very high standard, though the checking and proof-reading have not been impeccable (we have XXXII for XXII on p. 243 n. 3, and 916b for 916d on p. 139

n. 129). The system of cross-references is irritating, as it involves turning up a reference *via* the contents list: simple page-references would have been better.

If then its scope and limitations are recognised, this book is to be given the warmest of welcomes; it makes a splendid contribution to our understanding of the *Laws*. Morrow carries his learning lightly and writes effortlessly. *Plato's Cretan City* will be an indispensable tool to all specialists in the *Laws* and a source of pleasure and profit to Platonists in general.

TREVOR J. SAUNDERS.

SPOERRI (W.) **Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter.** Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von B. Wyss, Heft 9. Pp. xvi + 274. Basel: F. Reinhardt, 1959. Sw. fr. 24.75.

The subtitle 'Untersuchungen zu Diodor von Sizilien' indicates the main interest of this work, which deals with the opening philosophical chapters of Diodorus. As the author is concerned with the sources involved, his discussion ranges widely enough to justify the title he has finally chosen.

In a detailed examination of the sections on cosmogony and zoogony, on the origin of culture, and on the religion of the Egyptians, Dr Spoerri vigorously combats the theory of K. Reinhardt which sees Hecataeus of Abdera as the principal source of Diodorus here and which derives the statements of Hecataeus himself, as far as Diodorus i 7-8 is concerned, from Democritus. Reinhardt won a massive and distinguished following for his view; compare the fact that in the 5th and 6th edition of Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, Diodorus i 7-8 appears as a fragment of Democritus (no. 68 B 5).

Spoerri maintains that in this section there is not the slightest trace of atomistic thought. Whereas the atomistic cosmogony speaks of *τὰ ὅλα* (Diog. Laert. 9. 44) with reference to the total of possible appearances in the void, implying countless possible worlds, Diodorus in i 7.1 uses the expression *σύντασις τῶν ὅλων*, meaning the cosmos, which he regards as one. Further, he conceives of the primal situation as a mixture, and his position is comparable to that ascribed by Aristotle, *Phys.* A 4, 197a 20 f. to Anaximander, Empedocles and Anaxagoras; the atomists are not included there since they do not hold the doctrine of an original *μείγμα*. Again, unlike Leucippus and Democritus, Diodorus assigns an intra-cosmic origin to the heavenly bodies, representing them as resulting from a separation of fiery matter from the air. So far, Spoerri has argued that there are basic differences between Diodorus and Democritus. When he comes (p. 29) to the principle of 'like to like' he has to admit that it is found in both, as Reinhardt has emphasised. Spoerri suggests that its source, nevertheless, is Empedocles and that, in any case, Democritus has given it an individual twist by explaining it as a concern of form and size rather than an inherent urge of primal

matter; he notes that the idea occurs also in Anaxagoras, to whom, indeed, Kirk in Kirk and Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 411 suggests that its origin should be traced without discussing its occurrence in Empedocles.

Turning to Ovid, Spoerri finds that his cosmogony has a good deal in common with that of Diodorus. He maintains that parallels with Lucretius do not involve any specifically atomistic ideas, and that Lucretius does not envisage a chaotic primeval mixture. A discussion of comparisons and contrasts in Apollonius of Rhodes, Diogenes Laertius, Heraclitus the allegorist, Plutarch, Lactantius, Messala and Manilius leads him to the conclusion that in the first century B.C. 'diakrisis-cosmogonies' were evolved according to which four elements were separated from an original chaos. These cosmogonies, he believes, occur in contexts where Platonic influences are strong. That Diodorus, a historian and compiler, should have taken his introduction from a work so far removed from him in time as the *Aegyptiaca* of Hecataeus of Abdera, is *a priori* unlikely, it is suggested.

What then are the sources used by Diodorus? Spoerri is hesitant about offering a solution although he is trenchant in attacking the reigning hypothesis. He sees affinities with Ovid, and he notes the influence of the revival of dogmatic Platonism in the first century B.C. In such a complex *Quellenfrage* simplicity is not likely to emerge. But the atomists, especially Democritus, must be excluded.

Spoerri has succeeded in his main task, even though it is a somewhat negative operation of demolition. In excess of eagerness he sometimes pushes a point too far. Thus, when he reaches a similar conclusion about the sections of Diodorus which deal with zoogony, the origin of culture and Egyptian religion, in the process he exaggerates the differences between Diodorus i 11.1 and the view of Democritus in Sext. Emp. *adv. math.* 9.24. Certainly Democritus, unlike Diodorus, emphasises the unusual natural phenomenon (*παράδοξα*) as the cause of the fear which engendered the origin of religion; but Diodorus also mentions awe and wonder as the causative feeling. On pp. 180 ff. Spoerri seems rather too sceptical of the early contributions to allegoristic and ignores the studies of J. Tate. A revised view of the relation of Euhemerus to both Diodorus and Hecataeus is cogently presented, and it seems likely that we have in Diodorus not the preliminary pattern of Euhemerism, but its after-effects. The ideas of Poseidonius on the origin of religion are usefully compared with those presented by Diodorus, but it is admitted that they do not necessarily constitute a direct source.

Some matters involving Egyptian religion are dealt with inadequately. The separation of heaven and earth is a conspicuous theme in Diodorus i 7.1; immediately afterwards the action of the air is mentioned. There is a striking parallel in Egyptian mythology in the story of how Shu separated Nut

and Geb. Spoerri mentions this briefly on p. 117, n. 15 and in a short note on p. 217. He should clearly have given extended attention to this subject, especially as Hecataeus, if the idea is Egyptian, might have proved an admirable source. On p. 195 the probability of Manetho's influence on Diodorus i 13 is rightly pointed out, but the implications of this in the argument about sources are hardly faced up to. Manetho, like Hecataeus, is not so near in time. On p. 172 Spoerri says that a late-Hellenistic philosophical background lies behind Diodorus' explanation of the name Osiris as *πολύοφθαλμος*. But this derives from Egyptian folk-etymology: see Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, 12.

A full answer will perhaps never be forthcoming to the questions raised in this book, concerned as they are with an eclectic author whose direct sources may well be absent from the extant literary record. Spoerri has at any rate removed some misconceptions; and if he has further complicated an already complex problem, he has established, in the history of the ideas discussed, some clear affinities and lines of development.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS.

ARMSTRONG (A. H.) and MARKUS (R. A.) **Christian Faith and Greek Philosophy.** London: Darton, Longman and Todd. 1960. Pp. ix + 162. 15s.

These lectures were given under the auspices of the Extra-Mural Department of the University of Liverpool. The ten heads are God and the World; Creation: God's Transcendence and Infinity: The Word and the Ideas: The Material Universe: The Nature and Destiny of Man; Soul and Body: Knowing and Understanding: Love and the Will: Reason and Conduct: Time, History, Eternity: Faith and Philosophy. The lecturers have been frankly selective, and draw attention themselves to the omission of the problem of evil and of political topics. The most serious omission is not, however, here. It is the absence of any reference to the doctrine of the impassibility of God. Except for Heraclitus, the Greek philosophers tended to believe in a static first principle—one thinks of Aristotle's Unmoved Mover, or Plato's insistence in *Phaedo* on the 'unchanging and constant' nature of ultimate reality. It is exceedingly difficult to equate this static first principle with the living God of Hebrew tradition, and a Christian cannot fail to say in some sense that God suffers. Rebellion against this sprang from a Greek attitude of mind ('To the Greeks foolishness'), and led to an exaggerated separation of and contrast between the impassible Father and the passible Son. At this point the influence of Greek philosophy seems disastrous to Christian truth, and some discussion of the issues involved would have been welcome.

Inevitably in a summary treatment such as this, there are points which rouse disagreement. To take one instance, M. rightly accepts Paul's sermon at Athens as authentic, but wrongly attempts to integrate it with his later thought. Surely we must say that Paul's sermon at Athens was a failure; he did not win many converts; and when he came to write to the Corinthians, when his work there too seemed to be breaking up, he rejected the approach through the wisdom of men, and rested simply upon Christ crucified. Some of these points of disagreement are matters of opinion, but it does seem that on p. 72 there is confusion between Plato's and Aristotle's use of the word 'form'. There is much that is admirable; for example the contrast and reconciliation of Hebrew and Greek views of soul and body (pp. 46 ff.), or the brief discussion of Platonism and sex (pp. 51 ff.), or the chapter on 'Time, History, Eternity'.

The great merit of the first five chapters, by A., is the ease with which he moves in the rocky glories of Plotinus and the neo-Platonists, coupled with sound judgment in the whole field of Greek philosophy. He seems less at home among the Jewish traditions, and among the Christian Fathers. He mentions Clement of Alexandria only twice, Origen three times, Gregory of Nyssa twice by name without any reference to his thought, Basil not at all, Dionysius 'the Areopagite' not at all. M. is more familiar with the Fathers, and his treatment of Origen on love is excellent. In both parts the footnote references are a trifle miscellaneous, and show wide reading in the French authorities, less in the German.

The main fault of the book is stylistic. A. tends to be turgid. It is difficult not to be when wallowing in Neo-Platonism, but one wonders what his extramural audience made of phrases like 'the complete and simultaneous unity proper to eternal non-spatial spiritual being' (p. 12). M. by contrast is conversational to the point of frivolity; we can hardly pass 'a very definite, indeed quite a unique view of love' (p. 78).

Reinhold Niebuhr and others have in recent years campaigned to eliminate all that is Hellenic from the Gospel. It cannot be done. The Hellenic element is there in the New Testament, in John and Paul. It was there in the Decapolis where Jesus wandered and in Tarsus where Paul spent his childhood. It was the Greek language which first enabled Christianity to become universal, and to work out intellectually the meaning of the basic proclamation. Something was no doubt lost, more was gained. Conversely, Christianity must be seen in cold historical fact as the fulfilment of the philosophical quest of the Greeks. A dialogue between A. and M. has good precedent in ancient philosophy, and if these lectures bring the dialectic of faith and philosophy afresh before the minds of readers they will have fulfilled the prime purpose of the authors.

JOHN FERGUSON.

BOMAN (T.) **Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek.** Trans. J. L. Moreau. London: S.C.M. Press. 1960. Pp. 224. £1 1s. 0d.

The purpose of this book is defined by its author as 'a comparison of the intellectual world of the Old Testament with the intellectual world of the Greek, principally that of the philosophers, and particularly that of Plato' (p. 20), and he avoids sources where it may be suspected that Hebrew thought has been influenced by Greek or vice versa. Thus its actual scope is narrower than its title might suggest.

On the other hand the author also goes beyond the critical comparison of Hebrew and Greek thought within these limits to their philosophical evaluation, and shows that they are complementary to one another, 'two possible and equally necessary reactions to one and the same reality' (p. 207), and thus implicitly answers the intriguing question raised by his work, but not discussed in it, why it was that Greeks and Hebrews found one another's ideas so fascinating, why Philo for example could become a Stoic without repudiating Judaism, and Hellenistic Christians could accept, as readily as they did, the intractably Jewish Gospel. They came together like the two halves of the original human beings in Aristophanes' fable in the *Symposium*.

The book is not easy to read. Its English preserves too much of the idiom of the original, and is occasionally grotesque: e.g., 'Their impulsive, passionate, unlogical kind were mentally the contrary of the clear and collected Plato' (p. 52); 'Something else took place in Hellas and Israel when each of these highly gifted nations realised one-sidedly the two possible conceptions of existence' (p. 180); 'the above-mentioned Jahvistic transformation, in Israelite spirit, of the Egyptian narrative of creation' (p. 198).

Less frequently, the translation appears misleading: e.g., 'the enumeration of the functions of the heavenly luminaries in Gen. i 14 is *artful* and ingenious' (p. 132)—*kunstvoll* (?), artistic? 'The one thinks causally and consequently in terms of natural science' (p. 170)—*konsequent* (?), consistently?

There is also a curious phrase *the transparency of God* (pp. 190 ff.) to describe the fact that God is not only both transcendent and immanent, but also 'known through the world'—in which case surely it is the world which is transparent, and not God.

Nevertheless the author may be followed as on the whole a safe guide by the classical scholar who wishes to understand the thought of the Old Testament, and, with rather less confidence, by the Old Testament scholar who wishes to understand classical Greek philosophy. But it is to the Christian theologian that his book will be of the greatest value. For in order to understand the interaction of Judaism and Hellenism which produced Catholic Christianity, it is necessary to see both Judaism and Hellenism in their most characteristic and uncontaminated forms, and it is this which the author attempts to reveal, and on the whole he is successful in his attempt.

He brings out clearly and illustrates convincingly the dynamic character of Hebrew thought, but tends at first sight to over-emphasise the static quality of Greek. Thus he dismisses Heraclitus as 'un-Greek', because of the importance he attaches to change and motion (p. 51), thereby ignoring the whole 'Dionysiac' element in Greek thought. Yet he corrects this first impression to some extent by his recognition of the convergence and complementarity of Greek and Hebrew thought; cf. his interesting comparison between the Platonic Idea and the Hebrew root. Whereas we, following Plato, generalise from particulars, Hebrew thought starts with the root (consonantal, and, until vocalised, neither noun nor verb), and regards particulars as 'concretisations' of it. 'Thus, for example, *'els* designates not the concept "wood", but rather as the Platonic Idea of wood, everything real which has the properties of wood' (p. 70).

Chapter 2, 'Impression and Appearance', is perhaps the most convincing, particularly in its explanation of the imagery of the Song of Songs, often grotesque to our way of thinking, but intelligible when we realise that, unlike Greek, it is non-visual. The Hebrew does not describe the *appearance* of persons, but uses parables to convey the impression which they make. This contrast also appears in other contexts, e.g., in Hebrew and Greek cosmology. Hebrew descriptions of nature and of the universe are not visual, but parabolic (cf. pp. 175 ff.).

The treatment of the contrast between Greek and Hebrew ideas of time in Chapter 3, though valid in the main, is open to the criticism that it exaggerates the difference between Hebrew and Greek verbs by omitting to consider the Greek Perfect (see pp. 124 f.).

These are, however, criticisms only on points of detail (though not the only ones that could be made), and it would be ungenerous to conclude without a frank recognition that this is an illuminating and masterly handling of an important subject.

J. N. SANDERS.

Epicurus. Opere. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note di Graziano Arrighetti. Turin: Einaudi. 1960. Pp. xxvi + 671. L. 6,000.

For many years now students of Epicurus have had no really satisfactory text of the Master's complete works at their disposal. There has been von der Muehl's text of the three letters and *Ratae Sententiae* (Teubner, 1922)—strangely hard to obtain—and Diano's *Epicuri Ethica* (Firenze, 1946), but for a more complete corpus we have had to depend on Usener (1887) and Bailey (1926)—both long out of print and neither very satisfactory as texts. Usener's *Epicurea* is, of course, a monumental piece of work which still has great value but it has been felt for years that his treatment of the text of Diogenes

Laertius was unnecessarily cavalier; Bailey too, as the only English edition, still keeps his place, but a great deal has been done in the last thirty-five years both in the study of Diogenes Laertius and in the field of the Herculanean papyri which Usener and Bailey very largely neglected.

This edition, therefore, which is vol. IV in the *Classici della Filosofia*, is greatly to be welcomed. It is the author's declared intention 'not only to set down his contributions to some Epicurean problems and texts but also to collect as much of Epicurus as possible'. He therefore includes the Life, the three letters, the *Ratae Sententiae*, the *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, and then no fewer than 219 pages of *Deperditorum Librorum Reliquiae* (130 of them devoted to the Herculanean *περί φύσεως* of which Bailey printed 44 lines); there are also 55 pages of *Epistularum fragmenta* and 150 pages of notes. A competent Italian translation is printed opposite to the text in the first four sections and below the papyrus fragments; at the same time all quotations in the notes have a translation at the side. For the works preserved by Diogenes Laertius and the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* he has based his text on von der Muehl, for the Life he has used Diano. All the original papyri have been re-examined with the exception of Book xxxviii of the *περί φύσεως* (in the B.M.—for this he has reprinted Vogliano's 1928 text) with the result that many fragments overlooked before are now printed for the first time. Other fragments come from Diano (the letters), Gomperz—Philippson (the *περί εὐσεβείας* of Philodemus), and Usener.

It can be said at once that this is a very good edition. No two scholars will ever agree on so notoriously difficult a text, but we can feel sure that here for the first time we have for all practical purposes a complete collection of all that survives of Epicurus in a substantially sound and reliable text. There are minor slips of course (on p. 149, for instance, the last critical note should be numbered 48 not 47, and in p. 400 v. 13 there should surely be a colon or full-stop before *ἀπται*) but these do not affect the general excellence of a text which adheres as far as possible to the MSS. and avoids the excessive alterations which mar Usener and even Bailey. Where the MS. reading is plainly impossible his solution of the difficulty is elegant and convincing. Let us take one example—the important passage in Ep. iii 124 which in the MS. reads

ἐνθεν αἱ μέγιστα βλάβαι αἴτιαι τοῖς κακοῖς ἐκ
θεῶν ἐπάγονται καὶ ὠφέλειαι. ταῖς γὰρ ἰδίαις
οἰκειούμενοι διὰ παντός ἀρεταῖς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀποδέ-
χονται, πᾶν τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον ὡς ἀλλότριον νομίζοντες.

Usener, followed by Bailey, dealt with this by altering αἴτιαι to τε and accepting Gassendi's addition of <τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς> after ὠφέλειαι. At the same time both Bailey and Festugière (in his *Epicure et ses Dieux*, 1946, Eng. trans. 1955) took οἱ ἀγαθοί as the subject of the second sentence, with extremely awkward

results. Arrighetti, following a suggestion of Diano, simply excludes *αἴτια τοῖς κακοῖς* as a gloss and so in his translation restores to the second sentence its natural subject *οἱ θεοί*. Incidentally, his note on this passage (pp. 490-2) illustrates the care he has taken to collect the relevant references in the commentary and the balanced judgment with which he uses them; the same remarks could be applied, for another example, to his note on the famous letter *Ad Puerum*, p. 601 [113].

There is perhaps one respect in which the author's adhesion to MS. authority yields less happy results; that is, in declining to follow the editors in relegating certain passages which are obviously scholia to the foot of the page. Thus in Ep. I most of 66 consists of a long passage enclosed in brackets but printed in the body of the text. After a full stop 67 then begins *γε δεῖ προσκατανοεῖν κτλ.* which must be taken with the *Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τότε* of seven lines before. In the translation the parenthesis is printed in smaller type which helps the reader, but in the Greek the effect is decidedly odd. This is an innovation which is hardly worthwhile.

