

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

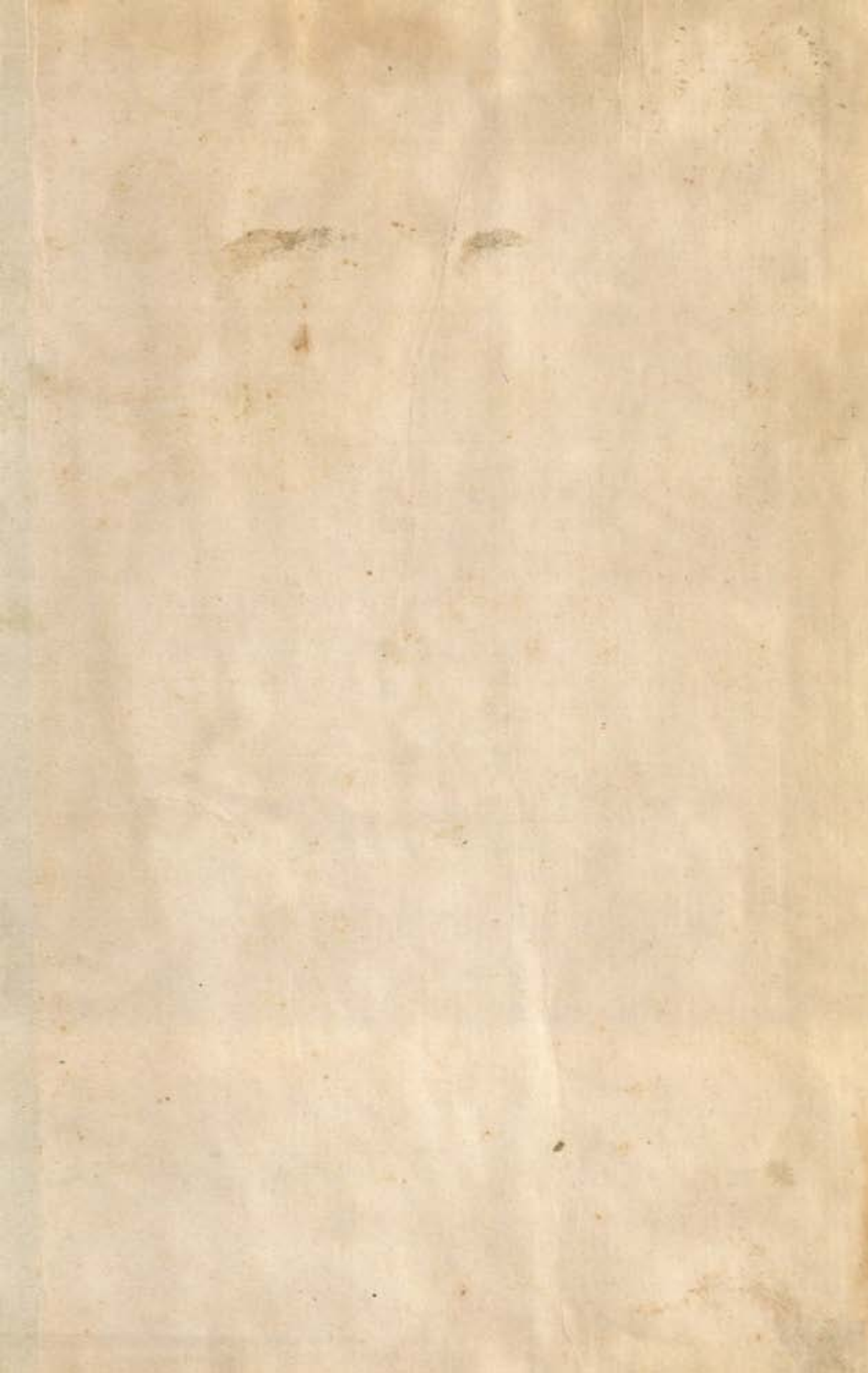
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CENTRAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY

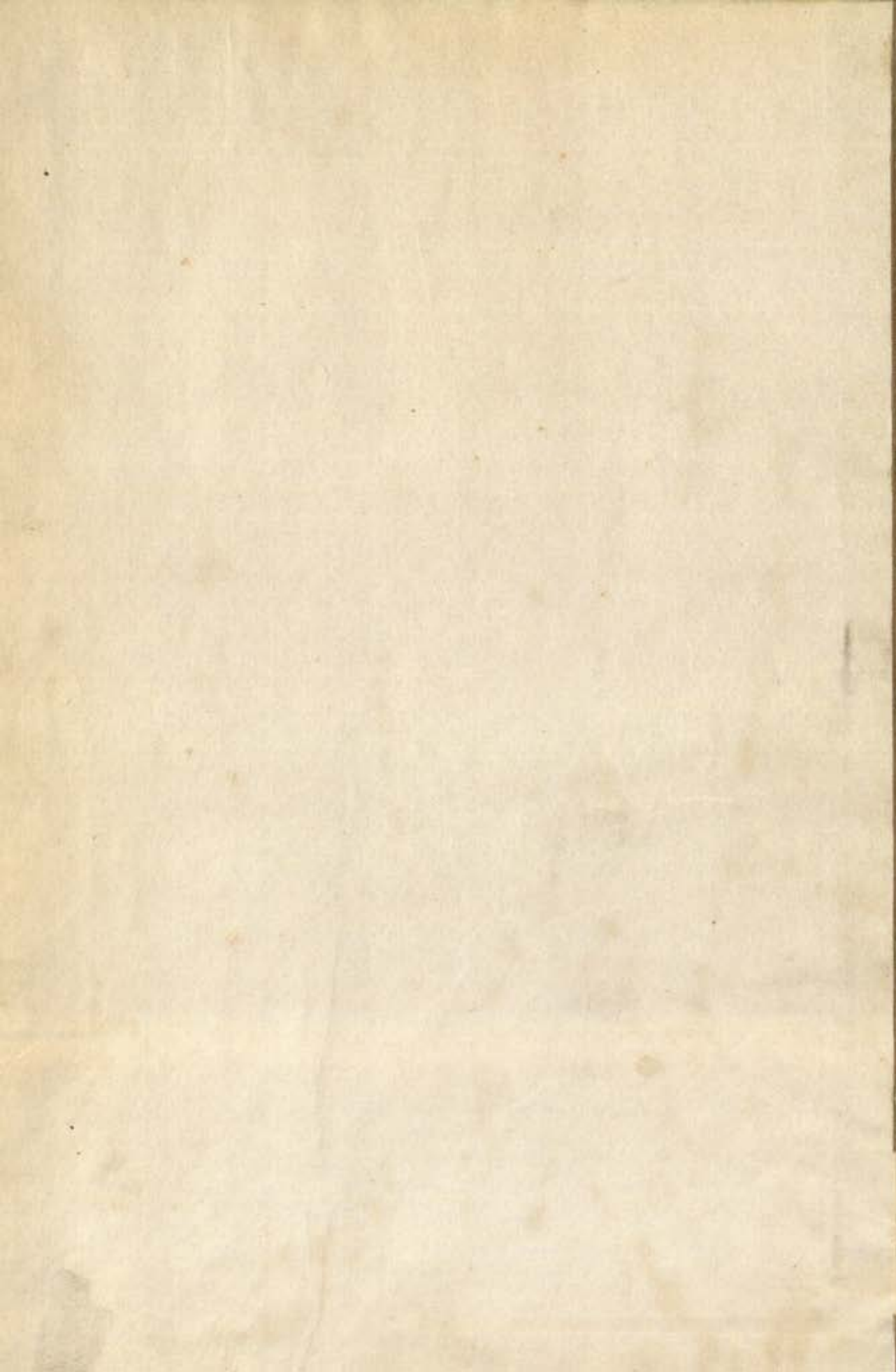
ACCESSION NO. 50544

CALL No. 938.005/J.H.S

D.G.A. 79







15.1.69

# THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME LXXXVIII 1968

*This Volume is published with assistance from The British Academy*

50544

## CONTENTS

### PAGE

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. BOARDMAN, J.       | ISLAND GEMS AFTERMATH                                |
| 13. HAMMOND, N. G. L. | THE CAMPAIGN AND THE BATTLE OF<br>MARATHON           |
| 58. HAYNES, D. E. L.  | THE PORTLAND VASE AGAIN                              |
| 73. LIEBESCHUETZ, W.  | THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF<br>THE MELIAN DIALOGUE |
| 78. LLOYD, G. E. R.   | PLATO AS A NATURAL SCIENTIST                         |
| 93. O'BRIEN, D.       | THE RELATION OF ANAXAGORAS AND<br>EMPEDOCLES         |
| 114. O'BRIEN, D.      | DERIVED LIGHT AND ECLIPSES IN THE<br>FIFTH CENTURY   |
| 128. USHER, S.        | XENOPHON, CRITIAS AND THERAMENES                     |
| NOTES:                |  |
| 136. BLOCH, H.        | A REVOLUTION IN CLASSICAL SCHOLAR-<br>SHIP?          |
| 137. CARNEY, T. F.    | CONTENT ANALYSIS AND CLASSICAL<br>SCHOLARSHIP        |
| 138. HARRIS, H. A.    | AN ATHLETIC ΑΠΑΣ ΑΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΝ                           |
| 139. LOCKWOOD, W. B.  | AN ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTION IN READING                   |
| 140. URE, A. D.       | A CORINTHIAN CUP AND A EUBOEAN<br>LEKYTHOS           |
| 142. NOTICES OF BOOKS |  |
| 267. BOOKS RECEIVED   |  |
| 277. INDEXES          |  |

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES  
31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.  
PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY



# THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1968-1969.

## President

PROF. E. G. TURNER, F.B.A.

## Vice-Presidents

The following ex-Presidents:

PROF. E. R. DODDS, D.Litt., F.B.A., 1948-50  
PROF. T. B. L. WEBSTER, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., 1951-53  
PROF. DOROTHY TARRANT, 1954-56  
PROF. R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM, F.B.A., 1959-62  
PROF. A. ANDREWES, F.B.A., 1962-65  
PROF. N. G. L. HAMMOND, D.S.O., 1965-68

and

PROF. BERNARD ASHMOLE, C.B.E., F.B.A.  
SIR JOHN BEAZLEY, C.H., Litt.D., F.B.A.

SIR JOHN FORSDYKE, K.C.B.  
E. S. G. ROBINSON, C.B.E., F.B.A.

## Council

Elected 1966

J. N. COLDSTREAM  
V. R. d'A. DESBOROUGH  
A. D. FITTON BROWN  
W. G. FORREST  
MISS D. H. F. GRAY  
DR. L. JEFFERY  
DR. J. G. LANDELS  
PROF. C. MANGO  
E. D. PHILLIPS

Elected 1967

W. S. BARRETT  
J. BOARDMAN  
H. J. EASTERLING  
PROF. J. F. HEALY  
DR. C. M. KRAAY  
D. M. LEWIS  
A. W. LAWRENCE  
MISS L. PARKER  
DR. T. T. B. RYDER  
R. F. WILLETT

Elected 1968

MISS S. A. BARLOW  
DR. D. R. DICKS  
R. V. NICHOLLS  
DR. D. M. NICOL  
C. A. RODEWALD  
DR. T. J. SAUNDERS  
J. SHAWWOOD-SMITH  
DR. P. WALCOT  
PROF. M. M. WILLCOCK  
N. G. WILSON

## Editorial Committee

DR. B. SPARKES (Editor)  
PROF. R. BROWNING (Review Editor)

W. G. G. FORREST  
F. H. SANDBACH

## Trustees

PROF. C. MARTIN ROBERTSON

PROF. BERNARD ASHMOLE

PROF. P. T. STEVENS

## Hon. Treasurer

A. BERNARD WATERFIELD, F.C.A.

## Hon. Secretary

PROF. R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM,  
F.B.A.

## Hon. Secretary for U.S.A.

PROF. STERLING DOW

## Secretary

MRS. E. M. DUNCAN

## Hon. Auditors

MESSRS. DAVEY, BRIDGWATER & Co.,  
91-3 BISHOPSGATE, LONDON, E.C.2.

## Bankers

MESSRS. COUTTS & Co.,  
15 LOMBARD STREET, E.C.3.

## Officers of the Joint Library

### Hon. Librarian

PROF. O. SKUTSCH

### Librarian

MISS J. E. SOUTHAN

### Keeper of Lantern Slides

MRS. M. GOODALL

Contributions to the Journal should be sent to Dr B. Sparkes, The University, Southampton, Sog. 5NH.  
Books intended for review should be addressed to The Librarian, 31-34 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

NATURAL HISTORY GEOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No

50544

Date

25-6-72

Call No

938.005/J.H.S.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES

---

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1967-68





# THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

## REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1967-68

The Council beg to submit their report of the session:—

### Finance

The 1967 accounts show a welcome improvement in the Society's financial position with a surplus of £973. This has checked the rapid dwindling of the Society's reserves and will go some way towards replacing the losses of past years. Deficits of £429 in 1964, £1,039 in 1965 and £212 in 1966 had reduced the surplus account to £963.

Total expenditure is down from £8,349 to £6,990. This is mainly due to the reduced cost of the *Journal* which was £1,100 less than in 1966, and of *Archaeological Reports* which was £83 less as fewer copies were printed than in 1966 when the Index was included.

Once again generous grants were received from the British Academy (£250), the H. A. Thomas Fund of Cambridge (£200), the Craven Committee of Oxford (£200) and the Institute of Classical Studies (£100 for binding). Sales of present and past numbers of the *Journal* and *Reports* continued successfully and brought in over £1,000. During the year the Council accepted a recommendation of the Finance Committee to increase the Library Subscription to £4/12/6d. from January, 1968, in order to meet the need for a more permanent source of income. This will help to offset the increases in all costs, particularly in printing, expected during the year.

### Membership

Membership figures as at December 31st, 1967, are shown below, with comparable figures for past years:—

	Members	Life Members	Student Associates	Libraries	Total
1963	1,208	155	135	554	2,052
1964	1,254	157	142	583	2,136
1965	1,234	192	122	624	2,172
1966	1,188	196	160	676	2,220
1967	1,190	200	147	749	2,286

### Obituary

The Council records with great regret the deaths of the following members:—

Sir Frank Adcock, a Vice-President; Sir John Sheppard, a Vice-President; Miss E. B. Bull; Dr. A. W. van Buren; E. W. Cumbers; Commander R. Dudley-Smith; A. D. Franklin; Mrs. J. Harwood, Major T. H. C. Hopkins; A. L. Irvine; Prof. J. H. Jongkees; Rev. D. McTaggart; P. E. Nash; Lady Dorothy Nicholson; Prof. H. J. W. Tillyard; and also two honorary members, Dr. Ch. Karouzos; and Prof. M. P. Nilsson.

### Journal of Hellenic Studies

Volume 87 of the *Journal* was published in November. The number of reviews was considerably smaller than in 1966 and the Volume was altogether 76 pages shorter than Volume 86. An unusually large section of plates was partly paid for by a special grant from Southampton University.

The *Archaeological Reports* were again published with the financial support of the British School at Athens. Sales continued steadily throughout the year, at 12/6d. a copy.

### Administration

Professor E. G. Turner, F.B.A., was nominated for election as President of the Society for the period 1968-1971.

The Council wish to thank Mr. F. H. Betts of Messrs. Davey, Bridgwater & Co. for kindly consenting once again to act as Honorary Auditor to the Society's accounts.

The eleven Members of Council who retire in rotation under Rule 19 are: Prof. W. G. Arnott, M. G. Balme, Mrs. P. E. Easterling, Prof. G. L. Huxley, Sir Desmond Lee, Dr. W. H. Plommer, Prof. B. R. Rees, Prof. W. B. Stanford, R. S. Stanier, Dr. F. H. Stubbings, Prof. R. E. Wycherley.

In their place the Council have nominated the following for election:—Miss S. A. Barlow, Dr. D. R. Dicks, R. V. Nicholls, Dr. D. M.



Nicol, C. A. Rodewald, Dr. T. J. Saunders, J. Sharwood-Smith, Dr. P. Walcot, Prof. M. M. Willcock, N. G. Wilson.

### Meetings

The following communications have been made at Meetings of the Society during the Session:—

November 16th, 1967, Mr. J. Boardman on 'Gem Engraving in Ancient Greece'.

January 4th, 1968, Mrs. P. E. Easterling on 'Sophocles, *Trachiniae*'.

March 14th, 1968, Prof. A. W. H. Adkins on 'The application of some basic Greek values to the interpretation of Greek Literature'.

June 27th, 1968, Mr. G. L. Cawkwell on 'Epaminondas'.

### Provincial Meetings

Meetings were arranged outside London in collaboration with local associations during the Session 1967-68:—

At Birmingham: Prof. C. M. Robertson on 'Portraiture: the Greek and the Roman approach'.

At Manchester: Dr. T. T. B. Ryder on 'Leadership in a Democracy: three great Athenians'.

At Nottingham: Prof. A. W. H. Adkins on 'The *Frogs* of Aristophanes and the Athenian audience'.

At Exeter: Mr. D. A. Russell on 'Plutarch's *Moralia*'.

At Edinburgh: Prof. K. J. Dover on 'Attic Oratory and the Problem of Authorship'.

At Reading: Mr. J. N. Coldstream on 'Minoan and Mycenaean Wall-painting'.

At Leeds: Dr. J. G. Landels on 'Music in Ancient Greece'.

At Southampton: Dr. R. A. Higgins on 'Greek and Roman Jewellery'.

At Sheffield: Prof. K. J. Dover on 'Aspects of the Contest in *Frogs*'.

At Edinburgh: Prof. W. G. Arnott on 'From Aristophanes to Menander'.

At Hull: Prof. A. H. Armstrong on 'Platonic and Christian Love'.

At Leicester: Mr. D. M. Macdowell on 'Why read the Attic orators?'.

At Durham: Mr. G. T. Griffith on 'Thucydides as an "exact" historian'.

### The Joint Library

The Library continues to expand steadily and to be very fully used. It is increasingly regarded as a centre for information, and bibliographical enquiries from all over the world are received and dealt with.

In an attempt to alleviate the pressure on reading space, three more permanent places have been provided in the New Periodicals bay

of the Reading Room. There are now seats for thirty-five readers in the Reading Room, six in the Stack and three in Research Rooms.

The number of books borrowed continues to rise annually. The figures for the last three years are as follows:

	1965	1966	1967
Books borrowed	4,721	5,132	5,324
Borrowers	777	721	752
Book parcels sent by post	403	336	372

An increasing number of requests for xerox copies is being received, from both Libraries and individuals, in this country and abroad. All requests are dealt with, provided no infringement of the copyright law is involved. During the year under review, 1,302 xerox copies were made and sent out, and many more were made by members themselves. The growth of this service can be seen from the fact that the corresponding figure for last year was 225.

The number of books added to the Joint Library again fell slightly. The figures for the last three years are as follows:—

	1965	1966	1967
Joint Library	776	724	682
Institute	246	275	279
	1,022	999	961

The reason for this decline is that the Library's income fails to keep pace with the ever-increasing cost of books. This is offset to some extent by the books received for review in the *Journals of Hellenic and Roman Studies*. In the year under review 367 books were received in this way. Similarly, the steep rise in the cost of periodicals in the last few years does not affect the Library very much, since about two thirds of its periodicals are received by exchange. The total number of periodicals currently taken is 350-260 by the Joint Library (including 187 by exchange) and 90 by the Institute (including 56 by exchange).

308 books were bound during the year (228 by the Joint Library and 80 by the Institute) and 183 periodicals (145 by the Joint Library and 38 by the Institute).

Thanks are due to the following, who have presented books and offprints during the year:

Mr. D. Barag, Mr. R. C. Bennison, Mrs. T. V. Blavatskaya, Prof. J. M. Blázquez, Prof. H. Bloesch, Dr. G. C. Boon, Prof. R. Browning, Prof. A. W. Byvanck, Prof. B. Cunliffe, Dr. A. Dascalakis, Mrs. P. E. Easterling, Prof. R. Egger, Dr. V. L. Ehrenberg, Mr. C. T. H. R. Ehrhardt, Dr. J. Fitz, Prof. D. J. Furley, Mr. G. E. Fussell, Dr. H. Gollob, Prof. K. Hanell, Prof. C. H. E. Haspels, Mrs. S. Haynes,

Mr. M. Holmes, Mr. M. K. Hopkins, Mr. J. K. Horne, Mrs. S. C. Humphreys, Prof. G. Huxley, Prof. H. R. Immerwahr, Dr. C. Jeannoulides, Dr. W. Krenkel, Mr. G. M. Lee, Mr. R. E. Linington, Mr. M. D. Macleod, Mr. J. G. Macnamara, Mr. B. Malcus, Prof. G. Mantzoufas, Prof. H. F. Mussche, Mrs. I. Nicolaou, Mr. K. Nicolaou, Dr. P. Oliva, Mr. G. Rogers, Dr. B. Rutkowski, Dr. E. E. Schmidt, Dr. G. Stričević, Prof. A. D. Trendall, Prof. E. G. Turner, Dr. C. C. Vermeule, Prof. T. B. L. Webster, Prof. R. P. Winnington-Ingram, Mrs. K. Woodhouse, Dr. R. Zoepffel, Dept. of Classics of the University of Cincinnati, Joint Association of Classical Teachers, Dr. Williams's Library.

#### **The Slides Collection**

During the year the slides collection was extensively used by members hiring slides, but

there was a sharp decline in the sale of slides, as there was a dearth of the large orders (received from Universities abroad) that accounted for a large proportion of the slides sales in the preceding three years.

The number of slides borrowed was 4,259, 581 more than in 1966 (3,678). The number of slides sold was 642, 807 less than in 1966 (1,449). The number of coloured slides in the collection has been increased by 72, and there are now 1,194 Greek slides and 1,886 Roman slides, a total of 3,080. The duplication of the Roman slides is nearing completion.

A set of 2 in.  $\times$  2 in. coloured slides of 'The Roman Army', compiled by Dr. G. Webster, has been prepared. It is expected that a set on 'Roman Coins' by Mr. R. A. Carson will also be ready this summer. Further sets have been promised, and that on 'Pompeii' should be ready by the end of the year.



# LIST OF MEMBERS

*Elected during the session 1967-68*

- Ammerman, Mrs. A., 55 Konstantinoupoleos Street, Byron, Athens, Greece.  
 Atterton, T. W., 30 Oakhill Court, Edge Hill, London, S.W.19.  
 Bald, Miss M. J. F., c/o The Standard Bank, 28 Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2.  
 Barber, R. L. N., 8 Crossings Road, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Stockport, Derbyshire.  
 Berryman, Miss P., 127 Stapleton Hall Road, Stroud Green, London, N.4.  
 Bird, T. A., 11 Greenstead Court, Colchester, Essex.  
 Blewitt, D. W., 30 Ypsilou Street, Kolonaki, Athens.  
 Boggins, Prof. K., St. Dunstan's University, Charlottetown, P.E.I., Canada.  
 Boreham, L. C., 39 Bedford Avenue, Barnet, Herts.  
 Bozonis, Dr. G., 22 Cycladon Street, Athens 802, Greece.  
 Bryer, Dr. A. A. M., School of History, The University, Birmingham 15.  
 Casey, P. M., 18 Clarence Gardens, Spalding, Lincolnshire.  
 Cavanagh, W., 21 Keynsham House, Manor House, London, N.4.  
 Chalwin, V. J., 27 Shellbank Avenue, Cremorne, New South Wales, Australia.  
 Claye, Sir Andrew, 247A Hills Road, Cambridge.  
 Collard, C., 51 Beaconsfield Road, Canterbury, Kent.  
 Collier, Miss M., 34 Berwyn Road, Richmond, Surrey.  
 Cropp, M. J., 26 Cathcart Road, London, S.W.10.  
 Dawson, B. A., 42 Hempstall Grove, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire.  
 Dearden, C. W., University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.  
 Dempster, Mrs. E. O., 36 Raymond Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.  
 Derow, P. S., 218B Marshall Street, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.  
 Doumas, C., Plapouta, 50, Athens 707, Greece.  
 England, R., 3 Montpelier Road, Ealing, London, W.5.  
 Ferngren, G. B., University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, B.C., Canada.  
 Flagge, Miss I., 29 Yew Tree Court, Bridge Lane, London, N.W.11.  
 Ford, Mrs. P. M., 43 Burghill Road, Sydenham, London, S.E.26.  
 Friendly, Mrs. A., 17 Westmoreland Terrace, London, S.W.1.  
 Gordon-Kerr, Rev. F. A., 59 Leam Gardens, Wardley, Gateshead, Co. Durham.  
 Griffiths, P. J., 34 Rose Hill Park West, Sutton, Surrey.  
 Harrington, Prof. D., Georgetown College, Georgetown, Kentucky, U.S.A.  
 Harvey, C. P., Wilderness House, Hampton Court, E. Molesey, Surrey.  
 Henig, M. E., Westland, Potter Street Hill, Pinner, Middlesex.  
 Hills, Miss M., 25 Myrtle Road, Palmers Green, London, N.13.  
 Hodges, J. T. A., 51 Keston Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey.  
 Innes, Miss D. C., University of Kent, Canterbury, Kent.  
 James, Mrs. M. F., 43 Abbotsbury Close, London, W.14.  
 Jay, P. A. C., 5 Carew Road, Northwood, Middlesex.  
 Kenworthy, R. G., 76 Gov. Belcher Lane, Milton, Massachusetts, U.S.A.  
 Kirkham, E. D., 46 Cardinal's Walk, Leicester.  
 Korolis, L. A., 6023 N. Jersey Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.  
 Koumoulides, Dr. J. T. A., Austin Peay State University, Clarksville, Tennessee, U.S.A.  
 Littman, R. J., 142 Pine Terrace, Demarest, New Jersey, U.S.A.  
 Lohr, R. E., 46 Lincoln Street, Ashland, Oregon, U.S.A.  
 Loizides, R. G., Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation, Athalassa, Nicosia, Cyprus.  
 MacCormack, G. D., University of Glasgow, Glasgow, W.2.  
 MacDonald, I. S., 3 Kinellan Road, Bearsden, Glasgow.  
 MacDonald, R., 122 Huntingdon Road, Cambridge.  
 McCloskey, N., University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Canada.  
 McDougall, J. I., University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.  
 McGinley, Mrs. A. V., 162 Hainault Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11.  
 Malfatti, N., 62 Taylor Road, Wallington, Surrey.  
 Marr, J. L., University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.  
 Marsh, D., 17 Nyewood Lane, Bognor Regis, Sussex.  
 Marshall, M. H. B., 60 Clevedon Drive, Glasgow, W.2.  
 Martin, P. W., New College, Oxford.  
 Maybury, D., Grosvenor High School, Belfast 5, N. Ireland.  
 Morris, D. F. E., 12 Amados Close, Merafield, Plympton, Devon.

Murray, S. D., 97 Broadhurst Gardens, London, N.W.6.  
 Myers, W. J., Piazza Margana 19, Rome, Italy.  
 O'Brien, Dr. D., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.  
 Papadopoulos, A., 70 Gloucester Drive, London, N.4.  
 Papadopolou, Mrs. L., 70 Gloucester Drive, London, N.4.  
 Pattie, T. S., British Museum, London, W.C.1.  
 Payne, A., 1 Castleford Avenue, London, S.E.9.  
 Potamianos, Miss H.-A., 7 Elm Park Lane, London, S.W.3.  
 Prag, A. J. N. W., Brasenose College, Oxford.  
 Pritchett, Dr. C. D., University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Canada.  
 Richards, Miss C. G., 62 Southdown Road, West Wimbledon, London, S.W.20.  
 Richardson, N. J., Flat 9, 30 Cadogan Place, London, S.W.1.  
 Rickerby, Miss M., 5 Lansdown Place West, Bath, Somerset.  
 Ridley, R. E., 589 Etruria Road, Basford, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire.  
 Riele, G. J. M. J. Te, 56 Jac-P. Thijsselaan, Utrecht, Netherlands.  
 Salmon, J. B., Queen's University, Belfast 7.  
 Scantlebury, Mrs. G. de Bogaerde, 88 Whitelands House, Cheltenham Terrace, London, S.W.3.  
 Schein, S. L., 160 Claremont Avenue, New York, N.Y.10027, U.S.A.  
 Scott, Miss J. D., 84A Colinton Road, Edinburgh 11.  
 Showalter, P., 1611 E. Broadway, Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A.  
 Small, A. McEwen, The University, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1.  
 Soteriades, Miss M., 67 Madeley Road, Ealing, London, W.5.  
 Storer, K. P., Pennygate, Kirdford, Billingshurst, Sussex.  
 Szemerényi, Z. S., 22A Broadlands Road, London, N.6.  
 Taplyn, Mrs. W. M., 10 Thurlow Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.  
 Tejera, Prof. V., State University of New York, Stony Brook, N.Y.11790, U.S.A.  
 Theodoulides, Miss C., 116 Queensgate, London, S.W.7.  
 Thompson, Miss D., 1 Mandeville Place, London, W.1.  
 Trafford, H. L., Colegio de Ingleses, Valladolid, Spain.  
 Turner, Miss J. L., 25 Melrose Road, Hill Lane, Southampton.  
 Walker, I. G. H., 125 Norsey Road, Billericay, Essex.  
 Whitehill, G. H., 12 Randolph Avenue, London, W.9.  
 Wilson, J. P., 13 Braemor Avenue, Church Town, Dublin, 14, Ireland.  
 Wolff, C., 14 Landsdowne Road, London, W.11.  
 Zografou, Mrs. M.-M., 62 Hetley Road, Shepherds Bush, London, S.W.12.

#### STUDENT ASSOCIATES

Barlow, P. J., King's College, Cambridge.  
 Bartle, Miss C. J., Bedford College, London.  
 Bissicks, Miss N. B., North Western Polytechnic, London.  
 Bonney, R. J., King's College, Cambridge.  
 Burns, I. M., Bedford College, London.  
 Chalmers, Miss D. A., London School of Economics, London.  
 Clark, Miss M. A., Birkbeck College, London.  
 Clark, R. J., University of Exeter.  
 Coward, J. D., King's College, Cambridge.  
 Daniels, P. A., University College of North Wales, Bangor.  
 Davidson, J. F., University College, London.  
 Dempsey, D. G., Queen Mary College, London.  
 Diamond, G. P., Institute of Archaeology, University of London.  
 Doran, R. J., King's College, London.  
 Drinkwater, J. F., Jesus College, Cambridge.  
 Ford, M., University of Birmingham.  
 Gowlett, Miss S. J., Westfield College, London.  
 Griffiths, P. J., King's College, London.  
 Hall, M. J. Miss, Bedford College, London.  
 Harris, Miss C. T., Westfield College, London.  
 Hazeldine, N., Christ Church, Oxford.  
 Hazlehurst, J., Queen Mary College, London.  
 Instone, D. R., Christ Church, Oxford.  
 Judkins, P. E., Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.  
 Lewen, S. R., King's College, Cambridge.



Linford, D. J., *Christ Church, Oxford.*  
 Mann, S. A., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*  
 Masters, A. P., *King's College, Cambridge.*  
 Mazonaki, Miss E., *University College, London.*  
 Nevin, P. R., *King's College, Cambridge.*  
 Parry, J. W., *Keble College, Oxford.*  
 Parlett, G. F., *Birkbeck College, London.*  
 Phillips, Miss D. B., *St. Mary's College, Durham.*  
 Pickett, Miss C., *Bedford College, London.*  
 Pollard, J. A., *Bedford College, London.*  
 Preiskel, A. A., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*  
 Quicke, A. C., *University College of North Wales, Bangor.*  
 Rawlinson, G. C., *King's College, Cambridge.*  
 Richardson, J. S., *Trinity College, Oxford.*  
 Sanders, I., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*  
 Schiff, J., *Balliol College, Oxford.*  
 Scott, Miss M., *King's College, London.*  
 Sefi, B., *Keble College, Oxford.*  
 Stinchcombe, Miss D. I., *Bedford College, London.*  
 Taylor, Miss J. R., *University College, London.*  
 Thomas, D., *Birkbeck College, London.*  
 Thompson, S. J., *Worcester College, Oxford.*  
 Thorley, Miss M. J., *University College, London.*  
 Thornhill, R. W., *University College, Oxford.*  
 Watts, M. D., *Queen Mary College, London.*  
 Webster, Mrs. J., *Institute of Archaeology, London University.*  
 Wedeles, Miss A., *Newnham College, Cambridge.*  
 Whetman, P. H., *University of Bristol.*  
 Wood, Miss S., *Newnham College, Cambridge.*  
 Zachariadou, Miss A., *Birkbeck College, London.*

#### SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES

CANADA, *St. Dunstan's University, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.*  
 CANADA, *University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba.*  
 FRANCE, *Institut de Recherches Historiques, Economiques et Humaines, 35 Rennes.*  
 GERMANY, *Archäologisches Institut der Universität Würzburg, 87 Würzburg.*  
 U.K., *King's College, Cambridge.*  
 U.K., *Repton School, Derby.*  
 U.K., *University Library, Dundee.*  
 U.S.A., *Alabama, University of Alabama Library, Huntsville.*  
 U.S.A., *Arkansas, Southern State College, Magnolia.*  
 U.S.A., *Florida, Gulf Coast Community Jr. College, Panama City.*  
 U.S.A., *Illinois, North Park College, Chicago.*  
 U.S.A., *Illinois, Western Illinois State University, Macomb.*  
 U.S.A., *Indiana, Wabash College, Crawfordsville.*  
 U.S.A., *Michigan, Dwight B. Waldo Library, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo.*  
 U.S.A., *Michigan, Oakland University, Rochester.*  
 U.S.A., *Minnesota, Carleton College Library, Northfield.*  
 U.S.A., *Minnesota, Bethel College Library, North Snelling Avenue, St. Paul.*  
 U.S.A., *Missouri, South East Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau.*  
 U.S.A., *New York, E. H. Butler Library, State University College, Buffalo.*  
 U.S.A., *New York, Hartwick College, Oneonta.*  
 U.S.A., *Ohio, Our Lady of Cincinnati College, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati.*  
 U.S.A., *Oregon, Lewis and Clark College, Palatine Hill Road, Portland.*  
 U.S.A., *Pennsylvania, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana.*  
 U.S.A., *Texas, The University of Texas at El Paso.*  
 U.S.A., *Texas, University of Houston Libraries, Cullen Boulevard, Houston.*  
 U.S.A., *Texas, Estill Library, South Houston State Teaching College, Huntsville.*  
 U.S.A., *Virginia, Hughes Library, Old Dominion College, Norfolk.*

# THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

## BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1967

1966.	Liabilities and Funds	£	1966.	Assets	£
2,891	DEBTS PAYABLE AND SUNDRY CREDIT BALANCES	5,876		CASH IN HAND:—	
408	SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED IN ADVANCE..	944		Bank Current Account	1,272
3,051	ENDOWMENT FUND ..	3,051		Bank Deposit Account	7,400
	LIFE COMPOSITIONS:—			Petty Cash ..	5
	As at January 1, 1967	4,107	3,885		
	Received during year	135	1,503	DEBTS RECEIVABLE ..	8,677
4,107				INVESTMENTS AT COST:—	1,203
300	PUBLICATION FUND ..	4,242	5,530	(Approximate Market Value at December 31, 1967—£4,302)..	5,530
	LEGACY FROM PROFESSOR NOCK:—	300	1,066	STOCK OF JOURNALS AND PUBLICATIONS ..	956
	As at January 1, 1967	64			
	Less: Books purchased for Library therefrom	46			
64		18			
	SURPLUS ACCOUNT:—				
	As at January 1, 1967	962			
	Add: Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year	973			
963		1,935			
		<u>£16,366</u>			<u>£16,366</u>
		<u>£11,784</u>			

*The Society's share of the capital value of the Library and Photographic Department is not included as an Asset in the above Balance Sheet.*

We have audited the Books of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for the year ended December 31, 1967, and have received all the information and explanations we have required, and in our opinion the above Balance Sheet gives a true and correct view of the Society's financial position at December 31, 1967, according to the Books of the Society and the information furnished to us.

Ethelburga House, 91-93 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.  
LONDON, February 13, 1968.

DAVEY BRIDGWATER & Co., Certified Accountants

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1967

1966.	Expenditure	£	1966.	Income	£
556	Salaries and State Insurance ..	624	5,867	Subscriptions Received	6,028
333	Printing and Stationery ..	351		Life Compositions (Deceased Members) brought into	
130	Postages and Telephone ..	151	98	Revenue ..	
203	Sundry Expenses ..	143		Sales of Journals:—	
5,570	Balance from <i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> Account ..	4,152	570	Current Volumes ..	616
1,237	Share of Library Maintenance Account ..	1,249	621	Back Volumes ..	480
320	Grant for Books ..	330	1,191		
—	Balance—being excess of Income over Expenditure	973	122	Less: Back Volumes Purchased ..	1,096
			1,069		166
			114	Sales of Archaeological Reports ..	930
			239	Dividends (gross) ..	125
			282	Interest on Bank Deposit Account ..	239
			200	Grant—H. A. Thomas Fund ..	231
			150	Income Tax Recoverable (Deeds of Covenant) ..	200
			74	Miscellaneous Receipts, Royalties, etc. ..	150
			44	Donations ..	48
			212	Balance—being excess of Expenditure over Income	12
		<u>£8,349</u>			
		<u>£7,963</u>			<u>£7,963</u>



# THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1967

1966.	£	£	1966.	£
Cost of Volume LXXXVII:—			Receipts from Advertisements	£ 248
Printing and Paper ..	3,193		Grant from British Academy ..	250
Drawings and Engraving ..	151		Grant from Craven Committee ..	200
Editing and Reviewing ..	417		Contribution from Institute of Classical Studies	75
Postage and Packing ..	556		Contribution from Southampton University	72
		4,317	Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	4,152
Cost of Archaeological Reports 1966/67:—				
Printing and Paper ..	835			
Drawings and Engraving ..	174			
Postage etc. ..	—			
	1,009			
	329			
	680			
Less: Payable by British School at Athens	..			
	—			
1,172				
410				
762				
	£6,171			£4,997

## THE JOINT LIBRARY OF THE HELLENIC AND ROMAN SOCIETIES

BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1967

1966.	£	s.	d.	1966.	£	s.	d.
DEBTS PAYABLE ..	600	3	1	CASH IN HAND:—			
SLIDES ACCOUNT—Surplus ..	361	2	7	At Bank ..	73		
PROCEEDS OF SALE OF "ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA":—				Petty Cash ..	2		
As at January 1, 1967 ..	20	17	4	DEBTS RECEIVABLE AND PAYMENTS IN ADVANCE			
Less: Books purchased therefrom ..	20	17	4	ACCOUNT WITH ROMAN SOCIETY ..	149	8	6
PROCEEDS OF SALE OF "BULLETIN HISPANIQUE" (Donated by Hellenic Society):—				ACCOUNT WITH HELLENIC SOCIETY ..	238	13	4
As at January 1, 1967 ..	94	14	0	BOOKS ACCOUNT—Deficit ..	388	1	10
Less: Books purchased therefrom ..	94	14	0		35	1	4
	£794				£961	5	8

We have audited the books of the Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies for the year ended December 31, 1967, and have received all the information and explanations we have required and in our opinion the Balance Sheet gives a true and correct view of the financial position of the Joint Library at December 31, 1967, according to the books of the Joint Library and the information given to us.

Ethelburga House, 91-93 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.  
LONDON, January 31, 1968.

DAVEY BRIDGWATER & Co., Certified Accountants

## LIBRARY MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1967

1966.	£	s.	d.	1966.	£	s.	d.
Salaries, State and Pension Insurance	2,045	19	3	Expenditure divided as follows:—			
Maintenance Charge paid to Institute of Classical Studies	224	1	11	Hellenic Society (50%) ..	1,249	8	6
Printing and Stationery ..	59	8	3	Roman Society (50%) ..	1,249	8	6
61 Postages ..	70	7	1				
96 Accessions List ..	93	17	9				
2 Sundry Expenses ..	5	2	9				
	£2,498	17	0		2,498	17	0
	£2,426				£2,498	17	0

JOINT LIBRARY BOOKS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1967

[illegible]

ANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1967.

[illegible]

## ACCOUNT WITH HELLENIC AND ROMAN SOCIETIES AT DECEMBER 31, 1967

	Hellenic			Roman		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Share of Library Maintenance	1,249	8	6	1,249	8	6
Grant for Library Books	320	0	0	320	0	0
Reimbursement from Professor Nock's Legacy	46	1	7			
books purchased	52	0	0			
Salary paid by Library for Hellenic Society	1	3	3			
Amounts paid to Hellenic Society for Library						
	£1,668	13	4	£1,569	8	6





# D. J. CROWTHER LTD.

76 NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, W.1  
2nd Floor Showrooms

Telephone: 01-629 9835

Cables: Crowcoin, London

*Classical Antiquities*



*Classical, Medieval and Modern Coins and Medals*

PLEASE SEND FOR SPECIMEN LIST

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### RECAPTURE THE WORLDS OF YESTERDAY

with a subscription to ARCHAEOLOGY magazine. Experts guide the lay reader to every part of the globe, through civilizations of the near and distant past, in lavishly illustrated articles, news and book reviews.

Published Jan., April, June, Oct. by the  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

1 year £2 10s. Make cheques or money orders  
payable to ARCHAEOLOGY



ARCHAEOLOGY, Dept. Y6

100 Washington Square East, New York, N.Y. 10003

Send ARCHAEOLOGY for \_\_\_\_\_ year(s) to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_



## **The Dramatic Festivals of Athens**

SIR ARTHUR PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

*Revised by John Gould and D. M. Lewis*

Pickard-Cambridge's standard account of the Greek theatre has been fully revised in the light of fresh evidence, literary, archaeological, and epigraphic and has been enriched by a number of new illustrations. 2nd edition, 72 pages of plates, 3 text-figures. £5 net

## **The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers**

WERNER JAEGER

This book traces the new and revolutionizing ideas of the early Greek thinkers about the nature of the universe, from the first intimations in Hesiod down to the time of the Sophists of the Fifth Century B.C. 8/6 net  
*Oxford Paperbacks*

## **Greek Federal States**

*Their Institutions and History*

J. A. O. LARSEN

The author describes the government and institutions of Greek federal states and assesses their contributions to interstate relations and rivalries. The period considered extends from archaic Greece to the Principate. 90/- net

## **Greek Papyri**

*An Introduction*

E. G. TURNER

Mr Turner describes the rediscovery of Greek (and Latin) texts on papyrus, examines the physical properties of papyrus as a writing-material, and discusses the preliminary work required for an edition of a papyrus text. He attempts to identify the ancient owners of papyri, and to assess the contribution made by the new texts to our knowledge of the ancient world. 8 plates, 2 maps 35/- net

## **Essays in Greek Coinage**

*Presented to Stanley Robinson*

EDITED BY C. M. KRAAY AND G. K. JENKINS

Stanley Robinson has done much to establish the study of Greek coinage as an essential element in the study of Greek history. This volume contains seventeen essays ranging over the whole period of autonomous Greek coinage written by colleagues, friends and pupils. 34 plates £6/6/- net

## **The Law of Athens**

*The Family and Property*

A. R. W. HARRISON

The first of two volumes which will provide a systematic account of the law of Athens as it was during the fourth century B.C. Notes and Appendixes provide references to the first-hand evidence and secondary sources with some discussion of controversial issues. 63/- net

## **Dionysio Longino: Libellus De Sublimitate**

EDITED BY D. A. RUSSELL

The text of this edition is a reprint with some corrections of that published with the author's commentary in 1964; it replaces A. O. Pickard's text. An Index Verborum has been added. 15/- net

*Oxford Classical Texts*

## **Lyrice Graeca Selecta**

EDITED BY D. L. PAGE

This volume brings together the principal poems and fragments edited by Lobel and Page in *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* and by Page in *Poetae Melici Graeci*. The texts have been revised where necessary, and the critical apparatus has been abbreviated and adapted to serve the needs of teacher and student. 21/- net  
*Oxford Classical Texts*

OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY  
PRESS





## *Two books on Classical gems by the Reader in Classical Archaeology at Oxford University:*

### **Engraved Gems: The Ionides Collection**

JOHN BOARDMAN

The author outlines the history of gem-engraving in ancient Greece and Rome. By way of illustration, he describes the gems in an important private collection: that of C. A. Ionides (the distinguished connoisseur who made bequests to the Victoria and Albert Museum) and his son. Many of these gems have not previously been reproduced and, in Robert Wilkins' magnificent photographs, most of them are shown enlarged approximately fourfold. *116 pages with 9 colour plates, 130 black and white illustrations, £5 5s*

### **Archaic Greek Gems: Schools and Artists in the Sixth and Early Fifth Centuries BC**

JOHN BOARDMAN

The first, and at the same time the definitive, account of Greek gems of the sixth and early fifth centuries BC, distinguishing the various artists, schools and styles and giving full lists and descriptions of the extant gems. *116 pages with 12 colour plates, 372 black and white illustrations, £6 6s*

---

### **The Art and Architecture of Ancient Greece**

JOHN BOARDMAN, J. DÖRIG, WERNER FUCHS, MAX HIRMER

'A vast subject, worthily dealt with . . . truly magnificent photographs' *EDWARD BACON, Illustrated London News*. 'Students will find it an invaluable one-volume encyclopedia' *Observer*. 'Honest and factual . . . Mr Boardman is one of the ablest of classical archaeologists . . . Dr Fuchs . . . is concise, clear, informative and intelligent . . . provides a mixture of familiar and unfamiliar pieces which is both attractive and useful. Professor Hirmer in particular deserves congratulation for his skill'. *The Times Literary Supplement*. *600 pages with 32 colour plates, 353 black and white plates, Standard Library of Ancient and Classical Art, £8 8s*

### **Ancient Crete**

STYLIANOS ALEXIOU, NIKOLAOS PLATON, HANNI GUANELLA

This survey of the Minoan civilization of ancient Crete opens with an account of the development of Minoan art and architecture, followed by a history of Cretan civilization from before the building of the great palaces to the Dorian invasions. Professor Platon, who conducted the excavations at Zakro, describes the palace there and the treasures it yielded. This was one of the most exciting archaeological discoveries of recent years, since this palace (unlike others in Crete) had not been plundered by robbers. The magnificent photographs are by Leonard von Matt. *240 pages with 30 colour plates, 151 black and white plates, 5 plans, 1 map, £7 7s*



# **THAMES AND HUDSON**

*Write for our spring catalogue to 30 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1*

# The Voyages of Ulysses

by Erich Lessing

'Stunning photographic evocation of the Mediterranean'—*Sunday Times*

'Magnificent photographic interpretation'—*Listener*

'He is supported in this magnificent publication by an eminent array of experts—enough to establish authenticity, not so many as to crush his own imagination under a mound of pedantry—as well as by an enlightened publisher, all of whom deserve high praise. Homeric scholarship has been well served by a book which is also a delight to the eye and the hand'—*Times Educational Supplement*

115 full-colour illustrations

Original price: £8 8s. NOW AVAILABLE FOR £4 4s

## An Introduction to the Greek World

by Peter D. Arnott

'Covers history, the theatre, the philosophers with fresh and enthusiastic scholarship'—*The Times*

'Mr Arnott knows how to appeal to the reader's imagination'—*Daily Telegraph*

'A really useful addition to the social and artistic history of ancient Greece'—*Sunday Times*

16 pages of plates 30s

# MACMILLAN

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY BOOKSELLERS LIMITED



*issue regularly*

**CATALOGUES AND LISTS ON CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY**

*and other subjects within the field of the Humanities.*

*They also welcome offers of small or large collections of books for sale*

39 STORE STREET LONDON WC1

01-636 8959 & 01-580 3425



# RECENT PUBLICATIONS

- AALDERS, G. J. D.** Die Theorie der gemischten Verfassung im Altertum.  
1968. VI, 132 pag. Cloth Hfl. 20.--
- BEHR, C. A.** Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales.  
1968. XVI, 307 pag. 2 maps. 1 plan  
Cloth Hfl. 60.--
- BOLL, F.** Aus der Offenbarung Johannis. Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse.  
1968. VIII, 152 pag. Cloth Hfl. 18.--  
Reprint of the Edition Leipzig 1914
- BOSWINKEL, F. & P. J. SIJPESTEIJN** Greek Papyri, Ostraca and Mummy Labels.  
(Tabulae Paleographicae Fasc. I)  
1968. 59 pag. 54 plates. Quarto.  
Cloth Hfl. 24.--
- GALENUS** De usu Partium Libri XVII. Rec. G. Helmreich.  
2 vols. 1968. XVI, 496, v, 486 pag.  
Cloth Hfl. 84.--  
Reprint of the Edition Bibliotheca Teubneriana Leipzig 1907-1909
- MACLENNAN, H.** Oxyrhynchus. An economic and social Study.  
1968. 93 pag. Cloth Hfl. 14.--  
Reprint of the Edition Princeton 1935

**ADOLF M. HAKKERT N.V.**

Publisher for Greek and Latin

ROKIN 109-111

AMSTERDAM-C The Netherlands



# SWANS HELLENIC CRUISES



GREECE, TURKEY, YUGOSLAVIA, SICILY, MALTA, NORTH AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST, CYPRUS, BLACK SEA ... to mention but a few fascinating places to be visited during our sixteenth cruise season. Since 1954 there have been 78 cruises.

Each cruise is accompanied by a team of experts who will make the ancient world come alive for you with on-board and on-site talks.

*In 1969 there are eight 15-day cruises:*

*1st April, 15th April, 29th April, 13th May, 27th May, 5th August, 19th August, 2nd September.*

Currency regulations allow ample spending money on board and ashore. Accommodation is available at a variety of prices fully inclusive of shore excursions and air travel from London to Venice or Athens and return.

**PRICES FROM 125 to 370 GNS.**

36-page illustrated brochure available from:

**W. F. & R. K. SWAN (Hellenic) LTD.**

260-261 (H2) TOTTENHAM COURT RD. LONDON, W.1

Telephone: 01-636 8070

## The Loeb Classical Library

Edited by

E. H. WARMINGTON, M.A.

*Each volume 25s. net.*

### NEW VOLUMES 1968

413<sup>1/2</sup> ST. AUGUSTINE *City of God* III. Books VIII-XI. Translated by D. S. Wiesen

183 (XENOPHON) *Constitution of the Athenians*. Translated by G. W. Bowersock and added to *Scripta Minora*

34 BARLAAM and IOASAPH. An essay by D. M. Lang on the evolution of this religious document has been added

451 LIBANIUS I. *Selected Works*. Translated by A. F. Norman (late 1968 or early 1969)

424 PLUTARCH'S *MORALIA* VIII. Translated by P. A. Clement and H. B. Hoffleit (early 1969)

**WILLIAM HEINEMANN HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS**



# Turkey's Southern Shore

**An Archaeological Guide**

**GEORGE E. BEAN**

A stimulating volume dealing with the ancient sites within easy reach of Antalya. Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycia, with their antiquities and history are described while due attention is paid to the smaller localities.

*Copious photographs, sketches and maps* Published September

50s

## Aegean Turkey

**An Archaeological Guide**

**GEORGE E. BEAN**

"... a welcome and precious aid, for no other such systematic account of the sites and ruins of western Asia Minor exists."

*Times Literary Supplement*

*Photographs, maps and plans*

50s



## Blue Guide Greece

*Editor:* **STUART ROSSITER**

"Supersedes all the guides which I have consulted in the past."

*Sunday Times*

*105 maps and plans*

70s

## Blue Guide Athens and Environs

*Editor:* **STUART ROSSITER**

"... an excellent volume ... which is particularly useful."

*The Listener*

*Maps and plans*

25s



**BENN BOUVERIE HOUSE • FLEET STREET • LONDON • EC4**



*When I went to the Bar as a very young man,  
(Said I to myself – said I,)  
I'll work to a sane and intelligent plan  
(Said I to myself – said I).  
If I'm to survive on the fees of the Law  
Then the money I earn must itself  
earn some more,  
So the first step I'll take is to  
Barclays' front door,  
(Said I to myself – said I).*



**BARCLAYS  
BANK**

Money is our business

*With apologies to the shade of W. S. Gilbert*

# SEABY

NUMISMATISTS

## LONDON

ESTABLISHED 1926

## COINS MEDALS & DECORATIONS

NUMISMATIC BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS

### ROMAN SILVER COINS

Vol. I Republic to Augustus

Price 40/-

— Every type listed with current values.

A Dictionary of Roman Coins	£6
The Coinage of Roman Britain	17/6
Roman Coins and their Values	30/-
Greek Coins and their Values	30/-
The Coinage of Ancient Britain	70/-

*plus postage and packing*

**B. A. SEABY LTD.**

59-65 GREAT PORTLAND STREET

LONDON W1

TEL. 01-580 3677

*List of our publications sent on request*

# Holidays in Greece

WINGS Limited offer many varied holidays to Greece and the Aegean and also Hellenic Air Cruises, which visit at leisure three or more centres such as Athens, Rhodes and Crete. During the past eleven years, over 7,000 people have taken part in these cruises.

A coach tour of the Peloponnese (flying first to Athens by One-Eleven jet) visits Olympia, Sparta and Mistra, Epidaurus, Tiryns, Mycenae and Old Corinth, accompanied by a leading Greek archaeological guide. Visits are also made to Delphi, the island of Aegina, and Cape Sounion, and the tour throughout is escorted by our own representative.

Charges are very reasonable and full details will be found in the WINGS programme, available on request.



WINGS LIMITED

124 FINCHLEY ROAD LONDON N.W.3

Telephone: 01-794 5611

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH TRAVEL AGENTS





**CAMBRIDGE**

## **Greek Oared Ships, 900-322 B.C.**

**J. S. MORRISON & R. T. WILLIAMS**

This is the first attempt at a thorough collection and examination of all the evidence, both literary and archaeological, about Greek oared ships from Homer to the death of Alexander. The argument is supported by a full catalogue of the relevant works of art (decorated pottery, bronze fibulae, and sculpture), and by an assembly of the literary and epigraphical evidence. Beautifully illustrated. £6 6s. net

## **An Historical Commentary on the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia***

**I. A. F. BRUCE**

Commentaries on the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, an anonymous history of events in the Greek world at the end of the fourth century B.C., have hitherto dealt almost entirely with problems of the text. Dr Bruce has written the first historical commentary. He bases his work on both the London and Florence papyri, which between them provide all the surviving fragments of the text. 30s. net

## **The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama**

Second Edition

**A. M. DALE**

Miss Dale's achievement in this book lies in training the ear accustomed to stress-rhythm to respond to the unfamiliar, purely quantitative metres of the Greek lyric, and in identifying the characteristic rhythms and the elaborate laws which control them, all without losing sight of the poetry. In this second edition the author has made use of the new work on the subject that has appeared since the publication of the first edition in 1948. 63s. net

## **Vox Graeca**

A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Greek

**W. SIDNEY ALLAN**

This book does for Greek what *Vox Latina* (Cambridge 1965) did for Latin. Professor Allen's purpose is to reconstruct the pronunciation of Attic Greek in classical times. He recommends ways of reproducing the sounds which are realistic for English speakers. 45s. net

**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS**



**Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology**

# **GREEK GEOMETRIC POTTERY**

*A SURVEY OF TEN LOCAL STYLES AND THEIR CHRONOLOGY*

**J. N. COLDSTREAM**

Geometric pottery, occurring during the formative period of the Greek city-state, helps to establish a workable chronology for a period for which there are no contemporary written documents; its many local varieties cast an interesting light on the growth and consolidation of the city states and their first commercial and colonial ventures outside the Aegean.

*With 64 pages of plates and a folding map* November 12th £12 12s

# **GREEK TERRACOTTAS**

**R. A. HIGGINS**

'Succinct enough to be read at a sitting, and this is well worth doing, for it enables the reader to share for a moment the comprehensiveness of Dr Higgins' grasp of this wholly delightful aspect of Greek art.' H. W. Catling *Museums Journal*

*4 colour plates, 64 halftone plates, 31 text illustrations, map* £7 7s

---

# **FROM SOLON TO SOCRATES**

*GREEK HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION DURING THE  
6TH AND 5TH CENTURIES B.C.*

**VICTOR EHRENBURG**

Dr Ehrenberg sets out to show how, at every stage, Greek history should be seen as an unity of political, military, economic, religious and cultural aspects. While providing a full narrative of the period, the author takes pains to make clear the uncertainties of modern scholarship on many important questions.

*10 maps* A University Paperback Original 25s Hardback Edition 50s

**METHUEN**



# The Athlone Press

## UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

### The Doukai

#### *A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*

DEMETRIOS I. POLEMIS

This book presents a full account of the prominent Byzantine family of Doukas from its appearance in the mid-ninth century down to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. It is in fact a prosopographical study of all known bearers of the name of Doukas, not only in the family itself, but also in other families adopting this name.

The rapid development of Byzantine research in recent years has greatly added to available material and Dr Polemis has explored this to the full. And much of the detail of this long-needed study throws valuable light on social, economic and other problems of Byzantine society. It should prove an indispensable tool for scholars working in the field of East Mediterranean history. UNIVERSITY OF LONDON HISTORICAL STUDIES NO 22. pp. xvi, 228 485 13122 6 About 70s

### The Prehistoric Antiquities of the Maltese Islands

J. D. EVANS

Dr Evans has attempted to bring together in one volume all the material currently available for reconstructing the prehistory of the Maltese islands. The body of the work is a survey consisting of detailed descriptions of all the sites and monuments, and of the excavation work that has been done on them, together with catalogues of the objects found in them. A bibliography is given for each site and its chronology is discussed. The many plans include new surveys of all the major monuments, and some plans of minor ones which have not been previously published. The material from them is illustrated with a large number of drawings and photographs. A long final section of the text traces the cultural development of the islands in the prehistoric period in the light of the total evidence, including that of the most recent excavations. The aim has been to produce a book which will serve at once as a work of reference and as a tool for the researcher.

The author is Professor of Prehistoric European Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. About 288 pages, 128 plates 485 11093 8 About £12 12s

### Language and Thought in Sophocles

#### *A Study of Abstract Nouns and Poetic Technique*

A. A. LONG

Dr Long places Sophocles in the intellectual setting of his time and argues that his use of abstract nouns is both individual and fundamental to his presentment of strong emotion. pp. xiv, 180 485 13706 2 55s

### The 'Breviarium' of Festus

#### *A Critical Edition with Historical Commentary*

J. W. EADIE

Professor Eadie makes available once more a work that is important both as a primary source for the history of the fourth century A.D. and as a late representative of the Livian tradition in Roman historiography. pp. xii, 194 485 13705 4 55s



UNIVERSITY OF LONDON  
INSTITUTE OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1

PUBLICATIONS

BULLETIN NUMBER 15 (1968) *Price 25s.* Published annually

BULLETIN SUPPLEMENTS

- No. 4 CATALOGUE OF THE MSS OF OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES*  
By Franco Munari (1957) *Price 10s.*
- No. 6 THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI—  
PROLEGOMENA By Herbert C. Youtie (1958) *Price 10s.*
- No. 9 MONUMENTS ILLUSTRATING OLD AND MIDDLE COMEDY  
By T. B. L. Webster (1960) *Price £1*
- No. 10 STUDIES IN THE SIGNARIES OF SOUTH-WESTERN CYPRUS  
By T. B. Mitford (1961) *Price 25s.*
- No. 11 MONUMENTS ILLUSTRATING NEW COMEDY By T. B. L.  
Webster (1961) *Price 30s.*
- No. 12 MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION, PUBLICATIONS 1956-60 A  
bibliography compiled by Brenda E. Moon (1961) *Price £1*
- No. 13 A SURVEY OF CLASSICAL PERIODICALS Union Catalogue of  
periodicals relevant to classical studies in certain British Libraries.  
Compiled by Joyce E. Southan (1962) *Price 30s.*
- No. 15 THE KNOSSOS TABLETS (Third Edition) A transliteration by  
John Chadwick and J. T. Killen (1964) *Price 30s.*
- No. 16 A GAZETTEER AND ATLAS OF MYCENAEAN SITES By  
R. Hope Simpson (1965) *Price 50s.*
- No. 17 NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *MISOUMENOS* OF MENANDER  
Edited by Eric G. Turner (1965) *Price 25s.*
- No. 18 MERTON PAPYRI VOL. III By J. David Thomas (1967)
- No. 19 PHLYAX VASES Second edition revised and enlarged By A. D.  
Trendall (1967)
- No. 20 MONUMENTS ILLUSTRATING TRAGEDY AND SATYR  
PLAY Revised edition with appendix illustrating particular plays  
By T. B. L. Webster (1967) *Price 40s.*
- No. 21 METRICAL ANALYSES OF TRAGIC CHORUSES By A. M.  
Dale *In preparation*
- No. 22 NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *DIS EXAPATON* OF MENANDER  
By E. W. Handley *In preparation*

STUDIES IN MYCENAEAN INSCRIPTIONS AND DIALECT XII—1966  
*Price 7s 6d.* (Volumes V—XI also available *Price 5s*)

A SURVEY OF PERIODICALS RELEVANT TO BYZANTINE STUDIES  
IN SEVERAL LONDON LIBRARIES (1968) *Price 7s 6d.*

*Publications distributed by International University Booksellers, 39 Store Street,  
London, WC1*



# Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies

---

## LANTERN SLIDES

---

The Slides Collection contains 3000 coloured slides ( $2'' \times 2''$ ) covering a wide variety of subjects, including sites on the Greek mainland, the Greek islands, Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire. Etruscan tomb paintings, Roman frescoes and mosaics, Greek vases, and objects from the Greek and Roman Life room of the British Museum are well represented. Coloured sets ( $2'' \times 2''$ ) are also available, with notes, on the Athenian Agora, Athens, Pompeii, Lerna, Greek Papyri, Greek Gods and Heroes, Art in Roman Britain, Classical Costume and Sicily and Magna Graecia. There is a  $2'' \times 2''$  black and white set in Greek and Roman Architecture.

The collection of  $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$  black and white slides, numbering 10,000, covers a similarly wide range of subjects, and there are about 40 sets of slides on specific subjects.

A catalogue of coloured slides is available at 7s. 6d. a copy.

Slides may be hired by members of each Society at a charge of 10s. a set or 4d. each for individual slides, plus postage.

Copies of coloured slides may be bought for 5s. each.

The annual subscription to each Society is £3. SCHOOLS ARE ELIGIBLE FOR MEMBERSHIP. For particulars apply to the Secretary of either Society at 31-34 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

THE BRITISH ACADEMY  
CROMER GREEK PRIZE

WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, the first Earl of Cromer founded a Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The next Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £150, will be awarded in 1969 under the following Rules:—

1. The competition is open to all British subjects and citizens of Eire of either sex who will be under thirty-two years of age on 31 December 1968.
2. Any Essay which has already received or is in competition for another prize of the same nature will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.
3. Consideration of the adjudicators shall be limited to work submitted to them, whether published or unpublished, not exceeding 20,000 words in length.
4. Essays must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December 1968. They must be typed or printed and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.

Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, 6 Burlington Gardens, London, W.1'.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON  
INSTITUTE OF CLASSICAL STUDIES  
**PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE**

The Institute of Classical Studies wishes to draw attention to the existence of its photographic archive which includes classical antiquities (other than Romano-British) in private and public collections in this country. It is hoped to make the coverage of the archive as complete as possible and information from readers about objects of this kind would be extremely helpful. Photographs would be particularly valuable. The archive also includes photographs of a substantial proportion of the Greek Dramatic Monuments listed by Professor Webster in BICS Supplements 9, 11 and 20 and photographs of 650 papyri, mostly literary and mostly published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* and now dispersed.

This material is available for reference at The Institute of Classical Studies,  
31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1





# THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME LXXXVIII

1968

938.005  
J. H. S.

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY  
FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

MDCCCCLXVIII

*The Rights of Translation and Reproduction are Reserved*





# CONTENTS

BOARDMAN, J. . . . .	Island Gems Aftermath . . . . .	1
HAMMOND, N. G. L. . . . .	The Campaign and the Battle of Marathon . . . . .	13
HAYNES, D. E. L. . . . .	The Portland Vase Again . . . . .	58
LIEBESCHUETZ, W. . . . .	The Structure and Function of the Melian Dialogue . . . . .	73
LLOYD, G. E. R. . . . .	Plato as a Natural Scientist . . . . .	78
O'BRIEN, D. . . . .	The Relation of Anaxagoras and Empedocles . . . . .	93
O'BRIEN, D. . . . .	Derived Light and Eclipses in the Fifth Century . . . . .	114
USHER, S. . . . .	Xenophon, Critias and Theramenes . . . . .	128

## NOTES

BLOCH, H. . . . .	A Revolution in Classical Scholarship? . . . . .	136
CARNEY, T. F. . . . .	Content Analysis and Classical Scholarship . . . . .	137
HARRIS, H. A. . . . .	An Athletic ΑΙΑΕ ΑΕΦΟΜΕΝΟΝ . . . . .	138
LOCKWOOD, W. B. . . . .	An Etruscan Inscription in Reading . . . . .	139
URE, A. D. . . . .	A Corinthian Cup and a Euboean Lekythos . . . . .	140
NOTICES OF BOOKS . . . . .	. . . . .	142
BOOKS RECEIVED . . . . .	. . . . .	267
INDEXES . . . . .	. . . . .	277





## ISLAND GEMS AFTERMATH

(PLATES I-III)

THIS article is intended not only to record additions and corrections to *Island Gems* (published by the Hellenic Society in 1963 as its tenth Supplementary Volume; here abbreviated *IGems*), but also to discuss a class of engraved stones which was not properly distinguished in that book.<sup>1</sup> The main series of Island Gems belongs to the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. Most of the stones and a few of their devices copy Bronze Age forms, and the material is generally a distinctive, often translucent, green serpentine ('steatite').<sup>2</sup> This series ends in the first half of the sixth century, but it was possible to identify, by their material and technique, some later gems from Island workshops which correspond in style and shape with the contemporary Greek scarabs in harder materials. The comparatively soft material had meant that the intaglio devices on Island gems could be cut without recourse to the drill or cutting wheel, and this technique was retained for the later scarabs. It is evident, however, that for a while already in the sixth century Island artists had experimented with the harder materials then being employed for engraved seals in Greece; and with some shapes which seem to compromise between the old and the new. These stones seem to belong to the middle and second half of the sixth century. A list follows:

- (i) Oxford 1925.129. PLATE I. Green steatite tapered scaraboid with convex face. L. 20 (mm.). A lion. *IGems* no. 349, fig. 6, pl. 13.
- (ii) Athens, from Sunium. PLATE I. Green steatite. Shape as the last. L. 20. Contorted bull-headed man. *IGems* no. 350, pl. 13.
- (iii) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ex Louvre C 8514. Rock crystal plump lentoid. W. 18. Summary representation of a winged horse.
- (iv) Boston 27.678 (once Bruschi, Warren). PLATE I. Chalcedony lentoid with domed back and shallow convex face. W. 21. Facing head of a satyr with fillet ends behind the ears and an arrow marking at the centre of the forehead.
- (v) Oxford 1892.1468 (once Chester). PLATE I. Rock crystal, from Athens. Shape as the last. W. 17.5. A seated panther.
- (vi) Athens, Num. Mus., Tzivanopoulos Coll. 3. PLATE I. Rock crystal. Shape as the last, the back more angular. W. 22. Forepart of a goat attached to a snake. *Journ. Int. d'Arch. Num.* xvii (1915) pl. 6.3.
- (vii) New York 22.139.40. PLATE I. Chalcedony plump lentoid with flat sides, rather oval in outline. W. 19.5. Frontal bull's head. *AG* pl. 6.19; *IGems* no. 17, pl. 1.
- (viii) Munich A 1460. Green steatite, oval lentoid. W. 15. A horse standing.
- (ix) London 1900.2-12.6. Rock crystal plump amygdaloid from Melos. L. 17. Diamond pattern. *IGems* no. 314, fig. 6.
- (x) Oxford 1941.112 (once Evans). Green steatite. W. 15.5. A leaping horse, cut on the back of a lentoid already bearing a device of a bird in the style of the late seventh century. *IGems* no. 62A, pl. 3.
- (xi) Breslau. White steatite, probably from Melos. W. 19. A centaur, cut on the back of a lentoid already bearing the device of a cuttle fish and dolphins in the style of around 600 B.C. *IGems* no. 135B, p. 54 f.

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations listed in *IGems*, p. 9, are also used in this article.

<sup>2</sup> The variety of serpentine which best matches the

texture, sometimes granular, and colour of the commonest Island gem stone is Bovenite.



- (xii) Kassel, from Melos. PLATE II. Rock crystal amygdaloid. L. 16.5. A bull. *AM* xi (1886) pl. 6. 18; *IGems* no. 11; *AA* 1965, 12-15, fig. 2, no. 5.
- (xiii) Boston 01.7594 (once Forman, Sale 1899, 467). PLATE II. Rock crystal prism (see below, on shape). L. 21. Triton. Osborne, *Engraved Gems* pl. 5. 18; Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen* pl. 6.1.
- ? (xiv) Brauron. Lentoid? Negro head. *Ergon* 1961, 30, fig. 30.

Some of these are in the old, soft Island stone (i, ii, viii) and two are Island lentoids to which another device was added at a later date (x, xi).<sup>3</sup> The new materials are chalcedony (iv, vii) and rock crystal (iii, v, vi, ix, xii, xiii). Greeks had shrunk from attempting to work these hard stones since the Bronze Age although the techniques had been introduced again from the Near East by about 800, and rock crystal beads and inlays were being made in Crete, for example, by a workshop which was perhaps for long staffed by easterners. These are best known in the jewellery from the Khaniale Tekke tholos near Knossos.<sup>4</sup> Marble had been used for a fairly rough-cut eighth-century seal (*IGems* A 8, pl. 13) and again, but in the early sixth century probably, for a cylinder (*ibid.*, K 3, pl. 17), by which time artists had grown accustomed to working it for major statuary. The earliest Archaic rock crystal seals have very crudely cut devices, the shape of the seal having been formed more easily by abrasion, and they belong to series which demonstrably survive into the sixth century (*IGems* F 14, 15, 22-26, J 5 and *cf.* the coral F 27). In fact, perhaps none are any earlier than the sixth century. The seals by Island artists listed here may include some of the earliest successful attempts at glyptic in the new materials. They could draw upon their long experience in intaglio cutting in stone, and the already developing techniques and materials for working harder stones which were available also in the Cyclades. They must already have used the drill to perforate their gems and were virtually the only Greek school occupied with stone seals in this period.

Of the rock crystals (xiii), PLATE II, is puzzling but, I think, authentic. The simple shallow cutting is the result of the laborious technique, and the device is stylistically plausible. The seal is a short length of a natural six-sided crystal, the ends of which have been roughly chipped and one face as roughly cut back to provide a broader field for the device. Both the ends and the device are unpolished, while the natural crystal sides are perfect. The neat small perforation may not be ancient. Pieces of natural crystal are used in pendants or as beads at various periods.<sup>5</sup>

Of the other shapes (i) and (ii) compromise between the amygdaloid and scaraboid, having still the convex face for the intaglio which was the rule on Island Gems. (iv)-(vi) are lentoids distorted in much the same way, and the others are lentoids and amygdaloids of various forms. From the style of their subjects I would judge (iv, v, vii, xii, xiii) to be of the mid sixth century or earlier; (i, ii, vi, viii, x, xi, xiv) to be Late Archaic.

The arresting satyr head on (iv), PLATE I, has much of the vigour of the later head cut by the Island artist Syries on a pseudo-scarab (*IGems* no. 340, pl. 12) including a forehead marking. The panther, bull's head, bull, and Triton (v, vii, xii, xiii) carry less detail and could be earlier.<sup>6</sup>

The lion on (i), PLATE I, is a fine beast. The hollow loins suggest a date around 500 B.C.; the rump hair is seen more often in East Greece than the mainland; and the type

<sup>3</sup> The devices added on *IGems* no. 32B, pl. 2, no. 230 and no. 4 *bis* (below) are even later.

<sup>4</sup> *BSA* xlix (1954) pls. 27, 28, and discussed again by the present writer in *BSA* lxii (1967).

<sup>5</sup> Early Minoan from A. Onouphrios, Evans, *Cretan Pictographs* 110, fig. 90. Classical and later: *BMC Jewellery* pl. 45.2277, 47.2278; Cesnola, *Salamina* 32, 115, fig. 127.

<sup>6</sup> A propos of (xii) Zazoff (*Gymnasium* lxxii [1965] 143) rightly remarks that later Greek work on hard stone looks quite different. But so does Minoan or Mycenaean, and I am sure that it (and the lizard, no. 160) belong here. Dr Kenna and Dr Gill support me in this view.



with small head and sleek mane, without 'ruff' or earlock, is wholly appropriate to the Greek islands,<sup>7</sup> as for the Delos lions. The lowered head and straight forelegs present an odd pose, almost grazing, or perhaps the dying cough as it is shown on more realistic eastern works.<sup>8</sup> The man-bull on (ii), PLATE I, and his contortion are in the old Island tradition for subject and pose, and such monsters are particularly common on East Greek gems in the Late Archaic period.

The goat attached to a serpent on (vi), PLATE I, recalls the construction of the chimaera on an Island gem of the end of the seventh century.<sup>9</sup> This is a type met elsewhere in Greece at this time, but although it is the most literal interpretation of the Homeric recipe, *πρόσθε λέων, ὅπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα* (*Iliad* vi 181), such a creature could never move. The Greeks like their monsters to be plausible, so chimaeras revert to four legs. Here the goat alone is attached to the serpent. On an agate scarab from Cyprus in New York Pegasos has been attached in the same way.<sup>10</sup> The other devices on the gems listed are not remarkable.

\* \* \*

As a result of visits to collections in Germany, France and America, and to information kindly offered by friends, the lists in *Island Gems* can be improved, corrected and added to as follows:<sup>11</sup>

- Add 4 *bis*. London, Ionides Collection. PLATE II. Translucent pale green steatite amygdaloid. L. 17. A. A bull with head lowered, as *IGems* no. 4, pl. 1; above it a severed leg. Part of this side broken away. Class D. Add to *IGems* Section 6(k). B. A bull with head lowered, cut later than A, no earlier than the fifth century B.C.
34. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 33 f., fig. 5, no. 18.
- 36A. Munich A 1331. See *AA* 1965, 39, fig. 6c. I still see a bull's head here rather than a tree.
- Add 52 *bis*. 'Munich' (a cast thus labelled in the British School at Athens). Lentoid. W. 14. A leaping goat. Class D.
56. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 21 f., fig. 3, no. 10.
- Add 65 *bis*. Oxford 1965.344 (once Spencer-Churchill). PLATE II. Translucent pale green steatite lentoid. W. 12. Foreparts of two harnessed horses, back to back, with bent legs. Linked by three pellets and a V. Class D early. Add to *IGems* Section 6(k). *Exhibition: Spencer-Churchill* (Ashmolean Museum, 1965) pl. 16.89.
- Add 81 *bis*. Munich 20406 (now missing). Lentoid. W. 12. A crouching lion with head turned back. Class C/D. Add to *IGems* Section 6(f).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gabelmann, *Studien zum frühgr. Löwenbild* 74 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *SCE* ii pl. 250.2722; and an onyx in New York (Velay), *AG* pl. 66.2, Lippold, pl. 86.8, Evans, *Selection* pl. 6.80. Compare the fine Assyrian study from Kuyunjik, Frankfurt, *AAO* pl. 111B. Earliest in Greece on the ivory disc, *Perachora* ii pl. 180. A 71. Compare the black figure vase, *CVA* Robinson i pl. 36.2, contrasting pl. 34.1.

<sup>9</sup> *IGems* no. 209; *AM* lxxvi (1961) 4, fig. 2, Beil. 1.2.

<sup>10</sup> Richter, *Catalogue* no. 58, pl. 10.

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to the curators of several collections for letting me study or use this supplementary material: Mrs M. K. Oikonomides (Athens), B. Bothmer (Brooklyn), Miss E. Tankard and Miss D. Slow (Liverpool), H. Kuthmann (Munich), G. le

Rider and Mlle F. Rosswag (Paris, Bibl.Nat.), R. Noll (Vienna), G. Szilagyi (Budapest); and to the Lady Adam Gordon, Professor Dr K. J. Müller and Professor Stucchi. The Island gems in the Bibliothèque Nationale are to be published separately by Mme van Effenterre and they are accordingly listed here without illustration or comment on their subjects. The Munich and Berlin stones will appear in catalogues now being prepared by Drs E. Brandt and E. Diehl. Dr M. A. V. Gill kindly told me about the examples in Budapest and Vienna. I shall publish the Budapest stones in the *Museum Bulletin*. Photographs of impressions are by Robert L. Wilkins; the drawing, FIG. 2, by Dr Gill.



- Add 88 *bis*. Once Naue. Bright yellow-green steatite lentoid. A standing lion with paw raised and head turned. A pellet and triangle in the field. Sale Helbing, 19.vi.1908 lot 434.
- Add 93 *bis*. Budapest 53.158. Grey steatite amygdaloid. L. 17. A crouching lion with head turned back, as *IGems* no. 93, pl. 4. Class D. Add to *IGems* Section 6(i).
- Add 103 *bis*. Paris, Bibl.Nat. M 8409. Translucent green steatite lentoid. W. 15. A kneeling stag, with double ground line.
- Add 112 *bis*. Paris, Bibl.Nat. N 4861. Sparkling green serpentine lentoid. W. 15. A bird with a branch, zigzag and a small sphinx (?).
122. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 29 f., fig. 4, no. 13.
123. Munich 82450. Omit. This is Mesopotamian, second millennium B.C., a shallow gable seal.
125. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 29 f., fig. 4, no. 14.
- Add 126 *bis*. Paris, Bibl.Nat. M 5136. Translucent pale green steatite lentoid. W. 16. A bird with a snake.
- Add 130 *bis*. Paris, Bibl.Nat. M 2667. Translucent pale green steatite lentoid. W. 18. A monster.
131. Munich A 1340. Beside the cock is a lizard and a small flying bird, or fly (?), not saw pattern.
- Add 132 *bis*. Paris, Bibl.Nat. M 6051. Opaque green steatite lentoid. W. 15. A cock and a branch.
- Add 139 *bis*. Unknown (impression seen in Bonn). Amygdaloid. Two dolphins, head to tail and belly to belly. Class D.
- Add 156 *bis*. Paris, Bibl.Nat., Fröhner 2220. Grey steatite amygdaloid. L. 20. A tunny, tunny tail and dolphin.
160. Now Hamburg. Cf. *Gymnasium* lxxii (1965) 143; but Dr Zazoff now kindly informs me that the stone is a 'steatite'. Also Lullies, *Gr. Plastik, Vasen u. Kleinkunst* (Kassel, 1964) no. 73.
- Add 160 *bis*. Bonn, Professor Dr K. J. Müller. PLATE II. Translucent green steatite amygdaloid with grooved back. L. 14. Toads coupling, seen from above. Class D.
- Add 162 *bis*. Cyrene. Green steatite amygdaloid. L. 21. An octopus. Add to *IGems* Section 6(j). *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia* v (1967) 20, fig. 3. Professor Stucchi kindly let me study this find.
166. Correct to Cab.Méd. 1044.
173. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 21 f., fig. 3, no. 9.
- Add 177 *bis*. Paris, Bibl.Nat. M 6520. Translucent green steatite amygdaloid. L. 19. A man, two spears and a branch.
182. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 29 f., fig. 4, no. 15.
- ? add 188 *bis*. Brauron. Amygdaloid? A running winged man with a floral device below. Class D late. *Ergon* 1961, 31, fig. 32.
- Add 188 *ter*. Unknown. FIG. 1. 'Onyx-marble' lentoid. W. c.16. A running winged man with winged heels holding a double axe (?). Class D. Cook, *Zeus* ii 544, fig. 419; iii 1138.
- Add 193 *bis*. Budapest 53.156. Pale green steatite lentoid. W. 15. A centaur waving his arms. Class C early. Compare the style of *IGems* no. 68, pl. 3.
199. Not in the Cab.Méd.
- Add 200 *bis*. Vienna 2014. PLATE II. Pale green steatite lentoid. W. 16. A lion with a serpent tail, one forepaw raised. A branch before it. Hatched ground line. Class B. Add to *IGems* Section 6(a).

FIG. 1 188 *ter*

216. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 29 f., fig. 4, no. 12.
222. Toronto 928.4.4. PLATE II. Correct description to—Sea serpent; three arcs above and below; three hoops and a leafy branch in the field. Class D.
232. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 33 f., fig. 5, no. 17.
239. Correct to *Bibl.Nat.* N 4855.
- Add 239 *bis*. Liverpool City Museum 219. Pale green steatite lentoid. W. 20. A. A forepart of a winged goat with saw pattern below and behind the body. B. A winged horse. Class D early. Add to *IGems* Section 6(k). Reich, *JHS* lxxxvi (1966) pl. 10 o, p.<sup>12</sup>
- Add 242 *bis*. Paris, *Bibl.Nat.*, Fröhner 2219. Translucent green steatite amygdaloid. L. 22. Forepart of a horse with a goat's neck and head growing from its shoulder.
- Add 246 *bis*. Paris, *Bibl.Nat.*, Fröhner 2222. Translucent pale green steatite amygdaloid. L. 15. Winged goat and winged horse protomes joined.
247. Now Hamburg. *AA* 1963, 55 f., no. 9, fig. 3.
- Add 249 *bis*. Brooklyn 35.751A. PLATE II. Pale green steatite amygdaloid. L. 30. A winged goat-fish; saw pattern below. Class D early. Add to *IGems* Section 6(k).
- Add 249 *ter*. Paris, *Bibl.Nat.*, Fröhner 2221. White steatite amygdaloid. L. 22. A goat-fish, wingless.
256. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 21 f., fig. 3, no. 11.
260. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 33 f., fig. 5, no. 16.
285. Now London, Erskine.
289. Correct to *Cab.Méd.* N 3439, and refer to Section 6(k).
290. Correct to *Cab.Méd.* N 3440.
- Add 291 *bis*. Budapest 53.157. Pale green steatite amygdaloid. L. 20. A winged horse-fish. Class D. Add to *IGems* Section 6(k). For the stippled neck cf. *IGems* no. 45, pl. 2.
298. Kassel. See *AA* 1965, 33 f., fig. 5, no. 19.
304. This is *Bibl.Nat.* N 3435, once Evans.
- Add 308 *bis*. (but this is possibly 308 or 309). Paris, *Bibl.Nat.* N 3434. Translucent pale green steatite lentoid. W. 13. A kantharos with detached octopus tentacles at either side.
- Add 321 *bis*. Munich A 1297. Translucent pale green steatite with black mottling.

<sup>12</sup> I believe Liverpool 220 (*JHS* lxxxvi [1966] pl. 10 q, r) to be a Middle Minoan stamp seal, cut off immediately behind the face, pierced and given a second device in recent times. For a stamp with

such a convex face cf. Boardman, *Cretan Collection in Oxford* no. 286, fig. 31, pl. 23. For the device, Kenna, *Cretan Seals* nos. 80, 90.



A disc with domed back from Paros. W. 14. A tripod with birds beneath, zigzags at each side. Cf. the motif on *IGems* no. 327B, pl. 11. Seventh century.

Add 328 *bis*. Munich A 1346. Translucent pale green steatite disc from Mycenae. W. 15. A. A frontal bull's head. Line border. B. A lion with one forepaw raised; a hook below. Line border. Rather similar style to *IGems* nos. 68, 69, pl. 3.

334-348. This list is recast and enlarged in my *Archaic Greek Gems*, Chapter XI.

356. Berlin 60. Omit, as probably modern. The head is in relief.

Add 362. Berlin 31409. Translucent green steatite tabloid. 15 × 16 × 8. A. A bird, cross and cock. B. (side) A fish. Class B.

Add 363. Munich A 1155. Translucent pale green steatite stamp seal, conoid. H. 24, W. 14. Incised star.

Of the gems illustrated in *AM* xi (1886) pl. 6, nos. 11 and 13 (*IGems* nos. 266 and 179) are not in Kassel.

\* \* \*

To the list of Bronze Age gems in Island material on *IGems* p. 97 add:

7. Bonn, Professor Dr K. J. Müller. PLATE II. Translucent pale green steatite amygdaloid. L. 16. A cuttlefish.

For no. 3 see *AA* 1965, 13 f., fig. 2, no. 8.

\* \* \*

To the list of Late Bronze Age seals from the islands on *IGems* p. 98 f. add:

28. Breslau. 'Quartz' amygdaloid. Two dolphins. *AZ* 1883, pl. 16.17.

For nos. 1, 6, 7, 8, 14 of this list see *AA* 1965, 6 ff., nos. 3, 4, 1, 2, 7.

Some of the motifs on the new gems listed call for comment. The severed leg on no. 4 *bis*, PLATE II, recalls the limbs and carcasses on *IGems* no. 299, pl. 10 and no. 333. On no. 65 *bis*, PLATE II, a frontal biga may have been intended but the horses' bent legs recall rather the early sixth-century ivory with two similar foreparts of horses and a man between them from Samos, or the pair of foreparts alone from Thasos.<sup>13</sup>

The toads coupling on no. 160 *bis*, PLATE II, offer a splendidly detailed study, anticipating a fifth-century scarab in London showing a toad mounting a turtle.<sup>14</sup> Frogs and toads appear on a number of works from East Greece and the islands in the sixth century. Here need be mentioned only the silver coins, some of which are conventionally given to Seriphos, while others are certainly Melian—like the gems.<sup>15</sup> This amygdaloid may be rather later than most of this shape. It has a carefully grooved back in the Minoan manner. Other Island gems with this feature I had thought to be Bronze Age seals or beads recut (*IGems* p. 22), but there is no reason to question that the Island artists might have copied this even if only on rather late stones, since some of the most explicit Bronze Age subjects are only copied quite late in the series and this shows that the models were still being observed. Others with grooved backs are *IGems* no. 2, pl. 1 and nos. 199 and 292 which have late devices, the former also reported to be of chalcedony, but possibly a softer stone.

No. 162 *bis* is the only Island gem from North Africa. Cyrene was founded from

<sup>13</sup> Freyer-Schauenburg, *Elfenbeine aus dem Samischen Heraion* pls. 3, 4.

<sup>14</sup> London 760, pl. 13; and the Etruscan scarab with a toad, London 556, pl. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Robinson in Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins* 58; *Ashmolean Visitors Report* 1959, pl. 8.2.



Thera in 631 B.C. and the style of the gem suggests a date no later than about 600 B.C. The colonists were from Thera, but Melian interest in the Cyrenaican colonies may be argued from the rich finds of 'Melian' pottery at Tocra.<sup>16</sup> The material, style and technique of this stone, which I have handled by the kind permission of its finder, Professor Stucchi, and of Professor Goodchild, convinces me that it is not of Bronze Age date.

If no. 188 *bis* is an Island Gem it is a late one, with a good study of a winged deity. The great Brauron find of gems may prove to include several other Island gems when it becomes accessible to scholars. No. 188 *ter*, FIG. 1, may probably be added to the list of winged men on the gems. This one holds what may be a double axe, although it is inverted and is possibly meant for a bag. He is one of the figures, variously identified as Daidalos or Aristaïos, shown carrying implements, sometimes a bag, on some Athenian vases, one Boeotian vase and a stamped clay plaque from the Argive Heraion, all of the years around 600 B.C. and just after.<sup>17</sup>

The chimaera on no. 200 *bis*, PLATE II, without the goat element is seen on another Island gem, no. 200, pl. 8, where the forelegs seem equine. There is some ancient authority for such a form (Eustathius 634.38) but we are probably dealing with a formative period for the chimaera. In the Near East the tuft at the end of a lion's tail is often stylised as a bird's head. The Greeks preferred snakes for such extremities. With the winged lion of this sort on the Thera vase<sup>18</sup> we come close to the canonic chimaera which sometimes grows its goat's head from a wing. We are reminded of this on *IGems* no. 242A, pl. 9, and by the two-headed creature, no. 290, pl. 10.<sup>19</sup>

Birds and tripods go together often enough. The composition on no. 321 *bis* recalls Geometric vase pictures like that on an Acropolis fragment.<sup>20</sup>

\* \* \*

To the other stone seals, listed in *IGems* Part II, there are few additions and corrections, listed below. There is, however, more to be said about the form of the earliest of them, which are square, sometimes pierced through to the face, presumably for a wooden handle. A bronze seal from Mersin, *IGems* 113, fig. 10, has a monkey-handle and Geometric device. Other eastern examples with similar devices but simpler handles could have been cited, from Alishar and Byblos.<sup>21</sup> These are certainly the prototypes for the Greek Geometric seals which translate the form into stone and provide for a handle in some other material. There is perhaps one eastern example in stone also,<sup>22</sup> pierced to the face like the Greek, but twice. The Greek bronze animals on rectangular bases are a different matter.<sup>23</sup>

The eastern inspiration for the recommencement of seal engraving in Greece can thus be more clearly defined. It is acknowledged first in the islands and Argos. Only the 'Amulet Seals' of Rhodes (*IGems* 136 ff., Group M) seem to take as much notice of eastern types. It is interesting to note that these forms were adopted without much evidence for the import of actual eastern examples to serve as models. We might therefore suspect that, as with the new orientalising jewellery workshops in Geometric Greece,<sup>24</sup> immigrant craftsmen were responsible for their production. Imported seals of about this date, notably

<sup>16</sup> *Tocra* i 15, 74, pls. 52-54.900-916. I shall discuss the date of no. 162 *bis* in *BSA* lxxiii (1968).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Karouzou, *Ann.* xxvi-xxvii (1946-48) 37 ff; *ABV* 12, 19, 29.

<sup>18</sup> Arias-Hirmer, pl. v.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. also the similar beast on a later scarab, *Berlin* 170, pl. 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Akr.* 298, pl. 10: *BSA* xxxv (1934-35) 106, fig. 13b (for fig. 13a see also *BSA* xlvii [1952] 18, fig. 19).

<sup>21</sup> *Alishar* ii 417, fig. 478.e1126, c713; Montet,

*Byblos et l'Égypte* pl. 59.44; and cf. von der Osten, *Anc. Oriental Seals* . . . Mrs A. Baldwin Brett pl. 10.110.

<sup>22</sup> Delaporte, ii pl. 98.8 (A 963) black steatite.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *IGems* 114 with n.6. Other examples of Greek bronze animals with an intaglio device beneath the base are in Sparta Museum; Bonn C 74; Munich 3695 (stag with two birds intaglio). Another pyramidal bronze pendant with intaglio beneath is Oxford 1923.137, from Sparta (cf. *IGems* 156).

<sup>24</sup> On these see now *BSA* lxii (1967).



the Lyre-Player Group from Cilicia and some glass scaraboids from Syria or Phoenicia,<sup>25</sup> had no effect whatever on local production although they arrived in some numbers.

Of the other Archaic stone seal shapes the minute cubes in the Sunium Group (*IGems* F 28, 29) find their kin in Cyprus.<sup>26</sup> An important addition to our knowledge of the use of stamps on objects of fired clay is the discovery on Ischia of an impression, on the neck of a vase, from the same stamp with the Ajax and Achilles device which was used to decorate a clay plaque found on Samos.<sup>27</sup>

Some additions and corrections to *IGems* Part II follow:

- Add A 17. Athens 1218. Brown limestone square seal with centre perforation. Quartered diagonally, with opposed chevrons and spirals. Labelled as from Perachora (perhaps erroneously).
- Add A 18. Athens 1219. White marble (?) square seal with centre perforation. Pattern as *IGems* A 6, fig. 10. Labelled as from Perachora (perhaps erroneously).
- B 25. Perhaps of ivory, not stone.
- Add C 10 *bis*. Munich 1294. White tabloid from Mycenae. 16 × 26 × 10. A. Three women, one inverted, with long girdle ends. B. A man; the rest not cut. The style is a rough version of *IGems* G 12A, pl. 15.
- Add C 12 *bis*. Basel, Erlenmeyer. Stone tabloid with pierced handle, from Melos. 20 × 28 × 29. A. A horse and crossed disc. B. A lion. On the base two rows of meander. Early seventh century. Cf. *IGems* C 14. *Orientalia* xxix (1960) pls. 72-3.68.
- Add C 20. Basel, Erlenmeyer. Tabloid. 38 × 38. In a hatched border a horseman, bird, human figure, shield, animal head. *Ibid.*, pl. 82.107.
- Add E 4 *bis*. Munich. Red serpentine stamp, roughly cylindrical narrowing to a wedge-shaped top. A bird (?) and star in simple linear style.
- Add F 16 *bis*. Pforzheim. Red disc with domed back and out-sloping walls. A winged horse (?). Battke, *Ringe aus vier Jahrtausenden* no. 4, with pl.
- Add F 17 *bis*. Munich 68729. Chalcedony disc with domed back. W. 9. A goat. Sixth century. *MJBK* 1936, pl. 22.14.
- Add F 17 *ter*. Tocra. FIG. 2. Red serpentine disc with straight walls, cross-hatched between grooves, and a low conical back. W. 16, H. 15. Very worn figure of a man (?). From a deposit with a terminus of c. 530 B.C. For the decorated side cf. *IGems* B 25 (*Berlin* 72, with fig.).
- Add F 20 *bis*. Munich A 1347. White stone disc with domed back. W. 13. A winged horse in a hatched border. Sixth century.
- Add F 23 *bis*. Once Arndt (A 1300). Rock crystal disc with a domed back. A man and a goat (?) in a hatched border. Shallow cut, as *IGems* F 23, 24.
- Add F 23 *ter*. Munich. PLATE III. Rock crystal disc with domed back. W. 15. Two lions rampant. Ground line and cable border. Sixth century. *MJBK* 1910, pl. B.2.
- Add G 2 *bis*. Vienna 2038. PLATE III. Black serpentine lentoid. W. 16. A goat and a quadruped. Cf. *IGems* G 6, 13, 14, 36.
- G 21. See now *Corpus min. myk. Siegel* i no. 42, as Mycenaean. I prefer a later date.
- Add J 6. Vienna 1977. PLATE III. Pale green marble (?) scaraboid with half-

<sup>25</sup> These are discussed respectively in *JdI* lxxxii (1966) 1 ff. and my *Archaic Greek Gems* Chapter III.

<sup>26</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros* pl. 94.11, 12.

<sup>27</sup> *Expedition* viii (1966) 11. Samos: Hampe *FgS* pl. 34 top right; *AM* lxvi (1941) 35, pl. 11.416.



FIG. 2 F 17 ter

oval back. L. 13. A seated man with hatching at each side (wings?). Cf. the style of *IGems* no. 328, pl. 11. *AG* pl. 4.43.

p. 146 London, Mrs Russell, pl. 17c. For this see now *Corpus min. myk. Siegel* viii no. 157, as Mycenaean. I prefer a later date.

\* \* \*

### IVORY SEALS

In *IGems* 154 I distinguished a group of ivory seals with recumbent lions cut in the round on their backs and identified them as East Greek, subgeometric in style. A seal from Samos with two lions on its back was included, but known to me only from its description. This has now been published by Dr Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg in her important study of ivories from Samos.<sup>28</sup> I am deeply indebted to her for supplying the photographs used here and for further discussion of the piece. It is from a context giving a terminus of c. 640/30 B.C. She rightly divorces it from the other lion seals but regards it as Samian and the others as the Peloponnesian forerunners of the well-known series of ivory animal seals from Sparta, Perachora and the Argive Heraion.

The animals on the back of the Samos seal (PLATE III) lie side by side. Their heads (one is missing) were turned to face each other and their forelegs stretched in the same direction. Their snouts are narrow and pointed. Since no manes are shown and no bared teeth, the identification of either lions or panthers must remain no more than a probability. In profile there is a strange lack of emphasis on the muzzle, while the ears, now broken, were apparently prominent. They are totally unlike both the other lion seals taken for East Greek in *IGems* and the Peloponnesian lion seals. They carry their heads clear of their bodies, where the other Greek animal seals with recumbent creatures show them lowered over the legs. In short, they have no obvious kin in Greece, or the Near East, for that matter.

The device on the seal may be more informative. The technique, of simple linear cuts, is a crude one employed on ivory or soft stone in many different periods. Such works

<sup>28</sup> *Elfenbeine aus dem Samischen Heraion* 46-50, pl. 11a.



inevitably appear to have much in common stylistically, but in fact wide differences can be observed.<sup>29</sup> On the Samos seal the device is published as a winged horse. But the tail is that of a lion, and the feet sweep forward more like paws than hoofs. If the head is a simple curving stroke, as it appears in the photograph, it would serve a griffin as well or better than a horse. If the mark lower down in front of the neck represents a deliberate cut we have the linear stylisation of a lion's head with open jaws. The griffin in this form, and to a lesser degree the winged lion, are familiar in seventh-century Greek art and glyptic (*IGems* p. 58), but their home is of course the Near East, and North Syria rather than Phoenicia.

On the seal two plants grow from the centre below and spread, crossing the creature's legs. On Greek seals florals or branches may be set before, above, behind or below a creature, either as real growths or simple filling. The same is true on vase representations. The idea of showing an animal or figure group set in a splaying thicket of this sort is common in Egyptian and Phoenician art, where the setting is usually a lotus or papyrus swamp.<sup>30</sup> When the motif is adopted for some Greek and Greco-Phoenician scarabs in the sixth century the central motif is one of those regularly used in the east—usually a single animal.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, the shape of the plinth on which the lions sit is rounded at the back, square at the front. This is not wholly dictated by their posture, and is exactly the shape of plinths for small Egyptian faience lions. On Samos the same shape was used, again for two lions, on the famous seventh-century perirrhanterion in Berlin.<sup>32</sup> The only wholly Greek feature of the seal seems, then, to be its overall form as an ivory animal seal, since recumbent ivory animals are not so used in the Near East. But they do serve this purpose on eastern stone seals,<sup>33</sup> and the Greek ivory seals are usually pierced across the animal, not lengthwise, as here. It seems therefore that we should admit the possibility that the Samos seal is of Near Eastern origin, probably North Syrian, admitting a Phoenician motif (the plants) as does much else in North Syria in the eighth and seventh centuries. We can then take it as a probably late example of the seal type which inspired the series of Peloponnesian animal seals in the eighth century (*IGems* p. 150 f.).

We may turn now to the rest of the group of lion seals which in *IGems* p. 154 was called East Greek. Published examples are from Kameiros (two), Chios<sup>34</sup> (two), Delos and Ithaca. All have recumbent lions with heads to the front, forelegs straight, and tail between the legs. Mrs Schauenburg takes these for the eighth-century forerunners of the Peloponnesian animal seals, the latter being larger, more developed and accomplished works. This, I think, may not reflect accurately the way in which the Greeks learnt these new motifs and techniques. What we see first are good imitations or adaptations of eastern forms either cut by artists trained in the new techniques by easterners, or the work of immigrant eastern artists. Where the subject is as close to the Greek heart as the Dipylon ivory girls, it is more quickly hellenised. Where it is a novelty, like the lion figures, the form remains more obstinately eastern, unless it is translated into quite a different medium by artists with an already well established representational idiom, like Athenian Geometric vase painters. This sufficiently explains the beginning of the Peloponnesian ivory series, in which the late examples, best known from the finds at Sparta,<sup>35</sup> show greater deviation from the models and more Greek decorative detail.

<sup>29</sup> A considerable range in the Island gems, and contrast the North Syrian and Greek gems illustrated by Freyer-Schauenburg, pl. 11b, c.

<sup>30</sup> E.g., the Nimrud ivory, *ibid.*, pl. 13c.

<sup>31</sup> These are discussed in *Archaic Greek Gems*. The device is also Cypro-Phoenician.

<sup>32</sup> Buschor, *Alt-samische Standbilder* figs. 322-3.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., an example in the Bibl.Nat., London 243 and Nicosia E.55; and cf. the bull seals, von der

Osten, von Aulock Coll. no. 122 and Delaporte, i pl. 57-5 (K 8).

<sup>34</sup> Add now reference to *Greek Emporio* 237, no. 534, fig. 160, pl. 95.

<sup>35</sup> The priority and excellence of the ivories from Perachora and the Argive Heraion should warn us against too readily believing in a Spartan origin for the many luckily preserved for us at Artemis Orthia. Cf. *BSA* lviii (1963) 5, 7.



The East Greek lion seals offer a very different type, crouching ready to spring, facing the front, which is not seen in the Peloponnesian series. It is the type of, for instance, the little Egyptian faience lions already mentioned; but, and of greater relevance, it is the type of the fine North Syrian ivory lions which in Greece have been found on Samos and Thasos.<sup>36</sup> The devices of the Greek lion seals are orientalising with a fondness for winged animals, but treated in a crudely subgeometric manner. The earliest context for the seals is on Delos, where there is one from a deposit with no pottery later than Geometric. In Chios the seal from Emporio is in a deposit with a terminus of c. 660 B.C. and the one from Phanai in the 'Geometric' deposit which could be at least as late. The two from Kameiros are from the 'Well', no later than c. 650 B.C. Only the Delos find suggests a high date for them, but the terminal date for its context depends on the minority find of vase fragments and is not wholly clear. It may be that the lion seals are being made by 700 B.C., but we know that the Peloponnesian animal seals began in the eighth century. The find-places are dominantly island and East Greek, with only Ithaca a customer also for Peloponnesian ivories, but in Ithaca there are other East Greek and eastern imports of an early date. None are from the otherwise prolific Peloponnesian sites at Sparta and the Argive Heraion, or from Perachora.

I had suggested that the lion seals were made in Rhodes. From what we know of Rhodian and East Greek art in the years around 700 B.C. this subgeometric treatment of simple orientalising themes is wholly appropriate. Rhodes was at about this time only producing some crude stone seals imitating North Syrian or Cypriot forms (the 'Amulet Seals', *IGems* 136 ff.) including one with a very rough lion back.<sup>37</sup> The other seals then current in the island were Phoenician glass scaraboids and the Cilician Lyre-Player Group (see above), which have virtually no effect on the island's artists.

The lion seals suggest more general problems about the relationship of the East Greek and Peloponnesian ivory workshops. It is clear that their sources of inspiration were much the same—probably partly immigrant craftsmen, partly imitation of imported goods. The earlier workshops established in Crete and Attica by eastern goldsmiths offer an analogous pattern with similar sources but divergent development.<sup>38</sup> With the ivories this is shown as much as anything by the similar types of objects produced, but it is perhaps worth while picking out some of the more obvious differences too. For the animal figures the lions have already been discussed, but the dissimilarity of *Ephesus* pl. 30.3 (from Kameiros) from Peloponnesian types may also be remarked, quite apart from the finer lion studies from East Greek sites.<sup>39</sup> The treatment of reclining rams is, on the other hand, far closer.<sup>40</sup>

Bone 'dollies' are another class common to both areas. We have either head and neck alone or the whole figure. At Sparta the neck is long and the flat headdress decorated with upright tongues or, on the later figures, with a spiky crown (*AO* pls. 117–120). The earlier type (*AO* class *a*) is like the eastern and Egyptian and is worn by the early sixth-century limestone head of Hera from Olympia.<sup>41</sup> The later (class *c*) may have something to do with the Laconian Thyreatic crown.<sup>42</sup> The East Greek heads, from Kameiros (*Ephesus* pl. 30.14, 18), wear crowns with zigzags and have shorter necks. Where the whole figure is shown, at Sparta (class *b*) and Perachora<sup>43</sup> it is clothed; at Kameiros (*Ephesus* pl. 30.15–17) it is naked. It is just possible that these differences have something to do

<sup>36</sup> Freyer-Schauenburg, pls. 23, 24; Salviati, *BCH* lxxxvi (1962) 95 ff., figs. 1–5, 11.

<sup>37</sup> *Lindos* 513, pl. 17.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *BSA* lxii (1967).

<sup>39</sup> Smyrna and Ephesus; best seen now in Akurgal, *Kunst Anatoliens* 186, figs. 140–42, 194, figs. 151–52.

<sup>40</sup> Compare *AO* pl. 154.1, 4, 6, 7; *Perachora* ii pl. 174. A 13, 16–21; and *Ephesus* pl. 26.1, 5. Possibly the figure from Arkades (*Ann.* x–xii [1927–29] 337,

fig. 442) should be included. It does not look like faience. On other Peloponnesian ivories in Crete see *IGems* 153, n.1. There is a reclining ram from Tocra, fastened to a fibula.

<sup>41</sup> *AJA* lxiv (1960) pl. 99.8; and Kardara, *ibid.*, 343 ff. on such crowns.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Kunze, *Ol. Bericht* v 98.

<sup>43</sup> *Perachora* ii pl. 172. A 6.



with date, the Kameiros finds being from the Well and hardly later than c. 650 while the Spartan, with 'Geometric, Protocorinthian and Laconian I' pottery could all be a little later,<sup>44</sup> but the absence of exceptions to the apparent rule seems significant. These 'dollies' derive from Egyptian figure handles, like the example found on Samos,<sup>45</sup> possibly via the Near East, where analogous figures are to be found.<sup>46</sup>

Ivory relief plaques comparable with the Spartan are not seen in Rhodes or Ephesus, and on Samos are provided with distinctive coffering above and below.<sup>47</sup> East Greece has yet to produce the combs with semicircular handles or the big disc seals. On the technical side the East Greek ivories show no use of tremolo decoration, which is common in the Peloponnese. This is a zigzag pattern of arcs produced by a rocking movement of a tool known as a scorper; a technique not wholly mastered by modern forgers of Boeotian fibulae. Jacobsthal, in *Greek Pins* 209 ff., discussed examples of its appearance in Greece, Italy and Etruria, on metalwork, ivory and bone, and he considered that it derived from an eastern tradition. He cited ivories from Nimrud<sup>48</sup> which certainly seem to show the technique but are not conclusively earlier in date than the Greek examples on ivory or bronze. One would expect an eastern origin for the technique, but it is odd that it has not been observed more often, especially on metalwork. It is not used on East Greek ivories, nor, it seems, on East Greek bronzes.<sup>49</sup> Observation of 'antiquarian' details like these may make it possible to define more clearly the orientalising workshops of the Greek world.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

*Merton College, Oxford.*

<sup>44</sup> On this dating see *BSA* lviii (1963) 4 f.

<sup>45</sup> Freyer-Schauenburg, pl. 32a; Egyptian examples, *ibid.*, pl. 32b.

<sup>46</sup> From Sidon, Barnett, *Nimrud Ivories* pl. 123.U13 (Harden, *The Phoenicians* pl. 65; and cf. the Carthage mirror handle, *ibid.*, 205, fig. 73).

<sup>47</sup> Freyer-Schauenburg, pls. 6a, 8a.

<sup>48</sup> For which see now Barnett, *Nimrud Ivories* 158,

pls. 36.S 62a, c, e; 40.S 57a, 59a-e; 41.S 58a. It is apparently also employed on Punic ivory combs, Freyer-Schauenburg, pls. 29-31, and *Madrid Mitt.* vii (1966) pls. 17-22. It is an important technical link between east and west Phoenician ivory work (cf. *ibid.*, 104-6).

<sup>49</sup> *Greek Emporio* 207, fig. 137.168 and 227, fig. 149.409, may be imported from the west.



# THE CAMPAIGN AND THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

MANY studies of the campaign and the battle of Marathon have suffered from conflicts between scholars in the field of hypothesis.<sup>1</sup> The article by J. Kromayer illustrates this admirably.<sup>2</sup> He concerned himself mainly with the rival hypotheses of Curtius and Delbrück, the former maintaining that the Persians embarked most of their force and all the cavalry just before the battle,<sup>3</sup> and the latter that the Persians did not do so at all but delivered a full-scale but unsuccessful attack up the Vraná valley, which resulted in a counter-attack by the Greeks.<sup>4</sup> Neither hypothesis rests upon the ancient evidence. Yet Curtius has been followed by Munro, Grundy and others, and recently by Gomme, Pritchett and Burn;<sup>5</sup> and Delbrück has been followed by Meyer, De Sanctis and others.<sup>6</sup> Other hypotheses are made about the duration of the engagement. They vary from Munro's matter of 'minutes' to Delbrück's three phases of hard-fought action,<sup>7</sup> although they are both in conflict with the evidence of Herodotus. Again, hypotheses have been advanced

I am most grateful to Mr G. T. Griffith and Mr W. G. Forrest for helpful comments on drafts of this article; and for the comments which were made when

I read part of it to branches of the Classical Association at Exeter and Edinburgh in autumn 1966.

<sup>1</sup> Studies to which I refer in this article are abbreviated as follows:

Burn = A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London, 1962); Caspari = M. O. B. Caspari, 'Stray notes on the Persian Wars', *JHS* xxxi (1911); Curtius = E. Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte* (1888); Delbrück = H. Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* i (Berlin, 1920); Gomme = A. W. Gomme, *More Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford, 1962); Grundy = G. B. Grundy, *The Great Persian War* (London, 1901); Hammond = N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1967); Hignett = C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford, 1963); How = W. W. How, 'Cornelius Nepos on Marathon and Paros', *JHS* xxxiv (1914); Kromayer 1 = J. Kromayer, 'Drei Schlachten' *Abh. d. Sächs. Akad.* xxxiv (Leipzig, 1921); Kromayer 2 = J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder* iv (Berlin, 1924-31); Leake = W. M. Leake, 'The Demi of Attica', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* i (London, 1829); Macan = R. W. Macan, *Herodotus* ii (London, 1895); Maurice = F. Maurice, 'The Campaign of Marathon', *JHS* lii (1932); Meyer = E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* iv 1 (4th ed. Stuttgart, 1944); Munro = J. A. R. Munro, 'The Campaign of Marathon', *JHS* xix (1899); Myres = J. L. Myres, *Herodotus: Father of History* (Oxford, 1953); Pritchett = W. K. Pritchett, 'Marathon', *Univ. of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* iv 2 (Berkeley, 1960); Schachermeyr = F. Schachermeyr, 'Marathon und die persische Politik', *Historische Zeitschrift* clxxii (1951); Schliemann = H. Schliemann, 'Das sogenannte Grab der 192 Athener in Marathon', *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie* xvi (1884); Soteriades = G. Soteriades in *Πρακτικά τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας* 1935 (Athens, 1936); Staes = B. Staes,

'*O ἐν Μαραθῶνι τύμβος*', *Ath. Mitt.* xviii (Athens, 1893); Whatley = N. Whatley, 'On the possibility of reconstructing Marathon and other ancient battles', *JHS* lxxxiv (1964).

<sup>2</sup> Kromayer 2.

<sup>3</sup> Curtius ii<sup>6</sup> 24 f.

<sup>4</sup> Delbrück 63 'Riesenhaft steht die Gestalt des Feldherrn Miltiades an Eingang der Welt-Kriegsgeschichte; die vollendetste und seltenste Form der Schlachtenführung, die alle Kriegskunst bis auf den heutigen Tag hervorgebracht, die defensiv-offensive, tritt uns hier in den einfachen Linien des klassischen Kunstwerks.'

<sup>5</sup> Munro, *CAH* iv (1926) 245, keeping the cavalry and other troops at Eretria and then sailing for Phalerum; Grundy 184, 'it seems almost certain that the cavalry had been already embarked'; Gomme 36, 'they must . . . embark the cavalry first'; Schachermeyr 25, 'daher entschloss sich Datis zur Einschiffung der Reiterei'; Pritchett 173, 'Schachermeyr's interpretation is undoubtedly correct'; Burn 247, Datis 'embarked some troops, including probably much of his comparatively small force of cavalry, destined for the dash up from Phaleron.' Beloch *GG* ii 2. 80 simply denied the participation of cavalry in the expedition. Whatley 131, criticising such a hypothesis, remarked 'mere theories are tending to be regarded as established truths'.

<sup>6</sup> Meyer iv 1.311 'Datis entschloss sich zum Angriff und führte sein Heer in Schlachtordnung vor.' De Sanctis, *Riv. di. Fil.* liii (1925) 120.

<sup>7</sup> Munro, *CAH* iv (1926) 249: 'The hand-to-hand fighting . . . is to be measured in minutes, not hours'; Delbrück 60 and 62.



in an attempt to dispense with the topographical evidence, for instance of the Mound at Marathon, e.g. the hypothesis that it existed before the battle.<sup>8</sup> In a paper delivered in 1920 and published in this *Journal* in 1964, Whatley expressed his doubts about the value of such hypotheses; but he himself became involved in drawing analogies between the massive, complicated and many-fronted First World War and the one-day battle of Marathon—analogs which are quite misleading. In this paper I propose to be as economical as possible in making hypotheses and to keep to the ancient evidence first. This leads to a different order of exposition; for most scholars have begun with the campaign, formed their theory of the aims of the Persians and of the Greeks, and tried to make the battle conform with the theory,<sup>9</sup> but I shall begin with the battle itself, for which we have much evidence, and treat the campaign afterwards.

It is perhaps surprising that there has been no comprehensive study of the campaign and the battle. Macan made an excellent analysis of the literary evidence, but was brief in regard to topography and tactics. Pritchett has summarised the topographical evidence and made many acute observations, but his treatment of the battle itself and of the ancient evidence is cursory. As Macan put it, 'a slight access of evidence, or even a variety in method, justifies a fresh presentation and discussion of the issues'.<sup>10</sup> This paper, I hope, covers all the relevant evidence and follows a more logical and less hypothetical method. It is divided into the following sections: (1) the topographical evidence, (2) the battle of Marathon, (3) the campaign of Marathon, (4) a narrative of the whole and (5) the evaluation of the literary evidence. Of the last section it may be wise to warn the reader that my general attitude is that expressed by W. M. Leake: 'Herodotus' account bears the strongest marks of truth and fidelity, though there are some additional facts which we may receive without much difficulty from later writers, being such as we may easily suppose to have been neglected by Herodotus on account of their minor importance, and to have reached those writers by authentic tradition.'<sup>11</sup>

### I. THE TOPOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

The Athenian dead were buried at Marathon (Thuc. ii 34.5 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν) at the place of the battle (Paus. i 29.4 τοῦτοις γὰρ κατὰ χώραν εἶσιν οἱ τάφοι) in the plain (Paus. i 32.3 ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ), and the *stelai* were set up on the mound recording the names of the fallen (Paus. *ibid.*), who were 192 in number (Hdt. vi 117.1). The *stelai* stood there in the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, so that the number of names could have been checked by anyone. The identification of the burial-place of the Athenian dead with the Mound of Marathon (the so-called 'Soros') was established by the excavations of Staës.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Maurice 23 'The Soros existed before the battle'; Burn 254 'it may be therefore that for purposes of this burial an already ancient tumulus was dug up, re-used and perhaps enlarged; and it can *not* therefore be confidently said that the Soros shows exactly where "The Athenian dead lay thickest".'

<sup>9</sup> The same sort of theories have bedevilled the Battle of Salamis, as I observed in my article on that battle in *JHS* lxxvi (1956) 39 f.

<sup>10</sup> Macan 150.

<sup>11</sup> Leake 177. At the other extreme Meyer 311 n. 2 accepts as authentic tradition the account of Herodotus and a couple of remarks in Plutarch, sweeps all other literary evidence aside as modifications of the Herodotean tradition ('alle andere Berichte haben keinen selbständigen Wert, sondern sind Modifikationen der bei Herodot erhaltenen

Tradition'), and feels free to invent a Persian offensive which is not even a modification of the Herodotean tradition. It is anachronistic to suppose that all ancient writers except Herodotus, whether contemporary or subsequent, relied only on their powers of invention or modification in regard to this campaign; G. Gottlieb, *Das Verhältnis der ausser-herodoteischen Überlieferung zu Herodot* (Bonn, 1963) 65, commenting on Meyer's view, writes 'es ist aber m. E. einfach unmöglich, dass alle Einzelheiten, die Herodots Beschreibung ergänzen, erfunden sind'. And it is uncritical to treat alike Plutarch, for instance, and Clemens Alexandrinus, who made Miltiades undertake a night march in imitation of Moses (*Alex. Strom.* i 162).

<sup>12</sup> *Δελτ.* 'Αρχ. 1890, 65-71; 123-132; and 1891, 34-67; and 97; *Ath. Mitt.* xviii (1893) 46-63.



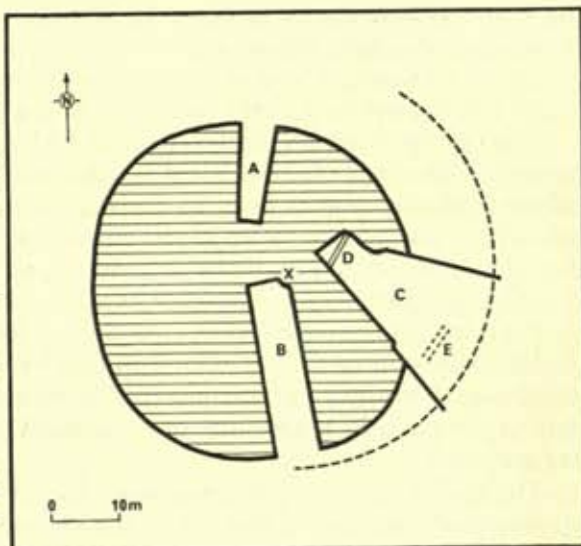
The details of the Mound's construction, although often neglected by students of the battle, are of considerable importance, because they show that the Mound was constructed for the purpose in 490 B.C.

The Mound today after centuries of erosion and after being decapitated by Schliemann's excavation is still some 9 metres high, some 50 metres in diameter and some 185 metres in circumference at the base.<sup>13</sup> A layer of sea-sand and greenish earth, on which Staës found ashes and charred bones, was disclosed at a depth of 3 metres below the ground level at the mound as it is today. The layer began on the south side a metre or so within the circumference of the present mound (Plan 1, trench B), and on the south-east side some

Plan 1. Staës' excavations (from *Ath. Mitt.* xviii [1893] 49).

The Plan is orientated only approximately. The broken line shows a part of the periphery of the mound. The shaded part is (I imagine, for Staës gives no key) a horizontal section of the mound not at ground level but at the level at which Staës began to dig his trenches A and B downwards in 1890.

- A. First trench in 1890, which hit water.
- B. Second trench in 1890, which found a layer of sand, ashes and vases.
- C. Third and Fourth trenches in 1891, which found a similar layer and a cremation tray.
- D. The cremation tray.
- E. The second brick-lined tray.
- X. At this point the trench was 11.70 m. deep. As Staës gave the height of the mound above the layer of sand as 12 m., X is fairly close to the central point of the original mound.



two or three metres within the circumference of the present mound (Plan 1, trench C). The layer, as revealed by the trenches at these points, extended to the centre of the mound. On the south-east side Staës' trench disclosed a brick-lined tray, 5 metres long and 1 metre wide, on which the pyre had been laid for the cremation (Plan 1, D). It lay directly on the layer of sand,<sup>14</sup> and was close to the centre of the mound. It is apparent, then, that the pyre was the central point over which the mound was constructed. This was the usual practice.<sup>15</sup> Round the cremation tray and on the layer of sand Staës found *lekythoi* and other vases of the early fifth century. Here then the Athenian dead were cremated in 490 B.C. and a funeral feast was held at the time. These stages (the laying of the sand, the building of the cremation tray and the ceremony itself) were completed not under many tons of soil but *before* the vast mound of soil was raised up—a glimpse of the obvious but overlooked by Maurice, who stated that 'the Soros existed before the battle, and the Athenians . . . burned the bodies on the plain and deposited the ashes in the Soros, the

<sup>13</sup> Staës gives the height and diameter, Schliemann the circumference; Schliemann gave the height as 11 metres, which means either that his excavation docked its height by 2 metres or that Schliemann included the two metres which he excavated below the outside ground-level.

<sup>14</sup> So Staës *Ath. Mitt.* xviii (1893) 53 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ στρώματος. Pritchett 141 puts the tray a metre lower (if I understand him correctly) perhaps misunderstanding Staës *ibid.* ἐν μέτρων βάθος; σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σημερινῆς ἐπιφανείας; see also Δελτ.

*Ἀρχ.* 1890, 65, 128 and 129. Staës hit water when he dug his small trench on the north side (*Δελτ. Ἀρχ.* 1890, 130); he may not have gone deep enough to hit the layer of ashes, or else the ashes were scattered to one side only of the pyre. The pyre, sometimes on a cairn of stones, is the centre of Bronze Age tumuli.

<sup>15</sup> The method of constructing a mound is given in *Iliad* xxiii 255 f. and is illustrated in the tumuli of North Epirus; see my book *Epirus* 387 f. (Oxford, 1967).



only prominent feature on the plain, in preference to erecting a new mound'.<sup>16</sup> A variant of Maurice's theory has recently been introduced by Burn, who suggests that 'an already ancient tumulus was dug up, re-used and perhaps enlarged'.<sup>17</sup> This is not a practical idea. For the excavation, carting away and carting back of a large tumulus would have been not only twice as laborious as making a new one but also completely pointless.

When the cremation and the feast were completed, a colossal quantity of earth was collected and made into a mound over the pyre and the ashes. Then on the outer face of this mound a second brick-lined tray was constructed. Here the Athenian *epheboi* laid wreaths (*IG* ii 1.471 line 26), and here the relatives and the Marathonians still dedicated their offerings to the dead as 'heroes' in the time of Pausanias more than 600 years after the battle (*Paus.* i 32.4 *σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθῶνιοι τοὺτους . . . ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες*). The remains of this tray (Plan 1, E) were found by Staës together with animal bones and fragments of vases; it was at the edge of his south-eastern trench (Plan 1, C) and it lay about a metre below the present surface of the mound.<sup>18</sup>

The depths at which the layer of sand and the second brick-lined tray were found give us some indications of the original mound and its erosion since the time of Pausanias. Its height originally was at least 15 metres. Today the eroded soil has covered the second brick-lined tray with a metre of soil on the south-eastern side; it has accumulated more on that side than on the southern side, where the present mound comes one or two metres closer to the periphery of the layer of sand. Erosion has probably been more drastic still on the rainy south-western side. As the eroded soil spread out from the mound, it raised the level of the immediately adjacent plain by three metres above that of the layer of sand, which had been laid presumably on the then surface of the plain. This does not mean that all the plain in the vicinity of the mound has taken on three metres of silt as Pritchett has supposed.<sup>19</sup>

The earlier excavator of the mound, H. Schliemann, drove one vast trench, four metres square, downwards from the top of the mound and another, two metres square, into the base of the mound from the east. In the first he hit 'Urboden' two metres below the level of the modern surface, and in the other he struck water one metre down. Thus he did not reach the layer of sand and ashes. But he found two pieces of obsidian, one being on the mound and the other at its foot; and also sherds of pottery which he described as similar to pottery from the Shaft-Graves at Mycenae but which he dated tentatively to the ninth century B.C.<sup>20</sup> As Schliemann shifted a vast amount of earth from above the layer of sand and ashes, it is not surprising that he found two bits of obsidian and these early sherds in it; for the earth which made up the colossal mound must have been taken from the surface of the plain all round the pyre, and objects in it must have been of earlier date than 490 B.C. Indeed the fact that he found only one piece of fifth-century black glaze is an indication that the earth of the mound was put there before 489 B.C. Soteriades reported finding obsidian flakes 'in every corner of the Marathonian plain' and Pritchett 'picked up obsidian razor-blades' in his explorations.<sup>21</sup> Soteriades found Mycenaean and Geometric pottery in the necropolis near Ayios Demetrios, and the people of Mycenaean and Geometric times no doubt left traces of their pottery in the plain too.<sup>22</sup> In any case the presence of

<sup>16</sup> Maurice 23-24; Pritchett 142 points out the impossibility of Maurice's suggestion.

<sup>17</sup> Burn 254.

<sup>18</sup> Staës 55.

<sup>19</sup> Pritchett, 141, 142 n. 34, 154 n. 24 and 157 'the rise of three metres at the Soros', which shows a failure to understand the effect of erosion; in the same way he says on p. 141 that 'the Soros was originally a burial mound of earth at least twelve

metres high', which does not allow for the erosion of the top.

<sup>20</sup> Schliemann 85-88.

<sup>21</sup> Soteriades 148 *εἰς πᾶσαν γωνίαν τῆς Μαραθωνιακῆς πεδιάδος*, and Pritchett 140 n. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Soteriades found a tholos tomb and also Geometric pottery in the plain; see *JHS* liv (1934) 189. The tholos tomb is about a kilometre west of the Mound; see *Ergon* 1958 (1959) 23 for the further excavation of it.



obsidian flakes and Mycenaean and Geometric sherds in the fill of the mound tends to confirm and in no way invalidates the argument that it was raised up *after* the battle over the cremated Athenian dead.

Schliemann did not find objects which others had found.<sup>23</sup> In the 1820's Leake's servant gathered 'a great number of small pieces of black flint at the foot of the mound', which Finlay realised were from modern threshing instruments.<sup>24</sup> Leake himself found 'many brazen arrowheads, about an inch in length, of a triliteral form' in the soil of the mound's surface. He conjectured that they were Persian arrowheads, rightly; for Broneer found this distinctive type of arrowhead 'triangular in section' on the Acropolis of Athens and attributed its use to the Persians of Xerxes' expedition.<sup>25</sup> Forsdyke attributed a group of arrowheads now in the British Museum to the mound, where an excavation was made in 1830, and he noted two other unusual types of arrowhead, one in iron, the other in bronze.<sup>26</sup> This profusion of arrowheads is very interesting. Leake inferred that those he found had been 'collected after the action' and 'thrown into the grave of the Athenians'; but this is not so, as they would then have been placed on the layer of ash. Their presence on the top soil of the mound is due to the fact that they were lying on the earth which the Greeks brought in last when making the mound in 490 B.C. It follows that the soil which made up the mound was within bowshot of the Persian position when the battle was joined. In other words, if we allow a circle with an extended radius of 50 metres from the periphery of the mound for the area from which earth was taken, and if we accept that the extreme effective range of a Persian archer was 150 metres,<sup>27</sup> the Persian position when the Greeks charged was within 200 metres of the mound.

While Maurice and Burn seem to be alone in thinking the mound was a previously existing tumulus, others have denied Pausanias' statement that the dead were cremated on

<sup>23</sup> This is not surprising in so great a mound. Staës did not find Mycenaean and Geometric sherds. Burn 254 n. 42 implies bad faith in Staës when he writes 'the Greek excavators did not wish to find such evidence (scattered, in a disturbed tumulus) as Schliemann had reported'. But Staës, anticipating this modern tendency to question the good faith of excavators, obtained witnesses at the time. The fact is that Schliemann and Staës dug in different parts of the mound, and Schliemann's vast trench went down from the then top of the mound. There is no reason to suppose that they would have made similar finds.

<sup>24</sup> Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* ii 431 and G. Finlay, quoted by Pritchett in his excellent note 20 on p. 140.

<sup>25</sup> Leake 172; Broneer in *Hesp.* iv (1935) 114 with fig. 4 top row and A. Salmony, *Artibus Asiae* xvii (Switzerland, 1954) 303 f.; I illustrate one more clearly in *Epirus* fig. 30B. Pritchett 159 discusses arrowheads but misses out the important find made by Leake.

<sup>26</sup> E. J. Forsdyke in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxxii (1919) 146 f.; Admiral Brock and General Meyrick had them from 'a grave in the plain of Marathon', no doubt the Mound. Forsdyke showed that 'the Marathon arrowheads are not Greek but Oriental'. Herodotus vi 112.2 shows that the Greeks had no cover of arrows when they attacked.

<sup>27</sup> Kromayer 1, 10 estimated the effective range of archers against bronze-clad hoplites at 100 metres,

and Delbrück 60 n. 1 at more than 100 metres. W. McLeod, 'The range of the ancient bow' in *Phoenix* xix (1965) 8 makes the effective range of an archer 'at least 160-175 metres but not as far as 350-450 metres'. He does not take into account the nature of the target. For instance his lower figure is based on the firing of incendiary arrows (his T1 = Hdt. viii 52.1), which needed no power of penetration, and the higher figure is based on unarmoured horses at that distance being out of range (his T2 = Hdt. ix 22-23), which is almost equivalent to the extreme range because a horse is easily stung into action by an arrow. The only deduction we can make from the evidence for the Persian Wars is that a Persian archer could shoot an incendiary arrow as far as at least 155 metres and not as far as 355 metres. The only piece of ancient evidence which concerns archery in battle gives 600 feet = 178 metres as the practice range for men training to fire *in acie*, and it relates to the fourth or fifth century A.D. (his T8 = Vegetius, *Epit. rei. mil.* ii 23). At Marathon the archers no doubt held their first shots until the Greek bronze-clad hoplites came *within* a range at which an arrow could penetrate armour. I should be inclined to put this at less than the 178 metres of Vegetius and nearer to Kromayer's estimate. I take 150 metres here as a reasonable compromise. McLeod's suggestion that the Greeks at Marathon were under fire for 200 or even 300 yards (p. 13) is an exaggeration. Once the battle was joined, the bow played no part in the hand-to-hand fighting.



the spot, *κατὰ χώραν*. In theory the denial is highly improbable; for honour, as well as convenience in collecting the corpses, required that the memorial was made at the spot where most of the dead had fallen. In practice, too, the presence of Persian arrowheads in the fill of the mound puts the matter beyond any doubt at all. Further, Herodotus vi 113.1 states that the Persians were victorious in the centre where they 'broke' the Greek line; and it was at the point where the break occurred that most of the Athenians must have fallen.<sup>28</sup> The mound then marks the spot where the Greek centre was broken. All the reconstructions of the battle which put the Greek centre elsewhere than at the mound are therefore incorrect and may be discarded; for instance, those of Delbrück, Meyer, Kromayer, De Sanctis, Maurice, Schachermeyr and Burn.

The length of the Greek line and the length of the Persian line were the same, according to Herodotus, and modern estimates put the length at some 1600 metres or even considerably more.<sup>29</sup> If the mound marks the centre, then a line of 1600 metres can be swivelled round it; for the mound is 800 metres from the coast. But Herodotus makes the further remark that on breaking the Greek centre the Persians pursued the Greek centre 'into the interior' (*καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσογαίαν*), and they could have pursued in that general direction only if their original position was between the mound and the coast. Thus the reconstructions of the battle which put the original Persian position elsewhere than between the mound and the coast and also not within 200 metres distance of the mound are incorrect and may be discarded; for instance, not only those mentioned in the last paragraph but also those of Soteriades and Pritchett,<sup>30</sup> in which the lines are more or less at right angles to the coast. The original position of the Persian line on the day of battle, as I understand it, is shown in Plan 2.

Pausanias makes two mentions of a marsh or marshy lake which are evidently one and the same. On the first occasion, at i 15.3, he is describing the picture in the Poecile Stoa which commemorated the battle, and he says that the inner or central part of the picture showed the barbarians in flight from the battle and pushing one another into the marsh (*τὸ δ' ἔσω τῆς μάχης φεύγοντες εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους*). Later, at i 32.7, when he is describing what he himself saw, he identifies this marsh into which the barbarians fell: *ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι λίμνη τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδης· ἐς ταύτην ἀπειρία τῶν ὁδῶν φεύγοντες ἐσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ σφισι τὸν φόνον τὸν πολὺν ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμβῆναι λέγουσιν*. It so happens that before the recent drainage of the plain there were two marshes in the plain of Marathon (see Plan 2). Our problem is to decide which of the two was meant by Pausanias. Now at i 32.3 Pausanias resumed his description of 'matters relative to the demes' and started with the deme of Marathon. The places which he describes were probably in the order of his itinerary. They are the mound, a tomb of Plataeans and

<sup>28</sup> Schachermeyr 27, having put the Greek position on Mount Agriliki, made a general statement that the heaviest losses in ancient battles occurred first 'im Zurückweichen' and so felt justified in putting these losses about a mile away from the place where the engagement began. This distance means losses in flight, such as occurred when the Macedonian cavalry pursued the defeated enemies of Philip and Alexander, but a hoplite set-to was different. Herodotus puts the long fight before the Greek centre broke and it was in this long fight that the thinner files in the Athenian centre were laid low. Gomme 33 assumes, *pace* Herodotus, that the Greek centre did *not* break. The casualty list, recording the tribe to which the dead belonged, showed that the tribes Leontis and Antiochis had suffered most, and Plu. *Arist.* 5 reported that their regiments held the centre;

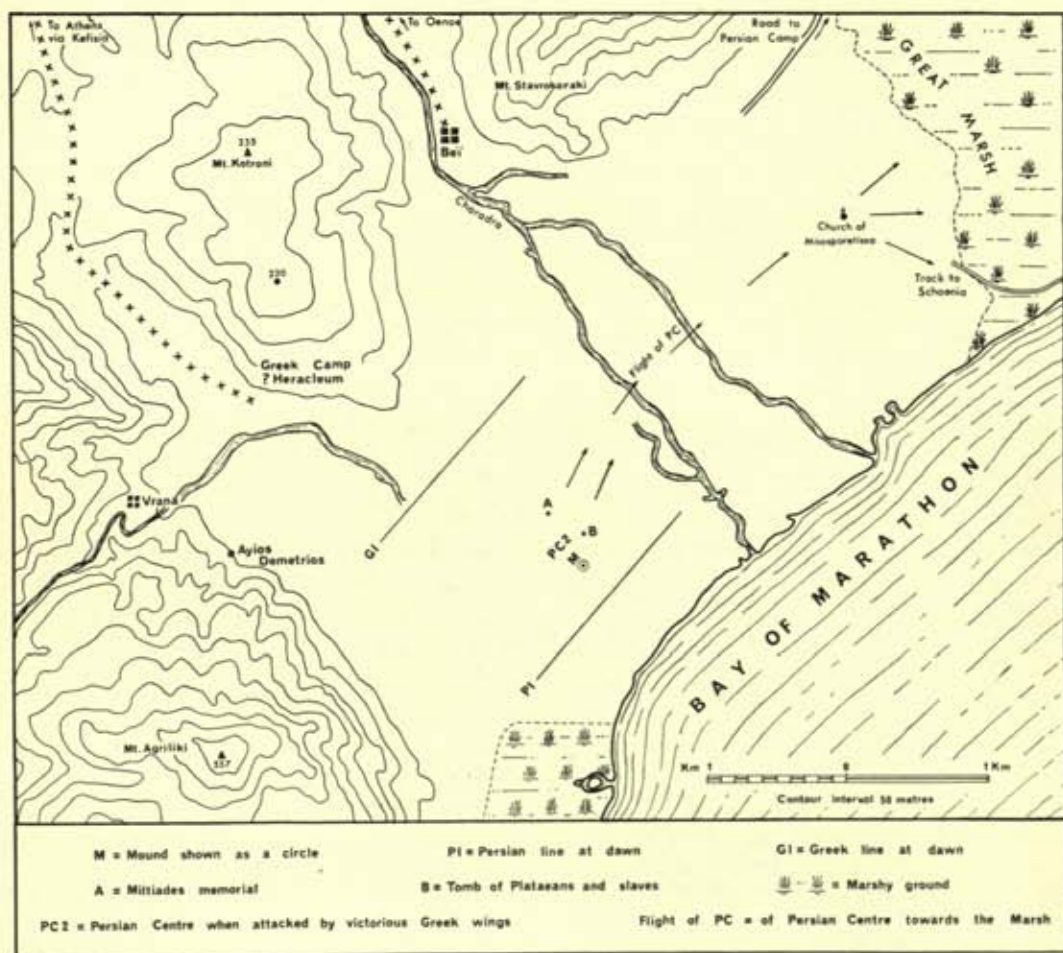
this can be taken as an intelligent inference by Plutarch's source, or as independent evidence that the centre suffered most casualties.

<sup>29</sup> Estimates vary from the 2,750 yards of Myers 210 and 2,300 yards of Maurice 23, who made the Greek centre two men deep, to 'at least one kilometre' of Kromayer 1, 10. Pritchett 143 f. puts the line at 1,641 yards as a maximum.

<sup>30</sup> Soteriades 133; Pritchett 143 and 173, if I understand him correctly, for his sketch-map does not show any positions at all; and now E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia* xxxv (1966) 103. When the Persian line is put at right angles to the coast with its back along the line of the Charadra, the Persian break through the Greek centre carries the Persians towards Mount Agriliki, not towards the Schoeniá.



slaves, a memorial to Miltiades, the scene of the fighting, 'a tropaion of white stone', the place where he expected but failed to find a tomb of the Persian dead, a spring called Macaria, the marsh, the mangers of Artaphernes' horses above the marsh, the river running through the marsh, its outlet into the sea and a cave of Pan on a mountain at some distance from the plain. He then says that Marathon has Brauron on one side of it and Rhamnoús on the other side some 60 stades away; and he proceeds to describe the areas of Rhamnoús



Plan 2 The Western Part of the Plain of Marathon (from the Greek Army Geographical Survey 1928, sheet Rafina-Pikermi, 1:20,000).

and Oropus to the north. On the face of it we may say that the likely course he took was from the mound to the northern marsh, and that as he left the cave of Pan above the marsh, he looked back towards Brauron and then proceeded on his journey of 60 stades to Rhamnoús. But we need proof rather than likelihood, and proof is, I think, provided by the spring Macaria.

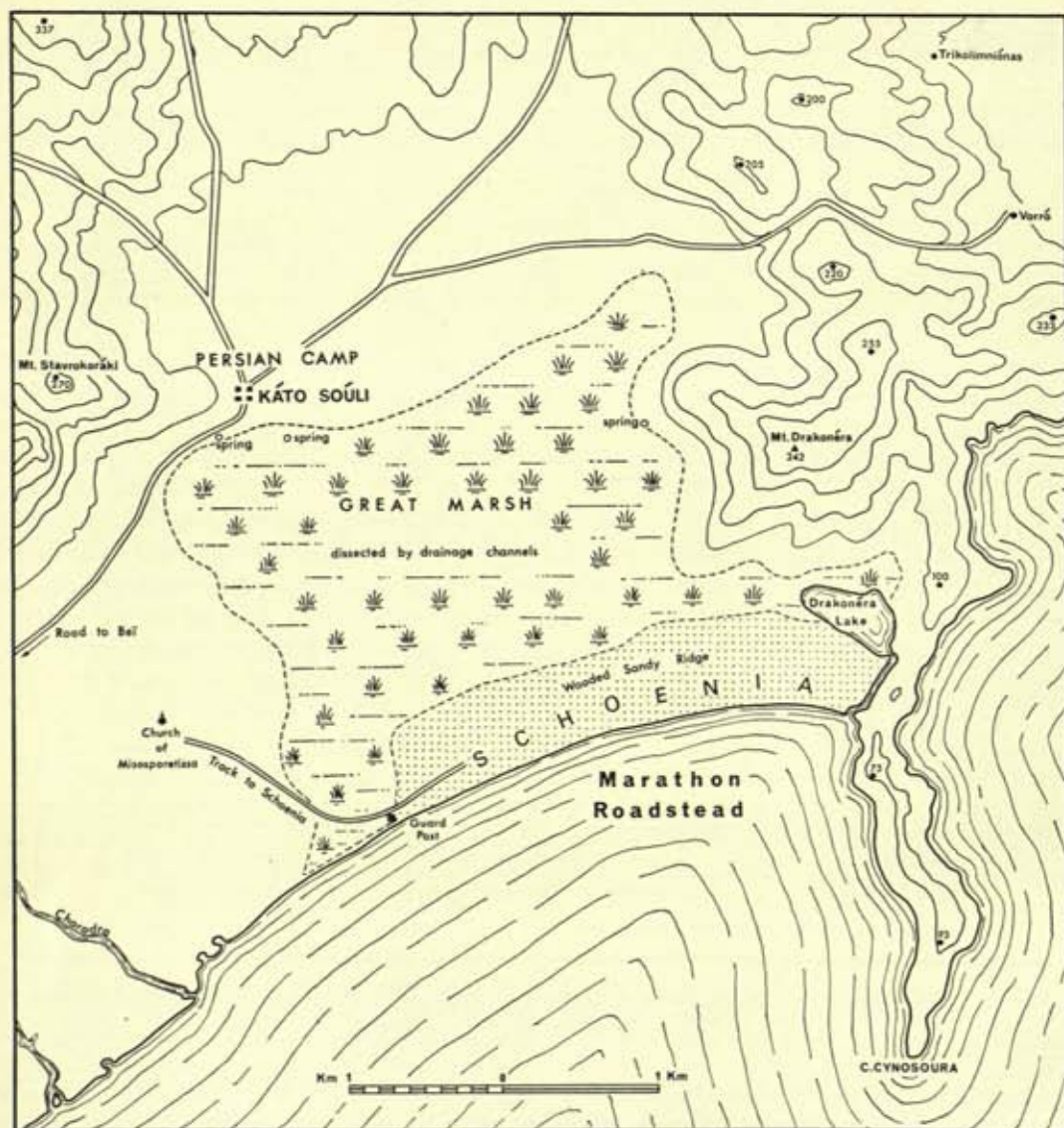
A fixed point in the topography of the plain is the deme Tricorynthus. It comprised the north-eastern part of the plain, and the modern centre of it is Káto-Sóúli.<sup>31</sup> Here the

<sup>31</sup> Leake 164; A. Milchhoefer, *Text zu Curtius-Kaupert, Karten von Attika*, iii 49; Radke in P-W s.v.; Soteriades, *Praktika* 1935, 129; Philippson-Kirsten,

*Die Griechischen Landschaften* i 3.789 (1952); J. R. McCredie, *Hesperia Supplement* xi (1966) 41.



legend of the Heracleidae, the self-sacrifice of Macaria and the slaying of Eurystheus by Hyllus had its location (Str. C 377 and Paus. i 32.6). Strabo reports that the head of Eurystheus was buried at Tricorynthus; for it had been cut off by Iolaus 'at the spring Macaria below the road' (*περὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Μακαρίαν ὑπὸ ἀμαξιτόν*). There is only one place for 'the road', that is between the foothills and the marshy plain (see Plan 3). The spring Macaria then was below this road near Káto-Soúli. Pausanias mentions the spring

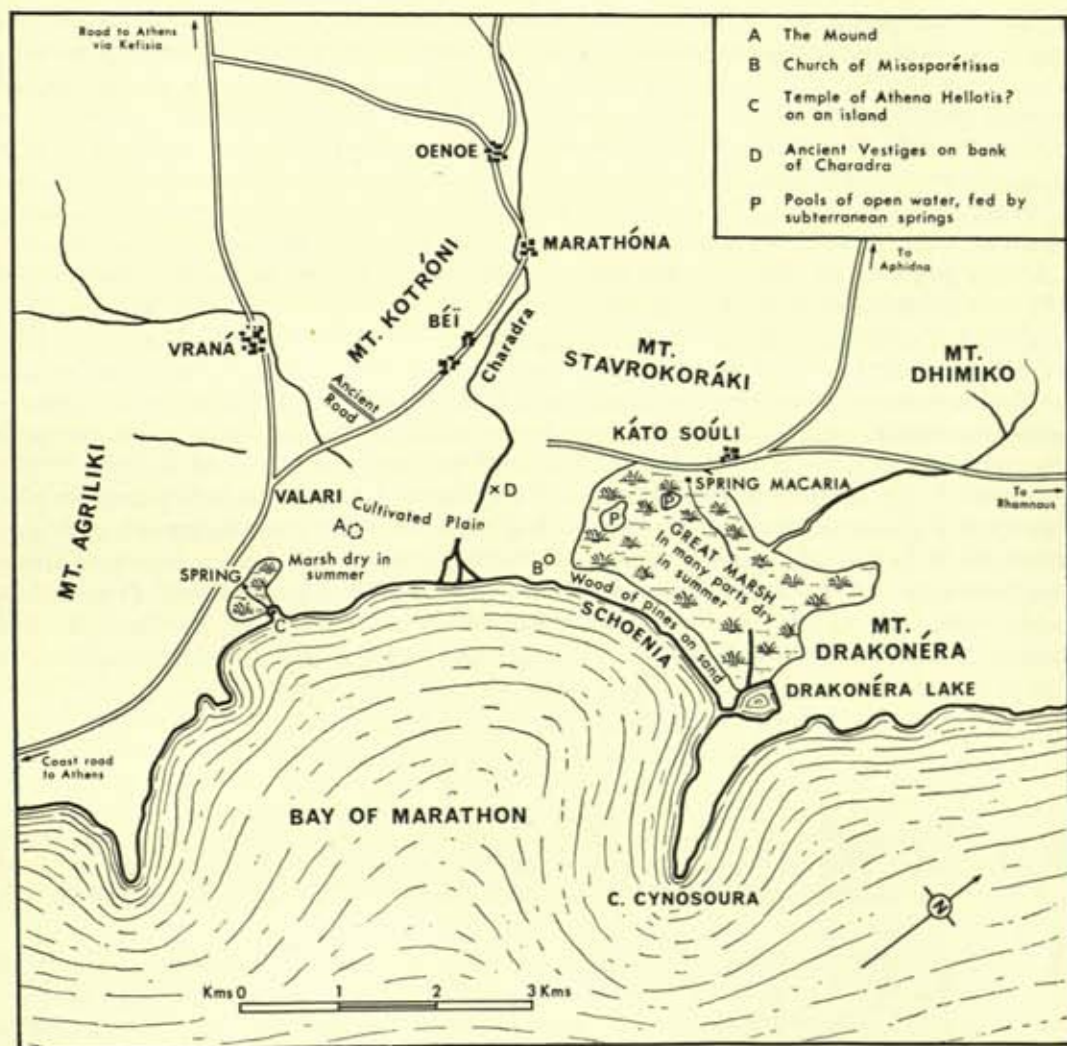


Plan 3. The Eastern Part of the Plain of Marathon (from the Greek Army Geographical Survey 1928, sheet Rafina-Pikermi, 1:20,000).

Macaria and the marshy lake in consecutive sentences (*καὶ τῇ πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα [sc. Μακαρία] ἀφ' αὐτῆς. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι λίμνη τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδης*). This clinches it. Pausanias meant the lake by Káto-Soúli in the north-eastern part of the plain. As Leake noted, the spring itself is identifiable; for below the road near Káto-Soúli there is 'the fountain at the head of the marsh . . . which is in fact the most considerable source of fresh water in the Mara-



thonia', and he labelled it as the spring Macaria. Soteriades and others have agreed with his identification. But did this marsh in the deme Tricorynthus exist in the fifth century B.C.? Here Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1031, mentioning the proverbial 'Tricorysian gnat', gives us the answer in the affirmative; and the Scholiast explains that the district of Tricorynthus was 'wooded and wet' (λέγεται ἐμπὶς Τρικορυσία ὡς ἐν Τρικορύνθῳ πολλῶν ἐμπίδων γινομένων, ἔστι γὰρ ἀλσώδης καὶ κάθυγρος ὁ τόπος).<sup>32</sup>



Plan 4. A Copy of Leake's Plan of the Bay and Plain of Marathon, published in 1829.

We learn from Leake what the marsh was like before it was drained (see Plan 4). He wrote in 1825 as follows: 'The marsh, which is six or seven miles in circumference, is deepest towards the foot of Mount Stavrokoraki where several springs issue from the foot of the rocks on the right side of the road leading from the great plain to Kato-Souli; a little below these springs are some deep stagnant pools, fed by other subterranean sources. The other parts of the marsh become nearly dry in summer; but these pools and springs are permanent,

<sup>32</sup> Suidas s.v., ἐμπὶς. Arist. *HA* 569b, mentioning midges in shaded marshy districts, says they occurred

thus ἐν Μαραθῶνι i.e. either in the Great Marsh or in the small marsh or in both.



and preserve a luxuriance of vegetation, which renders the place very useful for the pasturing of cattle in the summer, when verdure has abandoned the plains of Attica. A small stream, which has its origin in the springs at the foot of Mount Stavrokóraki, is then traced through the marsh into a small salt lake, supplied from subterranean sources, and . . . known by the name Drakonéra. The lake discharges itself into the sea by a running stream. . . . The stagnant freshwater pools of the marsh . . . supply . . . eels, . . . the salt lake . . . sea-fish.<sup>33</sup> The marsh which Pausanias describes resembles this marsh in its upper part but not in its lower part. Pausanias indicates that there was some open water in his expression *λίμνη τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδης*, such as the pools Leake mentions 'fed by other subterranean sources'. Pausanias continues thus: 'and from the lake there flows a river which affords suitable water for cattle near the lake itself but which is already salty and full of sea-fish by its outlet into the sea' (*κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος*, i 32.7). This river has the qualities of Leake's river in the marsh below Káto-Souli. It is evident, then, from the identification of Tricorynthus, the spring Macaria and the lake described after the spring by Pausanias that his lake and marsh into which the fleeing Persians fell is the marsh below Káto-Souli.

At this point we should note that the lower part of the marsh today (see Plan 3) is not as Pausanias describes it.<sup>34</sup> For he makes no mention of the salt-lake which provides a fishery today of sea-fish; he speaks of the stream's 'outlet into the sea'. Now it is likely that this part of the marsh has changed, because the stream, running with much more force in the winter, when inundations from the hinterland occur,<sup>35</sup> must have deposited much silt on the foreshore. This silt has probably advanced the coast-line under the shelter of the promontory Cynosoura. A similar process has probably occurred at Pylos.<sup>36</sup> But the existence of a sandy strip similar to today's Schoeniá is certain, as it is a commonplace of marshes of this kind beside an almost tideless sea. Its orientation may have been more north-easterly in 490 B.C. than it is today. Such a strip is dry enough to support trees, as the Schoenia did in Leake's time when it was 'covered with pine-trees'. It must have been here that the wood grew in ancient times which made the place *αἰσώδης*. Further, it was such a wood which was commemorated in Aeschylus *Elegiac Fragment 3* as the scene of his prowess:

*ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι  
καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.*

Here indeed his brother, Cynegeirus, fell in the pursuit of the Persians 'down to the sea' (Hdt. vi 113.2). Pausanias i 14.5, who had this elegy in mind, refers to *τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἄλσος καὶ Μῆδων τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας*. He therefore thought of the Persian force as having landed at the Schoeniá or rather at its ancient predecessor; and it was presumably from here that the Phoenician warships put off at the end of the battle. The water in the marsh reaches the sea at the west end of the Schoeniá through a bog, over which runs the track from the church of Misosporétissa to the guard post on the Schoeniá (see Plan 4), and at the east end through an open channel, such as Pausanias described. When the Persians fled during the battle and fell into the marsh, being ignorant of the tracks through it (*ἀπειρία τῶν ὁδῶν*), they came from the west, not from the coast itself but from the upper part of the plain near Béi, and tried to cross the marsh. Lastly Pausanias i 32.7 mentions that there were 'stone mangers of Artaphernes' horses and marks of [his] tent<sup>37</sup> on the rocks above

<sup>33</sup> Leake 168.

<sup>34</sup> Leake *ibid.* and Pritchett 155 did not notice this difference.

<sup>35</sup> Leake 162 mentions these inundations.

<sup>36</sup> Pritchett's plate 7 gives an excellent aerial view of the coast-line and the marsh. For Pylos see A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* iii 483.

<sup>37</sup> This tent, like the tent of Xerxes, made a great impression on the Athenians; see O. Broneer, 'The tent of Xerxes and the Greek Theater' in *Univ. of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* i (1929) 305 f. and D. B. Thompson, 'The Persian Spoils in Athens' in *The Aegean and the Near East* ed. S. S. Weinberg (New York, 1956) 282 f.



the lake', which probably means on the lowest slopes of Mount Stavrokóraki, because the cavalry lines would obviously have been alongside 'the most considerable source of fresh water in Marathon' and the best pasture in September.<sup>38</sup>

As we move from this marsh to the smaller marsh in the south-western corner of the plain, we may note some points about the plain. Leake reported that Mr W. Bankes had seen 'near the south-western angle of the great marsh and about a quarter of a mile from the sea at the church of Misosporétissa the remains of a single Ionic column, of two feet and a half in diameter, of the best period of the arts, and which had the appearance of not having belonged to any building'.<sup>39</sup> Leake suggested that this column was a memorial of the battle. His suggestion fits the fashion of the time; for a single Ionic column, set up as a memorial on the Acropolis of Athens, has been put together by Raubitschek and dated to c. 490 B.C.<sup>40</sup> Leake also pointed out that the column was probably the *τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ* which Pausanias mentioned (at i 32.6) just before he mentioned first his inability to find a burial-place of the Medes, most of whom fell by and in the marsh (i 32.7), and then the spring Macaria. The column was in fact by the track which now crosses the bog and enters the western end of the Schoeniá (see Plan 3).

The plain itself was 'subject to inundations from the two torrents which cross it, particularly that of Marathóna', wrote Leake in 1828<sup>41</sup> (see Plan 4); and an Attic proverb was derived from just such an inundation occurring to the demesmen of Oenoe (*FGH* 327 [Demon] F 8), which lies at the head of the Marathóna valley.<sup>42</sup> These floods brought detritus to the inland end of the plain; for the water on reaching the centre of the plain passes underground, as was shown by Schliemann's experience in digging at the mound. The shallow gully, called the Charadra, which emerges from this valley at Bēi and crosses the plain in one or more channels (see Plan 2), is dry in summer. Leake found ancient remains on its left bank (see Plan 4), and Soteriades later found sherds and house remains, which he dated to the classical period, on both banks.<sup>43</sup> Soteriades concluded that the Charadra had not changed its course since the classical period; but his conclusion is invalid, since any change of course would have been caused farther inland where the detritus accumulates, and it is just as likely that the Charadra has changed its course since antiquity and has cut a new channel through a part of the plain which was inhabited in antiquity. Schachermeyr and Pritchett, both with the help of geological specialists, saw that the Charadra stream may have run anywhere through the plain in 490 B.C. and even into the great marsh.<sup>44</sup> The matter is anyhow unimportant, as any such gully was dry in September and its banks, varying now from no height at all to a maximum height of eighteen feet,<sup>45</sup> would not have offered a serious obstacle at many places to an advancing or retreating army.

The small marsh in the south-western corner was described by Leake in 1828 (see Plan 4). 'The springs at the foot of mount Agraliki . . . collecting in the plain form a marsh, through

<sup>38</sup> The last thing mentioned by Pausanias in i 32.7 is not connected with the battle, but it gives some idea of his itinerary. Having observed the spring Macaria, the marsh, the mangers of Artaphernes' horses, the marks of the tent and the outlet of the river from the marsh into the sea, he mentions the mountain and cave of Pan 'a little further away from the plain' (*ὀλίγον δ' ἀπωτέρω τοῦ πεδίου*). Such a cave was reported on a hill to the west of the Marathóna valley (*Ergon* 1958 [1959] 15 f.).

<sup>39</sup> Leake 173; see now E. Vanderpool, who has found fragments of the column, in *Hesperia* xxxv (1966) 93 f.

<sup>40</sup> A. E. Raubitschek in *AJA* xlv (1940) 53; see

R. Hampe in *Die Antike* xv (1939) 170 fig. 1 and B. B. Shefton, 'The dedication of Callimachus' in *BSA* xlv (1950) 145. A Nike probably was on the column on the Acropolis; there may have been one also on the column by the church of Misosporétissa.

<sup>41</sup> Leake 162.

<sup>42</sup> Leake's identification of Oenoe on p. 163 has been widely accepted; see references in Pritchett 149.

<sup>43</sup> Soteriades in *Praktika* 1935, 132 f.

<sup>44</sup> Schachermeyr 17 and Pritchett 157.

<sup>45</sup> So Pritchett 156 reports from personal observation; and now Vanderpool in *Hesperia* xxxv (1966) 103.



which a rivulet takes its course to the sea. A little above its mouth is a small rising ground, now called τὸ νησί (the island), in which I found several cippi, etc.<sup>46</sup> His finds included the shafts of columns, a Corinthian architrave and busts which may have been of the period of Herodes Atticus, a distinguished demesman of Marathon. Soteriades found these or/and similar remains not only on 'the island' but also in the marsh, as earlier travellers had also done, and he concluded that there was no marsh there in 490 B.C.<sup>47</sup> His conclusion, again, is not necessarily valid, because the remains which he found were of the Roman period, when drainage works were undertaken; for he found a drainage channel of the Roman period. Pritchett inspected the area in 1959 and found two tumuli and some sherds which were earlier than the fifth century.<sup>48</sup> His inadequate map does not show where the tumuli are. My reasons for supposing that there was a marsh in 490 B.C. are two. In the first place the strength of the springs and the lie of the ground make it almost certain that in the fifth century B.C. there was a marsh in this area, just as there was one by Káto-Soulí; for there is no indication that the Athenians engaged at that period in drainage works. In the second place there is mention of Athena Hellotis so named ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔλους (Schol. Pi. *Ol.* xiii 56 ed. Drachman), ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλους τοῦ περὶ τὸν Μαραθῶνα (*ibid.* 56d) and ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Μαραθῶνα ἔλους (*EM* 332.43). Pritchett does not mention this important passage. But Leake did and inferred that there was a temple of Athena on 'the island' in this marsh.<sup>49</sup> The vagueness of the prepositions—'at', 'in the vicinity of' and 'towards' Marathon—suit the deme of Marathon rather than the tetropolis of Marathon. For the alternative location, namely in the great marsh, is less likely because that marsh is connected with the deme of Tricorynthus by its gnats and with the legends of Macaria, Eurystheus, Hyllus and Theseus; moreover, we shall find evidence of a worship of Athena on the western side of the plain.

Soteriades discovered an enclosure wall in the south-western part of the plain near Áyios Demétrios church (see Plan 2), and Karo found sherds there which confirmed Soteriades' claim that the wall was of fifth-century date. Pritchett, who visited the site, found the walls 'certainly not impressive', but he felt that 'we are not justified in rejecting Soteriades' identification'.<sup>50</sup> The most important confirmation of its date came from a boundary-stone of the early fifth century inscribed *hopos temeños athenaas* 'which was found buried in a vineyard' only some hundreds of metres east of Soteriades' enclosure wall.<sup>51</sup> The boundary-stone, being a single stone and not part of a cannibalised building, is likely to have been more or less *in situ*.<sup>52</sup> So far then as the evidence goes, the temenos found by Soteriades was that of Athena (for he found no other enclosure); in addition he discovered foundations of a seventh-century temple 'immediately outside the south leg of the enclosure wall'<sup>53</sup> but of course well within the area marked by his boundary-stone, a fifth-century clay statuette perhaps of a goddess in the nearby necropolis<sup>54</sup> and pieces of a marble statue of a goddess, whom he identified as Athena, in the plain below.<sup>55</sup> The Athena worshipped here was probably Athena Hellotis, wrongly derived with its double lambda from the ἔλος

<sup>46</sup> Leake 165.

<sup>47</sup> Soteriades in *Praktika* 1935, 124.

<sup>48</sup> Pritchett 154. He proceeded, like Soteriades, to 'the elimination of the marsh' in antiquity. I am not convinced by his arguments; for instance by one that the 'black silt' here was not marsh-silt but was silt 'brought in by the sea', a procedure contrary to the normal processes of nature.

<sup>49</sup> Leake 165.

<sup>50</sup> Pritchett 138; he is very critical of Soteriades (see his note 9). E. Vanderpool goes further in *AJA* lxx (1966) 322 and says that Soteriades' enclosure wall 'is not even ancient', but what of Karo's confirmation on the evidence of sherds? The wall is

relatively unimportant, because the boundary stone shows there was a temenos of Athena hereabouts.

<sup>51</sup> *Praktika* 1933, 42, reported by H. G. G. Payne in *JHS* liv (1934) 189.

<sup>52</sup> Soteriades in *Praktika* 1933, 42 held the stone was *in situ* (κατὰ χώραν) because the letters were clear.

<sup>53</sup> Soteriades in *Praktika* 1934, 30 εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος τὸ ἀμέσως κείμενον ἔξω τοῦ νοτίου σκέλους τοῦ περιβάλλον.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 1934, 38 ἐν πηλίνον ἀγαλμάτων γυμνῆς γυναικείας μορφῆς, θεᾶς Ἰσως. Illustrated *ibid.*, 1935, 87, fig. 1.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 1935, 90 τὴν θεὰν ταύτην, ὑποθέτω, δυνάμεθα νὰ ταυτίσωμεν πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν. For Athena's connection with Marathon see *Od.* vii 80.



two kilometres away and really a goddess of Mycenaean origin (worshipped also at Corinth); for Soteriades found a Mycenaean acropolis above the enclosure, a tholos tomb with a gold cup below it, and Geometric pottery in the nearby necropolis. It is typical of the pre-conceptions of Soteriades and others that they have categorically identified the enclosure wall as that of a temenos of Heracles.<sup>56</sup> All the evidence points to Athena. Indeed this is the one place where the temenos of Heracles cannot have been. We must look for it elsewhere.

The Marathonii, i.e. the demesmen of Marathon, claimed that they were the first to have worshipped Heracles as a god (Paus. i 15.3). We have seen that Heracles' descendants were associated with the north-eastern part of the plain by the spring Macaria, and we learn from Lucian, *Deor. Conc.* 7, that the temple of Heracles was 'close' (πλησίον) to the tomb of Eurystheus, who was killed beside the spring Macaria. It is then likely that the Heracleum was in the north-western rather than the south-western part of the deme Marathon. In the picture in the Poecile Stoa Heracles himself was shown together with Marathon, Theseus 'likened to one coming up from the earth', and Athena. Here Theseus is shown returning from the underworld from which Heracles obtained his release, and it is evidently this aspect of Heracles which was associated with Marathon. The deme of Marathon certainly included the north-western part of the plain and the valley of Vraná. The site of the ancient Greek town Marathon has not been discovered, but it may well lie under the Roman site which Pritchett reports on the very south-eastern tip of Mount Kotróni;<sup>57</sup> for its position beside the ancient road of which Leake found traces (see Plan 4) is most appropriate. We may suggest tentatively that the temenos of Heracles was here, as his worship was so peculiar to the Marathonii and so ancient, and that the plain in the Vraná valley was the scene of the fifth-century games in honour of Heracles. At that time they were held 'in the recess of Marathon' (μυχῶ τ' ἐν Μαραθῶνος), a phrase of Pindar which can refer only to a valley-mouth lying off the main plain.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Soteriades, having found what he held to be the acropolis of Marathon and having decided the Heracleum should be near it, set out to look for the temenos in the vicinity and found it in the expected place and not a trace at all of any other temenos (Praktika 1933, 34 καὶ πραγματικῶς ἀνεῦρον αὐτό, ὡς ἀδιστακτῶς πιστεύω, εἰς δ σημείον περίπτον ἔκρεπε πλέον τὰ ὑποτεθῆ κείμενον—ἀφοῦ οὐδαμοῦ ἄλλου εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόρειαν ἔχνος οἰονόηποτε περιβόλον τέμενος τοιοῦτον ὑπάρχει). He decided this was the temenos of Heracles and when he found a boundary-stone of the temenos of Athena cheek by jowl with it—ὁμόζυγον πρὸς αὐτό, p. 42—he failed to make the obvious deduction that the one and only temenos on the western side of the plain—καθ' ὅλην τὴν ἐπ' ὄρειν μας δυτικωτάτην περιοχὴν τῆς πεδιάδος, p. 42—was that not of Heracles but of Athena. Payne and others accepted his decision without demur; but Wrede, in *PW* s.v. Marathon, made the cautionary remark 'doch ist das vage Vermutung'. E. Vanderpool mentions the boundary stone in *AJA* lxx (1966) 319 but makes no deduction. Little attention has been paid to Soteriades' work and least to the boundary stone of Athena's temenos by most of those who have studied the battle. Hignett 60 f. does not mention his work; he just places the temenos of Heracles on Mount Agriliki on his *a priori* view that the Athenians came by the coast road from Athens. Burn 243 refers to 'a precinct sacred to Heracles,

now identified at a Chapel of St Demetrios where there are ancient foundations, at the foot of the valley where the Vraná track comes in'; the last words are inaccurate as his own contourless map on p. 244 shows, since the Chapel is on the lower slopes of Mount Agriliki and not at the foot of the valley and much less where the Vraná track comes in (i.e. from Athens).

<sup>57</sup> Pritchett 140 and n. 17. I find Vanderpool's identification unconvincing (*AJA* lxx [1966] 321); having downgraded Soteriades' other discoveries, he upgrades his 'farm-houses'.

<sup>58</sup> Pi. P. viii 79; the games are mentioned also in O. ix 89 and xiii 110. This is where Leake tentatively put the temenos of Heracles. The word μυχός is translated 'vallis' in this passage by I. Rumpel, *Lexicon Pindaricum* (Stuttgart, 1883); it is used of Delphi by Pindar in P. v 68 and P. x 8. An inscription mentioning either the 'Heracleia', i.e. the games (E. Vanderpool in *Hesp.* xi [1942] 329 f.) or the Heracleum (Peck in *SEG* x 2) has been dated to shortly after or shortly before 500 B.C. The stone was found in a vineyard 'in a locality known as Valaria' (Vanderpool, *ibid.*), which is marked on Leake's map = Plan 4 here. As the stone had been partly re-faced and trimmed at some unknown period probably for incorporation in a building, the place of its discovery does not give us the position of the stadium for the games or for the Heracleum but only



Leake noted traces of an ancient road above the spring Macaria and on the south-western foothill of Mount Kotróni entering the Vraná valley. This ancient road ran from Tricorynthus to Marathon and proceeded over the hills to Athens via Kefisiá (see Plan 2). Leake showed this road on his map; it is joined by a road which comes from Oenoe and the modern Marathóna (Plan 4). This route from Vraná to Athens is the shortest between the plain and Athens; How and Wells reckoned it to be 22 miles and the coast road from the south-western corner of the plain via Rafína and Palléne to be 25 miles.<sup>59</sup> The two roads which lead out of the north-eastern part of the plain, as shown by Leake (Plan 4), divide at a point east of Káto-Sóuli and the spring Macaria.

## 2. THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

The earliest evidence for the phases of the battle comes from the pictures in the Poecile Stoa which was painted by Micon and Paeanus c. 460 B.C.<sup>60</sup> At that date many Athenians of 50 years of age and over had fought in the battle. They must have been deeply interested; so it is certain that this record of the battle was correct in its facts. Pausanias i 15.3 describes the picture. It showed three phases of the battle. The Plataeans and the Athenians coming to grips with the Persians (*ἴασιν ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις*) and the battle evenly matched. Then the Persians in flight from the battle and pushing one another into the marsh (*τῆς μάχης φεύγοντες εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους*). Finally, the Phoenician warships and the Greeks killing the Persians as they rushed to the warships (*νῆες τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες*). We learn from this picture that the battle was at first evenly matched—that is in the vicinity of the mound, as we have seen; that in their flight from the scene of the battle the Persians fell into the marsh—that is the great marsh in the north-eastern part of the plain, as we have seen; and that the Persians rushed to the Phoenician warships, which were therefore beyond the marsh and so along the Schoeniá or rather its ancient predecessor, separating the marsh from the sea.

We may add two passages which support Pausanias in his description. Aeschines, in *Ctesiph.* 186, says that 'the demos' let Miltiades be painted 'first, exhorting the soldiers', and the Scholiast to Aristides (ed. Dindorf. iii p. 566), writes *ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ στοᾷ γεγραμμένος ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἐκτείνων τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ὑποδεικνύς τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοὺς βαρβάρους, λέγων ὁρμᾶν κατ' αὐτῶν*. As the word 'first' probably refers to the left-hand edge of the picture for the spectator and so to the very beginning of the action, Miltiades (and not Callimachus) set the army in motion. His orders to the soldiers were 'to rush headlong upon them' (*ὁρμᾶν κατ' αὐτῶν*); thus the Greeks took the offensive, as Pausanias describes it (*ἴασιν ἐς χεῖρας*).

Reference to the battle of Marathon has been seen by some scholars in two epigrams, A and B, B having been inscribed at a later date on a base carrying A. The lettering of A is dated c. 485–470 B.C. and that of B c. 475–460 B.C.<sup>61</sup> A was brilliantly restored by B. D. Meritt, using a fourth-century copy of the original epigram, to read in a conflated form as follows:

A.  
 Ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετῇ [δόξει κλέ]ος ἄφθι[τον] αἰεῖ,  
 [οἷς ἂν ὕ]πέρ χ[συνῶν σκληρὰ] νέμωσι θεοί·  
 ἔσχον γὰρ πεζοί τε [καί] ὠκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηῶν  
 Ἑλλά[δα μ]ὴ πᾶσαν δούλιον ἦμαρ ἰδεῖν.

a general indication that it was in the western part of the plain. E. Vanderpool admits as much in *AJA* lxx (1966) 323.

<sup>59</sup> W. W. How and J. Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus* ii 113. Macan 239 describes the two routes.

<sup>60</sup> See Macan 227 and Caspari 105 f.: 'the oldest piece of evidence for the reconstruction of the battle of Marathon'.

