

P E G A S U SUniversity of Exeter Classical Society Magazine

Editors:

Terence J. Hunt  
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CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION - SOUTH-WEST BRANCH

Programme for Lent Term 1966

Meetings will be held at 5.15 in the Education Department of the University, "Thornlea", New North Road, Exeter (opposite the Imperial Hotel).

Friday February 18th

Joint meeting with the  
University Classical Society

Professor C. A. TRYPANIS, D.Phil., F.R.S.L., on

MODERN PRODUCTIONS OF ANCIENT TRAGEDY

Professor Trypanis is Bywater and Sotheby Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature in the University of Oxford, and has translated and produced a number of Greek tragedies in this country and in the United States.

Friday March 4th

Joint meeting with the  
University Classical Society

JOHN PERCIVAL on

IMPERIAL ESTATES IN ROMAN AFRICA

Mr. Percival is Lecturer in Ancient History at University College, Cardiff. He has been engaged in research on Gaul.

Friday March 13th

Joint meeting with the Roman Society and  
the Devon Archaeological Exploration Society

Professor A. H. M. JONES, F.B.A., F.S.A., on

BRITAIN IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

Professor Jones, the author of "The Later Roman Empire", is Professor of Ancient History in the University of Cambridge.

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COMPETITION

QUAESTIONES EXONIENSES

As no entries have yet been received, the closing date has been postponed until the last day of term, March 26th. The solution will be published in the next issue of Pegasus.

\* \* \* \* \*

OVID - POET OF IMMORALITY AND NON-CONFORMITY

Cumque alii causa tibi sint graviore fugati  
ulterior nulli, quam mihi, terra data est.

(Trist. II 193-95)

Though others have been exiled for a weightier  
cause, a more remote land has been assigned to no one.

Such was Ovid's lament as he sat on the shores of the Black Sea, in Tomis, the land to which he had been sent into exile. He describes Tomis as 'clinging with difficulty to the very edge of the Empire' and considers it as the worst possible place that anyone could be sent to. It is cold, miserable and surrounded by barbarian tribes. He thinks, naturally, that his exile is undeserved, and in book two of his Tristia he writes a long justification of himself, hoping that he might be recalled from his exile. He gives two reasons for his banishment:-

Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error,  
alterius facti culpa silenda mihi:  
Nam non sum tanti, renovem ut tua vulnera, Caesar,  
quem nimio plus est indoluisse semel.  
Altera pars superest, qua turpi carmine factus  
arguor obsceni doctor adulterii.

(Trist. II 207-14)

Though two crimes, a poem and a blunder, have brought me  
ruin, of my fault in one I must keep silent, for my  
worth is not such that I may reopen your wounds, Caesar;  
it is more than enough that you should have been caused  
grief once. The other remains: the charge that by an  
obscene poem I have taught foul adultery.

His 'carmen' was the Ars Amatoria. This was a poem written in the didactic style on the subject of love. He purposely used the word 'art' as this was the conventional term for works of such a nature, but it was novel to write on the 'technique' of love. He informed men how to win their girl-friends and how to keep them, and also wrote a book of advice to the girls. There is a certain amount of doubt about his 'error'. His name was connected with that of Julia, the Emperor's profligate daughter. Yet Ovid wishes us to believe that this is not his true character portrayed in his writing, he is a perfectly respectable person:-

Crede mihi, distant mores a carmine nostro,  
vita verecunda est, Musa iocosa mea.

(Trist. II 353-55)

I assure you, my character differs from my verse.  
My life is moral: my verses gay.

In his defence, Ovid cites many other poets who wrote on themes of love, and who received praise for their work, not censure. He believes that he has unjustly been singled out.

Denique nec video tot de scribentibus unum  
quem sua perdidit Musa: repertus ego. (Trist. II 495-6)

Though so many have written, I see not one who  
has been ruined by his own verses; I am the one  
who has been sought out.