It would be grossly unfair to conclude without a word of praise for the production of this book. It is well printed, the translation in a beautiful bold type, on good paper and well bound with head-bands top and bottom. It is not cheap, but it must surely be one of the handsomest classical texts to be published in recent years.

C. W. CHILTON.

COHEN (M. R.) and DRABKIN (I. E.) **A Source Book in Greek Science.** Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1958. Pp. xxi + 581. c. 80 text figures. £3 os. od.

There surely cannot be amongst all the literature on ancient science any book or compilation quite as useful as this work has proved to be, since the first edition was published, both to researchers on particular problems and to those who wish to gain a panoramic view of scientific thought and activity in the Graeco-Roman world. The original purpose of the series of which this book is a part was to present the most significant passages from the works of the most important contributors to the major sciences during the last few centuries; this plan was extended after the last war to include source books on Greek and Medieval science as well.

In presenting this selection from Greek scientific literature the editors rightly emphasise that it cannot take the place of a history; these passages cannot by themselves provide a systematic view of Greek science or indicate what the place of science was in the framework of Greek civilisation. Yet without them, no history can give an adequate picture of Greek science; the reader will always feel the need to see something of the original sources on which the

historian relies, sources that are available often only in fragmentary form and always scattered over many diverse volumes. Hence the need for such a source book; and though, inevitably, most passages will be read here out of their natural context, the hope expressed by the editors that serious students will be led to the study of the original texts seems entirely justified.

In any collection such as this problems of selection invariably loom large: taking in the development of all the special sciences, of their principles, their methods, their techniques, over a period of a thousand years cannot be an easy task. In addition to the problem of bulk and quantity there appears here a further difficulty: much scientific work is either completely unintelligible for the general reader or at any rate such as to make great demands on his knowledge and understanding. The editors have chosen wisely to treat, particularly in the more technical fields, e.g. astronomy and mathematics, the more elementary and fundamental ideas that will be more useful to the general reader rather than more complicated passages of perhaps more specialist appeal. They are right in pointing out that many Greek scientific treatises were written and read by cultivated people who did not regard themselves as specialists (this, of course, was still true as late as the eighteenth century); Greek science today is of interest not only to the scientist who wishes to know something of the antecedents of his own work; but equally to the 'arts' man who sees in science and in the study of its history a vital element in the humanistic tradition.

There were, of course, other problems of selection: how to draw the line between scientific material properly so called and material of a philosophic or speculative nature (particularly since the Greeks themselves did not always draw this line sharply); here the editors have confined themselves to material 'which would generally be regarded today as scientific in method, i.e. based in principle, either on mathematics or on empirical verification'. (One is glad to see that this principle of economy was not extended so as to exclude, e.g., certain mathematical materials on the ground of triviality.) And the editors have dealt no less wisely with the difficult problem of how much attention to give to theories that are now known or thought to be false. 'To leave out any reference to the doctrine of the four elements or the atomism of Democritus would be to distort the nature of what Greek science really was.'

The topics treated in this book are classified according to modern categories; this has the advantage of making orientation easier for the modern reader. There are long chapters on Mathematics, Astronomy, Mathematical Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Geology and Meteorology, Biology, Medicine, Physiological Psychology. The passages selected seem always to be representative and important. A good number of editorial notes help in the understanding

of the texts both from the scientific and the historical point of view. The well-chosen bibliography is all the more useful because it confines itself to the most important works and sources, thus avoiding the overloading that is so pronounced a drawback of many bibliographies. There is also a short list of books and articles published since 1948.

A. WASSERSTEIN.

Anthemius. Anthemius of Tralles: a Study in Later Greek Geometry. Ed. G. L. Huxley. (Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs, 1.) Cambridge, Mass.: Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies. 1959. Pp. vii + 62. Price not stated.

Anthemius of Tralles of whom Procopius said that he was ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ μηχανικῇ λογιώτατος οὐ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἀπάντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ προγεγενημένων πολλῶν . . . is, of course, best known for his part, together with Isidorus of Miletus, in the building or rebuilding of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. His eminence as an architect was not only matched by his mathematical achievements but seems to have been founded on these; at any rate, he used his gifts and the results of his mathematical studies for practical purposes in architecture and civil engineering; and indeed, if some of the anecdotes about him are to be believed, he occasionally employed his scientific knowledge and technical skill for purely private ends: thus he is said to have simulated, with the help of steam power, the effects of an earthquake under the house of a neighbour, the orator Zeno, who was a personal enemy of his. We also hear of thunder and lightning effects produced by him, again in order to frighten and annoy Zeno. For the latter he used a reflector; it seems that this was similar to the curved reflector described in the *Treatise on Burning Mirrors* (περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων), which has come down to us in a fragmentary form. This is studied here by Mr G. L. Huxley, whose purpose it is 'to illustrate thereby one aspect of the intense mathematical activity which occurred during the reign of Justinian'.

The Greek text used is that of Heiberg (if I am not mistaken, Huxley prints a photographic reproduction of Heiberg's text). Mr Huxley's translation seems to be accurate and as far as the text allows, lucid. His commentary makes the difficult places easier, and though Mr Huxley refers much to the work of other scholars I believe that much of the credit for the exposition and explanation contained in the commentary should go to him.

The theorems set out here deal with the properties of burning mirrors. They are of interest not only from the geometrical and optical point of view. Occasionally Anthemius gives us a piece of historical argument: thus he denies that the feat ascribed to Archimedes, of setting fire to the ships of Marcellus at a distance of several hundred paces from the walls

of Syracuse, could have been performed with one mirror. Both its focal length and the area of the reflector would have had to be far too big. But he shows how a large number of mirrors may be placed in such positions as to cause ignition, provided the object to be burned is in the direction from which the sun's rays come. Attached to *περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων* Mr Huxley gives here both a text and a translation of the *Fragmentum mathematicum Bobiense* which is known from a palimpsest now in the Ambrosiana. Part of this was published first by Angelo Mai who restored for us so much else of what had seemed irretrievably lost. This fragment deals not only with the same sort of material as *περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων*; it includes material that we should have reasonably expected to find in that work (as we have it it seems to have a title much wider in its application than its contents would warrant). Some scholars, particularly Heath, have argued that the Bobbio fragment must be considerably earlier than Anthemius both for intrinsic and for stylistic reasons; a date between Apollonius and Diocles, c. 250-180 B.C. has been suggested. But most scholars now accept the Byzantine character of the fragment, and, like Heiberg, Huxley thinks that both fragments are by the same author and may well belong to the same work. This economical conclusion, Mr Huxley writes, enables us to supplement our knowledge of Anthemius and to explain some of the difficulties of the *Fragmentum Bobiense*. Thus, the work of Anthemius would not be misnamed; the *περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων* was not solely concerned with reflectors but contained at least one part devoted to mechanical handling and the raising of weights about their centre of gravity, a matter of some interest to the architect of St Sophia.

There is also a short chapter on 'Tzetzes and Anthemius' (about Archimedes' burning of the Roman ships) and a very interesting note on 'Anthemius and Vitello' (a thirteenth-century Polish scholar writing in Latin, an associate of William of Moerbeke, author of a work entitled *Perspectiva*) from which it appears that Anthemius, who was well known in the Byzantine and Arab tradition, was read in the Latin West too; and that the text of Anthemius that was known in the thirteenth century was more complete than the text that we possess today.

In addition to an index of names and matters, Mr Huxley gives us also a list of about twenty-five Greek words; this list is perhaps not quite as useful as it might have been, since it seems to be an indiscriminate mixture of words culled to a great extent not from the texts studied here but from sources like Agathias, Procopius and Tzetzes. But this is a small and indeed insignificant blemish in a work that is carefully prepared and lucidly presented. Mr Huxley is to be thanked for giving us this study of an interesting aspect of Byzantine mathematics.

A. WASSERSTEIN.

MUGLER (C.). *La physique de Platon*. (Études et commentaires, xxxv.) Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1960. Pp. 262. NFr. 24.

This book aims to give a comprehensive account of the development of Plato's physical theory. Claiming that earlier accounts have failed to be comprehensive because they have been too exclusively concerned with the *Timaeus*, *Laws*, and *Epinomis*, Mugler devotes the major part of the book to an attempt to trace in detail the development of Plato's theory before the *Timaeus*.

The book has serious faults. It is entirely uncritical in its selection of evidence in the dialogues for this development. Thus in the middle dialogues the eschatological myths, the speech of Aristophanes in the *Symposium*, and the etymologies of the *Cratylus* are all accepted as evidence for Plato's serious doctrine. Moreover, Mugler's speculative ingenuity frequently carries his thesis far beyond what the text says or implies. His thesis is (a) that until the *Timaeus* Plato's physical universe, in all spheres except the biological, is dynamically self-sufficient, in the sense that the regularity and continuity of its processes are not dependent on any external and non-physical source of motion; (b) that in the *Timaeus* Plato abandons his principle of dynamic self-sufficiency and introduces soul as an external principle of motion at the periphery of the world, the sphere of the fixed stars; (c) that subsequently, in the *Laws* and *Epinomis*, he extends the soul's motive efficacy to the whole universe.

Much of what Mugler says in developing this thesis is not only highly speculative. It seems to be contradicted by the text at many points. If his thesis is true it follows that in dialogues which he takes to be prior to the *Timaeus* there is no doctrine of soul as a cause of motion in non-biological spheres. The passage most apparently inconsistent with this is *Phaedrus* 245c-246a, where the soul is defined as 'that which moves itself' and is said to be the source and first principle of all other things that are moved. Mugler says that this doctrine cannot be taken literally. He argues that the *Phaedrus* myth assumes a 'law' whereby there is compensation for the fall of some souls to earth by the ascent of others to heaven, that this implies the further assumption that the number of souls is finite, and that this excludes the possibility that soul can be the only cause of motion in the world, since the phenomena which make up 'the whole of what comes to be' are infinite in number. Finally, he makes the *Phaedrus* consistent with his general thesis by assuming (i) that there are only two clearly finite classes of things in the world of 'becoming' and hence only two classes suitable as a field of operation for a finite number of souls—living things and the heavenly bodies; (ii) that only in the former class are souls causes of motion; in the latter class souls are merely contemplative passengers. His thesis is thus saved. Plato's universe, outside biology, is 'dynamically self-sufficient'. To this flagrant special pleading, going beyond what even

the most literal interpretation of the myth would support, is added the argument that, if the *Phaedrus* was enunciating essentially the same principle of motion as *Laws* X, the cosmology of the *Phaedrus* would be so radically different from that of the preceding dialogues that Plato would have made clear that he was introducing a major reform. It is unfortunate that this argument did not prompt Mugler to question the soundness of his own interpretation of the preceding dialogues.

Again, if Mugler's thesis is true, it follows that the *Timaeus*, unlike the *Laws*, recognises a cause or causes of motion other than soul. Now to accept a literal interpretation of the *Timaeus*' 'story' of the world's progressive creation and ordering is, certainly, to accept that there is an 'errant cause' of motion which is independent of soul. Yet, as with the *Phaedrus*, Mugler's thesis carries him beyond what even the literal interpretation would support. Nor does he bother to consider what grounds there are for rejecting the literal interpretation. Arguing that the cosmic soul is introduced in the *Timaeus* only as an 'intermittent source of energy' and only in the sphere of the fixed stars, he radically separates two functions of the Demiurge (i) in giving the cosmos a geometrical structure, (ii) in introducing soul as a source of cosmic motion. All mathematical determination, he asserts, is prior to soul. Yet such determination is an exemplification of *nous*, and *nous* implies the presence of soul (30b). Mugler's answer to this is suggested by his remarkable interpretation of *Philebus* 30a-d, a passage which, since he puts the *Philebus* before the *Timaeus*, would appear to be inconsistent with his general thesis. He says that the soul here implied by *nous* has nothing in common with 'l'âme motrice'. It means 'l'information structurale' of the cosmos as well as of living things. It is really another name for *nous*. He even adds that Plato's failure to introduce terminology to distinguish motive from non-motive soul is responsible for the doubt as to the exact moment when he abandoned his doctrine of 'dynamic self-sufficiency'. The truth surely is that no doubt arises. For there is no satisfactory evidence that Plato ever adopted the doctrine.

NORMAN GULLEY.

NEUGEBAUER (O.) and VAN HOESSEN (H. B.) *Greek Horoscopes*. (American Philosophical Society Memoirs, 48.) Philadelphia: the American Philosophical Society. 1959. Pp. ix + 231. 32 plates. 38 text figures. \$6.

One must feel grateful to the authors of this work for the incredible industry with which they have assembled together within this book all the authentic Greek horoscopes which survive to the present day, and even some which do not (No. 478). From now on we shall be on rather more certain ground when we come to discuss the progress and decline of astrology in antiquity, its techniques, the social

levels which indulged in it. In view of the multitude of these possible ways of treating the subject the authors must have found it singularly difficult to know where the focus of the book should be, what points it should include or exclude. In the event, they decided (p. vii) that the primary aim should be to enable us to study some of the techniques of Greek astronomy. This meant that, as they themselves tell us, a number of questions of a papyrological, legal, political, medical and even astrological nature have had to be left untouched. Furthermore, the aim of the book is narrower than it might suggest, since the authors have tended to assume in the reader a knowledge of mathematics and astronomy not necessarily possessed by everyone who might have occasion to study the book; whereas next to no assumptions are made about the reader's knowledge of astrology. It is assumed, for example, that the reader's memory will constantly have to be jogged about which planet rules which sign of the zodiac, whereas he will be able to take in his stride diagrams of the complexity of fig. 17, p. 137 and fig. 18, p. 139. It is thus primarily a book designed for people who already know more than a little about ancient science, and its aim is to teach them more on the same subject. It is not, however, as I have indicated above, without interest for other studies, and as my own interests tend to lie rather in these fields than in the purely scientific, I feel that it is only fair to warn the reader of my own preoccupations, the filter so to speak through which the photograph is taken.

After the preface, which deals with the aims of the book, an introduction follows dealing with the numbering of the texts, the symbols made use of in the course of the book, the methods of dating and a glossary of technical terms. Of these, the section on symbols is perhaps characteristic of the book in that all the astrological signs made use of, however simple, are given and explained with scientific thoroughness, but this is true neither of the papyrological symbols (see, for example, p. 30 for some unexplained signs) nor the mathematical ones (see, for example, n. 12, p. 133). The same is not true, however, of the section on method of dating: this is a masterpiece of lucidity in scientific explanation. The same holds good, on the whole, of the glossary of technical terms, but I do feel that more could have been said on 'time-degrees' (it is puzzling to know how 32, 36, 40, 40, 36 and 32 = 3, 36), the section on paradosis is probably incomprehensible to anyone who does not know what a 'modulo' is and the section on 'starters' should probably be expanded.

The glossary of technical terms is followed by a section of original documents, that is horoscopes from inscriptions, graffiti, ostraca and papyri. The horoscopes are given in Greek and in English (with the curious exception of no. 219 1, p. 54, following, which is only given in Greek), where they exist; in English only, where the Greek is lost (see no. 478). On any reckoning it is a most valuable collection

of material that would otherwise be scattered over academic journals or unpublished, and though there is little detail in them (of either astronomical or astrological or even historical interest) they do give us some idea both of their geographical and chronological distribution (see fig. 23, p. 162) and tend to suggest that horoscopes of this uncomplicated kind were kept by some people, perhaps for the purpose of occasional consultations with astrologers.

One or two minor faults in this section should perhaps be mentioned. I have already noted the absence of explanation of some of the signs used in transcribing the papyri. There are also one or two inaccuracies of a not very important kind: on p. 20, the authors state that in the case of Jupiter the lower boundary determines the ruler of the terms, whereas on this reckoning Mercury should have been the ruler, not Saturn; on p. 57, 'a.m.' is surely a mistake for 'p.m.' and in the case of horoscope no. 177 surely it is not true that the order 'would follow neither planetary nor zodiacal order'—surely it would follow zodiacal order like no. 217, 260 and L132. It is also worth remarking that a doubt dogs me with regard to the computation. No doubt, the authors' system must be used; but I cannot help feeling hesitant about the assumption in the case of fragmentary material that the data preserved are correct when so often data preserved in a fuller form are frequently found to be incorrect. A cynic would note that incomplete horoscopes tend to have a higher degree of accuracy than complete ones.

The section on 'original documents' is followed by a list of horoscopes preserved in literary sources such as Vettius Valens or in the miscellaneous codices found for the most part in the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologicorum Graecorum*. As in the previous case, the authors give the text followed by a commentary divided where necessary into an astronomical and astrological section. Unfortunately, however, in this case the text consists only of English translation. Adhering to the same principle which they used in the previous section, of not recording any Greek which they have not seen themselves, the authors have totally omitted the Greek. I cannot help but feel that this is unsatisfactory, especially in those cases where textual discussion is necessary (no. L61X, p. 82). It cannot be assumed that the relevant Teubner is always readily available.

The collection of this material is probably not quite so much of an accomplishment in itself as was the collection of original sources, but there is little doubt that the material itself is very much more interesting. For one thing the data given are much fuller than in the literary sources and so one is much better able to gauge the reliability of Greek astronomical computation.

We also get a much better idea of the processes of astrological computation, and it is interesting that these horoscopes were used not to forecast the future but as a means of learning how one could learn what

actually happened from them. As the authors themselves say on p. 162, 'Were it not for an extensive astrological literature, the original horoscopes alone would hardly reveal their purpose, to foresee the future of a person or coming events from the initial configuration of the planets'. It is also noteworthy that these horoscopes tended to become more mathematical as time passed. One could not infer from the horoscopes that astrology was moribund towards the end of antiquity, either as regards sophistication or indeed the number found (see fig. 23, p. 162).

Once again there are one or two quibbling points I would like to make about this section. On p. 131 in horoscope no. 380 surely the manuscript is right and the authors wrong in adding 5 days, $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and $273\frac{1}{2}$ days together to make 278 days $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours? It might have been more helpful too if on p. 135 the reader had been warned that the authors were giving the units of parts of a month in $\frac{1}{60}$ ths instead of decimals or dates. (A note to the effect that the next horoscope explained it would have been sufficient.) The same is true of the use of the modulo on p. 103, which is explained by no. 120 II, p. 116. These things are small points but it would have helped to make the work easier to read and therefore more useful for the ordinary, non-scientific reader. Much of the difficulty of horoscopes like L401 and L419 could have been reduced, or even eliminated, by this means.