<sup>61</sup> So P. Amandry 'Sur les épigrammes de Marathon' in *ΘΕΩΡΙΑ Festschrift Schuchhardt* (1960) 4.



Meritt<sup>62</sup> held that the epigram commemorated the fighting at Marathon 'on foot and on the swift-going ships', that is in the plain and on the ships lying by the Schoeniá; if he is right, we can say that the epigram indicates two of the phases which were later depicted in the Poecile Stoa and therefore confirms its accuracy. However, I think that *πεζοί τε καὶ ὠκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηῶν* cannot mean 'men fighting on land and on (other people's) ships' but must mean men fighting on land and men fighting at sea (*i.e.* on their own ships).<sup>63</sup> Amandry is surely correct in arguing that it refers neither to Marathon nor to Salamis<sup>64</sup> but to the whole of the Second Persian War and was inscribed soon after 479 B.C. on a monument commemorating the Athenians lost in the campaigns of 480 B.C. and 479 B.C.

The other epigram is restored by Meritt as follows:

- B. *Ἐν ἄρα τοῖς ἀδάμ[ας ἐν στέθει θυμός] ἡὸτ' αἰχμὲν  
στέσαμ πρόσθε πύλων ἀν[τία μυρίασιν]  
ἀνχίαλομ πρέσαι β[ολευσαμένον ἐρικυδὲς]  
ἄστν βίαι Περσῶν κλινάμενο[ι στρατιάν].*

Raubitschek<sup>65</sup> argued that this epigram referred to a battle on the beach at Phalerum, which he supposed took place after the fighting at Marathon. But if there was fighting of such outstanding importance as to be commemorated alongside the campaigns of 480 B.C. and 479 B.C., then Herodotus' failure to record it and indeed his tacit negation of it are incredible (Hdt. vi 116 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι . . . ἀνοκωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην). On the other hand, I find much force in the arguments of Amandry<sup>66</sup> that this epigram commemorated the fighting at Marathon and was added to the base in a spirit of rivalry *vis-à-vis* the campaigns of 480 B.C. and 479 B.C. His arguments are reinforced by a comparison of the diction of the epigram with the diction of the period on the subject of Marathon. The great battle of the spear, the αἰχμή, in which the Athenians routed the Persians, was the battle of Marathon, of which Aeschylus wrote in the *Persae* 239–240 in 472 B.C.:

- Ἀτοσσα. πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμή διὰ χεροῖν αὐτοῖς πρέπει;  
Χοροῖ. οὐδαμῶς · ἔγχη σταδαῖα καὶ φεράσπιδες σαγαί.*

The verb κλίνειν 'to rout' in the epigram is used in an epigram on Marathon, if ἐκλιναν is read for ἐκτειναν (see below, p. 33). In 490 B.C. the spearmen stood firm 'before the gates', *i.e.* in defence of Athens and much of Attica (Hdt. vi 103.1 ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα); and they routed the Persians who had planned to burn the town (πρῆσαι ἄστν). This plan was attributed by Herodotus to the Persians, who had already burnt Eretria (Hdt. vi 101–102 ἐνέπρησαν ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων . . . δοκέοντες ταῦτά τοις Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν). The contrast with 480 B.C. is apparent too. For in 480 B.C. the Athenians, so far from standing firm, abandoned the city (Hdt. viii 41.3 ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν), the Persians found the town undefended (viii 51.2 αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστν), a few Athenians

<sup>62</sup> B. D. Meritt, 'Epigrams from the Battle of Marathon' in *The Aegean and the Near East* (1956) 270 f.

<sup>63</sup> The word *πεζός* is used of men on foot with a latent or expressed contrast to men at sea, in a chariot or on horseback (for the first see Thuc. ii 94.2 and L-S-J<sup>9</sup> *πεζός* I). Here the contrast is expressed. They fought on land and at sea (as in the epigram commemorating the battle of the Eurymedon River; see my *History of Greece*<sup>2</sup> 259 f.). The restoration proposed by Wilhelm in *Anz.Akad. Wien* lxx (1933) 10.95 ἔσχον γὰρ πεζοὶ τῆν ἄλκιμον Ἀσίδος ἱπποῖν has not been tenable since Meritt's publication in 1956; it was used by Schachermeyr 16

in 1951 and by Hignett 66 n. 4 in 1963 as an argument in favour of Persian cavalry being engaged in the Battle of Marathon.

<sup>64</sup> Amandry did not refer to the following passage which strongly supports his view: D. S. xi 33.3 ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἐκόσμησε τοὺς τάφους τῶν ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων. Pritchett 160 f. attributes the epigram to the battle of Salamis but the emphatic position of *πεζοί* can hardly be reconciled with the small-scale attack on Psyttalia.

<sup>65</sup> In *AJA* xlii (1940) 58 f.; he follows H. L. Crosby in finding a reference in Aristophanes *Wasps* 1079 f. to fighting at Phalerum; but see p. 50 below.

<sup>66</sup> See n. 61.



held the acropolis gates from within (viii 52.1 *προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας*) and then the Persians burnt the entire acropolis (viii 53.2 *ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*). The epigram was perhaps added to the base in the last years of Cimon's ascendancy c. 464–462 B.C.<sup>67</sup>

As Syncellus and Jerome state, Herodotus recited his history at Athens in 446–5 B.C., and he lived for some time at Athens before he went to Thurii in 444/3 B.C. His audience in 445 B.C. contained men of 65 years of age and over who had fought in the battle, and they no doubt, like Aeschylus (Paus. i 14.5), regarded those few hours at Marathon as the finest of their lives. A few were still alive even in 425 B.C., οἱ Μαραθωνομάχαι, fierce old men of tough stock (Ar. *Ach.* 180 f.).<sup>68</sup> When Herodotus was composing his history in the decade perhaps of 455–445 B.C. he must have consulted many veterans of the battle such as Epizelus, from whose lips he heard the story of his vision (Hdt. vi 117.3 *λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν . . . ἤκουσα*), and he must have known that they and others would be fierce and accurate critics of his account.<sup>69</sup> When therefore Herodotus stated, for instance, that, the Athenians having captured seven ships, the Persians put out with the rest of the ships and made their course for Sunium, and that the Athenians set off post-haste and got to Athens first, it seems to me totally unreasonable to deny the truth of these statements. In the *Sunday Times* of 26th June 1966 Harold Macmillan wrote that 'no one who fought at Ypres [as he did] can ever forget the road from Poperinghe to Ypres' in 1917, and in 445 B.C. the march from Marathon to Athens in 490 B.C. must have been equally unforgettable for the veterans. I take it then that the salient facts in Herodotus' narrative are completely unimpeachable—namely, the landing of the Persian expeditionary force at Marathon,<sup>70</sup> the Athenian march from Athens, the days of waiting, the rapid advance *δρόμῳ*,<sup>71</sup> the victory on the wings, the defeat in the centre, the combined attack of the Athenian wings on the Persian centre, the immediate and close pursuit to the shore,<sup>72</sup> the capture of seven ships, the flashing of the shield,<sup>73</sup> the course of the Persians set for Sunium, and the Athenians' march post-haste *ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον* to Athens.<sup>74</sup> Yet, as I have indicated in the footnotes, almost all these facts in Herodotus' narrative have been rejected by one scholar or another as false or incredible, and sometimes they have been modified and converted to fit the preconceived hypotheses of the critic.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Rivalry between the supporters of Cimon and the democracy was then very strong, and Salamis was the pride of the democratic group, *ὁ ναυτικός ὄχλος* (Arist. *Pol.* 1304 a 22 and *Ath. Pol.* xxv 1–2).

<sup>68</sup> W. G. Forrest, 'Aristophanes' *Acharnians*', in *Phoenix* xvii (1963) 10, thinks it 'no doubt is an exaggeration'; but having visited the Royal Chelsea Hospital for Veterans I have no doubt that some Acharnians of 85 years and more had tales to tell of Marathon.

<sup>69</sup> We must remember that we are dealing with a single day of fighting and we must not be misled by Whately's analogy of men's memories of protracted, complicated wars such as the First World War becoming blurred and confused.

<sup>70</sup> Modified by Beloch *GG* ii 2.80 and Maurice 16, who supposed there to have been no cavalry units in the expeditionary force, and by Munro, *CAH* iv 243, who kept the cavalry at Eretria in the Marathon campaign. One might as reasonably deny today the presence of tanks at the Battle of the Somme in 1916 and hope not to be refuted by participants in that battle.

<sup>71</sup> Rejected, for instance, by How and Wells *Commentary* ii 112 and Hignett 62 'a feat which no

phalanx of citizen militia could have performed', and modified by Delbrück 60 who reduces the *δρόμος* to half a stade and by How and Wells *ibid.* who reduce it to one stade (unnecessarily, if one reads Hdt. ix 59.1 and Th. iv 78.5). Delbrück 56 converts the attack over 8 stades into a pursuit over 8 stades.

<sup>72</sup> Rejected, for instance, by Delbrück 65 who supposes a 'längere Pause' between the action and the pursuit; a view favoured by Hignett 72.

<sup>73</sup> Excerpted by Blakesley, rejected by Delbrück, converted by Macan 167 to before the action, by Wecklein *Über die Tradition der Perserkriege* 38 to before the Athenians left Athens for Marathon and by Curtius to the occasion of the (supposed) embarkation of the cavalry.

<sup>74</sup> Rejected by How and Wells, *Commentary* ii 113 on the ground that 'the distance from Marathon to Athens is more than an army could march after a pitched battle', and by Hignett 73, while the Persian voyage via Sunium is rejected by Schachermeyr 29 as 'ganz unglauwürdig'.

<sup>75</sup> The underlying reason is that many students of ancient history tend to regard ancient history as ancient, dependent on 'oral traditions' (e.g. Hignett 69) and written sources. For Herodotus and his



The account of Herodotus in vi 112 f. agrees with the points in the Poecile Stoa picture: the coming to grips at speed, as Pausanias and the Scholiast to Aristides indicate (Hdt. *δρόμῳ ἵεντο εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους*), the even struggle (Hdt. *μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός*), the close pursuit of the Persians to the sea (Hdt. *φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἶποντο κόπτοντες ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι . . .*) and the fighting by the ships (Hdt. vi 114). What he adds is concerned mainly with the first two phases of the battle. He tells us (as he told the veterans of the battle c. 445 B.C.) that the line, of which the Plataeans held the left wing, was so lengthened by thinning the centre to a few ranks deep that it equalled the Persian line in length, but the wings were strong in numbers (*τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ ταξίας ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει*). The space between the Greek line and the Persian line was not less than 8 stades, i.e. some 1600 yards. The Greeks advanced at the double across this distance (*δρόμῳ* thrice in vi 112.1 and vi 112.2) and, in massed formation, engaged the Persians (*ἄθροοι προσέμειξαν*). A long struggle ensued (vi 113.1).

Interrupting his account at this point, we may add the topographical and other evidence mentioned in section 1. The arrows found in the soil of the mound show that the Persian archers put down a heavy barrage during the last 150 metres or so of the Greek advance and that the Persian position was within bowshot of the mound's vicinity; and anticipating Herodotus' statement that the victorious Persians pursued towards the interior, we placed the Persian line with its back to the sea, as shown on Plan 2. The Greek line, when first drawn up, was 1,600 yards distant; moreover, as the lines matched one another in length and as the Greek line advanced at speed and the Greeks engaged *ἄθροοι*, the Greek line must have faced the Persian line directly and not been at an acute angle to it. Hence its position on Plan 2.

Herodotus describes the long struggle<sup>76</sup> in a string of graphic imperfect tenses which indicate that, while the Persians were winning in the centre and, on breaking the line of the Greeks, were beginning to pursue towards the interior, the Athenians and the Plataeans were winning on the wings (vi 113.1). These were contemporary happenings, and the respective victories no doubt took place gradually during the hand-to-hand fighting. As the Athenians and the Plataeans were winning, they were letting their defeated opponents escape, and, on drawing their wings together, they were engaging those who broke the Greek centre (*τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα [ἀμφότερα] ἐμάχοντο*), and the Athenians were winning.

We are evidently to suppose from this account that the drawing together of the wings took place more or less in the space vacated by the Persian centre which had pushed back, broken and begun to pursue the Greek centre. Now it is obvious that the action of the Athenians and the Plataeans on the wings, which were separated from one another by a considerable distance, had been preconcerted; for Miltiades, having thinned his centre and packed his wings, must have anticipated the actual developments in the fighting and issued orders in advance to the effect that the men on the wings, if and when victorious, were to turn towards the centre, to form line and to go to the aid of the Greek troops of the centre. It is not clear from Herodotus' account what interval of time there was between the Persians beginning the pursuit in the centre and the Greeks of the two wings engaging the Persian centre. I am inclined to think that the interval was very short and that the

audience Marathon was contemporary history; he asked the participants for the facts and the participants criticised his recitals at Athens; and even if he had misunderstood an informant, the participants would have corrected him when he gave his recitals.

<sup>76</sup> Hdt. vi 113.1 *μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός*. For this part of the fighting

we may compare the hand-to-hand fighting in the battle of Pydna: Plutarch, *Aem.* 21.1 *κατὰ τούτους δὲ μέγας ἦν ἀγών*. The victory at Pydna was gained in less than one hour (22.1). I imagine the Greeks defeated the Persian wings and centre within an hour or so. The analogy is with a bout in fencing rather than with trench warfare.



Persians had not moved far from the mound towards the interior when they were attacked. In the Greek line which made the attack the Athenians were now on the left and the Plataeans on the right. 'The Athenians won',<sup>77</sup> presumably forcing the Persians to pivot backwards, as it were, on the Persian left wing which was either holding firm or winning against the Plataeans on the Greek right. Thus the general direction of the Persian flight when their formation broke was predetermined. They were driven towards the region of the Misosporétissa.

It is probable that the grave of the Plataeans and the slaves which Pausanias saw (i 32.3) was at the place where the Plataeans fought on the right wing in this phase of the action. Having mentioned the mound and the Plataeans' grave Pausanias goes on to the memorial to Miltiades where 'one can hear throughout the night horses whinnying and men fighting'. This memorial evidently marked a critical stage of the fighting. This was probably where the Greeks were engaging the pick of the Persian infantry—the Persians themselves and the Sacae who were already flushed with victory. The Athenian victory decided the issue of the battle and it was, I imagine, here that the memorial to Miltiades was sited. I have placed the Plataeans' grave and this memorial in Plan 3 to indicate *roughly* where the Persian centre was when it began to break under the Greek attack. The remark of Pausanias about the horses whinnying and the men fighting may be pure fantasy, or it may reflect a knowledge that some mounted men were now involved. It is to be noted that Datis and Artaphernes were portrayed in the picture in the Poecile Stoa; this in itself may not mean more than that the generals were mounted and were among the infantry, as Mardonius was at Plataea (Hdt. ix 63.1). The panel of the Brescia sarcophagus, which is thought to reproduce the right-hand part of the picture in the Poecile Stoa,<sup>78</sup> shows a Persian cavalryman near a ship which is in the water, evidently at the Schoeniá. On balance the evidence suggests that in this phase of the battle some Persian cavalrymen were engaged in the mêlée and were involved in the flight.

The account of Herodotus continues with the Persians in flight and the Greeks in pursuit cutting them down, until the Greeks reached the sea where they called for fire and seized hold of the ships (φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἶποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἶτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν). Here there were notable casualties—Callimachus the polemarch, a general called Stesilaus, Cynegirus who lost an arm gripping a ship's poop, and many other distinguished Athenians. Seven ships were captured, and the remainder backed away (Hdt. vi 115).

With this description the picture is in agreement; for in the centre of the picture the pursuit is close (Paus. i 15.3 τῆς μάχης φεύγοντες εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους i.e. because the Greeks are on their heels), and then in the right-hand panel the fugitives rush to the Phoenician ships and the Greeks kill them. Pausanias adds two other details which he derived not from the picture but from some other source: the Persians fell into the lake, the λίμνη, that is 'the open water' which, as we have seen, was about half-way between Káto-Souli and the sea (Plan 4), because they did not know the tracks. 'The great slaughter' of the Persians took place here (i 32.7). This may be echoed by an action of Artabazus (Hdt. viii 127); for on capturing Olynthus in the winter of 480–479 B.C. he took the people from the town into a marsh and had them slaughtered there, an unnecessary step unless he was avenging 'the great slaughter' in the marsh at Marathon. The Persians of the defeated wings had meanwhile (we may assume, for they are not

<sup>77</sup> Hdt. vi 113.2 ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι as compared with 113.1 ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς. As T. J. Cadoux and W. G. Forrest have pointed out to me, the inference is not certain; but as the sentences follow one another, the inference is in my opinion the probable one.

<sup>78</sup> Arch. Zeit. xxiv (1866) 220 f.; see now the reproduction in *Hesperia* xxxv (1966) pl. 35 by Vanderpool, who aptly remarks that 'it might be studied with profit by those who believe that the Persian cavalry had been withdrawn before the battle', p. 105, n. 26.



mentioned in our sources) made good their escape and boarded the ships, either from the coast near the mound or from the Schoeniá. If Leake is correct in identifying Banks' Ionic column by the church of Misosporétissa with Pausanias' *τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ* (i 32.5)<sup>79</sup> it probably marks a place where the Greeks killed many Persians at the western end of the track to the Schoeniá. When Pausanias looked for a burial-place of the Persian dead (i 32.5), it was evidently hereabouts. As he found none, he assumed the dead had been thrown into a trench *ὡς τύχοιεν*. They numbered 'about 6,400 men';<sup>80</sup> the Athenian dead numbered 192 (Hdt. vi 117.1). We learn from Pliny *NH* xxxv 37 that the picture in the Poecile Stoa showed Cynegeirus, presumably gripping a ship's poop. The Brescia panel confirms Pliny's statement exactly. The Phoenician ships were in the water, ready to back away (as they did, *ἐξανακρουσάμενοι* Hdt. vi 115); one or more were stern to shore, as Cynegeirus seized the poop (*τῶν ἀφλάστων*). It was a remarkable feat to board and capture seven ships which were already afloat. They were probably at the western end of the Schoeniá, approximately where the guardpost is shown on Plan 3.

The battle itself does not pose any problems. The Greek charge, in formation (*ἀθρόοι προσέμειξαν*) and with superior weight of armour, struck a stationary Persian line of infantry. Aeschylus, a participant in the battle, described the equipment of the Greek hoplites in the fighting as 'spears close-held, armour and shield' (*Persae* 240 *ἔγχη σταδαῖα καὶ φεράσπιδες σαγαί*), and Aristophanes added the sword (*Eq.* 781 *διεξιφίσω περὶ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνι*). The strengthened wings (*τὸ δὲ κέρασ ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει*), the combined action of the wings (*συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα*) and the close pursuit (*φεύγουσι δὲ . . . εἶποντο κόπτοντες*) reveal the tactical insight of one man, not Callimachus but Miltiades, as we see from the picture in the Poecile Stoa, from Herodotus vi 110 and 111.1, and from the memorial to Miltiades.

### 3. THE CAMPAIGN

A large and well-equipped army of Persians, Herodotus reports (vi 95), was joined in Cilicia by a naval force, of which the contingents had been ordered from each state, and by the cavalry transports, which Darius had instructed the tributary states to build. Embarking the horses on the transports and the army (on the ships),<sup>81</sup> they set sail for Ionia with 600 triremes, crossed via Samos to Naxos where punitive measures were taken, visited 'the other islands' (in the Cyclades),<sup>82</sup> made offers of reconciliation to the people of Delos, and sailed from there for Eretria, taking 'Ionians and Aeolians' with them (vi 98.1). These 'Aeolians' must have been conscripted before the fleet left Ionia, because the islands they visited were not Aeolian. The 'Ionians' too were probably from the Asiatic coast. Between Delos and Eretria the Persians requisitioned troops from the islands, reduced Carystus in southern Euboea by siege and ravaging and put in at three places in Eretrian territory. They landed the horses at once<sup>83</sup> and prepared to attack the enemy (vi 99-101.1). We may conjecture that the cavalry were put off on the Lelantine plain west of Eretria, and the other two landings were intended to create diversions and split any opposition; for the Persians knew that the cavalry would control the plain, once they were ashore.

<sup>79</sup> See now E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia* xxxv (1966) 102 n. 17; he believes Leake is correct in his identification, but he confuses this trophy with the memorial to Miltiades which are two separate things in Paus. i 32.4 and i 32.5.

<sup>80</sup> *κατά* means 'about' (L-S-J<sup>9</sup> s.v. B. vii 2), *pace* Burn 251 who thinks the number precise; some corpses in the lake and swamp may not have been recoverable.

<sup>81</sup> *ἐς τὰς νῆας* is omitted by some manuscripts.

<sup>82</sup> Including Paros which sent a trireme to Marathon (Hdt. vi 133.1).

<sup>83</sup> The Persian expedition was launched against Eretria and Athens (Hdt. vi 94.2) and was ordered by Darius to enslave the Eretrians (Hdt. vi 101.3) and presumably the Athenians, and it was prudent to secure the islands en route and the lines of supply; it was also advisable to land the horses as often as possible in order to keep them in fighting condition.



Herodotus represents the Eretrians as undecided until the landings were made (vi 100); once the landings were made, they did not plan to go out and fight but their concern was to hold the city-walls. After six days of assault, during which both sides had heavy casualties, the city was betrayed by traitors from within and the population was enslaved (vi 101.2-3).<sup>84</sup>

The Athenians had been forewarned that Eretria might fall through treachery. For when they had sent their 4,000 cleruchs at Chalcis to help Eretria, the cleruchs had been informed of the danger of treachery and so they had crossed to Oropus in Attica (vi 100); from there the 4,000 men evidently marched to Athens<sup>85</sup> and arrived at a time when Athenian policy was still undecided. A few days later the Persians landed in Attica, 'putting much pressure on the Athenians and expecting to deal with Athens as they had dealt with Eretria' (vi 102, with the OCT reading *κατέργοντες*). The landing was at one place only, Marathon, presumably because no opposition was expected there. Herodotus attributes the choice of Marathon to Hippias (he and his father, Peisistratus, had landed there from Eretria more than fifty years before),<sup>86</sup> and he advances as the reason for the choice the fact that 'Marathon was a most suitable place in Attica for cavalry action and was very close to Eretria' (vi 102).<sup>87</sup> The reason was an excellent one; it was of course only in point because the cavalry did land at Marathon and because the lines of supply did run from Eretria.

The matter of supply is sometimes overlooked in this campaign. In order to assess its bearing, we must make an estimate of the Persian numbers. The infantry lost about 6,400 men, mainly from the Persians and Sacae in their centre, but the Persian commanders still planned to land at Phalerum and, if the landing was unopposed, to face later the army of Miltiades, which numbered at least 10,000 men. Hignett put the Persian army, including infantry and cavalry, at 20,000.<sup>88</sup> This is too low. The Persian command knew that Athens, Eretria and Sparta had more than 20,000 hoplites between them; and a defeated army reduced to 14,000 men would not have been able to face Miltiades' army again at Athens. I adopt 25,000 as a *minimum* figure for the fighting troops.<sup>89</sup> When we estimate the numbers needed to land a fighting force of 25,000, we are guided by our knowledge of the Athenian expedition to Syracuse, which landed a fighting force of 6,400 men and mounts for 30 cavalrymen.<sup>90</sup> On the same scale the Persians needed 376 triremes, 280 merchantmen, 400 small craft and an unknown number of horse-transporters. We can hardly reduce the triremes below 200, because while guarding a large convoy they might be attacked by a Greek naval force from the islands, Eretria and Athens; indeed the 300

<sup>84</sup> Schachermeyr has propounded a theory that the Persians' slow advance was planned to be 'a war of nerves' on Athens and so timed that the landing at Marathon coincided with the phase of the moon during which, as Hippias knew, the Spartans would not leave Sparta. But the fall of Eretria by treachery was not predictable; indeed, if the 4,000 Athenians from Chalcis had entered Eretria as they intended, the city might have held out for weeks. His theory seems to me to be born of after-knowledge. Schachermeyr's view has been strongly attacked by K. Kraft, 'Bemerkungen zu den Perserkriegen', in *Hermes* xcii (1964) 153-158.

<sup>85</sup> Gomme 30 writes of these 4,000 men as follows. 'So they go, to Athens, but we hear no more of them. There is one difficulty—what did they then do?' I see no difficulty whatsoever; they served in the army at Marathon.

<sup>86</sup> Hdt. i 62 and 63.2 for mention of Peisistratus' sons.

<sup>87</sup> How and Wells ii 358 find 'the reasons . . . inadequate. Nearness to Eretria would not compensate the Persians for remoteness from Athens, and the plain of Athens . . . is more suitable for the operations of cavalry'. They fail to realise that Herodotus' reason is a single one combining two assets, namely suitable ground for cavalry and proximity to Eretria.

<sup>88</sup> Hignett 71. Meyer 306 envisages a smaller force still: 'mehr als 20,000 Mann können es schwerlich gewesen sein, vielleicht beträchtlich weniger'.

<sup>89</sup> Personally I should opt for a figure of 30,000. The Persians had good information; for the battle of Plataea Sparta produced 10,000 hoplites, Megara 3,000, Corinth 5,000 while Athens and Plataea together produced 10,000 and Eretria may have had 2,000 or 3,000 in 490 B.C. Of course the Persians hoped to fight the Greek states separately, but they could not count on it at all.

<sup>90</sup> See my *History of Greece*<sup>2</sup> 389 f.



warships of Plato, *Menexenus* 240 a7, may be nearer the mark.<sup>91</sup> As Persian infantrymen were landlubbers, the warships were crewed by maritime peoples, 200 to a ship (Hdt. vii 184.1); the crews for 200 warships totalled 40,000 men. Having reduced the proportion of triremes, we must increase the proportion of merchantmen in the expedition and reckon some 400 merchant ships, let us say with a crew of 30 sailors to a ship; these crews then totalled 12,000 men. The total of men to feed, at a *minimum*, was thus 77,000. Moreover, ships and men were conscripted as the expedition advanced across the Aegean, and the total at Euboea is likely to have been at least 80,000 plus.<sup>92</sup> The epigram attributed to Simonides by Bergk and amended from *ἐκτειναν* to *ἐκκλιναν* is thus within the scope of reason in putting the Persian force at 90,000 men:

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι  
ἐκκλιναν Μήδων ἑννέα μυριάδας.

The Persian ships landed the army at the Schoeniá, as we have seen (Plan 3), and the tent of the commanders was pitched above the lake and the marsh, near the spring Macaria where water and lush pasture were available for the horses. The Persians now controlled the roads leading northwards to Aphidna and to Rhamnoús; supplies could be brought along these roads or all the way by sea from Euboea. The position was a very strong one; for the approach through the pass by Káto-Souli was very narrow, and the Schoeniá could be attacked only through the narrow entry at its western end. The anchorage of the Schoeniá was sheltered by Cape Cynosoura. The landing was made presumably at or soon after dawn. On the same day Tricorynthus fell to the Persians, and we may conjecture that the cavalry scoured the plain and threatened Oenoe and Marathon. The Persian commanders realised that, if the Athenian army stayed in Athens, they could proceed over good cavalry ground via Pallene into the plain by the city and draw their supplies from their advanced base at Marathon; or that, if the Athenian army came out to defend Oenoe and Marathon, the plain was suitable for their cavalry and their supplies from Eretria were assured.

'When the Athenians heard of the landing, they went to the defence of Marathon' (vi 103.1 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα). 'The Plataeans came up in full strength to the defence of the Athenians' (vi 108.1 and 6 βοηθέοντες). The emphatic use of *βοηθεῖν* shows that the Athenian object was to defend the rest of Attica and more immediately Marathon against the ravaging tactics of the Persians.<sup>93</sup> Speed was therefore essential. The news of the landing must have reached Athens by signal within the hour. The army, including the 4,000 cleruchs from Chalcis, was no doubt already mobilised, and in this emergency an Assembly was called at short notice. The runner Philippides was despatched now by the generals to Sparta (Hdt. vi 105 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔοντες ἔτι ἐν Ἀστει οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι εἰς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φιλίππιδην); when the Assembly met, one of the generals, Miltiades, proposed a motion, which was carried, 'that

<sup>91</sup> The 600 triremes of Hdt. vi 95.2 is evidently a conventional figure for a Persian fleet (see How and Wells ii 103). The Athenians had little opportunity in this campaign of assessing the size of the Persian fleet.

<sup>92</sup> Ampelius 15. 9 gives the number of Persian troops as 80,000; his source was Trogus *Hist. Phil.* prol. 2 (see ed. by O. Seel p. 57). Leake 190 f. calculated the total numbers at 177,000; he accepted the number 600 for the Persian warships.

<sup>93</sup> In the same way the Eretrians had asked Athens to send help in their defence (vi 100.1 σφίσι βοηθού; γενέσθαι); earlier still, the Athenians, faced by the

same problem when Peisistratus landed at Marathon, had gone to the defence of Attica (i 62.2 βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν); the Spartans were asked now to come to the defence of the Athenians (vi 106.2 σφίσι βοηθῆσαι) and after the battle the Athenians went to the defence of the city (vi 116 ἐβοήθειον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ). The Persians had ravaged the territory of Carystus (Hdt. vi 99.2), and [D] lix 94 says that Datis landed with a great force in Attica and began to ravage (ἐπόρθει). I see no justification for Gomme's view, p. 32, that 'the only purpose' of the Athenian army was 'to engage the army'.



they provide themselves with supplies and set out' (Arist. *Rhet.* 1411 *a* ἐπισιτισαμένους ἔφη δεῖν ἐξίεναι, τὸ Μιλτιάδου ψήφισμα) and 'meet the enemy at once' (Scholia to D. xix 303 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μιλτιάδης, ὅτε ἐπῆλθον οἱ Πέρσαι, ἔγραψεν ὥστε εὐθὺς ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις).<sup>94</sup> The army will have set out 'at once' on the same day and will have been in position by dawn of the following day, that is twenty-four hours after the landing of the Persians had begun. Later that following day Philippides reached Sparta, only to learn that the Spartans would not set out until the moon was full and that then they would come to the defence of Athens (Hdt. vi 106). Meanwhile a message had reached Plataea, evidently reporting the plan to defend Marathon; for the full force of the Plataeans arrived at Marathon either on the evening of that following day or at dawn on the next day,<sup>95</sup> and found the Athenians drawn up in the temenos of Heracles (Hdt. vi 108.1).

I have added the decree of Miltiades to the account of Herodotus, because there is no reason to question its authenticity. When the Athenians set out on the first day I think they would have taken the quickest and safest route to Marathon, that is via Kefisiá and the hills to the Vraná valley (see section 1 and Plan 2) and not via Pallene and the coast which was open to action by the Persian cavalry and to seaborne landings. In the Vraná valley I think they adopted a position on the foothills of Mt. Kotróni at the mouth of the valley, covering the probable site of Marathon town and by the Heracleum (see section 1 and Plan 2). Their lines of supply from Athens were safe in their rear.<sup>96</sup> They could enfilade any attack on Oenoe, which lay high up the Charadra valley. Herodotus does not give the numbers of the Athenians and the Plataeans. 'The decree of Miltiades and the Athenian state', according to Pausanias vii 15.7, liberated some slaves before the action at Marathon (τὸ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Ἀθηναίων βούλευμα πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι); they probably fought alongside their masters, as in 146 B.C. (Paus. *ibid.* ἀναμειγμένων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκετῶν), on the Athenian left and those who fell were accorded the honour of burial with the Plataean dead (Paus. i 32 καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις ἑμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ δούλοι τότε πρῶτον).<sup>97</sup> Later sources, e.g. Nepos *Milt.* 5 and Justin ii 9, put the Plataeans at 1,000 and the Athenians at 9,000 and 10,000 respectively, and Pausanias iv 25.5 and x 20.2 put the Athenians at less than 10,000 and at not more than 9,000, including older men and slaves. The numbers may have been reduced for rhetorical effect; but it is best to accept 10,000 men as the minimum figure, armed mainly as hoplites and unsupported by cavalry or archers (Hdt. vi 112.1). A small force of hoplites and cavalry and the light-armed troops held Athens in case of treachery or a sudden attack.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Burn 241 and Hignett 61 think that Miltiades' proposal was carried before the Persians landed and was meant to apply 'wherever they might land'; but the citations of the decree have a specific and not a general purpose, and the decisions of the Athenian assembly were usually made to meet a specific crisis and at the last moment. Burn 257 sends Philippides to Sparta three days before the Persians land at Marathon; this runs counter to Herodotus' sequence at vi 102-103.1 and at vi 105.

<sup>95</sup> The message from Athens would reach Plataea that evening. If the Plataeans set off at dawn on the next day, they could have reached Vraná during the following night. Heurtley, Pendlebury, Skeat and I walked from Athens to Thebes via Phyle in 1930, leaving Athens about 2 a.m. and reaching Thebes by 6 p.m. to catch the train for Athens. From Plataea to Vraná is slightly farther as the crow flies. For speed of movement and night marches in 424 B.C. see my article in *BSA* xlix (1954) 112 f.

<sup>96</sup> In 479 B.C. the lines of supply for the Greek army crossed Mount Cithaeron, which is more arduous going than over the foothills between Kefisiá and Vraná. Vanderpool's proposal to put the Greek camp out in the open plain at the mercy of the Persian cavalry seems to be mistaken; his position of the Heracleum is shown in *Hesperia* xxxv (1966) 104 fig. 3.

<sup>97</sup> Burn 250 suggests that some of the slaves were killed in the Athenian camp, but we are not told that the Persians captured the camp; the word of Pausanias ἑμαχέσαντο is more trustworthy. Helots fought at Thermopylae. 'Pausanias' assertion . . . that Miltiades liberated the slaves before the battle arouses suspicion' in the mind of Hignett, 59 n. 7; but he does not advance any argument against the authenticity of the decree by Miltiades and the Athenian state.

<sup>98</sup> The cleruchs from Chalcis, presumably hoplites, numbered 4,000 (Hdt. vi 100.1); it is difficult to believe that Athens and Attica yielded only another



When the Plataeans joined the Athenians at the temenos of Heracles, the generals were divided in their opinions whether to engage the Persians or not. Their orders on leaving Athens had probably been to defend Marathon, which might or might not involve a pitched battle. Miltiades, who favoured an engagement, persuaded Callimachus the polemarch to support him; and the decision was taken to engage (Hdt. vi 109-110). On the other side the Persian commanders and Hippias had chosen Marathon as suitable for cavalry action, and it was in their interest to engage the Greeks before reinforcements could arrive from Sparta. But for some seven days no engagement ensued.<sup>99</sup> Persians and Athenians alike must have had reasons for not provoking an engagement.

I consider the Persians' reasons first. Their best arm was their cavalry. We must consider its value and its limitations, as they are shown in the campaign of Plataea. Then the Persian cavalry operated successfully but separately from the Persian infantry: in the Megarid (Hdt. ix 14), in the plain of Boeotia where they halted the Phocian hoplites and threatened to annihilate them with their missiles (ix 17.3-ix 18), in the foothills when they attacked the Megarian infantry and made its position untenable (ix 20-21), in the plain by Dryosephalae at night when they intercepted a supply train (ix 39.2), in the foothills of Cithaeron harassing the Greek infantry and cutting off supplies (ix 40, ix 49.2-3 and ix 50) and on the final day halting the Spartan and Tegean hoplites as they were retreating after dawn (ix 57.3 and ix 60.2). The Persian cavalry attacked infantry in two ways. Either squadron after squadron rode up, discharged volleys of javelins and arrows, and wheeled away (ix 22), or the combined squadrons charged *en masse* and engaged at close quarters, probably using the javelin as a lance and wielding a sword or scimitar (ix 23); in the latter case a heavily armoured cavalryman, such as Masistius, was almost invulnerable (ix 22.2). Thus the Persian cavalry was capable at Marathon of halting and annihilating the Greek hoplites if they could be tempted to advance into the plain; but it could inflict only minor damage upon them if they stayed in the foothills. On the other hand the Persian commanders were not prepared to commit their lightly armoured infantry to an attack upon hoplites in a prepared position either at Marathon or at Plataea; indeed Mardonius committed his infantry on the last day at Plataea only because he thought the Tegeans and the Spartans were on the run (Hdt. ix 58 f.), and the results were disastrous. The great defect of the Persian force was that the cavalry and the infantry operated separately and fought separately. The cavalry was brigaded apart as a formation: ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο (ix 32.2). It acted so in battle too; for it stood aside once the infantrymen were locked in combat with the opposing infantrymen.<sup>100</sup> We can see that at Marathon the Persian commanders waited in the hope that the Athenians would be tempted into the

4,000 or so. At Plataea 8,000 Athenian hoplites fought; at the same time there were Athenian troops serving at Mycale.

<sup>99</sup> Philippides reached Sparta on the 9th of the lunar month (Hdt. vi 106.3), and the night of full moon was on the 15th. The Spartans left presumably early on the 16th and reached Athens on the 18th (Hdt. vi 120 μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον . . . τριταῖοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ; cf. Isoc. *Panegy.* 87). Since the battle occurred with a waning moon as the commemorative coin shows, it was after the 16th and before the 18th; that is, it occurred on the 17th. The Spartans then arrived the day after the battle (so Plato *Laus* 698E), and went that day (Plato *Menex.* 240) to see the Persian dead still unburied (Hdt. vi 120). As Philippides reached Sparta on the second day from Athens, the Persians landed on the 7th, the Athenians were at Marathon on the 8th, the Plataeans joined

them on the 9th, and the battle was fought on the 17th. Burn 256, putting the battle on the day before the waning moon first appears, departs from the ancient evidence.

<sup>100</sup> The Macedonians were the first to integrate the two arms. Kromayer 1 19 f. thought that the Persian cavalry fought in the middle of the infantry line, but no one has followed him in this idea. The generals were mounted, Datis and Artaphernes appearing in the picture in the Poecile Stoa (Pliny *NH* xxxv 57), and Mardonius on a grey at Plataea (Hdt. ix 63.1). Mardonius was in the infantry line with the 1,000 picked infantrymen (ix 63.1 *λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλοὺς* resuming the *αἰγμοφόροι χιλοὶ καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολεγμένοι* of vii 40.2 and not the 1,000 picked *ἱππῶται* of vii 40.2 and viii 113.2, as the description of the fighting shows: *πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἑόντες γυνήτεας ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῖντο*, ix 63.2).



plain, where the cavalry would destroy them, but also in the conviction that the infantry alone would be unlikely to defeat the Greek infantry in a prepared position.

The Greeks' reason for not provoking an engagement at once was presumably the inability to do so under favourable conditions. Miltiades knew from previous experience that the Persian cavalry was irresistible in the open plain,<sup>101</sup> and it was the presence of the cavalry in the plain which prevented him for several days from engaging. On the other hand, he believed in the superior fighting power of the Greek hoplites, if only they could come to grips with the Persian infantry. Therefore he waited in the hope that the Persian cavalry might make a false move, and in the conviction that the Greek infantry was likely to defeat the Persian infantry, if they came to grips.

Let us turn now to the final stage of the campaign. The Persians of the defeated wings were evidently taken off by ships which stood inshore along the coast, and the survivors of the defeated centre got away from the Schoeniá on the Phoenician warships. The main body of the Persian cavalry, we may assume, being unable to take any part in the infantry battle, had embarked their mounts on the transports. Fugitives from the Persian Camp made their escape either to the coast at Vorro (see Plan 3) or eastwards round the marsh to the Schoeniá. The fleet now stood out to sea and picked up the Eretrian prisoners from the island of Aegilia (Hdt. vi 115; cf. 107.2). At this point a shield-signal was made to the fleet; it was visible also to the Athenians in the plain, who then or later attributed it to Alcmeonid traitors.<sup>102</sup> In response to the signal the Persian fleet set sail towards Sunium, intending to reach Athens before the Athenian army could do so; but the Athenians, going posthaste to the defence of the city, arrived first and . . . encamped in the Heracleum at Cynosarges (Hdt. vi 116 *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον ἐβόηθρον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ*). As they had come from the Heracleum at Marathon (Hdt. *ibid.*), which we have placed on the eastern side of the Vraná valley (Plan 2), they took the shortest route via Kefisiá to Athens. The Persians, on sailing into the bay of Phalerum, then the port of Athens, found themselves forestalled, rode at anchor for a time and then sailed back to Asia.

As I pointed out in a note to my account of the campaign in my *History of Greece*,<sup>103</sup> this passage in Herodotus gives us some clues to the timing of the operations. The Persians intended to land at Phalerum in daylight and the implication in the sequel is that they did arrive in daylight, only to find that the Athenians had got to Cynosarges first.<sup>104</sup> Now the great speed of the Athenian march is emphasised by the phrase *ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον*. This phrase occurs also in the account of Plataea (Hdt. ix 59), where the national Persian troops were led off at speed *δρόμῳ* and the other units of infantry, seeing their departure, followed *ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος εἶχον* . . . *κόσμῳ οὐδενί*. The march of the army to Athens was thus at a faster rate than a quick march in formation *δρόμῳ*. It was in fact a forced march, and Frontinus ii 2.9 expressed its purpose well: 'Miltiades . . . compulit ut festinarent ad opem urbi ferendam quam classis Persarum petebat'. The statement of How and Wells<sup>105</sup> that 'the distance from Marathon to Athens (twenty-five miles by the modern road, twenty-two by Kephisiá and the hills) is more than an army could march after a pitched battle' always seemed to me absurd, and in 1930 when I was a student at the British School of Archaeology at Athens I put my opinion to the test by taking the most arduous route from Athens to the mound; that is over the top of Mount Pentelicus, and back again to Athens by the same route on the same day. I reached the mound in 6 hours; then, as weary perhaps as one who had fought in the battle, I returned in 7 hours. If I had taken the road via

<sup>101</sup> In 511/510 B.C. 1,000 Thessalian cavalry had defeated an army of Spartan hoplites in the plain of Phalerum (Hdt. v 63.2); this was a further warning to Miltiades.

<sup>102</sup> Later in his narrative Herodotus rejected the attribution of the signal to the Alcmeonids (vi 121 f.), but he does not doubt that the signal was made.

<sup>103</sup> 216 n. 2.

<sup>104</sup> This seems to me to be the meaning of Herodotus; Hignett 73 seems to think that night intervenes between the battle and the Athenian return to Athens but there is no sign of this in Herodotus' straightforward *μέν* and *δέ* clauses.

<sup>105</sup> ii 113.



Vraná and Kefisiá I should have got back in less than 7 hours. I reckoned, then, that the Athenian army could well have returned from the battlefield, say from the Schoeniá three miles east of the mound, to Cynosarges within 8 or 9 hours. Grundy's 'seven hours, or perhaps less' seems to me an underestimate.<sup>106</sup> The march was post-haste, each going his own way in no formation (as at Plataea, *κόσμῳ οὐδενί*), and not of course in column of fours.<sup>107</sup>

If the march took 8 or 9 hours and the army reached Cynosarges in daylight, they started about 9 a.m. or 10 a.m.; for darkness fell soon after 6.30 p.m. on a September day. The shield-signal then was made before 9 a.m. or 10 a.m.; such an hour is suitable if we think of the angle of the sun's rays on the 'shield' in relation to the Persian ships. As the signal was thought to indicate the situation at Athens, the signaller was not behind the Persian camp, for instance, but on the Athenian side of the plain and probably on Mount Agriliki or Mount Pentelicus, and the fleet was out in the bay on the course for the island Aegilia (see Plan 5). The sun therefore was well east of south, so that the angle formed by the sun's rays, the surface of the 'shield' and the recipient was an acute angle. The signal then was given probably at an hour not later than 9 a.m.<sup>108</sup> As the initial fighting lasted 'a long time' (Hdt. vi 113. 1, *μαχομένων . . . χρόνος ἐγένετο πολλός*), and the pursuit was for some 3 miles, it follows that the battle started very close to dawn, i.e. very close to 5.30 a.m.

While the narrative of Herodotus and the decree of Miltiades, to quote Leake's words, 'bear the strongest marks of truth and fidelity', there is a gap of a week between the persuasion of Callimachus by Miltiades and the Greek attack at or soon after dawn. In order to fill this gap we have to turn, as Leake says, to 'some additional facts which we may receive without much difficulty from later writers, being such as we may easily suppose . . . to have reached those writers by authentic tradition.' Nepos, *Miltiades* 4-6, gives an account of the campaign which contains details not found in Herodotus but is itself very much shorter than Herodotus' account, no doubt because Nepos has abbreviated his source. Nepos gives the same sequence of events at first: the fall of Eretria, the landing at Marathon, the sending of Philippides to Sparta,<sup>109</sup> and the debate at Athens whether to stay in the city or march out (this debate was closed by the carrying of Miltiades' proposal *ἐξίέναι*).

<sup>106</sup> 191; on 173 he had called it 'a long day's march, and a hard journey'.

<sup>107</sup> Burn 243 n. 14 thinks my figure to be 'an underestimate'. He questions the route via Vraná over the hills to Kefisiá and Athens, adding 'one must wonder whether Col. Hammond whose . . . service in Greece was with guerilla resistance forces, would really choose to take an infantry division that way'. The answer to his submerged question is 'yes, if they are Greeks'; Greek guerilla troops went fast, each man for himself, because they were accustomed to covering tough and hilly ground which is general in Greece, and hoplites must often have moved in the same way and not, as Burn 243 supposes, 'in column'.

<sup>108</sup> A point accepted by Burn 251 n. 33 but doubted by A. H. Hodge in a letter to me. I make the following deductions from Hdt. vi 115, 121 and 124.2. The signal was thought to be a pre-arranged signal, indicating a change of situation at Athens and so leading the Persians to sail for Sunium; as men on the battlefield could not know the situation at Athens, the signal was not from the battlefield but from somewhere on the Athens' side of the Marathon

plain. The Persians were out at sea, on course for or near Aegilia; their ships being lowish in the water, they could have seen a signal sent from south of the Marathon plain only if the signaller was on high ground. As the signaller and the Persians were some miles apart, a man simply lifting up a shield would not have been visible to the naked eye of a Persian. Herodotus uses two expressions for signalling, *ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα* here and *ἀναδέξαι σημήιον* of Xerxes on a ship (vii 128), and Xenophon likewise, *ἄραι ἀσπίδα* at Aegospotami (*HG* ii 1.27) and *ἄραι σημεῖον* (*Cyr.* vii 1.23); just as a crow's nest at sea is not a crow's nest, so I suppose the *ἀσπίς* was not a hoplite's shield, a *ὄπλον*, but a shield-shaped *σημεῖον* (*ἀσπίς* is 'a round, flat dish' in a fourth-century writer, Aristopho). In 432 B.C. a pre-arranged signal, first raised and later pulled down at Potidaea, was seen by men some seven miles away at Olynthus (*Th.* i 63.2). The signalling object at Potidaea and at Marathon must have glistened in the sun to be visible for seven miles or so, and I imagine it was a round, flat polished disc in each case.

<sup>109</sup> See n. 81 above; the timing here, as in Herodotus, is counter to Burn's view.



Then Nepos mentions the help sent by Plataea, the Greek total made up to 10,000 men, and their keen fighting spirit which gave Miltiades the edge over his more reluctant colleagues; it looks as if Nepos attaches all this to the debate at Athens (whereas Herodotus puts the scene for these items at the Heracleum at Marathon), for he continues with the Athenians marching out through the influential authority of Miltiades ('eius enim auctoritate impulsi Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerunt'). Nepos, rather than his source, is likely to have fused into one the two occasions when Miltiades gained his way and established his authority, one at Athens and the other at the Heracleum. Nepos continues from 'eduxerunt' as follows: 'locoque idoneo castra fecerunt; deinde postero die sub montis radicibus acie e regione instructa, nova arte, vi summa praelium commiserunt: namque arborum multis locis erant stratae hoc consilio, ut et montium tegerentur altitudine et arborum tractu equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudo clauderetur.'<sup>110</sup> He then turns to describe Datis' dispositions; and so Datis too, he continues, 'praelium commisit'. This passage too shows signs of compression. Nepos hurries on to the joining of battle ('praelium commiserunt' and 'praelium commisit'), and his 'postero die' is left in an ambiguous position, dependent either on 'acie e regione instructa' or on 'praelium commiserunt'. I take it that 'postero die' in the source went with the former, namely the drawing up of a battle-line directly opposite ('e regione') to the Persians' line, and the description of its position in relation to the trees and the mountains came before the final stage, the battle itself, of which Nepos gives no account.

It will be remembered from our consideration of Herodotus' narrative that the Athenians went to the defence of Marathon (and probably of Oenoe too) and posted themselves at the Heracleum, which, we have argued, was at the southern tip of Mount Kotróni (Plan 2). Here they held a strong defensive position on the rugged hillside, their easternmost troops observing the Persian camp near Káto-Souli. Next day, the Plataeans having arrived on the previous evening or before dawn, the generals argued and Miltiades prevailed upon Callimachus to engage if an opportunity should offer. Accordingly 'postero die' a new position was adopted. The Persians had presumably probed the Athenian position on the first day, their cavalry skirmishing, as later at Plataea, and had decided not to launch an attack. Their own position at Káto-Souli, suitable as it was for a defensible camp (Plan 3), did not provide ideal conditions for the cavalry; for the Greek army could get onto Mount Stavrokóraki and threaten the camp from the flank, while the upper part of the plain between Béi and Káto-Souli was broken by the course of the Charadra. The ideal place for cavalry deployment was in the plain west of the Charadra, the Persian infantry line being parallel to the coast and the cavalry operating in front of it in the wide plain between there and Mount Kotróni.<sup>111</sup> This is in fact where the Persians were when the battle occurred (see Plan 2). I suggest that Datis moved his forces to this position on the second day and offered battle ('itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem millia produxit'). It was perhaps this offer of battle which precipitated the debate among the

<sup>110</sup> I quote here the text of A. Monginot (Paris, 1882), who is the best commentator on Nepos. He keeps the reading of the codices 'e regione' and prefers the reading of M to those of D 'nona' or 'nova partis summa', A 'nana partis summa', B 'non apertis summa', and R 'in parte montis summa', whereas Roth, followed by Winstedt in OCT, alters 'e regione' to 'regione' and reads 'non apertissima' as a correction of B's reading. Monginot's reading 'stratae' is a conjecture for the 'raae' of the codices, and this conjecture is almost essential, if there is to be any sense in 'nova arte', 'namque' and 'hoc consilio ut . . . arborum tractu equitatus hostium impediretur'. Monginot notes the ugliness of the

change of subject in 'tegerentur' and 'impediretur' as unusual in Nepos; the reason is probably that his original had a μέν and δέ here, being in Greek as I point out below on p. 51. Cleomenes felled trees and used them to impede the cavalry of Hippas in 510 B.C.: 'Cleomenes Lacedaimonius adversus Hippam Atheniensem, qui equitatu praevalerat, planitiem, in qua dimicaturus erat, arboribus prostratis impedit et inviam fecit equiti', Frontinus ii 2.9.

<sup>111</sup> The cavalry were similarly placed before the infantry line at the Granicus river; see my *History of Greece*<sup>2</sup> 604.



Greek generals. Miltiades had his way and drew up his line on the lowest slope of Mount Kotróni 'sub montis radicibus' directly facing the Persian line 'e regione' or, to use the corresponding Greek phrase, ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου. From here during the next few days he advanced his position gradually into the plain by felling trees (on the hillsides probably)<sup>112</sup> and making obstructions with them at a number of places in the plain; his troops were protected in the rear and at first on the flanks by the rugged hillsides ('montium tegerentur altitudine') and then by the obstructions or stockades of the felled trees, so that the great numbers of Persian cavalry should not be able to encircle them. It was by this means that the gap between Mount Kotróni and the Persian line was narrowed until only 8 stades separated the Greek line with its stockades of trees and the Persian line.<sup>113</sup>

While the Persian infantry stayed night and day in their position parallel to the coast, the Persian camp was maintained at Káto-Souli in order to secure the watering-place and the pastures below the spring Macaria and by the lake where 'the stone mangers of Artaphernes' horses' were later to be seen by Pausanias. Having manœuvred all day in the plain, presumably in relays, the horses were taken at night to the watering-place and to the swamp, and they had to be back in position and ready for battle by dawn, in order to prevent the Greek hoplites crossing the plain and attacking the Persian infantry. The control of a thousand horses (or more)<sup>114</sup> at night is no easy matter, but it is less difficult in moonlight than in the dark.<sup>115</sup> For several nights the moon was waxing and there was a period of darkness between moonset and sunrise. The natural course then for the Persian cavalrymen or their grooms was to bring their mounts back to the cavalry lines by moonset.

The Souda tells us about the trees and about the cavalry on the day of the battle: χωρὶς ἵππεῖς. Δάτιδος ἐμβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τοὺς Ἰωνᾶς φασιν, ἀναχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἀνελθόντας ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα σημαίνειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς εἶεν χωρὶς οἱ ἵππεῖς· καὶ Μιλτιάδην συνιέντα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτῶν συμβαλεῖν οὕτως καὶ νικῆσαι. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν λεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν τάξιν διαλυόντων. 'The cavalry are away.'<sup>116</sup> Datis having invaded Attica, they say that the Ionians on his going back went inland to the trees and signified to the Athenians that the cavalry were away; and that Miltiades on becoming aware of their withdrawal engaged on those terms and was victorious.<sup>117</sup> That is why the proverb is used of those

<sup>112</sup> As the plain was most suitable for cavalry (Hdt. vi 102) it was treeless; see also Hdt. v 63.4 where the Thessalians cleared the Phalerum plain for cavalry action.

<sup>113</sup> As I mentioned in my account of the campaign in my *History of Greece* 215. See n. 110 above for a similar use of felled trees by Cleomenes.

<sup>114</sup> We have no clue to the number of the Persian cavalry; the Thessalians had 1,000 cavalry when they defeated the Spartans in the plain of Phalerum in 511/10 (Hdt. v 63.3; *Ath. Pol.* xix 5) and I should be inclined to put the number of Persian cavalry at a higher figure. The Theban cavalry, which probably numbered considerably less than 1,000, was able to inflict heavy loss on 4,000 Megarian and Phliasian hoplites in the plain by the Asopus (Hdt. ix 69.2). Meyer's 'wenige Hunderte', p. 306, is not acceptable; Athens, Eretria and possible allies of the two could do better than 'a few hundred'.

<sup>115</sup> The Chancellor of the University of Bristol, the Duke of Beaufort, told me this is the case in his experience; I found it to be so with mules moving at night in occupied Greece during the war.

<sup>116</sup> A more correct translation is 'apart', (as in Hdt. ix 32.2 ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο), that is 'apart

from the army' and as the end of the Greek passage shows 'away from their position'.

<sup>117</sup> The primary meaning of ἀνέρχομαι is 'go up' and from the sea 'go inland', as on the *Anabasis*. There is no likelihood of the Greek phrase meaning 'they climbed up the trees and signalled' and anyone who has climbed a tree knows that it is impossible to signal from inside it to people a mile away either at night or in daylight, when the absence of cavalry would have been obvious without any signal; yet all students of the battle seem to have translated the passage thus until I wrote my account in my *History of Greece* 215. Burn 248 n. 23 accepts my translation, but he seems to go astray on the word ἀναχωρήσαντος which he translates 'according to Byz. and modern usage, not "withdraw" as in Homer, but "leave", "start", "depart" as in a modern Greek timetable'. The passage, however, is not in Byz. or modern Greek. A more fruitful comparison is Thuc. v 75.1-2 where we have ἀπεχώρησεν and ἀναχωρήσαντος in successive sentences—as here but in reverse order ἀναχωρήσαντος and ἀποχώρησις. In Thucydides Pleistoanax came to Tegea and learning of the Spartan victory at Mantinea 'withdrew' (LS-J\* ἀποχωρέω 2 abs.); the victorious Spartans 'going back



who break formation.' The trees are evidently those of the stockades; the Ionians, serving in the Persian army, crossed the mile of no-man's land—going inland from the coast—to the trees protecting the Greek line and gave the vital information. This must have occurred at night; for the Ionians could not have crossed no-man's land unseen in daylight, and in addition there would have been no need to give any message because the absence of the cavalry would have been visible in daylight. We have also seen that the battle was joined at dawn or soon after dawn. The Ionians then acted shortly before dawn, on the first night, as it happened, of the moon's waning, when moonset fell about three-quarters of an hour after sunrise. Miltiades, realising the cavalry were away and out of position, had his line ready by dawn—thinning the centre, packing the wings and making its length equal to the length of the Persian infantry line (Hdt. vi 111.3) which was known from the preceding days—and attacked at speed across no-man's land before the cavalry could intervene.<sup>118</sup>

The moon-goddess held an important place in the religious associations of the battle. The commemorative coins struck from 490 B.C. onwards showed a waning moon behind the owl of Athena; and an annual thanksgiving for the victory was made in honour of Hecate Agrotera or Artemis Agrotera as the moon-goddess, the huntress, at her already established festival at Agrae, which was held on the 6th of Boedromion, that is some eleven days before the actual battle of 490 B.C.<sup>119</sup> Seltman and others have thought the waning moon was added to give the date of the battle.<sup>120</sup> But as the thanksgiving to the moon-goddess for victory was divorced from the date and as a waning moon is a vague way of defining a date, one wonders if the date *per se* had any special or religious importance. It is more likely that the moon-goddess played an important part in the victory and that the *χαριστήρια* τῆς νίκης were paid to her for her part in it; and that the waning phase, shown on the coins, was a particular factor in the victory. We may envisage the situation. Each night before full moon, as moonset drew nearer to sunrise,<sup>121</sup> the Persian cavalry returning near moonset arrived later and the interval of darkness before sunrise dwindled;

(home) themselves (L-S-J ἀναχωρέω 1) and dismissing their allies' conducted the Carneian festival. Here Datis went back i.e. to his camp and his tent (ἀναχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ), and Miltiades realised 'the withdrawal' of the cavalry τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτῶν. Schachermeyr 22 stretches several points when he says the passage must mean 'die Wiedereinschiffung der Armee'.

<sup>118</sup> Once the infantry lines were interlocked the cavalry, like the archers, could not intervene effectively; as Hignett 69 puts it, 'once the hoplites came to close quarters, this cavalry would be of no use'.

<sup>119</sup> Macan 223 f. quotes the evidence for the festival. It was held on the 6th of Boedromion (Plu. *De Glor. Ath.* 7 ἐκτῇ μὲν ἰσταμένον Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νίκην ἢ πόλις ἑορτάζει). Plutarch (*Cam.* 19) assumed this was the day of the battle, but he was mistaken as Herodotus put the arrival of Philippides at Sparta on the 9th of a month and the battle was some days after the 9th. Scholars have debated whether the battle was in the month of Boedromion or in the preceding month, Metageitnion; most favour Metageitnion. Burn 240 n. 10 and 257 concludes for Metageitnion, but on p. 256 retails the vow of Callimachus, which, as I argue below, is better explained if the battle was fought after the festival, i.e. in Boedromion.

<sup>120</sup> C. T. Seltman, *Greek Coins* 91; the coin is illustrated in my *History of Greece* plate XIIa. Burn 256 'probably commemorating the date of the battle'.

<sup>121</sup> I am very grateful to the Astronomer Royal, Sir Richard Woolley, who has given me the times of moonrise, moonset, sunrise and sunset for the September moon in 490 B.C. at a position of latitude N. 38° and longitude E. 24°; the accuracy of the times of moonrise and moonset is probably about ten minutes, and the accuracy of the times of sunrise and sunset is probably less than five minutes. Full moon rose on September 9th in 490 B.C. The times are as follows, given in local mean time for a position of latitude N. 38° and longitude E. 24°:

490 B.C.	Moonrise	Moonset	Sunrise	Sunset
Sept. 5	16.08	00.26	05.27	18.32
6	16.45	01.27	05.28	18.31
7	17.21	02.33	05.29	18.29
8	17.55	03.46	05.30	18.27
Full moon 9	18.32	04.58	05.31	18.26
10	19.10	06.18	05.32	18.24
11	19.49	07.36	05.33	18.23
12	20.31	08.55	05.34	18.21

On my interpretation the battle was joined on the morning of Sept. 11th, when sunrise was at 05.33, and this was the 17th day of the lunar month in Attica.



then, when it was full moon, moonset was half an hour before sunrise and the cavalry returned shortly before dawn; on the following night the moon set after sunrise, and the cavalry had not returned by dawn—were perhaps already on the way back—when 'the Athenians were let go and rushed at speed upon the barbarians' (Hdt. vi 112.1). The state-festival, led by the polemarch (*Ath. Pol.* lviii 1), in thanksgiving to the moon-goddess would thus have a particular explanation. Aristophanes *Eq.* 660 mentions the sacrifice to the huntress goddess, Agrotera, and Xenophon, *Anab.* iii 2.12, explains its connection with Marathon as follows: 'The Athenians, having vowed to Artemis to sacrifice as many goats to her as they killed of the enemy, when they could not find enough, resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year; and even to this day they offer sacrifice in thanksgiving for that victory.' The decree of the Athenian state is mentioned also by Plutarch, *de malign. Herod.* 26.7 = *Mor.* 8 (τοὺς Ἀθηναίους . . . ψηφίσματι). The official spokesman of the vow by the Athenian state was probably the archon polemarchus, just as the official who conducted the sacrifice at the festival was the archon polemarchus (*Pollux* vii 91). On the 6th of Boedromion in 490 B.C. the archon polemarchus was Callimachus, and the Scholiast to Arist. *Eq.* 660 may be correct in stating that Callimachus made the vow. If so, the vow was made on the 6th of Boedromion in his year of office, 490/489 B.C., and in his lifetime, so that the battle was fought not before that date, e.g. in Metageitnion, but later in Boedromion. I suggest then that at the established festival of Artemis and Apollo on the 6th of Boedromion in 490 B.C., when Eretria had fallen and in fact two days before the Persian landing at Marathon, the Athenian state made this vow; and that, when the moon-goddess played her part later in bringing victory at Marathon, the thanksgiving was made to her in perpetuity, and she took precedence over Apollo in the cult thereafter.<sup>122</sup>

Little attention has been paid by scholars to the naval side of the campaign. The Persian fleet was not challenged by Eretria and Athens; it had complete thalassocracy wherever it sailed. We do not know anything about the design of the horse-transport, which had been commissioned a year earlier from Persia's subjects, perhaps from the Phoenician shipwrights. As most shipping was of shallow draught and the transports were built specifically for the purpose, it is more likely that the transports were beached and a wide gangway was let down for the horses than that a crane was used to lift each horse (which would have taken much time). If this is so, the landing-place had to have a shelving beach; moreover the operation could be carried out only in calm water. We can see why Marathon was particularly suitable for the disembarkation and embarkation of horses; for the chart, reproduced as Plan 5, shows a shelving beach with shallow water along most of the coast of the Bay of Marathon and particularly along the central part of the plain near the mound. As we have seen, the Schoeniá may have run then at a more northerly angle than it does today, and this would have provided a larger area of very sheltered water;<sup>123</sup> for the peninsula Cynosoura provides excellent shelter from a northeasterly wind. The Schoeniá, once seized, was also easily defended. We may guess that the Persians chose a calm night for the crossing from Eretria and landed the horses first, as they had done on Eretrian territory (Hdt. vi 101.1 αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο). Several days later, when the battle ended, there was, as we shall see, a strong wind. This wind

<sup>122</sup> The evidence of Xenophon, an Athenian born c. 430 B.C., that the vow was made by the state, is much to be preferred to the statements of the Scholiast to Arist. *Eq.* 657 and Aelian *V.H.* ii 25, which attribute the vow respectively to Callimachus and to Miltiades. At the time of the festival Athens was about to fight for her existence, and Artemis Agrotera was the war goddess (as *PW* i 907 puts it, 'die kriegserische Artemis Agrotera'), as we know, for instance, from the procession of the *ephebi* in armour

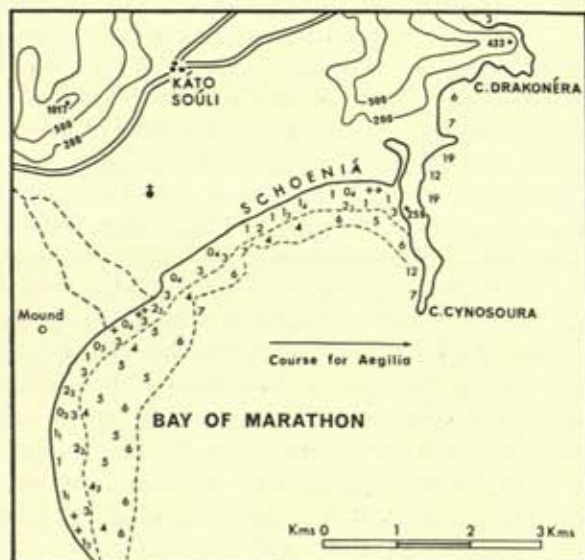
in her honour (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 717). It is therefore almost certain that the state festival on the 6th of Boedromion was the occasion on which the state made this vow. Apollo shared the cult with Artemis; he too was honoured for his share in the victory, as we know from the inscription at Delphi (*Tod, GHI* no. 14).

<sup>123</sup> The sea level was then some five feet lower than today (see my article in *JHS* lxxvi [1956] 35 nn. 9 and 10) but there must have been considerable advancement of the coast as silt accumulated.



must have been either an offshore wind or a north-easterly wind of recent origin, because the embarkation of horses and men and indeed the Greeks' boarding of seven ships at sea could have been carried out only in calm water. An offshore wind would not have produced a swell; on the other hand, a north-easterly wind, if it had been blowing for several hours, would have produced a swell. I take it then that on the day of the battle, if the wind came from the north-east, it blew up in the morning an hour or two after dawn.

Once the army was landed in the Bay of Marathon, the warships probably stayed in the bay at anchor and were not beached; for Herodotus vi 107.2 uses the word ὀρμυζε, <sup>124</sup> and the Persian commanders are likely to have had in mind the possibility of sailing to Phalerum at short notice. If the warships were beached, we should allow ten yards to a ship, that is 3,000 yards for some 300 ships, <sup>125</sup> the Schoeniá is just about that length and



Plan. 5. Marathon Bay (from the Admiralty chart no. 1596). Heights in feet. Depths in fathoms (one fathom = six feet).

provided good facilities for beaching. The Persian commanders had the opportunity also of landing small forces, including cavalry, at such bays as those of Rafína, Vraóna and Mesoyaía, from which they could cut the coastal road between Athens and Marathon. The Athenians were therefore well advised to keep their lines of supply inland along the road via Kefisiá and Vraná.

On the day of the battle when evacuation became necessary, more than 300 ships could stand stern or bow on to the Schoeniá alone. The Persians who had been defeated on the wings may have been taken off by the ships from the vicinity of the Mound; the bulk of the cavalry left probably from the Schoeniá; and then came the final rush of fugitives and Greeks together onto the western end of the Schoeniá and into the shallow water, where the Phoenician warships were riding. The last ships got away by 'backing-out' (Hdt. vi 115 τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι). As Cynegirus seized the poop, some of them were lying stern to shore and they were taken out under oar. Once

<sup>124</sup> So too Suidas s.v. διεξιπύσω and Schol. Arist. Eq. 778 ἐνωρμύσαντο and ἐνώρμυσαν.

<sup>125</sup> For the ten yards see my article on the Battle

of Salamis in *JHS* lxxvi (1956) 42. Myres 207 calculates the space at sea for 600 ships and Maurice 20 n. 6 for 250 ships.



at sea they picked up the prisoners at Aegilia and begin to sail, no longer under oar, round Sunium (περιέπλεον Σούνιον). We learn from Plutarch *Aristides* 5, which gives a pro-Greek account, what the conditions were out at sea; for he says that the Greeks saw the Persians sailing not in the direction of the islands but 'being forced back by the wind and the sea inwards (i.e. on-shore) towards Attica' (ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰσω πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβιαζομένους), and that the Greeks were afraid that the city might be surprised. There was therefore a strong wind, and high seas were running towards Attica, that is down towards Sunium. The wind in fact was a north-easterly wind. The embarkation of the Persians and the boarding by the Greeks had taken place under the lee of Cape Cynosoura. Once the fleet was in the channel the wind on the stern and the following sea provided the fastest conditions for sailing, such as the Phaeacian ship enjoyed in *Odyssey* xiii 84 f.; and once round the Cape at Sunium the calm sea inshore and the strong wind on the starboard quarter again provided fast sailing conditions from Sunium to Phalerum.

The top speed of ancient sailing ships is not known. During the war I was on a large three-masted caique which made 10 to 12 knots under sail with such a wind blowing offshore on the starboard quarter; she was sailing along the Libyan coast from Tobruk to Mersa Matruh. We know that the Phoenician warships were much faster sailers than the Greek triremes. For in 480 B.C. the ten 'best sailers' of the Persian fleet were sighted by three Greek look-out ships which were out at sea. The Greeks made off at once, having a lead presumably of some miles, but they were overhauled by the Persians, a feat which could hardly have been achieved if the Greeks and the Persians were under oar. The distance from Cape Cynosoura at Marathon to the Bay of Phalerum is 108 kilometres (56 to Sunium and thence 52 to Phalerum), that is about 58 nautical miles. The Phoenician ships in the Persian fleet, under the very favourable conditions which I have mentioned, might well have reached Phalerum in 8 hours, making an average speed of over 7 knots. The Athenians at Marathon, realising the favourable nature of the conditions and the speed of the Phoenician ships under sail, marched back post-haste and were already in position when the ships arrived off Phalerum (Hdt. vi 116).<sup>126</sup> If my calculations are correct, the army arrived first, having taken some 8 hours from the plain of Marathon, and the Phoenician ships came in later, having taken some 9 hours and averaged 6½ knots.

#### 4. A NARRATIVE OF THE WHOLE

In 491 B.C., when Darius planned the expedition, ordered the construction of warships and horse-transport, and sent envoys to ask for the tokens of submission from the Greek states (Hdt. vi 48), his immediate objective was the subjugation of the Greek islands and the punishment of Eretria and Athens, and his ultimate objective was the subjugation of the Greek mainland (Hdt. vi 94.1). Many states submitted; but during the winter<sup>127</sup> the action taken by Athens, Sparta and Corinth (in loaning ships) against the medising party in Aegina made it clear that these states at least would oppose him. Darius knew from emigrés at his court that Athens and Sparta could each raise 10,000 hoplites and Corinth 5,000 hoplites, totalling 25,000 hoplites, but that they had few cavalry;<sup>128</sup> in addition, it

<sup>126</sup> The general attitude of scholars to Herodotus' account of the Persians sailing round Sunium and the Athenians' march back 'post-haste' is sheer incredulity. The Persians are too tired (Schachermeyr 29 'eine besiegte Truppe wäre für ein solches Unternehmen gar nicht zu brauchen gewesen'); so too are the Greeks (How and Wells 'The distance . . . is more than an army could march after a pitched battle'). The number of miles from Marathon to Athens by sea increases with increasing incredulity from the

70 miles of Myres 211 and How and Wells ii 113 to the 90 miles of Grundy 191 and Hignett 73. Grundy put the voyage under the most favourable circumstances at 9 or 10 hours for 90 miles; Hignett criticises Grundy for this estimate. Caspari 104 says the fleet 'may have required 20 hours or more' for his 70 miles.

<sup>127</sup> For the chronology see my 'Studies in Greek Chronology' in *Historia* iv (1955) 406 f.

<sup>128</sup> As Sparta and Corinth did in the campaign of Plataea (Hdt. ix 28).



was possible that their allies might rally to their side with hoplites and with cavalry, for instance, from Thessaly. As Darius had no desire to fail as he had done at Naxos and recently near Mount Athos and as he had immense resources, he must have sent at a minimum a striking force of 25,000 fighting troops which meant an overall total of some 80,000 persons and at least 1,000 horses, protected by 200 or 300 warships and transported by some 400 merchantmen and a number of horse-transporters. In making his plans he naturally envisaged success against Eretria and Athens, and it is most probable that he intended the Persian army to hold Attica and Central Greece in the winter of 490 B.C., as Mardonius was in fact to do ten years later, and it was essential to have firm control of the islands for reasons of supply.

The expedition sailed from Cilicia. It touched first at Lindos in Rhodes,<sup>129</sup> overcame all opposition in the islands and incorporated the islands in the Persian Empire, conscripting ships and troops in the Persian manner at once. The summer was well advanced when the commanders proceeded to the next stage of the campaign. They were anxious to avoid any combination of the forces of their enemies and therefore moved first against Carystus, a place from which they threatened Athens and Eretria equally. At Carystus Persian ravaging tactics and assaults against the walls led to its capitulation (Hdt. vi 99.2). At this stage Athens acted courageously: she sent her 4,000 cleruchs at Chalcis to the defence of Eretria. Before any attack developed, the divided counsels of the Eretrians caused the 4,000 men to abandon Eretria and cross over to Attica. The Persians attacked Eretria first, intending to consolidate their control of the approaches by sea and doubtless to make contact with medising states in northern and central Greece. Eretria fell on the seventh day, betrayed from within (Hdt. vi 100-101). During the siege the Athenian army stood mobilised at Athens. The fall of Eretria was reported shortly before the annual festival on the 6th day of the lunar month Boedromion (roughly in September), which was held in honour of Artemis Agrotera and Apollo as gods of war. The Athenian state now vowed to sacrifice to Artemis as many goats as they killed of Persians. Two days later, on the 8th, the news came by signal soon after dawn that the Persians were landing at the northern end of the Bay of Marathon.

Marathon offered several advantages to the Persians. It was easily reached by supplies coming from Carystus and Eretria by sea and from northern Attica and southern Boeotia by land (e.g. from Delium; cf. Hdt. vi 118.2). The shelving beach and the sheltered water were excellent for disembarking horses and men, and this beach was easily defended at its western end; the area by Tricorynthus provided water, pasture and a site for a main camp with good natural defences and with control of the roads to northern Attica (see Plan 3). On the day of the landing, the Persians no doubt captured Tricorynthus and established their camp, including the commanders' pavilion and the cavalry lines, near Káto-Souli and the spring Macaria; secured the defences of the Schoeniá; scoured the plain with their cavalry and threatened Oenoe and Marathon towns, which lay back from the plain. Hippias may have advised the commanders that the plain was favourable to the Persian cavalry, if their bridgehead was contained; that the coastal road into the central plain was open to the cavalry, if the bridgehead was not contained; and that once in the central plain, the Persian cavalry could deal with any hoplite army, as the 1,000 Thessalian cavalry had dealt with a Spartan army in 511 B.C. (Hdt. v 63.3), and the Persian forces could use the customary tactics of ravaging and assault upon Athens, an overgrown and overpopulous town, of which only the acropolis had strong defences. But the commanders awoke next morning to find that the initiative no longer lay with them.

The Athenian signalling system, perfected during the raids by Aegina (Hdt. vi 81 and

<sup>129</sup> Lindos Chronicle D 5 in *Lindos* ii 1. 183 and 194, where Blinkenberg combats the scepticism of Beloch, *GG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2.81 f.



89), enabled the Athenian magistrates to summon a meeting of the Assembly on the morning of D day, if we can so name the day of the landing. Before it met, the generals sent off Philippides, probably about 8 a.m., to ask Sparta for help; they could not expect his return until D + 3, or effective help from Sparta until D + 4. The Assembly had to decide whether to abandon Attica to the invader and await his attack at Athens or go out to the defence of the countryside. It adopted the proposal of Miltiades 'that they provide themselves with supplies and set out . . . to meet the enemy at once' and that some slaves be liberated for the defence of Attica. All ten generals were appointed to command the army on this campaign, although hoplites alone, some 10,000 in number, were to go and the rest of the forces were to hold Athens. The polemarch Callimachus marched at the head of the army as it set out on day D, proceeding via Kefisiá over the hills, and by dawn on D + 1 the hoplites held a strong defensive position on the rugged slopes of Mount Kotróni near the Heracleum, covering Marathon and able to help Oenoe, if necessary. Their lines of supply from Athens via Kefisiá were safe, and withdrawal towards Athens could be undertaken with little danger.

During D + 1 the Persian cavalry and infantry probably probed the Athenian position (as they did later at Plataea), and the commanders decided against attacking it. Their desire was to bring the Athenian army to battle, preferably by itself but on suitable ground; this was much more valuable than burning an undefended Athens, for instance, and leaving the Athenian army intact to join the Spartans in hilly country. They decided to offer battle next morning in the western part of the plain, which was better for their cavalry and lay below the Athenian position on Mount Kotróni. Early on D + 2 the Persian infantry aligned itself parallel to the coast (see Plan 2) and the cavalry manœuvred in the open plain. Meanwhile at Sparta Philippides had arrived late on D + 1 (Hdt. vi 106.1 *δευτεραῖος*), received the reply of the Spartan magistrates and started on his run homewards. The Plataeans too had been informed of the landing, probably on D day, and 1,000 Plataeans joined the Athenians at the Heracleum by dawn of D + 2. The Persian offer of battle on D + 2 caused a crisis in the Athenian command (under which the Plataeans evidently came, while serving on Attic soil). At a meeting of the ten generals, in whom the conduct of the campaign was vested, five wished to engage and five wished to decline an engagement. It was agreed to break the deadlock by bringing the polemarch Callimachus into the meeting and giving him a vote; for in earlier times the polemarch had had an equal vote with the generals. Miltiades went to Callimachus, told him the situation and persuaded him of the need to engage (Hdt. vi 109). When the meeting was resumed with Callimachus present, the policy of engagement was adopted. The four generals who had voted with Miltiades gave him their day of operational command (for each of the ten had one day of operational command in turn), and from now on Miltiades was virtually responsible for implementing the policy of engaging. On this same day, D + 2, Miltiades began to move the army onto the edge of the plain, protecting its front and flanks from the marauding Persian cavalry with stockades of trees which were felled on the hillsides and brought down to the plain (Nepos *Milt.* 5). Early on D + 3 Philippides reached Athens, and later that day the generals at Marathon heard his report, that the Spartans would not move until after the full moon, *i.e.* until early on the 16th of Boedromion, and that then they would come. It was now the 11th, and the Spartan troops could not reach Marathon until late on the 18th at the earliest.

In the days which followed both sides continued to offer battle, the Persians in the open plain and the Greeks in their fortified position. The Persian commanders soon realised that Sparta was not sending immediate aid, and Hippias may have told them that the Spartans were unlikely now to move until after the moon was full, because their religious practices were known to him. Each day it appeared to them more probable that the Greeks would not engage unless and until the Spartans arrived. During these



days the Greek army advanced its position into the plain until it was 1,600 yards away from the line of the Persian infantry (Plan 2). Shortly before dawn on the 17th some Ionians serving in the Persian army crossed no man's land, reached the stockades and gave a message that the Persian cavalry were away. Miltiades seized his opportunity (this day, the 17th, happened to be his day of operational command by rotation, but that was coincidental and immaterial). Extending his line to match the length of the Persian line (which had been observed during the preceding days), thinning his centre and strengthening his wings, he ordered the Greeks in the growing light of dawn at about 5.30 a.m. to charge upon the enemy. The 10,000 or 11,000 hoplites, moving in formation at the double across no man's land and finally through the hail of Persian arrows, struck the Persian line of infantry all along its length. The hand-to-hand fighting with spear and sword was severe; then the strong Greek wings overwhelmed their opponents, while the Greek centre was being pushed back and finally broken in the vicinity of the mound (Plan 2) by the Persian and Sacan infantrymen, who began to pursue the fugitives inland. The wings of the Persian army were now in flight to the beaches, and the bulk of the cavalry, ineffective when the infantrymen were interlocked in combat, may have begun to embark their mounts. The victorious Greek wings, joining forces, at once attacked the victorious Persian and Sacan troops. The fighting was severe, and some Persian cavalry may have joined in the affray. But while the Plataeans on the Greek right were making no headway and perhaps being worsted, the Athenians of the left and centre overcame their opponents and drove them in headlong flight towards the midmost part of the Great Marsh. A Persian stand was made at the church of Misosporétissa. But the Greeks broke through, and in this general Persian flight many pushed one another into the open water or were cut down by the pursuing Greeks, and the narrow entry to the Schoeniá became a bottleneck (Plan 3). Then the Greeks broke into the western end of the Schoeniá on the heels of the fugitives. Here again there was bitter fighting (Hdt. vi 114). Most of the Persian force was already embarked. Phoenician warships lay close inshore, stern or bow to land, in shallow water and ready to take off the last fugitives. The Greeks managed to board and capture seven of them.

As the Persian fleet stood out to sea on the course for Aegilia at 9.0 a.m. or so, a signal was seen by Persians and Greeks alike, flashed from a 'shield' or disc which reflected the rays of the morning sun from somewhere on Mount Agrilíki or Mount Pentelicus. At once the Persian fleet changed course. The leading ships set sail towards Sunium. The wind was now a strong north-easterly and the sea was rising (Plu. *Arist.* 5); conditions were perfect for a fast run to Phalerum. Miltiades suspected treason at Athens and assumed that the Persians intended to land at Phalerum and attack the city; he therefore left Aristides with one tribal regiment to guard the spoils in the camp and on the field of battle, and ordered the rest of the army to march post-haste to Athens via the Heracleum and Kefisiá. They started off about 9.30 a.m. By a most memorable feat of marching the army reached Cynosarges by Athens before the fastest ships of the Persian fleet reached the bay of Phalerum. It was now about 5.30 p.m., an hour before sunset. When the fleet came in soon afterwards, it was seen that an army awaited them in the evening light. The Persians paused for a while and then set off towards Asia.

The Spartan vanguard, having set off early on the 16th, reached Athens on the 18th (*τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης*, Hdt. vi 120), the day after the battle. They went on to see the Persian dead and the scene of the battle. The Athenians cremated the corpses of their 192 dead at the place where the majority had fallen in the breaking of the Greek centre; they spread the ashes over a layer of sand and raised a huge mound of soil over the cremation tray and the ashes. The Plataean dead and the liberated slaves who had fallen were buried together in a separate place. The Persian corpses, numbering about 6,400, were interred in a trench near the Great Marsh, where Pausanias failed centuries later to identify



the place of burial. The vow to Artemis Agrotera was honoured by a sacrifice of 500 goats a year, and the festival of thanksgiving for the victory was held annually at the festival on the 6th of Boedromion in honour of Artemis Agrotera, the moon-goddess. Her emblem was set on the victory coins, in the form of the waning moon. It is probable that she had something to do with the absence of the Persian cavalry at dawn when the Greek infantry charged, the absence which alone made the engagement and the victory possible. On the battlefield itself tribute was paid annually at a cremation tray on the side of the mound—τὸ πολυανδρεῖον—and there were memorials to be seen, the μνημα Μιλτιάδου and the τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ near the church of Misosporétissa (Paus. i 32.4-5; Plu. *Them.* 3; Cic. *Tusc.* iv 19). Many have stood upon that mound, imagined the din of men fighting and horses whinnying, and honoured 'those who died in the cause of freedom'.<sup>130</sup>

### 5. THE EVALUATION OF THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

I have already made the point that Herodotus was writing contemporary history and reciting at Athens to men who had fought in the campaign of Marathon, so that the facts of the action which he gives—facts known to contemporaries—are unimpeachable. But we must remember that he was not writing military history, and that he was not reciting to an audience of scholars who wanted to reconstruct the battle of Marathon. As he tells us himself in his opening words, he wrote to preserve 'great and marvellous deeds' (ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θαυμαστά) from the destructive passage of time. If the Persian cavalry, for instance, did no such deeds at Marathon, their manœuvres did not earn a place in his history. The epic heroism of Cynegeirus and the marvellous experience (θῶμα) of Epizelus were far more to the point. In addition Herodotus wrote this account particularly for the Athenians, who knew the background of facts and the sequence of events. It was enough, for instance, to say 'when the Athenians learnt of this, they went themselves to the defence of Marathon' (vi 103); they knew of the debate and the proposal of Miltiades, and they knew the route they had taken. It was enough just to express the speed of Athens' action. So too the stress on the few Greeks (the ὀλίγοι of vi 109.1 and vi 112.2) facing the host of the Persians drawn from the 46 nations (ix 27.5) is much more effective for his purpose than a dry citation of numbers. The epic journey of Philippides, the miraculous meeting with Pan, the dream of Hippias, the portent of Hippias' tooth lost in the sand, the conflicting views of the Athenian generals, the Persians' amazement on seeing the Greeks charge without cavalry or covering fire, the daring of the Greeks in facing men in Median dress, the long fight, the heroism of Callimachus and others, the capture of seven ships, the race for Athens between ships and men, the miraculous coincidence of the Athenian army camping in two different precincts of Heracles, and a digression on another θῶμα, namely the shield-signal being attributed to the Alcmeonids—these are the stuff of Herodotus' history of the campaign, written in epic style and embellished with speeches, which we regard as fictitious<sup>131</sup> but he and his audience no doubt regarded as graphic.

When we have grasped this point, it is irrelevant to write, as Macan did:<sup>132</sup> 'Herodotus fails to remove the cavalry from the scene in any intelligible fashion; and this failure is as serious under the circumstances, if they were present, as the omission to specify their re-embarkation.' Macan is asking for the moon; for Herodotus did not even attempt to write, like Delbrück, a 'Geschichte der Kriegskunst'. The next step is even more foolish: namely, to argue from Herodotus' 'omission to specify their re-embarkation' that the cavalry had therefore re-embarked *before* the battle or had never landed at Marathon or

<sup>130</sup> *JG* ii 1.471 line 26.

<sup>131</sup> E.g. Philippides' speech at Sparta, Hippias' remarks about his tooth, and Miltiades' conversation with Callimachus (who was killed a few days later).

As W. G. Forrest points out to me, Herodotus treats Marathon less fully and less continuously than the campaigns of 480 and 479 B.C.

<sup>132</sup> Macan 164.



had never sailed at all from Asia.<sup>133</sup> For this is to assume that Herodotus wrote the fullest possible account of the campaign, such as Moorehead has written of the Gallipoli campaign. There are many variations of this type of *argumentum ex silentio*, all equally fallacious. Thus it may be argued that, if the cavalry had been in the plain at Marathon, they would have been decisive ('ausschlaggebend') in the battle;<sup>134</sup> *ergo*, as Herodotus does not mention their role, either they were not there at all or the battle was not in the plain. Or again, if the Persians had already landed at Marathon, Philippides would have mentioned it in his speech at Sparta; *ergo*, as he did not do so, he had left Athens before the Persians landed. Or, again, Herodotus never alludes to the mound; *ergo*, he had never visited the site of the battle.<sup>135</sup> These *argumenta ex silentio* are sometimes exalted into 'critical examinations' of the text. Hignett has described, admirably, the position into which such examinations have brought the reputation of Herodotus and the modern misunderstanding of the campaign. 'Many scholars, however, have claimed that these chapters of Herodotus, if critically examined, suggest objections which are fatal to his version as it stands, and on these objections they have based reconstructions of the campaign which differ from his in essential respects. Their main arguments are that the reasons given by him for the Persian landing at Marathon are unconvincing, that the Athenian decision to attack is on military grounds inexplicable, that Herodotus, after indicating that cavalry and horse-transport accompanied the expedition, says nothing of any part played by the Persian cavalry in the battle, and finally that although the Persians were decisively beaten they re-embarked their forces with the loss of only seven ships, and were apparently successful in getting all their horses away.'<sup>136</sup>

Herodotus' account of the Athenian command at Marathon has attracted much criticism. Let us grasp exactly what he does say. He tells us that when the army went to the defence of Marathon it was led by ten generals, one of whom was Miltiades (Hdt. vi 103.1);<sup>137</sup> that Miltiades had been elected by the people (vi 104.2 αἰρεθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου); that the generals sent Philippides to Sparta (vi 105.1); that after the arrival of the Plataeans at Marathon the opinions of the generals were divided and the worse course was prevailing;<sup>138</sup> that the man appointed by lot to be polemarch, whom the Athenian state in early times made to have a vote with the generals,<sup>139</sup> was now the eleventh voter (vi 109.1-2); and that Miltiades convinced him by private conversation, gained his support, and so carried the decision to engage (vi 110). The generals of his persuasion then gave Miltiades their 'presidency of the day' (πρωτανίη τῆς ἡμέρης), but he did not in fact engage until his own presidency came round.<sup>140</sup> When it did, the Athenians were drawn up (*viz.* by Miltiades); Callimachus 'led' the right wing (τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγήετο) as polemarch, this being

<sup>133</sup> See n. 5 above.

<sup>134</sup> Kromayer 1, 6 and Grundy 183.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Hignett 60.

<sup>136</sup> Hignett 64. Gomme's paper is a typical example, beginning 'everyone knows that Herodotus' narrative will not do' and creating 'difficulties' such as the later movements of the 4,000 Athenians from Chalcis (see n. 85, above).

<sup>137</sup> No deeper meaning should be attached to this expression, since the story shows Miltiades to have had no powers superior to those of his colleagues. Macan 158 is mistaken in claiming that 'this phrase can hardly be taken to mean that Miltiades was last and least of the ten strategi, but rather that he was chief and foremost'; he seems to shut his eyes to the equality which is obvious. See K. J. Dover in *JHS* lxxx (1960) 70, who is of the opinion I am expressing but imparts a 'concessive' implication which I do not find.

<sup>138</sup> Technically, the division being 5 versus 5, it

was a deadlock, but Herodotus may be right in suggesting that in a deadlock the proposal to engage would lapse and the Greeks would stay on the defensive.

<sup>139</sup> Macan 157, Callimachus 'voted with the Strategi as one of themselves', obscures the issue; Gomme 31, 'president of the board of generals with a casting vote', is even wider of the mark. The polemarch was not a Strategos and did not attend the generals' meeting; he was imported later with a vote, ψηφισφόρος. In early times he had been δμόσηφος by right, such a right as the Argives claimed when they suggested that the Argive king should be δμόσηφος with the two Spartan kings (Hdt. vii 149.2).

<sup>140</sup> There is of course no idea of purpose in the Greek πρὶν . . . ἐγένετο; it was a matter of fact, a coincidence of time, that the day of the attack happened to be Miltiades' own day of command by rotation.



in accordance with the then law, and the tribal contingents succeeded him successively to the left (ἐξεδέκοντο vi 111).<sup>141</sup> I take it that Callimachus was literally the right-hand man of the whole line, ὁ πρωτοστάτης. He did not hold any presidency (πρυτανίη) or any operational command.

There is no conflict between this account and the picture in the Poecile Stoa. There Miltiades was portrayed 'first, exhorting the men', and this makes it certain he was in operational command on that day. Nor is there a conflict with the passage in *Ath. Pol.* xxii 2 where a distinction is drawn between the generals on the one hand and the polemarch as ἡγεμῶν on the other. For it is notable that in Herodotus' account the generals discussed and voted on their own; it was only when a deadlock ensued, presumably with 5 versus 5, that the polemarch was brought in to give his vote, which became, in this particular position of deadlock, decisive.<sup>142</sup> In the field each general had a day of command in turn; but the polemarch did not have such a day. He was literally τῆς ἀπάσης στρατιᾶς ἡγεμῶν, leading out the army on the march, and he was right-hand man (ἡγέετο) when the army was in line; and one may presume that he had traditional duties in sacrifice and ceremonial. The generals commanded the Athenian army as 'strategi' (ἦγον δὲ σφέας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, Hdt. vi 103.1); they decided its strategy and tactics, and each in turn had operational command of it for one day. The tribal contingents were presumably commanded in and out of battle by the taxiarchs. Herodotus' general description of the situation in regard to positions of command seems to me coherent, convincing and acceptable.<sup>143</sup>

Two details have caused controversy. The first is the expression used of Miltiades: στρατηγὸς οὕτως Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. How and Wells (ii 107) make the comment that 'if this means election by the Ecclesia and not by a single tribe, it is an anachronism'. I am sure that αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου means 'election by the Ecclesia', and I am equally sure that this method of election was not anachronistic in 490 B.C. For *Ath. Pol.* xxii 2 τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡρῶντο κατὰ φυλάς, ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἓνα, referring to 501/0 B.C., means not 'they elected the general by a tribal vote, one a tribe' but 'they [the people] elected the generals on a tribal basis at one from each tribe'; this is the meaning of κατὰ

<sup>141</sup> I have not discussed the order in which the tribal contingents were drawn up because the evidence seems inconclusive and the solution does not affect the course of the battle; see Macan 216 f. Munro, *CAH* iv 246, followed by Burn 250 n. 29, suggests that on the day of the battle the Greeks advanced in column and then deployed; it is much more likely that they bivouacked in line in position for immediate action. I believe the contingent of the tribe Aeantis was commanded not by the polemarch but by its taxiarch. The polemarch's position was determined at that time by the law, namely τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν (Hdt. vi 111.1); here the meaning of ἔχειν, for which see L-S-J<sup>9</sup> ἔχω A.3, is purely positional as in Th. iii 107.4, where Demosthenes, having been chosen ἡγεμῶν τοῦ παντός ξιμμαχικοῦ, positioned himself on the right wing, τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων. The regiment of the tribe Aeantis, to which the polemarch belonged, was on the right wing, probably because Marathon was a deme of the tribe (Plu. *Mor.* 628). Pritchett 145 f. discusses the position of the tribal contingents.

<sup>142</sup> When the votes of the Strategi were 6 to 4, for instance, there was no point in invoking the polemarch. When Herodotus says τὸ παλαιόν, he is referring not to the context of the battle, which was for most of his audience a contemporary context,

but to earlier times, i.e. to a period before the reform noted in *Ath. Pol.* xxii 2; he means that then the polemarch sat by right with the generals and was ὁμόψηρος. That Strategi existed before 501/0 is fairly clear from Hdt. i 59.4 and *Ath. Pol.* xxii 3; see Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution* 169.

<sup>143</sup> For discussions of this matter see Macan 156 f. and Hignett, *op. cit.* 169 f. Hignett has confused the issue by saying that 'in Herodotus the polemarch Kallimachos presides over the board of strategi' (the point of Hdt. vii 109.1 and 109.4 is precisely that Callimachus was not present, let alone presiding, when the generals voted) and by not realising the force of τὸ παλαιόν (see last note). His statement on p. 171 that Callimachus as polemarch 'must in fact have been commander-in-chief' at Marathon is counter to the evidence of the picture in the Poecile Stoa and of Herodotus' account of the other instance of command in the 490's when Melanthius was sent to Ionia as 'strategus' and not as archon polemarchus (Hdt. v 97.3). K. J. Dover in *JHS* lxxx (1960) 71 thinks, like Hignett, 'the generals were all subject to the polemarch' in Herodotus' account. He refers to *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 609, the dedication by Callimachus, but B. B. Shefton in *BSA* xlv (1950) 160 f. and Raubitschek's version in 164 show that one cannot rely on the restoration by Hiller.



φυλάς at xxii 5 ἐκνήμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας κατὰ φυλάς, and again at lvi 3 and lxiii 1. The election of the generals, then, was by the people and not by each tribe. This method of election continued unchanged from 501/0 B.C. (*Ath. Pol.* xxii 2) into the fourth century (*Ath. Pol.* xlv 4).<sup>144</sup> The other detail is the phrase 'the man allotted by the bean to be polemarch of Athens' (ὁ τῷ κναμῷ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν). Such a method of appointing Callimachus polemarch in 490 B.C. may be at variance with the passage in *Ath. Pol.* xxii 5 which dates the introduction of the lot in appointing 'the nine archons' to 487/6 B.C. It is customary to pit the *Athenaion Politeia* against Herodotus and to prefer the former. Yet the author of *Ath. Pol.* xxii 5 was clearly advancing a controversial view, since he laid such emphasis on τῷ κναμῷ. If we do follow *Ath. Pol.* xxii 5 to the letter and believe Callimachus to have been αἵρετός, i.e. elected polemarch by the whole people, it is odd that in his year of office he ranked below the ten generals in deliberation and in operational command. Herodotus may in fact be correct, and *Ath. Pol.* xxii 5 (or the literal interpretation of it) may be wrong. On the other hand, if Herodotus is wrong, then he may have been confused in regard to a constitutional matter in which he had little interest,<sup>145</sup> and this error need not invalidate the order of the battle or the structure of command which he reports.

The subsidiary sources have often been discredited on two grounds, both of which seem to me to be mistaken. The first ground is the familiar *argumentum ex silentio*. It is held, for instance, that because Herodotus did not mention the details preliminary to the battle, he did not know them; if he did not know them, they were not known to later writers; therefore any such details were mere inventions. We have already dealt with this argument by pointing out that Herodotus limited his subject to the 'great and marvellous deeds'. Even so it is false to suppose that no one in the fifth century except Herodotus wrote an account of Marathon. The other ground which has often been advanced is that the source behind the subsidiary sources was Ephorus; that Ephorus was a rationalistic writer and hatched a rival theory of the battle to that of Herodotus;<sup>146</sup> and that of the two Herodotus is to be preferred. In fact this is almost pure speculation. No fragment of Ephorus relates to the battle of Marathon or to the vicinity of Marathon. The subsidiary sources provide details which are not in Herodotus' epic account, but this does not mean that they derive from a (lost) rival theory of the campaign, such as those advanced by so many modern scholars. I propose therefore to take each piece on its own merits.

The passage in Aristophanes *Wasps* 1075 f. where the old men speak of their services to Athens is a hotch-potch of episodes in the Persian Wars and not a description of the campaign of Marathon. It contains the ravaging of Attica by the army of Xerxes in 480 B.C. (1078 f.; cf. Hdt. viii 50.1 ἤκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι); the march out of Athens and the close fighting i.e. at Marathon (1081 f. ξὺν δορί ξὺν ἀσπίδι . . . στὰς ἀνὴρ παρ' ἀνδρα); the sky obscured by the arrows i.e. at Thermopylae (1084 with Scholia; cf. Hdt. vii 226); the repulse of the Persians towards nightfall (1085 πρὸς ἑσπέραν), i.e. either at Phalerum on my interpretation of the timing of events or at Salamis (Plu. *Them.* 15, μέχρι δειλῆς ἀντισχόντας); the owl flying through the troops, i.e. at Salamis (1086; cf. Plu. *Them.* 12.1 γλαῦκα . . . διαπετομένην); the killing of the Persians like tunnyfish

<sup>144</sup> *Ath. Pol.* lxi 1 notes the change only from 'one a tribe' to election 'from the whole community'; the mention of this change and of no other change suggests that election was by the people in and after 501/0 B.C. = *Ath. Pol.* xxii 2.

<sup>145</sup> See Macan 157 f. for this view. Oncken's suggestion, that the lot was used to decide which elected candidate went to which office, may serve as a compromise; but the fact remains that 'the bean' is used to express complete sortition unless it is qualified as in xxii 5 (cf. viii 1).

<sup>146</sup> These ideas were expressed by H. G. Lolling 'Zur Topographie von Marathon', *Ath. Mitt.* i (1876) 90, and have been much repeated since then. He wrote of Nepos 'Die Schilderung der näheren Umstände der Schlacht bei dem eben genannten Schriftsteller ist sehr rationalistisch gehalten und von Herodots Angaben wesentlich verschieden'. Macan 234 expresses this view: 'the rationalist réchauffé (by Ephorus) of the Herodotean and other traditions has come out badly in cross-examination'.



i.e. at Salamis (1087 *θυρνάζοντες*; cf. A. Persae 424 f. ὥστε θύνους . . . ἔπαιον). I do not accept the inference made by C. Wordsworth and others that all these details applied to Marathon.<sup>147</sup>

The account in Justin ii 9 carries all the marks of debased rhetoric in the stories of the tyrannicide avenging his violated sister and even under torture outwitting Hippias; of the Athenians not waiting for Sparta but marching out with 10,000 citizens and 1,000 Plataean auxiliaries to do battle against 600,000 in the Marathonian plains, of Miltiades trusting more in speed of action than in any allies, and of the Athenians being so eager for battle that from a mile's distance they went at the double and engaged the enemy before the arrows could be fired ('citato cursu ante iactum sagittarum ad hostem venerint'); of the Persians like sheep rushing to the ships of which many were sunk and many captured; of young Themistocles' valour and of Cynegeirus holding a ship with his teeth; of 200,000 Persians and Hippias being killed. The tortured tyrannicide outwitting Hippias is mentioned by Aristotle in *Ath. Pol.* xviii 4; he gives two versions and labels the one which Justin follows as that told by οἱ δημοτικοί, which suggests a group of Attidographers and not Ephorus. This version is found in the same form in Polyaeus i 23, a passage which therefore should not be ascribed to Ephorus, as it generally is. It is probable that the source used by Justin here was some highly rhetorical Hellenistic writer and not, as E. Meyer and Macan supposed, Ephorus.<sup>148</sup>

Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades* 4-6, although rhetorical, is far less so than Justin. Darius is described as allocating 500 ships, 200,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry to the expedition (ch. 4). For the battle Datis led out (of his camp) 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry into the battle-line<sup>149</sup> and the 10,000 Athenians and Plataeans defeated 'ten times their own number' ('decemplexum numerum'). There is some truth in Nepos' epigrammatic conclusion that 'so small a force never defeated so great a power' ('nulla enim unquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit'). The account in Nepos is more detailed than that in Justin. Even so Nepos has evidently abbreviated the account of his source and so has caused some obscurity; for in chapter 5 his explanation of Miltiades' supremacy over his colleagues is inadequate, his mention of the second day ('postero die') may refer either to the position at the foot of the hill ('acie . . . instructa') or to the joining of battle ('praelium commiserunt'), and his explanation of the felling of trees is again too brief for clarity. Nepos has also made some mistakes in translating his original,<sup>150</sup> which was written in Greek (e.g. 'hemerodromi' in ch. 4); the 'ten miles' from Athens to Marathon is probably his own miscalculation of x stades; the expression 'domi autem creant decem praetores, qui exercitui praesent' implies the initial appointment of 10 generals on the day of leaving Athens rather than the nomination of all ten for the campaign;<sup>151</sup> and Miltiades' endeavour

<sup>147</sup> C. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica* (1869) 39; C. E. Graves in his edition of the play tries to attach the details to Marathon; A. E. Raubitschek in *AJA* xlv (1940) 58 f. and H. L. Crosby, *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps* 75 apply them to Marathon and 'events in Phalerum'.

<sup>148</sup> E. Meyer, iv 1.312 n.; answered by W. W. How in *JHS* xxxix (1919) 49 f., who regarded the use of Ephorus as 'improbable'. Macan 205 exclaims: 'surely Ephorus might have led to something better than this!' I am sure he would have done, if he had been used by Justin for this campaign. The immediate source of Justin was not Trogus (see the parallel passages in O. Seel, *Pompeii Trogi Fragmenta* p. 57, and n. 79 above). The account in Justin was bawdier by the anonymous writers of cod. Laur. 66, 40, 104 and cod. Bamb. E III, 14, 95, quoted by Seel, *loc. cit.*

<sup>149</sup> Having decided to fight, Datis 'in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem milia produxit'. 'Producere' is probably short for the common phrase 'producere castris' or 'producere pro castris', and a few lines later Nepos says that the defeated Persians 'non castra sed naves peterent'. Datis used all his cavalry but not all his infantry; for a considerable force is likely to have been defending the camp.

<sup>150</sup> Some of these points are noted by Macan 207 and by How in *JHS* xxxix (1919) 51, who regards them as 'anachronisms which may with great probability be ascribed to Cornelius Nepos himself'.

<sup>151</sup> Only one general was appointed to command the twenty ships which helped the Ionians (Hdt. v 97.3).



'ut primo quoque tempore castra fierent' makes sense only if the original had some such verb as ἀντιστρατοπεδεύομαι (as in Hdt. i 76.3). Nepos closes his account with a note of the honour paid in the Poecile Stoa to Miltiades 'qui Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat', and with the moral that later Athens, like Rome, cheapened its honours through excess—indeed Athens 'decreed 300 statues to Demetrius of Phalerum'.

How and others have maintained that Nepos drew his account from Ephorus. If so, they must exclude from Ephorus the reference to Demetrius of Phalerum who came to power many years after the death of Ephorus; yet the likelihood is not that the reference was added by Nepos himself but that it was in his source. There are, moreover, reasons which seem to have been overlooked in favour of a different attribution. These reasons stem from a comparison of Nepos and some excerpts from Scholia and the Souda. The first excerpt is common to the Scholia to Aristophanes *Eq.* 778 and to the Souda s.v. διεξιφίσσω (the only variant being αὐτοῖς for αὐτῶ). I place it beside the passage in Nepos.

μόνων Πλαταιέων συμμαχησάντων αὐτοῖς

χιλίοις ἀνδράσι

καὶ οὕτω πληρωθέντος τοῦ

ἀριθμοῦ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δυναμείως

nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit praeter Plataeensem:

ea mille misit militum.

Itaque horum adventu decem millia armatorum completa sunt.

The origin of the strange phrase 'decem millia armatorum completa sunt' is here seen to be in the Greek πληρωθέντος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ where the actual number of the total force must have been stated previously. The second excerpt is in the Souda s.v. χωρὶς ἱππεῖς, where mention is made of the Ionians 'coming up to the trees' ἀνελθόντας ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα, and in this passage the use of the definite article shows that the trees had been mentioned previously. These trees are clearly those mentioned in Nepos *Milt.* 5 as covering the Greek position. The third excerpt, which comes from the Souda s.v. Ποικίλη, has less immediate echoes in Nepos. It runs thus: στοὰ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνθα ἐγράφησαν οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι πολεμήσαντες εἰς οὓς ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα τόδε

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι  
ἔκτειναν [ ? ἔκλιναν ] Μήδων εἴκοσι μυριάδας.

Nepos mentions the liberation of Greece and the Poecile Stoa together in ch. 6 'huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honor tributus est in porticu quae Poecile vocatur quum pugna depingeretur Marathonia'; and he gives in ch. 4 the same number, 200,000, for the Persian infantry in the expedition (if we read ἔκλιναν for MS ἔκτειναν).

The best explanation of the resemblances between Cornelius Nepos, *Milt.* 4-6, and the excerpts in the Scholia to Aristophanes and in the Souda is that all had a common source which gave a narrative of the campaign and the battle of Marathon in considerable detail. This source was neither Herodotus nor Ephorus but a writer X who wrote after the dedication of 300 statues to Demetrius of Phalerum. Moreover, X seems to have used a passage in Aeschines, in *Ctes.* 186, a speech delivered in 330 B.C., which contrasts the archaic 'Demos' with the 'Demos' from which Demosthenes wanted a crown. Aeschines says that Miltiades asked for his name to be inscribed in the Poecile Stoa, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πρῶτῳ γραφῆναι παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς στρατιώτας. This passage is echoed in Nepos, *Milt.* 6, 'talis honor tributus est in porticu quae Poecile vocatur, quum pugna depingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem praetorum numero prima eius imago poneretur isque hortaretur milites, praeliumque committeret'. X had an attitude to the faults of the democracy which is not uncommon in fourth-century writers,<sup>152</sup> if we may

<sup>152</sup> For instance in *Ath. Pol.* xli 2 πλεῖστα συνέβη θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν and xxvii 5 the beginning of τὸ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν διὰ τὴν τῆς δεκάξειν.



judge from Nepos, *Milt.* 6 fin. 'idem ille populus posteaquam maius imperium est nactus et largitione magistratum corruptus est, trecentas statuas Demetrio Phalereo decrevit.'

On general grounds, then, we may conjecture that X was an Atthidographer, writing late in the fourth century and completing his work after the fall of Demetrius of Phalerum in 307 B.C. The most likely candidate is Demon (*FGrH* 327; floruit c. 300 B.C.) who wrote both an *Atthis* and a collection of proverbs. Moreover, there is an important link between Demon and the Souda. For the Souda has two proverbs about the plain of Marathon which are similar to one another in the style of narration and particularly in the accumulation of participles.

χωρίς ἱππεῖς. Δάτιδος ἐμβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τοὺς Ἰωνᾶς φασιν, ἀναχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἀνελθόντας ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα σημαίνειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς εἶεν χωρίς οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ Μιλτιάδην συνιέντα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτῶν συμβαλεῖν οὕτως καὶ νικῆσαι. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν λεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν τάξιν διαλυόντων.

Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ παρακαλουμένων, βλαπτόντων δέ τῶν γὰρ Οἰναίων παροχετευόντων τὴν χαράδραν, ἐπιρραγὲν ὕδωρ πολὺ κατέκλυσε πάντα.<sup>153</sup>

The second of these, concerning the flooding of what is still called the Charadra, occurs in Hesychius as a named fragment of Demon, quoted verbatim (F 8):

Hsch. s.v. Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν · παροιμία τεθειμένη ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς κακόν τι προσελκομένων. φησὶ δὲ Δήμων ὅτι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστὶ τόπος Οἰνὴ · οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα γεωργοῦντες, παροχετεύοντες τὴν ἄνω φερομένην χαράδραν, ἀρδεύειν τὰ δένδρα καὶ τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐπεχειροῦν · ὕδατος δὲ πολλοῦ γενομένου συνέβη καταρραγέντα τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν κτημάτων πολλὰ διαφθεῖραι καὶ τῶν τόπων δὲ τοὺς κύκλους ἐγγῶσαι.

The use of *παροχετεύω* in the Souda and in Demon and the words *ἐπιρραγὲν* and *καταρραγέντα* show that the Souda was drawing on Demon. The application of the proverb with the connecting link *ὅθεν*, in the Souda s.v. *χωρίς ἱππεῖς*, is found in another verbatim citation of Demon, F 19, *ὅθεν*, φησὶν ὁ Δήμων, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῶν . . . ἀπαλαττόντων τὴν παροιμίαν ταύτην τετάχθαι (cf. F 7 fin.). It is likely, then, that Demon was the source on which the Souda *χωρίς ἱππεῖς* drew.<sup>154</sup>

The suggestion that an Atthidographer, probably Demon, is the source of Nepos *Milt.* 4-6, is consistent with the suggestion which I made in *CQ* vi (1956) 122 f. that 'the ultimate source' of Nepos *Milt.* 1-3 is not Herodotus but probably the first Atthidographer, Hellanicus of Lesbos; for the Atthidographic tradition was inherited by later Atthidographers such as Demon. Consequently, Demon may have been the immediate source of Nepos *Milt.* 1-3 as well as of Nepos *Milt.* 4-6. For the trick of Miltiades in Nepos *Milt.* 1-2, whereby in sailing from his home in the Chersonese he fulfilled the Lemnian undertaking that they would give him the island when he sailed to Lemnos from his home (meaning Athens) with a north wind, has the same rather childish twist as Demon's story of the white ravens in Bocotia (F 7). The last chapters of Nepos, *Milt.* 7-8, are usually thought to have been drawn from Ephorus, on the ground that Miltiades' failure at Paros in 489 B.C. is described there very roughly as it is described in Stephanus Byzantinus s. Paros = *FGrH* 70

<sup>153</sup> The Souda quotes a proverb which is on the same topic as the second of these. Οἰνὴ τὴν χαράδραν. διὰ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τίς τι ποιῇ· ἡ γὰρ Οἰνὴ δημὸς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς· οἵτινες φερομένην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χαράδραν παρέτρεψαν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν. πολλὴ δὲ ἡ χαράδρα γενομένη ἐλυμῆντο αὐτῶν τὰ γεώργια καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καθεῖλεν. ὁμοίον δὲ τῷ ὁ Καρπάθιος τὸν λαγῶν κτλ. The style here is different. Zenobius v 29 gives this proverb Οἰνὴ τὴν χαράδραν with slight variations. On the other hand Photius gives the Souda's proverb

Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν verbatim. The paroemiographers evidently drew on two separate versions, one of which we know was that of Demon. Strabo viii 6. 16, C375 alluded to the version Οἰνὴ τὴν χαράδραν in a corrupt passage, which Meineke does not include in his text.

<sup>154</sup> This view was held by O. Crusius in *Rh. Mus.* xl (1885) 316 f.; he based his argument on other fragments of Demon than that which I have quoted, and he did not make any connection between the entry in the Souda and the trees in Nepos.



(Ephorus) F 63.<sup>155</sup> There are, however, many references to the proverb τὸ ἀναπαράζειν, and it is almost certain that this proverb was included in Demon's book of proverbs. The incident too would have figured in his *Atthis*. On the whole, then, I am inclined to see in Demon the source of Nepos *Miltiades* and also of the excerpts from the *Souda* and from the *Scholia* to *Aristophanes*. Whether the source is Demon or some other *Atthidographer*, the details about the battle and the plain of Marathon are likely to have been drawn from local Attic tradition whether written near the time of the battle or handed down orally in the demes of the tetrapolis of Marathon and not to have been invented in order to rival Herodotus' account of the campaign.

Plutarch makes many references to the battle of Marathon, and it is clear that he drew on an account which was more detailed than that of Herodotus on certain points at least. His fullest mention occurs in the *Life of Aristides* 5, where he is of course concerned primarily with the distinctions of Aristides. The passage has no connection whatever with the account in *Justin* ii 9, but it has some points of similarity with the account in Nepos, *Milt.* 4 f. The passage runs as follows:

'Datis, sent by Darius to punish Athens for burning Sardis but really to subjugate Greece (cf. Nepos: Darius sent Datis and Artaphernes to reduce Greece into his power but wove in the pretext that he was hostile to Athens for having helped the Ionians to take Sardis and kill their garrison), put in at Marathon with all his force (παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ) and ravaged the locality (cf. Nepos: 'suas copias in campum Marathonem deduxerunt'). Of the ten generals in office at Athens for the war (τῶν δέκα καθεστώτων . . . στρατηγῶν) Miltiades had the greatest prestige (ἀξίωμα) but Aristides came second to him in reputation and influence (cf. Nepos: 'Domi autem creant decem praetores, qui exercitui praessent; in eis Miltiades . . . plus quam collegae Miltiades valuerit. Ejus enim auctoritate impulsus'). Siding with the opinion of Miltiades about the battle (i.e. about engaging) he exercised a great effect on the issue; and as each general had the command (τὸ κράτος) for one day, when the office came round to him (ἡ ἀρχή), he gave it to Miltiades, pointing out to his colleagues (συνάρχοντας) that compliance with wise men was not dishonourable but honourable and salvationist (σωτήριον). So he calmed their contentiousness and persuaded them to resign themselves to accepting the opinion which was strongest; thus he reinforced Miltiades, who gained in strength, as the authority no longer rotated but each resigned his daily command and offered it to him. In the battle when the Athenian centre was in particular difficulties and the barbarians fought back longest there against the tribal contingents of Leontis and Antiochis, Themistocles and Aristides distinguished themselves. They were in line next to one another being respectively members of these two tribes. But when they routed the barbarians and rushed onto the warships and saw them sailing not for the islands but driven landwards towards Attica by wind and wave, they were afraid the enemy might take the acropolis (τὴν πόλιν) destitute of defenders; so they hastened with nine of the tribal contingents towards the town (ἄστυ) and arrived the same day. Aristides was left with his own tribal contingent at Marathon to guard the prisoners and the booty. He did not belie his reputation, but although gold and silver lay there in heaps and tapestries of every kind and other treasures untold were in the tents and in the captured hulls, he had no desire to touch them nor did he let anyone else do so, although some helped themselves without his knowledge; and one of these was Callias, the torch-bearer in the Eleusinian mysteries.'

<sup>155</sup> The differences are that in Ephorus Miltiades ravaged some islands, in Nepos he forced some to return to obedience and took others by storm; in Ephorus the fire is on Myconus, in Nepos in Asia Minor; in Ephorus the Parians think Datis is signalling by beacon and do not surrender to Miltiades,

in Nepos both sides think the King's fleet is signalling, the Parians give up ideas of surrender and Miltiades burns his siege-engines. How exaggerates in saying Nepos' chapter 'is translated from Ephorus' (*JHS* xxxix [1919] 50).



A striking feature of this account is that it does not come from Herodotus. The cause and the purpose of the Persian expedition in Hdt. vi 94 are different. The Persians sailed to Attica (Hdt. vi 102); but no mention is made of *ὁ πᾶς στόλος*, or of ravaging the locality. Herodotus does not mention Aristides or the prestige of Miltiades; on the other hand Plutarch does not mention Callimachus. The structure of command in Herodotus is much more complicated. Herodotus has an equal division of votes among the generals and then the invocation of Callimachus as polemarch. Plutarch has ten generals, each commanding for one day in rotation and forming a college (*τοὺς συνάρχοντας*); Aristides sided with Miltiades and persuaded the others to accept the policy which had the strongest support (*μὴ γνώμη τῇ κρατίστῃ χρωμένους*). The issue of the controversy is different; in Herodotus Miltiades was given his four supporters' days of command (vi 110), but in Plutarch he was given the command for all days (*τῷ ἀπεριστάτῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας*). The details of tribal contingents are not in Herodotus. The Persians 'break' the Greek centre in Herodotus; the Persian centre fights back longest in Plutarch. Themistocles is not mentioned by Herodotus. The conditions at sea are not mentioned by Herodotus, nor the division of the Athenian army, nor the role of Miltiades, nor the spoil in the 'tents', nor the story of Callias. I stress the differences because Macan 215 has supposed that 'Plutarch's conception of the battle is largely determined by the authority of Herodotus'. In point of fact it does not begin to coincide with Herodotus' account.

We have noticed that Plutarch and Nepos, writing at different lengths and with different purposes, have some points in common: the cause and aim of the Persian expedition, the putting in at Marathon with the full force, the importance of Miltiades' prestige (*ἐξουσία* and 'auctoritas'), the contentiousness of the generals (*φιλονεικία* and 'contentio'), and the Persian camp (*ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς* and 'castra'). In particular the phrase of Nepos 'domi autem creant decem praetores qui exercitui praessent' looks like a misunderstanding of some such phrase in Greek as Plutarch's *τῶν δέκα καθεστώτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν*. It looks as if Nepos in the last century B.C. and Plutarch in the early second century A.D. were drawing on a common source which was not Herodotus. So far as this passage in Plutarch is concerned, that source was particularly interested in Athenian local matters such as the positioning and the membership of tribes, the famous personalities—Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles and Callias—and the spoils won by Athens. He used correct technical terms for Athenian matters (if we may take it that some of Plutarch's diction was lifted from his source) in *ἡ ἀρχή*, *τοὺς συνάρχοντας* and *ἡ πόλις* as the acropolis in contrast to *τὸ ἄστυ*, the open town (as it was in 490 B.C.), *δαδοῦχος* and *τὸ στρόφιον* of the Eleusinian priest, Callias. The natural inference is that he was an Attidographer. The language of the passage is highly coloured. The expression *ἔρρωσε τὸν Μιλτιάδην τῷ ἀπεριστάτῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἰσχυρὸν γενόμενον* contains an active use of *ῥώννυμι* which is found in Hippocrates and otherwise in another highly coloured passage of Plutarch (*Per.* 19)—which also contains the poetic word *σωτήριος* (which I translated 'salvationist' in *Arist.* 5)—and the combination of neuter plural and genitive abstract which was a mark of late fifth century prose.<sup>156</sup> On the other hand, there are words such as *χύδην* which are later, and the passage about Callias as a *λακκόπλουτος*, while citing fifth-century Attic writers of comedy, gives an explanation of this proverbial term which fits into the late fourth century Attidographic tradition. Demon presents himself for consideration as an Attidographer and as one interested in proverbial terms. Finally the chapter ends with a disproof of Demetrius of Phalerum; for Demetrius had argued that Aristides was eponymous archon (*cf.* *Plu. Arist.* 1.2) shortly before his death and after the battle of Plataea, whereas our author, having consulted the *ἀναγραφαί* or public records, noted that Phaenippus was eponymous archon when the battle of Marathon was won and that Aristides was eponymous archon

<sup>156</sup> W. R. M. Lamb, *Clio Enthroned* (Cambridge, 1914) 122 for Democritus and 225 for Gorgias.



immediately afterwards, i.e. in 489/8 B.C.<sup>157</sup> This attack on Demetrius of Phalerum forms a link with Nepos, *Milt.* 6 where the dedication of 300 statues to Demetrius of Phalerum was given as an instance of Athenian obsequiousness. It is highly probable that Demon is the source behind both Nepos, *Miltiades* and Plutarch, *Aristides* 5.

Whether Plutarch's source here is Demon or another Atthidographer, Plutarch mentions other details on the Athenian side, which support the belief that he was drawing on an Atthidographic tradition and not on the account by Herodotus. In the *Life of Theseus* 35 fin., the origin of the worship of Theseus 'as a hero' is attributed particularly to his appearance on the field of Marathon 'rushing upon the barbarians'. The tropaion of Miltiades at Marathon is mentioned in the same life (6 fin.), in *Them.* 3, *Arist.* 16 and *Mor.* 84. The deme Marathon belonged to the tribe Aeantis; the prytany of this tribe was sitting when the decree to march out was passed; the contingent of this tribe was on the right at Marathon (citing the authority of Aeschylus); and Callimachus belonged to this tribe (*Mor.* 628). The festival of thanksgiving for the victory is dated to the 6th of Boedromion (*Mor.* 349 F). The name of the messenger, bringing news of the victory to Athens, is disputed; that given by Heraclides Ponticus, a fourth century B.C. writer, is rejected and another name is favoured (*Mor.* 347 C). The influence of the Attic orators is also present. In Isocrates *Panegyricus* 86 f., where he is contrasting the speedy cooperation of Athens and Sparta in the Persian Wars with their conduct a century later, the Athenians alone *ὀλέγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας* on one and the same day, 'they say', heard of the landing and won the victory—a telescoping of the campaign which is found also in [Lysias], *Epitaphios* 26. A similar speeding up appears in Plu. *Mor.* 350 E, where the victory and the return are put on the day after the departure of Miltiades for Marathon.

Before I turn to the second work in the corpus of Plutarch's writings, I should mention two entries in the Souda, both under Hippias. The first concerns itself with Hippias and has a string of anecdotes about him: his cruelty after the assassination of Hipparchus (*cf.* Thuc. vi 59.2), his banishment by 'the Cecropidae', his prompting of Darius who had a penchant for the figs of Attica, his great sneeze and his lost tooth at Marathon (*cf.* Hdt. vi 107.3), and his death from a painful disease in Lemnos.<sup>158</sup> Aelian *frag.* 74, except for two *variae lectiones*, is exactly the same. The ultimate source of the two passages is unknown. The second entry in the Souda has more to do with Marathon than with Hippias. It has the following points in common with the *Parallel Cases*: Datis is a satrap and has 300,000 men; the Athenians go out with 9,000 men; Callimachus is one of ten generals; Callimachus ends up as a standing corpse on spear-points; and Polyzelus saw a ghost whose beard hid his shield (as in Hdt. vi 117.3) and lost his sight.<sup>159</sup> Being longer than the passage in the *Parallel Cases*, the entry in the Souda has other matter as follows: the sack of Eretria and Plato's epigram on the Eretrian deportees near Susa; Philippides' journey of 1500 stades to Sparta in one night;<sup>160</sup> the law at Sparta about waiting for the full moon (as in Hdt. vi 106.3); the meeting of Pan and Philippides on Mount Parthenion (as in Hdt. vi 105.1, except that in the Souda he is on his return journey); a debate among the ten generals at Athens with one general advising them to wait for the Spartans and with Miltiades and Callimachus advising them to 'go out'; and going out they won the victory on the same day, 'they say' (as in Isoc. *Paneg.* 87). It would seem that the *Parallel Cases* on Datis and the

<sup>157</sup> The evidence is discussed by T. J. Cadoux in *JHS* lxxviii (1948) 117.

<sup>158</sup> Herodotus does not record the fate of Hippias. Justin ii 9 fin. says he was killed at Marathon. The Souda and Justin pass the same judgement on his death, namely that the gods of his fathers took vengeance on him, but this was probably a commonplace. Ctesias *Pers.* 18 reported the death of Datis in the battle.

<sup>159</sup> The Souda s.v. Polyzelus adds the superhuman size of the apparition, exaggerating the *μέγαν* of Hdt. vi 117.3.

<sup>160</sup> This agrees with Hdt. vi 106.1 *δευτεραῖος*, and the Souda s.v. Philippides expands to *διὰ μᾶς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας*.



second entry on Hippias in the Souda come from a common source, and that this common source was different from that which was common to the Souda's first entry on Hippias and to Aelian *frag.* 74.

The other work in the corpus of Plutarch's writings which is probably not by Plutarch is the *de malignitate Herodoti*. It questions the date given by Herodotus for the arrival of Philippides (here called Pheidippides) at Sparta; but in so doing it confuses the date of the thanksgiving festival on the 6th of Boedromion with the date of the battle (see p. 41, above). It criticises Herodotus for giving the number of the Persian dead, because the number was countless as 'most say', and for minimising the rout of the Persians, so that he played into the hands of those who ridiculed the battle and represented it as a brief skirmish;<sup>161</sup> for mentioning Callias, his father and his son, with the accusation that Herodotus was being obsequious to them because they were rich; and for his account of the shield signal. Here at last we have someone who had read the narrative of Herodotus and compared the writings of others with it.

Our study of the literary sources enables us to divide them into three categories. In the first category Herodotus stands alone as the survivor of the contemporary or near-contemporary writers, who addressed themselves to veterans of the campaign and others who were conversant with its details. Herodotus concentrated on the epic features of the campaign and the battle, and he did not include many of the details which a military historian may desire. In the second category we have a group of passages which seem to be derived not at all from Herodotus but rather from a detailed account (or perhaps detailed accounts) in the Atthidographic tradition and in particular from an account in the *Atthis* of Demon. These passages are Nepos, *Miltiades* 4-6, Souda s.v. διεξιφίσσω = Scholia to Arist. *Eq.* 778, Souda s.v. Ποικίλη, Souda s.v. χωρίς ἱππέεις, Souda s.v. Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν = Photius *ditto*, Hesychius s.v. Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν, Plutarch *Aristides* 5 and isolated points in Plutarch's writings. Passages in this category are generally worthy of credence in matters of fact, which were derived from local tradition in Attica, including monuments such as the Poecile Stoa, and go back to the time of the campaign itself. Pausanias too drew on local tradition during his visit to the battlefield. In the third category there are sensational accounts as in Justin ii 9, strings of anecdotes as in Souda s.v. Hippias 1 = Aelian *frag.* 74 and bits of inaccurate information as in Souda s.v. Hippias 2 and Plutarch *Parallel Cases* s.v. Datis. These seem to be based on rhetorical and inaccurate accounts in Hellenistic writings. The relationship between Herodotus and the third category is that the colourful stories of Herodotus about Philippides, Pan, Cynegeirus, Epizelus and Hippias reappear usually in an exaggerated form in passages of the third category, although it is uncertain whether they have come down from him or from other writers of the fifth century. It is only in Plutarch *de malignitate Herodoti* that we find detailed comments on the narrative of Herodotus, and the author of this treatise may be typical of Atthidographers, biographers and lexicographers in being critical of him and preferring other narratives.

N. G. L. HAMMOND.

*University of Bristol.*

<sup>161</sup> This may refer in particular to Theopompus, who thought the actual battle differed from the eulogies all men made of it (*FGI H* 115 F 153 τὴν ἐν

Μαραθῶνι μάχην οὐχ ὅταν ἅπαντες ὁμοῦσιν γεγενημένην), and to his successors.



## THE PORTLAND VASE AGAIN

(PLATES IV-V)

THE editor having invited me to reply to Professor Bernard Ashmole's 'New Interpretation of the Portland Vase',<sup>1</sup> the reader will, I hope, forgive me for returning to a topic which he may think in danger of being worn threadbare. Although my own interpretation<sup>2</sup> has been generously characterised by Professor Ashmole as 'persuasively argued', its failure to convince not only him but Professor Hans Möbius<sup>3</sup> and Professor F. L. Bastet<sup>4</sup> shows that it was not persuasive enough; and the aim of the following pages is to re-state the case for it and to fortify it, as I hope, with additional arguments which would have overloaded the popular publication in which it first appeared.

I begin, as before, with the young man who advances to the right in front of a small structure consisting of two square pillars raised on a continuous base<sup>5</sup> and supporting a Doricising entablature (PLATE IV).<sup>6</sup> According to Möbius and Ashmole this structure is a gateway and the young man has just passed through it. 'Ask yourself', Ashmole bids the reader, 'where he can have come from if not through the gateway, and you will see that this must be the correct solution.' But must it? If the young man had come *through* the supposed gateway, surely the foot he first set to the ground—his left—would be more or less on the axis of the opening and not, as it actually is, with the heel almost touching the corner of the base nearest the spectator: an artist in whose work 'no detail is negligible' would hardly have put a foot as wrong as that.

To me at least the position of the young man's feet strongly suggests that he has not come through the opening of the structure but is moving away from the nearer end of its base; and this is confirmed, I believe, by the treatment of the cloak in his left hand. If he were throwing it off, as Ashmole and Bastet maintain, the artist would have made this clear by representing it as billowing to the ground. As it is, the taut folds which the young man's grip induces in the upper part of the garment, indicate as clearly as any visual means could that he is picking it up—picking it up from the base of the structure, over which that part of the stuff not yet drawn into the movement still lies inertly draped. But if he is now picking his cloak up from the base, he must previously have laid it down there, from which we may infer that he has been sitting on the base, having first spread his cloak over it to protect himself from the bare stone, as gods and heroes habitually do in such circumstances (*cf.* FIG. 1). By this simple but effective device the artist has conveyed a piece of information which, as we shall see later, is essential for the interpretation of the scene as a whole; and that, it seems to me, is sufficient justification for the inclusion of so 'trivial' a detail. I cannot myself see any reason why the cloak should be symbolic, even though the authority for 'donning immortality' is quite as good as that for 'doffing mortality'.<sup>7</sup>

That the young man has not just passed through the structure need not surprise us, for it is clearly not a gateway or entrance in any ordinary sense; its base would be incon-

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* lxxxvii (1967) 1-17.

<sup>2</sup> *The Portland Vase* (1964) 13-21.

<sup>3</sup> *Gnomon* xxxvi (1964) 636 f.; *Die Reliefs der Portlandvase und das antike Dreifigurbild* (Abh. d. bayr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, n.F., Heft 61, 1965).

<sup>4</sup> *BABesch* xli (1966) 148-150.

<sup>5</sup> The further pillar and the greater part of the base are carved in the blue glass.

<sup>6</sup> Plates IV and V are from photographs taken

with the periphery camera manufactured by Research Engineers Ltd. to whose Directors I am grateful for permission to use them here. Figs. 1, 8, 10 and 16 are reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, Fig. 7 by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Fig. 6 was drawn by my wife.

<sup>7</sup> *I Corinthians* 15, 53; *Augustine Civ.* 13, 24, p. 599, 10.





FIG. 1 Detail from a Lucanian amphora in the British Museum (1928.1-17.65).

veniently high, if not superfluous, for this purpose, the headroom under its architrave uncomfortably low. The building's real character is, I believe, indicated by the bush growing obliquely out of its further side: it is a rustic shrine. Distyle shrines with trees or shrubs growing out of, or through, the opening are a characteristic feature of the Roman 'architectural landscape', and in FIGS. 2-4 I illustrate three examples for comparison. Although often referred to by such names as 'portae sacrae' or 'sacred portals' or 'heilige Tore', such shrines were plainly not intended for mortal passage, their openings being frequently blocked by the associated tree or by an image of the resident deity. Possibly they should be regarded as doorways or windows in which the deity makes his epiphany.<sup>8</sup>

The bush growing out of the shrine on the vase is either a myrtle or a rose; since both are sacred to Aphrodite, we may assume the shrine is hers. The young man has therefore been waiting at Aphrodite's shrine, but now, though still somewhat hesitant to judge from his tiptoe gait and slight stoop, he has decided to venture further. What has prompted his advance is evident from the Eros who flies ahead of him, pointing the way with the torch in his right hand and looking round over his shoulder to make sure his charge follows: the young man is a lover approaching his beloved. The symbolism of the conducting Eros is so stereotyped in Roman art that it is a surprise to find Möbius maintaining that the young man could be Theseus visiting Amphitrite and Poseidon to recover the ring of Minos.<sup>9</sup> The crucial problem is, then, to identify the lover's goal. Most later interpreters, including Ashmole, have followed Winckelmann in fixing upon the candidate nearest at hand: the woman who sits on a low rock in front of the lover and turns round to support him under his left arm with her outstretched right. Yet, even granting a suitor so lacking in *savoir faire* as to come upon his beloved from behind, there are, as Professor Luigi Polacco has pointed out,<sup>10</sup> insuperable objections to supposing the young man to be in love with this woman:

<sup>8</sup> Other examples: *RM* xxvi (1911) 34, fig. 13; 40, fig. 18; 150, fig. 64; pl. 2a; lxxii (1965) pl. 57, 1. Reinach, *Rép. rel.* iii 132, 1; *Rép. peint.* 113, 1; 164, 3; 236, 1; 237, 3; 261, 2 and 5; 274, 4; 388, 6. Möbius, *Reliefs der Portlandvase* pl. v (bottom).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Gnomon* xxxviii (1966) 730 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Athenaeum* (Pavia), n.s., xxxvi (1958) 123-141.



1. Though she looks up at him, he does not return her gaze, but keeps his eyes fixed on the Eros in front of him. It is surely unimaginable that a lover who is already so close to his beloved that their arms actually meet, would not look at her.

2. An Eros conducting a lover to his beloved naturally stops just short of her and, if he is carrying a torch, illuminates her with it.<sup>11</sup> Here, however, the Eros is already passing



FIG. 2 Paris on Mt. Ida, wall-painting from Pompeii in Naples (Herrmann, *Denkmäler* pl. 8).

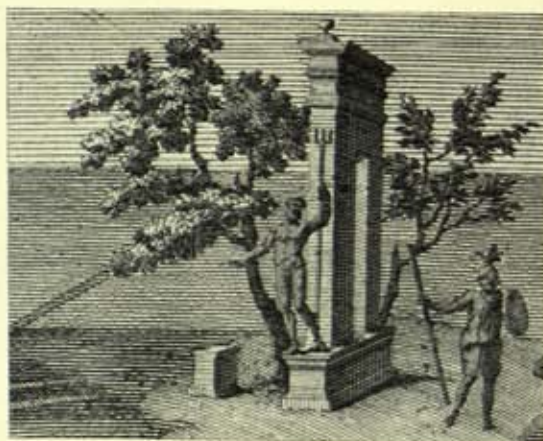


FIG. 3 Shrine of Poseidon, detail from a Pompeian painting (*Antichità di Ercolano* i, pl. xlv).



FIG. 4 Rustic shrine, wall-painting from Pompeii (*Antichità di Ercolano* iv, 149).

over the woman's head and continues to hold his torch out in front of him, regardless of the fact that its light is beginning to throw her face into shadow. The only possible explanation of his action is that he is leading the lover on past this woman to some goal beyond her. His outspread wings certainly do not indicate, as Ashmole contends, that he has reached his destination and is wheeling towards us. Wings are normally represented thus if their owner happens to turn his head sideways during forward flight.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Robert, *Ant. Sarkophag.* iii 1, pl. xii, 39, 40; xiii, 47; xiv, 49; xviii, 72; xx, 77; xxi, 78; xxii, 79; xxiv, 83.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Himeros on the Meidias Painter's hydria in Florence, Hirmer-Arias, *Greek Vase Painting* (1962)

pl. 217; Lucifer escorting Sol's chariot, on a sarcophagus, Robert, *op. cit.* iii 1, pl. xxiv, 83a; Eros escorting Europa, on a mosaic from Aquileia, Reinach, *Rép. Peint.* 12, 2.



3. If the young man were in love with this woman, we would expect him, not her, to have taken the initiative in establishing physical contact between them. Yet it is manifestly she who originated the action which now links them: she who has stretched out her arm to support his, not he who has sought hers. His arm rests passively on hers, his thumb and forefinger making no attempt to grasp what they touch. It is hard to see how erotic indifference could be expressed more clearly.

Nor, on the other hand, need we infer from the woman's action that she is in love with the young man, a conclusion which would reduce the scene to a comedy of errors. Supporting a person's arm is no more than a natural gesture of comfort and encouragement at a time of physical or mental stress. Thus, to take some familiar examples from Roman



FIG. 5 Selene and Endymion, wall-painting from Pompeii (*Museo Borbonico* xiv, 3).

art,<sup>13</sup> we see Diana or a nurse or a huntsman or an Eros holding up the arm of the dying Adonis; a sailor that of the absconding Theseus; a Peliad that of her terror-stricken father; a maid-servant that of the love-sick Phaedra. Ashmole compares the woman's action with that with which Zeus supports Hera's arm in a Pompeian painting,<sup>14</sup> but the fact that Iris supports Hera's other arm proves that the gesture is not essentially erotic but, as Herrmann observes, an attempt to overcome the bride's hesitation and induce her to approach her lover. Perhaps the closest analogy we shall find for the action of the woman on the vase is that of the Eros who holds up Selene's arm as he leads her towards Endymion in another Pompeian painting (FIG. 5). Here the Eros combines, as it were, the functions of the Eros and the woman on the vase.

The woman's left hand rests on the back of a sinuous monster which rises fawning

<sup>13</sup> Adonis: Robert, *op. cit.* iii 1, pl. ii, 3 (Diana); ii, 4 (nurse); v, 20 (huntsman). Roux-Barré, *Herculaneum et Pompéi* ii pl. 55; Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei* pl. 52; Reinach, *Rép. Peint.* 64, 4; 65, 3 (Erotes). Theseus: Herrmann, *op. cit.* pl. 16; Reinach,

*Rép. Peint.* iii, 1. Pelias: Herrmann, *op. cit.* pl. 75. Phaedra: Robert, *op. cit.* iii 2, pl. xlvii, 152b; xlix, 156, 159. Cf. Euripides, *Hippolytus* 200: λάβει' ἐνπύχους χεῖρας, πρόπολοι.

<sup>14</sup> Herrmann, *op. cit.* pl. 11.



towards her face. Möbius, Ashmole and I take it to be a *ketos*, but Bastet has recently revived the theory that it is a snake, comparing it with the well-known painted snake on the lararium of the House of the Vettii (FIG. 6a). As we shall see presently, the monster is our main clue to the subject of the vase, which will perhaps excuse me for dwelling for a moment on the specific differences between snakes and *kete*. Snakes have a reptilian head with an oval or flat-topped skull, *kete* (FIG. 6b, c) a canine head with a long straight muzzle approximating in shape to a parallelogram. Snakes have no forehead and eyes set well forward in the side of their head; *kete*'s eyes are set further back under a prominent forehead and look forward, so that seen in profile they often appear to be little more than slits. Lastly, snakes (male) have a back-swept comb on top of the head and a beard under the jaw; *kete* have forward-pricking ears and a narrow, fan-shaped fin sprouting back from the jaw and in line with it. Summarily treated as the monster on the vase is (FIG. 6d), it plainly exhibits all the criteria of the *ketos* and its marine character is further confirmed by a line of small fins running down the back, a feature often found in *kete* (FIG. 6), but never, of course, in snakes. Its body being hidden from us by its mistress, we cannot say whether



FIG. 6

- a. Head of snake from lararium of the House of the Vettii, Pompeii (after Herrmann, *Denkmäler* pl. 48)  
 b. Head of *ketos* from a sarcophagus fragment in the Palazzo Mattei (after Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire* pl. vi)  
 c. Head of *ketos* from a sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale, Rome (after Rumpf, *Meerwesen* pl. iii)  
 d. Head of *ketos* from Portland Vase.

it is an ordinary *ketos* with forepaws or flippers, or whether it belongs to a much rarer species of limbless *ketos* attested by a mosaic from Antioch, in which such a creature coils round the neck of Tethys.<sup>15</sup>

Facing the woman with the *ketos* stands a bearded man, his right foot raised on a small rock at the root of the laurel-tree under which she sits. The motif of the raised foot occurs frequently in conversation scenes and the man was evidently talking to the woman before she turned away to extend a helping hand to the lover.<sup>16</sup> Now, however, he too has transferred his attention to the young man, whose advance he contemplates with thoughtful concern, his right arm propped on his raised knee and his chin resting on the hand. His other arm, round which his cloak is wrapped, he holds behind his back. A smaller tree with one green and one withered branch, perhaps a fig, closes the side.

Leaving the handle-attachments for later consideration, we come now to the other side of the vase (PLATE V), where a girl reclines between a seated man on the left and a seated woman on the right. Ashmole takes the rocky eminences occupied by the three figures to be islands, comparing them with the islands in the stucco relief of the 'Leucadian Leap' in the apse of the Porta Maggiore basilica.<sup>17</sup> But in the stucco the rocks are unambiguously washed by sea: here there is no indication of water, the rocks rising directly from a ground-

<sup>15</sup> D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, pls. xxxixb, clviib.

<sup>16</sup> See n. 42 below.

<sup>17</sup> *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* iv (1924) pl. xlv.



line which runs continuously round the vase, and which certainly represents *terra firma* on the other side. I find it hard to believe that they could be anything but conveniently shaped outcrops of the kind mythological beings habitually find for their accommodation out-of-doors. They strongly recall the stratified pinnacles on which women and Erotes sit in Apulian vase-painting;<sup>18</sup> but their layered structure is no doubt partly to be explained by the ease with which the gem-engraver's wheel produces effects of this kind.

Over the rock on which the girl reclines, a tree spreads its branches, 'gewiss eine Feige' according to Möbius, though the artist, Ashmole tells us, 'has made it quite clear that it is a plane-tree'. The girl's outstretched legs are crossed under her mantle and she leans back lightly, resting her left arm on the rock and raising her right languidly over her head as she gazes dreamily into the distance. From the listless fingers of her left hand hangs a still-burning torch, which Ashmole interprets as a sign that she is dead. But so far as I know, there is no instance in ancient art of the dead person himself holding a reversed torch to symbolise his death; such a symbol is invariably held by an attendant funerary Eros or Genius. Here, then, we must ascribe a practical purpose to the torch: the girl has used it to find her way to her rocky couch through the dark; and now, as sleep begins to overpower her, she lets it slip forgotten from her fingers. We may compare how, in the painting of Komos described by Philostratos,<sup>19</sup> the torch held by the sleeping god 'seems to slip between his fingers, which sleep has rendered heedless'.

Of the two seated figures it is generally agreed that the female, who holds a sceptre, must be Aphrodite and her role that of a spectator. Those who, like Möbius and Ashmole, believe the side to be self-contained, are accordingly obliged to discover its significance in some particular relationship between the reclining girl and the seated man. Möbius takes him to be Theseus on the point of deserting Ariadne; but even if we could accept the incongruity of Theseus waiting for Ariadne's eyes to close before giving her the slip, Aphrodite would be altogether out of place in this scene.<sup>20</sup> Ashmole sees in the pair Achilles and Helen united on the White Island<sup>21</sup> after death, while 'Aphrodite looks back, from her island shrine of Paphos, over the cycle of events which began with the union of Peleus and Thetis and ended with that of Achilles and Helen'. As there is no known representation of this subject in ancient art, we cannot say for certain how it might have been treated; but I find it hard to believe that Achilles would have been shown mourning beside his tomb (which was anyway in the Troad) or that Helen would doze off in her husband's presence. We are explicitly informed that they spend their time on the island drinking together and singing amorous and Homeric songs.<sup>22</sup>

What Möbius and Ashmole both overlook, it seems to me, is the manifest symmetry with which the Aphrodite and the seated male figure are composed: each sits turned away from the girl with one leg (the nearer) stretched out and the other drawn back, and each looks round over the shoulder. Clearly the two figures are meant to be pendants and the man's relationship to the girl cannot differ greatly from Aphrodite's: he, too, must be an onlooker, not a protagonist. Spectators who sit thus, either singly or in antithetic pairs,

<sup>18</sup> E.g. Trendall, *Vasi italioti ed etruschi a figure rosse* (Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano) fasc. ii, pl. xxix, V 17; xxx, V 23, V 31; xxxii, V 36, V 38, V 41; xxxiv, V 51, X 1, X 3, Z 24.

<sup>19</sup> καθεύδει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἐπὶ στέρα βίβας καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἐκφαίνων οὐδέν, τὴν δ' ἀριστερὰν προβολῶν ἐπέχων, εἰληφθαι δ' ἡ χεὶρ δοκοῦσα λένεται καὶ ἀμελεῖ, τὸ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ καθεύδειν, ὅταν σαίνοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἔπνου μετέρχεται ὁ λογισμὸς ἐς λήθην ὡς ξυνέχει, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺν τῇ δεξιᾷ λαμπάδιον ἔουκε διαφεύγειν τὴν χεῖρα, καταρραβημοῦντος αὐτὴν τοῦ ἔπνου. Philostr., *Imag.* i 2. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Gnomon* xxxviii (1966) 731.

<sup>21</sup> In fact they occupy separate rocks. In order to space the three figures evenly, the artist has been obliged to make the girl's rock overlap the man's, but he has been careful to mark the division between them.

<sup>22</sup> ξυμπίπτειν γὰρ δὴ λέγονται τόθ' ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ ἡ Ἑλένη καὶ ὁδοαῖς εἶναι, τὸν ἔρωτά τε τὸν ἀλλήλων ἔδειν καὶ Ὀμήρου τὰ ἔπη τάπτι τῇ Τροίᾳ καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον αὐτόν. Philostr., *Heroic.* 20. 35.



are a common feature of mythological scenes from the fifth century onwards: I show as examples the Zeus and Nike who watch the painting of a statue of Herakles on a South Italian krater in New York (FIG. 7); and the local deity and river-nymph who look on as Thetis plunges Achilles into the Styx on a fragment of repoussé bronze relief in the British Museum (FIG. 8).<sup>23</sup> We may compare, too, the Venus and Vulcan who watch over Rhea



FIG. 7 Zeus and Nike watching the painting of a statue of Hercules. Detail from Italiot krater in New York (50.11.4).



FIG. 8 Local deity and river-nymph watching Thetis bathing Achilles in the Styx. Bronze fragment in the British Museum (1919.6-20.3), probably from the same vehicle as the 'Tensa Capitolina'.

<sup>23</sup> Reg. No. 1919.6-20.3. The fragment evidently once belonged to the so-called Tensa Capitolina, B.S.R., *Cons. Cat.* 179, no. 13, pls. 68-73. Other spectators: Reinach, *Rép. Peint.* 30, 3 and 4; Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque* 254, fig. 75; Metzger,

*Représentations dans la céramique attique du IV siècle* pl. v, 3; xxxix, 1; Ghali-Kahil, *Enlèvements et retour d'Hélène* pl. vi, 1; Robert, *op. cit.* iii 1, pl. xi, 37; Hirmer-Arias, *Greek Vase Painting*, pl. 236 (Boread in lowest register); *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* xxix (1967) pl. 43a.



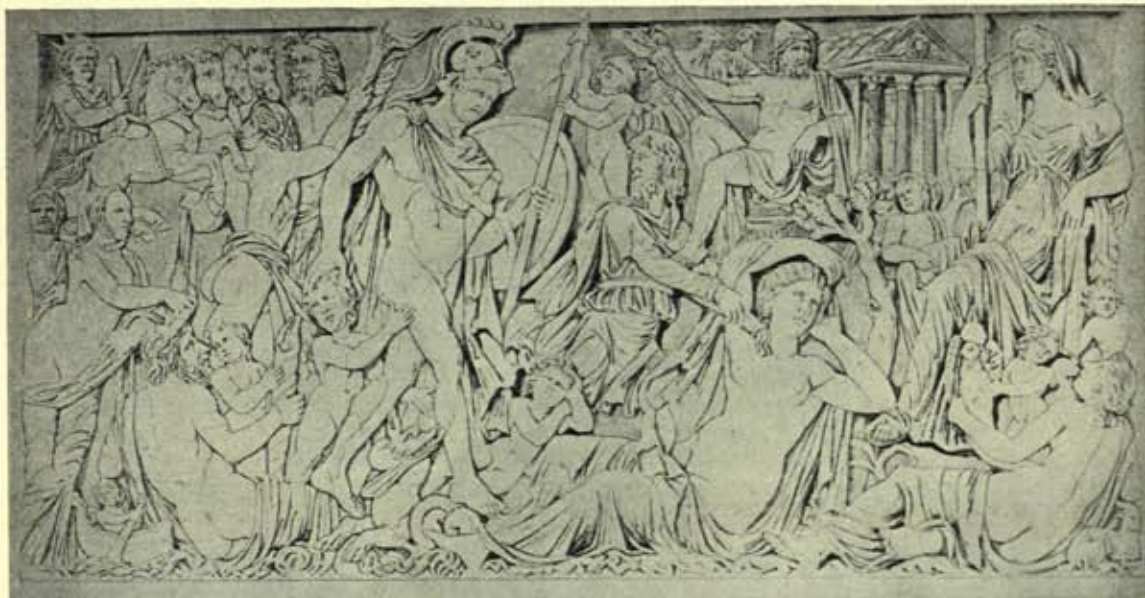


FIG. 9 Mars and Rhea Silvia, sarcophagus in the Palazzo Mattei (Robert, *Antik. Sarkophag-reliefs* iii 2, pl. lx, 188).



FIG. 10 Detail from Tassie's plaster cast of the Portland Vase.



FIG. 11 Wall-painting from the 'House of Livia' on the Palatine (Rizzo, *Le Pitture della "Casa di Livia"* fig. 42).



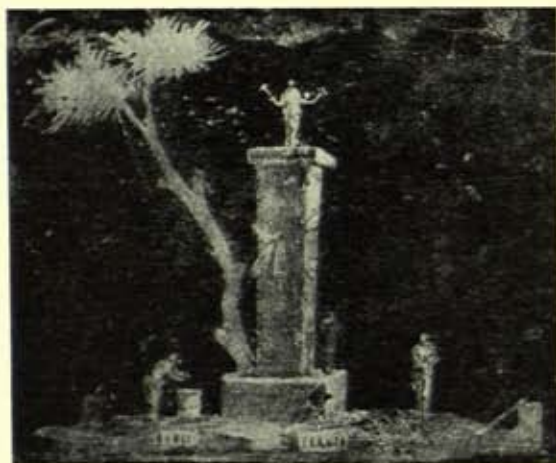


FIG. 12 Wall-painting from Stabiae (Herrmann, *Denkmäler* pl. 200).



FIG. 13 Part of a wall-painting from Herculaneum (*Antichità di Ercolano* iv, pl. lii).



FIG. 14 Wall-painting from Pompeii (*Antichità di Ercolano* iv, pl. xvii).

Silvia as Mars approaches her, on a sarcophagus in the Palazzo Mattei (FIG. 9). Like Aphrodite on the vase, Venus sits at the reclining girl's head, but her throne faces inwards, so that she does not need to look round. The Vulcan, a rather smaller figure, appears above the girl. Apart from the different action of his right arm, his typological resemblance to the man on the vase is striking, extending even to the fingering of the edge of the cloak.<sup>24</sup> Ashmole's comparison of the man on the vase with the Achilles in scenes of Hector's ransoming on Roman sarcophagi seems to me much less convincing. With both feet drawn back under him and his left hand raised to his cheek, the Achilles expresses bitter aversion, a mood wholly at variance with the other's relaxed contemplation.

<sup>24</sup> Most of the right arm, the torch and the left leg are restored, but the general pose of the figure is not in doubt.



Two architectural features on this side of the vase call for brief mention. The more conspicuous is the square pillar beyond the seated man, which, as Tassie's cast (FIG. 10) shows more clearly than the badly damaged original, is surmounted by a low square slab with horizontally grooved sides. No grave-monument ever had such a top, but isolated pillars and columns crowned by similar slabs are to be seen in rustic sanctuaries, some supporting votive vessels (FIG. 11) or figures (FIG. 12), others bare (FIG. 13). The example from the House of Livia (FIG. 11) is clearly enough delineated to show that the sides of the slab are meant to be panelled; and this must explain the grooves in the sides of ours. As Roman table-tops often have panelled sides (FIG. 14), we should perhaps look upon the slab-topped pillars and columns as lofty offering-tables, designed, it may be, to protect the offerings from sacrilege or damage in solitary places.

More enigmatic is the rectangular block of stone propped up on a curiously-shaped but apparently natural lump of rock beneath the feet of the reclining girl. Its bevelled sides and central dowel-hole leave little doubt that it is a capital, but it cannot have fallen from the votive pillar, as Möbius suggests, since the latter is complete as it stands. Moreover, similar capitals, but no pillars from which they could have fallen, appear on the Blue Vase from Pompeii and the Naples cameo of Daedalus and Icarus.<sup>25</sup> Ashmole suggests that the capitals might be an esoteric sign of death, but there is no evidence for funerary imagery of this kind in antiquity. I agree with Möbius that they probably symbolise romantic solitude: column-drums and other architectural members are to be seen lying on the ground in other rural landscapes where the idea of death can be certainly excluded.<sup>26</sup> The marked uniformity with which the fallen capitals are rendered on the Portland Vase, the Blue Vase and the Naples cameo, suggests that all three may be products of a single workshop specialising in cameo-carving in glass and stone.

Having now considered both sides of the vase in detail, we may pause briefly to take stock of the situation on each. On the first Eros prompts a lover who has been waiting at a shrine of Aphrodite, to advance towards a goal which lies beyond this side. His advance is encouraged by a woman with a sea-monster beside her, and thoughtfully observed by the bearded companion with whom she has been conversing. On the second side a beautiful girl reclines on a rocky couch, to which she has made her way through the dark, and is now on the point of falling asleep, watched over by Aphrodite and a male onlooker. Surely it is obvious, if our description of the two sides is acceptable, that they must be complementary, that the goal to which the lover is advancing from the one side is the unsuspecting beauty on the other. And this conclusion is, I believe, confirmed by the close typological resemblance of the two figures to those of the lover and the beautiful creature about to be surprised by him or her in the so-called 'invention-scenes' of Roman art: to Dionysus and Ariadne, Mars and Rhea Silvia, Selene and Endymion.<sup>27</sup> Compare, for example, the lover on the vase with the Mars of the Ara Casali (FIG. 15), or the reclining girl with the Endymion from the House of the Figured Capitals (FIG. 5). That all these

<sup>25</sup> The rhomboidal object with a central hole on the Naples cameo is surely a capital like those on the vases, not, as Möbius claims, a natural stone. Since the cameo, which belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici, was known long before either of the vases, this creates a strong presumption in favour of its antiquity, which Ludwig Curtius has doubted.

<sup>26</sup> Column-drums: *Antichità di Ercolano* iv pl. xlv; vii pl. i; Reinach, *Rép. Peint.* 28, 5; 117, 5 and 7; 390, 3. Other architectural elements: *Antichità di Ercolano* iv pl. xxvii; Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeii* pl. 175, 4. The ruinous wall of the shrine in the Munich relief, Schreiber, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, pl. lxxx, presumably has the same significance.

<sup>27</sup> Dionysus and Ariadne: Reinach, *Rép. Peint.* 113, 1 and 2; Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* figs 9, 10, 42; Cagianò de Azevedo, *Antichità di Villa Medici* pl. xxiii, 33; Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell' Egitto greco-romano*, Ser. A, pl. 24. Mars and Rhea Silvia: Reinach, *Rép. Peint.* 58, 7; *AA* 1954, p. 442, Abb. 118; Robert, *op. cit.* iii 2, lx, 188; lxi, 190-192. See also Castagnoli in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica* s.v. 'Rhea Silvia'. Selene and Endymion: Herrmann, *op. cit.* pl. 135; Robert, *op. cit.* iii 1, pll. xii-xxv *passim*.



invention-scenes follow a recognised formula is clear from Lucian *Dial. Deor.* xi, in which Selene confesses to Aphrodite that she finds Endymion 'most attractive of all when he has spread his cloak under him on a rock and is going to sleep and the hunting-spears which he holds in his left hand are just beginning to slip from his fingers, and his right arm is thrown back over his head, so making a becoming frame for his face . . . Then I steal quietly down on tiptoe, so as not to wake him up and frighten him. . . .'<sup>28</sup>

But though manifestly modelled on the invention-scene formula, the scene on the vase differs from it in one important respect. Dionysus, Mars and Selene come upon beautiful creatures by chance and fall in love because they have *seen*: *Mars videt hanc, visamque cupit*.<sup>29</sup> On the vase, however, the lover has not yet caught sight of the girl; if he had, his eyes would be fixed on her, not on the Eros, whose services would now be superfluous. We must therefore infer that his love for her is in some way pre-ordained, the cause, not the effect, of their meeting; and this conclusion is of crucial importance not only for the identification of the scene, to which we shall come presently, but also for our understanding of the way in which it has been presented artistically. For the fact that the lover has not yet caught sight of the girl and must therefore still be at some distance from her, has relieved the



FIG. 15 Mars and Rhea Silvia from the Ara Casali, Vatican (Gusman, *L'Art décoratif de Rome* i pl. xi)

artist of the necessity of relating the two figures to each other in a spatial continuum, of combining them in a unified composition. Instead, he has been able to treat the subject in two virtually self-contained groups: the lover with his supporting figures on one side of the vase, the girl with hers on the other. An analogously bipartite treatment occurs in representations of the meeting or 'persuasion' of Paris and Helen, another pair of predestined lovers. On the Berlin cup with this subject,<sup>30</sup> the vase-painter has simply juxtaposed two independent formulae taken from his repertory of daily-life scenes: a warrior's return for Paris, Aeneas and Menelaos, and a toilet-scene for Helen. Similarly, on the Berlin amphoriskos by the Heimarmene Painter,<sup>31</sup> there is a clearly-marked caesura between the closely-knit group of Himeros and Paris on the right and that of Aphrodite and Helen on the left. And the same tendency to compositional fission is found in Neo-Attic versions of the subject, as, for example, the Naples relief, of which Professor Theodor Kraus has rightly observed that it would not detract at all from its significance if its two constituent groups were further extended.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> 'Εμοὶ μὲν καὶ παρὸν καλός, ὃ Ἀφροδίτη, δοκεῖ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ὑποβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας τὴν χλαμύδα καθεύδῃ τῇ λαῖᾳ μὲν ἔχων τὰ ἀκόντια ἤδη ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ὑπορρέοντα, ἡ δεξιὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸ ἄνω ἐπικεκλασμένη ἐπιπρέπῃ τῷ προσώπῳ περικειμένη, ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου λελυμένος ἀναπνέῃ τὸ ἀμβρόσιον ἐκεῖνο ὄσθμα. Τότε τοῖνυν ἐγὼ ἀροφητὶ κατιοῦσα ἐπ'

ἄκρον τῶν δακτύλων βεβηκνία, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἀνεγρόμενος ἐκταραχθεῖ. *Dial. deor.* xi, 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Fasti* iii 21.

<sup>30</sup> Ghali-Kahil, *op. cit.* pl. ix, 1 and 2.

<sup>31</sup> Ghali-Kahil, *op. cit.* pl. viii 2 and 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Mitteilungen* v (1952) 141-148 and pl. 7, 1.



Thus when Möbius and Ashmole affirm that there is no compositional unity between the two sides of the vase, I agree. But when they go on to assert that the artist has done everything in his power to dissociate the two sides, I can only reply that he has done nothing of the kind. Might he not, for example, have separated them by intervals of neutral background (plain blue glass) or by ornamental panels such as the vine-scrolls separating the figured scenes on the Blue Vase? What he has in fact done is to create a continuous frieze by setting the two groups of figures side-by-side on a common ground-line, a frieze which the masks of the handle-attachments punctuate but do not interrupt. Moreover, he has linked the two sides symbolically by making the myrtle or rose growing out of the shrine on the one, touch Aphrodite's knee on the other.<sup>33</sup> The goddess not only watches over the girl, but also presides over the shrine from which the girl's lover starts; her power embraces both sides and gives them unity.

So much for the action represented on the vase; I turn now to the identification of the actors. Neither the lover nor the girl has been given an attribute and at first sight it might appear that we were meant to recognise them *ἐκ μόνου τοῦ ἑρᾶν*, like Dionysus and Ariadne in Philostratos' picture.<sup>34</sup> But a key to the subject of the whole is, I believe, afforded by the *ketos* associated with the woman on the first side. The mistress of a sea-dragon can only be a sea-goddess and if in the light of this we look again at her bearded companion, it will strike us as significant that his pose is one typically used for Poseidon: he too must be a sea-deity, if not Poseidon himself. So we can now say that our lover's pre-ordained encounter with his beloved takes place with the benevolent acquiescence of a pair of marine divinities, indeed with the active encouragement of one of them; and so far as I know there is only one classical myth in which such a situation could arise: the myth of Peleus and Thetis.

The sombre folktale of the divine bride who assumes a hundred different shapes in the struggle to escape her mortal suitor, was not, of course, the only form of the myth of Peleus and Thetis current in Roman times.<sup>35</sup> A very different version, probably finally formulated in Alexandria, presented the myth as a romantic love-story in which the struggle and the metamorphoses had no place. Thus in Carmen lxiv, which is perhaps based on an Alexandrian wedding-song,<sup>36</sup> Catullus expressly states that Thetis 'deemed it no disgrace to marry a mortal' and that Tethys and Oceanus gave their granddaughter away.<sup>37</sup> It is this pacific and romantic version of the myth which, in my view, has inspired the design of the frieze. Carrying a torch to see her way in the dusk, Thetis has emerged from the sea on the Thessalian coast, to which, as Ovid tells us,<sup>38</sup> she often came at close of day to sleep; and there she has lain down on her rocky couch and is now dreaming with open eyes, her torch slipping forgotten from her fingers. Possibly she is dreaming of Peleus, for, according to Catullus,<sup>39</sup> the pair first saw each other and fell in love when the hero was sailing in the Argo to fetch the Golden Fleece and the Nereids rose to the surface of the sea to admire the first ship in the world. However that may be, the dreamer has no idea that her lover is now actually approaching to claim the bride the gods have promised him. Nor has Peleus yet drawn close enough to catch sight of Thetis. Having paused for a while at Aphrodite's shrine to gather courage, he has only now got to his feet and begun—still

<sup>33</sup> The leaf actually touching Aphrodite's knee is carved in the blue glass.

<sup>34</sup> ἀλλ' οὗτος γ' ὁ Διόνυσος ἐκ μόνου τοῦ ἑρᾶν γέγραπται. *Imag.* i 14. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Haynes, *Portland Vase* 17-19.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Lesky in Pauly-Wissowa, xxxvii Halbband, s.v. 'Peleus' cols. 299-302.

<sup>37</sup> l. 21: Tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos

l. 31 f.: Tene suam Thetys concessit ducere neptem,  
Oceanusque, mari totum qui amplectitur orbem?

<sup>38</sup> *Metam.* xi 229-37, 257-59.

<sup>39</sup> *op. cit.* 1-20.



hesitantly, as befits a mortal aspirant to the hand of a goddess—to advance again, conducted by Eros and seconded by Thetis' own kin.

For when we come to identify the sea-goddess and her consort, there are only three pairs of marine deities to choose from: Tethys and Oceanus, the Nereid's grandparents; Doris and Nereus, her parents; and Amphitrite and Poseidon, her sister and brother-in-law. Any of these three pairs would be possible; for although Catullus makes Oceanus and Tethys give Thetis away, a mosaic from Shehba (Philippopolis) in the Jebel Druze<sup>40</sup> shows Nereus, identified by inscription, performing this office, while, according to Lucian,<sup>41</sup> the pair was escorted to the bridal chamber by Poseidon and Amphitrite. The sea-god's figure is, of course, a variant of the Lateran type of Poseidon, but I cannot agree with Ashmole that this obliges us to rule out any idea of identifying him as Oceanus or Nereus. It would surely be quite natural for a pose normally, though not exclusively, associated with Poseidon<sup>42</sup> to be 'borrowed' for one of his more shadowy congeners, especially as they lacked distinctive types of their own. In fact, we find a familiar (though different) Poseidon type used for Oceanus in a large bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>43</sup> Nor does our inability to say for certain which pair of sea-deities is represented here, prove that they are 'supers', as Ashmole maintains: it merely reflects the vagueness of the ancients themselves in matters of marine theology.<sup>44</sup>

It remains to name the seated male figure who shares Aphrodite's vigil over Thetis. I used to think he might be Ares, but am now convinced that he is Hermes: Hermes *τύχων* who brings fulfilment of lovers' desires, Hermes *ἐπιθαλαμίτης* who presides over the marriage-bed. Hermes and Aphrodite were closely linked, both having birthdays on the fourth of the month, which was consequently an auspicious day for marriages. Together with Eros they formed a familiar trio, which we find represented on Locrian reliefs and Greek mirror-cases.<sup>45</sup> The Athenians called the trio the *ψιθυρισταί* from the love-whispering they provoked.

A word in conclusion about the masks under the handle-attachments (FIG. 16). It has hitherto been generally agreed that they are Pan's-masks, but Ashmole now suggests that they represent Oceanus.<sup>46</sup> This identification would, of course, suit my interpretation of the vase equally well, but the caprine features of the masks seem to me quite unmistakable: the narrow skull, the elongated nose, the flattened nostrils, the everted lower lip, the beard

<sup>40</sup> Syria vi (1925) 295 f.; vii (1926) pl. lxxvii, 2.

<sup>41</sup> Dial. Mar. v, 1.

<sup>42</sup> On the 'Poseidon' pose with raised foot see Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie* iii 247 f. and Lange, *Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses* (Leipzig Dissertation, 1879). Though typical of Poseidon, it was used for many other gods and for mortals; and the closest typological parallels for the sea-god on the vase are provided by an Athena on a r.f. bell-krater in Bologna (Museo Civico 325: Schauenburg, *Perseus* [1960] pl. 37, 2) and the river-god Krimisos on a tetradrachm of Segesta (Franke-Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze* [1964] pl. 71, bottom left). Although the artist's main reason for using the pose here was undoubtedly its association with Poseidon, his choice of it may have been influenced to some extent by the fact that the motif of the raised foot was also appropriate to a conversation-scene (Lange, *op. cit.* 29).

<sup>43</sup> Babelon-Blanchet, *Bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 30, no. 64. Type IV in E. Wüst's article on Poseidon in Pauly-Wissowa, xliii Halbband, 540 f.

<sup>44</sup> Oceanus identified with Nereus, and Thetis held to be the daughter of 'maior Thetis' (Tethys), *Myth. Lat.* i 204; Nereus identified with Poseidon, *Orph. hymn.* xxiii 7; Doris identified with Amphitrite, *Hymn to Poseidon* PLG<sup>4</sup> iii 80; Amphitrite the daughter of Oceanus, *Apollod.* i 2, 2 and 4, 6.

<sup>45</sup> On Hermes and his association with Aphrodite and Eros see Farnell, *Cults* v 12 and Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa, xv Halbband, col. 774. Locrian reliefs: Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, s.v. 'Eros' 1351-1352; Langlotz-Hirmer, *Kunst der Westgriechen* (1963) pl. ix. Mirror-reliefs: Züchner, *Klappspiegel* no. 20, p. 18, Abb. 5 and no. 21, p. 18, Abb. 6 and pl. 13.

<sup>46</sup> Ashmole, *op. cit.* 4, compares the lips of the masks with those of the heads under the handle-attachments of the marble basin from San Spirito in the Terme Museum, Fuchs, *Vorbilder d. neu-attischen Reliefs*, pl. 32 a, b; but as the heads on the basin are identified as silens by Romanelli (*NSc*, 1935, 69) and as satyrs by Curtius (*RM* xlix [1934] 276), they are better left out of the discussion.



growing under, not on, the chin, the shaggy mane rising high above the head—and the horns. For I find it hard to accept Ashmole's contention that the bands of white glass encircling the lower handle-attachments are nothing but meaningless remnants of the layer of white glass in which the frieze is carved, remnants which the carver would have ground away entirely if he could have done so without endangering the attachments. Surely the white layer would not have been carried up over the shoulder of the vase merely to carve it away again and leave behind an unwanted, not to say misleading, residuum. If bands of white had really not been needed here, the glass-blower would have restricted the white zone to the height required for the frieze and stuck the lower ends of the handles directly on to the blue glass. I myself suspect that the blue glass may have been dipped or cupped in white only as far as the shoulder and that the patches of white on which the handle-ends are mounted were then added separately as tongue-like projections on top of the main zone: such at least is the impression given by the photographs taken of the patches



FIG. 16 Pan's-mask, detail of the Portland Vase.

when the vase was dismantled.<sup>47</sup> But, whether produced thus or in the more laborious manner suggested by Ashmole, we cannot escape the conclusion that they are intentional and that their visible edges are meant to be seen. And if the edges are meant to be seen, their purpose must surely be to represent the horns they inevitably suggest. Admittedly, their contours lack precision—glass-blower's work rather than glass-carver's—and there is no attempt at relief-modelling. But this is an exceptionally brittle area owing to the internal stresses set up by the superimposition of three layers of glass: the carver, as Ashmole himself notes, would not have worked on it more than absolutely necessary. In view of Pan's close association with Hermes, Aphrodite and Eros the masks form a particularly

<sup>47</sup> Ashmole, *op. cit.*, pl. Va.



appropriate adjunct to the frieze, though Pan's-masks are so frequent a form of decoration for handle-attachments that they hardly call for special justification. Melancholic Pans are common from Hellenistic times onwards.<sup>48</sup>

D. E. L. HAYNES.

*The British Museum.*

### *Postscript*

Professor F. L. Bastet's article 'De Portlandvaas' (*Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1967) reached me after my own article had gone to press. Elaborating views already outlined in *BABesch* xli (1966) 148-5, Bastet argues that the two sides of the vase constitute a single scene, which represents Dionysus (the lover on the first side) discovering Ariadne (the reclining girl on the second). The woman with the *ketos* (now recognised as such by Bastet) is a *genius loci*, probably a personification of Naxos; her companion Poseidon. On the second side Ariadne is framed between Aphrodite ('probably') and Ares ('perhaps').