To judge the poetry of Ovid a look must be taken into the love poetry that was written before him and that was contemporary with him. It was 'noster' Ennius who first introduced the elegiac distich into Latin, though he wrote no love poetry himself. The model for the Latin love-elegy was Callimachus of Cyrene. In the first instances, love-poetry was written by aristocrats and recited to aristocrats, and remained within that tight circle. Five epigrams by three authors are partly preserved in Gellius (19.9) and partly in Cicero (Nat. Deor. 1.79). These three authors, Q. Lutatius Catulus, Valerius Aedituus and Porcius Licinius, were still read and highly praised in the second century A.D. Their poetry was a skilful adaptation of the Hellenistic motifs; for Catulus and his friends were well-read in Greek poetry. They knew Sappho, Callimachus and Meleager: but their taste was Alexandrian and they relied on literary technique and mannerisms. Euripides and Apollonius Rhodius had shown the power of love over a woman, and Plautus and Terence had brought enamoured adolescents onto the stage, but treated them in the conventional manner: there was always a happy ending, and this was inevitably marriage. Later the marriage was not considered as the happy end; but rather a means to an end. No legal formalities were needed for a marriage and divorces were easy to obtain. The traditional ideas of marriage lost their meaning, and the man and woman alike were seeking love outside marriage. To the poets the 'Foedus aeternum' - the eternal union between man and woman - was no longer possible.

In his attempt to defend himself (Ovid was never recalled from exile) he complains that no other poet had so been convicted for his work.

Sic sua lascivo cantata est saepe Catullo  
femina, cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat. (Trist. II 427-8)

In the same way wanton Catullus often sang of  
her, whom he falsely called Lesbia.

Catullus admired and adapted Callimachus and the other Alexandrians, and his standards were accepted by all succeeding elegiac poets. Catullus wrote to his lady-love Lesbia. He begins with the first intoxication of love and the tender playfulness of the lines on Lesbia's sparrow, and ending with poignant cries of suffering and venomous insults thrown at his unfaithful mistress. Catullus knew that the Gods would reward him for his 'pietas' and 'sancta fides'. Propertius also called him 'lascivus' and declared that because of his poetry Lesbia was better known than even Helen of Troy. He called his works 'nugae', though a result of 'doctus labor', and expected that his poems would last for 'about a century'. The fact that he treated love-poetry in a serious manner made him the preceptor of the Latin love-elegy.



Varro of Atax was one of the 'poeti novi', and was also the author of the Argonautica. Unlike Ovid and Vergil who aspired to the greater heights of epic after they had written love-elegies, Varro turned to love after he had written the Argonautica.

Is quoque Phasiacas Argon qui duxit in undas  
non potuit Veneris furta tacere suae. (Trist. II 439-40)

He too who guided the Argo into the waters of Phasis  
could not keep silent about his own adventures in love.

Varro followed the convention which was becoming prevalent at that time and dedicated all his verses to his mistress, whom he disguised under the name of Leucadia.

Cornelius Gallus is one of the most controversial authors of the Latin love-elegy. Though we have good information on his life and career, we have very little of his poetry. Between his military campaigns he wrote four books of love-elegies, called the Amores. He gave the name of Lycoris to his mistress, a Greek freedwoman called Cytheris.

Ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat. (Martial 8.73.6)

The cause of Gallus' brilliance was beautiful Lycoris.

Tibullus began his love-elegy writing with his oxymoronic love of 'inmitis Glycera', and the two main domains of Tibullus' art are love and country life: though these two were not kept entirely separate - life in the country-side was twice as attractive when shared with his mistress. 'Love and bucolic happiness' are the trademarks of Tibullus. After his romance with Delia, Tibullus turned his attention to Nemesis, and this love was a far briefer affair. For this very reason it has far more vividness than the Delia-romance.