The literary sources are then followed by general comments. In a way, it is a pity that the book was not so arranged that this part came first. Certainly from the point of view of a classical scholar who wishes to know what the findings of the book are without going through the labour of working them out for himself this part is of inestimable value, and it is only a pity that, because it is hidden behind so much computation, the reader of this kind may be deterred from hunting for it. It is worth enumerating what he would miss. He would miss summaries of the chronological and geographical distribution of horoscopes, a summary of what names and symbols were used inside the horoscopes, the way the data was arranged inside the horoscopes, a complete list of calendaric data preserved by the horoscopes (including discussions on different calendars, Egyptian, Alexandrian and Julian), a fairly complete summary of what astronomical knowledge is presupposed within the horoscopes and finally a treatment of some astrological points. The whole section is copiously furnished with diagrams illustrating points under discussion, not only of an astronomical nature, but sometimes of a historical (see in particular figs. 29 and 30, pp. 179 and 178). These diagrams are so good that one cannot think of words enough to praise them. One thinks sadly of the number of books whose presentation could be improved by them and the number of problems shown as the *Pentekontaetia*, which would be made less intractable by this means. It is therefore all the more a pity that in this book, too, the diagrams of the

horoscopes are put at the end of the book instead of being incorporated in the text.

The summaries are followed by various glossaries, concordances, bibliographies, a complete list of diagrams of horoscopes given in the book and plates of papyri, etc. The indices are divided into technical and non-technical sections. If the reader is interested in a non-technical term, it may be looked up straightforwardly in the index, p. 211 ff. If, on the other hand, he is interested in some matter of astronomy or astrology it must either be looked up in Greek in the glossaries, p. 191 ff., or, if he does not know this, first in an English-Greek glossary, p. 202, and then in the Greek glossary, p. 191 ff., a procedure which seems complicated, but has the advantage of giving us as a result a handy English-Greek dictionary of astronomical and astrological terms and a list of Greek terms drawn not only from this book, but also from the CCAG and Vettius Valens. The concordances are useful, and the bibliography not only lists books useful for the understanding of this one, but is just about the best bibliography of ancient astronomy and astrology that I have come across. Faults one may find, but the whole book is of an almost Olympian stature; I can recommend it to anyone who is interested in the less literary, that is what we tend to think of as the more out-of-the-way sides of ancient culture. He may find an easier, but he will never find a better book in English on the subject of Greek astrology.

E. FLINTOFF.

FONTENROSE (J.) **The Cult and Myth of Pyrrhos at Delphi.** [University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Vol. 4, No. 3.] Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. 191-266, with 2 plates and 2 figures in text. \$2.50.

The present study is a separate treatment of the figure of Pyrrhos at Delphi, given at greater length than will be possible in the author's forthcoming book on the Delphian cults in general. It naturally makes use of the ideas found in his large book *Python* (1959) already noticed in this *Journal*.

Pausanias has often been taken at his word when he says (i 4.4) that Pyrrhos, although he had a tomb at Delphi, was held in dishonour and did not receive heroic *enagismata* before he aided the Delphians against the Gauls in 279/278 B.C.; and sometimes it is argued that he had no cult at all there before that date. Fontenrose is among those who accept Pindar's testimony (*Nem.* vii 44-7) that he had a cult, celebrated with a heroic procession and many sacrifices. Pyrrhos' tomb near the temple of Apollo is an ancient and undoubted part of the sacred buildings at Delphi, and he himself, in spite of his legendary impiety, was the principal hero of the place, standing to Apollo as Pelops stood to Zeus at Olympia. When Heliodorus, admittedly a later writer, includes in his *Aithiopika* an account of

Pyrrhos' cult as celebrated at Delphi with the *thyrsai* of a god by the Ainiades in a quadrennial *theoria*, assisted by the Delphian priesthood, he too is drawing on the tradition of a well-known cult, earlier than the Gallic invasion or for that matter the Persian, and he is referring to the same festival as Pindar.

Fontenrose argues that Pausanias' mention of Delphian rancour against Pyrrhos is derived from a non-Delphian myth of conflict between him and Apollo. The Delphic Pyrrhos was not originally identical with the Thessalian Neoptolemos, son of Achilles and, like his father, an enemy of Apollo, who from the *Little Iliad* onward was said to have been killed at Delphi for rowdiness and impiety. He began as an ancient Parnassian hero of light and deliverance, unconnected with the epic, and was once the predecessor of Apollo as protector of the shrine, and the enemy of the evil serpent Python. In many versions of the epic legend the actual slayer of Pyrrhos was not Orestes but Machaireus son of Daitas, Knifer the son of Carver, a much more primitive figure. Fontenrose sees in him the dark opponent of the bright Pyrrhos in an ancient myth of the seasons. Pyrrhos in such a cyclical myth must once have come to life again and have defeated and slain Machaireus.

The evidence for this last point is hardly to be found in anything that ancient sources say of Pyrrhos. It comes entirely from analogous figures of myth, and many scholars would reject it. They would feel that Fontenrose is too confident in reconstructing such primitive stages of the cult and myth. But there is surely more in the Delphic Pyrrhos than an epic hero who came to a bad end.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

NILSSON (M. P.) **Opuscula Selecta, Vol. III.**

[Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 80, II: 3.] Lund: Gleerup. 1960. Pp. xi + 573. Sw.kr. 65.

In an elegant piece of Latin, which prefaces the book, the author complains that the pen is dropping from his hand in his eighty-sixth year. Hand and pen have worked long and purposefully, and this volume adds upwards of fifty articles, whereof four are new. Of these, two are in German, 'Kult und Glaube in der altgriechischen' and 'Nähe zu und Distanz von der Gottheit', and the two in English, 'Men of Their Own Power', and 'The Historical Consequences of the Deciphering of the Mycenaean Script'. Of these, the most important is perhaps the last, which traces some of the complex and important results of Dr Ventris' discovery. Caution however is, as is proper, an outstanding feature of the whole discussion. The other new articles have also importance for various features of the history of Greek religion and of religion in antiquity generally. As usual in these collections, articles in the author's native Swedish are not included, the col-

lection being confined to those in foreign languages (English, French and German), of which Nilsson has an enviable command. The whole series constitutes a most valuable supplement to the author's larger works, and saves the student much rummaging in sundry learned periodicals.

H. J. ROSE.

Fondation Hardt. **Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, tome 5. Les sources de Plotin.**

Cambridge: Heffer. 1960. Pp. xiii + 463. £2 15s. od.

La Fondation Hardt invitait, en août 1957, dix historiens du néoplatonisme, de six pays différents, à confronter leurs vues sur la formation du plotinisme. Ces entretiens d'une semaine ont donné ce substantiel volume. Rapports et discussions font le point des recherches (et surtout les font avancer notablement) en ce qui concerne les principales influences que Plotin a pu subir. Ainsi A. H. Armstrong étudie l'influence d'Aristote, Willy Theiler celle des Stoïciens en face du platonisme, le P. Henry celle d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise, Heinrich Dörrie celle du moyen néoplatonisme, Pierre Hadot celle des traditions d'école, Henri-Charles Puech celle des gnostiques, le P. Cilento celle des poètes d'Homère à Lucrèce, E. R. Dodds celles de Nouménios et d'Ammonios. Enfin Richard Harder élucide la notion même de 'tradition' en histoire des idées, tandis que H. R. Schwyzer examine les fonctions de 'conscience de soi' et de 'connaissance de soi' dans les *Ennéades*.

Il est impossible de résumer tant de contributions précises. On se bornera à quelques exemples.

E. R. Dodds pose deux problèmes: Dans la mesure où nous pouvons reconstituer la théologie de Nouménios (surtout par Macrobie), découvrons-nous en celle-ci des thèses qui se retrouvent dans le monde oriental, mais non dans la tradition grecque? Ensuite, rencontrons-nous ces thèses chez Plotin? Le savant historien avance avec circonspection. Le passage le plus intéressant de sa communication est peut-être celui où il montre comment Plotin s'inspire des trois ordres de Nouménios (présentés par Proclus: *In Tim.* Diehl III, 103), mais modifie le rapport des hypostases: l'Un ne 'se sert' pas du *νοῦς* pour penser, pas plus que ce dernier ne 'se sert' de l'âme pour oeuvrer.

'He confined each Principle to its own function by eliminating the doctrine of *πρόσχησις*' (p. 20).

A. H. Armstrong estime que la principale source de la doctrine plotinienne de l'intelligible intrinsèque à l'intellect est la théorie aristotélicienne de la *νόησις νόησις*, reprise par Albinos qui faisait des Idées de Platon les pensées de Dieu. En outre, Plotin avait sans doute lu chez Alexandre d'Aphrodise (*Mantissa*, Bruns, 112-13) que cet intellect divin devient nôtre et nous communique ses idées quand il nous éclaire et agit par nous comme un instrument (*δι' ὀργάνου*). C'est ce que portent à croire les dernières lignes de

I. 4.16 et de I. 1.13 dans *Ennéades*. Et quand Plotin refuse à l'Un l'intellection (mais non la lucidité), il part, semble-t-il, de cette doctrine qui interdit à la pensée d'être simple.

'The whole discussion starts from the Aristotelian conception of the self-thinking divine intellect as presented by Alexander, which Plotinus accepts as true as far as it goes but as requiring (which the Peripatetics did not see) the awareness of a Source which transcends intellect' (p. 410).

On lira avec un intérêt particulier les interventions du P. Henry dans les discussions: celle de la p. 47 sur un développement possible de la pensée plotinienne, celle de la p. 237 sur l'origine platonicienne de la procession plotinienne intégrale, celles des p. 386 et 419 sur la conscience de soi chez l'Un. Enfin signalons la très instructive communication de Pierre Hadot sur la reprise par Plotin en un sens dynamique de la triade classique *être-vie-pensée*.

Il n'est pas nécessaire de souligner que cet ouvrage devra être consulté par tous les chercheurs qui s'intéressent à Plotin. Car, sur des questions embrouillées, il apporte des élucidations de première importance.

JEAN TROUILLARD.

KABIERSCHE (J.) *Untersuchungen zum Begriff der Philanthropia bei dem Kaiser Julian*. (Klassisch-philologische Studien, 21.) Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz. 1960. Pp. ix + 96. DM 10.

The Emperor Julian's ideas on the philanthropic duties of the ruler, and the philanthropic establishments which he set up or planned as part of his pagan church, have often been studied, both by historians of the late empire and biographers of Julian, on the one hand, and by students of social concepts and practices on the other. Under the latter head one thinks in particular of S. Lorenz' Leipzig thesis *De progressu notionis philanthropias*, of S. Tromp de Ruiter's article in *Mnemosyne* NS 59 (1932), of H. Bolkestein's *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege* (Utrecht 1939) and of Glanville Downey's paper on 'Philanthropia in Religion and Statecraft in the Fourth Century A.D.' in *Historia* 4 (1955). It might seem that there was little more to be said on the matter. Yet Dr Kabiersch by his thoroughness, his subtle interpretation, and the tenacity with which he pursues ideas to their source, makes a valuable contribution to 'Begriffsgeschichte', to the social history of the late empire, and to the understanding of a strange and complex character.

By examining all references to *φιλανθρωπία* and related concepts throughout Julian's writings, and not confining himself almost exclusively to the 'pastoral Letters', as his predecessors had done, he provides a broader basis for his research. He follows Julian himself in considering philanthropy under two heads—*πεφεισμένως κολάζειν* and *χρείας ἐπαγορεύειν* (*Frag. epistulae* 289 B.C.). The former presents few

problems. It is the imperial virtue of *clementia*, which Julian practised as well as preached. The latter is more interesting. In his ideas on the subject and in the arrangements which he wished made for the care of the poor and unfortunate Julian was evidently trying to outplay the Christians at their own game. And there is much straightforward imitation of Christian teachings and institutions. But Kabiersch shows how Julian drew on traditions of pagan social thought—particularly on Stoic ideas of *κοινωνία* and above all on their formulation by Marcus Aurelius—and how he sought to provide a religious motivation for moral obligations by developing the concept of *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ* and emphasising the connexion between *φιλανθρωπία* and *εὐσέβεια*. He was convinced, says Kabiersch (p. 89), that he was preaching a genuine pagan virtue, which he even sought to support by a text from Homer (*Od.* 14. 57–8).

Perhaps, like Julian himself, Kabiersch is over-inclined to seek literary motivations. The sudden growth both in Christian and in certain pagan circles in the fourth century of awareness of the poor as the special and principal object of philanthropy surely reflects the disastrous social and economic changes in the empire at that time. Both parties naturally tried to grasp the new situation in terms of their own thought-world. But what they had to do about it was largely determined for them. K. touches on this point several times without ever developing it. Nevertheless, his book is full of insight, and should be read by every student of late antiquity. The lack of an index makes it tiresomely difficult to refer to.

In an appendix (pp. 90–4) K. traces the history of the dictum ascribed to Alexander by the *Vita Marciana* of Aristotle *σήμερον οὐκ ἐβασίλευσα, οὐδένα γὰρ εὖ ἐποίησα* and its relation to the story of Titus in Suetonius *Titus* 8. One wonders which of the many variants came to the notice of Lord Baden-Powell when he drew up the Boy Scouts' code.

ROBERT BROWNING.

BRELICH (A.) *Guerre, agoni e culti nella Grecia arcaica*. (Antiquitas, I, 7.) Bonn: R. Habelt. 1961. Pp. 84. DM 19.50 (unbound); DM 26 (bound).

Brellich describes this short study as a parenthesis to his work on those phenomena in Greek religion which have to be explained by reference to vanished rites of initiation. It concerns those early or legendary wars to which an 'agonal' character has been attributed, wars where the number of combatants or the type of weapons was limited, recurrent wars where the territory in dispute was of negligible importance and defeat did not mean real disaster, and so forth. B.'s own contribution is to connect such wars with temples at which agonistic festivals were celebrated, and with ceremonies of initiation, both somewhat tenuously. He insists on the hetero-

generous character of his instances and the impossibility of reaching a conclusion at present; and it is only on the last two pages that the shy hypothesis peeps out (for further investigation only) that neighbour tribes, normally friendly, might have engaged in mock warfare as an initiation for young warriors, but that what we occasionally see in archaic history is only the debris of such early practices, deformed already by the transformation of tribes into states.

It would be idle to deny that such things could happen, but a fuller survey of agonal wars would not be likely to establish the thesis. Speculations about the remote past, like B.'s ingenious fantasy on the relations between Chios and Erythrai, are not controllable at all—though I think he has assumed too hastily that these two cities were normally friendly. In relation to historical events the 'agonal' concept, where it is valid at all, looks much more like the ideal of chivalry, a way in which an aristocracy liked to picture its proceedings, apt to be disregarded when inconvenient and not often in its own right the historical explanation of anything. The Lelantine War is a dubious example. It is not easy to believe that an agonal contest for a small corner of Euboean territory was the real cause of the wide alliances alluded to by Thucydides (i 15.3): and in insisting on a recurrent war B. overlooks the language of the older authorities who apparently refer to a single early war. The struggle for the Thyreatis looks more instructive, where by the middle of the sixth century a battle of champions could no longer produce an agreed conclusion, and in 420 the Spartans thought the Argive proposal for a similar trial mere foolishness (Thuc. v 41.3). But this will not greatly help B.

A. ANDREWES.

PEARSON (L.) **The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great.** (Philological Monographs, 20.)

New York: The American Philological Association. 1960. Pp. xv + 275. Price not stated.

The ancient historians of Alexander, as is well known, provide a historiographer's paradise and a historian's nightmare. They have been intensively worked over, by scholars as acute as Schwartz, Jacoby, Tarn, Kornemann, Strassburger and Brown (to name no others) in special historiographical studies, as well as by distinguished modern historians of Alexander. These critical studies have been invaluable in reconstructing in its main outlines the growth and development of the written tradition about Alexander, but they still leave much that is hypothetical or subjective: and it is this that leaves room for this welcome new study by Professor Pearson.

This book, as I see it, is essentially a work of consolidation, a work which needed doing and which is here very well done. P., while he does not by any means eschew new hypothesis, is more con-

cerned, rightly in my view, to test everywhere the ground that might appear to have been won already, with the result that he actually withdraws from some 'advanced positions' which he judges to be untenable. The most noteworthy instance of this concerns the so-called 'Official' tradition itself, which P. had already reappraised in his important article 'The Diary and the Letters of Alexander the Great' (*Historia* 3, 1955, 429 ff.). P. does not believe in the genuineness of the surviving 'fragments' of the *Ephemerides*, or of most of the 'Letters' quoted in our extant writers: nor does he believe (if I have understood him rightly) that the genuine *Ephemerides* were available to any of the contemporary historians when they wrote, except no doubt to Callisthenes. These views are not perhaps susceptible of absolute proof, but P. makes a case for them which to me seems attractive and convincing. Their consequences for the value of Ptolemy's History, which would appear to be considerably undermined if deprived of the official aids which have been commonly ascribed to it, are alleviated for P. by his faith in Ptolemy's memory of events and details of perhaps forty years earlier, a faith which I cannot fully share with him. Ptolemy's History, one may agree, probably was pretty reliable (to judge by the signs that we see in Arrian) on most matters of military and administrative fact and detail; but one wonders whether it was reliable for these things because Ptolemy himself had kept at the time some diary or notes of his own which he had preserved till he wrote the History late in his life (as is agreed). A reason for thinking this is the extreme improbability of an elderly man after many years at the head of a great kingdom and empire ever deciding to write a history at all, unless he had been interested in history all his life previously.

I would agree entirely with P. in his suggestion (which could perhaps be developed more fully with advantage) that for Ptolemy himself Callisthenes represented a valuable source for the events of the first four years of Alexander's career in Asia. It cannot be shown, however (so far as I can see), that the failure of Callisthenes as a source (after, say, the year 330) damaged the tradition irreparably, even if no subsequent writer did write with access to the Royal Diary and other 'official' matter. For military and administrative detail, Arrian serves us as well for the Indian Expedition (327/5) as for the years 334/(?)30 covered by Callisthenes. And the middle years in Arrian, which he treats much more selectively, still offer us, for the events which he does describe, enough Ptolemy-like detail (of appointments, military units, etc.) to suggest that the selectivity has been Arrian's and not Ptolemy's. It seems just possible that a detailed comparison with the History of Q. Curtius Rufus might yield something more here.