The area of agreement between us is thus considerable, but Bastet's identification of the scene seems to me open to the following objections:

1. With his spare, athletic physique and short curly hair the lover bears little resemblance to the effeminate, long-haired Dionysus typical of Hellenistic and Roman art.
2. The lover lingered at the shrine of Aphrodite before approaching his goal (see p. 68 above); we cannot suppose that Dionysus would have done so.
3. Dionysus' love for Ariadne was the result of seeing her, but the lover on the vase has not yet seen his beloved (see p. 68 above).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Herbig, *Pan* (1949) 61; Bloesch, *Antike Kunst in der Schweiz* (1943) 133 f. no. 46, pll. 78-79.



## THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE MELIAN DIALOGUE

THUCYDIDES' account of the events at Melos in 416–15 B.C. falls into two parts,<sup>1</sup> the famous dialogue in which representatives of Melos and of Athens discuss the submission of Melos, and a series of notes about the siege of the city culminating in the account of its destruction.<sup>2</sup> But as I shall try to show, the two sections form part of a single whole.<sup>3</sup> The discussion between the negotiators centres on two topics.<sup>4</sup> In the first half of the dialogue the speakers discuss the expediency of forcing Melos into the Athenian Empire, in the second they discuss the likelihood of the Melians resisting successfully. But since the Melians are offered no alternative to becoming subjects except complete destruction,<sup>5</sup> and since they are clearly not ready to choose the safe but dishonouring<sup>6</sup> alternative, even though they have no chance of defending their city successfully, the inevitable destruction of Melos casts its shadow over the whole of the negotiations.

Many of the arguments used in the discussion are equally relevant to the destruction and to the subjection of Melos. This is partly a result of the Athenian aim: to impress their island-subjects with their power.<sup>7</sup> This they can achieve by forcing Melos to become a subject—but equally well by destroying it. On the level of expediency the Athenian argument would be equally applicable to either course, and the tactlessness of the Athenians suggests that they are not much concerned which of the two they will adopt. The Melians on the other hand appear to anticipate their own rejection of the ultimatum and to include the consequences of this inevitable rejection within the scope of their arguments.<sup>8</sup> So a debate about the expediency of forcing an independent state to forgo its freedom is at the same time a debate about the expediency of destroying an independent city that refuses to become a subject.

But if it is granted that what is discussed in the Melian Dialogue is not only the expediency of a large power using dire threats to coerce a small one but also that of putting the threats into effect the issue of the Melian Dialogue is closely related to that of the Mytilenean debate.<sup>9</sup> In both discussions the destruction or enslavement of a whole population is at issue. The Athenian position at Melos is comparable to that of Cleon and is open to the

<sup>1</sup> Of the very large literature I have found most illuminating, H. Herter, 'Pylos und Melos' in *Rheinisches Museum* xcvi (1954) 316–43. I also owe thanks for suggestions and corrections to Professors V. Ehrenberg and A. Wasserstein.

<sup>2</sup> v 84, 2–114 and *ibid.* 115.4; 116.2–4.

<sup>3</sup> For opposite view see J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (London, 1909) 139.

<sup>4</sup> The passage on 'Hope', v 103, links them.

<sup>5</sup> Most bluntly v 93: ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ διαφθεῖραντες ὑμᾶς κερδαίνομεν ἄν. The issue is περὶ σωτηρίας of the Melians v 87; *ibid.* 88; 91.2; 101.1. The Melians are gambling their all; *ibid.* 103; cf. 113.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. F. M. Wassermann, 'The Melian Dialogue' in *T.A.P.A.* lxxviii (1947) 18–36 on Melos as the typical autonomous city state, typical of the spirit that opposed Athens in Greece—and Sicily. Now see also H. P. Stahl, *Thucydides* (Munich, 1966) 158–171.

<sup>7</sup> v 95; 97.

<sup>8</sup> v 90: ἐπὶ μέγιστῃ τιμωρίᾳ anticipates such indignation as would be aroused by the destruction of Melos. v 96: the argument that it is unreasonable to treat independent states in the same way as subdued rebel subjects implies that the issue is not merely subjection but also punishment. This would be destruction. v 100: the 'so great risk' need only be the hostility incurred by the attack on the freedom of Melos, but the destruction of Melos would bring even greater hostility and even greater risk.

<sup>9</sup> v 36–50. Among many good writings on the debate: F. M. Wassermann, 'Post Periclean Democracy in Action: The Mytilenean Debate' in *T.A.P.A.* lxxxvii (1956) 27–41; J. de Romilly, *Thucydide et l'impérialisme Athénien* (Paris, 1951) 137–49; above all: L. Bodin, 'Diodote contre Cléon' in *Mélanges Radet, R.E.A.* xlii (1940) 36–52.



criticism directed at Cleon's position by Diodotus. Diodotus' arguments in favour of the preservation of the Mytileneans are all the more destructive of the Athenian case at Melos in that he has discussed the problem in the same terms as they, on the assumption that the relations of states are guided by reasons of expediency and not of morality.<sup>10</sup>

But the argument of Diodotus applied to the Athenian case at Melos suggests that the Athenian determination to press home their attack on the independence of Melos to the point of destroying that city completely is based on a misguided view of Athenian interest. By treating all Melians alike, when the city was at the very least not unanimous in its rejection of the Athenian offer, the Athenians will forfeit the popular support they now enjoy in many cities where the 'few' are hostile.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover an act of terror of this kind will not achieve its object. It will make the resistance of the threatened cities more desperate, but human nature being what it is it will not prevent men from taking even desperate risks on behalf of their freedom.<sup>12</sup>

In the Mytilenean debate Thucydides clearly shows that he favours Diodotus rather than Cleon.<sup>13</sup> At Melos the Athenians have adopted a more extreme version of Cleon's position. They are contemplating the destruction not of a favoured ally who had rebelled but of an independent city, a colony of Sparta, that was trying to maintain its independence. The Athenian policy has moved farther from what was true Athenian interest.<sup>14</sup>

But leaving aside the Mytilenean debate and considering only the circumstances of 416 it would not appear that the Athenian representatives have a correct view of the interests of their city. The Athenians had no reason at all to be worried about rebellions in their island empire as long as their naval power was completely unchallenged.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the expansion of the Athenian empire required the winning of support by diplomatic

<sup>10</sup> iii 39: Cleon, advocate of brutality, used moral arguments to arouse indignation. On the aptness of his speech: R. P. Winnington-Ingram, 'τὰ δέοντα εἰπεῖν, Cleon and Diodotus' in *B.I.C.S.* xii (1965) 70-82.

<sup>11</sup> Diodotus: iii 47. cf. *ibid.* 27. The degree to which the people were pro-Athenian is arguable. The fact of the division is not. Diodotus' remarks and the account of the surrender were surely written with reference to each other and the account is to endorse the remarks. Similarly in the case of Melos I would suggest that the account of the circumstances of the quarrel between Athens and Melos has been cut down to include only such facts as are needed to evaluate the dialogue and therefore that Thucydides has mentioned that the Athenian ambassadors were not taken before the Melian people as a whole (v 84.3-85) in order to suggest a division between the people and the 'few', and hence that Diodotus' argument applies. At v 116.3 he mentions treachery at Melos. iv 22 implies a similar division at Athens. On the universality of the division: iii 82.1. Cf. G. E. M. de Ste Croix, 'The unpopularity of the Athenian Empire' in *Historia* iii (1954) 1-55; de Romilly, 'Thucydides and the cities of the Athenian Empire' in *B.I.C.S.* xiii (1966) 1-12.

<sup>12</sup> Diodotus: iii 45-46. Cf. v 100 (Melos) and iii 46.2 (Diodotus); v 102-3 (Melos) and iii 45. 4-7 (Diodotus). The Melians are a perfect illustration of Diodotus' thesis.

<sup>13</sup> By his comments on the proposed execution and on Cleon: iii 36.2 *ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς . . .*; *ibid.* 4 *ὡμὸν τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μέγα ἐγνώσθαι . . .*; *ibid.* 6 (of Cleon) *βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν . . .* He is not merely weighing his language to induce the reader to accept a prejudiced view of Cleon (cf. A. G. Woodhead, 'Thucydides' portrait of Cleon' in *Mnemosyne* Ser. iv, xiii [1960] 289-17). He is indicating his personal view of a policy, while keeping to his chosen convention of objective narrative. Similarly I would argue that the sustained contrast of Brasidas and Cleon is not merely a contrast of personality. Brasidas through his moderate treatment of cities allied with Athens is shown to have benefited his country by inducing the Athenian subjects to trust Sparta (see esp. iv 81). Cleon (and his successors) alienated the cities more than was necessary and thus made inevitable the revolts in Athens' hour of weakness.

<sup>14</sup> An example of the futile sharpening of penalties deplored by Diodotus: iii 45.3. A wiser solution: Cythera iv 54.3; 57.4. That Thucydides was right to maintain that the Melians were independent combatants is argued by W. Eberhardt, 'Der Melier-Dialog und die Inschriften ATL Ag und IG i<sup>2</sup> 297+' in *Historia* viii (1959) 284-314.

<sup>15</sup> The naval supremacy explained by Pericles (i 142.5 ff; ii 62) was greater than ever, cf. v 109; vi 17.8. While it lasted the island empire was safe. The rebellions of 412 were made possible by the loss of the Athenian fleet and the building of a Spartan one. Cf. viii 6.4 ff.



means,<sup>16</sup> and this was hindered by actions like the destruction of Melos.<sup>17</sup> Finally, contempt for the Spartans, while fully justified as far as the prospects of the Spartans coming to the aid of Melos were concerned, was a dangerous emotion to control Athenian policy.<sup>18</sup> Its effects were not restricted to Melos. The notes on Athenian intervention in the Peloponnese in support of Argos which Thucydides has woven into the narrative of the last stages of the Melos affair<sup>19</sup> show that the Athenians were consciously following a policy which carried the risk of war with Sparta—a policy which was carried even further when Athens was already fully engaged in the war in Sicily<sup>20</sup> and contributed considerably to a Spartan declaration of war at a moment most unfavourable for Athens.<sup>21</sup>

I would therefore argue that Thucydides has deliberately drawn the Athenians as wrong and deluded. But this statement needs qualification. The Athenians were not wrong to discuss the situation in terms of expediency rather than morality. There is plenty of evidence that Thucydides thought this the only way to discuss the relations between states relevant to the actual behaviour of states.<sup>22</sup> The Athenians were also perfectly right that the Melians' own interest required that they should yield to the Athenians since they had not the strength to resist successfully. But ironically, as far as their own interest was concerned, the Athenians were wrong and deluded.<sup>23</sup>

The position of the Melians is strictly parallel. In terms of expediency their rejection of the Athenian ultimatum is sheer foolishness; but their view of what is in the interest of their opponents is much truer than that of the Athenians themselves—and only too soon confirmed by events. It was only too true (in Thucydides' view) that Athens was going to make many new enemies.<sup>24</sup> It was only too true that the Spartans would make expeditions against parts of the Athenian empire<sup>25</sup> and against Attica itself and that the Athenians would have to fight desperately for the maintenance of their empire and the preservation of their city.

The Athenians do not even deny the forecasts of the Melians.<sup>26</sup> Indeed the Athenians' own remarks have implications which men who had lived through the later years of the war would recognise to be more damaging than anything said by the Melians.

In chapter 103 the Athenians scorn the Melian reliance on mere Hope. Hope is a commodity which can be afforded by those who gamble on the basis of abundance but not by those who gamble their all. But this remark has clear if unintended reference to the Athenians who on the basis of great power are taking slight risk in attacking Melos but are about to take an enormous risk in attacking Sicily—and yet after complete military disaster will not be annihilated like the Melians.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly ironical implications are found in an exchange at the beginning of the dialogue. The Athenians forbid the Melians to invoke justice and themselves renounce any attempt to justify the enlargement of their empire by *δνόματα καλά*, such as the fact that the Athenians

<sup>16</sup> Cf. my 'Thucydides and the Sicilian Expedition' due to appear in *Historia* xvii (1968).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. vi 76.2 (Hermocrates). Brasidas not Cleon is the example to follow. Is it chance that Thucydides lets the Melians recall Brasidas (v 110)?

<sup>18</sup> Contempt (v 109; *ibid.* 111) leads to Sicilian ambition (vi 11.5).

<sup>19</sup> v 115.1–3; *ibid.* 116.1. Like the Dialogue (see below note 20), these passages have a double significance. For the present, they show how foolish the Melians are to rely on Sparta. In the long term, they show that the Athenians are heading for war with Sparta—again the Cleon spirit (e.g. iv 21 ff.) Cf. G. Méautis, 'Le dialogue des Athéniens et des Méliens' in *R.E.G.* xlvi (1935) 253–78, esp. 275 ff.

<sup>20</sup> vi 7.2; 105.

<sup>21</sup> vii 18.2–4. Cf. Herter, note 1 above.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Andrewes, 'The Melian Dialogue and the last speech of Pericles' in *P.Cam.Phil.S.* clxxxvi (1960) 1–10, esp. 5–6; Wassermann, note 9 above, esp. 35–8; de Romilly, *Thucydide*, esp. 88–91; 250–9.

<sup>23</sup> de Romilly, *Thucydide* 247–9.

<sup>24</sup> v 98–9; viii 2.1 shows fulfilment, with verbal reminiscence, cf. de Romilly *op. cit.* 232. But who were the states?

<sup>25</sup> v 110.

<sup>26</sup> v 99: πολλήν τὴν διαμέλλεισιν . . . ποιήσονται; *ibid.* 111: τούτων μὲν καὶ πεπειραμένους ἂν τι γένοιτο.

<sup>27</sup> v 103; cf. iii 45.4. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 616. F. M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mithistoricus* (London, 1907) 182–5. Andrewes, *op. cit.* 2.



defeated the Persians. The Melians reply that it is advantageous to all that those in danger should be allowed to justify themselves and that the Athenians might one day face a terrible revenge if they were defeated after destroying this principle, but the Athenians remain unmoved at the prospect of losing their empire. They would have nothing terrible to fear from the Spartans, an imperial people like themselves.<sup>28</sup> No man who had lived through the last years of the war could fail to see an allusion to the events of 404<sup>29</sup> when Athens was completely defeated and had lost her empire and when the proposal of the Peloponnesian allies that Athens should be destroyed was vetoed by Sparta on the grounds of Athens' services to Greece in the Persian wars.<sup>30</sup> The Athenians' rejection of *ὀνόματα καλὰ* was very shortsighted.

So the Athenians and Melians, agreeing in their view of facts, differ about the true interest of Athens. As in the case of other debates in the History, the disagreement is a result of the antagonists contemplating different points of time.<sup>31</sup> The Athenians look at the present and can see nothing that will save Melos. They are right. The Melians look to the future.<sup>32</sup> They are right too. Melos is destroyed. But the very next sentence in the history begins the story of the decline of Athens and the justification of the Melians.<sup>33</sup>

This brings us back to the Sicilian expedition. Many readers have felt that there is a continuity of theme between the Melian dialogue and the narrative of the Sicilian expedition. In Sicily the Athenians were to suffer retribution for the guilt they had incurred at Melos.<sup>34</sup> But there are real difficulties in the way of proving such a view from the text. In the first place the theme of guilt is never explicitly touched on in the Melian dialogue and only very lightly in the narrative of the Sicilian expedition.<sup>35</sup> Secondly, the account of the Sicilian expedition is an extremely tightly composed whole, in which speeches and narrative are closely related to each other.<sup>36</sup> The Melian dialogue is not part of this pattern. Nevertheless, I would argue, there is a relationship.

An outstanding feature of the Melian Dialogue is the repulsive form in which the Athenian arguments are expressed.<sup>37</sup> They characterize the Athenians as bullying and arrogant to the weak, boundlessly self-confident, lacking humility even towards the gods. Moreover they are on the point of committing what soon came to be considered a notorious crime.<sup>38</sup> An Athenian reader could hardly fail to diagnose a case of *hybris*<sup>39</sup> and therefore to recognise in the following account of the Sicilian expedition and of subsequent events, the unfolding of inevitable retribution.

Thucydides must have been aware of the effect his words would have, and it is difficult to imagine that the effect is not deliberately<sup>40</sup> produced, particularly as it is so appropriate

<sup>28</sup> v 89-91.

<sup>29</sup> This does not prove that it was written after 404. Andrewes, *op. cit.* 3-4, shows that 90-1 could have been written earlier. 89 certainly could. But the combination is likelier after 404. Also the forced introduction of the Spartans would have a clearer purpose after 404 than before. After 404 it would provide a reference to definite events in the light of which the following dialogue is to be interpreted. Also for a late date de Romilly, *Thucydide* 231 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Xen. *Hell.* ii 2.19. Andoc. 1 *Myst.* 142.

<sup>31</sup> See n. 16; de Romilly, *Histoire et raison chez Thucydide* (Paris, 1956) 203.

<sup>32</sup> As Athenians admit, *cf.* note 26 above. *Cf.* also v 113; τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα τῶν ὁρομένων σαφέστερα κρίνετε.

<sup>33</sup> vi 1.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy* (Oxford, 1957) 65. Fully worked out by Cornford *op. cit.*

On Thucydides' use of such contrasts see A. W. Gomme, *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History* (Berkeley, 1954) 123 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Nicias feels guilt vii 64.1; *ibid.* 77.3-4.

<sup>36</sup> Examples in de Romilly, *op. cit.*; *cf.* also n. 16 above.

<sup>37</sup> *Cf.* Cornford, *op. cit.*, citing Dion. Hal., *Thu.* 37 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Xenophon, born c. 430, *Hell.* ii 2.3. Isocrates, born 436, *Pan.* 100; *ibid.* 110 (written c. 380); *Panath.* 63; *ibid.* 89 (written 342). On relation of these to Spartan propaganda: de Romilly, *Thucydide* 237 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Eteocles in Eur. *Phoen.* 499 ff. similarly rejects right as relevant in a struggle for power. Creon in Soph. *Ant.* is comparable in that he is under the deluded impression that he is acting in the public interest.

<sup>40</sup> The sneer at oracles (v 103) suggests the deliberate creation of a situation like that of Creon



to a passage placed at precisely the turning-point of the war. This cannot mean that Thucydides intends to endorse the dramatic view of guilt and punishment. In the last three books of the History, as in the earlier books, success and failure are decided by political or military decisions and correct or incorrect assessment of circumstances. Nevertheless, in his descriptions of the effects of unwise decisions Thucydides has maintained the pattern of traditional descriptions of the punishment of *hybris*.<sup>41</sup> As it is implied in the Dialogue that a true view of their own interest would have guided the Athenians in the same direction as conventional principles of conduct, so their misguided attitude brings upon them something very much like the conventional *nemesis*—a long and drawn-out process of which the Sicilian disaster was only the beginning.

W. LIEBESCHUETZ.

*The University, Leicester.*

in Soph. *Ant.* 1033 ff. or of Oedipus in *Od.T.* 964 ff. The fact that Thucydides may not believe in oracles would not prevent this remark from being an indication of 'hybris' to the ordinary reader.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Cornford *op. cit.* 241-3. On the logical and analytical character of Thucydides' treatment of *hybris*: de Romilly, *Thucydide* 270-4.



## PLATO AS A NATURAL SCIENTIST

WIDELY differing opinions have been expressed on Plato's place in the history of Greek science, as on many other features of his work. The view that Plato's attitude and influence were nothing short of disastrous for science has been widespread. Platt, for instance, put it that 'Plato, being first and foremost a metaphysician with a sort of religious system, would not have us study anything but metaphysics and a kind of mystic religion'.<sup>1</sup> Dampier-Whetham believed that 'Plato was a great philosopher, but in the history of experimental science he must be counted a disaster'.<sup>2</sup> In his *History of Ancient Geography* J. O. Thomson spoke of Plato's 'positive contempt for observation, upon which natural science rests',<sup>3</sup> and in his influential book on *Greek Science* Farrington put it that 'from the scientific point of view the *Timaeus* is an aberration'.<sup>4</sup>

On the other side Plato has found almost as many defenders from among those who were primarily philosophers, or philosophers of science, or even practising physicists, as from among the specialist Greek scholars themselves. In such books as *Science and the Modern World* (1926) and *Adventures of Ideas* (1933) Whitehead granted that Plato was responsible for diverting interest from the observation of particular facts in physical science, but suggested that 'Plato had another message . . . An intense belief that a knowledge of mathematical relations would prove the key to unlock the mysteries of the relatedness within Nature was ever at the back of Plato's cosmological speculations'.<sup>5</sup> There is a sense, then, in which 'Plato and Pythagoras stand nearer to modern physical science than does Aristotle'.<sup>6</sup> In 1927 Shorey quoted Whitehead and substantially developed this line of interpretation in his paper 'Platonism and the History of Science', still probably the most outspoken vindication of Plato's reputation as a scientist.<sup>7</sup> From a different stand-point the physicist Heisenberg commented favourably on Plato's physics in a paper first published in 1937,<sup>8</sup> and more recently the philosopher of science Popper and the Platonist Friedländer have been among those who have stood out against the view that Plato's physics must be counted a disaster or an aberration.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Science and Arts among the Ancients', an address given to the Faculties of Arts and Science, University College, London, in 1899, published in *Nine Essays* (Cambridge, 1927) 16.

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Science and its relations with Philosophy and Religion* (Cambridge, 1929) 28. Compare, from about the same period, Woodbridge Riley: 'Plato . . . was largely responsible for turning back the clock of scientific progress. To explain the workings of the world he preferred imagination to observation' (*From Myth to Reason* [New York and London, 1926] 47).

<sup>3</sup> *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge, 1948) 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Greek Science* (originally published 1944; revised edition, 1961) 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Adventures of Ideas* (Cambridge, 1933) 194.

<sup>6</sup> *Science and the Modern World* (Cambridge, 1926) 41.

<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* lxxi (1927) 159-182. See also the papers of G. C. Field, 'Plato and Natural Science' in *Philosophy* viii (1933) 131-141, and L. Edelstein, 'Platonism or Aris-

totelism?' in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* viii (1940) 757-769.

<sup>8</sup> 'Gedanken der antiken Naturphilosophie in der modernen Physik' in *Die Antike* xiii (1937) 118-126, reprinted in *Wandlungen in den Grundlagen der Naturwissenschaft* (6th ed Leipzig, 1945), translated by F. C. Hayes as *Philosophic Problems of Nuclear Science* (London, 1952).

<sup>9</sup> K. R. Popper, 'The Nature of Philosophical Problems and their roots in Science' in *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* iii (1952) 124-156, reprinted in *Conjectures and Refutations* (London, 1963) 66-96. P. Friedländer, *Platon I, Seinswahrheit und Lebenswirklichkeit* (Berlin, 1954), translated by H. Meyerhoff (London, 1958) ch. 14, 'Plato as Physicist', 246-260. Cherniss, 'Plato 1950-1957' in *Lustrum*, iv and v (1959-60), especially Section V E 'Mathematics and the "Sciences"', 388-425, provides a full bibliography of recent work on Plato's science, to which should now be added the following works especially: R. S. Brumbaugh, 'Plato and the History of Science' in *Studium Generale* xiv (1961) 520-527;



In this controversy three main charges have been levelled at Plato. The first is that he is essentially uninterested in the 'inquiry into nature'. He is a poet or a mystic: the *Timaeus* is a beautiful story, but its contents need not and should not be taken seriously. Secondly there are those who ascribe to Plato a definite and serious point of view on the question of the inquiry into nature, but one that is positively anti-scientific. In this context scholars have spoken not only of Plato's 'anti-empirical bias', but also of his 'banning sense-perception' and 'eliminating the visible appearances altogether'.<sup>10</sup> Thirdly there is the common claim that whatever natural science Plato did was, in any case, unoriginal: his account of natural phenomena and processes is an amalgam of the theories of his predecessors and contemporaries. An extreme version of this thesis is to be found in Taylor, who asserted that 'the teaching of *Timaeus* can be shown to be in detail exactly what we should expect in a fifth-century Italian Pythagorean who was also a medical man'.<sup>11</sup>

The two main topics I wish to consider in this paper are first what value, if any, Plato attached to the inquiry into nature and how he thought the inquiry should be carried out, if it is to be carried out at all (and here we cannot and should not assume that his attitude to each of the different branches of what we should term 'natural science' is necessarily the same, nor that his views on this question necessarily remained constant throughout his life). And secondly, how far is it true to say that Plato's natural science (that is his physical and biological theories) is simply eclectic? I wish to draw attention to ambiguities in Plato's statements in some of the key texts that relate to the first topic. And on the second I shall try to indicate where the theories of the *Timaeus* made a contribution to the debate of certain contemporary scientific problems. Finally I shall discuss what light the study of Plato's views on the inquiry into nature can throw on the problem of his development as a philosopher: and here I shall consider very briefly the question of whether, as has sometimes been suggested, his attitude towards the world of particulars changed radically in the latter part of his life.

One of the main texts that is generally cited in discussions of Plato's attitude to science comes from the *Republic*. It is the well-known passage in the description of the training of the guardians in book vii which deals with the part to be played by astronomy and acoustics in their education. Socrates concludes on astronomy with these remarks: προβλήμασιν ἄρα . . . χρώμενοι ὥσπερ γεωμετρίαν οὕτω καὶ ἀστρονομίαν μέτιμεν, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐάσομεν, εἰ μέλλομεν ὄντως ἀστρονομίας μεταλαμβάνοντες χρησίμῳ τὸ φύσει φρόνιμον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐξ ἀχρήστου ποιήσιν (530b6-c1). To which Glaucon replies: 'you prescribe a task that is many times more laborious than the present mode of doing astronomy'. It is easy enough to see that if we took the sentence τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐάσομεν on its own, it might be construed as a recommendation to ban observation altogether from the study of astronomy. On the other hand various lines of argument have been used to counter such an interpretation. Shorey, for instance, described the sentence as an 'intentional Ruskinian *boutade*'.<sup>12</sup> How far can we determine Plato's intention? First the context in which the passage occurs is obviously important. The overall purpose of the training of the guardians is to force their souls to cultivate νόησις rather than αἴσθησις, to lead them away from the visible to the intelligible world. Time and again in the passages that precede the discussion of astronomy, the criterion they use to determine whether a study is suitable for educating the guardians is: does it encourage abstract thought?<sup>13</sup> In this context Plato naturally

I. M. Crombie, *An Examination of Plato's Doctrines* ii (London, 1963) ch. 2, 'Cosmology and Theory of Nature', 153-246; and B. Witte, 'Der *eikōs λόγος* im Platon *Timaios*. Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsmethode und Erkenntnistheorie des späten Plato' in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* xlv (1964) 1-16.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus of*

*Samos* (Oxford, 1913) 138-9, commenting on *Republic* 529a-530b.

<sup>11</sup> *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford, 1928) 11.

<sup>12</sup> In a note in his Loeb edition of the *Republic* ii (1935) 187.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, *Republic* 521cd, 523ab, 524c, 525b-c, 526ab.



emphasises the distinction between an observational, and an abstract, mathematical astronomy, and his comments on the correct way of doing astronomy should be judged in the light of the general educational purposes which he suggests it can serve. Secondly it has often been remarked that the distinction Plato draws between a purely observational astronomy and a study that proceeds by means of problems is a useful and important one, and when he insists that the latter is the true or scientific study, the modern scientist would tend to agree. Furthermore Plato is right both when he suggests, as he may be taken to do at 529cd, that the heavenly bodies do not in fact conform exactly to mathematically determined courses, and when he implies that the heavens are not completely unchanging.<sup>14</sup>

But if there is a good deal that can be said in defence of Plato's position in this passage in the *Republic*, we must still recognise that many of his statements are not only quite vague but also dangerously ambiguous. This is true of the remark at 529b7-c1, for instance, where he says that there is no knowledge of sensible objects, a statement which might stand for a variety of theses ranging from the straightforward point that Plato makes in the *Theaetetus* and elsewhere, that knowledge cannot be identified with perception, to the more extreme thesis that knowledge can in no way be derived from, or have anything to do with, the objects of sensation.<sup>15</sup> Again at 529c-e he compares the heavens with geometrical diagrams and then says ἡγήσαιο γὰρ ἂν πού τις ἔμπειρος γεωμετρίας, ἰδὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα, κάλλιστα μὲν ἔχειν ἀπεργασίᾳ, γελοῖον μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖν αὐτὰ σπουδῇ ὡς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ληψόμενον ἴσων ἢ διπλασίων ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς συμμετρίας. This too is ambiguous. Plato may be making the simple and perfectly unobjectionable point that the diagrams (as he calls them) are necessarily imprecise: one does not get out a ruler to determine the length of the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle whose shorter sides are 3 inches and 4 inches.<sup>16</sup> But he might also be taken to mean that to examine the diagram at all is useless. Throughout this passage there appears to be an assimilation or confusion of two ideas that we should have liked kept distinct: the true and obvious point that we cannot observe the mathematically determinable courses of the heavenly bodies as such, and the controversial thesis that it serves no use at all to observe the heavenly bodies. Plato evidently believed that his ideal astronomy represented a departure from the usual modes of doing astronomy in his day,<sup>17</sup> but in advocating his new astronomy he sometimes speaks as if he thought it necessary not merely to distinguish it from observational astronomy, but to run the latter down. Similar points can be made about the passage that follows, on acoustics, where again Plato advocates a mathematisation of the science, but again argues (with even less justification than in astronomy) against observational methods which he categorises at one point as useless labour.<sup>18</sup>

To recapitulate on these passages in the *Republic*, then: Plato's main purpose is clear, to recommend a mathematical astronomy and acoustics as part of the method of training the guardians in abstract thought. But in doing this he makes a series of sweeping statements such as 'we shall let the things in the heavens alone' (where he does not make it clear at what stage we should turn from them to the problems they suggest). It is difficult to decide to what extent these are deliberate exaggerations, that serve a particular rhetorical purpose, or to what extent Plato himself was unaware of the confusions that I suggest are involved. We should, however, hesitate before putting the *worst* construction on these statements (that is that Plato is seriously advocating the elimination of observation). Such

<sup>14</sup> See *Republic* 530a7-b4, and contrast Aristotle's belief in the unchanging nature of the heavens, e.g. *Cael.* 270b 11 ff.

<sup>15</sup> There is a similar ambiguity in many of Plato's statements referring to particulars and to sensation, e.g. at *Republic* 523b3-4 ὡς τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὐδὲν ὄντως ποιοῦσης and *Phaedo* 65b1-6.

<sup>16</sup> Compare Crombie, *op. cit.* ii 187.

<sup>17</sup> This is clear from Glaucon's remark at 530c2-3 (already quoted) and from 529c4 ff.

<sup>18</sup> τὰς γὰρ ἀκονομένας αὐτῶν συμφωνίας καὶ φθόγους ἀλλήλοις ἀναμετροῦντες ἀνήντα, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀστρονόμοι, ποιοῦσιν (*Republic* 531a1-3). In his haste to criticise the empiricists for not ascending to problems (*cf.* 531c), Plato appears to deny that empirical methods have any value at all.



a view would be difficult to reconcile with the evidence elsewhere in Plato,<sup>19</sup> and indeed with some of his statements in this passage in the *Republic* itself: at 529d7 f., for instance, he clearly states that the 'decorations' in the heavens may and should be used as patterns.<sup>20</sup> Yet if we can with some confidence defend Plato against the charge that he intended to deny that observation of the heavens had *any* use whatever, he is fairly clearly guilty on the subsidiary charge of making, intentionally or otherwise, some highly ambiguous statements.

The *Republic* describes the part played by certain scientific disciplines in the higher education of the guardians. But it is of course the *Timaeus* that is our main source when we consider Plato as a natural scientist. Here one is at once faced with the problem of the nature of the account of the cosmos that Plato intends to give us in the *Timaeus*. Taylor's view, that the cosmology of the *Timaeus* is a *provisional* account, was rightly dismissed by Cornford. Unlike the hypotheses of modern science, that await confirmation or refutation by tests, an account of the physical world, in Plato's view, could *under no circumstances* be converted from being a merely probable, into being a certain one.<sup>21</sup> It is also easy to see that not too much emphasis should be placed on the term *μῦθος*, when Timaeus describes his account as an *εἰκὼς μῦθος*, for elsewhere we find the alternative expression *εἰκὼς λόγος* used quite readily, where *λόγος* does not share the pejorative undertones (fabrication, fiction) that sometimes belong to the term *μῦθος* in Greek.

The *Timaeus* is neither a provisional hypothesis, nor a myth in the sense of a baseless fiction. But what is it? Timaeus' own description is quite clear, at least as far as it goes. At 27d5 ff., as is well known, he first distinguishes between the eternally existing Forms, the model from which the world is copied, and the changing world of becoming, the copy itself, and then goes on to distinguish the types of account that are appropriate to each. First he demands irrefutable statements, as far as possible, about the unchanging reality. But then about the changing world of becoming he says: *ἐὰν οὖν . . . πολλὰ πολλῶν περὶ . . . μὴ δυνατοὶ γινώμεθα πάντη πάντως αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους λόγους καὶ ἀπηκριβωμένους ἀποδοῦναι, μὴ θαυμάσης· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἄρα μηδενὸς ᾗττον παρεχόμεθα εἰκότας, ἀγαπᾶν χρή* (29c4 ff.). The cosmology of the *Timaeus* is not an exact and entirely self-consistent account, because the nature of its subject-matter, Plato believes, does not allow this. But it is the *best account possible*, nevertheless, given that its subject-matter is the world of becoming.<sup>22</sup>

But then one asks why, when the primary study of the philosopher is clearly the world of the Forms, does Plato embark on a detailed account of the world of becoming at all? He makes Timaeus claim that his story is 'second to none in probability', but is the exercise undertaken merely in a spirit of rivalry, because Plato wanted to have something to put beside the cosmologies of the Presocratics? There may well be something in this suggestion, but that Plato had other, more positive motives as well is clear. The all-pervasive teleology of the *Timaeus* is often mentioned as being one of its unscientific features (and it is true that many of Plato's ideas about, for example, the function served by various parts of the body appear to us to be quite fantastic). But paradoxically, perhaps, it is because of the

<sup>19</sup> E.g. *Ti.* 47ab, where Timaeus acknowledges the part that sight has played in the invention of number and in the origin of the study of nature and in that of philosophy itself: *ὅφρις δὴ . . . αἰτία τῆς μεγίστης ὀφελείας γέγονεν ἡμῖν, ὅτι τῶν νῦν λόγων περὶ τοῦ παντός λεγομένων οὐδεὶς ἂν ποτε ἐρρήθῃ μῖτε ἄστρα μῖτε ἥλιον μῖτε οὐρανὸν ἰδόντων. νῦν δ' ἡμέρα τε καὶ νῦν ὀφθεῖσθαι μῖνός τε καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδοι καὶ ἰσημερίαί τε τροπαὶ μεμυγῶνται μὲν ἀρθμῶν, χρόνον δὲ ἐννοῖαν περὶ τε τῆς τοῦ παντός φύσεως ζήτησιν ἔδοσαν· ἐξ ὧν ἐπορισάμεθα φιλοσοφίας γένος, οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν οὐτ' ἔλθεν οὔτε ἤξει ποτὲ τῷ θνητῷ γένει δωρηθὲν ἐκ θεῶν.*

<sup>20</sup> *τῇ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ποικιλίᾳ παραδείγμασι χρηστέον τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνα μαθήσεως ἑνεκα.*

<sup>21</sup> Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology* (London, 1937) 29-30.

<sup>22</sup> Other typical passages where Timaeus claims that his account is the 'most likely' one or 'second to none in probability' are 44cd, 48d and 67d. At 56b he goes further and says that they may take it that the pyramid is the 'element and seed' of fire 'in accordance with the correct account as well as with the probable one' (*κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον καὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα*).



teleological element in his account that we can be sure that the cosmology is intended seriously.<sup>23</sup> Plato's main motive for doing what we should call cosmology and natural science (physics and biology) is to reveal the operations of reason in the world. Certainly the primary concern of the philosopher is the Forms: the study of the world of becoming is inferior, but if inferior, evidently not valueless. A point that is sometimes neglected in the discussion of Plato's denigration of sensible phenomena is his repeated statement that this is the *best possible* world: it is the fairest of things that come to be (29a), its maker is good, it is fashioned after the most perfect model and it is as like this model as possible (30d, 39e1-2). It is, as the last sentence of the *Timaeus* puts it, 'a perceptible god, greatest and best and fairest and most perfect'.

Even within the terms of Plato's own ontology there is justification enough for studies whose object is to reveal the works of reason and the element of order in the world. Yet there are several passages in which Timaeus is made to draw attention to shortcomings in his own account or even appears to suggest that it should not be taken seriously, and the nature of these concessions and disclaimers requires consideration. First there are some occasions on which he declines to give a detailed account, but these need not detain us long. At 38de, for instance, he puts off a detailed account of the three outer planets, but here we may accept the reasons offered as genuine enough. Timaeus points out that such an account would be disproportionately long,<sup>24</sup> and indeed when a little later on, at 40cd, he says that it is no use attempting to go into all the movements of the heavenly bodies without having visible models to consult, this may provide another reason for Plato's not going into more detail in the astronomical passages in the *Timaeus*.

Another place where Timaeus cuts short his account is 54ab, where he says that the reason why he identifies one of his two sorts of elementary triangles (the right-angled scalene) with the half equilateral is 'too long a story'.<sup>25</sup> But here we may note the extreme obscurity of the problem he is dealing with, the ultimate constituents of matter. The account of the elementary triangles is remarkable in that it is one place where Timaeus is made to concede, at least as a theoretical possibility, that his account might be bettered. At 54a4 f. he says that 'if anyone can say that he has chosen a better kind (*sc.* of right-angled scalene) for the construction of these things, then his is the victory of a friend, not of an enemy'.<sup>26</sup> Plato does not, in this passage, modify in any way the principle that the elementary triangles should be selected according to the criterion of what is fitting and beautiful. Yet Timaeus describes his choice as a postulate,<sup>27</sup> though it is one for which he claims to be able to offer a reasoned explanation, and he admits the possibility that some other account might prove to be superior.

Plato does not claim to have had the last word on the ultimate constitution of matter, and it is to his credit (we might say) that he does not do so. But the next two passages we must consider contain disclaimers of a very different, and apparently much more damaging kind. At 59cd Timaeus breaks off during his account of the varieties and compounds of the four simple bodies and says: 'it is not in any way complicated to calculate the rest of these things, if one aims at the type of account that is probable: for whenever for the sake of recreation (*ἀναπαύσεως ἕνεκα*) a man sets aside discourse about eternal things and gains a pleasure not to be repented of from considering probable accounts about coming-to-be, he

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.* 6: 'The chief purpose of the cosmological introduction is to link the morality externalised in the ideal society to the whole organisation of the world. . . . That human morality is so based on the cosmic order had been implied, here or there, in earlier works; but the *Timaeus* will add something more like a demonstration, although in mythical form'. Cf. also Crombie, *op. cit.* ii 230 ff.

<sup>24</sup> τὰ δ' ἄλλα οἱ δὴ καὶ δι' αὐτὰς αἰτίας ἰδρύσατο, εἴ τις ἐπεξίοι πάσας, ὁ λόγος πάρεργος ὢν πλέον ἢ ἔργον ὢν ἕνεκα λέγεται παράσχοι.

<sup>25</sup> For one attempted reconstruction of the reason Plato may have had in mind see Cornford, *op. cit.* 214 f. and 231 ff.; for another Popper, *op. cit.* 90 f.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also 54b1-2.

<sup>27</sup> He uses the term *τιθέμεθα* at 54a5-6.



would provide for his life a moderate and intelligent pastime (*μέτριον... παιδιάν*<sup>28</sup> καὶ φρόνιμον). So now we shall give rein to it and proceed to expound, in order, the probabilities about these same things as follows.' And at 68b-d, in his account of colours, Timaeus not only says that it is foolish to try to state the proportions of the different constituents that go to make up the colour *ξανθόν*, but also claims that to attempt to investigate the compositions of colours by tests (*βάσανον*, 68d3) would be to betray an ignorance of the difference between God's nature and man's, for God alone has the knowledge and power to blend the many into one and dissolve the one into many, while 'there is no man now, nor will there ever be, capable of carrying out either of these tasks'.

Both these passages provide important evidence concerning Plato's attitude to the inquiry into nature, but the second, especially, involves a difficult point of interpretation.<sup>29</sup> To take this passage first, Plato clearly denies, in it, the usefulness of attempting experiments of some sort. The difficulty arises when we try to decide what the experiments in question were and what they were intended to reveal (but in Plato's view failed to reveal). In his account of colours he speaks of mixtures in two rather different ways, first referring to the mixture of the fire entering the eye with the fire and water in the eye itself, and secondly to the mixtures of the colours themselves.<sup>30</sup> When it is said, for example, that red mixed with black and white makes purple (68b8 f.), we most naturally think of a mixture of painter's pigments. Yet it is not at all clear whether the anti-experiment passage (68d1 ff.) should be taken as denying the usefulness of mixing pigments as a means of discovering what the mixture produces. Indeed if Plato had been thinking only or primarily of this mode of mixture, he would surely hardly have asserted, as he does at 68d4 ff., that only God has the knowledge and power to carry out the task. What he has in mind, in that passage, appears to be, rather, his idea that each colour is the product of the impact of fire-particles of different grades on the visual ray. It seems more likely that what the Gods can do, but men cannot, even by conducting tests, is to determine, as Cornford put it, 'the exact quantities of fire-particles of various grades composing a colour'.<sup>31</sup> If this is the correct interpretation, Plato is not saying that experiments will not enable one to *identify* the colours formed by mixing pigments in different proportions, but that no experiment can be devised that will help to reveal *how* different colours arise, that is the physical, atomic causes of colour sensations. Yet if this appears to be, on balance, what Plato is most likely to mean, we must observe that his language is quite unclear: in particular he uses the terms for mixture (*μειγνύναι*, *κεραυνύναι* etc.) indifferently both of mixture at the level of the fundamental atomic particles, and of the mixture of (perceptible) colours themselves, so that while his chief point at 68d4 ff. may be a perfectly reasonable one (that the physical causes of colour sensations are to be found in combinations and interactions of atoms that are beyond the reach of direct experimental investigation), his remarks can also be read as suggesting that one cannot even hope to discover which pigments added to which give which compound colours.

But what of the passage at 59cd which speaks of the explanation of the compounds of simple bodies as a pastime, *παιδιά*? Plato's main point, in this passage, is the familiar one that discourse about becoming is inferior to discourse about the eternal world of Forms. But in describing the former he once again uses a term that is quite vague. Does he or does he not intend *παιδιά* to imply that the discussion of the compounds of simple bodies is a frivolous activity? Elsewhere in the *Timaeus* he gives good reasons for studying both types of causes, the divine and the necessary. Thus at 68e-69a, having distinguished the

<sup>28</sup> The MSS vary, however, between *παιδιάν* and *παιδείαν* at 59d2.

<sup>29</sup> See Cornford, *op. cit.* 276 ff., and for a contrasting interpretation cf. Crombie, *op. cit.* ii 228 f.

<sup>30</sup> Compare *μειγνύναι* and *κεραυνύναι* used of the

mixture of fire and water or of fire and fire at 68b2 and b3-4, with the same verbs used of mixtures of colours such as 'red' 'white' and 'bright' at 68b5, c1, c2, c4-5 and c7.

<sup>31</sup> Cornford, *op. cit.* 278.



two types of causes, Timaeus says that they should seek 'the divine in all things for the sake of gaining a life that is as happy as our nature permits, but also the necessary causes, for the sake of the divine, recognising that without them it is impossible to apprehend by themselves alone the divine things that are the objects of our study'. If we take this passage as our guide, we shall be inclined to conclude that *παιδιά* at 59d2 is not meant to carry any pejorative undertones. On the other hand it is easy to see that that passage can be read rather differently, with the emphasis on the lack of seriousness of the 'pastime', even though it is described as 'moderate and intelligent'.

What conclusions should be drawn from the scattered passages in the *Republic* and *Timaeus* that throw light on Plato's evaluation of the world of becoming and his aims and intentions when doing what we should call cosmology and natural science? Several of the passages I have discussed contain ambiguities, and some of these appear to reflect an ambivalence in Plato's attitude on this problem. When juxtaposing the world of becoming to the world of Forms he naturally tends to emphasise the contrast between the two (and the instability of the world of becoming): yet from another point of view, he insists, in the *Timaeus* especially, that the created world is the best possible world and as *like* the perfect model as it can be made. He makes Timaeus repeatedly point out that the account he gives is not a certain one and that it cannot be asserted to be true: here Plato is evidently much less dogmatic than most earlier, and indeed many later, Greek cosmologists. But it is clear that the reason for this is not a contingent, empirical one (that Plato feels that judgement should be withheld until more evidence has been obtained) but a necessary, ontological one (no account of the world of becoming can under any circumstances be certain). Thus the effect of Plato's undogmatic cosmology was certainly not to encourage more empirical research. Indeed we saw that in distinguishing reason from sensation, he insists on the inferiority of the latter and does so in terms that are sufficiently ambiguous to be capable of being interpreted as an outright condemnation of observation, and if (as I believe) such an interpretation misrepresents Plato's position, it must nevertheless be conceded that either Plato was being deliberately confusing and provocative, or else he was himself, to some degree, confused.

The upshot of my argument so far has been to insist that Plato did not undertake the detailed cosmological account in the *Timaeus* merely to rival the Presocratics, let alone in a spirit of frivolity as a piece of irresponsible mythologizing, but to fulfil a serious and worthwhile purpose, namely to reveal the operations of reasons in the world of becoming. I shall now turn to comment briefly on some of the actual theories and explanations he put forward. The first question here is to what extent they are *Plato's* theories or how far what we have in the *Timaeus* is simply a collection of ideas taken directly (and without acknowledgement) from his predecessors and contemporaries, and the question is a particularly difficult one because, of course, the extant evidence relating to the theories of his predecessors and contemporaries is so fragmentary. We can, however, identify many specific doctrines in the *Timaeus* that owe something to, or even derive largely from, Empedocles, the Pythagoreans and the Atomists, for example, and the biological sections are evidently indebted to (among others) Alcmaeon, Diogenes of Apollonia and Philistion. There are also many striking comparisons to be drawn between the *Timaeus* and the Hippocratic treatises, although of course it is by no means always certain that the Hippocratic text provided the source of Plato's idea.<sup>32</sup> But any natural scientist must build to some extent on earlier work. In Plato's case the debt to earlier theorists seems particularly great. But before we dismiss the whole of the natural science of the *Timaeus* as 'eclectic', we should consider,

<sup>32</sup> The relation between Plato and contemporary medicine has been much discussed in recent years: see especially K. Abel, *Gesnerus* xiv (1957) 94-118; P. M. Schuhl, *REG* lxxiii (1960) 73-9; O. Wichmann,

*Forschungen und Fortschritte* xxxiv (1960) 14-8; R. Joly, *Bulletin de l'association G. Budé* xx (1961) 435-51; H. W. Miller, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* xciii (1962) 175-87.



among other things, *how* Plato used earlier theories, that is did he merely copy and repeat them, or did he introduce any new ideas of his own. An exhaustive discussion of this question is obviously beyond the scope of this paper, but I wish to consider some examples to illustrate original elements in Plato's physics and biology.

The first and most important example I wish to take is the doctrine of the ultimate constitution of matter itself. At 49a ff. we have, first of all, an analysis of the conditions of change in which Timaeus draws attention to the instability of the things we perceive and suggests that we should describe fire, water etc. not as stable objects ('this' 'that') but as qualities ('suchlike'). He distinguishes *what* comes to be from that *in which* it comes to be, and this idea of the Receptacle is both an important and a largely original one.<sup>33</sup> At this point, however, Plato's contribution may be described as being in the philosophical analysis of change. But Timaeus goes on, of course, to give an account of what comes to be itself. It is well known that the theory he puts forward borrows a great deal from both Empedocles and the Atomists especially. And yet in combining ideas from these and other theorists Plato produced a synthesis which provides a quite new solution to some aspects of the problem of change (and indeed Timaeus himself is made to remark, on several occasions, on the unusual nature of the account he offers<sup>34</sup>). Familiar as this whole problem is to every student of Greek philosophy, it is still worth while summarising briefly the main points at which Plato's theory has some claim to be original.

First he took over from Empedocles, of course, the idea that other homogeneous substances are compounds of four simple bodies, fire, air, water and earth, but unlike Empedocles he did not stop at that point in his analysis, but pictured the simple bodies themselves as modifications of a single substance. As has often been pointed out, Plato's theory is more economical than Empedocles' (which required four distinct types of matter), and in recognising that changes take place between fire, air and water, at least,<sup>35</sup> it evades some of the empirical objections that Empedocles' theory was open to. Empedocles did not allow the transformation of one root into another, and yet it is a matter of common experience that water, for example, becomes vapour (that is, on the Greek view, ἀήρ) on being heated to boiling point, and that this ἀήρ may recondense and become water again. Furthermore Plato allowed each of the four simple bodies to exist in different forms,<sup>36</sup> and the account he gave of the main compounds of the four simple bodies almost certainly went far beyond Empedocles' suggestions on this topic.<sup>37</sup> Brief though Plato's discussion of this question is, it contains several ideas that were to prove most influential in the subsequent development of the problem of the classification of natural substances in Aristotle and Theophrastus.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, F. Solmsen, *Aristotle's System of the Physical World* (New York, 1960) 41 ff. and cf. D. Keyt, 'Aristotle on Plato's Receptacle' in *American Journal of Philology* lxxxii (1961) 291-300.

<sup>34</sup> *Ti.* 48d4 ff., 53b7 ff., cf. 48b5 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Plato does not, however, allow earth to change into any of the other kinds (*Ti.* 56d) presumably because of the geometry of his theory of the construction of the four simple bodies (earth, identified with the cube, is constructed from right-angled isosceles triangles, while the other three simple bodies are constructed from right-angled scalene triangles) rather than because of any empirical considerations.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. *Ti.* 57c. Friedländer, *op. cit.* 255, tentatively suggests that the different varieties or grades of each simple body might be referred to as 'isotopes'.

<sup>37</sup> Only two of the extant fragments of Empedocles make specific suggestions concerning the actual

proportions of the four roots in compound bodies (fr. 96 and 98 dealing with bone, blood and the 'various forms of flesh'). To what extent Empedocles put forward other similar suggestions in his poem we do not know, but it is generally thought to be unlikely that he developed his theory in any great detail.

<sup>38</sup> 58c-61c. In dealing with the varieties and compounds of earth and water, for instance, he considers such properties as whether a substance is soluble or insoluble in water, whether it is fusible by fire and so on (60c5, d3, d7, e3 etc.). With this one may compare the more detailed discussion of the properties of natural substances and the attempt to classify them into broad groups in the fourth book of the *Meteorologica* (e.g. 384a3 ff., 388a29 ff.), and the even more detailed analysis of minerals in Theophrastus' *De Lapidibus*.



Secondly, the doctrine that the varieties of sensible objects are due to differences in the shapes and sizes of solids that are themselves homogeneous in substance was an idea that Plato shared with, and no doubt owed to, Leucippus and Democritus. But Plato's theory differs from theirs, in turn, of course, at several important points. First they thought of the basic particles of matter as solid, while Plato suggested that the primary solids are composed of plane surfaces that are themselves made up of one or other of the two basic kinds of triangles. Secondly the atomists postulated the existence of a void, but Plato denies this and so was forced to give a very different account of movement.<sup>39</sup> And thirdly, where the atomists apparently postulated an indefinite variety of atomic shapes and sizes and described the interactions between the atoms in only the most general terms, Plato attempted a definite and specific account of the shapes of the primary bodies and of some, at least, of the transformations that take place between them. Fire, air, water and earth are identified with the pyramid, octahedron, icosahedron and cube respectively,<sup>40</sup> and Timaeus is made to give a number of specific suggestions about how water, for example, may be decomposed into fire and air: thus the icosahedron of water may become two octahedra of air and one pyramid of fire, the original solid of 20 sides being broken down into two solids of 8 sides each and one of 4.<sup>41</sup> Many details of Plato's theory are extremely obscure,<sup>42</sup> and yet it may be favourably contrasted with that of the atomists in that he attempted a precise geometrical account of the shapes of the primary bodies and went some way to reduce the changes that take place between them to mathematical formulae. It is true that many of his ideas, like those of Leucippus and Democritus, are still based on fairly crude physical analogies,<sup>43</sup> but it is evident that he carried the geometrisation of atomism much farther than the original atomists themselves did.

If any part of the *Timaeus* is recognised to contain original and fruitful ideas, it is generally Plato's theory of the ultimate structure of matter. But an examination of some of the other fields of inquiry touched on by Timaeus in his account suggests that it was not only in physics that Plato made original contributions towards the resolution of current problems in natural science. Almost the whole of the latter part of the dialogue, from 69b onwards, is devoted to what we should call biological doctrines of one sort or another, and this has often been the most severely criticised portion of the work. Naturally Plato's search for the functions which the various structures in the body serve leads him to make many suggestions that are, to our mind, quite far-fetched. But while most commentators have been prepared to concede that many of Plato's teleological explanations may well be his own, the non-teleological causes that are mentioned (when Timaeus considers the role of

<sup>39</sup> The existence of the void is denied at 58a, 59a, 79b and 80c, and Plato explains motion on the doctrine of the 'circular thrust' (79a, 79e ff., especially 80c). Popper remarks that 'Plato seems to have been the first to see, if only dimly, that in a full world circular or vortex-like motion is possible, provided that there is a liquid-like medium in the world' (*op. cit.* 81, n. 22) and comments interestingly that 'Plato's reconciliation of atomism and the theory of the *plenum* ('nature abhors the void') became of the greatest importance for the history of physics down to our own day' (*op. cit.* 88, n. 45). Even before Plato, however, Empedocles, for example, had both explicitly denied the existence of a void (fr. 13 and 14) and asserted the possibility of motion.

<sup>40</sup> Whether the identification of the simple bodies and these four regular solids had already been made by Philolaus is a much disputed question. E. Sachs, *Die fünf platonischen Körper*, Philologische Unter-

suchungen 24 (Berlin, 1917) 69 ff., and W. Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft* (Nurnberg, 1962) 62 f., 426 ff., for example, have denied this, but W. K. C. Guthrie, who discusses the evidence in *A History of Greek Philosophy* i (Cambridge, 1962) 266 ff., concludes cautiously (269): 'on balance the evidence inclines us to believe that the correlation of solids and elements was not impossible for Philolaus. More than that it does not allow us to say.'

<sup>41</sup> See *Ti.* 56d ff.

<sup>42</sup> As has often been remarked, Plato nowhere gives an explicit account of how the surfaces of the primary bodies disintegrate and recombine to form other figures: nor is it clear how the primary solids can be described as bodies at all, when they are geometrical entities constructed out of plane surfaces.

<sup>43</sup> See especially the passage in which he sets out his reasons for assigning the various simple bodies to the regular solids (55d ff.).



necessity) are generally dismissed as borrowings from other sources, notably from the Sicilian medical writers. So little is known of the work of men like Philistion that the extent of Plato's debt is difficult to determine at all precisely: and of course we can never be certain that he has not derived an idea from a source quite unknown to us. We can be sure that he took over a good deal. And yet there are some interesting examples that suggest that even when borrowing heavily from earlier writers, Plato sometimes modified their theories and added new ideas of his own.

Take the section of the *Timaeus* where we should naturally expect Plato to be at his least original and most derivative, namely his account of diseases. It is obvious that the pathology of the *Timaeus* repeats many of the commonplaces of Greek medical theory. Yet it is worth noting, first of all, that the earliest known historian of Greek medicine, Meno, the pupil of Aristotle, treated Plato's pathology with considerable respect, at least in so far as we can judge from what is preserved of his history in Anonymus Londinensis. Indeed in that papyrus the 177 lines (four and a half columns) that are devoted to Plato (most of which are fairly well preserved and give a tolerably accurate account of the theories of the *Timaeus*) far exceed those devoted to any other theorist; Hippocrates comes a poor second, with 96 lines or two and a half columns. And while the papyrus is not a reliable guide to the space devoted to different theorists in Meno's history itself, it is clear that Plato was discussed at some length in it. No doubt there were special reasons for this, chief among them being Plato's reputation as a philosopher: and it may be that so much attention was paid to his elaborate three-fold classification of diseases because it was felt to resume a great deal of current medical theorising. But quite apart from Plato's reputation among subsequent historians of medicine,<sup>44</sup> if we consider the content of the doctrines of the *Timaeus* it seems that there are several places where they are, in all probability, in part at least original. To take two examples. (1) First there is what has been called the psychopathology of *Ti.* 86b ff. It is true that the idea that certain disorders of the ψυχή (especially madness) arose from physical origins had appeared in various contexts in several earlier writers, notably in some of the Hippocratics.<sup>45</sup> But the account in the *Timaeus* of the 'diseases of the soul that are due to the disposition of the body' is remarkable not only in that it is comparatively full and detailed, but also in that *Timaeus* explicitly refers to the three regions of the soul (87a3-4) and he suggests that there may be somatic causes not only for lust and for cowardice, for example (which are, presumably, disorders of τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν and of τὸ θυμοειδές) but also for forgetfulness and stupidity (where τὸ λογιστικόν is presumably affected). If the notion that some of the disorders of the soul may be due to physical causes is certainly not entirely new, what is, or appears to be, original in the version in the *Timaeus* is that Plato combines this doctrine with his own developed psychology, the doctrine of the tripartite soul put forward in the *Republic*.<sup>46</sup> (2) A second interesting feature of *Timaeus*' pathological doctrines is that when he describes diseases that arise from the corruption of the 'secondary structures' in the body (marrow,

<sup>44</sup> Galen, for instance, sees fit to comment on Plato's pathology at some length, for example in *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.*, although he remarks at one point (*op. cit.* viii ch. 5) that the frequent commentators on the *Timaeus* devoted much less attention to the medical theories it contains than to other parts of the work.

<sup>45</sup> See especially *On the Sacred Disease* which attributes that disease (epilepsy) to phlegmatic fluxes from the brain (chaps. 3 ff., vi 366 5 ff. Littré); cf. *On Breaths* ch. 14 (*CMG* i 1.99 20 ff.). In the philosophers, too, we find certain suggestions made concerning the physical basis of psychological

disorders: see for example Heraclitus fr. 117 and cf. fr. 118. A late source (Caelius Aurelianus) attributes to Empedocles a distinction between two sorts of madness one of which has its origin in the imbalance in the body (*Morb. Chron.* i 5, DK 31, A 98, on which see Guthrie, *op. cit.* ii 227 f.). And in fr. 191 Democritus speaks of excessive pleasure disturbing the movements of the soul.

<sup>46</sup> On Taylor's view, that the doctrine enunciated by *Timaeus* in this passage is a determinist one 'which makes moral freedom and responsibility illusory', see Cornford, *op. cit.* 343 f. and 346 ff.



bone, flesh etc.) at *Ti.* 82b8 ff., he incorporates—discretely, but unmistakably—his theory of the ultimate structure of matter.<sup>47</sup> He interprets some of the changes that he supposes to take place in the body (the interpenetration of one substance by another, the disintegration of one substance by another) in terms of the structure and properties of the basic triangles of which they are composed. While the idea that diseases may arise from the disorder of the component substances in the body was, of course, a commonplace of Greek medical theory, Plato seems to have taken care to combine this doctrine with, and adapt it to, his own physical theory.<sup>48</sup>

Similar conclusions suggest themselves if we consider some of the physiological doctrines that the *Timaeus* contains. One of the more interesting theories is the account of respiration and digestion at *Ti.* 77e ff. Here once again Plato undoubtedly made use of a number of ideas that had appeared in earlier writers. Thus *Timaeus* suggests that air enters and leaves the body not only through the nostrils and mouth, but also through imperceptible pores in the skin all over the body (79c5 ff., d6 ff.) and the latter idea may be confidently attributed to Philistion.<sup>49</sup> The theory in the *Timaeus* owes something too, fairly clearly, to Empedocles, who had explained inhalation and exhalation as due to the flux and reflux of blood in the body.<sup>50</sup> However *Timaeus'* theory is a good deal more complex than either Philistion's or Empedocles', so far as these can be judged, in that it presents a unified account of all three physiological processes, respiration, digestion and nutrition, and several of the ideas it contains cannot be paralleled in any earlier investigator. *Timaeus* is made to start from the principle that bodies composed of smaller particles are impervious to those composed of larger particles: fire, in particular, is the smallest of all the kinds and passes through the other simple bodies and compounds of them, and nothing is impervious to it (78a2 ff.). He then describes a structure of air and fire in the body which he compares with a fish-trap. This comparison is obscure,<sup>51</sup> but the main points in the theory it illustrates appear to be (1) the central part of the structure consists of fire, the outer part of air (78b7 ff., 79d1 ff.); (2) the structure as a whole rises and falls, to and from the surface of the body, in a movement that continues so long as the animal is alive (78d2 ff.); (3) during this movement the fire follows the air in either direction (78d6 ff., e5 ff.)<sup>52</sup> and as it passes through the stomach it dissolves the food and drink there and forces them (the dissolved food and drink) out into the blood-vessels and so through the body as a whole (78e7 ff., 80d3 ff.). Unlike in Empedocles, it is not the movement of the blood that controls the entry and exits of the air: rather it is the movement of the structure composed of fire and air that produces inhalation and exhalation and also the movement of the blood through the body. Not only is the comparison with the fish-trap new, so far as we can tell, but

<sup>47</sup> See for example 82d6, and cf. 81b-d in the account of growth and death.

<sup>48</sup> For a recent discussion of the merits of Plato's pathology see H. W. Miller, 'The aetiology of disease in Plato's *Timaeus*' in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* xciii (1962) 175-87, who argues strongly against the view that Plato's treatment is 'merely derivative, eclectic and synthetic'.

<sup>49</sup> See Anon. Lond. xx 43 ff. Whether Empedocles had a similar notion is disputed (see next note).

<sup>50</sup> This much is clear from Empedocles fr. 100. In other respects, however, the interpretation of his theory of respiration and of his comparison with the clepsidra is disputed, particularly the question of whether in fr. 100 he was referring to breathing through the nose (as Aristotle held) or through pores in the skin (as has often or indeed generally been

supposed in modern times) or through both. The literature on this topic is extensive, but the most important recent contributions are those of Furley (*JHS* lxxvii [1957] 31-4) and Booth (*JHS* lxxx [1960] 10-15).

<sup>51</sup> The best general discussion of the comparison and of Plato's theory of respiration as a whole is that in Cornford, *op. cit.* 306 ff.: cf. however F. Solmsen, 'On Plato's Account of Respiration' in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* xxvii-xxviii (1956) 544-8, who rightly corrects Cornford's interpretation of the role of 'the hot' in Plato's theory.

<sup>52</sup> The fire is described as being connected with (*συννημμένον*) the air/breath, which is why the two move together. Otherwise the fire, being composed of smaller particles, might have been expected to penetrate through the air: see Taylor, *op. cit.* 556-7.



so too is the postulated structure of fire and air in the body: and while the idea that bodies composed of smaller particles can penetrate those composed of larger ones was certainly used by the atomists,<sup>53</sup> Plato has adapted this principle to his own physical theory, applying it to his doctrine of the geometrical structure of the four simple bodies.<sup>54</sup>

In the examples I have taken we find Plato borrowing ideas from earlier theorists, but being at pains to adapt them to his own system: and while when we deal with early Greek thought it is always difficult to be certain who first introduced a particular doctrine, we can point to a fair amount that appears to be original in Plato's physics and biology. The *Timaeus* is a document of first-rate importance in the history of Greek science not merely because it is there, when so much else has been lost, and not merely because it recapitulates so much earlier speculation, but because it marks a new stage in the development of many typical problems of early Greek natural philosophy. This is true especially of his work in physics where his geometrical atomism represents in some respects, at least, an original solution to the key problem of the ultimate constitution of material objects, and where some of his ideas on the composition of compound natural substances were both original (so far as we know) and influential. But it is also true to a lesser extent of his work in biology where his pathological and physiological doctrines, while far from entirely original, were nevertheless remarkably comprehensive and systematic, being worked out in some detail in accordance with the principles of his physical theory.<sup>55</sup> Judged merely from the physical and biological theories he put forward, Plato surely ranks as high as most of his predecessors and contemporaries with the possible exception of Democritus whose work can, in any case, hardly be adequately assessed from our sources. This remains true, I believe, despite the fact that Plato's aims and methods, in the study of the world of becoming, seem to us to compare unfavourably with those of some, at least, of his contemporaries. Thus we may, for example, contrast his approach to the problem of the origin of diseases with that of some of the Hippocratic writers. Plato's pathology was evidently not based on first-hand experience, let alone on any collection of detailed case-histories of particular patients such as we find set out in the Hippocratic treatises *On Epidemics*. Again even though there is some evidence that dissection had been undertaken for scientific purposes already in the fifth century,<sup>56</sup> Plato either was ignorant of the method, or deliberately chose to ignore it, in the *Timaeus*. Yet while some fifth and fourth century Greek investigators adopted a

<sup>53</sup> See Aristotle's comment on Democritus' theory of soul at *De An.* 405a8 ff., where he attributes to Democritus the idea that soul and mind are the same thing, and this is one of the primary and indivisible bodies, *κινητικὸν δὲ διὰ μικρομέρειαν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα*.

<sup>54</sup> Plato further applies his notion of the disintegration of the primary triangles to explain natural death (81b ff.): and the notion of 'circular thrust' is appealed to, very briefly, as the explanation of a wide variety of physical phenomena (79e-80c).

<sup>55</sup> Plato's contributions to astronomy fall outside the scope of this paper. But I should note that even though the originality of the often rather obscure theories of the *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Laws* and doubtfully authentic *Epinomis* is hard to assess, if we may credit the opinion of Sosigenes (reported by Simplicius, in *Cael.* 488 21 ff.) it was Plato who formulated for his contemporaries the problem of planetary motion: 'by the assumption of what uniform and orderly motions can the apparent motions of the planets be accounted for?' In a sense, of course, the search for regularities and order in the movements of the heavenly bodies is as old as theoretical astronomy

itself, and the speculations of Anaximander and the Pythagoreans can be seen as attempts to reduce celestial motions to an orderly pattern. But this hardly detracts from the importance of the first clear formulation of the problem of planetary motion as such, and this was to remain the central problem of astronomy not only throughout antiquity, but down to Newton, although the conditions for the solution of the problem changed (in particular the requirement of circular motion was abandoned, of course, after Kepler).

<sup>56</sup> Chalcidius (in *Ti.* 256 f., Waszink) reports that Alcmaeon undertook the excision of the eye. It is notable, however, how few of the Hippocratic treatises refer to the use of dissection, and of those that do by far the most important and striking, *On the Heart*, has generally been thought to be later than the majority of the works in the Corpus (see Bourgey, *Observation et expérience chez les médecins de la Collection Hippocratique* [Paris, 1953] 39 f.), sometimes a good deal later (see K. Abel, 'Die Lehre vom Blutkreislauf im Corpus Hippocraticum' in *Hermes* lxxxvi [1958] 201 f., who puts the author after Erasistratus).



more positivist approach to certain problems in natural science, there is little need to point out that Plato was far from being unique in attempting a theory of diseases without personal experience as a practitioner;<sup>57</sup> nor of course was he the only writer on anatomy after Alcmaeon who failed to exploit the method of dissection. Plato's methodological assumptions are more explicit than those of his contemporaries: yet without saying that Plato was typical of early Greek science as a whole, we may recognise that some of the objections that the modern critic might feel inclined to raise against his physics and biology apply, if they apply at all, with almost equal force to a large segment of early Greek speculative thought.

I began by noting the disagreement among scholars on Plato's role as a natural scientist, but now that we have reviewed some aspects of the question it no longer seems quite so surprising that there should be so much disagreement on it: first, many of Plato's statements referring to the inquiry into the world of natural phenomena seem highly ambiguous, and secondly it would appear that each of the two main characteristics of Plato's approach to that inquiry (his teleology, and his general preference for abstract reasoning rather than observation) has both a positive and a negative aspect. First (and this is true to some extent of other Greek philosophers) his conception of cosmic order is permeated with ethical overtones, and his cosmological models, particularly his use of the analogy between microcosm and macrocosm, have a definite moral significance. He investigates the causes of natural phenomena for what are ultimately ethical motives. But one of the unfortunate consequences of this (we should say) is that the amount of attention he devotes to different problems tends to reflect his notion of the extent to which the phenomena in question appear to manifest order and rationality. Thus in the *Timaeus* he shows only a quite cursory interest in what we should describe as the problems of mechanics, and he says virtually nothing about the lower species of animals beyond representing them as originating from degenerate human beings. And yet his teleology provided his main motive for doing cosmology and natural science. It is because natural phenomena show evidence of order that they are worth studying. And *Timaeus* is made to say that they should seek not only the 'divine' causes, but also the 'necessary' ones, the latter for the sake of the former.<sup>58</sup> So it is that Plato undertakes a far more detailed and elaborate account of natural phenomena than might have been expected from him in view of his estimate of the relative importance of the two worlds, of being and of becoming, and the specific theories he puts forward contain not merely commonplace doctrines, but also some important and apparently original ideas. This was not the first time in the history of Greek science, and it was far from being the last, that an inquiry originally undertaken for ethical motives led not only to the proposal of morally and aesthetically satisfying cosmological images, but also to certain developments in physical and biological theories.

Secondly his preference for reason over sensation and observation may also be said to have had both beneficial and unfortunate results from the point of view of the inquiry into nature. His methods of investigating natural phenomena may, I suggested, be contrasted unfavourably with those of some of his more empirical contemporaries, particularly among the medical writers. It was not Plato's way to undertake detailed empirical research in connexion with his accounts of causes, and sometimes (for example in anatomy) much might have been gained (we might say) had he done so. While his more provocative remarks denigrating the use of the senses should be interpreted as suggesting merely that observation is inferior to reason, and not as suggesting that observation is completely worthless, their effect was still undoubtedly to discourage empirical investigations. And

<sup>57</sup> Compare such treatises as *On Breaths* or *On Regimen* i.

<sup>58</sup> 68e f., quoted above, 83-84. Cf. also 46e where *Timaeus* says that they must speak of both those

causes that work with reason to produce what is good, and the causes that are without intelligence and produce random effects without order, and 48ab.



yet here too the positive aspects of Plato's epistemological position should not be ignored. I have argued that the actual detailed theories and explanations put forward in the *Timaeus* stand comparison with the work of most of his predecessors and contemporaries. Yet in the longer term, of course, it was not the specific theories of the *Timaeus* that were to prove important, so much as Plato's general belief in the mathematical structure of the universe and his ideal of the mathematical framework of scientific explanations. As it has been well put by Sir Karl Popper: 'his greatest achievement, the geometrical theory of the world, has influenced our world-picture to such an extent that we unreflectingly take it for granted'.<sup>59</sup>

Finally there is the question of the relation between Plato's excursion into cosmology and natural science, and his general philosophical development. It has sometimes been argued that towards the end of his life there was a significant change in Plato's attitude towards the phenomenal world. One recent example of this type of thesis is to be found in Professor Ryle's book *Plato's Progress* where he says that in the *Philebus* (though not, Ryle believes, in the *Timaeus* itself) Plato 'treats natural science as science and not as merely probable conjecture'.<sup>60</sup> But in both the *Timaeus* and the *Philebus* Plato reiterates in the strongest possible terms the doctrine that the highest form of knowledge, and exact truth, belong to the world of unchanging Being. This is clearly stated at *Timaeus* 27d ff. (especially 29b-d) and at *Philebus* 59c Socrates is made to say: 'we find certainty and purity and truth . . . either in those things that are always unchanged and completely unmixed, or in what is most akin to them'.<sup>61</sup> But everything else must be thought to be inferior and secondary.' Elsewhere in the *Philebus* however, certain distinctions are drawn between different kinds of knowledge according to such criteria as whether they employ the art of measurement or not (55c ff.: at 56b, for instance, building is said to be more exact than many sorts of knowledge—for example medicine or navigation—since building 'makes great use of measures and instruments'<sup>62</sup>) and it is quite clear from 61d that Plato is prepared to use the term *ἐπιστήμη* both of the highest form of knowledge, knowledge of what is unchanging, and of the inferior knowledge of what is coming to be. In the *Philebus*, then, Plato gives a quite complex analysis of different kinds of science and knowledge and distinguishes between more and less exact forms of knowledge, where such distinctions had sometimes been obscured when his main purpose had been to insist on the major difference between knowledge (of the Forms) and opinion (of the phenomenal world).<sup>63</sup> Yet whether this indicates a radical change, or even any change at all, in Plato's view of our cognition of the world of becoming is most doubtful. The use of the term *ἐπιστήμη* of various kinds of cognition is, of course, not conclusive: the term can be used in a generic, non-technical sense of cognition as a whole, and this is clearly how it is used by Plato in the passage in question.<sup>64</sup> Indeed since knowledge of becoming is still indubitably considered an inferior

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* 93. On the historical question of the influence of Plato and Platonism on Renaissance science, see, for example, Popper, *op. cit.* 89 and A. Koyré, 'Galileo and Plato' in *Journal of the History of Ideas* iv (1943) 400-28.

<sup>60</sup> *Plato's Progress* (Cambridge, 1966) 13.

<sup>61</sup> Hackforth suggested that what Plato had in mind in the expression 'what is most akin to them' is the subject-matter of astronomy (*Plato's Examination of Pleasure* [Cambridge, 1958] 122 n. 2).

<sup>62</sup> At 58e-59b Socrates expressly remarks that anyone who studies nature and such questions as how this world came to be is investigating not that which always is, but only what is coming to be, and so is concerned with opinions, not with exact truth. Hackforth remarked (*op. cit.* 121 n. 1) that 'the language suggests a personal allusion, and it is not

impossible that Plato is thinking of Democritus', but he went on to note: 'the attitude to cosmology, and to physical science in general, is fully consonant with that of the *Timaeus*'.

<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless without attempting a systematic classification of the arts Plato does draw distinctions between different kinds on certain occasions, as for example when he distinguishes between the productive and the imitative arts in *Republic* x 597a ff.

<sup>64</sup> One might compare the terms *ὄντα*, *ὄν* and *οὐσία* used (1) generically, of the whole of reality including both Forms and particulars, and (2) particularly, of the highest reality, the Forms, alone. See for example *Phaedo* 79a which speaks of *ὄντα εἶδη τῶν ὄντων*, *τὸ μὲν ὁρατόν*, *τὸ δὲ ἀιδέον* and cf. *Sophist* 249a-d where for example not only *κίνησις* but also *τὸ κινούμενον* are said 'to be' *συγχερητέον ὡς ὄντα*.



brand of knowledge, we should rather conclude that at no stage in Plato's life, either during or after the composition of his chief cosmological dialogue, did he consider that what we should call natural science is science in the fullest or highest sense of the term.

G. E. R. LLOYD.

*King's College, Cambridge.*



# THE RELATION OF ANAXAGORAS AND EMPEDOCLES

## I. INTRODUCTION

In the earlier years of the nineteenth century a few scholars questioned whether there was any direct relation between Anaxagoras and Empedocles.<sup>1</sup> Since then these doubts have been voiced but rarely.<sup>2</sup> Instead, opinion has been divided principally on which thinker was dependent on the other. Most scholars, following Zeller and Burnet, have thought that Anaxagoras was dependent on Empedocles.<sup>3</sup> A minority, including Tannery, has held the opposite view.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hensen, *Anaxagoras Clazomenius . . . disquisitionem historico-philosophicam* (Gottingae, 1821) 20; Schaubach, *Anaxagoras Clazomenii fragmenta*, etc. (Lipsiae, 1827) 27-28; Brandis, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Griechisch-Römischen Philosophie* (Berlin, 1835-60) i 190.

<sup>2</sup> Millerd makes a half-hearted move in this direction. She writes that Anaxagoras and Empedocles show 'no large measure of consideration of each other's theories', *On the Interpretation of Empedocles* (printed dissertation, Chicago, 1908) 13. Gigon writes, 'Die Stellen, di man für Abhängigkeit des Anaxagoras von Empedokles angeführt hat, sind nicht zwingend', 'Zu Anaxagoras' in *Philologus* xci (1936-7) 2-3. Two other writers consider, but only in passing, that there was no connexion between the two philosophers: Bignone, *Empedocle, studio critico*, etc. 148 n. 1, and Otto Jöhrens, *Die Fragmente des Anaxagoras* (printed dissertation, Göttingen, 1939) 82. Professor Guthrie also doubts that there was any relation between the two, *A History of Greek Philosophy* ii 128. Lanza writes, following Diog. Laert. viii 56, 'I rapporti Empedocle-Anassagora paiono limitarsi ad un tipo di condotta personale', *Anassagora, testimonianze e frammenti*, etc. (Firenze, 1966) 20 n.

<sup>3</sup> Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, Teil i Abteilung 2 (6th edn. by Nestle) 1259-64. Zeller prefaces his argument with an honest admission of the difficulties. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*<sup>4</sup> 261-2 and 272-4, cf. *Greek Philosophy Part 1: Thales to Plato* 76-7. Burnet's extension of Zeller's argument at one point is modified by Nestle, in his edition of Zeller, 1246 n. 2, cf. 1264 n. 2. Burnet's argument that Anaxagoras' theory of sensation shows 'polemic' against Empedocles is a slight extension of Zeller, 1264, and is repeated by Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* 394 (cf. section V below, especially 113).

Zeller's conclusion is followed explicitly by Dümmler, *Akademika*, etc. (Giessen, 1889) 217; and Baumeister, *Das Problem der Materie*, etc. (Münster, 1890) 73; also Überweg-Prächter, *Die Philosophie des Altertums*<sup>12</sup> 98. The same assumption, without direct reference to Zeller, underlies several accounts of Anaxagoras: by Wellmann, in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* i (1894) coll. 2076-7; Giussani, edition of Lucretius (Torino, 1896) ii 147; Covotti, 'Il "fisicissimo" del V°

Secolo avanti Cristo, Anassagora di Clazomene' in *Atti della reale Accademia di Scienze morali e politiche* (di Napoli) xliii (1915) 226-9; Robin, *La pensée grecque*, édition revue et corrigée (1932) 147-8, cf. 119; Peck, 'Anaxagoras and the Parts' in *CQ* xx (1926) 69-71, cf. *CQ* xxv (1931) 33; Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus* 33-5; Cornford, 'Anaxagoras' Theory of Matter' in *CQ* xxiv (1930) 15 and 94-5; apparently Vlastos, 'The Physical Theory of Anaxagoras' in *Philos. Rev.* lix (1950) 37-9; also Romano, *Anassagora*, in the series *Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Universitario di Magistero di Catania*, serie filosofica, saggi e monografie, no. 52 (Padova, 1965) 19-20.

There is further discussion, leading to the same conclusion as Zeller and Burnet, in Unger, 'Die Zeitverhältnisse des Anaxagoras und Empedokles' in *Philologus Supplementband* iv (1884) especially 550 and cf. 516; Bidez, *La Biographie d'Empédocle in Recueil de Travaux*, etc. de l'Université de Gand (1894) 170-1; Millerd, in a modified form, as cited in the preceding footnote; Bignone, *Empedocle* 148 n. 1, cf. 312 n. 4; Capelle, 'Anaxagoras' in *Neue Jahrb.* xliii (1919) 197 (Gigon's argument, as cited in the preceding footnote, against Capelle hardly does more than expand Bignone, 440); and Jöhrens, *Die Fragmente des Anaxagoras* 82-4, and in an *Anhang*, 'Das zeitliche Verhältnis Empedokles-Anaxagoras' 93-4.

Ciurnelli says that this chronology is 'per noi . . . un fatto certo, sia sull'esame intrinseco del sistema, sia per l'attestazione esplicita di Aristotele', *La Filosofia di Anassagora*, in the series *Problemi d'Oggi*, collana di filosofia e storia della filosofia (Padova, 1947) 19 n. 1.

Guthrie apparently does not come down on either side, but writes that, 'To consider Empedocles before Anaxagoras is certainly the logical order', *History* ii 128 n. 4, cf. 275 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Tannery does not argue the point: his opinion is left to appear in the details of his description, *Pour l'histoire de la science hellène* (2nd edn. by Diès) 316, 325, 327. Apparently Sturz, *Empedocles Agrigentinus, de vita et philosophia eius*, etc. (Lipsiae, 1805) 18. Karsten, *Empedoclis Agrigentini carminum reliquiae*, etc. (Amstelodami, 1838) 47-55. Also Fazelli, *De rebus*



It is essential to distinguish two questions. Who wrote first? Did he, whichever of the two it was, influence the other? Both questions are answered by a piece of external evidence, which since Zeller's second edition has been largely neglected: Alcidas is reported by Diogenes to have said that Empedocles 'heard' Anaxagoras. This should imply both that Anaxagoras wrote earlier than Empedocles, and that he influenced him. Examination of passages in Aristotle and in some later writers, notably Plutarch, confirms the priority. Internal evidence may be applied to the question of influence. I shall seek to argue in particular that Anaxagoras' and Empedocles' theories of vision are such that they imply the influence of whichever is the earlier philosopher on the later.

I should add that attempts to determine the relative chronology of Anaxagoras and Empedocles on internal grounds, which is what Zeller and in part Jöhrens try to do, seem to me to have proved ineffective. Common elements may be the result of a common reaction, in particular to Parmenides. Where there does appear to be influence of one thinker on the other, it seems to me impossible to determine, on internal grounds, with whom the thought in question originates. A knowledge of the complete writings of both philosophers may have made their relation clear. But the fragments which we have do not seem to me sufficient to determine which of the two wrote first.<sup>5</sup>

I should also add that the form of the present essay by-passes the need to consider the absolute, as distinct from the relative, chronology of Anaxagoras and Empedocles. The two most recent attempts to establish the dating of Anaxagoras are by Davison and Diano. The former concludes that Anaxagoras lived from 500/499 to 428/7, and the latter that he wrote and published his work between 463 and 458.<sup>6</sup> Empedocles is generally agreed to have lived from about 492 to 432.<sup>7</sup>

## II. ALCIDAS

Diogenes Laertius writes, viii 56 (DK 31A1: these references are to Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 5th edn. onwards): 'Αλκιδάμας δ' ἐν τῷ Φυσικῷ φησὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς

*Siculis decades duae* (1st edn., Panormi, 1558) 134-5. For Cleve's view see n. 18 below.

Millerd, *Interpretation of Empedocles* 13, refers this view to 'some modern treatments, notably those of Tannery and Gomperz'. Gomperz does not hold this view; it is not implied in his note to 183 (*Griechische Denker* i 447), which Miss Millerd mentions, 13 n. 3: cf. below n. 20. I have been unable to trace the other 'modern treatments' to which Miss Millerd refers. For a fault of scholarly doxography tending in the opposite direction see n. 18 below.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 109-10 and 113 below.

<sup>6</sup> Davison, *CQ* n.s. iii (1953) 39-45. Diano, 'La data di pubblicazione della syngraphè di Anassagora' in *Anthemon, scritti di archeologia e di antichità classiche in onore di Carlo Anti* (Firenze, 1955) 235-52.

<sup>7</sup> References to modern discussions are given by Guthrie ii 128. When Guthrie writes, 128 n. 2, that there are 'no dissentients' on the dating of Empedocles, he apparently overlooks the article by Unger already cited in n. 3, 'Die Zeitverhältnisse des Anaxagoras und Empedokles'. Unger seeks to establish an absolute chronology, whereby Empedocles was born in 520 and published his poem before 472, while Anaxagoras lived from 533 to 462 and wrote his work in 466. Diels describes Unger's

thesis as 'eine bedauerliche Verirrung des scharfsinnigen Gelehrten', 'Gorgias und Empedokles' in *SBB*, 1884, 344 n. 2. Bidez, *Biographie* 130, writes, 'M. Unger aboutit à une chronologie impossible; il propose, sans scrupule, les transformations de texte les plus considérables... C'est de la haute fantaisie'. On the other hand Cleve finds Unger's article a 'very instructive essay' and 'a brilliant, detailed research... in which he [Unger] accounts for all his statements with really convincing reasons', *The Philosophy of Anaxagoras, an attempt at reconstruction* (New York, 1949) ix-x and 117 n. 18. (This work is a rewriting of *Die Philosophie des Anaxagoras, Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, by Loewy-Cleve, published at Wien in 1917.) Cleve repeats his praise of Unger in *The Giants of pre-Sophistic Greek Philosophy, an attempt to reconstruct their thoughts* (The Hague, 1965) i 170-1. Although the evidence for Anaxagoras is difficult, I agree with Diels and Bidez. There is a severe, but it seems to me not unfair, assessment of Cleve's work on Anaxagoras by D. E. Gershenson and D. A. Greenberg, *Anaxagoras and the Birth of Physics* (New York, London, Toronto, 1964) 433-5.

Works that have been referred to in the Introduction will for the most part be cited from now on by the author's name and page reference alone.



χρόνους Ζήνωνα καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἀκοῦσαι Παρμενίδου, εἴθ' ὕστερον ἀποχωρῆσαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ζήνωνα κατ' ἰδίαν φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου διακοῦσαι καὶ Πυθαγόρου.

Zeller made a severe indictment of the reliability of this passage,<sup>8</sup> and as a result it has been largely ignored by later scholars.<sup>9</sup> Zeller argued that Empedocles could not have 'heard' Pythagoras, and therefore,

1. either this Alcidas was not the pupil of Gorgias, but another writer by the same name;<sup>10</sup>

2. if not, then the passage has been distorted by Diogenes, either by the substitution of Πυθαγόρου for τῶν ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν,<sup>11</sup> or by the substitution of διακοῦσαι for ἀκολουθεῖν;

3. if not, then Alcidas was only drawing his own conclusions from similarities observed in the writings of Empedocles and Anaxagoras: 'sollte dem aber auch nicht so sein, so würde nur folgen, dass schon Alcidas ohne wirkliche Kenntnis des Sachverhalts aus der Verwandtschaft der Ansichten auf eine persönliche Verbindung der Philosophen geschlossen hätte'.

Zeller's own words are quoted, because, before we seek to appraise the historical and linguistic value of Zeller's arguments, it is important to note two purely logical flaws that mark this attack on the value of Alcidas' evidence.

1. Zeller, as I have noted, is of the opinion that Anaxagoras was dependent on Empedocles. It is not sufficient therefore for him to conclude, as he does, that 3 must follow if 2 is *not* true. Zeller is attempting, no doubt unconsciously, to minimise the suppositions required to support his view. In fact, to support Zeller's view, 3 must follow even if 2 is true. For even if we correct Alcidas' statement in either, or both, of the ways suggested in 2, then we are still left with the assertion that Empedocles 'heard' or 'followed' Anaxagoras. To preserve his position, Zeller must argue that even the corrected version of Alcidas' statement is false.

2. It is not enough for Zeller to suppose that Alcidas inferred 'eine persönliche Verbindung'. For Zeller to preserve his own view, he must argue in addition that Alcidas supposed, wrongly, that Anaxagoras wrote before Empedocles. Otherwise, there would be no reason why Alcidas should suppose that the 'persönliche Verbindung', which, according to Zeller, he inferred from their writings, should have flowed from Anaxagoras to Empedocles, and not *vice versa*.

Burnet shows a similar perversity.<sup>12</sup> Burnet is also of the opinion that Anaxagoras was dependent on Empedocles. He writes, *EGP* 202: 'Alcidas, who had good opportunities of knowing, made him (Empedocles) a fellow-student of Zeno under Parmenides. . . . But the further statement that he "heard" Pythagoras cannot be right. No doubt Alcidas said "Pythagoreans".' Again, Burnet's correction of the passage (which follows Karsten and Zeller) will leave unimpaired the statement by Alcidas 'who had good opportunities of knowing' that Empedocles 'heard' Anaxagoras. In his later editions, Burnet omits to

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 1020-1, cf. 1022; 2nd. edn. (1856) i 560-1. Diels also questioned the accuracy of Diogenes' quotation of Alcidas, *Doxographi Graeci*, note on 477.18. He later withdrew this, in *SBB*, 1884, 357 n. 1, but without making entirely clear what his later view entailed.

<sup>9</sup> Alcidas is mentioned in passing by Gigon, 3 n. 1, at greater length by Cleve, *Anaxagoras* 116-17, and somewhat ambiguously by Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* 164. But since the republication of Cleve's discussion, Alcidas has again been ignored. He is conspicuous by his absence in Raven and Guthrie.

<sup>10</sup> 4th edn. (1876) i 743. This argument comes from Brandis, i 190. It is omitted in Zeller's 5th and 6th editions.

<sup>11</sup> Zeller adopts this suggestion from Karsten, 49. Timaeus also connected Empedocles with Pythagoras, *ap. Diog. Laert.* viii 54, and Hermippus and Neanthes connected him with Pythagoreans, *ibid.* 55 and 56, as Theophrastus also may have done, *ap. Simpl. Phys.* 25.21 = fr. 3 Diels, *Dox.* 477.18 (DK 31A7); cf. Diels' note *ad loc.*, which is elaborated in *SBB*, 1884, 357 n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> This point is made by Cleve, *Anaxagoras* 117 n. 17.



mention this further element in Alcidas' evidence, for it asserts the opposite of his own view.

I turn to the substance of Zeller's arguments. The first point is a cheap expedient, and is dropped from Zeller's later editions.<sup>13</sup> The historical inaccuracy need not extend further than Zeller's second point. We may grant that Empedocles, from the point of view simply of chronology, could not have 'heard' Pythagoras, and that Alcidas would not have thought that he could.<sup>14</sup> Karsten's correction to 'Pythagoreans' is possible. It is much more likely, as well or instead, that διακούσαι has been inserted by Diogenes. For ἀκούειν and διακούειν—the two words are synonymous—are Diogenes' favourite terms for describing the relation between one thinker and another: they occur in all more than seventy times in the *Lives*. Diogenes shows that he would not have been worried by the chronological difficulty in the case of Pythagoras (even if he had adverted to the literal sense of διακούειν, which one may doubt), for he quotes also from Timaeus that Empedocles 'heard' Pythagoras.<sup>15</sup> Very probably, therefore, what has happened is that a remark by Alcidas, to the effect that Empedocles was in some way dependent on Pythagoras (or Pythagoreans) and Anaxagoras, has been translated by Diogenes into his own cliché, to the effect that Empedocles 'heard' Pythagoras and Anaxagoras.

There is no need at all to follow Zeller further than this, and suppose that Alcidas falsely assumed, or invented, a dependence of Empedocles on Anaxagoras from noticing similarities in their writings. Alcidas is a rare figure: an authority contemporary with Plato and Aristotle; someone moreover who, as pupil of Gorgias, is likely to have had information about Empedocles.<sup>16</sup> Trimmed of its discernibly alien terminology, his statement must be given full weight as asserting the dependence of Empedocles on Anaxagoras. Whether Alcidas came to this conclusion from his knowledge of the writings of Empedocles and Anaxagoras, or from outside information, or from both, we cannot tell.

*Note on ἀκούειν and διακούειν*

I have treated ἀκούειν and διακούειν as synonyms. Cleve implies a distinction when he translates διακούειν as 'attended the complete course of Anaxagoras' lectures'.<sup>17</sup> Διακούειν can be used in an intensive sense with τέλειως and πάντα, see Stephanus, s.v. But in Diogenes the two words are always, so far as one can tell, pure synonyms. This is especially evident where both verbs are used to describe the action of a single man, e.g.

iv 29 and 32: ἤκουσε δὴ (Arcesilaus) κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν Αὐτολύκου τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ . . . μεθ' οὗ Θεοφράστου διήκουσεν . . . διήκουσε δὲ καὶ Ἰππονίκου τοῦ γεωμέτρου.

iv 51–52: ἤκουε (Bion) Κράτητος . . . ἔπειτα . . . διακούσας Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἀθέου . . . μεθ' οὗ Θεοφράστου διήκουσε.

v 86: τῶν Πυθαγορείων διήκουσε (Heracleides) . . . καὶ ὕστερον ἤκουσεν Ἀριστοτέλους.

vii 2 and 4: διήκουσε δὲ (Zeno) . . . Κράτητος· εἶτα καὶ Στίλπωνος ἀκοῦσαι φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοκράτους ἔτη δέκα . . . ἕως μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἤκουε τοῦ Κράτητος.

In the sentence last quoted ἤκουε in fact repeats διήκουσε. In the other instances it is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that any distinction between the two verbs is intended.

<sup>13</sup> References have been given, n. 10 above.

<sup>14</sup> Pythagoras is estimated to have died not later than 490, which is about the time that Empedocles was born: references to modern discussion are cited by Guthrie, i 173 and ii 128. For Empedocles' date see n. 7 above.

Diels appears to allow that Alcidas would have

said that Empedocles heard Pythagoras himself; but he is not altogether clear, cf. n. 8 above.

<sup>15</sup> viii 54, cf. n. 11 above. Diels seems to suggest that Timaeus followed Alcidas; but this is not necessary.

<sup>16</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* i 2(1894) coll. 1533–9.

<sup>17</sup> *Anaxagoras* 116–17.



## III. ARISTOTLE

In one passage of the *Metaphysics* Aristotle deals directly with the relation of Anaxagoras and Empedocles, 984a11-13 (DK 31A6, 59A43): 'Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος ὢν τούτου (sc. Empedocles), τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ὕστερος ἀπείρους εἶναι φησι τὰς ἀρχάς. Unfortunately there are here two ambiguities. First, the meaning of ὕστερος may be purely temporal, or evaluative.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, if evaluative, the meaning has been thought to be that Anaxagoras' works were inferior to those of Empedocles,<sup>19</sup> or that they were more up-to-date.<sup>20</sup>

*The major ambiguity*

The major ambiguity, whether the meaning of ὕστερος is temporal or evaluative, is the one which is central to our enquiry. Does Aristotle in fact elsewhere consider Anaxagoras to have written after Empedocles, or before him?

In a famous passage later in the same part of the *Metaphysics*, 984a16-b18, Aristotle describes how, in virtue of his introduction of mind as moving cause, Anaxagoras οὖν νήφων ἐφάνη παρ' εἰκῇ λέγοντας τοὺς πρότερον, 984b17-18. Other claimants to the discovery of moving cause are introduced briefly: Hermotimus, Hesiod, Parmenides, 984b18-32.

<sup>18</sup> The temporal interpretation was taken by Carus, *Anaxagorae Cosmo-Theologiae indagantur fontes* (Leipzig, 1797) 5 n. 12, reprinted in *Nachgelassene Werke* iv, ed. F. Hand (Leipzig, 1809) 698 note; Hemsens, 59-60, cf. 20; Schaubach, 28 and 48; Brandis, i 242, cf. 190; and Clemens, *De philosophia Anaxagorae Clazomenii*, etc. (printed dissertation, Berolini, 1839) 23; who have been followed by Unger, 550 cf. 516; Dümmler, 217; Bidez, 170-1; Robin, 119, cf. 147-8; Bailey, 34; Capelle, 197 n. 4; Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy* 219 n. 5; Jöhrens, 93-4; Ciurnelli, 19 n. 1; McDiarmid, 'Theophrastus on the Presocratic Causes' in *HSCP* lxi (1953) 145 n. 90; Zafriropulo, *Empédocle d'Agrigente* (Paris, 1953) 26; with hesitation by Raven, 363; and also by Romano, 19.

Gigon, 2, says that Zeller and 'alle Späteren' choose the chronological interpretation. This is inaccurate. Zeller, 1261 n. 2, states both ambiguities, and discusses them, but leaves the question open, as is recognised by Bidez, 170 n. 1. Burnet at first adopted this interpretation, *EGP*<sup>1</sup> (1892) 286 n. 47, cf. 215 n. 21,<sup>2</sup> (1908) 303 n. 1; but sixteen years before Gigon wrote he had abandoned it, see the following footnote.

Cleve, *Anaxagoras* 116-19, attempts to combine the temporal interpretation of ὕστερος with acceptance of Alcidas' evidence, by arguing that Anaxagoras taught Empedocles but 'began publishing later than did Empedocles who apparently was somewhat impatient in this respect and too eager to become famous'. This thesis is filled out with a good deal of further fanciful biographical material, in part a highly speculative extension of what Diels, *SBB*, 1884, 357 n. 1, calls 'eine alberne Faselei', the account of λογοκλοπία in Timaeus, ap. Diog. Laert. viii 54 (DK 31A1). A distinction in time between Anaxagoras' oral and written teaching is in itself perhaps not impossible; but there seem to me no

means of demonstrating it, nor any need to assume it.

Another piece of embroidery on the chronological interpretation has been to the effect that Anaxagoras 'n'a publié son livre, d'après Aristote, que vers la fin de sa vie', Mugler, 'Le problème d'Anaxagore' in *REG* lxxix (1956) 317, following Zafriropulo, *Anaxagore de Clazomène* (Paris, 1948) 273. There is in fact no such implication in Aristotle. Zafriropulo and Mugler seem not to appreciate that in the passage quoted above τοῦτον is to be understood with ὕστερος as well as with πρότερος.

<sup>19</sup> This was the view in antiquity of Alexander, *Met.* 27. 26-28.21 Hayduck. Brandis, i 242 n. 1, allowed the possibility of this view, and it seems to be the sense preferred by Burnet, after he had abandoned the simply temporal interpretation, *EGP* (3rd and 4th edn., 1920 and 1930) 262 n. 1. Burnet has been followed by Ross, edition of the *Metaphysics*, ad loc. (p. 132), who nonetheless allows the possibility of the simply temporal interpretation, and most recently by Kahn, *Anaximander* 163-5, whose argument, as we shall see, has been rejected by Guthrie.

<sup>20</sup> Breier proposed this as the general sense of the passage, but apparently without committing himself specifically on the meaning of ὕστερος, *Die Philosophie des Anaxagoras von Klazomenä nach Aristoteles* (Berlin, 1840) 85-6. Breier's interpretation was adopted, with specific reference to ὕστερος, by Bonitz, edition of the *Metaphysics* (Bonn, 1848-9) ad loc. (ii 67), who was approved by Diels, 'Über die Gedichte des Empedokles', *SBB*, 1898, 412 n. 1, and evidently by Millerd, 13, and followed by Gigon, 2-3. This sense of ὕστερος seems to be preferred by Raven, 363, to the sense 'inferior', cf. n. 26 below.

Gomperz attempts to take ὕστερος in a logical sense, without chronological or evaluative implication, *Griechische Denker* i 447. He is criticised by Millerd, 13. Cf. Guthrie's remark, quoted above n. 3 *sub finem*.



Empedocles is then said to have introduced a moving cause of evil as well as of good, Strife as well as Love, 984b32-985a10. Kahn argues that this passage excludes the temporal priority of Empedocles.<sup>21</sup> Professor Guthrie argues against Kahn that elsewhere Aristotle accounts Love a material as well as a moving cause, so that Anaxagoras could still be reckoned the first, even after Empedocles, fully to have distinguished the moving cause.<sup>22</sup>

Professor Guthrie's argument has little force.

1. First, Aristotle acknowledges Empedocles' full use of the moving cause in the continuation of his discussion of Anaxagoras. He concludes his account of possible precursors to Anaxagoras with the following words, 984b31-32: *τούτους μὲν οὖν πῶς χρῆ διανεῖμαι περὶ τοῦ τίς πρῶτος, ἐξέστω κρίνειν ὕστερον*. He then turns to consider Empedocles' contribution, 984b32-985a4: *ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰναντία τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐνόητα ἐφαίνετο ἐν τῇ φύσει . . . οὕτως ἄλλος τις φιλιαν εἰσήνεγκε καὶ νεῖκος, ἐκάτερον ἐκατέρων αἰτίον τούτων*. He concludes precisely by distinguishing Empedocles' moving causes from the four elements, 985a29-33: *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοὺς πρότερον πρῶτος τὸ τὴν αἰτίαν διελεῖν εἰσήνεγκεν, οὐ μίαν ποιήσας τὴν τῆς κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἀλλ' ἐτέρας τε καὶ ἐναντίας, ἐτι δὲ τὰ ὡς ἐν ὕλης εἶδει λεγόμενα στοιχεῖα τέτταρα πρῶτος εἶπεν*. The sequence of thought in this passage, from 984b31, makes it impossible to suppose that Empedocles is to be classed with Hermotimus and company as another precursor of the discovery of the moving cause. Aristotle closes the subject of Anaxagoras' precursors before he turns to Empedocles. When he turns to Empedocles, Aristotle clearly and unequivocally acknowledges Love and Strife as moving causes. It is true that Empedocles is said to have two moving causes. But it would be highly improbable to suppose that the point of Aristotle's remarks about Anaxagoras was that Anaxagoras had introduced one, as opposed to two, moving forces. That distinction is introduced into the discussion only later, with Empedocles. Thus Aristotle's explicit acknowledgment here of Love and Strife as moving causes is a clear indication that when he says that Anaxagoras first introduced a moving cause he regards Anaxagoras as having written earlier than Empedocles.

2. Secondly, in the course of his account of Empedocles Aristotle even makes out that Empedocles' use of the moving cause was superior to that of Anaxagoras, 985a18-23: *Ἀναξαγόρας τε γὰρ μηχανῇ χρῆται τῷ νῶι πρὸς τὴν κοσμοποιίαν, καὶ ὅταν ἀπορήσῃ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐστί, τότε παρέλκει αὐτόν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντα μᾶλλον αἰτιάται τῶν γιγνομένων ἢ νοῦν· καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐπὶ πλέον μὲν τούτου χρῆται τοῖς αἰτίοις, οὐ μὴν οὐθ' ἱκανῶς, οὐτ' ἐν τούτοις εὐρίσκει τὸ ὁμολογούμενον*.<sup>23</sup> Since, in Aristotle's opinion, Empedocles was more extensive than Anaxagoras in his use of the moving cause, it is difficult to suppose that Empedocles is meant to be included among *εἰκῇ λέγοντας τοὺς πρότερον*. But if Empedocles is not to be classed with Anaxagoras' precursors, then his use of the moving cause must be considered as later than Anaxagoras'.

3. In several other passages Love and Strife, or Love alone, are named alongside mind

<sup>21</sup> *Anaximander* 163-5.

<sup>22</sup> *History* ii 128 n. 4, cf. 275 n. 1. Cf. Cherniss, *ACP* 223 n. 26 and 234. The passage is *Met.* 1075b3-4: *αὕτη δ' (sc. Love) ἀρχὴ καὶ ὡς κινουσα (συνάγει γὰρ) καὶ ὡς ὕλη· μόριον γὰρ τοῦ μίγματος*. It is for this reason that in another place Aristotle calls mind an *ἀρχή* and Love a *στοιχεῖον*, *Met.* 1091b11-12. The same criticism is perhaps latent at *De gen. et corr.* 314a16-17, where Empedocles is said to have had six elements in all: *στοιχεῖα* is understood from line 15.

<sup>23</sup> The inconsistency is that Love is cause of separation (of a single element) as well as of mixture, while Strife is cause of mixture (of a single element)

as well as of separation. Empedocles would probably not have granted that the disintegration of a single element, in order to be mixed with other elements, would be separation, nor that the isolation of a single element, in order to be divided from the other elements, would count as mixture. That is, Empedocles would have thought of mixture and separation not as processes affecting a single element, but only as processes affecting a number of elements. Aristotle repeats his criticism briefly at *De gen. et corr.* 333b20-21. Empedocles' attitude to the question can probably be seen in fr. 22, which I have tried to analyse in *Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle* (Cambridge, 1968) especially 311-12 (henceforward *ECC*).



as examples of a moving cause.<sup>24</sup> This regular association of Love, or Love and Strife, with mind would make it surprising if, in the passage where Aristotle explicitly considers the innovation of the moving cause, Empedocles were not to have been credited with the discovery, if in fact he had written earlier than Anaxagoras. It would seem essential that at the least Empedocles should have been included among Anaxagoras' precursors, if in fact he had written before Anaxagoras. Since Empedocles is not classed with Anaxagoras' precursors, again it follows that Aristotle must regard Empedocles' use of the moving cause as later than Anaxagoras'.

4. In the passage which Professor Guthrie refers to, where Love is ranked also as a material cause, Aristotle is in a critical mood. He is concerned not primarily with the moving cause, but with the final cause. No-one, he says, has properly explained in what way the good is an ἀρχή, 1075a11-b1. Empedocles makes Love the good; but Love is treated at the same time as a moving and as a material cause, 1075b1-6. Anaxagoras' good is mind; but mind is only a moving cause, not a final cause, 1075b8-10. Thus both thinkers are criticised in this passage. It is not denied that Love is a moving cause. The critical addition, that Love acts also as a material cause, is explained by the context, by Aristotle's setting out to show that all accounts of the good as an ἀρχή are deficient. This criticism does not in effect detract from the fact that here, as elsewhere, Aristotle ranks Love with mind as a moving cause.

I conclude therefore that when Aristotle acclaim Anaxagoras as the first to introduce a moving cause he implies thereby that Anaxagoras wrote before Empedocles.

#### *The minor ambiguity*

It follows that the meaning of ὕστερος in the earlier passage of the *Metaphysics* cannot be that Anaxagoras wrote later than Empedocles. However, this still leaves open the minor ambiguity, the two evaluative senses of ὕστερος. The resolution of this minor ambiguity is incidental to the question of chronology: but it is essential to a clear understanding of the passage as a whole.

First there is a purely linguistic point. 'Inferior' is a common sense of ὕστερος (see LSJ, s.v.). But there seems to be no parallel for the sense of 'more up-to-date'. And this would in fact be an unnatural, or at least an unusual, sense for the word to bear. For πρότερος means 'earlier' or 'superior'. One would expect both the literal and the transferred sense of ὕστερος to mean just the opposite: 'later' and 'inferior'. But if ὕστερος means 'more up-to-date', then its transferred sense will be in effect the same as πρότερος, although its literal sense is the opposite of πρότερος. This seems implausible.

Zeller writes, 1261 n. 2: 'Da ferner das Spätere in der Regel auch ein Gereifteres und Fortgeschritteneres ist, so kann das ὕστερος auch dafür gebraucht sein'. But it is surely inadequate to argue in this way, without considering the actual usage of the word.

Secondly, there is again, as with the temporal meaning of ὕστερος, the question of fact. Does Aristotle in fact elsewhere regard Anaxagoras as on the whole inferior to Empedocles, or, conversely, as more up-to-date?

There are two principal questions of philosophy on which Aristotle a number of times expresses a preference for Anaxagoras or Empedocles.

1. One of these is the question immediately under discussion in the *Metaphysics*, namely the number of the elements. Empedocles has four elements. Anaxagoras, according to Aristotle, has an infinity. In the *Metaphysics* Aristotle does not make clear his preference

<sup>24</sup> *Phys.* 203b12-13; *De part. anim.* 640b4-8; *Met.* 988a32-34, 988b6-11. Anaxagoras and Empedocles are probably intended as sponsors of respectively a single and double moving cause at *Met.* 987a5-13, where no names are given. Love and Strife and

mind are given as instances of a cause other than material necessity at *Phys.* 198b10-16. Love and Strife are reckoned as moving causes without comparison with mind at *De gen. et corr.* 314a16-17, cf. *Met.* 989a25-26.



for either theory, except (as I shall argue) in the words we are at present considering. But the same subject is dealt with at greater length in two related passages of the *Physics*, and here each time Aristotle expresses a direct preference for Empedocles. The first time he concludes, 188a17–18: βέλτιον τε ἐλάττω καὶ πεπερασμένα λαβεῖν, ὅπερ ποιεῖ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. The second time he concludes, 189a15–17: βέλτιον δ' ἐκ πεπερασμένων, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ἢ ἐξ ἀπείρων· πάντα γὰρ ἀποδιδόναι οἰέται ὅσα περ Ἀναξαγόρας ἐκ τῶν ἀπείρων. Precisely this point is repeated in an account of Anaxagoras in the *De caelo*, 302b20–24: ἐτι δ' οὐδ' οὕτως λαμβάνοντας τὸ στοιχεῖον (this refers to Anaxagoras) ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν ἄπειρα· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀποδοθήσεται καὶ πεπερασμένων ὄντων, εἴαν τις λάβῃ. τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ ποιήσει, κἂν δύο ἢ τρία μόνον ᾗ τοιαῦτα, καθάπερ ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. Shortly before this, additional reasons are given for preferring Empedocles' four elements, 302a28–b9.

There is, however, one place where Aristotle deals with a related subject, the nature of the elements with reference to ἀλλοίωσις, and where by implication he shows a preference for Anaxagoras. According to Aristotle, Empedocles' theory of four elements makes ἀλλοίωσις impossible. Anaxagoras, on the other hand, if one re-articulates his thought, has made his principles the One and the Other, which approximates to Aristotle's own theory of ἀλλοίωσις in terms of form and matter. In this way Anaxagoras' thought is rather up-to-date, *Met.* 989b5–6: ὥς ἂν φανεῖη καινοπρεπεστέρως λέγειν; and 989b19–21: ὥστε λέγει μὲν οὐτ' ὀρθῶς οὐτε σαφῶς, βούλεται μέντοι τι παραπλήσιον τοῖς τε ὕστερον λέγουσι καὶ τοῖς νῦν φαινόμενοις μᾶλλον.

2. The other principal question of philosophy on which Aristotle expresses a preference for Anaxagoras or Empedocles is the nature of rest and movement. Anaxagoras' theories and those of Empedocles are contrasted briefly in the first book of the *Physics*, 187a23–25, without any expression of preference. The subject is treated at greater length in the analysis of earlier theories of movement and rest at the beginning of the last book, and here Aristotle expresses a clear preference for Empedocles (250b23–251a5 and 252a5–32). According to Aristotle, Anaxagoras' theory of a once-and-for-all interruption of cosmic rest by movement that then continues endlessly is an arbitrary violation of natural order. For infinite rest, Aristotle says, can have no ordered relationship to infinite movement, and lack of an ordered relationship is a violation of nature. Natural events exhibit an order, whether simple and invariable, or complex. Aristotle continues, 252a19–21: διόπερ βέλτιον ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, κἂν εἴ τις ἕτερος εἴρηκεν οὕτως ἔχειν, ἐν μέρει τὸ πᾶν ἡρεμεῖν καὶ κινεῖσθαι πάλιν. The alternation of movement and rest in Empedocles exhibits order, albeit a complex one, and is therefore preferable to Anaxagoras' idea, even though, as Aristotle goes on to argue, Empedocles' system lacks a first mover to regulate the succession of movement and rest.

As before, however, there is a related point where Aristotle might seem to imply a preference for Anaxagoras as against Empedocles. In the *De caelo* 300b16–301a22, Aristotle takes the view that Anaxagoras' precosmic rest, although false in itself, at least shows recognition of the principle that movement and order are inseparable, so that if there is no movement there could be no ordered universe. This principle is denied by the attempt to portray a condition of precosmic disordered movement, which is what Empedocles (in his description of the state of total Strife which preceded the cosmogony of increasing Love) and Plato seek to do. In fact, Aristotle tells us, Empedocles' attempt to describe a condition of precosmic movement as the rule of total Strife makes it impossible for him to develop in any detail the cosmogony that should follow of increasing Love: for the elements in movement under total Strife will have been arranged in essentially the order in which we know them now.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Especially for the passages 300b25–31 and 301a11–20 certain details of the paraphrase are taken from an analysis in *ECC* 10–14.



3. There is one further, minor point, where Aristotle shows a preference for Empedocles as against Anaxagoras, *Meteor.* 369b11–370a10. Both Empedocles and Anaxagoras explain thunder as a result of the imprisonment of fire in clouds. Empedocles' fire is the rays of the sun. Anaxagoras' fire is aether. Both theories are irrational; but the downward movement of aether in Anaxagoras is even more inexplicable than Empedocles' theory, *Meteor.* 369b19–20: *ἄλογος δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐμπερίληψις, ἀμφοτέρως μὲν, μᾶλλον δ' ἡ κατάσπασις τοῦ ἄνωθεν αἰθέρος.*

To perfect this train of argument, I should perhaps attempt to reconstruct Aristotle's preference for Anaxagoras or Empedocles on points where no explicitly evaluative comparison is made, but where one might hope to reconstruct Aristotle's preference from his own theories and from the criticisms he makes of Anaxagoras and Empedocles in isolation. But to do this would obviously be beyond the scope of the present essay. The reader should be aware, however, that Aristotle's attitude to Empedocles is by no means so condemnatory as that of a number of modern scholars.<sup>26</sup> For, surprising as it may sound nowadays, Aristotle probably regards Empedocles, taken all in all, as the most successful of the Presocratics. Certainly Aristotle devotes more time and space to Empedocles than to any other thinker except Plato.<sup>27</sup> It is true that Parmenides made the greatest advance towards the recognition of non-sensible being.<sup>28</sup> But over Parmenides Empedocles has the advantage of a fully developed physical system. Apart from Anaxagoras, the only other rival for Aristotle's esteem is Democritus. But Democritus lost marks heavily over the admission of void and the lack of a moving cause.<sup>29</sup> What we might perhaps think of as Empedocles' most hopeless absurdity, the endless alternation of the Sphere and the many, was a recommendation to Aristotle. Wrong though he thought it to be, at least it gave the sensible world some status as against Parmenides, and avoided the much greater impossibilities of Anaxagoras' moment of creation and Democritus' innumerable worlds in infinite space. The permanence of the elements, the regularity of change almost made Empedocles' world eternal.<sup>30</sup> It is true that on a number of occasions Aristotle criticises Empedocles bitterly.<sup>31</sup> But it is significant that on what Aristotle considers to be an especially difficult point, the difference in kind between what is eternal and what is changing, Aristotle turns to Empedocles with the remark that Empedocles, if anyone, you would expect to be consistent.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Thus Kafka speaks of Empedocles' aim as 'eine Reihe genialer Intuitionen mit poetischer Freiheit zu einer dramatischen Darstellung des Weltgeschehens zusammenzufassen', *Die Vorsokratiker, Geschichte der Philosophie in Einzeldarstellungen*, Abteilung 2, *Die Philosophie des Abendlandes im Altertum* Band 6 (München, 1921) 103, repeated in *Philologus* lxxviii n. F. xxxii (1923) 203. Robin, 134, writes, 'synthèse hésitante et confuse . . . beaucoup trop passionnée pour être assez systématique'. There are similar remarks in Millard, 21–2, Gilbert, *Griechische Religionsphilosophie* (Leipzig, 1911) 224, and elsewhere.

It is probably some such attitude to Empedocles that makes Gigon, 2, write no more of the possibility of Anaxagoras' being said to be inferior to Empedocles than that 'Die dritte Bedeutung (i.e. "unvollkommener") fällt von vorneherein weg'. Perhaps for the same reason, Raven, 363, writes that *ὑπερεως* may mean more up-to-date 'or even . . . inferior' (my italics). The same attitude seems to affect Zeller, 1261 n. 2 *sub finem*, when he writes that Aristotle may have meant 'superior' if he had in mind the whole of Anaxagoras' teaching, 'Indessen ist es auch möglich,

dass er bei dem Prädikat *τοῖς ἔργοις ὑπερεως* das Ganze der anaxagorischen Lehre im Auge hat, in der er allerdings einen wesentlichen Fortschritt gegen die Früheren erkennt'. This will not be true if, as Zeller evidently intends, Empedocles is to be included among 'die Früheren'. Zeller is influenced in part by his highly questionable interpretation of Love and Strife as 'ganz mythische Gestalten', 1259, whereby Empedocles 'der mythischen Kosmogonie noch annähert', 1262, whereas 'in der Idee des Geistes (i.e. Anaxagoras' Mind) tritt . . . ein neues und höheres Prinzip in die Philosophie ein', 1262.

<sup>27</sup> This may be checked from Bonitz's *Index*.

<sup>28</sup> *Met.* 986b18–34, a favourite passage for Simplicius.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. on the void, *Phys.* 214b12ff; on the lack of a moving cause, *Met.* 985b4–22; cf. 1071b31–37.

<sup>30</sup> See *De caelo* 279b14–17 and 280a11–23.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. *De gen. et corr.* 333a16–334b2, especially 333b22–26.

<sup>32</sup> *Met.* 1000a18–26. The compliment, not untypically, is followed by various adverse criticisms. The contents of the above paragraph are repeated with more detail in *ECC* 71–4.



Which then is the more likely: that in Aristotle's opinion Anaxagoras was on the whole inferior to Empedocles, or, conversely, that he was more up-to-date?

1. Aristotle makes a good deal of the superiority of Empedocles' finite number of elements, from the point of view especially of philosophical method—roughly the principle, *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*. Anaxagoras' advantage on the question of ἀλλοίωσις follows only if one re-articulates his thought; and Aristotle does not in fact refer more than once to this application of Anaxagoras' ideas. In Aristotle's main analysis of ἀλλοίωσις at the beginning of the *De generatione et corruptione* Anaxagoras is not credited with any anticipation of the correct theory.

2. The two issues on the question of rest and movement are not strictly comparable. In the *Physics* Empedocles' main theory of rest and movement gives him, in Aristotle's estimation, a straight advantage over Anaxagoras. On the question of disordered movement in the *De caelo* Empedocles, to Aristotle's way of thinking, has got himself into an impossible situation: Empedocles is committed to (a moment of) non-cosmic movement, but as a result he is unable to describe the cosmogony that should follow. In Aristotle's eyes there is in fact neither precosmic movement nor precosmic rest. Both theories, Empedocles' and Anaxagoras', are wrong, but in their different ways they both bear witness to the truth: Anaxagoras directly so, because he supposes that absence of movement means absence of a cosmos; Empedocles indirectly so, because his supposedly precosmic world must in essentials be like our own and cannot really be non-cosmic.

It follows that in the *Metaphysics* it would be entirely possible for Aristotle to remark that Anaxagoras was inferior to Empedocles, while it would be surprising if he were to judge Anaxagoras more up-to-date than Empedocles. This will certainly be true of the question immediately under discussion, the number of the elements; it will probably also be true of the 'works' of Anaxagoras and Empedocles in a wider sense, at least where they touch on the vital question of cosmic rest and movement. Add to this the unlikelihood that ὕστερος can in any case mean 'up-to-date', and it becomes fairly certain that ὕστερος in the *Metaphysics* has in fact its normal evaluative sense of 'inferior'.

#### *The immediate context: the discovery of the elements*

Does the immediate context support the sense 'inferior'? Aristotle's remark comes at the end of a passage where he describes in some detail the gradual discovery of the material cause in terms of the four elements, 983b6–984a18. It is essential to appreciate the rôle which here and elsewhere Aristotle supposes Empedocles to have played in this process of discovery. According to Aristotle, Empedocles was the first to found his system on four elements (*Met.* 985a31–33). Aristotle was apparently not alone in his approval of this theory: in the *Topics*, 105b16–18, Empedocles' theory of four primary elements is given as an example of something that in debate may be taken on trust from a famous authority. What is relevant to the present purpose is that Aristotle sees Empedocles as having reached the theory of four elements in two ways.

1. First, in the present passage of the *Metaphysics*, Empedocles is seen as taking together the elements which before had been recognised singly. In this case he is said to have added earth to the other three. For Aristotle tells us elsewhere that, although earth was a popular element among ordinary people, it had been avoided by the monists.<sup>33</sup>

2. Alternatively, in the *De generatione et corruptione* Aristotle sees Empedocles as completing the process whereby an increasing number of the simple bodies had been taken together as elements. In this case water is the last element. For after the monists Parmenides

<sup>33</sup> *Met.* 988b29–30, 989a5–12. Similarly, Aristotle tells us that earth alone of the four elements was not identified with soul, except on the theory that the soul consisted of all four elements, *De anima* 405a2–b10,

a theory to which Aristotle supposes that Empedocles was committed, 404b7–15, cf. 410a21–22, and *De gen. et corr.* 334a9–10.



took fire and earth, someone else (Philoponus says Ion of Chios) added air, and then Empedocles included water as the fourth element.<sup>34</sup>

Both processes are alluded to briefly in a passage of the *Physics*, 193a21-23.

These passages are relevant to our purpose because they show that on either understanding of the process of discovery of the four elements Empedocles completes the tradition, while Anaxagoras' theory of an infinite number of elements is extraneous. It is likely therefore that, when in the *Metaphysics* Aristotle deals with the historical elaboration of the material cause, Empedocles should be listed before Anaxagoras. This is likely to be so, whether or not Empedocles was chronologically prior to Anaxagoras. For, whatever the chronology, if Aristotle had listed Anaxagoras before Empedocles, then, on either understanding of the process of development, he would simply have confused the picture of a steady advance towards the correct theory of four elements.

Up to the mention of Anaxagoras and Empedocles, the sequence of Aristotle's treatment is clearly intended to be chronological. He begins, 983b6-8: τῶν δὲ πρώτων φιλοσοφούντων οἱ πλείστοι τὰς ἐν ὕλης εἶδει μόνας αἰνέθησαν ἀρχὰς εἶναι πάντων. He then introduces, in order,

1. Thales, ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας, 983b20-21.
2. τοὺς παμπάλαιους καὶ πολὺν πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως καὶ πρώτους θεολογήσαντας, 983b28-29.
3. Hippon.
4. Anaximenes and Diogenes.
5. Hippasus and Heraclitus.
6. Empedocles.
7. Anaxagoras.

Strictly, οἱ παμπάλαιοι, Hippon and Diogenes, break the chronological sequence. But each of these is introduced only parenthetically. Οἱ παμπάλαιοι are mentioned only as an appendage to Thales. They are introduced as a concession to certain views which Aristotle himself is reluctant to share, 983b27-30: εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ τοὺς παμπάλαιους . . . οὕτως οἶονται περὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπολαβεῖν. Aristotle concludes by reasserting Thales' priority, 983b33-984a3: εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαία τις αὕτη καὶ παλαιὰ τετύχηκεν οὕσα περὶ τῆς φύσεως ἢ δόξα, τάχ' ἂν ἀδηλον εἴη, Θαλῆς μὲντοι λέγεται οὕτως ἀποφάνασθαι κ.τ.λ. Hippon is introduced only to be excluded from consideration, 984a3-5: Ἰππωνὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τις ἀξιῶσειε θεῖναι μετὰ τούτων διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς διανοίας. Diogenes is fairly clearly introduced simply as a companion to Anaximenes. It is fair to conclude therefore that, although Aristotle is scrupulous in noting possible exceptions, nonetheless the main order of his treatment is intentionally chronological, at least as far as the mention of Empedocles and Anaxagoras.

When he comes to the end of his list, Aristotle introduces Anaxagoras with the remark that he is earlier than Empedocles in age and ὕστερος in works. The introduction of such a parenthesis at this point suggests that the potential conflict which I have noted between the chronological and the logical position of Anaxagoras in the process of discovery of the elements has become a real one. For the most likely implication of the remark, in this context, is that Aristotle apologises, as it were, for departing from the chronological order of exposition, which in effect he has followed hitherto, and whereby Anaxagoras is τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος . . . τούτου, and explains that he has listed Empedocles before Anaxagoras, because Anaxagoras is τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ὕστερος.

In what sense ὕστερος? Aristotle's theory of the discovery of the elements, put forward here and in the *De generatione et corruptione* and in the *Physics*, shows that the sense cannot be that Anaxagoras is more up-to-date than Empedocles. But the point is not therefore that Anaxagoras is inferior to Empedocles, simply in the way in which any earlier writer might

<sup>34</sup> *De gen. et corr.* 328b31-329a5 and 330b7-20. later passage Plato is mentioned in connexion with a Philoponus, 207.19 and 227.14 Vitelli. In Aristotle's more sophisticated version of three elements.



normally be expected to be inferior to a later one: that is, Anaxagoras is not inferior to Empedocles simply in the way in which the monists with a single element are inferior, or in the way in which Parmenides and Ion, with two and three elements respectively, are inferior. The monists and others offer an approximation to the truth. But once the elements have been recognised, singly or in groups of two and three, then in Aristotle's eyes there can be no further advance, except to the correct theory of four elements. Empedocles makes this advance. He is therefore mentioned first. Anaxagoras was born before Empedocles; and the passage on the discovery of the moving cause from later in the *Metaphysics* shows that he wrote before him. He therefore had the opportunity, as it were, to recognise the correct theory. But he failed to take his chance. In this sense he is 'inferior' to Empedocles, and is mentioned after Empedocles, as an aberration from the tradition that led to a correct theory of four elements.

Consider, simply from the point of view of the immediate context, the two other possible interpretations of *ὑστερος*.

1. Cherniss and McDiarmid are plainly wrong to argue that Aristotle's 'apology' is merely to the effect that Anaxagoras was born earlier than Empedocles but wrote later.<sup>85</sup> This interpretation would make Aristotle's remark unnecessarily scrupulous. For obviously, if Anaxagoras wrote after Empedocles, that would in itself be sufficient justification for listing his ideas after Empedocles in a chronological exposition. It is only if Anaxagoras was born *and wrote* before Empedocles that there is an obvious motive for Aristotle's 'apology'.

McDiarmid seems to be partly aware of the weakness of his interpretation, in that he suggests that it may have been generally known that Anaxagoras was born before Empedocles. The point of this remark is presumably the implication that it was not generally known that Anaxagoras had written later, so that Aristotle feels called upon to point this out. Such a construction is of course entirely gratuitous.

Cherniss asserts, without demonstration, 'The relative merit of the two (Anaxagoras and Empedocles) would not have caused him (Aristotle) to reverse the order in his treatment'. But 'merit' in this case determines, according to Aristotle, the whole nature of the process of discovery of the elements. It is precisely Empedocles' rôle in Aristotle's account of the development of the material cause, and his superiority therein to Anaxagoras, which would move Aristotle 'to reverse the order in his treatment' and list Empedocles before Anaxagoras.

2. Zeller argues that the point of Aristotle's remark may be that Anaxagoras wrote earlier than Empedocles but was more up-to-date (1261 n. 2 *sub finem*). In other contexts this would perhaps be a sufficient reason for departing from the chronological order. But it is not a reason which can apply in the present context. For even if we prescind from Aristotle's estimation of the comparative merit of Anaxagoras and Empedocles in other ways, Anaxagoras is not more up-to-date than Empedocles on the question immediately under consideration, the question of the discovery of the elements. Quite the reverse: according to Aristotle's interpretation it is Empedocles, not Anaxagoras, who brings the tradition to its proper fulfilment, the fulfilment which was recognised by Plato and Aristotle, while Anaxagoras' theories are an aberration; it is Empedocles, therefore, who on this question will be the more up-to-date.

If therefore *ὑστερος* were still to mean 'more up-to-date', then Aristotle's words would have to be taken as some kind of consolation: 'Anaxagoras was inferior to Empedocles on the question of the elements (and hence is listed after Empedocles), but is nonetheless in

<sup>85</sup> Cherniss, *ACP* 219 n. 5. McDiarmid, *HSCP* lxi (1953) 145 n. 90. There is essentially the same argument in Jöhrens, 93-4.



general more up-to-date than Empedocles'. But there would be little motive for such consolation; and it would be difficult, indeed impossible, to read such elaborate meaning (inferior on this point, but generally more up-to-date) into the Greek.

Against the interpretation 'inferior', Breier objects that Aristotle would expect earlier ideas to be inferior to later ones: so that there would be no point in Aristotle remarking that Anaxagoras was both earlier than Empedocles and inferior to him, for that is only what one would expect.<sup>36</sup> The hollowness of this objection should be at once apparent. Elsewhere, it is true, Aristotle shares the association that earlier thought is the more primitive, and *vice versa*.<sup>37</sup> But that general association is not relevant here. Aristotle's point, in this context, is a more specific one. Anaxagoras is inferior to Empedocles, not simply because he was born and wrote before him, but because he was given the same chance as Empedocles to recognise the theory of four elements, and failed to do so.

### *Theophrastus*

Theophrastus has what is evidently an imitation of Aristotle, *Simpl. Phys.* 26.7-9 (=fr. 9, Diels *Dox. Gr.* 484.19-21): ὁ μέντοι Θεόφραστος τοὺς ἄλλους προῖστορήσας 'τούτοις' φησὶν 'ἐπιγενόμενος Πλάτων τῇ μὲν δόξῃ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρότερος τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερος . . .'

Theophrastus' expression may of course be an unconscious echo, without much point to it, but it is perhaps significant that on the interpretation I have offered Aristotle used *πρότερος* in a temporal and *ὑστερος* in an evaluative sense, while Theophrastus has done precisely the reverse: this is more closely imitative than if Aristotle had used both words in their simply temporal sense.

In Theophrastus, the formula comes close to being a mere play on words, for Plato is more obviously removed from all or most earlier thinkers in time, and, to Aristotle's and Theophrastus' way of thinking, in merit, so that the verbal contrast between *πρότερος* and *ὑστερος* is not matched by any contrast of sense: it is only to be expected that Plato should be both *later* than, and *better* than, the philosophers before him.<sup>38</sup> Theophrastus has evidently been willing, consciously or unconsciously, to tolerate this discrepancy between the form and the sense of his remark, for the sake of the Aristotelean reminiscence. But this discrepancy in the imitation should not lead us to exaggerate the degree of discrepancy in the original. The latent discrepancy (which Breier seeks to exploit) between language and sense in Aristotle's remark is in no way implausible, once we have appreciated the way in which Aristotle regards the relative merit of Anaxagoras and Empedocles in the process of discovery of the elements.

### *Aristotle's sources of information*

I conclude therefore that the sense of Aristotle's remark in the *Metaphysics* is that Anaxagoras was born, and wrote, before Empedocles, and was inferior to him in his philosophy.

What evidence will Aristotle have had for the relative chronology of Empedocles' and Anaxagoras' writings? A knowledge of the complete writings of both philosophers may of course have made their relation clear, either by an explicit statement, or by the implica-

<sup>36</sup> Breier, as cited above n. 20. Also Bonitz, as cited above n. 20. The argument is answered in part by Zeller, 1261 n. 2.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. *De caelo* 308b30-32.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Zeller, 1261 n. 2, speaking of (his understanding of) the phrase in Aristotle, 'nur einen rhetorischen, nicht einen logischen Gegensatz'.



tions of the ideas they contained.<sup>39</sup> Is it possible that, as well or instead, the relative chronology was known to Aristotle from external sources?<sup>40</sup>

Obviously a definitive answer cannot be given. But one slight point is perhaps worth noting. In the present passage Aristotle claims to know the date of Empedocles' birth, relative to Anaxagoras.<sup>41</sup> This could perhaps have been known internally, from a knowledge of the complete poems: for apparently Democritus mentioned his own age relative to Anaxagoras in his writings;<sup>42</sup> Empedocles may conceivably have done the same. But elsewhere Aristotle claims to know the age at which Empedocles died;<sup>43</sup> and this is necessarily a fact which can have been known only from external sources. This adds, if only very slightly, to the possibility that the relative chronology of Empedocles' writings may likewise have been known to Aristotle from external sources.

#### IV. PLUTARCH AND OTHERS

Eclipses were of considerable interest to the ancient world, for the nature and behaviour of the moon seems to have been a regular feature of Presocratic speculations, while after Aristotle the composition of the moon continued to be of special interest because of its bearing on rival theories of the stratification of the elements.<sup>44</sup> The discovery of the true explanation of an eclipse of the sun and the moon is attributed to Anaxagoras, while the true explanation, certainly of an eclipse of the sun, and probably of an eclipse of the moon, was known also to Empedocles. On this evidence then it should again follow that Anaxagoras wrote before Empedocles.<sup>45</sup>

The evidence for Anaxagoras is as follows.

1. Plutarch describes the panic induced in Nicias' army by an eclipse of the moon. Ignorance, he adds, was the cause of their fear, *Nic.* 23 (DK 59A18): ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατον τε πάντων καὶ θαρραλεώτατον περὶ σελήνης κατανασμάτων καὶ σκιάς λόγον εἰς γραφήν καταθέμενος Ἀναξαγόρας οὔτε αὐτὸς ἦν παλαιὸς οὔθ' ὁ λόγος ἔνδοξος, ἀλλ' ἀπόρρητος ἔτι καὶ δι' ὀλίγων

<sup>39</sup> This latter possibility is roughly the view taken by Bidez, who appears to be alone in giving the question any attention, 170-1. (There is a passing remark in Bonitz, as cited above n. 20). Bidez believes that Anaxagoras is later than, and influenced by, Empedocles. He supposes that Aristotle's knowledge is gained from 'détails perdus pour nous', and not simply because Aristotle 'a comparé seulement la théorie des principes chez les deux philosophes'. This would seem to be an acknowledgment that the internal evidence which we have is not sufficient to determine which philosopher, if either, influenced the other. On the other hand, Bidez seems to introduce an internal argument when he associates with his belief in the priority of Empedocles the view that Empedocles' 'théorie des principes' is 'moins compliquée' than that of Anaxagoras. (For some instances where Empedocles' theories were in fact apparently the more complex, see n. 65 and p. 111 below.)

<sup>40</sup> This possibility is rejected by Bidez, 170-1.

<sup>41</sup> If we accept Theophrastus' statement that Empedocles was οὐ πολὺ κατόπιον τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου γεγονώς, *Simpl. Phys.* 25.19-20 = fr. 3 Diels, *Dox. Gr.* 477.17 (DK 31A7), then it would be probable that Theophrastus, and so Aristotle, knew the absolute date of birth. McDiarmid, *HSCP* lxi (1953) 145 n. 90, suggests that Theophrastus may have

'merely drawn his own conclusion from Aristotle's remark'. Bidez, on the other hand, 23, calls Theophrastus' remark 'une des données les plus sûres'.

<sup>42</sup> Diog. Laert. ix 41 (DK 59A5, 68B5).

<sup>43</sup> *Ap. Diog. Laert.* viii 51 and 74 = fr. 71 Rose (DK 31A1).

<sup>44</sup> In the *Phaedo* Socrates expected to hear from Anaxagoras, 98A, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ ἡλίου . . . καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρῶν, τάχους τε πέρι πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ τροπῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθημάτων, πῇ ποτε ταῦτ' ἀμεινόν ἐστιν ἕκαστον καὶ ποιεῖν <ἀ ποιεῖ add. Koehler, Ficinus> καὶ πάσχειν ἢ πάσχει. Cf. *Laws* 889b. Aristotle writes in a similar vein, *Met.* 982b12-17: διὰ γὰρ τὸ θαυμάζειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι . . . ἤρξαντο φιλοσοφεῖν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τὰ πρόχειρα τῶν ἀτόπων θαυμάσαντες, εἶτα . . . καὶ περὶ τῶν μείζονων διαπορήσαντες, οἷον περὶ τε τῶν τῆς σελήνης παθημάτων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἡλίον καὶ ἀστρα κ.τ.λ. Eclipses were also of course of superstitious significance, cf. Pliny, *NH* ii 46.

<sup>45</sup> Tannery, *Science hellène*, 325 and 327, states that Empedocles is dependent on Anaxagoras on this question, but without fully discussing the evidence or bringing out its implications. Subsequently the point has been overlooked (for Guthrie, see n. 49 below).



καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας τινὸς ἢ πίστεως βαδίζων. In the context *περὶ σελήνης καταγραφῶν καὶ σκιᾶς* is clearly meant to include the correct explanation of the moon's eclipse.<sup>46</sup>

It might possibly be argued that Anaxagoras is only said to have been the first to give the correct explanation *in writing*, whereas Empedocles' poems, it might be argued, were delivered orally and learnt by heart.<sup>47</sup> But it would in fact be difficult to show that Empedocles' poems were not circulated in writing; and, even if that could be shown, the distinction between oral and written circulation would be only marginally relevant to Plutarch's purpose. It would be more to the point to know what account of the moon's light was not, in Plutarch's view, as clear and as bold as it might have been; and I shall attempt to reconstruct Plutarch's meaning in a separate article.<sup>48</sup> But for the immediate purpose, all that is needed from Plutarch's passage is the claim that Anaxagoras first gave a clear and correct explanation of the moon's eclipse.

2. Plutarch is supported by Hippolytus. Hippolytus records Anaxagoras' theories that the moon's light is derived from the sun, and that eclipses of the moon and sun are the result of the interposition respectively of the earth and the moon, *Ref.* i 8.8-9 (DK 59A42). Hippolytus, like Plutarch, then adds the comment, *Ref.* i 8.10 (DK *ibid.*): οὗτος ἀφώρισε πρῶτος τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ φωτισμούς (sc. of the sun and the moon).

3. Plato has something to the same effect, although it is less explicit, *Crat.* 409A-B (DK 59A76):

Hermogenes. Τί δὲ ἡ 'σελήνη';

Socrates. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὄνομα φαίνεται τὸν 'Αναξαγόραν πιέζειν.

Hermogenes. τί δὴ;

Socrates. εἴκοι δηλοῦντι παλαιότερον ὃ ἐκεῖνος νεωστὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἡ σελήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἔχει τὸ φῶς.

Plato's words are less explicit on two counts. First, the idea that the moon derives her light from the sun need not entail the correct explanation of an eclipse, although from Plutarch and Hippolytus it is clear that in the case of Anaxagoras it did do so. Secondly, Anaxagoras' priority is not so explicit in Plato's account, even apart from the general antiquity ascribed to the theory, for the most recent publicist of a theory need not be the first. Plutarch however has understood Plato to mean recent and first, *De E apud Delphos*, 391A-B: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἔφη, δέδια μὴ ῥηθὲν πιέζει τὸν Πλάτωνα ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε πιέζεσθαι τῷ τῆς σελήνης ὀνόματι τὸν 'Αναξαγόραν, παμπάλαιον οὐδ' ἂν [τινα secl. Wilamowitz] τὴν περὶ τῶν φωτισμῶν δόξαν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦμενον. ἡ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτ' εἴρηκεν ἐν Κρατύλῳ; Here *ἰδίαν* implies a claim to the same priority for Anaxagoras as is conveyed by *πρῶτος* in Plutarch's own account of Anaxagoras in the *Life of Nicias*, quoted above.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Elsewhere Plutarch refers to the theory that the moon owes her light to the sun as τὸ 'Αναξαγόρειον, *De facie* 929B (DK 59B18).

The ability to give the correct explanation of an eclipse in difficult circumstances is a feature of several of Plutarch's Lives, *Dion* 24 (cf. 19); *Pericles* 35; *Aemilius* 17; cf. *Agessilaus* 17. In the present instance the eclipse and Nicias' superstition are mentioned by Thucydides, vii 50, and Diodorus, xiii 12.6. The excuse for Nicias' not knowing the correct explanation is probably Plutarch's own addition, an indication of his favourable attitude to Nicias. This is in part the opinion of Busolt, 'Plutarch's Nikias und Philistos' in *Hermes* xxxiv (1899) 296-7.

<sup>47</sup> There are several sources which attribute the innovation of a written discourse to various early

thinkers. Anaxagoras' place in this tradition is usefully analysed by Diano in the article already cited, n. 6 above, 'La data di pubblicazione della *syngraphè* di Anassagora': for the passage from Plutarch, *Life of Nicias*, see especially 244-7.

<sup>48</sup> See especially 123 below.

<sup>49</sup> Professor Guthrie, whose attention I had drawn to the passage from the *Cratylus* in connexion with Aristotle's ambiguity, quotes it in his note, ii 128 n. 4, as a corollary to Kahn's thesis, but without adding the complementary evidence from Plutarch and Hippolytus, and without allowing it to affect his interpretation of Aristotle's words: cf. also i 286 n. 1 and ii 66.

The continuation of Plato's account is taken into consideration in my next article, p. 127.



The evidence for Empedocles is as follows.

1. Plutarch tells us that Empedocles also knew that the moon derives her light from the sun by reflection, and that an eclipse of the sun is the result of the interposition of the moon.<sup>50</sup> Plutarch quotes the relevant verses, frs. 42 and 43. Plutarch's account is supported by reports in Aetius.<sup>51</sup>

2. The true explanation of the moon's eclipse is not attributed to Empedocles quite so explicitly.<sup>52</sup> Empedocles apparently believed that the sun was the same size as the earth,<sup>53</sup> and he thought that night was caused (in part) by the shadow of the earth.<sup>54</sup> He also believed that the moon's path lay very close to the earth: twice as far from the sun as from the earth.<sup>55</sup> Did the shadow cast by the earth reach to the moon? Plutarch writes, *De facie* 925B (cf. DK 31B46): τῆς δὲ γῆς τρόπον τινὰ ψαύει (sc. ἡ σελήνη) καὶ περιφερομένη πλησίον, ἄρματος ὡς περὶ χνοίη ἐλίσσεται φησὶν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ἥ τε περὶ ἄκραν (lac. 17–25 litt.) οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτῆς ὑπερβάλλει πολλάκις ἐπὶ μικρὸν αἰρομένην τῷ παμμίγεθες εἶναι τὸ φωτίζον, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔοικεν ἐν χρωὶ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ἀγκάλαις τῆς γῆς περιπολεῖν, ὥστ' ἀντιφράττεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ὑπ' αὐτῆς, μὴ ὑπεραίρουσα τὸν σκιερὸν καὶ χθόνιον καὶ νυκτέριον τοῦτον τόπον, ὅς γῆς κληρὸς ἐστί. The only view which Plutarch necessarily attributes to Empedocles in this passage is that the moon's path lies very close to the earth. Strictly, Plutarch's words need not imply that Empedocles' moon, because it moves so close to the earth, is also covered by the shadow of the earth. But those two ideas are closely linked in Plutarch's account, in thought and in expression, and it seems quite probable that Plutarch does intend to include Empedocles' moon in the idea of the moon being overshadowed by the earth. Even so, it might possibly be argued that Empedocles used the overshadowing of the moon by the earth to explain the phases, and not eclipses of the moon. But it would in fact be difficult to account for the moon's behaviour on such a theory. If Plutarch does imply that Empedocles' moon falls within the shadow of the earth, then it is fairly clear that this overshadowing will have been identified as an eclipse.

Now it is true that there are some complications in the evidence bearing on theories of the moon's light and explanations of eclipses in the fifth century. These I shall examine and attempt to resolve in a separate article. However the immediate lesson of the passages quoted is as follows:

1. The discovery of the correct explanation of the moon's eclipse is attributed to Anaxagoras by Plutarch and Hippolytus. Plutarch quite probably implies that the correct explanation was known also to Empedocles.

2. The discovery of the correct explanation of the sun's eclipse is attributed to Anaxagoras by Hippolytus. The correct explanation was certainly known also to Empedocles, and is attributed to him by Plutarch and Aetius.

<sup>50</sup> *De facie* 929C–E (cf. DK 31B42 and 43).

<sup>51</sup> ii 24.7 (DK 31A59), ii 28.5 (DK 31A60). The former entry is reconstituted by Diels.

<sup>52</sup> It should perhaps be noted that the correct explanations of a lunar and a solar eclipse need not necessarily have gone hand in hand (although they appear in fact to have done so), for in the passage already cited from the *Life of Nicias* Plutarch says that it was common knowledge that some eclipses of the sun were in some way connected with the moon, whereas the explanation was not known of eclipses of the moon.

<sup>53</sup> Act. ii 21.2 (DK 31A56). According to Aetius Empedocles has a theory of 'two suns', but the one in question in this entry, τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνταύγειαν, is apparently the same as τὸν φαινόμενον, see Act. ii 20.13 (DK *ibid.*). Plutarch's description of the same

theory, τὸν ἥλιον περὶ γῆν ἀνακλάσει φωτὸς οὐρανίου γένόμενον, *De Pyth. orac.* 400B (cf. DK 31B44), although obscure, need not, I think, in any way imply that the sun is smaller than the earth.

<sup>54</sup> Fr. 48. This was apparently added to an explanation in terms of dark *aer*, for Pseudo-Plutarch, *Stromateis* 10 (DK 31A30), records that night is the hemisphere which is 'mixed of *aer* and a little fire'; and Empedocles' *aer* is said to be dark, Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 720 E. It is not altogether clear how to correlate this with the account of Empedocles' 'two suns', Act. ii 20.13 (DK 31A56).

<sup>55</sup> Act. ii 31.1 (DK 31A61). I have attempted to determine the meaning of this entry in an article, 'Anaximander's Measurements' in *CQ* n.s. xvii (1967) 428–9.



It follows that in the opinion of the doxographical tradition represented by Hippolytus and Aetius, and probably in Plutarch's opinion as well, Anaxagoras must have written before Empedocles.<sup>56</sup>

What then is the value of the testimony of Plutarch and Hippolytus on the priority of Anaxagoras?

Plutarch does not often speak of Anaxagoras: but at least once elsewhere he displays a knowledge of the detail of Anaxagoras' system—the fact that sounds are muffled in the day time by the hissing of air in the sunshine.<sup>57</sup> Plutarch is an expert witness on Empedocles: he wrote a work in ten books about him, and he frequently speaks of him and quotes from him.<sup>58</sup>

In the case of Hippolytus the remark that 'so-and-so said something first' has perhaps a biographical ring.<sup>59</sup> It might be thought therefore that Hippolytus is here drawing on that *Vitarum compendium* which in chapters three and four of the same book has led him so sadly astray.<sup>60</sup> But in these later chapters, and particularly in the chapter on Anaxagoras, Hippolytus can be seen to be following a source very close to that used normally by Aetius and in the sounder parts of Diogenes.<sup>61</sup> From the point of view of context therefore, what Hippolytus tells us about Anaxagoras here has a good chance of representing what Theophrastus said.

It might be argued that Theophrastus' arguments are repeated from Aristotle. If the remark in Hippolytus, that Anaxagoras was the first to explain eclipses correctly, derives from Theophrastus, then it may possibly be no more than an echo of Aristotle's judgment, and perhaps in particular of his remark that Anaxagoras first introduced the moving cause.<sup>62</sup> But even were this so, Theophrastus would at least endorse the interpretation that I have offered of Aristotle's evidence.

## V. THEORIES OF VISION

The fact that Anaxagoras wrote before Empedocles need not mean that Empedocles knew, or knew of, Anaxagoras or was influenced by him. Therefore I turn to the question of influence as a separate enquiry. Prescinding from the question of chronology, are there signs of influence by either one philosopher on the other?

In the metaphysical structure of both philosophies there are close resemblances of thought and language: particularly in the fragments which tell how birth and death are

<sup>56</sup> I may perhaps anticipate this much from my later article: that if you are content simply to deny the validity of the evidence on derived light before Empedocles and Anaxagoras, which is more or less what Tannery, Heath and Guthrie do, then it should still follow that, in the opinion of Plutarch and Hippolytus, Anaxagoras gave his explanation of eclipses before Empedocles, and that on grounds simply of fact there is no reason to question their evidence. Boll alone takes the alternative view, that since there were theories of derived light before Anaxagoras, then Anaxagoras cannot have been the first to give the correct explanation of an eclipse. See pp. 118–121 below.

<sup>57</sup> *Quaest. conv.* 722A–B (DK 59A74).

<sup>58</sup> For Plutarch's work on Empedocles, see [Lamprias], *Cat.* 43, as corrected by Treu, *Der sogenannte Lamprias-catalog der Plutarch-schriften* (Waldenberg in Schlesien, 1873) *ad loc.*, and Hippolytus, *Ref.* v 20.6. Throughout his extant writings Plutarch quotes some hundred verses or part verses from Empedocles.

This compares with some hundred and fifty verses or part verses quoted by Simplicius; some hundred verses or part verses quoted by Aristotle; and some fifty verses or part verses from each of Sextus, Clement and Hippolytus. Diogenes and Porphyry are the next main sources of verbatim quotations: each quotes some thirty verses. The whole question of Plutarch's knowledge of Empedocles I have discussed in more detail elsewhere, *ECC* 31–6.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* 146, on Diog. Laert. ix 20 (DK 21A1), and Hippol. *Ref.* i 14.1 (DK 21A33); and 165, on Diog. Laert. ix 30 (DK 67A1) *πρῶτος τ' ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς ἐπεστήσατο*, where Diels comments, 'inventionis nota biographum potius vel Variarum historiarum collectorem redolet'.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Diels, *Dox.* 145–6.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Diels, *Dox.* 137–9 and 146 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Theophrastus recognised Anaxagoras as the innovator of the moving cause, *Simpl. Phys.* 27.2–5 = Theophr. fr. 4, Diels, *Dox. Gr.* 478.18–21 (DK 59A41); cf. Diog. Laert. ii 6 (DK 59A1).



names which mortals falsely use of the mixture and separation of permanently existing elements. But in these fragments there is no single feature of word or thought that could not perhaps be explained in terms of a common and independent reaction to Parmenides.<sup>63</sup>

There are several other features in common in Empedocles and Anaxagoras:<sup>64</sup> from the use of a cause of movement or rest in some sense 'above' the material elements,<sup>65</sup> to details such as the formation of the ecliptic,<sup>66</sup> the genesis of animals from the earth<sup>67</sup> before the formation of the ecliptic,<sup>68</sup> the presence of some kind of soul even in plants,<sup>69</sup> and the similarities of children to parents,<sup>70</sup> as well of course as the explanation of eclipses which I have already considered. It may well be thought that cumulatively these common features are an indication of influence. But no one of them, taken on its own, offers indisputable proof of the influence of either philosopher on the other.<sup>71</sup>

What does seem to offer proof of this kind is the peculiar relation between Anaxagoras' and Empedocles' theories of vision.

<sup>63</sup> Anaxagoras, fr. 17. Empedocles, frs. 8-12 *et alib.* Parmenides, especially fr. 8.38-41.

Burnet's supplement, *EGP* 206 n. 1, of the lacuna in fr. 9.3 by *ρέμονται*, which strangely is not mentioned in the apparatus of Diels-Kranz, seems to me decidedly preferable as against Reiske's *λέγονται*, followed by Sturz and Diels, or the other supplements that have been proposed: *δοκούν* by Karsten; *φάσκονται* by Mullach, *Fragmenta philosophorum Graecorum i ad loc.*; and *φασι* with different words preceding by Panzerbieter, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Empedokles* (Meiningen, 1844) *ad loc.*, and Friedländer, *ap. DK ad loc.*

*Νέμειν* in the sense of *νομίζειν* is found, not too infrequently, see LSJ, *s.v.* Burnet's supplement makes best use of the *ν* in the manuscripts immediately preceding the lacuna. Also, if we allow at least a superficial similarity between *ρέμειν* and *νόμος*, then *ρέμονται* answers well to *νόμοι* in line 5. Further, there is a very similar play on words in Plutarch's paraphrase of the fragment, *Adv. Col.* 1112F: *νενομίσται δὲ πως ἢ τοιαύτη τῶν ὀνομάτων ὁμιλία, νόμοι δ' ἐπλήρηται καὶ αὐτός* (the last four words as corrected by Reiske).

The reading affects my argument in that *ρέμονται* has, at least superficially, a closer similarity than has *λέγονται*, or the other supplements, to *νομίζουσιν*, which is the word used by Anaxagoras in precisely this context, fr. 17, and by Parmenides (*νενομίσται*) in a similar context, fr. 6.8. (Alternatively, the similarity may be taken as an additional argument for *ρέμονται*.)

<sup>64</sup> These are mostly noted by Zeller, 1260-4, especially 1260.

<sup>65</sup> Mind in Anaxagoras and Love and Strife in Empedocles. I count Love and Strife as causes of 'movement or rest', and not simply, as is usual, a pair of moving causes, because it seems to me that Love, unlike Strife, is primarily cause of rest and not of movement, in that when things are fully mingled they are at rest, and the period of rest under Love in the sphere lasts for as long as the period of change, separation and movement, when Strife has control of the elements. The evidence for these points I have tried to present elsewhere, *ECC* 101-3. From the present point of view this means that Empedocles'

reaction to Parmenides is more complex than that of Anaxagoras; *cf.* n. 39 above.

<sup>66</sup> Anaxagoras: Diog. Laert. ii 9 (DK 59A1); Aet. ii 8.1 (DK 59A67). Empedocles: Aet. ii 8.2. (DK 31A58).

<sup>67</sup> Anaxagoras: Aet. ii 8.1. (DK 59A67); Irenaeus, *Adv. haeres.* ii 18.2 Harvey (DK 59A113); *cf.* Hippol. *Ref.* i 8.12 (DK 59A42); and Diog. Laert. ii 9 (DK 59A1); *cf.* also Zeller, 1246 n. 6. Empedocles: fr. 62 *et alib.*; *cf.* *ECC* 200-9.

<sup>68</sup> Anaxagoras: Aet. ii 8.1 (DK 59A67). Empedocles: Aet. v 26.4, *ad init.* (DK 31A70). This refinement is not noted by Zeller.

<sup>69</sup> Anaxagoras: Plut. *Quaest. nat.* 911D (DK 59A116); Nicolas Damascenus = [Arist.] *De plantis* 5. 9-13, 6. 17-18, 9. 17-21 Meyer (DK 59A117); *cf.* fr. 11. Empedocles: Aet. v 26.4 (DK 31A70), *ad init.*, *πρῶτα τὰ δένδρα τῶν ζώων*; the first two passages cited above from Nicolas Damascenus; Simpl. *De anima* 72.2-3; *cf.* perhaps fr. 110.10, which is specifically said to include plants by Sextus, *Adv. math.* viii 286.

<sup>70</sup> Anaxagoras: Cens. vi 8 (DK 59A111). Empedocles: Cens. vi 6-7 (DK 31A81); Aet. v 11.1 (DK *ibid.*). Censorinus' belief that Empedocles used right and left in his account of sexual differentiation is open to question.

<sup>71</sup> There is a straight conflict—one might suspect a conscious contradiction—on two points. Anaxagoras thought that stones were formed by cold, fr. 16; Empedocles thought that they were formed by the hot, [Arist.] *Problem.* 937a11-16 (DK 31A69). Anaxagoras, at least according to Theophrastus, thought that we perceived by unlikes, *De sens.* 27 (DK 59A92); Empedocles thought that we perceived by likes, fr. 109.

Cherniss, *ACP* 301 n. 40, *cf.* 91 n. 387, following Heidegger, 'Qualitative change in Pre-Socratic philosophy' in *AGPh.* xix n. F. xii (1906) 369-72, denies the truth of Theophrastus' report, wrongly as it seems to me. Cherniss' attitude stems in part from an exaggerated interpretation of Aristotle's classification of the attraction of likes or unlikes in the Pre-Socratics, *ACP* 91-2, a question which I have tried to analyse elsewhere, *ECC* 301-13.



In his *De sensibus* Theophrastus gives what is evidently intended to be an exhaustive account of pre-Aristotelean theories of vision.<sup>72</sup> The fact that the account is, or would apparently claim to be, exhaustive is particularly important for the present enquiry, for it reduces the possibility that on this topic elements common to Anaxagoras and Empedocles might be caused independently by some third, to us unknown, factor.

In the *De sensibus* Theophrastus records two, and only two, theories which explain difference of vision by day and by night.<sup>73</sup> The two theories belong to Anaxagoras and Empedocles.

1. Anaxagoras says that vision, and perception generally, is by the action of opposites. Most creatures see better in the day time; some creatures see better at night. It is implied in Theophrastus' account that most eyes are of their nature dark; they therefore see better in the light of day time. Some eyes are bright; and they therefore see better in the darkness of night time. Conversely, most eyes, since they are dark, cannot see well at night; and it is probably implied, to complete the sequence, that fiery eyes cannot see as well in the day time as they can at night.<sup>74</sup>

2. Empedocles' theory is the more complex. According to Empedocles, vision is produced by the reverse principle to that of Anaxagoras, namely the action of like on like. Thus we see dark things with the watery pores of the eye, and bright things with the fiery pores of the eye. But, as with Anaxagoras, fiery eyes still see better at night time, while watery eyes still see better by day.

In detail Empedocles' theory apparently worked as follows.<sup>75</sup>

(i) 501.2-3 Diels: ὅσα μὲν (sc. ὄμματα) πυρὸς ἔλαττον ἔχει μεθ' ἡμέραν (sc. μᾶλλον ὀξύωπειν) ἐπανισοῦσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐντὸς φῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκτός. I would interpret this as follows. There is good vision by day for watery eyes, those with less fire than water. For the large amount of fire present by day fills all the smaller number of fire pores. At the same time it blocks some of the water pores: so that only some of the larger number of water pores are filled with water. The result is that there is an equal number of fire and water pores active in the eye, and so there is good vision.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Theophrastus' account includes: Plato, 500.7-13 (Diels, *Dox. Gr.*); Empedocles, 500.23-501.11; Alcmaion, 506.28-507.3; Anaxagoras, 507.8-14; οἱ πολλοί, 509.17-24 and 32-33; Cleidemus, 510.4-5; Diogenes, 510.19-22 and 511.9-12; Democritus, 513.17-27.

<sup>73</sup> Alcmaion explains how some eyes see μᾶλλον than others; Democritus explains how some eyes are 'better' than others; and Diogenes explains how some eyes see ὀξύτατα. Diogenes' account of day and night vision seems to be simply a copy of Anaxagoras'.

<sup>74</sup> 507.8-14 Diels. The three classes in Theophrastus' account are (i) τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς μεθ' ἡμέραν line 10, Diels; (ii) ἐνίοις δὲ νύκτωρ line 10; and (iii) ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν νύκτα line 11. Number (iii) I take to be the same eyes as (i), but with regard to night time and not to day time: so that ἀπλῶς δὲ means in effect the same as τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς. What happens to number (ii) in day time is not explicitly stated. The notion of dark and bright eyes is expressed in Theophrastus by ὁμόχρους and ἀλλόχρους.

<sup>75</sup> 500.23-501.11, cf. 503.4 ff. and 504.14 ff. Diels; Arist. *De gen. anim.* 779b15-20 (DK 31A91); and [Arist.] *Problem.* 910a12-15 (not in DK). What follows is an explanatory paraphrase of Theophrastus. This seems to be required since there are mis-

apprehensions in the only two detailed exegeses known to me of this part of Theophrastus, those of Beare, *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition*, etc., 19-21, and Stratton, *Theophrastus and the Greek physiological psychology before Aristotle* (London and New York, 1917) 71-73 and 163-6.

<sup>76</sup> It would be possible theoretically to achieve the same effect by saying that the small amount of water present in the air by day is able to fill only some of the large number of water pores. But it seems preferable to adopt the explanation given a few lines later in the text, 501.6-7, where it is applied of course with opposite effect: ἀνζηθὲν ἔτι μεθ' ἡμέραν (sc. τὸ πῦρ) ἐπιπλάττειν καὶ καταλαμβάνειν τοὺς τοῦ ὕδατος πόρους.

Stratton takes ἔλαττον to mean that there is less fire in these eyes than in fiery eyes, and not, as I have done, that in the one kind of eye there is less fire than water. There is the same notion in Beare's translation of 500.29 Diels, which follows one of the less plausible of several attempted emendations. But this notion is directly opposed to Aristotle's description in the *De gen. anim.*, 779b16-17, τὰ δὲ μέλανα πλεῖον ὕδατος ἔχειν ἢ πυρός.

Stratton argues that the best eyes are said to have equal amounts of fire and water, so that eyes which see better in the day time cannot have less fire than



(ii) 501.3-4 Diels: ὅσα δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου (sc. ὕδατος ἑλαττον ἔχει) νύκτωρ (sc. μᾶλλον ὀξυνωπεῖν). ἐπαναπληροῦσθαι γὰρ καὶ τούτοις τὸ ἐνδεές. There is good vision at night for fiery eyes, those with less water than fire. For the large amount of water present as the dark element in night time fills *all* the *smaller* number of water pores. At the same time it blocks some of the fire pores: so that only *some* of the *larger* number of fire pores are filled with fire. The result is again that there is an *equal* number of fire and water pores active in the eye, and so there is good vision.

(iii) 501.4-10 Diels: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις <ἐναντίως add. Diels> ἐκάτερον· ἀμβλυωπεῖν μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἷς ὑπερέχει τὸ πῦρ, ἐπεὶ αὐξηθὲν ἔτι μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιπλάττειν καὶ καταλαμβάνειν τοὺς τοῦ ὕδατος πόρους . . . <γίγνεσθαι δὲ ταῦτα suppl. Usener> ἕως ἂν . . . τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ (sc. ἔξωθεν) ἀέρος (sc. ἀποκριθῇ) τὸ πῦρ· ἐκατέρων γὰρ ἴσιν εἶναι τὸ ἐναντίον. There is poor vision by day for fiery eyes, those with more fire than water. For the large amount of fire present by day fills *all* the *larger* number of fire pores. At the same time it blocks some of the water pores: so that only *some* of the *smaller* number of water pores are filled with water. The result is that there is a *greater* proportion of light than dark in the eye, and the eye is dazzled. This continues until the fire blocking the water pores has been cleared away by the dark air of night time.<sup>77</sup>

(iv) 501.7-9 Diels: οἷς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ (sc. ὑπερέχει) ταῦτο τοῦτο (sc. ἀμβλυωπεῖν) γίνεσθαι νύκτωρ· καταλαμβάνεσθαι γὰρ τὸ (sc. ἐντὸς) πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ (sc. ἔξωθεν) ὕδατος· <γίγνεσθαι δὲ ταῦτα suppl. Usener> ἕως ἂν τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔξωθεν φωτὸς ἀποκριθῇ τὸ ὕδωρ. There is poor vision by night for watery eyes, those with more water than fire. For the large amount of water present as the dark element in night time fills *all* the *larger* number of water pores. At the same time it blocks some of the fire pores: so that only *some* of the *smaller* number of fire pores are filled with fire. The result is that there is a *greater* proportion of dark than light in the eye, and the eye is dimmed. This continues until the water blocking the fire pores is cleared away by the light of day time.<sup>78</sup>

(v) 501.10-11 Diels: ἄριστα δὲ κεκρᾶσθαι καὶ βελτίστην εἶναι τὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἴσων συγκειμένην. There is moderate vision by day and by night for eyes with an equal amount of fire and of water. For at night they will have a larger proportion of fire pores to see with than have watery eyes; while in the day time they will have a larger proportion of water pores to see with than have fiery eyes.

How do these theories affect my argument? Anaxagoras and Empedocles alone of the Presocratics attempt to explain differences of vision by night and by day. By what seems, certainly at first sight, to be a curious paradox, both philosophers achieve the same result, that fiery eyes see better at night and dark or watery eyes see better in the day time, and probably *vice versa*, by working from completely opposite premisses, perception by likes and perception by unlikes.<sup>79</sup>

Broadly speaking, this result is achieved because Empedocles in effect makes use, in a disguised form, of the principle of perception by unlikes. For he retains the principle

water. But on this same supposition eyes which see better at night should have more water in them than fire. This interpretation however would make τὸ ἐνδεές (sc. τοῦ ὕδατος) in line 4 (a description of eyes which see well at night) mean in effect a preponderance within the eye of water, and οἷς ὑπερέχει τὸ πῦρ in lines 5-6 mean in effect a deficiency of fire. Stratton, whose view appears to be endorsed by Taylor (quoted by Stratton), has evidently misunderstood the whole paradox of Empedocles' theory, in that although by fire we see fire, nonetheless it is eyes with a preponderance of water which see best in the day time.

<sup>77</sup> It is natural to write ἀήρ instead of ὕδωρ in

line 9 for the dark element outside the eye: for a similar explanation of *aer* as opposed to *aither* in fr. 100 see ECC 291-2.

<sup>78</sup> The last sentence quoted above from Theophrastus is correctly translated by Beare; but Taylor, as cited by Stratton, somehow supposes that ὕδωρ at the end of the last clause is the water of which the eye is composed. This is clearly wrong, and leads to a cumbersome interpretation of ἀποκριθῇ.

<sup>79</sup> The reason for the qualification 'probably' is that the functioning of bright eyes in the day time is not explicitly stated for Anaxagoras, see n. 74 above.



that by like we see like in the case of individual elements, but in effect, to explain the behaviour of the eye as a whole, he introduces the reverse principle as well, in that *poor* vision results when the proportion of light and dark outside the eye is the *same* as the proportion of fire and water inside the eye, while *good* vision results when the proportion of light and dark outside the eye is the *opposite* of the proportion of fire and water inside the eye.

More specifically, this combination of principles is due to the fact that Empedocles introduces two factors into the act of vision, where Anaxagoras has only one. Anaxagoras explains how we see either light things or dark things at any one time. Empedocles explains how we see both light and dark things at the same time: good vision results when these two factors, of light and darkness, are equally balanced; poor vision results when the eye absorbs more dark things than light things, or *vice versa*.<sup>80</sup>

Now to some extent the behaviour of Anaxagoras and Empedocles is controlled by the facts: animals which see well at night do appear to have fiery eyes. But there seems to be more connexion between the two theories than this. It seems in fact not unreasonable to claim that the paradoxical mixture of similarity and dissimilarity between Anaxagoras' and Empedocles' theories on this question would not have arisen if neither thinker had known of the other.

We might perhaps be tempted to argue further that Empedocles' theory is later than Anaxagoras', because it is the more complex, and because it looks as if it is an attempt as it were to outbid Anaxagoras on his own ground. But it could be argued in reply that Anaxagoras' theory is the later, as an attempt to simplify Empedocles. Fortunately it is not essential for my thesis to try and decide this point on internal grounds. I have already argued from external evidence for the chronological priority of Anaxagoras. The argument on the question of influence need be no more than that the peculiar mixture of similarity and dissimilarity in Empedocles' and Anaxagoras' theories of vision is not likely to have resulted if neither philosopher had known the other.

#### CONCLUSION

I conclude that Empedocles wrote later than Anaxagoras, and was influenced by him.

D. O'BRIEN.

*Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.*

<sup>80</sup> Beare, 38, explains this difference between Anaxagoras and Empedocles in terms of outward-flowing fire as the active principle in Empedocles' theory of vision, an interpretation of Empedocles' theory which I discuss, and seek to reject, in an article which will be published in next year's *JHS*.



# DERIVED LIGHT AND ECLIPSES IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

## I

IN a study earlier in this volume, 'The Relation of Anaxagoras and Empedocles', pp. 93-113, I listed the ancient evidence to the effect that Anaxagoras first gave the correct explanation of an eclipse, and that he was followed in this by Empedocles. A more extensive examination of the evidence raises certain difficulties. For what are, or might appear to be, Anaxagoras' theories are attributed elsewhere to earlier thinkers.

There are two principal elements in this contradiction, the one direct and the other indirect.

1. There is a direct contradiction when Thales, Anaximenes and some Pythagoreans are said to have given the correct explanation of an eclipse, at least if we suppose the Pythagoreans in question to have been earlier than Anaxagoras.

2. There has been thought to be an indirect contradiction when several thinkers before Anaxagoras are said to have derived the moon's light from the sun. For a theory of derived light for the moon has been thought, whether rightly or wrongly, to entail the correct explanation of an eclipse.

In what follows I shall attempt to solve these, and some other incidental difficulties.

## II

1. *Thales*. The ways in which Thales is associated with an eclipse vary.

(i) Herodotus says that Thales forecast an eclipse of the sun.<sup>1</sup> According to Diogenes Laertius the prediction 'aroused the wonder' of Xenophanes, and was spoken of by Heraclitus and Democritus.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) One source for Eudemus repeats that Thales forecast an eclipse.<sup>3</sup> Another source says that according to Eudemus Thales forecast eclipses, in the plural.<sup>4</sup> A third source, Theo Smyrnaeus, says that according to Eudemus Thales *εὑρε πρώτος* an eclipse.<sup>5</sup>

(iii) According to Pliny Thales *investigavit primus omnium* an eclipse.<sup>6</sup>

(iv) Later this appears in the form that Thales understood eclipses, *κατέληφεν*.<sup>7</sup>

(v) Finally, in Aetius and in a scholiast on Plato, Thales is said correctly to have explained the sun's eclipse.<sup>8</sup>

The possibility of Thales' having predicted an eclipse of the sun must rise or fall with the state of contemporary Assyrian evidence. But even if we allow that Thales may in some sense have predicted a solar eclipse, still it does not follow that he will have been able to give the true explanation, or any explanation, of the phenomenon, since in the Assyrian world, at least before 609 B.C., the observation of celestial phenomena does not

<sup>1</sup> i 74 (DK 11A5, these references are to Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 5th edn. onwards). There are frequent references in later writers, cf. n. 61 below.

<sup>2</sup> i 23 (DK 11A1), cf. Eudemus fr. 144 Wehrli.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Strom. i 65 (DK 11A5), fr. 143 Wehrli.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laert. i 23 (DK 11A1), fr. 144 Wehrli.

<sup>5</sup> Theo Smyrnaeus, quoting Dercyllides, *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium*, 198.14-18 Hiller (DK 11A17), fr. 145 Wehrli.

<sup>6</sup> N.H. ii 53 (DK 11A5).

<sup>7</sup> Suda, s.v. *Θαλῆς* (DK 11A2): repeated in Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium* i 275.15-16 Bekker.

<sup>8</sup> Aet. ii 24.1 (DK 11A17a). In *Remp.* 600A (DK 11A3). In Aet. ii 29.6 (cf. DK 59A77), Thales is listed with those who gave the correct explanation of the moon's eclipse, an idea which is repeated in Simplicius, *Cat.* 191.5-7 and 194.12-13 (not in DK). This would have been a natural step, once it was thought that Thales had given the correct explanation of an eclipse of the sun.



seem to have been tied to attempts at explaining them. In the Greek world things were different: very possibly whoever first attributed the correct explanation of an eclipse to Thales supposed that the forecast of an eclipse, or still more of a number of eclipses, entailed an explanation, and since the forecast or forecasts, were, or were thought to be, successful, that the explanation must have been the correct one. It would not be difficult to imagine some such process of expansion underlying the passages cited above.

Kirk and Dicks allow that Eudemus may have been responsible for this expansion of ideas.<sup>9</sup> Certainly Eudemus was capable of this kind of thing: elsewhere he argues that Thales 'must' have known a certain theorem, in order to calculate the distance of ships at sea.<sup>10</sup> But in the present instance it seems fairly clear that Eudemus did not go beyond saying that Thales forecast an eclipse, for which Eudemus had the evidence of at least four fifth-century writers. The alternative version, in Theo Smyrnaeus, has fairly clearly arisen simply because a series of abbreviated extracts from Eudemus' *History of Astronomy* has been listed under the general rubric, *εἶρε πρώτος*, which in the case of Thales leads to the fairly meaningless statement, *εἶρε πρώτος . . . Θαλῆς ἡλίου ἐκλείψιν*.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, Theophrastus is probably not the immediate source of the report on Thales, (iv) and (v) above. For it is probable that Theophrastus is the source of the report in Hippolytus that Anaxagoras was the first to give the correct explanation of an eclipse.<sup>12</sup> Probably therefore the expansion of ideas, if such it was, comes from Aetius, or an intermediate source, working on material from Theophrastus or from Theophrastus and Eudemus.<sup>13</sup>

2. *Anaximenes*. The excerpts from Eudemus given by Theo Smyrnaeus also imply that the correct explanation of the moon's eclipse was known to Anaximenes, *Expositio* 198.14–199.2 Hiller (DK 13A16 = fr. 145 Wehrli): *Εὐδημος ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἀστρολογίαις, ὅτι Οἰνοπίδης εἶρε πρώτος . . . , Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ὅτι ἡ σελήνη ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου ἔχει τὸ φῶς καὶ τίνα ἐκλείπει τρόπον*.

I shall consider separately, in section III, the first part of this ascription, the question of the moon's derived light. The second part of the ascription would at first sight most naturally be taken to mean that Anaximenes was the first to discover in what way the moon is *in fact* eclipsed. But there are two reasons why this is unlikely to be true.

First, Anaximenes is also said to have had a fiery moon.<sup>14</sup> A fiery moon would seem to be inconsistent with the correct explanation of the moon's eclipse. For a fiery moon would not be likely to be extinguished the moment it entered the shadow of the earth.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Kirk, *The Presocratic Philosophers* 80. Dicks, 'Thales' in *CQ* n.s. ix (1959) 296. Both writers speak of Eudemus' error hypothetically. Guthrie is even more tentative, *A History of Greek Philosophy* i 49.

<sup>10</sup> Fr. 134 Wehrli (DK 11A20). Cf. Dicks, 'Thales' 303.

<sup>11</sup> Boll rightly notes that the entry in Theo is simply an extension of the version recorded by Clement and Diogenes, but he does not make it clear that the genesis of the error lies in the formula *εἶρε πρώτος*, and his simplified form of quotation, *εἶρε πρώτος ἡλίου ἐκλείψιν*, helps to obscure the point, 'Finsternisse', Pauly-Wissowa *RE*, vol. vi 2 col. 2341.

<sup>12</sup> Ref. i 8.10 (DK 59A42). Cf. my earlier article, pp. 107 and 109.

<sup>13</sup> Wehrli suggests that Aetius ii 24, *περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου*, is taken from Eudemus and not Theophrastus, *Die Schule des Aristoteles, Eudemos von Rhodos* 120. If this were so, it would perhaps be significant that the entry on eclipses of the moon, which attributes the

correct explanation to Thales among others, ii 29.6 (DK 59A77), continues in Stobaeus' version with an additional half-entry, specifically referred to Theophrastus. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* 217–18, supposes that both parts of this kind of double entry are taken, at different dates, from Theophrastus. On Wehrli's view it could perhaps be argued that they show a collation of material from Eudemus and from Theophrastus.

<sup>14</sup> Aet. ii 25.2 (DK 13A16). A reconciliation of this report with the report from Eudemus that 'the moon has her light from the sun' is attempted in section III, see especially 123 below.

<sup>15</sup> It was possible to hold such a theory in later antiquity, but only in virtue of a theory of light that was essentially Stoic and Aristotelean, see 123 below. Anaxagoras' moon was also described as *διάπυρος* and *πεπυρομένος*: I shall try to show that in his case this was not incompatible with the moon's shining by reflection, 125–127 below.



Secondly, the correct explanation of an eclipse would also seem to be discordant with the notion of stars moving around, and not under, the earth, 'like a cap around our head'.<sup>16</sup> The idea is presumably that the air on which the earth rests is too dense or buoyant for the stars to pass through it.<sup>17</sup> The sun also moves around, and not under, the earth.<sup>18</sup> It would seem likely that the moon is intended to follow suit. But if neither sun nor moon passes under the earth, it is difficult, although perhaps not impossible, to see how the earth could block the sun's light from the moon in an eclipse.

Tannery's suggestion seems very likely, that the γεώδεις φύσεις ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῶν ἀστέρων συμπεριφερομένας ἐκείνοις, which Hippolytus and Aetius attribute to Anaximenes, were in fact the means which Anaximenes used to explain eclipses, whether of sun or moon.<sup>19</sup> Tannery's suggestion was accepted by Burnet, Boll and Heath.<sup>20</sup> It has been rejected by Kirk, whose argument seems to have affected Guthrie.<sup>21</sup> Kirk writes: 'It is usually assumed that Anaximenes postulated these invisible celestial bodies in order to explain eclipses; but according to Hippolytus I, 8, 6 (DK 59A42) Anaxagoras, too, believed in them. Yet Anaxagoras knew the true cause of eclipses, therefore he cannot have postulated the invisible bodies for this purpose'. Curiously, Kirk's argument is the reverse of the argument that was very properly adduced by Tannery in support of his thesis. For two sources affirm that Anaxagoras did in fact use these invisible heavenly bodies as an explanation of eclipses of the moon, in addition to the correct explanation. The one source is Hippolytus, who a few lines after the passage cited by Kirk, i 8.9, introduces what are evidently intended to be the same bodies, precisely as an explanation of lunar eclipses, alongside the correct explanation, the interposition of the earth. The same double explanation, interposition by the earth and interposition by other bodies, is attributed to Anaxagoras by Aetius, who specifically quotes Theophrastus.<sup>22</sup> This combination of ideas is not in itself implausible, for it reappears in some Pythagorean accounts of lunar eclipses, which are considered in the section immediately following. The fact that Anaxagoras and some Pythagoreans used 'dark bodies' to explain the moon's eclipse supports Tannery's theory that similar bodies in Anaximenes were used for the same purpose.<sup>23</sup>

A practical objection to Tannery's reconstruction might be that both sources which mention the 'earthy bodies' in Anaximenes place them in the same region as the stars, so that, if Tannery is right, the stars must be nearer the earth than the moon is (or nearer than the sun and moon, if the 'earthy bodies' are to explain solar eclipses as well). But this positioning of the stars is not impossible. Anaximander and others thought that the stars were nearer to the earth than the sun or moon, and Leucippus thought that they were

<sup>16</sup> Hippol. Ref. i 7.6 (DK 13A7). Aet. ii 16.6 (DK 13A14).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Aet. ii 23.1 (DK 13A15). Anaximenes' earth 'rides' or floats on a cushion of air, Hippol. Ref. i 7.4 (DK 13A7); [Plut.] Strom. 3 (DK 13A6); Aet. iii 15.8 (DK 13A20); cf. Arist. De caelo 294b13 ff. (DK 13A20).

<sup>18</sup> Hippol. Ref. i 7.6 (DK 13A7). Cf. Arist. Meteor. 354a27-32 (DK 13A14).

<sup>19</sup> Hippol. Ref. i 7.5 (DK 13A7). A slightly different form of words in Aet. ii 13.10 (DK 13A14). Tannery, *Pour l'histoire de la science hellène* (2nd edn. by Diès), 157-8.

<sup>20</sup> Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* 78. Boll, 'Finsterneisse', col. 2342. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos* 44.

<sup>21</sup> Kirk, *Pres. Phil.* 155-6. Guthrie, *History* i 135 n. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Aet. ii 29.6-7 (DK 59A77).

<sup>23</sup> Kirk, *loc. cit.*, argues that Diogenes' ἀφανείς λίθοι, used to explain meteors (Aet. ii 13.9 = DK 64A12) have been read back into Anaximenes. With Tannery's suggestion there is no need to suppose that the evidence has been falsified.

Gershenson and Greenberg argue the other way round from Kirk, *Anaxagoras and the Birth of Physics* (New York, London, Toronto, 1964) 351 and 353. They assume that Anaximenes' γεώδεις φύσεις were used to explain eclipses, but suppose that the passage in Hippolytus has wrongly attributed this, as well as the correct explanation, to Anaxagoras. But they do not mention that the same double explanation is attributed to Anaxagoras by Aetius, specifically quoting Theophrastus, nor that the same duality recurs in accounts of Pythagoreans. Cf. 124 below.



below the sun but above the moon.<sup>24</sup> In the absence of evidence either way for Anaximenes, it is possible that he too thought that the stars were lower than the moon, or than the sun and moon.<sup>25</sup>

Tannery's explanation of the moon's eclipse would be compatible with the idea of a fiery moon, and with the notion that the stars, sun and moon pass round, and not under, the earth. At the same time, γεώδεις φύσεις as an explanation of the moon's eclipse are perhaps sufficient to have given rise to the rather loose expression in Theo Smyrnaeus. As I have already noted, the items which Theo excerpts from Eudemus' *History of Astronomy* are made to depend on an initial εὔρε πρῶτος. In the case of Thales this leads to the pretty meaningless statement, εὔρε πρῶτος . . . ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν, where two other sources show fairly clearly that what Eudemus said was that Thales forecast an eclipse. Very possibly, in the case of Anaximenes, Eudemus said simply that Anaximenes gave an explanation of the moon's eclipse. Theo's formula turns this into εὔρε πρῶτος . . . ἡ σελήνη . . . τίνα ἐκλείπει τρόπον, with the consequent (false) implication that Anaximenes gave the correct explanation of the moon's eclipse.<sup>26</sup>

3. *Some Pythagoreans.* Two entries in Aetius attribute the correct explanation of the eclipse of sun and moon to some Pythagoreans. The entry which deals with the moon's eclipse adds the interposition of the antichthon as an explanation alongside the true explanation, the interposition of the earth.<sup>27</sup>

Aristotle mentions an extension of this scheme, *De caelo* 293b21–25: ἐνίοις δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ πλείω σώματα τοιαῦτα ἐνδέχασθαι φέρεσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀδῆλα διὰ τὴν ἐπιπρόσθησιν τῆς γῆς. διὸ καὶ τὰς τῆς σελήνης ἐκλείψεις πλείους ἢ τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου γίνεσθαι φασιν· τῶν γὰρ φερομένων ἕκαστον ἀντιφράττειν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν. In the preceding lines Aristotle has considered a Pythagorean theory of an antichthon and a central fire. Fairly certainly the present scheme is also Pythagorean, for only on a Pythagorean scheme would there be bodies circulating around the centre and below the earth.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The position of Anaximander's stars is determined by Hippol. *Ref.* i 6.5 (DK 12A11) and Aet. ii 15.6 (DK 12A18). Stobaeus' version of the entry in Aetius adds Metrodorus of Chios and Crates. For Leucippus, Diog. Laert. ix 33 (DK 67A1). Contrast the report on Democritus, Aet. ii 15.3 (DK 68A86). In a report on Parmenides, Aet. ii 15.4 (DK 28A40a), the stars are apparently put below the sun; but the difficulties in the arrangement of Parmenides' heavens are still unresolved, and it may be that this entry reflects misunderstanding of fr. 10–12, as Zeller argues, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, Teil i Abteilung 1 (6th edn. by Nestle) 714 n. 2.

It is significant that when Anaxagoras' 'invisible bodies' are first introduced by Hippolytus they are specifically said to be carried around with the sun and moon below the stars, *Ref.* i 8.6 (DK 59A42). In the account of eclipses they are said to be below the moon, *Ref.* i 8.9 (DK *ibid.*), Aet. ii 29.6–7 (DK 59A77).

<sup>25</sup> The fact that Anaximenes' stars μὴ θερμαίνειν διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀποστάσεως, Hippol. *Ref.* i 7.6 (DK 13A7), need not show that they are further away from us than the sun, for their heat will presumably be proportionate to their size as well as to their distance. At Aet. ii 14.3 (DK 13A14), Anaximenes' stars are said to be fastened to the firmament; but mention of τὸ κρυσταλλοειδές shows that the first part of the entry in fact belongs to Empedocles.

<sup>26</sup> A more radical, and less likely, explanation

would be that Eudemus or Dercyllides thought that the correct explanation of the moon's eclipse followed from the fact of the moon's derived light.

<sup>27</sup> For the sun, ii 22.5 and ii 24.6 (not in DK), reconstituted from a single entry in Stobaeus by Diels, *Dox. Gr.* 352 and 354. For the moon, ii 29.4 (DK 58B36).

<sup>28</sup> This is Zeller's argument, Teil i Abteilung 1 532 n. 2. Simplicius writes, *De caelo* 515.25–26: λέγει δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτι δύνανται τοῦτο καὶ ὡς Πυθαγορείων τινῶν ἐπὶ ταύτης γενομένων τῆς δόξης ἀκούεσθαι. The dubitative note in δύνανται seems to me to tell against Guthrie's suggestion, *History* i 283 n. 1, that Alexander is here drawing on Aristotle's lost work on the Pythagoreans. For Alexander would presumably have accepted Aristotle's authority on such a point as conclusive. On one occasion when Alexander disagrees with a point in Aristotle's history of the Pythagoreans he is at pains not to blame Aristotle, but to suppose that Aristotle's account μεταγενεράσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τινος *ap. Simpl. De caelo* 392.12–32.

Stocks' Oxford translation, taken over by Guthrie, in his Loeb edition of the *De caelo*, seems to me to misplace the καὶ in the first sentence quoted in the text above: 'Some of them even consider it possible . . .' (my italics). The force of the καὶ would seem to be intensive, 'quite a number of such bodies', or additive, 'several such bodies as well (as the antichthon)'.



Both Pythagorean theories include the correct explanation of an eclipse. Will they antedate Anaxagoras? Burnet, Boll and Guthrie suppose that they do, or may do.<sup>29</sup> But, granted the unreliability of the attributions to Thales and Anaximenes, and in face of the evidence cited earlier for the priority of Anaxagoras, there will be no need to suppose that the Pythagoreans who included the correct explanation of an eclipse in their cosmology did so independently.<sup>30</sup>

I conclude therefore that there is no plausible claimant, directly for the correct explanation of an eclipse, whether of sun or moon, before Anaxagoras.

### III

There remains the second and indirect element in our contradiction, namely the apparent discrepancy that, although Anaxagoras is said to have been the first to explain eclipses correctly, there is nonetheless a variety of evidence that attributes derived light for the moon to a number of thinkers before Anaxagoras. Modern scholars have supposed (whether rightly or wrongly remains to be seen) that a theory of derived light for the moon would have entailed the correct explanation of an eclipse, and would have been an essential element in Anaxagoras' innovation. They have therefore either denied the reports of derived light before Anaxagoras, or denied Anaxagoras' priority.<sup>31</sup>

I have already listed the evidence for Anaxagoras' priority in my earlier article.<sup>32</sup> The evidence for derived light before Anaxagoras is as follows:

1. Twice Plutarch says, or implies, that Parmenides made the moon derive her light from the sun. Each time he quotes a verse to illustrate the point:

fr. 14: *νυκτιφαῆς περὶ γαίαν ἀλώμενον ἀλλότριον φῶς.*

fr. 15: *αἰεὶ παπταίνουσα πρὸς αὐγὰς ἡελίου.*

In particular, on one of these occasions, Plutarch refers to the theory that the moon derives her light from the sun as τὸ Ἀναξαγόρειον, when a moment before he has attributed what would appear (to us) to be the same theory to Parmenides.<sup>33</sup>

2. Eudemus, in the passage quoted earlier from Theo Smyrnaeus, is said to have attributed derived light for the moon to Anaximenes.<sup>34</sup>

3. Aetius attributes derived light for the moon to Thales, Pythagoras and Parmenides, as well as to Anaxagoras and Empedocles.<sup>35</sup>

4. There is something of the same implication in Plato's remark in the *Cratylus*, that the

<sup>29</sup> Burnet, *EGP* 177 n. 1 and 272. Guthrie tentatively proposes this reconstruction in the second volume of his *History* 196-7, although in his first volume, 285-7, he supposes that the Pythagorean explanation of eclipses is later than Empedocles and Anaxagoras. Boll is inconsistent in another way. At one point he uses the evidence for Anaximenes to reject Anaxagoras' priority over the Pythagoreans, 'Finsternisse', col. 2343: 'Die Annahme eines Einflusses des Anaxagoras auf diese Pythagoreer... ist angesichts des Anaximenes unnötig'. But in the preceding column he had rejected the evidence for Anaximenes: 'Denn eine Erklärung der Mond-Finsternisse durch den Erdschatten ist bei des Anaximenes Vorstellung von der Erde als breiter Platte und von der nur seitlichen Bewegung der Gestirne kaum denkbar.'

<sup>30</sup> This is Zeller's view, *Teil I Abteilung 1* 532 n. 2.

<sup>31</sup> References 119 and 120-121 below.

<sup>32</sup> Pp. 106-109 above.

<sup>33</sup> Fr. 14, *Adv. Col.* 1116A (partly quoted DK 28B14). Fr. 15, *De facie* 929A-B (partly quoted DK 28B15). In these two places the implication is quite clear that the moon depends for her light upon the sun. In another place, *Quaest. rom.* 282B (not in DK), fr. 15 is quoted with a slightly looser implication: ὥσπερ ἡ σελήνη προσέχειν θέλει τῷ κρείττονι (i.e. τῷ ἡλίῳ) καὶ δευτερεύειν (fr. 15), κατὰ τὸν Παρμενίδην.

<sup>34</sup> Fr. 145 Wehrli = Theo Smyrnaeus, *Expositio*, 198.18-199.2 Hiller (DK 13A16). The report of derived light for Anaximander in Diog. Laert. ii 1 (DK 12A1) is clearly false, since it conflicts with the account of the moon as an opening in a wheel of fire, Aet. ii 25.1, ii 29.1 (DK 12A22), cf. Diels, *Dox. Gr.* 167, *Parmenides Lehrgedicht* (Berlin, 1897) 111.

<sup>35</sup> Jointly, ii 28.5. For Parmenides alone, ii 26.2 (DK 28A42); cf. ii 30.4 (DK 28B21).



idea which Anaxagoras put forward of the moon deriving her light from the sun was in fact an 'ancient' idea.<sup>36</sup>

5. Plato's remark is enlarged upon by Cleomedes, *De motu circulari corporum caelestium*, 200.24–202.4 Ziegler: ἤδεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν φυσικῶν τε καὶ ἀστρολόγων ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡ σελήνη τὸ φῶς ἔχει· ὡς δηλὸν ἐστὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐτυμολογίας τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτῆς, οὕτως ὠνομασμένης ἐκ τοῦ σέλας αὐτὴν αἰεὶ νέον ἔχειν (this is the explanation given by Plato in the *Cratylus*) καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιδίδοσθαι δαΐδας τοῖς εἰς τὰ Ἀρτεμίσια εἰσιούσι· τοῦτο γὰρ σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἔχειν τὴν σελήνην τὸ φῶς.

6. Diogenes quotes a tale similar to Plato's, ix 34 (DK 59A5): Φαβωρίνος δὲ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ λέγειν Δημόκριτον περὶ Ἀναξαγόρου, ὡς οὐκ εἴησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ δόξαι αἱ τε περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖαι· τὸν δ' ὑφηγήσθαι.

The usual response of modern scholars has been to deny this evidence piecemeal, in order to safeguard the priority of Anaxagoras, or of Anaxagoras and Empedocles. Thus Tannery questioned the authenticity of one of the verses which Plutarch quotes as from Parmenides, and explained away the other as insufficient confirmation of Plutarch's statement.<sup>37</sup> Kirk assumes that Eudemus is speaking of reflected light, and says that this must be 'another backward projection, this time of a belief common to Xenophanes, Parmenides and Empedocles'.<sup>38</sup> (The inclusion of Xenophanes must be a mistake, since he is reported as having believed that the moon has her own light.)<sup>39</sup> Guthrie describes the reports in Eudemus and Aetius as 'isolated claims in late writers', and concludes, as does Heath, that there can have been no notion of derived light before Anaxagoras or Empedocles.<sup>40</sup>

But the tradition of derived light before Anaxagoras cannot be so easily suppressed. Out of their context the verses quoted by Plutarch from Parmenides are not, it is true, conclusive evidence for the moon's derived light. But this is not unnatural. Plutarch's quotations are intended as a reminder, and as a literary adornment, not as a demonstration of something in a work that had become rare or unfamiliar, which is the purpose, for example, of Simplicius' quotations (*cf. Phys.* 39.20–21). As it is, even with the verses out of their context, an obvious reason why the moon's light is ἀλλότριον, and why she is always looking in the direction of the sun, would be because her light depends on the light of the sun.

There is no intrinsic reason to doubt Plutarch's evidence that this was in fact the intention of the verses. Parmenides' poem seems to have been available to Plutarch, for twice he includes Parmenides in a list of authors whose works, he seems to say, would have been familiar reading for an educated person of his day.<sup>41</sup> There is no discernible reason

<sup>36</sup> 409A–B (DK 59A76). The passage has been quoted in my earlier article, 107 above.

<sup>37</sup> *Science hellène* 215–19. Boll, 'Finsterneisse', col. 2342, remarks against Tannery that the evidence for derived light before Parmenides is 'absolut sicher'. Diels' attempted reconciliation of the evidence on Parmenides seems to me unsatisfactory, *Parmenides Lehrgedicht* 110–12. In effect Diels simply applies to Parmenides what we are told of Anaxagoras and Democritus by Aristotle and Olympiodorus (roughly the passages cited below 126–127).

<sup>38</sup> *The Pres. Phil.* 156 n. 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Aet.* ii 28.1 (DK 21A43).

<sup>40</sup> Guthrie, *History* i 286, *cf.* ii 66. Heath, *Aristarchus* 19 and 75–77. On the question of derived light, Guthrie speaks of 'the doubtful exception of their (i.e. Anaxagoras' and Empedocles') near-contemporary Parmenides'. But if the supposed

priority of Empedocles or Anaxagoras is to be breached by Parmenides, for whom there is good evidence of derived light, then there is no longer any reason, on grounds simply of priority, for refusing to allow the notion of derived light to other thinkers, as well as Parmenides, who are earlier than Empedocles and Anaxagoras.

<sup>41</sup> At *De recta ratione audiendi* 45A–B (DK 28A16), Parmenides is listed with Archilochus, Phocylides (then still extant, see Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xx I col. 505), Euripides and Sophocles. At *Quomodo adolescens*, 16C (DK 28A15), he is listed with Empedocles (whom Plutarch knew well), Nicander and Theognis. In a quite different context, *De Pythiae oraculis* 402E (DK 11A1), designed to flatter Serapion by the antiquity of the tradition he follows of the poet philosopher, the list includes Orpheus and perhaps Thales.



why, if Plutarch knew Parmenides' poem, he should twice have falsified the context of his quotation.

Eudemus cannot properly be lumped with Aetius as a 'late writer'. Aetius quotes a sentence from, or based on, Anaximenes, which is presumably taken from Theophrastus:<sup>42</sup> it is reasonable to suppose that Theophrastus' contemporary, Eudemus, whose researches were hardly less extensive, will likewise have had some independent knowledge of Anaximenes.

Aetius' inclusion of Thales is probably unreliable. In general, it is unlikely that much, or any, detailed knowledge of Thales' astronomical ideas, if he had any, was available to Theophrastus. In particular, Aetius' inclusion of Thales conflicts with the claim, quoted by Theo Smyrnaeus from Eudemus (115 above), that Anaximenes was the first to discover that the moon has her light from the sun. But Parmenides' work was clearly available to Theophrastus for the writing of the *De sensu*, 3-4: and Parmenides is not simply added to a list, as Thales is; in addition Aetius writes specifically, ii 26.2 (DK 28A42): *Παρμενίδης ἴσῃν τῷ ἡλίῳ* (sc. τὴν σελήνην εἶναι φῆσιν)· καὶ γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φωτίζεται.<sup>43</sup>

This whole complex of evidence therefore, two quotations from Parmenides, and three direct reports from Plutarch, Eudemus and Aetius, supported by the looser tradition from Plato and apparently Democritus, is unlikely to be simply wrong.<sup>44</sup>

Boll takes the other choice. He denies the evidence on Anaxagoras' priority.<sup>45</sup> But this tradition is hardly less well authenticated than the other. Direct reports in Plutarch and in one of the sounder parts of Hippolytus are again supported by the looser evidence from Plato and Democritus.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> i 3.4 (DK 13B2).

<sup>43</sup> *Γάρ* is in Stobaeus and Eusebius, xv 27.2; it is lacking in Pseudo-Plutarch and Galen, see *Dox. Gr.* 357a6, b10, 627.19. Diels, following Karsten (*Parmenidis Eleatae carminis reliquiae* [Amstelodami, 1835] 248 n. 80), dismisses the inclusion of *γάρ* as absurd, *Prolog.* 62-63, and cites as 'omnino contraria', 62 n. 1, the Stoic idea that the sun is *μελίζω δὲ τῆς γῆς*; *τῷ πᾶσι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ φωτίζεται*, Diog. Laert. vii 144. But the connexion of thought implied in *γάρ* seems to me perfectly possible for the fifth century; and the argument of the Stoics, far from telling against it, seems to me to indicate a similar attitude of mind. (Cf. 'Anaximander's measurements', *CQ*, n.s. xvii [1967] 426. The point slightly affects the present argument, in that without *γάρ* the additional sentence is perhaps the more likely to be a simple repetition of the general attribution of derived light to Parmenides and others at ii 28.5.)

<sup>44</sup> I have added these observations on the quality of the evidence, partly in order to off-set the generalisations recently put forward by Dicks in *CQ* n.s. ix (1959) 294-309, and to a lesser extent in *JHS* lxxxvi (1966) 26-40. Dicks writes, *CQ* 299, '... it can confidently be said that the chances that the original works of the earlier Pre-Socratics were still readily available to his (sc. Aristotle's) pupils, such as Theophrastus and Eudemus ... are extremely small'. Again, *CQ* 301, 'There is, therefore, no justification whatsoever for supposing that very late commentators, such as Proclus (5th century A.D.) and Simplicius (6th century A.D.), can possibly possess more authentic information about the Pre-Socratics than the earlier epitomators and excerpts ...'

But Simplicius in fact quotes what appears to be a large part of Parmenides' *Way of Truth*, and the

extent and style of his quotations from Empedocles show that he must have had access to a large part, if not the whole, of the physical poem: see *Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle* (Cambridge, 1968) 150-1.

I would not claim to distinguish between 'available' and 'readily available' in the case of Theophrastus and Eudemus. Apollodorus found Anaximander's work, Diog. Laert. ii 2 (DK 12A1); and Simplicius records a direct quotation from it, which is taken presumably from Theophrastus, *Phys.* 24.18-21 (DK 12A9 = Theophr. fr. 2, *Dox. Gr.* 476).

In this instance Dicks' judgment has perhaps been coloured by his belief that of the series of three pairs of figures offered by Tannery in his reconstruction of Anaximander's system, 'only 27 in the series has any textual authority', *JHS* 36. This is a thoughtless simplification of Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* 88 n. 2, cf. 68. In fact 27, 28 and 19 are recorded in the doxographical tradition, if Diels' text is to be trusted, *Dox. Gr.* 348a3-4, b2-3, 351a8, 355a18-19, b16-17. These figures, and the report that 'the sun is equal to the earth', Aet. ii 21.1 (DK 12A21), cf. Diog. Laert. ii 1 (DK 12A1), very possibly explain Eudemus' claim that Anaximander was concerned *περί μεγέθων καὶ ἀποστημάτων*, if we suppose that in Simplicius' rather ragged context, *De caelo* 471.2-11 (DK 12A19), this has become attached to planets instead of to sun, moon and stars. By insisting on the formal connexion with planets, Dicks finds the report from Eudemus 'nonsensical', *JHS* 30. For Tannery's reconstruction of Anaximander, see 'Anaximander's Measurements', *CQ* n.s. xvii (1967) 424-7.

<sup>45</sup> 'Finsterneisse', col. 2343.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. 106-107 above.



Boll's choice carries another disadvantage. Boll accepts the reports of derived light for philosophers before Anaxagoras, including Anaximenes and Parmenides, and he supposes that derived light means reflected light. But successive entries in Aetius say that Anaximenes' and Parmenides' moon was fiery, *πύρινος*.<sup>47</sup> A longer entry says that Parmenides' sun is an expiration of fire, while the moon is a mixture of fire and air.<sup>48</sup> A fiery moon, even a partially fiery one, would seem to be inconsistent with the moon's deriving her light from the sun, if derived light means reflected light.<sup>49</sup>

The whole difficulty is therefore as follows.

1. Anaxagoras is the first person who is reliably reported as having given the correct explanation of an eclipse, and he is said to have been the first to do so.

2. But there is a wide complex of evidence to the effect that thinkers before Anaxagoras held a theory of derived light for the moon: derived light has been thought, whether rightly or wrongly, to entail the correct explanation of an eclipse.

3. Two thinkers before Anaxagoras who are said to have held a theory of derived light for the moon are also said to have had a fiery moon: a fiery moon would seem inconsistent with the moon's deriving her light from the sun, if derivation means reflection.

A partial solution would be to break the assumption that reflected light would have entailed the correct explanation of an eclipse. Anaximenes and Parmenides, it could then be argued, thought that the moon's light was reflected from the sun; while Anaxagoras first used the idea to explain eclipses.

But this solution does not fully explain the evidence.

1. It does not give Parmenides and Anaximenes a fiery moon.

2. It does not fully account for the form of words in Plutarch and Hippolytus, quoted above, 106–107 that Anaxagoras was the first to give a clear account specifically of the *lighting* of the moon:

Plutarch, *Nic.* 23 (DK 59A18) : *περὶ σελήνης κατανασμῶν καὶ σκιάς.*

Hippolytus, *Ref.* i 8.10 (DK 59A42) : *οὗτος ἀφώρισε πρῶτος τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ φωτισμούς.*

Cf. Plato *Crat.* 409A–B (DK 59A76) : *ὁ ἐκείνος νεωστὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἡ σελήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἔχει τὸ φῶς.*

3. And so clear-cut a distinction between Anaxagoras and his predecessors does not altogether explain the controversial note in Democritus and Plato, as cited above 118–119.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> ii 25.2 (DK 13A16); ii 25.3 (DK 28A42). Theodoretus makes a composite entry, and writes, more emphatically . . . *ἐκ μόνου συνεστάναι πυρός*, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* iv 23 (*Dox.* 356).

<sup>48</sup> ii 7.1 (DK 28A37). A later and shorter entry, ii 20.8a (DK 28A43), says that the sun comes from the rarer and hotter part of the Milky Way, while the moon comes from the denser and colder part. Zeller, *Teil i Abteilung* 1 715 n. 1, and Guthrie, *History* ii 66, more or less despair over the discrepancies in these two reports and in those cited in the preceding footnote. They can best be reconciled if Theodoretus is taken as a rewriting of the (original of the) more specific entries in Stobaeus (the only representative here of Aetius), ii 25.2 and 3, and if these and the report at ii 20.8a are taken as equally one-sided versions of the exceptionally full statement at ii 7.1, where the moon is a mixture of fire and a colder element. It is not unnatural for the moon to be colder than the sun, if her light is derived light: cf. n. 54 below.

<sup>49</sup> Anaxagoras' moon is also described as *διάπυρος* and *πεπυρομένος*. I shall try to show that in his case this was compatible with a theory of reflection, 125–127.

Empedocles' moon is made of air solidified by the action of fire: Plut. *De facie* 922C (DK 31A60); Aet. ii 25.15 (DK *ibid.*); [Plut.] *Strom.* 10 (DK 31A30); cf. the account of the formation of the firmament, Aet. ii 11.2 (DK 31A51). There is no need to accept the inference of Aetius that it is composed of fire: that it is an inference is shown by *ὥστε*.

<sup>50</sup> The position outlined in the last paragraph but one is more or less that taken by Tarán, *Parmenides, a text with translation, commentary, and critical essays* (Princeton University Press, 1965) 245 nn. 39 and 40. But to achieve this position Tarán has to deny the reports of a fiery moon for Parmenides (in fact he offers the hesitant formula, that the moon is 'most probably composed entirely or predominantly of air (Night)', 244–5, my italics); to



The proper solution, I suggest, lies in breaking the other assumption: that derived light means reflected light. This is in fact a modern assumption, which was not shared in later antiquity. For a theory that the moon derives her light from the sun, not by reflection, but by a mixing and joint kindling of the moon's own light with light from the sun, is given at some length by Plutarch's Lucius in the *De facie* and by Cleomedes.<sup>51</sup>

1. Lucius introduces kindling and absorption as together a pair of alternatives to the theory that the moon shines by reflection, 929B-C: φωτίζεσθαι τοίνυν τὴν σελήνην (i) οὐκ ὡς ὕalon ἢ κρύσταλλον ἐλλάμψει καὶ διαφαύσει τοῦ ἡλίου πιθανόν ἐστιν (ii) οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ σύλλαμψίν τινα καὶ συνανασασμὸν ὥσπερ αἱ δαῖδες αὐξομένου τοῦ φωτός. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐν νοσηνίαις ἢ διχομηνίαις ἔσται πανσέληνος ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ στέγει μὴδ' ἀντιφράττει τὸν ἡλίον ἀλλὰ (ia) διήσιν ὑπὸ μανότητος (iia) ἢ κατὰ σύγκρασιν ἐκλάμπει καὶ συνεξάπτει περὶ αὐτὴν τὸ φῶς.<sup>52</sup> The same idea is mentioned again briefly towards the end of Lucius' speech where he concludes, in favour of the theory of reflection, that the behaviour of the moon παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐπιδείκνυσιν οὐ σύγκρασιν ἀλλ' ἐπαφήν οὐδὲ σύλλαμψιν ἀλλὰ περιλάμψιν αὐτῆς ὄντα τὸν φωτισμὸν, 931A-B. The context immediately preceding shows that the σύγκρασις and σύλλαμψις would be a conjunction of the light of sun and moon.

2. Cleomedes describes the view that the moon shines by mixing her own light with that of the sun immediately after the view that the moon shines by reflection, *De motu*, 182.20-184.3 Ziegler: τρίτη ἐστὶν αἵρεσις ἢ λέγουσα κινᾶσθαι αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς σελήνης) τὸ φῶς ἕκ τε τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ φωτός καὶ τοιοῦτον γίνεσθαι οὐκ ἀπαθοῦς μενούσης αὐτῆς οὐδέ . . . [by reflection] . . . ἀλλ' ἀλλοιουμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ φωτός καὶ κατὰ τοιαύτην τὴν κρᾶσιν ἴδιον ἰσχύσης τὸ φῶς, οὐ πρῶτως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μετοχὴν, ὡς διάπυρος σίδηρος κατὰ μετοχὴν ἴσχει τὸ φῶς οὐκ ἀπαθῆς ὢν, ἀλλὰ τετραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. This is the view which Cleomedes himself adopts, 188.4-7 Ziegler: εὐδηλον ὡς οὐ κατὰ ἀνάκλασιν ἐκπέμπει (sc. ἡ σελήνη) τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ δι' ὅλης ἀπὸ τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων λαμπρυνόμενη καὶ κεκραμένον ἔχουσα τὸ φῶς οὕτω λαμπρύνει τὸν αἶρα.

Cleomedes' later discussion, 190.1-16, makes it reasonably clear that this was in fact the theory of Posidonius, for Posidonius is credited with a defence of the objection that a moon which shines by kindling could not block the light of the sun in an eclipse. Posidonius' reply is that the airy nature of the moon has sufficient βάθος to prevent the rays of the sun passing right through the moon, so as to be visible to us. Plutarch attributes the same defence to Posidonius, 929D, although from Plutarch's account alone it would not be clear whether the theory that Posidonius defends is one of kindling or absorption.

Cleomedes raises the equivalent objection, 188.8-28: if the moon has a light of her own, mixed with or kindled from that of the sun, how can she be darkened instantaneously

ignore the report of a fiery moon for Anaximenes; to relate Plato's remark in the *Cratylus* exclusively to the explanation of eclipses; and to ignore, or overlook, the specific mention of lighting in Plutarch and Hippolytus.

<sup>51</sup> Ferguson suggests that derived light in Pseudo-Plutarch's report on Empedocles, *Stromateis* 10 (DK 31A30), could mean kindled light and not reflected light, 'Two notes on the Preplatonic' in *Phronesis* ix (1964) 99. But he rightly rejects this idea, without considering whether the distinction would explain the evidence for thinkers other than Empedocles.

<sup>52</sup> The views are marked (i) and (ia), (ii) and (iia), to make it clear that there are two, and only two, principal theories, each of which is once repeated. Cherniss, in the Loeb edition of the *De facie*, gives separate attributions for glass and ice in

(i), for (ii), and for (iia), thus suggesting that there are three (or four) different theories involved, and so confusing the structure of the piece.

Two of Cherniss' attributions are questionable. View (i) cannot be taken simply as Empedocles' view, for it is the theory that light shines *through* the moon, whereas Empedocles is introduced a moment later, 929E, to illustrate what is clearly intended to be a different view, that light is reflected *from* the moon. View (ii) is not adequately paralleled by the Pythagoreans mentioned in Aetius ii 29.4 (DK 58B36), for there the moon which is kindled and extinguished is not said to be kindled *from the sun*, which is an essential element in the theory which Plutarch speaks of.

The use of torches to describe kindling is interesting. Cleomedes, quoted 119 above, uses the same image to describe the 'ancient' theory of the moon's light.



by the shadow of the earth in her own eclipse? Cleomedes' answer is the Aristotelean and Stoic theory that lightness and darkness are instantaneous affections of air and other rare bodies.<sup>53</sup>

Now if we strip off these two more or less sophisticated accretions offered by Posidonius and Cleomedes, then the simple theory of a moon whose light is kindled from the sun will at once resolve the difficulties in the evidence for the fifth century. For derivation by kindling, as distinct from reflection, is not inconsistent with, in fact it demands, a fiery moon. Equally, derivation by kindling, in a simple sense, does not entail, in fact it excludes, the correct explanation of an eclipse. For derivation by kindling, except on a specifically Aristotelean theory of light, makes it unlikely that the moon would lose her light the moment she entered the shadow of the earth; and similarly one would not expect a moon which shone by kindling to be able to conceal the light of the sun, except at the expense of revealing her own.

Hence I suggest that two pairs of ideas should be distinguished, in order to resolve the apparently discrepant traditions on the question of derived light and the priority of Anaxagoras.

1. Empedocles and Anaxagoras derive the moon's light from the sun by *reflection*. In accordance with this, they both give the correct explanation of eclipses.

2. Anaximenes and Parmenides are said to have derived the moon's light from the sun: they are also said to have had a fiery moon; and they are not (reliably) reported to have given the correct explanation of eclipses. This, I suggest, is because their moon derives its light from the sun not by reflection but by *kindling*.<sup>54</sup>

These two pairs of ideas are sufficiently similar, in that they both derive the moon's light from the sun, for it to be possible to allege, as did Plato and apparently Democritus, that Anaxagoras was revamping an ancient idea, and for Plutarch to write, in the *Life of Nicias* 23 (DK 59A18): ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατον τε πάντων καὶ θαρραλεώτατον περὶ σελόνης κατανασμίῶν καὶ σκιάς λόγον εἰς γραφὴν καταθέμενος Ἀναξαγόρας . . . A theory of the moon's being lit from the sun by kindling, and not by reflection, with 'invisible earthy bodies' or some other means to explain eclipses, would fit nicely the notion of something less 'clear' and less 'bold' than the correct explanation.

However, I must at once admit that there is no direct evidence for the fifth century of a moon whose light is kindled from the sun. What was familiar in the fifth century was the idea that heavenly bodies were kindled and extinguished, either in eclipses or by their rising and setting. Xenophanes and Metrodorus of Chios thought that the stars and sun respectively were kindled and extinguished.<sup>55</sup> Diogenes thought that the sun was extinguished.<sup>56</sup> Some Pythagoreans thought that the moon was kindled and extinguished.<sup>57</sup> Later the idea was taken up in the Epicurean school;<sup>58</sup> and Dercyllides, in the fourth century, mentions as a false, but apparently common, assumption that the 'divine', i.e. the heavenly, bodies rose and set because they were kindled and extinguished.<sup>59</sup> It would

<sup>53</sup> Apart from the passages in Plutarch and Cleomedes, the idea of kindling seems to make a fleeting appearance in Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* ii 118, 'quis Lunam flammam vel minuat radius', if *flammam* has a literal sense, and possibly in Philo, *De prov.* ii 95 Aucher, 'iubar Lunae . . . secundum perceptionem et redintegrationem lucis solaris', although on p. 92 the idea is of reflection. Reflection seems to be the usual view, although the phrasing is not always explicit: Geminus, *Elementa astronomiae*, chapters 9-11; Macrobius, *In somn. Scip.*, i 15.10-12, cf. i 19.8-14; Pliny, *NH* ii 8.11; Basil, *Hexameron* 189A. Possibly *incensa*

and *accensa* should be taken literally in Cicero's brief descriptions of the moon at *De nat. deor.* i 8.7 and *De Rep.* vi 17.

<sup>54</sup> This would explain why, although Parmenides' moon is fiery, it is apparently not as fiery as the sun, cf. n. 48 above.

<sup>55</sup> Xenophanes: Aet. ii 13.14 (DK 21A38). Metrodorus: [Plut.] *Strom.* 11 (DK 70A4).

<sup>56</sup> Aet. ii 23.4 (DK 64A13).

<sup>57</sup> Aet. ii 29.4 (DK 58B36).

<sup>58</sup> Diog. Laert. ix 92.

<sup>59</sup> Ap. Theo Smyrnacus, *Expositio* 199.21-200.2 Hiller.



have been a simple step from this to the idea that the moon's light was kindled *from the sun*, which is essentially Cleomedes' view and the view which appears in Plutarch. But this extension is not directly attested for the fifth century, and the reconstruction I have offered must therefore remain a speculative one.

## IV

To simplify the exposition of the foregoing argument, I have delayed consideration of some incidental difficulties, real and imaginary, in the evidence on Anaxagoras' moon.

1. In a recent study of Anaxagoras, two American writers, Gershenson and Greenberg, deny that Anaxagoras gave the correct explanation of an eclipse. They write that Anaxagoras 'held that it (*sc.* the moon) does not give off its own light but shines instead by the reflected light of the sun. On the basis of this view he (Anaxagoras) would have been able to give a fairly complete explanation for the phases and eclipses of the moon provided he assumed also that the moon was nearer the earth than the sun. Unfortunately we do not know if he made this assumption nor have we any reliable reports from which we could conclude that he constructed a theory of lunar phases or eclipses', *Anaxagoras and the Birth of Physics* (New York, London, Toronto, 1964) 41.

The idea that the moon is 'lower' than the sun, and so nearer the earth, is in fact explicitly attributed to Anaxagoras by Hippolytus, i 8.7 (DK 59A42): *εἶναι δὲ τὴν σελήνην κατωτέρω τοῦ ἡλίου πλησιώτερον ἡμῶν*. Anaximander and Empedocles thought the same. There is, I think, no indication that anyone in the fifth century thought otherwise.<sup>60</sup>

The denial that there are any 'reliable' reports that Anaxagoras gave the correct explanation of an eclipse of the moon in effect dismisses the evidence already noted from Plutarch, Hippolytus and Aetius. Gershenson and Greenberg offer no specific arguments against the reliability of Hippolytus and Aetius, and they do not even mention Plutarch.<sup>61</sup>

2. The size of Anaxagoras' sun, larger, or many times larger, than the Peloponnese, could be an obstacle to the correct explanation of an eclipse. For if the sun is smaller than the earth, then the shadow cast by the earth should extend outwards in an ever increasing cone, and the moon would be eclipsed night after night.<sup>62</sup>

But even if Anaxagoras did intend the sun to be smaller than the earth (and this need not have been his intention), it is clear that he did not draw the conclusion that the earth's

<sup>60</sup> Anaximander: Aet. ii 20.1, ii 21.1, ii 25.1 (DK 12A21 and 22); Hippol. Ref. i 6.5 (DK 12A11). Empedocles: Aet. ii 31.1 (DK 31A61). Cf. 'Anaximander's Measurements', *CQ* n.s. xvii (1967) 423-9. There was of course in the fifth century a difference of opinion over the position of the stars, see 116-117.

<sup>61</sup> They do of course include the passage from Plutarch in their translation of the testimonia, 128, but Plutarch is not mentioned in the note to the passage quoted above, 474, nor in the brief discussion of the point later in the work, 351 and 353.

Plutarch and Hippolytus are cited above, in the discussion of Anaxagoras' priority, 106-107. For the passage from Aetius, ii 29.6-7 (DK 59A77), cf. 116 n. 22 above. In the second half of this entry the *καί* in 'Αναξαγόρας, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ τῶν ἐποκάτω τῆς σελήνης ἐστὶ ὅτε σωμάτων ἐπιπροσθούτων may imply that the correct explanation as well as the additional bodies were attributed to Anaxagoras by Theophrastus. On the nature of this double entry cf. n. 13 above.

There are of course less 'reliable' reports in later writers, who associate Anaxagoras with the forecast or the explanation of an eclipse, e.g. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* viii 11, ext. 2 (not in DK), Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* i 2 (DK 59A6).

<sup>62</sup> 'Larger': Hippol. Ref. i 8.8 (DK 59A42); Diog. Laert. ii 8 (DK 59A1); Theodoret. *Graec. aff. cur.* iv 22 (*Dox. Gr.* 351). 'Many times larger': Aet. ii 21.3 (DK 59A72); Eus. *Praep. Evang.* xv 24.2 (cf. *Dox. Gr.* 351). Galen's statement, that the sun is larger than the earth, *Hist. philos.* 63 (*Dox. Gr.* 626), although it may be true in substance, is probably in Galen simply a random error, arising from the fact that the preceding sentence, on Anaximander, twice makes a comparison of sun and earth. (The corresponding statement, that the moon is the same size as the Peloponnese, quoted by Plutarch, *De facie* 932B, is missing from Diels-Kranz.)



shadow covers a large part of the heavens. For, according to Aristotle, Anaxagoras explained the Milky Way as the light of stars screened from the rays of the sun by the shadow of the earth.<sup>63</sup> The shadow of the earth must therefore be a fairly narrow band, which would only occasionally obscure the light of the moon.

3. Burnet allows that Anaxagoras gave the correct explanation of an eclipse, but he gives a particular twist to the question whether he was the first to do so. He writes, *EGP* 272: 'As to the moon's light and the cause of eclipses, it was natural that Anaxagoras should be credited at Athens with these discoveries'. Burnet's explanation is an expansion of a remark by Zeller, to the effect that Anaxagoras was 'one of the first' to bring the idea of reflected light for the moon to mainland Greece.<sup>64</sup>

Burnet's idea might possibly account for Plato's remark in the *Cratylus*, if it stood in isolation. But it is difficult to see why a local Athenian tradition should determine both Plutarch's testimony and Aristotle's, if we suppose Hippolytus' testimony to derive ultimately from Aristotle's school. It is fairly evident that Burnet and Zeller write as they do simply by way of providing covert defence for their own (false) belief that Empedocles wrote before Anaxagoras.<sup>65</sup>

4. I turn to a more serious point. It is not explicitly stated that Anaxagoras' moon shines by reflection. Plutarch's words, accounted a verbatim quotation (fr. 18) by Diels, are not in themselves decisive, *De facie* 929B: ἡλιος ἐντίθῃσι τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ λαμπρόν. This sentence shows that the moon's light is derived light, but not whether it is derived by kindling or by reflection. (The adjective λαμπρός might perhaps suggest reflection, but it is hardly conclusive evidence.)

Moreover, Anaxagoras' moon is described in the doxographical tradition as γῆν πεπυρωμένην στερέμνιον ἔχουσιν πῦρ, or as στερέωμα διάπυρον, and the unevenness of the moon's appearance is said to be the result of a mixture of τὸ πυροειδές and τὸ ζοφῶδες.<sup>66</sup> If the body that 'reflects' light itself becomes hot or fiery, this would seem to be a process of mixing and kindling, and not of reflection.

These difficulties, although serious, are not, I think, insurmountable. In the first place, it is reasonably clear from the context of Plutarch's discussion in the *De facie* that the words quoted, or summarised, by Plutarch were intended to describe a theory of reflected light. For Lucius remarks, 929B: ὁ μὲν οὖν ἑταῖρος ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ 'Αναξαγόρειον ἀποδεικνύς ὡς 'ἡλιος ἐντίθῃσι τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ λαμπρόν' ἡὐδοκίμησεν. There is a slight break in the dramatic sequence of the dialogue at this point, but the most natural implication of Lucius' remark would be that 'our comrade' won the applause of the company by his exposition and defence of Anaxagoras' thesis. Now throughout the dialogue the trio composed of 'our comrade', Lucius and Lamprias is evidently intended to present a common front, by way of providing the scientific foundation for Sulla's myth. The thesis which Lucius, their spokesman on this point, himself approves is that the moon shines by reflection (and so has an earthy rather than a fiery nature) as opposed *inter alia* to the view that she shines by mixture and kindling. Probably therefore the theory which 'our comrade' defended was likewise a theory of reflection.

It is no inconsistency that after referring to τὸ 'Αναξαγόρειον, Lucius puts forward the theory of reflection as τὸ τοῦ 'Εμπεδοκλέους. In the rich display of erudition which Plutarch likes his characters to offer it is entirely natural that the two theories should be, at least in essentials, the same. The ideological structure of this part of Lucius' speech will then be as follows:

<sup>63</sup> *Meteor.* 345a25-31 (DK 59A80), discussed more fully below, 126.

<sup>64</sup> Teil i Abteilung 2, 1241-2. Zeller notes without comment, 1241 n. 3, the evidence for the priority of Anaxagoras' explanation of an eclipse.

<sup>65</sup> See 93 n. 3 and 94-96 above.

<sup>66</sup> The three statements come respectively from Achilles, *Isag.* 21 p. 49.4-7 Muller (DK 59A77); Aet. ii 25.9 (DK *ibid.*); and Aet. ii 30.2 (DK *ibid.*).



- (i) Reflection is introduced, as τὸ 'Αναξαγόρειον, 929B.  
 (ii) Two alternative theories, kindling and absorption, are then disposed of, in part with the help of illustrations from Empedocles, 929B-D.  
 (iii) Lucius concludes by endorsing reflection, ἀπολείπεται τοίνυν τὸ τοῦ 'Εμπεδοκλέους, 929E.

But if Anaxagoras' moon shines by reflection, how can it be πεπυρωμένος and διάπυρος? The answer, I suggest, is to be seen in terms of a comparison with Anaxagoras' stars. In the *Meteorologica* Aristotle says that Anaxagoras' stars have a light of their own, but that this is 'prevented' or 'held back', κωλύεσθαι, by the light of the sun, except for the stars of the Milky Way, whose own light is visible, because it is screened from the sun's rays by the shadow of the earth.<sup>67</sup> Olympiodorus makes explicit the parallel with the moon: the moon has a light of her own which is visible as a 'smouldering' light in eclipses; at other times we see the sun's light reflected from the moon, 67.32-68.2 Stüve: τρίτη δόξα 'Αναξαγόρου καὶ Δημοκρίτου. οὗτοί φασιν τὸν γαλαξίαν εἶναι τὸ ἴδιον φῶς τῶν ἀστέρων τῶν μὴ φωτιζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. ἔχουσι γάρ, φασιν (Stüve, φησι codd.), τὰ ἀστρα τὸ ἴδιον φῶς καὶ ἐπικτήτων τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. καὶ δηλοῖ ἡ σελήνη. ταύτης γὰρ ἕτερον μὲν τὸ ἴδιον φῶς, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ ἡλίου. τὸ γὰρ ἴδιον αὐτῆς φῶς ἀνθρακῶδες ἐστίν, ὡς δηλοῖ ἡμῖν ἡ ἔλλειψις αὐτῆς. ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα, φασιν (Stüve, φησι codd.), τὸ ἐπικτήτων δέχονται· τὰ οὖν μὴ δεχόμενα ἐκεῖνα τὸν κύκλον τοῦ γαλαξίου ἀπεργάζονται.<sup>68</sup>

Olympiodorus, it is true, does not usually show any knowledge of the Presocratics which he could not have obtained from Aristotle, or earlier commentators, or from the commonplaces of doxographical tradition. In any case, the parallel with the moon seems to be offered as Olympiodorus' own illustration, as distinct from the views said to be held by Democritus and Anaxagoras, which are marked by φασί. It would be wrong therefore to take Olympiodorus' words as positive evidence for Anaxagoras. Nonetheless in this instance Olympiodorus' idea seems to have a good chance of representing Anaxagoras' view. For sun, moon and stars, according to Anaxagoras, have the same origin: they are stones, or earth, caught up into the sky and heated by the force of rotation.<sup>69</sup> But the stars and the moon are colder than the sun: the stars because they move in a colder part of the sky; and the moon because of coldness in her composition.<sup>70</sup> It would seem reasonable to expect that the same kind of origin for stars and moon will mean the same kind of light for both. When a similar theory of 'natural' light which is overwhelmed by the light of the sun is credited to Antiphon, it is specifically applied to the moon as well as to the stars.<sup>71</sup> The same theory for Anaxagoras would explain both Plutarch's evidence,

<sup>67</sup> *Meteor.* 345a25-31 (DK 59A80). Repeated in Aet. iii 1.5 (DK 59A80); Diog. Laert. ii 9 (DK 59A1); Hippol. *Ref.* i 8.10 (DK 59A42). The idea that the light of the moon, or of the stars of the Milky Way, shines out brightly in the darkness, but is, or would be, overwhelmed by the light of the sun became fairly common. In one form or another it is attributed to Democritus, Arist. *Meteor.* 345a25-31 (DK 68A91); and to Antiphon, Aet. ii 28.4 (DK 87B27); and it reappears in Plutarch's *De facie* 933C-E; in Cleomedes, *De motu* 180.2-13 and 216.28-218.6 Ziegler. For the general theory of weak and strong lights, Arist. *De caelo* 305a9-13.

<sup>68</sup> The smouldering light of the moon when she eclipses the sun is described in *Larousse Encyclopedia of Astronomy* (revd. edn. 1966) 159-60, with a colour photograph, facing p. 166.

<sup>69</sup> Hippol. *Ref.* i 8.6 (DK 59A42). Aet. ii 13.3 (DK 59A71): I take τῇ δὲ εὐτονίᾳ τῆς περιδινήσεως to explain καταφλέξαντα as well as ἀναρπάζαντα. Diog. Laert. ii 12 (DK 59A1). For the motion of the moon as earth, see Plato, *Apol.* 26D (DK 59A35), and Achilles, *Isag.* 21 p. 49.4-7 Muller (DK 59A77).

<sup>70</sup> For the stars: Hippol. *Ref.* i 8.7 (DK 59A42). For the moon: Aet. ii 30.2 (DK 59A77), cf. Hippol. *Ref.* i 8.9 (DK 59A42).

<sup>71</sup> Aet. ii 28.4 (DK 87B27). There is a somewhat similar theory of natural and derived light for the moon in Gregory of Nyssa, *Hexaem.* 117 B-C. But here the moon's own light is suppressed not by the stronger light of the sun, but by the density of the moon's own nature: τὴν μὲν γὰρ οἰκοθεν λαμπρόνα ἢ τῆς οὐσίας παχύτης ἀπὸ μύλων.



that the moon shines by reflected light, and the doxographical tradition, that she is *πεπυρωμένος* and *διάπυρος*.<sup>72</sup>

This theory would help to explain, and I think derives some confirmation from, the continuation of Plato's account of Anaxagoras' moon in the *Cratylus* 409B (the earlier part of Plato's account is quoted 107 above):

Hermogenes: *πῶς δῆ;*

Socrates: *τὸ μὲν που 'σέλας' καὶ τὸ 'φῶς' ταῦτόν.*

Hermogenes: *ναί.*

Socrates: *νέον δέ που καὶ ἔνόν αἰεῖ ἔστι περὶ τὴν σελήνην τοῦτο τὸ φῶς, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ οἱ 'Αναξαγόρειοι λέγουσιν· κύκλῳ γάρ που αἰεὶ αὐτὴν περιῶν (sc. ὁ ἥλιος) νέον αἰεὶ ἐπιβάλλει, ἔνόν δὲ ὑπάρχει τὸ τοῦ προτέρου μηνός.*

Hermogenes: *πάνυ γε.*

Plato's words apparently mean that according to Anaxagoras, or his disciples, a new moon retains some light from the previous month. This idea, that the moon stores or absorbs light, fits well with the idea that Anaxagoras' moon does not simply reflect light, but is herself, at least to some extent, a fiery body, as the doxographical tradition claims.<sup>73</sup>

Such a theory, of residual natural light for the moon, would be a plausible step from what I have suggested was the 'ancient' theory of mixing and kindling to the pure theory of reflection in Empedocles.

D. O'BRIEN.

*Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.*

<sup>72</sup> The bodies 'below the moon' (cf. 116 above) may have been retained (from Anaximenes) to explain eclipses when the occulting body did not show any light of its own, or to explain the greater frequency of lunar over solar eclipses.

Gershenson and Greenberg, *Anaxagoras* 338-40, argue that the tradition of a fiery moon is wholly false, and arose 'by generalizing from the sun to all the heavenly bodies'. The trouble with this argument is that it makes the process of generalisation go back at least to Aristotle, since Aristotle says that the stars of the Milky Way had a residual light of their own: but a generalising tradition of this kind would

more naturally have arisen in a doxographical compilation, where the original work was no longer known, and where there would be pressure to make Anaxagoras' views conform to other accounts of a fiery moon.

<sup>73</sup> Ferguson, *Phronesis* ix (1964) 100, notes the 'very strange picture' which Plato gives of the Anaxagoreans; but he appears to think that Plato's account is incompatible with a theory of reflection.

It is interesting that the moon is in fact now thought to have some light of her own, see the report in *The Times*, 20 Nov. 1967, p. 6.



## XENOPHON, CRITIAS AND THERAMENES

THE speeches of Critias and Theramenes form the central tableau of Xenophon's account of the reign of terror of the Thirty at Athens in 404-3 B.C. The purpose of the present paper is to examine the style and content of these speeches, in order to discover to what extent they may have been based on the texts of the original speeches. The vividness and pathos of the narrative of the siege of Athens, her surrender, the establishment of the Thirty and their expulsion<sup>1</sup> have seemed to some commentators to have the quality of personal reminiscence.<sup>2</sup> Recently the case for Xenophon's having been a witness of some of the events of this period has been argued anew, and in the present writer's view convincingly, by E. Delebecque,<sup>3</sup> who refers to several passages which seem to convey personal impressions of events. Delebecque also argues,<sup>4</sup> to the satisfaction of Sir Frank Adcock,<sup>5</sup> that Xenophon composed this part of the *Hellenica* before setting out on the Cyreian Expedition. The acceptance of both these theses would add some weight to the present argument; but the possibilities here envisaged do not depend upon their support.

According to Xenophon's account, both speeches were delivered before the βουλή.<sup>6</sup> The members of this body had been chosen by the Thirty,<sup>7</sup> so that it seems certain that they were men who were known to favour the oligarchy. But whatever were Xenophon's political views at the time, it is unlikely that he was old enough to be a member in 404 B.C.<sup>8</sup> Hence it is improbable that he heard either speech. Four possibilities may therefore be considered:

- (1) That the substance of the speeches was reported to him from memory by a member, who perhaps took special pains to remember some of the purple passages.
- (2) That his informant took the speeches down in shorthand.
- (3) That Xenophon obtained complete copies of the speeches, and condensed them. (Both speeches as they stand are too short to be historical.)
- (4) That the speeches in the *Hellenica* are entirely the product of his imagination.

It is hoped that the unlikelihood of the fourth possibility will become apparent in the course of the following discussion, and that a reasonable degree of probability will be established for the first in the case of the speech of Theramenes, and the third in the case of the speech of Critias.

Part of the discussion concerns the characters and reputations of the two antagonists. In this regard we are better informed about Critias than about Theramenes. His very name aroused in the minds of contemporary and later democrats feelings of the deepest detestation. As a member of one of the oldest aristocratic families he championed extreme oligarchy, and was realistically Macchiavellian in his methods of achieving and maintaining it, openly admitting that the same ruthlessness must be employed as that necessary for a tyrant to keep his power.<sup>9</sup> From the surviving remains of his considerable literary output,<sup>10</sup> which includes *Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτεῖαι* in prose and verse, it is evident that he admired

<sup>1</sup> *Hell.* ii 2.3-end.

<sup>2</sup> See Büchschütz, *Xenophons Griechische Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1876) 11; Schwarz, *Rhein. Mus.* xlv (1889) 165; Luccioni, *Les Idées Sociales et Politiques de Xénophon* (Ophrys, 1947) 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Essai sur la Vie de Xenophon* (Paris, 1957) 61.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 29-39.

<sup>5</sup> *Thucydides and his History* (Cambridge, 1963) 99.

<sup>6</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.23.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* ii 3.11.

<sup>8</sup> Thirty was the minimum age for membership (see Hignett, *Ath. Constit.* 224); Xenophon was probably born around 427 B.C. (see Delebecque, *op. cit.* 23-4).

<sup>9</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.16.

<sup>10</sup> See Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* ii 308-329.



Sparta for the stability of her constitution and the insistence on moderation in her social institutions. That his character was forthright and direct rather than subtle and scheming is suggested by the violence with which later writers condemn him,<sup>11</sup> and may well account for the minor part which he played in the earlier oligarchic revolution of 411 B.C., for the success of which, in an Athens still free, patient and clandestine planning was essential. In 404 B.C., with Spartan backing, the forcible imposition of an oligarchy upon a cowed δῆμος was a straight-forward matter, and much more to his taste. But although he was ruthless, and regarded political power as the meed of his aristocratic birth (like his friend Alcibiades), he appears, among his other literary activities, to have studied oratory, at least to the extent of composing some rhetorical exercises (δημηγορικὰ προοίμια).<sup>12</sup> Although his memory was almost eclipsed in the fourth century,<sup>13</sup> some of his speeches were extant in the time of Cicero,<sup>14</sup> and survived into the Second Sophistic, when interest in them was revived by Herodes Atticus.<sup>15</sup> When it is remembered that that celebrated orator said 'Ανδοκίδου μὲν βελτίων εἰμί, when replying in a spirit of humorous self-deprecation to the praises of his admirers, meaning that he admitted to being not the worst of orators, we may safely deduce that Critias also possessed qualities which placed him above the least distinguished of the recognised orators in the opinion of Herodes. Other critics support this judgment. Dionysius of Halicarnassus compares him with Lysias,<sup>16</sup> Hermogenes of Tarsus compares him favourably with Antiphon,<sup>17</sup> and accords him more space than, for example, Lysias; and in none of the critiques is any fault imputed to his style. Two of these critiques describe its qualities in considerable detail, and these passages form the basis of the stylistic part of the present examination. This is made possible by the fact that all the terms which Hermogenes uses are explained by examples elsewhere in his own writings, and also that there is a high degree of agreement among the critics of his time as to the meanings of the words most generally used. Thus the procedure will be to examine Critias' speech for the specific qualities attributed to his style in the two critiques. If these qualities are present to a marked degree, there will be good stylistic grounds for suspecting that Xenophon was using an original copy of the speech, especially if his own stylistic practice is also found to be infringed.<sup>18</sup> The two critiques are best quoted in full:

Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ οὗτος σεμνὸς μὲν παραπλησίως τῷ Ἀντιφῶντι καὶ διηρμένος πρὸς ὄγκον καὶ τὰ πολλὰ λέγων ἀποφαντικῶς, καθαρώτερος δὲ τὴν λέξιν, καὶ ὅτε περιβάλλοι διευκρινῶν, ὥστε εἶναι καὶ σαφὴς ἅμα τῷ μεγέθει καὶ εὐκρινῆς. ἔχει δὲ πολλαχοῦ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς δημηγορικοῖς προοιμίοις καὶ τὸ ἀληθινόν τε καὶ πιθανόν. ἐπιμελὴς δὲ ὢν οὐ μετρίως ὁμως οὐχ ἀπλῶς χρήται τῷ τοιοῦτῳ κόσμῳ, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα προσκόρως καὶ σαφῆ τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἔχοντι, ἀλλ' ὥστε μετέχειν κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀληθοῦς.<sup>19</sup>

τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν τοῦ λόγου δογματίας ὁ Κριτίας καὶ πολυγνώμων σεμνολογῆσαι τε ἱκανώτατος οὐ τὴν διθυραμβώδη σεμνολογίαν, οὐδὲ καταφεύγουσαν ἐς τὰ ἐκ ποιητικῆς ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν κυριωτάτων συγκεκριμένην καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσαν. ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βραχυλογοῦντα ἱκανῶς καὶ δεινῶς καθαπτόμενον ἐν ἀπολογίας ἤθει. ἀττικίζοντά τε οὐκ ἀκρατῶς, οὐδὲ ἐκφύλως (τὸ γὰρ ἀπειρόκαλον ἐν τῷ ἀττικίζειν βάρβαρον), ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀκτίνων αὐγαὶ τὰ Ἀττικά ὀνόματα διαφαίνεται τοῦ λόγου. καὶ τὸ ἀσυνδέτως δὲ χωρίον χωρίῳ προσβαλεῖν Κριτίου ὥρα, καὶ τὸ παραδόξως μὲν ἐνθυμηθῆναι, παραδόξως δὲ ἀπαγγεῖλαι Κριτίου ἀγών, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου πνεῦμα ἐλλιπέστερον μὲν, ἤδὺ δὲ καὶ λεῖον, ὥσπερ τοῦ ζεφύρου ἢ αὐρα.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Xen. Mem. i 2.25; Justin v 9.15; Philostr. Vit. soph. i 16.

<sup>12</sup> Hermog. Περὶ Ἰδέων 2, 11 (Rhet. Graec. Spengel ii 415, 27).

<sup>13</sup> Arist. Rhet. iii 16.1416b, 26.

<sup>14</sup> De Oratore ii 22.93; Dion. Hal. De Lysiu 2.

<sup>15</sup> Philostr. Vit. soph. ii 1.14.

<sup>16</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>17</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup> The reliability of Hermogenes' judgments has been established statistically in a previous article, AJPh lxxxix (1960) 369-72.

<sup>19</sup> Hermog. loc. cit.

<sup>20</sup> Philostr. Vit. soph. i 16.



The qualities attributed to Critias will most conveniently be treated under separate headings.

σεμνότης, 'dignity', involves the use of nominal sentences, excluding or minimising the use of finite verbs.<sup>21</sup> It may be taken in conjunction with πολυγνώμων. Two passages in the speech have this quality to a marked degree:

πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἔλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τετράφθαι.<sup>22</sup>

καίτοι τοσοῦτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάσασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἔχθιον, ὅσῳ πολεμίους μὲν ἄνθρωποι σπένδονται καὶ αὖθις πιστοὶ γίνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ.<sup>23</sup>

Two further statements have a gnomic character. These are:

καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δῆπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι<sup>24</sup> and καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δῆπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων.<sup>25</sup>

ὄγκος, 'elevation', is achieved (a) by means of metaphorical expressions; (b) by the use of the plural for a more natural singular; (c) by the emphatic instead of attributive position of possessive adjectives.<sup>26</sup> Critias' speech contains two metaphors: ἂν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ;<sup>27</sup> and ὑποτέμει ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.<sup>28</sup> The latter also contains the second characteristic, to which may also be added μεταβολάς,<sup>29</sup> where 'fickleness' may be the meaning rather than 'changes'. Examples of (c) are lacking, but a very similar effect is achieved by the use of personal pronouns in the first and second person plural used in conjunction<sup>30</sup> and singly,<sup>31</sup> which underline the earnestness and authority with which Critias impresses upon the βουλή their involvement in the fortunes of the Thirty.<sup>32</sup> Their use is peculiarly suited to his purpose, and their effect is to elevate the sociative theme to the status of a *leitmotif*.

ἀποφαντικῶς implies a general tone rather than the use of any specific devices. It means 'positively', 'emphatically', 'without qualification or admission that one's statements are open to doubt'.<sup>33</sup> Paradoxically, although it is impossible to point to words, figures of speech or constructions which are symptomatic of τὸ ἀποφαντικόν, none of the qualities attributed to Critias is more descriptive of the general tone of this speech. The short proemium<sup>34</sup> evinces this tone most strikingly. The statement ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα (i.e. bloodshed) γίνεσθαι could hardly be described as uncontroversial,<sup>35</sup> and yet it is made in the almost didactic tone (ἐννοησάτω . . .) of one enunciating an immutable law of nature. The brief and clear, but tendentious description of the manner in which Theramenes earned the name of κόθορνος<sup>36</sup> has a similarly factual tone, as has his even briefer treatment of his opponent's part in the affair of the Ten Generals, whom he is said to have 'slain' (ἀπέκτεινεν).<sup>37</sup> The assumption of Theramenes' guilt is a further aspect of this, and is illustrated by the menacing tone of τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν<sup>38</sup> and πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι;<sup>39</sup> Then finally, the tone of the statement καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δῆπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων with which the epilogue begins<sup>40</sup> is that of a self-evident aphorism,

<sup>21</sup> Hermog. *op. cit.* 1, 6 (*Rhet. Graec. Sp.* ii 292-3).

<sup>22</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.24.

<sup>23</sup> *id.* 29.

<sup>24</sup> *id.* 32.

<sup>25</sup> *id.* 34.

<sup>26</sup> *Arist. Rhet.* iii 6.

<sup>27</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.31.

<sup>28</sup> *id.* 34.

<sup>29</sup> *Id.* 33.

<sup>30</sup> *Id.* 25, 27, 28, 29, 33.

<sup>31</sup> *Id.* 25, 26 (ἡμῶν αὐτῶν), 33, 34 (ὑμῶν αὐτῶν).

<sup>32</sup> *Cf.* Lysias' use of τὸ πλεῖστον τὸ ὑμέτερον (*csp.* in xiii, e.g. 1, 2, 9, 10, 16).

<sup>33</sup> Anon. *Περὶ Σχημάτων* (*Rhet. Graec. Sp.* iii 144). It is thus related to σεμνότης (*cf.* Hermog. *op. cit.* *Sp.* ii 290, 17-18).

<sup>34</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.24.

<sup>35</sup> Its originality will be discussed below.

<sup>36</sup> *Id.* 31.

<sup>37</sup> *Id.* 32.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.* 31.

<sup>39</sup> *Id.* 33.

<sup>40</sup> *Id.* 34.



although it is by no means certain that all his audience shared his opinion. Nowhere throughout the speech is any statement worded in such a way as to admit doubt or uncertainty (e.g. by being introduced as a matter of personal opinion, with οἶμαι or ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ); the style, moreover, is predominantly direct and simple.

By ἐπιμέλεια Hermogenes means 'attention to ornamentation', the product of which is κάλλος.<sup>41</sup> Among the devices for achieving κάλλος are the balancing figure of *parison* and the coordinating figures of *anaphora* and *antistrophe*. Critias' speech in the *Hellenica* contains some good examples of *parison*, the best being ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι αἰεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν<sup>42</sup> and τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν αἰεὶ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος<sup>43</sup> to which three further examples may be added.<sup>44</sup> In 32 there is an example of *parison* and *anaphora* combined: πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἰ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. There are two further examples of *anaphora*: γνόντες μὲν . . . γνόντες δέ . . .,<sup>45</sup> and αὐτὸς μὲν . . . αὐτὸς δέ.<sup>46</sup> Hermogenes also lists *hyperbaton* as a device to produce κάλλος:<sup>47</sup> this short speech contains three good examples of a figure which is by no means common in Xenophon.<sup>48</sup>

Hermogenes, and more especially Philostratus, refer to the Atticism of Critias' diction; but the latter qualifies his statement by describing Critias as ἀττικίζοντα οὐκ ἀκρατῶς οὐδὲ ἐκφύλως—'not purely or unnaturally', which implies that he was prepared to employ words not current in everyday speech in order to express what he wanted to say. Hermogenes' description of him as καθαρώτερος τοῦ Ἀντιφώντος leaves a similar margin for impurities. It will also be remembered that Critias wrote tragic and lyric poetry, unlike any other extant Attic prose author. The words *θανατηφόροι*, *εὐμετάβολος*, *ἐντρεπόμενος* and *ὑποτέμει* in Xenophon's version of the speech are all unusual and are found nowhere else in Xenophon. *θανατηφόρος*<sup>49</sup> is found twice in Aeschylus, once in Sophocles, not in Euripides or Aristophanes. Among prose writers it is found in the Hippocratic corpus, but elsewhere only once, in Plato. *εὐμετάβολος*<sup>50</sup> appears to be a rare prose word: it is found three times in Plato, once in Isocrates and nowhere else in Attic prose or poetry (even including Thucydides, who is partial to compounds of this kind). *ἐντρέπεσθαι*<sup>51</sup> (= 'curare') is mainly poetic, occurring twice in Homer, three times in Sophocles and once in Euripides; of prose writers Plato is the only user, on two occasions. *ὑποτέμειν*<sup>52</sup> in the metaphorical sense is very rare, not being found in poetry, and only once in Herodotus.

Turning from style to content, our first task is to discover whether any of the sentiments expressed in the speech are paralleled in the extant fragments of Critias. In view of the paucity of these, only a limited amount of evidence may be expected. The danger of τὸ ἀφανές to the security of a state or a regime, which is the theme of Critias' central argument,<sup>53</sup> finds a general parallel in a fragment of his satyr-play *Sisyphus*,<sup>54</sup> in which he says that men have always been able to hinder the operation of law and justice by recourse to secrecy; and that for this reason a certain wise man invented the gods, and persuaded men that they live among them and know their innermost thoughts. (It is perhaps indicative of Critias' atheism that he never swears by the gods.) The statement that the Spartan constitution is the best receives ample confirmation from the several fragments in prose and verse in which Critias enlarges on this theme.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.* 1, 12 (Sp. ii 330 ff.) κάλλος and ἐπιμέλεια are here not differentiated, but the relatively abstract meaning of the former seems to suggest that the latter is the means by which it is achieved.

<sup>42</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.25.

<sup>43</sup> *Id.* 33.

<sup>44</sup> *Id.* 28; 29; 34.

<sup>45</sup> *Id.* 25.

<sup>46</sup> *Id.* 28.

<sup>47</sup> *Loc. cit.* (337-8).

<sup>48</sup> πλείστοις . . . πολεμίους (24); τινὰ . . . τῶν δημιουργῶν (27); πολλοὺς . . . τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων (34).

<sup>49</sup> *Id.* 32.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Id.* 33.

<sup>52</sup> *Id.* 34.

<sup>53</sup> *Id.* 28-9.

<sup>54</sup> Diels, *op. cit.* 320-1.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* 316-17; 323-5.



To these instances of actual parallels we may add the several statements which may be thought to derive from an original utterance. We return first to the twice-expressed sentiment that revolutions necessarily bring bloodshed. To begin with, it is a decidedly un-Xenophontine sentiment: throughout his writings Xenophon shows a tendency, even when describing battles, to pass over the actual details of violence, for which he shows distaste; with regard to political change his attitude is firmly optimistic, not cynical, a fact best illustrated in the dialogue *Hiero*, in which he sets out to explain how tyranny can be made tolerable to ruler and subject alike.<sup>56</sup> Secondly, it is an extremely unorthodox sentiment with which to begin a speech which otherwise conforms roughly to accepted rhetorical practice,<sup>57</sup> lacking the customary conciliatory tone. But most striking is its apparent uniqueness when viewed against the considerable volume of literature of the time which was written on the subject of political change.<sup>58</sup> The political theorists have plenty to say about the destructive consequences of *στάσις*; but the word itself has an evil connotation which colours judgment about it: it is the internecine principle, the opposite of *ὁμόνοια*.<sup>59</sup> *μεταβολή* is, by contrast, a neutral concept, meaning 'change' merely, and this neutrality renders its association with violence and death shocking in addition to being unparalleled. For these reasons Critias, the frankly cynical revolutionary, and not Xenophon, the aristocratic but humane spectator, is the more likely author of the whole of the proemium, since the arguments follow closely upon one another. The ensuing argument<sup>60</sup> centres around the antithesis between *πολέμιος* (*ἐχθρός*) and *προδότης* (*πονηρός*). This was probably a commonplace in sophistic writings of the day;<sup>61</sup> but its application to the case of Theramenes is adroit, and is consistent with Critias' conception of the Athenian oligarchy as an exclusive club whose members owed it undivided loyalty, the betrayal of which, even by a man who thought he was acting in the wider interests of the state, was tantamount to treason. The passage contains a further interesting feature: section 28 contains two harsh anacolutha which, in view of the above evidence, may be explained as indications either of the limitations of Xenophon's source as a shorthand scribe, or of Xenophon's own deficiency, perhaps writing under pressure of time before his departure for Asia, as an epitomist. In either case the tendency would have been to make sure that the memorable phrases were recorded: here the sarcastic tone of *οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα ἀρέσκει* would have stuck in the mind, and the fact that *αὐτός* has already been made the subject would have been overlooked, as would the fact that the *ὅπως* clause has no true antecedent. In the same way the *προδοσία-πόλεμος* antithesis stood a good chance of being recorded in full, including the arresting contrast between the present and aorist tenses in the concluding pairs of antithetical clauses: *σπένδονται . . . γίνονται . . . οὔτε ἐσπίεσται . . . οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε*. The reference to Theramenes' nickname *κόθορνος* cannot, in spite of its relevance, be assumed independently to have been taken from the original speech, since that sobriquet was common currency, and was used by extremists of both left- and right-wing persuasion. But the following *apostrophe* with its menacing *ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν*, and more especially the nautical metaphor *ἀντικόπτῃ*<sup>62</sup> together with the nautical simile which follows, bears the stamp of originality, but not on the part of Xenophon.<sup>63</sup> The concluding paragraph of the speech must be considered in the light of the absence, at this stage of the *Hellenica*, of any pro-Spartan sympathies on Xenophon's

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Cyrop.* i 1.1, where the process of constitutional change is described without mention of violence.

<sup>57</sup> See E. Vorrenhagen, *De Orationibus quae sunt in X. Hellenicis* (Diss. Elberfeld, 1926) 25-27.

<sup>58</sup> See H. Ryffel, *Μεταβολή Πολιτειῶν* (Berne, 1949) 18, 44 ff.

<sup>59</sup> See Diels, *op. cit.* ii 55B245, 249.

<sup>60</sup> 27-29.

<sup>61</sup> See Diels, *op. cit.* 339 ll.19-21 and Gorgias, *Palamedes* 17 for contemporary views on treason.

<sup>62</sup> A nautical metaphor survives in a fragment of Critias, Diels ii 81B6, L20 (*λιμένα*).

<sup>63</sup> The word occurs once only elsewhere in Xenophon, in a passage which could have been recently written (*Hell.* ii 3.15), when the author had Critias' speech in mind.



part. Critias advises the council to follow the supposed Spartan practice of not tolerating opposition to the will of the majority of the ruling body. The same argument applies to this as to the introductory paragraph: the very unpalatability of the theme—in this case the adduction of an example of the practice of their recent conquerors, with whom by no means all the councillors shared Critias' ardent sympathies—argues strongly in favour of its being the actual utterance of the man himself. This predilection for attacking awkward or embarrassing subjects head-on may be the quality of τὸ παράδοξον to which Philostratus is alluding.

There thus seems little in either style or subject-matter that cannot, with greater or lesser degrees of certainty, be traced back to the original speaker. The third of the four original possibilities, that Xenophon obtained a copy of the speech and condensed it,<sup>64</sup> therefore seems the most likely. It is more than credible that Critias had copies made and multiplied immediately after the death of Theramenes in order to justify his action and confirm his position at what must have been a difficult time. Theramenes had clearly enjoyed much sympathy, if not support, and it was among moderate oligarchs like Xenophon and his friends that it was most necessary for Critias to canvass.

The speech of Theramenes poses a different set of problems arising from the different position of the speaker. In the first place, we read that Critias and his supporters arranged for an armed band of young bravos to be present at the meeting in order to intimidate those who sympathised with Theramenes.<sup>65</sup> This function would automatically include preventing anyone from writing down what Theramenes said, since the subsequent publication of his speech would be more damaging to Critias' precarious position than his present victory in a battle of words, which could be invalidated by force. There remains the possibility that copies were made of the original speech, but since Theramenes had to reply to charges the precise nature of which he could not know until his opponent had spoken, it is unlikely that he prepared a full written defence; and he had no time to write it out afterwards.

The tradition concerning Theramenes' writings, though confused, gives little reason for believing that any of his speeches were transmitted.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, when his reputation for dexterity and resourcefulness as a speaker<sup>67</sup> is added to the tradition prevalent in the Second Sophistic<sup>68</sup> that he was an exponent only of the γένος συμβουλευτικόν, in which medium speakers were required by convention to speak *ex tempore*,<sup>69</sup> it is difficult to imagine by what means his oratory could have been preserved. No critique of his style survives.

The reference to Theramenes' speech in Lysias' *In Eratosthenem*<sup>70</sup> contains statements which do not occur in Xenophon's version; but we should not jump to extreme conclusions on this evidence. The first argument against the hypothesis that the speech is the free creation of Xenophon himself is the presence in it of references to specific individuals who fell victims of the Thirty—Leon of Salamis, Niceratus, son of Nicias, and Antiphon.<sup>71</sup> Since these men are important only as examples of the excesses of the Thirty, why are they

<sup>64</sup> Diodorus Siculus implies that Critias' speech was long (xiv 4.5 πολλά κατηγορήσαντος).

<sup>65</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.23. Their presence proved necessary (*id.* 50).

<sup>66</sup> *Cic. De Orat.* ii 22.93: multa Lysiae sunt, nunnula Critiae, de Theramene audimus. The distinction between Theramenes and the writers known to have survived seems plain. Radermacher points out (*Artium Scriptores* [Vienna, 1951] 115) that Cicero could have said the same of Pericles, of whom there is a firm tradition that he wrote no political speeches.

<sup>67</sup> Aristoph. *Frogs* 534 ff.

<sup>68</sup> *Proleg. Sylloge* 34, 129–30, 327.

<sup>69</sup> See Hudson-Williams, 'Political Speeches in Athens' in *CQ* n.s. i (1951) 68–73.

<sup>70</sup> 77, in which Theramenes is said to have reproached the returned exiles and those who had been given a share in the government.

<sup>71</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.29–40.



chosen by Xenophon if they were not used by Theramenes himself? There are also certain memorable highlights, as when, early in the speech,<sup>72</sup> Theramenes turns the tables on Critias by referring to the latter's sojourn in Thessaly, where he helped the democrats to overthrow the barons; and the three passages in which *apostrophe* occurs with rhetorical questions,<sup>73</sup> each contain something memorable: in the first the alternatives *εὐμενῆς* and *προδοτής* and the antithesis *οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὦ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' οἱ συμμάχους πλείστοις διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι* . . . in the second, the high-point of the speech, the display of wit in which Theramenes contrasts his own policy of the Middle Way with that of Critias, which contrives to be unacceptable to all;<sup>74</sup> and the final sentence, in which he defies Critias to prove him guilty of depriving the worthiest citizens of their rightful share in the government. This is the kind of material which an intelligent and attentive listener, perhaps one whose memory had had some training through acting or public speaking, might be expected to retain in his mind long enough to commit it to writing soon after the trial.

But Xenophon, who approved of Theramenes' moderate policy and his stand against the extremists, desired, both in order to lend his own support and to render Theramenes' verbal victory credible to his readers, that his speech should carry the fullest possible conviction. This he could scarcely achieve with the material from the actual speech that was available to him. He therefore incorporated statements of Theramenes' policy which had no direct bearing on the charges made against him by Critias. Thus we read of his reasons for disapproving of the disarmament of the citizens and the introduction of a Spartan garrison—that such a policy was in the interests neither of Athens, who would be thus weakened internally while her dissident citizens would find new leaders, nor of Sparta, who looked upon Athens as a potential ally against her other enemies.<sup>75</sup> Later we read one of the most lucid extant summaries of his political position: that neither a democracy in which paupers, whose judgment will be swayed by venal motives, exercise sovereign power, nor an oligarchy in which the few tyrannise the many, has any appeal for him. He would entrust the state's affairs to men who were able actively to fight for her, supplying their own horses and arms.<sup>76</sup> In this statement the unusual phrase *δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς* could well have been used by Theramenes in one of his important political speeches.<sup>77</sup> Otherwise, however, the speech contains no words or phrases that occur nowhere else in Xenophon; on the contrary, in three passages the wording is the same as in the passages on Xenophon's narrative where the same subject has been previously raised: *προσταχθέν μοι . . . οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι*<sup>78</sup> echoes the original defence of the generals: *τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξαιεν* and *περὶ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως . . . οἷς προσετάχθη*;<sup>79</sup> *οὐκοῦν μεχρὶ μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν*<sup>80</sup> appears as an awkward rephrasing of *βουλήν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν* . . . ;<sup>81</sup> and *τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο*<sup>82</sup> has as its antecedent . . . *τὰ ὅπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο*.<sup>83</sup>

Xenophon's version of Theramenes' speech thus seems to derive from different sources, and to fulfil a different purpose in the historian's mind from that of Critias. Lacking an original full text of the speech, but desiring for both personal and artistic reasons to do full justice to Theramenes' performance, he composed the oration from a mixture of an eyewitness's memory of the highlights of the actual speech and Theramenes' statements

<sup>72</sup> *Id.* 36.

<sup>73</sup> *Id.* 43, 47, 49.

<sup>74</sup> *ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει*, . . .

<sup>75</sup> *Id.* 41–2.

<sup>76</sup> *Id.* 48.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the close verbal correspondence between *Hell.* ii 3.19 and Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 36.2 (See Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* i 165–6).

<sup>78</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.35.

<sup>79</sup> *Hell.* i 7.5–6.

<sup>80</sup> *Hell.* ii 3.38.

<sup>81</sup> *Id.* 11.

<sup>82</sup> *Id.* 41.

<sup>83</sup> *Id.* 20.



of his political views on previous occasions. The effect of this fusion is a forceful and coherent *apologia pro vita sua*, in which the immediate narrow issues of the contest are transcended, and the speaker appears to be unselfishly concerned with the establishment of a stable constitution which will benefit the state at large. Although Theramenes clearly regards the contest as personal,<sup>84</sup> his speech is as much concerned with positive statements of his own views as with obloquy. Critias' speech is more specifically directed towards personal attack on the narrow front of blind loyalty to the oligarchy, to which he contends personal opinion and conscience must be subordinated. The Socratic parallel with the situation was probably not lost on the historian. He could scarcely have projected it more effectively than by the contrast which he draws between these two speeches, perhaps at the slight expense of historicity.

S. USHER.

*Royal Holloway College, University of London.*

<sup>84</sup> *Id.* 37.



## NOTES

### A Revolution in Classical Scholarship?

In a review (*JHS* lxxxvi [1966] 205 f.) of P. A. Stadter's *Plutarch's historical methods: an analysis of the Mulierum virtutes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), Mr T. F. Carney, who was at that time Fulbright Visiting Scholar in the Department of Political Science of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, claimed that the book 'analyses somewhat dated problems with only partially up-dated tools' and that the 'actual findings of the book replicate what is already known'. Although Mr Carney takes it for granted that his readers know what the 'up-dated tools' are, at the end of his review he drops the key words 'content analysis', in which, according to him, Stadter had engaged unwittingly, but obviously without success.

Inasmuch as the book in question grew out of a dissertation suggested and directed by this writer, it may perhaps be allowed to reply to the rather serious charges raised in this review, charges which are unprecedented in the history of this *Journal* and which, if they were justified, could have far-reaching implications. This writer must confess that he was first baffled both by the degree of hostility displayed and by the criticisms, which, though specific, are often murky; but he was baffled even more by the general accusation of 'only partially up-dated tools' and inappropriate use of 'content analysis', a term he had never previously encountered. But this writer soon found out that content analysis is 'a research tool in mass communication' (R. W. Butt and R. K. Thorp, *An Introduction to Content Analysis* [A Publication of the University of Iowa School of Journalism, Iowa City, Iowa, 1963] 1), 'a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* [The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1952] 18 [still the chief book in the field]); and it became clear that Mr Carney wore the social scientist's hat when he wrote his review. This accounts also for the 'socio-psychiatric' jargon used in the review, such as 'Clear evidence of the cluster of attitudes regarded as typical of the constrictive personality in a traditional culture emerges' (206). *Cluster, structure* (as a verb), *replicate, 'similarity of vocabulary' test* are all terms of this lingo.

A lengthy study of some of the chief publications in this alien field has convinced this writer that content analysis has nothing to contribute to our studies and least of all to an investigation into the methods used by Plutarch in his biographies and the treatise *Mulierum Virtutes* related to them.

Berelson himself is largely responsible for the extension of a method 'first used by students of journalism (and later, by sociologists) to study the content of American newspapers' (22) to practically all branches of human endeavour, especially of course to studies of literature. At no point does Berelson indicate that he understands that students of literature and historians have for generations pursued 'content analysis' as a major aim of their professions. Berelson mentions problems to be tackled by content analysis under the category 'To Trace the Development of Scholarship' (31), such as: 'Has critical attention to Shakespeare among scholars of English literature increased during the past fifty years?' In the face of a question of this sort—typical of the application of 'content analysis' outside of the sociological area proper—how can Mr Carney demand 'rigorous sophisticated analysis'? Under the rubric: 'To Discover Stylistic Features' Berelson writes (70):

'Two special cases of the quantitative analysis of formal stylistic elements, usually in poetry, are reasonably well accepted by literary scholars. One is the problem of disputed authorship and the other that of establishing the correct chronology of an author's works.'

Valid criteria used in studies on authenticity have been developed long before sociology, let alone 'content analysis', became a discipline. The only classical study which Berelson quotes (209) in this connexion is G. P. Palmer's *The Tottoi [sic!] of Aristotle's Rhetoric as Exemplified in the Orators* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1934); (the form 'Tottoi' is not due to a misprint, because it appears again in G. Lindzey's authoritative *Handbook of Social Psychology* i [Cambridge, Mass., 1954], 521 in a sort of epitome of Berelson's book, 488–522). Berelson's 'Tottoi' has a kind of counterpart in Mr Carney's review when he speaks of 'the question of the hypothecated (*sic*) common source' of Plutarch and Polyaeus.

What seems so insidious in Mr Carney's review is his matter-of-fact attitude that 'content analysis' in its above-defined sense, with its implication of counting and tabulating words and themes, is the accepted standard in classical scholarship. He treats Stadter's book as an archaeologist might justly treat a study on Attic vase painting which ignores the work of Sir John Beazley.

The chairman of the Department of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Ithiel de Sola Pool, is the editor of a collection of



papers delivered at the Work Conference on Content Analysis of the Committee on Linguistics and Psychology under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, *Trends in Content Analysis* (Urbana, Illinois, 1959). A passage from Pool's own concluding summary entitled 'Content Analysis Today' might illustrate the 'sophisticated' atmosphere which Mr Carney found missing so much in Stadter's book (204):

'A song, a poem, a folk story, a charm, an editorial, a five-minute radio talk, each has its set literary form. A psychiatric hour has a beginning, a middle, and an end. A story has a plot and a poem has meter and rhyme form. An analysis of the content of any of these has to take account of such structures. So, too, analysis of propaganda may need to take account of the strategies of persuasion. Mark Anthony's famous speech in *Julius Caesar* is an example: a structural constraint on the speech was the need to start from the predispositions of the audience in order to move them gradually to the desired position. A mode of analysis which does not permit one to take account of such structural considerations but requires the treatment of statements at all points as alike is likely to be a failure.'

From Berelson's implication that literature and history are a subdivision, as it were, of his brand of social science, have we come to the point where specialised scholarly work in the classics which does not have the remotest relation to 'content analysis' is attacked with inappropriate arguments clothed in the same sort of obscure verbiage which is found in the writings of this group of social scientists? Let us attend to our *topoi* and leave their 'Tottoi' to them.<sup>1</sup>

HERBERT BLOCH.

Harvard University,  
Cambridge, Mass.

<sup>1</sup> For other reviews of Stadter's book see especially: A. B. Breebaart, *Gnomon* xxxix (1967) 33-6; Barbara Scardigli Forster, *Athenaeum* n.s. xlv (1966) 179-86; Alan E. Samuel, *CJ* lxii (1966-67) 236-7; Emilio Gabba, *Riv. di Filol.* xcv (1967) 186-7; S. I. Oost, *CP* lxii (1967) 156-7.

### Content Analysis and Classical Scholarship

Mr Bloch's note contained other surprises for me beside that of discovering that I'd been in the Political Science Department of M.I.T. There does seem to be a real issue, however—propriety of use of a technique<sup>1</sup> like content analysis—so reply

seems indicated, unaccustomed as I am to this form of public speaking.<sup>2</sup>

Firstly, logic. My reference to content analysis was specifically limited to Mr Stadter's chapter four (third paragraph of my review). Mr Bloch generalises this, apparently (see his paragraph one), to refer to the whole review—certainly he does not deal specifically with my criticisms in paragraph two, though they involve specific, substantive points. My paragraph two dealt with semantics, a separate, if related, issue. Let's not muddle them up here. Some inconsistency seems involved in arguing that 'content analysis has nothing to contribute' (Mr Bloch's paragraph three) while yet 'students of literature and historians have for generations pursued "content analysis" as a major aim of their professions' (paragraph four). I note also that Mr Bloch was able to define the use of content analysis as 'inappropriate' even when it was 'a term he had never previously encountered' (paragraph two).

Secondly, fact. 'The chief<sup>3</sup> book in the field' and the current definition of content analysis are not as Mr Bloch states but as follows: P. Stone's *The General Inquirer* (see note 1) and

'Content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within texts' (*ib.* 5).

Incidentally, some 1,700 studies involving content analysis were extant by 1966,<sup>4</sup> so it's surprising to find what appears to be a partial<sup>5</sup> study of four of these termed 'a lengthy study of some of the chief publications in this alien field'.

Thirdly, accuracy: 'At no point does Berelson indicate that he understands that students of literature and historians have for generations pursued "content analysis" as a major aim of their professions' (paragraph four). Untrue. See pp. 497-8, and references *en passant* at 500 and 512, in Lindzey's *Handbook*.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps it's appropriate to point out here that content analysis aims to ensure that one extracts all passages (con and pro) relevant to one's argument. We're all, apparently, subject to selectivity in perception when this ranges freely (if Mr Bloch objects to 'selectivity . . .' as 'lingo', some variant on the traditional 'none so blind as those who will not see' may be felt appropriate).

To avoid irrelevance, let's define content analysis operationally, setting aside uses to which it has, historically, been put. It involves three stages: (1) questions; (2) pull-out of data; (3) inferences. (1) involves deciding on questions appropriate to data at hand; this involves clarification of definitions of key terms and working assumptions, as well as decisions on sampling (what parts of which documents to consider).<sup>7</sup> (2) involves units of analysis (words, themes, characters, inter-actions), contextual units (settings for the former), categories for registering these (pro/con; early/late, etc.)—quantification



problems. (3) involves stepping from statistics compiled in (2) to conclusions. It may mean a disconfirming cross-check; it certainly involves awareness of inferential difficulties now known to plague this stage. The technique comprises an analytical infra-structure gradually built up for those especially who work on documents. Is Mr Stadter's book so strong in these respects that this technique 'has nothing to contribute'?

Readers may care to examine the technique at work before deciding for themselves on its 'irrelevance'. If so, Stone's chapter 23, where two Harvard literary scholars examine *Huckleberry Finn*, provides a rapidly-readable illustration. P. Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood* (Vintage, N.Y., 1965), Part One, is built around this technique and makes good reading. I attempt to assess its potentialities for humanists in *Mosaic* i (1) (1967) 22-38.

To revert to paragraph two of my review. Two major points are made in regard to 'Rigorous, sophisticated discussion'. One is that discussion of an abstraction such as 'the virtues of women' without prior definition of womanly virtue generates semantic 'noise'. Another is that, necessarily, assumptions about personality occur in such discussion (whether one uses 'socio-psychiatric jargon' or not); hence one must check the validity of one's assumptions (the problem isn't resolvable by denying its existence).<sup>8</sup> Taking Mr Bloch's criticism (paragraph five): how do you establish authorship of a disputed passage, when you've only texts to go by, if not by 'counting and tabulating words'? And, if you're counting, why not use contemporary methods? As I write, I see on my shelves D. C. Earl, *The Political Thought of Sallust* (Cambridge University Press, 1961) and Ch. Wirszubski, *Libertas* (ib., 1950)—works known, surely, to most ancient historians. I assumed, in paragraph two, this level of semantic sophistication in a *JHS* readership. But let's finish with a counterpoint to Mr Bloch's last sentence: many empirical findings about communications phenomena have appeared since the 'Two Cultures' furore; my basic assumption is that it's a scholar's business to inform himself about those which concern his field.<sup>9</sup>

T. F. CARNEY.

University of Manitoba.

<sup>1</sup> Pace Mr Bloch (paragraph four), not a 'discipline'—an analytical tool used in many disciplines: P. J. Stone & Co., *The General Inquirer* (M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass., 1966) 44-60.

<sup>2</sup> Though I don't pretend to Mr Bloch's greater scholarly experience: cf. e.g. *HSCP*, lxii (1957) 37 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 'Chief' by consensus of the recent National Conference on Content Analysis, Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, November 16-18.

<sup>4</sup> Stone, 23 and 30.

<sup>5</sup> 'Partial' because Mr Bloch chooses to take from Pool only the concluding summary (rather than to illustrate from the somewhat more germane chapter 'The Application of Content Analysis to Biography and History', by J. A. Garraty [171-87]).

<sup>6</sup> Cited because it's easier to come by than Berelson's *Content Analysis*.

<sup>7</sup> Mr Bloch (paragraph four) cites a 'typical' instance of non-sociological content analysis. In view of his bibliography in this field, it would be helpful to know how he arrived at this assessment.

<sup>8</sup> See B. Mazlish (ed.), *Psychoanalysis and History* (Prentice-Hall, N.J., 1963) 3; Z. Barbu, *Problems of Historical Personality* (Grove Press, N.Y., 1960) (chapter on the Greeks) and E. E. Hagen, *On the Theory of Social Change* (Dorsey, Illinois, 1962) 55-98.

<sup>9</sup> Rhetorically: are we to take it that an historian ought not to concern himself with the social sciences?

### An Athletic ἀπὸ λεγόμενον

In modern books on Greek Athletics the Greek word *τριαστής* is often used of a triple victor at a meeting, but it is not to be found in *LSJ*. An enquiry into its authenticity proved interesting. The authors of this century who use it are strangely coy about giving any authority for it. Jüthner<sup>1</sup> simply calls the three victories of Phanas of Pellene in one day at Olympia 'Eine Leistung, die den Ehrentitel "τριαστής" eintrug'. Moretti,<sup>2</sup> usually meticulous in giving references, writes, 'E noto che chi conseguiva questo risultato era chiamato *τριαστής*'. In his later *Olympionikai* he applies the title to Phanas, to Astylus of Croton and Syracuse, to Leonidas of Rhodes and to Hecatomnus of Mitylene, but it is not made clear to which of the many authorities for these athletes whom he cites he owes the word. E. N. Gardiner seems to have been the first modern author to use the Greek word. In his *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (1910) we read<sup>3</sup> of 'Phanas of Pellene, who, by winning three races at Olympia in one day, won the title of triple victor (*τριαστής*)'. Later in the same book he states,<sup>4</sup> 'A still finer record is that of Leonidas of Rhodes, who won all four foot races in three successive Olympiads, 164-156 B.C., thus three times earning the title of *τριαστής* or triple victor, given to those who won the stade race, *diaulos* and *dolichos*'. [Gardiner has slipped up in his facts here. Leonidas did not win four events at three Olympiads but three events at four Olympiads. In his later *Athletics of the Ancient World* (1930)<sup>5</sup> Gardiner corrects this, but he makes a further slip in stating that Leonidas' victories were in the stade, the *diaulos* and the long distance race; the runner's



third success was in the armed race.<sup>6</sup>] In the same book Gardiner draws a red herring across the trail of τριαστής. In the index he has, 'Triastes, "Triple Victor", in inscriptions, 106', but on page 106 no authority for the word is given. The inscriptions are clearly a Boojum.

The sole example of τριαστής in an ancient author appears to be in Julius Africanus, who under Olympiad 154 (164 B.C.) gives Λεωνίδας Πόδιος τριαστής. The word might be added to LSJ.

There are two cognates of τριαστής which, though not ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, are each used once in an athletic context in a sense not recorded in LSJ. Of Phanias of Pellene, who in 512 B.C. won at Olympia the same three races as Leonidas, Africanus does not use the noun τριαστής, but he writes, πρῶτος ἐτίσσευσεν στάδιον, διανθλον, ὀπλιτήν. This specialised sense of τρισσένω might be included in LSJ along with the more general meaning of the word in the Septuagint.

A similar specialised use is that of the word τριάς in the phrase πρώτη τριάδι (as it is spelt in the one document in which it has so far been found). In JHS xlv (1925) Gardiner in a 'Note on Phikala's System of the Pentathlon' writes of 'A curious phrase which occurs in a victor-list published a few years ago. Certain pentathletes are described as victorious ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τριάδι, others οὐκ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ'. He adds a footnote, 'Unfortunately I have mislaid my reference to this inscription, and so far have failed to discover it. Perhaps some reader may enlighten me'. Apparently no reader did, for five years later in his *Athletics of the Ancient World* he does not mention the phrase, though it is perhaps the most important single piece of evidence for the method of deciding the Pentathlon.

The inscription which Gardiner had in mind was published by W. H. Buckler in JHS xxxvii (1917).<sup>7</sup> It is not a victor-list but a victory-list, the tale of the successes of Polycrates of Cibiya at the beginning of the third century A.D. The phrase οὐκ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τριάδι does not occur in it, nor are competitors in the plural described as victors ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τριάδι. Polycrates simply claims that two of his victories in the pentathlon, at Nicaea and Ephesus, were won πρώτη τριάδι. This must mean that he won the first three events of the pentathlon, and suggests that the remaining two events were not held, as happens to-day when a player wins the first three sets of a five-set tennis match.

In his Presidential Address to the Classical Association at Easter, 1966, Sir Roger Mynors confessed, 'I came to find that when I made an acidulated remark about the work of some professional, I always made a blunder myself on the next page; and wonder how others avoid the same experience'. Sir Roger may rest assured that others are no more fortunate than he is. During these investigations it became necessary to refer to *Greek Athletes and Athletics* by H. A. Harris. On page 78 of that work come the words 'The phrase, frequently occurring in inscriptions, "winner in the first triad"'. In fact,

the phrase occurs in one inscription; 'frequently' was hardly the right word.

Peccavi.

H. A. HARRIS.

St David's College,  
Lampeter.

<sup>1</sup> *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen* (1965) 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche* (1953) 117.

<sup>3</sup> 82.

<sup>4</sup> 161.

<sup>5</sup> 105.

<sup>6</sup> The authority is Philostratus, *Gymnastic* 33, not Paus. vi 13.4, as Gardiner states. Pausanias gives only the total of Leonidas' victories. The only runner known to have won stade, diaulos and dolichos at the same Olympiad is Polites of Ceramus in A.D. 69.

<sup>7</sup> 88. Also in IGR. iv. 1761, Moretti, IAG 82.

### An Etruscan Inscription in Reading

The Curator of the Museum of Greek Archaeology at Reading University, Mrs A. D. Ure, recently drew our attention to an apparently unnoticed Etruscan inscription on a fragment of an Attic red-figure stemless cup datable to the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. Mrs Ure further referred us to the classification of the cup in J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1963) 1297 (no. 7), the Painter of London E 122.

The tondo inside the cup (PLATE VIIa) is practically complete (diam. 12.5 cm.), but all the external decoration is lost except small parts of the bottom of the floral pattern under each handle. Inside the tondo are the figures of two women, one seated in a chair and holding a sceptre, the other standing frontal, looking to the left towards the seated woman and holding out a box in her direction, though she does not seem to be actually offering it to her. The underside of the base has painted rings and a moulded black circular band 1 cm. wide (Plate VIIb).

An inscription in Etruscan letters is scratched on the underside of the base (PLATE VIIc). The letters run from right to left, as is usual in Etruscan inscriptions; we transliterate *cipisvinas* (cf. the tables of Etruscan alphabets in G. Buonamici, *Epigrafia etrusca*, 1932, 122-3). There will be no doubt about the genuine Etruscan character of the word. One notices the vowel harmony, an often attested feature (M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia*,<sup>2</sup> 1947, 287). The final -s is reminiscent of the dative-genitive termination regular in nouns with nominative in -na (Pallottino, *op. cit.*, 290-1). We therefore tentatively translate '(dedicated or belonging) to Cipisvina'. Interpretations on these lines have been suggested in



analogous examples of inscriptions on pottery, see for example M. Buffa, *Nuova raccolta di iscrizioni etrusche*, 1935, 62, 67, with parallels in the known languages of classical antiquity.

W. B. LOCKWOOD.

*The University, Reading.*

### A Corinthian Cup and a Euboean Lekythos

(PLATES VI d-VII)

In Volume lxi of this Journal<sup>1</sup> I drew attention to three little vases in Reading University belonging to the group published by Wide in *AM* xxvi (1901) 143 f., at that time regarded as Boeotian and connected by Wide with Mykalessos. They are now known to be Corinthian, since vases and fragments in the same style have been found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth and are now displayed in Corinth Museum.<sup>2</sup> The general appearance of the vases from this workshop is far removed from that of normal Corinthian, which in the fifth century was decorated largely with floral or linear patterns. When compared with Corinthian red-figure and other vases with outline drawing<sup>3</sup> the childish aspect of many of the figures, their long heavy eyelashes, dimples, chubby limbs, feet with toes on the side facing the spectator, all combine to set them in a field apart. Some of the subjects too are unusual. Among the divinities there is Demeter enthroned with torch, corn and poppies on a plate in Athens;<sup>4</sup> bearded Herakles with club and bow inside cups in Reading<sup>5</sup> and Athens;<sup>6</sup> a youthful Herakles, weary and thirsty, leaning on his club as he fills his cup at a fountain, on a pyxis in the British Museum;<sup>7</sup> Dionysos as Liknites, Winnower, horned and wearing a fawn-skin, holding fork and shovel, on a pyxis in Reading.<sup>8</sup> Among the mortals we find a slinger, a girl playing kottabos and a centaur watching a tortoise inside cups in Athens,<sup>9</sup> London<sup>10</sup> and Leningrad.<sup>11</sup> An unpublished cup in Athens, formerly in the Empedocles collection,<sup>12</sup> shows a warrior advancing with his spear at the ready; another unpublished in Oxford, on loan to the Ashmolean Museum, has Oedipus and the sphinx. The only floral subject that I know is seen in the Reading cup with a rosebud between sprays.<sup>13</sup> There is a replica of this (but with the bud black instead of red) in a cup with a tall foot in Corinth Museum.<sup>14</sup>

To the three vases in Reading there is now added a fourth,<sup>15</sup> a cup decorated inside with the head and shoulders of a young woman, her curly hair bound up in a spotted scarf with fringed ends tied in a knot over her forehead (PLATE VI d).<sup>16</sup> She wears a chiton of thin dark material which shows on her right shoulder, while a heavy himation with a flame border covers it on her left. The general effect of her costume is much like that of the girl playing

kottabos on the British Museum cup, but the Reading girl has not the heavy eyelashes so frequently found in this group, and the spots on the cheek that have hitherto been taken to indicate dimples have increased from three to six. In her hand she holds a thymiaterion with the smoke of the incense streaming out of the holes in the lid and rising high above. This is represented by six strokes of the brush in very pale diluted glaze.

We see only the upper part of the thurible. The girl is holding it by the stem immediately below the receptacle. Just below her hand there is a disk-shaped moulding, and below it the stem continues downwards, broadening out as it passes through the band of thin streaky paint that covers the rim, to terminate somewhere well out of the picture. Fifth century Corinthian thymiateria with which to compare our specimen do not readily come to mind.<sup>17</sup> Among Greek incense-burners of comparable size and shape the best known is that on the right wing of the Ludovisi throne.<sup>18</sup> The lid there has been taken off for the thurible to be replenished and hangs down on a cord attached to a loop which takes the place of the large knob on the top of the lid of our thymiaterion. The moulding is very high up on the stem, only slightly below the base of the receptacle, leaving the line of the tall slim stem uninterrupted. A closer parallel to ours is to be found in the thuribles in Attic vase-paintings of the first half of the fifth century. On the lekythos by the Dutuit painter in New York,<sup>19</sup> on the pair of lekythoi in Oxford near the Pan painter<sup>20</sup> and on the Nolan amphora by the Berlin painter British Museum E269<sup>21</sup> there are very tall and slender thymiateria, their stems divided by a pair of disks enclosing a ball-shaped moulding. The acorn-shaped receptacles resemble ours but look lighter and lack the massive knob.

I have in my possession a black-figured lekythos<sup>22</sup> in an un-Attic style showing a boxing match (PLATE VII). It has no known provenience. The clay is soft and decidedly yellow, corresponding to that of Chalcis, and that the vase was made in Euboea, and almost certainly in Chalcis, is indicated by the tongue of black glaze caused by the painter letting his brush run off course before he lifted it from the black band at the bottom of the vase. Similar tongues of paint have been observed on Euboean vases (and particularly on some which there is reason to believe were made in Chalcis) from the sixth to the early fourth century.<sup>23</sup> Another Euboean feature is the band of pale paint that runs along the greater part of the top of the black area at the bottom of the vase. Here the glaze has thinned owing to the washy paint having shrunk back from the edge. This occurs also below the picture zone of the Euboean lekythos with swan (Chalcis 569; *JHS* lxxxi [1962] pl. x, 1 and 2).<sup>24</sup>

The shoulder decoration appears to be unique. In the centre there is a five-leaved palmette, a common enough object in this position in Attic but



differently drawn, and on each side an opening lotus, large and fleshy as Euboean lotuses generally are. Both boxers are bleeding freely. The lighter man on the right seems to be having a worse time than his heavy-weight adversary. The heavy-weight is practically noseless; the onlookers have extraordinarily long feet. The fold of the himation held up in front by the onlooker on the left is decorated with a vertical wavy line in white, a Euboean characteristic. The corresponding fold on the other onlooker is the normal red.

A. D. URE.

*University of Reading.*

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* lxix (1949) 18 f.

<sup>2</sup> See *JHS* lxxii (1952) 121, 'The God with the Winnowing-fan'. The pieces in Corinth are not yet published, but see *Hesperia* vi (1937) 312 under no. 235.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 310 f., figs. 40, 41. The upper fragment of the latter figure is surely printed upside down. It shows not the head of a walking-stick but the foot of a kantharos carried on the palm of a hand.

<sup>4</sup> *AM* xxvi (1901) pl. viii; Collignon-Couve, *Cat.* pl. xxxix, 1120.

<sup>5</sup> *CVA* i (i) pl. 16 (16) 5; *JHS* lxix (1949) 19, fig. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *AM* xxvi (1901) 146.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 145; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii pl. xxi, figs. 2, 3; Pfuhl, *MuZ* iii fig. 611.

<sup>8</sup> *JHS* lxix (1949) 21, fig. 3; *CVA* i(i) pl. 16 (16) 4.

<sup>9</sup> *AM* xxvi (1901) 147.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 144, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii pl. xxi, fig. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *JHS* lxix (1949) 23, fig. 5, from *Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique* 1901, 131, fig. 229.

<sup>12</sup> *Inv.* E1183.

<sup>13</sup> *JHS* lxix (1949) 21, fig. 4; *CVA* i (i) pl. 16 (16) 6.

<sup>14</sup> From the Potters' Quarter, shrine A.

<sup>15</sup> *Inv.* 64.7.1. Diam. 9.5cm. The picture is framed by the usual thin red circle within a black band running round the rim, and there are the usual black leaves or blobs on the outside of the rim; see the similar cup *JHS* lxix (1949) 19, fig. 2b. One handle is missing. The remaining handle is dipped.

<sup>16</sup> I have profited by discussing this vase with Mr John Boardman and Mr and Mrs P. A. Hansen.

<sup>17</sup> For thymiateria in general, see *Bonner Jahrbücher* 122 (1912) 1 f. (Wigand).

<sup>18</sup> *Jahrbuch* xxvi (1911) pl. 1 and p. 148, fig. 66.

<sup>19</sup> Richter and Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases* pl. 28.

<sup>20</sup> *CVA* i (i) pl. 33 (33) 3 and 4; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 560, 7 and 6.

<sup>21</sup> *CVA* iii (iv) pl. 9 (174) 3b.

<sup>22</sup> Ht. 14.5 cm

<sup>23</sup> *BSA* lviii (1963) 16, 18.

<sup>24</sup> See also *JHS* lxxx (1960) 166 and note 29. Cf. the similar pale lines bordering the breast and back of the panther on the foot of the Eretrian Peleus vase Athens 12076 (N890); and 16184: *BSA* xlvii (1952) 38; *JHS* lxxxii (1962) pl. ix, 7.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

GRAZ (L.) **Le feu dans l'Iliade et l'Odyssée: πυρ, champ d'emploi et signification.** (Études et commentaires, 60.) Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1965. Pp. 382. 1 folding table. Fr. 64.

Dr Graz studies, not fire as a reality in Homer, but the single word *πυρ* as a means of finding a better definition of a series of ways of understanding the reality (p. 345). He does little to make his argument clear to the reader. His French style reads as though he would be more at ease in German. Even the Chapter numbers are triplicated, groups and subdivisions pullulate, the technical notations are complicated and might well have been distinguished by a special fount; it is characteristic that on p. 341 we are introduced to *zones* which must be distinguished from the *zones* with which we are already familiar. With a ruler to align the columns, some help can be gained from the folding table, and the page references in the footnotes are life-lines. Since I cannot aspire to the high level of specialisation, I must write of the book as it appears to a very average scholar and hope that I shall not simplify to the point of distortion. For readers in the same position, I recommend as preliminary reading S. Ullman, *Semantics; an Introduction to the Science of Meaning*.

After two chapters on theories and methods, the semantic field of *πυρ* is established by tabling all the words with which *πυρ* is found in any syntactical relation, and all the nouns which are found in the same syntactical relation with the same words. At least two coincidences are needed to establish a system, e.g. *πυρ* as subject (once) of *ἐσθίειν* does not form a system with all other subjects of this verb, but does with Suitsors and Cyclops because all three are also found (once each) as subject of *μαλίσθαι*. Constructions in which *πυρ* only appears are called P(articular); those which are highly promiscuous are called M(ultiple) and the extremely limited I(solated); those which are both diversified and homogeneous are called C(ommon) and form the basis of the systems on the folding table, e.g. the various objects of the various words meaning to ward off. They are the most significant, but the others are fully discussed. The syntactical systems to which *πυρ* belongs having been objectively<sup>1</sup> established, they are submitted in the main part of the book (pp. 69-320) to an exhaustive, sensitive and subtle examination in

context, with introduction and conclusions to each section. Some of the distinctions (e.g. *αἰθομένοιο/καυμένοιο*) are inadequately supported by the examples and finer than would be expected from poets composing in an oral tradition. In the general conclusions (pp. 323-50) five syntactical systems are distinguished and reclassified in four types of context and five zones of frequency in books, always with exceptions. They may be summarised:

- α Release of inherent energy in time and space but without defined limits. Similes and metaphors. *APY-X*, with subsection Cremation *Ψωλο*.
- β Action of burning, usually as a danger to be avoided. Speeches and rhetorical narrative. *Θ-ΠΦ*.
- γ Means of action, usually destructive. Narrative and speeches. *Θ-ΠΦ*.
- δ Fires in a confined space. Narrative. *IKΣ* and *Od*. Gleam or flash, as of celestial bodies, usually a symbol of divine intervention. Similes and metaphors. *APY-X*.

This is a modest reward for such immense labour; one might have guessed that domestic fires appear in domestic scenes, fire alarms in the attack on the ships and cremations at funerals. Is the method perhaps at fault?

Take for example the 'formally extremely simple' system, Table VI, group 5, A<sup>2</sup>, (*ἐμ*)βάλλειν, *ίέναι* (pp. 169-83). Constructions of *βάλλειν* without *πυρ* are divided into eleven groups and subgroups, and regrouped (1) active object put into passive recipient, e.g. weapon into breast, (2) passive object put into active recipient, e.g. corpse into hands, (3) purely spatial, e.g. sheep into ship. *πυρ νηυσί/πυρῇ/κλισίῃσι* clearly does not belong to (2) or (3), and must therefore be connected with (1), though it has the peculiar function of marking the initial moment of burning. *ίέναι* is grouped (1) put someone into a state (of pride, etc.), which is outside the system, (2) (a) (a god) put (courage, etc.) into someone, (b) put a drug into wine, etc., both corresponding with group (1) of *βάλλειν*. The conclusions are that *βάλλειν* indicates real or metaphorical movement, *ίέναι* transformation, and that *πυρ* is a means of action which produces the effect expected of it when it is applied in a given place in the process of making a physical movement. Much of this seems over-refined. The 'purely spatial' is minimised by classifying the staff put into the hands of an unconscious beggar or the earrings which Hera puts on as 'symbols of power' or saying that 'to put a man into a ship' means 'to get rid of him'. Put a tunic, girdle, staff or corpse into someone's hands, a horse into harness, sheep, a man, a firebrand, a thunder-

<sup>1</sup> The definition of C seems somewhat arbitrary. *δρυνναι* is M because its subjects are so diverse that it upsets the tabulation, and *σβέννναι* is I, although its application is fairly wide. Moreover, statistical method applied to such small number perhaps implies too much confidence in the MS tradition as transmitted to Mazon.



bolt, fire into a ship (the last three are said to have no *lien apparent*), earrings into ears, drugs into wine (k 235-6 escapes the semantic net, since *πῦρ* does not occur as object of *ἀνέμυρε*), a spear or courage into a breast, all describe the act of bringing A and B together, with a variety of consequences. We know that sheep leave the ship unchanged, that drugs alter the effect of wine, that fire destroys the ship, because we know what the poets mean by the words they use; the syntactical resemblances do not seem to illuminate that meaning.

Applied to an abstraction, the method could be more fruitful. If *τιμὴ* is found in the same syntactical relations as the largest share of the booty or the best cut off the joint, this may be significant for the Homeric meaning of *τιμὴ*. But man's attitude to fire cannot greatly change. It is 'a good servant and a bad master'. Forest fires rouse the same emotions in Homer, Lucretius and ourselves. Domestic fires were a greater problem in the days before matches. Dr Graz notes that the only reference to this difficulty is in the simile in ε 488-90, but he is not concerned with the entrancing questions which this raises. Whenever the crew land for the night, they cook; when Odysseus swims to shore, cold and naked, he does not light a fire but creeps under dry leaves, and here only we have a simile about conserving fire. The conclusion should be that a brazier was carried in the ship. When the Cyclops *πῦρ ἀνέκαυε* (ι 251, 307), does he blow up the embers? When Odysseus says *οἷσθε δέ μοι πῦρ* (χ 481), the fire can be fetched from the kitchen, but is the poet aware that he has let the fire in the Hall go out three times? Homer also has fires which are both servant and master: the fire with which in war one side attacks the other, and the cremation fire, controlled, beneficent and voracious—the only fire which *eats* the body, like the wild beasts which devour a man on an Attic funerary bowl. This, however, is the book which Dr Graz was determined not to write, because the evidence on which it would be based would be too subjective.

D. H. F. GRAY.

St Hugh's College, Oxford.

JOHN POLLARD. **Helen of Troy.** London: Robert Hale, 1965. Pp. 192 + 8 plates.

Mr Pollard uses Helen as a peg on which to hang a journalistic account of the Homeric Question. The narrative of her birth, loves, and reputation is bad journalism—Greek legends invite Society Column treatment ('Miss X is, of course, the niece of Lady Y'), and get it ('Of course then the fat was fairly in the fire. . . . So a mighty fleet assembled in the roadstead at Aulis all agog for the blitzkrieg which was not to be, or 'Rumour, of course, as always, was a woman'), and the selection (e.g. the omission of Thetis' prayer to Zeus and the False Dream from the summary of the *Iliad*) includes too many details like

'those about actors and filmstars' which 'delight the readers of women's magazines'. The distillation of scholarship and history is good journalism, with the technical errors and shrewd appraisals which are characteristic of it. The author is wrong about the pottery of Troy VII B 1, for example, and refers to the 1927 ed. of Nilsson's *Min.-Myc. Religion* instead of the rev. ed. of 1950 (*Nibe* twice for *Nike* is presumably a misprint), but he has a good idea of what evidence is: 'It is, of course, fatally easy to find parallels'—a point which has evaded more learned writers. An entertaining book—but one which should perhaps not have been sent for review in *JHS*.

D. H. F. GRAY.

St. Hugh's College, Oxford.

MÜLLER (M.) **Athene als göttliche Helferin in der Odyssee: Untersuchungen zur Form der epischen Aristie.** Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1966. Pp. 168. DM 22.— (unbound); 26.— (bound).

The heroic ideal—*alēn ἀριστεύειν*—is realised most perfectly amid the clash of spear and sword but naturally is a spring of action in all parts of Homeric life. M.'s book is an illustration of this truism drawn from the scenes of the *Odyssey*, and as a literary study is done with skill and judgment. All the *Odyssean* actors strive after *ἀρετή*, but they labour under handicaps: Telemachus has the means but lacks the 'Aristieville', Odysseus has the will but, before φ, has not the means. It is the role of the divine helper to make good these deficiencies by admonition, counsel, and the provision of opportunity: hence the prominence of Athene. M.'s ostensible purpose, however, is to explain the detail of various *Odyssean* episodes in the light of supposed formal characteristics of an *ἀριστεία*. The content of the *Telemachy*, or at least of the first half of it, is elucidated in this way: the inspiration of the hero with μένος, the challenge to his foes, his clash with them in the assembly, his repulse, prayer for aid, its answer, his return to the fray. All this can be paralleled in the *ἀριστεία* of Diomedes and at least in part elsewhere. Similarly treated are the Phaeacian scenes, the palace scenes in Ithaca, and the slaying of the suitors.

M. is undoubtedly correct to assume such regularities of form: unfortunately (for dissertations too have their fixed form) the structural essentials of *ἀριστεία* are explained mainly by references to R. Schroeter's Marburg dissertation, *Die Aristie als Grundform epischer Dichtung*, 1950, so that it is not clear to the reader how far the author supposes that we are dealing with a technique of narration and how far with some more intangible working of the poetic mind. The postulate of a regular sequence of motifs as a narrative structure pays a dividend in the explanation of mild improbabilities, such as the aggressive behaviour of Telemachus towards the suitors at a 374 ff. and β



315 ff. But my impression is that the author seizes too eagerly on parallels between Odyssean and Iliadic episodes when they are present and passes over their absence too silently. If indeed we have in the *Odyssey* greatly expanded versions of a regular theme—itsself a very probable circumstance—then something more is required than single comparisons with the *ἀπειρεσία* of Diomedes or the exhortations of Poseidon (N 47 ff.) to establish the *typus*, its essential elements, and the place of the divine apparatus within it. Unhappily, it goes almost without saying, even now, that a work of this provenance ignores the Parry school of Homeric exegesis, although that school has had useful things to say about the nature of themes and their elaboration in epic: it might even be able to say why the regular successions of themes are regular.

J. B. HAINSWORTH.

King's College, London.

BESSLICH (S.) *Schweigen-Verschweigen-Übergehen: die Darstellung des Unausgesprochenen in der Odyssee*. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1966. Pp. 154. DM 24.— (unbound) 28.— (bound).

When messages are delivered in Homeric epic the messenger uses the same words as his principal. This practice implies for me a habit of attention to dialogue which makes all the more surprising those exchanges in the *Odyssey* where answers are incongruous with questions or ignore them altogether: for such inconsistencies cannot then be explained by the sort of venial negligence that excuses the resurrection of Pylaimenes. Here were obvious points for analytical attacks, and the attacks were encouraged by the fact that many of the offending dialogues occur at places important in the unfolding of the story.

B. firmly ranks himself with the unitarians, still the minority among Odyssean scholars in Germany. But he conducts his argument on the old ground: poetry *versus* logic. His thesis is that the inconsequent dialogue of the *Odyssey*, in contrast with the formalism of Iliadic conversation, has both realism and poetic art. The *Odyssey* needs these qualities, of course, because it has a wider backcloth and a more complex story: adumbration, suggestion, and ambivalence outweighed with their emotive force the merely intellectual merits of strict relevance. Thus Finsler, Focke and others expelled Telemachus's brave words at α 374–80 as being introduced from β 138 ff. and provoking no response from Antinoos; but the words hint at the strengthening of Telemachus's resolve brought about by Athene's advent and foreshadow his stand in the assembly of Ithaca. Penelope's tense silence during ψ 113–72, lines which even Schadewaldt rejected, is ingeniously compared with Kalkhas's description of postponed anger at A 81–3 to suggest that the scene is psychologically

realistic not only in modern but also in Homeric terms, a point often missed by this school of criticism.

These two examples are typical of the thirty-three passages B. examines and illustrate the direction of his attack and the nature of his opposition: they can, unfortunately, give no impression of the author's full and sensitive treatments which raise his dissertation well above the arid level suggested by his title.

J. B. HAINSWORTH.

King's College, London.

HESIOD. *Theogony*. Ed. M. L. West. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1966. Pp. xiii + 459. £4 10s.

The *Theogony* is important from almost every point of view except the purely poetical; certainly so for the history of religion and the development of myth. A new commentary was badly needed, and West has now filled the need in a most admirable way. Moreover the text has been somewhat improved and much more securely based. The editor has brought to bear an outstanding knowledge of Greek, wide learning and industry, and a healthy element of common sense. Anyone working on Hesiod or on early Greek poetry and thought will have to make constant reference to this book.

Probably its greatest excellence lies in the work done on the text. All but three of the sixty-nine extant manuscripts (only about a dozen of which are earlier than the fifteenth century), and all the identified papyri (twenty-nine, of which fourteen were not published), have been examined; the results are set out on pp. 48–72. West confirms that the tradition is heavily contaminated, and thus attempts no definitive *stemma*; his own apparatus is based on the principle of quoting the two poles of the tradition, to give an indication of its range, except where intermediate sources offer obviously good readings. A subjective but, in the circumstances, a unavoidable procedure which West describes with a frankness for which we may be grateful. Fortunately the text is in general fairly stable.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Detailed observations: 31, W. prints *αὐδῆν* not *αὐδῆν*; this remains doubtful. 48 omitted, correctly. 74, W. prints van Lennep's *ρόμους*, probably rightly (though he misconstrues the vulgate). 87, W. prints Schoemann's *τι* for *τε*, and has found it in one ms. 144–5 are retained, surely wrongly; reference to 67 and 590 f. hardly justifies them. 213–4 are transposed, probably rightly, with Hermann. 329, it is perverse not to print Scheer's *πῆμα βροτοῖον*. 344–5, Merkelbach's suggested transposition, not accepted by W., seems correct. 346, W. prints, unjustifiably, his conjecture *Κουράων* for *θυγατέρων*. 427 is not convincing in its present place even with van Lennep's *γέρας* for *γέρας ἐν*. 484, W. favours,



In the commentary, and in the general introductory sections on theogonic poetry, myths, genealogies, and the date and occasion of the poem, the level will seem somewhat variable, in different ways to different readers (though this does not apply to the manifestly excellent section on Dialect, pp. 79-91). To an important extent this reflects the insolubility of many of the problems which the poem presents, as well as the attitude of each individual reader to what may be termed singleness or complexity of authorship. West's own position is clear: he is quite an extreme unitarian in this respect, and the only places where he admits serious interpolation or non-Hesiodic expansion are a small part of the description of the underworld ('at least 734-5 and 740-5', p. 358) and the end of the poem, where nearly everyone would agree that the tone and content change drastically and that material from other poems, whether or not by Hesiod, has been appended. My own view of the composition is more complex than West's, and therefore some of the comments which follow may be partisan. At a number of points, however, the author has convinced me, either that a kind of unity or connecting theme can be legitimately traced between two apparently incompatible episodes, or that Hesiod's own style and approach can be shown to be looser than one was previously inclined to accept. At other points the author evinces a kind of dogmatism which leads him to demonstrably inadequate or one-sided treatments of undoubted problems; some examples will be cited below. One particular case of apparent *parti pris* is the author's conviction that the *Theogony* is earlier than either the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. This is theoretically possible and was, as West points out, the opinion of many in antiquity (though he does not mention the possible *a priori* motives for such a judgement). Modern opinion has hardened against the view for a variety of reasons, many of them linguistic and many of them good. It was a disappointment to find that so little—almost nothing, to be accurate—could be adduced by West in favour of his view, on which his assessment of several interpretations in the poem is made to depend. Usually he resorts to a minority judgement of the relative

priority of a Hesiodic over a superficially similar Homeric passage—though he knows as well as anyone that in oral poetry, at least, the appropriateness or inappropriateness of use of a traditional theme or phrase cannot be taken as a secure index of date.

I pass to a more detailed consideration, in which disagreement will be more prominent than agreement—but in literally hundreds of notes the author has done his job with admirable thoroughness and conciseness, with an impressive command of grammar and of epic diction. (Only in the assessment of debatable etymologies is his linguistic judgement occasionally questionable: see for example on 18 ἀγκυλομήτην, 151 ἀπλαστοί, 269 μεταχρονόισι.)

The general treatment of the Proem is rather slight; more could usefully be said on hymnodic techniques, and some of the real difficulties of content and sequence tend to be dealt with by such explanations as this: 'Hesiod is not thinking of his own pantheon, but rather of a traditional catalogue which is much more akin to the Homeric scheme of things' (p. 156). The long note on Hesiod's vision of the Muses, on the other hand, gives a careful survey of previous explanations and comes to a sensible conclusion; that on σκῆπτρον (30), with its statement that 'if the rhapsode has no lyre, he must have something else to hold', is more questionable and far from clear in itself. On the digression on kings at 80 ff. West takes up Wade-Gery's suggestion that the poem was the one given at the funeral games of Amphidamas according to *Works and Days* 654 ff. There Hesiod claims to have won a tripod with a hymn to the Heliconian muses—surely, then, if there is anything in the idea, it should be restricted to the Proem rather than being applied (as by West and Wade-Gery) to the poem as a whole? Yet the concentration on the law-giving functions of kings does not accord with compliments which might appropriately be offered to kings organizing a funeral contest (despite 87 n.); one might argue with no slighter plausibility that the praise of kings is designed to flatter local Boeotian nobles in view of an impending lawsuit (though I agree that the μέγα νεῖκος of 87 has no specific reference). The difficult transition from kings to singers is discussed in an excellent note on 94-7, in which West illuminates one form of looseness in archaic thought.

The treatment of cosmogonical and cosmographical matters is variable. The observation (116-53 n.) that Hesiod builds the universe from the bottom up is misleading: in fact earth comes first after *chaos*, and then the underparts of earth; sky follows since it seems to be delimited by the earth's edge, and earth and sky together generate Okeanos, their point of contact. The Wilamowitz-Cornford interpretation of *chaos* as 'gap' is opposed, legitimately enough, but without adequate care: in particular there is no independent assessment of the context of the term as it appears at 700; and both here and in 120 n. the author is surprisingly casual in his assumptions of date for genealogies in 'Epimenides', 'Orpheus', and

but fortunately does not print in the text, Frobenius' Ἀργαίω for Αἰγαίω. 540, W.'s τοῖς for τῷ is surely right. 564 is correctly retained. 597, W. prints † ἡμάται, prudently, but Goettling's ἀκάμαται is very likely right. 609, the admitted difficulty of ἀπ' αἰῶνος calls for a crux. 642 is bracketed as an interpolation, quite unnecessarily. 661, πρόσφρονι θυμῷ, suggested by one papyrus, is printed for vulgate ἐπίφρονι βουλή: a hard choice, but W. may well be right in view of the state of the tradition. 697, Naber's αἰθέρα for vulgate ἡέρα is rightly accepted; so 742, Wakefield's πρὸ θύελλα θυέλλης. 781, W. cautiously prints † ἀγγελίη, though ἀγγελίην seems highly probable; so 804, † εἰρέας and Hermann's εἰρας ἐς. 826, W.'s conjecture ἐν δὲ οἱ ὄσσε, though possible, is hardly justified in the text.



the like. At 124 the appearance of Day before Sun is not necessarily a sign of 'basic antiquity', since Heraclitus still had to stress the dependence of the former on the latter. On 127 the argument against the view that the Greeks tended to think of the sky as hemispherical is inadequate—they did not need architectural domes for the concept, and references to the sun sinking into the sea suggest that the flat-sky-on-pillars idea was a rarer alternative view. West's inflexibility on this point causes him to offer an obviously incorrect explanation of Okeanos' parentage in 132 n.; and in 154–210 n. he indulges a common penchant for assigning improbable motives to 'primitive man'. Incidentally he assumes that myths were originally associated with rituals. On the Titans, and on the influence of certain Near-Eastern myths (especially Hurrian Kumarbi and Ullikummi and the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*), he is enlightening; though on Giants and kindred topics he could have paid greater attention to Francis Vian and the iconographic tradition.

West is very good at explicating lists, the Nereids and Oceanids as well as the Titans, and geographical references (e.g. Permessus and the Cretan caves, nn. on 5 and 477)—and that is half the battle for a commentator on the *Theogony*. His defence of the 'Hecate-hymn' is enthusiastic. He does not find her odd spread of functions difficult, nor the language more strained than elsewhere in Hesiod. He justly destroys one or two careless linguistic observations by myself (404–52 n.)—I should frame my objections to the language of this passage very differently today, especially after reading West; but only some who, like him, can defend verses 144–5 (on the Cyclopes) as Hesiodic, and can allow that degree of crudeness in style, will feel happy here: compare the (undoubtedly genuine) description of the birth of Zeus which immediately follows, for example!

The general introduction to the Prometheus myths (507–16 n.) is excellent; so too on Atlas (517 n.) and those ash-trees (563 n.). On the Titanomachy he is on the defensive again, and my own feeling (admittedly from an alien viewpoint) is that he consistently plays down the apparent contradictions and difficulties, notably the Zeus-*aristeia* (where the oddity is not its postponement but its ineffectiveness in spite of its description as devastating). The assessment of the variant descriptions of the underworld at 720–819 looks more systematic, but the system depends on the assumption that the description of Sleep and Death at 758–66 presupposes that of Night and Day just before—which is surely not the case. Incidentally the Sleep and Death passage is held to be Hesiodic partly because 'it is perhaps imitated in the *Odyssey* . . . in common with the poem of the *Theogony* . . . which is certainly genuine' (p. 357): logic, as well as the passages referred to, should be re-examined here. On the other hand how acute is the observation on the 'roots' of 728 that 'we have something like a monistic cosmogony: a basic indeterminate element developing (in space rather than in time, but Chaos is the first-

born of the gods) into a tangle of determinate elements, which become more and more separate, and develop in their turn into the discrete masses of the world we know'!

It is natural that West should defend the Typhoeus episode; but I believe his defence would have been stronger had he conceded that there is a degree of conflict with 306 ff., and admitted that the various linguistic awkwardnesses (the worst of which he has in any case to explain as interpolated) are something beyond 'just what one would expect of a poet like Hesiod writing on a theme like the Typhonomachy' (p. 382). The 'positive argument' for authenticity, depending on a similarity of the passage describing the winds that emerge from Typhoeus to *Works and Days*, is disappointing, especially since the author himself has just revealed some puzzlement (p. 381) about what these winds are doing here at all. Moreover it is surely *not* the case that the winds-passage 'presupposes at least the substance of what goes before' (p. 382): it presupposes nothing more than the mention, perhaps in a single verse, of a violent Typhoeus (or rather Typhaon). I cannot help feeling that this argument, in all its manifest weakness, demonstrates how far West can be driven off course, on occasion, by his strong intuition (which might nevertheless be substantially correct) that virtually all of the poem as we have it, except for the ending, is by Hesiod.—Concerning this ending West's statement of the various arguments is incisive and judicious (see, for example, his handling in 901–29 n. of the 'strophic' passages; though perhaps a fuller reply to Schwabl would have been justified at some point).

Such disagreements will doubtless proliferate. Yet the point is that this is a real work of scholarship, not without flaw, but impressive in scope and depth. Discussion of the *Theogony* will henceforth be based on more solid ground.

G. S. KIRK.

Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

## II

For a long time scholars have worked on the mythological representations in vase-painting and the other arts; and the progress made in recent years in the grouping and dating of these works has made such study much more useful. A picture of course can never tell a story as unambiguously as the written word, and study of mythology through art must always depend on study through literature, but a close collaboration can certainly help both. The *Theogony* is not one of the works where the link is strongest. The main interest of artists begins roughly where the poem finishes: the Olympian gods established and involved in the world of mortal heroes. Where a direct connexion can perhaps be postulated, as in the case of the Muses on the François vase, West discusses it; and there are many other allusions to particular representations in his work. What follows is intended less as a criticism of this book



than as an appendix, and to document a general plea that in literary commentaries as richly comprehensive as this fuller and more consistent use should be made of the monumental evidence.

A few general remarks on reference. A vase should be given its museum number; if it appears in Beazley's black-figure or red-figure lists it is a help to give that reference too, since this both puts it in a context and gives full reference to illustrations; and an approximate date is surely desirable. 'A red-figure amphora from Vulci (line reproduction in Roscher, ii. 3238; Reinach, *Rép. des vases peints*, i. 142)' (see below on p. 164, n. to l. 30) enables one to trace the piece but is not the kind of reference West would be content with in a literary case. In the notes that follow, *ABV* and *ARV<sup>2</sup>* refer to Beazley's lists of Attic black-figure (1956) and red-figure 2nd ed. (1963) vases; Payne to his *Necrocorinthia* (1931); Brommer to his *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* (2nd ed. 1960); Kunze to his *Archaische Schildbänder* (*Ol. Forsch.* ii, 1950); and Schefold to his *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (1966).

158, n. to ll. 22-34: Hesiod's vision. One vase-painting has been thought to represent this, an Attic white-ground pyxis of the second quarter of the fifth century, Boston 98.887, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 774, Hesiod Painter no. 1; picture, Caskey-Beazley i. pl. 15.37; in indications of landscape, six Muses and a peasant with a cow; but in view of the animal it is perhaps rather Archilochus. He carries a stick, but it is plainly a country cudgel, not the Muses' staff. For discussion see refs. given by Beazley l.c.

164, top, n. to l. 30. The vase cited with Musaeus is a neck-amphora of the third quarter of the fifth century, B.M. E 271, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1039 Peleus Painter no. 13. Apollo sometimes carries a laurel-staff as well as a lyre (and sometimes a phiale too), e.g. mid-fifth-century red-figure neck-amphora, B.M. E 274 *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 604 Niobid Painter no. 53, picture Beazley *Vases in America* 149 fig. 89. The many pictures of lyre-playing show that to lay aside one's staff and any other impedimenta would be a matter not of convenience but of necessity.

217, n. to l. 175: *harpe*. A black-figure vase of the sixth century (lost, not in *ABV*; *Mon. dell' Inst.* iii pl. 46, 1) anticipates Euripides in showing Herakles himself using it on the hydra while Iolaus burns the necks; and without Iolaus he attacks the monster with it on a b.f. cup, third quarter of the sixth century (Berlin F. 1801, Brommer *Herakles* pl. 10, a). Early pictures of Perseus almost always give him a straight sword, the *harpe* becoming regular only in the later sixth century (see Schauenburg *Perseus*, 1960, 121 ff.). For the sickle-weapon in Near Eastern art, see J. Makkay *Early Near Eastern and South-East European Gods* (*Acta Archaeologica Academiae Hungaricae* 16, 1964, 3-64). The (lost) vase with the death of Orpheus cited from Gerhard is *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 215, Manner of the Berlin Painter no. 12 (second quarter of fifth century). The Thracian women are not characterised here or in other vase-pictures as maenads. The *harpe* is found in other

vase-pictures of the scene: see Beazley in Caskey-Beazley ii 73, where (n. 2) a unique picture is mentioned in which Oedipus approaches the sphinx with this weapon (mid-fifth century hydria-fr. in Athens, Langlotz *Akropolisvasen* ii, 686 pl. 53; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 587, Undetermined Mannerists no. 66). In all the vase-pictures Hermes kills Argos with a sword; the gem with the *harpe* is not earlier than Hellenistic. Zeus is never, I think, pictured using it on Typhon.

224, n. to l. 201: Himeros and E[ros] are shown as children in the arms of (presumably) Aphrodite on an Attic black-figure plaque in Athens (Graef and Langlotz *Akropolisvasen* 2526 pl. 104; not in *ABV*; before the middle of the sixth cent.). Eros welcomed Aphrodite as she rose from the sea on the base of Pheidias's Zeus at Olympia (Paus. v. 11.8) and is so shown on vases and other works of art in the fifth century (see E. Simon *Der Geburt der Aphrodite* 38-47 with pictures and refs.; Rumpf *Anadyomene* (*JdI* 65/6, 1950/1, 166-74).

229, n. to l. 217: Keres. A mid-sixth century black-figure cup-fr. in Athens (Graef und Langlotz *Akropolisvasen* i 1757 pl. 86) shows two beardless winged figures and the inscription KE. . . . They are black, not white as one would expect for female figures, but the restoration is tempting.

230, n. to l. 225: Geras. On the fifth-century vase-pictures cited see also Beazley *Bull. Vereen.* 1951, 18 ff. The subject has also been doubtfully identified on the Argive shield strips: see Beazley l.c. (against); and simultaneously, producing more material and arguing for the identification, Kunze 121-5.

233, n. to l. 234: Nereus. On early representations see Boardman, *BICS* 5, 1958, 6-9: Herakles wrestles with a figure inscribed Nereus on an Attic vase of the first quarter of the sixth century (*ABV* 25 KX Painter no. 18), Halios Geron on an Argive bronze relief of the second quarter (Kunze 109 and 213 no. 4).

240, top, n. to l. 249: Protomeidia. The vase in the B.M. with Pontomedea is E 774, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1250, Eretria Painter no. 32; a late fifth-century pyxis with Nereid-names applied to a wedding-scene.

242, n. to l. 267: Harpies. The two Harpies appear, named *APEITYIA* on an Attic black-figure louterion from Aegina of the end of the seventh century (Berlin 1682; *CV* fasc. 1, pls. 46 f.; *ABV* 5 Nettos Painter no. 4; Schefold 56, pl. 64a). They are in a panel on their own, but a corresponding panel is lost and probably showed the Boreads in pursuit, as on the other certain early pictures of Harpies: Laconian cup from Cerveteri, before the middle of the sixth century (Rome, Villa Giulia; *Arch. Class.* iv pls. 5-8; Shefton in *BSA* 49, 1954, 300 Arkesilas Painter no. 3); ivory relief from Delphi, of the same date (Schefold 77, pl. 64 b); and the late sixth-century Chalcidian Phineus cup (Würzburg 354; Rumpf *Chalk. Vas.* no. 20, pls. 40-43), where their name was inscribed but only the first letter survives.

244, n. to l. 270: Graiai. For another picture



(red-figure krater-fr., third quarter of fifth century, Delos, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1019 Phiale Painter no. 81) see Beazley *JHS* 67 (1949) 7 ff. with fig. 4 and discussion of this very rare subject.

247, n. to l. 281. One Corinthian krater-fr. (Oxford 130.12) and two Attic cups (B.M. B 380: *ABV* 55 C Painter no. 91; Berlin 1753, l.c. 56 no. 94) all of the second quarter of the sixth century show Pegasus leaping from Medusa's headless neck; see Payne 133 and 132 fig. 46; in other works the children are shown by anticipation with their still living mother (Payne 84 f.). On a Corinthian oenochoe of the same date (Florence 3755; Payne 325 no. 1389, and pp. 86 f. fig. 27 D), a lone Gorgon is named Sthenoi. The beheading and pursuit are very popular in vase-painting and other media from the mid-seventh century on (see Schauenburg *Perseus*).

248, n. to l. 287: *τρίκεφαλον*. In art Geryon is usually three-bodied, as Stesichoros described him. The great popularity of the subject is in vase-painting over the last half of the sixth century (Brommer 48-52; and his *Herakles* 39-42), but the same form is found on the few earlier examples: a rough Proto-corinthian pyxis of the mid-seventh-century from Phaleron, B.M. 65.7-20.7 (Johansen *Vases Sicyoniens* 94 no. 22, pl. 24, 2; Brommer *Herakles* pl. 25); a Corinthian cup (Perachora II, 2542 pl. 110); Argive shield-strips (Kunze 106 ff.); Chest of Cypselus; (see Johansen l.c. 94 f., Payne l.c. 130). A distressed woman appears on several late sixth-century Attic vases, and is perhaps Calirrhoe: b.f. amphora B.M. B 156, not in *ABV*, Brommer 24; b.f. amphora, lost and known only in unsatisfactory drawing, Gerhard *AV* 104, Brommer 26; and two red-figure cups, Munich 2620, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 16, Euphronios no. 17, Brommer *Herakles* pl. 26, and, lost, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 60 Oltos no. 84.

248, n. to l. 293: Orthos. The two heads mentioned by late writers are already illustrated on some of the late sixth-century Attic vases, including the Euphronios cup (last note) where he has also a snake-headed tail (cf. the seven snake-heads in addition to the two dogs given him by a scholiast on Lycophron 653 (Scheer II, 218, 33). Cerberus on a Caeretan hydria (Louvre E 701), Hemelrijk *De Caeretaanse Hydriae* no. 2, (Pfuhl MuZ fig. 154) has nine snake-heads growing from his noses, heads, necks and paws; a slighter version (Villa Giulia 50649, Hemelrijk no. 8, Mingazzini pl. 38) has only five. A poet can just say 'He had x snakeheads'; a painter has to place them precisely, and may feel impelled to reduce the number, as West notes in connexion with Cerberus.

253, n. to l. 311: Cerberus. The Caeretan hydria cited in the last note give him three dog-heads; Attic painters (the subject is common through the second half of the sixth century) almost always two; the earliest picture, on a lost Corinthian cup of the early sixth century, one, with several snakes'. (See Brommer 70-76; also his *Herakles* 43-6, the Corinthian cup pl. 24, b; Attic examples pl. 27.)

253, n. to l. 314: Hydra. There are two eighth-century pictures of Herakles, Iolaus and the hydra, on

Boeotian fibulae; and the subject is popular in vase-painting from the late seventh (Brommer 63 ff.; *Herakles* 12-19, pls. 8-11; the fibulae pl. 8 and p. 13 fig. 3).

254, n. to l. 318: Athena appears constantly in art as helper of heroes, especially Herakles; first with Perseus, on the mid-seventh century Attic amphora from Eleusis (Mylonas, *Ὁ Πρωτοαττικὸς ἀμφορεύς τῆς Ἑλεούσας*, 1957); with Herakles first on an aryballos from Aegina in Bratislava, of the last quarter of the seventh century (the hydra; Payne no. 481, fig. 45A). Hermes sometimes accompanies her from the late seventh century (with Perseus on the Attic vase cited under 242 n. on l. 267; with Herakles on a Corinthian kotyle from Corinth, Louvre L 173, Payne l.c. no. 941, pl. 31, 10). See G. Beckel, *Götterbeistand* (1961).

255, n. to l. 321: Chimera. West justly notes that the goat's head growing out of the back 'makes it the oddest and least satisfying of mythical monsters'. An alternative version, in which the first half of a lion turns at the back into a huge snake, the goat still growing out of the middle, is found on an island gem and Attic vases of the late seventh century (see Ohly in *AM* 76, 1961, 1-11, pls. 1-2, Beil. 1-5). It appears in Corinthian vase-painting before the middle of the seventh century, and in Attic and elsewhere and other media before the end. (Brommer 220-34; Kunze 63 f.; and see Dunbabin *Bellerophon, Herakles and Chimera* in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* ii, 1164-84.)

256, n. to l. 326: Phix. The Glaukytes cup (Munich 2243) cited from *ABV* is of the third quarter of the sixth century; the Troilus hydria is some quarter of a century earlier and is Vienna 3614 (*ABV* 106, middle). The type of woman-headed winged lion is used to crown funeral monuments from the end of the seventh century; a late example is addressed in the epitaph as 'Sphinx, dog of Hades' (cf. West's note to l. 327); can one perhaps argue back along this line for the early use of the name in this connexion? (The poem, (Pfuhl, *Greek Poems on Stones* 49 no. 140, with refs.), is cited by Miss Richter as archaic (*Archaic Gravestones of Attica* 6), but Miss Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* 97 f. with pl. 11, 8, shows that it cannot be before the middle of the fifth century.) It is true, however, that an alternative type is common in vase-painting into the early sixth century with a bearded male head instead of a woman's. On the 'sphinx'-type as death-spirit in seventh-century art, see Hampe *Ein frühattischer Grabfund* (1960) 62-6.

257, n. to l. 329: Nemean lion. This labour of Herakles is the most popular of all in art from the end of the seventh century. Lion-fights of a century earlier may possibly illustrate it, but one cannot be sure: see Brommer *Herakles* 7 ff., Kunze 95 ff., Schefold 67. Hera is never, I think, shown.

258, n. to l. 334: the snake which guards the golden apples. On the two versions of the Herakles story current in art from the early fifth century, see Brommer *Herakles* 47 ff.



269 f., n. to l. 371: Helios, Selene, Eos. The triad appear together about their celestial business on a late fifth-century red-figure pyxis lid B.M. 1920.12-21.1 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1282 Lid Painter no. 1; and on a calyx-krater of the same time, B.M. E 466 (not in *ARV*<sup>2</sup>), but Eos here is pursuing Kephalos. Helios or Selene rising in a chariot occur from the early fifth century, see Schauenburg *Antike Kunst* 5, 51 ff.; Haspels *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* 120 ff., Helios; and *ARV*<sup>2</sup> s.v. Selene in index, sometimes also shown as the full moon—a woman's head drawn in outline in a circle; (see Beazley in *JHS* 59, 1939, 150). Eos is shown pursuing her lovers from the early fifth century (see Beazley in Caskey-Beazley II, 37 f.), and much earlier as mother of Memnon (Chest of Cypselus; perhaps a seventh-century Melian vase), (Schefold 45 f., pl. 10). 273, n. to l. 384: Nike. The fifth-century sculptural evidence, cited for the subordination of Nike to Zeus, points to at least as close a connexion with Athena. The Parthenos too carried a Nike on her right palm; golden Nikai were dedicated in her temple; and in the little temple outside the Propylaea Athena and Nike were linked perhaps to the point of identification. A scholiast on Aristophanes (Overbeck *Schriftquellen* 315) says that Archermos of Chios was the first to wing her. We have a mid-sixth century statue which may be his (see Richter *Archaic Greek Art* 116 f. with figs. 186, 190 and refs.), and he may have been the first artist to represent her; certainly it is only in the later sixth century that she becomes a favourite figure in art.

276, n. to ll. 404-52: Hecate. One later picture shows her in an unusually Hesiodic light: a mid-fifth century red-figure calyx-krater from Spina, Ferrara T 617, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1038, Peleus Painter no. 1; wedding of Peleus and Thetis; the bride in a chariot, Eros flying to crown her; the groom mounting, Aphrodite crowning him; Hermes at the horses' heads, and behind them Apollo playing the lyre and Hecate with torches; all except Eros named, though the artist has written EKAKTH for Hecate.

294, n. to l. 454: Hera. First in art in the Judgement of Paris on the Chigi olpe from Veii in the Villa Giulia (Corinthian, third quarter of the seventh century, Schefold 42, pl. 29 b), where her name and most of her figure are missing but she certainly appeared.

294, n. to l. 455: Hades. First in art on the Corinthian cup mentioned on 253 n. to l. 311.

294, n. to l. 457: Zeus. In the primitive group of Zeus and Hera which Pausanias (v. 17.1) saw in the Heraeum at Olympia, the god wore a helmet; and it has been argued convincingly that the bronze statuettes of warriors dedicated in the sanctuary in the eighth and seventh centuries represent him (Kunze in *Ol. Ber.* iv., 1944, 123 ff.). Other possible early representations on a clay lid from Knossos of the late eighth century (Brock *Fortetsa* no. 1414, pl. 107) and on the Corinthian vase mentioned below on 379, n. to ll. 820-80.

311, n. to l. 517: Atlas' burden is distinguished by

moon and stars as the heavens only, on a red-figure Campanian neck-amphora B.M. F 148, probably late fifth century (*JHS* 63, 1943, 67 No. 1; *Antike Kunst* 5, pl. 17, 4).

312, n. to l. 522: Prometheus' bonds. On three of the vases cited (second quarter of sixth century) for Prometheus impaled, his hands are indeed free, but on the fourth they are bound, as also on the late seventh-century prototype for the design (*ABV* 6, near the top; Karouzou *'Αγγεία τοῦ Ἀναγύροντος* (1963) pls. E and 22a); on *ABV* 7 no. 5 the relevant part is missing.

313, top. Prometheus and Atlas are shown punished together on a mid-sixth-century Laconian cup from Cerveteri, Vatican 1298; Lane *Greek Pottery* pl. 31 a; Shefton *BSA* 49, 1954, 300, Arkesilas Painter no. 14. 324, n. to l. 567: Prometheus and fire. On the fifth-century representations of Prometheus bringing fire in the fennel-stalk see Beazley *Prometheus Fire-lighter AJA* 43 (1939) 618-39, pls. 5-15; and *Postscript to Prometheus* 44 (1940) 212.

326, n. to l. 571: the making of Pandora. The representations are few and not all easily related to the literary accounts. An Attic black-figure amphora of the second quarter of the sixth century perhaps shows Hephaestus bringing Pandora to Olympus (*ABV* 96, Tyrrhenian Group no. 9). On a fragmentary white-ground cup of the second quarter of the fifth century (B.M. D 4, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 869 Tarquinia Painter no. 55) Athena and Hephaestus are shown finishing the figure of [A]nesidora. Uninscribed scenes on red-figure vases of the same time and a little later show similar compositions with other gods present B.M. E 467 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 601 Niobid Painter no. 73; B.M. E 789 *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 764 Sotades Painter no. 9). On a red-figure volute-krater of the mid-fifth-century, Oxford 525 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1562 Alkimachos kalos II, no. 4) Pandora rises from the ground, Eros flitting above, Epimetheus with a hammer welcoming her; Hermes with a flower sent by Zeus (all but Eros named); see Beazley in *CV fasc.* 1, pl. 21, 1. The very fragmentary copy of the basis of the Parthenos (Winter *Kib I*, 247, 1) suggests that there the *Πανδώρας γένεσις* (Paus. I. 24.7) may have been treated much as on B.M. E 467.

363, n. to l. 733: the Xenokles cup is *ABV* 186 no. 10. 379, n. to ll. 820-80: Typhoeus (Typhon). A winged figure, man to the waist, snake or double snake below, shown attacked by Zeus with a thunderbolt, is generally interpreted as Typhon; the same figure occurs by himself on Corinthian vases from the later seventh century (Payne 76 f.) and elsewhere; Boreas was shown in this form on the Chest of Cypselus. The Zeus-composition is most popular in the sixth century on the Argive shield-strips (Kunze 82 ff., 233 f.); the finest picture is on the mid-century Chalcidian hydria, Munich 596, Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* no. 10, pls. 23-5. A centaur is attacked by a figure girl with a sword but using a thunderbolt on an early seventh-century Corinthian aryballos (Boston 95.12; Johansen 92 no. 8, pl. 22, 2). Buschor (*AJA* 38, 1934, 128 ff.) has convincingly argued that the



centaur (the only mixed monster known to Greek geometric art) means 'monster' until the differentiation of other types adopted from the East, and that this scene should be Zeus and Typhon; and he interprets in the same sense the eighth-century bronze group of helmeted man and helmeted centaur (l.c. fig. 2); see also Dörig in Gigon und Dörig *Der Kampf der Götter und Titanen* (1961) 57 f.

401, n. to ll. 886-900: Birth of Athena. The sexes of the deities on the Tenos pithos are not crystal-clear, and it is possible that this is actually a Birth of Athena (see Schefold 32 and pl. 13). The subject is popular in Attic vase-painting from the second quarter of the sixth century (*ABV* s.v. in mythological index) and on the Argive shield-strips from about the same time (Kunze 77 ff.).

410, n. to l. 918: Apollo and Artemis appear on the seventh-century Melian vase cited on 268 f. n. to l. 371. On the Chest of Cypselus Artemis (named) was shown in the form of the 'Potnia Theron' popular in Greek art in many media from the mid-seventh century. The triad (Apollo with Artemis and Leto) is found on Attic vases from the mid-sixth (*ABV* 139, near Group E no. 9).

413, n. to l. 927: Hephaestus. The return to Olympus is found in Corinthian vase-painting from the first quarter of the sixth century (Payne 142) and is popular in Attic from the second quarter (François Vase) on. He appears otherwise in assemblies of the gods, as maker of Pandora (see on 326, n. to l. 571), and making Achilles' arms for Thetis in fifth-century red-figure.

415, n. to l. 933: Ares and Aphrodite as an honoured pair. This is a strong tradition in archaic art—see Karusos in *Jdl* 52, 1937, 172-81 (beginning with a Cycladic vase before the middle of the seventh century); also *ÖJh* 48, 1964/5, 110 and 114 f.). Ares is rarely shown otherwise, except in assemblies of the gods, gigantomachies, or coming to aid his son Kyknos against Herakles (in Attic and Corinthian vase-painting from before the middle of the sixth century) (see Payne 131 f.).

416, n. to l. 942: the vase cited with Dionysus and Semele in a chariot, and others in which the goddess may be Semele rather than Ariadne, do not necessarily illustrate the story that he had to bring her to Olympus after he was grown up, nor is this implied in Pausanias's account of the Amyclean throne.

418, n. to l. 949: Dionysus and Ariadne in Crete. The prominence of a wreath in some sixth-century pictures of Theseus and the Minotaur (Kunze Beil. 7, 6 and pl. 18, 4c); cf. the Attic red-figure calyx-krater Athens Acr. 735, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 259 Syriskos Painter no. 1) suggests that the artists knew the story (Hyginus *Astr.* V) that Ariadne's Crown was given her by Dionysus in Crete and by her to Theseus to light him through the Labyrinth.

423, n. to l. 970: Iasios. The punishment of 'Iasos' is shown on a fragment of a late fifth-century red-figure calyx-krater Hermitage 1889.1 (not in *ARV<sup>2</sup>*; Metzger *Recherches* pl. 1, 1).

425 f., nn. on ll. 979-83 (Geryon etc.) and 984 f. (Eos and her lovers): see above on 248, n. to l. 287, and 269, n. to l. 371.

426, n. to l. 985: Memnon's Ethiopian squires are given the features of African negroes from the third quarter of the sixth century (Exekias: *ABV* 144 no. 8, 145 no. 14; also 149, v; and others later).

430, n. to l. 1001: Chiron as educator of young heroes (Achilles) is shown already on an Attic vase of the mid-seventh-century (see Beazley *Development* 10 f. with refs.).

432, n. to l. 1008: Aeneas. The earliest vase-paintings (all Attic) with his escape from Troy with his family belong, like the coin cited, to the late sixth century. The subject is popular, then and in the early fifth, especially in Etruria, where most of the vases were found and local versions produced (see Schauenburg *Aeneas und Rom, Gymnasium* 67, 1960, 176-91, pls. 7-18).

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

Lincoln College, Oxford.

WALCOT (P.) **Hesiod and the Near East.**

Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1966.

Pp. xiii + 154. £1 5s.

It has been normal for many years, at least since Poulsen's book *Der Orient und die Frühgriechische Kunst* appeared in 1915, to seek to place the material life of ancient Greece against its Oriental background. Archaeology is now pushing on to demand a corresponding literary *Quellenforschung*. The subject of Mr Walcot's book is the debt of Greece to the literature of the Ancient Near East in the ninth-seventh century B.C. The recovery in recent times by successive generations of excavators of large portions of the rich mythological literature of Hittites, Hurrians, Phoenicians of Ugarit, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Sumerians, presented in some or other form of cuneiform script on clay, today at last enables notably a fresh assessment to be made of the nature of Hesiod's debt to the East. The general fact of this in the *Theogony* is obvious enough, of course, thanks to those few and devoted specialists in these difficult fields of cuneiform who have laboured to fit these texts together and interpret them. It is rather surprising that it has taken so long for the classical scholars to react to this challenge to ancient Greek originality, for, except for some casual allusions, and short notes in classical journals, this appears to be the first serious attempt by a classical scholar to get to grips with this important subject. We have had in Astour's *Hellenosemitica* (1966) a powerful attempt from the side of the Orientalists to explain much too much in Greek mythology derived wholesale from Western Asian sources. To this approach the present work displays a gratifying cautious contrast. Its balanced judgements and



lucidity and simplicity of presentation are greatly to be commended.

Walcot's argument, briefly put, is this: that the poet was living and writing about 750 B.C. (possibly). This was the moment in time when the great new discovery of writing was reaching Greece through a Greek entrepôt such as al Mina, where it was possible for Greeks to hear of such epics as the *Enuma Elish*, the Creation Epic of the Babylonians. Did they also there encounter the Hurrian/Hittite story of Kumarbi and the kingship of the Gods? and if so, did it or the Babylonian story furnish the background for Hesiod's *Theogony*? A particular difficulty is created by the fragmentary nature of the text (who the Hurrians were and what was their role, especially in Anatolia, is described on pp. 19 ff.) though the parallels between the story of Zeus' battles with Typhon as recorded by the Hellenistic scholar, Apollodorus, are close.

The author then briefly reviews the Phoenician version of the battles of the gods as recorded by Philo Byblius and notes how relatively insignificant a role Zeus (identified by Philo with Demarus) carries out in the Phoenician story of Byblos. There in fact the hero is Kronos (El) just as in the Hittite myths Teshub is hardly the hero. But for Hesiod, Zeus is invincible and the *Theogony*, Walcot points out, is a resounding hymn of praise in his honour.

Walcot believes, following the late F. M. Cornford and E. R. Dodds, that a much stricter comparison may be successfully instituted between the *Theogony* and the Babylonian poem *Enuma Elish*, which exalts the might of Marduk, vanquisher of Enlil, the former head of the Babylonian pantheon. In this tradition, Marduk, son of the gods Ea and Damkina, being born (like El of Byblos) with four eyes and four ears, i.e. imagined possibly as a Janiform figure, has enemies in the person of Tiamat (the personification of the deeps, the underworld) and Kingu her consort. Armed with a bow, a club, lightning and a net, and aided by all the winds, he slays Tiamat in single combat and creates heaven and earth and the universe from her body. Needless to say, after these achievements, Marduk is acclaimed by his fellow gods as the omnipotent master of all the then created mankind. Assyriologists now believe that the poem in its present form, exalting Marduk god of Babylon to the chief position, perhaps replacing Enlil, came into existence in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, in the late twelfth century B.C.

To this there are some correspondences in the *Theogony*. Zeus, like Marduk, calls up the winds. Typhoeus, Zeus' opponent, is the parent of a brood of monsters (Orthos, Kerberos, Hydra and Khimaera) as is Tiamat. Some other features, such as the creation of rivers and seas by Zeus and Marduk may also be compared. Yet I fail to feel that there results anything but a very general analogy between the *Enuma Elish* and the *Theogony*. Walcot then turns (Ch. III) to the myth of the first woman Pandora, whose creation from clay by the craftsman

god Hephaistos and whose endowment with accomplishments and gifts are described in both *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. For this a parallel exists in Egypt in the royal myth put about by Queen Hatshepsut that she was divinely created from clay by the god Khnum in the fifteenth century B.C. and Walcot believes that this may have been preserved to Hesiod by Mycenaean channels. Walcot also traces the motif of a creator god swallowing his own children to Egypt (p. 78).

When in Ch. IV he examines the *Works and Days* and seeks for a parallel in Egypt for such gnomic literature he is certainly on safer ground, for in Egypt the genre is extensive. However, the Hurrian story preserved in Hittite of Bad and Good, the two sons of Appu can also be held to form to a certain degree and parallel to the picture of Hesiod and worthless brother Perses. As for the *Days* according to Herodotus (2.82.1) Greek poets were influenced by Egyptian sources in associating gods with months and in horoscopes. But Hesiod may equally have got his ideas of favourable days from the Mesopotamian Hemerologies. The idea too of a farmer's almanac can be shown to go back to the Sumerians.

The rest of Ch. IV is devoted to a discussion of Hesiod's *floruit*; good arguments for assigning which to 750-730 are presented. Whatever the reasons which impelled his father to leave Cyme in Aeolis, there is today little reason, pace Walcot, to doubt the *floruit* of Midas-city in the late eighth century as Huxley suggests, and I myself could very well accept that Cyme could have been one of the routes whereby the Greeks made contact with Oriental literature, the other being al Mina. Both formed routes whereby the Phoenician-Aramaic alphabet could have been met and adopted. Walcot finally offers detailed stylistic and other literary reasons for regarding Hesiod as possibly rather a contemporary than a follower of Homer.

While we cannot be grateful enough for this careful and reasoned estimate of Hesiod's debts I confess that I feel slightly baffled and dissatisfied by the result, at least as far as the sources of the *Theogony* are concerned. As one of those he censures who 'have snatched at the Kumarbi myth, and ignoring the facts that its links with the *Theogony* are not so very numerous and close and that this text is not even Hittite in origin, have neglected the equally important clues offered by Babylonian literature' (p. xi), I believe what Walcot has realised, that there were a very large number of variant myths and epics in existence in different or even in the same parts of the ancient Near East at different, or possibly at the same times. Of these we are now beginning to get only an inkling. What role did they perform—ritual, magical? Were they secret *hieroi logoi*, or represented in public religious dramatic representations? Or were they simply recorded in written form as ancient records—which is less likely? We do not know; nor do we know by what access to them, in what form, through what interpreters, a



poet like Hesiod could have learnt of them. I have however the impression if Walcott is right about the Kumarbi myth, unless the *Theogony* is a largely free invention of the author, it is based on some set of Oriental poems as yet undiscovered, combining Babylonian, Anatolian and Phoenician elements together. Such a mixture might well have been engendered in Cilicia, several times associated with the Zeus stories, and such cities as Tarsus or Mallus, half Greek, half Phoenico-Aramaic, would have been ideal centres of transmission.