P. devotes separate chapters to each of the important 'lost' historians Callisthenes, Onesicritus, Nearchus, Aristobulus, Ptolemy and Cleitarchus, and he discusses the lesser names in two chapters entitled

respectively 'Reminiscence, Gossip and Propaganda' and 'Rhetoricians, Antiquarians and others'. His treatment of Cleitarchus, and especially his judicial handling of the question of his date, is both admirable and characteristic. He believes that Cleitarchus wrote late, but he is under no illusions about the fact that some will continue to believe that he wrote early. This dispassionate austerity (on a highly controversial topic), together with a literary style which avoids every kind of persuasive artifice and seems almost to cultivate understatement, lends to these solid chapters a flatness which some may think needlessly monotonous. Personally I like it, because it seems entirely appropriate to the matters in hand, which call for a judge rather than an advocate. Professor Pearson deserves our gratitude for this important contribution to the subject.

G. T. GRIFFITH.

HAMMOND (N. G. L.) **A History of Greece to 322 B.C.** Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. Pp. xxiv + 689. 12 plates. 34 text figures. £1 15s. 0d.

The writing of a History of Greece is a great undertaking; the reviewing of it an invidious one. Mr Hammond's many friends and admirers have wished him well in this enterprise, and awaited the outcome with high hopes. In the past he has shown a great capacity for ingenious manipulation of the pieces in the jigsaw of Greek history. He is well known for his love and knowledge of the Greek countryside, and for his enthusiasm for the Greeks. Unhappily little of this comes through in his *History*. Even in the central portion of his theme, where Thucydides' enthralling narrative is the basic source, the subtle qualities and universality of the latter seem to have gone out of Hammond's account, leaving a mere husk of marchings and countermarchings.

The book falls naturally into three parts: Greece down to and including the Persian Wars; the rivalry of Athens and Sparta culminating in the Peloponnesian War; the city states in the fourth century and Macedonia. All these periods present their special problems, and in each arises the question of the treatment of the economic and social background and the cultural developments in literature and the applied arts. Hammond deals with economic matters, art and literature, in separate sections, and he has been criticised for so doing. The practising teacher of Ancient History will be less inclined to blame him: how, exactly, political development, literary and artistic activities, political and philosophical thought and economic activity are to be integrated it is difficult to see. On the other hand the balance of emphasis in this book is more open to criticism. One feels that Hammond is not really interested in literature and art, and has but little sympathy with political and philosophical thought. This can be understood, but it is surprising to find

that his account of geography and of what might be called the general background is so dull. He has tramped over Greece and knows it better than most, but his account is all Philippson and *The Statesman's Year Book*. He leaves us in no doubt of his interest in battle topography and army lists. One can imagine the cynical non-classic (and that is the sort of person who often wants to study Greek history for itself, not as a means of passing examinations) saying: 'Mr Hammond seems very taken with these matters, as he does with the niceties of chronology. Could we hear why he thinks they matter?' The sad thing is that they often are important for an understanding of Greek affairs, but *how* is not made clear; for Hammond has often taken so much space for his narrative of events and details that he has little left in which to discuss what he describes.

Equally irritating, especially in the first third of the book, is the failure to give sufficient indication of alternative theories, e.g. of the coming of the Greeks to Greece, or of the reforms of the Spartan constitution. The early age of Greece is a period in which every historian is entitled to 'chance his arm', but he must also make clear, at any rate in important cases, that there are other explanations than the one he supports. When Hammond sets down a theory of his own, an intercalated Miltiades or two expeditions of Cimon to the Peloponnese, it surely deserves and requires more by way of explanation than a footnote reference to a periodical. More generally it will be felt that Hammond does not show what (in examination parlance) might be called his 'rough work' as much as he might have done. Repeatedly one is disposed to ask, 'How does he know this?' or 'How does he calculate that?' It need not be explained every time, but some sort of introduction to problems of figures and calculations would have been salutary, even as an Appendix, and more useful than some of the existing ones. Here arises another question: that of the references given at the foot of the pages. They look well. Some are misleading in the plainest sense of the word: e.g., p. 154: Plut., *Them.* 1 and Plut., *Per.* 3 surely do not substantiate the statements made about the descent of Themistocles and Pericles. In general schoolboys will not check such references, nor will the average undergraduate. Therefore some of these references will lend a spurious authority to statements in the text. The fact that the references are grouped in the footnotes (which may be the publisher's fault) sometimes gives a false impression that some statement of Hammond's opinion, intercalated between two direct references to the authorities, has itself some justification in the sources. Some of the references have been hastily assembled, and some hardly bear out the statements which claim support from them: e.g. p. 525, n. 1, it is stated: '(Arist.), *Oec.* 2, 1350a13 shows that each citizen had more than two slaves c. 385.' The Hammond context is a general one on slavery, to be sure, but the reference will almost certainly be taken to apply to

Athens; but in fact (Arist.) *Oec.*, for what it is worth, is here referring to Mende not to Athens. *Quellenforschung* has long been the sport of ancient historians, but sometimes, amid the preoccupation whether Ephoros or Theopompas is the source of this or that detail, we fail to take account of the circumstances, or frame of mind, or occasion on which an ancient speaker or writer makes a statement. Hammond is not free from this error. If Demosthenes says something, it is not necessarily true; cf. p. 321 where Hammond takes Dem. IX 40 at its face value. Demosthenes obviously had a case to argue. So, too, p. 437, Hammond says, '... true leadership was required. The hope had been expressed by Thucydides that Sparta would provide such leadership. . . . One looks it up, to find (Thuc. vi 92, 5) that in fact the hope was expressed not by Thucydides but by Alcibiades in the process of turning his charm and plausibility on the Spartans. There appears to be a good deal of this sort of thing, and too little demonstration of how ill-placed we are to evolve balanced judgments on the affairs of the classical period, and how deficient are our sources on the early period. It may be added that too much is made of the interpretation of saga, especially in a chronological sense, too little attention given to some difficult but important problems such as the operation of Solon's property classes, and too little stress laid on our general ignorance, and the partial character of our sources.

It would have been worth while considering how far the prejudices of a Plato or of an Aristotle were really current among the Athenians. They have certainly left their mark on Mr Hammond. He seems to accept literally, without any disposition to query or discuss them, the views of Aristophanes, Thucydides and Plato on demagogues and demos. The demos can do little that is praiseworthy. An attempt is made to depreciate its military services in the Peloponnesian War. Hammond's contentions may be true, but the proof of them requires more effort than Hammond is inclined to display, and also a clearer definition of terms. The 'lower class' mans the fleet (p. 408), light troops from Athens serve as rowers and marines (p. 297), *thetes* are armed as marines (p. 389), and yet (pp. 369, 371) the *thetes* suffer few casualties (with consequent effects on the composition of the Assembly) despite loss of ships, since 'crews of these (ships) were drawn in part from her (i.e. Athens) subjects'. At Syracuse Athens 'loses 200 warships, the bulk being Athenian, and their complement of seamen, some 40,000, recruited mainly from the subject states' (p. 400). What is the evidence for this important assertion? Here is what looks like clear prejudice against the *nautikos ochlos*, which Hammond is keen to show bearing a lesser burden of the war than the 'hoplite class'. The assertions are too vague; the terms too ill-defined for serious history. Who formed the 'lower class'? Who were the *thetes*? How far down the scale did hoplite service go in war time? Were

hoplites always from the country? Again Hammond condemns the 'rancour' of a Cleophon (p. 412) with vigour. The betrayals of an Alcibiades are treated with a gentler pen; he was, after all, 'a wealthy young man of brilliant intellect'. Indeed, Hammond always seems happier with the 'upper class'. He may not be alone in this, but at least the terminology, if unavoidable, must be explained and defined; and if Thucydides is followed it is worth some comment. 'Executive officials were drawn mainly from the upper class' (p. 370); 'the upper property classes' (408); 'the three top classes' (529)—a very significant way of expression. Who were these Top People? How did the income classes operate in the classical period?

Much more might be said in the same strain. Even as a conventional history of Greece this book is a disappointment. It could supply some good ammunition to the critics and enemies of classical studies.

R. J. HOPPER.

BLEGEN (C. W.), BOULTER (C. G.), CASKEY (J. L.) and RAWSON (M.) **Troy. Vol. iv. Settlements viia, viib and viii.** 2 parts (text and plates). Princeton: University Press (London: Oxford U.P.) for the University of Cincinnati. 1958. Pp. xxvi + 328, xxix + 380 plates. £14 8s. 0d.

For readers chiefly interested in what happened at 'Homeric' Troy, and how knowledge of it reached Homer, this account of Settlements VIIa, VIIb and VIII is the most important part of a work of fundamental importance. The fourth and last volume follows the usual plan of confining itself to what was done and found, but the historical conclusions are summarised, all too briefly, by Professor Blegen in the advance fascicle of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. Despoiled by stone-robbers, eviscerated by Roman *pietas*, and roughly handled by Schliemann, the site has been forced to yield, from a few small and difficult areas, a remarkably clear account of the course of events. The Trojans levelled or cleared and reused the mass of stones left by the earthquake which destroyed the Sixth Settlement, and built above a crowded and well-provisioned city. This (VIIa) was destroyed in a fire which left in places up to a metre and a half of burnt debris. On this rose *recidiva* . . . *Pergama victis* (it is sad that Aeneas did not know), in which life continued, without cultural break, on a modest but not negligible scale (VIIb.1). They were joined by newcomers who used hand-made Knobbed Ware, and after some time the mixed settlement (VIIb.2) was destroyed by fire. The site was then unoccupied for some centuries. The excavators make it clear that the dating of these events is not certain, and there are some differences between the conclusions suggested in *Troy IV* and *CAH*. The ample details given in Introductions and Area Lists of objects found make

it possible to set out the evidence for the chronological conclusions, and they are so important that it is worth doing, even though it may seem to lay weight on what is still controversial instead of on what is established.

The settlements are dated by the Mycenaean pottery, imported or locally imitated, found in them, with the number of occupation levels giving evidence of duration. Furumark's dates are accepted, with a caution.

Troy VIIa. *Troy IV*, c. (?) 1275/40. *CAH* First quarter of saec. XIII to c. 1250.

The beginning is fixed by the abundant Myc. IIIA pottery in VIIh. Since the best stratified deposit, the earthquake debris, contained no distinctively IIIB sherds and only a few shapes and motives which continue from IIIA into IIIB (*Troy III*, 339), and since the very few IIIB sherds found elsewhere all seem to be dubious (*ibid.*, fig. 420, 2, 3, 14, 21; 421, 4, 23; 422, 23) or from disturbed areas (*ibid.*, fig. 416, 7, 37; 417, 3, 15; 418, 1, 3, 6, 13), it seems that the full IIIB style had not yet developed. Local pottery sometimes reflects Myc. II style (e.g. the octopus, III fig. 315, and cf. fig. 405 with fig. 323), and shows some preference for motives used in incised or impressed decoration of Middle VI. In VIIa 72+ sherds of imported ware are mentioned, and 34 illustrated, including two certain strays, IV fig. 246, 5; 247, 29. Any IIIA sherds are presumably also strays; fig. 247, 17, if it is a curved stemmed spiral, fig. 246, 25, 26, 28, said to be IIIB or even earlier. When the rest are taken together, they seem a typically IIIB collection; fig. 244, 20-2; 245, 4; 246, 1, 2, 10, 14, 27; 247, 1-3, 16, 18-25, 30, 31; 248, 8-12. Some look fairly late (e.g. fig. 247, 21, 24, 25), but there is nothing which must be IIIC. Local imitations are more interesting. Of c. 250 sherds, 128 are illustrated. Some of them reflect the style of IIIA or even earlier, e.g. fig. 244, 33; 245, 12-19; 246, 9; 247, 5; 248, 2, 16. The last was found on the burnt floor of House 741 and is an important argument for putting the destruction early, since it is taken to show that a pot made at least as early as the initial stage of IIIB, when IIIA vases were still available for copying, was still in use when the house was burnt. But several sherds are noted as verging on IIIC, fig. 244, 1, 3; 246, 37, others look latish (e.g. fig. 243, 1, 6, 16-19, 21; 247, 7), and the predominant character is IIIB. It is suggested that the late sherds may be intrusive, which is always possible on a site with practically no sealed deposits. Alternatively, the early pottery might be due to the conservatism of local potters, already observed in Late VI. The imitations are far from their prototypes. They need not even be copies of copies, but freely used elements in a traditional repertory, to which new motives were added from current exports. This would explain the co-existence of so wide a range of styles.

Troy VIIb. 1. *Troy IV* c. 1240/(?)1200 (Myc. III B/C c. 1230). *CAH* c. 1250/1200 (Myc. III B/C

shortly before 1200). VIIb. 2. *Troy IV* and *CAH* c. 1200/1100.

The beginning is put before the transition to IIIC because of the presence of some sherds of imported IIIB. These sherds are not listed. There are said to be 27 sherds of imported ware, of which I could identify 14 (10 illustrated) and 1 pot. No sherd is assigned to IIIB. Fig. 278, 7 is said to be IIIB or IIIC; the octopus is not a IIIB type, but no analogy of any date can be suggested. The pot (fig. 276, 37: 913) is IIIC. None of the others is dated more closely than Myc. III. In local production (c. 128 sherds, but my examples must include some dozen imported) conservative pieces are surprisingly few. Fig. 276, 13, and 279, 8, described as IIIA probably misplaced, might be so classified. No sherd is called IIIB, but fig. 278, 1 is identified with mot. 19, 51 (IIIB, but cf. 19, 52 and 53, IIIC). Fig. 278, 9 is called IIIB or IIIC. Fourteen sherds are assigned to IIIC (fig. 276, 1, 8, 19; 277, 13, 18, 19, 27; 278, 12, 18; 279, 4, 11-14). The rest are indiscriminate, but the general impression from the photographs is strongly IIIC. Of fig. 278, 12, the excavators say (p. 232) that it was 'found in debris which had slipped down over the ruins of House VII₇; we believe that it belongs to the earliest stratum of VIIb. 1, but this cannot be certified'. But even without this conclusive proof, it seems truer to say (IV, 146) that VIIb. 1 'comes in with . . . the Granary Class', than that it 'overlapped the phase during which the ceramic change from IIIB to IIIC was working itself out' (*CAH* 14). In the half century which ended with the transition, local production could not have been so flooded by Granary Class style. And if VIIb. 1 comes in with the Granary Class, the destruction of VIIa cannot be far removed in time from the destruction of Pylos, 'when the style of Mycenaean IIIB was nearing its end, but had not yet been superseded by that of Mycenaean IIIC' [C. W. Blegen, *AJA* 64 (1960, 159)].

For the beginning of VIIb. 2, it is reasonable to look first at the well-stratified areas, Streets 750 and 751 west, Houses 762, 761, and VII₀, and Area 789 (IV. 185, 189, 197, 201-2, 230 and 232). In these VIIb. 1 yielded one Mycenaean pot and 75+ sherds, with at most the odd sherd of Knobbed Ware, and VIIb. 2 Knobbed Ware as the characteristic pottery with one sherd possibly imitating Mycenaean (fig. 279, 17). Elsewhere, however, 71 Myc. sherds are reported from areas where Knobbed Ware is characteristic. Area 786 was much contaminated from below (fig. 277, 1-13). In Street 751 east (fig. 279, 1-7) and House 771 (fig. 277, 16-21) only an arbitrary division could be made between upper and lower deposits. The one important group is from Houses 768-9, probably a single unit (fig. 279, 8-14 and 18). The finds from House 769 are odd. No Mycenaean sherds were found in VIIb. 1 house or in the first occupation level of the VIIb. 2 house, but on the floor of the second occupation level and

in a bothros associated with it, there were 9+ sherds (some imported, but the only one specified on p. 215 is not illustrated), and a sherd from one of the pots was found in the VIIb. 2 level of House 768. Moreover, in the third occupation level about 24 local sherds were found, including fig. 279, 8, said (p. 180) to be a chance survival. The strata in this area 'were found to be telescoped and compressed to an unusual degree as the result of many successive rebuildings on a sloping terrain', and its material 'is less reliable stratigraphically than that from House 768' (IV. 209-10), which itself had no VIIb. 1 floor and disconcerting fragments of gold leaf and ivory in the VIIb. 2 deposit. It does not seem safe to let the evidence of this one area outweigh the clear testimony of the well-stratified areas that Mycenaean and Knobbed Ware were not contemporary. Apart from it, there is nothing to show when VIIb. 2 began.

On Furumark's dates for IIIB (1300/1230), an earthquake at the beginning and a destruction at the end are compatible with the estimate that VIIa 'lived out its life within a century or less, possible even within a generation of men' (IV. 8). On Wace's dates (1350/1340-1224/1210), the duration seems excessive. The evidence from Egypt for the IIIA/B transition is self-contradictory, and the intensive building at Troy in Late VI may be added to the arguments against shortening IIIA. A later date for the IIIB/C transition is strongly supported, and 'shortly before 1200' is now accepted by Professor Blegen (CAH 14). Even a century is considerably longer than the thirty-five years allowed in *Troy IV*, but the evidence for short occupancy comes from peripheral houses unlikely to belong to the first stage of rebuilding. As Professor G. E. Mylonas points out [*Annuaire scientifique de la faculté de philosophie de l'Université d'Athènes*, X (1959/60) 450 ff.], an earthquake does not encourage an immediate influx of population from the open country. Historically, the general unrest at the end of the century should be the signal for the Trojans to cover their open spaces with a huddle of houses and stock up their cellars. That 'the expedition against Troy must surely have been carried out about the middle of the ceramic phase IIIB when Mycenaean Greece stood at the height of its wealth as well as of its political and military power' (CAH 14), is the conclusion to be proved, not the premiss on which to base a conclusion.

I raise these doubts to show how greatly the Cincinnati Expedition would add to the debt of gratitude we owe them by giving us the 'conjecture and speculation' they excluded. We have the evidence, which cannot be properly appreciated without handling the material, and a number of chronological conclusions, cautiously expressed with the minimum of discussion. It would be well to have the conclusions argued in full detail from the evidence, before the history of the period is rewritten on the assumption that the conclusions are indisputable. Moreover, no one else can relate the new

findings to earlier excavations, and estimate, for instance, how much was visible during VIIb. 2 (cf. CAH 15) and at the beginning of VIII—points of importance for the sources of Homer's knowledge. For example, it should be possible to estimate from the trenches in Square K7 the approximate ground levels under the fortifications at various dates, but the reader lacks the essential information: the position of the sections in figs. 361-2 on the ground plan in fig. 360 (it is not clear where wall h can be west of wall P), the level of the bottom of the exposed surface of the wall, and the evidence (if any) from the intervening space.