R. D. BARNETT.

*British Museum.*

SCHWABL (H.) *Hesiods Theogonie: eine unitarische Analyse.* (Sitz., österreichische Akad. der Wiss., philos.-hist. Klasse, 250, 5.) Vienna: H. Böhlau Nachf. 1966. Pp. 146. 5S 164.-

A shapeless mess or a close-knit unity? Opinions about the structure of the *Theogony* have changed dramatically since 1930, the year in which Jacoby produced his notorious text of the poem. What was then regarded as evidence of extensive interpolation is now referred to the characteristics of orally composed poetry; repetition, once thought a mark of stupidity, has now become 'respectable', and sometimes even more, an indication of subtlety. There is only one similarity, and that a similarity merely of appearance on the printed page, between the work of Jacoby and that of Schwabl: the latter's system of notation makes his Greek text of Hesiod no less unpleasing to the eye than that of the former. The wheel has certainly come full circle, for, quite apart from his rehabilitation of the reputation of Hesiod, Schwabl can find kind things to say about an interpolator (as on p. 57). The real problem today no longer concerns the structural unity of the *Theogony*, since this battle seems to have been won by those like Schwabl who believe the poem an organic composition. But how far may we go in claiming that coincidences of word, phrase, construction, metre or content contribute to structural patterns? If patterns represented by parallel groups of verses can be identified, how are these to be explained in terms of poetic technique? Schwabl's view that units of three, of five, of ten etc. verses may be isolated has been known for six or seven years and has gained some approval (e.g. that of Lesky in *A History of Greek Literature*, p. 99). In this monograph the author examines the *Theogony*, section by section, seeking fresh evidence in support of his theory.

I am as deeply committed as anybody to a belief that Hesiod's poem is carefully organised and his material skilfully deployed. I believe, for example, that the poet follows a set pattern of presentation, that some parts of the *Theogony*, especially the

beginnings and ends of sections within the poem, are designed to correspond, and that Hesiod's style is far from being inept. Although I, therefore, have much sympathy for Schwabl's approach, extreme views, in my opinion, in whatever direction they incline, are always dangerous, and I must admit frequently parting company with this scholar as his arguments become more complex and his parallels more tenuous. Perhaps I am prejudiced by the hostile reaction to recent attempts to claim mathematical symmetry for the poetry of Virgil, and, although Schwabl's mathematics are more of my own standard, namely simple arithmetic, I find his units of verses, however many verses comprise the units and however closely they appear to balance each other, difficult to accept as a principle of composition. There may be something in what he says, and final judgement must be reserved until the further investigations (of the *Erga*, other Hesiodic material, the *Hymns* and Homer) promised by Schwabl are published, but I do feel that Schwabl thinks too much like the scholar safely tucked away in the study and too little like the rhapsode preoccupied with thoughts of the crowded *lesche*. Recently the reviewer of a structural analysis of Hesiod's other poem, the *Erga*, passed the following comment: 'The "problems" some scholars find in his sequence of thoughts and the solutions they propose have as much to do with his mentality as a lecture-room with a cow-shed' (A. Hockstra, *Mnemosyne* IV, XIX, 1966, p. 407). This is harsh criticism, too harsh indeed for me to want to apply it to Schwabl, but many, I fear, will consider his methods too sophisticated and his approach too intellectual. Schwabl is a sensitive critic, but also terrifyingly intense.

Opening his book at random and finding myself at p. 61, I spotted a question, 'Can it be coincidence. . .?', which he often asks. In this case we are invited to believe in a conscious connection between verse 251, the twelfth line in the section on the Nereids, and verse 281, also the twelfth line in its part of the *Theogony*, and between verses 286 and 353, two seventeenth lines. Flicking on to p. 80, one reads, in a comparison of the Uranos and Prometheus stories, that one event produces Aphrodite and the other Pandora, and then, much less attractively, that the Melian Nymphs of verse 187 explain verses 563-64. To be fair I finally turned to what I consider to be the best part of this monograph, Schwabl's analysis of the Typhoeus episode, and there on p. 110 I found a most effective comparison of verses 844-52 and 853-59. Thinking about the analogies developed on these three pages, I reckon those suggested on the first unacceptable, those suggested on the second interesting, but only those listed on p. 110 really convincing. A certain score of one out of three means that the verdict this time must be 'not proven', although the case, of course, may always be re-opened.

P. WALCOT.

*University College, Cardiff.*



FATOUROS (G.) *Index verborum zur frühgriechischen Lyrik*. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1966. Pp. xxii + 415. DM 40.-

Until now, scholars who needed to ascertain whether or not a given word was attested in the vast corpus of early lyric poetry were faced with an impossible task: the indexes available were either outdated or, if modern, only limited to certain authors (e.g. Young's excellent *Index* to Theognis). Dr Fatouros' work fills, therefore, a very conspicuous gap. It is the product of enormous *Sammelfleiß* and conscientious accuracy: particles like *δέ*, *καί*, *ὃ* are included, and recent papyrus fragments as well as the standard editions of the various poets have been taken into account. Several ingenious typographical devices facilitate the utilization of the material collected (elision, crasis, textual corruption are indicated by signs explained in the Preface). Comparative tables enable the reader to locate the number of each fragment according to Diehl, Bergk, Page, etc.

A sample consultation of the *Index* has shown to me that this tool is very reliable: the reader is unlikely to find omissions. When a second edition becomes necessary, I impudently venture to hope that Dr Fatouros may decide, as Ebeling did for his *Lexicon Homericum*, to include such headings as *-φι*, *-θεν*: it would be interesting to know what became of these suffixes in the genre (cf. e.g. PMG 287.7 *ὄχεσφι*, PMG 28 *ὠρανίῃ*; for post-homeric epic cf. Lehrs, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 306 ff.).

The *Index* produced by Dr Fatouros is extremely good: the only warning I must give is that he has not always included variant readings which, for one reason or another, have a good claim to being considered. Bearing in mind that the metrical structure of many lyrical fragments is anything but clear, and that, in textual matters, what at first seems to be a corruption may well, upon expert analysis, turn out to be the *lectio difficilior* or in any case the correct reading (methodologically useful cases, which I quote at random: Juv. 3.218, *Phaenicianorum*, on which cf. *Hermes* 1967, p. 110 ff.; *A.P.* 12.92.6 *ἰκέτης*, cf. *CR* 1967, p. 130; *A.P.* 12. 161.4 *σὺν πετάσῳ* on which cf. *Eranos* 1967, p. 39; for *κέκλωνται* and *δηῖσται* in Moschus 4.64 and 114 cf. *CQ* 1968, forthcoming), one would have welcomed to Fatouros' *Index* forms such as *χρυσίεπιλος* (PMG 418, cf. Joh. Geom., 5.23, quoted in Thes., s.v., and *χρυσίπερμον* alongside *χρυσόπερμον*: erroneously coined, but nevertheless actually extant *Nebenformen*?), *πηγάς* (PMG 780.5; cf. *πηγάς* *δακρύων* Soph., *Ant.* 803, *πόντον* *πηγαῖς* Eur. *IT* 1039), *φανροφόροι* (PMG 971: cf. *φαῖρος* · *κοῖφος* Hesych., and *κοινοφόρος*). The attestation of the adjective *νηλεές* at PMG 26.4 is fully entitled to a place in the *Index*: the text is sound, as I have tried to show (*Rhein Mus.*, forthcoming).

GIUSEPPE GIANGRANDE.

Birkbeck College, London.

KIERDORF (W.) *Erlebnis und Darstellung der Perserkriege: Studien zu Simonides, Pindar, Aischylos und den attischen Rednern*. (Hypomnemata, 16.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1966. Pp. 130. DM 18.-

Dr Kierdorf's Dissertation embraces studies of those few portions of Greek literature which come to us from men who had actually experienced the crisis of Xerxes' invasion, and which refer to it: Simonides (the Megistias epigram, but not those later ascribed to that poet; the Thermopylae lyric fragment, and what we are told about the Artemisium poem, including the Oreithyia legend); Pindar (especially *Isthm.* 8, which K. dates in 478; he takes the 'stone of Tantalos' to refer to the threat of *dekateusis*, now averted from Thebes); Aeschylus' *Persae*. Herodotus is excluded as having been too young; but K. permits himself to include the traditional material, in the form of the *Tatenkatalog*, found in Attic patriotic oratory, especially as represented in Herodotus (e.g. ix, 26, in the dispute with Tegea) and Thucydides, especially i, 72 f., in the provocative speech at Sparta. K. is certainly right to trace a connection between the material of such a *Tatenkatalog* (common ground in *epitaphioi logoi*, though rejected by Pericles in Thuc. ii, 35 ff.) and the commemoration of heroic deeds in art and poetry. How far it can rightly be considered as any more a product of first-hand *Erlebnis* of the great war than what the historians themselves say, *propria persona*, must be a matter of opinion; but the writer of a doctoral thesis is under pressure to provide himself with enough—and not too much—sufficiently varied matter.

The character of a thesis comes out, indeed, clearly in this book, and would do so even if we were not explicitly told that this is what it is. The choice of subject is a fine one; but when we come to look for evidence of what those who lived through the great crisis felt at the time, or even felt that they had felt, a few years later—already not quite the same thing—we shall seek it in vain in the Persian War poetry. The transmutation of *Erlebnis* for the purposes of *Darstellung* has obliterated the former, as it naturally would in art-forms so highly formalised as the Greek choral lyric, tragedy and lapidary epigram. We have no contemporary personal poetry; and even if an Archilochus or a Sappho had lived through year 480, the chances are that they would not have publicised their *Angst* at the time. To do so would not have been for the good of the common effort; and also, while Sappho can make great poetry out of the sensations of love and jealousy, —the *glükūpikron*—the sensations of anxiety and fright are wholly bitter. Only Theognis, barely mentioned here, refers to the 'Medes' as a danger. Among poets writing after the war, only Pindar strikes a personal note; and even he, only because, amid the thankfulness and rejoicing, in which he would fain share, his feelings were inevitably mixed and it was useless to deny it. Aeschylus, whose direct share in the great deeds is the best attested, is from the nature of his dramatic art the



most impersonal of all in describing them. Where we do, if anywhere, get a glimpse of his experience of a city in mortal danger is in the *Seven against Thebes*, in the passage where Eteocles is striving to check the rising panic of the women; but this forms no part of K.'s material. His only mention of this play is on p. 20, where the prophet Megistias is, in the course of a rather lengthy, word-by-word analysis of Simonides' epigram, compared to Amphiaraus.

What we are given instead, in the treatment of the *Persians*, the chief item in K.'s material, is a detailed discussion of the stage setting, characterization, Aeschylus' style; in fact, a complete introduction to the play. Like all the rest of the book, it is marked by great learning. K.'s bibliography runs to nearly a hundred items, and the notes show that these, many of them in English, really have been used. But the theme of *Erlebnis* seems to have dropped out of sight.

Written in an agreeable if not always easy German, this is a book which one would gladly have praised more highly; but the circumstances of a doctoral thesis have, as so often, produced, from the point of view of readability by a wider public, disappointing results. Is it not time that the country that invented the doctoral thesis should now give earnest thought to developing a more flexible system?

A. R. BURN.

University of Glasgow.

JONES (H. LLOYD-) AND OTHERS. **Estudios sobre la tragedia griega.** (Cuadernos de la Fundación Pastor, 13.) Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 1966. Pp. 141. Price not stated.

This book consists of four essays on aspects of Greek Tragedy, all but one by Spanish classicists, prepared for and (except for the last) delivered in 1965 at the Pastor Foundation Conference.

In the first Hugh Lloyd-Jones makes use of work in progress to reconsider problems of early Greek Tragedy (Pratinas, Phrynichus and the Gyges Fragment). Arguing that we know even less about the first century and a half of tragedy than Wilamowitz thought we knew, especially in view of the new dating of Aeschylus' Suppliants, Lloyd-Jones first examines the evidence for Thespis, Choerilus and Pratinas and concludes that nothing can be certainly deduced from it. Of the last author he notes we can say little more than that he or one of his characters asserted that 'the quail has a sweet voice'. Phrynichus is another story. Pace Wilamowitz, he certainly used heroic saga as his material—so possibly did his predecessors. He may have used the trilogy form. He was also the first as far as we know to treat recent history. The Sack of Miletus was not necessarily (again pace Wilamowitz) entirely without action; and the Phoenician Women, dealing with the defeat of

Xerxes and mentioned in the ancient hypothesis of the Persians, may perhaps (on the evidence of its opening scene) be part of a trilogy which included what the Suda refers to as the Just Ones, the Persians or the Councillors. The Gyges Fragment may be from the same hand and Lloyd-Jones is inclined to argue that both vocabulary and plot can be reconciled with this suggestion. His further work on this theme will be eagerly awaited. What little we know of Phrynichus' use of music and the dance suggests affinities with the Eastern half of the Greek world. He is credited with the introduction of the first female character and widening the scope of tragic story. It would be unwise to leave all the credit for the development of tragedy to Aeschylus.

The second essay by Manuel F. Galiano is a sensitive meditation on the parodos and the first stasimon of the Agamemnon, evidently based on careful reading both of the Oresteia and of the considerable recent literature on the themes of Artemis' anger, Agamemnon's freedom or compulsion to choose his fate, and Aeschylus' theodicy in general. He intersperses what seem attractively lucid translations of large sections of the choruses with both detailed and general comment, including a paraphrase of the developing action. On the whole he tends in the end to side with Lesky in his recent article.<sup>1</sup> Zeus is all powerful but inscrutable. Agamemnon appears not to deserve his fate, but we must not attempt to read into Aeschylus' own perplexity the overtones of later and more sophisticated theology—only accept with him that the *ἀνάγκη* *ἐλαττον* was not to be avoided, but that human beings embrace their destiny with an acceptance which has in it something almost of choice. (Virginia Woolf, as Lesky suggests, was right to see in this ambiguity the mark of the highest poetry.) The fertility of discussion it has provoked is a tribute to the depth of Aeschylus' perception, but the final lesson of the Oresteia is that it is better to be a private citizen and avoid the crucifixion of choice which besets the great. 'The spectator of the Oresteia will go back home satisfied enough, to his own poor house, to his ordinary family, to the comfortable democratic chatter of the local market-place'.

Francisco Adrados contributes a judicious essay on Sophocles' standpoint, which he sees essentially as a critical expression of the spirit of the Periclean Age. Sophocles is interested primarily in the situation of man and not in politics. He was not of Pericles' party but he was of his time, and when the Peloponnesian war began he was already a man of the past. Like Herodotus he was in line of descent from what Adrados calls Solon's or Aeschylus' religio-traditional concept of society. Unlike Aeschylus, who looked to conciliation of conflicting forces, Sophocles saw the divine world as undivided with the unwritten laws as the final authority. Sophocles does not attempt a

<sup>1</sup> Lesky, Decision and Responsibility in the Tragedy of Aeschylus, in *J. H. S.*, LXXXVI, 1966.



theodicy, but contents himself, as a deeply religious man, with transforming the old aristocratic ideal of natural virtue into a new kind of heroic quality shared by all men alike, *σωφροσύνη*. Some men are naturally *σώφρονες*—e.g. Neoptolemus, Creon in the O.T. and Theseus in the O.C. Most men cast in the heroic mould can only learn by suffering, as the plays demonstrate. Hence the importance of another theme—unheeded oracles. His whole *œuvre* is in one sense a sermon on the new ideal man, who will lack the old aristocratic self-affirmation and belong to no special class, but will still retain many of the aristocratic qualities Pinder and his successors loved to extol.

Sophocles was aware, of course, of the radical humanism of the new thought, and of the dangers of this attitude both to belief and to the life of the *πόλις*, but he opposed it firmly. His plays reflect, Adrados feels, a profound concern with the problems of power and obedience; and though his themes give him no choice but to depict tyranny, whether benevolent or repressive, his treatment shows awareness of the dangers which come both from deifying the state and from overconfidence in human wisdom, both evident dangers in the Athens he knew. This is intelligent and helpful criticism even where it assumes more than it can prove.

The final essay by Antonio Tovar is an attempt to convey the value and interest of classical studies by means of a sort of *catalogue raisonné* of the many different interpretations of Euripides' Helena to be found in editions and commentaries. In the last analysis Tovar feels that the Helena points the way to the secularised universal theatre of Western literature.

P. G. MASON.

*The Manchester Grammar School.*

**AESCHYLUS. The house of Atreus.** Adapted from the *Oresteia* by J. Lewin. (Minnesota drama editions, 2.) Minneapolis: the University of Minnesota Press in association with the Minnesota Theatre Company (London: Oxford U.P.). 1966. Pp. v + 111. £2.

This free adaptation of the *Oresteia* was commissioned by Sir Tyrone Guthrie for production by the Minnesota Opera Company, and the author in his introduction makes his purpose abundantly clear—to present the message of the trilogy in a form dramatically effective in terms of the modern theatre. The director, the actors, and the rest of the stage staff have licence to transmit the written text into non-verbal situations, distil them through the imagination, and transform them into visual and auditory patterns on the stage. The translator and adaptor may take similar liberties, by way not only of omission but also of interpolation, to convey the real message of his author to an ordinarily sensitive theatre audience in a very different world; and his first duty is to

establish Aeschylus' real intention and decide in the light of this what elements should be emphasized. For Mr Lewin 'the timelessly relevant hook with which to catch the contemporary mind is double-pronged'. On the one hand it shows a wise decision by Athena to give due place to instinct and the unconscious within the organism of human society, neither repressed nor chaotically indiscipline. On the other it expands the concept of justice to include not only those to whom we feel natural kinship but also those with whom we disagree. Aeschylus put the final responsibility of choice on Heaven; Sartre in 'Les Mouches' put it firmly upon Orestes himself. Modern man is prone to take refuge from the stress of choice in determinism and is as unwilling as the average Greek to shoulder his responsibilities. We live in a time when values are being re-assessed and this may, Lewin thinks, foreshadow a renewal of 'the timeless archetypal images by which the world soul and the human psyche are brought into harmonious working'. This is really what Aeschylus intuitively presents.

These are grand, Jungian words which at least reveal Mr Lewin's own awareness of the dramatic intensity of the *Oresteia*, at the cost of some violence to the *Weltbild* in which Aeschylus approached the problems of justice, retribution, and responsibility; and it is interesting to find Sir Tyrone Guthrie caught up in the same Jungian terminology in his short note which follows Mr Lewin's preface. His demand is for musical expressiveness rather than literal meaning and fidelity, and for simple choral lyrics both in terms of metre and matter to help the audience to follow choral speaking. He proposes to use masks and choral speech not for archaeological accuracy but to suggest the grandeur of archetypal situations, and begs the scholar to forget his scholarship and see if they make a vivid and interesting theatrical event.

His version, judged by these criteria, is direct, forceful, and suitable for performance on the stage, at the cost of a sparseness which makes the characters more remote than the anonymity of a mask or ritual formality of an actor can ever have made them to an Athenian audience. This is not entirely Mr Lewin's fault, for a modern audience cannot have this detailed and familiar interest in the story of the cursed Atridae; but it does less than justice to Aeschylus' skill in presenting action on two planes, human and divine. Lewin's treatment of the Parodos of the Agamemnon is as good an example as any of the dilution in impact which his method implies. Admittedly it is disproportionately long for the modern stage; but its imagery and its development and balance are the key to what follows—and in particular to the long debate about the freedom or lack of it which humans enjoy or suffer, on which the critics are still at odds. At line 145 Lewin puts in an appeal to Apollo quite different from Aeschylus' and referring directly to the outcome of the trilogy. The hymn to Zeus which follows loses its central force and the emphasis of changed metre; ll. 184–257 are rendered in seven short stanzas, each



of four two-stressed lines, which turn Agamemnon's agonizing decision into a quick choice. This misses the critical importance of the point of no return—*ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδν λεπαθνον* . . . For my money MacNeice comes nearer to the true effect—but this is a version for the stage and the last word must be with the actors and their producer. Sir Tyrone Guthrie has no doubts and only the audience at Minnesota can estimate how far he and his colleagues made Mr Lewin's *μῦθος* into a representation of the *πρᾶξις* Aeschylus himself meant to portray. That translator, producer, and actors should have felt the effort worth while is in itself more than encouraging. Perhaps, as Professor Kott has argued for Shakespeare, we should bring more of our contemporary preoccupations and less antiquarianism to the theatre with us when we present Aeschylus on the contemporary stage.

P. G. MASON.

*The Manchester Grammar School.*

PODLECKI (A. J.) **The political background of Aeschylean tragedy.** Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press. 1966. Pp. xii + 188. \$ 7.50.

Podlecki interprets the *Persians*, with its emphasis on Salamis and its extenuation of the role of the Ionians in Xerxes' expedition, as a manifestation of political support for Themistokles at a time when he was facing ostracism. Themistoklean references are detected not merely in the account of Xerxes' deception (355 ff.) but also in an allusion to the revenues from the Laureion mines (238), in the traditional idea that a city's survival depends on its menfolk (349), and (more tentatively) in the attribution of the invaders' misfortunes to a *δαίμων* and to their sacrilege (345, etc., 807 ff.); virtual suppression of Marathon is seen as a reaction against Kimon's political propaganda. The main thesis is weakened by uncertainty over the date of Themistokles' ostracism, and many of the alleged allusions bear a tenuous or doubtful relationship to the passages cited from Herodotus. The colourlessness of Aeschylus' reference to Themistokles as 'a Greek' (in keeping with his general unconcern with Greek personalities) and the prominence given to the Psytaleia episode (435–71) suggest that, if Aeschylus' choice of theme is influenced by Themistoklean sympathies, the support actually offered is of a very cautious kind—as may be additionally inferred from the award (in P.'s view 'a typically Athenian paradox', p. 125) of first prize to the tetralogy.

The chapters on the *Seven* and *Prometheus* are relatively uncontroversial, being largely taken up by criticism of attempts to assimilate the personalities in them to contemporaries of the poet. P. appears content with the view that the situation in the *Seven*

'has a general historical analogue in conditions in Athens during the Persian siege of 480' (p. 31); the case for associating the feud between the brothers with the opposed policies of Kimon and the exiled Themistokles is barely mentioned. He draws on Aristotle to develop the picture of the Zeus of the *Prometheus* as a tyrant-figure and concludes that the poet 'has formulated the specific charges which the maturing democracy was laying at the door of the form of government from which it had evolved' (p. 121), but does not reconcile this with the general assumption (shared by himself) that 'Aeschylus must have presented in his sequel an older, wiser and more moderate Ruler of the Gods' (p. 103).

On the *Suppliants* P. states categorically that 'the whole dramatic situation provides a mythological paradigm of a recent event: Themistokles' reception by Argos after his ostracism' (p. 61). The thinness of the parallel is overlooked: voluntary exile from a barbarian land, requirement of protection based on Argive origin and enforced by threat of suicide, rescue from abduction, and, in the sequel, surrender and marriage followed by murder—none of these features has any counterpart in the historical episode. Association of an incident in the career of an oldish Athenian politician with the fortunes of a band of dark-skinned, exotically-costumed sisters in hysterical flight from unwelcome suitors is not warranted by the mere fact that both obtained asylum in a Greek city. P. does indeed argue at length that the democratic 'Argos' of Aeschylus is based on contemporary Argos, but gives his case away when he calls it 'a mirror-image of Athens' (p. 57); he does not note that the significant role of the Argive *δημος* is not a uniquely Aeschylean feature. Pelasgos' description of his realm (254–9) is adduced as a possible sign of support for Argive claims to primacy in the Peloponnesos (here Diamantopoulos' discussion, *JHS* 77 (1957) 220–1, might have been appositely cited); yet representation of 'Argos' as capital of a 'Pelasgian' empire extending over northern Greece must have tended to dissociate it from the city-state of Aeschylus' own day. One can agree (bearing in mind the *Eumenides*) that the Danaid trilogy may look forward to the Argive alliance of 461—even if it is likely that 'Argos' suffered a military defeat in the course of it; but P. should not have ignored the additional possibility that a trilogy featuring Nile-dwellers, and presumed to culminate in the union of Hypermetra and Lynkeus, may have a connection with Athenian intervention in the revolt of Inaros.

The chapter on the *Oresteia* is the longest in the book, but nearly half of it is occupied by an analysis of the theme of *δίκη* in the trilogy. No political allusions are noted in the first two plays; attention is concentrated on 19th- and 20th-century approaches to the *Eumenides*. P. argues that Aeschylus' approval of the Argive alliance would imply acceptance also of Ephialtes' reform of the Areopagos; he is on less firm ground when he seeks evidence of opposition to Periclean policies. A protest against the transference



of νομοφυλακία to a special board—supposed, inconsistently with ancient testimony, to have been part of a 'renewed attack' by Perikles on the Areopagos—is detected in *Eu.* 700–6, and also 690–5, though the later passage does not mention 'laws' and the earlier might even be understood as approval for revitalising their 'guardianship'. Again, opposition to payment of jurymen is found in 704, though the natural reference of κερδών is to bribery—a practice Perikles' measure might be thought likely to reduce. If, on the other hand, P. were more ready to accept a relationship between the insistence on the inessentialness of the female parent (658–66, 736–8)—not so unusual a belief as he seems to think—and the restriction of Athenian citizenship in 451, he would find the former less 'odd' as an argument for Orestes' acquittal.

Altogether, this is an uneven and incomplete study. One misses a systematic attempt to analyse the nature of political allusion in Aeschylus, or to establish the abstract lines of his political thinking. P.'s approach is vitiated by an over-simplified concept of the poet as 'the dedicated liberal and pro-Themistoclean' (p. 151) and by insufficiently thorough and judicious assessment of the dramatic material. There are indications that the texts have not always been read with adequate care: for example, the inference that Pelasgos 'obviously . . . comes unescorted' (p. 46) when he enters at *Supp.* 234 is belied by 180 ff., 492 ff. and above all 500–3, and the pronouncement that 'the term *otakoustēs* exactly describes Hermes' role in the *Prometheus*' (p. 110, cf. too p. 119) is unfounded and conflicts with the implications of *Pr.* 311–3 and 947–8. The book indeed shows various signs of hasty preparation; it contains some interesting ideas and a useful, albeit over-selective, survey of modern contributions to its subject, but needs to be consulted with considerable discrimination.

E. W. WHITTLE.

University of Birmingham.

SOPHOCLES. **Four plays.** Trans. T. H. Banks. (Ajax, *The women of Trachis*, *Electra*, *Philoctetes*.) New York and London: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xv + 173. 14s.

Mr Banks published his *Three Theban Plays* in 1956; this volume contains the other four Sophoclean tragedies. These translations, like those of the previous collection, are unpretentious, plain and accurate. Banks has clearly kept fairly well abreast of the voluminous Sophoclean literature; many passages show acquaintance with recent editions and discussions. His choice of text and interpretation will not please everyone all the time, but it shows evidence of thoughtful and informed judgement.

In two places where this reviewer found himself in

disagreement the translator has followed Jebb. At *Philoctetes* 411 Αἴας ὁ μὲλζων becomes 'the elder Ajax'. This is Jebb's translation, but his note, a reference to B.528, is misleading. That passage refers not to age but to size, as indeed does the formulaic μέγας which is used of Telamonian Ajax some fifteen times in the *Iliad*. At *Electra* 1487 ff. Banks follows Jebb by translating ταφεῖσιν as 'creatures', which Jebb's note, repeating the scholion, explains as 'birds and dogs'. Banks is in good company here, for most critics and editors (Ellendt and Bowra are among the few exceptions) also agree with the scholion. But there are serious objections to this view, which do not seem to have been stated clearly. In the first place, the word Sophocles used, ταφεύς, is, in its only other Sophoclean appearance, a word of high and solemn dignity: Oedipus says to Theseus, 'ὅταν θάναω γ'ὼ καὶ σὺ μου ταφεύς γένῃ' (*OC.* 582). If Sophocles meant Electra's statement to be understood as it is usually taken, he chose a strange word. Secondly, this understanding of the line makes Sophocles' Electra as ferocious as her counterpart in Euripides; the effect is in fact worse, for in Euripides' play the Dioscuri explicitly order Aegisthus' burial at the end of the play (1276–7). Lastly, if Sophocles did indeed wish to put Electra in the same class of malefactors as Creon, Agamemnon and Menelaus, he certainly would not have done so by means of an incidental, ambiguous remark in the closing lines of the play. To the explanation that the audience was already prepared for her denial of burial to Aegisthus by their knowledge of Homer (γ258), it can be objected that they were prepared for exactly the opposite by their knowledge of *Ajax* and *Antigone*.

Mr Banks' medium is verse—rhymed for the odes and blank for the dialogue. The renderings of the odes are pleasing enough, sometimes even impressive, but the dialogue leaves much to be desired. The trouble with blank verse is that it can become, as Byron said of Southey's, 'very blank'. Only Shakespeare and Milton handle it without failure; even Tennyson and Browning lapsed, in this meter, into occasional dullness, monotony and bathos. Mr Banks does so often; lines like 'then certainly I have nothing more to say', 'and you will probably stay out of trouble', 'it seems then that we disagree completely', 'but when he was spent from throwing himself on the ground' and 'speak gently to him in a friendly way' are all too frequent. It is too Mr Banks' credit that he does not follow the modern fashion in translation—to use the ancient author as a clothes-horse on which to spread one's own poetical coat of many colours. But since his main concern, and rightly so, was accuracy, he would have been better advised to use its medium, prose.

The introduction (except for the short discussions of individual plays) is almost exactly the same as that of the first volume. This is unfortunate, since from it the reader will learn, among other things, that fifth-century actors 'wore shoes a foot high and masks in which were inserted small speaking trumpets', that the



Aeschylean chorus numbered fifty, and that Sophocles 'as a citizen . . . held the usual offices, being General at least twice'.

BERNARD M. W. KNOX.

*Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, D.C.*

EURIPIDES. **The Trojan women.** Trans. N. Curry. London: Methuen. 1966. Pp. 64. 13s. 6d. (bound); 6s. (unbound).

This version of the *Troades*, appearing in Methuen's Theatre Classics, bears on the cover the words 'adapted by Neil Curry', though on the title page it is called an 'English version'. In some passages it is in fact a fairly close translation, as close as could be expected in an acting version; in others however it is more like a paraphrase, not only in choral odes, where this is perhaps inevitable, but also in dialogue. Lines are omitted, e.g. 1041, 1096-9 (lyric) and there are additions, e.g. 'I thought you would like that' (after v. 1152). To take another instance, much is omitted and something added in this version of 1203-6 'With wild limbs waving, and clutching after stars, Fortune dances crazily away'. How far all deviations from the meaning of the Greek are deliberately judged to be necessary to put the play across to an English audience it is impossible to say. At any rate I can testify that this version was effective in the theatre when it was used in a production at the Theatre Royal, Stratford in 1964. As an acting version its merits, especially the simplicity and directness of the language, may be thought to outweigh any defects; but it should perhaps be added that anyone who wishes to study the play in detail, but does not know Greek, will need a version that grapples more consistently and closely with the problem of representing in English just what Euripides writes.

P. T. STEVENS.

*Bedford College, London.*

ANTISTHENESES. **Fragmenta.** Ed. F. D. Caizzi. (Testi e documenti per lo studio di antichità, 13.) Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino. 1966. Pp. 146. Lire 3,000.

A modern collection of the fragments of Antisthenes has long been a *desideratum* for students of the history of Greek philosophy: it is well met by the volume under review. The author begins with the Catalogue of Antisthenes' writings given by Diogenes Laertius, and sets out what is known, or may be reasonably deduced, about each title. The *testimonia* of other authors are then given; these are followed by the two longest surviving fragments of Antisthenes, from the *Ajax* and

the *Odysseus*, which Caizzi accepts as genuine. The texts of 27 fragments are then set out, all of which can be ascribed to known titles, and of a further 73 of no known provenance. The second part of the book assembles the references for Antisthenes' life, and the anecdotes—of very unequal value—attached to his name. The author's notes, fragment by fragment, occupy more than fifty pages: they contain some new suggestions and interpretations. One would have welcomed a fuller and more systematic treatment of certain major themes, such as Antisthenes' relations with Socrates, and the old problem of the link (if any) between him and the Cynics. But within the limits it has set itself this is a very useful collection, which does much to bring into sharper focus one of the less clearly defined figures among the contemporaries of Socrates.

D. R. DUDLEY.

*University of Birmingham.*

PLATO. **Alcibiade, Alcibiade secondo, Ipparco, Rivali.** Ed. and trans. A. Carlini. Turin: Boringhieri. 1964. Pp. 405. Lire 3,500.

The complex pedigree of the text tradition of Plato has been dealt with in a somewhat cursory and perfunctory way by A. Carlini in his introductory study to the critical edition of the fourth tetralogy, but it would be ungenerous and grossly misleading to press the point too far, because any reservations which might be made do not materially detract from the value of Carlini's work: indeed he deserves full credit for the new manuscript evidence he has brought to light and for the generally satisfactory new critical edition which this evidence has enabled him to produce. In particular, he has collated afresh B and T, which has made it possible for him to complete and correct previous editors' findings, and has also fully collated P, W, C and D for the first time, so that his edition is based on BCDTPW for the dialogues contained in each of them: *Alc. I* is contained in them all, *Alc. II* in BCDT, *Hipp.* and *The Rivals* in BDTW.

A study of the evidence has led Carlini to a number of conclusions, obviously confined to the dialogues of the fourth tetralogy, the most important of which may be summarised as follows: the six MSS taken into consideration are divided into two distinct classes,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , the first of which is represented by BCD and the second by TPW; as far as individual MSS are concerned, B, C and D are all independent copies of  $\beta$ , while PW descend from  $\gamma$  through a common intermediary,  $\delta$ ; the considerable number of agreements of PW, or one of them, with members of the  $\beta$  class is due to the fact that  $\delta$  has been collated with  $\beta$ ; with regard to the indirect tradition, an independent value must be attributed to Olympiodorus' lemmata and paraphrases as well as to Proclus' commentary (which always agrees with



BCD), but not to Proclus' lemmata which have demonstrably been taken from W (Carlini has devoted a special study to this problem: 'I lemmi del commento di Proclo all'Alcibiade I e il codice W di Platone', in *Studi class. e orient.*, X, 1961, pp. 179-87); the much debated and puzzling Codex Y is a copy of Par. 1808 which is in its turn a copy of T, and consequently must be eliminated; an enquiry into some thirty codices recentiores (including Vatic. 1029, Laur. 85, 12; Malatest. 28, 4; Vindob. Suppl. Phil. Gr. 55) has shown that they are copies of existing codices, or in any case are of no value for the constitution of the text; the constitution of the text must therefore ultimately rest on the manuscripts BCDTPW, all of which descend from a single medieval archetype containing a substantial number of variant readings; the fact that ancient readings are sometimes found in one MS only (e.g. C, P, W, or PW) is to be explained by assuming that ancestors of C and PW have been collated with MSS preserving traditions now lost. These are Carlini's main conclusions: it is difficult to disagree with most of them, but quite a few are not as well-grounded as they are made out to be. To confine myself to one point only, I am inclined to doubt whether C and D are independent copies of  $\beta$ , a statement for which no evidence is provided. A number of mistakes common to both MSS would seem to support the hypothesis that they derive from their source, whether it is  $\beta$  or B, through a common intermediary: see, e.g., *Alc.* I 124 b.3 *εἰ μὴ περ* B D, *εἰ μὴ* TPW, *εἰ δ' ἔπειρ* B, *εἰ δὲ μήπερ* CD; 127 b6 *πράττωσαν* TBPW, *πράττονσιν* CD; 131 e.11 *ὄρας* BTPW, *ὄρα* CD; *Alc.* II, 141 a.1 *δ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν νῦν* B, *δέ τι καὶ τῶν νῦν* CD, *δέ καὶ τῶν νῦν ἔτι* T; 142 d.7 *οἱ δὲ* BT, *εἰ δὲ* CD.

The highly debatable assumption that all our MSS descend from a single medieval archetype may affect the constitution of the text to some extent, and in fact it has occasionally led Carlini to rely too much on mechanical criteria, and to discard individual readings which would have probably been preferred by an editor adopting a less conservative approach to the text: in the case of the *Corpus Platonicum*, which has been subject to so many vicissitudes, one can never sufficiently stress the principle that genuine readings may be, and indeed often are preserved by one witness only, whether it is a secondary MS, a recent hand of a primary MS, or indirect Byzantine tradition. To take just a few random examples: (a) in *Alc.* I, 127 e.7 *εἰ τι δεῖ καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ μαντείᾳ πιστεῖν*, the lectio difficilior *προσέχειν*, only preserved by Proclus in a quotation, would in my opinion have been a more convincing choice than *πιστεῖν*, the reading of all the MSS. Certainly the use of the simple *προσέχειν* in the sense of *προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν* is by no means uncommon in Attic prose, but it might have presented some difficulty to readers not very familiar with this peculiarly literary usage: in Plato, *Phaedo* 83 B, Pap. Ars. reads *ὃ δὲ αὐτὴ προσέχει*, which is probably the genuine reading, while all MSS read *ὃ δὲ αὐτὴ ὁρᾷ*; variant readings such as *προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν* and *τὸν νοῦν*

*προσέχειν*, or *προσέχειν ἄν* and *προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν*, which are occasionally met with in our MSS (see e.g. Isocrates ad *Bus.* 18, *Nic.* 43) are an indication that *τὸν νοῦν* had probably been added above the line by readers who wanted to explain or conjecturally to emend the text. (b) A similar instance occurs in *The Rivals*, 135 c.7 *δύο μόνας τέχνας οὕτω μαθεῖν*, where *λαβεῖν*, transmitted only by T<sup>2</sup>, would seem far preferable to *μαθεῖν* read by all our MSS. Here too, the phrases *ἐπιστήμην λαμβάνειν*, *τέχνην λαμβάνειν* are fairly frequent in Plato, Isocrates and Aristotle, but it is certainly easier to account for *μαθεῖν* as a trivialisation of or a gloss to *λαβεῖν* than to justify *λαβεῖν* as a palaeographical corruption of *μαθεῖν*. (c) In *Alc.* I, 134 c.6-7 *ὅς μέλλει . . . ἄρξαι καὶ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι*, I would read *ἄρξαι καὶ ἐπιμελήσασθαι* with PW, instead of *ἄρξαι καὶ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι* with TBCD. Of course the use of *μέλλειν* with an aorist infinitive has often been condemned as un-Attic (see e.g. Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 316 Ruth. and Planudes ap. Bachmann, *Anecd. Graeca*, p. 84) but the number of instances where an aorist governed by *μέλλειν* does not admit of reasonable emendation is very considerable indeed: a few examples are also to be found in the dialogues of the fourth tetralogy (*ιδεῖν Alc.* I, 132 d.9 and 133 b.1; *ἀπαλλαγῆναι Alc.* II, 141 d.2; *γενέσθαι ibid.*, 150 e.9), and as far as Attic prose is concerned a rich but far from exhaustive collection of material is provided by K. Fuhr, in *Rh. M.*, N.F., 33 (1878), p. 576 f. As a rule editors accept the aorist only when it is the sole reading offered by the MSS or when it cannot possibly be emended (as in many passages of Euripides, for which see J. T. Allen and G. Italie, *A concordance to Euripides*, London, 1954, s.v. *μέλλω*), but the evidence seems to suggest clearly that such a construction is perfectly permissible, at least when *μέλλειν* does not convey a strictly future meaning, as in the passage under consideration. I have mentioned these examples in order to show that a different approach to the text would have been just as possible and in my opinion preferable, I must also confess to occasional doubts and reservations about Carlini's choice between equally well attested variant readings (as for example when deliberate alteration in one class of MSS appears to have been dictated by stylistic considerations, such as elegant variation), or about his more important ejection of the two passages in *Alc.* I 133 c.9-17 and 134 d.1-e7 (a problem which Carlini himself has discussed at some length, with arguments that leave me quite unconvinced! see his 'Studi sul testo della quarta tetralogia platonica', in *Studi ital. di Filol. class.*, 34, 1962, pp. 169-89). On the whole, however, the fact remains that this edition is in several respects a definite step forward as compared with the previous ones.

Before concluding this review, I should like to draw attention to the following passage from *The Rivals* 137 b.2-5: *ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὕτως, ὃ φίλε, ἔχουσι, μηδ' ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν, περὶ τὰς τέχνας; [ἐσπουδακέναι, οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα] κυπιάζοντα ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα,*



ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι. Previous editors have apparently been satisfied with the text as given by the MSS, but the phrase οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα κυπιάζοντα ζῆν is stylistically so awkward, even if possible from the point of view of grammar and vocabulary, that retention of the MSS reading as it stands is scarcely defensible. Carlini, following Cobet, has bracketed the words ἐσπονδακέναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα as an intrusive gloss, and these words are in fact omitted by Clement of Alexandria in his quotation of the passage. This represents an unquestionable improvement on previous editors, but in all probability the assumption that these words are simply misplaced would lead to a more satisfactory restoration of the text: *περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπιάζοντα ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα ἐσπονδακέναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα*. This restoration seems to be strongly supported by the sentence we read at 139 a.4-5: *Πολλοὺ ἄρα δεῖ ἡμῖν, ὃ βέλτιστε, τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν πολυμαθία τε εἶναι καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς τέχνας πραγματεία*, which is the conclusion of the argument started at 137 b.1: it is easy to see how the two terms *πολυμαθία* and *πραγματεία* pick up the previous *πολυμαθοῦντα* and *πολυπραγμονοῦντα*. Apart from this, the restoration I am suggesting also provides a plausible explanation of how the words *ἐσπονδακέναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα* came to be omitted: owing to a *saût du même* au même the eye of the copyist inadvertently slipped from the final letters of *πολυμαθοῦντα* to the final letters of *πολυπραγμονοῦντα*.

G. P. GIORGETTI.

*Birkbeck College, University of London.*

THESLEFF (H.) *Studies in the styles of Plato*. (Acta philosophica Fennica, 20.) Helsinki: Societas philosophica Fennica. 1967. Pp. 192. FM 20.

The author argues that Plato's writings exhibit ten different styles. Nine of these also occur in Plato's contemporaries (1. Colloquial, 2. Semi-literary conversational, 3. Rhetorical, 4. Pathetic, 5. Intellectual, 6. Mythic narrative, 7. Historical, 8. Ceremonious, 9. Legal); one is peculiar to Plato (10. *Onkos* style). The evidence for the existence of these styles is given in two lists of 'style markers' (pp. 81-94), one containing vocabulary, the other more general linguistic features. For the validity of the style markers reference is made in some cases to articles etc. treating the linguistic feature concerned, most frequently to *Ast* and *LSJ*; sometimes the reader's subjective agreement is the criterion.

Methodology is explained pp. 26-32. Because mixture of styles is common in Plato and ordinary markers characterise several styles (up to six), it is advisable in analysing the text to search initially for 'leading style markers', which characterise one style only, in order that the ambiguity of the others may be resolved. As a precaution against isolated, and

therefore perhaps merely apparent stylistic touches, it is stated as a principle that 'on the whole, only the consecutive occurrence of two or more markers of the same style is a sufficiently reliable indication of the presence of this style'.

On pp. 95-158 a stylistic analysis is made of the whole Platonic Corpus, detailed in the case of the *Republic* for illustrative purposes, in broad outline for the other works. The last chapter contains observations on the relation of style to contents and to the formal structure of the dialogues, which is described as 'pedimental', on the use of style for characterising speakers, and on the development of the *onkos* style from inception in *Symp.* and *Phaedo* to culmination in the so-called 'late style' of *Laws*. Finally it is pointed out that the usefulness of the stylometric method for determining Platonic chronology is limited by the fact that Plato 'constantly and deliberately changes his style from passage to passage and from work to work'.

One may criticise the fact that, while some styles, notably 1, are distinguished by a fairly large number of leading style markers, others are not: the worst in this respect is style 7, which has only one—the use of military terms. Such a feature is itself unsatisfactory as a style marker: the author forgets his own observation (p. 29) that 'style should always imply a choice or at least the existence of alternatives'. The occurrence of bows and arrows and battering-rams is an indication of the subject-matter not of the style. This fault extends to several of the other styles, e.g. the legal, mythic and intellectual (where 25 per cent of the leading style markers are geometrical terms).

No account is taken of possible developments in the Greek language during Plato's lifetime. The colloquialism of one decade, for instance, may have been part of the literary vocabulary of the next, which may explain why words such as *ἀτοπος*, *ἀτεχνῶς*, *κοιμνός* (colloquial style markers) occur in Plato's later works in non-colloquial contexts (e.g. *Laws* 797a, 799e, 923a, 689c).

The basis of many style markers is suspect for two reasons. First, where there is no evidence from other authors the argument tends to be circular. A word occurring frequently in passages considered to be colloquial in character is classified as a colloquial style marker and its presence then used to 'prove' the colloquial character of the passages in which it occurs. Second, it is not enough to refer, without further argument, to *LSJ* and *Ast* for the validity of a style marker, especially as neither work claims completeness, the former in quoting all authors using a given word or the latter all instances of that word in Plato. As a result some style markers are unconvincing, e.g. *οἰκησις* (styles 6 and 10) occurs in contexts admitting neither interpretation (e.g. *Charm.* 165d, not quoted by *Ast*): in fact, along with *οἰκία*, it is the commonest word in Plato for 'dwelling-place'. Others are demonstrably erroneous, e.g. *crasis* as a feature of colloquial style. This may be true of certain words, particularly if the full form is



itself colloquial (e.g. *ὀγαθή*), but not in general. Not only are crases numerically more common in Plato's late works than in the early ones, in inverse relation to the 'colloquialism' of their style, but they also occur in greater variety, with the formation of many new kinds. A similar distribution is against regarding *ὀδαμῶς* as predominantly a feature of colloquial style: the occurrence in the three chronological groups is Early 54, Middle 68, Late 97, the amounts of text involved being roughly in the ratio 4:3:4.

While this book contains a valid warning against the stylometrists' tacit assumption that Plato wrote in only one style, the frequency with which different style markers are found together in a single sentence suggests that to distinguish ten styles is over-refining. The sentence at *Laus* 689c.6-d.4, for example, exhibits markers of at least six styles: *πάνν, κομψά*, a proverb (introduced by *τὸ λεγόμενον*), a crasis *τοῦναντίον* (all style 1); verbal noun or adjective *ἐντροπέειον, ὀνειδιστέον, προσρητέον, δοτέον* (styles 2 or 5); apodotic *οὕτω* (styles 2 or 6); clausula with tribrach base (style 3); chiasmus (styles 3 or 10); adjective in -ikos *λογιστικός* (style 5); 3rd pers. imperative *κείσθω* (styles 8 or 9); frequent use of participles and of hyperbaton (style 10).

L. BRANDWOOD.

University of Manchester.

BRUCE (I. A.) *An historical commentary on the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia'*. Cambridge: the University Press. 1967. Pp. xi + 177. £1 10s.

Dieser neue ausführliche Kommentar zu den *Hellenica* von Oxyrhynchos bildete ursprünglich den größten Teil der Doktor-Dissertation des Verfassers (Sheffield 1963). Fünf kleinere Abschnitte sind bereits früher in verschiedenen (mir leider nicht zugänglichen) Zeitschriften veröffentlicht worden.

Dem eigentlichen Kommentar (28-149) ist eine Einleitung vorangestellt. Sie behandelt knapp: I. The Papyri (1-3), ausführlicher: II. The 'Hellenica' (3-27), mit den Unterabschnitten: 1. The scope of the history and its date of composition, 2. P's sources, 3. Chronology, 4. P's bias and judgement, 5. Digression and causation, 6. P's treatment of leading characters, 7. P's style and vocabulary, 8. The importance of the work, 9. Authorship. Dem Kommentar folgen zwei Appendices (150-56 The Battle of Sardis, 157-64 The Constitution of Boeotia), eine Bibliographie (165-9) und ein Index (171-7).

Es braucht nicht zu verwundern, daß sowohl in der Einleitung und den Appendices als auch im Kommentar kaum Neues gesagt wird. Eigene Gedanken des Autors sind anscheinend vorzugsweise in den Zeitschriftenaufsätzen publiziert worden. In einem von ihnen hat Bruce für die Abfassung der *Hell. Ox.* etwa das Jahr 374 vorgeschlagen (*Emerita* 1960, 86),

erklärt aber jetzt diese Vermutung für unzureichend fundiert (5). Über die Rolle der Digressionen hat er an Hand dreier Beispiele in *Phoenix* 1964 gehandelt und verbreitet sich nun über die restlichen fünf (12-15)—ist die Basis der Fragmente nicht für ein wirklich begründetes Urteil doch zu schmal? Mit Recht unterstreicht Bruce aber erneut die Aufwertung, die Diodor gegenüber Xenophon durch den Nachweis erfahren hat, daß über Ephoros gutes Material aus P in seine Kompilation gelangt ist (21 f.). In der Verfasserfrage schließt sich Bruce der Meinung an, die wohl gegenwärtig als die am weitesten verbreitete gelten kann: 'The argument for anonymity is probably the strongest positive argument; yet I feel that basically it is unlikely that we do not know the author's name, and if we do, it is more probably Cratippus than Daimachus' (27).

Dem Kommentar ist der Teubner-Text von Bartoletti zugrunde gelegt, Abweichungen begegnen selten. Demgemäß ist auch in den Erläuterungen, soweit sie die Textherstellung betreffen, der Anschluß an Bartoletti eng (nur nicht in der Kürze, denn Bruce neigt zu einer gewissen Weitschweifigkeit). Auch wer die Teubner-Ausgabe nicht zur Hand hat, kann sich also ohne weiteres des auf ihr fußenden Kommentars bedienen. Das wird ferner dadurch erleichtert, daß Bruce nicht Bartoletti's durchgehende Kapitelzählung der Florentiner und Londoner Fragmente übernommen hat. Die Erläuterungen beschränken sich nicht, wie man auf Grund des Titels vielleicht erwarten könnte, auf die historischen Sachfragen, sondern beziehen auch Philologisches ein. In mehreren Zeichnungen werden überdies Gestalt und Lage der Fragmente zueinander dargestellt, was viele Benutzer dankbar vermerken werden.

Offensichtlich hat Bruce sich bemüht, alle einschlägige Literatur zu berücksichtigen. Das ist auch dann dankenswert, wenn keine neuen Lösungen vorgelegt werden können. Daß dem Verf. diese oder jene Veröffentlichung entgangen sein dürfte, ist kein Vorwurf. Die Existenz von *IG*<sup>2</sup> sollte sich allerdings herumgesprochen haben; folglich ist auf S. 55 statt *CIA* II 1010 einzusetzen *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 2388. Zur sorgfältigen Beachtung der Opferzeichen durch Agesilaos (87 f.) hätte die Arbeit von Harald Popp herangezogen werden können (*Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen auf die Kriegführung der Griechen im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Diss. Erlangen 1957); Popp hat übrigens seinerseits die Stelle in den *Hell. Ox.* übersehen.

Die Erörterungen über den Verlauf der Schlacht bei Notion (33-45) sind noch ohne Kenntnis meines Rekonstruktionsversuches geschrieben (*Lysander und der Peloponnesische Krieg*, Abh. d. Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 57 H. 1, Berlin 1964, 20-22). Entgegen der herrschenden Ansicht vermute ich, daß in Kol. II Z. 5 ff. des Florentiner Fragments B eine Teilung des kleinen Geschwaders von 10 Schiffen, nicht der ganzen athenischen Flotte, berichtet ist, und lese daher *[αὐτὸς δὲ δύο ναῦσι προέπλει*. Dann wird verständlich, weshalb der



bekanntermaßen sehr auf Sicherheit bedachte Lysander zunächst nur mit 3 Trieren angriff. Außerdem ergibt sich, daß Antiochos nicht (wie auch Bruce annimmt) eine große Seeschlacht beabsichtigte, sondern nur eine kleine Provokation, die er als vereinbar mit den erhaltenen Instruktionen angesehen haben mag.

In der belagerten Stadt, von der das Florentiner Fragment C handelt, möchte Bruce Byzanz erblicken. Für die Begründung seiner Auffassung (in Auseinandersetzung mit Bartoletti) verweist er auf *Phoenix* 1964, 272–82. Angesichts der Ausführlichkeit, mit der er sonst auch über längst bekannte Standpunkte referiert, muß es als ein nicht nur unzweckmäßiges, sondern auch unlogisches Verfahren erscheinen, daß er hier und an anderen Stellen die eigene Argumentation völlig aus dem Kommentar herausgenommen hat.

Hinsichtlich des von P verwendeten synchronistischen Schemas entscheidet sich Bruce dafür, daß das in Kapitel IV 1 der *Londoner* Fragmente erwähnte achte Jahr im Mittsommer 396 begonnen habe, ist sich aber darüber klar, daß vieles auch für das Frühjahr 395 spricht und daß ein strenger Beweis für keine der beiden Annahmen geführt werden kann. Freilich fällt es schwer zu glauben, daß P als Jahresanfang nicht wie Thukydides und Xenophon den Frühling, den Beginn der eigentlichen Kriegssaison, gewählt haben soll.

Für das Problem der ganz unterschiedlichen Berichte von P und Xenophon über Agesilaos' Marsch nach Sardes und die Schlacht daselbst hat auch Bruce keine neue Lösung vorzuschlagen, obwohl er der Schlacht sogar eine spezielle Erörterung in Appendix 1 widmet. Letztlich kommt er zu denselben Schlüssen wie Dugas, *BCH* 1910, 58–95.

Das Verdienst des Verfassers besteht also weniger in neuen Erkenntnissen als in der umsichtigen Vorlage der von der bisherigen Forschung erarbeiteten Ergebnisse und in der Bereitstellung eines nützlichen Arbeitsinstruments.

DETLEF LOTZE.

Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena.

LYCURGUS. **Orazione contro Leocrate e frammenti.** Ed. and trans. E. Malcovati. (Classici greci, 2.) Rome: Tumminelli. 1966. Pp. ix + 202. Lire 3,000.

The resemblance between the public *persona* of the Athenian Lycurgus and that of the Elder Cato has often been noticed. In terms of practical achievement Cato must yield to his predecessor, whose administrative and financial talents were deployed to advantage in the aftermath of Chaeronea. But both men were equally alarmed at the symptoms of moral decline that they saw, and each brought considerable oratorical powers to the task of arresting the process. A scholar as conversant as Henrica Malcovati with the character and temper of early Roman oratory might therefore appear an ideal editor and interpreter

of Lycurgus. Her edition is similar in format to those in the Loeb series, except for a much longer preface, in which she discusses the main historical problems thoroughly and knowledgeably, and offers some very useful prosopographical details. There is also a very full discussion of the fragments, which takes account of the most recent work. The text, which presents few problems, is slightly more conservative than that of Burt (Loeb, *Minor Attic Orators* Vol. II.). The parallel translation is noticeably painstaking in its attention to connexion, and generally maintains a high standard of accuracy. In 7, however, 'le accuse di illegalità' does not quite translate τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφάς; and in the following sentence 'una piccola parte della città' will not do for μικρόν τι μέρος τῶν τῆς πόλεως.

By now those who read speeches for the sake of their oratory no less than for their historical interest have become inured to the indifference of many editors to rhetorical content. That there is little in this edition to edify the φιλορήτορ is both disappointing in view of the editor's known interests, and unfortunate in view of the nature of the speech itself. The legal basis of the case against Leocrates was by no means well established, so that Lycurgus was obliged to rely heavily upon ἐντεχνοὶ πίστευς, or proofs based upon rhetorical argument. Typical of the editor's lack of interest in rhetoric is her note on ch. 139, in which the orator criticises the hired συνήγοροι of Leocrates for adducing their *own* λητουργίαι in support of the defendant. M is content simply to list the various forms of λητουργία, and says nothing of the rhetorical practice of reciting λητουργίαι as a species of εἰκός argument, nothing of the role of the συνήγορος, and nothing of the unusual liberties they appear to have taken on this occasion. Again, the summary of the speech on p. 43 contains no reference to partition; and the whole subject of his style is dismissed in two pages (pp. 43–5) after the reader has been referred in a footnote (on p. 7) to the work of Blass, Durrbach and Treves. Consequently he receives a very superficial impression of Lycurgus' oratorical qualities, either independently or against the background of earlier Attic oratory. Nevertheless, the reader of this review who chooses to dismiss these criticisms as a personal *cri de coeur* will find much of value in this edition.

S. USHER.

Royal Holloway College, University of London.

MENANDER. **Sicyonius.** Ed. R. Kassel. (Kleine Texte, 185.) Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1965. Pp. iv + 44. DM 9.80.

The *Sicyonius* is currently the fifth most extant play of Menander. It contained something over a thousand verses (more nearly, 1013 + *n*, where *n* is the number of verses lost after fr. XI); and of these,



some 432 are at least partly preserved, namely vv. 658-741, 749-835, 859-901, 905-24, 929-48, 953-1000, the thirteen closing lines, and about 118 from other parts of the play, including the prologue. Act IV began at v. 699, and Act V at 891. (This reckoning is all based on the earlier of two stichometric notes in the papyrus, no doubt imprecise. For the number of lines missing after fr. VI, see below.) The main fragments were only published early in 1965. Within twelve months Kassel was able to bring out this capital edition, in which for the first time they were presented in a convincing sequence and successfully interpreted as metrical Attic Greek. It is no diminution of his fine achievement to note that it was made in the context of a happy international cooperation, and that he was able to profit from the lively discussions which Menandrian scholars in this country were having.

The text and apparatus are excellent. Minor advances in decipherment are to be expected (see for example R. A. Coles, *Emerita* 34, 1966, 131-7), but otherwise future editors will have little to change. Only the most uncontroversial supplements are adopted. The tricky task of punctuating and distributing the dialogue has been carried out with intelligence, feeling for style, and close attention to Comic usage. Many aptly chosen parallels, not only from Greek Comedy but also from Latin and from other authors, are marshalled in a most helpful commentary whose limited spatial dimensions are deceptive. Most of them are self-explanatory; where further notes are needed, they are cast in succinct but stylish Latin. There is a complete *index verborum*.

The verses are given a continuous numeration (1-423, and eleven unplaced fragments or possible fragments), which must be the standard method of reference until more of the play is found. There would have been advantages, however, in a discontinuous numbering which took account of known lacunae: it would have helped the reader to bear in mind the true distances between the fragments, and it would have allowed missing pieces, if later discovered, to be accommodated without turmoil. Incidentally, after 279 K. ('quot versus desint non constat') I think it may safely be said that one column (ca. 23 verses) is missing. If there were two, the figures I and K should appear in the margins of fragments XII B and XI D; if three, K in XI C; and three columns is already an improbably long gap on structural grounds. (Cf. Lloyd-Jones, *Emerita* 34, 1966, 147. Coles, *ibid.* 133, shows that a gap of one column fits the kollema-spacing.)

Other jottings: 46, *ἀνὴρ* also possible. 245, it is the first *παντες*; that is miswritten *παντας*, not the second. 249 f., add Thuc. 1.10.3 τῇ 'Ομήρον αὖ ποιήσει εἰ τι γρηῖ καὶ ταῦτα πιστεύειν. 300, perhaps *παρ' ἐλπίδας*, as in 287. 319, perhaps *θηριωδῶς*. 355, add Ar. *Ach.* 1022-3 ἐπετρίβην ἀπολέσας τὸ βόε.—*πόθεν*; 388, *ἀόρτα* is likelier than *ἀόρτη* (rare). The form occurs unambiguously in PSI 858.37 (third century B.C.) *ἀόρτης κανός*. *ἀόρτας* in Diphilus

fr. 40 and Posidippus fr. 10 is no doubt to be so interpreted. *ἀορτήρ* has only the doubtful status of a variant in Men. fr. 282. 421, if *πρῶπρῶσατ'* is right, the verb is *πρῶπρῶω*, not *-άζω* as in the index.

M. L. WEST.

University College, Oxford.

DÜRING (I.) **Aristoteles: Darstellung und Interpretation seines Denkens.** Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1966. Pp. xv + 670. DM 60.- (unbound); 68.- (bound).

Professor Ingemar Düring is well known for a series of fundamental contributions to Aristotelian studies. Apart from his many important and original papers and his critical commentaries on the *De Partibus Animalium* and *Meteorologica* book IV, his *Aristotle in the ancient biographical tradition* (1957) and his *Aristotle's Protrepticus: an attempt at reconstruction* (1961) transformed the study of their respective subjects. He has now produced a comprehensive interpretation of Aristotle's thought which makes a further landmark in modern Aristotelian scholarship.

After an introductory chapter in which he outlines Aristotle's life and discusses such general issues as his aims and methods, Düring takes us through Aristotle subject by subject, dealing in each chapter with a group of writings concerned with a particular enquiry or problem. Three of his chapters correspond roughly to logic, to moral philosophy and to the doctrine of *ἡθική*. Several chapters deal with different parts of the physical works, and there are separate chapters devoted to 'the first principles' and to 'the dispute over the doctrine of Ideas' and also one to the *Protrepticus*. His final chapter entitled 'existence and truth' deals with *Metaphysics* Γ, Ε, Ζ, Η and Θ and asks the question 'what is Aristotle's metaphysics?' He includes an 18 page bibliography and indices of the main passages referred to, proper names, Greek words, and subjects.

Within each chapter Düring's general practice is to begin with a detailed discussion of the texts themselves, dealing especially with questions of style and dating. This is printed in small type. There then follows the main body of the chapter which usually includes a general summary of the contents of the relevant works together with more extensive critical comments on a number of topics chosen to illustrate Aristotle's key ideas and methods. Points of detail, textual difficulties, references to scholarly discussions and the like, are mostly relegated to the numerous footnotes, and Greek type is confined to these and to the small-type introductory passages. The object of this organisation of the material is to make the book easier for the non-specialist to use. Yet in this Düring is only partially successful. In some cases, particularly in his final chapter on Aristotle's metaphysics, the main body of his discussion is so closely



related to points that have been argued in the small-type introduction that the two must be read together. If Düring eschews Greek type in the main body of each chapter, he nevertheless allows himself extensive use of transliterated Greek expressions. His discussion of the ethics has a liberal sprinkling of italicised *eudaimonia*, *phronēsis* and so on, and at the point where he finds it necessary to distinguish in the space of a few lines between *prōton kinoun*, *prōton kinoun akinēton*, *prōton kinoun akinēton aidion* and *prōtōs kinoun akinēton*, printed as such (p. 335), it is clear that it would have been simpler to have quoted these phrases in Greek type. This is not an easy book to read or use, and it is hardly one to recommend to the beginner. The specialists on the other hand, and those readers who, as Düring delightfully puts it, 'den Weg in den Orkus der Aristoteles-Forschung mitmachen wollen', will find this book a mine of fruitful and stimulating ideas.

One of the major themes is the question of the development of Aristotle's thought. Düring's general views on this topic are already familiar from earlier papers, but his full-scale study of Aristotle now gives him the opportunity to present and defend his interpretation in detail. The hypothesis of an early Platonising Aristotle is a myth. Aristotle always rejected the Platonic theory of Forms. So far from his development being one away from 'Platonism', as Jaeger argued, Düring holds that the severest and bitterest criticisms of Plato are characteristic of the young Aristotle and that as he grew older the tone of his references to Plato became progressively milder. But while he emphasises that Aristotle always rejected the Forms, Düring also stresses how close Aristotle's philosophy remained, in other respects, to Plato's. One of the most interesting and valuable features of his discussion is the care and thoroughness with which he has assembled Platonic models or anticipations of Aristotelian physical, logical and ethical theses. There is, as Düring says, no simple formula to describe the relationship between the two philosophers. He sees them as fundamentally different in 'temperament, modes of thought and methods'. Yet he argues that even the specifically Aristotelian parts of Aristotle's philosophy are 'indissolubly fused with his Platonic spiritual inheritance'. He wished, according to Düring (p. viii), 'to free Plato's philosophy from what were in his view its irrational elements, to complete and perfect it, while giving it new dimensions'.

But Düring is not content simply to remain at the level of suggestive, but vague, generalisations concerning Aristotle's intellectual development. He insists that any attempt to describe that development must be based on a working hypothesis concerning the relative chronology of his writings, and he accordingly makes definite proposals concerning the period during which each of Aristotle's works, lost or extant, was conceived. Such alterations as he makes to the schema that he published in the appendix to his *Protrepticus* are minor ones, involving the slight upward

dating of a few works: the *περί ιδεῶν* is now assigned more confidently to the period before 360, and the third book of the *Rhetoric* is dated to the period 355-347.

Although numerous developmental theories, many of them elaborate ones, have been put forward in recent years, this must rank as the most comprehensive and detailed hypothesis yet advanced concerning the relative chronology of Aristotle's works. The most notable feature of Düring's interpretation is undoubtedly the amount of work which he ascribes to the period of Aristotle's first stay in Athens. He believes that the whole of the *Organon*, the original drafts of the *Poetics* and of the *Magna Moralia*, and *Metaphysics A*, among other works, should all be assigned to the first half of the 350s, and among the writings he dates to the period 355-347 are *Physics I-VII*, the *De Caelo*, the *De Generatione et Corruptione*, *Meteorologica IV*, the *Eudemian Ethics*, and books *A*, *B*, *I*, *M* and *N* of the *Metaphysics*. It is, in Düring's opinion, this period, coinciding with the last 12 years of Plato's life—and not, as is more often thought, the period of his second stay in Athens—that marks the high point of Aristotle's career. Thereafter the bulk of the biological treatises, the original versions of the psychological works, *Meteorologica I-III*, and *Politics I*, *VII* and *VIII* are assigned to the period of the travels. Finally in the second Athenian period Aristotle composed the rest of the biological and political works, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Physics VIII*, and *I*, *E*, *Z*, *H* and *Θ* of the *Metaphysics*, besides undertaking revisions of much of his earlier work.

How far is Düring able to justify this detailed schema, and what are the arguments he uses to do so? He does not, of course, claim to have demonstrated all his suggestions: indeed he draws attention to the conjectural nature of many of them. As is well known, the problem is an extraordinarily complex one, and the difficulties are increased by the composite nature of Aristotle's writings. There are a few firm external indications of date, listed by Düring on p. 44, but these may relate merely to the treatise in its final, extant form. In fact Düring believes that the original drafts of both the *Magna Moralia* and the *Rhetoric*, for instance, are a good deal earlier than the latest references to contemporary persons or events would suggest. Again he is prepared to use the cross-references in the treatises as a guide to their relative chronology, although these too, as he points out, cannot always be trusted. In most cases his main argument for the date of composition of a work rests on general considerations of style and content. Thus after analysing the evidence relating to the date of the *Poetics* he says that the most important factor is its close relationship in 'language, terminology, content, philosophy and atmosphere' to the *Rhetoric* (p. 126), and the original draft of the *Rhetoric* itself is assigned to its position in the relative chronology of Aristotle's works primarily on the basis of its affinity to the *Topics* and *Physics VII* (p. 121). But arguments based on such general considerations, even when moderately successful, still leave much room for



legitimate doubt. Düring's sifting of the evidence is both open-minded and extremely thorough: but all too often the evidence itself is so tenuous that it permits no definite conclusion to be drawn, and many of his suggestions remain at best not proven.

I turn now to some particular points in Düring's interpretation and first to his early dating of the doctrine of the unmoved mover. This appeared, he believes, in the dialogue *On Philosophy*, and both that work and *Metaphysics A* are dated before about 355. Moreover Düring agrees with Jaeger and others that the famous passage in the *Laws* (898 e f) in which Plato discusses the different ways in which the soul of the sun may move its body contains an implicit reference to Aristotle. Of the three ways in which the Athenian Stranger there suggests that the soul may move the body, the third, where it is described as *ψιλή σώματος οὐσα, ἔχουσα δὲ δυνάμεις ἄλλας τινὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας θανάτῳ*, refers to the doctrine of *Metaphysics* 1072 b 3, where the unmoved mover is said to cause movement by being the object of desire or love. And Düring also considers that the most natural interpretation of the second possibility mentioned in the *Laws*—that 'as some argue, soul procures for itself somehow from outside a body of fire or air of some sort'—is that Plato is thinking of Aristotle's *πρῶτον σῶμα*. But although many distinguished scholars have seen references to Aristotle in the passages in question, it remains to my mind very difficult to believe that if Plato had indeed been aware of Aristotle's proposals concerning the origin of movement in *Metaphysics A* and intended a reference to them at *Laws* 898 e, he would not have brought the hypothesis of an unmoved mover into his discussion where it was far more directly relevant to his subject, in the account of the different types of motion and of the *ἀρχὴ κινήσεως* at 893 b ff. It might even be thought that Plato's silence concerning that hypothesis in that passage is an argument, though admittedly only a weak one, against dating Aristotle's doctrine of an unmoved mover as early as Düring suggests, that is to the early 350s. However that may be, the passage at *Laws* 898 e f is so obscure and inexplicit that one may justifiably protest against Düring's confident assertion that Plato is there 'obviously thinking of . . . *Metaph.* 1072 b 3' (p. 187). Furthermore the argument that leads Düring to conclude that the unmoved mover was the pinnacle of Aristotle's cosmological system in the dialogue *On Philosophy* is also a rather dubious one (pp. 185 f.). Granted that a passage in the *Physics* (194 a 35 f.) shows that two different senses of *τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα* were distinguished in that work, it is rash to conclude that the distinction was necessarily employed in connection with a theory of the highest *τέλος*, and it seems a pure assumption to identify the highest *τέλος* at this stage with the first unmoved mover.

Secondly Düring appears to deal too summarily with the evidence of the *Eudemus*. Admittedly the 'Platonic' elements in that work have often been grossly exaggerated, but Düring treats those fragments

that refer to what we may call an 'other-worldly' view of the soul as relating merely to the beliefs that were expressed by certain personages in the dialogue, rather than as evidence of views that Aristotle himself would have endorsed. He emphasises that we must stick to the principle that Aristotle put forward the same philosophy, in all essentials, in contemporary works, whether dialogues or treatises (p. 557). But the trouble here is, of course, that the evidence concerning which works are contemporary with which is so weak. All of the specialised psychological and biological treatises are, in any case, later than the *Eudemus* on Düring's own dating. No doubt we shall be in a better position to assess the contents of that dialogue after the publication of Professor Gigon's edition, but meanwhile it would appear that while in the past scholars have tended to exaggerate the extent to which the work suggests a development in Aristotle's psychological theories, Düring has, perhaps, gone to the opposite extreme.

Thirdly doubts may be expressed about the use that Düring makes of the argument from an increasing interest in biology. One of several occasions where he uses this argument is where he claims that the 'biological perspective' of books Z, H and Θ of the *Metaphysics* justifies placing them after the biological treatises (pp. 586-7). This seems questionable, even though his actual conclusion concerning the probable date of those books of the *Metaphysics* is one with which few scholars will wish to quarrel. The frequency of biological illustrations in ZHΘ by itself is, of course, a quite unreliable indication of date. At least the second book of the *Posterior Analytics*, for instance, has numerous botanical and zoological examples, and this is a work that Düring puts in the early or mid 350s. But when we consider the particular biological data and doctrines mentioned in ZHΘ (conveniently summarised by Düring in note 10 on pp. 586 f.), none seems to me definitely to presuppose Aristotle's biological researches. Such items as the fact that some animals continue to live when cut up (1040 b 13 f.) appear to belong to the common stock of knowledge about animals, rather than to derive from Aristotle's own investigations. It is true that Düring attaches less importance to such passages than to the influence that Aristotle's biological researches had on his analysis of philosophical concepts—and here he cites as an example the definition of being as *τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐν ἑκάστῳ* (1043 a 5). But this too is open to question. Granted that the concept of *τὸ ἀνάλογον* is an important tool in Aristotle's biology, particularly in his analysis of the parts of animals, it has many other closely related applications, as a glance at its use in the *Poetics*, *Rhetoric* and *Ethics*, for example, shows: and I am not sure how Düring would distinguish the biologically influenced *τὸ ἀνάλογον* of H 1043 a 5 and Θ 1048 a 36 f. from the use of *τὸ ἀνάλογον* and *κατ' ἀνάλογον* in what seems a very similar sense and context in book A (e.g. 1070 a 32, b 26 and especially 1071 a 3 ff.)—although this is a work which he considers much earlier than the biology.



The work of analysing the interrelations of different parts of Aristotle's writings, and of attempting to resolve the question of their relative dates, will, of course, go on. A number of Düring's suggestions will be greeted with scepticism. Nevertheless he has taken the problem a giant stride forward. He has assembled a massive body of evidence relating to the study of the place of each one of Aristotle's writings in the Corpus as a whole, and he brings to bear on the interpretation of the material both a formidable scholarship and a profound understanding of Aristotle. Above all where the discussion of Aristotle's intellectual development has so often in the past been obscured by the abuse of such terms as 'empiricism' and 'speculation', let alone the term 'Platonism' itself, Düring is always on the alert to clarify the real points at issue behind the use of these vague and covertly polemical categories.

Briefer comments must suffice on some of the other features of Düring's rich and far-ranging discussion. He expresses many new or unfashionable evaluations of different parts of Aristotle's work. He has praise for the psychological insight shown in the *Rhetoric*, for example (p. 140); he has a higher opinion than most of Aristotle's mathematical ability (pp. 269, 393), and he considers the discussion of movement, space, time and continuum in the *Physics* to be theoretical physics at a high level, even though in certain important respects it differs from what we should call physics (pp. 298 f.). On the other side, however, he has severe criticisms of Aristotle's cosmology, castigating the inconsistencies in his doctrines and the fallacies in the arguments he used to support them (pp. 352 ff.). These are challenging opinions, and the historian of science, in particular, will be stimulated by his discussion to reconsider many currently accepted views. The analysis of Aristotle's methods in biology is especially valuable, although one of his judgements here is surprising: it is surely an exaggeration to say that most of the false observations and data that the biological works contain can be traced back to the lack of optical aids (pp. 512, 521). He refers to Aristotle's belief in spontaneous generation in this context, but the major barrier here was not the lack of a microscope, so much as the failure to appreciate that there was a problem at all.

Finally a small technical point: it is regrettable that in a book that is very finely produced and remarkably free from misprints, the references to the many passages quoted in translation in the main body of each chapter are not always given as clearly as they should be. Sometimes they are tucked away in a footnote on a particular point in the middle of the passage, and sometimes there is no indication of the reference whatsoever. A clearer and more consistent system would have saved scholars a great deal of trouble in turning up the original passages.

G. E. R. LLOYD.

King's College, Cambridge.

ARISTOTLE. *De Pâme*. Ed. A. Jannone. Trans. E. Barbotin. (Assn. G. Budé.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1966. Pp. xlv + 119. Price not stated.

This Budé edition of the *De Anima* is welcome. A. Jannone who has edited the text has based his approach upon the work of De Corte on the manuscripts of the *De Anima* and also upon that of E. Mioni on the Venetian manuscripts of Aristotle. He expresses due surprise that Ross paid no attention to these scholars in preparing his own text. The outcome of this is that Jannone gives, for the first time in preparing a text, considerable attention to manuscript H<sup>a</sup> (Marcianus gr. 214). He notes that the work of Siwek in this respect appeared too late to be taken account of but is in general agreement with his approach. Apart from the special attention to H<sup>a</sup>, Jannone's attitude to the text is a very conservative one; he tries to avoid emendations as far as possible. This is a great virtue in the present case, and the result is a very good text indeed. I wish for my own part that it had been available sooner.

I think that, if anything, Jannone takes his conservatism too far, and this has presented obvious difficulties for the translation in places. One of the great defects of having a separate translator is that the latter has to accept the text as it is given to him. There is little evidence in the present case that Jannone has let difficulties over translation affect his view of the text, and Barbotin, the translator, offers very little in the way of justification of his interpretations of difficult passages. Thus, to take one example, at 428<sup>b</sup>19-20, Jannone accepts the reading from H<sup>a</sup> 'δεύτερον δὲ τοῦ ὅ συμβέβηκε ταῦτα' without Bywater's transposition of the words 'ἀ συμβέβηκε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς' from <sup>a</sup>24. This gives a plausible sense without further emendation. But he then retains the words 'ἀ συμβέβηκε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς' at <sup>a</sup>24, a reading which, I think, gives no good sense. Barbotin translates 'accidents des sensibles propres', but there is no warrant in the text for the word 'propres', and it would in any case be false to say that the common sensibles were accidents of the special sensibles. No justification or explanation is offered of this interpretation.

This is typical of Barbotin's translation, which is at once both free and interpretative. Barbotin has no scruples about using quotation marks and speaking of the senses of words in those places where Aristotle says that something is spoken of in some way or other. He does not hesitate to use expressions like 'la faculté sensitive' for 'τὸ αἰσθητικόν'. One of the best examples of indefiniteness in the translation is his rendering of the notorious closing words of III.5—'sans lui il n'y a pas de pensée'. On the other hand the 'τὸ ὁρῶν' of 425<sup>b</sup>19 (which Jannone rightly accepts as the correct reading) is translated as 'le principe de la vision'. These examples are not untypical. In sum, Barbotin's translation does not add up to my idea of a good translation of Aristotle. His notes are too brief to be of much use and his contribution to the introduc-



tion is similarly brief and rather uninformative. Thus Jannone's contribution to the book is of much greater importance than Barbotin's.

I would like to close by expressing a small doubt about H<sup>a</sup>. To judge by Jannone's *apparatus criticus* there are not many passages in which readings provided by H<sup>a</sup> crucially affect our understanding of the text. But in one or two places H<sup>a</sup> provides the *lectio faciliior* in what is to my mind a somewhat suspicious way. I have in mind particularly the reading of 'αἰσθητήριον' instead of 'αἰσθητικόν' at 423<sup>b</sup>23 and 419<sup>a</sup>18. Aristotle clearly means to refer to the sense-organ in these places, but 'τὸ αἰσθητικόν' provides the more usual formula and the reading given by H<sup>a</sup> looks like an interpretation. I should not personally accept that reading here, and I have other similar doubts elsewhere.

In conclusion, this new Budé edition of the *De Anima* provides a very good version of the text, one which is very welcome. The translation and notes are much less good and much less useful.

D. W. HAMLYN.

*Birkbeck College, University of London.*

ANAXIMENES. *Ars rhetorica quae vulgo fertur Aristotelis ad Alexandrum*. Ed. M. Fuhrmann. (Bibliotheca Teubneriana. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1966. Pp. xlviii + 114. 1 folding diagram. MDN 18.50.

In 1965 Professor Fuhrmann published his detailed study of the textual tradition of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. Among much else, he showed the need of a new edition which should take account of the readings of the papyrus fragments of c. 270 B.C. (Pap. Hibeh 26), published in 1906 and hence so far used only in Rackham's Loeb edition of 1937, and also of two independent thirteenth-century Latin translations, which had not been used at all. Now it is true that the translations are on Fuhrmann's showing closely related to one of the two families of extant Greek manuscripts and that the papyrus contains only a small part of the work and is far from faultless in detail. But the papyrus, brief, fragmentary, and inaccurate as it is, was not only written within two generations of the original work; it contains substantial differences from the Byzantine tradition of a kind which show that the latter represents a conscious revision made to bring the fourth-century original into line (a) with Aristotle, to whom the work had come to be attributed, and (b) with later rhetorical doctrines generally. Considerable consequences for the history of rhetoric and of Greek rhetorical terminology generally follow from these demonstrations.

There also results a fundamental problem in the

establishment of a new text, namely, What is to be reconstructed? In effect we have *two* archetypes, the papyrus where it exists, the Byzantine tradition where it does not. Where both exist, the papyrus must manifestly have preference, though *ratio et res ipsa* are of course *centum papyris potiores*, cf. e.g. p. 16 of Fuhrmann's edition for a substantial number of rejections of the papyrus. The trouble arises when the surviving part of the papyrus shows beyond reasonable doubt that the Byzantine tradition seriously misrepresents the substance of the original where the papyrus is lacking. A crucial example is the very first sentence of the work with its long suspected allusion to the three 'Aristotelian' *genera causarum*, which is inconsistent with the structure of the rest of the treatise. The papyrus is lacking here, but at 1426<sup>b</sup>23 ff. it omits the reference to the *γένος δικανικόν* found in the manuscripts. Both allusions then are interpolated, but what is the textual critic to do? Fuhrmann prints the offending words at the outset (for his justification see his introduction p. XLI: 'cum quid auctor scripserit ignoremus, eqs.') but deletes them at 1426<sup>b</sup>23. Similarly I think he is not entirely consistent in handling other words and phrases which are probably due to late revision of the text. He retains the late passage 1439<sup>a</sup>6 which employs *ἐθνηματωδής* and *γνωμολογικός*, while obelizing (not deleting) the anachronistic *προγενέσματα* (1436<sup>a</sup>26).

These remarks are not made in depreciation of this very able and scholarly work, which Fuhrmann was uniquely competent to undertake, but as a warning that one cannot gallop through the text without regard to the introduction, apparatus, and the useful Index Verborum Notabiliorum, where Fuhrmann marks with obelus or interrogation-mark words with dubious claims to a place in the original treatise.

In addition to these major points should be noted Fuhrmann's conviction that all the manuscripts of the *b*-family derive from the extant Neapolitanus gr.137 (N). I say 'conviction' rather than 'demonstration', not because I am in any position to question Fuhrmann's findings, but because of a general doubt whether he does not appeal somewhat too readily to copyists' errors and corrections in establishing affiliations. Textual criticism has lately put less stress on the eccentricities of copyists than on the hazards of a too rigorous stemmatology.

But Fuhrmann likes neatness and economy, as one can deduce from his earlier work *Das antike Lehrbuch*, and this principle also affects his choice of reading at many points. With few exceptions (e.g. 1446<sup>a</sup>8 ff.) he would prefer to attribute to his author strict consistency of terminology and accuracy in carrying through discussions under a set of preannounced headings. Though Fuhrmann frequently indicates such preferences only by tentative remarks in the apparatus, still one must sometimes wonder why copyists should have spoiled the faultless logic of the original author. As to the author's identity, Fuhrmann formerly defended the claims of Anaxi-



menes of Lampsacus with vigour and plausibility, but is now content to observe: 'utrum Anaximeni an aequali alicui attribuiamus quid refert?' (p. XL).

A. E. DOUGLAS.

University of Southampton.

**THEOPHRASTUS. The Characters.** MENANDER. **Plays and fragments.** Trans. P. Vellacott. (Penguin classics.) Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. 1967. Pp. 247. 7s. 6d.

Mr Vellacott offers a somewhat racy<sup>1</sup> translation of Theophrastus' *Characters* using R. G. Ussher's edition of 1960, followed by a verse-translation of some of Menander. The *Dyscolus* is represented by the author's translation of 1959 with 'a few desirable alterations' from Mr Handley's edition (1965). These do not amount to very much. Pyrrhios is not meant to be skulking on the stage with nothing to do from 145 to 213; he left at 144, and 214-18 is a soliloquy of Sostratus. This is a matter of importance for justice to Menander's dramaturgy and to the actor playing Pyrrhios. No line-numbers are given. The Cairensis plays [*Epitrepontes*, *Pericliomena* (which becomes archly 'The Unkindest Cut'), *Samia*, *Hero*], and the *Georgus*, are taken from the text of Capps (1910). It is a serious fault that Mr. Vellacott should not have seen fit to use either the best text (Koerte's, 1938) or even the second best (Jensen's, 1929) but one which was constituted less than five years after the discovery of the Cairensis. Thus the *Membrana Petropolitana* is omitted from the *Epitrepontes* while dramatic and dramaturgic nonsense is made of the cook-scene in the *Samia* (151 ff. Koerte = pp. 182-3 Vell.). The *Sicyonius* is included, and a well-chosen selection of shorter fragments from Kock (why not Koerte-Thierfelder?) ends the book. The *Phasma* and *Citharista* are included here (from Allinson's Loeb (1921)). The most notable omission is the *Misumenus*; the reader should at least have been informed of its existence. The *Colax* and *Perinthia* (useful for students of Terence), the Didotiana prologue, the *Aspis* (Com. Florentina), *Theophoromena*, and *Coneiazomenae* are omitted. It would not have taken much space to list Menander's titles and thereby avoid the impression that all the principal fragments have been translated. The verse ranges from the elegant<sup>2</sup> to the over-vulgar.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e.g. no. 3 ('*Ἀδολεσχία*') 'Ἡ δὲ ἀδολεσχία ἐστὶ μὲν δόγησις λόγων μακρῶν καὶ ἀπροβουλευτόν becomes 'Chatter is the churning-out of long-winded, unconsidered talk'.

<sup>2</sup> Hypobolimaetus 481 KT p. 235 f. Vell.

<sup>3</sup> *Samia* 76 ff. p. 178 Vell. 'P. Look here mate, you're driving me Right round the bend: I tell you

Vellacott is not accurate; *Geo.* 34 (p. 207) 'all the same it's quite a good idea' is very loose, *Sic.* 11 (p. 215 V.) 'brought by the pirates to be sold at the same time' is wildly wrong for *παλιμβολος*. Still, this is more than half a Menander. There is a twenty-page essay on Menander and two pages on Theophrastus, a proper balance of emphasis, which is upset by Theophrastus' being put first in the book. Mr Vellacott does not speculate on their relationship, but the blurb-writer, in his simple world, knows better, and tells us that Menander was Theophrastus' pupil.

A. S. GRATWICK.

University of St. Andrews

**THEOPHRASTUS. Περὶ ἐνσεβείας. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und eingeleitet von W. Pötscher.** (Philosophia antiqua, xi.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1964. Pp. vii + 189. Fl. 32.-

The fragments of Theophrastus' *Περὶ Ἐνσεβείας* preserved in Porphyry's *De Abstinentia* 2.5-32 (pp. 135-62 Nauck<sup>2</sup>) were first edited by J. Bernays in 1866; in his pretentious new edition P. accepts Bernays' work as his starting-point but makes many changes. The texts, with a German translation which should be, but often is not, on the facing page, are printed together at the end of the volume, preceded by chapters on 'Problems of Method', the genuineness of the fragments, the development of the argument, 'some special problems' and on the text. The inconvenience of this arrangement, which means that P's views on any one passage have to be looked for in at least three or four different places, is aggravated by P's failure to give adequate cross-references and by his exclusion from the texts of the sentences in which Porphyry names Theophrastus as his source, as well as the occasional parallels in other writers; some but not all of these are quoted elsewhere in the book. P's text is conservative; like Nauck in his second Teubner edition of Porphyry (1886) he rejects most of Bernays' emendations, and occasionally he goes back to a manuscript reading which Nauck emended (e.g. fr. 9.12). A few of his suggestions may well be right (e.g. fr. 2.7, 12.51, 13.40), others are more debatable. His translation is painstakingly literal—trivial deviations from exact literalness are explained in footnotes of a kind familiar from undergraduate exercises—but in spite of the sacrifice of elegance he often succeeds less well than Bernays in bringing out the meaning of the Greek.

The biggest change is that P. claims to have identified several new fragments in addition to those

straight, you give me fits. You beat all you do. Cook. Boil your head. P. And the same to you, and many of 'em . . .'



discovered by Bernays. Two of these (fr. 4-5 P, = Porph. p. 139.20-140.8 and 140.15 f.) may belong to Theophrastus, although it is impossible to be certain. The rest are either not from Theophrastus at all, or come from a different work.

Fr. 1 and 11 = Porph. p. 133.17-19 and 177.10-18. These sentences are outside the part of the book in which Porphyry claims to be using Theophrastus. P. ascribes them to Theophrastus because they include the expression *ἀλογα ζῶα* which Porphyry, according to P, could not have employed in his own person. In the absence of confirmatory evidence this is quite implausible.

Fr. 6 = Porph. p. 140.21-141.21. As Bernays pointed out this passage is primarily directed against the eating of animal flesh, a question with which Theophrastus was not concerned; the statement that the Egyptians eat bull's meat contradicts what Theophrastus says in fr. 13 (= Porph. p. 155.2, cf. fr. 2 = p. 135.3 ff.). The whole paragraph is clearly a somewhat confused summing-up by Porphyry; in the opening sentence the words *ἀλλαι δὲ παρ' ἄλλοις λέγονται* may allude to Theophrastus' discussion of *τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις πάτρια* mentioned by Porphyry p. 150.4.

Fr. 8 = Porph. p. 183.21-185.6. P. argues that Eusebius, who reproduced large parts of Porphyry's *De Abstinence* in the PE, regarded this passage as the work of Theophrastus. But even if he did, there is no reason to believe that he knew more of Theophrastus' work than he found in Porphyry, or that his judgement is authoritative; at PE I p. 182 he attributes to Theophrastus the view that animals may be sacrificed to demons but not to gods which we find in Porphyry p. 182 f., a passage quoted by Eusebius I 189 (this seems to have escaped P's notice in his discussion on p. 92 ff.). In reality this passage is a reminiscence by Porphyry of what he had written earlier, but very little of it is Theophrastean. The use of the word *πόπανα* has a parallel in the iambic verses quoted by Porphyry on the previous page, and in the story of the sacrifice of the rich Magnesians which Porphyry took from Theopompus (p. 145 f.); Theophrastus seems to have preferred the word *πέλανος* in the *Περὶ Ἐνσέβειας*, and the occurrence of *πόπανα* in Char. 16.10 is conjectural. The etymology of *θυσία* and its cognates is paralleled in Theophrastus fr. 2 = Porph. p. 136, but there are considerable differences of detail and the reference to the Homeric use of *ἐρδειν* could have been added by Porphyry himself. The argument about the deleterious moral effects of believing that the gods want elaborate sacrifices is more characteristic of Plato and the Hellenistic schools than of Theophrastus or Aristotle. The ideal of a *γυγνή ἀπαθής* is un-Peripatetic; *ἀπαθής* here has a moral sense quite unconnected with Aristotle's use of the same word as an attribute of the *νοῦς ποιητικός*, with which P. confuses it. The metaphorical sense of *ἐσμός* is only found in Plato and late prose writers.

Fr. 10 = Stob. 3.42, III 207 f. W-H = Thphr.

fr. 152 Wimmer. P. has printed about a quarter of Stobaeus' extract, which certainly illustrates a point made in the *Περὶ Ἐνσέβειας* (e.g. fr. 7.33 ff. P = Porph. p. 143.20 ff., a closer parallel than any cited by P.). But as the context makes clear, Stobaeus' quotation is one unit and probably comes from a book on justice, of which *ἐνσέβεια* is one part (cf. (Arist.) VV 125ob22, with the parallels in E. A. Schmidt's note to his German Academy translation). It was included in Stobaeus' chapter *περὶ φρονήσεως* because of the reference to the 'reasonable man' in the last sentence.

Fr. 15 = Porph. p. 158.12-4. Bernays excluded this clause as an interpolation by Porphyry in a Theophrastean sentence, because of its relevance to meat-eating rather than animal sacrifice. Since we do not hear that Theophrastus practised vegetarianism—and communal dining played a considerable part in the life of the Peripatetic school—he was probably right, although a margin for doubt remains.

Fr. 17 = Porph. p. 158.19. This 'Fragment' consists of the words *Δίονον ἦ'*, which look to me like a scribal interpolation, perhaps originating in a marginal note, due to a reminiscence of p. 140.16. It must be borne in mind that our text of Porphyry depends from a single manuscript.

A passage which P. has not considered is the story of Aeschylus at Delphi in ch. 18, which Wilamowitz (in his edition of Aeschylus, p. 16) attributed to Theophrastus.

There is no space here to discuss the many other points on which this edition is open to criticism. It only remains to add that P. makes no attempt to solve the real difficulties raised by these fragments as to the character of the work from which they are derived and the relationship of their teaching with the rest of Theophrastus' doctrine. Is it not odd, for example, that Theophrastus should repeat, without criticism, the story of the Thoës being destroyed for refusing to sacrifice, although he elsewhere shows himself sceptical of such tales (e.g. fr. 186 W) and this kind of action is really inconsistent with the character of the gods implied by his theory of sacrifice? What about the strange theory of evolution we find here, with the notion that man existed before the higher plants or animals? Does the view that killing animals is on the same footing as killing humans not conflict with the Aristotelian view that animals exist for the sake of man (*Pol.* 1266b15)? Or to take a different point, what place can *μῦθοι* have in a Peripatetic *Lehrschrift*? These difficulties would disappear if we were to suppose that the *Περὶ Ἐνσέβειας* was a dialogue, and some linguistic peculiarities, such as the phrase *τίς οὐκ ἀκήκοεν;* near the end of fr. 3, could be taken to point in the same direction. Certainty of course is unattainable, but P. does not even see that there is a problem. Altogether this is a shoddy and thoroughly unsatisfactory book.

H. B. GOTTSCHALK.

Leeds University.



LAWALL (G.) **Theocritus' Coan pastorals: a poetry book.** Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for The Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington (London: Oxford U.P.). 1967. Pp. vii + 144. 1 plate. £2.

The author adopts Hegelian-Idealistic canons of literary criticism: 'man's experience is here analyzed into a metaphysical pattern as a tension of opposite pulls which find their resolution only in poetic recreation' (p. v); this means that Theocritus' 'characters are not objective portraits drawn from life, but are rather symbols of the opposite pulls operative in his own inner self, symbols of his own spiritual world of emotion and fantasy' (p. 13); by being Lycidas and Simichidas 'at the same time' . . . Theocritus is a combination of seemingly irreconcilable elements' (p. 12 f.); the poet lives in 'a world of polarities and antitheses' (p. 13), is torn in a 'polarity between country and city' (p. 99), in a 'psychological polarity' (p. 100), a 'tension of opposite pulls' and 'metaphysical dichotomies' (p. 117), a 'tension between opposites' (p. 5). In his personages there is 'polarity of occupations, characters and erotic preferences' (p. 64), and 'tension between male and female' (p. 70).

All this is very much *déjà lu*: it was preached by the exponents of the Idealistic school of criticism, the most conspicuous (and, let's admit it, verbose) representative of whom was, as far as Theocritus is concerned, Bignone (*Teocrito, Studio Critico*, Bari 1934; the book is known to Lawall, *cf.* p. 129). The question of the relationship between objective reality ('*realità storica*') and poetic re-creation ('*ricreazione fantastica*': Rostagni, *Poeti Aless.*, p. 261) was indeed the crucial problem for this school of criticism. The *Leitmotiv* of Bignone's book is in fact the contention that Theocritus' creative fantasy ('*magia avvivatrice della sua fantasia di creatore*', *op. cit.*, p. 186), in the process of '*ricreazione artistica del reale*' (*ibid.*, p. 241), 'ridà agli esseri una nuova esistenza' (*ibid.*, p. 146)<sup>2</sup> precisely because Theocritus himself was an 'anima dalle molte vite' (*ibid.*, p. 368), now 'campestre', now 'borghese' (i.e. urban as opposed to countrified), now other things (*cf.* Lawall, p. 13: 'Theocritus is all of these figures'). It was the ability of the poet to be different people that led him to have those 'gare con se stesso' in form of thematic 'contrast' illustrated by Bignone (*op. cit.*, p. 209 ff. 214, 216, 224, 228, 367, etc.; *cf.* already Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 175 ff., 193 ff., etc.).

According to Lawall, polarity of occupations should

make the Comatas song relevant in Idyll vii. The name 'Ἀγεάναξ' is 'clearly aristocratic', 'evoking the world of courts and royal palaces' (p. 88), because it contains *ἀναξ*, 'king': we must infer therefore that 'a goatherd', Lycidas, 'loves a prince'. The Comatas song is about a 'king', *ἀναξ* (line 79), who 'underestimated his goatherd', so that 'both Ageanax and the King have misjudged their herdsmen and treated them with contempt' (p. 93). None of this is of course tenable. Names containing *-αναξ* were by no means aristocratic, but quite common *Menschen-namen*, as a glance at the vast material collected by Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 44 and Hansen, *Rückläuf. Wörterb. d. griech. Eigenn.*, p. 120 will show: to quote at random, 'Ἀγοράναξ' AP vi. 311 was a professional actor or writer (*cf.* Gow-Page on Callim. xxvii), not a prince, 'Ἀντιάναξ' was a 'Töpfer', 'Ἐρμώναξ' AP vi. 223.5 was a fisherman, 'Ἡρώναξ' A.P. vi. 44.2 was a farmer, 'Ἀρχεάνασσα' was a *hetaera*, 'Ἀστυάνασσα' and 'Πεισιάνασσα' are maids. 'Ἀγεάναξ' is a plain *Männernamen*, as such incapable of evoking any royal courts, all the more so as 'Ἀγήναξ' is attested, of all places, in Cos (*cf.* Gow on vii. 52; on the forms, *cf.* 'Ἀρχεάναξ' and 'Ἀρχήναξ' listed in Bechtel, *Griech. Personenn.* p. 124): whether the name, in the Idyll, denotes—like 'Ἀρατος' in lines 122—a poet (such as 'Ἐρμηνιάναξ' or 'Ἡγησιόναξ') is of course uncertain, but it cannot, on the strength of etymology, evoke a prince. In line 79, *ἀναξ* means not 'king', but, as the scholiast indicates, quoting from Lykos (*schol. Theocr.* vii. 78–79 b–c Wend. *δεσπότην θρέμματα βόσκων* . . . *ἀνακτα δὲ φησι τὸν δεσπότην*) *master, δεσπότης*, owner of the flock, as in *Od.* ix. 440: this has been very well explained by Fritzsche, to whose excellent notes on lines 78–9 add Thes., s.v. *ἀναξ* 475 D 18 ff., where two Hellenistic attestations of *ἀναξ* = *master, herdsman* are indicated (whether Theocritus is echoing epic texts, as Fritzsche thinks, or, as I believe is far more probable, employing Homeric *Wortgut* such as *ἀτασθαλίᾳσιν ἀνακτος* because the tone of the Comatas song produced by Lycidas is high-flown, whereas the tone at v.10 τῷ δεσπότην is coarse, cannot be ascertained). The reason for the master punishing Comatas is left unmentioned by Theocritus not because the reader is expected to assume that it was 'irrelevant' (p. 93), but because the reader is supposed to know it only too well. Theocritus is treating his tale allusively (for the technique *cf.* Gow, *Theocr.*, vol. II, p. 1), as his τὸν αἰπόλον (line 78) pointedly indicates ('*notus ille* . . . *caprarius*' Fritzsche, with very good note *ad loc.*; add Ameis, *De articuli usu apud* . . . *bucolicos*, *Prgr. Mühlhausen*, 1846) because the southern Italian local legend had been recently 'published' by the historian Lykos (on this hellenistic tendency *cf.* Lavagnini, *Studi sul rom. greco*, p. 18 ff., Rostagni, *Poeti Aless.* p. 160 ff., and Bignone, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–6, with very good observations). The master punished Comatas because the latter had appropriated the former's goats (*cf.* Alciphron ii.21): there is no question of a love relationship between Comatas and his master. In conclusion: there are in

<sup>1</sup> As stressed by Kühn, *Hermes* 1958, pp. 61–7; *cf.* p. 60, n. 2, for Theocritus as 'Bucéo', as emphasised by Bignone. *Cf.* Lasserre, *RhM* 1959, p. 309, on Theocritus' psychological 'antithèse'.

<sup>2</sup> These were, of course, no new ideas: *cf.* Legrand, *Étude sur Théocr.*, p. 183, on Theocritus' 'personnages' being 'vivants', and Couat's observations on Theocritus' 'imagination créatrice' (Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 438, n.2): Bignone simply systematised such conceptions within a Hegelian framework.



the texts no kings, no princes, no royal loves. The relevance of the Comatas song in the Idyll must be explained from the key words *καὶ τὸ . . . καὶ τὸ . . .* 83 ff.: Lycidas has presented us with a typically Theocritean 'contrast' of two parallel songs, one relating to Daphnis, the other to Comatas, both of whom were mythical shepherds having suffered the same adventure. The details are, of course, no longer available to us, but significant analogies can be observed. Gow (on Theocr. vii. 83) doubts whether Daphnis' mother should have adopted 'so unusual a method of exposure' (i.e. shutting Daphnis up in a chest), but the fact is that *λάρναξ* (ἐξ *λάρνακα* vii. 84) denoted precisely 'an ark in which children were exposed' (cf. LSJ, s.v. *λάρναξ*, 2, and especially Thes., s.v. *λάρναξ*, 117 A).

Lawall's orgy of metaphysical dichotomies leads him to consider Theocritus as a sort of Hegel *avant lettre*: thus the didactic Idyll vi becomes (p. 72 f.) not a piece of specific advice, as are the didactic Idylls xi and xiii, but an epistle analysing 'human relationships in the very broadest of terms', considering love from the points of view of 'the ideal and the real'. This is hardly supported by the text. When it comes to lectures on love, Theocritus is, like all Alexandrians, always concrete, and Idyll vi is no less specific than are Idylls xi and xiii: the two contestants are invincible (*ἀνήσασται*, 46), because they both offer, in variation, the same proven maxim of erotic warfare, i.e. that a girl *καὶ φεύγει φιλέοντα καὶ οὐ φιλέοντα διώκει* (17); Daphnis admonishes Polyphemus because he thinks that the Cyclops is not aware of this law of sex warfare (8: *οὐ ποθόρησθα, τάλαν τάλαν*), and Polyphemus pointedly replies that he is only too well aware of it (*εἶδον . . . κοῦ μ' ἔλαθε . . . ὃ ποθοῶμι κτλ.*, 21 ff.), indeed he is applying the very same tactic (25 *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ . . . πάλιν οὐ ποθόρημι*), with complete success (27: *ζαλοῖ με . . . καὶ τάκεται*). The advice to Aratus could not be more specific: the humorous point is, of course, that the adopting of the tactical ruse in question has apparently proved successful even with the proverbially ugly Polyphemus (cf. Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 104 and, for the irony, p. 89, quoting Holland's detailed monograph, and p. 174).

Thus Hegelianized, Theocritus is reduced (p. 116 f.) to the status of an escapist poet, compelled to seek withdrawal 'into an imaginary utopian landscape' by the split between 'man's real and ideal worlds' and by his 'metaphysical preoccupations'. 'Theocritus' preferences . . . are heavily weighted toward the country, . . . and an ideal tranquillity attainable more readily in the inner landscape of dreams and imagination than in the real world of external reality'. Now, nobody has ever denied that Theocritus is an exponent of the *Zeitgeist* in preferring 'i tranquilli e riposati spettacoli della natura' to the 'vivere inquieto e insoddisfatto' of Hellenistic urban society (Bignone, *op. cit.*, p. 73; already Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 201 ff., on the poet's 'amour raffiné de la quiétude' and on the 'état social' which generated

such Hellenistic tendencies<sup>1</sup>), and Idealistic criticism has already stressed that any poet's landscape is an inner one, not to be confused with external objective reality. What Bignone has persuasively shown is how Theocritus' inexhaustible creative 'gioia' (*op. cit.*, p. 78, 102, etc.) makes of him anything but 'il deluso della vita che si rifugi nella natura come in un irreale mondo di fantasia' (*op. cit.*, p. 220, 228, 241): Theocritus, with insatiable curiosity, irony and gusto, likes to observe the world 'nel pittoresco dei suoi costumi, dei suoi canti, delle sue passioni, dei suoi istinti' (*op. cit.*, p. 102); his poetry is based on *Erlebniss*, 'esperienze', and springs directly from his mingling with the 'umili intimità borghesi' or 'la vita campestre' (*op. cit.*, p. 102; cf. p. 145 f., on Theocritus 'osservatore'). In conclusion: the Idealistic interpretation, in Bignone's experienced hand, has already led to a fuller interpretation of Theocritus' poetry, which is revealed as something richer than the ultimate result of metaphysical preoccupations. Lawall's failure to see the point of Idyll vi is the most eloquent demonstration of what happens if one tries to apply the philosophical straitjacket to the poet Theocritus.

Another interpretative canon adhered to by Lawall is symbolism: this method has been applied by Reitzenstein, and more recently by Lasserre, Puelma-Piwonka and others (good bibliography in Lawall, p. 129 f.) to Idyll vii, so that the harvest festival becomes an 'allegory of poetic inspiration' (p. 102), a 'harvest of verse' (p. 106). The Achilles' heel of the 'symbolic' approach is that there is utter divergence between alleged symbols. If Theocritus were alluding, by means of his 'animal-insect symbols' (p. 104), to a harvest of poetry, the presence of the frogs (41: *βάτραχος; ὀλοηγὼν* 139: *ἄκασθαι* 140 would inevitably have to be connected with the polemical terms *ἀκαθολόγοι* and *ἀκαθοβότης*; for the frog, cf. AP ix. 406: on all this cf. Skiadas, *Homer in griech. Epigramm*, p. 116) and of the *κορνδαλλίδες, κόρυδοι* (lines 23, 141: 'song not appreciated', cf. Thompson, *Gloss. Birds*, p. 96, and material in Thes., s.v. *κόρυς*; *ὀλοηγὼν τρέσκεν* = *Τελχίνες ἐπιτρέφουσιν* Callim. I, 1 Pf.) would by necessity imply that bad and boringly prolix (*τρηνὼν* 141 = xv. 88!) poets are taking part in the harvest, alongside the good ones like Theocritus: for reasons of internal logic, one cannot accept only the birds and insects symbolic of good poetry, like e.g. the *ἀκρίδες*. Bad poets are certainly involved, because they are explicitly mentioned at 45-8: the presence in the Idyll of what cannot but be taken, if we adopt the allegorical approach, as symbols of bad poetry (such as frogs, *κορνδαλλίδες, τρηνὼν*; cf. Idyll v. 29, and 136 f., and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. now Jachmann's pertinent and acute observations in 'L'Arcadia come paesaggio bucolico', *Maia* 1952, p. 161 ff., especially for post-Theocritean developments; a systematic survey in G. Schönbeck, *Der 'locus amoenus' von Homer bis Horaz*, Diss. Heidelberg 1962.



Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 166 f.) destroys, in my view, Lasserre's and Lawall's hypothesis that the harvested poetry is of good quality, like 'a natural music pouring out from the spirit within' (p. 105), i.e. Theocritus' own poetry.<sup>1</sup>

The second difficulty is that the parallelism with Idyll v makes very problematic the interpretation of Idyll vii as a symbolic harvest of poetry. The setting and acting in both idylls is parallel (*cf.* Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 197 f., 200 f.). *Cf.* e.g. vii. 138 ff. (shade, birds, bees, fruits falling down) = v. 45 ff. (shade, birds, bees, cones falling down); vii. 41 (frogs against grasshoppers) = v. 29 (wasps against cicadas); vii. 68 (στιβάς) = v. 34 (στιβάς). The aural setting is, in Idyll v, merely conventional 'Geräuschkulisse' (*cf.* Schönbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Futh, *De Theocr. Stud. homer.*, Diss. Halle 1876, 23), and the same convention is likely to be present in the parallel Idyll vii. As for the vegetable metaphors, they are repeatedly and overtly used, in both idylls, in conventionally<sup>2</sup> erotic<sup>3</sup> connexions (vii. 117, 120, 121; v. 88, 92-5;

<sup>1</sup> Lasserre thinks that the harvested poetry is only Theocritus' vii Idyll; Lawall maintains that the harvest symbolises Theocritus' Idylls i to vii. On insect and animal symbols *cf.* Tribukait, *De proverbiis ap. bucolicos*, Diss. Königsberg, 1889, 21 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On these metaphors *cf.* Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 348, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Reitzenstein's nonsense about chaste 'boucoloi religieux' (*cf.* Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 149) has unfortunately misled certain modern critics into forgetting the reputation of extreme amatory prowess which the profession enjoyed in antiquity. On 'les mœurs des chevriers' *cf.* Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 225, and my observations CR 1967, p. 22, where I explain Gow-Page 2063 ff., collating AP xii. 41.4. *Cf.* also Theocr. v. 41 ff., 116 f. and Gow on Theocr. i. 86, αἰπόλῳ. It would be easy to erect, for fun, an obscene interpretation of Idyll vii based on 'symbolic' elucidations: κριθαί (εὐκριθός 34) = πόσθη; κορίνα 19 = πόσθη; τὰν τοι κορίναν διορήσομαι 43 = κριθὴν δώσουσιν αὐταῖς ἄνδρες Arist. Pax. 965-7; κόαμος, in στιβάς 66 = testiculī; 66 φρονεῖ = κατεφρόνετο xiv. 26, *cf.* Gow on vii. 55 ἀπτενύμενον; σέλινον in στιβάς, 68 = rudenda muliebria, *cf.* metaphorical σέλινον amongst μῆλα and σισύμβρια in *schol. Theocr.* xi. 11 c Wend.; 52 καλὸς πλόος, 62 εὐπλοὸν ὄρμον: erotic metaphors, *cf.* Lieber, *Ad topica carm. amat. symb.*, *Prgr. Gymn. Stettin* 1914, §19, and e.g. AP xii. 167.3 (metaphor seen by Lawall, p. 89, but not carried to extreme consequences: why should Lycidas rejoice on the day when Ageanax has a lucky voyage, i.e. is lucky in love? Does Ageanax's metaphorical lucky voyage mean that the youth is now old enough to embark on amorous adventures, and 'too old to be a homosexual partner', as happened to Philinus, *cf.* Lawall p. 96? If so, Lycidas consoles himself with metaphorical σέλινον, after Ageanax's voyage: obscene satire of genre *propemptikon*); ὁπώρα 143 = ὁπώρα Κέπριδος, *cf.* LSJ, s.v. III, and Thes.,

*cf.* also what happens ἐν ἄθεσι v. 87), and this fact renders grotesque the hypothesis of a totally different metaphorical employment of fruit symbols (as 'poetic productions', poetry being 'a natural growth or fruition', p. 105) coexisting in the Idyll alongside the commonplace erotic metaphorical usage: how could one recognise in the pears and apples at vii. 144 f. symbols of poetry, after ἀπίοιο πεπαίτερος and ἄνθος as used at 120 f.?

We are thus left with the Parnassian Nymphs, clearly symbolising poetry, water and wine, also symbolising poetry (on these conventional symbols *cf.* now Skiadas, *op. cit.*, p. 116) and the σωρός, a σωρός of κριθαί, not of fruits. The symbols of poetry are overt and offer no difficulty: as was customary in sympotic literature, the rustic banquet was accompanied by poetry (*cf.* Nicaenetus 2703 ff. Gow-Page); the σωρός of κριθαί (on σωρός usually denoting a heap of corn, *cf.* Moulton-Milligan, *Vocab. Gr. Test.* s.v. σωρεύω) has, on the other hand, nothing to do with poetry, and is simply a humorous conclusion by Simichidas-Theocritus, as I have tried to show elsewhere (*L'Antiquité Classique* 1968).

What is in any case untenable is Lawall's and Lasserre's contention that the festival is a harvest of Theocritus' own poetry: not only for the reasons of internal logic which I have indicated above (i.e. the Idyll would contain symbols of *bad* poetry alongside good ones), but also because of circumstantial logic: the festival, as Lawall must concede (p. 107), does take place at Phrasidamus' farm (*cf.* lines 3, 31-4), not at the poet's, so that there can be no question of the harvested barley belonging, as it were, to Theocritus: the poet is merely acting as one of the several labourers, each of whom stuck his respective πτόον into the σωρός (*cf.* Gow on Theocr. vii. 157, and *schol. Theocr. ad vii.* 156, c-d Wend., where of course πτόον is distributive singular, as is usual with tools, etc., *cf.* Kühner-Gerth I, p. 14 f.; each worker had his own πτόον, *cf.* AP vi. 104.6, the scenes depicted in Dar.-Saglio, s.v. *ventilabrum* and *vannus*, and Opp., *Hal.* iv. 497). It is, therefore, not the 'narrator alone who performs the ritual act', as Lawall thinks (p. 107): the narrator is talking about his own πτόον simply because 'it is his sensations and fancy which dominate the concluding scene'. Of course Lawall is right in saying that 'Theocritus is interested not in describing the externals of a festival, but rather the narrator's own personal sensations and imaginations' (p. 130)<sup>1</sup>: but this happens because the poet is

s.v. ὁπώρα 2124 B-C: *maturitas* related to πεπαίτερος in line 120, *cf.* Thes. s.v. πεπαίτερος; σαῦρος 22 = *membrum virile*, debilitated in the heat, *cf.* Hes., *Erga* 586, like Priapus *A. Plan.* 236: on the parallelism *cf.* Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 210, n. 3; Σιμιγίδας = *lecherous*, *cf.* Arist., *Physiogn.* 811 b, quoted by Legrand p. 216, n. 3. May this specimen serve as an antidote against 'symbolic' interpretations of Theocritus.

<sup>1</sup> Lawall rightly infers, from the αὐτίς in line 156, that the festival was actually performed (p. 77).



following a Hellenistic literary feature illustrated by Pasquali, Deubner and Schlatter (*cf.* Schlatter, *Theokrit und Kallim.*, Diss. Zürich 1941, p. 61 ff.<sup>1</sup>), not because Theocritus is describing a 'harvest of his poetry' (p. 107)—a harvest which could hardly have taken place at someone else's farm.

Lawall also surveys the repetitions of words and phrases in Theocritus (p. 111 ff., 132 ff.). The significant material has already been collected by Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 352 ff., and Bignone has already said interesting things on this technique (*op. cit.*, p. 214, n. 1 and p. 224, n. 1-2). Theocritus' 'formulaic language' (p. 111) is, in itself, nothing unusual in Hellenistic poetry: *cf.* Lapp, *De Callim. trop. et fig.*, Diss. Bonn 1965, p. 67 ff. and Herter, *Burs. Jahresber.* 285, 1944-55, p. 325: it is not a peculiarly Theocritean stylistic feature, 'designed to link poems together into a special grouping', but is simply a natural consequence of Hellenistic formulaic technique applied by Theocritus, often with subtle *variatio*, to the subject matter that is common to each group of Idylls (*merae rusticae*,<sup>2</sup> *epyllia*). From Legrand's data it appears that the 'redites', not unexpectedly, occur more frequently within each group (*cf.* also Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 232).<sup>3</sup>

In conclusion: the book is more enthusiastic than contributive of new results.

GIUSEPPE GIANGRANDE.

Birkbeck College, University of London.

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. **Le Argonautiche, libro 1.**

Ed. and trans. A. Ardigizzone. (Bibliotheca Athena, 3.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1967. Pp. xxxii + 300. 3 plates. Lire 5,500.

The third book of the *Argonautica* has, for fairly obvious reasons, always found more readers and commentators than its less attractive brethren; and over the last forty years the successive editions of Gillies (1928), Ardigizzone (1958) and Vian (1961) have done a great deal to elucidate some of the poet's

methods and peculiarities. But no commentary on the poem as a whole has appeared since that of G. W. Mooney (1912), which, though useful as far as it goes, has been rendered obsolescent by the labours of Pfeiffer and Gow on AR's contemporaries. Ardigizzone's new text and translation, with 'ampio commento', of Book I gathers together much of the criticism, exegesis and comparative material amassed by scholars during recent years, and thus brings a little nearer the day when we can look forward to a complete commentary on Apollonius of Govian proportions and definitiveness; but not, perhaps, as much nearer as we might have hoped.

Ard. of course bases his text on the recent O.C.T. of Hermann Fränkel, though like Vian he rejects Fr.'s more provocative suggestions (which were, one suspects, partly made *pour encourager les autres*). Ten of Ard.'s own (slight) emendations are placed in the text, including two which appeared in Wellauer's edition of 1828 (not 1838, as on p. xxviii, where Gillies' edition is also wrongly dated) but which qualify for the list of 'congettura mie' on pp. vi-vii on the grounds that they were 'da me in certo modo riscoperite'.

But it is to the commentary that most people will turn for enlightenment; and here Ard.'s chief aim is, rightly, to refer his readers to the epic *exempla*, whether homeric or contemporary, upon which AR's own turns of phrase are based. On pp. x-xxvi he provides an illustrative list to demonstrate how AR applies his techniques of *imitatio* and *variatio*; but many of these correspondences, described as 'i risultati più cospicui della mia ricerca' and 'sfuggite finora agli editori di A.' can in fact be found, less flamboyantly presented, on pp. XXXVII ff. of Merkel's *Prolegomena* to his 1854 edition. Ard. has himself missed many important correspondences, e.g. 45 *Φυλάκη ἐνι δηρόν ἐλειπτο* ~ B700 *Φυλάκη ἐλλέλειπτο*: the full pluperfect form *ἐλλέλειπτο* is unusual for Homer (only here and θ475), and Ludwig's edition lists a variant *ἐπέλειπτο*; probably AR's close imitation reflects a (conjectural?) reading *ἐνέλειπτο*—this would explain his use of the form *ἐλειπτο* which has caused puzzlement. 58 *εὐθ' δ' οὐ πατρός ἀμείνων* ~ A404 *οὐ πατρός ἀμείνων* (typical Apollonian reversal of Homer). 72 *νῆες δ' μὲν Τελέοντος, ὁ δ' Ἴρον* 'Ακτορίδαο ~ B621 *νῆες δ' μὲν Κτεάτων, ὁ δ' ἄρ' Εὐρύτου*, 'Ακτορίωνε showing that AR read 'Ακτορίωνος here with the vulgate (Stephanie West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, Köln 1967, p. 46). 74 *σὺν καὶ τρίτος ἦεν Οἰλέος* ~ B565 *τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' Εὐρύαλος τρίτατος κίεν* and Theoc. 7, 2 *σὺν καὶ τρίτος ἄμιν Ἀμύντας*. 231 *οἱ πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι* ~ M89 etc. 297 *ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν ἄλγος ἄροιο* ~ E130 *ἐφ' ἔλκεϊ ἔλκος ἀρηται*. 422 (to Apollo) *λόσσαμι δ', ἄραξ . . . πείσματα σὴν διὰ μῆτιν* ~ Call. *Aet. fr.* 18, 9-10 *σὴν, Φοῖβε, κατ' αἰσιμὴν [πείσματ'] ἔλυσαν*. 470 *καὶ εἰ θεὸς ἀντιόρτο* ~ r292 *καὶ εἰ θεὸς ἀντιάσει*. 739 *μογέοντι ἐοικώς* ~ s240 *μεθύοντι ἐοικώς* and Arat. 63 *μογέοντι . . . ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς*. 914 *κόπτον ὕδωρ*—'l'immagine sembra nuova'—~ Call. *Aet. fr.* 18, 11 *ἔκονται ὕδωρ*.

<sup>1</sup> Through overlooking this literary feature certain critics were misled into believing that the festival had not taken place. Lawall rightly sees Theocritus' subjective approach (p. 77 'subjective sensations'), but does not realise that such an approach is an example of the literary feature in question, not an unparalleled phenomenon symbolising that the harvested poetry is Theocritus' own.

<sup>2</sup> On Ahrens' 'collection bucolique' (Idylls i-ix) and the reasons for restricting it to i-vii *cf.* Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 11-17 (Lawall calls i-vii 'Coan collection'). More recent literature in Rostagni, *Scritti Minori* II, 1 (Torino 1956) p. 214 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On 'Selbstnachahmungen' in Leonidas *cf.* Geffcken, *Leon.* p. 139; for Meleager *cf.* Rädinger, *Meleagros*, p. 42 ff.



More serious however than errors of omission are those of commission, and readers should be particularly wary of the words 'soltanto qui' or the like: 205 μεταρῆμιος—'non sembra sia altrove attestato'—also at Opp. Hal. 2, 43 and Cyn. 3, 484, Rhianus fr. 1, 16 Powell (the latter in tmesis, but directly imitating the homeric *harax* at Hymn XXVI, 6). 243 Παναγαῖδος not 'solo qui' but at 3. 347, as a substantive; this is important, for it shows AR using the word just as Homer did Ἀγαίς: both with and without γαῖα. 270 οἶδεν not 'solo qui' but at 2.28, 3.1169, 4.418 and 4.1198, adopting the Homeric phrase οἶδεν οἶος but varying number and gender. 275 ἐκφλέξαι: cf. 3.583 ἀποφλέξωσιν. 291 ὠϊσάμην—'questa forma di aoristo non è attestata altrove'—but Moschus 2.8 has ὠϊσατο. 374 ἐξέλαχαινον: Ard.'s note gives the impression that the verb and its compounds do not occur before Alexandrian times, but cf. 2.242 ἀμφελάχαινε. 570 νηοσσόον not *harax* but also at 2.927 of Apollo; and for the ambiguity of the adjective's formal model λαοσσός, cf. Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.*, s.v. ἐρυσίππολις and Call. fr. 626. 760 βοῦνταις also used by Eupolis (fr. 402 K.), according to Pollux. 867 πολῖταις: the feminine form not 'soltanto in Eur. Hipp. 1126' but at AP 7. 492, 3 (Anyte) and in Poseidippus' seal-poem (cf. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 1963, 75 ff.). 1227 ὀλίγοι probably also used by Callimachus (*Hec.* fr. 373). 1266 ἐλεσπίδας: not quite a *harax*, as Nonnus uses it, probably as a proper name, at 13.519, Ἑλεσπίδος ἑδράνα γαίης. If we can trust the smooth breathing transmitted by Nonnus' MSS., he may have etymologised the word differently from AR; see the suggestions made by the scholiasts here.

Although the commentary comprises almost 200 pages, the density of relevant information conveyed per square inch is much less than in Vian's spare but compressed edition of Book III. Sentences like 'il termine *ἀντα* occupa lo stesso posto, prima della cesura pentemimere, che *ἀντη* occupa nel verso apolloniano' (p. 262) could profitably be replaced by some acceptable abbreviation such as 'ss' (stessa/selbe/same *sedes*); if space had thus been saved perhaps room could have been found to provide comments in places where Mooney's notes, instead of being amplified, have merely been jettisoned. The following points, it seems to me, need a note: 11 προχοῖσιν, rightly translated 'acque dilaganti', but this needs to be contrasted with the usual Homeric interpretation, v. Bühler on Moschus' *Europa* 31. Similarly 12 αὐτοσχεδόν, 184 διεπῆ, 198 λεκάβαντα, all depend on alexandrian interpretation of old epic words, and this should be pointed out. The difficulties of 246, to which Fränkel devotes four precious lines of his *brevis adnotatio*, are avoided in the translation and receive not a word in Ard.'s 'ampio commento'. 283 πέσσω, 554 ἀγγῆ are both ignored; and the construction of 731–3, which imitates that of Σ378, X322 and Ψ454 (cf. *KG* II § 555 Anm. 8) is left unexplained.

Where Ard. does venture a comment he sometimes

has excellent suggestions to make, particularly where the question arises of an Apollonian 'mistranslation' of Homer; at 718, 784, 988 and 1254 he gives convincing or highly probable explanations of AR's eccentric usage of εἴσαντο, γηθόσσαι, πέφαται and ἐπαίσσων; and one interesting point that emerges from the numerous Homeric parallels which Ard. provides is the frequency with which AR seems deliberately to draw his readers' attention to passages in Homer where the text was disputed, and to make it clear by his own imitation which, in his opinion, was the preferable reading. AR was, after all, an active Homeric critic of some note, and at least five of his emendations to Homer are cited by the scholiasts. But on the whole Ard.'s commentary is not sufficiently comprehensive or incisive: 48 προσόνη, 277 κηθόσση; a general note on AR's fondness for this noun-form would help, or at least a reference to G. Boesch, *De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione*, Diss. Berlin 1908, p. 58, who deals with this question; but Boesch is missing from Ard.'s bibliography. The same applies to the note on 1052 ἐποτροπή; what is significant is not just that this word is a *harax* but that AR had a particular liking for -τροπή formations; cf. 4.387, 1006 and 1047 ἀτροπή, and his own coinages 3.1157 παλιντροπή and 4.1504 ἀποτροπή; it is a synthesis of information of this sort that enables us to begin to see the poet's technique in action. 195 κουρίζων: AR deliberately uses this word in a different sense from Callimachus; cf. the penetrating analysis of H. Herter, *Kallimachos und Homer*, Bonn 1929, p. 18 n. 1. 260 προμολῆσι: Ard. shows no curiosity about the possible genesis of this word so dear to the hellenistic poets; possibly a v. l. (or Alexandrian emendation) at Σ382? 275 ὄρεχθεῖ: for a better and fuller account of the difficulties cf. Gow's note on Theoc. 11.43. 393 ἀρμαλίνην: as well as being a 'parola esiodea', this is also the current term for 'provisions' in the papyri; cf. Gow on Theoc. 16.35 and LSJ s.v. 601: to the testimonia for Athos overshadowing Lemnos, add Stat. *Theb.* 5, 49 f. 603 ἑνδιον: possibly evening rather than noon, v. Merkel *Prol.* pp. CXXXV and CLXXVI; the timetable which AR gives us suggests the end of the day, and the meaning of the word in Homer at A726 was disputed, cf. the sources cited by Merkel. At 8450 and AR 4.1312 ἑνδιος obviously means 'at noontide', but this is no objection; the Alexandrians were only too happy to ascribe completely different meanings to the same word in various contexts, both in Homer and in their own work. 995 ἀμφιρρῶγας not formed on the analogy of the compounds in tragedy adduced by Ard., but rather on ἀπορρῶγες 198, Call. Hymn 5.41, *Hec.* fr. 309, 2–3; the simple form ῥῶξ is at 7143. 1165 ἥριον: cf. Call. *Hec.* fr. 262 for further refs. to hellenistic use of this homeric *harax*. 1245 λιμὴ αἰθόμενος: 'L'imagine sembra nuova'—no: this is an Apollonian variation on the cliché λιμὸς αἰθών, which occurs in the anonymous epigram at Aeschin. in *Ctes.* 184, in the hellenistic *locus classicus* for 'Heishunger' Call.



Hymn 6.66, and probably as early as Hesiod, *Op.* 363 (Bergk's emendation: cf. McKay, *Erysichthon*, 104 ff. *et passim*) and *fr.* 43 (a) 5 ff. MW (cf. West, *CQ* xi 1961, p. 142). AR playfully varies his own phrase at 4.1417-8, *δῖπ' αἰδομένην*.

Ardizzoni recalls (p. V, n. 1) the words which Fränkel uses of Seaton's edition, and reapplies them to Mooney's: 'allzu flüchtig gearbeitet'. But Mooney was in many ways a pathfinder in unexplored territory, whereas Ard. has been able to draw on the intensive research of half a century and has still produced a commentary which leaves much to be desired.

A. H. GRIFFITHS.

University College London.

BREITENSTEIN (T.) *Recherches sur le poème Mégara*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1966. Pp. 116. D.kr. 30.-

At the beginning of his introductory chapter Breitenstein tells us that he had envisaged a commentary on the 125-line Hellenistic poem entitled *Megara* of the kind that W. Bühler has so successfully provided for the *Europa* of Moschus, but that certain large problems would have broken the bounds of such a treatment. The following is an outline of the work which has resulted.

In his introductory chapter he traces carefully the bewildering alternation of scholarly views on the authorship of the *Megara*. Here his one discovery is that, contrary to the belief of various scholars including A. S. F. Gow, H. Stephanus was the first of the editors explicitly to attribute the *Megara* to Moschus, this being his conclusion from the arrangement of the poem after Moschus 1 and 2 in the Medicean MS.

His chapter II, *Héraclès*, is essentially an elaboration of a commentary on lines 9 to 28 of the *Megara*. He concludes that the version of the killing of Heracles' children by arrows originated with Euripides' *Heracles*, and he adduces, none too convincingly, what he regards as some other indications of the special influence of that play on the *Megara*, whilst admitting that important differences are observable even as regards the details of the killing. He justly observes that the relation between Heracles and Eurystheus as characterised in the *Megara* follows the Homeric version, and that the gloomy and piteous view of Heracles' career goes back to Homer. However, he then claims that (p. 34) 'les éléments d'une conception purement humaine et sentimentale d'Héraclès et de son destin' seem to have been derived from Euripides, the straightforward heroic glorification of Heracles, as in the Hesiodic poems and Pindar, leaving no trace here, whilst the treatment of Heracles by the Hellenistic poets seems to have had no influence.

The weakness of Breitenstein's case for a large

degree of dependence on Euripides' *Heracles* is self-evident. Moreover, despite his observations on p. 35 he clearly makes insufficient allowance for the large unknown element of Hellenistic epics on Heracles (see K. Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos* 2nd ed. pp. 20-1), which could hardly have been without influence on the author of the *Megara*, an oversight that is also apparent in his brief *Conclusion*. Also a lack of clear dependence on Euripides is Breitenstein's own conclusion from his linguistic observations in chapter V (p. 87).

After chapter II there is an appendix entitled *Le serpent et les oisillons*, which is a careful analysis of the relation between the comparison in this poem of Megara and her murdered children with a bird whose young are devoured by a snake and its model in the *Iliad* (2.308 sqq.).

Chapter III, *Megara et Alcène*, is basically a line-by-line commentary on the speeches of Megara and Alcmena, excluding what has been dealt with in chapter II and Alcmena's dream, to which chapter IV is devoted, and excluding also most purely linguistic matters, for which we have to wait till chapter V. A comparison in this chapter (pp. 54-6) of the characterisation of Megara and Alcmena in the *Megara* with that in Euripides' *Heracles* and with that of Deianira in the *Trachiniae* only serves to underline the lack of any very close or obvious dependence of this poem on any extant drama. The chapter is followed by an appendix, *Megara et les Métamorphoses*, in which Breitenstein makes a strong case for the influence of the *Megara* on Ovid at *Metam.* 9.275-393, which on general grounds is not unlikely.

In chapter IV, *Le songe d'Alcène*, Breitenstein concludes that Alcmena's dream about Heracles and Iphicles, being of the interior, subjective type, follows the tradition of tragedy and Apollonius Rhodius, not that of Homer, though in particulars there are distinct Homeric reminiscences.

It is in his long chapter V, *Le style du poème*, that he breaks most new ground, detailing line by line first of all the Homeric features of the language of the *Megara*, and then the influence there of later poets, especially the Hellenistic poets, among whom Apollonius is most prominent. He demonstrates that whilst the language of the *Megara* is very largely Homeric, it is by no means meticulously so, and that whilst the inventive enterprise of the principal Hellenistic poets is not apparent here, the poet clearly felt free to avail himself from time to time of words and usages of post-Homeric origin, notably those of the 3rd-century Alexandrians, and even occasionally of wholly non-epic or non-poetic ones.

The awkwardness of Breitenstein's arrangement of his material as a whole is especially apparent in chapter V because of the tantalising frequency of his footnotes giving cross-references to the treatment of points elsewhere. Further, it would seem that the actual arrangement of this chapter has contributed to its most serious defect, namely that in attempting throughout the largest section of it to identify just the



Homeric elements in the language he has often failed to take note of the fact that a given usage appears in later poets prior to the *Megara*, notably in the Hellenistic poets.

An interesting observation in chapter V is that in its use of enjambement the *Megara* has much in common with Apollonius Rhodius, though it is nonetheless more Homeric than the latter. In the arrangement of noun-epithet phrases the *Megara* is seen to be somewhere between the practice of Homer and that of Apollonius. Finally, as regards metrical practice the *Megara* stands very much with the Alexandrians.

In chapter VI, *L'ambiance littéraire*, Breitenstein justly observes that structurally, with its lack of exordium and conclusion, the *Megara* belongs decidedly to the Hellenistic type of so-called epyllia. He also plausibly suggests that the dramatic conception of the poem is derived from the famous nocturnal conversation of Medea and Chalciope in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (3.667 sqq.). After examining the resemblances between the *Megara* and Theocritus 25 as well as a fragment which is part of a speech of Astyoche (*P. Oxy.* 214), he concludes of the *Europa* of Moschus that it has enough in common with the *Megara* for the two poems to be regarded as belonging broadly to the same literary tradition, but certainly not enough to constitute a strong case for attributing the *Megara* to Moschus.

In his short *Conclusion*, after observing that the *Megara* is more Hellenistic in its metrical practice than its vocabulary, he reasonably decides that it belongs to the type of those short mythological poems which stylistically clearly avoided the example of Callimachus for Homer and Apollonius. As regards the dating of the *Megara* Breitenstein admits the impossibility of certainty, but suggests that the influence of Apollonius indicates a contemporary rather than a later imitator.

As has already been observed in the case of chapter V, Breitenstein's arrangement of his material is far from satisfactory, and this is a pity in so learned and thorough a piece of work. One can only regret that he felt unable to carry out his intention of making a systematic commentary, for this is what is needed. One can see at many points just why he felt unable, for he obviously has little ability to compress his material or eliminate what is unnecessary, and so all too often he indulges in a mass of more or less tenuously relevant details. A few examples must suffice.

At pp. 41-2 on lines 29-33 of the *Megara* (Megara's wish that she had died) he begins by giving a good note on the Homeric models for this, but then launches into a series of scarcely helpful references from later authors, some of them certainly later than the *Megara*. At pp. 44-7 there is an excessively long and roundabout approach to a definition of *κρωσσός* as used in the *Megara*, for which the essential points could be made quite briefly. Then at pp. 64-6 a great deal of space and learning are wasted exploring

several implausible meanings of the dream of Megara before coming to the reasonable conclusion that the labour and danger of Heracles and Iphicles here do not correspond with any of Heracles' actual labours, but rather symbolise them all generally. Even if several questions did need fairly full treatment, they could surely have been added as appendices to a commentary. As it is, the profusion of cross-references with the treatment of many passages in several different places does not make for easy reading and reference. And even in its present form the work should at least have been provided with indices to make it a more usable instrument of research, for as such it will certainly be valuable to specialists in the field. It should be said that it does in fact have a very full and useful bibliography.

After checking a small portion of the work's countless references the only correction I have to make is that surely the original dates should be given for the 2nd ed. of R. C. Jebb's *The Philoctetes* (p. 25 n. 24) and the 3rd ed. of his *The Oedipus Coloneus* (p. 46 n. 54), resp. 1898 and 1900 instead of 1932 and 1928. I have noted only eleven trivial misprints.

Generally I find Breitenstein's judgement sound and convincing, but I should like to conclude with my criticism of some more material points of detail.

At pp. 42-3 on *φαρμακόντα* . . . . *lōn* (line 30) he rejects the literal attribution of poisoned arrows to Heracles on the ground that no other version of the story records the use of poison by Heracles in killing his own children. But it is surely possible that such a version did already exist, or else at least that the poet felt free to add this touch himself, since Heracles' use of poison elsewhere is recorded, as Breitenstein admits. His own conclusion is most unconvincing: 'tout se passe en effet comme si la fonction de l'épithète *φαρμακόντα* est de souligner le caractère inexplicable et ornemental d'une mort qui survient sans cause appréciable'. Line 29 surely rules out a reference to any death other than that at the hands of Heracles together with the children. The address to Artemis (31) is perhaps a little harsh in view of the possibility of wrongly associating the poisoned arrow with her, or else of adopting the strained interpretation that she is thought of as working through Heracles here. But a moment's reflection should remove this confusion, for a sufficient justification for the address can be seen in Artemis' general rule over women, which is made explicit, as well as in her causing women's deaths in Homer, especially as the address is obviously added in the first place because of an intended Homeric allusion, which Breitenstein notes, but does not seem to have thought out properly.

At p. 51 he defends the MS. reading for lines 67-8. He rightly rejects the old interpretation, but his own is somewhat feeble and unlikely, sc. that courage is to be derived from the fact that the gods have not obliged them to count all their woes. The alterations accepted by Gow give far better sense.

At pp. 51-2 on lines 70-1 he does well to reject the conjecture *ἀγγαλάν* with the inappropriate sense that



it gives. But his own interpretation of the MS. reading is hardly less unsatisfactory, sc. 'I understand (*ἐπιγνώμων εἰμί* = 'je conçois'—surely correct) your grief, because one can become sick of everything that is not laments and tears, even of joy'. He then rejects the long-accepted understanding of *εὐφροσύνης κόρος* in the light of *Iliad* 13.636 sqq., which surely offers the only plausible line of interpretation. The abruptness and, at first sight, obscurity of this clause are the result of the poet's perhaps not too tasteful determination to fit in a Homeric *bon mot* at this point. *Il.* 13.636–7 is in fact precisely summarised by *ὅτε δὴ γε καὶ εὐφροσύνης κόρος ἐστὶ*, the modification of the original being typical of Hellenistic allusions. In lines 634–5 the observation is made that the Trojans cannot have enough of war, and then after 636–7 Menelaus continues *τῶν* (sc. all the things that constitute *εὐφροσύνη*) *πέρ τις καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλλέεται ἐξ ἔρον εἶναι | ἢ πολέμου · Τρῶες δὲ μάχης ἀκόρητοι ἔασιν*. And so, by being made to recall this whole passage, the reader understands that the point which Alcmena is making here is that she quite recognises, or appreciates (cf. uses of *ἐπιγνώσκω*), under the circumstances, that Megara is actually *τοῦ ἀσχαλάαν ἀκόρητος* cf. 69–70 *καὶ δ' αὐτὴν ὀρώω σε, φίλον τέκος, ἀτρέτοισιν | ἄλγεσι μοχθίζουσας*. It need not be objected that this would have been too difficult for ancient readers steeped in Homer. One could express admiration for a woman's beauty with the words *οὐ νέμεσις*, which was only meaningful if you could complete that and the following two lines (*Il.* 3.156–8).

At p. 76 on *ἀναψύξαιμι* in line 51 he fails to take note of the important variant *ἀναπτέξαιμι*, which is in fact symptomatic of a general lack of adequate attention to textual problems. Perhaps, after all, it was this that deterred Breitenstein from making a full and systematic commentary.

A. W. JAMES.

Selwyn College, Cambridge.

SIFAKIS (G. M.) **Studies in the history of Hellenistic drama.** (University of London classical studies, 4.) London: the Athlone Press. 1967. Pp. xv + 200. £2 15s.

When Aristophanes died Greek drama still had a long and not uneventful life in front of it; but the biographer's task is hard and frustrating as he works through literary remains, inscriptions, mosaics and terracottas from which the vital essence has fled. Dr Sifakis' method is to study the development of Hellenistic drama in two famous and fairly comparable centres, Delos and Delphi, both sacred to Apollo, both centres of amphictyonies, both strongly influenced by Athens. Then in Appendix I he treats of the high stage and relates it to the function of the

chorus and to the poets' dramatic intentions. The reason why S. relegates this discussion to an appendix seems to be that it draws on evidence from elsewhere in the Greek world and might be thought out of proportion to his local studies. I think this is a pity, for it cannot be too strongly urged, and S. appears to be aware, that not all books are automatically worth writing, and a new collection of evidence relating to Hellenistic drama can only be justified if some sort of illumination results.

At Delos during the period of independence (314–166 B.C.) the local Dionysia was held in the same month as the City Dionysia at Athens. Dithyrambs, comedies and tragedies were performed; and this also appears to have been true of the Apollonia (Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, p. 241), though S. denies it. Further dramatic performances took place at the federal Antigoneia and Demetria, and at the Ptolemaia which succeeded them. The competing artists were drawn from all over the Greek world, and it is most improbable that they were all members of one particular guild. We know the names of about a dozen of the dramatists involved but not a single title of a play produced in Delos. Individual artists were handsomely paid by the state, which also concerned itself in the collection and use of the *choregikon*. As for the stage building, a *proskenion* of fourteen pilasters supported the *logeion* or stage and there were three doors in the front of the *skene*. More than one *ekkyklema* appears to have been provided, and the *periaktoi* were mounted on a revolving device called *torniskos*.

At Delphi drama was associated not with Dionysos but with the festival of the Soteria, instituted in thanksgiving for the repulse of the Gauls in 279 B.C. Beginning as an annual festival, it seems to have been reorganised about the middle of the century by the Aitolians, who established it as a quadrennial *ἀγὼν στεφανίτης* like the great panhellenic games. Here, in addition to the names of some of the artists, we know of two actual productions, Euripides' *Herakles* and Archedstratos' *Antaios*, and an Oslo papyrus has given us two possible examples of actors' soli. The three-actor rule was still observed in the mid-third century. Between 128 and 98 B.C. the Athenians sent four *theoploiai* to Delphi, and dramatic performances—extracts, perhaps, rather than whole plays—were given.

Appendix I is the most interesting part of the book, but unfortunately it is also the most controversial. S. traces the development of the chorus down to Imperial times, and argues that, whereas by the time of Menander the comic chorus had evolved into an undifferentiated *κῶμος*, the tragic chorus of its very nature must have preserved a fairly close relation to the actors. Turning to the fragments, he says that the Gyges *rhesis* 'is now believed to be Hellenistic'—it is not so believed by Page or by the present reviewer, and certainly no conclusive argument has been brought to prove it. In arguing that the fifteen



members of the chorus of Ezekiel's *Exagoge* may have represented the six daughters of Raguel, he refers to Aeschylus' fifty Suppliants, being unaware apparently that Pollux reports the Aeschylean chorus as fifty. To account for the ten-foot-high stage of Hellenistic times, he suggests that the tragedians will have found it useful as emphasising the semi-divine status of heroes who in fact talked and acted like men—a development to be associated with the *onkos* mask and the thick-soled buskin. On the other hand the chorus is described in the Aristotelian *Problems*, which S. assigns to the Hellenistic period, as κηδευτῆς ἀπρακτοῦ; and when we compare this with Aristotle's own demand that the chorus should be treated as one of the actors, it is clear that a change of dramatic emphasis had occurred to make a high stage and neglect of the lower level feasible. But these explanations are completely unsound. First, a high stage would be less productive of portentous effect and also much more costly than the *onkos* mask and the high-soled buskin; and if, as I believe and S. accepts as possible, there was already a low stage in classical times, the change appears even more gratuitous. Second, it has been held that Book XIX of the *Problems* is Aristotelian in substance (Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, p. 161), and certainly there is no justification for S.'s view that the passages mentioned above are in conflict—κηδευτῆς ἀπρακτοῦ would hardly be unfair as a description of the chorus of *Agamemnon*. In Appendix II S. argues successfully against the belief that particular festivals were monopolised by particular guilds of τεχνῖται—the κοινά were trade unions rather than theatrical companies, and served their members without limiting their freedom.

Dr Sifakis has very competently assembled the material on which any interesting and valid conclusions about the nature of Hellenistic drama will have to be based.

A. D. FITTON BROWN.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

SATYROS. *Vita di Euripide*. Ed. G. Arrighetti. (Studi classici e orientali, xiii.) Pisa: Libreria Goliardica. 1964. Pp. ix + 168. Lire 5,500.

The publication by A. S. Hunt of considerable fragments of the *Life of Euripides* by Satyros in 1912 (*P. Oxy.* ix 1176) was followed by other editions of the text, by von Arnim in 1913 and by Kumaniecki in 1929. Also in the twenty years following the *editio princeps* numerous articles on text and interpretation were published. Now Arrighetti gives us the most comprehensive study of these fragments that has so far appeared. His book contains a bibliography, an introduction of thirty pages dealing chiefly with the place of Satyros in the development of literary biography, a text of all fragments with apparatus criticus, a translation into Italian of all that is trans-

latable, a full commentary and indices rerum, verborum et locorum. The author also includes for convenience of reference the ancient γένος, reprinted from Schwartz' edition of the Scholia to Euripides, the relevant passages from A. Gellius and the *Suda*, and two epigrams on the death of Euripides (*P.A.* vii 44, 51).

In his Introduction, a good deal of which is concerned with criticism of the relevant chapters of Leo's *Die griechische-romische Biographie* and articles by the same author, Arrighetti argues strongly that so-called peripatetic biography should be regarded as merely a biographical element in works concerned mainly with other matters, such as literary history and criticism. Here he seems to draw rather too sharp a distinction between biography for its own sake and biography as ancillary to some other purpose; he also perhaps places too much reliance on inferences from titles and fragments. He ends with a good account of the characteristics of Satyros as a biographer. Here we are on somewhat firmer ground, assuming that the present work is a fair specimen. Arrighetti considers that the achievement of Satyros was not the addition of new material (which could hardly be expected), but the presentation of existing material in a new way, and in a combination of elements not hitherto found together in biographical writings, viz. dialogue form, the free use of quotation from an author and his contemporaries to illustrate his life and thought, and the careful arrangement of material partly in separate categories, such as τέχνη and ἦθος, and partly chronologically. He may be right, though here again the question is whether the evidence is really sufficient to establish his points.

As regards the text, criticism here belongs mainly to the sphere of papyrology, in which I have no competence, and I will only offer a rather tentative general conclusion that although scholars will have to take account of this edition, which contains a number of suggestions by the author, they will still need to have recourse to the *editio princeps*, which has not yet been superseded. The commentary is detailed and learned, with full discussion of the contributions of modern scholars, and much useful material has been collected here. Conclusions are sometimes very speculative, as is inevitable in dealing with the more fragmentary parts of the text. In his preface Arrighetti reasonably disclaims any attempt to relate the work of Satyros to modern criticism of Euripides. There are however some general points within his terms of reference on which more systematic treatment seems desirable and on which general conclusions would be welcome; e.g. the whole question of Satyros' use of quotations from Euripides and elsewhere, and the extent to which the biographical tradition was in fact based on inferences from the plays of Euripides and Old Comedy; or the question what inferences can be drawn from Satyros about the relationship of Euripides to his own contemporaries.

P. T. STEVENS.

Bedford College, London.



STRABO. **Géographie.** Tome 2 (livres iii et iv). Ed. and trans. F. Lasserre. (Ass<sup>n</sup> G. Budé.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1966. Pp. x + 243. 3 maps. Price not stated.

We welcome the fact that Strabo's *Geography* is beginning to appear, in the Budé series of texts with parallel translations into French, through the expert scholarship of Professor F. Lasserre, whose former work on Strabo is well known. The present volume ii, comprising Strabo's Book III (Graeco-Roman Spain) and Book IV (Transalpine Gaul) has appeared before volume i which will contain the life of Strabo, his first two Books, and the manuscript tradition of his whole geographical work.

The text and translation of Books III and IV are each preceded by an admirable exposition of the date, plan, and sources (used by Strabo) relevant to each book. The reader can learn with ease the extent to which Strabo relied, in both books, chiefly on Posidonius, on a more recent Roman source—probably C. Asinius Pollio either through a translation into Greek or through Timagenes—on an Augustan or Tiberian work about Augustus' achievement in Spain and Gaul, and on a few minor sources. Those who study the Greek text of Strabo should note two things not revealed by Lasserre's *sigla* on pp. ix and x—that a lost archetype is the ultimate source even of the best extant manuscript Codex A (Cod. Par. gr. 1397), and that the *Epitome Vaticana* was based on manuscript tradition which still preserved the last part of Book VII. In the course of Strabo's narrative Lasserre provides short exegetic notes; these are supplemented by an invaluable series of additional notes on special points and a list of place-names and names of other geographical features with 'Latinised' or 'Gallicised' modern equivalents and, when they are needed, relevant comments. Whereas for Strabo's Book III on Spain (and Portugal) we have a modern commentary by A. García de Bellido (1945) and one by A. Schulten (1952), there are in effect none yet for Book IV except now that of Lasserre in this volume—a fact which makes Lasserre's work on his own country specially welcome. Where opinions differ, he seems to me to be fair and judicious in his presentation of both sides of the probabilities. Examples are the problems connected with Strabo's use of his sources; the interpretation of *εὐπαροδόστερα* in III, 2, 11; and the location of the Cassiterides (III, 5, 11).

Lasserre's text of Books III and IV forms a sound basis for the study of Strabo and the critical notes (not overfull) are both relevant and concise. In about fifty places Lasserre makes his own contribution to the emendation of the textual tradition. It appears to me fair to say that all his suggestions are possible, some strongly probable, and some certainly right. Examples are: in IV, 21, 1 *Οὐβίσκων* for *Ἰοσκῶν* (*Ἰόσκων* one cod.; *Οὐβίσκων* Xylander; *Ἰόσκων* Kramer)—compare Vivisci in Pliny, *NH* IV 108 (for which Lasserre gives 33 by some error); and in IV, 4, 1 *Ῥοστμίνους* for *Τυμίνους* in comparison

with *Ῥοστμ[δα]μίνους* in I, 4, 5, and Avienius's *Oestymnis* (elsewhere *Oestrymn-*); and such simpler things as *τούτων* for *τοῦ* (with *τοῦ* in a margin of Cod. Par. gr. 1394) in III, 5, 4, and *ρέωνδ'* for *ρέων* *ρεῖ δ'* (*ρεῖ δ'* Cod. Athous Vatopedii 655 and edd.) in IV, 3, 2. He resists the temptation to describe Romanised Spaniards as *τογαῖτοι* (Meineke) or *τογαῖτοι* (Siebenkees) instead of *στολαῖτοι*, in III, 2, 15.

The translation is straightforward and clear, reads easily (to an Englishman at least), and is accurate though here and there somewhat free or full for clarity's sake. Instances of the latter quality are on pp. 44, 77, 127, 129, 136. An example centred on a single word is at III, 5, 10 where we have *elle* (*sc. l'épine*) *pousse sur des arbustes ou sur une plante herbacée* for Strabo's *Χαμαίζηλος ἡ βοτάνη* (which produces the *ἀκανθα* in question). But in places there are unintended inadequacies. Thus in III, 5, 11 *situées en pleine mer au bord de la côte des Artabres* for *πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρτάβρων λιμένος* is hardly fair to the Greekless reader or to Strabo. The identification of *βρέον* in IV, 4, 1 (p. 157) is probably the sea-weed *Ulva lactuca*, called by us 'green laver'. In a supplementary note on p. 189 mention is made of *la cochenille du chêne kermès*. Fair enough, but note that the modern cochineal (as distinct from the kermes-insect) was unknown to the Greek and Roman world since it comes from an insect of the warmer parts of America.

I have noted a few misprints. On p. 96 (French), footnote 1, *Erläuterungen* should be *Erläuterungen* and on p. 199 line eleven *apiifolia* should be *apiifolia* ('celery-leaved'); the plant mentioned by Strabo is indeed one of the poisonous hemlock water-dropworts. On p. 202, sixth line from the foot, *chamaerops* should rather be *Chamaerops*. Trivial are the omission here and there of a full-stop and some inconsistency in the use of *j* in Latin. On p. 31 (French) note 3—M. J. Henderson should be (Mrs) M. I. Henderson.

E. H. WARMINGTON.

*Birkbeck College, University of London.*

PLUTARCH. **Moralia.** xi. (854 c-874 c, 911 c-919 f). Ed. and trans. L. Pearson and F. H. Sandbach. (Loeb.) London: W. Heinemann. 1965. pp. xii + 242. £1.5.0.

It can only be greeted with satisfaction that vol. 11 of Plutarch's *Moralia* in the Loeb edition has appeared, especially as it contains the treatise *On the Malice of Herodotus*, which has now been made available for the first time since 1893 when Bernardakis produced his quite inadequate edition. Mr Lionel Pearson of Stanford University has revised the Greek text thoroughly from photostatic copies of the two extant manuscripts, and his text is a critical edition of independent value, far superior to its predecessor. In his report of the manuscripts Mr



Pearson adds a number of readings either omitted or wrongly reported by Bernardakis. In 859D *Ἀμβρακίας*, the reading in E, has been missed out. *Ἀμπρακίας* in B is probably due to conjecture and E's reading right (cf. Plu. Per. 17.2, Pyrrh. 6.4, 8.11; also Kleine Pauly s.v.). In 856F the indisputably correct text is *λέγουμεν*, while both manuscripts have *λέγομεν*. We are told that the o is a mere smudge in E, but it ought to have been added that the smudge has the distinct shape of an omikron and cannot possibly have been an omega. Likewise, the information that the a in *ἐπελθόντας* (861F) is blotted, is, if not incorrect, misleading, since the blotted letter does not bear the faintest resemblance to any letter but a. The crases have tacitly been put in the text; one might have expected to find the information (once and for all, in the preface or at the first occurrence) that they have no manuscript authority, but originate from Bernardakis. Apart from these small points, probing seems to show that the manuscript readings have been reported accurately.

A number of new corrections have been suggested by Mr Pearson. The first one transposes the very first words, thus eliminating the lacuna; this is not convincing (for Mr Pearson's reasoning in detail see AJP 1959). The supplements in 862A and 871C are much superior to the old ones suggested by Turnebus and Bernardakis. *παλαιούς* in 857D is hardly right. In three or four passages the editor prefers to assume an unindicated lacuna rather than emend the transmitted text, presumably rightly, with the exception of the lacuna assumed in 862B, where the transmitted text means 'according to the usual version, Herodotus detracts from the victory when he gives the numbers of the dead', i.e. 'if one compares Herodotus's statement to the usual version, one finds that etc.'. It is a service done to the text that some 'Verschlimmbesserungen' have been moved to the apparatus, e.g. Reiske's *λέγειν* (855F; the fact is obscured by the lapsus in the note; read: *λέγων*] *λέγειν* Reiske). But others still remain in the text. Some of those that ought to be pensioned off are: *προῦποτίθεται* (856D; the transmitted *προαποτίθεται* means 'places his praise first, viz. before the censure'; cf. Plu. 2.68 6D); *δωότης* (857A; *θεωότης* is also found in this sense in Isoc. 11.26, and in Plu. Sull. 6.13, where it is correctly retained by Ziegler); *Δήμητρα* (857C; the manuscripts have *Δήμητραν* also in Plu. 2.367C, 942D, 994A, 1119E; in one passage, Eum. 6.9-11, cod. L has *Δήμητρα* also the *dative* after the first declension is found, 2.586F and In Arat. 7); *Μυτιληναίων* (858A; *Μιτυληνή* is the later form in use in Plu.'s day); *Ἀλκμεωνίδας*, (858C; from passages outside De Herodoti Malignitate we learn that Plu. used the word in the form *Ἀλκμαιωνίδα*. It is only when quoting Herodotus that he employs the other form; in between the quotations in 862C-F the Attic form is found in E also in Plu.'s own comments, but this will be due to a scribe not having noticed or understood Plu.'s alternating use of the two forms); *ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς*

(860C; if a correction is really needed, one should prefer *τε ὁ Κρητικὸς <συγγραφεὺς>* suggested by Schwarz in RE s.v. Antenor and accepted in FGtH); *τῶν . . . συγκεχυμένων* (861B; the text does not yield an intelligible sense as printed by the editor; 'something may be missing from the text here' is a far too cautious remark; the best thing would be to put what is found in E with a crux); *ἔκπη* (862A; fusion or confusion of Artemis and Hecate was so common in Plu.'s day that there is nothing surprising in finding Hecate here instead of Artemis; *τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι, φησὶν* (862C; Plu. starts his quotation with a couple of dialect forms, thus drawing his readers' attention to the fact that he is quoting, *φησὶν* is quite unnecessary); *ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμάχιας* (863B; see Kühner-Gerth § 552); *διὰ κολιακίαν* (864D; this is too ingenious to be right; nor are any of the suggestions in the apparatus acceptable; why has Wyttenbach's *δι' ἀδικίαν*—the best of the proposed supplements—been suppressed? cf. *φενδῶς καὶ ἀδίκως*, 865B); *τοὺς Ναξίους* (869A; much rather than an error for *τοὺς, αὐτοὺς* is the correct reading and *Ναξίους* is a gloss). Where the manuscript readings differ, Mr Pearson has usually made the right choice. However, in 867B we should read *ἄχρις* with B (cf. Kühner-Blass § 72c), in 873D *συνήδεισαν* with E (the form found in Strabo, VT and NT, etc.). In 870E the variant *ποκ' ἐναίοντες* found on the remains of the monument should be mentioned.

The numerous quotations from Herodotus present an editor with a separate problem. It is common knowledge that people in antiquity quoted from memory without verifying to a very much wider extent than people of the present day. Therefore, one is a priori entitled to expect numerous and considerable aberrations from the texts quoted. Even quite false quotations like the one about Aristomenes in 856F may appear. It has been common practice with editors to supplement and correct the quotations from our text of Herodotus. In the cases where our manuscripts indicate a lacuna we can do nothing but supplement the text from Herodotus. But where no such indication is given we should add or change only if we find internal criteria for so doing, not merely because we find a discrepancy between Herodotus and Plu.'s quotation. Mr Pearson has succeeded in moving a number of these 'corrections' from the text to the apparatus, but some he has left in the text, and he has also added two or three himself. In 857B the manuscript E has *νησὶν ἦεν ἐπὶ*. This the editor in a much too ingenious way explains (AJP 1959) as a corruption of Herodotus's *τῇσι νησὶν ἐπὶ*, which he prints. However, B has *νησὶν ἰθὺ ἐπὶ*, and there is no reason why this should not be what Plu. wrote; he simply misremembered the exact wording of the quotation and became more Herodotean than Herodotus himself, by omitting the article and writing *ἰθὺ ἐπὶ* (with an unnecessary hiatus) for *ἐπὶ*. In 856F read *λόγους*. In 858A *ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων περί* is wrongly printed for B's *ἀνθρ-*



ωπλήων περί πραγμάτων (the accent in B shows nothing; it is the less correct but not uncommon anastrophe because the adjective precedes the preposition). In 859C read ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίας (which means 'to Messene' and makes good sense). In 862F read γε εἶναι Ἀθηναίων (Plu. obviously only quoted the main point of the sentence). In 863D read σφίσι προ{σ}εἶναι.

Some wrongly attributed emendations selected at random are (I quote page and note of the present edition): 8<sup>4</sup> (Wytttenbach), 24<sup>4</sup> (Basel ed.), 25<sup>7</sup> (Stephanus), 26<sup>4</sup> ὄντας (Bernardakis, Madvig suggested εἶναι), 32<sup>4</sup> (Basel ed.), 44<sup>2</sup> (Stephanus, unattributed by Mr Pearson), 106<sup>8</sup> (Dio Chrysostom 37, i.e. Favorinus).

It is to be regretted that Mr Pearson does not subdivide the pages of the Greek text correctly. He has taken over the divisions given by Bernardakis; the latter seems to have derived them, in an inaccurate way, from the ed. of 1620, while the normative divisions are to be found in Wechel's ed. of 1599.

The translation is fluent and elegant, but at the same time accurate and correct. Perhaps a better version of the last words of ch. 29 could have been found. In the last line of p. 75 'leave' would be better than 'try to escape'. Whatever Plu. wants to convey when he writes βάρβαρος, is not easy to know, but perhaps one should be cautious and avoid the word 'barbarian', where 'foreign, foreigner, Persian, enemy, etc.' will serve instead (e.g. 855C, 858F).

The notes on the contents are adequate and judicious, with one exception: p. 53 note c and p. 54 note a are incompatible; why the treatment of the much vexed question has been divided into two notes at all, I do not understand. We might have expected a note ad 858A-B, informing us that the story about Pittacus is only known from late sources, and that it probably did not exist in Herodotus's day. Ad 860E one misses R. W. Macan's suggestion (in his commentary on Herodotus, repeated by How and Wells) as to what Herodotus may have meant when writing 'Carian Zeus'.

Of misprints in the Greek text I have only found one, ἐπεμβαλεν (868A), taken over from Bernardakis. The parenthesis in note c p. 107 contains three misprints; it is to read: 'Tod, Gk. Hist. Inscr. i, no. 16; L. H. Jeffery, The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece, pl. 21 fig. 29'.

The other piece contained in this volume of Plu.'s *Moralia* is his 'Causes of Natural Phenomena'. This piece is of much less interest to the average classicist than 'On the Malice of Herodotus'. Also it is already accessible in the new Teubner edition. As the editor, Mr F. H. Sandbach of Trinity College, Cambridge, points out in his good and useful introduction, we are probably faced with a collection of notes that were never meant for publication. They are likely to have been found in Plu.'s papers by his heirs and published posthumously. The language is often terse and scientific, sometimes it is brief to the point of obscurity as ones private notes tend to become,

sometimes not very clear or very logically arranged. It is well to bear this character of the piece in mind when treating it critically. E.g., one need not necessarily assume that the alternative answer to question 23 was ever written.

Mr Sandbach gives a good and judicious text. He offers twenty-odd conjectures of his own, partly presented here for the first time. Two examples from a number of good corrections are *πηγνυμένας* (918B) and *Μνησθεος[ιατρός]* (918D). On the other hand, the lacuna stated in 918E is doubtful. In 916C mention should have been made of Pohlentz's *ἀπεικάζειν <ὁμοίως> πολέποδι*. The end of no. 29 is beyond rescue, and critics would do their readers a service if they sometimes decided to τοῖς κεκρατημένοις ἐπὶ τῶν νοσημάτων μὴ ἐγχειρεῖν.

The translation is good and, in view of the text it renders, fluent. The principles stated on p. 147 for use of < > in the translation are excellent. But in his actual translation, Mr Sandbach sometimes, somewhat unnecessarily, brackets phrases that are not open to question, but are simply indispensable if the sentence is to be readable English. Examples are 'the wheat's' in no. 16 and 'should we adduce' in no. 21. Of other things concerning the translation I shall only mention that the top four lines of p. 155 are not very successful.

P. A. HANSEN.

Copenhagen.

PLOTINUS. Ed. and trans. A. H. Armstrong. Vol. 3. *Enneads* iii. 1-9. (Loeb.) London: W. Heinemann. 1967. Pp. viii + 417. £1 5s.

The publication of Armstrong's Plotinus in the Loeb Classical Library (though still only half accomplished) will be hailed both by the professional scholar and by the general reader in search of the meaning of an ancient philosopher whose Greek is forbiddingly difficult. The translator is well known as an indefatigable and highly competent worker in this thorny and yet richly rewarding field. The time was ripe for a new English translation to match Bréhier's French, Harder's German, and Cilento's Italian. The unprofessional student of the *Enneads* in need of a literal version rather than the deliberately literary rendering of MacKenna will say of Armstrong what Plotinus is reported to have done about Ammonius: τοῦτον ἐζήτοον.

Armstrong modestly disclaims any pretensions to competence as a textual critic and almost always follows Henry-Schwyzler, so justly praised by B. S. Page as removing bewilderingments once for all from the path of future translators. The obvious difference from MacKenna's version is very well stated: 'I have had a better critical text at my disposal than he had, and have tried to give a plainer version and one closer to the Greek'. It is about as easy to discuss



Armstrong's achievement without reference to his inspired predecessor as to criticise the Revised (or any other modern) English Bible without regard to the Authorised Version. (Perhaps as a test passage we might take I, viii, 4.) What Dodds has called 'the sensitive workmanship of the long shapely sentences' may be missing. The result, however, is a business-like, sound rendering.

Rather more than half of the Preface is devoted to the Thought of Plotinus (xi-xxviii). The admission is made that in spite of all efforts he does not produce a completely consistent account of the matter of the sensible world. Armstrong justly mentions 'other fluctuations and tensions besides this major one', (xiv) but contrasts the fundamental coherence of the *Enneads* with the conflicting jumble of the *Hermetica*. He also stresses (xxii) the cosmogonical problem: the lower phase of Universal Soul 'is in fact (though Plotinus is reluctant to admit it) a fourth distinct hypostasis, and has its own name, Nature'.

Each Treatise is prefaced with a short introductory note and a synopsis. Attached to I, 9 is a passage from the commentator Elias with the title 'Plotinus on Voluntary Death'. Armstrong rightly deals with III, 1 and III, 2 as a single treatise on Providence.

Armstrong readily accepts Harder's emendations, e.g. in I, ii, 4, I, vi, 8, II, viii, 1, II, ix, 1, and III, i, 3 (though not always, e.g. his rejection of  $\pi\upsilon\rho\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \gamma\eta\eta\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  in II, iii, 16) and Theiler's attractive  $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$  I, viii, 8,  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$  II, ix, 10,  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$  III, ii, 7, and  $\pi\omicron\eta\eta\rho\acute{o}\nu$  III, ii, 17. He follows Heigl in emending  $\omicron\iota$  in II, ix, 14 to  $\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . Harder's  $\sigma\acute{o}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu$  (adopted in the H-S Oxford text) is silently introduced. Sleeman's  $\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\omicron\nu\text{-}\omicron\iota\varsigma$  in III, i, 5 must surely be right, as Armstrong's note states on p. 26 (its proper place, however, is on p. 23). Theiler's 'excellent emendation' in III, i, 1 *ad fin.*—the insertion of  $\gamma\omicron\nu\eta$  before  $\eta\ \gamma\omicron\nu\eta$ —is utilised. No mention is made that in II, iv, 16 the deletion of  $\sigma\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\ \iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma$ , which Armstrong upholds, is due to Harder, and the reading of the Oxford text at I, 1, 5, 23  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$  might have better supported the translation 'movement out'. Page in the third edition of MacKenna's version adopted at III, vii, 11.10 the reading  $\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$  for  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$ , which was MacKenna's own 'brilliant emendation' (though in the critical apparatus of the Oxford text mistakenly attributed to Dodds), a reading, however, about which Armstrong says nothing.

Armstrong is determined to translate  $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$  by 'well-being' (Vol. I, p. 170, n. 1). Surely 'happiness' can mean 'being in a good state' 'possession of good'—other translators find no problem here, e.g. MacKenna has 'True Happiness', Bréhier 'bonheur', Harder 'Glückseligkeit' Cilento 'l'esser beati'. The opening words of I, iv, are rendered 'the good life and well-being': Rist does better with 'flourishing and happiness.' In III, iv, 6  $\delta\ \sigma\pi\omicron\nu\delta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  enters as 'the nobly good man'. Why not 'the ideal man'? But such criticisms as these do not affect the final verdict, that Armstrong's translation is

faithful, neat and lively. The remaining volumes will be eagerly awaited.

R. E. WITT.

London.

BASIL. *Lettres*. Tome 3. Ed. and trans. Y. Courtonne. (Assn. G. Budé.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1966. Pp. vi + 243. Price not stated.

This is the third and last volume of St Basil's letters published in the Budé series and containing the letters 219-366. (Vol. 1, letters 1-100, was published in 1957, and vol. 2, letters 101-218, in 1961.)

In previous reviews (*Gnomon* 31, 1959, 123 ff. and 35, 1963, 262 ff.) I have dealt with the two first volumes, and the remarks I made there are still valid: the MSS basis is, in my opinion, too narrow; further it is regrettable that references have not been given (in the margins) to Migne's P.G., which would have been of great help to the reader. As for the problems of authenticity C. seems not to be acquainted with the research of the last decades (e.g. in this volume the correspondence between Bas. and Libanius, letters 335-59, between Bas. and Apollinarius, letters 361-4). To letter 366 he just observes that it 'est d'une authenticité douteuse'. As a matter of fact this 'letter' has proved to be an extract from the *Stromateis* of Clemens from Alexandria (W. Völker in *Vigiliae Christianae* 7, 1953).

And now let us examine a few details of the text itself and the critical apparatus. There are some cases where C. has either adopted his own readings or followed the text of the Benedictine edition (1730) against the MSS. I shall only mention two of these passages. 229, 1, 5 The conjecture  $\sigma\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\nu$  ( $\tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\ \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ ) seems unneeded, as the MSS LC give an excellent sense:  $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \eta\ \alpha\theta\rho\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\ \dots\ \mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \dots\ \acute{o}\rho\mu\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu\ \omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\psi\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\ \pi\rho\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \dots$ —326, 1 The plausible conjecture  $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$  is almost 300 years old; it derives from Fr. Combefis († 1679) whose name indubitably should have been mentioned here (same neglect 359, 4: conjecture of J. B. Cotelier, † 1686).

Now I give a brief selection of passages to which I have objections to make. 227 addr.  $\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\omega\nu\iota\alpha$  and 228 addr.  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omega\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ : unnecessary inconsistency.—232, 23 For both philological and rhythmical reasons  $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$  (MS C) is, in my opinion, the correct reading.—235, 2, 9. We must without any doubt read  $\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\tau\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ . According to A. Cavallin (*Studien zu den Briefen des hl. Basiliius*, 1944, p. 54) not only M but also P has this reading.—239, 2, 4 Why does C. introduce the form  $\Sigma\alpha\gamma\kappa\tau\eta\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , although all the MSS belonging to the best family Aa have  $-\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (as indeed also the previous editions)? The same remark concerns letters 253-6.

In his important work mentioned above Cavallin has



proposed textual improvements to 244, 2, 21; 256, 10; 265, 1, 20; 318, 5. They seem almost completely convincing to me but are not at all mentioned by C. (Cavallin's book, however, is quoted by C. vol. ii, p. 104, note 1).—258, 1, 7 app. *μικρῶν: σμικρῶν* VM; cf. 272, 1, 26 app. *σμικρῶν: μικρῶν* BLC, lack of consistency, all the more as the two passages are quite parallel. In both cases we should read with MSS VM(P) *τῶν οὕτω σμικρῶν*.—341, 3 app. *πάσης λογίας: περιλογίας* (!) LC. This strange word is explained by the fact that it is preceded in the text by the relative *ὅ*. Accordingly LC have *ὅπερ λογίας* (*ὡς... ἀλλότριον*).

As in the preceding volumes the French translation is on the whole good. I confine myself to one important remark. The letter 286 is said to be addressed 'A Commentarésios', and this remarkable person is also found in the index of personal names p. 232. As a matter of fact the word in question is the title of an official—Misprints etc. are not common and do not in any case affect the understanding.