Miss Rawson has done an excellent job in seeing the volume through the Press. I noted only the transposition of figs. 348 and 349, and (I think) 31.30 for 30.30 on the last line of p. 122 (cf. p. 121) and no. 18 for no. 16 on p. 145 (cf. p. 195).

Mr J. Boardman adds the following remarks on the finds of Troy VIII: The reoccupation of Troy, by Aeolian Greeks, is represented by important though scrappy pottery finds, mainly from two small sanctuaries. The new settlement is dated from about 700 B.C. by the excavators, but this may be too low a date since there are several early 'bird bowls', or their forerunners, of a style which can confidently be put before 700, and even part of a skyphos with pendent semicircles which looks to the first half of the eighth century rather than the second. A subgeometric group is called 'G 2-3' ware, and seems to comprise pieces painted boldly with rather dull patterns, which may be local to the Troad, and a class with more spidery and sparse decoration which is met all over Aeolis and as far south as Chios. There are important additions to the repertoire of shapes for Aeolic grey ware. From the sixth century are some pieces with silhouette birds which recall other finds in the Troad and Elaeus, and which may represent the work of Athenian potters in the Hellespont area. Of the architectural finds the most important are a rectangular altar and another with one apsidal end, both Archaic.

D. H. F. GRAY.

COOK (J. M.) **Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. 2, ch. xxxviii. Greek Settlement in the Eastern Aegean and Asia Minor.** Cambridge: The University Press. 1961. Pp. 33. 6s.

The study of early Greek history requires familiarity both with the traditional tales handed down to the Greek writers of archaic and classical times and with the progress of modern archaeological discovery. Furthermore, for both types of evidence, familiarity alone is insufficient, and must be supplemented by a keenly critical faculty. These essentials are admirably combined by Professor Cook in his survey of the early Greek settlements in the eastern Aegean and in Asia Minor. Whether he is assessing the worth of ancient tradition or modern theory, or

balancing the advantages and shortcomings of archaeological research, his judgment is sound. Consequently, brief though his analysis has to be, it is of great value.

Professor Cook's account is distinguished by two further virtues. One is the fluent and lucid style of the writing, combined with clarity of exposition. The other virtue is a very rare one, but most desirable. Professor Cook has not only excavated within the area of the early Greek settlements, but has also carried out an intensive field survey of the whole western coast of Asia Minor and of the adjacent islands. As a result he has acquired a feel for the landscape which he has been able to communicate in his text, and thus the reader obtains a vivid picture of the countryside in which the migrants settled, and of the way in which it may have affected the development of their communities.

It must not be supposed that Professor Cook's sound and scholarly approach implies any lack of original thought. His treatment of the Carians—which deserves close attention—proves the contrary. Nor is it to be expected that his ideas will receive universal acceptance (the nature itself of the period prevents this). But I am confident that a survey of comparable quality is not to be found elsewhere.

V. R. D'A. DESBOROUGH.

MARINATOS (S.) and HIRMER (M.) **Crete and Mycenae**. English trans. by J. Boardman. London: Thames & Hudson. 1960. Pp. 188, with 52 colour plates, 236 monochrome plates and 28 text figures. £6 6s. od.

This superb publication is essentially a picture-book of Minoan and Mycenaean art and architecture, with introductory essays and generous notes on the illustrations. There are in addition useful text figures of architectural ground-plans and reconstructions, and a pull-out chronological table.

The colour-plates (in the text) and the black-and-white plates (at the end of the book) are beyond praise. Nothing approaching this standard has yet been attained in books of this nature, and earlier attempts look remarkably shoddy in comparison. Brilliant photographs, all specially taken for this book, have been rendered into half-tones of unusual clarity. Most of the small objects (vases, terracottas, seals and goldwork) are old friends; but, thanks to Hirmer's magic, we see them in a new light. Of the architectural and topographical views many are new and all are delightful. We may note particularly the coloured views of Phaestos and Mycenae and the black-and-white photos of gems, rings and gold plate.

Marinatos' text comprises two essays, one on Minoan and one on Mycenaean art, and full notes on the plates. It has been admirably translated by John Boardman, and we are consequently spared the infelicities so frequent in specialist books translated by non-specialists. The text is clear and full

of ideas: perhaps too full of ideas for a book of this nature. To take one example, few would accept without question the view that the eruption of Thera, which most of us would date about 1550 B.C., could have had anything to do with the final destruction of Knossos, which most of us would date about 1400 B.C. (and some of us rather later). Nor is there any foundation for the theory that the wealth of Mycenae was due to the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt by Mycenaean mercenaries.

A few comments on matters of detail. On plate 13 the cylindrical bead and the lion-bead should probably be dated MM 1 rather than EM 11 or 111, for they show considerable advances on the EM jewellery of Mochlos; and the hornet jewel from Mallia should be similarly down-dated to MM 111. The Chieftain and Harvester Vases (plates 100-5) have been discussed by Forsdyke in two important studies (*Journ. Warburg Courtauld Insts.* xv 13 ff. and xvii 1 ff.) which are not mentioned. The tentative reconstruction of the façade of the Treasury of Atreus (p. 162) incorporates in an upper register the two bull-reliefs in the British Museum. Apart from the fact that their association with this tomb is not certain, such an arrangement is not fair to Mycenaean taste. If they belong, these sculptures are more likely to come from the side-chamber, as Wace suggested.¹

This book cannot be too highly recommended, and at six guineas it is astonishing value.

R. A. HIGGINS.

Fouilles de Delphes. Tome ii, topographie et architecture. La région nord du sanctuaire (de l'époque archaïque à la fin du sanctuaire). Par J. Pouilloux. Text and plates. Paris: E. de Boccard. 1960. Pp. 173. 24 plans. 72 plates. 16 text figures. Price not stated.

This book is of the high quality one expects from the Fouilles de Delphes. The discussion is scholarly, the photographs clear, the drawings neat and precise (apart from the sections, plans 2, 3 and 4, which do not distinguish adequately wall, fill and natural rock). Nevertheless, it seems a pity that this region had to be discussed under the rather rigid formula of the series. Deprived of the theatre, which is rightly reserved for a volume of its own, the northern part of the sanctuary is not of great interest from the point of view purely of 'topography and architecture'. Pouilloux elucidates the topography as far as possible: the fountain Cassotis is now definitely placed at the previously misnamed 'niche of Lilaea'. Much, however, remains unidentified. It is unlikely that the three treasures will ever be named, and Pouilloux rightly rejects all attempts to add to their interest by doing this.

There is little to be said about the architecture. Where the evidence is available, Pouilloux gives a reasoned reconstruction of each building and monu-

¹ Γέρας 'Αντ. Κεραμοπούλου (Athens, 1953), 314.

ment in its original state. Regrettably, not enough survives of the Lesche of the Cnidians to reconstruct even its groundplan: here the most important discovery is evidence for thorough repairs after the landslide of 373 B.C. Since Polygnotos' wall paintings survived this disaster, clearly they must have been painted on panels, not as frescoes: a block with traces of a clamp for fixing panels to the wall seems to confirm this.

Pouilloux considers carefully the dating of each monument as the basis for the history of the area. He relies largely on the technique of the walling, in the buildings and the terraces on which they stand. He knows his walls, but is a little uncritical of them, and his terminology is confusing—too many walls are 'polygonal', while 'isodome' for a single course of ashlar blocks begs the question. This is where the formula is found wanting. Much more would be known about the history of the area if we could associate with each building the various finds made there. It is wrong to blame the author for his failure to do this: it calls for information about the stratigraphy which was not preserved by the excavators. In particular he cannot deal adequately with the period before 550 B.C. since, though there are abundant early remains, they hardly qualify for discussion as topography or architecture. Pouilloux claims that before the construction at this time of the peribolos wall this region was not part of the sanctuary. Yet its character does not seem to have changed much; some of the monuments trace their origins, at least, back before 550 B.C., and there are important remains—bronzes, pottery, architectural fragments—of an earlier period, which cannot all be 'sacred rubbish' cleared from the lower sanctuary after one of the frequent disasters, since no one in his senses would carry such rubbish to the remote Lesche. That this is outside the scope of the book is unfortunate, when all within its scope is so well done.

R. A. TOMLINSON.

ROWE (A.) **Cyrenaican Expeditions of the University of Manchester, 1955, 1956, 1957: with Descriptions of the Coins by J. F. Healy.** Manchester: University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv + 34. 46 plates (incl. 4 in colour). 14 figures. £2 2s. od.

Cyrene's vast necropolis, with its masonry tombs, sarcophagi and the elegant architectural façades of rock-cut chambers, covers a period from the sixth century B.C. to late Roman. 'In whatever direction one leaves the city, the tombs extend in long lines along the principal roads, they are found cut in the rocks of the most secluded valley, or built in groups on the summit of rising grounds'. Thus Hamilton in 1852: a century elapsed before Cassels undertook the first comprehensive survey of the cemeteries (*Papers of the British School at Rome* xxiii 1955) or

Rowe the first systematic excavation of a sector of one of them.

The book under review, a handsomely produced sequel to Rowe's *Cyrenaican Expedition, 1952* (1956), is the report of three seasons' work in the northern necropolis, where more than one hundred and twenty tombs, Greek, Hellenistic and Roman, were cleared. Fourteen architectural drawings and forty-six plates illustrate one long tabulated list of the tombs and another of the objects; the only pieces of consecutive prose are the preface and brief introduction, and commentary is usually restricted to footnotes and parentheses. The first part of the introduction sketches a summary classification of the tombs examined, and the second part largely repeats Chamoux's arguments (*Cyrene . . . des Battiades*, p. 300) for identifying Cyrene's peculiar half-length funerary busts, aniconic and iconic, as Persephone. The photographs are poor and too often crowded, either with personnel excavating or with serried ranks of pottery and terracotta figurines set on a rather distant table. The plans on the other hand are generally concise and useful. Three of the plates are colour reproductions of water-colours, one of a red-figured *pelike* and two of sections of a fragmentary Roman wall-painting in tomb N.83. The colours are good, but the striding winged figure from the Roman tomb (plate B) was not carefully observed. The chin was mistakenly taken to be his mouth, the mouth to be the shadow beneath his nose; the neck is considerably thickened, and the unfortunate result is a grotesque, bull-necked creature with an abnormally long face, whereas in fact the neck is slender and the head is, if anything, small.

Appended to the list of objects is an account of twenty-one coins by J. F. Healy, who neither describes nor illustrates them, being content to give for each coin the full details (usually word for word) of some similar coin described by Robinson in the *B.M.C. of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*. This leads him to say of a bronze coin of Lollius (M.458) '... on the left, a numeral letter': Robinson had used this phrase in a general introduction to the series, carefully specifying in each subsequent case which numeral letter was represented, but Healy is not so informative. There is, however, one instance where the reader is not led to the *Catalogue*: this is M.801, a silver coin depicting Zeus Ammon on the obverse, and, on the reverse, a silphium plant. Although Healy states that 'the representation (of Zeus Ammon) recalls earlier examples in Cyrene', he nevertheless declares without further ado that this coin is of the early fourth century; in the absence of a proper description the inference is that the coin may have been dated by its context, rather than the context by the coin.

Enough has been said to indicate that this is an irritating and disappointing book, all the more so because Rowe's patient concentration on a small area was the right approach. The reader does obtain an impression of the arrangement of sarcophagi, placed

around a small courtyard, with its offering-table and the associated funerary garden, but detail is bewildering and elusive. As the bibliography implies and the text of the book confirms, research is all too often restricted to the most elementary works. Finally, if this is a book for scholars, need delicacy have subjected the red-figured sherd of a herm (plate 1) to an Alcibiadean treatment?

R. M. HARRISON.

DELORME (J.) **Gymnasion: étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (des origines à l'empire romain).** [Thèse.] Paris: E. de Boccard. 1960. Pp. 537. 41 plates. Price not stated.

One by one the major elements in the architectural scheme of the Greek city are receiving adequate treatment in learned works. Delorme on the gymnasium may now be added to such books as Martin on the agora or McDonald on the 'political meeting-places'. The gymnasium is a particularly difficult subject. Discovery and publication of archaeological material has been slow, and in the nature of things the evidence for the vital earlier periods is bound to remain scanty. The monuments when they do emerge are difficult to interpret and even to identify; literary and epigraphical evidence is obscure.

Delorme presents the whole body of material now available, and examines it critically from every point of view. After a brief introduction on origins, Part I, nearly half the book, deals with all known gymnasia, taking them by periods and within each chapter in geographical order. Part II is entitled 'Questions Architecturales', but the treatment of the architectural form of the gymnasium here involves intellectual and spiritual activities no less than athletic. Part III, which tends to be somewhat repetitive, discusses the significance of the gymnasium in Greek civilisation, the individual city, and the Greek world at large.

The method is extremely thorough, but it does lend itself to repetition and recurrence. For example, in Ch. XV, 'Evolution du plan', Delorme introduces further description, sometimes with considerable detail, of gymnasia already dealt with in their place in Part I. Since Part I is chronological in arrangement, the matter contained in Ch. XV might well have been worked off in quite brief recapitulations at suitable points in the earlier phase. One admires Delorme's eloquence; but the book attains a formidable length. The reader who has no specialised interest in gymnasia may be deterred; this would be a pity, since the book is of great importance to all students of Greek life.

Having said this one can give a warm welcome and whole-hearted praise. Delorme has placed the study of this vital subject on a sounder basis than ever before. One's idea of the gymnasium and its history does not need to be radically changed, but it is

greatly enriched; and on many points of controversial detail Delorme gives helpful and reasonable views.

He rightly sees in the gymnasium a creation of archaic Greece which became an essential feature of classical Greek civilisation. There was nothing quite like it before or elsewhere. In the later phases it spread wherever Greek influence was potent, and became a symbol of Hellenism. 'Qui dit gymnase, dans l'antiquité, dit mœurs grecques, pensée sur la mode grecque.' But in regions which were not truly Greek, whether to the east or to the west, 'il y a eu copie plus ou moins fidèle, jamais imprégnation véritable'.

Delorme breaks off in the first century B.C. From then onwards *thermae* of the Roman type prevail. Hot baths are foreign to the rigorous simplicity of the original Greek gymnasium.

For the sake of brevity I will confine more detailed comment to a few points from the earlier phases. Delorme warns against drawing inferences from the absence of evidence in this period; but I would go further than he does in postulating gymnasia for most cities from an early date. For the archaic beginnings and the fifth century Athens still provides the best evidence, but even there the gymnasia remain, archaeologically speaking, obstinately elusive. A little more has been found at the Academy even since Delorme wrote (see *Ergon*), but there is still very little which throws light on the early form of the gymnasium. At least the site is fairly secure; Delorme deals convincingly with Papagiannopoulos' objections. At the Lyceum, making skilful use of Plato's *Euthydemus*, he postulates a long stoa (the *κατάστερος δρόμος*), and an *exedra* serving as *apodyterion*, facing one another across an open space. For Kynosarges he rejects the site where the British School excavated in the 1890's, near Hagios Panteleimon, and accepts Judeich's site further down the Ilissos; on this point, however, one now has to take into account Travlos' arguments in his recent book on Athens.

At Corinth Delorme rejects Scranton's theory that certain buildings north of the temple formed a kind of gymnasium. He is very cautious in general about accepting dubious remains. Alleged gymnasium-sites vanish by the dozen. But all the evidence is given.

Delphi, in the late fourth century, provides the first gymnasium of which a fairly complete picture is possible. Working back from this, and adding the literary evidence, Delorme maintains that the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries was a decisive period, marking the transition from the open training ground to the more coherent architectural scheme, and the development of the *palaestra* into a compact and regular courtyard.

As an introduction to Part II he gives an analysis of the relation between the terms *palaestra* and *gymnasium*, confirming one's impression that the *palaestra* was normally more limited, more coherent.

'Il y a des palestres sans gymnase, mais pas de gymnase sans palestre'.

He admits the great difficulty of identifying particular rooms. He believes that the sphairisterion was a room for boxing with the soft gloves, though in some non-gymnastic contexts it means 'jeu de paume'. Ephebeion he takes to be a late Vitruvian term, and he rejects Jannoray's ephebeion at Delphi.

He emphasises the great variety of plan, even in the more or less regularised peristyle or palaestra. The Greek gymnasia are highly individual. Yet in Ch. XV he makes a determined attempt to work out a classification. After trying several methods and reluctantly abandoning them, he finally takes his stand on 'municipal' and 'panegyric'. This too seems to me to be unsatisfactory. 'Suburban' and 'urban' might give a more promising line. But why not simply accept the fact, amply demonstrated throughout the book, that each gymnasium had its own peculiar structure and lay-out, determined by natural features, immemorial religious associations, and the needs and ideas of the local community it served?

In an appendix on Vitruvius' account of the gymnasium, Delorme convincingly upholds his earlier interpretation (*BCH* lxxiii) against that of A. Birnbaum. Incidentally he shows with what caution one must use Vitruvius as evidence for earlier Greek architectural types. Certain peculiarities, Delorme believes, seem to show that he had one particular gymnasium in mind, a late one, and possibly western.

Plans of most important sites, taken unchanged from the relevant publications, a few restorations, and maps showing the cities known to have had gymnasia in successive periods, are given together at the end.

R. E. WYCHERLEY.

CARPENTER (R.) **Greek Sculpture.** University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xiv + 276, with 47 plates and 3 text-figures. £2 16s. od.

This is a book for which it may not be so difficult to find a reviewer, but it is impossible to find an adequate one. It covers almost the whole range of Greek sculpture, yet it rarely seems to connect with what is found in the handbooks. Readers who expect to be assured of the significance of Praxiteles in the history of art are likely to be disappointed, and those who want to debunk Greek sculpture had better not read this book at all or they might be converted. Structurally, it is a series of extensive essays which have been linked so as to form an oblique history of development in Greek sculpture. The main themes are those to which the author has his own special contribution to make. Other topics, like Phidias or the Parthenon style, have not interested him and receive no attention; and your reviewer does not recall having seen the name of

Scopas mentioned. Artistic personality as such is ignored. This is not to say that the book is any the worse for such omissions; in fact it gains coherence by them. But the two-word title is slightly misleading.

Far the best chapters, in your reviewer's opinion, are those which deal with the fifth century. The achievement of Polyclitus is excellently explained; and his complex sculptural canon for the nude athlete is elucidated as an elaborate numerical system of proportions which allowed the various points and planes to be plotted in their correct positions. The emphasis that Carpenter lays on technical procedure seems justified here, and your reviewer feels that he is now for the first time able to understand why Polyclitus ranked as a grand master. Carpenter is no less successful in explaining the uses of dress folds and surfaces to indicate the third dimension and in his characterisation of the four principal modes that fifth-century sculptors evolved and combined. He is uncompromising in applying his standards. The Lateran Marsyas is disengaged from Myron and dated as late as possible (at the end of the fifth century, it would seem, which is surely later than is possible). By way of compensation the Hellenistic Bibulous Old Trot is assigned to Myron, the head and neck (together, surely, with the demijohn) being passed off as copyist's modernisation; one may doubt whether this will win full acceptance, but Carpenter seems to be right in insisting on the early classical treatment of the dress. There is also an important discussion of the manufacture of bronze statues. To a limited extent the argument here depends on a too fore-shortened view of the early history of this craft, and the life-size wooden models that Carpenter postulates are not unobjectionable; but the claim that Polyclitus' art was fully glyptic deserves attention.

The archaic seems to have been approached initially from two angles: one is a modern explanation of the mechanics of vision, which saves most of the phenomena; the other is a somewhat unfavourable personal reaction springing from the author's classical bias. There is too little serious consideration of archaic style; and, reading between the lines, we should gather that archaic sculpture failed because it did not advance beyond areal pattern-shapes to recession and protrusion of surfaces. The discussion of the chiton-and-himation korai seems to be vitiated by the assumption that, sculpturally, this type of dress was only invented about 530 B.C. The weakness in the archaic chapter is the corollary of the strength of the fifth-century ones, because in both alike the author ignores artistic vision and stylistic integrity and these were the qualities of the archaic.

The first chapter is very interesting. Here again Carpenter foreshortens the beginnings, as though the substantive three-dimensional figures made before the later seventh century were of no relevance; and he is surely wrong when he supports his argument by the hypothesis that Miletus and Samos were the

first sculptural centres in the Aegean—everything points the other way. But it was well worth while to emphasise at some length that the technique and primary forms came from Egypt and that as a major art in Greece stone sculpture began at a mature archaic stage of technical proficiency.

From the author's point of view the fourth century, excluding of course the new movement that began with Lysippus, is an unsatisfactory interval between great periods of creative development; and it becomes still more unsatisfactory when works like the Demeter of Cnidus, 'Mausolus' and the Hermes are found to betray Hellenistic innovations and are down-dated to the second century. One may ask who this 'Carian ruler' was who inherited the tomb of Mausolus and set the clock of history in reverse by parading his unhellenic person in the heart of the Hellenistic world about 150 B.C. Or again, from the observation that 'with the copyist's obligato of supporting marble drapery omitted, the Hermes barely keeps in balance' we need not necessarily infer that the original was bronze; we might more reasonably conclude that the drapery is part of the original design. Carpenter's brilliant Second Century seems in fact to be largely a museum of trophies captured from other epochs. The development that he postulates is too strait a jacket. But it certainly merits attention, and the treatment of the Hellenistic is marked by sympathetic understanding.

This book is extremely valuable as a stimulus and an aid to deeper thought than usual. It is often annoying. Worse than the specific heresies—one or two of which may some day be orthodox—are the barbarisms of language, the 'repetitious renditions', 'polyfacial imbalance', and 'vegetabilian ideations'. The reader is bombarded by words like these at a time when his faculties are strained in following the complications of the author's thought, and he has lost the thread of the argument before he discovers that they are mere substitutes for better authenticated words and phrases. But behind this camouflage lies a precise application of language and an originality inspired by the determination to utter no sentiment whose implications have not been considered. This book is not a primer for beginners; but in many ways it is the most illuminating book that has been written on Greek sculpture.

J. M. COOK.

RICHTER (G. M. A.) **Greek Portraits. III. How Were Likenesses Transmitted in Ancient Times? Small Portraits and Near-Portraits in Terracotta, Greek and Roman.** (Collection Latomus, xlviii.) Brussels: Latomus. 1960. Pp. 60. 50 plates. Fr. b. 150.

This booklet is the third in a series of articles devoted to Greek portraits. The first (*Latomus* XX, 1955) dealt with the development of the Greek

portrait; the second (*Latomus* XXVIII, 1959), with the extent to which surviving portraits may be accepted as faithful likenesses. We are now concerned with the mechanics whereby the likenesses of eminent people, and others, were transmitted.

R.'s argument runs as follows. Portraits of famous men were frequently executed many years after their death. The sources on which the artists drew could have taken several forms, but the only possible medium likely to survive to our day is terracotta. Ancient terracottas are of many kinds, but it should be possible, in the author's view, to eliminate caricatures, grotesques, racial studies and generalised types, leaving a residue of bona fide portraits. And with a generous selection of illustrations (many of them hitherto unpublished) she sets out to do so.

The Greek material is divided into (1) bona fide portraits, and (2) near-portraits. The Roman material is divided somewhat differently, into (1) portraits in the round, and (2) reliefs. Most of R.'s categories are demonstrated clearly enough in the illustrations. It is only in the all-important case of the bona fide portraits that judgment may sometimes have to be reserved. The Ptolemaic faience heads and the Roman emblemata from terracotta bowls may be accepted without question. As for the terracotta heads in the round which are claimed as portraits, some clearly represent famous men; some are at least influenced by portraits of famous men (I would put the Socrates, pls. 49–50, in this category); others, if they are indeed portraits, must be accepted as portraits of unidentified people, and that is a field in which there will always be room for doubts.

It is not really important if we cannot accept every proposed portrait. What is important is that R. has once again initiated an entirely new line of approach to a somewhat exhausted subject, and has laid foundations on which she, and others too, will no doubt build.

R. A. HIGGINS.

SCHEFOLD (K.) **Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst.** 2nd ed. [Exhibition catalogue.] Basle: B. Schwabe. 1960. Pp. xii + 320. 743 illus. Sw. fr. 28.

This splendidly produced and very reasonably priced volume is the catalogue of an exhibition of ancient Greek art held in Basle from June 18 to September 13, 1960, to mark the five-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the University there. This brought together some 609 items, all remarkable for their fine quality and preservation—in fact, masterpieces in their own right as the title suggests. These exhibits were loaned by public museums in Switzerland, Germany, France, Italy, the United States and Israel and by a large number of private collectors, more especially in Switzerland, Germany and France. The exhibition seems to have been

remarkable not only for the quality of the objects themselves but also because, in certain cases, it enabled apparently related works to be shown together for the first time; its chief importance, however, probably lay in the way it made accessible so much material from some of the richest continental private collections. In making any assessment the reviewer must confess himself at an enormous initial disadvantage in that his own duties prevented him from attending the exhibition. Consequently he can offer no new views of his own on the relationship between the Apollo and the Niobids, nos. 294-6, nor any personal statement on the genuineness of works such as nos. 17, 162 or 183. Such comments as he has to offer on the objects here published for the first time must, in general, be regarded as tentative, based as they are on the illustrations and descriptions in the volume under review.

Pp. 1-106 are devoted to an account by Professor Schefold in which the objects shown in the exhibition, other than the coins and jewellery, are set against the broader field of Greek art in general. This takes the form of a somewhat discursive continuous narrative ranging from Neolithic to Roman times. As is only to be expected in so broad a sweep, some parts seem more aptly handled than others. The treatment of the Attic black- and red-figure vase-painting appears especially happy, as also much of the account of the classical sculpture. The author's aim has been to interpret the material against the background of the latest scholarship. In practice this tends to mean the latest work by German art-historians and it is not surprising that the present volume shows the many virtues of their approach and one or two of its failings. Thus, in accordance with a recent German trend, the Geometric pottery is dated rather high, especially noticeable in the case of no. 40, which seems rather to be Late Geometric of the third quarter of the eighth century B.C. Also, amongst the bronzes rather much seems to be assigned to an all too ill-defined Sicyonian school. Professor Schefold's own pronounced personal views obtrude themselves at certain points, too. Thus not all scholars will accept a shamanistic origin of Greek religion or concur in the assumption that Cycladic idols or Tanagra statuettes, unless they show attributes to the contrary, necessarily represent nymphs.

The remainder of the book consists of the plates and the brief catalogue descriptions of the individual objects. The photographs are of excellent quality and splendidly reproduced in half-tone. Every exhibit is illustrated with the sole exception of no. 237, and in this case the omission is through no fault of the author's. The catalogue entries and the plates proceed side by side but by no means always keep pace with each other, with the result that, in reading this book, one has to keep following three separate sections at once: the introductory text, the catalogue descriptions and the plates. An elaborate system of cross-referencing is intended to

facilitate this, but is sometimes misleading. Thus no. 137 is in fact illustrated on p. 155, no. 171 on p. 183, no. 273 on p. 229 and no. 274 on p. 225. In this respect Dr Cahn's account of the coins and jewellery is distinctly easier to follow, largely because the comparative material is here cited in the catalogue entries instead of in the introduction. However, these criticisms probably take too little account of the circumstance that this is essentially an exhibition publication and that, so I am informed, the catalogue section was also issued separately to visitors. To have prepared in advance a descriptive text of this quality covering so many widely scattered works of art so that its publication should coincide with the loan exhibition itself is a very considerable achievement. That Professor Schefold has been able at the same time to make so much of the material in continental private collections known to the world at large can only earn our gratitude.

A few of the exhibits have since changed hands on the Swiss market. Thus no. 144 = *Kunstwerke der Antike, Münzen und Medaillen Auktion xxii* (May 13, 1961) no. 133; no. 337 = *ibid.*, no. 19; and no. 345 = *ibid.*, no. 63. The remainder of this review will be confined to brief comments on the individual items themselves. These will pass over Professor Schefold's forthright views on certain of the sculptures, which have been argued elsewhere, and also the minor errors in the catalogue statements that have been corrected in the introductory account.

No. 10: really so early? No. 28: rightly L.H. III.B, but dated rather late. Nos. 30-4: dated as if L.H. III.C.1, although none of these are likely to be later than L.H. III.B. No. 46: hardly a cup; pyxis or dinos? No. 47: undatable. No. 50: surely ape. No. 59: no interpretation is offered for the inscription although this may be extremely important as, on the analogy of Attic terracotta horses, this might date as early as the middle-third quarter of the eighth century B.C. No. 61: the terracotta examples of this type tend to be Boeotian and of seventh- to early sixth-century B.C. date. No. 91: staff-handle? No. 109: see *AA* 1960, 125 f.; this has now been more adequately accounted for as the end of the arm of a throne, on the analogy of *JHS* lxxi (1951), pl. 8; it seems unlikely to be earlier than the fifth century B.C. No. 111a: probably mid sixth century B.C. or even slightly later, as already dated in *Ann* xxiv-vi (NS viii-x) 67 f., G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi* 112 no. 134. No. 115: perhaps East Greek, on the analogy of plastic vases such as *CVA Cambridge* ii, pl. 9. No. 128: lioness, not lion. No. 165: of terracotta. No. 168: votive relief rather than a grave-stele? No. 173: does seem Peloponnesian. No. 176: East Greek? No. 180: the genuineness of this figure has been questioned in some quarters; the closest parallels for the head-type are to be found some distance from Sikyon amongst the local terracottas from Berekla in western Arcadia. No. 182: to judge from a not very revealing photograph, the head does not look so much of Ionic

as of mainland style and seems of somewhat earlier date. No. 185: why East Greek? It seems not unlike Attic boars. No. 188a: hardly before the mid-sixth century B.C. No. 193: actually a slave-woman grinding grain with a saddle-quern. Nos. 197, 198, 199a: fifth century B.C.? No. 199: mid-fifth century B.C. or later. No. 218: on p. 48 the very curious statement is made that Janiform head-kantharoi do not begin before 480 B.C. No. 238: it has recently been suggested that the secondary casting may be of Renaissance date. No. 239: surely this statuette is most likely to be votive in function, whatever the nature of the prototype on which it is based; the head, if it belongs, seems at least to have originated earlier than the date suggested. No. 254: this may indeed be linked with the cult statue at Tanagra, but, whether or not it is, a votive statuette such as this would seem most likely to be of local Boeotian workmanship like its terracotta counterparts, e.g. S. Mollard-Besques, *Musée du Louvre, Cat des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite* i 14, nos. B80, B81, pl. 10. No. 261: terracotta examples of the same type (e.g. R. A. Higgins, *BMC Terracottas* i, no. 872) suggest that this may be Boeotian and of rather later date. No. 272: despite the author's persuasive arguments, this still fails to convince as a product of the fifth century B.C. No. 276: dated too early? Nos. 278-9: seem Boeotian. No. 280: as neither the technique nor the function is described, it seems difficult to know whether this is classical or Minoan. No. 282: seems rather still of late archaic date. No. 314: is the early date justified? No. 320: looks Hellenistic as described in the catalogue but denied in the introduction. No. 321: the pose seems rather to suggest that the figure was holding the bridle of a horse; the character of the face and the long sideburns look as if they might possibly favour a Latin or South Etruscan origin. No. 336: such classical Attic statuettes seem commonly to be small, inexact copies (sometimes reversed) of cult images; they are probably votive in function; the present example seems to have been carved in the second half of the fourth century B.C. and to be a reversed variant of the Eirene of Kephisodotos. No. 337: Cahn has already pointed out (*Münzen und Medaillen Kat.*, May 13, 1961, 14 f., no. 19) that, on technical grounds, this is not an original but a copy of Imperial date. No. 342: first half of the fourth century B.C. No. 347: hardly naked! No. 353: Aphrodite? No. 355: Hellenistic? No. 357: veiled dancer? No. 365: rather second century B.C.? No. 367: like its counterpart in Alexandria Museum, this has been regarded not as an original but as a copy of early Imperial date; see A. Adriani, *Testimonianze e momenti di scultura alessandrina* 22. No. 369: not rather a copy of Imperial date? No. 530: ram's head of Ammon with the attributes of Ammon-Ra, not Isis. No. 591: surely lotus, not headdress of Isis.

R. V. NICHOLLS.

HODGE (A. T.) **The Woodwork of Greek Roofs.**
Cambridge: The University Press. 1960.
Pp. xvi + 150. 16 plates. 23 text figures.
£2 10s. 0d.

In their building construction, were the Greeks innovators and calculators or humdrum empiricists? Did the same men, who calculated the effect of the smallest visible detail, resort in the hidden parts of their work to the makeshifts of mere jobbing workmen? Or again, were the inquisitive societies of the fifth century content to repeat the traditional but rudimentary carpentry of earlier generations? These and similar questions are raised by this well-argued and well-documented study. Quite apart from the information it collects on the roofing of the Greek temple-cella (a collection long overdue, and pretty well performed here), it has its own contribution to make to the present fashionable discussion, how far Greek cultural aims outran Greek mechanical skill, and how far the discrepancy mattered.

While honestly admitting various objections and difficulties, Dr Hodge makes a good case for several interesting propositions, which will need to be taken very seriously by future students. He first reconstructs and describes four roofs—of Poseidon at Paestum, the Theseum at Athens, the 'Megaron' at Gaggera, near Selinus, and Concord at Akragas. In these buildings, the cuttings for the timbers (from which alone we can proceed) are better preserved than elsewhere. The first roof is of the expected type, with the roof-timbers independent of the ceiling and with the rafters supported on heavy purlins and ridge-poles, themselves propped vertically on walls and inner colonnades. The second, though similar in its main lines, seems to have had a composite ridge-pole and a ceiling high enough to interfere with the rafters' outer ends. Gaggera dispensed with the heavy ridge-pole and purlins, and supported its roof tiles directly on a series of small beams laid parallel to the ridge, like purlins, but with the scantling of rafters. Concord had an attic, which was meant to be used and seen, between its outer roof and inner ceiling; and this attic had, strangely, a ceiling of a very dark and wasteful type, of flat planks laid very close to one another.

In his second part, Dr Hodge uses these roofs as a guide to the forms of others—an inquiry in which he is also helped by a careful collection of known geisa (cornice-blocks). Most geisa in Old Greece are single flattish blocks, on which rafters and tiles all came directly down; whereas those of the west are divided horizontally, the upper part being a wedge-shaped block with cuttings for the rafters. The western type probably arose because of the heavier revetments, themselves often of two stages, on western geisa. But the difference is not clear cut, and not really of much structural significance.

More important is the evidence that earlier temples in Greece, Aphaia on Aegina and even Zeus at Olympia had Gaggera roofs over their end peristyles—the block Fig. 12(a) seems decisive for

Aphaia. Roofs on heavy purlins were the natural way of roofing the middle portions, Gaggera roofs of roofing the ends. But after 460 craftsmen could treat large roofs as single units, and so ran the system of purlins from end to end of the Parthenon, Theseum, etc.

Hitherto the Classical Greeks were not thought to have employed the triangular tie-beam truss, with beams of small scantling, all in tension. But on p. 41 Dr Hodge boldly pronounces that Sicilian architects, unlike the mainland Greek, were acquainted with its principle and 'employed it regularly from about 550 onwards', perhaps getting it from Carthage. One argument he draws from the width of the un-colonnaded Sicilian cellae (e.g. 11.84 metres at the Temple of Hercules, Akragas), more conveniently roofed with trusses. Here I should plead with him to lower his date to 500, at least. The oldest Sicilian temple, Apollo at Syracuse, had internal colonnades; as perhaps had the sixth century Treasury of Gela at Olympia, the roof-timbers of which—Hodge, p. 68—afford so shocking an example of Sicilian ineptitude. Doerpfeld said of this treasury (*Olympia*, Textband, p. 54): 'Ich habe früher die Vermutung ausgesprochen, dass Innensäulen dort gestanden haben'. The cellas of sixth-century Selinuntine temples, though at first sight, perhaps, wide (between 7 and 8.50 metres), are strikingly narrow compared with the temples, as if their builders made them no wider than limited structural knowledge allowed. It looks as if they could get straight, strong bearer-beams up to nearly 30 feet in length. Dr Hodge admits with great honesty that Concord at Akragas clearly had no truss. In fact, Hercules at Akragas, a temple of c. 500, partly altered in Roman times and considered hypaethral by some scholars (Marconi, *Agrigento*, p. 56), is by far the most plausible example of a roofed astylar cella. Temple E at Selinus is of c. 430, and much more fragmentary. The central aisle of the Parthenon, though probably not roofed with a truss, is nearly as wide (11.05 metres) as these Sicilian cellas. In most arts, of course, Sicily was very backward.