Finally I have to say a few words about the quotations from the Bible. In reviewing this volume I have specially tried to check the quotations made by Basil and I have found that C. has neglected to point out a number of even quite obvious quotations<sup>1</sup> (not to mention the biblical allusions; their number is Legion). I have drawn up a (certainly not complete) list of more than twenty manifest quotations not indicated by C. among which I mention the following five: 226, 3, 24–5—Eph. 4, 5; 251, 4, 22—1 Cor. 16, 13;—257, 2, 1–2—Eph. 3, 13; 258, 4, 6–7—2 Tim. 2, 26; 286, 14–15—Eph. 6, 4.

STIG Y. RUDBERG.

*The University of Lund, Sweden.*

DAIN (A.) **Traité de métrique grecque.** (Tradition de l'humanisme, 1.) Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1965. Pp. 275. Fr. 24.—

As Professor Dain's *Leçon sur la métrique grecque*, published in 1944, is little known and hard to obtain in England, students of metre will welcome this posthumously-published work as a revelation of the background to recent metrical studies in France. It is easy to understand Dain's enormous influence as a teacher of metre, for his book conveys enthusiasm for the subject with lucidity and elegance. Specialists may find in it much to interest and also a certain amount to anger them, but as a general introduction to the subject and repository of facts it is no substitute for the works of Maas and Snell.

Dain owes some of his clarity to his dogmatism. In his preface he speaks modestly of 'l'ignorance où nous

sommes, dans trop de cas, de l'origine et de l'évolution historique des mètres grecs'. But to fulfil the aims stated in this same preface ('fournir [a l'helléniste] le moyen de savoir comment le poète grec sentait le vers qu'il écrivait; essayer enfin de rendre certains de ces effets sensibles, au moins partiellement, à une oreille française') it is obvious that Dain must admit a great deal of speculation. But his tone is uniformly, sometimes dismayingly, confident: p. 71, § 91: 'On a longuement épilogué sur la raison d'être de la loi dite de Porson. La vérité est...'; p. 162, § 255 (on determination of period-end) 'Ce problème, de soi assez facile à résoudre...'.<sup>2</sup>

The system by which Dain derives as many of the main types of metre as he possibly can from iambic and trochaic contributes, too, apparent simplicity. But it also involves failure to distinguish between *longum* and *anceps* and extensive use of anacalasis, which conjures up a bizarre picture of Greek poets shuffling metrical units about like pieces in a puzzle: p. 32, § 29: 'Si l'on déplace le choriamb et qu'on l'insère entre les deux pieds de la dipodie iambique initiale...'. This 'genealogical' theory also conflicts with some of the little evidence we have for the historical development of Greek metre. For example, the later poets who allowed the base of the glyconic to take the form *uuu* and rejected *uu* would seem to have been more conscious of its iambic origins than earlier ones.

Dain continues the long-standing and deplorable practice in metrical writing of stating that this or that occurs, without saying how often or where. Contrast, for example, his treatment of elision between hexameter and pentameter in elegiacs (p. 151, § 236: 'Certains poètes admettent l'élision...') with Maas' (*Greek Metre*, § 139). Sometimes, indeed, he is worse than vague, as at p. 128, § 200: 'Aristophane use volontiers du glyconien avec un anapest initial'. In fact, *Ran.* 1322, which he quotes as an example, is paratragic and unique. On dochmiacs (p. 143, § 244) he says: 'Eschyle préfère la forme *uuu-u*—tandis que Sophocle affectionne la forme *uu-u*—'. N.C. Conomis (*Hermes*, Bd. 92, 1964) finds *uu-u*—127 times in Aeschylus and only 33 times in Sophocles. I have made an independent count with almost identical results (129 and 37).

In short, Dain's book, despite real and considerable merits, is in certain respects, a bad model, for the two most dangerous enemies of metrical studies are inaccuracy and the *esprit de système*.

L. P. E. PARKER.

*University of Newcastle upon Tyne.*

GEORGIEV (V. I.) **Introduzione alla storia delle lingue indoeuropee.** (Incunabula Graeca, 9.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1966. Pp. vii + 477. Lire 10,000.

The title of this book suggests a comprehensive handbook of Indo-European philology. It is in fact

<sup>1</sup> This is the more regrettable as the quotations from the Bible in the Fathers of the Church are now systematically collected at the university of Strasbourg under the direction of Prof. A. Benoit.



something very different—a review of those developments which have most characterised the past fifty years of Indo-European studies and have contributed most to the re-assessment of the problem of the relationship and prehistory of the Indo-European languages. More important still, it is no mere historical survey made from an impartial point of view, but a synopsis of the extremely varied and fruitful work of its author in many fields. The first edition (Moscow, 1958; in Russian) was an amplification of a course of lectures given in the University of Moscow in 1956; the second edition has been modified to take into account reviews of the first, and augmented by the inclusion of subsequent work by Georgiev himself and others. Based as it is on earlier publications, on which scholars have already had the opportunity to express their opinions, it provides an occasion less for detailed criticism than for comment on some aspects of Georgiev's general position and methods.

In the introductory chapter Georgiev lays stress on the historical character of comparative philology. In a brief review of the main features and trends of Indo-European studies since their origin, he combines a salutary rebuttal of the anti-historical position of certain structuralists with a recognition of the value of their concepts and methods as applied to historical linguistics. He sees the history of language as part of the history of human society and institutions, and, in conformity with his dialectic standpoint, rejects what he calls the metaphysical and idealistic approach of those linguists who distinguish between phonetic (and in general linguistic) laws and laws of nature. It may be objected not only to his point of view but also to that which he attacks that an attempt to settle this question by ideological considerations, whether dialectic or metaphysical, represents an over-simplification; that the problem is to determine the most suitable methods of interpreting observed regularities in particular fields of data, and that the theoretical basis of such methods is statistical.

One of the striking developments of Indo-European philology in the past half century has been the accretion of new material, not only as a result of the decipherment of formerly unknown languages but by the recovery of items of vocabulary from otherwise unattested languages through the analysis of place-names and of loan-words in known languages. Such research, in which Georgiev is distinguished, has a mainly etymological basis. The criteria of sound etymology can be stated with some precision, and are universally recognised, but their application is subject to individual judgement, and there are few if any linguists who have not more or less often set them aside. In these respects Georgiev is no exception. Among the fields which best illustrate his use of etymological method is his 'Pelagian' theory. Greek is remarkable among Indo-European languages for the high proportion of its vocabulary that cannot be accounted for either by the phonetic development of Greek itself or as loan-words from

known languages. Georgiev has shown that a number of such words can be consistently explained on the hypothesis that they are borrowings from an otherwise unknown Indo-European language, which on historical grounds he calls Pelagian. The theory is one to which there is no *a priori* objection; its probability depends on the worth of the etymologies on which it is based. Of the examples given on pp. 112–13 the greater number evidently satisfy the chief requirements—regularity of phonetic correspondence and similarity or at least compatibility of meaning between the compared forms; most of them, moreover, are not mere 'Wurzelvergleichen' but comparisons between stems or whole words. The theory has no doubt been over-exploited by its author as well as by others, but this is no argument for rejecting it; if it rests on a sufficient number of good etymologies, it is not overthrown by the addition of any number of weaker comparisons.

The difficulties of etymologising place-names, when these do not belong to a known language and their meaning cannot be directly determined, are admittedly great. Attempts to supply the semantic equation are made by various methods; for example, by assuming that the names of a particular locality or geographical feature in different languages are equivalent in meaning, either by translation from one language to another or because they all denote the same physical characteristic. Thus, as Georgiev's examples show, the Hungarian and Rumanian names of a given river may be virtually translations of one another. On this assumption a considerable number of ancient names in the north Balkan area have been provided with reasonably probable etymologies by the work of a number of scholars, including Georgiev, who has sought on this basis to establish the phonological characteristics and areas of extension of Thracian, Phrygian and Dacian as distinct Indo-European languages and to prove the origin of Albanian from Dacian. Georgiev's application of the method to the river-names of western Asia Minor seems to have achieved a lower degree of probability for two reasons: first, because the Hellenisation of the area precludes the possibility of semantic continuity between the ancient and the Turkish names; secondly, because some of them require special assumptions about their phonetic development which make the proposed etymologies less direct and obvious—for example, the labial fricative and its representation by *v* in *Κάστρος* from \**ka(m)bi-* and \**srouos*, or the shortening of the vowel in the first syllable of *Σκάμωδρος* from \**skā[yā]-mant(s)* \**dra(wa)s*.

Two sections of the book raise questions of method in decipherment, those on Linear A and Etruscan. In the absence of bilingual aids, the decipherment of texts in an unknown language requires the fulfilment of one, and preferably more than one, of the following conditions: close systematic resemblance to a known language, sufficient variety of context to enable the meaning of words and forms to be inferred from them (the combinatory method), the analogy of texts in a



known language which may be presumed similar in form and content to those to be deciphered. In the Linear A texts Georgiev finds two languages: a Greek dialect, which he considers the precursor of Pamphylian, in a number of the Hagia Triadha tablets, and a form of Luvian in the rest. In the case of his alleged Greek dialect neither of the first two conditions is satisfied to a degree which compensates for the inadequacy of the other. Thus for the expression *te adu*, explained as *θῆς ἀδύς*, Attic *θεῖς ἀράδος*, the formal resemblance to Greek is not specific enough to impose this interpretation so long as the meaning is unknown, and the contexts in which it occurs are too limited to permit the meaning to be inferred from them. The third condition too is not fully observed, since on Georgiev's interpretation there would be an important formal difference between these documents and those in Linear B, namely the use of verbs in the first person singular indicative and the second person singular imperative, as well as pronouns of the third person, with no indication of the individuals to whom they refer (e.g., *ta se + i te ra seiv theis*; *no-ka je<sub>2</sub> vōya · lēs*, Attic *ἀνογα · ἔς*). The attempt to explain the other group of Linear A texts as presenting a form of Hittite or Luvian was well worth making on historical and other grounds; but it may be doubted whether it has proved successful. In order to bring out the resemblance to Hittite-Luvian Georgiev appends to his specimen texts a translation into Hittite. Whether this resemblance is adequate to support his claim may be left to the judgement of specialists in Anatolian languages, but anyone may feel some reluctance to accept such bizarre interpretations as 'salutem mittito (is *sive* iis?) Iarris! Salus, felicitas et id tibi (sit), Iarri! Salutem rege salute, Iarri!' (To whom and to what do the pronouns refer?) In the case of Etruscan both variety of context and comparison with inscriptions in Latin and other Italic languages permit a limited use of the combinatory method, by which the meanings of a fair number of words and grammatical forms had been ascertained with varying degrees of approximation. It might therefore be expected that, if Georgiev were right in claiming that Etruscan is nothing but an alphabetic form of cuneiform Hittite (p. 264), a high proportion of words already interpreted by the combinatory method would also be identifiable in Hittite. In fact this does not appear to be the case: for only two such words does he offer a Hittite connexion (*subi*, *cerixu*), and that not by finding them in Hittite texts, but by constructing for them Hittite etymologies which are far from self-evident. It is noteworthy that of two words which he translates as 'statua' one, *fles*, is interpreted by the combinatory method only, the other, *senis*, solely by its outward resemblance to a Hittite word. Georgiev's thesis, if it could be proved, would provide a welcome confirmation of the chief tradition concerning Etruscan origins; whether it is proved must depend on the agreement of Hittite specialists to accept his extension of their

domain: 'Etruscologia e una parte dell'ittitologia' (p. 264).

A section of particular interest to Classical philologists is that in which Georgiev sets out his views on the position of the Mycenaean dialect and its relation to Arcado-Cyprian and to the language of Homer. To deal with all the issues which he raises here would require a study too long for this review. His opinion that Mycenaean Greek was a *koine* is attractive as accounting for the high degree of uniformity shown in the language of documents from widely dispersed centres, in contrast to the linguistic diversity of the later dialect inscriptions. His characterisation of it as a mixed dialect originating in the imposition of proto-Aeolic on a proto-Ionic substratum raises questions of concept and method. In what sense does he intend the term 'mixed'? A dialect which shares some features with one dialect, others with another, is not on that account necessarily mixed, since the boundaries of individual dialect features are in principle independent of one another; thus the fact that Mycenaean, like Arcado-Cyprian, agrees with Ionic in *lepōs*, with Aeolic in *ἀπύ*, is not evidence that it is a mixed dialect. The existence of variant forms, such as *-ε(ι)ος* and *-ιος* in adjectives of substance (*po-ni-ke-ja*, *po-ni-ki-jo*) may indeed suggest an incompletely normalised standard language based on a diversity of dialects, but it does not follow that these variants can be identified as Ionic and Aeolic merely on the evidence of their later distribution. In particular the variation *o/a* in the representation of original syllabic liquids and nasals, which Georgiev regards as sufficient in itself to prove his thesis, requires careful interpretation. The coincidence of Mycenaean with Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic in respect of forms showing *o* or varying between *o* and *a* is far from exact, and in all these dialects the development of *o* from syllabic nasals on the one hand and syllabic liquids on the other appears to have been subject to different conditions and to require separate treatment. Simply to label the *o*-forms as Aeolic is to beg the question. Nevertheless, the explanation of Mycenaean as the product of a superstratum of Aeolic type and a substratum closer to Ionic remains an interesting possibility, with some support in Greek bronze age tradition.

These comments on methodological aspects of a limited number of subjects leave untouched many important sections of the book, in which Georgiev deals, among other things, with the established and, in his view, obsolete and misleading division of the Indo-European languages into the *centum* and *satem* groups, the relationship of Germanic and Balto-Slavic, the languages of western Asia Minor, and the bearing of all this linguistic material on the ethnography of the Balkan, Aegean and Anatolian areas and on the problem of the earliest homeland of the Indo-European speaking peoples. One aspect of the book may in conclusion be noted as especially characteristic. The author's most original contributions—the Pelasgian theory, the interpretations of



Linear A and Etruscan, the etymological study of Anatolian river-names—tend to the same result: the exclusion from the Balkan peninsula, from the Aegean and from western and central Asia Minor of any non-Indo-European element. The decipherment of Hittite and Luvian, the demonstration of the Indo-European character of Lycian and Lydian, the revelation that the language of the Linear B tablets is Greek, have independently of Georgiev's work severely restricted the field in which non-Indo-European languages may be sought. Georgiev seeks to carry this trend to its extreme conclusion, and is sometimes led beyond the limit to which many Indo-Europeanists are prepared to follow him. Nevertheless his views, whatever degree of assent they may have won, command attention in virtue of their scope and importance and of the wide learning and imaginative insight which they embody.

D. M. JONES.

Westfield College, London.

FRISK (H.) **Kleine Schriften zur Indogermanistik und zur griechischen Wortkunde.** (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, 21.) Göteborg: Institute of Classical Studies. 1966. Pp. xv + 463. Sw.kr. 50.-

It is most welcome to have in a convenient form these collected papers, now reprinted as a tribute to their distinguished author on his retirement as Rector of Göteborg University. They range in date of original publication in journals from 1929 down to 1956, and in compass from two to forty-seven pages: four of the longer papers were also published separately. Frisk surveys the whole IE. field in the course of his inquiries with enviable facility, and within this field it is Greek which individually has attracted most of his attention. This can be readily estimated from the index of words studied: Greek entries are the most numerous, accounting for just over a quarter of the total. However, Sanskrit and Italic, which come next in order of frequency, are not very far behind: they are then followed by Iranian and Armenian. Thus we can see that the major work has been in the two classical languages and in Indo-Iranian.

It is primarily as an etymologist, *Wortforscher*, that we think of Frisk in view of his principal work, the *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* still being published; and fittingly etymological word-studies occupy most of this collection. It is especially etymology in the style now most in favour, which can be summed up as 'étymologie—histoire du mot'; and of course the historical side can benefit most from the fuller treatment possible in these papers. In introducing a study of 'Etyma Armeniaca' (pp. 253 ff.), Frisk deals in short compass with some fundamental questions; one wishes that, either here or elsewhere in the collection,

he had allowed himself more space to discuss the science of etymology. He asks whether etymological inquiry has worked itself out, whether what can be certainly ascertained is now known, so that only insoluble problems remain. His answer is a firm denial, coupled with a demand for work with greater accuracy and deeper study of the history of a word's use, and its social and material context. He properly stresses the valuable assistance that can come from philological study (in the sense of *Philologie*). Frisk is not an etymologist who juggles with sound-laws and surface resemblances to produce glittering but unsubstantial hypotheses. His is a more solid and painstaking method, at the end of which uncertainty may still remain—and, what is important, be admitted to remain.

Naturally in a collection of this sort we have earlier views which the author himself may sometimes wish changed, but which must still remain. One wonders, for example, whether he would still maintain the view (highly unlikely in itself, and recently attacked from more than one quarter), that there is a sort of haplology (or, haplography?) which could explain *ἄλλοτε* as for *ἄλλοτε τε* at  $\Xi$  249 (p. 368 n.). The reviewer on this occasion enjoys an almost unfair advantage because he is able, in many cases, to refer to the mature judgement of Frisk in the *GrEtWb* on his own proposals. How then does he fare in this hardest of tests, where the judge also is on trial? I note the following adverse judgements. *ἀμυγθαλόεσσα* (pp. 124 ff., modifying an earlier explanation, but expressed with some reserve): verdict, word unexplained (without direct reference to his paper). *θεῖρα* (pp. 281 ff.): no sure explanation is available (the morphology of his own analysis is criticised). *ὀκλάζω* (pp. 289 f.): his explanation is morphologically unsatisfactory. *ῥέθος* (pp. 291 ff.): no convincing etymology, fault in the phonology of his own account. Other rejections apply to *ἀτάσθαλος* (pp. 301 ff.), *λοιδορεῖν* (pp. 351 ff.—but this was originally tentative), *εἶπερον* (pp. 422 f.), *ἀγανακτέω* (pp. 424 ff.). Such self-appraisal, which I think would be supported, must confirm our regard for the fairness and validity of his judgement.

But even if an etymology is rejected, it by no means need imply that the discussion is without value. An example of this is the paper 'Zum Typus *ἀκρό-πολις* in den idg. Sprachen' (pp. 124 ff.). This begins, and ends, with an etymological account of the Homeric *ἀμυγθαλόεσσα*. The etymology itself, deriving from *ἀμικτον* *θάλος*, or an adjective *\*ἀμυγθαλής*, is not convincing and is abandoned by Frisk himself, as has been remarked. But discussion of it entails consideration of the type of determinative compound seen more certainly in *ἀκρόπολις*, ranging generally over the IE. field, and this discussion retains its interest and value.

Among the basic requirements for an etymologist is the study of both morphology and semantics, and there is ample proof of attention to these in a number of the papers, whose purpose is not primarily, or even



not at all, etymological. Thus the opening paper deals with the morphology of the words used in IE. to express the notions 'truth' and 'falsehood'; another, with the suffix *-th-* in IE.; a third, with the negative prefix in adjective formations. The study of a limited semantic field is seen producing valuable results in the papers on names for 'temple' (of the head), and for 'man' and 'woman'.

In brief, this is a rich and stimulating collection which both instructs and, by example, encourages us to believe that many rewarding tasks still await the *Wortforscher* in IE. and no less in Greek itself.

A. C. MOORHOUSE.

University College, Swansea.

BISSINGER (M.) **Das Adjektiv μέγας in der griechischen Dichtung.** (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Beiheft K.) 2 parts. Munich: J. Kitzinger. 1966. Pp. vi + 1-262, 263-378. DM 30.80.

In this work (based on an inaugural dissertation) Dr Bissinger examines the use of the adjective μέγας throughout Greek poetry from Homer to Nonnos. The book is a typical product of German linguistic scholarship, meticulous in its grammatical study, which is combined with a socio-psychological approach; in fact, the one is explained and clarified in terms of the other, showing how developments in the usage and meaning of μέγας inevitably sprang from the Weltanschauung of the succeeding ages and were the expression of each individual author. Thus it is demonstrated, by exact examination of all the passages wherein μέγας appears, that the adjective is capable of a deeper, more psychological and subjective meaning in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad* (confirming, at least in one person's mind, that the two epics were written by people of very different mentality, perhaps even of different sex, as Samuel Butler believed), and that it gains a socio-political significance in Solon (the μεγάλοι are a danger to the state). This type of semantics is also valuable as a warning that the seemingly obvious should not be taken for granted, that even in the simplest words a profundity may lie concealed. Moreover, one is led to speculate why Greek and German, unlike English and French, possess only one adjective for the concept of 'great', and an expression that is used in everyday parlance in one language has no equivalent in another—as the English 'a great man' is not found in the Sanskrit tongues (v. a radio talk by Nirad Chandhri, reported in the *Listener* of November 23, 1967).

There are three parts. The first and longest (vol. I) is a 'vertical' investigation of the 3900 examples of μέγας, divided into 30 semantic groups according to the nouns used (men, gods, beasts, natural phenomena, utensils, etc.). Sections 31-6

deal with the substantival and adverbial uses of μέγας, also μεγάλως and μεγαλοστί. In each section a table of the references (Greek words, e.g. ἀνὴρ, ἄνθρωπος, βροτός, φώς set out horizontally, authors vertically) is followed by comments on the usage, the normal briefly summarised, a detailed exposition of anything that is different or significant. The scope of the adjective is made clear by the citation of other adjectives that appear with it (καλός τε μέγας τε, δεινός, πελώριος, etc.), verbs (as ἐλάω stresses the dynamic quality of μέγα with κύμα) or nouns (as μέγεθος τε βίην τε with ἥς τε μέγας τε). Part II consists of (a) Categories of Meanings (a résumé, in effect, of the conclusions reached in Part I), (b) Limitation and Expansion, where the sphere of μέγας is established by comparison with words performing a similar function (as the μέγα and ἑπέρ compounds, μέγας with μακρός, μέγας with πολύς), (c) Treatment according to authors, where the adjective is considered 'horizontally', that is, its usage in each author and the development from author to author. Part III (very short) is a survey of the ground covered and some observations on prose expressions. The work concludes with an index of the words used with μέγας.

Three main trends emerge: the change in meaning from 'big' used for the purely physical-concrete in the *Iliad*, through a whole gamut of modifications (grown-up, exalted, mighty, powerful, skilled, brave), until its complete loss of colour by the time of Nonnos, whose new epithets, powerful and high-sounding, replace the outworn adjective; the persistence of some Homeric formulae unchanged (as the use of μέγας with proper names, shown in a special diagram, pp. 33-4, designating heroes, great men of the past, contemporaries, including, in Oppian, Caesar, μεγάλη . . . Σεβήρω, together with a footnote to the effect that only in prose is it used as a title (ὁ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος)); the change in the sphere of usage, as the original function of external measurement gives way to an inner, subjective valuation and psychological intensity. Already in the *Odyssey* there is a widening of the narrow limits of the *Iliad* (where μέγας is confined to the physical greatness of heroes and their deeds in battle, a few palpable objects, and abstract qualities seen as factual and objective, as μ. κλέος, μ. ὄρκος), to include other people and things, natural dynamic phenomena, and deeper, more subjective feeling (πῆμα is an objective affliction in the *Iliad*, an inner woe in the *Odyssey*). These tendencies gather strength and in tragedy the physical use recedes before the metaphorical and psycho-philosophical. Human greatness is seen as bestowed from outside and taken away again. What is it really, this precarious greatness, so fraught with danger to the bearer? Is it perhaps something that belongs only to the gods? The same attitude appears in Callimachus, who speaks of Zeus as αἰεὶ μέγαν, αἰὲν ἀνακτα (H12), in contradistinction to the fleeting glory of men. A notable extension is in the ethical sphere, when Euripides



says a man can be *ἄριστος*, even though he is not one of the *μεγάλοι* (El. 380); also Sophocles' isolated *μεγάλαι ψυχᾷ* (Ajax 154), meaning the nobility, not given or snatched away, 'des agierenden Helden' as opposed to the anonymous masses (cf. Keats' 'Great spirits now on earth are sojourning'). A striking instance of the contemporary scene's affecting the choice of words is the use of *μέγας* with Hellas by Euripides (*Med.* 439, *Tr.* 1115, *IA* 1378, the first and only times in poetry), not in a geographical sense (not found in poetry), but with reference to the beloved country, that was bent on self-destruction in the Peloponnesian War. This is brought out very clearly by Dr Bissinger's argument.

The examples have obviously been garnered with scrupulous care, including even a list of passages where no interpretation is possible owing to the state of the text. To be commended are the special tables (as the comparisons of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* pp. 296 ff., of Homer and Apollonius, pp. 335 ff., and Quintus Smyrnaeus, pp. 347 ff., the adjectives replacing *μέγας* in Nonnos, p. 353), and the excellent footnotes, where the authorities quoted are given with full details of date, publication, etc. A parva cavillatio—perhaps the author is too anxious that his meaning should not escape us; there is overmuch recapitulation, and the restressing of matter sometimes leads to cumulative adjectival sequences; but this is to err on the right side. Occasional inconsistency mars the setting out of the tables, and alone of the adjectives the *ὑπέρ* compounds appear without precise references. A note, too, might have been included on the *μέγα* verbs, if only to state that these, except for *μεγαλάνειω*, *μεγαλίζομαι*, *μεγαλύνω*, are not found in poetry. One would like a companion volume for the prose usage of *μέγας*, to trace the course followed by prose 'die etwa auf die Sprache der Tragödie zurückgriff und sie fruchtbar machte', as Dr Bissinger tantalisingly says in the conclusion to his work.

MARGARET WAKERLEY

London.

MASSON (E.) *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec.* (Études et commentaires, 67.) Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1967. Pp. vii + 127. Fr. 24.-

This book deals with an old topic that requires periodic reworking for two reasons. In the first place, newly discovered evidence calls for a revaluation. Secondly, the identifications proposed in the past must be sifted because the pioneers were not always models of method or restraint.

After discussing the work of her predecessors since the first half of the seventeenth century A.D., the author presents a critical account of every word that she regards as an early Semitic loanword in Greek.

Then she takes up the words that might possibly be of Semitic origin, and finally the words whose proposed Semitic origin should be rejected.

The Greek vocabulary whose Semitic origin she accepts includes some words for cloth and clothing (*βύσσος*, *κασᾶς*, *σάκκος*, *σινδών* and *χιτών*), some commercial terms (*ἄρραβιών*, *μνᾶ*, *σίγλος* and *χρυσός*), some words for vessels or receptacles (*γανλός-γαῦλος*, *κάδος*, *σιπήνη*), some plant names (*κάννα*, *κασία*, *κιννάμωμον*, *κιττώ*, *κρόκος*, *κύμινον*, *κόπρος*, *λίβανος*, *λίβανωτός*, *μέρρα*, *νάρδος*, *σήσαμον*, *σοῦσον*, *χαλβάνη*), and a few miscellaneous terms (*δέλτος*, *λασπίς*, *κάμηλος*, *νάβλας*).

The author concludes that among the words studied, none express any of the abstract ideas inherent in political, philosophical or artistic vocabulary; and that the most ancient Semitic loanwords in Greek reflect primarily commercial contacts (p. 114).

Though trade makes use of writing, it is questionable whether we should regard the Phoenician legacy of writing to the Greeks (Herodotus 5: 58, 59) as primarily commercial. The alphabet itself is a momentous intellectual achievement and its transmission to the Greeks was a major turning point in European history. The Semitic loan-word *δέλτος* illustrates the fact that the Greeks borrowed the methods and materials of writing from the Semites. On p. 61 the author properly points out the expression *δελτίον δίπτυχον* in Herodotus 7: 239. We might add that Ezekiel 37: 16-17 mentions the joining of two inscribed wooden tablets into a diptych tantamount to a *δελτίον δίπτυχον*. But more significant than such technical considerations is the fact that the Greeks used writing for the same purposes as the Semites, as we now know from the Ugaritic inscriptions. Following the lead of the Semites, the early Greeks wrote epic literature and religious texts as well as commercial and administrative records.

Pausanias (2: 25: 10) relates that the old name of a site near Epidaurus was *Σαπτοσελατών*. Michael Astour made the sound observation that this toponym is derived from Ugaritic *špš* 'sun' and *ilt* 'goddess.' The form and gender of 'sun' make sense in (and as far as present knowledge goes, only in) Ugaritic. It stands to reason that a place name of this kind reflects a religious impact on early Greece, transcending commerce.

The author's disregard of Linear A is serious because the decipherment of Minoan constitutes the chief reason for reevaluating the subject of the book at this time. This is illustrated by the author's discussion of *σιπήνη* which she herself regards as definitely Semitic. Yet she rejects Neumann's comparison with Linear A *su-pu* (p. 45, n. 1) and Durant's preferring the variant *σινπήνη* as original (p. 45, n. 3). Since *su-pu* goes with a vessel-pictograph and there is no doubt as to its semantic category, Neumann and Durant will have to be taken more seriously. The Semitic character of Linear A is certain. The nature of the pronounceable words with meanings fixed by context leaves no doubt. This is clear to a growing



number of competent Semitists such as M. Astour, J. Glück, H. Haag, D. Neiman, A. Salonen, J. Sasson, and E. Yamauchi: to mention only a few who have gone on record in books and journals during 1966 and 1967. That others may require more time to catch on has nothing to do with the evidence. The Linear A texts are not only administrative, but also religious and dedicatory. Moreover the dialectal uniformity of the inscribed votive offerings throughout eastern and central Crete shows that Minoan was the official language. Far from being restricted to commercial agents, it was the medium of the ruling class, tying in with the Greek traditions of Minos (son of Tyrian Europa) at Knossos, Cadmus (her brother) at Thebes, or Danaos (of the same family) at Argos.

Had the book under review been published in 1956 any fair judge would have had to call it superb. As a volume issued in 1967 it is useful as a historic survey of the subject and especially for its careful and erudite discussions of specific words, but it leaves the task as a whole to be redone in our time.

CYRUS H. GORDON.

*Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.*

MILAN PAPYRI. **Papiri Milanesi** (P.Med.) I. nn. 1-12. 2nd ed. by S. Daris. (Pubblicazioni di 'Aegyptus', 1.) Milan: Vita e Pensiero. 1967. Pp. 43. 14 plates. Lire 1,900.

It is a pleasure to welcome the reprint by S. Daris of the twelve papyri of the Collection Jacovelli-Vita preserved at the Università Cattolica of Milan. They were published first in 1928 in a brochure now hard to obtain and are interesting, since ten of them (Nos. 3-12) belong to an agricultural archive of the early empire. Daris offers revised texts and (a photograph of each text so that his revision can be verified), and has shortened the commentary by excising 20 pages of illustrative material. Some little scraps reported on p. 9 of the original publication have now disappeared (three of them were identified by the editors of P. Ryl. IV 581 as a part of that document). No indexes were compiled to the 1928 publication, and they are now given in fasc. 2 of P.Med., actually published by Daris in 1966.

E. G. TURNER.

*University College London.*

TÖLLE (R.) **Genealogische Stammtafel zur griechischen Mythologie.** (German, English and French intro., folding chart and index.) Hamburg: Mundus. 1967. Pp. 17. 8 illus. DM 9.80.

This little booklet consists of an introduction of just

over a page, in German, English and French, an index of nine pages and a genealogical table measuring, when unfolded, roughly 48" x 14", on the back of which appear six rather murky pictures from vases. 'A synopsis all on one sheet' of Greek mythology has its uses, but the fact that nearly eight hundred names are listed on the sheet does not make for easy reference, and the price demanded is high.

P. WALCOT.

*University College, Cardiff.*

BUTTERWORTH (E. A. S.) **Some traces of the pre-Olympian world in Greek literature and myth.** Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1966. Pp. x + 196. 17 plates. DM 48.-

The first chapter of this book 'The Matrilineal World' provides an introduction to the three essays, 'The Death of Agamemnon', 'Penelope's Weaving and the Wedding of Nausicaa' and 'Shamanism', which follow. In it Butterworth argues that the matrilineal principle of succession predominated in the pre-Olympian world, and that the greatest revolution in the early history of the Greeks came about as a patrilineal replaced a matrilineal order and as the focus of personal loyalty shifted from the clan to the individual family. As the author suspects, the sections of chapter one devoted to the genealogy of the Pelopidae, Perseidae and Danaidae are quite a struggle, but the going becomes easier once Theseus and Oedipus are reached, and the later chapters, however infuriating, are often intriguing. Butterworth earns full marks for ingenuity, but too many of his arguments are no less fantastic than they are fascinating. What a splendid novel Mary Renault could write on the basis of Butterworth's interpretation of the stories of Agamemnon and Odysseus! If scepticism grows stronger as the book grows longer, it is not only because the 'evidence' of mythology has given birth to so many theories of social evolution; Butterworth seeks a 'logical' explanation where none is necessary, paying scant regard to purely literary considerations. His failure to take into account artistic factors results in a work which some may consider mildly eccentric, but others downright perverse.

The matrilineal principle of succession means the arrival of an intruder, the elimination by death of the old king, and the establishment of a new reign as the intruder marries the queen. It is this pattern, together with a ritual designed to secure immortality for the dead ruler, which the author identifies in the story of Agamemnon and the adventures of Odysseus. Some of his arguments—Aegisthus rather than Clytemnestra as the murderer, the circumstances, especially the purple carpet and the robe in which the king is enmeshed, accompanying the death of Agamemnon, the fact that an only 'son' appears to be



the rule in Odysseus' family, the transformations (or transfigurations) of Odysseus and Laertes—can be guessed, but few would anticipate the detail into which Butterworth goes. The theory that Homer exploited his audience's knowledge of an older version of the story according to which Odysseus sprang upon Laertes not to kiss but to kill the old man is hardly likely to win many adherents, nor the argument that Eurycleia was the mother of Penelope. The expression *δια γυναικῶν* makes it impossible, Butterworth claims, that Eurycleia was merely a servant; faced with the need to explain away *δῖος ὑφορβός*, he suggests in a footnote 'that in a much earlier epic the prototype of Eumaeus was an important figure, the keeper of a "temple herd"'. Most remarkable, at least to the reviewer, of all is the statement that the *aĩdeto* of *Odyssey* 6, 66 cannot mean 'she felt bashful', since 'Homer is not prudish'. Apparently Nausicaa's reluctance to mention marriage to her father was because her own marriage was the equivalent of signing Alcinoos' death warrant! Speculation is even wilder as the games in Phaeacia become the funeral games of Alcinoos, the presents given to Odysseus wedding gifts, the songs sung by Demodocus parables (and incredible parables at that), and 8, 526–7 originally a reference to the death of Alcinoos and the lamentation of Arete. If the last chapter of the book is less absurd, it is because it steers clear to a large extent of literary texts apart from an ill-fated look at the *Iliad* to see if Agamemnon practised shamanism. In the main, however, it is concerned with Poseidon, Hermes and Athene and with the heroes Pelops, Perseus and Bellerophon. By far the longer of the two appendices has as its subject Helen in cult and mythology.

One gets the impression that this book has been a labour of love not lightly undertaken. It is all the more to be regretted that it cannot be recommended with greater enthusiasm.

P. WALCOT.

University College, Cardiff.

BORECKÝ (B.) **Survivals of some tribal ideas in classical Greek.** (Acta univ. Carolinae, philos. et hist. monogr. 10.) Prague: Charles University. 1965. Pp. 110. Kčs 9.—

This monograph constitutes an elaboration of certain aspects of an earlier study by the author, 'The primitive origin of the Greek conception of equality', which appeared in *Geras: Studies presented to George Thomson* (Prague, 1963). Dr Borecký's purpose is to demonstrate, by examination of early usage of *λαγχάνω*, *δατέομαι*, *νέμω* and related terms, that the origin of the expressions *ἴσον* (*πλέον*, *ἐλάσσον*) *ἔχω* (*νέμω*, *δίδωμι*), and of like idioms expressing equality or inequality of rights, position or importance, is to be found in 'the old custom of tribal society of dividing

property gained by joint efforts among the members of the primitive collective' (p. 89). The starting point is provided by the conclusion of George Thomson that the economy of early Greece was characterised by a form of primitive communism of which traces survived in historical times. Attention is confined principally to literary monuments and Attic inscriptions before 400 B.C.; fourth century evidence is occasionally included, and Linear B documents are also cited.

A survey of Homer illustrates the practice of dividing and distributing shares of food, plunder, land and other joint property among members of the group, either collectively or by an authority—a distinction noted but not systematically analysed. The modification of the principle of assigning an equal share to each member by the allotment of special portions to chiefs means that a person's status is symbolised by the size of the share he is awarded. Dr Borecký plausibly argues that transference of this idea from the actual distribution of shares underlies the abstract expressions of the type *ἴσον ἔχω*. His main problem in tracing the conceptual link resides in the widely differing terminology employed in Homer and fifth century Attic; however, his extensive examination of Homeric and post-Homeric idiom convincingly establishes the persistence of the early idea and shows the stages by which the later terminology evolved from the earlier. A tacit warning is thus incidentally provided against the danger of looking for the development of an idea too exclusively in etymological terms.

My main criticisms apply not to Dr Borecký's conclusions but to his presentation of his thesis and to the scope of his study. His treatment of the sources is over-descriptive and insufficiently subordinated to the direction of his reasoning, whose clarity and force is consequently much reduced; and the austere restricted approach he adopts to his subject all but completely excludes analysis of the ideas he discusses in the wider context of political and social institutions. It is symbolic of these deficiencies that there is no subject-index and that the index of Greek terms, which lists ancient sources as well as page references, is made less easy to use by not being arranged alphabetically.

One may additionally find fault with a certain prolixity in marshalling the evidence: illustrative passages which could expeditiously be grouped together are presented *seriatim*, and space is sometimes wasted on superfluous contextual comment. Occasionally the exegesis is inadequate or unconvincing. In the case of A. *Supp.* 403–4 the introductory observation 'elsewhere it is Zeus who assigns good or evil to men' (p. 81) ignores the central problem, which has led to varying interpretations by, for example, Schütz, Paley and Rose; if, as I suspect, the true sense is 'accrediting their unjust acts to the wicked and their holy ones to the law-abiding', *νέμω* has here an unusual and noteworthy signification. Again, if Dr Borecký is right in associating *αὐτόνομος* in



S. *Ant.* 821 with *vémov* (pp. 82-3), the sense is surely not that indicated by his paraphrase ('the heroine assigned death to herself'), but 'self-assigned (to Hades)' (cf. e.g. *Il.* 5.656); however the non-occurrence of *vémov* and its compounds in the drama and the contrasting prevalence of the notoriously thematic *vómos*; strongly support the traditional interpretation found in the scholium, 'under her own laws'.

This work is well Englished and well printed, apart from a few insignificant errors. A reference to *Isoc.* 21.11 (p. 6) is incorrect, and another to *E. Fr.* 1132 (p. 48) ignores the uncertainty of this fragment's genuineness.

E. W. WHITTLE.

*University of Birmingham.*

STAMATIS (E. S.) *Προσωκρατικοί φιλόσοφοι*. Athens: the Author. 1966. Pp. 143. Price not stated.

A reprint of articles from *KAΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ*, pleasantly written and nicely printed, except for some odd spellings of European scholars. Unfortunately the content does not match the presentation. Clearly a parade of learning would be out of context. But the bibliography seems oddly limited and there is no awareness of the work of Cherniss, Cornford, Dicks, Kahn or Taran, to name only a few. S. knows that Orpheus lived about 1500 B.C., thinks that Suidas was a person, says that Pythagoras got results from blacksmiths' hammers which blacksmiths' hammers do not give, is unaware of any chronological problem over the trying of Anaxagoras, dates Leucippus impossibly early, and sails through the stormy waters of Philolaus with bland nonchalance. He omits Melissus altogether and is woefully inadequate on Anaximander and (especially) Parmenides. It is idle to elaborate. A latterday Laertius, amiable and uncritical.

JOHN FERGUSON.

*University of Minnesota.*

BRUMBAUGH (R. S.) *The philosophers of Greece*. London: G. Allen & Unwin. 1966. Pp. xi + 276. 15 illus. £1 15s.

This book, which was first published by Crowell in New York in 1964, tells the story of Greek philosophy from Thales to Aristotle. In the author's words it tries 'to introduce the subject in a way that does not eliminate all romance in favour of precision, but that does go beyond the first excitement of encounter to fill in what seems to me the most significant precise detail'. Unfortunately I can find little that is good

in the book. First of all the work throughout is marred by inaccurate and misleading information. We are given a picture of 'An Ionian island (Cephalonia)' to show us how Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes had concrete pictures available to them for their new concept of 'basic stuff', as if the Adriatic and the Aegean were identical. Aristotle is quoted for the statement that Thales taught that 'all things are water', which is something that Aristotle never said, and he is credited with 'a brief direct quotation' from Thales that 'the magnet has a psyche' when the only thing certain is that it is not a direct quotation. Nor did Aristotle credit Thales with the statement that 'all things are full of soul' in the *De Anima*. Anaximander fr. 1 is translated as saying 'all things arise out of the boundless'. Little wonder that we are then actually given (p. 214) a caution 'against too literal-minded an insistence on sticking to the exact wording of fragments' though probably this was not intended by the author to apply to cases such as those I have mentioned. The translation of Parmenides' Poem can hardly be called accurate. The charioteer at Delphi is not a sixth-century statue, and the theatre at Athens was not the theatre of Dionysius (correct form of the name given on p. 97). The Eudemian Ethics does not contain six books in common with the Nicomachean, and when Aristotle left Athens on the death of Alexander the Great he did not go to North Africa. Nor did he normally classify Poetics and Rhetoric with Logic as Instrumental as opposed to Productive, Practical and Theoretical.

In addition to outright mistakes there are many statements that are merely tiresome or tendentious: 'Anaximander's great contribution was the general concept of models, which he immediately applied in all the ways we do now' (my italics). Anaxagoras 'a brilliant young astro-physicist', and 'a research scientist'. 'From any seat (in the theatre of Dionysus) . . . you can imagine the chorus bouncing across the stage' (my italics). Archelaus found 'the very abstract concept of *Nous* hard to imagine or work with experimentally'. And so on.

The presentation of the Presocratics on the whole follows conventional lines, except that Parmenides is treated as giving a straightforward attack on the reliability of Pythagorean science in the Way of Opinion. In the case of Plato the opposite is true. The treatment is erratic and unconventional, and inevitably we have an approach based on the development of certain ideas in the author's *Plato's Mathematical Imagination*, Bloomington 1954 and subsequent publications. The heart of the interpretation is a presentation of the analogy of the line (which is called 'a diagram in Book VI of the Republic') in terms of modern jargon words which not only do not appear in Plato's text in any form, but which seem to me wholly to misrepresent the essentials of Plato's doctrine. Thus Pistis becomes 'Knowing How' and is concerned with Techniques, while Dianoia is 'knowing that' and deals with Hypotheses, and Noesis is 'knowing why' and deals with Tested Theory.



The *distinctive* feature of Plato's thought is supposed to be that he posited a single system of reality. We are told that we can tell by formal reasoning that a cold physical fire cannot be found in nature, and both the psychology of the tri-partite soul and the names of individual Presocratics are all fitted into expanded versions of the Line. The Sophists, surprisingly, operate at the level of Pistis while Heraclitus comes below them at the level of Eikasia. American educational theories are all there also in a way that neither Plato nor any serious student of Plato is likely to recognise as Platonic for one moment. Nor is it clear why Empedocles is classed as a lyric poet in contrast to Parmenides who wrote an epic. It is to be feared that this book will merely irritate those who really know, and will dangerously mislead those who do not.

G. B. KERFERD.

*University of Manchester.*

FINLEY (J. H.) **Four stages of Greek thought.**

(Harry Camp lectures, 1965.) Stanford: University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1966. Pp. ix + 114. £1 4s. (unbound); £2 (bound).

Professor Finley's small but expensive book contains four memorial lectures given at Stanford University. They deal with stages in the development of the Greek mind which Finley labels 'Heroic', 'Visionary', 'Theoretical' and 'Rational'. Each stage is illustrated from the work of an author or of authors which exemplify it; in the case of the heroic mind, the Homeric poems; of the visionary mind, Aeschylus, Pindar, Heraclitus and Sophocles; of the theoretical, Euripides and Thucydides; of the rational, Plato and Aristotle.

The 'heroic' mind saw each object, scene, and human situation as unique and requiring its own unique and therefore heroic response. Each experience had unique features for the 'visionary' mind also, but now, by drawing analogies, it began to intuit that certain regularities underlie events; particularly in the human sphere it became aware of certain recurrent poses which it defined by using appropriate myths as paradigms or universals. The 'theoretical' mind was no longer so intensely aware of the sense-given uniqueness of things, although this was still there; while feeling that natural processes and human history should be law-conforming, it found that the recalcitrant *physis* of the world as given fails to conform to the *nomos* that it sought intellectually to impose. The 'rational' mind finally succeeded in closing the gap between *physis* and *nomos*; the perceived world was apparently once and for all shown to mirror mind's own orderly workings; all parts of nature were seen as having a particular function so that nothing happened at random.

This is what Finley seems to be saying although the thread of argument is often obscured by his exuberant presentation which, although it usually attracts and

even intoxicates, can occasionally irritate. This exuberance is perhaps inevitable in view of the fact that the pieces are lectures, but one might have expected that Finley's contentions could have been spelled out more clearly, and the ancient material, together with other relevant authors, discussed in more depth in the notes. As it is these are extremely light and significantly there is no index.

These defects, which are especially conspicuous in chapter two, mean that for all its attraction 'Four Stages of Greek Thought' does not stand up to comparison with 'The Discovery of the Mind' by Bruno Snell of whose views (especially in chapters five and nine) those of Finley are often reminiscent. It may be however that Finley's account of the evolution of the Greek mind is less detailed and less painstaking but on occasion more beguiling because one of his main purposes is to suggest why the major Greek writers have, or should have, such an attraction for us today. In the first place, Greek Literature, he believes, hauntingly re-echoes certain stages in our own development, from the freshness of childhood when everything was 'green and golden', through the intellectual awakening of youth and early manhood to the understanding of maturity. Secondly, and paradoxically the stages in the evolution of the Greek mind are, as it were, a mirror reflection of those of the modern mind, so that even in its earliest phases we may find an analogue of our own situation. Since the renaissance, the notion, which was the culminating achievement of the Greek mind, that the world is ultimately totally rational and totally understandable has all but broken down in the face of the staggering vistas revealed by empirical science. The vast, inscrutable galaxy-filled universe in which we live beggars our conceptual understanding and calls for a response to the 'sparkle of the world's invitation' as heroic as that of Homer's Achaeans and Trojans overawed by the incomprehensible power and splendour of the immortal gods.

The above has given, I hope, an impression of the scope and flavour of a book that many will find stimulating especially for its rhetorical sparkle, and, in addition, for a number of striking *en passant* observations, insights and intuitions. Noteworthy are the remarks in support of a single authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey, and on Thucydides (as is to be expected) and Euripides.

I noticed one error of detail; Tissaphernes can hardly be described (p. 88) as a defecting supporter of Cyrus.

P. J. BICKNELL.

*Monash University.*

WAERDEN (B. L. VAN DER) **Die Anfänge der Astronomie.** (Erwachende Wissenschaft, 2.) Groningen: P. Noordhoff. 1965. Pp. xii + 316. 32 plates. 26 text figures. Fl. 47.-

The sub-title of this book is 'Erwachende Wissen-



schaft II'. As that implies, it is intended as a companion to the author's *Ontwakende Wetenschap* (Groningen 1950, translated into English as *Science Awakening*, 2nd edn. Groningen 1961). Unlike that volume, however, which dealt extensively with Greek mathematics as well as Babylonian and Egyptian, the present work discusses Greek astronomy only incidentally and in its relations to Babylonian and Egyptian elements. It is essentially an account of Babylonian and Egyptian astronomy, and since ancient Egypt has left us very little which can be dignified by that name, most of the book is devoted to the development of astronomy in Mesopotamia.

There is a real need for such a general account of Babylonian astronomy, since the scholarly literature on the subject presents great technical difficulties to the outsider, and the accounts in handbooks are outdated or misleading or both. The author has himself made notable contributions to the understanding of the methods employed in some types of text, and although he is not a cuneiform expert, for this book he has had the assistance of Peter Huber, who controls both the linguistic and technical aspects of the texts. The result is a work which will be consulted with profit by the general reader seeking information, and which cannot be ignored by those working in the field, but which is not fully satisfactory for reasons which will become apparent.

The first chapter deals briefly with native Egyptian astronomy (the 'Sothis-period', the decans and the Ramessid star-clocks), but is mostly concerned with the earliest traceable stages of Babylonian astronomy. In practice this means the omen texts known as 'Enūma Anu Enlil'. Most of their content belongs rather to the history of astrology, but one section, containing observations of Venus made under King Ammizaduga, has attracted the attention of astronomers and historians because of its chronological implications for dating the Hammurabi dynasty. The author presents a sensible case for the 'short' chronology, with a clear discussion of the problems involved. Though only marginally relevant to the theme of the book, it will be a valuable aid to those baffled by the obscurity of previous treatments of the problem.

Chapters II and III deal with observational astronomy in Mesopotamia and the earliest methods of prediction based on observed recurrences. Here Huber has provided valuable help, particularly in the excellent description in Chapter III of the observational material contained in texts from about 750 B.C. onwards, which, though extensively published in 1955, remain as yet untranslated for the most part. On the whole these chapters give an illuminating account of the known facts, but the reader should be warned that the confident dating of the division of the ecliptic into 12 signs of 30° each on p. 124 ('Spätestens in der Perserzeit') is based on interpretations of two fifth-century cuneiform texts which competent Assyriologists reject and which seem inherently implausible. The final section of Chapter III on Egypt in the

Persian period depends largely on Greek texts of doubtful value.

Chapters IV and V give an account of the most advanced stage of Babylonian mathematical astronomy, as found in the 'ephemerids' or tables from the Seleucid period which were constructed for the prediction of various phenomena associated with sun, moon and planets. Though the nature of the texts make this part difficult reading, the explanations are admirably lucid. An important new contribution is the elucidation on pp. 148 ff. of the column  $\Phi$  (which van der Waerden calls B, since he has perversely chosen to use the old Kugler nomenclature for the columns in the tables instead of that in the standard publication of Neugebauer, *Astronomical Cuneiform Texts*). One may doubt whether this book was the best place to publish the rather difficult technical argumentation, but the explanation is certainly correct in essentials, and displays the author's ingenuity at its best.

Chapter VI, however, which is entitled 'Sternreligion, Astrologie und Astronomie', induces only dismay. It purports to trace the origin and spread of various beliefs loosely connected with astrology or the worship of heavenly bodies. Citing texts indiscriminately from sources heterogeneous in nature and widely scattered in time and place, the author confidently sets up a schematic geography of religious 'streams' from Iran through Babylon to Greece (for which the system of little boxes connected by arrows on p. 244 will serve as a caricature). He incidentally settles to his own satisfaction problems in old Iranian religion before which most scholars acquainted with the evidence have quailed. One example of his method of treating evidence must suffice, and I choose one where the facts are likely to be familiar to readers of this journal. On p. 252 we read: 'Zwischen Hellas und dem chaldäischen Hof bestanden persönliche Beziehungen. Antimenidas, der Bruder des Dichters Alkaios, diente unter Nebukadnezar'. The book would be improved if this chapter were simply omitted.

The final chapter discusses most known examples of the influence of Babylonian astronomy in the Greek world, Egypt and India (the latter almost certainly via lost Greek texts). Some of the examples are dubious: the explanation of Thales' supposed eclipse prediction fails to convince, and the analysis of the planetary texts from the 2nd century A.D. found in Demotic and Greek papyri, though ingenious, requires too many hypotheses to be certain. But the whole is a convenient summary of the known material.

As long as the author confines his attention to the surviving texts, the book is a useful and sometimes brilliant treatment of its subject. But he is obsessed with establishing dates and places for the invention of the methods he describes. (Thus in Chapter IV he proposes dates for the invention of the Systems A and B for the calculation of lunar phenomena long preceding any surviving texts containing those systems. His arguments are all weak, since all are based on the



improbable presupposition that the existence of one element of a system (e.g. the position of the vernal point) at a given date entails the existence of the whole system at that date.) This obsession is part of an attitude which permeates the whole book and is responsible for most of its weaknesses: that is a desire for a neat (and often simplicistic) historical picture at all costs, a refusal to recognise when the evidence is insufficient to draw any conclusion. The result is that a book which is potentially of great assistance to those wishing to find their way in a difficult subject contains many false signposts, which are unfortunately most likely to mislead the very readers who would otherwise derive the most benefit.

G. J. TOOMER.

*Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.*

ALLEN (R. E.) ED. **Studies in Plato's metaphysics.** London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1965. Pp. xii + 452. £3 10s.

RAVEN (J. E.) **Plato's thought in the making: a study of the development of his metaphysics.** Cambridge: the University Press. 1965. Pp. xi + 256. 12s. 6d. (unbound); £1 7s. 6d. (bound).

Professor R. E. Allen's volume is expensive but bulky and for some years will be much used. He has assembled twenty articles on Plato's metaphysics, all previously published in journals, mostly from the 1950s, several of them salvos in continuing battles. To list them briefly: (i)–(iv), Cherniss, Cross, Bluck and Allen on the Theory of Forms; (v), Cornford on *Republic* vi–vii; (vi)–(vii), Ryle and Runciman on the *Parmenides*; (viii), Miss Hicken on the *Theaetetus*; (ix)–(x), Ackrill on the *Sophist*; (xi), Lloyd on Division; (xii)–(xiv), Vlastos, Geach and Vlastos on the Third Man; (xv), Owen on the *peri ideon*; (xvi)–(xvii), Owen and Cherniss on the date of the *Timaeus*; (xviii)–(xix), Vlastos and Morrow on creation in the *Timaeus*; (xx), Hackforth on theism. The impetus to many of these articles was given by (vi), Ryle's 1939 article on the *Parmenides*, which remains the most brilliant piece in the book. After Ryle, Vlastos (xii), Owen (xvi), and Cross (ii) have aroused the greatest controversy. (vi) and (xii) seem likely to remain philosophical classics.

Two authors have provided additional notes to their articles: Ryle suggests he would now slightly change the focus of some parts of his 1939 article; Vlastos adds a more precise formulation of the 'Third Man' argument and a new 18 page appendix on creation in the *Timaeus*. Other authors have not yet continued articles they once promised to amplify. Mr Martin Mueller has made a useful *index locorum Platoniorum* which provides an indirect warning on the nature of journal articles; there are 60 or so references to the *Politicus*, but nowhere is any substantial stretch of that dialogue given a sustained exposition.

Professor Allen's four-page introduction sketches a background for the question at its bluntest: 'did Plato abandon the Forms?' I have even less space for elaboration. But: no one, I think, has supposed that Plato ever ceased to distinguish between universals and particulars, or between the timelessness of some kinds of knowledge and the mutability, in some sense, of objects in the world. What has been suggested is, very roughly, that Plato may have dropped the metaphysics that he once superimposed on these distinctions, and that if at one time Plato thought knowledge consisted in the contemplation of each Form as (in Ryle's phrase) a 'simple nameable', then in the *Sophist* the *κοινωνία γένων* is not merely a change of interest but a great step forward in epistemology. *Pace* Allen these suggestions are not anachronistic; the Theory of Forms was not first abandoned in twentieth century Oxford.

This collection lacks a sound treatment of Plato's explicit arguments for, and explicit conclusions from, the Theory of Forms itself. Cherniss in his 1936 article, (i), attempted in very general terms to claim that the Forms were the answer to a wide range of philosophical worries that troubled Plato at various times. But he said nothing about most of Plato's stated arguments for the Forms, and perhaps failed to see that the Forms were not the necessary or sole possible answer to these rather general worries of Plato's. We need to be shown why Plato arrived at just this answer. Cross brings out very well how strange an answer the Forms are to Plato's worries about definition. *Pace* Cross, Plato may have thought transcendent Forms could solve definition problems; *pace* Cherniss, they were hardly the kind of solution the definition dialogues were most obviously leading to. Cherniss' notion that the Forms could solve the problems of the *Theaetetus* was lucidly disposed of by Richard Robinson in *Phil. Rev.* 1950, an article that should have been in this collection. Bluck refutes Cross' bolder suggestions, but fails to treat the real puzzles Cross raises. Allen tries to refurbish 'participation' at some distance from the texts. We learn almost more about the Theory of Forms from authors debating its presence in later dialogues—not least from Miss Hicken—or trying to assess the force of the 'Third Man'.

*The Date of the Timaeus.* Owen's article is over-condensed, Cherniss' is long-winded, throws up un-discussed references like dust (who but Cherniss (p. 351) sees ontology in *Laches*, *Gorgias* and *Lysis*?), and is often very convoluted. Fools rush in; but (i) stylometrics. That the *Symposium* does not avoid hiatus is irrelevant; it may still have been avoided in the *Timaeus*, as continuous prose, before it was avoided in a dialogue. This is neither for nor against Owen. (ii) *γένεσις* and *οὐσία*. Owen seems to be right in holding that nowhere else after the *Republic* do we meet anything as absolute as the *Timaeus'* *γινώσκμενον μὲν αἰεί, ὃν δὲ οὐδέποτε*. *Philebus* 59b does not say that much; nor need it say 'continuously changing in every respect'; it may only mean 'permanently



liable to change in one or other respect'. The *Theaetetus* shows that even the Theory of Forms could have no application to a world that was continuously changing in every respect; Plato may have thought the *Timaean* recurrent appearances of reidentifiable images escaped this difficulty, but surely these images had to be briefly stable?

*The Third Man.* The position is perhaps as follows. If Plato once wished to argue that for every set of similar objects the only possible explanation of their similarity was that they were all copies of, or participated in, some original other than, but similar to, themselves, then the Third Man regress destroyed this argument, and Plato must have seen that it did. (A). Moreover to understand any copy-original relation, one must see (B) that the similarity of copies to original is not to be explained in the same way as the similarity of copies to each other. If Plato saw and could accept (B), he may have continued to hold that the relation of objects to Forms as copies to originals was not logically objectionable; but if he accepted (B), then he also fully understood why he had to accept (A), and in doing so to abandon any argument to prove the existence of Forms based on the occurrence of similar objects. He would now have to explain how any other arguments for the Forms proved the need for just this relationship of Forms to objects. This against Cherniss. But even if Plato was perplexed about (B), there can be no doubt that he saw (A). In the 'Third Bed' argument at *Rep.* 597-8 Cherniss seems to want Plato to be trying to show both that there is only one Form of bed and that one of the premises he uses to prove this is false. (On this argument see G. C. Nerlich in *Mind* 1960 and C. Strang in *PAS (Sup.)* 1963.)

Controversy is far from over. Future progress perhaps requires a more painstaking approach to continuous stretches of the texts (with the honourable exception of the Third Man texts). A lead is given by E. N. Lee's new exposition of *Timaean* 48-52 (*Monist* 1966, *AJP* 1967).

The articles here not forming part of this controversy are not the less valuable for that. Ackrill's work on the *Sophist* in particular is always lucid and largely convincing. Professor Allen showed much good judgement in selection.

Mr Raven's book is an elegant and lucid abbreviation of a course of introductory lectures on Plato. Raven evidently wished to guide his audience, after some brief glances at Platonic scholarship, fairly directly to the most exalted metaphysical passages of *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, and *Republic*. There is something to be said for this; those who can spend little time on Plato probably wish to be exposed, however unprepared, to the brightest lights; and again these passages may attract some readers to more serious study who would not be attracted by, say, the not in all respects more elementary *Euthyphro* and *Meno*. But these passages are a baptism of fire, and may induce faith rather than understanding; often they induce fairly gross misunderstanding (the un-

philosophical discover mysticism rather than philosophy), and sometimes ungrounded hostility.

However, Raven's plan is to quote in translation *Phaedo* 99d-102a, *Symposium* 209c-212b, and most of *Republic* 506d-517a, and briefly suggest a synthesis of these passages. 'In the *Republic* absolute beauty reappears in the guise of the Idea of the Good. The Good and the Beautiful, in other words, have replaced the "something satisfactory" of the *Phaedo*.' (p. 107.) 'CE (the third part of the Line) represents the downward movement of the *Phaedo*... it takes for granted as ultimate the plurality of uncoordinated Ideas and so gives no account of them.' (p. 159.) No one, probably, will deny that *Phaedo* and *Republic* (though perhaps not *Symposium*) invite some degree of synthesis; many, I think, will find Raven's synthesis over-simplified. Raven's ch. 10, on the other hand, is simplification of the best kind. He gives an unpolemical but careful account of the 'Sun, Line and Cave', takes the first two as analogies, the third as an allegory, and synthesises them with admirable discretion (his main error is to admit 'mathematical intermediates', despite his own remark (p. 162) 'the very same things, 'the Odd and the Even'... have now... become fully intelligible').

The rest of the book mentions a good deal and states Raven's view on many problems, but it cannot be said to discuss those problems. We have a thumbnail sketch of the *Phaedo*, but (as in Allen's volume) no serious analysis of the arguments for the Forms. Raven, like many others, perhaps tends to rest on the assumption that the wonderful things Plato wants to do with the Forms are enough justification in themselves for postulating them. Perhaps Plato was saying just this in the *Parmenides*; but he himself, I suspect, took the loss of his more direct arguments more seriously than Raven does. Again, for the first part of the *Parmenides* Raven gives us a succinct sketch with valuable quotations, but no real discussion, and no reference to Vlastos' articles. Raven deplores the absence of the Form of the Good from the *Sophist*; is that not a hint that dialectic there had a quite different aim from its aim in the *Republic*?

I repeat: on the Sun, Line and Cave Raven is valuably clear-headed; the rest of his book is more superficial than it may look.

DAVID B. ROBINSON.

University of Edinburgh,  
Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, D.C.

RYLE (G.) *Plato's progress*. Cambridge: the University Press. 1966. Pp. viii + 311. £1 12s. 6d.

In this far-ranging, resourceful and agreeably exasperating book Professor Ryle follows up what is for him a new line, an attempt to justify by historical argument and speculation a chronology for the *Dialogues* which will, he hopes, both help to explain the notable gaps in Aristotle's knowledge of Platonic



thought and give us a philosopher free from bondage to a fixed system, advancing by intelligible movements of thought to the perception, and at least partial solution, of problems sophisticated enough still to engage modern philosophers.

The main effects of his arguments are to extend far into the 370s the composition of those elenctic dialogues, up to and including *Republic* I and the *Gorgias*, which are widely held to belong to Plato's earliest period; to postpone the founding of the Academy to the end of this decade; to limit to the Academy's first few years Plato's passionate belief in an otherworldly theory of Forms (e.g. *Republic* VI and VII are dated to c. 371, the *Phaedo* and *Symposium* to 368), a passion soon giving way to mere deference and indeed self-criticism, coupled with a new respect for the physical world, in dialogues like the *Timaeus* (delivered in 367-6), *Parmenides* I (very late in the 360s), *Philebus* (between 366 and c. 356) and the *Phaedrus* (perhaps 360); and to make Plato end his creative life, not with the *Laws* (assembled from earlier material in c. 357), but with dialogues like the *Cratylus*, (c. 359-8), *Theaetetus* (358-7), *Sophist* and *Parmenides* II (well on in the 350s), in which Plato tackled problems of logical grammar some of which he carried beyond Aristotle.

Ryle's chronology largely depends on a number of hypotheses about Plato's personal life, above all that in his earlier years he held Moots in which he trained young men in dialectic, by which Ryle understands sporting eristic; that these came to a sudden end late in the 370s when Plato faced a trial for defamation somehow tied up with teaching eristic; that he gave readings of his dialogues, himself taking the part of Socrates, until in the 350s he incurred some throat-ailment which forced him to adapt later dialogues to a new voice; that he spent his last years revising certain dialogues, in particular reducing cases of hiatus.

All this is great fun. But is it to be taken seriously? There can be no doubt that many of the questions Ryle asks, especially in the first masterly six pages on Aristotle, deserve to be taken seriously, and that some of the passages to which he calls attention raise difficulties for orthodoxy which need to be met, e.g. *Republic* VII 539 b 1 ff., where Plato insists that his future Guardians should not be taught dialectic in their youth, and *Philebus* 38b 12-3, where he apparently disregards the possibility of purely intellectual error recognised in *Theaetetus* 195 c 6 ff. But Ryle's methods of argument make it difficult even to suspend disbelief. He tells the tale touching in, with great verve and ingenuity, such points as he hopes will cumulatively establish his theses, but he nowhere ransacks the evidence and instead of giving the Greek in full uses recapitulation, which seems often dangerously selective and sometimes pretty plainly wrong. For instance on pp. 240 f., where he cites *Epistle* VII 341 and 344 d-345 c to support his date for the *Timaeus*, he relies on the bare word *φύσις*, itself as closely associated with Forms as with the physical world, to identify the subject of the 'solitary

talk' with that of the *Timaeus* without mentioning the other things said about it which do not fit, the suggestion that it is unforgettable since it can be put *shortly* (344 d 9 ff.) and the comparison with a flame which, once kindled, sustains itself (341 c 4-d 2). He is almost certainly wrong e.g. when on pp. 156 f. he supports his belief in Plato's trial by deriving from Isocrates' *Helen* I, ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐριδας τὰς οὐδὲν μὲν ὠφελοῦσας, πράγματα δὲ παρέχειν τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν δυναμένας, the suggestion that eristic disputations may get their participants into 'legal hot water'. Greek usage, including that of Isocrates (cf. e.g. I 30 and XV 175) strongly suggests that *πλησιάζειν*, when used absolutely, means, not 'to participate in an activity', but 'to be someone's pupil'. What Isocrates seems to be saying here is that eristic can be a bore and a torment to those taught it: no 'legal hot water'. Again when on p. 38 Ryle justifies his very precise date for the *Phaedo* with the help of *Epistle* XIII 363 a 5 ff., he gives an unattested meaning to *ἐπιεικῶς*, 'probably', in the phrase *ἐπιεικῶς δὲ γιγνώσκεις*, which surely means 'you are pretty familiar with' (cf. e.g. *Sophist* 249 d 6 f.), a sense from which his inference does not follow.

But even if we are prepared to entertain every improbability, including the conspiracy of silence about Plato's trial and the monstrous allegories, e.g. on p. 227, it seems doubtful whether Ryle has achieved his aims. His explanation of Aristotle's silences appear not so much to depend on as to fit into his chronology, and many of his most convincing suggestions, e.g. that much of the *Republic* was not known to Aristotle until after Plato's death, would work on a more orthodox view. Nor is it clear that even on his own chronology Ryle has made unambiguous sense of Plato's development. The speculations about the physical world in the *Timaeus* follow uncomfortably hard on the heels of the metaphysical parts of the *Republic* and the otherworldly *Phaedo* and *Symposium*, and this although something very like a 'passion' for otherworldly Forms lingers on in the *Phaedrus* (e.g. in 247 c 6 ff.). That Plato was not addicted to an unchanging system has been abundantly shown by philosophers and scholars in recent years, no one of whom has made Platonic studies more exciting and fruitful than Ryle himself, but the problem of eliciting from the scanty and disputable facts objective tests to guide understanding of the complex mind of Plato seems hardly to be solved by giving them so Gilbertian a sense.

W. F. HICKEN.

Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

EDELSTEIN (L.) **The meaning of Stoicism.** (Martin classical lectures, 21.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for Oberlin College (London: Oxford U.P.). 1966. Pp. xiii + 108. £1 15.

This book is at one and the same time tantalising, disappointing, and rewarding. These qualities are



due at least in part to the circumstances of its publication. In 1956, nine years before his death, Professor Edelstein delivered the Martin Classical Lectures at Oberlin College. We now have the text of those lectures, thanks to the courtesy of Professor Cherniss, Edelstein's literary executor. They are printed substantially in their original form, with some notes (mainly references to primary sources) and an index. A prefatory note explains that Edelstein had wished to annotate his text extensively before publication and discuss details at greater length, but by the time of his death he had not completed this project. The book is not therefore in the form which Edelstein himself intended. Some of the obscurities and inconsistencies which it contains would doubtless have been ironed out in the process of revision.

The time for a reappraisal of Stoicism has long been overdue. Detailed work during the last few years on physics and logic has invalidated many of the conventional estimates of the Stoics. There has been a welcome tendency to take them seriously as philosophers working within the Greek tradition. But no one has yet attempted the formidable, though necessary, task of collating the specialist studies and giving a new general interpretation. Edelstein has set out to define the 'common element' shared by all Stoics, but his book, though courageous in its attempts at synthesis, could not take account of all this work. It is no longer so necessary to defend the Stoics, and Edelstein would probably be less of an apologist if he were writing today. We can only speculate how he would have reacted to Sambursky's *Physics of the Stoics* (London 1959). Edelstein's interpretation must be measured against those of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

These interpretations are surveyed briefly and elegantly in the preface. Resignation, moral idealism, rationalism, religion—these and other descriptions have been given to Stoicism. To establish how far they are relevant Edelstein examines in four chapters, The Stoic sage, the Stoic concept of nature, Stoic self-criticism, and the Stoic way of life.

In the first chapter resignation and religion are casualties. Edelstein attacks the idea that the Stoic sage is unfeeling and quite indifferent to the results of his actions or his own fate. He rightly draws attention to the list of *εὐπάθειαι* which characterise the good man's disposition; too often *ἀπάθεια* alone has been invoked as the Stoic's emotional aim. But Edelstein does not indicate how little our sources say about *εὐπάθειαι* nor how much they stress extirpation of *πάθος* (in the normal Greek sense). It is not *βοῦλησις* or *εὐλάβεια* but *ὁρθὸς λόγος* which forms the Stoic's basis of action. More serious is Edelstein's discussion of *τὰ κατὰ φύσιν* (pp. 5-7). The Stoics did call these *προηγμένα*, and they also regarded them as the *ὄλη* of *ἀρετή*. But Edelstein does not show how carefully the Stoics distinguished their *ἀξία* from that of *ἀρετή*. The *ἀξία* of 'natural advantages' is not relative to *ἀρετή* but relative to *τὰ παρὰ φύσιν*. It is a 'value' within the category of *ἀδιάρροπα*.

Edelstein sees the Stoics as concerned with the results of action, on the basis of Epictetus' quotation from Chrysippus (*Diss.* II, 6, 9). But that passage must be seen in its context. It is Epictetus' doctrine that the *χρῆσις* of *ἀδιάρροπα* is good or bad; he does not say that 'the good player hopes for success'. It is the way of acting, *τὸν εὐφροεντέρεον ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ τυχεράειν*, not the result, which counts (cf. the distinction between *εκοπός* and *τέλος* discussed in *Phronesis* XII (1967), 78-83).

The religious view of Stoicism is attacked by a denial that the Stoics believed in the worthy purposes of providence. This striking assertion is supported by some references from Epictetus and the necessary existence of evil (pp. 8 f., 32 ff.). They hardly establish the point, and the massive evidence for providence collected by von Arnim is barely mentioned. The problem of cosmic evil was resolved, in effect, by denying it: cosmic evil is useful in relation to the universe as a whole (Plut. *Comm. not.* 1065b), as a by-product of good (Marcus, VI, 36). The providential care of God for man is constantly asserted (cf. Cic. *ND* II, 133 ff.; Marcus, II, 3). Indeed, a belief in the good purposes of God in nature is the essence of Stoicism. Why else does the Stoic aim to live *κατ' ἐμπειρίαν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν συμβαινόντων*? Our sources differ on the question of divine omnipotence, but it will not do to dismiss Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* (with its reference to him as *παγκρατὲς αἰεὶ*) as 'mere metaphor' (p. 34). When Edelstein asserts that 'there is no overall purpose or aim [except] the realization of the inherent force' (p. 33) we miss a comparison with Aristotle's teleology and concept of *ἐνέργεια*. What kind of purpose other than *κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν* might the Stoics have entertained? Edelstein's contrasts with Christianity and Judaism are only confusing, and his discussion is more relevant to eighteenth-century humanism than the Stoics. In this context, no reference is made to the fact that man has a share of universal *λόγος*, which makes the pantheism intelligible. It might be true that 'a new consciousness of man's power' arose in the fourth century, which the demands made on the Stoic sage reflect (p. 13). But references to earlier moral theory also suggest themselves. Neither the novelty nor the philosophical significance of Stoic ethics is greatly advanced by underrating its historical continuity.

In the second chapter Edelstein outlines the concept of nature which backs Stoic moral theory. He rightly sets this in the context of earlier Greek philosophy, dismissing the view of Semitic influences. But his characterisation of 'Aristotelian idealism' will worry some readers (pp. 20 f.). The comparison of Zeno's philosophical climate to that inaugurated by Bacon is interesting (p. 22). There are certainly important analogies between Stoicism and aspects of the systems of Leibniz and Giordano Bruno. In Stoic physics the autonomy of the individual has to be reconciled with its causal dependence on the universal plan or set of events. Edelstein dwells at



some length on this difficult concept. He gives a very good account of the 'active principle' (σπερματικός λόγος?) which led the Stoics to 'see each phenomenon as the unfolding of the energy which produces it' (p. 24). But it is not clear how Edelstein relates the 'essential form' of the individual (p. 26) to the universe as a 'dynamic process', 'an assemblage of changing marks' (pp. 28 f.).

Having dismissed Stoic providence as 'mere factuality' (p. 33) Edelstein turns to consider the basis of ethics. He traces briefly the application of οἰκείωσις, and sees more problems than some might feel in the evolution of λόγος. At least, to call the awakening of moral consciousness 'a reversal of human nature' (p. 38) is not what Cicero envisages at *De Fin.* III, 16 ff. This is the stranger since Edelstein next argues that external events are 'a modification of our nature to be shaped as such' (p. 39); but Epictetus (II, 5, 21-3, cited in n. 10 Chapter I) precludes self-involvement in 'shaping the material'. It is well to be reminded that the Stoic's goodness did not exclude benevolence or fellow-feeling; Edelstein's discussion (pp. 41-4) would have been more convincing if he had related it to a consideration of the over-riding concept, ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν.

Chapter III, which deals with Panaetius and Posidonius, makes a more significant contribution. It is also tantalising: here, where references are most needed they are least available. But the situation is less difficult than it might be. The material on which Edelstein bases his assessment of Panaetius seems to be all available in van Straaten (*Panaetii Rhodii Fragmenta*), and thanks to the labours of Mr I. G. Kidd we should soon have an edition of the material on Posidonius which Edelstein had collected before his death. Edelstein considers Panaetius and Posidonius in their role as critics of earlier Stoicism. He will have nothing to do with theories which see these philosophers as answering specifically Roman problems or bringing a Greek rather than Semitic influence to bear on the Stoa. In this he is surely right. For Edelstein it is the scientific interest of the second century which the middle Stoa reflects. This is a good suggestion. Posidonius' many-sided scientific activities are well attested. There is less evidence than Edelstein implies for Panaetius', but passages like *De Off.* I 13, which stresses disinterested speculation, are foreign to the Old Stoa. Panaetius is seen as a Stoic who gave new emphasis to human individuality without sacrificing the old idealism. Edelstein could have dwelt more on the place of καθήκοντα in Panaetius' scheme, and the judgement on his psychological dualism might be more favourable (p. 52). Like the analogous theory of Posidonius it was probably an attempt to answer difficulties inherent in Chrysippus' psychology which admits no irrational faculty. The discussion of Posidonius is more than a reshaping of the article published thirty years ago (*AJPh* 57 (1936)). A final assessment must await the edition mentioned above. Here

there are intriguing references to Posidonius' attitude to poetry, mathematics, and history as well as a convincing attempt to set his concept of human progress within a Stoic framework. Posidonius, Edelstein argues, altered the earlier Stoic concept of reason by his belief in mathematical reality and introduced changes in pantheism by a dualism of matter and divine mind. How much we miss the references here!

The final chapter surveys the practical achievements of Stoic ethics. The influence on social life, from the family to professional conduct, is sketched clearly, and Edelstein argues that the value placed by the Stoics on manual work had considerable economic consequences (pp. 75-7). This claim needs more documentation, for Edelstein does not distinguish precepts from practice. Comparisons, apologies, and criticisms end the book. Some of the latter are misconceived. It is false to assert that the Stoics underestimated the importance of the moment (p. 96); they argued that 'only the present is real' (*SVF* II 509), an assertion which is glossed in the paradox that a man becomes a sage without noticing (*SVF* III 459). Nor again will it do to say they identified all reasoning with moral insight (p. 97). The Stoics were not 'naively unaware' when they defined ἄλογος as 'contrary to right reason' (*SVF* I 202).

As an expositor of Stoicism as philosophy Edelstein has disappointed, and the first half of this book could well mislead the unwary. The discussion is less comprehensive than it claims to be, and relies more on Epictetus than Chrysippus. At times it is difficult to distinguish between the author's own views and those which he is attacking, particularly in the first two chapters. But in spite of many assertions which cry out for clarification, Edelstein has focused humane and challenging attention on certain crucial aspects of Stoicism. We can only regret that his death interrupted their full development.

A. A. LONG.

University College London.

RIST (J. M.) *Plotinus: the road to reality*. Cambridge: the University Press. 1967. Pp. vii + 280. £2 10s.

This important book can be acclaimed as a welcome token of the awakened interest during the present century in Neoplatonism and its founder recently noted in this Journal (*JHS* LXXXVI, 206). Rist guides us along the Neoplatonic road to reality with expert ease and reveals Plotinus as one of the great representatives of ancient philosophy. Other British scholars, though less plentiful than abroad, have already done pioneer work in the same field. Now to the names of Inge and MacKenna, Whittaker and Dodds, Page and Armstrong we must add that of



Rist, with this his latest contribution to a series of a dozen other publications on problems in the thought of Plotinus. It was MacKenna who remarked that Plotinus was pouring new wine into very old bottles. Rist's achievement is to have shown us just how original a thinker the ostensible traditionalist was (*vide* Chapter 13) and to have assessed his influence on other philosophers both Christian and pagan. Marien's bibliography (included in volume 3.2 of Cilento's edition) comprised works published up to 1949 with nearly 1500 titles. Rist's, concentrating on modern studies, runs to more than five pages. There is certainly no dearth of desire among contemporary scholars to work their way along Plotinus' road to reality. Christian students in particular seem increasingly struck with his views on the descent of the soul and on human free will, on the origin of evil in relation to their doctrine of original sin, on prayer and faith, and on man as being both at home in this world and yet homeless. For all such inquirers this book will be of value.

Whittaker surveyed the philosophical system of Plotinus in five chapters, together with a sixth on mysticism. In the present book the treatment is more detailed. Thus there are separate chapters on Logos, on stripping off the soul's accretions (Chapter 14 'A Common Metaphor'), on Prayer, and on Faith. Rist's concluding chapter (18) which amounts to but a page inevitably suffers badly in comparison with Whittaker's solid Conclusion. It were better omitted, or recast.

In his Chapter 'The Plotinian One' Rist argues strongly for the view that the First Hypostasis is 'Infinite Being' but has to admit that other scholars, for instance L. Sweeney, hold that primacy is granted by Plotinus not to Being but to Unity. Rist even supposes that Porphyry, close though he was, mistook the Plotinian doctrine (p. 36). Now one of the very latest treatises is I, vii. There the First Hypostasis is categorically said to transcend Being, Activity, Mind and Thought. Rist himself accepts Dodds' view that the doctrine of the Hypostases had experienced 'Numenian influence' (p. 42) and his own suggestion that the term *ἐπιβολή* (a word of Epicurean descent, strangely enough) means an *Awareness* on the part of the One is not to be lightly brushed aside. If, however, we assume some development in Plotinus' thought, then the system in its most mature form appears in the treatises mentioned in Chapter 6 of *Vita Plotini*, treatises in which *ἐπιβολή* in this sense is not found and among which is V, iii with the significant title *περί τῶν γνωριστικῶν ὑποστάσεων καὶ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα*. For the present reviewer, therefore, the One transcends Cognition and Self-Consciousness, activities belonging to Nous, and the title of Chapter 4 of Rist's book 'The One's Knowledge' is misleading.

The Chapter on 'Logos' (7) provides a useful summary of the problems involved in the employment of a term which 'is perhaps the most difficult in Greek philosophy'. Rist criticises Armstrong for suggesting that a Fourth Hypostasis—Logos-Nature—makes its

way in. In fact, of course, Armstrong is calling attention to a major difficulty. In an ontology which is based on emanation from a First Principle which is so utterly dematerialised, the gap between the immaterial and the material (Rist's own phrase, p. 246) is hard to bridge. Rist cites the opening of the Fourth Gospel 'In the beginning *was* the Logos'. The puzzle, however, is the accompanying cosmogonical assertion 'All things were *made by Him*'. Alike for the early Church in its Trinitarian formulations and for the Neoplatonist in the doctrine of the Hypostases the most baffling task of all is to show how the material world arose. The problem of creation exercised pagan and Christian minds in the constant search to avoid 'the absurd Gnostic proliferation of hypostases' (p. 92). Rist might have laid greater stress on the point, already made in this *Journal* (*supra loc. cit.*) that 'it is time to recast wornout antitheses and in particular to compare procession and creation on a new basis'. He does devote nearly thirty pages (Chapter 9) to 'The Descent of the Soul' and to the creation by the World Soul of the material universe. Again the chapter title is not a clear guide to the manner of operation. 'So far as the World Soul is concerned, there is no descent.' Rist argues against Bréhier's interpretation of *Enn.* IV, viii, 8.18, the view which as Puech has stated could very easily pass as Gnostic: body as evil, death as liberation, repudiation of material things. Once more allowance can and must be made for a change of outlook. In the final phase (*cf. Enn.* I, viii) there can be no doubt that matter (in Rist's own words, p. 119) is 'the last product in the stream of products' which can be traced back to the One as the ultimate source.

Bréhier's proposal to link Plotinian mysticism with that of the *Upanishads* is rejected (Chapter 16) surely with good reason. Instead of looking longingly towards India, a country which Plotinus never actually visited despite his alleged desire to acquire personal knowledge of its thought, scholars might better turn their attention to Egypt, where the founder of Neoplatonism was born and studied. Rist, however, does not specifically consider him in his Egyptian setting, although admitting that he 'stands aside, markedly distinct from the orthodox "Platonic" tradition' of the Athenian Academy (p. 182). Zucker has shown how Plotinus had access to classical Greek literature in his native city Lycopolis, and Henry has followed Cochez in seeing allusions in the *Enneads* to the symbolic statues seated on a throne such as we find in Egyptian art (*Plot. et l'Occid.* 101). Mayassis (*Livre des Morts*, 90 sqq.) has recently argued that the World Soul such as we find it in Plotinus is the cosmic mother, the creative light, personified by Isis. Whatever Plotinus may have thought about her mysteries, it is a fact that he consented to go for a *séance* to her temple in Rome. The Plotinian Light Theory with its emphasis on Undiminished Giving can be compared with the view of the sun's rays in Egyptian religion: the *Hymn to Aten* declares 'You are far away but your rays are on the



earth' and in the *Andros Hymn* Isis herself (1.214) claims she is in the rays of the sun. When Porphyry read his paper on *ἱερός γάμος* (Rist, p. 12) he chose a topic of much importance in the cult of Isis (cf. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium*, p. 16). Rist has a useful chapter (17) on Neoplatonic Faith (cf. also p. 192). Certainly, as he remarks, *πίστις* can be called by the Neoplatonist a power 'better than all human wisdom' (p. 244). A phrase in *Oxyr. Pap.* 1380 (ll.152-3) shows that Isis could be 'invoked in faith' *κατὰ τὸ πιστόν*.

Rist has not convinced the present reviewer that Philo was unknown to Plotinus (p. 101). If Plotinus was interested in the 'Revelations' of such Gnostics as 'Allogenes' and Messus (*VP.* 16) whose works have recently turned up at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt, then he would surely not have disdained the writings of an enthusiastic Platonist who (as Guyot has said) was a Greek by education though a Jew by descent, who contrasted Greeks with 'barbarians' including his own race, who had been well known at Alexandria, Plotinus' own university home, who had the name of a 'Pythagorean' (and so may have been studied by Numenius, as Rist allows, p. 101) and who had developed the doctrine of the *logos* as the principle of unity-in-diversity (cf. Rist's reference to Armstrong on p. 99). In view of the references given on p. 256 the laborious task must sooner or later be undertaken of re-examining the internal evidence for the influence of Philo on Plotinus (*vide* Schwyzler, *RE* 21, col. 575).

R. E. WITT.

London.

LUNEAU (AUGUSTE). **L'histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Église. La doctrine des âges du monde**, collection 'Théologie historique', 2, Paris, Beauchesne, 1964, 1 vol. in-8° de 448 p.

M. Luneau s'est attaqué dans cet ouvrage à un problème vraiment considérable: la naissance de la théologie de l'histoire dans la pensée patristique. On entend couramment soutenir que l'idée d'un progrès historique est une exclusivité juive et chrétienne. Sans doute cette appréciation est-elle juste pour l'essentiel; mais elle demande à être nuancée; d'une part, il ne faut pas méconnaître l'existence d'une tendance, communiquée par l'apocalyptique juive à divers auteurs chrétiens, et selon laquelle l'histoire obéirait au contraire à un processus de dégradation; d'autre part et surtout, il est trop sommaire de refuser à l'Antiquité classique toute perception d'un sens de l'histoire. M. Luneau a le mérite d'avoir souligné avec netteté ces deux points; le second notamment, au moyen de témoignages empruntés aussi bien aux philosophes présocratiques qu'aux poètes et historiens de l'époque augustéenne.

Il reste que la théologie de l'histoire est, pour une large mesure, une acquisition de la pensée juive et chrétienne. M. Luneau montre qu'elle se manifeste, durant les premiers siècles, dans deux ordres de

réflexions. On se pose d'abord la question de la durée du monde, et on la résout au moyen de schèmes tirés de l'Ancien Testament: créé en sept jours, l'univers durera sept jours, c'est-à-dire, puisque 'mille ans sont aux yeux de Dieu comme un jour' (*Psaume* 90, 4), sept mille ans; associée plus ou moins étroitement aux convictions millénaristes (six mille ans pleins d'épreuves, suivis d'un millénaire de paix inauguré par le second avènement terrestre du Christ), cette représentation d'origine juive connut un succès prodigieux dans la tradition chrétienne, chez Irénée d'abord, puis surtout chez les auteurs latins (Hippolyte, Cyprien, Lactance).

Parallèlement à ces spéculations sur la durée du monde, il en est d'autres sur ses différents âges, qui ont retenu davantage l'attention de M. Luneau. Présente aux origines de la pensée grecque avec le mythe des races d'Hésiode, l'idée est surtout biblique, puisque l'Ancien Testament distingue les époques d'Adam, de Noé, d'Abraham et de Moïse, tandis que saint Paul définit quatre ères successives, qui sont celles de la loi naturelle, de la Loi mosaïque, de la grâce et de la gloire. Irénée développe la division paulinienne et l'incorpore à sa perspective des sept mille ans; il sera suivi sur ce point par Grégoire de Nysse. Quant aux grands Alexandrins, Clément, Origène, Eusèbe, leur interprétation de la Bible, sous l'influence de Philon, est spirituelle plus qu'historique, en sorte que la spéculation sur les âges du monde ne les a guère séduits.

Il appartenait à saint Augustin, héritier des deux cultures, de réaliser une synthèse impressionnante entre la tradition, surtout grecque, des quatre âges du monde, et la tradition, surtout latine, des sept millénaires. Rapprochant ces deux représentations, il en forge une troisième, celle des sept âges du monde, qui domine la *Cité de Dieu* et s'exprime en toute clarté dans la dernière page de ce traité.

On voit, par cette brève analyse, à la fois l'importance des thèmes qu'aborde M. Luneau et l'abondance de l'information qu'il met en œuvre; il a confectionné une bibliographie considérable, qui rendra service aux chercheurs. On doit pourtant observer que celle-ci aurait gagné à plus de discernement: elle comporte la mention de quantité de travaux de seconde zone, ce qui n'est pas grave; mais, ce qui l'est davantage, elle passe sous silence, inexplicablement, certains ouvrages essentiels au sujet traité, tels ceux de W. Kamlah, de J. Ratzinger, de C. Andresen, etc.; il est fâcheux que M. Luneau donne ainsi l'impression d'avoir ignoré ces historiens; à cet égard, on devra compléter son ouvrage par un autre, qui l'a suivi de peu et porte à peu près sur le même sujet, à savoir celui de K.-H. Schwarte, *Die Vorgeschichte der augustinischen Weltalterlehre*, dans 'Antiquitas', Reihe I, 'Abhandl. zur alten Geschichte', 12, Bonn 1966. On regrettera enfin que le travail de M. Luneau soit desservi par une présentation matérielle plus négligée qu'il n'est permis.

JEAN PÉPIN.

Paris.



DVORNIK (F.) **Early Christian and Byzantine political philosophy: origins and background.** (Dumbarton Oaks studies, 9.) 2 vols. Washington: the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine studies. 1966. Pp. xvi + 1-452, x + 453-975. \$ 20.00.

The book is dedicated to the founders of Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, Mildred Bliss and Robert Woods Bliss.

In the brief preface, the reader is informed that the general theme of the book was kneaded for many years in the author's mind and that it reflects Professor Dvornik's interests in the history of political ideas, which date back to his undergraduate years.

The title of the book suggests, at least to the reviewer, an analytic approach in the sense that the author would look for the parts that make up the structure of political and philosophical life during the early Christian and Byzantine years, for the voice as it were of past centuries and civilisations. Professor Dvornik, however, adopted a different route, simpler perhaps at first sight and yet far more difficult. He describes the course of the political and philosophical life of all civilisations in the Middle East during the centuries that preceded the appearance of Christianity, beginning with remote prehistoric times—the 'Origins and Background' of the book title—and ending up with early Christian and Byzantine political philosophy. The fact that Christian and Byzantine political philosophy, both of which are the result of a variety of cross-cultural influences, constitute an extremely complex historical phenomenon, justifies the course adopted by Professor Dvornik. Owing to the extended discussion of the origins and the background, it is only natural that the central theme of the book, as suggested by its title, appears in fact, in the ninth chapter, and covers only four of the twelve chapters of the book or 292 out of 850 pages of the text.

One wonders whether another title like 'The history of the political philosophy of the peoples in Middle East, Greece and Rome up to the early Christian and Byzantine centuries' might not have been more appropriate for the area covered by the book under review. However, the title given to the book by its author, suggests his main intention, which is to throw light on early Christian and Byzantine political philosophy. It is for this reason that he attempts this long journey into the remote past of all Middle East peoples, from Egypt to Persia and India, then back to the Greek lands and to Rome. This attempt is fully justified by the importance attached by the author to the exploration of the institution and concept of 'kingship', which constitutes the fundamental thread, the backbone of his work. It is the theoretical content, the form, the realisation and the evolution of this institution in every people, in every state that he investigates. He follows up this institution through the mutual influences, or cross-roads, of civilisations and he points out every addition or new element that

may contribute to a new form or new content. Thus, by this detailed exploration, he indicates vividly and clearly the route that terminates in the early Christian's and Byzantine's concept of kingship. For the author, this concept is central also to the understanding of the political philosophy of those times. Undoubtedly, it is of great interest to read that the Christian concept of kingship is largely made up of so many constituent ideas of political life and philosophy both remote and recent. It is of interest also to follow up the routes by which such ideas have reached early Christianity, the manner in which they were assimilated, the form and content in which they were called up to serve the Christian spirit.

The Hellenistic period occupies a central position and presents a special interest in Professor Dvornik's exploratory course (Chapter V, Hellenistic Political Philosophy, pp. 205-87). These times constitute the first large universal melting pot of political life and theory. By becoming a precious receiver of the past, they systematised and institutionalised theoretical positions, they guided, inspired or confirmed political action. They developed, in addition, into a rich and fertile source of radiation to Judaism, to Romans, Christians and Byzantines, at times indirectly through the Jews or Romans, at times directly.

The part of the book concerning Hellenistic times is characterised both by more original views and by bold interpretations and conclusions. In the reviewer's view, it contributes very significantly to the history of political philosophy and it should give rise to fertile scientific discussions. The reviewer himself would attempt to lead off such discussions with the following remark. Professor Dvornik takes the view that the beginnings and the traditions which led to the deification of kings during Hellenistic times are of Greek origin. Greek mythology, in fact, provides sufficiently rich material to this effect with its heroes, especially with Hercules. Even some theoreticians of the classical period, like Plato and Isocrates, seem to lend support to such a view in some of their writings. However, one should not forget that the realisation of this highly significant political development had started with Alexander and was completed by his successors in Eastern environments, like Egypt and Babylon. From there it was transferred to Greece. This fact is of decisive importance.

The title of the twelve chapters of the book are the following: I, Oriental ideas on Kingship: Egypt, Mesopotamia. II, Aryan Hittites and Near Eastern Semites. III, Iranian Kingship. IV, From Mycenae to Isocrates. V, Hellenistic political philosophy. VI, Jewish Political philosophy and the Messianic Idea. VII, The Kingdom of God. VIII, The Hellenization of Roman Political Theory. IX, Jewish and Christian Reactions to Roman Hellenism. X, Christian Hellenism. XI, Political Speculation from Constantine to Justinian. XII, Imperium and Sacerdotium. A rich bibliography follows, separated by chapters (I-III, IV-V, VI-VII, VIII-IX, X-XII). The advantage of such a presentation is that it is of



great assistance to the reader who takes a special interest in part of the work only.

In order that we make a proper evaluation of the author's contribution, it is necessary to remind ourselves that the greatest part of the area that he has covered is not easily accessible to exploration. He is not dealing with the history of political philosophy. If he was, he would confine himself to the investigation of writings concerned with political theories. Written documents are, for the largest part of his work, either altogether absent or scarce and poor. This is, for example, the case with Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, the Hittites, the Minoan and Mycenaean civilisation. The investigator has to rely sometimes completely, very often for the most part on indirect information about the political life and ideas of the people and periods investigated, i.e. on information obtained from various finds of archaeological excavations. It is on the interpretation of material of this kind that the author has constructed the political philosophy of the ancient Middle East.

The reader, naturally may not be in agreement with the interpretations given by the author on a number of points. The important point, however, is that the author possesses an acute sense of the quality of his sources which he has studied with critical perceptiveness. He is very well versed in his subject, as the bibliography and the references following the text clearly indicate. With the use of such equipment the author has reached his conclusions. Even when the author investigates periods for which there are relatively adequate written sources of information, such as for instance writings of legislators, philosophers, statesmen etc., his approach is still the same. He does not confine himself to theoretical texts only; in order to form a synthetic picture of political philosophy, he searches for data both in political life, i.e. in the form in which political ideas are realised, and in cultural environment generally. Thus, the reader throughout the whole work has a vivid impression that two things are being accomplished at the same time: firstly, that the political history of the people and periods investigated is being written, to the necessary extent; secondly, that the political philosophy is inferred from this.

Professor Dvornik's work is the result of a long and laborious systematic investigation, and as such it will be a fertile turning point both in the difficult problems it attempts to solve, and in the manner in which it uncovers the synthesis and prehistory of the political philosophy of the early Christian and Byzantine centuries. For this we are grateful to the author.

VASSILIOS TATAKIS.

*University of Thessaloniki.*

(London: Oxford U.P.). 1964. Pp. xi + 238.

£1 16s.

The author of this group of essays communicates his view at the outset that there is more in Plato than even our most subtle analysis of the dialogues suggests, and that there are general themes in Plato's thought (e.g. that there are suprasensible realities, and that aspects of the soul are immortal) which are quite directly shared by the great neo-Platonists. Professor Rist regards these as being more 'Platonic' than those of our contemporaries who fix their attention (contrary to Plato's specific advice) upon the dialogues' written words for an analytical purpose. He rejects their view of Plato as the 'author of a series of tracts' though he shows himself eminently capable of playing the game of minute analysis against them (or with them), so well indeed that at times there is an implied, adumbrated weakening of his own general position, in that his arguments in many places require that the actual words of Plato's text be taken into consideration in the sentence by sentence, phrase by phrase manner with which we are all familiar. But then Plato was such a careful writer—and so is Professor Rist, whose words in this collection of essays will repay repeated and cautious study.

The prescription of the book's title does not sit too heavily upon it, for not only does it deal with questions about *ἔρος* and the soul, but with related matters which demand more emphasis upon logic, such as the question of *being*, of *knowing how* and *that*, and of *ἀρετή*. The book begins with a discussion of Plato and neo-Platonism in which Rist argues that Plato intended his works to be interpreted 'neo-Platonically'; towards this end he argues for an increase in status for *μῦθος* and a playing down of the *μῦθος*/*λόγος* dichotomy. Rist is inclined to treat the mythical and dialectical passages in Plato as being on the same footing, and in this respect he himself seems to agree with the neo-Platonists. In a long discussion of the 'Good, the Forms, and Eros in Plato', Rist ties these themes (which are now sometimes treated as centrifugal) into an ingenious complex. The question of the gods is regarded as the core of the matter. By and large Classical Greeks thought it unnatural that gods should love or be loved. Rist argues that Plato's concept of the *demiourgos* in the *Timaeus* departs somewhat from this, for the *demiourgos* has no *φθόρος*. 'Socrates' remark in the *Apology* 31a that the god sent him as a gadfly to arouse humanity because the god loved humanity is brought in to the same purpose. I am not convinced that it is not intended by Plato as an ironical joke, though this would not dissolve its first level meaning completely. The *φύλακες* are likened to gods and *ὁμοίους θεῶν* is to be achieved by man as far as his human limits allow. Rist maintains that the *φύλακες* are kept from self-deifying megalomania by the fact that they are subject to and pursue the Forms, but so also are and do the gods, according to his argument. I think

RIST (J. M.) *Eros and Psyche: studies in Plato, Plotinus and Origen.* (Phoenix, supplementary vol. vi.) Toronto: University Press



that Rist probably reads too much into the suggestion that *φύλακες* can become *δαίμονες*, and that he puts more weight than necessary upon the word *θεῖος* when it is applied to a human being, as, for example, in *Sophist* 216c. If the *Timaeus* is called in, it shows that the *δαίμων* element is put into humanity by the *demiourgos*, and there is no suggestion that the *demiourgos* was making only *φύλακες*. But on the whole Rist's view (and Taylor's) of Plato's god of the *Timaeus* as being possessed of an 'overflowing' creative generosity is convincingly maintained against Cornford, and non-appetitive aspects of Eros, as illustrated in the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*, are properly stressed.

Rist recalls that there is no attempt in the *Phaedo* to rest the defence of the soul's immortality squarely upon the *συγγένεια* of souls and Forms. He sees considerable significance in this fact which, in his view, simply points to the distinction between souls and Forms observable in the *Sophist*. The souls are active agents, whereas the Forms are not, and are *causes* only indirectly by means of *παράδειγματα*. This emphasis upon the static character of the Forms has been fertilised by neo-Platonism. Rist's view is a useful effort to try to express what was thinkable about the Forms: we take it for granted that the Forms are entities of some sort, with certain functions, but even though we are aware that they are more than concepts, we may ordinarily find it difficult to grasp that they are. It is helpful to receive comments such as those which Rist makes on them, even if one does not entirely agree. Rist is on the side of those who believe that no 'Form-of-Being' is alluded to in the *Sophist* (e.g. in *Sophist* 237c, 254c), and that *τὸ ὄν* is used in general terms, and equivalent to *τὰ ὄντα*. 'Being' is 'included' in the Forms, and *τὸ ὄν* is not regarded as a 'formal' cause of the Forms. Rist considers that self-predication of the Forms in the 'tautologous' sense (e.g. Largeness is large) is strongly supported by indications in the text of Plato (p. 47). On the other hand, non-tautologous self-predication (Largeness is a large thing) involves a particularity that brings in the familiar regress. 'Non-tautologous' self-predication would make 'Largeness' uniquely large: thus ordinary objects might be called 'large', but would not be *really* large. He clinches his view of self-predication quite epigrammatically, by pointing out that the 'Ideal living creature' can simply be called 'living creature' not 'living' nor 'creature' separately. The author's intention is clearly to emphasise the 'non-aliveness' of Forms, but I think that he has conflated without sufficient justification 'self-predication' with 'predications' that we might ordinarily make. I think that he may mean to suggest that these predications are of little significance, and perhaps this is why there is no reference to Ackrill's views in *συμπλοκή εἰδῶν* (1955), and the cluster of articles of that time which deal with such problems. Neither can a possible semantic abyss between Greek and English in the expression of what we would call 'thing' be left out of account.

From his scrutiny of the oblique and opaque references in ancient authors to Plato's lecture on the 'good' and from Plato's own text, Rist accepts the view that for Plato the 'good' was one and involved the notion of 'limit'. Taking up the suggestion of *Rep.* 509b that the 'good' is 'one' and somehow 'beyond' being, i.e. the Forms (in a Plotinian sense); and he would solve by means of the 'one' and the 'great-and-small' the difficulty involved in *τὸ ἀγαθόν* being at the same time an entity and 'beyond' being: there is nothing in the way of evidence, Rist suggests, to oppose the identification. He does not claim to have resolved completely the contradictions that encompass this obscure area of Plato's thought, but he suggests that Plotinus did at least grasp one side of Plato's paradox by placing the 'good' 'beyond' the Forms.

Rist discusses the possible ultimate origin of Plotinus' view that the Forms were somehow 'in the mind'. Even in the fourth century B.C., there was difficulty about the status of the Forms (the example of Alcimos is quoted from Diogenes Laertius, 3.13); Rist is inclined to blame the Stoics who had a vested interest in diluting the transcendentalism of the Forms. Bringing the Forms in out of the cold, as it were, and into the mind made it easier for people (other than Plato himself, we presume) to identify with and respect cold and remote entities. Plotinus almost anthropomorphised the entities of Platonic philosophy, and made them accessible to the feelings of their admirers, rather than objects of distant contemplation. The *demiourgos* of the *Timaeus* provides a saving touch of personality in Plato's world scheme: both the *demiourgos* and the Plotinian 'one' are described as standing in father-to-child relationship with the worlds which the former creates and the latter sets in order. Rist's view is that the *demiourgos* is motivated by some *ἔπος* which is much more than mere desire, a species of outgoingness which recalls the *τόκος ἐν τῷ καλῷ* notion: the *demiourgos* and the Plotinian 'one' 'overflow' in their creating because of a necessity which is describable in terms of non-desirous *ἔπος*. Rist adduces examples from neo-Platonist writings which illustrate *ἔπος* with a meaning that in some respects overlaps *ἀγαπή* and *φιλία*. It must be conceded that there is something about the *ἔπος* of the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* that suggests such passionless agency, and chimes with Rist's neo-Platonising interpretation. Certainly the bringing together of the two philosophies is suggestive, even where, part for part, it may not carry full conviction.

Dealing with the know-how/know-that distinction which John Gould (*Development of Plato's Ethics*, 1955) took from Ryle and applied to Plato, Rist succeeds in undermining Gould's examples for the most part. His analysis of these passages from Plato's text indicates against Gould that where and when either limb of the dichotomy applies, 'know that' tends to be prior and predominant; and there is surely some strength in his contention that if virtue were 'know



how' there would be no basis for the Socratic puzzle about who should teach it.

Of the other themes treated in this book, one may mention a discussion of 'virtue' in the middle and later dialogues, and of the 'disintegration' of the knowledge = virtue doctrine. There is also a discussion of Plotinus' views on 'virtue'. The essay on Origen is full of interest. The final chapter discusses in a summing up the different kinds of *êpws*. Professor Rist attacks problems with vigour and integrity, and I am sure that Platonic scholars will find his book helpful on many points. His policy of attempting to effect a confluence between Plato and neo-Platonism seems to hint at dissatisfaction with the coldness as well as the opacity of Plato's ultimate views about ultimate entities. No doubt the neo-Platonic influence humanises Plato, and it may be that the neo-Platonists in some ways knew more about Plato than our contemporaries. It would be a pity, however, if Plato were to be humanised out of recognition. His inhumanity is one of his most valuable qualities.

H. D. RANKIN.

Monash University.

ARNOU (R.) **Le désir de Dieu dans la philosophie de Plotin.** 2nd ed. Rome: Gregorian University Press. 1967. Pp. 343. Lire 3.500.

Arnou's book first appeared in 1921, and though its appearance was unnoticed in England it was a major achievement in Plotinian studies. It is now re-issued with virtually no alteration in the text, though the Presses de l'Université Grégorienne call it a second edition and have added a number of misprints in the Greek (e.g. p. 178 *êavtoû*, p. 199 *γινωσκόμενῃ*, p. 209 *ἐκεῖ*, etc.). The references to Plotinus are now given to the text (and for *Ennead* 6 to the proof-sheets) of Henry and Schwyzler's *editio maior*; a few lines of the Greek now also appear in translation and a bow is made to the 'dialogue chrétien-non-chrétien' with a quotation from Nehru on p. 295! Despite what Arnou calls the 'travail patient et délicat' of Mlle. Jorland the attempt to modernise the bibliography is a failure. It is odd that virtually nothing written in English (and almost nothing in Italian) is added to the 1921 list; it is grotesque that Armstrong's *Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus*, praised by Father Henry in an introduction to the present re-issue, does not appear in the bibliography.

In effect then we have a reprint of the 1921 edition; and it was well worth reprinting. In 1921 the study of Plotinus was still in its pioneering days; there was no decent text and much of the secondary work was imprecise or maudlin. Echoes of now dead controversies greet us from some parts of Arnou's book—for example on p. 261 we read that Plotinus is indebted to Philo, undoubtedly by way of Numenius—but the majority of the work stands up very well

and has not yet been superseded. Arnou performed a valuable service in looking in detail at Plotinus' vocabulary on such subjects as the nature of god, immanence and transcendence, and emanation; it may be regretted, however, that he makes little attempt to re-think the concepts which Plotinus employs or to explain them. Rather he assumes the validity and immediate intelligibility of the Plotinian language and renders it literally. The same sort of objection will present itself to the contemporary reader on the subject of Plotinus' mysticism. Arnou refers to the work of Maréchal, but in general assumes too much about the nature of mysticism. He rightly treats Plotinus as a fountain-head of European mysticism, but seems to assume too readily that there is such a thing as mysticism rather than that there are various mysticisms. For the contemporary reader a diet of Stace and Zaehner would be a healthy corrective.

There are a number of matters on which the opinion of the present reviewer would differ from that of Arnou: on *θεός*, for example (124 ff.). Plotinus' position would be clarified if Arnou had concentrated on the fact that *θεός* and *νοῦς* were virtually synonyms among Middle Platonists. Hence for Plotinus the First Principle is not *ὁ θεός* if and only if *θεός* = *νοῦς*. Again Arnou's treatment of Eros might be questioned: Is Eros always the equivalent of *πόθος* (p. 62)? The attempt to fit 6.8.15 (*καὶ ἐρασμιὸν καὶ ἐρως αὐτὸς, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐρως*) into this schema breaks down. The One does not need itself; if it did it would be deficient.

Arnou's work is far more than a study of the 'desire for God' in Plotinus. It deals in detail with many aspects of Plotinus' psychology, and with his account of the One itself and its operations in the physical cosmos. The discussion of the concept of *ἐνεῖναι* and Plotinus' view that to be in something means to be caused by something (p. 167 ff.) deserves particular mention. The whole work is very well documented from the *Enneads* themselves, though the background to Plotinus' thought is perhaps underemphasized. Above all Arnou is an *anima naturaliter Plotiniana* and this is his greatest asset. In many ways it is still true that *Le Désir* is the best introduction to Plotinus the mystic; in common with most other commentators Arnou does not always do justice to Plotinus the philosopher, particularly to Plotinus the exact philosopher.

JOHN M. RIST.

University College, Toronto.

**The Cambridge history of later Greek and early medieval philosophy.** Ed. A. H. Armstrong. Cambridge: the University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv + 711. Contributors: A. H. Armstrong, P. Merlan, H. Chadwick, A. C. Lloyd, R. A. Markus, I. P. Sheldon-Williams, H. Liebeschütz, R. Walzer. £4 15s.

A history of the thought of late antiquity and its



influence on the development of subsequent Jewish, Western Christian, Byzantine and Muslim philosophy needed to be written. It was the Neoplatonism of Plotinus and his successors rather than the writings of classical Greece which formed the seed-bed of subsequent philosophy; and a serious history of Neoplatonism had not been written. The subject-matter is vast; and to present the *History* as a composite work was judged the only feasible way to handle it. Perhaps this was inevitable, but divergencies of viewpoint between the various authors (and occasionally the grinding of personal axes) do not make the whole volume easier to assimilate. Probably few will read it from cover to cover, but those who do will be a little disconcerted by the divergent estimates the various contributors have made of what they are doing: some try to give an introductory sketch of a philosophical school or schools; some eschew investigation of philosophical topics for cultural history; some examine the structure of particular historical philosophies without giving the reader much detail about their authors' actual proposals; some rely heavily on our knowledge of antique theological language. In view of this the reviewer's most useful function is to comment briefly on the characteristics of each section of the work separately.

(A) P. Merlan on Greek Philosophy from Plato to Plotinus.

The purpose of this section is to explain the background of the thought of Plotinus and to consider those theories of previous philosophers (Academic, Peripatetic, Stoic, 'Middle' Platonist etc.) which influenced it. It performs the most useful function of bringing together a large amount of very disparate material, but, partly because of the fragmentary nature of much of the evidence, Merlan produces an effect of bitterness. The real difficulty, however, is that he is trying to talk about the influences of earlier theories on the work of Plotinus before we know what Plotinus himself said. It might have been better if a discussion of Plotinus' sources followed an investigation of his philosophy, even though this would have involved an unhistorical sequence. An example of the difficulty which Merlan's method causes is his treatment of what he calls the 'Two-opposite-principles doctrine', that is, the various Academic theories of the One and the Indefinite Dyad. Apparently Merlan thinks this is fundamental for Plotinus and duly considers its origins. In the later section of the *History* on Plotinus himself, however, the theory is given only a passing mention (p. 241). Merlan, in fact, is assuming a much more advanced reader, and this is perhaps reasonable, though it may put other readers off at too early a stage of the *History*. (I have already met some so affected.) Such weaker brethren will also be daunted by Merlan's constant habit of using 'academic' words and phrases like noetic, mantic, autarky, Kepos, where English equivalents are available. For specialists, however, this section will provide a useful and moderate account of what we know of a rather dark

period. Perhaps Alexander of Aphrodisias' theories of intellect are worth more detailed treatment, and the importance of the Stoics is certainly underrated, though the treatment of Posidonius is properly moderate.

(B) H. Chadwick on Philo and the Beginnings of Christian Thought.

This section gives us a very clear and straightforward account of some of the ideas of Philo, Justin, Clement of Alexandria and Origen. Philo is rightly put into juxtaposition with Christian rather than with pagan Neoplatonic thought. Chadwick is generally content with telling us what these writers said rather than with a consideration of philosophical arguments, and this is perhaps all he could do with Philo, Justin and Clement. It leads, however, to a disproportionately short section on Origen, whose great importance is mentioned but not conveyed. The Gnostics are also mentioned but not given adequate coverage. Chadwick leaves the impression that because Gnostic theses are repulsive they are best ignored. The problem of evil with which the Gnostics were wrestling, however, is after all fundamental.

(C) A. H. Armstrong on Plotinus.

The thought of Plotinus forms the centrepiece of the whole *History*. Armstrong's account is lucid and straightforward. Too much space is given to biographical matter and only some forty pages to philosophy as such. Armstrong right emphasises the centrality for Plotinus of the problem of personal identity, though as happens so often in this *History*, he mentions what Plotinus says rather than discusses what he means. The account of the Plotinian One is a good introduction to the subject, though problems about the One's infinity (much discussed recently) could have been mentioned. The hypostases of Intellect and Soul are examined and Armstrong concludes with a brief discussion of the return of the soul to the One and of Plotinian mysticism in general. Here again more detailed examination of specific texts would have improved the account, and although Armstrong alludes to the attempt of Zaeherer to classify mystical experiences, his decision to place the mysticism of Plotinus in the 'theistic' class, though in the reviewer's opinion correct, is insufficiently explained by specific quotation from the *Enneads*. Finally it should be remarked that Armstrong is too much on the defensive; he is continually justifying Plotinus. This is unnecessary; Plotinus' own words, explained where necessary, are adequate to plead his cause.

(D) A. C. Lloyd on the Later Neoplatonists.

This section, concerned with pagan Neoplatonism from Porphyry to Damascius, is of a different type from much else in the *History*. Lloyd is faced with the formidable task of making an approach to post-Plotinian Neoplatonism intelligible to layman and scholar alike. The elaborate and scholastic works of Proclus and Damascius may daunt even those well-versed in earlier Neoplatonism. After a brief intro-



duction, therefore, Lloyd tends to concentrate either on Neoplatonic theses differing from those of Plotinus or on attempts to examine the logical structures on which Neoplatonic metaphysics is based. He argues that Porphyry has a 'monistic' tendency and that he 'telescopes' the hypostases of Soul and Intellect. This is not entirely convincing, partly because of the threadbare nature of much of the evidence, which Lloyd alludes to rather than discusses, and partly because with the assistance of a little goodwill the same monistic positions could be teased out of Plotinus. Is the alleged monism a matter of terminology alone? On the other hand Lloyd might have said more about Porphyry's possible divergencies from Plotinus in his account of the One.

Lloyd's account of Iamblichus is unusual. He plays down the 'theurgic' side of his activities and emphasises his role as a forerunner of the more philosophical speculation of the later Athenian school. As for Proclus, Lloyd makes a most interesting and fruitful attempt to explain the logical relations of some of the concepts with which he worked, so that the strange things he said become markedly more intelligible, if not believable. But this is not an introduction. Lloyd would not tell the reader who knew no Proclus much about him; he tends to assume knowledge of what Proclus said and on this basis tries with considerable success to explain why he said it.

Lloyd properly includes the Aristotelian commentators like Simplicius in his survey of Neoplatonism, and discusses the importance of the assimilation (begun by Porphyry) of Aristotelian logic. He has a brief section on Neoplatonism in Alexandria and apparently underrates Damascius.

(E) R. A. Markus on Marius Victorinus and Augustine.

This section is the highpoint of the book. The importance of Victorinus' ontology has recently been demonstrated by Henry and Hadot, and he is given a chapter to himself. Augustine's enormous body of writings presents formidable problems to the writer of a philosophical survey, and Markus' treatment is the best of its kind I have seen. He tackles the problem of the relation of Christianity and philosophy as an introduction to various prominent themes in Augustine's work. The whole discussion is full of illuminating comment and Markus keeps the proper balance between description and analysis of Augustine's theses. Of particular value are his examinations of belief (p. 350) and of the body/soul problem where Augustine's difficulties often arise from his Neoplatonic assumptions (such as the definition of man as a rational soul using a mortal and earthly body). There are discussions of the problem of certainty and of Augustine's theory of *memoria* (which he substituted for Platonic *anamnesis*), of the nature of sense-perception and of freedom and moral responsibility. The fundamental *uti-frui* distinction as a basis for ethics is stressed (though Markus is perhaps insufficiently critical here) and there is an excellent if brief introduction to Augustine's well-known theory

of time. The section is concluded by an account of Augustine's attempt to contrast the earthly city with the city of God, an attempt which perhaps represents his chief claim to greatness, for here we have a philosophical evaluation of antiquity and its values in the context of history as a whole.

Markus' work is clear and excellently documented. If objection can be raised to his method, it would be that he has tried to separate philosophy and theology too radically. He declines, for example, to discuss predestination (p. 384) and Augustine's theory of grace and justification; but that makes it very much more difficult to understand his theory of freewill and necessity.

(F) I. P. Sheldon-Williams on the Greek Christian Platonist Tradition from the Cappadocians to Maximus and Eriugena.

This section deals with Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Ps-Dionysius, Philoponus and other Christians of Alexandria and their successors, Maximus and Eriugena. It also contains an interesting chapter on the 'philosophy of icons'. Sheldon-Williams is an enthusiast, and tends to write for the initiates. His accounts of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzen are straight-forward, but when, beginning with Gregory of Nyssa, he plunges into the unfamiliar world of Orthodox speculative theology, he becomes more and more difficult to follow as the mass of technical terms increases and the reader seeks in vain for explanation of their meaning and/or sense. Sheldon-Williams manages to evoke a world but not to explain it. On p. 466 we read: 'By this process the theurgy of the Hierarchy as a whole participates in the intelligible operations of the angels and so is set on the way from theoria to the transcendent gnosis which is inseparable from deification'. This is not meaningless, but it needs translation into a modern idiom. The sentence could be paralleled from almost every page of the section. Sheldon-Williams has not realised the remoteness—I do not mean irrelevance—of all this to the contemporary reader. It would perhaps have been helpful if he had given us as much of the anthropology (theory of man) of these writers as he has of their speculative theology. Certainly there is inadequate coverage of their theories of the moral life. Virginity is hardly mentioned, though it is a concept fundamental for the age. Is this another instance of unwillingness to discuss what is thought to be unacceptable? Certainly Sheldon-Williams gives the impression of grinding theological axes at times (e.g. the long note on p. 516). Nevertheless the section on the philosophy of icons is valuable, though here again more explanation would have been helpful. The last chapter places Scottus Eriugena firmly in the Greek Christian tradition and indicates how he became the source for Greek theological ideas in the West.

(G) H. Liebeschütz on Western Christian Thought from Boethius to Anselm.

Liebeschütz's section is concerned with the transmission through Latin authors of the ancient philo-



sophical tradition and the pre-scholastic form of mediaeval thought. His chapter on Boethius is mainly history and history of ideas rather than analysis of philosophical theses. He is agnostic on the question of how Boethius acquired his knowledge of Alexandrian Neoplatonism and apparently holds (against Momigliano) that he did not abandon Christianity at the end of his life. After discussing Isidore and the *Libri Carolini*, Liebeschütz considers Berengar of Tours' attempt to apply the Aristotelian categories of substance and accident to eucharistic doctrine and relates it to his general thesis of the importance of dialectical enquiries in theology. Liebeschütz closes with an excellent introduction to the work of Anselm of Canterbury. He brings out the importance of his relationship to Augustine and considers his so-called ontological argument for the existence of God. Some readers will not be convinced by Liebeschütz's acceptance of Karl Barth's view that Anselm did not intend to argue for a metaphysical truth. In view of recent discussion of the logic of the argument Liebeschütz might have given more space to Anselm's logic rather than looking for a 'theological' way out. In fact he moves towards doing this in his comments on Anselm's reply to Gaunilo (p. 632), but a more detailed logical treatment would have been welcome. Nevertheless Anselm comes over as powerful and fresh—which is surely right.

(H) R. Walzer on Early Islamic Philosophy.

The final section of the *History* is concerned with al-Kindī, al-Rāzī and principally al-Fārābī, and is accompanied by an introduction to the problem of how to approach Islamic philosophy. It is very thin. Al-Kindī and al-Rāzī get half a page of generalisation each. Al-Fārābī does a little better, but students of Western philosophy who, like this reviewer, hoped for a serious introduction to the relationship between antiquity and Islamic thought will be disappointed. Most of the al-Fārābī chapter is given over to the (admittedly important) subject of political philosophy, but there is very little except *précis*. The Islamic philosophers deserve better than this. Walzer's section can only exaggerate regrettable misconceptions.

JOHN M. RIST.

University College, Toronto.

PESTALOZZA (U.) **Nuovi saggi di religione mediterranea.** Florence: Sansoni. 1964. Pp. 596. 2 plates. Price not stated.

The death of Uberto Pestalozza last year removes one of the most outstanding figures in the comparative study of the history of religion in its Hellenic aspects. Born in Milan in 1872, where he entered the Faculty of Accademia Scientifico-letteraria in the University working under Graziadio Ascoli and Elia Lattes in Semitic languages and Etruscan studies, subsequently proceeding to the University of Rome. There he engaged in the determination of the place and func-

tion of myth in Roman history against the excessive rationalistic positivism of Mommsen and his school. Starting with a thesis on the indigenous character of the goddess Ceres, he continued his researches in this field of enquiry, and was instrumental in the creation of a Chair of the History of Religions in the University of Milan, which he occupied with great distinction. In the appointment to professorships in the subject in Italy he exercised considerable influence, culminating in that of Raphael Pettazzoni at the University of Rome.

At Milan Pestalozza collected round him a number of devoted followers among whom have been those who have made notable contributions in the history of religions. He himself became the Rector of the University but these administrative duties did not prevent or diminish his imposing output of publications which bear witness to his prodigious industry and the extent and depth of his knowledge in his particular field. His two volumes *Pagine di religione mediterranea*, 1942-45, were followed in 1951 by his study of *Religione mediterranea* in its wider aspects, displaying both the erudition and the lucidity of their author in his collection of the rites and beliefs in this region, and their resuscitation in the light of the faith and practices of contemporary religions.

It was in the small book, *Eterno femminile mediterraneo*, published in Venice in 1954, that he set forth the sequel of his cultural and religious analyses in the Mediterranean world. These had led him to the conclusion that from the basin of the Mediterranean to Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in the Indus valley the dominant role was played by women from the Upper Palaeolithic before the origin and development of agriculture, and when it was in its infancy. Moreover, he contended, this was continued in the higher Hellenic civilisation, recurring in the Olympian and pre-Socratic classical myths and cults, in poetry, drama and philosophy; in the cosmological imagery, in the Aristotelian material Cause, and in the metaphysical and mystical concepts of the Scholastics, St John of the Cross and St Teresa of Avila in the Middle Ages. It was in the matriarchal structure of pre-Hellenic Mediterranean society, in which the Eternal Feminine was identified with the Earth Mother, the moon and other centres of cosmic fertility influencing fecundity and the growth of vegetation and in natural phenomena in their various phases and modes of expression. Against R. P. Schmidt he maintained that this was anterior to the discovery of agriculture and the establishment of a peasant culture. Similarly, a matriarchal religion was dominant throughout the Mediterranean world composed of the great or minor *Potnie* lying at the base of all its cultures long before the patriarchal Indo-Aryan Olympian mythology overlaid the Minoan matriarchal faith and practice. Remnants of this earlier matriarchal cult survived to the surprise and bewilderment of the victorious invaders, and the two elements in the complex culture were never united in a harmonious unity.



In the series of articles assembled in *Nuovi saggi de religione mediterranea*, published in 1954, many of which hitherto have not been readily accessible, this theme is set forth, together with kindred studies, with the customary learning and lucidity of Pestalozza. The fundamental myth and its adjuncts are examined and interpreted phenomenologically, the available evidence having been marshalled with characteristic accuracy, and expounded with a vigorous creative imagination and eloquence, irony and Italian humour remarkable in a nonagenarian. These *saggi*, indeed, constitute a worthy record and last testimony of a notable scholar who has left a permanent mark on the field of learning, and the University, he adorned to long, and in both of which he will be remembered with the gratitude and appreciation which unquestionably are his due.

E. O. JAMES.

*All Souls College, Oxford.*

JAMES (E. O.) **The tree of life: an archaeological study.** (Studies in the history of religions: supplements to *Numen*, 11.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1966. Pp. xviii + 293. Fl. 45.

Sacred trees are common in many religions, oak and terebinth, pipal and banyan, and it is surprising that few comparative studies have been made of the subject. The last seems to have been J. H. Philpot's *Sacred Tree* in 1897, and although Sir James Frazer began his *Golden Bough* in the same decade he wandered far away from the priestly king guarding the grove and tree of Diana at Nemi and got lost in the jungle of world religious practices and magical superstitions. In 1905 A. E. Crawley wrote *The Tree of Life* but was chiefly concerned with the Tree of the Cross. Now more than sixty years later Professor James has again succeeded in filling a gap in comparative studies, and after his work on the Sky-god and the Earth-goddess has brought sacred trees into the scope of his encyclopaedic knowledge. No doubt one reason for the dearth of comparative works has been the growth of specialist studies of many areas of classical and modern religion, and there are few men like Professor James able to encompass so many fields across which he ranges easily and with authority.

In myth and religion a tree is not simply a vegetable, and Professor James relates it directly to belief in the source of life at the centre of the cosmos, whose constant renewal is demonstrated in deciduous trees; tree cults represent belief in fundamental themes of creation, redemption and resurrection. Progress is traced from the general sacredness of trees to primitive forest dwellers, to the significance attached to budding life in the great contrasts between arid deserts and tree-crowded oases and

river valleys in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Both Isis and Osiris were concerned with vegetation, the former acquiring the attributes of a corn goddess and the latter remaining the water deity who brought forth abundant vegetation in regular cycles. The renewal of life is illustrated in Sumerian and Akkadian creation epics, and the symbolical tree in the sacred pole, or asherah, of Canaanite religion. In the Indus valley culture trees and gods are depicted together on stone seals, and in later Indian religion the pipal and acacia became places for the manifestation of gods or the illumination of holy men like the Buddha. Similarly in Greece and Rome trees and sacred groves were interpreted in relationship to the gods with whom they were associated; oracles heard in rustling leaves, and sacred springs rising from the roots of great trees.

The sacred tree showed its powers by growth and putting forth fresh leaves; it was a centre of life and symbol of immortality. These virtues were transferred to sacred posts and pillars, as in Canaanite religion in which the spirits were not only worshipped on every high hill and under every green tree, but where wooden poles and stone pillars were cultic objects. In Israel judges like Deborah sat under palms or terebinths, David was encouraged by the sound in the tree tops, Solomon erected Jachin and Boaz pillars at the entry to the temple, and his Sea of Bronze may have represented life-giving powers related to springs and trees. At an earlier level phallic symbolism is apparent in tree and post, in the trees of knowledge and life in Genesis, followed by the wonderful snake, itself a symbol of sex and immortality, and the knowledge of human nature that ensued. In this complex story different themes are embodied, and it is difficult to decide whether the tree of knowledge was originally central, with the tree of life added, or vice versa.

Such themes are fascinating and lead into many byways. Professor James returns at the end to the central theme of the sacredness of trees, from their embodiment of the life principle and their nature as bearers of power in seasonal regeneration. Belief in the order and harmony of the universe is well expressed in the theme of the Tree of Life, the centre of the universe, the link of heaven and earth, culminating in the Tree of the Cross and the trees of Paradise whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.

The book is clearly printed, on good paper, and well bound, but its Dutch printers have allowed a number of misprints to remain, and they tend to split words at the end of a line in an irritating manner, e.g. hen-ceforth or wors-hip. But these minor worries should not deter the reader from the fascinating and wide-ranging journey to many lands and times given here and in which Professor James is such an able guide.

E. G. PARRINDER.

*King's College, London.*



KERÉNYI (C.) **Eleusis: archetypal image of mother and daughter.** Trans. R. Manheim. (Archetypal images in Greek religion, 4.) London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1967. Pp. xxxvii + 257. 84 illus. £1 15s.

In this English version of Dr Kerenyi's *Eleusis: De heiligste mysteriën van Griekenland*, first published in The Hague in 1960, a detailed survey of the results of recent archaeological excavations and their interpretation, coupled with the Eleusinian deities regarded as 'archetypal images', has been developed, differentiating it from his former publications on the subject. The problem of the Mysteries is approached from a wider standpoint of 'human nature, man as a whole, in his concrete reality', derived from foundations common to all mankind, finding expression in Jungian archetypes deeply laid in human nature in general, emerging as enduring elements in parallel myths, often forgotten but recurring over and over again. The 'primordial figures' in the form of the 'Divine Child' and Divine Mother' in mythologies widely remote from one another are discussed as examples of these archetypes in the Eleusinian theme as 'archetypal facts of human existence'.

In the first part of the volume a reconstruction of the Mysteries is made beginning with the *via sacra* from Athens to Eleusis along which the procession made its way to the sanctuary, followed by a description of what occurred there in the time of the king of the Persians, Xerxes, in the fifth century B.C. as it has been recorded in Herodotus and by an initiate named Praetextatus who said that they were thought to 'to hold the entire human race together' because they touched on things common to all men as well as to those of Hellenic life. Moreover, as Pindar affirmed, they conferred upon the mystai blessedness that endured both here and hereafter, until they came to an end of the fifth century A.D.

The Cretan origin of the Mysteries and their very intimate association with the cult of its Mother-goddess, Rhea, are discussed in the pre-Hellenic tradition. While Persephone as the mother of Dionysus was ascribed by Diodorus to the Cretans, as was Demeter in the Homeric Hymn, and both their names are used for the mother of the holy child, it is recognised that this does not mean that the Mysteries necessarily were of Cretan origin. That at Eleusis they go back to the first Late Helladic or early Mycenaean period in the middle of the fifteenth century B.C. when the so-called Megaron B was erected on the site of the sanctuary is clear from the archaeological evidence. It may have been, as is suggested, that in this single room resembling a Greek temple without columns the Hierophant and the priestesses exercised their functions. But the secrecy of the rites subsequently performed in the Telesterion has rendered their nature and purpose conjectural. That they involved the dramatic representation of the rape of Persephone is rejected in the absence of anything in the form of a stage or

theatre in the archaeological remains of the sanctuary, the revelation being 'beyond word or image'. A great light was displayed in the darkness inside the edifice apparently, the birth of the holy child Brimos, identified with Dionysus, was proclaimed by the Hierophant, and an ear of wheat exhibited to the initiates at the climax of the 'beatific vision', setting forth all that Demeter and Persephone had bestowed upon them and on all mankind.

In the 'Hermeneutical essay' in the second section of this volume the rites and the vision are interpreted as a religious phenomenon. The evidence of the Christian Fathers is regarded as important because they had access to the pagan sources which they were careful to record accurately; though not being themselves initiates they confused the Koreion at Alexandria as a public replica of the Eleusinian rites with the actual esoteric Mystery. This was unique, and its secret has been kept remarkably secure throughout the ages. By a combination of the archaeological and literary evidence with that of the history of religions Dr Kerenyi with a considerable measure of success has shown the nature and content of the intense emotional religious experience which had such a permanent effect on those who underwent it. The book is very attractively produced with excellent illustrations and full documentation rendering it a valuable work of reference, as well as an independent approach to the problem of the Mysteries, for other workers in this field.

E. O. JAMES.

*All Souls College, Oxford.*

PARKE (H. W.) **The oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon.** Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1967. Pp. x + 294. 4 plates. £3.

This book has been eagerly awaited. The author of the original edition of *A History of the Delphic Oracle* was clearly best qualified to write it and Professor Parke has not disappointed his readers. The oracles of Zeus, though outshone by Delphi and lacking her historical and political impact, were nevertheless revered, and Dodona never forfeited her claim to be regarded as the oldest oracle of all. The book is divided into three main sections, of which Dodona rightly receives the chief share. P. begins at the beginning and surveys the oracle's history from the earliest period right down into late Roman times, when it only survived as a name in literature.

The ritual of earth squatting, as practised by the Selloi, was unique in Greek religion. Again divination from an oak has few parallels in Greece, apart from the equally enigmatic Delphic bay, and appears to have northern (Prussian) affinities. The precise method of divination is obscure, and is complicated by references to doves in later sources, and of priestesses so-called in Sophocles and Herodotus. P. makes the ingenious suggestion that the sacred oak which



flourished, according to tradition, during the Trojan War could hardly have survived the sixth century B.C. This might have been the time when priestesses and a lot oracle were first introduced after the model of Delphi. He firmly discounts any association with a post-Homeric cult of Dione. The absence of any specific reference to Delphi in the Hesiodic corpus may reflect, in P's view, the reaction of Dodona (whose traditional links with Boeotia were preserved in legend and the Theban rite of the Tripodophoria) against the rise of Delphi.

The archaeological evidence supports in general the Homeric description of a primitive cult. The absence of prehistoric settlements, classical buildings before the 4th century B.C. and of Middle and Late Helladic as well as Proto-Geometric pottery are indicative of a remote nomadic existence. The archaic dedications derive, as might be expected, almost exclusively from the Peloponnese and western Greece. Most interesting are the unique lead tablets containing questions, but not answers, a selection from which is given in an appendix. P's suggestion that certain frescoes from Pompeii may represent scenes of divination at Dodona merits further consideration. His painstaking analysis of the highly complicated literary evidence for responses at Dodona is, as always with P., a model of caution.

The evidence for Olympia is at first sight so tenuous that some might be forgiven for wondering whether an oracle in the accepted sense existed there at all. Even P. seems to feel this for the long opening excursus on Melampus, followed by detailed literary discussion, is a clear substitute for the lack of more tangible material. The obvious parallel for the Olympic altar (though not for the oracle) is surely that of Zeus Lykaeos, which P. does not mention. A reference too to Drees' *Der Ursprung der Olympischen Spiele* might have been relevant here.

The date of the establishment of the oracle of Ammon and its relationship to the cult at Egyptian Thebes (in this and other discussions of Egyptian divination P. ignores Klees' highly pertinent *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher*) is a fascinating mystery to which P. does full justice. He begins with the necessary caveat that the site has never been properly explored and that in consequence any conclusions may be premature. Among his more interesting suggestions is that Carnos could have provided the prototype for the ram-headed Ammon. Present evidence will not support a foundation date prior to Amasis, so the inclusion of the oracle in Croesus' list must be considered very doubtful. Pindar was possibly largely instrumental in establishing the oracle's reputation in Greece after his visit to Cyrene (which had close connexions with Ammon) in 462 B.C. P. agrees with Wilcken that the story that Ammon was Alexander the Great's true father was not the answer to an enquiry but grew out of the Macedonian's celebrated visit to the shrine in 331 B.C.

The history of Dodona and Ammon (which

surprisingly enjoyed direct contact to judge from a bronze head of Ammon believed to have been found at Dodona and dating from the middle of the fifth century B.C.) in the Roman period fails to throw much light on either. A brief, but masterly, conclusion and three valuable appendices complete a work which has proved in the event to be every bit as detailed, thorough, balanced and amply documented as we always knew it would be. Nowhere else is the information here collected so readily available and every scholar will want it for his library. Only the photographs are a little disappointing and ever so occasionally the spelling slips. Georges (not Georg) Daux (p. 218). Dareius should be Darius on p. 283 and Thrasyboulus is a curious form. It is a pity that there is no general index.

JOHN POLLARD.

University College of North Wales, Bangor.

KLEES (HANS). *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher*. Ein Vergleich zwischen griechischer und nichtgriechischer Mantik bei Herodot. (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, No. 43.) (Stuttgart) W. Kohlhammer (1965). Pp. 103. DM 10.

This short treatise, as its author explains, is the outcome of two theses produced for his doctorate. They have been reshaped so as to put forward one specific argument, but still contain some matter which belongs more appropriately to their original form. In the first half Klees discusses in turn Herodotus' treatment of divination in Scythia, Egypt, Thrace, Babylonia, Persia and North Africa. As one might expect, there is no common element in all these examples, except Herodotus' lively interest in whatever was strange and worth recording. However, from the two instances of the Scythians and the Egyptians K. extracts a common feature, that these barbarians, in contrast to the Greeks, made a practice of testing the truth of oracles by repeating the same enquiry addressed to different prophets or different shrines. There follows a short section containing an examination of the occurrences of prophetic dreams and other prognostics in Herodotus' accounts of Lydian, Persian and Egyptian history. This does not add much to the line of his argument. Klees devotes his final section to a comparison of Greek and barbarian divination. This is chiefly concerned with Croesus' enquiries at Delphi, and Klees detects as particularly appropriate to a barbarian attitude the testing of the oracles, the extravagance of the offerings, the repetition of enquiries, the lack of any feeling for interpretation of oracles, and the insulting protest made by Croesus when disappointed in their outcome. The conclusion which K. draws from this is that the story of Croesus' consultations is basically historic, though somewhat elaborated at Delphi.



The present reviewer does not find this argument very convincing. K. makes an interesting generalisation, based on Scythia and Egypt, that barbarians expected a direct answer to a question addressed to an oracle, but reserved the right to consult elsewhere as a check: Greeks on the other hand did not consult different oracles, but expected the god's answer to be at best obscure and at worst so ambiguous as to mislead. Hence K. would suppose that Croesus in testing and consulting Delphi and in acting on its responses was playing the game according to the rules as he understood them, while the Pythian Apollo in answer behaved like a typical Greek prophet. To the present reviewer it seems more reasonable to believe that most of what we read in Herodotus about Croesus' consultations was invented to explain away the vast Lydian dedications in view of the well-known failure of his attack on Persia. The story of the testing of the oracles was needed to explain the quite extraordinary scale of the offerings. (If one accepts, as may be right, Herodotus' reference in another context to Lydian dedications of an equal size at Branchidae, they would have been removed to Susa at the end of the Ionian revolt.) The ambiguous responses were no doubt substituted for some plainly encouraging answers after the fall of Sardis, and the whole story was made to reach its climax in an apologia delivered by the Pythia. This retelling of the story probably came from the Delphic priesthood itself which accounts for its excellent and convincing style; so much more plausible than the general run of legends about oracular ambiguities which are often the unintelligent product of professional guides. It is part of the convincing effect of the Croesus legend that he is made to behave like a barbarian monarch, and this need not be attributed solely to Herodotus as the final story-teller.

Still, K's discussion is throughout conducted with a fair and searching analysis and will make any reader think afresh on these interesting problems.

H. W. PARKE.

Trinity College, Dublin.

BARNARD (L. W.) **Justin Martyr: his life and thought.** Cambridge: the University Press. 1967. Pp. viii + 194. £2 5s.

This second-century Christian Apologist has aroused the interest of theologians and historians increasingly in recent years. In addition to numerous articles in learned journals, we have had *The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr*, by Willis A. Shotwell (London, S.P.C.K., 1965), based on a doctoral dissertation for Chicago University under the direction of Robert M. Grant; *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, by A. J. Bellinzoni (Leiden, Brill, 1967), a revision of a doctoral dissertation at Harvard; and now Mr Barnard's fresh and lively

discussion of Justin's life and thought set against the background of Greek philosophy, Judaism and the early Christian tradition. No full-length study of Justin's theology has been published in English since that by E. R. Goodenough in 1923, which makes Mr Barnard's book doubly welcome. It is scholarly, authoritative, balanced and at the same time independent in its judgements.

Thus, for example, while Barnard follows C. Andresen in seeing the influence of Middle Platonism, rather than that of Philo or of St John's Gospel, as the determining factor or basis of Justin's Logos-doctrine (pp. 97-9), yet, as against Andresen and Goodenough he maintains that, 'In our judgement the account of Justin's philosophical quest as recorded in *Dial. ii* is based on sound historical tradition—namely, that Justin *really* underwent instruction at the hands of a Stoic teacher, a Peripatetic, a Pythagorean and finally the Platonists' (p. 11). Moreover, 'for Justin the logos was first and foremost Jesus Christ' (p. 91), so 'in describing the function of the logos Justin Martyr was a pioneer Christian thinker' (p. 99). Although Justin remained a Platonist after his conversion to Christianity, it was the equation of the logos with Jesus which differentiated his thought from the speculations of Philo, the Stoics or the Middle Platonists.

Little is known about the life of Justin Martyr. According to his *I Apol. i* he was born at Flavia Neapolis, near the old Sichem, which was organised as a Greek city in A.D. 70 (the modern Nablus) in Palestine. It is, however, a little rash to conclude from this fact that 'Justin was, in consequence, a Samaritan by birth', even though the author grants that 'nothing in his writings suggests that he was familiar with Samaritan traditions or religion' (p. 5). His father's name is Latin and his grandfather's is Greek. He was converted shortly before the Bar Cochba rising of A.D. 132-5, went to Rome c. A.D. 150, where he founded a 'school' of Christian philosophical instruction and was martyred under Marcus Aurelius between A.D. 163 and 167 (probably in 165). The *First Apology* was addressed to Antoninus Pius, his son Verissimus and the philosopher Lucian, 'a little after A.D. 151 and certainly before A.D. 155'. The *Second Apology* is more difficult to date but cannot be long after the first' (p. 19). With regard to the *Dialogue with Trypho*, Barnard rejects the view of Goodenough (*The Theology of Justin Martyr*, Jena 1923, pp. 90-3) that the historical setting of the *Dialogue* is fictitious and that Trypho is a 'straw man'. He concludes, 'The best solution to the literary problem of the *Dialogue* is to postulate an original, historical debate with Trypho which occurred soon after A.D. 132, which Justin subsequently elaborated c. A.D. 160, drawing on oral and written testimony material which was known and used in the Church of his day' (p. 23). He also rejects the equation of Trypho with Rabbi Tarphon. Barnard is quite clear that Justin used Old Testament 'testimonies' (pp. 68 ff.): he is not quite so clear as Bellinzoni



(*op. cit.*) about his use of written Gospel harmonies. He seems to suggest, rather, that Justin quoted the Gospels from memory (pp. 57-8, 60, 63) and that certain Old Testament and New Testament testimonia which appear frequently in later Patristic writers 'originated with Justin' (pp. 73 f.). Scholarly caution here tends, perhaps, to be over-cautious, if not actually misleading. Justin himself refers (*Dial.*, ciii) to 'the memoirs which were composed by his Apostles and those who followed them' and in his description of the Sunday Eucharist (*I Apol.*, lxvii) he speaks of 'the memoirs (*ἀπομνημονεύματα*) of the apostles or the writings of the prophets (which) are read as long as time permits'. In this connexion Barnard suggests, with fresh insight, that 'Justin consciously took the phrase from Xenophon's well-known *Ἀπομνημονεύματα Σοκράτους* which other writers knew. This was apposite as it would give to Justin's non-Christian readers an indication of the type of narrative that the Christian Gospels contained' (p. 56). If they were read in the Christian churches, why his hesitation about Gospel harmonies and Justin's quotations from memory?

These few implied criticisms only high-light the importance of this readable, scholarly and informative study of the first Christian philosopher to confront the pagan Greek world with an ethical and philosophical exposition of the Faith.

C. W. DUGMORE.

King's College, London.

CONGRESS. **Proceedings of the Cambridge colloquium on Mycenaean studies.** Ed. L. R. Palmer and J. Chadwick. Cambridge: the University Press. 1966. Pp. vii + 310. £4 4s.

This volume appears only two years after the Proceedings of the Third Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies and editors and publisher have earned our gratitude for the speed and the accuracy with which they have prepared and printed it. The 25 papers collected here do not compare unfavourably with the 23 of the First Colloquium (Gyf-sur-Yvette, 1956), the 11 of the Second Colloquium (Pavia, 1958), and the 22 of the Third Colloquium (Madison, 1961). The reader may miss some of the initial enthusiasm which prompted every word and every phrase written or uttered at Gyf, but this is inevitable in any growing discipline and the fault—if fault there is—must be found in the increasing maturity and success of Mycenaeanology rather than in the place or circumstances of this fourth meeting.

The contributions of the members of the Colloquium are divided into four sections concerned respectively with Epigraphy, Dialect and Phonology, Morphology, Word-Formation and Syntax, and Interpretation. As is right and proper, the fourth

section with its eight papers is the largest, but in fact a more realistic division would make clear the strictly philological nature of the overwhelming majority of papers. They range from purely phonetic discussions like that of Miss Hart, who in the long-standing dispute over the value of the *z*-signs comes down on Palmer's side with a series of new arguments, or that of Georgiev, who tries to find new evidence for two different treatments of IE *u* in Mycenaean, to more general papers on the position of Mycenaean amongst the Greek dialects like that of Bartonek on 'Mycenaean koine reconsidered' or that of Risch on 'Les différences dialectales dans le mycénien'. In this last essay—one of the most stimulating of those published here—Professor Risch tabulates alternations such as that between the *-i* and *-e* datives of the athematic declension, or the *-a-* and *-o-* treatment of the sonants, and classifies them according to the scribal hands which are responsible for them. It follows—if we accept Risch's suggestion—that it is possible to identify a small class of scribes whose language is characterised by a number of abnormal features. Moreover, when this evidence is set out, it becomes clear that what is 'normal' in Mycenaean is not 'normal' in later Greek, and vice-versa. In other words, *pe-mo* (for *παίμμα*) and *di-we(i)* (for *ΔιϜι*) or the like represent standard Mycenaean forms which do not persist in later Greek, while the 'abnormal' *pe-ma* and *po-se-da-o-ni* (with an *-i* dative) have clear equivalents in the evidence of the First Millennium. I do not feel altogether convinced that the evidence available is sufficient firmly to establish the two classes of scribes: even one single exception like that of hand 2 which writes *e-ka-ma-te* (PY Ta. passim) with *-a-* ('mycénien spécial'), but *e-ne-wo* with *-o-* ('mycénien normal') is rather disquieting. All the same I find that the distinction is valuable and that Professor Risch's observations on the continuation or non-continuation in Greek of the two types of Mycenaean are enlightening. There is a problem here which requires an explanation and Risch's paper represents a considerable step towards it. In a less controversial field, but with equal clarity, Lejeune attempts in his 'Doublets et complexes' a classification of the so-called double signs (*a<sub>2</sub>*, *ra<sub>2</sub>* etc.)

Papers by Chantraine (on the *-i-ko* suffix), Gallavotti (on some open problems in Mycenaean morphology), Ruijgh (a clear analysis of the use of *-qe* and *-de*), Ruipérez (on the much disputed origin of *i-je-re-ja*), Szemerényi (on the general development of the *-o-* and *-a-* stems from IE to Greek), and this reviewer (on the possibility of having an Instrumental-Ablative syncretism in Mycenaean) constitute the third section. Once more we are in the domain of pure philology and it is interesting to see how Mycenaeanologists now tend to give up some of their former confidence for a rather more cautious attitude.

On the border line between 'interpretation' and 'philology' is the opening paper of the fourth section, where Heubeck connects the much discussed participle *qe-qi-no-me-no* with the Homeric *δινωτός* and with the



root of *βίος*. I do not feel altogether convinced by this etymology, but rather than discuss it here, I should prefer to call attention to a point made by Heubeck in this same paper (p. 235): 'that, as a consequence of the nearly complete loss of craftsmanship caused by the violent end of the Mycenaean palaces and settlements, the special meanings of terms employed by Mycenaean artisans were lost or forgotten, unless the terms . . . wholly faded'. I hope to tackle this whole problem elsewhere, but one may add here that this line of investigation can also be pursued when studying the names of the various occupations and specialised crafts, which abound in Mycenaean texts. In the case of ivory, to which *qe-qi-no-me-no* refers, archaeologists seem to agree in assuming that the tradition was interrupted altogether in the Dark Age and that the various techniques had painfully to be learnt again in the first Millennium. No wonder then that we find it difficult to identify the Mycenaean words with words of alphabetic Greek. Words and craft must have been lost at the same time, even though the knowledge of the basic material and of its name (*ἐλεφανς*) was preserved. In the same section Jones and Lejeune deal with some problematic aspects of the E- tablets of Pylos, while Ilievski concentrates on the Es series. Mabel Lang discusses 'Cn Flocks', L. R. Palmer argues some points of language and interpretation in typical Palmerian style, and Professor Marinatos suggests that the epic *πολυδίπρυον* means 'abounding in *Dipsioi*—daemons' (cf. Myc. *di-pi-si-jo-i*). Finally L. J. D. Richardson offers some new suggestions about the origin of the labyrinth shape.

So far I have not mentioned the papers collected in the first section 'Epigraphy'. Here Bennett, Chadwick, Killen and Olivier deal respectively with some ideograms, with the Fp and Fs series of Cnossos, with the Nc tablets of Cnossos, and with some scribal hands (again of Cnossos). However, the most important contribution—and one which will provide work for Mycenaean scholars for many years to come—is the edition by Killen and Olivier of 388 new joins of Cnossian fragments. Though the importance of the single joins varies, in a number of cases the information provided is invaluable. Thus three new joins (see p. 63) now prove conclusively that *da-mo-ko-ro* is a professional name and not a personal name as had been maintained. The consequences for the interpretation and the scope of the Ta-series of Pylos, where the *da-mo-ko-ro* causes a ceremony to be performed by the *wanax*, may be far-reaching. In Ld 649 + L 8169 the adjective *ke-se-ne-wi-ja* apparently is written by the scribe who elsewhere writes *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*; this may be a useful reminder that it would be wrong to expect absolute consistency in spelling rules even among such highly trained employees as those of the Mycenaean kingdoms. Finally, if J. P. Olivier is correct in assuming that the presence of the ideogram BOS ΖΕ 1 after *ja-ko-ro-we-i* in X 7100 + 7703 implies that the word is a dual, it follows that we have here a clear example of phonetic

alternation between final postvocalic *i* and *e*. If so, most of our ideas about these endings need revision, but the first part of the tablet is missing and in these circumstances it is permissible not to give too much weight to this form.

These final notes may pinpoint what is the main feature of the fourth Colloquium: simple, clear discussion, limited in most cases to relatively minor problems. This time the Priest-King and Dionysos, the son of Zeus, have not been disturbed from their slumber. There is some virtue in the humble mallow.

ANNA MORPURGO-DAVIES.

St. Hilda's College, Oxford.

HUTMACHER (R.) Ed. **Das Ehrendekret für den Strategen Kallimachos.** (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 17.) Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain. 1965. Pp. x + 74. DM 9.80.

The *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*, the high quality of which is guaranteed by the responsibility of Reinhold Merkelbach for their publication, has already contained one volume devoted to a single inscription (IG XI 4, 1299). Here is a second. Its subject is OGIS 194 (SEG XVIII 705), thirty-two lines of extravagant gratitude towards, and of the bestowal of unwonted honours on, the governor of Egyptian Thebes under Cleopatra VII. The text, which poor illustrations do not permit the reader to control, is improved in several particulars, and is commendably set out with a 'conservative' version on one page and a counterpart with fuller restorations, often *exempli gratia*, on the page opposite. *Testimonia* on Callimachus' family are included, and there is a very full commentary—over-full, perhaps, for there is a tendency, *scientiae demonstrandae causa*, to pile Pelion on Ossa. Even *ἔπειδή*, that familiar introduction to the motive for an honorary decree, receives its due of comment and citation of parallels. However, if it is desirable to devote substantial monographs to single inscriptions of moderate importance (a point on which scepticism is not inappropriate; cf. CR NS XV 1965, 232), this particular study deserves commendation for its thoroughness and its general good sense.

A. G. WOODHEAD.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

HOOD (S.) **The home of the heroes: the Aegean before the Greeks.** London: Thames and Hudson. 1967. Pp. 144. 122 illus. (incl. 25 in colour). £1 10s. (bound); 15s. (unbound).

Only six years have passed since the appearance of *The Dawn of Civilisation*, on the chapters of which this and some of its sister-volumes are based. But in



Prehellenic archaeology this is a long time, and Mr Hood has used the interval for a substantial re-writing of his volume. There are many notable additions; the most striking feature, however, is the more positive form which the main conclusions now take. What was previously little more than tacitly implied by the sub-title (also used in 1961) is now spelled out, reasoned and defended: the language of Linear B is a non-Greek one, perhaps of Minoan origin; the first coming of the Greeks is signalled by the main wave of destruction of the Mycenaean palaces near the end of LH III B. It is by these conclusions, thus boldly stated, that the book will certainly attract the most attention. A note at the end of the introduction acknowledges the help of the late Professor Grumach, who at the time of his sudden and tragic death had been working on the philological evidence for the second of these conclusions, which he himself endorsed; it is to be hoped that the results will still be able to find their way into print.

Mr Hood's contribution is no mere sensational heterodoxy; it is made credible throughout. His non-Greek rulers of Mycenae may be heavily indebted to Crete, not only for their writing and their art, but also for the constructional methods of their houses, the form of their tombs (both tholoi and chambers), and much else; yet they remain the probable descendants of the EH III/MH invaders, who thus still shaped the distinctive Bronze Age development of the Greek mainland. Here and elsewhere in the book much new evidence is incorporated; indeed there are moments when the text seems positively prophetic, as with the suggestion of a palatial site at Khania (p. 53), and the great emphasis on the Thera eruption (pp. 106-8), both of which seem to have been vindicated by Greek excavations during 1967. On this latter topic, Hood cites the important paper by D. Ninkovich and B. C. Heezen in the 1965 Colston symposium *Submarine Geology and Geophysics*, but I think it must be said that his conclusions as to the sequence of events that destroyed the Minoan palaces go beyond those of the scientists. Hood posits a double disaster on Thera, an eruption overwhelming the Minoan settlement there which is to be associated with the LM I A earthquake of about 1500 B.C. at Knossos; and the final cataclysmic explosion which devastates the Cretan palaces in c. 1450, leaves East Crete a desert, but allows of a restoration of Knossos for its Indian summer of LM II-III A, before it too is destroyed. The geophysical evidence gives impressive support for part of this picture, but it does not, I think, favour the long interval between a preliminary eruption and a final explosion on Thera. The mid-fifteenth century date for the second disaster presumably entails rejection of Mrs Vermeule's argument that LM III A pottery is already in use at Mallia, Phaistos and Zakro at the time of their destruction. Whatever the truth of the matter, it is striking that what Hood sees as three horizons of disaster spread over at least 125 years, are treated by some other scholars as aspects of one and the same cataclysm.

The hypothesis of the late advent of the Greeks leaves Hood with a real poser in his final pages. 'If the Greeks came as the destroyers of the Bronze Age civilisation of the Aegean, what if anything did that civilisation bequeath to later Greece?' (p. 131). Suspiciously much, one is tempted to reply. And 'these first invaders appear to some extent to have adopted the ways and customs of the Mycenaean civilisation which they overran'. They certainly do; and the world of III C pottery, with its aura of Mycenaean survival apparent in chamber-tomb burials, clay figurines, dress-ornaments and much else, is succeeded by the era of Protogeometric and earlier Geometric, with its numerous analogues with the Middle Helladic period in Greece. Here, perhaps, are the seeds of a controversy more substantial and potentially more fruitful than those which have engaged Aegean prehistorians in recent years.

These, however, are only two of the hotter sectors of the battlefield over which Hood ranges. It is a rare and admirable thing to have such unorthodox views embodied in a book of popular appeal; the publishers and the general editor (who contributes a discreet preface) are to be congratulated. The production is pleasing, and the illustrations, so far from suffering by the transference from the glossy paper of the original volume, have in most ways improved; the colours in particular are much truer. A short but up-to-date bibliography is appended. One can only hope that the challenge thrown out by Hood will be answered, not by *a priori* appeals to the decipherment of Linear B, but by a thorough and reflective reassessment of all the counter-arguments.

A. M. SNODGRASS.

*University of Edinburgh.*

ZAFIROPOULO (J.) **Mead and wine: a history of the bronze age in Greece.** Trans. P. Green. London: Sidgwick and Jackson. 1966. Pp. viii + 148. 22 plates. 6 text figures. 12 tables. £1 10s.

The author, in a prefatory note, explains that he has written this book as an introduction, made possible by the decipherment of Linear B, to the problems of knowledge discussed in his earlier book, *Apollo and Dionysus*.

The book starts with a discussion of chronological problems. These relate entirely to dynasties which the author ascribes to Mycenae, Crete, & Thebes, and cover a period between the first destruction of the Palace of Knossos, dated 1405 B.C., and the final destruction, dated 1100 B.C. Most of the dates given relate to a narrower period, 1360-1220 B.C.

Z. proceeds to consider the period before 1400 B.C. He thinks that Luwians, who were the Minoans, arrived in Crete about 2200 B.C., with a later invasion in 1700 B.C. They arrived in Greece in Middle



Helladic, perhaps at the beginning, bringing Minyan Ware and -ss- names with them. The Greeks came later, about 1600 B.C. This is shown by Hesiod's lines about the 'race of heroes', and by the fact that Furumark's chronology of Mycenaean pottery begins in 1550 B.C. They reared cattle and horses, lived in villages like Mycenae, worshipped the bull, occupied the plains, and drove the existing population into the hills. Delphi was a centre of bull-worship, connected with Apollo and Zagreus. The bee was connected with this worship, and produced the sacred drink, hydromel, which inspired oracular utterances. The persons displaced by this invasion kept goats and sheep, and worshipped the goat. The conquest of Crete in 1405 was led by Theseus, who had both bull- and goat-worshippers in his invasion force.

This brings Z. to what he regards as the central part of his account. He first deals with Cadmus, who originally came into the Aegaeon in command of a punitive force from Tyre to fetch back Europa, who had been abducted by King Taurus of Crete. He and his followers were goat-worshippers, and introduced the vine to Greece. He never went to Crete; instead he organised the poor herdsmen of Arcadia, seized Delphi by force and finally, with Phocian help, captured Thebes, which became a centre of Dionysiac worship. This caused the bull-worshippers to fortify Mycenae and Tiryns, previously unfortified villages. This was possible because of overpopulation, which made a large labour surplus available, but which led to rationing, as the Linear B tablets show.

The bull-worshippers had already been organised round Argos by Danaus, a refugee from Hyksos Egypt, whose name is the same as the Hebrew tribe of Dan. His descendant, Perseus, who went to Joppa, near the original Danites, for a wife, was the fortifier of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea, and the inventor of the administrative system revealed in the Pylos tablets.

Heracles was a focus for goat-worshippers in their attack on the bull-worshippers, and the defeat of Eurystheus a major catastrophe for them. The fortification of Athens, Orchomenus, and Gla, was the bull-worshippers' defensive reaction. The Seven Against Thebes, the Epigoni, and the Trojan War were all bull-worshippers' expeditions against political and religious opponents, while the Return of the Heracleidae represents the final triumph of the goat-worshippers.

The antithesis of the mental attitudes symbolised by bull and goat worship persists through archaic to classical Greece. It is reflected in the wars of the Greeks and in the dichotomy of Greek thought.

It will be apparent from the above brief description that Z. does not stand exactly in the mainstream of opinion about the Bronze Age. To call his views unorthodox is to be perhaps unnecessarily polite, and it is extremely difficult to know where to start to comment. The book is not a history of the Bronze Age. It deals only with 200 years or so, and confines itself to three dynasties. It does not treat the

chronological problems at all, as Z. is quite happy to rely on Palmer, Mylonas and Blegen; it is a moot point whether he has understood the arguments or position of these scholars. His central thesis, of a religious and economic warfare between the rich bull-worshipping cattle-breeders and the poor goat-worshipping goat-herds, has literally no evidence in Greek legendary tradition to support it. It reminds me of novels dealing with warfare between cowboys and shepherders in the Wild West. Really it derives from a belief that Greek culture was divided into Apolline and Dionysiac aspects, which in turn derive from the introduction into Greece of the worship of the two deities, almost certainly in the Bronze Age. While it can be shown that there were two sides to the Greek character, and that these can roughly be likened to the attributes of Apollo and Dionysus, it has to be recognised that the Apolline-Dionysiac antithesis was a nineteenth-century hypothesis not expressed before Heine.

If the central thesis falls to the ground, it is not possible to treat this book seriously. This is as well because as a contribution to the already large stock of comic literature on the Bronze Age it can be read with pleasure, and yields many gems. Early Helladic, for example, is largely a neolithic culture. There are Corcyraean grottos on Parnassus and in Cilicia. Grave Circles A and B contain the bodies of village chieftains. The temple at Delphi was a beehive, hence the beehive tombs. I seem to remember a similar piece of deduction about the camel and the pyramids. The Trojans knew nothing about the Hittites. The builders of Cadmus' Thebes were Cyclopes from Lycia, where Boghazkeuy is. Amphitryon was a nobleman who had come down in the world, and had to breed sheep or goats. Tlepolemus fought for the Greeks at Troy because he was a convert to Zagreus. The *κυκέων* (mentioned in Iliad A 624) was a beverage which aimed at replacing wine and hydromel, 'uniting their adherents in a single, identical inebriety'. There are many other similar *bons mots*; the history of the Greek Bronze Age remains unwritten.

EDWARD RUSHWORTH,

University of Leicester.

CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Vol. 1, ch. ix(c), xxvi (b); vol. 2, ch. iv (c), xxii (b). **Cyprus in the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods.** By H. W. Catling. Cambridge: the University Press. 1966. Pp. 78. 8s. 6d.

Though the archaeological literature about specific aspects of Cypriot prehistory has increased considerably during the last thirty years as a result of extensive excavations, yet there have been only a few attempts at a synthesis which could cover adequately prehistoric Cyprus as a whole.



There is no doubt that the person who would undertake the task of writing up such a synthesis should be very closely connected with the archaeology of Cyprus, not only with the existing literature on the subject, but also with current unpublished excavations and discoveries. Above all he should have a first hand knowledge of the country and its archaeological material. Catling was therefore among the very few who could carry out this task successfully. His long association with the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus as Archaeological Survey Officer gave him a unique opportunity to visit and literally 'comb' the whole island, become familiar with its topography and study the problems relating to the patterns of settlement of prehistoric Cyprus, from the Neolithic period down to the end of the Bronze Age.

After an admirable chapter on the Geography of Cyprus, the author examines the various archaeological periods starting with the Neolithic. What characterises his study is thoroughness, which allows the author to surpass the limits of a mere typological examination of the material evidence and look upon each cultural phase as a combination of various interconnected phenomena, such as economics, geography, foreign relations. The influence of the neighbouring cultures forms a permanent pattern in the development of the island's prehistoric culture, and its student should not only be constantly aware of this, but also be in a position to penetrate through and find out its real impact on the character of the island's culture.

The Neolithic period of Cyprus, discovered only during the thirties, still presents chronological problems. The gap of 1500 years in the dating between the Neolithic I and II periods is still problematic. Catling suggests that 'possibly a natural calamity, widespread in its effects, overwhelmed the frail grasp of the Neolithic I communities, followed by a substantial period when Cyprus was uninhabited' (p. 11). Khirokitia, however, where these two periods occur, could hardly justify any abandonment and rehabilitation of the same site after a period of 1500 years. Some link is missing, and there are serious arguments, as a result of recent research, that even the Troulli cultural phase may not be part of this link, but later, as foreseen by Catling (p. 12). It is gratifying that research on this problem is actually going on; one should add that it might not be superfluous to have further carbon 14 tests from a number of sites, both old and new.

The 'Philia cultural stage' is a problem of the beginning of the Early Bronze Age which the author examines carefully and ingeniously connects, following Mellaart, with the end of the second phase of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia, about 2300 B.C. (p. 26). The constantly increasing occurrence of pottery of the Philia type over a large area in the island may justify the suggestion, shared by Catling, that this is in fact a chronological phase and not, as Stewart believed, a mere regional development of the early part of the Early Bronze Age.

The problems of the Late Bronze Age, which Catling has made successfully his own special field of research, are handled with authority, especially those relating to the Achaean colonisation of the island. The reviewer agrees with Catling that the real colonisation of the island does not start earlier than the end of the thirteenth century B.C.; he still maintains, however, contrary to Catling's belief, his thesis on a particular ceramic problem, that the bulk of the Mycenaean vases found in Cyprus and the Levant which are painted in the pictorial style were made in Cyprus; this does not deny the fact that a parallel pictorial style developed also on the Greek Mainland and the Dodecanese.

The Late Bronze Age in Cyprus has the aspects of 'history'. It is connected with written documents, and problems arising from these, such as that of Alasiya, of the Sea Peoples and of the foundation legends of the Cypriot cities, are dealt with against their proper archaeological background. The reader, however, is advised to supplement his study by consulting also Catling's major work on the late Bronze Age *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford 1964).

The bibliography which follows each chapter is particularly useful, being accurate and up to date.

The present writer shares the view expressed by a number of scholars that this admirable book, in its present form together with illustrations should continue to appear as a standard monograph for the benefit of students of Aegean and Near Eastern prehistory.

V. KARAGEORGHIS.

*Department of Antiquities, Nicosia.*

CULICAN (W.) **The first merchant venturers: the ancient Levant in history and commerce.** London: Thames and Hudson. 1966. Pp. 144. 139 illus. (incl. 30 in colour). £1 10s. (bound); 15s. (unbound).

This is a concise book, of which the well-informed narrative is well illustrated as it goes along, for the general reader. Original literary sources are not cited except the Bible, and there are no footnotes. Discussions on chronology are not included in the author's scheme, which goes down to about 600 B.C. There is a good selective bibliography.

There are six chapters. 1. The Emergence of the Sea Peoples of the Levant: First contacts. Minoans in Levantine ports. The Hyksos Kings. 2. The Egyptian Domination of the Levant after the fall of the Hyksos dynasty. The Mitannians. Trade. Ras Shamra (Ugarit). 3. Hittite and Philistine Domination after the fifteenth century B.C.: Canaanite Arts and Crafts. Carved ivories found in Syria, Palestine, etc. Achaean (Mycenaean) Cyprus. The Philistines. 4. Phoenicia and Israel. Ophir and



Tarshish. Phoenician ivories. Aramaean States in Syria. The Greeks in the East. 5. The Phoenicians and their colonies: Cyprus. The Western Phoenicians including Carthage and Tarshish. Beyond the Pillars of Hercules. 6. Conclusions. The narrative ends with a survey of writing in which the alphabet was the greatest of Levantine 'legacies'.

The author is careful and accurate. I have noted only one misleading expression. In mentioning on p. 115 the 'Greek logbook *Ora Maritima* of Festus Avienus', brevity has caused him to hide the realities that it is not really a logbook and is in Avienus' Latin poetry. There are some slips in the Index where, for instance, under Tarshish, instead of 7, 83, 104, 114; 115, I make it 8, 79, 104, 114-116, 115. On p. 125, whereas PHONTIC is a misprint (for PHONETIC), 'discription' is not necessarily another. Is it fair to refer in the Bibliography to such and such a 'fasc.' of the *Cambridge Ancient History*? P. 42: *murex*. Three species especially were used to produce the so-called 'purple' colour: *Purpura haemostoma*, *Murex brandaris*, and *M. trunculus*. P. 77: specially interesting to Biblical and other scholars is the illustration there of the jar, found recently at Tell Qasile on the southern part of the coast of Palestine, inscribed in Phoenician 'Gold of Ophir for Beth Horon, shekels III'. Culican is as sensible on Ophir ('one of the south Arabian principalities') as he is on Tarshish. P. 78: To the details about the ancient names of the peacock the 'Classical' people will want to add the Greek *ραῶς* and the Latin *pavo*.

Note finally Culican's main conclusion—that, with the exception of Canaanites, the Levant was a transmitter rather than an originator 'in the history of material civilisation'.

E. H. WARMINGTON.

*Birkbeck College, University of London.*

BERVE (H.) **Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen.** 2 vols. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1967. Pp. xii + 1-509, xii + 511-796. DM 85.-

Berve's long-announced work on Greek tyranny is divided into three parts, earlier (to 480), later (mainly fourth century) and Hellenistic. Within each part tyrannies are catalogued in a geographical order. The historical function of the earlier and later tyranny is briefly summarised in separate chapters; longer chapters report the judgement on the tyrant of the fifth century, the fourth century and the Hellenistic period. The reader's eye is not distracted even by numerical references to the notes, which are laid out in a separate volume under the same chapter-headings and sub-headings as the text, with brief catch-words to identify the particular matter, somewhat like the small print at the ends of paragraphs in the original edition of E. Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums*.

The expressed intention of this extensive and powerfully conducted enterprise is, strictly, to catalogue the material on tyrants and tyranny which Greek tradition has handed down, and what else a cautious judgement might infer. It is a political inquiry (military history is only briefly summarised), working within the Greek definition of a tyrant as a ruler who, with no basis in law, imposes his rule on unwilling subjects for his own ends. Modern parallels, however tempting, are to be avoided, which in all the circumstances is fair enough; in particular, the valid point is made that the tyrant was an individual and that there was nothing totalitarian about his rule. B. is conscious that his plan lays him open to the charge of 'eines rückständigen Positivismus', but happily the rules are relaxed far enough for us to see how he interprets the more important phenomena.

The comprehensive plan involves including material that is insignificant or worthless, but the fringe figures take up little space and do not get seriously in the way. On the main actors B. is a sound enough guide. For the most part he is amply up to date—it is impressive that a book which appeared well before *JHS* 1967 should refer to an article printed in *JHS* 1966—and he gives generous reference to views which conflict with his own. Inevitably, the individual reader will find room for disagreement. Reference to B's *Griechische Geschichte*, and to Huxley and Cataudella, is not enough to reconcile me to the eighth-century Pheidon; and his judgement seems to me at fault over those passages of Herodotus, Attic tragedy and Isokrates where *basileus* and *tyrannos* appear to be equivalent terms—explanation in the last case being particularly weak. There are other small blemishes, but in general the reader who wants to know the facts about a particular Greek tyranny will either find them here or be told where to look.

There is more question about the emphasis on particular factors. It may be partly conscientious adherence to the terms of his definition that maintains B's interest (which begins, one might hope, to look old-fashioned) in legal niceties: the question whether the ruler held any formal office, whether acquired territory is treated as his personal possession or the state's. When he says (237) that we cannot shirk the question, how far Dionysios acted on the strength of his generalship, how far on the basis of his tyrannical power, some might doubt if there is a real question to shirk, and B. himself remarks that the two sources of power are so intertwined that the attempt to separate them may be impossible, or positively misleading. Nevertheless the achievement of Dionysios, who naturally takes up more space than any other single ruler, is adequately and justly estimated—though Dion is still the high Platonic idealist of B's earlier monograph. (He repeats, indeed, his statement of ten years ago that the authenticity of the seventh and eighth Platonic letters is generally admitted: computers apart, the strongest argument on the other side is the quality of the history that can



result from accepting them, a point which comes out more clearly in this plain summary than in the longer version.) Questions of definition become more acute for the Hellenistic period. Agathokles, whose generalship had no time limit and who was not king 'of' Syracuse, almost escapes from the category altogether. The third-century rulers of Argos are more recognisable tyrants, but the new style of territorial monarchy had changed the basis of political life, and with it the basis for establishing a tyranny; and, as B. rightly maintains, the term tyrant was by now—the process had been going on for some time—a term of moral censure about the quality of the ruler rather than of political classification. Reasonably enough, he feels that there was no call for a chapter on the historical function of Hellenistic tyranny.