Dr Hodge draws his other argument for early trusses from the roof at Gaggera. It, too, is of the sixth century; and the longitudinal 'rafters' over the cella, with a cross-section $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, had to span 10.46 metres (about 34 feet). This roof must, he thinks, have had a triangular member, preferably a truss, to support it in the middle. But straight spars of silver-fir, perhaps numerous in the colony's early days, could surely have spanned the distance without support. They do not warp or break (Theophrastus *HP* v 6); the tiles above them (and each has to support a width of only one tile) would hold them in position without overloading them; and they support heavy loads well (Theophrastus *ibidem*; Pliny *NH* 16, 222). The roof would be comparable with that over the Villa dei Misteri today (Hodge, p. 64); and beams 35 feet long and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide are

no flimsier than those 100 feet long and 18 inches wide described by Pliny (*NH* 16, 201). Only experiment could decide. At present, I suspect that the rather wider roofs of Sicily were due to better, less exploited, timber, and not to a better knowledge of trusses. Hodge, p. 96, reminds us how skilled the Greeks were in sawing up tree trunks.

Dr Hodge argues well against the standard modern reconstructions of temple-roofs with thick battens and continuous layers of clay. He carefully notes the few cases where battens are known or plausible, and rightly denies there were ever continuous layers of clay. But one wishes he had considered more closely those roof-tiles which had decorated undersides. The presence of pierced tiles (or *opaia*), he says on p. 37, gives some presumption that there was an attic. Why should they not have lit a roofed, un-ceiled cella, like that in the Temple of the Athenians at Delos (Courby, pls. 17-18) and, perhaps, Bassae? Raindrops from *opaia* would have no effect on the cella's stone floor. Some Greek pantiles had beautifully painted or moulded undersides (Hittorff and Zante, pl. 83; G. Poulsen in *Mélanges Holleaux*, p. 225—a Delian example, perhaps derived from the Temple of the Athenians); and it seems more reasonable to think these were intended for the cella. Bassae has an *opaion*. But how could one have got to an attic at Bassae?

Dr Hodge denies that timber was dowelled to stone, and knows only one certain exception, the side-ceiling of Sunium. He adds that at Tegea and Nemea the outer ends of the rafters were probably dowelled to cornice-blocks. I suggest myself that, *pace* Hodge, p. 83, they were similarly dowelled at Sunium, and that Orlandos' small wedge-shaped stones did not exist. The rafters could then go further out, and give the ceiling more of the headroom that (Hodge, Appendix II) it badly needs. Finally, argues Dr Hodge, in some early roofs both rafters and tiles may have come in at the back of the cornice-blocks, giving a 'Chinese' aspect.

So much for the main arguments, of which that for true trusses in early Sicily is much the most important. To take some points by the way: p. 3 says that the cuttings at Paestum for the peristyle ceiling 'indicate a peculiar use of wide planks, placed far apart'. But pl. 2 shows wide cuttings close together, which might puzzle the reader. The usual explanation, which Dr Hodge forgot to mention, is a change of design at ceiling-level. In restoring his composite ridge-pole for the Theseum, Dr Hodge rightly decides that some cuttings cannot be medieval (p. 10). But he should also have shown they were not the work of L. Ross. Ross even sank his own clamps in the cornice-blocks (Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel*, p. 41); and (*ibidem*, p. 62) his activities on roof and ceiling 'jede Detailuntersuchung ausserordentlich erschweren'. The purpose given the composite ridge-pole on p. 13, that if its upper part sagged, one could drive wedges between

it and the lower part, is too ingenious, and resembles an attempt to lift oneself by one's own shoelaces. It seems best to ignore the Etruscan urn-lid, described on p. 59. While fig. 8b greatly improves the roof-truss supposedly represented upon it, even the improved version recalls no traditional timber-truss in common use today as shown, e.g. in Chapter 8 of Mitchell's *Building Construction*. Besides, the subsidiary members run the wrong way, and would put awkward strains on the junction of king-post and ridge-pole. P. 107 rightly assigns the large 'ceiling beam' at Sunium to the border of an end peristyle. The real ceiling-beams were probably, I think, of wood.

The illustrations are workmanlike and clear. It is a pity that Dr Hodge should lose interest in the parts of buildings outside roofs. Fig. 4, for instance, for the inner peristyles of the Thesum clashes badly with Hill's convincing restoration in *Hesperia*, Supplement 8, p. 207. The list of technical terms should have been alphabetical. Too many names in this book are vile hybrids, neither ancient nor modern, neither elegant nor accurate. I note 'Asclepios' (p. 37), 'Ictinos' (p. 85), 'Thescion' (Chapter 2 *passim*—compare Dinsmoor's *Hephaestum*, the exact opposite but equally distasteful, for the same temple!), 'Casa dei Vetii' (p. 64), 'Levadia' (p. 119) and 'Hera, Agrigento' (p. 74—how much prettier and more honest is 'Juno, Girgenti'!). The press of a great university should do better than this. In view of the way people now treat ancient blocks in Italy, Greece and elsewhere, one can enjoy the joke in the preface, that Dr Hodge will avoid speculation, but will set out 'the actual concrete evidence available'.

HUGH PLOMMER.

BELL (R. C.) **Board and Table Games from Many Civilisations.** Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xxiv + 208. 24 plates. 143 text figures. 21s.

This book treats the same subject as H. J. R. Murray's *A History of Board-Games other than Chess* (Oxford, 1952), but in a different and complementary way. Murray's is a scholarly work which classifies such games systematically, notes their distribution in place and time, and gives references to the literature. Bell is more interested in the pleasures of playing. He sets out the rules clearly or, if the original rules are not known, invents his own to give a good game; his illustrations are chosen for artistic or curious merits as well as for utility; and the biographies of his predecessors, which make up an appendix, are both informative and lively. The passages strictly relevant to Greek and Byzantine studies are few (pp. 29-37 *passim*, 57-8, 84-7, 91-2, 123-5), but readers who enjoy playing board games should find this book very much to their taste.

R. M. COOK.

TILLYARD (H. J. W.) **Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Transcripta. Vol. VII. The Hymns of the Pentecostarion.** Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1960. Pp. xxxiv + 173. D.kr. 35.

The Pentecostarion contains in the main the liturgical chant of the Byzantine Church from Easter Sunday to All Saint's Sunday inclusive. A particular group of the chant, the Stichera, form part of the Sticherarium, which may be compared to the Antiphony of the Western Church.

By the complete transcription of the Stichera of the Sundays from Easter to Whitsunday and Sunday of All Saint's Professor Tillyard has added 118 hymns to the rich treasure of melodies which he has deciphered. In his Stichera for November (Vol. II of the M.M.B. and in the Octoechus (Vols. III and V) Tillyard has based the transcription on Codex Vindob. theol. gr. 181 (Codex Dalassenos = D), published as Vol. I of the Facsimilia series of the M.M.B. For the present publication, however, Tillyard took as basis Codex Peribleptus, now at University College, Cardiff, a neatly written manuscript, superior in many respects to the Vienna Codex, though the latter is of an earlier date; the many faults in the Vienna Codex made it indeed preferable to use the Codex Peribleptus as a model, and to refer to the variants in D in appended music examples and in the notes which follow the hymns.

In the Introduction (pp. ix-xxxiv) and in the notes Tillyard has spread out before us the experience of a lifelong study of Byzantine notation and melody analysis, and one regrets only that he has not gone into more detail in his Introduction. It is particularly Chapter IV on 'The earlier musical notations' which opens a wide vista into a field of studies, the exploration of which is mainly due to Professor Tillyard's indefatigable research. The musical signs from the end of the twelfth century onwards can now be transcribed with an accuracy which surpasses the interpretation of any kind of notation of that time we possess in the West. The signs and symbols which the editors of the M.M.B. have chosen for their transcriptions are in use for more than thirty-five years and make it possible to transcribe even the most elaborate melismata. Starting from the system of perfect Interval notation, Professor Tillyard succeeded in interpreting the preceding system of imperfect Interval notation which he termed 'Coislin notation'. Going further back to manuscripts of the eleventh century he studied the musical signs of the earlier stages of notation and those of the archaic system of the tenth, and probably even ninth century. These earliest systems, however, can be read only with the aid of manuscripts that are written in the so-called Round or Middle Byzantine Notation of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Remarks about the early stages of notation are not confined to the Introduction; valuable references to early versions of the melodies and the explanation of

the musical signs occur frequently in the notes and make the volume a source of information which deserves the highest praise. Since Greek is no longer a language read by all musicologists, the author gives an English translation of four Stichera. He also draws the attention to the German translation of the hymns of the Pentecostarion by P. Kilian Kirchhoff in his *Osterjubiläum der Ostkirche* (1940). Professor Tillyard dedicates his Pentecostarion to the memory of this excellent scholar who was executed in Hitler's anti-Christian campaign of 1944. P. Kirchhoff's books were confiscated and destroyed, and only a few copies that survived destruction give evidence of the important work P. Kirchhoff has done in the short span of his scholarly activity.

In his Preface, signed in 1950, Professor Tillyard

states that the present volume should be regarded as his last contribution to the M.M.B. His is the unfading merit of having done the palaeographical ground work and of having put the modal system on a sound basis. A rare musical insight helped him to make his transcriptions successful, both from the scholarly and the practical point of view. His articles on Byzantine musical notation in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and *Laudate*, together with the Handbook of Middle Byzantine Notation and the six volumes of *Transcripta* in the M.M.B., give evidence of the remarkable output of this great scholar who began his work at a time when Byzantine music was still *terra incognita*.

E. J. WELLESZ.

SHORT NOTICES

MUSURILLO (H.) **Symbol and Myth in Ancient Poetry.** New York: Fordham University Press. 1961. Pp. 220. Price not stated.

This book discusses briefly some general principles in the interpretation of Greek and Roman poetry, with special reference to the importance of imagery. As far as Greek poetry is concerned the author makes some interesting points, but in the main the treatment is too brief and superficial to be of special interest to scholars. General readers will find many stimulating comments and many just observations, though they may sometimes be misled. For instance, on p. 55 Sappho, 16 1-4 (Lobel and Page) does not contain a 'suggestion that Sappho's world is a great battlefield of love, with armies in array', and on p. 26 readers will get the impression that pseudo-Longinus' treatment of poetry is on exactly the same lines as that of Demetrius and Dionysius.

EURIPIDES. **Bacchae.** Ed. E. R. Dodds. 2nd ed. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1960. Pp. lix + 253. £1 15. 0d.

We must be grateful to Professor Dodds and the Clarendon Press for the publication of a second edition of the *Bacchae* in the Oxford series. The author has given careful consideration to criticisms, published and unpublished, of his first edition and to other contributions to the text and interpretation that have appeared since 1943. It is most valuable to have his opinion on all this, whether it has led him to modify his views (notably on lines 21-2, 135, 209, 506, 902-11, 1220) or not. The addition of short English and Greek indexes is very welcome, and it is to be hoped that these will be provided in future volumes of the series.

RUSSO (C. F.) **Storia delle Rane di Aristofane.** (Proagones, studi, 2.) Padua: Antenore. 1961. Pp. 99. L. 1,100.

The author maintains that the original version of the *Frogs* was practically completed when the death of Sophocles made necessary some last minute alterations, involving the addition or substitution of several passages amounting to about 150 lines and the transposition of one scene. Basically similar views have of course been suggested by other scholars, as Russo indicates, and it seems quite possible that something of the sort may have happened; but his demonstration that it must be so and his claims to show the precise scope of the alterations depend partly on the assumption of a more rigorous logic in the sequence of thought and incident than we can safely assume for Old Comedy.

PLUTARCH. **Moralia.** Vol. v, Fascs. 1 and 3. Ed. C. Hubert and M. Pohlenz. 2nd ed. by H. Drexler. (Bibliotheca Teubneriana.) Leipzig: Teubner. 1960. Pp. xxxii + 145, xiv + 118. DM 7.40, 5.40.

This edition is described, in fasc. 1, as *editio altera correctior*. The corrections are of misprints in the first edition, but otherwise the text is unchanged. Addenda to each fascicule are supplied by Drexler. These contain descriptive references to the reviews of the first edition that had so far appeared.

ROUSSEL (P.) **Sparte.** 2nd ed. Paris: E. de Boccard. 1960. Pp. 165. 24 plates. NFr. 24.

The first edition (1939) of this pleasant and reasonable little book was welcomed by A. M. W[oodward] in *JHS* 62 (1942), p. 86. The second offers only minor corrections, mainly typographical (but there are misprints enough in it), and a very short bibliography. Though much has been written since 1939, its clarity and moderation still stand out. R. is a shade uncritical over the extent of the powers of the ephors, and sometimes admits evidence of a sentimental tinge for the classical period, but for the tangled early history of Sparta he is as good a guide as one could wish, so far as a book without documentation can go.

Congress. **Atti del vii congresso internazionale di archeologia classica.** 3 vols. Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider. 1961. Pp. 454, 491, 361. Numerous plates and text figures. Price not stated.

This Journal is concerned only with volumes i and ii, which include the following papers:

A. Publications of new material, in preliminary form: Vol. I. Marinatos, Die Pylosforschungen in den letzten sieben Jahren; Kontoleon, Das heutige Bild der archaischen Kunst der Kykladen; Coupel and Demargne, Le monument des Néréides de Xanthos elements d'une nouvelle restitution architecturale; Metzger, Observations sur les céramiques recueillies à Xanthos (no illustrations); Petsas, Macedonian tombs. Vol. II. Tusa, Il santuario arcaico di Segesta; di Vita, Un contributo all'urbanistica greca di Sicilia: Casmene; de Ruyt, Vases grecs et italiotes de la collection Mignot à Bruxelles.

B. Useful summaries of material already published in some form: Vol. I. Levi, Gli scavi di Festós e la cronologia minoica; Broneer, The Isthmus of Corinth at the end of the Bronze Age; Mylonas, The West Cemetery of Eleusis; Frézouls, Les théâtres antiques de l'orient syrien; Dimitrov, Das Entstehen der thrakischen Stadt und die Eigenart ihrer

städtebaulichen Gestaltung und Architektur; Vol. II. Marconi Bovio, *Le più recenti scoperte dell' archeologia della Sicilia occidentale*, con particolare riguardo agli scavi di Selinunte; Sjöqvist, *Gli scavi di Morgantina-Serra Orlando*; Maiuri, *Scavi e scoperte in Magna Grecia*; Lissi, *Gli scavi della Scuola Nazionale di Archeologia a Locri Epizefiri* (anni 1950/6); Trendall, *South Italian red-figured pottery: a review and a reclassification*.

C. Brief historical syntheses: Vol. I. Matz, *Die Katastrophe der mykenischen Kultur im Lichte der neuesten Forschungen*; Schachermeyr, *Die Kulturbeziehungen zwischen dem anatolisch-vorderasiatischen Bereich und den Ägäisländern in Stein- und Bronzezeit*; Vol. II. Adamesteanu, *Rapporti tra Greci ed indigeni alla luce delle nuove scoperte in Sicilia*; Orlandini, *La rinascita della Sicilia nell' età di Timoleonte alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche*.

GREIFENHAGEN (A.) **Antike Kunstwerke**. Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1960. Pp. vii + 46. 100 plates. DM 28.50.

Celebrates the return to Berlin and exhibition there of many of the treasures 'exiled' during the war. New photographs, commentary and bibliography of well-known Greek objects, mainly pottery, with some bronzes and jewellery.

RICHTER (G. M. A.) **Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths**. [2nd ed.] London: the Phaidon Press. 1960. Pp. xiv + 342. 165 plates. £7 7s. 0d.

This is a new and revised edition of Miss Richter's *Kouroi* (1942), reviewed in *JHS* lxxv (1945) 121 f. The format is larger, and so, as a result, are the pictures. These are now half-tones, generally better than the earlier collotypes. The main scheme and text are as before: a stylistic analysis of the development of the kouros type, relying mainly on the development of anatomical detail, and taking only passing note of regional differences. This is

not, of course, the only way of treating the subject, but it is most rewarding, and the new edition reasserts the book's claim as a fundamental study of early Greek sculpture. A new subsection on Proportions was written too late, perhaps, to include reference to Iversen's work on the Egyptian canons applied to the New York kouros [*Kairo Mitt.* xv (1957) 134-47]. The catalogue includes some fifty new pieces, notably Aristodikos, the new Piraeus bronze, several from the Greek west, and minor works in lead, wood, clay and bronze.

COTTRELL (L.) Ed. **The Concise Encyclopaedia of Archaeology**. London: Hutchinson. 1960. Pp. 512. 176 plates (incl. 16 in colour). £2 10s. 0d.

Contributors on classical subjects include J. M. Cook, J. D. Evans, R. W. Hutchinson, Lord William Taylour.

BARONI (F.) **Osservazioni sul 'trono di Boston'**. (Studia archaeologica, 2.) Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider. 1961. Pp. 47. 8 plates. Price not stated.

The author argues that the Boston throne is a forgery.

FOGG ART MUSEUM. **The David Moore Robinson Bequest of Classical Art and Antiquities: a Special Exhibition, May 1 to September 20, 1961**. Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. 1961. Pp. iii + 48. Price not stated.

A summary catalogue with a concordance of publications.

GARSCHA (F.) **Antike Vasen**. [Bildhefte des badischen Landes-museums, Karlsruhe.] Karlsruhe: Badische Landesmuseum. 1960. Pp. 14, with 40 plates. Price not stated.

A short picture book of vases in Karlsruhe.