The positivism which B. proclaims in his preface is only a moderate obstacle as regards the aspects of tyranny which he allows himself to treat, but it does confine his vision. The Greek definition automatically excludes those topics which the Greek witnesses themselves neglect, most notably all questions of administration or of executive capacity. He allows 'statesmanlike ability' as one quality of the later ideal king, but gives little weight to this aspect of tyranny; yet it seems likely that the consciousness of such ability and the pleasure of exercising it sometimes played a part in the ambition of the would-be tyrant, along with the opportunities for sensual indulgence which figure so largely in the Greeks' own picture of tyranny. Secondly, in the chapters on the Greek verdict, B. has largely condemned himself to mere recapitulation. An occasional evaluative aside—e.g. 487, Seneca's positive pleasure in recounting horrors—makes one wish that he had devoted more space to commenting on (e.g.) Aristotle's views and less to reporting them. The wide-ranging survey at the end, which covers Roman as well as later Greek views, may give more positive help by placing late sources in their context; but, as B. remarks, hardly anything new was being contributed by then, and the established classical type was very little modified.

As he proceeds, the reader's mind may be assailed by a more radical doubt about the enterprise as a whole. B's *Alexanderreich* is an indispensable work of reference which has nourished a whole generation of scholars: but that was a closed circle, in which the figures of his prosopography between them make up the whole of the personal context. The tyrants, scattered over some five centuries, form no such unity, not even three separate but complete circles, and each individual requires more context than the catalogue can give him. True, B. widens his range by including men who might have become tyrants but did not—Pausanias the regent, Alkibiades and others are legitimate examples, but Arthmios of Zeleia is a rather long shot—and we are thus given the opportunity to look at the symptoms of incipient or potential tyranny as well as at the finished product. But the range is also artificially restricted: thus the Spartan rulers from Areus to Nabis are briefly examined to see

whether they conform to the definition, but very little is said of the conditions which tended towards making them tyrants, and altogether they occupy less space than the rulers of the Kimmerian Bosphoros. This ample and thorough book is thus not quite a straightforward quarry for the student of tyranny. But he will now have little excuse for missing out possible examples: what the work covers, it covers effectively, and in its different way it too will be much used for reference.

The crop of misprints is rather large, a result perhaps of the commendable speed with which the book has eventually been printed. Hardly any of them will mislead, though one cannot entirely reconstruct what is masked by the repeated line on p. 685. G. Forrest may perhaps mourn the loss of his first initial less than J. Cadoux: it is better that A. A. Blackway, R. Sealy, N. P. Ure should be referred to thus than not referred to at all.

A. ANDREWES.

*New College, Oxford.*

VANNIER (F.) *Le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: A. Colin. 1967. Pp. 288. Price not stated.

La Collection U2 a inauguré sa série 'Histoire Ancienne' par le petit livre de F. Vannier qui comporte comme les autres ouvrages de la même série une introduction substantielle, suivie d'un choix de textes. Dès son introduction, l'auteur pose le problème qui est en effet essentiel: le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle Grec est-il seulement un siècle de transition entre le V<sup>e</sup> siècle classique et l'époque hellénistique, ou a-t-il une originalité propre et dans l'affirmative quelle est-elle? Et dès cette introduction il nous fournit sa réponse: le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle est un siècle de déclin politique. Mais ce déclin politique favorise un épanouissement dans le domaine de la civilisation. La crise de la Polis libère l'individu, en même temps qu'elle permet 'l'expression de la civilisation hellénique bien au delà de la mouvance politique grecque'.

L'idée était intéressante et l'on aurait aimé que l'auteur construise tout son développement autour de ce paradoxe apparent. Mais si en fait son analyse comprend bien deux parties, l'étude politique d'une part regroupant les deux premiers chapitres, l'étude de la civilisation occupant le troisième et dernier, la charpente intérieure de chacune de ces parties reste très classique, on est presque tenté d'écrire trop classique. Était-il en particulier vraiment indispensable de consacrer toute une partie au problème des relations extérieures et à la trop traditionnelle 'lutte pour l'hégémonie' et de faire tenir en quatre pages l'aventure d'Alexandre. C'est à la fois trop et trop peu, et je pense que l'Auteur, restant fidèle à son parti initial aurait mieux fait de résumer en quelques lignes les grandes articulations chronologiques de la période, pour qu'ensuite



son étude s'oriente autour des deux thèmes essentiels de la crise et de l'épanouissement culturel.

On souscrita pour l'essentiel à l'analyse de la crise concernant Athènes, bien que pour ma part je sois tentée de faire quelques réserves sur la caractérisation un peu sommaire de l'économie athénienne au V<sup>e</sup> siècle (p. 30). De même les quelques phrases consacrées à Héraclée Pontique (p. 43) appellent des réserves parce que beaucoup trop affirmatives par rapport à ce que nous apprennent nos sources. En revanche la chapitre consacré à la guerre a le mérite de mettre l'accent sur un phénomène essentiel de l'histoire du monde antique trop peu connu ou trop négligé la plupart du temps.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage appelle les mêmes remarques que la première. Là aussi on aurait préféré une analyse synthétique plutôt que la série de monographies à quoi se ramène pour l'essentiel le chapitre consacré à la philosophie et celui qui s'intitule 'Le siècle de la prose'. Certes ces monographies seront extrêmement utiles pour le public auquel s'adresse ce genre d'ouvrages: les étudiants de licence. Mais à vouloir tout dire on risque d'être trop bref sur certains points: ainsi le jugement sur le procès de Socrate (p. 54) présenté un peu sommairement comme '... une réaction de défense de l'ordre politico-religieux contre ceux qui l'ont menacé'.

Ces quelques réserves sur des maladroites que l'ampleur du sujet rendait presque inévitables, n'enlèvent rien à l'utilité de ce petit livre qui rendra de multiples services aux étudiants. Le choix des textes est bon et illustre bien les différents aspects de la période. Nous terminerons cependant par une petite remarque: F. Vannier a retenu le texte de l'anonyme d'Oxyrhynchos sur la confédération Béotienne qui figure également dans deux autres volumes de la Collection U2: *L'Histoire en Grèce* de H. Van Effenterre et mes *Institutions Grecques*. Sur un passage du texte dont le sens est assez difficile à saisir, les trois traductions diffèrent radicalement. Le texte grec dit en effet, à propos des 60 bouleutes que devait fournir chacun des 11 districts béotiens: *καὶ τοῦτοι αὐτοὶ τὰ κατ' ἡμέραν ἀνέλισκον*, ce que l'on peut traduire par 'et à ceux-ci, ils (les Béotiens) versaient une indemnité journalière'. Or il y a là une indication surprenante parce qu'elle paraît incompatible avec le caractère oligarchique de la constitution béotienne au début du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dès 1908, Glotz (*BCH* xxxii, pp. 272-5, 277) avait proposé la traduction à laquelle se rallie F. Vannier: 'Ceux-ci payaient eux-mêmes leurs dépenses quotidiennes'. Il paraît cependant difficile d'admettre que *αὐτοὶ* et *τούτοις* désignent les mêmes personnes. On attendrait plutôt *ἐαυτοῖς*. Mais il paraît difficile également d'accepter la traduction que propose H. Van Effenterre: 'et ils réglaient ensemble les affaires quotidiennes', qui néglige le sens précis d'*ἀνέλισκον*. Force est donc d'admettre que dans une oligarchie modérée, et lorsqu'il s'agissait de fonctionnaires fédéraux, une rétribution destinée à

assurer leur entretien n'était pas impossible. On peut d'ailleurs rappeler qu'à Athènes lorsque fut établi en 411 une régime oligarchique, il était prévu que les 9 archontes et les prytanes en exercice recevraient trois oboles par jour, alors que tous les autres *misthoi* étaient suspendus pour la durée de la guerre (*ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾗ*; Aristote, *Constitution d'Athènes*, 29,5). Pour revenir au texte de l'anonyme d'Oxyrhynchos, on s'en tiendra donc à la traduction la plus grammaticalement correcte.

CL. MOSSÉ.

Université de Clermont.

WÖRRLE (M.) *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Argos im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus*. Munich: the Author. 1964. Pp. 139. Price not stated.

The first part of this book reviews the evidence for the various elements of the Argive constitution—the tribal organisation, the assembly, the Council, the Eighty, the *damiorgi*, the *artynai*, the king, the generals. Although the sum total of what there is to know is remarkably small, it is useful to have it collected. Analogies with other constitutions, especially that of Athens, are suggested. The discussion is sensible and generally ends, as it should, in agnosticism.

In the second part, the last 32 pages, Wörrle engages in a discussion of the development of the constitution in the Fifth Century, a somewhat jejune subject. We do not know when exactly between the middle of the sixth century and the middle of the fifth the non-Dorian, fourth tribe of the *Hyrynathioi*, was established, nor in what circumstances the army, still tribal at Tanagra, received the five-fold organisation of first Mantinea, nor when the king ceased to command it, nor when he became a mere annual officer not important enough even to share in the swearing of treaties, nor who or what were the Eighty, nor who precisely were the *artynai*, nor when, exactly, the most illuminating inscriptions are to be dated. So it is not surprising that Wörrle has nothing very remarkable to say. The outline is clear enough: after recovering what had been lost in the aftermath of Sepeia, the Dorian aristocracy could not keep it, and by the late 460s Argos was a democracy. All else is blurred. Wörrle is suitably cautious (though not all will accept that there was a *πολιτεία* in the special Aristotelian sense before 494).

G. L. CAWKWELL.

University College, Oxford.

LARSEN (J. A. O.) *Greek federal states: their institutions and history*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1968. Pp. xxviii + 537. £4 10s.

With this work, Larsen crowns his involvement with Greek federalism which began in 1921, and fills the gap which has been left since Freeman. As he says mildly, our knowledge of federalism has been



increased since Freeman, whose book he describes as 'rather subjective, rhetorical, and diffuse but brilliant'. No one would think of applying any of these adjectives to Larsen, the patient, methodical and sober twentieth-century scholar. The trouble is that Freeman knew why he wanted to study federalism and saw it as an attempt to meet certain permanent political problems and needs, whereas one never feels with Larsen that he is trying to do more than work on Greek federalism. He knows what a Greek federal state is, and his interest in what is not directly connected with his definition is patchy and peculiar. One would have thought that, if he were really interested in Greek attempts to extend political institutions beyond the polis, he might for example be concerned about relationships between Corinth and Argos in the 390s, but this topic gets two casual references in the text, not even indexed. Contrast the half-page footnote on p. 116 about the size of the Persian forces in 480. Larsen has not asked himself the big questions. This is a handbook, not a book.

An introduction defines the nature of a Greek federal state. The rest of the book is divided into two by the King's Peace, and further subdivided into chapters dealing with the internal institutions of the various confederacies in each period on the one hand, and the part they played in interstate rivalries on the other. There is some sign of involvement in the latter chapters. Federal states, particularly in the early period, have had their importance unduly slighted, and Larsen champions them, sometimes producing illumination, sometimes distortion.

Detailed discussion is hardly in place here. Very large tracts of Greek history are involved, and Larsen knows much more about most of them than I do. Hammond's *Epirus* came too late, but the absence of Lerat's *Locriens de l'Ouest* is unaccountable. When Peek publishes the inscription he presented to the Cambridge Epigraphical Congress in 1967, the early history of the Aetolian League will become more complicated; meanwhile note that *IG II<sup>2</sup> 358*, the earliest evidence for an Aetolian boularch (p. 80), probably ought to move down to 307/6 B.C. (Dow, *HSCP* lxxvii (1964) 56-60). The account of Acarnania (pp. 89 ff.) lacks Thuc. i 111.3, ii 68, and creates non-existent difficulties for lack of them, while the treatment of iii 105.1 slides over a textual point of some relevance. This is not the only place where Larsen is unconscious of textual trouble; on p. 72 n. 3 he complains of the difficulties of a text (Thuc. v 35.1) which is in fact emended. The problems about Keos (*BSA* lvii (1962) 1 ff.) seem to lie outside his scope. The account of the Phocian indemnity (p. 300) is out-of-date, lacking La Coste-Messelière in *BCH* lxxiii (1949). No doubt points of this kind could be multiplied without modifying the picture. Larsen has done a very large amount of work of a very high standard, which will be useful for a long time.

This is a Clarendon Press book not printed in Oxford. The general result is excellent, but the

very few bits of Greek show an uncomfortable variety of fount and confusion between final sigma and stigma. Indexing has been very badly done.

D. M. LEWIS.

*Christ Church, Oxford.*

ROESCH (P.) **Thespies et la confédération béotienne.** Paris: E. de Boccard. 1965. Pp. xii + 296. 1 map. 20 plates. Fr. 50.-

A partir d'une nouvelle lecture de la stèle des magistrats de Thespies (musée de Thèbes, inv. 518) publiée pour la première fois par A. Keramopoulos (*Arch. Delt.* 1931-32, pp. 12-40) l'auteur présente dans cet ouvrage une étude d'un grand intérêt, puisqu'elle fait le point, d'une part sur ce qu'a été l'organisation de la confédération béotienne depuis ses origines jusqu'à sa disparition à l'époque romaine, d'autre part sur les institutions d'une cité béotienne, Thespies, qui peut être tenue pour typique de l'ensemble des cités qui formaient la confédération. P. Roesch examine successivement les différentes magistratures qui apparaissent sur la stèle de Thespies ou, pour les magistratures civiques, qui sont connues par d'autres sources, et si l'accent est évidemment mis sur la nature et les fonctions de ces magistratures à l'époque hellénistique et singulièrement à la fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, chaque fois que cela est possible un historique de l'institution est tenté. Cette démarche est sensible surtout dans la seconde partie, où l'auteur s'efforce de reconstituer l'histoire de la confédération béotienne et l'évolution de son organisation depuis ses origines jusqu'à sa disparition. Il met justement l'accent sur ce qui constitue peut être l'un des aspects les plus originaux de la confédération béotienne, sa division en districts, les grandes cités groupant plusieurs districts (2 en règle générale, et pour Thèbes à partir d'un certain moment 4) tandis que les petites se rassemblaient pour former un unique district. Le fait est d'autant plus frappant qu'à l'origine les cités béotiennes semblaient jouir d'une autonomie assez grande au sein du *Koinon* béotien. La division du territoire fédéral en district, l'organisation de toutes les institutions fédérales à partir de cette division en 11, puis 7 districts, lorsqu'au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle les districts de Platées et de Thespies auront disparu, correspondent à la période où Thèbes a exercé, au sein du *Koinon*, une hégémonie incontestable sinon toujours incontestée. Au contraire, après 338, on reviendra à l'organisation classique de la fédération de cités, dans laquelle chaque cité constitue une unité territoriale et politique. Le problème du rapport de la cité et du district est assurément essentiel et l'auteur y revient plusieurs fois (p. 37; p. 96 à propos du mode d'élection des béotarques, etc.) Il est évident qu'il serait d'un grand intérêt de savoir pourquoi la Béotie a connu, à l'époque classique, ce relatif effacement de la cité en tant qu'unité constitutive de l'Etat fédéral, si cela traduit chez les Béotiens des survivances archaïques



liées à l'organisation militaire, ou au contraire une forme embryonnaire de système représentatif. L'auteur ne s'attarde pas sur ces problèmes qui ne sont pas au cœur de sa recherche. Sur des questions controversées, comme celle de la date de la disparition de la troisième confédération, ses conclusions solidement étayées, apparaissent convaincantes, de même sur la renaissance favorisée par les Romains du *Koinon* après Pydna (p. 69 et n. 4), sur la relative ancienneté de l'archonte fédéral qui n'est pas, comme on l'a souvent affirmé une création de la seconde confédération (p. 79 et n. 4), sur le problème du stratège fédéral, à l'existence duquel l'auteur ne croit pas (pp. 120-1), sur la présence enfin, après 338, à côté de l'Assemblée fédérale qui a remplacé les quatre *Boulai* du Ve siècle d'un *synedrion* ayant des fonctions probouleutiques (p. 131). La troisième partie suscite moins de problèmes et de controverses, l'auteur examinant successivement l'organisation et les fonctions des différentes magistratures d'une cité béotienne. Nous aimerions cependant soulever, à propos des institutions des cités béotiennes, un petit problème. L'auteur incidemment (p. 97 n. 2) critique l'interprétation donnée par Larsen (*Trans. American. Phil. Associat.*, LXXXVI, 1955, pp. 40-50) du passage bien connu des *Helléniques* d'Oxyrhynchos dans lequel il est dit que l'accès aux quatre *Boulai* locaux était réservé aux possédants (τοῖς κεκτημένοις πλῆθος τι χρημάτων). Pour l'historien américain en effet, tous les citoyens de plein droit, c'est à dire tous ceux qui possédaient le cens requis faisaient partie des quatre conseils. L'auteur pense quant à lui fort justement que tous avaient la possibilité d'y accéder, mais n'en étaient pas membres de droit. On voit alors le problème: si tous les citoyens de plein droit ne faisaient pas automatiquement partie des quatre *Boulai*, comment ceux qui n'avaient pas de charge de bouleutes manifestaient-ils leur rôle politique. Autrement dit, et contrairement à ce qu'on affirme généralement (cf. en particulier Glotz, *Cité grecque*, p. 95) ne faut-il pas admettre qu'à côté des quatre *Boulai* dont le rassemblement constituait l'autorité souveraine, il existait une *Ecclesia* dont faisaient partie tous les citoyens de plein droit, mais dont les pouvoirs auraient été avant 379 fort limités? L'auteur ne semble pas avoir voulu poser le problème qui n'avait d'ailleurs qu'un rapport lointain avec sa recherche. Il n'en reste pas moins essentiel pour la connaissance des institutions politiques de la cité antique, à laquelle le livre de P. Roesch apporte une importante contribution.

CL. MOSSÉ.

Université de Clermont.

WILLETTS (R. F.) *Ed. and trans. The law code of Gortyn.* (Kadmos, Supplement 1.) Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1967. Pp. viii + 90. 14 plates. DM 128.

Cette publication, due à l'un des meilleurs connais-

seurs de la Crète antique, fait honneur au regretté E. Grumach qui l'avait accueillie comme premier supplément de la revue *Kadmos* et qui a eu la joie de la voir paraître quelques jours avant sa mort. Elle laisse loin derrière elle les 24 éditions ou commentaires antérieurs de la 'Reine des Inscriptions', y compris ceux du tome IV des *Inscriptiones Creticae*, Rome, 1950, n° 72.

Une élégante introduction de 35 pages présente le texte dans sa forme et dans son contenu. Sur les circonstances de la découverte en 1857 et 1884 ajoutons deux mémoires, l'un du cousin de Minos Kalokairinos (*Kp.Xp.*, 1960, 272, note) et l'autre d'E. Fabricius (*Neue Jahrb. f. Antike u. deutsche Bildung*, 1941, 161 sqq.): le premier fouilleur de Knosos et le premier fouilleur de l'autre de l'Ida sont, en réalité, à l'origine de toutes les recherches modernes. Nous possédons actuellement un ensemble de 621 lignes (dont 14 très mutilées), réparties en paragraphes formant 12 colonnes de texte, hautes de 1 m.50 environ. Comme les pierres de calcaire blond sur lesquelles était gravée l'inscription ont été retirées de leur portique primitif, numérotées et replacées dans une galerie de l'Odéon du 1<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J. C., et comme celui-ci a été en grande partie détruit au Moyen-Age, il n'est pas exclu qu'on ne découvre un jour d'autres textes ou fragments de textes analogues.

Un bon résumé des principaux caractères de l'alphabet, de la langue et du style est donné, pp. 5-7. On pourra signaler que plusieurs traits de ce dialecte dorien de Crète centrale subsistent peut-être aujourd'hui autour de l'Ida: passage d'e à i devant la voyelle o, assimilation, simplification de doubles consonnes.

Ce conservatisme justifie pleinement l'auteur lorsqu'il fait dépendre une partie de la législation gortynienne d'une époque antérieure à la colonisation dorienne de l'île, ou, comme disaient Platon et Aristote, de Minos inspiré par Zeus. Sait-on que le platane toujours vert de Gortyne subsiste à 80 m au Nord de l'inscription (*Kp. 'Eortia*, 1966, 169-70)? L'absence de tout article de loi relatif à l'homicide est aussi frappante que l'importance attribuée à la femme dans le droit gortynien.

L'ouvrage de G. Le Rider, *Monnaies crétoises du Ve au I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J. C.*, Paris, 1966, 163-174, apportera un élément de datation fort important à l'inscription: si les premiers statères de Gortyne sont du 3<sup>e</sup> quart du Ve siècle, on adoptera, pour la gravure du texte, une date un peu plus basse que celle qui nous est proposée. Gortyne vit alors sous un régime aristocratique. Mais l'ancien système des clans est menacé par l'indépendance grandissante des ménages ou familles au sens restreint du mot, vivant sur le lot héréditaire, et par le développement de la propriété privée, mobilière et immobilière. A côté des citoyens de plein droit, partageant le repas dans la maison des hommes, on devine la pression de classes sociales inférieures, les *ἀνέταροι* ou hommes libres exclus des hétaires, les étrangers et les affranchis,



probablement des artisans, les serfs attachés à la terre et les esclaves achetés au marché. Le serf possède un statut légal et social. Il peut accéder à la propriété. La loi reconnaît même les mariages entre une femme libre et un homme non libre, et la punition tarifée des adultères montre que non seulement les esclaves possédaient de l'argent mais qu'ils séduisaient parfois les femmes libres. Au dossier des ἀραμῶται, sorte d'hilotas crétois, on peut ajouter les lignes 54 et 55 du traité de Lato et d'Oulous, IC, I, XVI, 5: une récente lecture de la pierre du Palais ducal à Venise (Inv. 372) m'incite à restituer... Ἐξάκωντος ἀραμ[α]μ[ι]α[...]

L'étude des termes relatifs à la propriété, au mariage, à la parenté, aux héritières, aux affaires de mœurs, à l'adoption, à la procédure légale est très solidement menée d'un point de vue juridique et sociologique à la fois. Elle permet à l'auteur de préciser d'une manière originale le sens de termes difficiles, par exemple ὁ ἐπιβάλλον (l'ayant droit ou le prétendant de même clan), ὁ καθεστᾶς (le parent de clan opposé), ἐπισπένδειν (engager, promettre, dans le cadre d'un mariage) τὸν ἐγγραμμένον (col. XII, 14: les parents désignés par le défunt), ὀρκιότερος (qui implique un serment affirmatif), ἀπομόσαι (qui implique un serment négatif).

Le texte grec publié ressemble à ceux de M. Guarducci et de C. D. Buck. Il est heureusement amendé sur quelques points: ex. col. IV, 15, X, 36. On admirera la traduction en anglais, claire, ferme, précise, et justifiée par un commentaire d'ordre essentiellement philologique. Douze planches d'excellentes photographies, dues à Peter Gautel, reproduisent les douze colonnes de l'inscription. Elles sont si nettes qu'elles permettent même d'apercevoir des lettres hors texte: par ex., col. IV, L41 (Λ), col. IX, L31 (Δ), et, au-dessous de la colonne XII, différentes hastes et peut-être un Α. Tout se présente comme si les pierres avaient eu successivement deux systèmes de numérotation, ou bien encore comme si une rédaction plus récente avait été, par endroits, substituée à un texte effacé. En V, 6, la loi renvoie expressément à une législation antérieure. Les 51 dernières lignes sont d'une autre main que les précédentes. R. F. Willetts a raison de souligner que nous n'avons pas affaire à un code au sens moderne du mot, mais à un catalogue de statuts, avec des additions répondant à des besoins économiques changeants. En le publiant d'une manière aussi intelligente, il a bien mérité 'of the people of Crete, past, present and future' auquel il a dédié son ouvrage.

PAUL FAURE.

Université de Clermont-Ferrand

MÖRKHOLM (O.) **Antiochus IV of Syria.** (Classica et mediaevalia, dissertationes, 8.) Copenhagen: Gyldendal. 1966. Pp. 229. 3 maps. Price not stated.

Mörholm's work on Antiochus IV is already well

known, and as he himself says, the general history of the reign became necessary to his numismatic work: hence the present volume, which is a competent English translation of M's Aarhus doctoral thesis.

Chapter I is a fairly lengthy introduction, from the Peace of Apamea to the death of Seleucus IV, which supplies background for the substantive chapters which follow, but which could with advantage have been briefer. Chapter II examines the circumstances of Antiochus' accession, and reproduces M's useful paper from *ANSMusN* 1964: the complex of evidence from the Babylonian document which mentions 'Antiochus and his son Antiochus' ruling jointly in 137 S.E. (175/4), from the gold octodrachm from the Antioch mint with jugate heads of a boy-king and an older woman, and from the Polybian tradition, is resolved by assuming an 'arrangement' between Antiochus IV and the managers of the boy-king (assumed to be the son of Seleucus IV) whereby Antiochus adopted the child, perhaps after marrying his mother (the older woman of the coin), and established a joint rule, until the child was murdered in 142 S.E. (170/69). The coin then is placed in the gap between the death of Seleucus IV and Antiochus' arrival in Syria. M's solution is complicated, but is attractive and seems to account for the evidence satisfactorily, even though it involves assuming an unprecedented Seleucid adoption.

Chapter III examines Antiochus' relations with the rest of the Greek world. Numismatic evidence is used to show the vitality of commercial relations between Pergamum and Syria in Antiochus' reign; and though M. reasonably regards Rostovtzeff's theory of a *entente cordiale* as too sweeping, he nevertheless regards the evidence for the continuation of trade as 'remarkable'. But this was surely only to be expected between states such as Seleucid Syria and Pergamum, where individuals and cities were allowed so much more commercial liberty than (for instance) in Egypt. The continuation of trade need not therefore signify much about a political alignment—which (for Antiochus and Eumenes) is sufficiently attested independently of the commercial considerations. M. also shows (following e.g. Bevan) satisfactorily friendly relations with Cappadocia, and links this with Rome's increasing distrust of Eumenes of Pergamum, though he would have improved his presentation had he made clear the dynastic connexions between Antiochus, Ariarathes, and Eumenes.

Chapters IV and V deal with Antiochus' two (so M.) expeditions to Egypt. M. rejects Otto's reliance on Porphyrius' statement to show that Antiochus was crowned king of Egypt. In its place he tentatively puts a *tutela* of Ptolemy VI, which he finds in the *munus* of Liv. xlv. 11.10; the appearance of the *nicephorus* epithet on his coins M. places (reasonably) immediately after the success of the first Egyptian expedition, and such coins continued despite the disastrous Roman intervention which ended his second expedition. M. sensibly accepts Polybius' explanation of the *Daphne pompe* in 166—to outdo



Aemilius Paullus' show at Amphipolis and (by implication) to boast what success he had had in Egypt. Polybius clearly had better information than Tarn, whose fanciful attempt to connect Antiochus' *pompe* with a doubtful series of events in Bactria M. easily disposes of.

Chapter VI, 'The Administration', collects the names of Antiochus' 'friends' and officials, but no really useful conclusions are reached. The same chapter repeats the conclusions of the more detailed arguments of M's *Studies* about the development of Antiochus' titles as they appear on his coins, and shows the apparent independence of the mint-masters.

Chapter VII examines Antiochus' reputation as a founder of cities, and a useful survey of the evidence concludes that only three of the fifteen alleged foundations of Antiochus can certainly be attributed to him. Bevan's theory that Antiochus identified himself with Zeus Olympius is also shown to have no solid foundation: the coins on which Bevan relied for his theory merely represent Zeus Olympius, not, as Bevan thought, Antiochus as Zeus Olympius—though M. does not deny that Antiochus had an especial interest in the god. M's scepticism is undoubtedly healthy, for these details are the chief evidence for Antiochus' alleged doctrinaire hellenizing policy. M's realistic conclusion is that there is no evidence for such a missionary purpose.

Chapter VIII continues this theme further in looking at Antiochus' relations with Judaea. Antiochus' actions are shown to be consistent with his earlier activities: his policy towards Judaea was essentially *ad hoc* and not doctrinaire: the religious persecution was a fatal mistake, but was instigated and enforced for political, not religious, reasons. M's last substantive chapter discusses Antiochus' aspirations in the east. Tarn's fantastic *tour de force* which painted Antiochus' policy as (i) recognising and encouraging Eucratidas of Bactria, to create two Seleucid realms, with himself ruler of one and suzerain of the other (ii) as seeking in this way to re-establish Alexander's empire, are duly shown to be without basis in the evidence. Tarn's Antiochus IV, a heroic figure with a vision to match Tarn's Alexander, is shown to be as unrealistic as his Alexander: M's account reduces Antiochus' eastern campaign to the status of a police action.

M's account of Antiochus in this book is careful and realistic, and is therefore to be welcomed. If it is not ungrateful to end on a note of complaint, the index of names could have been made vastly more useful by being analytical. It is something of a trial of patience to find under e.g. Rome, a simple list of 29 page references. A fair sprinkling of misprints disfigures the pages, though none of those which I have found should be misleading, except perhaps 'legacy' for 'legation' (twice: p. 72 and p. 88).

R. M. ERRINGTON.

*The Queen's University of Belfast.*

WOLFF (H. J.) **Die attische Paragraphe: ein Beitrag zum Problem der Auflockerung archaischer Prozessformen.** (Graecistische Abhandlungen, 2.) Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachf. 1966. Pp. 158. DM 20.80.

The author, Professor at Freiburg, has long been distinguished for his contributions to the literature of Greek Law. In the present work, he investigates the legal nature of the *παράγραφη*, the procedure open to the defendant to object to the trial of the main dispute against him—in substance, virtually a plea to the jurisdiction or competence of the court, of the non-justiciability of the issue. The dominant modern view, stemming from U. E. Paoli, sees the *παράγραφη* as a parallel to the Roman *exceptio* and also maintains that, where there was a *παράγραφη*, the whole proceedings of the *δίκη* were unitary, that there was an 'inscindibilità' of process. W's aim is to refute this view and to establish that the *παράγραφη* was a separate proceeding, the *εὐθὺν δίκη* being subsequently possible, perhaps even after a break in time.

On the parallel with the *exceptio*, W. demonstrates (Part III, pp. 87–105) that the *παράγραφη* was introduced by the amnesty legislation of Archinos (c. 403/2 B.C.) and that all later *παράγραφαι* also rested on a legislative basis; the legislation introducing *παράγραφαι* is collected together (pp. 89 ff.) and Paoli's suggestion that there was a general *παράγραφη* statute rejected (p. 102). In Part IV (pp. 106–35), the author seeks to establish that, before Archinos's legislation, there was, in the course of proceedings, no basic distinction between objections which were really defences on the substantive issue and those which amounted to pleas to the jurisdiction or in bar of trial—which is the essential characteristic of the *παράγραφη*. He finds the pattern for the *παράγραφη* in the older *διαπραγμάτευσις*, upon which *παράγραφη* is an improvement by substituting a genuine judicial proceeding for an intrinsically extra-judicial form of legal relief based on formal proof: no longer is a defendant restricted to reliance on oath and witnesses—he can establish his objection to the issue by other means also, including direct invocation of legislation (p. 132). All this is advanced in a manner wholly credible and convincing. The legislative (and thus limited) origin of *παράγραφη* makes a clear contrast with the *exceptio* which further differs from it—as W. recognises (p. 142)—in introducing all kinds of objections into the body of the main action, by making the defence, within the *formula*, one of the conditions of *condemnatio*. One may interject that, were there room for the *παράγραφη* in the Roman *ordo iudiciorum* with its two phases *in iure* and *apud iudicem*, it would really belong in *iure* and, if successful, would preclude a *iudicium*. In this connexion, one notes that one word does not appear in W's text or index—*praescriptio*; might it not have been of interest for his analysis to refer to the *praescriptio*—cf. *longi temporis praescriptio*—of the imperial *cognitio* procedure?

However, the principal theme of the work is the



content of Part II (pp. 17-86), the thesis that the *paragraphe* proceedings were a separate entity in themselves (later described (p. 139) as a flank attack—*Seitenangriff*—by the defendant). In the first place, there is the fact that, with a *paragraphe*, the roles of the parties to the main issue are reversed; the defendant has the initiative in this proceeding. However, the main support for the dominant view comes from the fact that the Athenian forensic orations (and whether or not *paragraphe* found its way into other Greek states, it is only for Athens that we have source material) adduce in the *paragraphe* process arguments and evidence which go to the merits of the main dispute—which should appear strange in what is at base a plea to the jurisdiction. Hence the opinion of Paoli and his followers that the parties in the *paragraphe* introduced everything necessary for the court to come to a decision on the main substantive issue. W. concedes inscindibilità to the extent and in the sense that, where the *paragraphe* process went against the defendant, the main action might proceed without any break in time before the same court, depending upon practical considerations such as the lateness of the hour, etc. (pp. 84 ff.); but this, of course, is of no juristic consequence. The heart of W's investigation is a minute analysis of the speeches—Isocrates 18, Lysias 23, Demosthenes 32/38—which endeavours to show that, in every case, the introduction of substantive matter is nonetheless directed simply to the issue of the *paragraphe*, which remains separate from the determination of the substantive dispute of the *dike* (p. 81). The defendant brings up all his artillery, as it were, at this stage, on the one hand because at that period men did not distinguish clearly between pleas on the merits and pleas in bar of process (p. 139) and, on the other, to demonstrate to the court that the *dike* is groundless and so psychologically to condition the court to a decision in favour of the *paragraphe* (p. 21).

In general, in his analysis of the raising of substantive material, W. succeeds in neutralising the support that the 'unitary' theory would seek to draw therefrom. But to undermine the arguments of the opposition is not, of itself, to establish one's own theory. While he can show that such material was relevant or utilised for the purposes of the *paragraphe* as such, he finds no textual support for his own assertion of the independence, as it were, of those proceedings. It could be expected that speeches for the defendant who initiates the *paragraphe*—the object of which is to prevent the progress of the main *dike*—should not envisage possible subsequent proceedings. But, if a subsequent *εὐθὺν δίκη* were practical, one might expect some hint thereof in the plaintiff's reply: yet nothing of the sort is to be found in Demosthenes 34 and 35 which are for the plaintiff. Since the object of the *paragraphe* is to establish the non-justiciability of the dispute, a decision for the *paragraphe* effectively resolves also the main issue: it would, then, hardly be surprising that, though

formally a preliminary proceeding, the *paragraphe* was treated by all concerned as settling the main dispute. For all the skill deployed and the learning displayed by the author, one has recourse to the Scottish verdict of 'not proven'.

If not wholly convinced of W's own thesis, however, one can nevertheless recognise the force of his attack on the assumptions of the 'Paoli school' and one can have nothing but admiration for the clarity both of style and thought and for the meticulousness of argument in this book which is as well written as it is important for the study of Athenian legal procedure.

J. A. C. THOMAS.

University College London.

FREUDENBERGER (R.) **Das Verhalten der römischen Behörden gegen die Christen im 2. Jahrhundert.** (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 52.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1967. Pp. x + 258. DM 38.

In this book a theologian ventures into the fields of Ancient History and Law with the object of discovering the juridical basis of the treatment of the Christians by the Roman government in the second century A.D. The core of the book (pp. 41-215) consists of a minute and penetrating analysis of the language and content of Pliny's famous letter to Trajan and Trajan's rescript (Plin. *Epp.* x 96 and 97). This is followed by a brief and illuminating discussion of Hadrian's rescript to Minicius Fundanus, of which Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iv 8.6) gives us a Greek translation, faithful in essentials, though presented in a context of Christian propagandist interpretation. Freudenberg demonstrates that, cleared of this interpretation, which hinges on the different meaning given to the word *συκοφαντία* (*calumnia*) by the Christians, the rescript embodies a logical extension of the formulation already given in Trajan's earlier rescript to Pliny. Minicius belonged, indeed, to Pliny's circle of friends. The conclusion is that Trajan's rescript had already been incorporated into *mandata* of Hadrian by A.D. 124-5. Pliny's letter and the rescripts of Trajan and Hadrian are sufficient to explain government action in the whole series of trials of Christians up to the time of Maximinus Thrax and Decius.

Preliminary chapters clear the ground for the examination of Pliny's letter and Trajan's reply. The evidence of Tertullian and the Apologists is summarily reviewed in the light of recent discussions of Roman legal procedure and the jurisdiction of provincial governors. Trials of Christians (with certain obvious and easily explained exceptions, where popular pressure was too strong for a weak governor to resist) are kept firmly within the framework of the provincial governor's *cognitio extra*



*ordinem*, along the lines suggested by A. N. Sherwin-White (*JTS* 1952, 199 ff.); but Freudenberger rejects the view, which came under heavy fire from G. de Ste. Croix in *Past and Present*, 1963, that *contumacia* was the legal offence on which the judge's *sententia* was based. He had not seen Sherwin-White's most recent summary of his views in his edition of the Letters of Pliny (Appendix V, 772 ff.). The attempt made there to find a new basis for a modified *coercitio* thesis will need to be reconsidered in the light of this fuller and more searching analysis of Pliny's letter.

In a brief excursus (pp. 86-91) Freudenberger rejects H. M. Last's explanation of the Roman official attitude towards the Druids in Gaul. The distinction he draws between the political ground of persecution and its professed juridical basis provides him with a more satisfactory parallel to Roman official action against the Christians. Christians, like Druids, were punished for the name. The *cohaerentia crimina* were not dealt with judicially (as Tertullian himself complained), but were tacitly accepted by the government as a convenient *praesumptio* (a fiction), which neither Pliny nor Trajan was prepared to discard. Awareness of the lack of substance in such charges was one cause of Pliny's hesitation and of Trajan's insistence both on leaving the initiative in prosecution to private accusers and on the observance of strictly legal procedures within the framework of the *cognitio extra ordinem*. Tertullian was the first to make it his business to unmask the fiction.

In his introductory chapter on Pliny's office and powers in his province Freudenberger pushes further the line of argument taken by Vidman and by Sherwin-White (*JRS* 52 (1962), 114 ff.) and discusses in an illuminating manner the question of Pliny's *mandata* and *ius referendi*, underlining, as he does throughout his main discussion, Trajan's programmatic effort to secure juridical stability and equity for the provincial subjects of Rome. There is an interesting discussion of the concepts of *culpa* and *venia* and their place in Roman political thinking (pp. 160 ff.). Pliny's plea for *venia*, implied in his closing words—'*si sit paenitentiae locus*'—is evidence of his eagerness to carry out the Trajanic programme and his hopes of success. He is more eager than Trajan allows to correct the *mores* of the province by taking the initiative in eradicating *superstitionem pravam, immodicam*. Trajan's '*conquirendi non sunt*' signifies 'die Ablehnung der reinen statthalterlichen *coercitio* für die Christen-prozesse' (p. 206).

A brief review cannot do justice to the thoroughness and acuteness of Freudenberger's analysis of the letters. He makes full use of the evidence of the jurists in the elucidation of many expressions in them. His discussion of the phrase '*quamvis suspectus in praeteritum*' (pp. 208 ff.) is but one instance. There is much of value in the half dozen *excursus* scattered throughout the book on such diverse subjects as *Supplicationes* during the Empire, The test of Sacrifice, Tacitus on the Christians and *Superstitio*. In a few

points of detail Freudenberger might have been led to revise or defend his own position if he had been able to see the commentary of Sherwin-White on the Letters, e.g., p. 18; he accepts Rostovtseff's account of the relation of the imperial procurators in the province to the imperial *legatus*. P. 20: he accepts Durry's thesis that Plin. *Epp.* x was published as a '*recueil de jurisprudence administrative*'. P. 28 f.: he has not taken note of the new reading '*invitati*' in Mynor's text of *Ep.* x 113 (see Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny*, 722 ff.). P. 165 f.: the parallel with the *S.C. de Bacchanalibus* is pressed too far. But these are small matters. The book is a most important contribution to the study of the relations between the Roman government and the Christian community at a critical moment in the history of their centuries-long confrontation and no student of the Persecutions, or, for that matter, of Roman administration, can afford to ignore it.

E. W. GRAY.

*Christ Church, Oxford.*

**GUIDO (M.) Sicily: an archaeological guide.**

London: Faber and Faber. 1967. Pp. 219.  
52 illus. (incl. maps and plans). £1 10s.

Mrs Guido's guide, comprehensive and always to the point, should prove a trusty companion for professional scholar and antiquity-conscious tourist among all the well-known and indeed some of the lesser-known archaeological sites of Sicily. Usefully arranged into areas and well fitted out with maps, plans and bibliography, it does not disdain a historical summary nor, in places, mundane information about tourist offices and hotels. (In the case of the last, it is interesting to note the authoress' preferences and her assumptions about her readers' resources.)

The traveller would be ill advised to take with him no guide to Sicily other than this, for Mrs Guido remains firmly focused on her terms of reference, and the mere 5½ pages on Palermo, one of which is filled with a plan of the Museum, illustrate how narrow that focus is. The details reveal an intimate and affectionate knowledge of the Sicilian scene. Because of it, she has sometimes underestimated the difficulties encountered by the stranger on the spot. The plan of Gela is no secure introduction to that sizeable rabbit-warren. Morgantina deserves a map and more careful description—at least until that dread moment comes when the authorities dress it up for the tourist and ruin its isolated charm, as they have done their best to ruin that of Piazza Armerina. Sites such as Vassallaggi and Camarina could be better 'sign-posted'—for Halaesa, on the contrary, or Rocche di Cusa the directions are commendably explicit. Some elements of the remains near the Agora at Agrigento have been overlooked, more details of the Ionic temple at Syracuse will be awaited with interest, and the reader would have welcomed advice about reaching Fonte Ciane by road.



But to devote one's remarks to small details is a discourtesy to the excellence of the ensemble. The book's predominant characteristics are its straightforwardness and accuracy; its whole approach is one of commonsense combined with sympathetic appreciation, and it avoids that didactic or patronising tone which makes so many guidebooks so irritating to the intelligent reader. I recommend it heartily to all who are about to undertake a Sicilian journey or who, having undertaken it, wish to indulge themselves privately in a little *nostalgie des vacances*.

A. G. WOODHEAD.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

HIGGINS (R.) **Minoan and Mycenaean art.**

London: Thames and Hudson. 1967. Pp. 216.  
1 map. 242 illus. (incl. 54 in colour). £1 15.  
(unbound); £1 15s. (bound).

Amid the plethora of 'popular' works on the Greek and Cretan Bronze Age which have appeared in the last five years, H. has provided quite the most useful work on the artistic side and has filled a gap which remained surprisingly open, despite F. Matz' *Crete and Early Greece* (1962). Although it is primarily concerned with art, his sound historical outlines make this more than an art-book and provide some antidote to the radically unorthodox views recently presented to the general reader in S. Hood's *The Home of the Heroes* (1967).

For the most part H. reproduces the generally held views. In simplification they may sometimes appear exaggerated. The Cretan influence detected in material from the Shaft Graves is described as 'the rapid adoption of the Cretan way of life' (66). There is perhaps too wholesale an adoption of the dogma that after 1450 B.C. Knossos was 're-occupied and rebuilt by Mycenaeans from the Mainland' (18) and that the Cretans 'lived as subjects of a Mycenaean lord of Knossos' (75). The 'archaeological reasons' (for this view) connected with pottery (*cf.* 107) and burial customs' (75) and with frescoes, especially those of the throne room (98), may not be as sound as is often assumed and some other explanation of the appearance of Greek Linear B at Knossos may need to be sought. The 'Mycenaean invasion' with its two sherds (*PM* II 458, fig. 291) may well prove as elusive a fiction as the Dorian invasion, which H. is also inclined, with caution, to accept (81).

Simplification also accounts for selection of an arbitrary starting date—some may lament the omission of Neolithic art—and an arbitrary point has also been chosen at which to break off separate description of Crete, the Cyclades and Mainland Greece (chapters 1 to 3) and change to overall description under the headings 'major' and 'minor' arts in the Late Bronze Age (chapters 4 and 5).

Perhaps unorthodox is H's view of Evans' time-honoured, if confusing, tripartite chronological

system. He suggests that terms like MM IIB or LH IIIB 'should be applied only to a period of time, never to a particular pottery style' (12). Whatever Evans' original intention, the terms have come to be referred almost exclusively to pottery styles. If generally adopted H's view at least enables one to talk freely of a MM III building or a LM IIIA1 tablet without being told this is nonsense. It perhaps even paves the way, after crystallisation of an absolute chronology, for an almost complete abandonment of the old system. For pottery it might mean a proliferation of terms such as proto-, ripe and late Kamares Ware but even that might be preferable to the present system where confusion is only added by the reversion of some scholars to the less closely divided pre-, proto-, neo- and post-palatial terminology.

On points of the craftsman's technique H. is especially strong; they find a prominent place in his descriptions of most arts. Techniques of seal engraving seem a notable omission. For jewellery, in particular, H. provides detailed description; the subject may even have received disproportionate space compared with, for instance, the more cursory treatment given to fresco painting (94 ff.), where the 'miniature style' frescoes are not even mentioned.

The illustration is excellent and well chosen. It is especially pleasing to see good photographs of the new Zakro stone vases (figs. 193–200)—they whet the appetite for the full excavation report—and of infrequently illustrated jewellery. It would be good to have more new pictures. Almost half the illustrations used in *The Home of the Heroes* also appear here and both books have drawn heavily on *Crete and Mycenae* (1960). Splendid as M. Hirmer's pictures are, the general reader now runs the risk of studying Bronze Age art only from a limited canon of objects always reproduced in the same photographs. A new picture of 'La Parisienne' (95, fig. 103) could have incorporated the new joins which ensure that this figure stood erect, unlike others on the Camp Stool Fresco.

A few minor points occur on which one might take issue. 47: does the Aegina Treasure pendant with 'master of animals' holding birds include 'composite bows' or are they the so-called 'snake-frame' that appears on a gold ring from Midea and on numerous sealstones (*CMS* I nos. 144, 145 and 189)? 52: some clay impressions made by 'talismanic' sealstones have been found (e.g. *ASAA* 8–9 (1925–6) 89, no. 11, fig. 37 and 95, no. 33, fig. 57) and many of this class of sealstone deserve better than curt dismissal as 'in hasty scratched style'. Scratching has no part in their production which relies on deft, if rapid, cuts with tubular drill and wheel. 101: if the Ta-urt-like figures on the fresco fragment from Mycenae (fig. 111) have hippopotamus' bodies, they must be the only ass-headed hippopotami ever to wear belts! 125: Mycenaean psi-, tau- and phi-type figurines are finely illustrated (figs. 149–51) but these useful terms omitted in favour of 'the Mycenaean "dolly" of



excavator's jargon'. 143: do double axes have to be offered to 'a remarkably warlike deity' such as Athena? Their frequent association with bucrania and bull-sacrifice would make them implements of ritual rather than war; there seems to be no pictorial representation of a warrior carrying one. 190: read 'certainty' for 'certainly' (?).

These are minor quibbles. H. offers eminently readable presentation of the major material with good illustration and useful pieces of technical information often omitted even from the fuller handbooks. He will have a wide appreciative audience.

JOHN H. BETTS.

University of Bristol.

MATZ (F.) and BIESANTZ (H.) **Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel. 8. Die englischen Privatsammlungen**, bearb. von V. E. G. Kenna. Berlin: Gebr. Mann. 1966. Pp. xviii + 223. Numerous illus. Dm 64.-

Additions to this invaluable and beautifully produced series will always be welcome. *Bd. VIII*, the second volume to be published, is especially so because it deals with material that has not received previous attention.

C. Albiker provides the solid basis of the series with his splendid photographs of sealstones and their impressions. Rarely in this volume does an impression seem to have received inappropriate lighting (72) or a sealstone in semi-translucent material (49 and 55) or mottled material (138) appear to have cheated the camera's probing eye. A. has the rare ability to convey in photograph details of style, of technique (notably depth of engraving) and of quality of material, to see with his lights and camera nuances of the engraver's art seldom seen even by the most careful observer. It may therefore be ungracious to cavil at the isolated instances where improvements, sometimes strictly editorial rather than photographic, might have been possible. Of 137 both original and impression seem to have been taken lop-sided; if this was done deliberately to present the motif quite vertically, perhaps the drawing should have been similarly tilted. The sealstone-photograph of 60 appears to have been taken upside-down and simply inverted in publication; it might have looked less odd if both drawing and impression-photograph had been inverted as the motif in this instance is reversible. There is a dead flatness about the sealstone-photographs of 105 that contrasts curiously with the high quality of the majority of the photographs in the volume.

Drawings often provide useful 'commentary' on photographs but they remain subjective and can occasionally be confusing (91) or misleading (148, especially the animal's left foreleg). It is a pity that in *Bd. VIII* it has not been entirely possible to follow the exhortations of *JHS* review of *Bd. I* towards

uniformity in the drawings (*JHS* LXXXVI (1966) 268). While the drawings of gems in the Dawkins, Colville and Hutchinson collections (and 158) bear comparison with the fine drawings of A. Papailiopoulos, which constitute the majority of those in *Bd. I*, those of the other collections in *Bd. VIII* are less clear and less informative (e.g. 145). A similar lack of uniformity, perhaps to be excused in a volume that assembles material from a variety of collections, is to be found in the type of impressions used for the photographs. In the case of 152 a plaster cast with chipped edges has been used; the haematite sealstone is itself in excellent condition.

Kenna's preface appears usefully in both German and English but contains a curious variety of information. The *Corpus* does not attempt to be a *catalogue raisonné* and one might therefore have expected of the preface only a brief statement of the origin and present whereabouts of each collection. The Lewes House collection is mentioned (xi) but without reference to J. D. Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* (1920) or to the fact that the collection is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The collections 'of the Earl of Southesk and R. M. Dawkins have been gradually dispersed forming the basis of other private collections'; but we are not told which other collections. It is only indirectly from the bibliography of individual sealstones in the catalogue of the Kenna collection that we discover some of the original Southesk stones are there. We are left to draw our own conclusions as to why the R.M. Dawkins collection of the preface becomes the J. M. Dawkins collection in the catalogue.

K. goes on to provide an 'appreciation' (with parallels) of sealstones which he considers outstanding, a reiteration of his views on the date of the sealings from the final destruction deposits at Knossos, acknowledgments and the information that the Spencer-Churchill collection is to be sold and that the dealers will 'inform any scholar who wishes to know, (of?) the name of the vendors (purchasers?) concerned' (xiv).

An 'appreciation' was not a feature of *Bd. I* and seems out of place in the *Corpus*. The parallels quoted in it cannot be and are not exhaustive; full and adequate references are not always given, and there are many sealstones which have evaded K's random selection but which one would like to see discussed with parallels fully given elsewhere.

What the preface might alternatively have provided is a few sentences in explanation of the lay-out of *Bd. VIII* especially as it differs markedly from *Bd. I* in offering a much more rigid categorisation by place of origin (Crete or Mainland) and date. A good deal more may need to be said about criteria for distinguishing between Minoan and Mycenaean glyptic. K. has demonstrated the unsuitability of Biesantz' criteria based on *Struktur* and himself suggested a system which more cautiously (and rightly in the reviewer's opinion) leaves room for doubt on a considerable proportion of the material (*Cretan Seals* (1960) 78 ff.) And yet every sealstone



in the present volume is unhesitatingly assigned to Crete or Mainland. Just as categorically and rigidly every stone is assigned to a narrowly defined date. For example 90 is catalogued as a Mainland sealstone of LH IIIA; its closest parallel must surely be Herakleion Museum sealing 138 from the Archives deposit at Knossos (PM IV 603, no. C51, fig. 597, Bc.) and the reviewer would tentatively suggest that 90 is more probably Cretan and perhaps as early as LM II. That there is room for such discrepancies of opinion is not so much as hinted by K. It should have been, especially as the *Corpus* is likely to be taken as authoritative.

There is one major misprint: for *spätminoisch* IIIB (p. 110) read *späthelladisch* IIIA. Two references should be added under 157: *Studia Vollgraff* 108, fig. 10 and, more important, J. Boardman, *Island Gems* (1963) 146, pl. XVIIc. B. suggests 157 is an archaic Peloponnesian ivory disc; K. that it is an LM IIIB lentoid of 'Elfenbein?'. Material (if it is ivory), shape (if it is a disc), technique and style of engraving, the disproportionately large triangular gouged feet of the animal, the way its legs are joined to its body, the cuts down the breast of both animal and bird make this almost certainly an 'island gem'. K. adds 'der Vogel darüber scheint eine spätere Gravierung zu sein' but does not say how much later. The piece might at least have been more cautiously placed under the wider heading of *späthelladisch* IIIC-*geometrisch* which is earlier given for 98-9, two sealstones which may have close enough parallels from the cemeteries of Kephallenia (*PAE* [1912] 256) to be LH IIIC rather than later.

The criticisms implied here indicate only blemishes in detail and the need to leave room for differences of opinion. They are outweighed by the solid achievement of the volume, by the quality of most of Albiker's photographs and by Kenna's carefully prepared and concise catalogue. The editors are to be congratulated for so excellent a presentation of this important and previously inaccessible material.

JOHN H. BETTS.

University of Bristol.

GRUMACH (E.) *Bibliographie der kretisch-mykenischen Epigraphik (nach dem Stande vom 31. Dezember 1961)* [and] *Supplement 1 (1962-1965)*. 2 vols. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1963-67. Pp. xxxii + 256, xxx + 126. DM 36.50, DM 29.50.

The late Professor Grumach was an indefatigable labourer in the field of Minoan scripts, and one of his monuments will be this useful bibliography of the subject, published in 1963 with a supplement in 1967. It aims at presenting all the relevant entries down to the end of 1965.

The main part of the book consists of sections devoted to every variant of the Cretan scripts: hieroglyphic-pictographic, the Phaistos disk, the Arkalokhori Axe, a stone block from Mallia, proto-

Linear texts, Evans' 'Advanced Linear Scripts', Linear A, Linear B in Crete, then in the Mainland and Islands, even outside Greece, relations with other scripts systems, and finally Decipherments.

When the definitive history of the Cretan scripts comes to be written this will be an invaluable source-book. Many of its references are to failed attempts at decipherment, ephemeral publications and so forth, and no attempt is made to indicate which are of importance.

It is certainly useful to have, e.g. a section listing references to stone-mason's marks, though it is a pity to separate those on the mainland (p. 96) from those in Crete (pp. 60-3). But anyone with the time and patience could discover a very great deal from this book, which is usually passed over or forgotten.

JOHN CHADWICK.

Downing College, Cambridge.

STYRENIUS (C.-G.) *Submycenaean studies: examination of finds from mainland Greece, with a chapter on Attic Proto-geometric graves*. (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, vii.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1967. Pp. 176. 6 maps. 63 text figures. Sw.kr. 50.-

Styrenius has written a book which will be of much value to anyone studying the obscure sub-Mycenaean period. It is particularly notable and praiseworthy that he gives full weight to every aspect of the evidence; the pottery inevitably plays a dominant part, but account is also taken of the types of tomb and of the burial customs, and of all other finds. The material is set out clearly and statistically, and each class of evidence is or can be used to supplement the other classes in establishing conclusions.

S. goes beyond his main title (but not beyond the subtitle) in adding a brief section on Athenian Proto-geometric graves. No modifications are made to the known stylistic ceramic divisions, but S's system, noted above, of using all the evidence allows him to make a number of interesting points.

Geographically, the work is confined to the Mainland of Greece, and I think this is a matter for regret, as it has thus not been possible to take into account the contemporary Cretan and Cypriot material: the Greek Mainland was by no means isolated during this period.

The most important sections of the book comprise S's use of the Kerameikos cemetery to subdivide the sub-Mycenaean pottery chronologically, and his subsequent attempt to fit the material outside Attica into the classification there made.

In seeking to establish a relative chronology of the Kerameikos material S. proceeds with caution. He is aware of the deficiencies of stylistic criteria, and he therefore, rightly, makes all the use he can of the horizontal stratigraphy, the location of the tombs. On the basis of this, and with the added assistance, at the upper end, of Mycenaean IIIC pottery and, at the



lower limit, of the Protogeometric style, he evolves a fourfold division of sub-Mycenaean into Early, Middle, Late A and Late B. These divisions are stylistic—an essential point for S., as he proceeds to use them as comparative material in discussing the pottery found in other districts.

How successful has S. been in identifying stylistic differences? Omitting his Late sub-Mycenaean B phase, he uses one basic criterion, the body profiles of closed vases (no distinction being made between different types of closed vase): these are the perked-up, taken to indicate the survival of LH. IIIC Ic practice, the biconical, the globular, the irregular and heavy, and a renewal of the perked-up, or ovoid, being the harbinger of Protogeometric.

The relative frequency of the appearance of each type of profile is the factor which determines the stylistic subdivisions. But does S.'s classification stand up to criticism? First, does this system work? Not always, I suspect. For example, S. says (p. 27) 'closed vases preserving the perked-up shape are mostly Early Submycenaean, though they survived into Middle Submycenaean. The appearance of that shape in Late Submycenaean A is very rare'. What emerges is that four out of thirteen closed vases in Early Submycenaean are perked-up, three out of sixteen in the Middle phase, and two out of nineteen in Late A. This is slightly misleading, and even more so when one finds that S. has omitted a stirrup jar with perked-up profile in Middle Submycenaean (Ker. I, pl. 6, no. 471: T. 52). Secondly, are the types of profile clearly recognisable? In a number of cases, I must confess that I was uncertain whether the description fitted the actual profile. Third, are these useful stylistic criteria? For example, in his figs. 6 and 7 S. shows two Early sub-Mycenaean stirrup jars of perked-up type, but they are not otherwise stylistically similar. I cannot help wondering whether S. is anyway correct in using the criterion of the profile; it assumes that the potters were gradually, consciously or not, changing the shapes of the closed vases, and I am not sure that things happened in this way before the emergence of the Protogeometric style. My impression of the sub-Mycenaean vases from the Kerameikos, as viewed in bulk, is that they are for the most part badly or carelessly made, and thus do not fall within easily distinguishable stylistic classes. Should one even speak of a 'style'?

From Attica S. turns to the other Mainland districts. For the most part, the finds are slight or not yet fully published, and may be passed over. There are, however, two exceptions: the district of the Argolid, and the site of Ancient Elis; and these are well discussed. The emphasis is still mainly on the pottery—which is excellently illustrated. In the Argolid, S. is able to make use of the preceding local Mycenaean in demonstrating the transition to his Early sub-Mycenaean, but for the subsequent ceramic development here, and for the vases from Ancient Elis, he returns to the Kerameikos for his parallels and for his

relative chronology. If, however, the criteria he uses for the Kerameikos series are not altogether reliable, as I have suggested, then it is dangerous to use them as a basis for comparison between one area and another. In any case, the comparisons made are not always, to my mind, very convincing.

There is, though, a further point at issue. The fact that such comparisons are made involves an assumption whose validity may be questioned. This assumption is implicit in one of S.'s main conclusions (p. 160) that 'the Submycenaean style originated in the Argolid'. For S., sub-Mycenaean is a single style, created in the Argolid, and pursuing a parallel course of development in each of the areas where it has been found. I do not believe that we can go as far as this. What we are dealing with is a period of ceramic deterioration, in which both shape and decoration suffered. Why should such a process of decay follow a similar course in different areas? S. does not appear to have proved the point.

Consequently it might also be rash to claim that in each area sub-Mycenaean pottery was precisely contemporary with that of other areas. S. adduces the evidence of the dress pins and fibulae, though he fully realises (p. 158) that 'one must be careful in giving chronological value to metal objects'—and in any case their chronology depends on the ceramic classification. I should add, incidentally, that I suspect that the stirrup vase of Argos T. XXIX, found in association with two pins and an arched fibula, is perhaps rather later than S. believes.

The book is not entirely free from minor error. For example, I noted that on p. 130, n. 32 and on p. 131, n. 46 the references to the figures were incorrect; there is also a wrong tomb reference on p. 140, n. 12.

Having reluctantly performed the functions of an *advocatus diaboli*, I am very happy to stress, on the credit side, that the identification of a period which can be labelled sub-Mycenaean, in the Argolid and at Ancient Elis, is valid and important, as is also the fact that sub-Mycenaean vases, together with the types of object usually associated with them, are, at least at Argos, not confined to cist or similar types of tombs, but occasionally found in chamber tombs. In this S. has done valuable work (and Deshayes before him). Altogether, S.'s book has many virtues, especially those of clarity and completeness of exposition. Even though I may not always agree with S., I feel that he has helped me to a better understanding of this period and of its many problems.

V. R. DESBOROUGH.

University of Manchester.

SCHEFOLD (K.) Ed. **Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn.** (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 1.) Berlin: Propyläen Verlag. 1967. Pp. 373. 5 maps. 464 plates (incl. 32 in colour). 74 text figures. Price not stated.

This is one of the better Greek Art books on a



lavish scale to have appeared for some time; partly because it is directed especially at the serious student, and partly because it tries to set Greek art in its proper relationship, historical and stylistic, with the arts of neighbouring cultures. It would be worth having in English. The main essay is Schefold's, and it surveys the range of Greek art in simple art-history terms, unafraid of dwelling on the obscurer details and careful to observe historical setting. Special attention is given to the criteria and evidence for chronology in each period. The generous illustrations serve Schefold's text only incidentally, since they are grouped by subject (sculpture, painting, etc.) and each subject is separately discussed by other scholars in the second part of the book. Here the scheme is to give a brief review of the development of each art or of the characteristics of the peripheral regions covered, followed by detailed descriptions and references for each picture. This gives the best of both methods—teaching by continuous narrative and by individual examples. The main sections are by Lullies for sculpture, Scheibler for painting and Krause for architecture, which is particularly well served in illustrations. The neighbours are dealt with in useful essays but with fewer pictures, by Young for Phrygia, Hanfmann for Lydia, Schefold for Thrace-Scythia, Luschey for Iran, Kukahn for Phoenicia-Iberia, Jucker for Sardinia and North Italy, and Berger for the Celts. The last plate shows our own White Horse at Uffington, which gives some idea of the range attempted. The pictures are beautiful and not dominated by the usual selection of masterpieces. There are full readers' aids in bibliographies and synoptic charts for art, 'culture' and local history; even an index.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

Merton College, Oxford.

MÖBIUS (H.) *Studia varia: Aufsätze zur Kunst und Kultur der Antike mit Nachträgen*  
Hrsg. von W. Schiering. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner.  
1967. Pp. xv + 275. 60 plates. 18 text  
figures. DM 96.

This book brings together a number of articles on a variety of subjects written by H. Möbius during the last forty-odd years. As is stated in K. Schefold's foreword, many of these essays have appeared in 'Festschriften' and other somewhat out-of-the-way publications and so may not be familiar to the majority of the readers. The book also differs from many other 'Kleine Schriften' in two particulars: (1) The selection of the articles included was made by the author himself, and so embodies what in his opinion are topical subjects; (2) he has in many cases written an *Anhang*, an appendix, in which he has brought the subject up to date, citing recent evidence that either confirms or changes his original findings.

The titles of the articles in this selection are

surprisingly varied, ranging from Caucasian bells found in Samos; to Graeco-Oriental lead medallions; to masks in provincial museums; to sculptural, architectural, and epigraphical studies; and even including such topics as Greek landscapes in Goethe's *Faust*, and Goethe and Martin Wagner. They show the author's exceptionally wide range of interests. In this review there is only space to call attention to a few of the outstanding contributions with which the author has enriched our knowledge, and when possible to make a few comments here and there.

Particularly valuable among these essays are of course those in which Greek ornamental designs play a part—a field in which Möbius with his *Ornamente griechischer Grabstelen* (1929) started his eminent reputation. In this category belongs the study of a beautiful fragment found by the author in the Asklepieion on the southern slope of the Akropolis and then published in the article entitled *Eine dreiseitige Basis in Athen* (pp. 63 ff., pls. 14–16). The relationship of its ornament to that on the well-known throne found in the Parthenon and on the replicas in Berlin, Rome, and Boston, makes the piece particularly interesting. Möbius still assigns the Parthenon example to the middle of the fourth century B.C., and considers only the others of Roman date. It may be pointed out, however, that the inscription on the Parthenon piece may well belong to the archaising period of Trajan and Hadrian, and that archons with names ending in *rotos* abound also in the Roman period. Moreover, though the quality of the carving of the designs on the front of the Parthenon throne may be superior to those on the Roman examples, that on the sides of the throne certainly is not (cf. *AJA* lviii (1954) pl. 47, figs. 3, 4). At all events, the type of throne with solid rounded sides is so far not known before the early Hellenistic period. The Boston example (not mentioned in the *Anhang*, only in Möbius's original article, on p. 65, where Hauser's idea that it is a forgery is cited), has a Latin inscription in letters datable in the Roman period of perhaps the first or second century A.D. (cf. *AJA* 1954 p. 276, where the opinions of Sterling Dow, Prof. Egbert and M. Guarducci are cited).

In *Diotima* (pp. 33 ff., pl. 9), the stele with a woman holding a liver, in the National Museum of Athens, 226, is plausibly identified as a priestess of Apollo—in which case Plato's *Diotima* would have been inspired by an actual person, not invented. Certainly the liver (and it seems to be one) would not fit Leto, the identification occasionally proposed. Since the head is missing we do not know whether the sculptor tried to introduce in it portrait-like features. Another late fifth-century 'portrait' would have been welcome.

The article *Attische Architekturstudien* (pp. 71–100, pls. 17–28) assembles a number of capitals, triglyphs, ornamental friezes, etc., found throughout Attica, some of outstanding quality. Included is the decoration on the north door of the Erechtheion, which is here accepted as a Roman addition.



In a review of H. Diepolder's great work *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (1931), Möbius rightly stresses the fundamental character of this volume, which after more than 35 years is still the principal study on this subject—as is also shown by the fact that recently a second edition has been issued.

The article *Zu Ilissosfries und Nikebalustrade* contains two important additions: a corner-block found in the bed of the River Ilissos containing two battered reliefs which by their style and dimensions clearly belong to the Ilissos frieze; and a Roman copy of the Nike loosening (or arranging) her sandal, which Möbius detected in the Museum of Alexandria, and which fortunately retains the head (*cf.* pp. 101 ff., pls. 29, 30).

To the various arrangements cited by the author as having been proposed for the central group of the East pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (pp. 187 ff., pls. 42, 43) may now be added those by B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris in their recent beautiful as well as scholarly book, *Olympia, The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (1967).

The late archaic head of a bronze statuette in Kassel (pp. 138 f., pl. 33, figs. 2–4), considered to be an example of hollow casting by the sand-mould process, is especially opportune today when the date of the introduction of this technique is being hotly debated.

Welcome also is the article on the collection of Philip, Landgraf of Hessen (pp. 146 ff., pls. 36, 37), now opened to the public. It contains 58 examples of portraits, a few Greek, the others Roman and Etruscan—soon to appear in a publication by Helga von Heintze, entitled *Antike Porträts, Die Landgräfliche Sammlung in Schloss Fasanerie bei Fulda*.

Those of us who are interested in Greek and Roman portraits will also find much instruction in three articles entitled *M. Junius Brutus* (pp. 210 ff., pls. 44, 45); *Zu den Dichterbechern von Berthouville* (pp. 216 ff., pl. 46); and *Zu dem grössten Pariser Cameo* (pp. 226 ff., pl. 47). In the first the suggestion is made that the head in the Prado of Madrid represents not T. Quintius Flamininus, as Vessberg thought, but M. Junius Brutus. The similarity of the Prado head to the coin type shown on pl. 44, fig. 2 seems particularly convincing, in both Brutus' 'bornierte Energie' being emphasized. In the essay on the Berthouville cups Möbius still keeps to his opinion that Studniczka's Menander = Theokritos. The recent evidence on this subject, the mosaic that has come to light in Mytilene with a bust inscribed *Menandros* is not cited, evidently because it was published too late for use. But in the mosaic, though the face is in the static style of the late empire, the arrangement of the drapery is identical with that on the herm in Venice—and so supplies a strong argument in favour of Studniczka's identification. In the article on the Grande Camée de France the many various identifications of the personages represented are discussed at length, and the opinion is

reached that the general theme centres round the emperor Caligula and his family. The great variety of identifications by eminent archaeologists for these figures can only be explained by the fact that the features are generalised—as is so often the case in members of the Julio-Claudian house. (Only G. Bruns ventured on the identification of the principal figure as Hadrian, whose beard had been erased.)

In conclusion we may again welcome the appearance of this volume, so full of important discoveries and stimulating suggestions, evincing the varied scope and the continuous progression in the fascinating study of archaeology.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

Rome.

VALLOIS (R.) *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens* (166 av. J.-C.). 2. Grammaire historique de l'architecture délienne, 1. (Bibl. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 157.) Paris: E. de Boccard. 1966. Pp. v + 292. Price not stated.

Bigwigs now sometimes complain that too few students are coming forward to practise various sciences. But they face the retort that many professors deprive their own subjects of every possible attraction. 'Sensation is sensation', and intelligent aspirants may well expect more happiness from a life, however humble, devoted to literature or even to such art as is practised nowadays. But what is one to say when a topic as delightful as Greek architecture is made a 'subject for science' as now understood? When several hundred pages on Delos—of all Byronic sites—are devoted, after the fashion of Weickert and Dinsmoor, to endless measurements and tabulations, without the oasis of a simple picture? Here indeed is 'book architecture', as Homer Thompson would call it, with a vengeance. It is surely the duty of a reviewer to show that such treatment is unnecessary, that such repulsively elaborate dimensioning, almost ripe for the computer, is misguided, such a 'horrid front' of elaborate arithmetic a mere bogey man, and that one may walk up to it and pull it all to pieces. For, if he succeeds, he has a chance of once more enjoying these buildings in a spirit less unlike the truly Grecian.

Close perusal will show that the authors have some excuses, and that they did not intend anything quite so drily formidable. Moreover, they have even buried many treasures in a wilderness at first sight all stones. Yet, even as he excuses and explores, the reviewer may not forget his first duty—to free the readers of so much intricate detail from exaggerated terror of its accuracy and its indispensability.

Vallois' first volume on Delian architecture, appearing nearly twenty-five years ago, listed and



described the buildings, arranged them by types and proposed a chronology of the different building-phases, beginning at the 'Naxian Period' of the years around 600 B.C. In 1962 Vallois died, leaving many unfinished papers, one set of which, after three years' further work, has now been published by Llinas as the present volume. It limits itself, roughly speaking, to an analysis of exteriors, from ground-courses to cornices. Roofs, pediments, doors and windows are reserved for another volume. It is not clear whether much remains on interior treatment, or where this will go. Moreover, discussion of works later than 166 B.C. will at best be brief. Cruellest of all, as the preface to our volume admits, is the lack of illustrations. Vallois, who could illustrate well and pertinently, as is shown, for instance, by his article in *BCH* 1929, had apparently left nothing for his book. One day, it is hoped, a separate fascicule of illustrations, called Documents, will at last appear. But this is far distant.

As transpires from a close reading, Vallois for some years before his death was unable to bring his record up to date. Nor could Llinas always repair Vallois' omissions, or master the latest discoveries and arguments of other French scholars. For his accounts and conclusions often differ, without a word of warning, from those in Ducat's recent detailed Guide to Delos. Fortunately, Llinas' contributions to the book, which are between square brackets, can easily be distinguished from Vallois. So an interested reader could trace the reasons for these 'lacunes', and for their persistence. I note a handful of the more important.

On p. 57 the authors say that complete marble walls began relatively late on Delos, in the Chapel of Anios. This is clearly the building numbered 68 by Ducat. But Ducat argues that his No. 74, not 68, was the Chapel of Anios. Of this, not a word in our volume.

Page 79 argues that the rage for rectangular pillars ('parastades') in the upper storeys of Delian buildings began with the Python, by which he means the elongated 'Monument des Taureaux', Ducat's No. 24. Ducat denies that it is the Python. Llinas' silent adoption here of Vallois' view seems rather strange. For F. Salviat, who in *BCH* 1963, 489 ff., discredited the evidence of an inscription alleged by Vallois to show that it might be the Python, remarked here that Llinas himself was about to reopen the whole question.

On p. 248 the authors note that the angle triglyphs on the Dodekathéon were broader than the others (36 cms. to their 33) and projected 2 cms. further from the metopes. Vallois concludes, plausibly, that this was a device to emphasise the form and modelling of the Doric frieze on the corner. This is all very well. But according to Ernest Will's publication of the Dodekathéon the frieze had various other irregularities, such as metopes of different lengths. Moreover, Will not only restored an architrave very low for the frieze but also made all the triglyphs project (uniquely?) outside the plane of this dwarfish archi-

trave. All this needs a detailed discussion, especially in a section devoted to the front planes of triglyphs. In failing to supply this, Llinas has failed to bring an important passage of Vallois up to date.

In one important case, I can myself supplement information. On pp. 181 ff., discussing the famous Ionic marble corner-capital with convex *canalis*, the oldest on Delos, he questions Vallois' MS that it was 'au sud des Propylées'. Rather, he says, it was for several years before 1963 'dans le terrain vague devant le Musée'—which makes it easier for him to assign it to the adjacent Poros Temple. But I myself photographed it by the Propylaea in September 1956.

Llinas has sometimes ignored facts very relevant to Vallois's text, largely because pictures are lacking. On pp. 93 ff. he forces the facts to call mere Pergamene palm-tree capitals 'Ionic-Aeolic'. P. 140, on the Hellenistic Doric echinus of Delos, should surely have compared the splendid capitals lately found at Klaros. On pp. 166 ff. Llinas relies too exclusively on R. Martin. Finally, the argument on p. 280, that the combination of a modelled cyma recta frieze and a cornice with dentils originated in the Seleucid realm, ignores their joint appearance on the parodos-gates of the Theatre at Epidaurus, which, it seems to me, could easily go back to the fourth century.

These lacunae, of which the careful reader will find more examples, seriously impair a book like this. For its justification must be its scientific comprehensiveness and impeccability.

Among the author's more important conclusions, the following seem especially interesting.

(1) Materials. The Temple of the Athenians (p. 9) is of a marble 'tout à fait analogue au marbre statuaire'. When granite was first used (e.g., in the Naxian Stoa), the top of the blocks was left rough and the marble euthynteria was cut to fit it—an interesting comment on Delian tools of the sixth century. The *oikos* of the Andrians was the first building to embody dressed granite. Entire walls of this are not found (p. 52) until Hellenistic times. Gneiss, in thin, schistous courses, soon became popular on Delos for the normal euthynteria and the wall of most buildings. In most cases, its wall-courses grew thinner the higher they came on the building, following the technique (p. 18) invented on Paros. Even the 'Dragon Houses' of Euboea follow this Island tradition of gneiss walls.

(2) Foundations and ground-courses. The steps of the normal krepis grow taller as one moves upwards. Fourth-century and later stoas normally have a krepis of two steps, the peristyles inside Delian houses of one step only. Pp. 35-6 give an interesting account of the various ways by which, in prostyle buildings, the spread of the steps is contracted to the rear of the porch.

(3) Walls. There are three sorts of Delian wall 'd'appareil hellénique'—the gneiss wall with diminishing courses, the wall of uniform courses above a dado



of orthostates and the wall mostly made up of a double thickness of orthostates, with occasional courses of 'throughs'. In Hellenistic walls there is usually one slightly projecting course of low 'throughs' just above the orthostates. (One may compare the Ekklesiastērion of Priene.) Vallois also studies 'plinths', by which he means not the blocks in wall-courses but the courses, where these exist, between the orthostates and the toichobate. It is rather remarkable how many Delian buildings, of many different periods, have fairly massive plinths of this kind protruding internally but not externally.

Proper buildings on Delos have walls at least 1½ feet thick. Above this limit, their thickness was determined chiefly by their height. But date and fashion have some influence. For instance, in archaic times the wall was often thicker (as in Mycenaean megarai!) than the lower diameter of the columns found with it. And, of course, the wall containing the main door was usually the thickest in the building. Hellenistic walls had an appreciable diminution, or 'batter', from the top of the orthostates upwards.

(4) Columns. P. 110 rightly restores coupled astragaloi, on a separate block, beneath the simple torus base of an Ionic column. The construction, I presume, will resemble that which we found at Kastabos (Cook & Plommer, *Hemithea*, p. 84). P. 122 makes some Delian columns of oval plan earlier than any known from Pergamum, apparently because their profiles resemble those of Delian pillars ('parastades') of the third century. A few bell-shaped ('cyma recta') column-bases are assigned to the time of the Persian Wars, chiefly because of their resemblance to some at Persepolis and to the Deinomenid Monument at Delphi. But Vallois also compares the pedestal of the Nike of Paionios, which some people put as late as 420, and which in any case, in the form of its moulded capital, recalls the antae of Bassae and of Zeus at Olympia. All this will have to be pondered by anyone investigating the Nike's real date.

(5) Proportions. Discussions of these are sporadic but interesting. Pp. 245-6, for instance, scrutinise in detail the slow shrinkage of the regula, compared with the taenia and the guttae, from archaic to Hellenistic times. Pp. 250 ff. treat of that strange supernumerary course, inserted between frieze and cornice-bed, on the two temples of Apollo. If included with the frieze, it will give this on the Great Temple the proportions of Zeus at Olympia, on the Temple of the Athenians those of the Parthenon. This seems to show that in the Great Temple it was designed before 454, when work presumably stopped, and that the Temple of the Athenians must have copied and adapted the design of its rival. Contrast Ducat p. 84, who makes the Great Temple the copy here.

So much for the statements which seem to this reviewer among the more plausible and important. There are also, in the nature of things, some which appear more questionable.

In discussing the proportions of the *krepis* (pp. 40 ff.), the authors say too little about its relation to the lower diameter until they reach Hellenistic times, when they admit that in a three-stepped *krepis* one riser nearly equals one third of a lower diameter. 'Si on néglige' (p. 40) 'le degré inférieur, supplémentaire, du Temple des Athéniens, on voit que l'architecte a fixé la hauteur de la krépis et du stylobate d'après les proportions du soubassement voisin'. This may not be the whole truth. For the three upper steps also equal one lower diameter. Again, one can surely explain the two steps of the South Stoa, compared with the three of the Dodekathéon, otherwise so close in design, by the need to make the temple more elevated and so more important. This book, admirable in its way, lacks the virtue of simplicity. Similarly with pp. 118 ff., which discuss the height to which Hellenistic columns were planed, instead of fluted, at the foot. Now the famous Hellenistic Temple at Uzunca Burç, which, like Juno Lacinia at Girgenti, was laid out in English feet, quite evidently had columns planed for 13½ feet, or a third of their height of 40 feet. But nowhere do these authors look for correspondingly simple proportions at Delos. They might be found, like simple dimensions, badly though the metric system confounds and conceals the true measurements of ancient buildings. Thus the Stoa of Philip had columns planed to a height of 2.08 metres. But this is the exact height of the oval columns of the Hypostyle Hall. One presumes that it represents seven feet, giving a short foot of about 11.8 inches. For all their formidable figures, Vallois and Llinas have not really got down to studying likely proportions. Here their lack of illustrations has crippled their text.

I cannot follow pp. 183-4 in seeing special Attic influence behind the early Ionic corner-capital discussed above. There is, indeed, a member between the canalis and the echinus. But it is a kind of bent fillet, not an Attic form, and the lower edge of the canalis has a sag, not a sweeping curve. Pp. 216-17 contain the book's most serious misjudgement. Arguing that the Ionians of Asia could have initiated Doric intercolumniations with three metopes instead of the standard two, they say it is these artists 'qui, selon Vitruve, avaient créé un ordre dorique plus svelte'. This is, of course, much less than Vitruvius says in IV, i, 6-7. He implies that they, and they alone, created and developed both Orders—hardly the truth!

Research-workers will quarry a great deal from this detailed and formidable volume. But one longs to see its contents arranged and digested by a master. Until then, this Delian material is likely to reinforce the general view that Greek buildings are much more picknicky and much less attractive than they really are. With all these excavators and 'scientific' archaeologists about, they have somehow fallen into the wrong hands.

HUGH PLOMMER.

*Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge.*



FOLSOM (R. S.) **Handbook of Greek pottery: a guide for amateurs.** London: Faber and Faber. 1967. Pp. 201. 1 folding chart. 16 plates. Numerous text figures. £4 4s.

This book announces that it is written by an amateur for other amateurs. The author became interested in the ancient pottery that he saw in the museums and picked up on the ground in Greece; but he found that none of the textbooks that he bought would serve as a beginner's guide for the purposes of quick identification. He therefore decided to write his own guide to the subject and has duly carried out his self-appointed task. What has emerged is a factually sound primer, with an elementary survey of Greek pottery by classes, preceded by indexes and some introductory matter, and followed by additional information on vase painting and shapes in longer appendices. There are no exercises. The drawings in the text are the author's own.

J. M. COOK.

University of Bristol.

NEUMEYER (H.) **Greek vase-painting.** Trans. J. R. Foster. (Movements in world art.) London: Methuen. 1967. Pp. 56. 20 colour plates. 8s. 6d.

I can think of no recommendations for this book. Errors of fact, errors of translation which lead to errors of fact, misprints, appalling coloured plates which are mainly out of register, ludicrous profile drawings illogically selected, bizarre bibliography which will only confuse those who might actually want to know more, all these faults cannot be attributed to the low price of the book. It has its unconscious humour as the sentence about serving-women illuminating the dragons shows!

METZGER (H.) **Recherches sur l'imagerie Athénienne.** (Publ. de la bibliothèque Salomon Reinach, 2.) Paris: E. de Boccard. 1965. Pp. 159. 48 plates. Fr. 60.-

In 1951 M. Metzger published *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, a work of fundamental importance in the study of fourth-century iconography, and a reference-book of the greatest usefulness. The author has worked since then in widely varying fields, but has always kept an interest in this subject, and the volume under review—the fruit of a dozen years' further thought and research—is no less rewarding. There are seven chapters: 1–3 concern Eleusinian themes, 4 the Anthesteria, 5 Herms, 6 the sanctuary of Dionysus and 7 sacrifices; but as the author points out in his preface, there is constant overlap and interaction between the different

subjects of representation—this is a book, not a collection of independent essays. Most chapters deal, like *Représentations*, with Attic vases of the fourth century and their precursors in the later fifth; but 1 is devoted to the Eleusinian imagery of the sixth and fifth centuries, and 3 (on the Eleusinian and Chthonic Dionysus) also goes back in time.

1 is divided into three sections: episodes from the legend; divinities, in groups or singly; and cult-scenes. The first piece discussed is the fascinating fragment of a late fifth-century calyx-krater (dated by Metzger in the third quarter, but I should have thought nearer the end) which shows a figure in oriental costume, evidently threatened, and inscribed Iassos. This is identified as the punishment of Demeter's mortal lover Iasios or Iasion—no doubt rightly, though there are obscurities: the costume; and the position of Nike (or Eos?) rising in a chariot, who seems to intrude between the victim and the supposed Zeus with a thunderbolt. Among interesting points arising in this chapter is the rarity of representations of the Rape of Persephone. Sure representations of the Return are likewise rare, but there is one splendid picture, on the famous krater in New York; and in a number of Anodoi one must still hesitate between Kore, Aphrodite and Pandora. In discussing the celebrated Triptolemos-skyphos in the British Museum, signed by Hieron as potter and painted by Makron, Metzger tentatively questions whether the two sides of the vase are really closely connected; since, though Dionysus has an Eleusinian avatar, there is no obvious reason for the presence of Zeus, Poseidon and Amphitrite. The attitude of the figures under the handles, however, and the parallel of the other Hieron-Makron skyphoi, suggest that there was a connexion in the painter's mind. 24 ff.: valuable reconsideration of some of the conclusions on Eleusinian imagery reached in *Représentations*. 25: Hekate is actually named on the New York vase (7) as well as the London hydria (29). 27, 30 (cf. 44): interesting evidence of Eleusinian cult in Campania. 29 f.: important discussion of the Naples MYETAPelike, and (31 f.) of the plaque dedicated at Eleusis by Niinnion (the reading of the name adopted by Metzger). Chapter 2, Demeter's seats: useful classification, and valuable discussion especially of the cista (41 ff.) and (46 ff.) of the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα and the καλλίχορον φρέαρ. Chapter 3: interesting publication (52 f.) of a fragment in Oxford from Al Mina with the child Dionysus on Demeter's knees.

Chapter IV: very important discussion, lucid and detached, of the disputed question how far representations truly connected with the Anthesteria are to be found on choes. Metzger finds that Rumpf's sweeping rejections have much force, but that a hard core of connexion can be admitted. (On the 'Lenaia or Anthesteria' stamnoi see now also Philippaki *The Attic Stamnos*, 1967, xixf.) Chapter V: useful categorisation of Herms and related images on Attic vases. A pity Metzger could not republish the amusing Cyrene fragment (no. 4) which is bowdlerised



in the excavation publication. 79, nn. 7 and 8: Tychon as the name of an Attic Priapic god; in fourth-century Thessaly Alexander of Pherae worshipped under this name the dagger with which he had murdered his uncle Polyphron—there could be a connexion (cf. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XV, 1952, 99, n. 4). 84, n. 4, 88 f.: question whether Herms ever represent Dionysus; does the presence of the god on nos. 36 and 38 necessarily mean that the Herm cannot also represent him? cf. Herakles present at the painting of his own statue on a South Italian vase, or the fourth-century statuette of Artemis leaning on an archaistic image of herself.

Chapter VI, 94, no. 1: image on a pillar of 'un taureau ou un bouc—la tête manque'; but the tail is there and is unquestionably a goat's not a bull's. 97, n. 4: Kerameikos amphora-neck (pl. 42, 3): is this really, as stated, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1059 no. 124?—the description does not tally and the style does not look Polygnotan. 102 ff., Appendix on the fascinating vase Athens 1435, recently republished at length by Mrs Karouzou (her article discussed in *Addenda* p. 120). Both make interesting observations and suggestions, but neither seems to me to have solved the riddle. Metzger has some good points against Mrs Karouzou, but I cannot accept that an Attic artist of the early fourth century would have introduced a figure carrying a loutrophoros without intending an allusion either to a wedding or a funeral. I have toyed with the thought that the figure with the laurel-branch is not Apollo but Mousaios (indistinguishable from Apollo, e.g. on the Peleus Painter's neck-amphora, London E 271); and the subject, bards (Mousaios, Orpheus with the kid, Linos?) with their brides and the Muses.

Chapter 7. This reveals an interesting restriction of the number of deities to whom sacrifice is shown as offered: Apollo, Hermes, Chryse (Herakles sacrificing), Artemis (Oinomaos sacrificing, one example), Hephaistos (a bull sacrificed by the tribe victorious in the Lampadedromia); no others, though there are a number of pictures in which the recipient is not identified. Closely related to some of these is a vase not mentioned by Metzger, a big late fifth-century bell-krater, Copenhagen Chr. VIII 939 (*CV* fasc. 4, III 1 pl. 147 (Danemark 149); not in Beazley). There is no victim, nor remains of one, but a priest is taking something from a tray held by an acolyte to lay it on the altar exactly as in sacrifice scenes. One would like to have Metzger's views on this case, with the enigmatic couple on the other side of the altar.

The illustrations are well-chosen and good and the book nicely produced.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

Lincoln College, Oxford.

Athènes et de Rome, 208.) 2 vols. Paris: E. de Boccard. 1966. Pp. v + 595, viii. 1 map. 1 plan. 152 plates. Price not stated.

This is the first comprehensive survey of Argive Geometric, and the fullest study ever devoted to any single regional style of Geometric pottery. Such a thorough treatment has been made possible by the copious finds from the recent French excavations at Argos—and in particular, by the important series of graves excavated by the author himself in the western quarter, near the Theatre. This excavation has virtually doubled the aggregate of Argive Geometric pots, and beyond doubt established Argos as the most important centre of production. Even so, there is much more yet to come from Argos; for a second cemetery, under the centre of the modern town, is still being excavated piecemeal by the Greek authorities. Although none of its material has yet been fully published, the vases found before 1964 are included in Courbin's analysis.

Since much of C's argument is based on associations within his grave groups from Argos, it is a little unfortunate that their contents are nowhere clearly set out. With a little application, however, the intensive reader can reconstruct the groups from scattered internal references, and from the preliminary reports in *BCH*. As for the casual reader, he will find this book very much easier to use after the publication of the promised *Tombs Géométriques d'Argos*, with the full report of the excavation. Meanwhile all readers will be thankful for the marker, containing a complete concordance from catalogue numbers to plates, and for the excellent quality of the plates themselves; here the new Argos material, which occupies most of the space, is supplemented by important vases from Asine, the Heraion, Mycenae, Nauplia, Tiryns, and elsewhere.

This work is divided into three parts. The first deals with Chronology, absolute and relative, establishing a framework where each stage of the Argive sequence is illustrated by well-documented grave groups (p. 177). Upon this framework the author builds in Part Two, devoted to an exhaustive internal analysis of Argive Geometric: every shape, every motif, and every compositional idea is followed throughout the Geometric period, and remarks are offered concerning individual potters, painters, and workshops. The 'personality' of Argive Geometric is discussed in the third part: after some cautious observations on the meaning of the motifs, the salient characteristics of the Argive style are brought into relief through comparison with other local schools. The concluding summary contains a very brief historical sketch, in which C. accepts Pausanias' eighth-century date for Pheidon of Argos.

Most pot books leave absolute chronology until the very end: C. is courageous to begin with this difficult topic, since no Argive Geometric has ever been found in a closely datable context. Furthermore, he is reluctant to base a chronology merely



on stylistic resemblances with other regions (p. 17 ff.) because there is always the possibility of a 'décalage' between progressive work in one centre and conservative imitations elsewhere. So the Argolid must borrow its chronology from Corinthian imports, datable in their turn from Western colonial foundations. The only fixed Argive dates are provided by three Corinthian kotylai, found in three of the Argos grave groups. Hence a full and useful excursus on the development of the kotyle—although it is a pity that none of the three examples from Argos is easy to place in the orthodox Corinthian sequence. In reviewing the dates for Corinthian, C. emphasises the importance of Grave 102 at Pithecusae, where a scarab of the Pharaoh Bocchoris is associated with Early Protocorinthian pottery, thereby offering a valuable *terminus post quem*. But since we do not know how long the scarab remained above ground before being deposited in the grave, C. may be a little too sanguine in using it to measure the 'rythme d'évolution' of the Corinthian style (p. 57). A safer yardstick, perhaps, would be the Thucydidean interval of forty-five years between the foundations of Syracuse and Gela, containing the whole development of the Early Protocorinthian globular aryballos: a very late specimen, recently found at Gela (*NSc* 1960 225 fig. 16, 4), should now be brought into the discussion of absolute chronology.

Applying the Corinthian dates to the Argolid, C. concludes that the final phase of Argive Geometric (Géométrique Recent 2, divided into a, b, and c) lasted no longer than thirty years; he eventually places it within c. 725–00 B.C. A fair deduction, in absolute terms: but C's relative sequence is far from clear at the very end of Argive Geometric. If we accept that Tiryns Grave 22 (p. 177) marks the lower limit, then many of his 'GR 2c' kraters (e.g. pls. 46, 47) should rather be called Subgeometric, and placed well after 700. This lower dating would be more in keeping with the evidence from the Fusco cemetery of Syracuse, where the local imitations of these kraters occur in contexts no earlier than the seventh century (*cf.* pp. 37–8). Among the figured works, the lower limit of C's Geometric is marked by the magnificent krater Argos C 201, which also demands a date somewhat later than 700: the use of white paint for inner details is surely parallel to the tentative use of incision in the first black-figure style of Protocorinthian (MPC I).

A much longer section deals with the chronology of Argive, relative to Attic and Corinthian. Special attention is paid to the emergence of new techniques which, in C's opinion, are likely to have spread rapidly from one centre to another, thus offering a basis more reliable than stylistic resemblances, for making chronological correlations between the three leading schools. This is most probable in the case of the multiple brush, whose freehand use in the eighth century drastically shortened the painter's task. Without doubt, this time-saving device had been tentatively tried out before [p. 74, n. 3, vases from

Marmariani, surely not later than ninth century: add now a pithos from Vergina published by Petsas, *Essays in memory of K. Lehmann* 255 ff., where the same brush is used for concentric compass-drawn circles and for freehand wavy lines, again hardly later than ninth century: also Ialysos Grave 43, c. 900–850 (?), *CR* 8 fig. 149, nos. 2–4]: but its first regular application dates from c. 800, for groups of bars inside the lips of drinking vessels. From then on, its progress is uniform in Athens, Corinth and Argos. C's pages on the multiple brush form one of his most useful contributions to Geometric studies in general, casting much new light on the development of Attic and Corinthian as well as Argive.

The first part ends with a definition of chronological terms. C. favours a simple tripartite division into Early, Middle and Late Geometric, each subdivided into two phases; the final phase, 'l'akmè du géométrique argien', is further subdivided into GR 2a, b, and c. Descriptive terms like 'severe' and 'ripe' are wisely avoided; yet it seems unduly pessimistic to insist that the phases are purely chronological and 'ne correspondent pas à des distinctions de style' (p. 176). But perhaps 'style' itself needs more careful definition, when applied to linear decoration. It may be that, in discussing style, C. has paid too much attention to the background of the vase ('noir', 'clair' or 'vide') and too little to the execution of the ornament. Thus at first sight the pyxis C 895 (pl. 78) may seem untypical of Early Geometric in displaying 'un style qui n'est en aucune manière noir'. Yet its meander is drawn and hatched with just the same laborious care as on the contemporary oinochoe C 829 (pl. 17), and there is the same awkwardness in steering the hatching round the corners: it is arguable that the ponderousness of these early meanders is even more typical of the Early Geometric style than the darkness of the ground. Naturally one should always be prepared for conservative survivals from one phase into the next: but surely the phases could be related more closely to those innovations of technique and style which characterise the most progressive work in any given period. Perhaps C. has not taken full advantage of these landmarks in making his subdivisions of Early and Middle Geometric. For example, his GA 1 groups contain Protogeometric survivals, but most are otherwise indistinguishable in style from those of GA 2; yet in one good group from Mycenae (G 603: 'GA 1') one can see a distinct stylistic phase at the very beginning of Argive Geometric, prior to the introduction of the full meander. (In Attic, *cf.* Agora Grave 26, Desborough *PGP* pl. 15.) Again, three notable innovations appear more or less simultaneously at a central stage of Middle Geometric: (i) the use of multiple brush for bars inside the rim; (ii) the appearance of shoulder panels on closed vases, often repeating the motifs of the neck panel—e.g. oinochoe in Tiryns Grave 24) and (iii) the début of the high-handled kantharos. By C's system, these innovations all arrive during the course



of GM 1; but it seems a pity not to set them up as marking the boundary between the two Middle Geometric phases, allowing Argos Graves 90/2 and 191 as transitional groups.

Part Two describes every process involved in the making of a Geometric pot, and contains a full analysis of all Argive Geometric by shape and decoration. Especially welcome is the separate study of composition, quite independently of motif; for motifs seen out of context often offer poor evidence for placing a Geometric vase, and no other school attains such complexity of design on its larger vases. C. breaks new ground in identifying twenty-nine painters, largely on the evidence of Late Geometric figured drawing. His treatment here is brief; more work could profitably be done on the interrelationships between these painters, as an additional check on the relative chronology (cf. J. M. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*). Such a study might indicate, for example, a somewhat later date for the important Panoply Grave (Argos Grave 45) than C.'s  $\pm 725$ , to judge from its two figured vases: the kantharos C 171 looks like a later, watered-down product from the workshop of the Nauplia Tripod Amphora (pl. 11), and I doubt whether the krater fragment C 229 could be very much earlier than C 201 (c. 690? see above), which it so closely resembles in shape and linear decoration. Incidentally, the discovery of this fragment in 1953 led Courbin to claim for Argive a fine krater from the North Cemetery of Corinth: contrary opinions have been expressed (e.g. R. S. Young, *Corinth XIII* 46, n. 33), but the publication here of C 4442 (pl. 145) surely places C's diagnosis beyond reasonable doubt.

Having placed every Argive Geometric vase in his sequence, C. turns to the wider implications of the pottery. Part Three opens with an inquiry into the uses of the shapes, and the meaning (if any) of the ornament. The linear motifs, in his view, need be nothing more than decoration: the 'solar' interpretations of Anna Roes are treated with prudent circumspection. Likewise in the figured subjects C. finds no compelling reason to suspect any theophanies, any myths, or any heroic scenes: nothing here is alien to the daily life of eighth-century Argive men and women. He admits a possible exception in the 'Aktorione' fragment from the Heraion (p. 493 ff.), and its many Attic counterparts: yet, on the analogy of the telescoped horse teams, he prefers to see them as the victims of an artistic convention whereby two separate living creatures are fused into one. Here, surely, scepticism has gone too far. In scenes of violent action, Geometric vase-painters were normally very careful to prevent human figures from overlapping: and it is difficult to explain away the absurd twins on the Agora oinochoe with their linked helmet plumes—or even the double charioteers on the New York Dipylon krater, competing in what should be a solo event—except in terms of a specific mythical narrative.

There follows a review of Argive Geometric in

relation to other local styles. In the Early and Middle periods, the Argives borrowed many ideas from Attica, although the Attic repertoire was always wider than their own. In Late Geometric, the Argive school in its turn had a considerable influence on Laconian: otherwise the external contacts are no more than sporadic, and the Late Geometric of the Argolid is curiously isolated from contemporary styles elsewhere. Here one might claim an exception for the local ware of Asine, which reflects a degree of Attic influence quite exceptional for the Argolid at this time (cf. R. Hägg, *OpAth* 1965 132–3). The problem of regional Argive fabrics, compressed by C. into one long footnote (p. 546, n. 2), will certainly deserve re-examination when more material is published from outlying sites. The heterodoxy of Asine has a special interest for historians, in view of the alleged destruction of that town by Eratos of Argos, reasonably placed 'au début du GR 2c' (c. 715–10).

A few minor points: P. 19, n. 3: the oriental bowl from the Kerameikos is bronze, not silver. P. 28: the scarabs from Hera Akraia need not be Saite; see now James, *Perachora II* 463–4. P. 47: in the Vlasto collection the Attic 'hydrie' is a pitcher; it is not associated with the Lion kotyle, but is from the same workshop (*AJA* 1940 479–80). P. 55, n. 1: *Cor.* 105 is an oinochoe, not a pithos. P. 66: presumably 'coupes', not 'skyphoi' in the Areopagus grave. P. 135, horizontal flat handles with stirrup: the earliest Attic example is on a krater fr., Kraiker *Aigina* no. 51. P. 139: empty panels in Attica begin long before the end of Geometric; see *Agora VIII* no. 263. P. 154: the first Attic stag is no later than the first Argive: it is under a handle of the pyxis A 514 in the Louvre. P. 154, n. 142, Dav. 29: goats, not deer? Also C 3805 (pl. 139, p. 413, n. 6) where the tips of the horns are visible. P. 156: the earliest outlined skirt in Attic is on the ship krater London 1899.2–19.1 from Thebes. P. 227, globular pyxides: add *Royal Tombs at Dendra* 41 fig. 24, contemporary with Mycenae 59/70 (GA 2). P. 554: the two Asine skyphoi seem local rather than Cycladic; Asinaean clay is often darker than that of Argos, and the birds look authentically Argive (cf. C 209, pl. 103 top).

It only remains to congratulate the author on the successful completion of a monumental task. To the casual reader, the very fullness of the documentation may seem somewhat overwhelming; but it offers an indispensable basis for further research into many special features of the Geometric fabrics, which have hitherto received only scant attention. The judgements are always sober and cautious: nothing is taken for granted, and no argument is stated without the evidence being marshalled in full. Courbin's *magnum opus* will be of lasting value to all students of the Geometric period.

J. N. COLDSTREAM.

Bedford College, London.



TRENDALL (A. D.) **The red-figured vase of Lucania, Campania and Sicily.** 2 vols. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1967. Pp. xxix + 1-700, vii + 701-812. 258 plates (incl. 1 in colour). 18 text figures. £15 15s.

These volumes give the result of some 35 years intensive study: classified lists of all Lucanian, Campanian and Sicilian red-figured vases known to the author. His unrivalled knowledge in this field is a guarantee that the assignments proposed for some 5000 vases, can admit of few errors. Present and future archaeological activity in South Italy and Sicily will produce addenda. Here and there a few loose ends wait to be tied up, such as for instance, the precise location of some of the Campanian workshops, the exact relation between the Apulianising phase of Campanian and later Sicilian, the significance of stylistic affinities between the barbarised painters who terminate Capua I and certain late Etruscan painters; but in the main the whole territory has now been mapped, and the enormous quantity of material has been sorted and marshalled with such meticulous care, that most future finds will be allocated to appropriate categories without much controversy.

The elaborate plan of the book gives the student every assistance. The date span is from c. 440 B.C. to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.

Prefaced by a General Introduction and bibliography, each of the three fabrics then has a Book to itself with its own very valuable introduction and bibliography. The Books are subdivided into Parts which may also carry introductions. Lucanian (1130 vases + addenda) has a chronological division into Early and Late, Campanian, the longest Book (over 2700 vases) has four Parts, the first on origins, then two on the two schools associated with Capua, and lastly one on the fabric of Cumae, and there is an appendix on the now much enlarged Owl Pillar Group. Sicilian, the shortest (513 r.f. vases) (with an appendix listing 96 decorated with patterns in applied colours) has an important introduction and three Parts, the first two based more or less on topographical groupings, within Sicily itself, the third devoted to the vases from Lipari. T. emphasises that the Sicilian section is not quite on a par with the others, since its existence as a separate fabric has only been established beyond question in the last 20 years; and he therefore describes his classification as of a preliminary character, though the chronology here is more firmly based than that of the other two fabrics owing to a good deal of numismatic evidence from recent excavations.

Within these Books, each Chapter for the most part deals with a 'group' of painters—occasionally with one painter only. These Chapters also have their own introductions, which may include detailed stylistic criteria. The ultimate individual vase cataloguing often contains, besides the usual information, further cross-references on points of style.

The plates, preceded by the six indexes, mostly show four-eight small pictures per page, (occasionally only two). Works by the same painter are grouped together, so that the reader is further assisted in forming a full impression of each painter's style. There are regrettably no larger scale pictures, even of the more important pieces. But this is a working catalogue, not an art publication, and all the best pieces are now worthily published, if not reproduced as picture post-cards. Nevertheless a page of illustrations of some of the Attic vases listed on pp. 3-5 as typical of the kind that influenced the Pisticci and Amykos painters, and a few, say, by the late Attic painters that lie behind the Chequer Group would have been welcome. There is still work to be done on the interrelation of Attic and S. Italian vase painters, and an easy opportunity to make comparisons would have been very helpful. While there may never be concrete proof that any S. Italian painters had actually trained in Athens, the likelihood of this seems to me to exceed the 'probability' suggested on p. 3, and sporadic traces of Attic traditions can be traced right through to the very end. What, for instance, are we to think of the Pisticci Painters' 'blobby' squares (deeply rooted in Attic pattern tradition) and at first almost entirely confined in S. Italy, to this painter (p. 10) re-appearing on vases by the Coephoro painter, who is otherwise about as Lucanian as he could be?

In his preface, the author explains that his book is primarily a stylistic classification, shapes and subject matter being only touched upon. Some readers may feel that by the mid fourth century, at any rate, the main interest of these vases lies in the latter, and that the meticulous stylistic analysis to which so many very minor or barbarous painters are here subjected, verges on the tedious. But T. justly claims to have provided, by the all-embracing nature of his work, a firm basis for the study of his material from other aspects than the purely stylistic.

Space does not allow me, in a short review, to do justice to this book, nor even to provide a full summary. I pick out at random a few points for comment. Of particular interest is the chapter on the Primato Painter, and readers will want to think further about him, so provincial and yet with so much panache, so bold and confident a decorator, so dainty a potter (see Ashmolean 1921, 857), so near to the Lycurgus Painter in so many details, so different in spirit. The Apulianising phase of late Campanian, (Cumae A) and its relation to Sicilian, in particular to the Manfredi Painters' workshop, is another of the many problems effectively discussed and illustrated. The patience with which the head vases and other minor pieces, many so dismally barbarised, has been tackled, is prodigious; a triumph of conscience over inclination. It is perhaps open to question whether quite so many need have been illustrated; the answer will only appear when we see in what direction the further study of these wares develops. And perhaps, without acquaintance with much that is unpalatable,



one might miss, in the later stages, the occasional echo of a good Greek tradition.

A few small criticisms:

Important little particularities of style are listed (in smaller type) in many of the introductions to individual painters. If small illustrations of some of these minutiae could have been provided to supplement or replace the descriptions, the gain to the reader would be immense. Some florals and palmettes are indeed figured in the Campanian section, but I have in mind something much smaller (as on p. 282). If this could not be done, would it have been possible, in selecting vases by which to illustrate an idiosyncrasy of pattern or drawing, to ensure that the point is always illustrated in the plates? To look up such details in other publications (if they exist) takes time, and sometimes when the reference vase is illustrated, the definition is not good enough to make the point clear.

A few random examples:

Roccanova Ptr. p. 130 (iii) diamond-shaped floral  
p. 131 b.f. decorative patterns.

the reference vases are not here illustrated.

Primato Ptr. p. 163 (i) flying Nike with swirling drapery. This is not visible on the face of vases illustrated.

Painter of Naples 1959 p. 142 (i) mouth with downward curve.

the example is illustrated but this detail is not visible.

In fact the reader can usually find illustrations of these points of style, but not always on the plates given for reference.

Is it correct that elaborately decorated volute-kraters are common in Later Lucanian (p. 116)? From a total of over 500 vases, there seem to be 26, of which 15 are by the Primato Painter.

These trifling queries are obviously but bagatelles in comparison with the great achievement of this book. The Subject and General Index, and those on Greek inscriptions and on sites, besides the far-ranging discussions in the various introductions, testify to the author's grip on other aspects of his subject than the purely stylistic. All who research further in this field will owe him an immense debt. If I have not re-opened the question of the propriety of calling the Pistocci-Amykos group 'Early Lucanian', that is not because I do not still see it as slightly falsifying the situation. But T. has led us to this standpoint, step by step, over the years. We know what he means, and I think we must accept it.

NOËL OAKESHOTT.

Oxford.

**Corpus vasorum antiquorum. Deutschland,**  
Band 27: Heidelberg, Universität, Band 3.  
Bearb. von F. Canciani. Munich: C. H. Beck.

1966. Pp. 112. Plates 90-137. 40 text figures.  
DM 45.-

The high quality of the pictures, and the full commentary in Canciani's text, make this an exemplary volume. The pottery extends in time from the Early Bronze Age down to the sixth century. Prior to LH III, the Bronze Age collection is largely confined to sherds; but there is a good group of nine whole LH III A 2 pots from Rhodes, and a smaller closed find of LH III B with Attic provenance. The other late Mycenaean pots—which are plentiful—include some interesting rarities: a bird askos, a ring vase, and a Submycenaean oinochoe. The Protogeometric section contains two significant grave groups from the Acropolis, transitional from Submycenaean: cf. Desborough *PGP* 1 ff., pl. 1.

The bulk of the volume is occupied by the Geometric, which forms a most useful teaching collection. With the exception of Thessalian and West Greek, every local school is represented. The whole pots are mainly of Attic and Boeotian origin, with a few Corinthian and Rhodian. The fascicule ends with many Geometric and Archaic sherds collected from Aegina, the Argive Heraeum, Mycenae, Amyclae, Thera, Paros and Naucratis, illustrating a wide variety of fabrics.

Among the Attic Geometric, there are revealing glimpses of rough provincial work made outside Athens (pls. 104, 2; 107, 1). The Boeotian vases, on the whole, are more distinguished, and constitute one of the most important collections of this fabric outside Greece: these receive fuller treatment in Canciani's comprehensive article on Boeotian Geometric in *JdI* 80 (1965) 18 ff. For many of these vases, the surprising provenance 'aus Keos' has turned out to be without foundation, and should now be ignored.

A few suggestions:

Pl. 102, 5. Skyphos, 'from Hermione'. Perhaps later than PG, owing to the narrow panel and the paucity of circles in each set. Like the krater with the same provenance (pl. 122.2), this vase could be East Greek rather than Argive. Cf. *Ann.* 1925-6, 267 fig. 48 from Cos, shallower but with identical decoration.

Pl. 103, 7. Pyxis. Perhaps provincial Attic, but later than 900-850: the double axe motif hardly enters the Attic repertoire before Middle Geometric. This pattern also appears on a flatter Boeotian Middle Geometric pyxis from Orchomenos, unpublished, in the Chaeronea Museum. For the shape, cf. now a pyxis in Groningen: Desborough, *Festschrift E. Grunmach*, 75 ff., pl., 5.

Pl. 116, 1-2. Amphora fr. Workshop of the Subdipylon Painter: cf. especially the Eretria amphora, Davison fig. 101.

Pl. 117, 3. Ovoid pyxis. A typical shape of Boeotian Early Geometric: several unpublished exx. in the Chaeronea Museum, one in an EG II grave group from Orchomenos.



Pl. 122, 1-2. Kraters. Middle rather than Late Geometric, when the stems grow taller. The triangular lozenge net on 2 is a typical motif of Dodocanesean Middle Geometric.

Pl. 122, 3. Pyxis 'aus Keos'. Flat pyxides are very rare in the Cyclades; this comparatively deep variety, with vigorously rounded walls, is a favourite Boeotian shape. The floating triangles surely indicate a Boeotian origin: so also the vertical zigzags—as the author himself remarks in connexion with the disputed kantharos pl. 119, 8.

Pl. 122, 4. Pyxis 'aus Keos'. Probably also Boeotian rather than Cycladic, since the birds are so like those on pl. 122, 3. The shape has a predecessor in Boeotian Middle Geometric: Jongkees, *Greek Antiquities in Utrecht I* 1957 (*Archaeologica Traiectina II*) pl. 34.

Pl. 124, 1. Ovoid krater. Boeotian again? For the decoration cf. the krater *Sotheby Cat.* 6.7.64, no. 171.

Pl. 124, 4-6. Pyxis 'aus Keos'. Hard to place, but nearer to Boeotia than the Cyclades. The elongated quatrefoil is peculiar to Boeotia; for the simple meander friezes cf. Athens 5893, the Potnia Theron amphora.

Pl. 126, 1-2. Oinochoe. Birds and lozenges look more Argive than Corinthian: indeed, the author has rightly ascribed this vase to the same workshop as an Argive skyphos from Prosymna. On the workshop see now Courbin *CGA* 450, 16-17.

Pl. 134, 1-26. Sherds of Amyclaeon Proto-geometric figure in many University collections, but these are the first to receive full publication with profile drawings. Since no whole profiles could be recovered from the excavated material (*AM* 1927) these drawings are especially welcome.

J. N. COLDSTREAM.

*Bedford College, London.*

# **Corpus vasorum antiquorum. France, fasc. 21.**

Musée du Louvre, fasc. 13. By F. Villard. Paris: H. Champion. [1965]. Pp. 39-66. plates 35-82. Price not stated.

It is pointed out at the beginning that some Corinthian vases have already been published in Fascicules 6, 8 and 9 of the Louvre. The policy now is to publish all that remain in this and one or two following fascicules, this one taking us into EC. The material is from many proveniences, including a good deal from the Campana fragments, from which Villard has recovered so much of so many kinds. The photographs are good and the text exemplary. Villard is a master of the subject himself and has also had the help of Amyx on the Corinthian black-figure. The material is divided into Protocorinthian Geo-

metric (pl. 35); Protocorinthian Subgeometric (pls. 36-43); Protocorinthian Black-figure (pls. 43-4); Transitional Subgeometric (pls. 44-6); Transitional Black-figure (pls. 46-69); Early Corinthian Subgeometric (pls. 70-1); Early Corinthian Black-figure (pls. 72-82). Pl. 35, 1 (CA 3822): Villard observes that this skyphos is very close to one from Ithaca which I published in *BSA XLIII* (1948) 19, no. 22, pl. 2, but that it is abnormal in having, on one side, the birds framed off by verticals from the horizontal zig-zags. This occurs on two other examples from Ithaca (*ibid.* 60 nos. 296-7, pl. 17, discussed p. 110), which I classed as Ithacan. It may be that, like some other things which I thought local imitations, these may be eccentric Corinthian. Pls. 37, 7 and 8 and 38: noted that some of these low cups may be contemporary with Transitional or EC. Pl. 42, 1-2 and 4 (E 13): Villard notes that Payne called this pretty pyxis EC; the earlier dating seems convincing. Pl. 43, 4-7 (E 429): add to bibliography, Payne *PV* pl. 14, 1 (Payne's drawing of principal frieze). Pl. 43, 8-10 (CA 2919): a row of unhidden horses is not common in PC, but cf. *Perachora II* 77 no. 673, pl. 30; the owl in the hare-hunt is also strange, as is the amusing style. Pl. 44, 2 (E 333bis): Villard notes that this fine olpe belongs to the circle of the Chigi vase. Pl. 44, 3-4 (E 415): Villard records Lejeune's interpretation of the inscription (considered meaningless by Johansen and Payne) as the Thessalian form of Apollo. Pl. 48, 1 and 4 (E 478): Villard notes that Payne called this ovoid aryballos EC not Transitional; it seems a borderline piece. Pls. 48, 2; 49, 2 (Camp. 11315): the very Protocorinthian style of the fine incised dog, noticed by Villard, suggests that that might be the best classification for the vase. Pls. 52-61: many pieces by the Painter of Vatican 73. Villard rejects Benson's fusion of this artist with the Sphinx Painter (pls. 62-5). The distinction certainly seems clear here. Pl. 65, 2 (E 418): Villard and Amyx accept (surely rightly) Payne's dating of this vase in the Transitional period, against Benson's connexion with an artist active in MC. Pl. 66, 1-2; 68, 1-2 (Camp. 10478): half a dozen vases are here grouped as work of a 'Clermont-Ferrand Painter', active from Transitional into EC; the peculiar style of the published pieces is certainly consistent. Pl. 66, 3-4 (E 425): convincingly grouped with pl. 68, 3 (Camp. 10477) and a fragment from Aigina as by the same poor hand. Pl. 71, 3-4 (MN 800): the shape of this curious piece is more fanciful than the EC parallel cited from Payne, and I wonder whether it may not be later. Pls. 72, 1: 73, 1 (Camp. 11321): sad that one has not the top of this huge, fine alabastron which looks, as Villard says, like the work of a column-krater painter. The hare between the combatants would have delighted Payne, who collected 'rabbits'. Pls. 77, 7; 79, 3 (MNC 52): to the bibliography of the vases now given by Amyx to the 'Bead Painter' add A. Seeberg in *Symbolae Osloenses XXX* (1953) 92-9. Pl. 82, 4, 6



and 7 (E 522): useful note on the 'Duel Painter', the principal artist of the Warrior Group, as enlarged by Amyx.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

*Lincoln College, Oxford.*

HIGGINS (R. A.) **Greek terracottas.** London: Methuen. 1967. Pp. liv + 169. 1 map. 68 plates (incl. 4 in colour). 30 text figures. £7 7s.

This is an extremely useful handbook. After an introduction on use, methods of classification etc., and a chapter on technical processes, it proceeds chronologically in eight chapters from 700 B.C. to 100 A.D. In each chapter a general introduction is followed by a description of the chief sites, discussing the workshops and giving the types made. The chronological chapters are followed by a bibliography arranged under the same headings, and then three indexes, sites, artists, and general. Thus if one knows anything about one's terracotta—subject, place of origin, or date—one can find quickly what Mr Higgins has to say about it. The illustrations are very well selected and very well reproduced.

The work is so excellent and will be so useful that it seems ungracious to make any criticisms. It is slightly inconvenient to have to go back to the list of plates to find the heights of terracottas, and heights of those illustrated in the text figures are not given. Articles are quoted without the names of authors, and so it is impossible to see what is a publication of an excavation and what is a serious discussion of excavated or museum material: anonymity does scant justice to the superb work of Mrs D. B. Thompson on the Agora terracottas and Signora P. Zancani-Montuoro's very interesting interpretations of the Locri plaques, or indeed Mr R. V. Nicholls' study of states. Pp. 38, 50, 52, life-size masks from Samos, Tiryns, Sparta, are perhaps easiest explained as the moulds on which papier-mâché masks were made for actual wearing; the Samos masks are too early for satyr-plays but may have been used for satyr-dances. Pp. 47, 76 Corinthian plastic vases and the earlier Athenian plastic vases are omitted because they were made by potters rather than by coroplasts: this is an interesting distinction which one would like to have seen further developed; p. 92, nothing about the actors at Paestum; p. 94, it is good that Cyprus is at last included, though rather late, a reference to S. Mollard-Besque's *Terres cuites* would have been helpful in the bibliography; p. 103, nothing about the Halai actors; p. 105, nothing about the very interesting glazed terracottas at Kavalla.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

*University College, London.*

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. **Cabinet des médailles et antiques. Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes.** By A. Delatte and P. Derchain. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1964. Pp. 380. 4 colour plates. Numerous text figures. Price not stated.

The initiator of this work, A. Delatte, unhappily died a few weeks before it came from the press. In 1914 he published a study of a similar collection in the National Museum of Athens. He was one of the first to reject the designation 'Gnostic' which had so long been applied to such amulets and to maintain that the true understanding of them could be best furthered by comparing the evidence of the Greek magical papyri. In the present work he was fortunate to have the collaboration of Professor Philippe Derchain, an Egyptologist who is also a classical scholar.

The material here published derives in the main from the *Cabinet des Médailles* in the Bibliothèque nationale; a good number of items come, however, from private collections, and some from the Louvre. Ultimate provenance is for the most part unknown, since the objects have usually been picked up from sections of a far-flung trade in antiquities. It is quite exceptional to find a remark like that appended to the description of No. 354, p. 253: 'Trouvé par P. Perdrizet à Touna el Gebel'. Nevertheless, the suggestion is plausibly made that Egypt, *genauer gesagt* Alexandria, is the ultimate source of the majority. Content, symbolism and language point to the predominance of Egyptian, Greek and Jewish influences, a combination offered only by Alexandria. Greek is the prevailing language. Only one piece (No. 454 bis) has a Hebrew inscription, and only occasionally are hieroglyphs found. On the other hand, the Greek script is often used to convey non-Greek words: there are Semitic or Egyptian words, but many are unintelligible and may be deliberate fabrications. Chronology is rarely referred to in this book, but a mention of Roman Egypt on p. 17 suggests that nothing is regarded as earlier than the Roman era. It would doubtless be vain to attempt any more precise dating.

The material is arranged according to theme. Thus the first chapter is devoted to the gods of the magicians; after a short introduction on each god the relevant pieces are serially described with accompanying photographs. Chapter 9 is devoted to the stones bearing only inscriptions, and so cuts across the general plan, but with no serious results. The arrangement is a sensible one and is more convenient than that adopted in Bonner's otherwise admirable *Studies in Magical Amulets*, where the main text is followed by a descriptive catalogue, which is followed in turn by the photographs, with the unhappy result that the reader is for ever jumping to and fro from one section to another. The photographs in the present work are unequal in clarity, and show what a tricky business, even today, is involved in reproduc-



ing objects that are often small and poorly engraved. It is a pity there are no text references to the coloured plates. As for the frequent enlargement involved in the photographs, this was obviously a wise procedure. It is a nuisance, though, that most of the photographs provide an inverted image, because they derive from squeezes.

On the subject of the cock-headed anguipede the authors are rightly sceptical of Nilsson's attempt to compare representations on Celtic monuments; they are more enamoured of Barb's ingenious suggestion that what may be implied is a Jewish interpretation of Adam as a giant warrior in monstrous form. But since the god in question is usually called Iaô or Abrasax, and never Adam, they share his final hesitations, and the problem remains to tease us. Syncretism is doubtless a lively factor in this connexion, as it is also with the important demon Akephalos; to explain him the authors eagerly invoke not only Seth and Osiris but also Atum, and it seems that they are quite justified in view of the solar symbols adduced from both papyri and gems. On the origin of Khnoubis a fusion of deities is again advocated. Doresse's preference for a link with the Theban serpent-god Knêph is given respectful attention; iconographically, if not philologically, this interpretation is most satisfying, and it receives support from Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 21, 359 D, on which see my forthcoming commentary *ad loc.*, where I have ventured to differ from Hopfner.

The long chapter on the Egyptian gods deserves high praise. One might question whether No. 110, where all the attributes are shown to be those of Hathor, needs to be entitled 'Isis-Hathor'. The discussion of the type described as 'L'enfant dans le lotus' is a distinct improvement on Bonner's treatment, the rich complexity of the Egyptian background being well appreciated. On p. 116 and elsewhere exception may be taken to the term 'triades d'animaux', since there is no suggestion of a group of deities; in the following descriptions 'trois crocodiles' and the like is the term more often used, and it is preferable. The hesitation on p. 155 between Hathor and Isis as equated with Hecate should surely be resolved in favour of Isis: see Apuleius, *Met.* 11.5 and *P. Oxy.* 1380, 113 and cf. Vandebeek, *De Interpretatio Graeca van de Isisfiguur*, 128-130.

In this material distinctions between deities and symbols are often blurred, and the chapter on the Greek gods is rightly replete with considerations of non-Greek influences. How complex the resulting amalgam may be is well exemplified by No. 289, p. 211, where a semi-nude goddess is depicted standing on a lion and surmounted by a winged scarab. The last-mentioned element must be Egyptian, but the semi-nude form points to Aphrodite or Astarte, whereas it is the Phoenician goddess Qadesh who is often represented on a lion. A merging of Qadesh and Astarte-Aphrodite is acutely suggested, with a possible hint too of the Egyptian Hathor.

There is a useful glossary of the Egyptian terms employed. The *nekheh*, however (p. 368), cannot have been originally a ladanisterion, since evidence is lacking for the use of ladanum in early Egypt: see Lucas and Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 94.

Since most of the material has not been published before, this work must be regarded as an important source-book. In a recondite and difficult field where certainty is rarely attainable the two Belgian scholars concerned have produced a study of enduring value.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS.

University College, Swansea.

HOFFMANN (H.) and DAVIDSON (P. F.) **Greek gold: jewelry from the age of Alexander.** Ed. A. von Saldern. [Exhibition catalogue.] Brooklyn: the Brooklyn Museum (Mainz: P. von Zabern, publisher and distributor for Europe). 1965. Pp. xi + 311. 1 map. c. 280 illus. (incl. 8 in colour). DM 49.80.

This excellent volume was produced as a catalogue of an exhibition of Hellenistic jewellery held in 1965 and 1966 at Boston, Brooklyn and Richmond, but it will serve a much wider purpose. It will in fact be the last word on this subject for many years to come.

Although the scope of the exhibition was limited officially to the age of Alexander, it included a few pieces of an earlier, and many of a later date. The task of assembling this array of rich and largely unpublished material was undertaken principally by Hoffmann, who succeeded in collecting treasures from the principal museums of Western Europe and the U.S.A. and from many private collections.

In the publication of the catalogue he has collaborated with Mrs Davidson, he being responsible for the archaeological, she for the technical side.

A historical introduction sets the scene. It is followed by an extremely useful list of dated groups of jewellery. I am, however, sorry to see that H. prefers the old third-century dating of Artjukhov's Barrow to the more recent evaluations of Maximova and Kùthmann, which put it in the second century.

Mrs Davidson's technical introduction makes fascinating reading, and breaks much new ground. Herself a practising goldsmith, she has tested out long-established views on ancient techniques, with some surprising results. For example, she has demonstrated that Littledale's 'colloid hard-soldering' was not restricted to filigree and granulation, but was used for virtually all soldering jobs. She has also reconstituted the laborious process by which beaded wire was made.

The catalogue itself, the joint work of the two authors, is arranged by the types of jewellery represented: diadems, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, pins, fibulae, medallions, pendants, rings. Then follow three groups of associated pieces, which are rightly taken together as groups.



Nos. 3 and 50. A diadem and a necklace from the Erotes Tomb at Eretria, now in Boston. It is good to have here an all-round assessment of the complete tomb-group, which has never been properly published. Its usefulness for chronology, however, is not as great as might at first appear, since there were several interments, which were not separately recorded by the excavators.

Nos. 10 and 11. Two sets of gold rosettes with enamelled centres. Such rosettes, of which a large number are now known, have lately come under suspicion, but for no very good reason. The principal objections are two: that their purpose is not known, and that there are too many of them about. A suggestion by Hoffmann, in conversation, that they served to decorate a sarcophagus, is by far the best proposal yet, and would answer both objections. Moreover, a recent analysis by the British Museum Laboratory of the enamelling of one such rosette has gone a long way towards rehabilitating the lot. Incidentally, I still hold, as against Hoffmann, to a late fifth-century date.

No. 12. The exquisite Boston earring in the form of a Nike driving a chariot, none the worse for its recent misadventures.

Nos. 69-70. Two elaborate gold pins, also from Boston, made famous by Jacobsthal: the Sphinx Pin and the Capital Pin.

Nos. 124-129. A very important and hitherto unpublished group said to come from Tarentum. The hair-net, no. 124, surely explains the purpose of the related medallions with gold nets in the Stathatou and Benaki collections.

And finally, a number of pieces from Palaikastro in Thesaly lent by the Hamburg Museum (nos. 130-136), a group whose importance has not been properly appreciated. I still think that a date in the first century B.C., or perhaps in the late second, would best suit the entire collection. A hoard from a house on Delos, published since the appearance of this book, goes far to substantiate such a late date for this type of jewellery.

There is a full bibliography and a useful index. The photographs, of remarkably high quality, illustrate not only the jewellery exhibited, but also a wealth of comparative material. A model publication of a fascinating subject.

R. A. HIGGINS.

*British Museum.*

KRAAY (C. M.) and HIRMER (M.) **Greek coins.** London: Thames and Hudson. 1966. Pp. 396. 4 maps. 1349 illus. (incl. 20 in colour). £8 8s.

This is a comprehensive, geographically ordered survey of Greek coinage, illustrating in enlarged form one or both faces of 809 coins, with 10 pages of

introduction and over 100 pages of description and regional commentary. Dr Hirmer's superb photography is matched in quality by Dr Kraay's text.

Hirmer's magnification of the coins two, four or even five times is admirably sympathetic to the material and the results are thrilling. Even if some may regret that we lose our awareness that the coins are actual objects, particularly when obverse and reverse of the same piece are shown on different scales, the sacrifice is surely worth making. (To have used the expedient of including a life-size illustration of each coin beside its enlargement would have extended the plates impossibly.) However, although it is stated only on the dust-jacket, the book appears in the publishers' Standard Library of Ancient and Classical Art, and despite Hirmer's avowal (preface, p. 7) that other aspects of Greek coinage are equally important, a slight but noticeable bias towards selection on aesthetic grounds is reflected in the proportion of coins of Sicily and Magna Graecia, and—perhaps less justifiably—in the absence of some historically significant series such as Alexander's gold, the Aetolian League issues and the *Cistophoroi*. Another disturbing omission: not one bronze coin is illustrated (and bronze coinage is mentioned only incidentally in the text); offsetting the difficulty of finding suitable specimens for enlargement against the wealth of material at Hirmer's disposal (pp. 7, 8: the ten major European collections, also private collections and international auctions) may we not regret the lost opportunity to illustrate by way of example one beautifully patinated bronze coin in colour (perhaps in lieu of Pl. XIV)? Otherwise the selection is sufficiently representative, and well-chosen. Outside the familiar ranks of the masterpieces of the Sicilian mints and Hellenistic portraiture, it is a delight to see the recently discovered Lycian portrait coins of Mithrapata and Pericles (656-660), the exceedingly rare sea-god stater of Itanus (545) and the Peparethos Boreas(?) tetradrachm in colour five times life-size (Pl. XVI). A more successful Sicyon stater (510) and a better preserved example of 465 R might, however, have been found.

Kraay's introduction is valuable because it offers the non-specialist some basic generalisations about Greek coinage and numismatics, some of which have rarely been made readily available in English before (see especially pp. 18-20 on chronology and hoards). Here and in the introductory sections of the catalogue, although he is essentially limited to providing a commentary on Hirmer's plates, Kraay gives a masterly synoptic view of the subject that is fresh, economical but informative, authoritative, and up to date. Generally he is critically cautious of fanciful conjectures. Thus the much discussed crescent on the Athenian tetradrachms is 'of uncertain significance' (p. 324). On such controversial questions of dating as the introduction of the Athenian 'owls' and the Athenian New Style coinage, he fairly draws attention to opposing views. In the Syracusan



series the exergual lion and sea-serpent are no longer represented as symbolising the defeated Carthaginians and Etruscans, but Kraay prudently leaves his own novel proposal to down-date the 'Demareteion' as a suggestion in the text, pending further discussion; the *ΑΘΑΑ* decadrachms, however, are rightly reattributed to Dionysius I, following G. K. Jenkins (*cf. BICS* 8 (1961) 86; thus originally Head *HN*<sup>1</sup> 154) and the electrum is dated towards the end of the fourth century (*cf. Jenkins, NC* 1963, RNS Proceedings, p. 5).

It is unfortunate that the fixed order of the plates which were used for the German edition (P. R. Franke and M. Hirmer, *Die Griechische Münze*, Munich, 1964) has led to the archaic tetradrachm (348) which Kraay gives to Chalcis appearing in the middle of the Athenian series, and the stater (390) which he attributes tentatively to Calymna, Caria, among the Macedonian issues, while most noticeably in an extensively illustrated mint such as Syracuse the chronological order of the coins is sometimes confused. Nor is the arrangement of the mints within each area always successful, e.g. Corcyra is awkwardly grouped with Peparethos; problems of lay-out were perhaps to blame. But Kraay's select bibliographies and the four maps with the mints marked are admirable.

A few details. 493: the obverse die is not Seltman's AL. 500 is Seltman 153, not 152. P. 343: the coinage of Sicyon had begun well before 420 B.C. (*see Hesperia* 1955, 135-6); Kraay surely was thinking of the stater series. Pp. 343-4 and 517, 518: the Argive drachm (518) with the heroic reverse type Diomedes carrying the Palladium is certainly post Leuctra, as is the stater (Babelon, *Traité*, pl. 215, 17) with same hair-treatment, head left (unlike the other staters) and swan symbol on the reverse, corresponding to the drachm with the same symbol (*Traité*, pl. 215, 20). But of the other Argive staters, most of which form a die-linked group to which 517 belongs, some at least must surely be earlier than Leuctra, for they show local archaic as well as Ionic letter-forms. (It is interesting that the 1821 Peloponnese hoard (Noe 797, *NC* 1844, 49, n. 13) which contained Argive staters, 'also quantities of others of Elis, Sicyon, and different towns of Boeotia', is not said to have contained any of the post-Leuctra Peloponnesean staters of Messene, Pheneus, Stymphalus or the Achaean or Arcadian Leagues.) 521: the date-bracket can be narrowed thanks to the Sparta hoard (*BSA* 1907/8, 148-158; *see Noe, ANS Mus. Notes* X (1962) 33), which points to a date in the 230's or 220's; Noe's ascription to Cleomenes is attractive. 551: for *ΤΑΛΩΣ* read *ΤΑΛΩΝ*. 601, reverse: symbol a bee, not a star. 638: for *ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟΥ* read *ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ*.

About half of 20 misprints and trivial slips noticed were misreferences to the plates.

Since over and above its outstanding visual merit this book provides surely the best general introduction to the subject available in English, it can be re-

commended wholeheartedly to all educational libraries that are not daunted by its price. And although it will not itself provide the detail of Head's *Historia Numorum*, for example, the historian who has to use numismatic evidence is likely to find it an invaluable work to consult at the start of his investigations.

JENNIFER A. W. WARREN.

Hove, Sussex.

IMHOOF-BLUMER (F. W.) and GARDNER (P.) **Ancient coins illustrating lost masterpieces of Greek art: a numismatic commentary on Pausanias.** Ed. A. N. Oikonomides. Chicago: Argonaut. 1964. Pp. lxxviii + 176. 1 map. 39 plates. \$10.00.

This is a new and enlarged edition of W. F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, originally based on three articles in *JHS* VI (1885), 50-101; VII (1886), 57-113; VIII (1887), 6-63; it is part of a series of improved re-issues of classical reference books for the study of Greek and Roman antiquities. (*Cf. also Margaret Thompson's* edition of P. Gardner, *Archaeology and the types of Greek Coins*.)

The author, in his introduction, re-states the importance of the evidence of coin types for a period when historians of Greek art were 'surrounded by an ocean of copies of famous sculptures created from the late Hellenistic to the end of the Roman periods'. The interpretation of the types assisted in the study and understanding of Pausanias' text and 'provided the bridge between literary evidence and surrounding works of art' (iii f.). Such a reminder is hardly necessary in a numismatically enlightened age, but the research and discoveries of the eighty years which have elapsed since the original, limited edition, provide ample justification for a reassessment of Pausanias. Such definitive works as L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques*, P. W. Lehman, *Statues on Coins of Southern Italy* and the mine of information provided by Vermeule's, *Bibliography of Applied Numismatics* have added immeasurably to our knowledge of this important aspect of classical art.

In addition to the main commentary on Pausanias by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, which is reproduced in its entirety (1-167) the author has included translations of the passages from Pausanias (ix-1), a new commentary on the statues represented on Athenian coins (li-lxxiv) and an appendix (169-74) together with a select bibliography (175-6).

The new commentary reconsiders only those coins collected by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner (pls. Y, xviii-EE, xvii) and purposely omits additional material from the vast collection of tetradrachms of the New Style for which the reader is rightly referred



to Margaret Thompson's comprehensive treatment. Some modifications have been inevitable (e.g. Harmodios and Aristogeiton cannot be identified with the representations on coins illustrated in pl. DD, xvi-xviii: EE, ix is not the type of Attic Isis but a statue of Serapis: DD, vii-viii formerly identified as Theseus with a bull is, in fact, Bouzyges driving two yoked bulls). In spite of careful re-examination, however, some types still elude satisfactory identification.

Perhaps the most interesting new section is the present author's Appendix which is a commentary on four plates which illustrate a number of ancient works of art identified 'by means of coins, identifications of coin representations through comparisons with actual statues, paintings and other forms of art, and the use of the descriptions by Pausanias in combination with the above'. Pl. 4 is particularly noteworthy: three statues by Alkamenes in Athens (Hermes, Ares and Aphrodite 'in the gardens') are identified and the coin types in turn provide valuable further evidence for the study of Alkamenes' style.

With the exception of plates 1-4 the illustrations have, inevitably, lost some clarity in reproduction but remain adequate for the present purpose.

The author has performed a valuable service not only in making the original work of Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner readily available once more but by re-examining, in the light of new material and research, some of the problems connected with Pausanias' descriptions of ancient works of art.

J. F. HEALY.

*Royal Holloway College, University of London.*

WILLIAMS (R. T.) **The confederate coinage of the Arcadians in the fifth century B.C.** (Numismatic notes and monographs, 155.) New York: the American Numismatic Society. 1965. Pp. xix + 141. 1 map. 14 plates. \$4.50.

The appearance of a full corpus and study of a controversial series is naturally a welcome event to numismatic specialists, but the historical conclusions of this monograph, though admitted to be speculative, claim for it a wider readership.

From Mr Williams' careful analysis of the dies an unexpected picture emerges of three independent series unconnected by die-links. Williams argues that these series represent the issues of three mints which he cautiously attributes to Cleitor, Tegea and Mantinea; interpreting the coinage as having a political rather than religious character, he suggests that mint activity may be used as evidence for dating *inter alia* the battles of Tegea and Dipaea (Hdt. ix. 35. 2) and the siege of Mycenae.

For the numismatic substructure of his argument, so far as can be checked from the plates, Williams has made a convincing case: the three series must have

run concurrently through the 470's and 460's, for a rearrangement in which they are amalgamated to run successively results in patent improbabilities if internal die-links are taken into account. The conclusion, too, that the series represent issues of different mints is more plausible than that separate workshops operated within the same mint without exchange of reverse dies when the mint was under pressure. Unlike the Elean series, which Seltman ascribed to two temple mints working within the same city, the products of the three Arcadian series are not distinguished typologically. The fact that the characteristics of each series are not exclusive to it complicates the schema but does not invalidate it: an engraver would copy the dies of another mint, and he rather than the dies would travel from one mint to another.

With the identification of the mints the argument moves onto more speculative ground. First, Williams rejects the long accepted argument of Imhoof-Blumer that since there is a gap in the fifth-century coinage of Heraea apparently coterminous with the issue of the Arcadian federal series, that series was produced by the Heraeans, whom Babelon further assumed to have been the presidents of the Lycaean games. Instead (following Miss Richter) he finds the fifth-century eclipse of the Heraeans explained by their defeat recorded on a spear-butt of the early fifth century, and (following Wallace) in seeing the federal coinage as the direct result of Cleomenes' attempting to unify the Arcadians c. 490 B.C. Although the identifications of the three mints are based on fairly slender evidence (assurance that recorded hoards and find-spots cannot confirm or disprove them would have been welcome), they gain conviction when one reflects that the other contenders—Orchomenus, Pheneus, Stymphalus, Heraea—have less positive to offer. It might have been helpful to have an appendix with a systematic attempt to date the relevant non-federal fifth-century issues, especially those of Mantinea.

The three federal series are chiefly dated by comparison at specific points with external coinages, vase painting and sculpture, e.g. the start of Period II in 477 B.C. where the first mint (= Cleitor) has olive leaves in the stephane of its goddess in imitation of the 'wreathed' Athenian owls. The opening of the second and third mints at this point is explained by Williams as attributable to the uncertainly dated synoikisms of Tegea and Mantinea which 'could not be achieved without the expenditure of sums of money' (p. 14). Williams' contention that the coinage is political, not religious in character rests heavily on his belief that it was struck primarily to finance the Arcadian resistance to Sparta, a belief strengthened by his interpretation of 'increase in mint activity' in the later 470's and later 460's as reflecting preparations for the uncertainly dated battles of Tegea and Dipaea. He does not discuss whether it was necessary—a century before the *Eparitai*—to make subsistence payments to a federal



army fighting defensively on home territory, though the Arcadian problem of surplus manpower and later tradition of mercenary service could lend plausibility to this view; moreover, though there is a perceptible increase in mint activity (*sc.* the use of two or more obverse dies concurrently with reverse dies shared haphazardly among them), could it not reflect no more than a need to relieve a shortage of small silver? Though, certainly, Williams may be right.

Some small points. P. vii: a third Elean didrachm die is inscribed *ΟΑΥΝΤΙΩΝ*: Schwabacher, *Antike Kunst* 1962, 9-17. Pp. 18-19: what about the Argive hemidrachms? P. 27: 189 should read 289 (this is the only misprint that I have noticed). An index would have been helpful, and the alignment of photographs and numerals on the plates is not perfect.

In time further light may possibly be shed by site finds and hoards on the crucial question of mint identification. Meanwhile we are grateful for a lively and useful study.

JENNIFER A. W. WARREN.

*Hove, Sussex.*

CURIEL (R.) and FUSSMANN (G.) **Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz.** (Mém. de la délégation archéol. française en Afghanistan, 20.) Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1965. Pp. 93. 60 plates. Fr. 48.

The great hoard of Greek coins found near Qunduz in northern Afghanistan is not the only numismatic find in that country made in recent decades though it is in some ways the most sensational. Everyone interested in the history of the Greeks in Bactria and India will be grateful to the French Archaeological Delegation for undertaking this publication which has been carried out with great thoroughness by Mm. Curiel and Fussman (who generously acknowledge the work previously done on the hoard by a British scholar, Dr Bivar). Numismatists will be particularly glad to see that the illustrations include all 627 specimens and that the reproductions are of good quality and such as to enable the reader to identify the dies used for the striking of individual coins.

Numerically, the contents of the hoard consist largely of coins of regular and known types minted for the earlier Greek kings, those of Eucratides (I) and Heliocles being particularly numerous, and specimens of Demetrius (II) and Eucratides (II) which were hitherto rather rare are also present in large numbers. All this more familiar material will form a rich source of evidence for the ultimate and detailed analysis of the Bactrian coinage if this is ever attempted. Rarer types are those of Plato, and two of these contained in the hoard are new, viz. the frontal chariot of Helios and the Mithra-Helios standing. But the real novelty of the hoard is of course the presence of Greek-style tetradrachms minted for a

number of the later kings (Lysias, Theophilus, Antialcidas, Archebius, Philoxenus, Hermaeus), none of whom (with the solitary exception of Antialcidas) had previously been known to have had such coins; and above all the five astonishing double-decadrachms, medallion-like pieces struck for Amyntas—the first and only known occurrence of this huge denomination, twenty drachmas, in the whole range of ancient Greek coinage. (Indeed the only remotely analogous coin is the gold twenty-stater piece of Eucratides preserved in Paris.) All this new material gives, one might say, a new dimension to the study of the Greco-Bactrian kings and their coinage, on which so much of the history that can be recovered is inevitably based.

The authors, in the accompanying text, deal succinctly with various aspects of the hoard and the questions which it raises, including a discussion of the circumstances of the burial, the new coins which the hoard contained, the interpretation of the monograms and other topics. Appendices include a discussion of the important question of homonyms which occur among the king-list of Greek Bactria: the authors retain the nomenclature of e.g. Eucratides I and II in their catalogue, but in their text are inclined to express an almost excessive scepticism regarding the possibility of distinguishing different kings of the same name among those whose coins are extant. It is surely a considerable underestimation of the quality of portraiture of which the coin-artists of Greek Bactria were notably capable, if we are really unable to distinguish, say, Euthydemus I from Euthydemus II by the portrait! Some other cases are not so clear, however, and the authors are willing, in the case of the Apollodotus coins, to admit that there were probably two kings of that name (p. 67). A final section contributed by Marc Le Berre describes the site of Khisht Tépé which was the actual find-spot of the hoard, and maps and photos of the site are included; the archaeological context, so far as it was possible to explore the site, does not however seem to throw much light on the circumstances or interpretation of the hoard-burial.

It is of course just this question of the date and circumstances of the burial which, as the authors rightly see, is the fundamental one. The inclusion in the hoard of a datable Seleucid coin—actually one of Alexander Balas, 150-145 B.C., certainly gives a secure terminus post quem, but the authors are of course perfectly right in saying that there is no reason to think that this was the latest coin in the hoard, and of course there is no reason why its presence should influence the view to be taken as to the date of burial. If the hoard is to be regarded as one put together hurriedly in face of external circumstances, then the nomad invasion of Bactria which took place about 127 B.C. or, on some views a little later, about 100 B.C., would offer an obvious possibility: but the authors themselves seem to prefer to regard the hoard as being a gradual accumulation made over a long period. In this they are probably



right, and if so there is of course no particular reason for tying the burial to any specific event, though on p. 68 they seem nevertheless to be envisaging the nomad invasion as a highly probable occasion for the burial.

Now the authors are of the view that the new tetradrachms contained in the hoard are to be regarded as literally a regular currency for Bactria issued by the later kings: and if so all the later Greek kings down to Hermaeus (generally and surely rightly regarded as the last) must then have ruled in Bactria and not, as has always hitherto been thought, only in the region to the south of the Hindu Kush. This is what the hoard and its find-spot near the Oxus river strongly suggest, and it is certainly true in principle that the Greek type of coin was normally intended to circulate to the north of the Hindu Kush while bilingual coins—notable by their total absence from this hoard—were for circulation only to the south of the Hindu Kush. Yet, as the authors are well aware, the monograms which occur on the new coins are identical with those found on the bilingual coins (the case of Theophilus is the sole exception). In the chapter where they discuss the significance of monograms, they remark that these cannot be interpreted as the marks of mint-magistrates because it is impossible for a single individual to have had responsibility for minting at widely separated centres, north and south of the Hindu Kush. But this does not entirely settle the matter; for it is normal to regard coins with the same monogram as issues of the same mint. The authors do not consider the possibility that the new tetradrachms of the later kings might after all have been minted south of the Hindu Kush, as the monograms would suggest. If this were the case, we should still need to find an explanation of how these coins came to be hoarded in the north along with the great mass of earlier and northern coins; this would not however make an insurmountable difficulty, since the reason for the accumulation or burial of coin-hoards is rarely so simple to find. What is difficult, given the view adopted by the authors, is that it would be necessary to make a drastic foreshortening of the whole chronology of the Greco-Bactrian dynasty in order to have Hermaeus reigning before the nomad invasion: hitherto he had been regarded as reigning at a date nearer to c. 70–50 B.C.

These and other questions of interpretation are bound to be raised before we can be sure of the precise role which the evidence of the Qunduz hoard might play in our attempt to reconstruct Greco-Bactrian history. Such questions certainly cannot be answered easily, nor until we have an exhaustive study of the Bactrian coinage as a whole. Meanwhile the publication of the Qunduz hoard constitutes a landmark of outstanding importance.

G. K. JENKINS.

*British Museum, London.*

DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION. **Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection.** Ed. A. R. Bellinger and P. Grierson. 1. Anastasius I to Maurice, 491–602. By A. R. Bellinger. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. 1966. Pp. xxvi + 383. 80 plates. \$20.000.

This sumptuous volume, the first of probably five under the general editorship of Professor Bellinger and Mr Grierson, will delight the mind and eye of every student of Byzantine coins. While the format is larger, the lay-out and general style of presentation are very reminiscent of the British Museum Catalogue by W. Wroth, which has held the field for sixty years. The similarity is a fitting tribute to the austere numismatic propriety of Wroth's work; and, conversely, 'DOC' will be a worthy successor to 'BMC' if the first volume is a fair sample. It lists many more coins—3,400 for the years 491–602, against the 1,350 in *BMC*. And, in the detailed pronouncements of its many footnotes, it goes out into the world with the experienced judgement and the colossal authority of Grierson and Bellinger to recommend it. This publication is a major event in Byzantine numismatics.

Harvard University's Byzantine coins, which were of no note until 1948 (when the decision was taken to assemble as distinguished a cabinet as possible) are now, after two short decades, probably the largest and most important collection in the world. They come, essentially, from four private collections purchased *en bloc*—those of H. Pierce, P. Grierson, T. Bertele (the 'Swiss collection'), and L. Schindler. The munificence of Mr and Mrs R. Woods Bliss, the founders of Dumbarton Oaks, has been matched, if that were possible, by the vision, the determination, and the success of a number of leading scholars associated with the centre, particularly Professors Friend, Bellinger, and Grierson. The Whittemore collection, bequeathed to Harvard with the stipulation that it should be maintained separately in the Fogg Museum, is catalogued integrally with the coins at Dumbarton Oaks.

Brilliant as the two collections together are, they are still far from being a complete series of every known variety of Byzantine coin. In the interests of completeness, the catalogue has been supplemented by the addition of references to other types published in *BMC*, Tolstoy's *Vizantiiskie Monety*, and the Ratto sale-catalogue of 1930, as also from substantial writings by Ricotti Prina, Adelson, Grierson, and others. The work thus goes part-way towards being a corpus, but it does not set out to be definitive, and the user cannot relax in the assurance that all the previous literature has been sifted, and references to scarce varieties inserted as footnotes.

On the mint-attribution of gold, Bellinger very reasonably remarks (p. 66), 'It is certain that there was more than one mint in operation for gold, ...



but... as style is a difficult guide... I have preferred to group together under Constantinople all the gold except where another attribution has some specific support'. On this basis, a solidus of Anastasius is attributed to Thessalonica, various solidi are attributed to Antioch, a series from the reign of Justin II is given to Carthage, and coins of Maurice are given to Antioch and Carthage. These and other re-attributions, which are put forward with all necessary reservations, are most welcome. The cumulative evidence of new hoards and stylistic studies will lead us to a more definitive view of this very important question.

Some other innovations in the catalogue are carefully discussed in a *Vorarbeit* by Bellinger in *Museum Notes* xii, to which reference should be made. More than 1,000 coins are well-illustrated, on 80 spacious plates.

D. M. METCALF.

*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

LESKY (A.) **Gesammelte Schriften: Aufsätze und Reden zu antiker und deutscher Dichtung und Kultur.** Ed. W. Kraus. Berne: Francke Verlag. 1966. Pp. 720. 2 plates. Sw.fr. 88.-

Let me begin this review with a personal reminiscence. It was in the autumn of 1929, during the *Philologentag* at Salzburg. The afternoon session had lasted already beyond the scheduled time, and there was still a paper by Lesky on the *Oresteia* to come.<sup>1</sup> But tired as we all were, Lesky held his audience from beginning to end. I was particularly impressed by his profound realisation of the essential artistic quality of the work, without neglect of its historical setting or sacrifice of philological *akribieia*, and by his restrained but arresting presentation. These qualities have distinguished L's work over more than forty years; they are in evidence on every page of his *Gesammelte Schriften*, which were published on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.

L. is essentially a humanist, a man convinced of the value of *paideia* even in the world of to-day. His humanism is, however, tempered by a strong historical sense. Keenly aware as he is of the conditioning factors of the Hellenism of Goethe or Humboldt (see 'Goethe der Hellene', pp. 629 ff.), his mind is open to any change which the manifestations of *paideia* may have to undergo in our rapidly changing society. Two academic addresses, reprinted at the end of the volume, bear witness to this attitude.

As a scholar, L. has devoted himself in large measure to the study of Homer and of Greek drama,

in particular Attic tragedy. This preoccupation is significant: Homer and the tragics, as Wilamowitz once said, were to the Greeks what Moses and the prophets had been to the people of Israel. L's approach of both epic and tragedy is essentially the same—an endeavour to understand the poet on his own terms, without either superimposing on his work a *dichtungsfremde Anschauungsrealismus* (standards of material or psychological 'probability') or allowing technical aspects of composition to be used as a 'key' to poetical creation. L's study of tragedy has always been remarkably free from those one-sided interpretations under some particular aspect, which were so common (in German scholarship, at any rate) during the nineteen-thirties. Similarly, in his study of Homeric problems L. opposes not only the extremists of the analytical as well as of the unitarian school, but also those who would find nothing in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* but oral tradition. Unfortunately L's *Forschungsberichte* on Homeric studies (in which, incidentally, L. does full justice to the imposing work of Milman Parry and his school) were, by their nature, unsuited for inclusion in the collection; the four papers on Homeric subjects, however, that have been reprinted (on Philostratus and Homer, on Aia, on the oral and literal elements in the two epics, and on the opening scene of the *Patrokleia*) are a fair cross-section of his work in this field, not only in that they amply illustrate the points made above, but also in that they testify (as does his study of Greek drama) to his mastery of detailed interpretation and his sure handling of related disciplines bearing on his problems: philology, mythology, and above all, in the tradition of his master Rudolf Heberdey, archaeology. Folklore and *Motivforschung*, two favourite subjects of L's senior colleague at Vienna, Ludwig Radermacher, were more on the fringe of the former's interest; that he was at home there none the less is proved by such studies as *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* (pp. 318 ff.) or his brilliant analysis of the Pandora myth (pp. 327 ff.). He has ventured even into the field of medieval and Renaissance studies, tracing, *inter alia*, the medieval legend of Nero's magical pregnancy to ancient stories about his acting of Canace in childbirth ('Neroniana', pp. 335 ff.) or postulating a lost piece of the New Comedy as the ultimate source of a story (after a Faenza chronicle) in the *Decamerone* (pp. 541 ff.).

The editor, Professor Walther Kraus of Vienna, has grouped the fifty-five titles selected (out of nearly three times that number) under the following headings: 'Homerisches', 'Zur attischen Tragödie', 'Mythos und Folklore', 'Varia Graeca', 'Latina', 'Zu deutscher Dichtung', 'Würdigungen und Ansprachen' (appreciations of Heberdey and Radermacher, and the two addresses mentioned above). Within each group the arrangement is chronological, but the original publication dates are not given, which is inconvenient; they have to be looked up in the bibliography at the end of the volume.

The book opens with a photograph of the author

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in its published form in the volume under review, pp. 92 ff.



and a brief biographical sketch by the editor. The production is excellent. Misprints must be extremely rare; I, for one, did not find any.

LUDWIG BIELER.

*University College, Dublin.*

EHRENBERG (V.) **Ancient society and institutions: studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th birthday.** Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1966. Pp. xvi + 312. £3 3s.

Of the Greek essays in this volume four are devoted to Sparta. Those by Andrewes, Jones, and Walbank are judicious studies of its constitution; Wade-Gery delivers a welcome attack on the theory that the Hellenistic epic by Rhianus purported to describe the Messenian revolt c. 490 B.C.

The nine studies concerned with Athenian history are a more mixed bag. Ste Croix offers an elegant, brief demonstration that the largest Attic estate known to us (ps.-Dem. xlii) was not as large as it is commonly put. Hopper seeks to pinpoint the cause of the Solonian 'crisis'; voting procedures in the election of *strategoi* are discussed by Staveley; and Lewis explores the processes of selling off the property of those condemned for profaning the Mysteries or desecrating the herms. The less said of Davison's fanciful effort to wrest political meaning from the tragedies of Aeschylus the better.

Four of the Athenian essays should be considered carefully, and at points cautiously, by students of the fifth century. Brunt's remarks about Athenian settlement abroad are designed to support the hypothesis that all participants, not merely the cleruchs, kept their Athenian citizenship. Griffith examines the concept of *isegoria* in the Athenian assembly; while his conclusion that free speech came only in the mid-fifth century is not beyond question, the essay is a fine example of the profit to be gained from putting a problem in a new light. Sealey's interpretation of the origins of the Delian League is novel and firmly argued, but narrows too far its purpose. Mattingly here employs his radical revision of epigraphic dates in an effort to prove that Athenian imperialism became fully organised only after 431. We badly need a full-scale study of Attic letter-forms (as promised by Bradeen); see also the valuable criticism by R. Meiggs in this journal for 1966, pp. 86 ff.

Three other essays consider the relations of Herodotus, Dionysius, and Xanthus on the origins of the Etruscans (Scullard), the Trojan tribute of Locrian maidens (Huxley), and Alexander's treatment of the Greek cities in Asia (Badian). In the latter Badian sums up neatly the lines of his reassessment of Alexander as 'cautious, pragmatic and opportunistic in his approach to politics; never committing himself as long as it was not necessary, but grasping

opportunities with quick resolution and fully engaging himself, once he saw the course that would lead to success'. Tarn's view was romantic no doubt; but can we properly go to the other extreme of picturing Alexander as an utterly realistic, calculating statesman?

The volume has been well printed and well edited, for Badian cannot be held responsible for the complete breakdown of the formerly standard conventions of transliterating Greek into English. Here each author follows his own bent; in one case Thucydides, Syracusan, Corinthian, and Aristotle stand side by side with Alkibiades, Herodotos, and Tyrtaos.

To a degree which is unusual in Festschriften the contributors in this volume pay homage to its recipient, a man whose intellectual contributions and personal fortitude must impress us all; one hopes that Victor Ehrenberg has been pleased by this valuable collection of thoughtful essays.

CHESTER G. STARR.

*University of Illinois.*

CAPLAN (H.) **The classical tradition: literary and historical studies in honor of Harry Caplan.** Ed. L. Wallach. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press (London: Oxford University Press). 1966. Pp. xv + 606. 3 plates. £5.

Professor Caplan has been associated with Cornell for nearly 50 years. His outstanding qualities as a teacher are mirrored by the distinguished succession of classical scholars who have come from Cornell and by the affection in which generations of students have held him. His major work, the edition and translation of the *ad Herennium* in the Loeb series, will long remain a standard text, but his interests have always been wide-ranging so that he is likely to find much to enjoy in this beautifully produced volume of essays in his honour. The editor has assembled a notable list of writers whose contributions cover classical, biblical, patristic and renaissance literature and history. If, as is often the way with such volumes, there is not much meat, there is plenty of agreeable browsing, such as W. C. Greene's study of dedications ('Gentle Reader'). Different readers will no doubt single out different items as of particular note but the following come to mind:

Bradford Welles (pp. 3 ff.) challenges the view of Habicht and others that Theopompus meant by *ἀλαζονεία* (Jacoby 115 F.153) the fabricated documents, such as the decree of Themistocles, which were prevalent in the fourth century. He interprets it as the kind of distortion of history which can be illustrated from Isocrates.

B. D. Merritt (pp. 26 ff.) reexamines the Philoneos inscription (*Hesperia* 17 (1948), 7 ff.) from the Athenian agora to establish the dates of the third century archons.



J. A. O. Larsen (pp. 43 ff.) discusses whether Polybius' unfair treatment of the Aetolians is due to personal bias or to unreflective adoption of material from his source, Aratus.

J. Fontenrose's speculations (pp. 64 ff.) on the phrase 'εἰν Ἀπρίου' (*Iliad* 2. 783; Hesiod, *Theog.* 295) which, against Vian, he identifies with Cilicia and Syria, call for some modification in the light of M. L. West's discussion of the *Theogony* passage.

T. B. L. Webster (pp. 83 ff.) adds some useful notes to Bond's reconstruction of the *Hypsipyle* and reflects on Euripides' principles for selecting three plays for a festival.

H. D. F. Kitto (pp. 133 ff.) achieves the impossible—a new interpretation of *κάθαρσις*. It has nothing to do with effects on the emotions of the audience but describes the tragedian's approach to his material (the painful incidents (*παθήματα*), which make up the drama): he purifies them, in the sense of removing everything that is irrelevant or accidental so that only significant events are left in the plot. Such tidiness is intellectually satisfying and, therefore, a source of pleasure.

G. Vlastos offers an important and radically new appreciation of the Epicurean mathematician, Zeno of Sidon (pp. 148 ff.).

H. T. Rowell (pp. 210 ff.) analyses the Servian tradition about the Helen episode in *Aeneid* II and concludes that the oldest ancient commentators asserted, probably rightly, that the lines had been deleted by Tucca and Varius.

D. Daube (pp. 222 ff.) supplements his investigation of the legal formula *ne quis fecisse velit* by a witty exposition of Ovid, *Am.* 1.4.38.

R. J. Getty (pp. 285 ff.), in a posthumous paper, reexamines Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44.2-4. He would read *correpti quidam fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudinis ingens. Haud proinde in crimine incendiū quam odio humani generis coniuncti sunt* (... 'because the human race detested them they were conjointly punished').

A. A. Schiller (pp. 293 ff.), in an exhaustive study of *BGU* II 628, establishes a late second or third century date and conjectures that the edicts on the recto and verso concern a case involving a veteran. He points the way to investigating the social and legal implications of the document.

I. Rabinowitz (pp. 315 ff.) seeks to distinguish a Biblical Hebrew attitude to speech as something not merely communicative but also, among other things, capable of doing things, and argues that our literary-critical approach, based on Greco-Roman preconceptions which fail to take account of this, are inadequate for appreciating the Bible. He does, however, exaggerate the difference between Hebrews and Greeks in this respect: to Heraclitus, for example, and other early Greek thinkers, words were just as much concrete objects.

Lionel Pearson (pp. 347 ff.) assesses soberly and illuminatingly the speeches in the Demosthenic corpus, delivered by Apollodorus.

M. V. Anastos (pp. 421 ff.) collects the fragments of Porphyry in which he attacked the Bible and Macarius' vindications in reply. They are a depressing commentary on the futility of dedicated ingenuity.

The editor himself contributes the most substantial piece in the book, a preliminary study of some features of the Carolingian treatise known as the *Libri Carolini*, written about 791/2 possibly by Alcuin. The work attacks image-worship which had been approved by the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. Wallach investigates a number of Greek and Latin patristic quotations which are embedded in it.

It is a pity that some of the essays were not revised in the light of other contributions. I. S. Ryberg's discussion of the virtues represented on the golden shield dedicated in the *curia* in 17 B.C. (pp. 232 ff.) should be read in the light of Helen North's treatment of the whole subject of canons of virtues in antiquity (pp. 165 ff.). Similarly J. P. Elder's application of Jakobson's criterion of grammatical parallelisms to Catullus 51 (pp. 202 ff.) to establish that the fourth stanza is an integral part of the poem, might have been tempered by a reading of D. E. W. Wormell's article on 'Catullus as Translator' (and by the knowledge that the ending of Sappho's poem is given by the new papyrus).

A final note. The 'Adamantine chaines' in Spenser's *Hymne in Honour of Love*, which bound earth, air, fire and water in order, must surely be inspired at least in part by Aeschylus, *PV* 425 ff., a play well known to Spenser, rather than by the more recondite sources mentioned by J. Hutton (pp. 572). In those lines, whether they were written by Aeschylus or were added by a later producer to an incomplete play, Atlas, tamed by *ἀδάμαντοδέτοις* (so the sixteenth-century editions) *λέμναις*, holds earth and sky in their place.

R. M. OGILVIE.

Balliol College, Oxford.

THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Vol. iv. **The Byzantine empire.** Part 1. **Byzantium and its neighbours.** Ed. J. M. Hussey. Cambridge: the University Press. 1966. Pp. xl + 1168. 15 maps. £7.

This is a pudding of a book; heavy, well-matured according to a time-honoured recipe and with plenty of plums. Faced with such bulk it is not perverse to begin at the end, where one finds that over a third of the volume (nearly 400 pages) is taken up with lists of rulers, genealogies, bibliographies and an impeccable index. The bibliographies (which include important items published up to 1961) are one of the triumphs of the work, but have slight practical drawbacks to their use. They stand largely independent of the text (where citations are



rarely made) but they are arranged under chapter subjects, which leads to an unevenness of scope. Thus three pages of bibliography are offered for 'The Christian Background', but there are no fewer than 32 pages of bibliography and regnal lists for the 46 page chapter on Armenia and Georgia. (Incidentally these lists continue what seems to be a tradition that no two published lists of Caucasian rulers and their dates should agree.)

Like the bibliographies, the text could be very useful indeed. Its usefulness lies in its undoubted authority. But the limitations of the work are severe. The first is stated by the editor, Professor Hussey: 'The contribution of (Byzantium's) merchants and its craftsmen is not . . . treated here in its own right. When these volumes were planned it was understood that this particular aspect of Byzantine life would be fully covered in the *Cambridge Economic History*, though this has in fact not proved to be the case. Economic, like administrative, history is still in the process of investigation, but even so it is to be regretted that these volumes do not contain at least an interim report on commerce and industry. It has also proved impractical to provide chapters on military and naval defence and on the influence of geographical factors as had originally been intended' (pp. x-xi). The result is that the most significant developments in Byzantine studies since J. B. Bury's first edition of *CMH* IV in 1923 have been virtually ignored. One must not criticise a book for not being what, it seems, it cannot be, but its omissions will be keenly regretted. Part 2 of the work, on Byzantine civilisation, breaks new ground, but in Part 1 'greater space has been given to the political history of the Empire' instead. The basic arrangement of the volume follows Bury's quite closely; although the History has been entirely rewritten, it has a curiously antique appearance. There is little pause for breath in the headlong political narrative; the chapters form an historical relay race. One longs, every few hundred pages, for a brief halt for a Braudel-like resumé of the appearance of the Byzantine world at each stage.

The second limitation is that, like the first edition, the volume begins officially in 717, but this has been partially circumvented by the addition of two preliminary chapters. The first is an uncharacteristically pedestrian account of the period 330-717 by the late Mr Moss. (Perhaps, if great dates are significant, the demise of the West Roman Empire should really be put at the death of its last legitimate Emperor, Julius Nepos, in 480 rather than in 476 with the fall of the usurper Romulus Augustulus—pp. 27-8.) The second introductory chapter is a vigorous and individual description of the social background of the spread of Christianity and of the Cappadocian Fathers by Fr Gervase Mathew.

The History proper begins with a curiously unhelpful chapter on the period 717-842 by Professor Anastos who takes a 'hard' line on the nature of iconoclasm, roundly asserting it to have been almost

purely a theological movement and berating those who look for social and economic causes behind all unaccountable medieval phenomena (p. 61). He is certainly very lucid on the theology of iconoclasm, but, having aroused the curiosity of the innocent reader, fails to argue the case either way. The same is true of his brief and deceptively bland statement on the Slav invasions of Greece (p. 92). These two sentences turn out to be virtually the only remarks on the demography of the Empire in the whole book; surely the reader should at some stage have been told who the Byzantines were.

This illustrates a characteristic of the volume. It stands aloof from many questions of Byzantine history which have assumed a current importance. Perhaps this will save it from becoming dated in the future, but the inquiring reader will not find much in this volume on such topics as the origin and function of the theme system, on how the army was mobilised, the resources of the state and its population. It is true that the Ostrogorsky thesis on late Byzantine feudalism is efficiently summarised by Professor Hussey and by Professor Ostrogorsky himself, but surely it demanded more than a few pages' treatment.

Professor Grégoire's chapter on the Amorians and Macedonians is published posthumously. It bears the mark of his wide knowledge of hagiography and topography and is highly readable but rather disorderly. Professor Hussey's chapter on the eleventh and twelfth centuries is a model of concise explanation and Dr Nicol beats a clear path through the labyrinth of the thirteenth century. But these chapters illustrate another, and probably inevitable, characteristic of the work—an unevenness of treatment. The ten years after 1204 are covered in 28 pages, but only six suffice for the equally crucial quarter-century which led up to the Fourth Crusade. Certainly events come thick and fast after 1204, but the reader is perhaps left without a wider understanding of the preliminaries of the Crusade.

Less than a third of the book is in fact devoted to Byzantine history proper. The chapters on the Empire's neighbours—the Muslim East to the eleventh century, the Turks, Venice, the Latins and Rome, Russia, the Balkans, Hungary and the Caucasus—fall into two classes: independent histories and discussions of a neighbour's relations with Byzantium. Professor Cessi's chapter on the internal politics and growth of Venice up to 1204 (where a map of Venetia and Istria would have been helpful), is really an independent history. The narrative stops almost at the point when Venice becomes a critical factor in Byzantine politics: only three pages are devoted to Byzantium and Venice (let alone Genoa) in the twelfth century and information about the Venetian Romania must be assembled piecemeal from the chapters on the Latins and the Palaeologi by Professors Setton and Ostrogorsky. On the other hand, Professor Canard concentrates on the Muslim World's relations with Byzantium up to the eleventh



century. This promising chapter turns out to be a formidable catalogue of campaigns with only four concluding pages on 'Trade relations' and 'Cultural exchanges'. But in general the chapters on the Empire's eastern neighbours are excellent. One learns almost more about Abbasid and Fatimid society from Professors Lewis and von Grunebaum than there is here about the Byzantine itself. Professor Taeschner's chapters on the Seljuqs and Ottomans are equally helpful; the last will stand with Paul Wittek's *Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (from which there are a few divergencies) as the most useful brief introduction to the Ottomans in English. Another welcome addition is Professor Moravcsik's chapter on Hungary (whose relations with Byzantium have never really received the attention they deserve), and however much one may miss William Miller's cheerfully cavalier approach to the Balkans in the first edition, Professor Dinić's present chapter is a good deal more reliable. Professor Obolensky presents the controversial questions of Byzantine relations with Russia skilfully. Professor Dvornik summarises familiar arguments in a chapter on 'Constantinople and Rome'. Why is this the only section on the Church as a political institution in this volume? Byzantine Orthodox did not spend all their time thinking about the 'Eastern Schism'; some were not even aware that it existed. Finally there is a *tour-de-force*: Professor Toumanoff's chapter on the Caucasus, which is a sort of animated genealogy based on an immense knowledge of Armenian and Georgian family trees. It has something of the quality of an early Welsh chronicle and one learns, by implication rather than statement, of the aristocratic nature of Caucasian society. But for an analysis of the Byzantine handling and mishandling of her Caucasian neighbours one must turn to Professor Toumanoff's paper given at the Byzantine Congress at Oxford in 1966. The Rubenids, Het'umids and Lusignans of Little Armenia are set out here with all their titles, but where are the Grand Comneni? Even Gibbon offers more information on the Empire of Trebizond (which was, after all, a Byzantine Empire), than can be gleaned here.

The maps are plentiful and more useful than those of the first edition. Greater opportunities to provide a few more identifications in their empty spaces might have been taken, and frontier lines are marked so firmly and confidently that one is almost persuaded that such boundaries actually existed.

The task of editing this work was clearly prodigious. Of course it is cumbersome but it is impressive that it is so rarely disjointed and contains so few (conflicting) overlaps of material. Professor Hussey's achievement of co-ordination is awesome and there is hardly a comma out of place.

But the editor has had to work with severe handicaps which force one to ask what purpose this book serves. Despite its own lack of references in the text (and contributors have usually been fair in indicating conflicting views), it can be a very useful reference

book. But as a first introduction to Byzantine history it must be said that its relentless and sometimes inconsequential narrative of rulers and the deaths of rulers is daunting. There are so many other reliable and readable accounts to be found. University students have found some chapters very useful, but in most cases they can be directed more profitably to larger works on the same subjects by contributors to this volume. The research student will find some of the bibliographies helpful until they are overtaken by the present flood of new publications. The qualities and drawbacks of the book are simply those of the Cambridge Medieval History itself. Volume IV clearly needed revision and here, at long last, it is; by its own standards bigger and better than ever.

ANTHONY BRYER.

*University of Birmingham.*

AHRWEILER (H.) **Byzance et la mer.** (Bibliothèque byzantine, études, 5.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. 502. 1 map. Fr. 60.

ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU (H.) **Etudes d'histoire maritime de Byzance. A propos du 'Thème des Caravisiens'.** Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1966. Pp. 220. 2 maps.

Almost all the important known sources for Byzantine history have been edited; the information lies on printed pages, but for several large and fascinating subjects it has not been collected and considered. The history of the navy was one of these subjects, before these good, systematic studies were published.

The methods of the authors are different. Mme Ahrweiler, the Chief of Staff of Professor Lemerle, follows her General's example; she examines the sources very carefully and works up towards general issues. Mme Antoniadis-Bibicou, who works in the *Annales GHQ*, has the words of Braudel and Romano singing in her ears; she first asks what are the general problems, selects two, and then works down into the sources. One might compare their different methods to those of a Nicias and an Alcibiades, a Joffre and a Nivelles. I wish that they were one individual and had written one book, that Mme Ahrweiler's detailed and scholarly text had been more elevated by general ideas, that Mme Antoniadis-Bibicou's ideas had always been pegged down to the evidence.

It would be impossible to write one book on all aspects of Byzantine naval history from 600 to 1453. Ideally it would be a multicolour lithograph, putting layer upon layer. First, it would discuss geography and communications; second, the contents of the land which were needed for navies—wood, tar, metals, men; third, the state of commerce and fishing, which must greatly ease or complicate the



maintenance of a navy. Mme Antoniadis-Bibicou's first chapter touches these topics, and gives a useful table of distances in time (p. 27, n. 5); Mme Ahrweiler mentions these topics in scattered passages. The last three layers are naval history proper: the recruitment of men, the construction of ships, their financing—what Mme Antoniadis-Bibicou calls the 'infrastructure'; then what must be the 'structure' or 'suprastructure'—the administrative organization and strategic dispositions of the navy; finally 'l'histoire événementielle'. This plan is very schematic; much of it cannot be achieved for lack of evidence; and it is a huge task. The naval historian must be selective.

Mme Ahrweiler's book (502 pp.) covers an enormous span of time (600–1453); so she selects two aspects of naval history, the dispositions and the actions of the fleets. She gives a general narrative of naval warfare up to the accession of Alexius Comnenus (1081), referring for details to the chronicle of E. Eickhoff (Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland, Berlin 1966); thereafter she gives her own detailed, scholarly narrative, which is particularly good on the naval expeditions of Michael VIII. She studies the administrative divisions of the fleet very carefully from the seventh century. Her book contains other valuable matter: for instance, a discussion of the general administrative changes of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and an appendix on the types of Byzantine ships. Mme Bibicou is more selective in her book (220 pp.), but she locates her selected topics in her first chapter; she chooses the period 600–1100, and concentrates on the dispositions and basic organization of the navy. Her book too has interesting sections on other subjects: her chapter on the Theme system is clear, scholarly, and sensible; and she is the first person to have studied the *official* figures for manpower and pay, which were preserved in two chapters of the *De Cerimoniis*, published in 1829 and neglected hitherto.

This review must be brief and very selective. So I shall take the period 600–1100, as it is the heyday of the Byzantine navy and as both authors cover it, and I shall examine one or two of their views.

In these years the Romans (who are called Byzantines only by modern historians) first constructed and maintained a standing navy; their navy helped in the long struggle against the Arabs, and in the Byzantine offensive of the mid tenth century; yet within a century, when on land Turkish, Norman, Pecheneg, Armenian and Byzantine condottieri were roaming Asia Minor, this navy had so dwindled, that Alexius Comnenus had to buy Venetian naval help against the Normans at the cost of huge commercial concessions. It is Mme Ahrweiler who tells this story; she also makes a general point, that the navy served the perennial Dream of Emperors, the Dream of Western Reconquest, whereas the army served a realistic aim, the defence and consolidation of a land Empire. But I doubt whether any Emperors, barring Justinian and Manuel Comnenus, perhaps

Constans II and Basil I, ever dreamt of large-scale Reconquest of former Roman territory in the West; certainly Leo VI did not, and though the land campaigns of the tenth century in the East became more consciously aggressive and were more and more infused with Christian zeal, even they were never considered as campaigns for Reconquest. And yet from the mid seventh century large fleets at the capital and in the provinces were regularly maintained, for the defence of the Aegean and Balkan coasts, and for occasional offensive campaigns. Fleets were used for defence, for occasional grand expeditions; did they also go off on small-scale raids, on *pirate* raids? The authors do not consider this question systematically, though it is important; for the loot from such raids might help finance the fleets. There are a few passages which suggest that Byzantine fleets were piratical—in the Life of St Nilus Junior and in the remarks of Ibn Hawkal on Attaleia (both tenth century).

This navy could not have been built and manned and financed year after year, without the effective, centrally controlled bureaucracy and the sophisticated monetary system, which distinguished the Byzantine Empire from the other successor states of Rome, in spite of a similar decline of legislation, learning and economic life. It was the bureaucracy and the money which bound the Themes to the Emperor; the Themes were established from the mid seventh century, as large independent provinces, which local armies policed and defended, and which were governed by the army commander, the Strategus.

The navy too was organised on this pattern, though later than the army. The first regular fleet, called the Caravisiiani, which was probably created by Constans II (641–68) or by Constantine IV during the siege of Constantinople (672–8), had by 732 been divided; for a Theme of the Cibyrhaeots was mentioned then, which was a naval Theme; an admiral, called Strategus like a military governor, ran the whole administration of the South coast of Asia Minor, and commanded a fleet which was based on that coast. The main part of the Caravisiiani fleet probably continued to exist, but was now called the Imperial fleet and was entirely based on Constantinople; Mme Ahrweiler thinks that it was normally a small flotilla before the tenth century, when it is known to have been large (*cf.* below); her main evidence is the low position of its admiral, the Drungar of the Fleet, in lists of rank; but he still ranked low in the tenth century.

Mme. Antoniadis-Bibicou is mainly interested in the Caravisiiani and Cibyrhaeot fleets, but Mme Ahrweiler goes on to describe the other provincial fleets in great detail: (i) the two naval provinces in the Aegean, which did not get the status of Themes until the second half of the ninth century but which had long maintained fleets, (ii) the fleets which were based on the military Balkan Themes and were commanded by a subordinate of the Strategus,



and (iii) the coastguard flotillas of Archontes throughout the Empire; most of these provincial fleets existed by the mid ninth century but the date of their foundation is unknown.

In the first half of the tenth century the Imperial fleet had roughly half the ships and half the manpower of the Byzantine navy (100 ships and 23,800 men, as opposed to 77 ships and 17,540 men of the provincial fleets, took part in the 911-2 Cretan expedition—cf. *De Cerimoniis* ed. Bonn, pp. 651-4). Why was so large a part of the navy based in Constantinople, far from the coasts which the Arabs threatened? This might seem foolish strategy, in contrast to the sensible military strategy by which most Byzantine soldiers were stationed in the provinces. But naval ships moved fast, much faster than marching soldiers, and each summer the Imperial fleet operated in the South Aegean or made offensive expeditions; it was only based on Constantinople; the Byzantine weakness in South Italy may partly be explained by the fact that the local fleets were not large and were seldom reinforced by contingents from the distant Imperial fleet. I think that the main reason for these dispositions of the navy was logistic; Constantinople, the one large city of the Empire, alone had a large pool of poor who could row in the ships, had large dockyards and many shipwrights, and could support the sailors through the winter and in their retirement.

But what sort of people were the oarsmen of the fleets? Slaves or poor? Apparently no. The eastern Theme fleets seem to have been rowed by well-to-do landholders or property-owners. This is most extraordinary; but the two authors are not astonished, and do not wonder whether this was so or why it was so. But it would be much more extraordinary, if the Imperial fleet, based on Constantinople, was also rowed by landholders or property-owners; and yet an Edict of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (944-59) decreed that the 'sailors' (*πλοῦτοι*) who were assigned to the eastern Theme fleets and equipped themselves and rowed, must own property of 4 lb. gold value, while those, who served the Imperial fleet for pay, and other 'sailors' must own property of 2 lb. gold value (*Zepos-Jus graecoromanum* i. 222-3). It seems certain that the eastern Theme oarsmen were property-owners; but did the 'sailors' of the Imperial fleet perhaps merely provide money contributions, which were used to pay poor oarsmen? The Greek cannot mean this. Or were these 'sailors' the *marines* on the Imperial fleet? On the Dromons sent to Crete in 911-2, there were 70 marines (*πολεμιστῶν*) apart from the 230 oarsmen (*κοπηλατῶν*). The wording of the Edict suggests that the 'sailors' of the Imperial fleet did not row, just as they did not equip themselves and were paid in cash (though the Theme sailors were also paid, but less). Very tentatively I would suggest that these 'sailors' of the Imperial fleet were marines, and that the eastern Theme 'sailors' included oarsmen as well as marines—perhaps both rows of

oarsmen, or perhaps only the top, armed row. This system is extraordinary enough; the reason was perhaps the lower level of economic life, which had reduced the number and population of provincial cities and had made Byzantine Asia Minor a rural country, a country of villages and small market-towns and fortresses; even a fleet in Asia Minor had to be manned, largely or entirely, by the country people.

Mme Antoniadis-Bibicou (ch. 4) resurrects an old theory, that the Emperor Nicephorus I (802-11) organised this system of naval properties, when he forced provincial *naucleri* to buy land; but, as Mme Ahrweiler says (p. 407), *nauclerus* means the captain of a ship (cf. the Rhodian Sea Law *passim*, and *De Cerimoniis*, p. 662, where the *ναύκληροι* are contrasted with the Mardaite *λαός* of galleys, which were mentioned in a document of 949 [not of 911-2, as Mme Antoniadis-Bibicou says, p. 143]); and Nicephorus' measure probably concerned captains of merchant ships. There is no evidence for the date of the establishment of this odd system, except the statement in the Edict of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, that he was confirming an old unwritten custom (or perhaps an old official practice).

This navy was maintained for over three centuries; but something went awry in the eleventh century. Perhaps the naval estates were absorbed by expanding latifundia; perhaps more and more 'sailors' began paying money instead of serving themselves; perhaps the vital factor was the civilian party's reduction of military and naval spending or perhaps the chaos of Asia Minor under the condottieri after 1071. These are the reasons that Mmes Ahrweiler and Antoniadis-Bibicou put forward.

J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON.

Christ Church, Oxford.

**Dumbarton Oaks Papers**, no. 20. [*Also cont.* Index nos. 1-20.] Washington: the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. 1966. Pp. xvii + 282. Numerous illus. \$15.00.

The yearly appearance of Dumbarton Oaks Papers is always something of an event for Byzantine scholars and this number contains several papers of considerable interest. Some were read at the Symposium of 1965 which reviewed the Byzantine contribution to Western art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Professor Kurt Weitzmann, however, starts the number with a paper entitled 'Various aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century' in which a good deal of familiar material is interspersed with comparisons of some novelty in the form of the less well-known icons on Mount Sinai. The problems set by the Coronation Gospels of the Holy Roman Empire are not discussed at all and yet surely the portraits of the



Evangelists which are executed in a living 'hellenistic' style can only be explained by the presence of Greek artists at the court of Charlemagne. Koehler said that there must have been 'strangers' at the court without specifying their nationality but the more one looks at the survivals of manuscript production in Italy and the West at that time the more it seems incredible that a western artist could have encompassed such a style. When the style was adapted in the next generation by local artists something very strange emerges: Ebbo's Gospels and the Utrecht Psalter. Professor Weitzmann offers also a second paper on icon painting in the Crusader Kingdom which follows up an article by him on thirteenth-century Crusader icons published in *Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963. In this second paper Professor Weitzmann discusses a few twelfth-century icons on Mount Sinai and then proceeds to distinguish French and Venetian masters working at Acre and a possible south Italian artist working for the Knights Templars in the second half of the thirteenth century. Professor Ernst Kitzinger considers the Byzantine contribution to Western art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and makes a number of interesting comparisons. Perhaps he might have established more forthrightly that the *maniera greca* so despised by Alberti and Vasari was little more than old-fashioned and formalised provincial Italian and it now seems increasingly likely that Cimabue, Duccio and Giotto were influenced by contemporary art movements in Constantinople. On the other hand the problems set by the work of Nicholas of Verdun and the Klosterneuburg Altar of 1181 are well stated if not entirely resolved. Professor James Stubblebine's article on Byzantine influence on thirteenth-century Italian panel painting complements his essay published in *Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, on the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas from Calahorra in Spain now in the National Gallery, Washington, which he assigns cogently to a Byzantine artist working in Italy. In the article under review he establishes clearly enough that Byzantine influence was felt in Italy in several successive stages each tending to reflect contemporary developments in Constantinople and that the influence was more easily transmitted when in the same medium. Coppo, for what he is worth, Cimabue and Duccio all sought different things in Byzantine painting and the time lag between the Byzantine prototype and the Italian afterthought is shorter than has been previously believed. Professor Hugo Buchthal continues his researches in Sicilian book production with a well documented article on early fourteenth-century illuminations from Palermo. In the last few years Professor Buchthal in his studies of Crusader and Sicilian manuscripts has opened up new chapters in the history of art to which the team working on the icons on Mount Sinai are greatly indebted. Professor Cyril Mango and Mr Ernest Hawkins continue their fruitful collaboration with a detailed study of the wall-paintings in the Hermitage of St Neophytos on Cyprus. Professor Mango

contrives to make St Neophytos into something of a laughing-stock but the history, iconography and style of the wall-paintings has been admirably clarified. Apparently we may accept as dates for discrete stages in the decoration the year 1182 but not 1196 which now becomes 1197. Professor David Talbot Rice publishes some fine examples of late Byzantine pottery in the collection at Dumbarton Oaks. Mr Martin Harrison and Mr Nezihi Firatli issue the second and third preliminary reports on the excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul which brought to light important architectural fragments of the early sixth century church of St Polyeuktos and a certain amount of Byzantine and Turkish pottery. Mr Philip Grierson offers a note on Byzantine gold *bullae* with a catalogue of those at Dumbarton Oaks. Mr. Ihor Ševčenko writes on the early period of the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai in the light of inscriptions found there. He dismisses effectively some arguments advanced by Monsieur Guillou for the late date of some of these inscriptions in connexion with the mosaic of the Transfiguration in the apse of the church. There can be no doubt that the mosaic dates entirely from the latter part of the reign of Justinian and thanks to Professor Paul Underwood and Mr. Ernest Hawkins this key example of metropolitan Byzantine style has been saved from imminent collapse. Finally Professor Kitzinger gives a brief report on the symposium held in 1965. The volume is completed by an index of authors and titles in the first twenty numbers of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*; it serves to remind us of the benefit to scholarship the whole enterprise has been; long may it continue to be so.

JOHN BECKWITH.

*Victoria and Albert Museum.*

VAN NICE (R. L.) **Saint Sophia in Istanbul: an architectural survey.** Plates [installment 1]. Washington: the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. [1966?] 25 plates in portfolio. \$40.00.

For the past thirty years Mr Van Nice has been conducting an architectural survey of St. Sophia of almost unparalleled thoroughness and precision. The need for an accurate delineation of the building has long been felt: until now we have had to do with the handsome but largely conventional drawings of Salzenberg (1854) and those of Antoniadis (1907) which are at too small a scale (1:500) to be of much use. The more reliable plan by H. Prost (1924) is practically unobtainable.

Van Nice's drawings set an entirely new standard of excellence. The first instalment of his work, which is now before us, is a huge portfolio (3 x 2 ft.) containing 25 plates, viz. three general plans (at ground, gallery and roof levels) and two sections at



the scale of 1:250, and twenty plans of limited areas at different levels, from the ground to the cornice of the dome, at the scale of 1:100. The plates are printed in collotype and are aesthetically very pleasing. A second instalment of plates as well as a text volume are promised.

What Van Nice has accomplished is to give us, so to speak, an exact replica of St Sophia as it stands today. Every bulge and irregularity of walls and arches, every observable break in the masonry, every floor slab, every patch, every groove left by a swinging door, even every mason's mark has been duly set down. In limiting himself to the role of a recorder, Van Nice has prudently avoided interpretation, and that is why he does not distinguish between building periods. He could not have done so without introducing a considerable element of conjecture since the greater part of the walls is covered either with plaster or marble revetment. Even so, the immense amount of detail contained in the plates tells a story to those who are able to read it. Take, e.g., pl. 1, the general ground-plan: here we can see at a glance the entire pavement of the nave, and we notice that most of it consists of large matching slabs of veined marble that are presumably of Justinian's time. Equally noticeable are some gaps that have been patched up with smaller, at times irregular slabs: these gaps show us exactly how much of the floor was damaged by the collapse of the western semidome in 989 and by the more serious collapse of the eastern arch in 1346. We see the transverse strips of verd antique, the 'rivers' as they are called in Byzantine texts, that played a part in liturgical ritual. We also see for the first time the elaborate flooring of the raised bema, and how this was cut off at an angle by the Turks to conform to the orientation of the mihrab. In short, whatever visible marks have been left on the pavement by natural calamities, repairs, the demands of worship and the change from Christianity to Islam are recorded on Van Nice's drawing.

All those interested in St Sophia, be they historians, archaeologists or architects, will find this portfolio indispensable. Its price, incidentally, is remarkably low.

CYRIL MANGO.

King's College, London.

WELLESZ (E.) and VELIMIROVIĆ (M.) Ed. **Studies in Eastern chant.** 1. Ed. M. Velimirović. London: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi + 134. 4 plates. £2 10s.

La serie 'Studies in Eastern Chant' di cui è apparso il primo fascicolo a cura di Velimirović, vuole essere un complemento alle edizioni 'Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae'. A questo primo numero, di elegante veste tipografica, è stato conferito a sua volta il carattere di omaggio reso da un gruppo di sedici studiosi d'ogni nazione, a H. J. W. Tillyard e a

Egon Wellesz, per le benemeritenze da loro acquisite nel campo della musicologia bizantina.

Esse spaziano su diversi campi della musicologia ed ovviamente segnalano incidenze con la innografia (Gábor Dévai, 'Akathistos-Prooemia in Byzantine Chant Musical Manuscripts in Hungary', pp. 1-8; Constantine Trypanis, 'On the Musical Rendering of the Early Byzantine Kontakia', pp. 104-7; Miloš Velimirović, 'Unknown Stichera for the Feast of St Athanasios of Mount Athos', pp. 108-30), con le tradizioni inniche di determinati settori delle Chiese (Markos Ph. Dragoumis, 'The Survival of Byzantine Chant in the Monophonic Music of the Modern Greek Church', pp. 9-36; Jelena Milojković, 'A Papadikè from Skoplje', pp. 50-6; Dimitrije Stefanović and Miloš Velimirović, 'Peter Lampadarios and Metropolitan Serafim of Bosnia', pp. 67-88) ed infine, ma potremmo dire anche in primis, la varia problematica della ermeneutica melurgica (Gudrun Engberg, 'Greek Ekphonic Neumes and Masoretic Accents', pp. 37-49; Jørgen Raasted, 'Some Reflections on Byzantine Musical Style', pp. 57-66) e della ricostruzione filologica-melurgica dei testi (Oliver Strunk, 'H. F. W. Tillyard and the Recovery of a Lost Fragment', pp. 95-103).

Ripensamenti interessanti, e inevitabili quando si torna ai lavori già fatti, sono quelli espressi dalla Dr Maria Stöhr, a proposito della trascrizione degli *εἰρημολογία*, nella quale impresa, che fa parte dei *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, ebbe a compagna la Dr. Aglaia Ayoutanti (pp. 89-94).

I vari articoli sono preceduti da due preziose liste delle pubblicazioni e studi vari compiuti da Egon J. Wellesz dal lontano 1914 al 1963 e dal compianto Tillyard dal 1911 al 1953.

Anche questi elenchi, a parte il carattere di omaggio nei confronti dei due autori, costituiscono una documentazione utile per gli studiosi. Noi confidiamo piuttosto che gli articoli, tanto del Wellesz quanto del Tillyard, dispersi nelle più svariate riviste, siano raccolti in volumi collectanei.

G. SCHIRÒ.

Università di Roma.

VAKALOPOULOS (A. E.) *Ἱστορία τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Α'.* Ἀρχὴς καὶ διαμόρφωσή του. Thessaloniki: the Author. 1961. Pp. iii + 395. 7 maps. 12 plates. Price not stated.

VAKALOPOULOS (A. E.) *Ἱστορία τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Β'.* Ἡ Τουρκοκρατία 1453-1669: οἱ ἱστορικὲς βάσεις τῆς νεοελληνικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ οἰκονομίας. Thessaloniki: the Author. 1964. Pp. xi + 501. 6 maps. 24 plates. Price not stated.

VAKALOPOULOS (A. E.) *Πηγὴς τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ.* 1. (1204-1669). Thessaloniki: the Author. 1965. Pp. 443. Price not stated.

The term *Hellenismos*, as used in modern Greek, suffers from considerable ambiguity. At times it is



a collective noun meaning 'the Greeks', at others it is an abstract noun of rather vague, but always superlatively laudatory connotation. It is even harder to define the expression *neos Hellenismos*. Is it the Greeks of modern times (and, if so, since when?) or is it some ideology that distinguishes the modern Greeks from the medieval and the ancient?

Professor Vakalopoulos, who is engaged on a massive history of *neos Hellenismos*, a work eventually intended to fill several volumes, does not, unfortunately, begin by defining his terms of reference. It is only by reading on that we discover what he has in mind: *neos Hellenismos*, it would seem, implies a Greek national consciousness and, at the same time, an awareness of the historical past of the *ethnos*, i.e. of its descent from and direct kinship with ancient Greece. Now, ever since Paparrigopoulos, it has been the official doctrine of Greek historians that *neos Hellenismos* so defined arose when Byzantium was dismembered by the Latins, i.e. in or about the year 1204; that it became progressively more articulate during the period of the Palaeologi; that, being already firmly implanted in the consciousness of the common folk, it sustained them during centuries of subjugation until it finally found a glorious expression in the Revolution of 1821. It is along these lines that Vakalopoulos, too, sees the history of the modern Greeks. His aim is not to change the official myth, but to fill it out by combining the results of detailed investigations into a vast synthesis. The two volumes before us surely represent one of the most ambitious efforts of Greek historiography of this century.

Vol. I opens with a lengthy introduction devoted to the racial origins of the modern Greeks or, to be more precise—and there is an inconsistency here which the author does not seem to realise—of the peoples inhabiting the geographical area of modern Greece. Fallmerayer's thesis is, predictably, rejected, the Albanian element is given due emphasis (but then the Albanians are an Illyrian people and so related to the Greeks), the Vlachs are, rather surprisingly, declared to be Greeks, i.e. descendants of ancient Greeks who had adopted the Latin tongue under Roman domination (this on the authority of a gentleman called Koumas whom we shall encounter later), the Latin and Turkish elements are found to be minimal. Having thus established that the modern Greeks are true Hellenes, the author proceeds to recount the first stage of neo-Hellenic history from 1204 until the fall of Trebizond (1461) and the exodus of Greek intellectuals to the West. This is not, in any sense, a comprehensive account of the last two and a half centuries of the Byzantine state. In terms of political history, only the Turkish advance is described in some detail; for the rest, we are offered a series of vignettes devoted to personalities who are thought to have incarnated the neo-Hellenic spirit (such as Theodore Lascaris, Pletho, Constantine XI, Bessarion, Chalcocondyles, etc.), to intellectual and artistic movements denoting a return to classical antiquity, to social and economic phenomena that

were to assume increased importance during the Tourkokratia, to the position of the Orthodox Church, to the contribution made by Greek scholars to the revival of classical studies in the West.

With Vol. II/1 we move to less familiar and, therefore, more interesting ground. It is also evident that the author has a better grasp of the Tourkokratia than he has of the Byzantine period. The topics he discusses in this volume are largely social and economic: land-holding and taxation in the first two centuries of Turkish rule, conversions to Islam, emigration, piracy in the Aegean, the Orthodox Church as a nucleus of national reorganisation, education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the status of Greek communities, and finally the development of international trade and the consequent movement of Greek populations both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire.

Vakalopoulos's History has several undeniable merits: it is clearly written in ordinary 'newspaper demotic'; it is copiously (if not always critically) annotated; it covers a wide field; it contains a number of useful maps. Its underlying conception is one, however, that I find entirely unacceptable. I do not believe that *neos Hellenismos*, in the sense in which Vakalopoulos understands this term, was born in or about 1204, nor do I believe that the history of the later Middle Ages (or, for that matter, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) is in any way illuminated by reading into it the whole complex of ideas associated with the emergence of nationalism at about the time of the French Revolution. It would be superfluous to list here all the instances of tendentiousness that are found scattered throughout the History. I shall give only a few characteristic examples.

In I, p. 22 we are told, in connexion with the Slavic occupation of Greece, that Nicephorus I 'strengthened the *Hellenismos* of the Peloponnese by bringing in new settlers from Thrace and Asia Minor'. Who were these immigrant Hellenes? In the words of the *Chronicle of Monembasia* (a perfectly genuine source, as Lemerle has recently shown), they were 'a hodgepodge of peoples, namely Kafirs [possibly meaning renegades from Mohammedanism], Thrakesians [not Thracians, but people from the Thrakesian theme of Asia Minor], Armenians and others'. In I, p. 24 we are offered the old argument that modern Greek contains only 273 Slavic words, hence Slavic influence on Greece was very slight. If that is a significant fact, the author might also have mentioned that modern Greek contains something like 3,000 Turkish words, yet the 'ethnological influence' of the Turks is rejected in two sentences (p. 39). In I, p. 49 we are assured that in the Middle Ages Athens never ceased to be a centre of Hellenic culture (!). In I, pp. 52 ff. and again on p. 169 the diffusion of the Alexander romance is given great prominence as proof of the 'formation of *neos Hellenismos*'. By the same argument one could demonstrate the *Hellenismos* of, say, the Persians and the Arabs. In I, p. 75 we are told that the development of 'ethnic



consciousness' received a check after 1261, but could not be stopped, and that 'even the westerners themselves' used at this time the term *Graeci*, and this in official documents! In I, p. 83 Thessalonica is declared to have preserved throughout the Middle Ages the traditions of a classical Greek polis, and on p. 86 f. is quoted Mandeville's utterly worthless passage to the effect that Aristotle was worshipped as a saint at Stagira. 'Do we have here', asks the author, 'a survival of ancient Greek hero-worship that remained in this isolated area of Chalcidice?' In I, p. 173 we read: 'It is significant that Gemistos as well as other hellenolatric intellectuals see the Turks as Persians'. Vakalopoulos does not seem to realise that all elegant Byzantine authors call the Turks Persians, just as they call the Russians Scythians, the Bulgarians Mysians, etc. In I, p. 210 the author seizes on a Turkish document of 1520 concerning Trikala which speaks of 'reaya Arnavut ve Rum ve Eflak' (Albanian, Greek and Vlach non-Moslem subjects) as evidence of the disappearance of the Slavs from that area. But, he hastens to add, the fact that the Greeks are mentioned second does not mean that they were less numerous than the Albanians! In I, p. 240, in connexion with the raids carried out by the Vlachs of the Pindus range against the Turks in Thessaly (Chalcocondyles, ed. Darkó, II, 92), the author cannot help adding that 'surely' Greeks also participated in these operations, and he comments: 'Here for the first time Constantine [Palaeologus] organises the resistance of *neos Hellenismos*, utilizing even the unsubjected populations of the Pindus'. In I, p. 247 the entirely misleading suggestion is made that the use of the name 'Hellenē' (= Byzantine) by intellectuals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was connected with its survival in popular tradition. If we are troubled by the lack of evidence for such a tradition, we have to turn to II p. 179, where it is explained that ethnic consciousness declined during the Tourkokratia under the influence of the clergy. In II, p. 252 we find another red herring: the representation of ancient philosophers as witnesses to the Incarnation in religious painting is also found to denote ethnic feeling. The height of absurdity is, however, reached in II, p. 280 ff., where, following Paparrigopoulos, the author derives the relative autonomy enjoyed by Greek communities under Turkish rule from the tradition of the ancient city-states.

After eliminating this and much other dross, students of modern Greek history will doubtless find in Vakalopoulos a great mass of useful material. This residue will have to be sifted and reinterpreted in a spirit free of *ethnikismos*. Let us hope that we do not have too long to wait for an impartial and comprehensive history of the Greek-speaking peoples since the Middle Ages.

The volume of Sources is a collection of 108 historical extracts intended primarily for university students and may be regarded as a companion to the History. The idea of compiling such an anthology

was an excellent one, and many of the passages included are of considerable interest. Nevertheless, this volume, too, invites serious criticism. First, its presentation shows signs of haste: some texts are given in the original, others, for no obvious reason, in translation (Schiltberger and Clavijo in English, Tavernier and Fauriel in Greek, etc.). Some extracts are accompanied by quite elementary scholia (e.g. on p. 104 Vakalopoulos finds it necessary to explain that 'to buy' = *ἀγοράζω*), others, including some fairly difficult ones, have none at all. Such inconsistency cannot be said to offer a good example to the students for whom the book is intended. What is more serious, however, is that the extracts have been selected in a partisan spirit and that the author does not seem to distinguish between what is a source and what is not. Thus, the first section of the book, devoted to foreign settlements in Greece and the problem of the descent of the modern Greeks, consists of the following seven texts: an extract from the eighteenth century Chronicle of Galaxidi concerning a Bulgarian invasion of Greece in the tenth century, three extracts concerning Albanian penetration from the end of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth, a passage from K. Koumas (d. 1836) 'proving' that the Vlachs were Greeks, a further passage on the Vlachs by N. Kasomoulis (d. 1871), and finally a long extract from Gobineau devoted to the racial integrity of the Greeks. Need one point out that Koumas is in no way a 'source' for the origin of the Vlachs, that Gobineau (who in his saner moments was admittedly an observant and witty writer) is likewise not a 'source' for the racial composition of the Greeks? And why, incidentally, has all the documentary evidence concerning Slavic settlements been left out? One might have hoped that Greek university students could be trusted with a representative cross-section of historical documents, and not only those that are thought to redound to the glory of the *ethnos*.

CYRIL MANGO.

King's College, London.

KYRRIS (K. P.) *Ἱστορία τῆς μέσης ἐκπαίδευσως Ἀμμοχώστου 1191-1955*. Nicosia: the Author. 1967. Pp. xxix + 252. 57 illus. Price not stated.

The book aims primarily at giving an account of the historical development of present day secondary education in the town of Famagusta—Cyprus.

The author in his endeavour to trace the beginnings of such an education inevitably deals with all stages of education, and especially, during the Frankish and Turkish occupation, he has to concern himself with the only form of schooling available, which was undertaken by the Greek Orthodox priests and was entirely the concern of the Greek Church; it was



nothing more than a form of rudimentary primary schooling.

The author has for the first time drawn his information from sources not explored by earlier researchers, such as the archives of Famagusta Municipality, Famagusta School Board, and the Archbishopric of Cyprus.

Most of these documents are reproduced in the text of the book in their entirety, which renders the book useful as a source of valuable information not only to the student of the history of education, be it in Famagusta in particular or in Cyprus in general, but to the student of the history of the Church of Cyprus and of the political and social conditions in the island during the Middle Ages.

One particularly interesting aspect of the book is the light that it throws on the relation of Church and Education in Cyprus, which began as a result of the initiative of the Church and has never ceased to be closely connected with it ever since.

C. KYPRIDEMOS.

London.

THOMSON (G.) **A manual of Modern Greek.**

London and Wellingborough: Collet's, 1966.

Pp. xiv + 112. £1 15.

Professor Thomson is known for his effective advocacy of Modern Greek as a university subject for undergraduates. This *Manual*, based on classes held for many years at Birmingham, is most welcome to those few of us engaged in similar work elsewhere; its availability should encourage more universities to institute instruction in a language than which none is richer in poetry of the present century. It was tested at Aberdeen for a year before publication, and is known for a fact to be excellent on three main counts.

1. It is the work of a British university professor, who puts things in a way that British students like and understand, and bears in mind the needs of our traditional lecturing and examining system.

2. It is not antiquated; e.g. it does not try to classify Modern Greek nouns in the three ancient declensions, but analyses the language in a manner fairly acceptable to modern linguistic science, though with lapses, of which a bad one comes at the foot of p. 17. Here *tense* is used almost, but not quite, in the bad old sense of *box containing six verbal inflections for memorisation*. Of the 'seven tenses' here alleged, the future is indeed a tense, but the conditional is a mood; the other five are combinations of tense and aspect. And on p. 18 type *πίνοντας* should not be called a participle. A participle is a verbal adjective; but *πίνοντας* is a verbal adverb, somewhat analogous to *en passant* or *ambulando*; hence the —ς, on the false parallel of *οὔτως(ς)*, *μέχρι(ς)*, *κλπ.*

3. The third great virtue of the *Manual* is that,

κ\*

having summarised the facts of the language with ingenious brevity in 34 pages, it presents in Part Two an excellent selection of texts for reading. Greek books from Greece are beautifully printed, but in very small editions; it is no use prescribing books in February for students who will start next October, because they may have gone out of print before then. Part Two is therefore a boon to the lecturer.

The poem of Sikelianos, however, over the grave of Palamas (p. 60, No. 10) fell rather flat, I have been told, on that extraordinary occasion. One might quote from *Ὁ Παλαμᾶς στὴ Ζωὴ μου*, by Myrivilis, some pages of prose that would have perhaps more merit, and lead on as naturally to the note about the funeral.

In the grammatical part of the *Manual* changes should be made to §12 on peripomenon verbs (here called 'Second Conjugation'). These are currently in a state of transition, out of which some simplified system may eventually emerge. Thomson's treatment of an admittedly confused situation is not satisfactory. *Τιμῶ* is not a common verb; and the regular inflection of the pres. indic. of a common verb of this type, say *ἀγαπῶ*, is considered by some good authorities to be *ἀγαπῶ*, *-ᾶς*, *-ᾶει*, *-ᾶμε*, *-ᾶτε*, *-ᾶνε*. *Φιλῶ* is a common verb, but a bad example, for it may be conjugated in *a*, though avoidance of ambiguity with *φιλᾶγω* checks this tendency. As a matter of fact there is probably no longer any possible good example (though a candidate is *ἐνεργῶ*); it might be best to use *μπορῶ*, *-εῖς*, *-εῖ*, even though it forms the aorist stem irregularly in *-εσ-*. The classes of verb *γελῶ* *γέλασα*, *μπορῶ* *μπόρεσα*, *πετῶ* *πέταξα*, *τραβῶ* *τράβηξα* should in any case be prominently displayed. Each class has few members, the four together having under fifty, but each member occurs many times.

To make room for a fuller treatment of peripomenon verbs, all passive forms (of whatever conjugation) should be relegated to a separate Section, where examples would be taken chiefly from deponent verbs like *ἔρχομαι*, *σκέπτομαι*, *θυμᾶμαι*; for the conversion of active to passive expression does not operate in Greek, or in any language known to me, as freely as in English.

A set of five tapes, to accompany the *Manual*, is available from Collet's or from Tutor-Tape Company, 2 Replingham Road, London S.W.18. They do not contain audiolingual exercises or pattern drills suitable for use in the language laboratory, but for pronunciation practice will be most valuable to many users, especially in view of the limited availability of other models.

The technical quality of recording is the best I ever heard, and the tape is often fuller and more helpful than the printed page. For example, it is excellent practice to hear the numbers of sections and paragraphs uttered aloud; and in cases where there are two or three alternative expressions, all are spoken in full, though printed by means of some space-saving device. But the speakers have pardonably tripped



up once or twice in this process, e.g. in section 19, para. 8 (tape 3, track one) in interpreting the printed (ἀνα)μεταξὺ, which means "μεταξὺ, or sometimes ἀναμεταξὺ". In Part Two (texts), which begins awkwardly near the end of a track, there are rather more slips, but the variety of voices, and the feeling and expression they convey, are admirable.

HECTOR THOMSON.

University of Aberdeen.

SHARP (V.) **The teach yourself Modern Greek phrase book.** London: the English Universities Press. 1967. Pp. vii + 119. 7s. 6d.

No conscientious teacher of Modern Greek could recommend this book to the beginners and visitors for whom it is intended. Their needs are already covered by five or six language manuals, superior in every way to this one. If a phrase book specifically is required, the obvious choice is the well-established one by a recognised authority, Dr Julian T. Pring (first published 1960: University of London Press, 6s. 6d.).

The English Universities Press production does however contain many idiomatic Greek expressions, and some correct and useful information about Greek life and institutions. Much of this material has apparently been supplied to Miss Sharp by members of the Greek community in London. For the sake of sifting it out and making use of it, teachers and advanced students of Modern Greek, who can exercise discrimination, would be quite well advised to spend seven-and-sixpence.

HECTOR THOMSON.

University of Aberdeen.

KOURMOULIS (G. I.) *Ἀντίστροφον λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς.* Athens: the Author. 1967. Pp. xxxv + 802. \$20.00 incl. postage. [Order by registered letter from Prof. George Kourmoulis, 33 Hippocratous St, Athens 144.]

The first reverse lexicon of Greek was published posthumously in Cambridge by Henrik Hoogveen in 1810. Since then several have appeared, of which the most noteworthy are Buck and Petersen's *Reverse Index* (Chicago, 1945), Kretschmer-Löcker's *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch* (Vienna, 1944), Gradenwitz's *Heidelberger Konträrindex* (Berlin, 1931), and Hansen's *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1957), to say nothing of the two reverse indexes of Linear B by Lejeune (Paris, 1964) and Doria (Treviso, 1964). It is difficult to recall how classical scholars got on without these admirable works, seldom though the debt may be acknowledged.

Students of modern languages do not often have to reconstruct lacunose texts, but they have found reverse lexica just as indispensable tools for the analysis of the resources of a language and the manner in which they are used. There have recently appeared such lexica of Russian, by Bielefeldt (Berlin, 1958) and by Greve-Kroesche (Berlin-Wiesbaden, 1958-9), of Italian by Alinei (The Hague, 1962), and of French by Juilland (The Hague, 1965); a reverse lexicon of Serbo-Croat by Matešić is in course of publication (Wiesbaden, 1965-); and one of Czech is announced for publication. The present dictionary of Modern Greek by Georgios Kourmoulis, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Athens, is a worthy companion to these scholarly handbooks.

The difficulties are immense. In vocabulary there is the problem of continuity—any word which has ever been used since Homer is in a sense available for use today at certain levels; the problem of word-formation—can new derivations and new compounds be formed at will, or if not, what are the limiting factors; the problem of dialect and common speech—how are we to regard, for instance, the many Cretan words used by Kazantzakis; the problem of katharevousa and demotic—do we write words with final *ν* or not? Do we say ἡ κυβέρνησις like ἡ ἀνοιξη? Do we say γραμματέας or γραμματεῖς? Do we say πιθανότης or πιθανότητα? and so on. And behind all these linguistic questions lurks the Language Question, with all its social and political overtones.

Kourmoulis bilks none of the linguistic problems, which are discussed in his long introduction. His solutions will not satisfy everyone, but what solution would? His tests are always contemporary usage, rather than any theoretical principle. Thus he admits ἀνοιξη but not κυβέρνησις; he admits δεκανέας, κουρέας side by side with δεκαεῖς, κουρεῖς, but only ἱππεῖς, βασιλεῖς, ἀνασκαφεῖς because of the plural ἱππεῖς, ἱππέων etc.; he writes τὸ τραῖνο, verbal nouns in -σιμο, plant names in -χορτο, but τερεβινθέλαιον, μινθέλαιον etc., place-names and instrumental nouns in -ήριον: plant names in -φυλλο(ν) appear twice, with and without the final consonant. This represents usage, but whose usage, and in what situations? One cannot really dodge the Language Question, much as Kourmoulis would like to.

However, as a guide to Greek as used by educated Athenians, who do not believe in diglossy, when other educated Athenians are listening, the lexicon is excellent. A number of typographical devices make it a pleasure to consult, and cause groups of morphologically similar words to stand out on the page. Running totals enable the living, productive formations to be identified. Statistical tables of final consonants and final groups of two and three consonants, and of the frequency of first and second elements in compounds in Ancient and Modern Greek complete the material.

The word list was obtained by carding the material from several current dictionaries, rejecting what



appeared obsolete, rustic or vulgar (do we discern the cloven hoof of the Language Question?), and supplementing it from newspapers, belles-lettres, etc., and by the observation of the living speech of students and others. The total number of entries resulting—more than 50,000—is higher by far than in any other dictionary of Greek, ancient or modern. It obviously cannot be complete; but how representative is it? Seferis' poem 'Ο βασιλιάς τῆς Ἀσίνης is 497 words long. The following words do not occur in the lexicon: γύρω(!), ἴσκιον, ἀναλαμπή, διαμαντικά (—κόζ), τσιρίζω, βοῦρκο, ἀσπιδοφόρος; the following occur, but in different forms, which I have appended in brackets: λέξη (λέξεις), ὑπαρξη (ὑπαρξεις), βασιλιάς (βασιλεὺς), προσεχτικά (προσεκτικά), ἀκρόπολη (ἀκρόπολις). It would be impertinent for the reviewer to say whether this is a good score or not. But it illustrates the difficulties which Kourmoules has faced. This book will be useful to students of ancient as well as modern Greek.

ROBERT BROWNING.

*Birkbeck College, University of London.*

ST CLAIR (W.) **Lord Elgin and the Marbles.**  
London: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp.  
ix + 309. 1 map. 11 plates. £2 2s.

Until the publication of this book the principal work on the Elgin Marbles was the long article by Arthur Hamilton Smith, 'Lord Elgin and His Collection', in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1916). This article was intended to be part of a full-scale biography of Lord Elgin—a work to be written by Sir Harry Wilson. But this biography was never published; and it is only now, half a century later, that we have a substantial study of Lord Elgin—a study which, though partly biographical in form, cannot be said to be a complete biography.

That this book fails to fulfil Sir Harry Wilson's aim in no way detracts from its value. Mr. St. Clair, instead of filling his pages with the more trivial details of Elgin's life, has wisely concentrated upon the fascinating story of the Marbles, upon Elgin's Embassy at Constantinople, upon his grand ideals, upon his competition with the French Collectors, upon the activities of his agents (among them the well-known Italian landscape painter, Giovanni Lusieri), upon the difficult and costly business of getting permission from the Turkish authorities to remove antiquities and of transporting the spoils to England, upon the impact of the Marbles on English artistic circles, and upon the controversy which their arrival in England gave rise to. The result is most fortunate: here we have a host of interwoven themes interdispersed with an economical yet easy-flowing narrative and with vivid biographical sketches; indeed we have here a superb book, beautifully planned, beautifully written, scholarly and entertaining, every page being a joy to read.

Of special interest is the portrait of Mary Nisbett, Countess of Elgin, Lord Elgin's first wife, whose curious but fascinating letters (known only in part to A. H. Smith) were published by John Murray in 1926. Of great interest too is the information which Mr. St. Clair takes from *The Farington Diary* (published in part in 1922) and from the *Hunt Papers* which contain drafts of letters from the Rev. Philip Hunt (Chaplain to Lord Elgin's Embassy) to his patron describing his missions, in company with Professor J. D. Carlyle, to the Troad, Mount Athos, and to Athens. It was he, who, after his visit to the last-named place, initiated the famous (and ambiguous) *firman*, which he himself and Lusieri regarded as a good enough authority for their assault on the Marbles: it was Hunt who proposed that the whole Caryatid porch of the Erechtheum should be transported to England and there reconstructed; and it was Hunt, again, who on his visit to Mycenae 'cast covetous eyes over the Lion Gate but decided regretfully that it was too far from the sea for there to be hope of removing it.'

To the unsatiable appetites of the despoilers (both English and foreign) much of this study is directed; and Elgin's place among them—with regard both to intention and achievement—is carefully considered. For Lord Elgin, given the standards, practices and conditions of the age, a good case can be made out; and this Mr St Clair does in a masterly fashion, sifting and weighing his evidence with meticulous care. This evidence shows that, if Elgin's agents had not succeeded in removing almost wholesale the Parthenon marbles, others would have looted them piecemeal, while the Turks would have continued to mutilate the treasures in search of stone and lead. It also shows that Elgin never set out to make gains for himself, at least not financial gain: the most he ever asked for was compensation to the extent of £74,240, which sum he had spent out of his own pocket. He did indeed ask for an English Peerage: this honour he considered to be his due reward for his enterprise and public service, for he was firmly convinced that his efforts would quickly bring about a marked improvement in the arts of Great Britain.

When eventually he handed over his collection to the British Museum he received only £35,000, out of which sum he had to forego £18,000 in payment of a debt which one of his creditors had shrewdly transferred to the Government. He was also called upon to pay a sum of £38 11s. 11d. on the grounds that he had been overpaid to that extent as Ambassador Extraordinary in Constantinople. No English Peerage came his way; and although in 1831 he was offered membership of the Society of the Dilettanti, which for over two decades had condemned his collection, this doubtful honour he politely refused. Denied the consolations of public recognition, he was pursued relentlessly by his creditors: hoping to escape them he went to France, where he died (in Paris) in November 1841.

Of especial interest in Mr. St. Clair's study is the



account of the controversies which the Marbles (a part of the collection was exhibited in a shed behind Piccadilly in June 1807) aroused in British artistic circles. John Flaxman, Benjamin West, and Benjamin Haydon found them superior to all the treasures of Italy—to the Apollo Belvedere, the Laocoon, the Medici Venus and other statues which hitherto had been generally held to be 'Greek', the summit of artistic creation and the noblest examples of 'Ideal Beauty'. Here in the Elgin Marbles these enthusiasts found sculpture 'which did not depend for its effect on a slurring over of anatomical detail or idealization of nature'. 'Here', wrote Haydon in his *Diary*, 'were the principles which the common sense of the English people would understand; here were principles which I had struggled for in my first picture with timidity and apprehension; here were the principles (the combination of nature and idea) which the Great Greeks in their finest time established...'

But if this was the impression that the Marbles and other treasures made upon the artist, it was hardly so with the majority of the patrons and the connoisseurs. Richard Payne Knight, whose hostile evidence was to carry great weight when in 1816 a Select Parliamentary Committee investigated Elgin's case, considered his own bronzes far superior to the Marbles, which, even before he saw them, he pronounced to be Roman creations of the time of Hadrian. He went on to claim that the Marbles were mere architectural sculptures fashioned not by artists but by workmen, whose crudities were intended to be viewed at a distance—at a height of at least forty-five feet above the eye.

Payne's ideas were readily accepted by the Society of the Dilettanti, whose influence in England was then at its greatest, and by Lord Byron, who, along with others, brought an additional charge against Lord Elgin—that of despoiling a building which had stood for over two-thousand years, of riving 'what Goth, and Turk, and Time hath spared'. The attack in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was damaging enough, but worse was to follow in the *Curse of Minerva*:

'The Gothic monarch and the Pictish Peer:  
Arms gave the first the right, the last had none,  
But basely stole what less barbarians won.  
So when the lion quits his fell repast,  
Next prowls the wolf, the filthy jackal last:  
Flesh, limbs, and blood the former make their own,  
The last poor brute securely gnaws the bone.'

It was Byron's tirade which raised and kept alive the long controversy whether Elgin had the right to tear down the Marbles and to bring them away. At the time Byron and his followers were a vociferous minority; few would have questioned Elgin's right to keep what he could find or otherwise acquire. By purchasing the Marbles, the British Government evidently supported Elgin's view that sufficient authority had been given by the Turkish authorities for their removal. Indeed, according to the standards of the age there was nothing outrageous in the

acquisition of ancient treasures from Italy and Turkey and the only limits recognised to this cultured pillage were those imposed by lack of money and inadequacy of transport. The Coalition Powers had been prepared at the First Peace of Paris in 1814 to allow France to retain all the art treasures which Bonaparte had looted. But when Greece became independent of the Ottoman Empire and when Italy, too, became a nation state, when moreover in a nationalist age all states began to pay attention to their cultural origins and to treasure their cultural achievements, the works of art to be found upon the national soil came more and more to be regarded as national property. The new nations even began to think in retrospective terms and the Greeks, who have always given particular emphasis to the classical past, have frequently asked for a return of the Parthenon Marbles. According to Mr. St. Clair this demand has been made since 1890 on an average every five years, but all to no avail. To the Greek demand scores of Englishmen are undoubtedly sympathetic and, despite the loving care which the British Museum has shown for these treasures, displaying them superbly in the greatest cosmopolitan city of the world, would like to see them restored (if it were technically feasible) to the place where they belong. Mr. St. Clair, however, takes a different view, which is probably the generally accepted one. What he deplors is that the Parthenon Marbles, despite Elgin's great collection, remain dispersed. He writes '... it is surely incongruous that the Parthenon Sculptures, which are fragmentary enough, should be scattered in three major museums and several minor ones throughout Europe... If the Parthenon Sculptures are as valuable as nations now think they are, surely some arrangement can be made whereby the world can see somewhere the few remnants that can be put together.' The great question remains, however, where the 'somewhere' should be.

D. DAKIN.

*Birkbeck College, University of London.*

KAEGI (WERNER). **Jacob Burckhardt: eine Biographie.** Band IV. **Das historische Amt und die späten Reisen.** Basle: B. Schwabe & Co. 1967. Pp. xx+483. 33 plates. Sw. fr. 36.

The fourth volume of this masterly biography of the great Swiss historian was to be the final one. However, during the ten years since the publication of the third volume, Professor Kaegi found such an enormous wealth of source material—letters, notebooks, lecture manuscripts, etc.—and through it a picture of such an important and dramatic phase of Burckhardt's life, anything but 'the quiet phase of his later years', that he decided to extend his plan, being willing 'to dedicate a large number of years, perhaps even the rest of his life' to the work ahead.



In view of such a determined and magnificent mind at work, any criticism of the extension (to six volumes!) must remain silent.

The story of the last three volumes will not follow a strict chronology. The present book contains a description of Burckhardt's 'historical office' at Basle and of the travels of his later years. The fifth volume will deal with the leading ideas of his general lectures down to the *Weltgeschichtlichen Betrachtungen* (*Reflections on History*). The sixth and last volume will be mainly confined to the last decade of Burckhardt's life (1886-1897), the period of the 'Emeritus', with the emphasis on pure art history. In a way, the contents of the present volume, composed with an amazing detailed knowledge, may seem the least interesting, but that is not quite true. Burckhardt emerges from those often trivial facts of his university position as the product of the tensions (largely overcome) between the scholar and the teacher, between the professor and (as he says himself) the life of the *Polis*. Much less problematic than we might expect, is the situation between the historical world outside and the recluse at Basle, who made such an impression on every visitor, colleague, and pupil. It is most remarkable that the meeting of Burckhardt and Nietzsche was of great impact on the younger man's mind, but remained a mere episode in Burckhardt's life. We are made to understand why Burckhardt did not wish to write more books, why he left it to others to reissue those works which had made him world-famous, and why he refused offers to the chairs of History at Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin (as Ranke's successor!), thus opening the way for Treitschke, the man of Bismarck's Germany which Burckhardt thoroughly disliked. He completely concentrated on his teaching task which included both University and *Paedagogium*, the 'sixth form' of the *Gymnasium* connected with the university. Although it absorbed a very great amount of his time and his strength, Burckhardt gave up school teaching only after twenty-five years (1858-1883), three years before he also resigned his chair. He regarded as his chief duty to work for the education of the young, for the life of the university (which was sometimes in mortal danger), even for its most tedious aspects. In fact, he liked the double teaching job which broke other men such as Nietzsche. We learn a great deal about his lectures which he carefully prepared, but always held without notes. Universal history rather than art history was the theme of that time. He believed 'in the educational power of history, even though it might not lead to contemporary problems'.

Whether he was an outstanding teacher, is not quite certain. Sometimes, or to some people, he seemed dry and schoolmasterly, others were enthusiastic. It was by his work in the *Paedagogium*, apart from his frequent public lectures, that he exercised a strong influence on the educated classes of Basle outside the university. He deeply loved Basle and its people, and felt in duty bound to this *Polis*

of his. It was largely for that reason that he regarded teaching as more important than writing books—what a confession (and indeed misjudgement) coming from the author of the *Constantin*, the *Cicerone*, the *Cultur der Renaissance*!

Actually, he did finish one book during that period, largely as a tribute to his friend and teacher Kugler who had recently died. It is the *Geschichte der Renaissance*, which in fact was part of Kugler's *Geschichte der Baukunst*. After having written about Renaissance architecture, he even prepared books on painting and sculpture of the same period, which were edited in incomplete form after his death by Trog (1898) and Wölfflin (as late as 1934). This was art history, not as cultural history, but as the history of the various forms of art—an idea which was brought to full flowering by Burckhardt's great pupil Wölfflin.

Exactly half of the present volume deals with Burckhardt's travels in the second half of his life, between 1860 and 1884. From his exhaustive notes, from letters to his friends, from his charming architectural sketches, from bits and pieces here and there, Professor Kaegi has reconstructed what still was possible to reconstruct. He actually provides far more than a skeleton itinerary; he shows what the travels meant in the history of Burckhardt's mind, and he illustrates that with many significant and even humorous sidelights. The outlook, compared with Burckhardt's early travels, has essentially changed. No longer did he only see Italy and Germany, Renaissance and Middle Ages; he became a complete European. Twice he was in England, though he never learnt to know the English. It was not even England, only London and Hampton Court, 'Phidias and Mantegna'. Five times he travelled in France, mourning for her defeat in 1870, in love with Paris and its beauty. He went to Holland and Belgium and discovered Dutch and Flemish painting; his heroes were Rubens and Ruysdael. The latter, he even compared with his beloved Claude Lorrain, but he never mentions Claude's greatest successor Turner, nor did he notice the impressionists, and he never understood Rembrandt. Many further journeys led him to southern Germany, Vienna and Prague. Much of this travelling he regarded as a duty, but he did not only look at museums, he had also an eye for the scenery, and sometimes he enjoyed a talk with ordinary people, though he tried as much as possible to avoid any colleagues and always tried to remain anonymous (which was sometimes not easy). Once he visited Berlin again, where he had been a student, in order to see the Pergamon altar; he was deeply impressed: 'Phidias is trembling on his throne!' And he went again to Italy, where he found himself more at home than anywhere else. He never visited South Italy or Sicily, and he did not go to Ravenna, although he went to Rimini and Ascona. The whole picture, still dominated by the theme of the Renaissance, but enriched by his growing love for antiquity and the Baroque, is equally impressive by his insight and by his



limitations. He was horrified by the *Gründerzeit*, the Germany of the seventies, and he found hard words for the share which the Jews had in its bad taste and ostentatious materialism. He hated the traffic and the business life of London, Berlin, Frankfurt; he regarded Bayreuth as *Schwindel*. He remained a conservative, even an academic, though deeply sensitive, to some extent still the romantic of his early years. We shall know more about that when the further volumes will be available; we are very much looking forward to them.

VICTOR EHRENBERG.

LAVAGNINI (B.) *Grecia 1859 nel diario di Francesco Crispi*. In appendice: Cavour sulla Grecia 1860 e altri scritti. (1st Siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici, quaderni, 4.) Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. 1967. Pp. 93. Lire 2,000.

Although Italian interest in the Modern Greeks goes back to the Greek War of Independence, it was not until after the publication of Balbo's *Speranze d'Italia* in 1844 that the Italians began to see that developments in the Balkans were closely related to those in their own peninsula—that nationalist movements in the Turkish dominions might somehow lead to a weakening of the Hapsburg power and to the freeing of Northern Italy from Austrian control. On this vague hope the Italians, who had still to complete their own unification, began to build a picture of Italy as the champion of the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe—a picture which found favour not only with Mazzinian idealists but also with the more realistically-minded Italians who saw Balkan problems as factors to be manipulated to their own advantage. But whereas the idealists had a constant sympathy for the unredeemed populations within the Turkish Empire, the realists often found it convenient to ignore the Balkan peoples. Thus, when the Crimean War broke out, Cavour sided, in company with France and England, with the Turkish oppressor. That war, which indirectly was a defeat for neutral Austria, proved a godsend for Sardinia, but for the Greeks and for other Balkan peoples (excluding the Roumanians) it was a setback. Nor during the years following the Peace of Paris of 1856, did the Italians live up to the hopes placed in them by the Greeks; for, whatever may have been the views of Victor Emanuel, the Garibaldians and Mazzinians, neither Cavour nor his successor, Ricasoli, made any real attempt to stir up trouble in the Balkans.

Signor Lavagnini's excellent publication is concerned with the goodwill that existed between certain Greeks and Italians. It reproduces from the *Scritti e discorsi* of Francesco Crispi (Rome, 1890) Crispi's Diary of his brief visit to Greece (October

12–27, 1859). It also reproduces (in Greek) a speech delivered by the Greek scholar and patriot, Georgios Tertsetis, in Zante on March 25, 1870. Part of this speech describes a conversation between Tertsetis and Cavour in August, 1860. Of this part Signor Lavagnini gives an Italian translation. Two other documents are included in this collection—a short memoir, again by Tertsetis, on the Piedmontese Philhellene, Santorre di Santarosa, who perished at Sfacteria in May, 1825; and a letter of July 16, 1861, to Ricasoli from the first Italian minister to be accredited to Greece, Terenzio Mamiani della Rovere. (Appointed in April, 1861, he did not arrive in Greece until after Cavour's death.)

The Greek *Diary of 1859* shows, as the editor rightly maintains, Crispi's Mazzinian ideas. These ideas he expressed even more clearly in a speech he made to a political club in Athens. (This particular meeting with certain Greek patriots Crispi does not describe in his *Diary*, but Signor Lavagnini gives us an account of it in the words of Gheorghiadis Loghios, whose account was published in the Athenian periodical *Παναθηναία* (1901).) Indeed, Crispi was more Mazzinian than the 'Mazzinian' Greeks. When Andreas Rigopoulos mentioned to him the ideal of a Greek state with Constantinople as its capital and including all the Balkan Christians under Turkish rule, he replied (see the *Diary*, October 21) that this would be an injustice to other nationalities—that what was needed was a confederation of the Balkan peoples, an idea which Mazzini had put forward two years earlier.

The *Diary* as a whole, however, has not much interest: it contains a few commonplace economic facts about Greece in 1859, a few reflections on Greek institutions and political life, and a few allusions to Greek history, both ancient and modern. It contains much philhellenic sentiment. Crispi, who claimed to be a Greek on the strength of his 'Greek Albanian' ancestry, had, as he tells us, always wanted to visit his motherland ('to whom in part I owe my origins'). But his occasion for going there came quite by chance. He was then much occupied, with fellow conspirators, in the period immediately following the Peace of Villafranca, with bringing about a revolution in Sicily. But when he arrived at Messina (he had travelled from London as Thomas Glivaie with a British passport) he failed to find his 'contacts' and was obliged to return to the ship *Carmel*, which was going to Piraeus. Arriving in Athens on October 13, he stayed only a bare thirteen days.

Years later (1887–91), when Crispi found himself in office, although (like Cavour in his conversation with Georgios Tertsetis) he was still sympathetic towards the Greeks, he had thrown off his Mazzinian (and Garibaldian) past. Already, in October 1877, he had told Andrassy in Vienna: 'I was a revolutionary in making Italy: I am a conservative to maintain her'. Hence it is not surprising that, when he took high office, he remained attached to the Triple Alliance, by the terms of which in effect Italy



refrained from any adventures in the Balkans. True, Crispi's old vision of a 'Balkan Federation' became, in a vastly different form, a reality in 1912, when Slavs and Greeks combined to defeat the Turks: it was not long, however, before these Balkan allies were fighting amongst themselves, and within a decade Italy and Greece were rivals not only in the Eastern Mediterranean but also in Epirus. This was a far cry from Crispi's words in 1859: speaking to the Greek patriots he said that the Greeks ought to make a union with the Albanians—a union which would draw Italy and Greece more closely together.

D. DAKIN.

*Birkbeck College, University of London.*

WILLIAMS (H. WATSON-) **André Gide and the Greek myth: a critical study.** Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1967. Pp. xiii + 200. £1 18s.

It is surprising that over twenty years should have elapsed since the publication of the last of Gide's works to draw on Greek mythology before a full-length study was devoted to this important subject.

Dr Watson-Williams' book treats it in a comprehensive and scholarly manner, commencing with Gide's earliest encounter with Greek literature in the translations of Leconte de Lisle and with the relation of his early hellenism to nineteenth-century thought in France, and tracing the persisting influence of the myths of Greece in his thought and writings up to the publication of *Thésée* in 1946. The author not only discusses the completed works, but also devotes an interesting chapter to 'projects and theories' which serves to show, among other things, how constant the presence of themes and figures drawn from Greek mythology seems to have been in the imagination of this man whose treatment of them is in many ways so individual and so far removed from the Greek spirit. The material is, for the most part, presented with admirable clarity; the only reservation one might make here is that in more than one place the author, after raising a topic, postpones discussion of it, and that it is not always easy for the reader to bridge the gaps she creates in this way without the help of page references.

'In 1919,' Dr Watson-Williams tells us, 'Gide rejected outright the earlier, widely held interpretation of the myth as symbol of physical phenomena' (p. 92). He did so, no doubt, because what principally interested him was, as the author rightly sees, not man's relation to his natural environment, but man's relation to other men ('Environment, in Gide's imagination, is always the world of men', pp. 148-9), and, indeed, man himself, his problems and his potentialities. ('Gide's concern has been as much with Man as with men', p. 150. Some would some say: 'more . . . than'.) Themes and figures borrowed

from Greek myth provided Gide, primarily, with a means of self-exploration and self-revelation, and, in the latter part of his career, with a vehicle for the expression and communication of his own form of humanism. Of all modern French writers who have drawn upon the resources of ancient myth, Gide is the most *personal*—the most 'intimate', one might say—in his treatment and re-interpretation, and not the least interesting aspect of Dr Watson-Williams' subject, to which she briefly refers (pp. 93-4), is the relation between Gide's 'appropriation' of Greek mythology—in particular, his interpretation of the notion of fatality as a 'fatalité intime'—and the contemporary development of analytical psychology.

The utilisation of myth for these ends and the stylistic innovations that accompanied it constitute the principal originality of Gide's handling of the material he drew from Greek sources. It is fair to say, I think, that in her discussion of the process of transformation Dr Watson-Williams subordinates her treatment of the sources to her exposition of what Gide derived from them. This emphasis is, perhaps, understandable, and it is true that there are references to Aeschylus in her discussion of *Le Prométhée enchaîné*, and to Sophocles in her discussion of *Philoctète* and of *Ceïpe*, as well as a number of perceptive and illuminating remarks in her final chapter about some of the important differences of attitude between Gide and the authors from whom he borrows, notably about what might be called a basic emotional egocentricity that divides Gide from his tragic models (p. 179). But, bearing in mind the numerous readers this book is likely to find among students of twentieth-century literature possessing no very extensive knowledge of Greek literature, one cannot help regretting that the author was not able to develop the comparative aspect of her subject rather more fully. One of her most suggestive remarks, which one would willingly see elaborated further, is made in her discussion of Gide's *Philoctète*: 'This new version', she writes, 'does not possess the humanity of the Sophoclean tragedy . . . As Gide uses the story, he raises problems of human behaviour; but he loses the man' (p. 64).

'This should not be taken as a reproach', Dr Watson-Williams generously adds. Not, perhaps, as a reproach; but it is at least worth discussing whether it does not constitute a *limitation*, and whether the Greek material generally does not undergo, in Gide's hands, not merely a process of stylistic 'désacralisation', but some impoverishment of its human content. A rather more fully-developed, and, above all, more widely illustrated, comparison of Gide's presentation of his classical subjects with the treatment of the same subjects by the Greek authors themselves might have helped us to assess more accurately the gains and losses that result in an age when imaginative literature becomes more concerned with the resolution of problems and the advocacy of attitudes than with the representation of people. Readers of this journal, however, able to



supply the appropriate classical models for comparison from the store of their own memories, will no doubt be less ready to make this criticism of Dr Watson-Williams' study than a student of French literature who has not the good fortune to be a Classical scholar as well; and to make it at all is, no doubt, to ask not only for a different, but for a considerably longer, book. The work as it stands will certainly be read with both interest and profit by students of French and Greek literature alike. The Clarendon Press have served their author well by the clarity and elegance of their production, though a few printing errors remain to be corrected in subsequent editions:

- p. 108 l. 15 Pros(p)erpine
- p. 110 l. 4 misplaced 'i'
- p. 115 l. 2 'verse':? verge
- p. 120 numbering of notes
- p. 132 l. 11 two words run together
- p. 177 l. 25 'même': final 'e' reversed
- p. 185 l. 28 'énigmes', and not 'énigmes'
- 'omission', p. 167 l. 16, looks, in the copy I have been sent, as though it might contain a wrong fount (final 'n')

D. R. HAGGIS.

*University of Glasgow.*

THOMPSON (W. B.) **Classical novels.** Leeds: the Author; Shrewsbury: the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching. 1966. Pp. 23. 4s. *post free* from the Author, Dept. of Education, the University, Leeds or A.R.L.T., 52 Sutton Rd, Shrewsbury.

This is a list of some 450 historical novels dealing with Greece and Rome at any period between 2000

B.C. and the end of the Roman Empire in the West. There is also a most interesting introductory essay in which Mr Thompson defends the place of the historical novel in literature and in education and traces the fortunes of the 'classical' novel during the last 150 years. It is intriguing to read that, apart from the war years, the output of classical novels has been increasing since the 1920s. One would like to know if this increase is merely a reflection of an increased production of books, or whether it suggests an increasing interest in the ancient world.

The catalogue is restricted to the titles of novels published in Britain, and it gives no information about their availability. Mr Thompson defends this omission by pointing out that the turnover in paperbacks is so rapid that such information would be out of date immediately. None the less it would be a help in searching for a book to know if it had been recently reprinted or not.

The period in which the novels are set is indicated by a clear and simple notation, but Mr Thompson has chosen not to give any judgement about their literary merit or suitability for any specific age group. He states that such a judgement would have no value because it would be either subjective or second-hand. It is at least arguable that many of Mr Thompson's readers would be only too glad to rely on his judgement until they had the opportunity to form their own.

It would, however, be most ungrateful to allow two relatively minor considerations to obscure the fact that this is a most imaginative bibliographical enterprise which should be a practical and welcome aid to the teacher in the classroom and also a source of fascinating information to everyone interested in the byways of the Classics.

CAROL HANDLEY.

*Camden School for Girls, London, N.W.5.*



## BOOKS RECEIVED

- ADRIANI (A.). **Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano.** Serie C, vol. i-ii, tavole 1-113, numeri 1-146. Text and plates. Palermo: Fondazione 'Ignazio Mormino'. 1966. Pp. 288, xvi. 113 plates. 30 text figures. Lire 20,000.
- ALLEN (W. S.). **Vox Graeca: a guide to the pronunciation of classical Greek.** Cambridge: the University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi + 157. £2 5s.
- THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY. **Museum notes, 13.** New York: the American Numismatic Society. 1967. Pp. iii + 250. 49 plates. \$7.50.
- ANDERSON (W. D.). **Ethos and education in Greek music: the evidence of poetry and philosophy.** Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1966 (1967). Pp. ix + 306. £2 4s.
- ANDREWES (A.). **The Greeks.** (The history of human society.) London: Hutchinson. 1967. Pp. xxxvi + 292. 3 maps. 32 plates. £2 10s.
- The Antinoopolis papyri.** Part 3. Ed. and trans. J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus. (Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman memoirs, 47.) London: Egypt Exploration Society. 1967. Pp. xii + 206. £9 9s. (Members £6 6s.).
- ASHMOLE (B.) and YALOURIS (N.). **Olympia: the sculptures of the temple of Zeus.** London: Phaidon Press. 1967. Pp. iii + 188. 1 map. 1 plan. 244 illus. £3 10s.
- ÅSTRÖM (P.). **Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus.** (Studies in Mediterranean archaeology, 2.) Lund: Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology. 1966. Pp. 234. 51 plates. 12 text figures. Sw.kr. 133.
- ÅSTRÖM (L.). **Studies on the arts and crafts of the late Cypriote bronze age.** Lund: the Author. 1967. Pp. x + 165. Numerous illus. Sw.kr. 50.
- AUGUSTUS. **Res gestae: the achievements of the divine Augustus.** Ed. P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore. Oxford: University Press. 1967. Pp. vi + 90. 9s. 6d.
- BALDRY (H. C.). **Ancient Greek literature in its living context.** London: Thames and Hudson. 1968. Pp. 144. 123 illus. (incl. 28 in colour). 15s. (unbound); £1 10s. (bound).
- BANK (A. V.). **Vizantiiskoe iskusstvo v sobraniyakh Sovetskogo Soyuz.** Byzantine art in the collections of the U.S.S.R. Leningrad and Moscow: 'Sovetskiy Khudozhnik'. 1966. Pp. 390. 302 illus. (incl. 76 in colour). 11 rub.
- BARBU (N. I.). **Valori umane in literatura greacă.** Bucharest: Editura Pentru Literatură Universală. 1967. Pp. 223. Lei 7.25.
- BASS (G. F.) and others. **Cape Gelidonya: a Bronze Age shipwreck.** (Trans. American philol. soc., n.s. 57, 8.) Philadelphia: the American Philological Society. 1967. Pp. 177. 162 text figures. \$5.00.
- BECATTI (G.). **The art of ancient Greece and Rome from the rise of Greece to the fall of Rome.** Trans. [from L'età classica] J. Ross. London: Thames and Hudson. 1968. Pp. 441. 385 illus. (incl. 32 in colour). £6 6s.
- BERGQUIST (B.). **The archaic Greek temenos: a study of structure and function.** (Skript utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4<sup>o</sup>, xiii.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1967. Pp. xv + 136. 31 plans. 6 text figures. Sw.kr. 70.
- BERNARDI FERRERO (D. DE.). **Teatri classici in Asia Minore. 1. Cibyra, Selge, Hierapolis.** (Studi di architettura antica, 1.) Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider. 1966. Pp. 77. 21 plates. 119 text figures. Price not stated.
- BICKERMAN (E. J.). **Chronology of the ancient world.** (Aspects of Greek and Roman life.) London: Thames and Hudson. 1968. Pp. 253. 8 text figures. £2 17s. 6d.
- BIEBER (M.). **Laocoon: the influence of the group since its rediscovery.** 2nd ed. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1967. Pp. 41. 38 illus. \$5.50.
- BOARDMAN (J.). **Engraved gems: the Ionides collection.** Photogr. R. L. Wilkins. London: Thames and Hudson. 1968. Pp. 114. 199 illus. (incl. 9 in colour). £5 5s.
- BOARDMAN (J.). **Excavations in Chios 1952-55: Greek Emporio.** (British School at Athens, supplementary vol. 6.) London: British School of Archaeology at Athens and Thames and Hudson. 1967. Pp. xiv + 258. 98 plates. 165 text figures (incl. maps and plans). £6 6s.
- BOARDMAN (J.) and others. **The art and architecture of ancient Greece.** Photogr. M. Hirmer. London: Thames and Hudson. 1967. Pp. 600. 1 map. 372 plates (incl. 52 in colour). 189 text figures. £6 6s.



- BOWRA (C. M.). **Ancient Greek literature.** (Oxford paperbacks university series, 28.) London: Oxford University Press. 1967 [rev. repr. of Home University Library ed., 1933]. Pp. 137. 7s. 6d.
- BRANDON (S. G. F.). **The judgment of the dead: an historical and comparative study of the idea of a post-mortem judgment in the major religions.** London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1967. Pp. xiv + 300. 8 plates. 9 text figures. £2 10s.
- BROMMER (F.). **Die Metopen des Parthenon: Katalog und Untersuchung.** Text and plates. Mainz: P. von Zabern. 1967. Pp. xii + 247, xi. 244 plates. 19 text figures. DM 168.
- Cambridge ancient history.** Vol. 1, ch. viii (parts 1-2). **The development of cities from Al-'Ubaid to the end of Uruk 5.** By M. E. L. Mallowan. 2 parts. Cambridge: the University Press. 1967. Pp. 82, 60. 19 text figures. 10s. 6d.; 6s.
- Cambridge ancient history.** Vol. 1, ch. xxvii. **Immigrants from the North.** By R. A. Crossland. Cambridge: the University Press. 1967. Pp. 61. 6s.
- Cambridge ancient history.** Vol. 2, ch. xxxvii. **The western Mediterranean.** By G. Daniel and J. D. Evans. Cambridge: the University Press. 1967. Pp. 72. 2 maps. 8s. 6d.
- The Cambridge Medieval history.** Vol. iv. **The Byzantine empire. Part 2. Government, church and civilisation.** Ed. J. M. Hussey. Cambridge: the University Press. 1967. Pp. xlii + 517. 3 maps. 42 illus. £3 15s.
- CAMBRIDGE (A. W. PICKARD-). **The dramatic festivals of Athens.** 2nd ed. Rev. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1968. Pp. xxiv + 358. 141 illus. £5.
- CANDIDA (B.). **I calchi rinascimentali della collezione Mantova Benavides nel Museo del Liviano a Padova.** (Pubbl. Ist. di archeologia dell'università di Padova, 2.) Padua: Cedam. 1967. Pp. 100. 42 illus. Lire 2,800.
- CAPOVILLA (G.). **Callimaco. 1. (Studia philologica, 10.)** Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider. 1967. Pp. 546. Lire 30,000.
- Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantines. Travaux et mémoires. 2.** Parist E. de Boccard. 1967. Pp. vi + 576. Price not stated.
- CHADWICK (H. M.). **The heroic age.** Cambridge: the University Press. 1967 [repr. of 1912 ed.] Pp. xii + 474. 3 maps. £3 10s.
- COLE (T.). **Democritus and the sources of Greek anthropology.** (Philological monographs, 25.) Cleveland, Ohio: the Press of Western Reserve University for the American Philological Association. 1967. Pp. xii + 225. \$6.50.
- CONGRESS. **Proceedings of the XIIIth international congress of Byzantine studies,** Oxford, September 5-10, 1966. Ed. J. M. Hussey and others. London: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii + 495. 54 plates. £5 5s.
- CORLU (A.). **Recherches sur les mot relatifs à l'idée de prière d'Homère aux tragiques.** (Études et commentaires, 64.) Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1966. Pp. xi + 355. Fr. 76.
- Corpus vasorum antiquorum. Deutschland,** Band 28: **München, Museum antiker Kleinkunst,** Band 6. Bearb. von E. Walter-Karydi. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1968. Pp. 55. Plates 263-310. 39 text figures. DM 45.
- DALE (A. M.). **The lyric metres of Greek drama.** 2nd ed. Cambridge: the University Press. 1968. Pp. vi + 228. £3 3s.
- DALY (L. W.). **Contributions to a history of alphabetization in antiquity and the middle ages.** (Collection Latomus, 90.) Brussels: Latomus. 1967. Pp. 99. Fr. b. 150.
- DASKALAKIS (A.). **The Greek Marseillaise of Rhigas Velestinlis.** [Balkan studies, 7.] Thessaloniki: the Author. 1966. Pp. 273-96. Price not stated.
- DASCALAKIS (A.). **Historical science and nationalism: a reply to Mr A. R. Burn's critique of my book on 'Alexander the Great'.** Athens: the Author. 1968. Pp. 7.
- DASCALAKIS (A.). **Le rôle des humanités dans l'éducation contemporaine.** [Επιστημονική επιτηρητική της φιλοσοφικής σχολής του πανεπιστημίου 'Αθηνών, 1965/66.] Athens: the Author. 1966. Pp. 590-6.
- DAVIS (N.). **Greek coins and cities,** illustrated from the collection at the Seattle Art Museum. London: Spink & Son for the Seattle Art Museum. 1967. Pp. 223. Numerous illus. Price not stated.
- DECK (J. N.). **Nature, contemplation, and the One: a study in the philosophy of Plotinus.** Toronto: University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1967. Pp. xiii + 131. £2.
- DELLA CORTE (F.). **Da Sarsina a Roma: ricerche plautine.** 2nd ed. Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1967. Pp. 343. Lire 3,000.



- DELPHI. **Fouilles de Delphes.** Tome ii. **Topographie et architecture.** Le Roy (C.). **Les terres cuites architecturales.** Ducat (J.). **La sculpture décorative en terre cuite.** Text and plates. Paris: E. de Boccard. 1967. Pp. ix + 307. 135 plates. Price not stated.
- DELLA CORTE (F.). **Suetonio, eques romanus.** 2nd ed. Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1967. Pp. 273. Lire 2,400.
- DELVOYE (C.) and ROUX (G.). **Ed. La civilisation grecque de l'antiquité à nos jours.** Brussels: la Renaissance du Livre. 1967. Pp. 504. 161 illus. (incl. 7 in colour). Price not stated.
- DETENNE (M.). **Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque.** (Textes à l'appui.) Paris: F. Maspero. 1967. Pp. xii + 160. Fr. 15.40.
- DEVAMBEZ (P.) and others. **A dictionary of ancient Greek civilisation.** [Trans. from French.] London: Methuen. 1967. Pp. 491. 2 maps. Numerous illus. £4 10s.
- DIHLE (A.). **Griechische Literaturgeschichte.** Stuttgart: A. Kröner. 1967. Pp. xii + 442. Price not stated.
- DIODORUS OF SICILY. xii. **Fragments of books xxxiii-xl.** Ed. and trans. F. R. Walton. General index by R. M. Geer. (Loeb.) London: W. Heinemann. 1967. Pp. viii + 678. £1 5s.
- DIODES OENOANDENSIS. **Fragmenta.** Ed. C. W. Chilton. (Bibliotheca Teubneriana.) Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1967. Pp. xvii + 106. 2 figures. MDN 14.50.
- DÖNT (E.). **Platons Spätphilosophie und die Akademie.** (Sitz., österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, 251, 3.) Vienna: H. Böhlau Nachf. 1967. Pp. 84. öS 76.
- DOW (S.) and HEALEY (R. F.). **A sacred calendar of Eleusis.** (Harvard theological studies, 21.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1965. Pp. v + 58. 3 plates. 16s.
- DUNAND (F.). **Papyrus grecs bibliques (Papyrus F. inv. 266): volumina de la Genèse et du Deutéronome.** (Introduction.) (Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, 27.) Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1966. Pp. vii + 64. Price not stated.
- EDDY (S. K.). **The minting of Antoniniani A.D. 238-249 and the Smyrna hoard.** (Numismatic notes and monographs, 156.) New York: the American Numismatic Society. 1967. Pp. vii + 133. 15 plates. \$4.50.
- EFFENTERRE (H. VAN). **L'histoire en Grèce.** Paris: A. Colin. 1967. Pp. 278. Price not stated.
- EGGERS LAN (C.). **El concepto del alma en Homero.** Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. 1967. Pp. ii + 46. Price not stated.
- ERREN (M.). **Die Phainomena des Aratos von Soloi: Untersuchungen zum Sach- und Sinnverständnis.** (Hermes, Einzelschriften 19.) Wiesbaden: F. Steiner. 1967. Pp. xxviii + 339. 11 text figures. DM 74.
- EURIPIDES. **Nova fragmenta Euripidea in papyris reperta.** Ed. C. Austin. (Kleine Texte, 187.) Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1968. Pp. 116. DM 20.
- EVANS (A.). **Knossos fresco atlas.** With Catalogue of plates by M. Cameron and S. Hood. Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg Press. 1967. Catalogue, pp. 42. 1 plan. Portfolio, 19 colour plates. £12.
- FERGUSON (J.). **Ed. Ibadan versions.** London: Taylor and Francis. 1967. Pp. xlvii. 8s. 6d.
- FINLEY (J. H.). **Three essays on Thucydides.** (Loeb classical monographs.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1967. Pp. xv + 194. £1 12s.
- FINLEY (M. I.). **Aspects of antiquity: essays and controversies.** London: Chatto and Windus. 1968. Pp. x + 228. 2 maps. 8 plates. £1 10s.
- FLEISCHER (R.). **Die römischen Bronzen aus Österreich.** Mainz: P. von Zabern. 1967. Pp. vii + 221. 3 maps. 133 plates. DM 93.
- FOLLMANN (A.-B.). **Der Pan-Maler.** (Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft, 52.) Bonn: H. Bouvier. 1968. Pp. 113. 16 plates. DM 22.50.
- FRANCKE (P. R.). **Kleinasien zur Römerzeit: griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Münzen.** Munich: C. H. Beck. 1968. Pp. 72. 1 map. 32 plates. DM 16.80.
- FRIEDRICH (W. H.). **Vorbild und Neugestaltung: sechs Kapitel zur Geschichte der Tragödie.** Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1967. Pp. 212. DM 7.80.
- FRITZ (K. VON). **Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung. 1. Von den Anfängen bis Thukydides.** Text and notes. Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1967. Pp. xii + 824, iv + 421. DM 148.



- FÜHRER (R.). **Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik.** (Zetemata, 44.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1967. Pp. x + 169. DM 25.
- FURLEY (D. J.). **Two studies in the Greek atomists.** Princeton: University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1967. Pp. viii + 256. £3.
- GARY (D. H.) and PAYNE (R.). **The splendors of Byzantium.** London: B. T. Batsford. 1968. Pp. 120. 77 illus. (incl. 14 in colour). £3 10s.
- GEAGAN (D. J.). **The Athenian constitution after Sulla.** (Hesperia, supplement 12.) Princeton: the American School at Athens. 1967. Pp. xiii + 231. 8 plates. \$10.
- Graecolatina Pragensia**, iii. Ed. E. Kamínková and others. (Acta universitatis Carolinae, philosophica et historica 5.) Prague: Ediční komise filosofické fakulty University Karlovy. 1966. Pp. 117. 8 plates. Kčs 15.
- Greece.** Ed. S. Rossiter. (The Blue guides.) London: E. Benn. 1967. Pp. lxiv + 765. 105 maps and plans. £3 10s.
- GREENE (W. C.). **The achievement of Greece: a chapter in human experience.** London: G. Allen & Unwin. 1966 [repr. of 1923 ed.]. Pp. x + 334. Chronological table. £2 12s. 6d.
- GREGORIO (L. DI). **Le scene d'annuncio nella tragedia greca.** (Pubbl. univ. del Sacro Cuore, saggi e ricerche, ser. iii, scienze filol. e letteratura, 6.) Milan: Vita e Pensiero. 1967. Pp. viii + 109. Lire 3,000.
- GREIFENHAGEN (A.). **Das Vestarelief aus Wilton House.** (121./122. Winckelmannsprogramm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin.) Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1967. Pp. 37. 3 plates. 16 text figures. DM 25.
- GRUBE (G. M. A.). **The Greek and Roman critics.** London: Methuen. 1968 [paperback repr. of 1965 ed.]. Pp. xi + 372. 18s.
- GRUMACH (E.). **Europa, Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der frühen Aegaeis: Festschrift für Ernst Grumach.** Ed. W. C. Brice. Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1967. Pp. xi + 349. 29 plates. 49 text figures. DM 120.
- GUTHRIE (W. K. C.). **The Greek philosophers from Thales to Aristotle.** (University paperbacks.) London: Methuen. 1967 (1950). Pp. v + 168. 10s. 6d.
- HAMMOND (N. G. L.). **Epirus: the geography, the ancient remains, the history and topography.** Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1967. Pp. xxiii + 847. 18 maps. 23 plans. 25 plates. 34 figures. £12 12s.
- HAMMOND (N. G. L.). **A history of Greece to 322 B.C.** 2nd ed. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1967. Pp. xxiv + 691. 12 plates. 42 text figures (incl. maps and plans). £2 10s.
- HAMPE (R.) and GROPENGIESSER (H.). **Aus der Sammlung des Archäologischen Institutes der Universität Heidelberg.** (Werke der Kunst in Heidelberg, 2.) Berlin: Springer-Verlag. 1967. Pp. 115. 36 plates (incl. 8 in colour). DM 24.
- HARRISON (A. R. W.). **The law of Athens: the family and property.** Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1968. Pp. xix + 346. £3 3s.
- HARRISON (F. E.). **Millennium: a Latin reader, A.D. 374-1374.** London: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xxx + 254. £1 1s.
- Harvard studies in classical philology**, vol. 71, 1966. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1967. Pp. viii + 352. £3 16s.
- HASSEL (F. J.). **Der Trajansbogen in Benevent: ein Bauwerk des römischen Senates.** Mainz: P. von Zabern. 1966. Pp. vii + 52. 40 plates. 5 text figures. DM 42.
- HENNIG (D.). **Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten.** [Diss.] Munich: the Author. 1967. Pp. v + 362. Price not stated.
- HESIOD. **Fragmenta Hesiodica.** Ed. R. Merckbach and M. L. West. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1967. Pp. xi + 236. 5 plates. £2 10s.
- HESIOD. **Le opere e i giorni.** Ed. and trans. A. Colonna. Milan: Istituto Editoriale Italiano. 1968. Pp. 149. Lire 2,500.
- HILL (B. H.). **The temple of Zeus at Nemea.** Text and plates. Princeton: American School at Athens. 1966. Pp. xvii + 49. 29 plates. 43 text figures. Price not stated.
- HIMMELMANN-WILDSCHÜTZ (N.). **Erzählung und Figur in der archaischen Kunst.** (Akad. der Wiss. und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg. 1967, 2.) Wiesbaden: F. Steiner for Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. 1967. Pp. 33. 12 plates. 8 text figures. DM 6.



- HOMER. **The Iliad**, books i-ix, x-xxiv. **The Odyssey**, books i-xii, xiii-xxiv. Trans. A. Pope. Ed. M. Mack. 4 vols. (Twickenham ed. of the poems of Alexander Pope, vols vii-x: translations of Homer.) London: Methuen (New Haven: Yale University Press). 1967. Pp. ccli + 477, xvi + 621, xvii + 460, xiv + 637. 68 plates. £12 12s.
- HOMER. **The Odyssey**. Trans. R. Lattimore. New York etc.: Harper & Row. 1967. Pp. x + 374. £3 16s.
- IMMERWAHR (H. R.). **Form and thought in Herodotus**. (Philological monographs, 23.) Cleveland, Ohio: the Press of Western Reserve University for the American Philological Association. 1967. Pp. xv + 374. \$7.50.
- JAEGER (W.). **Five essays**. Trans. A. M. Fiske. With a bibliography of W. J. prepared by H. Bloch. Montreal: M. Casalini. 1966. Pp. xi + 171. 2 plates. \$7.50 (U.S.).
- JAEGER (W.). **The theology of the early Greek philosophers**. The Gifford lectures, 1936. Trans. E. S. Robinson. (Oxford paperbacks.) London: Oxford University Press. 1967 [repr. of 1947 ed.]. Pp. vii + 259. 8s. 6d.
- JALABERT (L.) and others. **Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie**. Tome vi. **Baalbek et Beqâ', 2711-3017**, par J.-P. Rey-Coquais. (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 78.) Paris: P. Geuthner. 1967. Pp. 302. 3 maps. 58 plates. Fr. 80.
- JENSEN (S. S.). **Dualism and demonology: the function of demonology in Pythagorean and Platonic thought**. Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1966. Pp. 132. D.kr. 25.
- JOHNSTONE (P.). **The Byzantine tradition in church embroidery**. London: A. Tiranti. 1967. Pp. x + 144. 121 plates (incl. 1 in colour). 10 text figures. £2 10s.
- JONES (A. H. M.). **Sparta**. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1967. Pp. viii + 189. 2 maps. £1 17s. 6d.
- KAEGI (W.). **Jacob Burckhardt: eine Biographie**. Band iv. **Das historische Amt und die späten Reisen**. Basle and Stuttgart: Schwabe & Co. 1967. Pp. xx + 483. 33 plates. Sw.fr. 36.
- KAPP (E.). **Ausgewählte Schriften**. Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1968. Pp. 337. DM 78.
- KAULEN (G.). **Daidalika: Werkstätten griechischer Kleinplastik des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.** [Diss.] Munich: the Author. 1967. Pp. x + 204. 6 plates. Price not stated.
- KING (F.). **Ed. Introducing Greece**. [Revised ed.] London: Methuen. 1968. Pp. 250. 1 map. 35 illus. 12s. 6d. (unbound); £1 5s. (bound).
- KLEIN (J.). **A commentary on Plato's Meno**. Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1965. Pp. viii + 256. £2 8s.
- KLEINER (G.) and others. **Panionion und Melie**. (Jahrbuch des D.A.I., Ergänzungsheft 23.) Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1967. Pp. ix + 170. 2 folding plans. 12 plates (incl. 1 in colour). 119 text figures (incl. map and plans). DM 54.
- KNIGHT (W. F. J.). **Vergil, epic and anthropology: comprising Vergil's Troy, Cumaeen gates and The holy city of the East**. Ed. J. D. Christie. London: G. Allen & Unwin. 1967. Pp. 320. 2 plates. 15 text figures. £2 15s.
- KOSTER (W. J. W.). **Homerus vroeger en nu**. [Lecture.] Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1967. Pp. 31. Price not stated.
- KOURMOULIS (G. I.). *Ἀντίστοιχον λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς*. Athens: the Author. 1967. Pp. xxxv + 802. \$20.00 incl. postage. [Order by registered letter from Prof. George Kourmoulis, 33 Hippocratous St, Athens 144.]
- LACEY (W. K.). **The family in classical Greece**. (Aspects of Greek and Roman life.) London: Thames and Hudson. 1968. Pp. 342. 49 illus. £3 3s.
- LACY (A. D.). **Greek pottery in the Bronze Age**. London: Methuen. 1967. Pp. xv + 303. 4 maps. 4 colour plates. 115 text figures. £7 7s.
- LANATA (G.). **Medicina magica e religione popolare in Grecia fino all'età di Ippocrate**. (Filologia e critica, 3.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1967. Pp. 86. Lire 1,200.
- LANGLOTZ (E.) and HIRMER (M.). **The art of Magna Graecia: Greek art in southern Italy and Sicily**. Trans. [from Die Kunst der Westgriechen] by A. Hicks. London: Thames and Hudson. 1965. Pp. 312. 1 map. 188 plates (incl. 20 in colour). 10 text figures. £8 8s.
- LAPOINTE (R.). **Les trois dimensions de l'herméneutique**. (Cahiers de la Revue biblique, 8.) Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie. 1967. Pp. 154. Fr. 37.
- LÉVY (J.-P.). **The economic life of the ancient world**. Trans. J. G. Biram. Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. ix + 147. £2 5s.



- LILJA (S.). **On the style of the earliest Greek prose.** (Soc. sci. Fennica, commentationes humanarum litterarum, 41, 3.) Helsinki: Societas scientiarum Fennica. 1968. Pp. 150. FM 12.
- LOICQ-BERGER (M.-P.). **Syracuse: histoire culturelle d'une cité grecque.** (Collection Latomus, lxxxvii.) Brussels: Latomus. 1967. Pp. 318. 21 plates. Price not stated.
- LONG (A. A.). **Language and thought in Sophocles: a study of abstract nouns and poetic technique.** (Univ. of London classical studies, 6.) London: the Athlone Press. 1968. Pp. xiv + 186. £2 15s.
- LUCIAN. Ed. and trans. M. D. Macleod. Vol. 8. (Loeb.) London: W. Heinemann. 1967. Pp. x + 535. £1 5s.
- LYRICI. **Greek lyric poetry: a selection of early Greek lyric, elegiac and iambic poetry.** Ed. D. A. Campbell. London: Macmillan. 1967. Pp. xxix + 461. £1 16s.
- MARIEMONT. **L'art grec du Musée de Mariemont, Belgique:** catalogue par P. Lévêque et G. Donnay. Bordeaux: Musée d'Aquitaine. 1967. Pp. 213. 142 illus. Price not stated.
- MARTIN (R. P.). **Carmen Christi: Philipians ii. 5-11 in recent interpretation and in the setting of early Christian worship.** (Society for New Testament studies, monograph series, 4.) Cambridge: the University Press. 1967. Pp. xii + 364. £2 15s.
- MATZ (F.) and BIESANTZ (H.). **Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel.** 7. Die englischen Museen ii, bearb. von V. E. G. Kenna. Berlin: Gebr. Mann. 1967. Pp. xx + 336. Numerous illus. DM 95.
- MENANDER. **Dyscolus.** Ed. and trans. W. E. Blake. (Philological monographs, 24.) New York: the American Philological Association. 1966. Pp. v + 225. Price not stated.
- MERENTITIS (K. I.). **'Ο ἔρωρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας παρὰ Πινδάρου. (Λόγος πανηγυρικός ῥηθείς τῇ 28 ἡ' Ὀκτωβρίου 1965 . . .)** Athens: the Author. 1967. Pp. 100. Price not stated.
- MERLINGEN (W.). **Eine ältere Lehnwörterschicht im Griechischen.** Teil 2. **Folgerungen, Probleme, weiteres Material.** (Schriften der Balkankommission, linguistische Abteilung, 18.) Vienna: H. Böhlau Nachf. 1967. Pp. 107. öS 120.
- MERTON papyri. A descriptive catalogue of the Greek papyri in the collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A. Vol. 3. Ed. J. D. Thomas. (*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, supplement 18.) London: Institute of Classical Studies. 1967. Pp. xii + 109. 4 plates. £1 10s.
- MORETTI (L.). Ed. and trans. **Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche.** 1. **Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia.** (Bibl. di studi superiori, 53.) Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1967. Pp. xv + 177. 1 map. Lire 2,500.
- MORRIS (C.). **Western political thought.** 1. **Plato to Augustine.** London: Longmans. 1967. Pp. x + 282. £2 2s.
- MOSSÉ (C.). **Les institutions politiques grecques à l'époque classique.** Paris: A. Colin. 1967. Pp. 222. Price not stated.
- New York papyri. Greek papyri in the collection of New York university. 1. Fourth century documents from Karanis. Ed. N. Lewis. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1967. Pp. xiv + 66. 1 plate. Fl. 30.
- NICOSIA (S.). **Teocrito e l'arte figurata.** (Quaderni dell'Istituto di filologia greca, Palermo, 5.) Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici. 1968. Pp. 115. 11 plates. Price not stated.
- NØJGAARD (M.). **La fable antique.** 2. Les grands fabulistes. Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag. 1967. Pp. 471. Price not stated.
- NORTH (H.). **Sophrosyne: self-knowledge and self-restraint in Greek literature.** (Cornell studies in classical philology, 35.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1966. Pp. xx + 391. £4.
- OLIVIER (J.-P.). **Les scribes de Cnossos: essai de classement des archives d'un palais mycénien.** (Incunabula Graeca, 17.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1967. Pp. 398. 67 plates. 67 tables. Lire 9,000.
- OLYMPIA. **VIII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia.** Herbst 1958 bis Sommer 1962. Ed. E. Kunze. Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1967. Pp. iv + 264. 122 plates (incl. plans). 95 text figures. DM 86.
- Opuscula Atheniensia, vii. (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4°, xii.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1967. Pp. xi + 194. 23 plates. 26 text figures. Sw.kr. 80.
- OXFORD. Ashmolean Museum. **Department of antiquities.** Select exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's gifts, 1912-66. London: Oxford University Press for the Ashmolean Museum. 1967. Pp. 188. 84 plates. £1 10s.



- The Oxyrhynchus papyri**, xxxii. Ed. E. Lobel, with contributions by M. L. West and E. G. Turner. (Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman memoirs, 46.) London: Egypt Exploration Society. 1967. Pp. xv + 189. Price not stated.
- PAPADOPOULLOS (T.). *Ed. and trans. Un monument de littérature populaire chypriote.* (Publ. Centre res. sci. de Chypre, 1.) Nicosia: the Author. 1967. Pp. viii + 137. Price not stated.
- Paradoxographorum Graecorum reliquiae.** Ed. with Latin trans. A. Giannini. (Classici greci e latini, sezione testi e commenti, 3.) Milan: Istituto Editoriale Italiano. 1967. Pp. 432. 3 plates. Lire 9,000.
- PARKE (H. W.). **Greek oracles.** London: Hutchinson University Library. 1967. Pp. 160. 2 maps. 10s. 6d. (unbound); £1 5s. (bound).
- PARKER (G. F.). **A short account of Greek philosophy.** London: E. Arnold. 1967. Pp. x + 194. 1 map. £1 10s.
- PEČÍRKA (J.). **The formula for the grant of enktesis in Attic inscriptions.** (Acta universitatis Carolinae, philosophica et historica monographia 15.) Prague: Ediční komise filosof. fak. Karlovy university. 1966. Pp. xiv + 160. Kčs 20.
- The Penguin dictionary of the theatre.** By J. R. Taylor. London: Methuen. 1967 [bound repr. of 1966 ed. publ. by Penguin]. Pp. 295. £2 2s.
- PHILIP (J. A.). **Pythagoras and early Pythagoreanism.** (Phoenix, suppl. vol. vii.) Toronto: University Press (London: Oxford U.P.). 1967. Pp. x + 222. £2 12s.
- PIPPIDI (D. M.). **Contribuții la istoria veche a României.** 2nd ed. Bucharest: Editura Științifică. 1967. Pp. 599. 30 illus. Lei 32.
- PLATNAUER (M.). **Ed. Fifty years (and twelve) of classical scholarship: being fifty years of classical scholarship, revised with appendices.** Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1968. Pp. xiv + 523. 4 plates. £3 3s.
- PLATO. **Parmenides, Phaedrus.** Ed. C. More-schini. (Bibliotheca Athena, 5.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1966. Pp. 173. Lire 3,500.
- PLUTARCH. **Moralia.** xiv. (1086c-1147a). Ed. and trans. B. Einarson and P. H. De Lacy. (Loeb.) London: W. Heinemann. 1967. Pp. xvi + 468. £1 5s.
- POLITIS (L.). *Ποιητική ἀνθολογία.* 7 vols. Athens: Γαλαξία. 1965-67. Pp. 210, 174, 222, 233, 215, 255. Each vol. Δρ.20.
- POLYBIUS. **A historical commentary on Polybius.** By F. W. Walbank. Vol. 2. Commentary on books vii-xviii. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1967. Pp. xvi + 674. 17 maps and plans. £6 6s.
- POPHAM (M. R.) and SACKETT (L. H.). **Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, 1964-66: a preliminary report.** London: British School at Athens and Thames and Hudson. 1968. Pp. 35. 82 illus. 12s. 6d.
- PRESS (L.). **Architektura w ikonografii przedgreckiej.** (Biblioteka archeologiczna, 20.) Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich-Wydawnictwo. 1967. Pp. 275. 98 illus. zł 50.
- PRIVITERA (G. A.). **Laso di Ermione nella cultura ateniese e nella tradizione storiografica.** (Filologia e critica, 1.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1965. Pp. 126. Lire 1,500.
- PSEUDO-CODINUS. **Traité des offices.** Ed. and trans. J. Verpeaux. (Le monde byzantin, 1.) Paris: Éditions du C.N.R.S. 1966. Pp. 420. Fr. 95.
- QUINN (K.). **Virgil's Aeneid: a critical description.** London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1968. Pp. xii + 448. £3.
- RAISON (J.). **Les vases à inscriptions peintes de l'âge mycénien et leur contexte archéologique.** (Incunabula Graeca, 19.) Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1968. Pp. xxiv + 275. Numerous plates and text figures. Lire 10,000.
- RAU (P.). **Paratragodia: Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes.** (Zetemata, 45.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1967. Pp. x + 228. DM 35.
- Recherches de papyrologie**, iv. (Publ. fac. lettres et sciences humaines, Paris, série 'recherches', 36: Travaux de l'Institut de papyrologie, 5.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. iv + 216. 3 tables. 6 plates. Fr. 46.
- RICE (T. TALBOT). **Everyday life in Byzantium.** London: B. T. Batsford. 1967. Pp. 240. 1 map. 1 plan. 100 illus. £1 5s.
- ROBINSON (E. S. G.). **Essays in Greek coinage presented to Stanley Robinson.** Ed. C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1968. Pp. xii + 268. 33 plates. £6 6s.



- ROMANOS the melodist. **Hymnes.** Ed. and trans. J. Grosdidier de Matons. Tome 4. Nouveau testament (xxxii-xlv). (Sources chrétiennes, 128.) Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 1967. Pp. 603. Fr. 63.
- ROUSSEAU-LIESSENS (A.). **Les deux Mycènes et le Nil: les révélations géographiques des pyramides de Cheops et de Chephren.** Brussels: Vromant. 1967. Pp. 192. 7 text figures. Fr. b. 325.
- RUCK (C. A. P.). **IG II<sup>2</sup> 2323: the list of the victors in comedies at the Dionysia.** Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1967. Pp. ix + 59. 7 text figures. Fl. 12.
- RUPPRECHT (H.-A.). **Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit.** (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung, 51.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1967. Pp. xi + 182. DM 26.
- Sborník prací filosofické fakulty Brněnské university, ročník xiv-xv, řada archaeologicko-klasická (E) 10-11.** Brno: Sborník prací filosofické fakulty. 1965-66. Pp. 414, 224. 33, 19 plates. Numerous text figures. (E) 10 Kčs 45; (E) 11 Kčs 30.
- SCHACHERMEYER (F.). **Ägäis und Orient.** (Denkschriften, österreichische Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, 93.) Vienna: H. Böhlau Nachf. 1967. Pp. 82. 7 maps. 63 plates. öS 136 (unbound); öS 156 (bound).
- SCHÄFER (J.). **Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon.** (Pergamenische Forschungen, 2.) Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1968. Pp. xviii + 161. 92 plates. DM 148.
- SCHFOLD (K.). **Classical Greece.** Trans. J. R. Foster. (Art of the world, 23.) London: Methuen. 1967. Pp. 294. 1 map. 198 illus. (incl. 50 in colour). £3. 3s.
- SCHIERING (W.). **Griechische Tongefässe: Gestalt, Bestimmung und Formenwandel.** Berlin: Gebr. Mann. 1967. Pp. 38. 46 illus. DM 24.
- SCHNEIDER (C.). **Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus. 1.** Munich: C. H. Beck. 1967. Pp. xxxi + 977. Subscription price (until publication of vol. 2) DM 65; later DM 74. (Subscribers must order both volumes.)
- SCRANTON (R.). **The architecture of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion.** (Trans. American philos. soc., n.s. 57, 5.) Philadelphia: the American Philosophical Society. 1967. Pp. 85. 8 plans. 68 text figures. \$3.00.
- SEGALL (B.). **Zur griechischen Goldschmiedekunst des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.: eine griechische Schmuckgruppe im Schmuckmuseum Pforzheim.** Wiesbaden: F. Steiner. 1966. Pp. viii + 51. 57 plates. DM 56.
- SEIBERT (J.). **Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit.** (Historia Einzelschriften, 10.) Wiesbaden: F. Steiner. 1967. Pp. viii + 138. DM 28.
- SHINNIE (P. L.). **Meroe: a civilization of the Sudan.** (Ancient peoples and places, 55.) London: Thames and Hudson. 1967. Pp. 229. 32 plates. 63 text figures (incl. maps and plans). £2 2s.
- SIGERIST (H. E.). **A history of medicine. 1. Primitive and archaic medicine.** London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1967 [paperback repr. of 1951 ed.]. Pp. xxi + 564. £1 4s.
- SKEMP (J. B.). **The theory of motion in Plato's later dialogues.** 2nd ed. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert. 1967. Pp. xv + 197. Fl. 28.
- SKIADAS (A. D.). **Ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλληνικὴν ἐπιτομὴν ἐμμέτρον ἐπιγραφῶν. (Ἑλληνική Ἀνθροπιστική Ἑταιρεία, B', 14.)** Athens: Ἑλληνική Ἀνθροπιστική Ἑταιρεία. 1967. Pp. viii + 119. Δρχ. 100.
- SKINNER (F. G.). **Weights and measures: their ancient origins and their developments in Great Britain up to A.D. 1855.** (A Science Museum survey.) London: H.M.S.O. 1967. Pp. xi + 117. 1 map. 25 illus. 15s.
- SNODGRASS (A. M.). **Arms and armour of the Greeks.** (Aspects of Greek and Roman life.) London: Thames and Hudson. 1967. Pp. 151. 60 illus. £2 5s.
- SOPHOCLES. **Antigone.** Erläutert und mit einer Einleitung versehen von G. Müller. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1967. Pp. 287. DM 36 (unbound); DM 42 (bound).
- SPYCKET (A.). **Les statues de culte dans les textes mésopotamiens des origines à la Ire dynastie de Babylone.** (Cahiers de la Revue biblique, 9.) Paris: J. Gabalda. 1968. Pp. 118. 1 map. 5 plates. 15 text figures. Fr. 39.
- STÄHLER (K. P.). **Grab und Psyche des Patroklos: ein schwarzfiguriges Vasenbild.** Münster: the Author. 1967. Pp. 76. 4 plates. 13 text figures. DM 9.



- STANFORD (W. B.). **The sound of Greek: studies in the theory and practice of euphony.** (Sather classical lectures, 38.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (London: Cambridge U.P.). 1967. Pp. vii + 177. (With 33½ r.p.m. record.) £3 8s. + 2s. 3d. duty and purchase tax.
- STIGLITZ (R.). **Die grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens: der Kultname *Μεγάλαι θεαί* und seine Grundlagen.** (Sonderschriften hrsg. vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut in Wien, 15.) Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut. 1967. Pp. 180. 1 map. öS 300.
- Sylloge nummorum Graecorum. Vol. iv. Fitzwilliam Museum: Leake and general collections. Part vii. Asia Minor: Lycia—Cappadocia. London: Oxford University Press and Spink and Son for the British Academy. 1967. Pp. 36. Plates ci–cxvi. £5 5s.
- THOMAS (H. L.). **Near Eastern, Mediterranean and European chronology: the historical, archaeological, radiocarbon, pollen-analytical and geochronological evidence.** Text and charts. (Studies in Mediterranean archaeology 17.) Lund: Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology. 1967. Pp. 175. 62 charts. Sw.kr. 100.
- THOMSON (G.). **Aeschylus and Athens: a study in the social origins of drama.** 3rd ed. London: Lawrence & Wishart. 1967. Pp. xii + 374. 2 maps. 5 text figures. £2 2s. (bound); £1 1s. (unbound).
- Thorikos 1965: rapport préliminaire sur la troisième campagne de fouilles. By H. F. Mussche and others. Brussels: Comité des fouilles belges en Grèce. 1967. Pp. 115. 5 folding plans. 142 text figures. Fr.b. 600.
- THUMMER (E.). **Der Forschungsbericht: Pindaros. 2. Bericht.** [In Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft, xix, 4, 1966.] Innsbruck: Prof. Dr R. Muth. 1966. Pp. 289–322. Subs. öS. 198.
- TOULOUMAKOS (J.). **Der Einfluss Roms auf die Staatsform der griechischen Stadtstaaten des Festlandes und der Inseln im ersten und zweiten Jhdt. v. Chr.** Göttingen: the Author. 1967. Pp. iii + 195. Price not stated.
- TRENDALL (A. D.). **Phryx vases.** 2nd ed. (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, supplement 19.) London: Institute of Classical Studies. 1967. Pp. xv + 116. 14 plates. £1 10s.
- TURNER (E. G.). **Greek papyri: an introduction.** Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1968. Pp. xii + 220. 1 map. 8 plates. £1 15s.
- UNTERSTEINER (M.). **I sofisti.** 2nd ed. 2 vols. (Saggi, 4–5.) Milan: Lampugnani Nigri. 1967. Pp. 318, 332. Lire 5,500.
- USHER (S.). **Architects of the Athenian empire. 1. Themistocles. 2. Pericles.** [In History today, May–June, 1967.] London: History Today Ltd. 1967. Pp. 285–92, 402–8. 1 map. 7 illus. Each part 3s. 6d.
- VACALOPOULOS (A. E.). **Quelques éléments nouveaux sur le retentissement des luttes des Serbes de 1802–12 en Grèce.** [Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta, Beograd, 9.] Thessaloniki: the Author. 1967. Pp. 305–14. 1 map.
- VENABLES (R.). **'D': portrait of a don.** Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1967. Pp. vii + 157. 1 plate. £1 15s.
- VIDAL-NAQUET (P.). **Le bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque.** (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 5.) Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. 1967. Pp. 48. Fr.b. 120.
- VOURVERIS (K. I.). **Εισαγωγή εις την αρχαιογνωσίαν και την κλασσικὴν φιλολογίαν.** ('Ελληνικὴ Ἀνθρωπιστικὴ Ἐταιρεία, B', 15.) Athens: Greek Society for Humanistic Studies. 1967. Pp. xvi + 537. Αρχ. 300.
- WEBSTER (T. B. L.). **Monuments illustrating tragedy and satyr play.** 2nd ed. with appendix. (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, supplement 20.) London: Institute of Classical Studies. 1967. Pp. xii + 190. 8 plates. £2.
- WEBSTER (T. B. L.). **The tragedies of Euripides.** London: Methuen (New York: Barnes & Noble). 1967. Pp. vii + 316. £3 3s.
- WEHRLI (F.). **Ed. Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentare.** 2nd ed. 1. Dikaiarchos. Basle and Stuttgart: Schwabe & Co. 1967. Pp. 80. Sw.fr. 18.
- WEST (S.). **The Ptolemaic papyri of Homer.** (Papyrologica Colonensia, 3.) Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1967. Pp. 294. 5 plates. DM 86.40.
- WILL (E.). **Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323–30 av. J.-C.) 2. Des avènements d'Antiochos III et de Philippe V à la fin des Lagides.** (Annales de L'Est, mémoire 32.) Nancy: Faculté des Lettres. 1967. Pp. 564. Price not stated.



- WILLIAMS (G.). **Turkey: a traveller's guide and history.** London: Faber and Faber. 1967. Pp. 318. 1 map. 2 plans. 48 illus. (incl. 1 in colour). £2 10s.
- WIT-TAK (T. M. DE). **Lysistrata: vrede, vrouw en obsceniteit bij Aristophanes.** [With English summary.] Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1967. Pp. x + 143. Fl. 12.90.
- WOLFF (H. J.). **Demosthenes als Advokat: Funktionen und Methoden des Prozesspraktikers im klassischen Athen.** (Schriftenreihe der juristischen Gesellschaft e.V. Berlin, 30.) Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 1968. Pp. iii + 26. DM 6.
- XENOPHON. vii. **Scripta minora.** Ed. and trans. E. C. Marchant. Pseudo-Xenophon. Constitution of the Athenians. Ed. and trans. G. W. Bowersock. (Loeb.) London: W. Heinemann. 1968. Pp. xlvii + 515. 1 plate. £1 5s.
- ZHIRMUNSKY (V.). **The epic of 'Alpamysh' and the return of Odysseus.** [Proc. British Academy, lii.] London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy. 1968. Pp. iii + 267-86. 5s.
- ZILLIACUS, (H.) **Zur Abundanz der spätgriechischen Gebrauchssprache.** (Soc. sci. Fennica, commentationes humanarum litterarum, 41, 2.) Helsinki: Societas scientiarum Fennica. 1967. Pp. 105. FM 8.40.



# INDEX TO VOLUME LXXXVIII

## I.—GENERAL

- Anaxagoras' stars, 126-7  
 Arrows and arrow-heads at Marathon, 17-18, 29  
 Artemis Agrotera, 40, 41, 44, 47  
 Athena Hellotis, 24
- Bone 'dollies', 11-12  
 Bow, the range of the ancient, 17
- Cavalry, Persian, 35-6  
 Chimaera, 3, 7  
 Colours, the mixture of, 83  
 Constitution of matter in Plato, 85-7  
 Cosmology of the *Timaeus*, the, 81 f.
- Eclipses, ancient explanations of, 106-9, 114-27
- Four elements in Presocratic philosophy, the, 102-3
- Inscriptions:  
*ATL* Ag-74  
*IG* i<sup>2</sup> 297-74; 609-49; ii 1.471 line 26-16, 47  
*IGR* iv 1761-139  
*JHS* xxxvii (1917) 88-139  
 Marathon epigrams-26-7  
 Moretti, *IAG* 82-139  
 Tod, *GHI* no. 14-41
- Ivory seals, 9-12
- Marathon epigrams, the, 26-8  
 Marine theology, the vagueness of, 70  
 Mound at Marathon, the, 14-18
- Obsidian flakes at Marathon, 16-17  
 Offering tables, 67
- Pathology of the *Timaeus*, the, 87-8  
 Persian numbers at Marathon, 32-3  
 Physiology of the *Timaeus*, the, 88-9  
 Polemarch and generals at Marathon, the, 48-50
- Rustic shrines in Roman art, 59-60
- Sea dragons and serpents in Roman art, 62
- Tricorynthus, 19-22, 26, 33
- Vases, Apulian, 63; Attic, b.f., 3; Attic, r.f., 60, 68, 139, 140-1; Corinthian, 140-1; Eretrian, 141; Euboean, 140-1; Geometric, 12, 16, 17; Laconian I, 12; Lucanian, 58-9; 'Melian', 7; Mycenaean, 16, 17; Protocorinthian, 12; from Thera, 7; South Italian, 64  
 Winged men in Greek art, 7

## II.—GREEK WORDS

- ἀήρ, 85  
 αἰσθησις, 79  
 ἀκούειν, 96  
 ἀλλόχρωσ, 111  
 ἀναχωρέω, ἀνέρχομαι, 39-40  
 ἀποφαντικῶς, 130  
 ἀποχωρέω, 39-40  
 ἀσπίς, 37
- βοηθεῖν, 33
- διακούειν, 96  
 διάπυρος, 125-7  
 δρόμος, 28, 29, 36
- εἰκῶς μῦθος, 81  
 ἐπιθαλαμίτης, 70  
 ἐπιμέλεια, 131
- ἐπιτραγέν, 53  
 ἐπιστήμη, 91
- κατά, 31  
 καταπραγέντα, 53  
 κῆτος, 62  
 κλίνειν, 27, 33, 52  
 κόσμος οὐδενί, 37  
 κύαμος, ὁ, 50
- νέμειν, 110  
 νόησις, 79
- ὄγκος, 130  
 ὁμόχρωσ, 111  
 ὁμόνηφος, 48, 49
- ξασθός, 83



παλαιόν, τὸ, 49  
 παροχρεῖται, 53  
 πεζός, 27  
 πεπρωμένος, 125-7  
 πρότερος, 97-105

σημνότης, 130  
 σημείον, 37

τριάς, τριαστής, 138-9

ὑστερος, 97-105

χωρίς ἱππεῖς, 39, 52, 53

ψηφιδόφορος, 48  
 ψηφιστάι, 70

### III.—GREEK AND LATIN AUTHORS

- Achilles Tatius *Isag.* 21 p. 49.4-7 Muller—125, 126  
 Aelian *fr.* 74—56, 57; *VH* ii 25—41  
 Aeschines in *Ctesiph.* 186—26, 52  
 Aeschylus *Persae* 239-40—27; 240—31; 424 f.—51;  
*Eleg.* 3—22  
 Actius i 3.4—120; ii 7.1—121; 8.1, 2—110; 11.2—121;  
 13.3—126; 13.9, 10—116; 13.14—123; 14.3, 15.3,  
 4, 6—117; 16.6—115; 20.1—124; 20.8a—121;  
 20.13—108; 21.1—120, 124; 21.2—108; 21.3—  
 124; 22.5—117; 23.1—115; 23.4—123; 24—115;  
 24.1—114; 24.6—117; 24.7—108; 25.1—118, 124;  
 25.2—115, 121; 25.3—121; 25.9—125; 25.15—  
 121; 26.2—118, 120; 28.1—119; 28.4—126;  
 28.5—108, 118, 120; 29.1—118; 29.4—117, 122,  
 123; 29.6—114, 115; 29.6-7—116, 117, 124;  
 30.2—125, 126; 30.4—118; 31.1—108, 124; iii  
 1.5—126; 15.8—116; v 11.1, 26.4—110  
 Africanus, Julian *Chron.*, Olympiad 154—139  
 Alexander *Met.* 27.26-28.21 Hayduck—97  
 Ampelius 15.9—33  
 Anaxagoras *fr.* 11, 16, 17—110; 18—125  
 Andocides i *Myst.* 142—76  
 Anon. Lond. xx 43 ff.—88  
 [Anon.] *περί σχημάτων* (*Rhet. Graec.* Sp. iii 144)—130  
 Apollodorus i 2.2, 4.6—70  
 Aristides *schol.* iii 566 D—26  
 Aristophanes *Ach.* 180 f.—28; *Eq. schol.* 657, 660 and  
*schol.*—41; *schol.* 778—42, 52, 57; 781—31; *Lys.*  
 1031 and *schol.*—21; *Ran.* 534 ff.—133; *Vesp.*  
 1075 f., 1078 f.—50; 1079 f.—27; 1081 f., 1084  
 and *schol.*, 1085, 1086—50; 1087—51  
 Aristotle *AthPol.* viii 1—50; xviii 4—51; xix 5—39;  
 xxii 2—49, 50; 3—49; 5—50; xxv 1—2—28;  
 xxvii 5—52; xxxvi 2—134; xli 2—52; xlv 4,  
 lvi 3—50; lviii 1—41; lxi 1, lxiii 1—50; *Cael.*  
 270b 11 ff.—80; 279b 14—17, 280a 11—23—101;  
 293b 21—25—117; 294b 13 ff.—116; 300b 16—  
 301a 22, 302a 28-b 9, 302b 20—24—100; 305a  
 9—13—126; 308b 30—32—105; *de An.* 404b 7—15,  
 405a 2-b 10—102; 405a 8 ff.—89; 410a 21—22—  
 102; *fr.* 71 Rose—106; *Gen. anim.* 779b 15—20—111;  
*Gen. et Corr.* 314a 15—98; 314a 16—17—98, 99;  
 328b 31—329a 5, 330b 7—20—103; 333a 16—334b  
 2—101; 333b 20—21—98; 334a 9—10—102; *HA*  
 569b—21; *Metaph.* 982b 12—17—106; 983b 6—8—  
 103; 983b 6—984a 18—102; 983b 20—21, 983b  
 27—30, 983b 33—984a 3—103; 984a 3—5—103;  
 984a 11—13, a 13-b 18, b 18—32—97; 984b 31—32,  
 b 32—985a 10, a 18—23, a 29—33—98; 985a 31—33—  
 102; 985b 4—22, 986b 18—34—101; 987a 5—13,  
 988b 6—11—99; 988a 32—34—99; 988b 29—30,  
 989a 5—12—102; 989a 25—26—99; 989b 5—6, b  
 19—21—100; 1000a 18—26, 1071b 31—37—101;  
 1075a 11-b 1, b 1—6—99; 1075b 3—4—98; 1075b  
 8—10—99; 1091b 11—12—98; *Meteor.* 345a 25—31—  
 125, 126; 354a 27—32—116; 369b 11—370a 10—  
 101; 384a 3 ff., 388a 29 ff.—85; *Part. anim.* 640b  
 4—8—99; *Phys.* 187a 23—25, 188a 17—18, 189a  
 15—17—100; 193a 21—23—103; 198b 10—16,  
 203b 12—13—99; 214b 12 ff.—101; 250b 23—251a 5,  
 252a 5—32—100; *Pol.* 1304a 22—28; *Rhet.* iii  
 6—130; 1411a—34; 16.1416b 26—129; *Top.* 105b  
 16—18—102  
 [Aristotle] *de plantis* 5.9—13, 6.17—18, 9.17—21  
 Meyer—110; *Probl.* 910a 12—15—111; 937a 11—  
 16—110  
 Augustine *Civ.* 13, 24 p. 599, 10—58  
 Basil *Hexaemeron* 189A—123  
 Caelius Aurelianus *Morb. Chron.* i 5—87  
 Catullus lxiv 1—20, 21, 31 f.—69  
 Cedrenus *Historiarum compendium* i 275.15—16 Bekker—  
 114  
 Censorinus vi 6—7, 8—110  
 Chalcidius in *Ti.* 256 f. Waszink—89  
 Cicero *de nat. deor.* i 8.7—123; *de orat.* ii, 22.93—129,  
 133; *de rep.* vi 17—123; *Tusc.* iv 19—47  
 Clemens *Strom.* i 65—114  
 Cleomedes *de motu circulari* 180.2—13 Ziegler—126;  
 182.20—184.3, 188.4—7, 8—28, 190.1—16—122;  
 200.24—202.4—119; 216.28—218.6—126  
 Cod. Bamb. E111, 14, 95—51  
 Cod. Laur. 66, 40, 104—51  
 Critias *fr.* 6, 1.20—132; Diels 316—17, 320—1, 323—5—  
 131  
 Ctesias *Pers.* 18—56  
 Democritus *fr.* 191—87; 245, 249—132  
 Demon *FGH* 327F 7—53; 8—23, 53; 19—53  
 Demosthenes *schol.* xix 303—34  
 [Demosthenes] lix 94—33  
 Diodorus Siculus xi 33.3—27; xiii 12.6—107; xiv  
 4.5—133  
 Diogenes Laertius i 23—114; ii 1—118, 120; 2—120;  
 6—109; 8—124; 9—110, 126; 12—126; iv 29,



- 32, 51-2, v 86, vii 2 and 4-96; 144-120; viii 51-106; 54-95, 96, 97; 55-95; 56-94, 95; 74-106; ix 20, 30-109; 33-117; 34-119; 41-106; 92-123  
 Dionysius Hal. *Lys.* 2-129; *Thu.* 37 ff.-76  
 Empedocles *frr.* 8-12, 9.3-110; 13, 14-86; 22-98; 42, 43, 48-108; 62-110; 96, 98-85; 100-88, 112; 109, 110.10-110  
 Ephorus *FGH* 70F 63-53-4  
*Etyim. Magn.* 332.43-24  
 Eudemus *frr.* 134 Wehrli-115; 143, 144-114; 145-114, 115, 118  
 Euripides *Hipp.* 200-61; *Phoen.* 499 ff.-76  
 Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* xv 24.2-124; 27.2-120  
 Frontinus ii 2.9-36, 38  
 Galen *Hist. philos.* 63-124; *de plac. Hipp. et Plat.* viii ch. 5-87  
 Geminus *Elementa astronomiae* chs. 9-11-123  
 Gorgias *Palamedes* 17-132  
 Gregory of Nyssa *Hexaem.* 117B-C-126  
 Heraclitus *frr.* 117, 118-87  
 Hermogenes *Id.* 1.6-130; 1.12-131; 2.11-129  
 Herodotus i 59.4-49; 62-32; 62.2-33; 63.2-32; 74-114; 76.3-52; v 63.2-36; 63.3-39, 44; 63.4-39; 97.3-49, 51; vi 48-43; 81-44; 89-44-5; 94-55; 94.1-43; 94.2-31; 95-31; 95.2-33; 98.1, 99-101.1-31; 99.2-33, 44; 100-32; 100.1-33, 34; 100-101-44; 101-2-27; 101.1-41; 101.2-3-32; 101.3-31; 102-32, 39, 55; 102-103.1-34; 103.1-27, 33, 48, 49; 104.2-48; 105-33, 34; 105.1-48, 56; 106-34; 106.1-56; 106.2-33; 106.3-35, 56; 107.2-36, 42; 107.3-56; 108.1-33, 34; 108.6-33; 109-45; 109-110-35; 109.1-47; 109.1-2-48; 110-31, 48, 55; 111-49; 111.1-31, 49; 111.3-40; 112 f.-29; 112.1-29, 34, 41; 112.2-17, 29, 47; 113.1-18, 29, 30, 37; 113.2-22, 30; 114-29, 46; 115-30, 31, 36, 37, 42; 116-27, 33, 36, 43; 117.1-14, 31; 117.3-28, 56; 118.2-44; 120-35, 46; 121-37; 121 f.-36; 124.2-37; 133.1-31; vii 40.2-35; 109.1, 4-49; 128-37; 149.2-48; 184.1-33; 226-50; viii 41.3-27; 50.1-50; 51.2-27; 52.1-17, 28; 53.2-28; 113.2-35; 127-30; ix 14, 17.3-18, 20-21, 22-35; 22-23-17; 22.2, 23-35; 27.5-47; 28-43; 32.2-35, 39; 39.2, 40, 49.2-3, 50, 57.3, 58 f.-35; 59-36; 59.1-28; 60.2-35; 63.1-30, 35; 63.2-35; 69.2-39  
 Hesychius *s.v. Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν*-53, 57  
 Hippocrates *On the Sacred Disease* ch. 3 ff.-87  
 [Hippocrates] *On Breaths* ch. 14-87  
 Hippolytus *Ref.* i 6.5-117, 124; 7.4, 5-116; 7.6-116, 117; 8.6-116, 117, 126; 8.7-124, 126; 8.8-124; 8.8-9-107; 8.9-116, 117, 126; 8.10-107, 115, 121, 126; 14.1-109; 18.12-110; v 20.6-109  
 Homer *Il.* xxiii 255 f.-15; *Od.* vii 80-24; xiii 84 f.-43  
 Hymn. *Pos. (PLG* viii 80)-70  
 Irenaeus *Adv. haeres.* ii 18.2 Harvey-110  
 Isocrates *Panath.* 63, 89-76; *Panegy.* 86 f.-56; 87-35, 56; 100, 110-76  
 Justin ii 9-34, 51, 54, 56, 57; v 9.15-129  
 [Lamprias] *Cat.* 43-109  
 Lindos Chronicle D5-44  
 Lucian *Deor. Conc.* 7-25; *Dial. Deor.* xi 2-68; *Dial. Mar.* v 1-70  
 Lysias xii (*Erat.*) 77-133; xiii 1, 2, 9, 10, 16-130  
 [Lysias] *Epitaphios* 26-56  
 Macrobius *In somn. Scip.* i 15.10-12, 19.8-14-123  
 Martianus Capella *de nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* ii 118-123  
 Nepos *Milt.* 1-3-53; 4-52; 4 f.-54; 4-6-37, 51, 52, 53, 57; 5-34, 45, 52; 6-52, 53, 56; 7-8-53  
*Novum Testamentum* i *Ep. Cor.* 15, 23-58  
 Olympiodorus 67.32-68.2 Stüve-126  
 Orph. *Hymn.* xxiii 7-70  
 Ovid *Fasti* iii 21-68; *Met.* xi 229-37, 257-9-69  
 Parmenides *frr.* 6.8, 8.38-41-110; 10-12-117; 14, 15-118  
 Pausanias i 14.5-22, 28; 15.3-18, 25, 26, 30; 29.4-14; 32-34; 32.3-14, 18, 30; 32.4-16, 31; 32.4-5-47; 32.5-31; 32.6-20, 23; 32.7-18, 22, 23, 30; iv 25.5-34; vi 13.4-139; vii 15.7-34; x 20.2-34  
 Philo *de prov.* ii 92, 95 Aucher-123  
 Philoponus 207.19, 227.14 Vitelli-103  
 Philostratus *Gymnastic* 33-139; *Heroic.* 20, 35-63; *Vita Apoll.* i 2-124; *Vit. Soph.* i 16-128, 129; ii 1.14-129  
 Philostratus Junior *Imag.* i 2.1-63; 14.2-69  
 Photius *s.v. Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν*-53, 57  
 Pindar *Ol.* ix 89, xii 110-25; *schol.* xiii 56 ed. Drachmann, 56d-24; *Pyth.* v 68, viii 79, x 8-25  
 Plato *Apol.* 26d-126; *Crat.* 409a-b-107, 119, 121; 409b-127; *Leg.* 698e-35; 889b-106; *Menexenus* 240a 7-33, 35; *Phaedo* 65b 1-6-80; 79a-91; 98a-106; *Philebus* 55c ff., 56b, 58e-59b, 59c, 61de-91; *Rep.* vii 521cd, 523ab-79; 523b 3-4-80; 524c, 525b-e, 526ab-79; 529b 7-c 1, 529c 4 ff., 529cd, 529c-e-80; 529d 7 f.-81; 530a 7-b 4-80; 530b 6-c 1-79; 530c 2-3, 531a 1-3, 531c-80; x 597a ff.-91; *schol.* 600a-114; *Sophist* 249a-d-91; *Tim.* 27d ff.-91; 27d 5 ff.-81; 29b-d-91; 29c 4 ff.-81; 29d, 30d, 38de, 39e 1-2, 40cd-82; 44cd-81; 46c-90; 47ab-81; 48ab-90; 48b 5 ff.-85; 48d-81; 48d 4 ff., 49a ff.-85; 53b 7 ff.-85; 54ab, 54a 4 f., 54a 5-6, 54b 1-2-82; 55d ff.-86; 56b-81; 56d, 57c-85; 56d ff.-85; 58a-86; 58c-61c-85; 59a-86;



- 59cd—82, 83; 59d 2—83, 84; 60c 5, d 3, d 7, e 3—85; 67d—81; 68b—d, b 2, b 3-4, b 5, b 8 ff., b-d, c 1, c 2, c 4-5, c 7, d 1 ff., d 3, d 4 ff.—83; 68ef—90; 68e-69a—83; 69b ff.—86; 77e ff., 78a 2 ff., 78b 7 ff., d 2 ff., d 6 ff., e 5 ff., e 7 ff.—88; 79a, b—86; 79c 5 ff., 79d 1 ff., d 6 ff.—88; 79e—86; 79e-80c—89; 80c—86; 80d 3 ff.—88; 81b ff.—89; 81b-d, 82b 8 ff., d 6—88; 86b ff., 87a 3-4—87
- Pliny *NH* ii 8.11—123; 46—106; 53—114; xxxv 37—31; 57—35
- Plutarch *Adv. Coll.* 1112F—110; 1116A—118; *E apud Delphos* 391A-B—107; *Facie* 922C—121; 925B—108; 929A-B—118; 929B—107, 125, 126; 929B-C—122; 929B-D—126; 929C-E—108; 929D—122; 929E—126; 931A-B—122; 932B—124; 933C-E—126; *Glor. Ath.* 7—40; *Malign. Herod.* 26.7—41; *Mor.* 8—41; 84, 347E, 349F, 350E—56; 628—49, 56; *Parallel Cases s.v. Datis*—57; *Pyth. orac.* 400B—108; 402E—119; *Quaest. conv.* 720E—108; 722A-B—109; *Quaest. nat.* 911D—110; *Quaest. rom.* 282B—118; *Quomodo adulescens* 16C—119; *Recta ratione audiendi* 45A-B—119; *Vitae: Aem.* 17—107; 21.1, 22.1—29; *Ages.* 17—107; *Arist.* 1.2—55; 5—18, 43, 46, 54, 55, 56, 57; 16—56; *Cam.* 19—40; *Dio* 19, 24—107; *Nic.* 23—106, 121, 123; *Per.* 19—55; 35—107; *Them.* 3—47, 56; 12.1, 15—50; *Thes.* 6 *fin.*, 35 *fin.*—56
- [Plutarch] *Strom.* 3—116; 10—108, 121, 122; 11—123
- Pollux vii 91—41
- Polyaenus i 23—51
- Proleg. Sylloge* 34, 129—30, 327—133
- Sextus *Adv. math.* viii 286—110
- Simplicius in *Cael.* 392.12—32—117; 471.2—11—120; 488.21 ff.—89; 515.25—26—117; in *Cat.* 191.5—7, 194.12—13—114; in *de anim.* 72.2—3—110; in *Ph.* 24.18—21—120; 25.19—20—106; 25.21—95; 26.7—9—105; 27.2—5—109; 39.20—21—119
- Sophocles *Ant.* 616—75; 1033 ff., *OT* 964 ff.—77
- Stephanus *s.v. διακούειν*—96
- Strabo viii 6.16, C 375—53; C 377—20
- Suidas (The Souda) *s.v. διεξέρπω*—42, 52, 57; *s.v. ἐμπίς*—21; *s.v. Θαλής*—114; *s.v. Ἰππίας* 1 and 2—57; *s.v. Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν*—53, 57; *s.v. Οἰνὴ τὴν χαράδραν*—53; *s.v. Ποικίλη*—52, 57; *s.v. Πολύζηλος, Φιλιππίδης*—56; *s.v. χωρίς ἱππεῖς*—39, 52, 53, 57
- Theo Smyrnaeus *Exp.* 198.14—18 Hiller—114; 198.14—199.2—115; 198.18—199.2—118; 199.21—200.2—123
- Theodoretus *Graecarum affectionum curatio* iv 22—124; 23—121
- Theophrastus *frr.* 2—120; 3—95, 106; 4—109; 9—105; *Sens.* 499.3—4—120; 500.7—13, 500.23—501.11—111; 501.3—4, 4—10—112; 501.6—7—111; 10—11—112; 503.4 ff., 504.14 ff., 506.28—507.3, 8—14—111; 507.27—110; 509.17—24, 32—33, 510.2—3, 4—5, 19—22, 511.9—12, 513.17—27—111
- Theopompus *FGH* 115F 153—57
- Thucydides i 63.2—37; 142.5 ff.—74; ii 34.5—14; 62—74; 94.2—27; iii 27, 36.2, 36.4, 36.6, 39, 45—46, 45.3—74; 45.4—75; 45.4—7, 46.2, 47, 82.1—74; 107.4—49; iv 21 ff.—75; 22, 54.3, 57.4—74; 78.5—28; 81—74; v 36—50—73; 75.1—2—39; 84.2—114—73; 84.3—85—74; 87, 88—73; 89—91—76; 90, 91.2, 93, 95, 96, 97—73; 98—9, 99—75; 100—73, 74; 101.1—73; 102.3—74; 103—73, 75, 76; 109—74, 75; 110, 111—75; 113—73, 76; 115.1—3—75; 115.4—73; 116.1—75; 116.2—4—73; vi 1—76; 7.2, 11.5—75; 17.8—74; 59.2—56; 76.2, 105—75; vii 18.2—4—75; 50—107; 64.1, 77.3—4—76; viii 2.1—75; 6.4 ff.—74
- Trogus *Hist. Phil. prol.* 2 (Seel p. 57)—33
- Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta memorabilia* viii 11, ext. 2—124
- Vegetius *Epit. rei mil.* ii 23—17
- Xenophon *Anab.* iii 2.12—41; *Cyr.* i 1.1—132; vii 1.23—37; *Hell.* i 7.5—6—134; ii 1.27—37; 2.3—76; 2.3—end—128; 2.19—76; 3.11—128, 134; 3.15—132; 3.16—128; 3.19, 20—134; 3.23—128, 133; 3.24, 25—130, 131; 3.26—130; 3.27, 28, 29—130, 131, 132; 3.29—40—133; 3.31—130; 3.32, 33, 34—130, 131; 3.35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 41—2, 43, 47, 48, 49—134; 3.50—133; *Mem.* i 2.25—129
- Zenobius v 29—53

## IV.—BOOKS NOTICED

- Aeschylus. *The house of Atreus*, adapted from the *Oresteia* by J. Lewin, 155—6 (P. G. Mason)
- Ahrweiler (H.), *Byzance et la mer*, 252—4 (J. D. Howard-Johnston)
- Allen (R. E.), Ed., *Studies in Plato's metaphysics*, 194—5 (D. B. Robinson)
- Anaximenes. *Ars rhetorica quae vulgo fertur Aristotelis ad Alexandrum*, ed. M. Fuhrmann, 167—8 (A. E. Douglas)
- Antisthenes. *Fragmenta*, ed. F. D. Caizzi, 158 (D. R. Dudley)
- Antoniadis-Bibicou (H.), *Etudes d'histoire maritime de Byzance. A propos du 'Thème des Caravisiens'*, 252—4 (J. D. Howard-Johnston)
- Apollonius Rhodius. *Le Argonautique, libro 1*, ed. and trans. A. Ardzionni, 173—5 (A. H. Griffiths)
- Aristotle. *De l'âme*, ed. A. Jannone, trans. E. Barbotin (Budé), 166—7 (D. W. Hamlyn)
- Armstrong (A. H.), see *Cambridge history of later Greek and early medieval philosophy*
- Arnou (R.), *Le désir de Dieu dans la philosophie de Plotin*, 2nd ed., 204 (J. M. Rist)



- Barnard (L. W.), *Justin Martyr: his life and thought*, 211-12 (C. W. Dugmore)
- Basil. *Lettres*. Tome 3, ed. and trans. Y. Courtonne (Budé), 182-3 (S. Y. Rudberg)
- Berve (H.), *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, 217-18 (A. Andrewes)
- Besslich (S.), *Schweigen-Verschweigen-Übergehen: die Darstellung des Unausgesprochenen in der Odyssee*, 144 (J. B. Hainsworth)
- Bibliothèque Nationale. *Cabinet des médailles et antiques. Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, by A. Delatte and P. Derchain, 241-2 (J. Gwyn Griffiths)
- Biesantz (H.), see Matz (F.)
- Bissinger (M.), *Das Adjektiv μέγας in der griechischen Dichtung*, 187-8 (M. Wakerley)
- Borecky (B.), *Survivals of some tribal ideas in classical Greek*, 190-1 (E. W. Whittle)
- Breitenstein (T.), *Recherches sur le poème Mégara*, 175-7 (A. W. James)
- Bruce (I. A.), *An historical commentary on the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia'*, 161-2 (D. Lotze)
- Brumbaugh (R. S.), *The philosophers of Greece*, 191-2 (G. B. Kerferd)
- Butterworth (E. A. S.), *Some traces of the pre-Olympian world in Greek literature and myth*, 189-90 (P. Walcott)
- Cambridge Ancient History*, see Catling (H. W.)
- Cambridge history of later Greek and early medieval philosophy*, ed. A. H. Armstrong, 204-7 (J. M. Rist)
- Cambridge Medieval History*, see Hussey (J. M.)
- Caplan (H.), *The classical tradition: literary and historical studies in honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. L. Wallach, 249-50 (R. M. Ogilvie)
- Catling (H. W.), *Cyprus in the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods*, (C.A.H. vol. 1, ch. ix(c), xxvi (b); vol. 2, ch. iv(c), xxii(b)), 215-16 (V. Karageorghis)
- Chadwick (J.), see Congress
- Congress. *Proceedings of the Cambridge colloquium on Mycenaean studies*, ed. L. R. Palmer and J. Chadwick, 212-13 (A. Morpurgo-Davies)
- Corpus vasorum antiquorum*, Deutschland 27, Heidelberg, Universität, 3, by F. Canciani, 239-40 (J. N. Coldstream)
- Corpus vasorum antiquorum*, France 21, Musée du Louvre 13, by F. Villard, 240-1 (M. Robertson)
- Courbin (P.), *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, 235-7 (J. N. Coldstream)
- Culican (W.), *The first merchant venturers: the ancient Levant in history and commerce*, 216-17 (E. H. Warmington)
- Curiel (R.) and Fussmann (G.), *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz*, 246-7 (G. K. Jenkins)
- Dain (A.), *Traité de métrique grecque*, 183 (L. P. E. Parker)
- Davidson (P. F.), see Hoffmann (H.)
- Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, ed. A. R. Bellinger and P. Grierson, Vol. 1, 247-8 (D. M. Metcalf)
- Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 20, 254-5 (J. Beckwith)
- Düring (I.), *Aristoteles: Darstellung und Interpretation seines Denkens*, 163-6 (G. E. R. Lloyd)
- Dvornik (F.), *Early Christian and Byzantine political philosophy: origins and background*, 201-2 (V. Tataakis)
- Edelstein (L.), *The meaning of Stoicism*, 196-8 (A. A. Long)
- Ehrenberg (V.), *Ancient society and institutions: studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th birthday*, 249 (C. G. Starr)
- Euripides. *The Trojan women*, trans. N. Curry, 158 (P. T. Stevens)
- Fatouros (G.), *Index verborum zur frühgriechischen Lyrik*, 153 (G. Giangrande)
- Finley (J. H.), *Four stages of Greek thought*, 192 (P. J. Bicknell)
- Folsom (R. S.), *Handbook of Greek pottery: a guide for amateurs*, 234 (J. M. Cook)
- Freudenberger (R.), *Das Verhalten der römischen Behörden gegen die Christen im 2. Jahrhundert*, 224-5 (E. W. Gray)
- Frisk (H.), *Kleine Schriften zur Indogermanistik und zur griechischen Wortkunde*, 186-7 (A. C. Moorhouse)
- Fussmann (G.), see Curiel (R.)
- Gardner (P.), see Imhoof-Blumer (F. W.)
- Georgiev (V. I.), *Introduzione alla storia delle lingue indoeuropee*, 183-6 (D. M. Jones)
- Graz (L.), *Le feu dans l'Iliade et l'Odyssée: πυρ, champ d'emploi et signification*, 142-3 (D. H. F. Gray)
- Grumach (E.), *Bibliographie der kretisch-mykenischen Epigraphik (nach dem Stande vom 31. Dezember 1961) und Supplement 1 (1962-1965)*, 228 (J. Chadwick)
- Guido (M.), *Sicily: an archaeological guide*, 225-6 (A. G. Woodhead)
- Hesiod. *Theogony*, ed. M. L. West, 144-6 (G. S. Kirk) and 146-50 (M. Robertson)
- Higgins (R. A.), *Greek terracottas*, 241 (T. B. L. Webster)
- Higgins (R. A.), *Minoan and Mycenaean art*, 226-7 (J. H. Betts)
- Hirmer (M.), see Kraay (C. M.)
- Hoffmann (H.) and Davidson (P. F.), *Greek gold: jewelry from the age of Alexander*, 242-3 (R. A. Higgins)
- Hood (S.), *The home of the heroes: the Aegean before the Greeks*, 213-14 (A. M. Snodgrass)
- Hussey (J. M.), Ed., *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. iv *The Byzantine empire*. Part 1. *Byzantium and its neighbours*, 250-52 (A. Bryer)
- Hutmacher (R.), Ed., *Das Ehrendekret für den Strategen Kallimachos*, 213 (A. G. Woodhead)
- Imhoof-Blumer (F. W.) and Gardner (P.), *Ancient coins illustrating lost masterpieces of Greek art: a*



- numismatic commentary on Pausanias, ed. A. N. Oikonomides, 244-5 (J. F. Healy)
- James (E. O.), *The tree of life: an archaeological study*, 208 (E. G. Parrinder)
- Jones (H. Lloyd-) and others, *Estudios sobre la tragedia griega*, 154-5 (P. G. Mason)
- Kaegi (W.), *Jacob Burckhardt: eine Biographie*. Band IV. *Das historische Amt und die späten Reisen*, 262-4 (V. Ehrenberg)
- Kerényi (C.), *Eleusis: archetypal image of mother and daughter*, trans. R. Manheim, 209 (E. O. James)
- Kierdorf (W.), *Erlebnis und Darstellung der Perserkriege: Studien zu Simonides, Pindar, Aischylos und den attischen Rednern*, 153-4 (A. R. Burn)
- Klees (H.), *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher*, 210-11 (H. W. Parke)
- Kourmoulis (G. I.), 'Ἀντίστοιχον λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς', 260-61 (R. Browning)
- Kraay (C. M.) and Hirmer (M.), *Greek coins*, 243-4 (J. A. W. Warren)
- Kyrris (K. P.), 'Ἱστορία τῆς μέσης ἐκπαιδείσεως: Ἀμμοχώστων 1191-1955', 258-9 (C. Kypridemos)
- Larsen (J. A. O.), *Greek federal states: their institutions and history*, 219-20 (D. M. Lewis)
- Lavagnini (B.), *Grecia 1859 nel diario di Francesco Crispi*, 264-5 (D. Dakin)
- Lawall (G.), *Theocritus' Coan pastorals: a poetry book*, 170-73 (G. Giangrande)
- Lesky (A.), *Gesammelte Schriften: Aufsätze und Reden zu antiker und deutscher Dichtung und Kultur*, Ed. W. Kraus, 248-9 (L. Bieler)
- Luneau (A.), *L'histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Église. La doctrine des âges du monde*, 200 (J. Pépin)
- Lycurgus. *Orazione contro Leocrate e frammenti*, 162 (S. Usher)
- Masson (E.), *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*, 188-9 (C. H. Gordon)
- Matz (F.) and Biesantz (H.), *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel. 8. Die englischen Privatsammlungen*, bearb. von V. E. Kenna, 227-8 (J. H. Betts)
- Menander. *Sicyonius*, ed. R. Kassel, 162-3 (M. L. West)
- Menander, *see* Theophrastus
- Metzger (H.), *Recherches sur l'imagerie Athénienne*, 234-5 (M. Robertson)
- Milan Papyri. *Papiri Milanesi* (P. Med.) I. nn. 1-12, 2nd ed. by S. Daris, 189 (E. G. Turner)
- Möbius (H.), *Studia varia: Aufsätze zur Kunst und Kultur der Antike mit Nachträgen*, hrsg. von W. Schiering, 230-31 (G. M. A. Richter)
- Mörholm (O.), *Antiochus IV of Syria*, 222-3 (R. M. Errington)
- Müller (M.), *Athene als göttliche Helferin in der Odyssee: Untersuchungen zur Form der epischen Aristie*, 143-4 (J. B. Hainsworth)
- Neumeyer (H.), *Greek vase-painting*, trans. J. R. Foster, 234
- Palmer (L.), *see* Congress
- Parke (H. W.), *The oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon*, 209-10 (J. Pollard)
- Pestalozza (U.), *Nuovi saggi di religione mediterranea*, 207-8 (E. O. James)
- Plato. *Alcibiade, Alcibiade secondo, Ipparco*, Rivali, ed. and trans. A. Carlini, 158-60 (G. P. Giorgetti)
- Plotinus. *Enneads* iii. 1-9 (Loeb iii), ed. and trans. A. H. Armstrong, 181-2 (R. E. Witt)
- Plutarch. *Moralia* xi (854c-874c, 911c-919f) (Loeb), ed. and trans. L. Pearson and F. H. Sandbach, 179-81 (P. A. Hansen)
- Podlecki (A. J.), *The political background of Aeschylean tragedy*, 156-7 (E. W. Whittle)
- Pollard (J.), *Helen of Troy*, 143 (D. H. F. Gray)
- Raven (J. E.), *Plato's thought in the making: a study of the development of his metaphysics*, 194-5 (D. B. Robinson)
- Rist (J. M.), *Eros and Psyche: studies in Plato, Plotinus and Origen*, 202-4 (H. D. Rankin)
- Rist (J. M.), *Plotinus: the road to reality*, 198-200 (R. E. Witt)
- Roesch (P.), *Thespiens et la confédération béotienne*, 220-21 (Cl. Mossé)
- Ryle (G.), *Plato's progress*, 195-6 (W. F. Hicken)
- St. Clair (W.), *Lord Elgin and the marbles*, 261-2 (D. Dakin)
- Satyrus. *Vita di Euripide*, ed. G. Arrighetti, 178 (P. T. Stevens)
- Schefold (K.), Ed., *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn*, 229-30 (J. Boardman)
- Schwabl (H.), *Hesiods Theogonie: eine unitarische Analyse*, 152 (P. Walcott)
- Sharp (V.), *The teach yourself Modern Greek phrase book*, 260 (H. Thomson)
- Sifakis (G. M.), *Studies in the history of Hellenistic drama*, 177-8 (A. D. Fitton Brown)
- Sophocles. *Four plays*, trans. T. H. Banks (*Ajax, The women of Trachis, Electra, Philoctetes*), 157-8 (B. M. W. Knox)
- Stamatis (E. S.), *Προσωκρατικοί φιλόσοφοι*, 191 (J. Ferguson)
- Strabo. *Géographie*. Tome 2 (livres iii et iv), ed. and trans. F. Lasserre (Budé), 179 (E. H. Warmington)
- Styrenius (C.-G.), *Submycenaean studies: examination of finds from mainland Greece, with a chapter on Attic Protogeometric graves*, 228-9 (V. R. Desborough)
- Theophrastus. *The Characters*. Menander. *Plays and fragments*, trans. P. Vellacott, 168 (A. S. Gratwick)
- Theophrastus. *Περὶ ἐνσέβειας*. Herausgegeben übersetzt und eingeleitet von W. Pötscher, 168-9 (H. B. Gottschalk)
- Thesleff (H.), *Studies in the styles of Plato*, 160-61 (L. Brandwood)
- Thomson (G.), *A manual of Modern Greek*, 259-60 (H. Thomson)



- Thompson (W. B.), *Classical novels*, 266 (C. Handley)
- Tölle (R.), *Genealogische Stammtafel zur griechischen Mythologie*, 189 (P. Walcot)
- Trendall (A. D.), *The red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, 238-9 (N. Oakeshott)
- Vakalopoulos (A. E.), *Ἱστορία τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Α'. Ἀρχές καὶ διαμόρφωσή του. Β' 1. Τουρκοκρατία 1453-1669: οἱ ἱστορικές βάσεις τῆς νεοελληνικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ οἰκονομίας*, 256-8 (C. Mango)
- Vakalopoulos (A. E.), *Πηγὲς τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ 1. (1204-1669)*, 256-8 (C. Mango)
- Vallois (R.), *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens (166 av. J.-C.)*. 2. *Grammaire historique de l'architecture délienne*, 1, 231-3 (H. Plommer)
- Van Nice (R. L.), *Saint Sophia in Istanbul: an architectural survey*, 255-6 (C. Mango)
- Vannier (F.), *Le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 218-19 (Cl. Mossé)
- Velimirović (M.), *see Wellesz (E.)*
- Walcot (P.), *Hesiod and the Near East*, 150-52 (R. D. Barnett)
- Wellesz (E.) and Velimirović (M.), Ed., *Studies in Eastern chant*. 1. Ed. M. Velimirović, 256 (G. Schirò)
- Willems (R. F.), Ed. and trans., *The law code of Gortyn*, 221-2 (P. Faure)
- Williams (H. Watson-), *André Gide and the Greek myth: a critical study*, 265-6 (D. R. Haggis)
- Williams (R. T.), *The confederate coinage of the Arcadians in the fifth century B.C.*, 245-6 (J. A. W. Warren)
- Wolff (H. J.), *Die attische Paragraphe: ein Beitrag zum Problem der Auflockerung archaischer Prozessformen*, 223-4 (J. A. C. Thomas)
- Wörle (M.), *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Argos im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus*, 219 (G. L. Cawkwell)
- Warden (B. L. van der), *Die Anfänge der Astronomie*, 192-4 (G. J. Toomer)
- Zafiropulo (J.), *Mead and wine: a history of the bronze age in Greece*, trans. P. Green, 214-15 (E. Rushworth)









(i) Oxford 1925.129



(ii) Athens, Nat. Mus.



(iv) Boston 27.678



(v) Oxford 1892.1468



(vi) Athens, Num. Mus.



(vii) New York 22.139-40

(Scale  $\epsilon$ , 3 : 1)

# ISLAND GEMS AFTERMATH





(xii) Kassel



(xiii) Boston 01.7594



4 bis. Ionides Coll.



65 bis. Oxford 1965.344



160 bis. Müller Coll.



200 bis. Vienna 2014



222. Toronto 928.4.4



249 bis. Brooklyn 35.751A



B. Age 7. Müller Coll.

(Scale c. 3 : 1)





F. 23 *ter*, Munich

G. 2 *bis*, Vienna 2038

J. 6 Vienna 1977

(Scale *c.* 3 : 1)



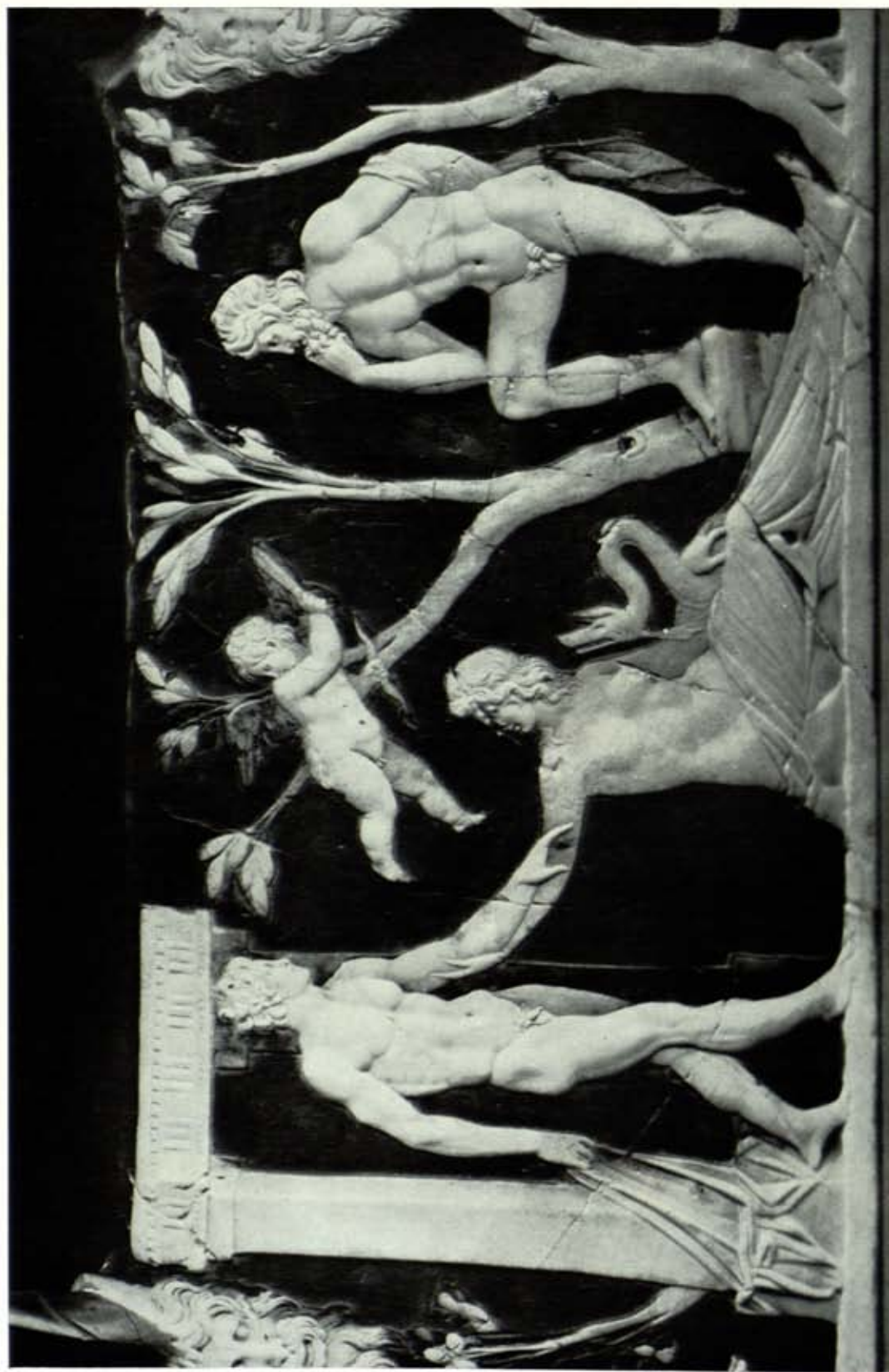
(*c.* 5 : 2)

Samos E.60



ISLAND GEMS AFTERMATH





The Portland Vase

THE PORTLAND VASE AGAIN





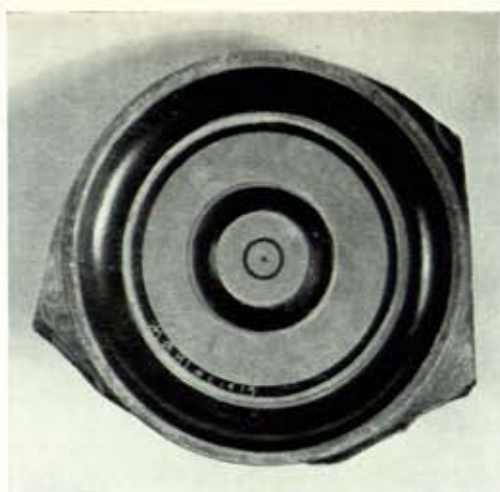
The Portland Vase

THE PORTLAND VASE AGAIN





(a)



(b)



(c)

AN ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTION IN READING



(d) Corinthian cup, Reading, inv. 64.7.1

A CORINTHIAN CUP AND A EUBOEAN LEKYTHOS





Euboean lekythos

A CORINTHIAN CUP AND A EUBOEAN LEKYTHOS







# THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

## HONORARY MEMBERS

H.M. the King of Sweden.

Akurgal, Prof. E., *Dil Tarih Fakultesi, Ankara Universitesi, Ankara, Turkey.*

Blegen, Prof. C. W., 9, *Plutarch Street, Athens, Greece.*

Breccia, Prof. E., *Via S. Quintino 47, Rome, Italy.*

Byvanck, Prof. A. W., *Burggravenlaan, 24, Leiden, Holland.*

Charbonneaux, Prof. J., *Palais du Louvre, 32 Quai du Louvre, Paris, France.*

Cherniss, Prof. H., *Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.*

Daux, Prof. G., 6 *Avenue Paul Appell, Paris XIV<sup>e</sup>, France.*

Dinsmoor, Prof. W. B., *American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece.*

Dow, Prof. S., *Widener Library, 690, Cambridge 38, Mass., U.S.A.*

Festugière, A.-J., O.P., 222, *Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris VIII<sup>e</sup>, France.*

Haspels, Prof. C. H. E., *Archaeologisch Instituut, 33 Weesperzijde, Amsterdam, Holland.*

Johansen, Prof. K. F., *The University, Copenhagen, Denmark.*

Karouzou, Mrs. S. P., *National Museum, Athens, Greece.*

Klaffenbach, Dr. G., *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, E. Germany.*

Kunze, Dr. E., 8021 *Grosshesselohe bei München Immergrünstrasse 1, Germany.*

Larsen, Prof. J. A. O., *University of Missouri, Columbia, U.S.A.*

Lesky, Prof. Albin, *Alserstrasse 69/17, Vienna 8, Austria.*

Marinatos, Prof. S., *Polya Street 47, Athens, Greece.*

Meritt, Prof. B. D., *Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.*

Merlin, Dr. A., 5 *Villa de Villiers, Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.*

Orlandos, Prof. A. C., *Navarinou Street, 6, Athens, Greece.*

Pfeiffer, Prof. R., *Hiltenspergerstrasse 21/0, Munich 13, Germany.*

Platon, Dr. N., *The Acropolis Museum, Athens, Greece.*

Richter, Dr. G. M. A., 81 *Viale delle Mura Gianicolensi, Rome, Italy.*

Robert, Prof. L., 31 *Avenue Parc de Montsouris, Paris XIV<sup>e</sup>, France.*

Romilly, Prof. J. de, 38 *rue Guynemer, Paris VI<sup>e</sup>, France.*

Schaeffer, Dr. C. F. A., *Le Castel Blanc, 14 Rue Turgot, St. Germain-en-Laye, France.*

Snell, Prof. Bruno, *Universität, Hamburg, Germany.*

Thompson, Prof. Homer A., *Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.*

Youtie, Prof. H. C., *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, U.S.A.*

Zancani Montuoro, Signora P., *Il Pizzo, S. Agnello di Sorrento, prov. Napoli, Italy.*



## The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

President: PROFESSOR E. G. TURNER, F.B.A.

The Society, founded in 1879 to advance the study of Greek language, literature, history and art, maintains conjointly with the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies and in association with the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London

1. A Library of some 36,000 volumes, containing many costly works and rare periodicals.
2. Some 15,000 lantern slides covering the whole domain of ancient life and art. Besides the general collection, there are sets of slides with lecture texts.

Books and slides can be sent to Members by post. Communications about books and slides should be addressed to the Librarian at the above address.

Four general meetings, with lectures, are held in London annually, and there are other meetings in different parts of the country.

Subscribers receive free the Society's two annual publications: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, one of the foremost British periodicals in the field of Greek scholarship, containing articles, illustrations and book reviews; *Archaeological Reports*, a fully illustrated account of fresh discoveries in Greece and Greek lands, with bulletins announcing important new acquisitions by museums in Britain.

These two periodicals are on sale to the general public at £4 10s. and 12s. 6d. respectively.

The annual subscription to the Society is £3. The Composition fee for life-membership is £15 for those over 60 years of age. The subscription for Libraries and Student Associates is £4 12s. 6d. and £1 respectively. There is no entrance fee.

Applications for membership or enquiries about the Society should be addressed to the Secretary.

## The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies

31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

President: J. P. V. D. BALSDON, F.B.A.

The Society was formed to promote the study of the history, archaeology and art of Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire in general down to about A.D. 700. In particular, so far as its resources permit, and so far as is possible without prejudice to its wider objects, the Society endeavours to encourage the study of Britain under Roman occupation by devoting space in its Journal to articles on Romano-British history and archaeology.

The Society maintains, in conjunction with the Hellenic Society, a joint library of works on classical antiquity and a collection of lantern slides. Members are entitled to borrow books and slides, which can be sent to them by post, and may also consult books in the library of the London University Institute of Classical Studies, which is complementary to that of the Societies. Communications about books and lantern slides should be addressed to the Librarian.

Meetings for the reading and discussion of papers are held in London about four times a year. Meetings are also held in various parts of the country. Notices of all meetings are sent to members.

*The Journal of Roman Studies* contains articles written by leading British and foreign scholars, an annual summary of Romano-British discoveries, and reviews of recent publications. It is abundantly illustrated. It is published annually and is sent to members free of charge. The price to the public being £4.

The annual subscription for membership of the Society is £3. Any member who is 60 years of age or over may compound for annual subscriptions by a single payment of £15. Student associates are admitted at the reduced subscription of £1.

All inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary.

The following may be obtained from International University Bookellers, 39 Store Street, W.C.1.

1. LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF J. D. BEAZLEY. Oxford. 1951. Price 15s.

### 2. Supplementary Papers:

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| No. I    | EXCAVATIONS AT MEGALOPOLIS (1890-91)<br>By E. A. Gardner, W. Loring, G. C. Richards, and W. J. Woodhouse with an architectural description by R. W. Schultz.<br>Folio. London. 1892. Price £1 1s. |
| No. VI   | CORINNA<br>By D. L. Page. 88 pages. Demy 8vo. Reprint. Price 12/6.  |
| No. VII  | PERSPECTIVE IN ANCIENT DRAWING AND PAINTING<br>By John White. 100 pages. Demy 8vo. Price 15/6.  |
| No. VIII | THE GREEKS AND THEIR EASTERN NEIGHBOURS<br>By T. J. Dunbabin. 112 pages. Demy 8vo. Price 16/-.  |
| No. IX   | THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY: SOURCES AND ASCRPTIONS<br>By A. S. F. Gow. 62 pages. Demy 8vo. Price 9/6.  |
| No. X    | ISLAND GEMS<br>By John Boardman. 170 pages. 20 plates. Demy 8vo. Price 30/-.  |
| No. XI   | EURIPIDES AND THE JUDGEMENT OF PARIS<br>By T. C. W. Stinton. 80 pages. 8 plates. Demy 8vo. Price 17/6.  |

Note: Supplementary Papers II, III, IV and V are out of print.

## THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

The main aims of the Classical Association are to promote and sustain interest in classical studies, to maintain their rightful position in universities and school, and to give scholars and teachers opportunities of meeting and discussing their problems. It organizes an annual conference, lasting four or five days, in a university centre, and sponsors thirty-one branches, most of which hold Greek and Latin Reading Competitions for Schools. Its activities are fully reported in its annual *Proceedings*, issued free to all members.

The present membership of the Association is approximately 4,400. Membership is open both to individuals and to institutions at an annual subscription of 5s. (life composition for individual members, £5 5s.). Members may obtain the *Classical Review* and *Classical Quarterly* at reduced prices (*Review*, 45s.; *Quarterly*, 40s.; combined subscription, £3 17s. 6d.). *Greece and Rome* may also be obtained through the Association for an annual subscription of 25s. Applications for membership and subscriptions for the journals (which should normally be received by January 31st in each year) should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer, Professor L. A. Moritz, University College, Cardiff.

The Association can also supply copies of the Index to the First Series of the *Classical Review* (price 25s. for members, 30s. for non-members, post free) and of the last two issues of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, covering the years 1939-45 and 1945-7 (price 6s. each volume, post free). These publications and details of the various occasional publications of the Association, including all Supplements to *Greece and Rome*, are obtainable from the Hon. Treasurer or from Mr. R. G. Tetstall, University College, Cardiff. Inquiries should be sent to either of the Hon. Secretaries (Professor B. R. Rees, University College, Cardiff, and Mr. M. R. F. Gunningham, 11 Fawcett Court, Fawcett Street, London, S.W.10).

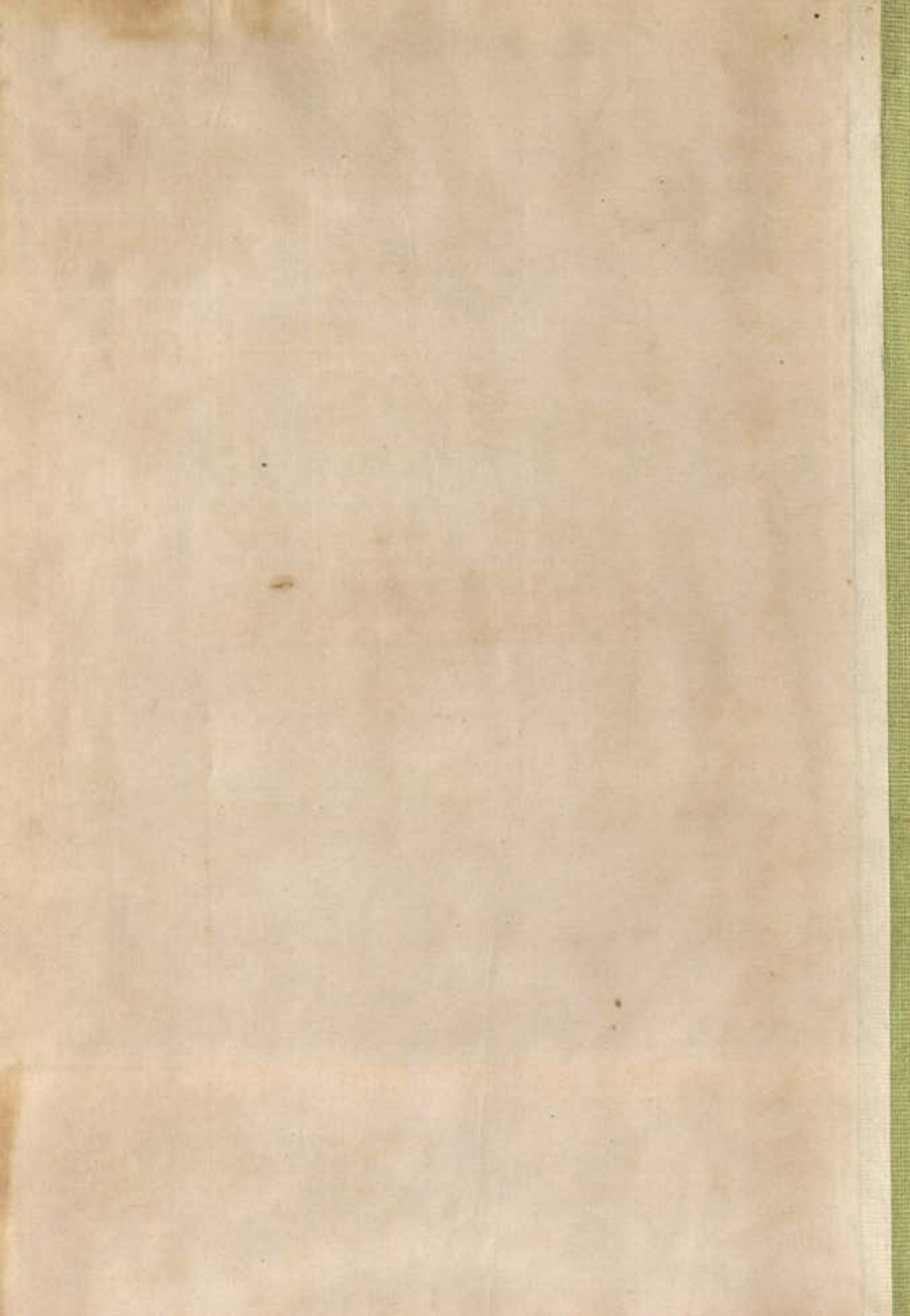
Contributions to the JOURNAL should be sent to Dr. B. Sparkes, The University, Southampton, SO9, 5NH.

Books intended for review should be addressed to The Librarian, Hellenic Society,  
31-34 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1











*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA  
Department of Archaeology  
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book  
clean and moving.