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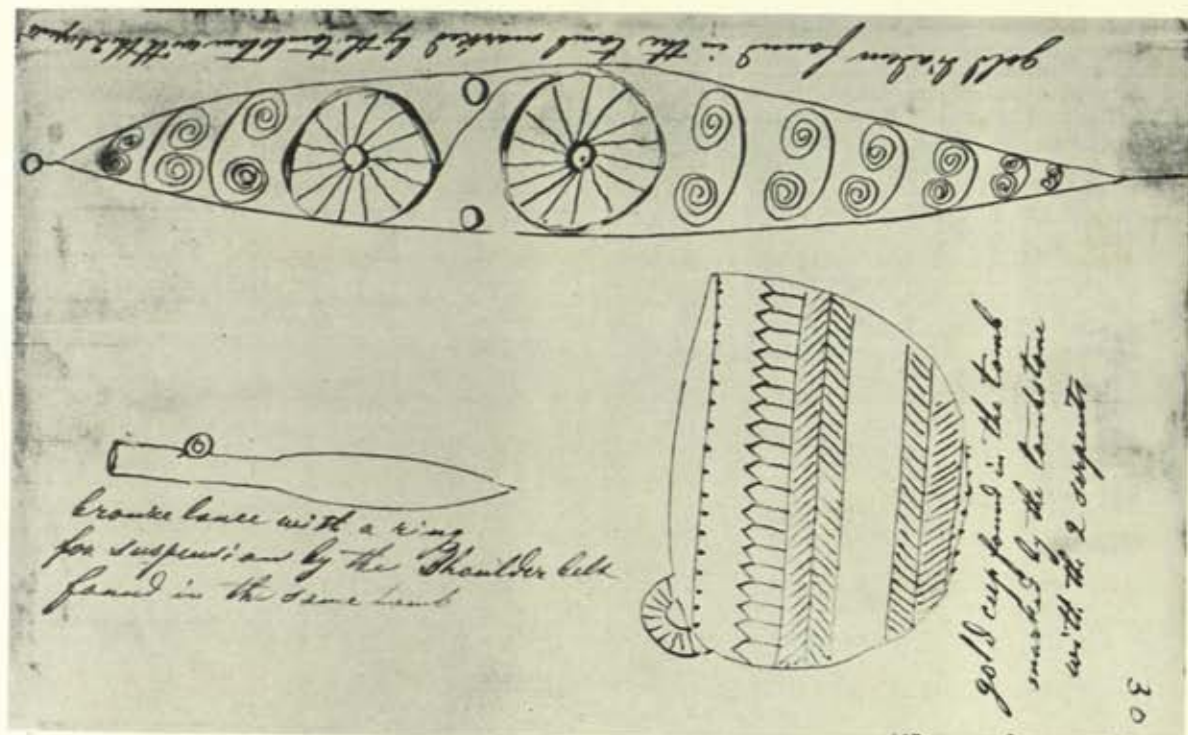
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




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Paris 7 Dec 1879
 My dear Professor Schliemann
 In consequence of your postcard I cannot be otherwise than return the valuable paper to you warmly begging you to make it more legible and to comment it so that the general reader, who is unacquainted with Sanskrit and the Vedic, may be able to understand to appreciate the capital importance of your discovery which shall appear with golden letters to your credit. Pray, return me the paper to Athens registered, for the loss would be too great if it were lost. I would still call your kind attention to the fact that the  or  is in a great many cases found on the signet rings in company with the sign  and  of which the former appears to represent an altar with flames, the latter a lightning; therefore the  must have something to do with fire; for it also in company with the animals having two rows of points on the back. With kindest wishes for your and your dear family's constant good health I remain
 I am, Prof. Schliemann, very truly and sincerely
 to be, Prof. Schliemann

a

b

SCHLIEMANN'S LETTERS TO MAX MÜLLER IN OXFORD



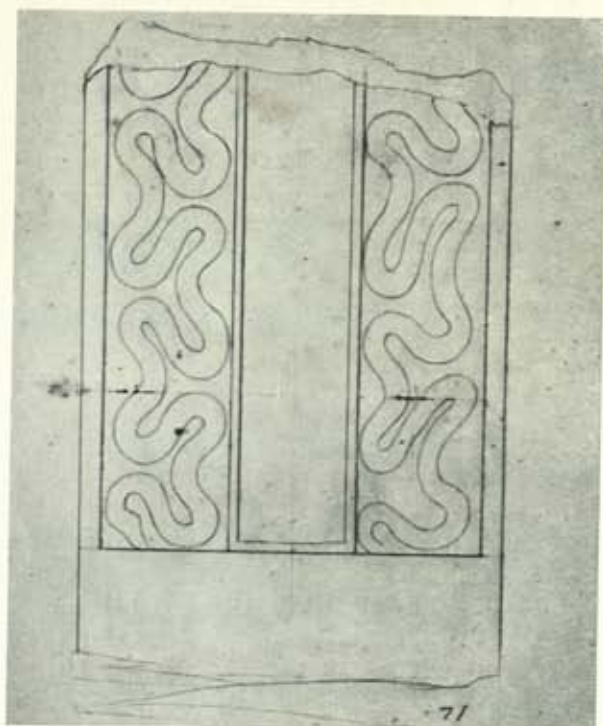
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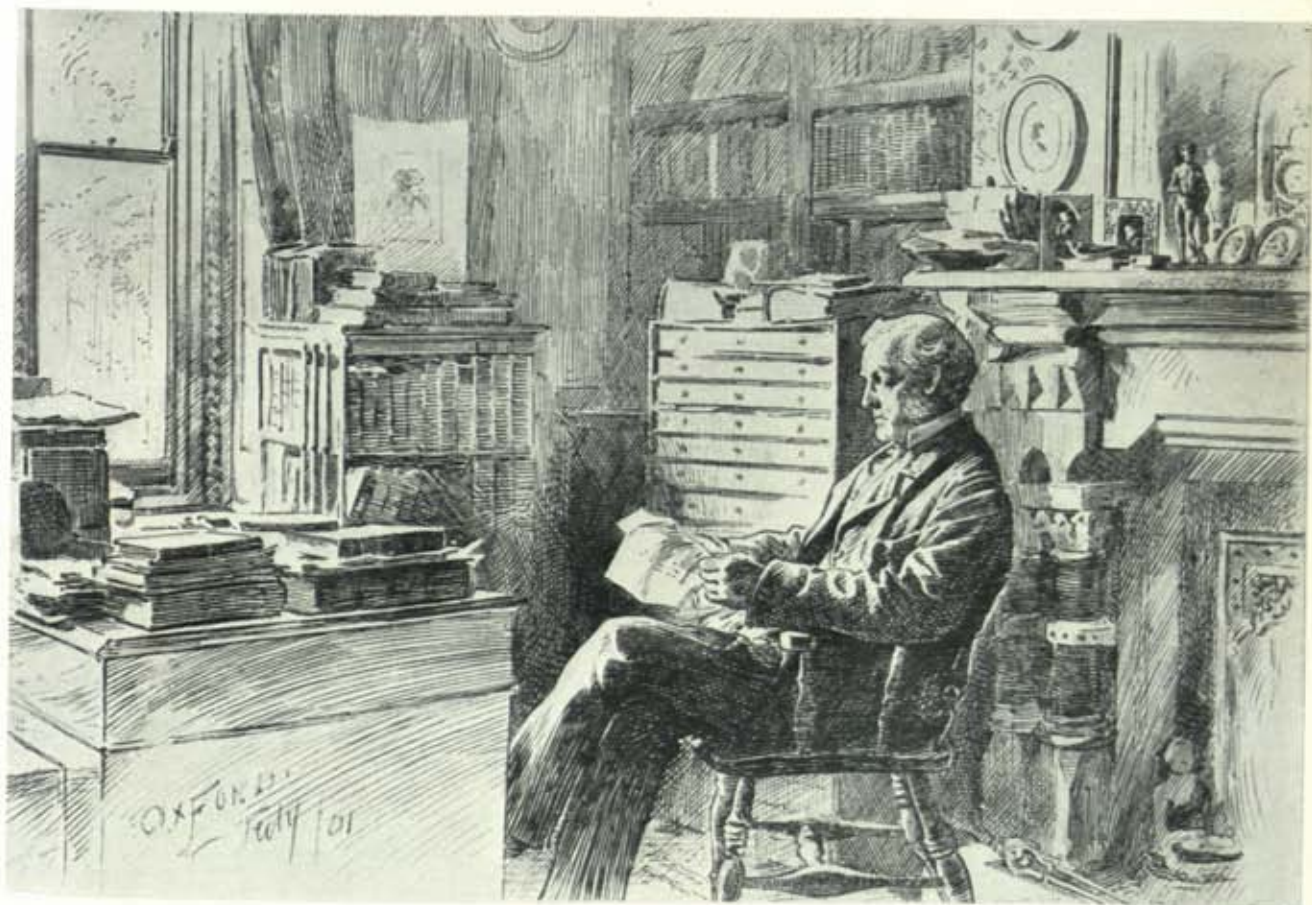
a

SCHLIEMANN'S LETTERS TO MAX MÜLLER IN OXFORD

...just as they are now. That



a



b

SCHLIEMANN'S LETTERS TO MAX MULLER IN OXFORD



1. Storage bin



2. Baking covers



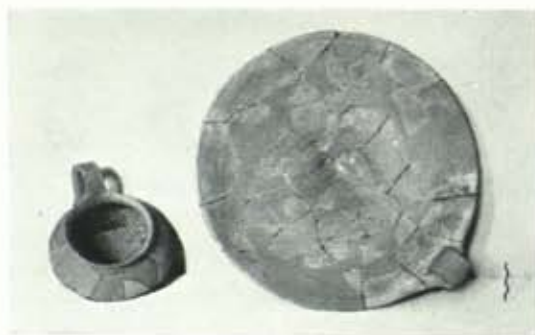
3. Lidded basins



4. Quern and rubber; grinding bowls and grinders



5. Storage jars



6. Strainer and parcher



1. Oven and brazier



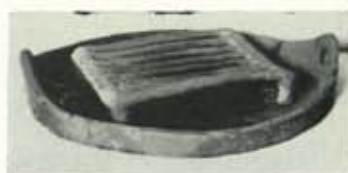
2. Mixing bowls



3. Braziers



4. Cooking pots on stands, and Hellenistic tripod pot



5. Grills and a frying-pan



6. Cooking pot on a barrel cooker



7. Water-jar and bucket



1. Cooking pots



2. Jug



3. Lidded bowls



4. Braziers, classical and modern



5. Lidded bowls on braziers



6. Braziers, Hellenistic and Roman



1. Perfume pots, oil jugs and a ladle



2. Serpieri Collection; Boeotian lekythos



3. London 233



4. Private collection



1. Oxford G39



2. Brussels inv. 2164



3. Boston 01.7783



4. Berlin 31.644



5. Berlin 6674



6. Paris E 635



1



2



3



4



5



6



7

Lekythoi in Chalcis (1-6); detail of foot of Eretrian amphora in Athens (7)

FOUR LEKYTHOI IN CHALCIS



1



2



3



4



5



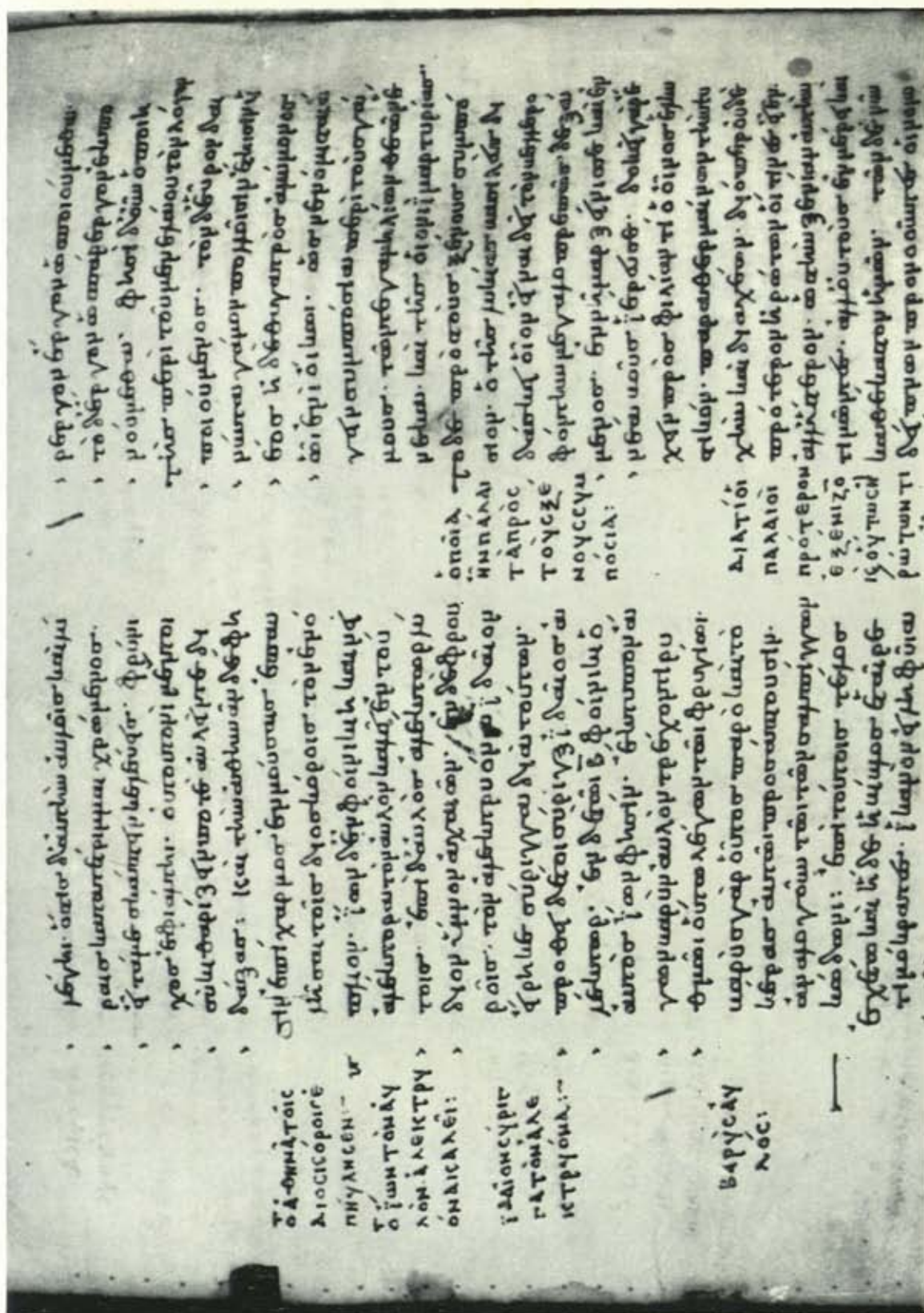
7



6

Lekythoi in Chalcis (1, 2) and Athens (5, 6); details of lid (3, 7) and foot (4) of Eretrian amphora in Athens

FOUR LEKYTHOI IN CHALCIS



MS. Marc. gr. 447 Fol. 124 verso (top half)

DID ARETHAS READ ATHENAEUS?



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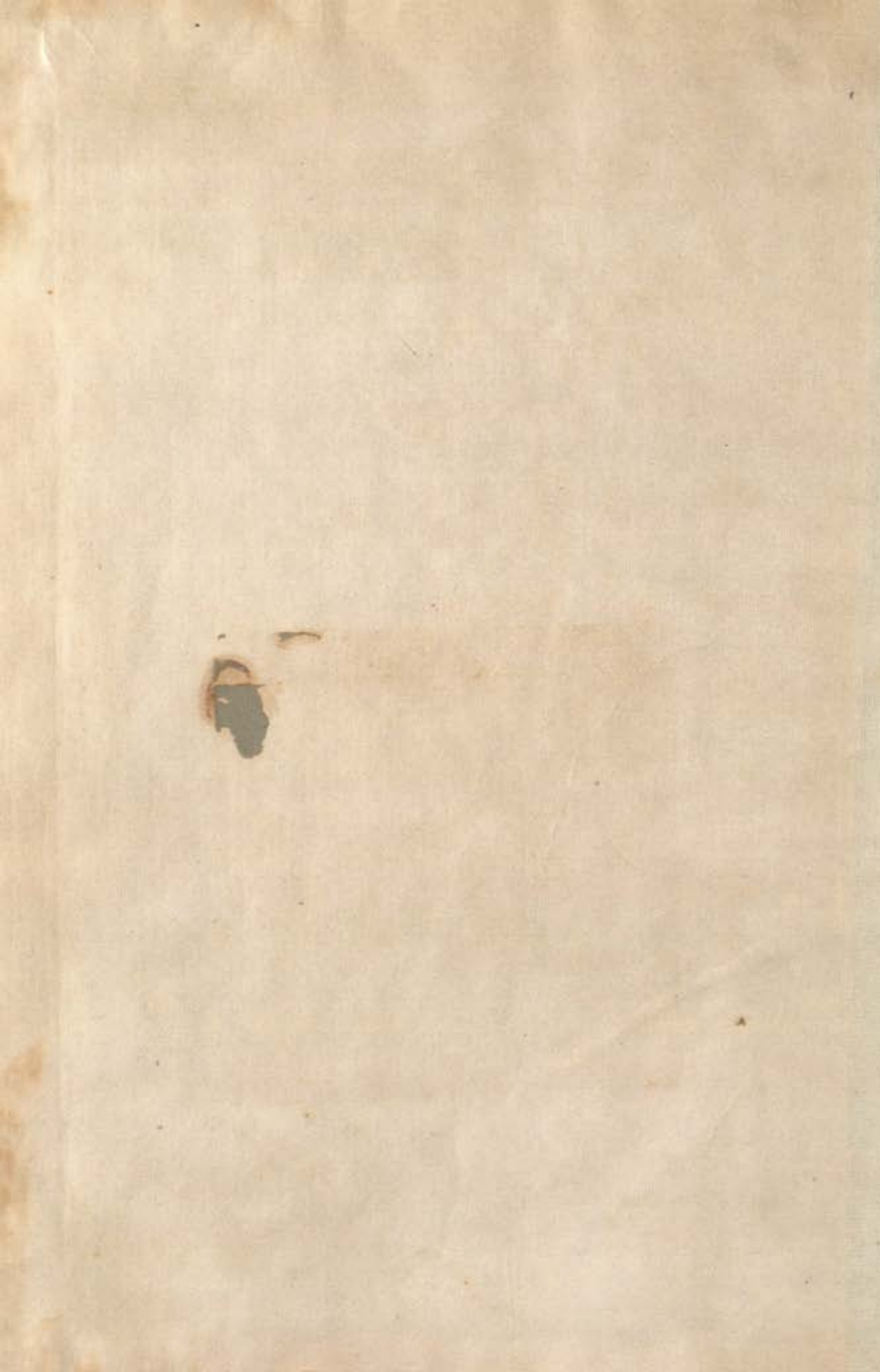
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