Non fuit hoc illi fraudi, legiturque Tibullus  
et placet, et iam te principe notus erat. (Trist. II 463-5)

This did not injure him, for Tibullus is still read with  
favour: he was famous in the early days of your principate.

Ovid complains that Tibullus had written exactly the same sort of verses as himself, and though he had incurred the Emperor's disfavour, yet Tibullus was famous for this sort of thing at the beginning of Augustus' reign, and had never been punished for it. Tibullus had taught his mistress how to deceive her guard, how to communicate with nods and signs and how to prepare various lotions. Tibullus had been a veritable expert of detecting a rival. Yet why was he allowed to get away with it?

Invenies eadem blandi praecepta Properti. (Trist. II 465)

You will find the same teaching in alluring Propertius.

6.

Unlike Tibullus, Propertius was a poet of the city. His poems are not really poems of love, but poems about love, speculations on what it is and exercises in new manners of celebrating it. His earlier elegies are not directly addressed to Cynthia but to fellow-poets, as if they were entries in a contest in which the competitors and the judges were the same and the prize 'gloria'. He has also strong personal characteristics which are shown in his poems to Cynthia, which are evident in a great variety of moods, inspired by her beauty, her venality, or her dangerous illness, and her vicissitudes of relationship with him. Yet his strained use of mythology and allusion makes his works very laboured and artificial in character. He heaps allusion upon allusion till, involved in the difficulties he has created for himself, he simply changes the subject.

This is the state of love-poetry in the time of Ovid. It was usual to write of one's mistress, praising her beauty, or bemoaning the fact that she had withdrawn her favours. The 'paraclausithyron' or 'ballad of the shut-out lover' was also a favourite topic. There was nothing in these poems that would shock or disgust even the most prudish. In the words of Propertius:-

Non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo,  
ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit. (2.i.4)

Not Calliope, nor Apollo sings these songs for me,  
My inspiration for poetry comes from the girl herself.

Merely a poem in which he can confess his love for Cynthia.

All these wrote their poetry and were praised for their efforts, moans Ovid, why should his works be censured? There was nothing shameful in his works any more than there was in the others'. If he had written anything of which he ought to be ashamed, he had good precedents for it. The tale of Aphrodite and Ares in the chains of Hephaestus had been originally told by Homer. Even Vergil had introduced love into his great Aeneid:-

Et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor  
contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros,  
nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto,  
quam non legitimo foedere iunctus amor. (Trist. II 533-37)

Yet the happy author of your Aeneid brought his  
'arms and the man' into a Tyrian couch, and no part  
of the whole work is read more than this union of  
illicit love.

In the whole of the Ars Amatoria only once does Ovid write anything that might be called lewd. All his descriptions of making love at the games and at feasts, contained nothing to shock anyone. When he once comes to something not respectable, he does so with seeming reluctance, and apologizes.

Ulteriora pudet docuisse: sed alma Dione  
'Praecipue nostrum est, quod pudet,' inquit, 'opus'.

(A.A. III 769-70)

I am ashamed to teach any more: but Venus' dear mother says, 'That which causes shame is especially our task.'

Surely such a poem could not be called disgraceful? There is nothing except this one passage that can be called to account, and he amply apologizes for this. He embellishes his work with the tale of Icarus and Daedalus and their escape from Minos, and many other myths. As a story-teller and a guide to Greek mythology and Roman legend (for example, the description of the games held in the times of Romulus) Ovid chiefly exerted influence on the later Roman writers, who freely adapted and borrowed from him. How could he possibly have deserved exile for such a poem?

Este procul, vittae tenues, insigne pudoris,  
quaeque tegis medios instita longa pedes,  
Nos venerem tutam concessaque furta canemus,  
inque meo nullum carmine crimen erit. (A.A. I 31-4)

Keep away, slender head-bands, symbols of chastity,  
and the long flounce (1) which reaches right down to the  
feet: I sing of safe love, and secret love which is allowed -  
in my verse there shall be no wrong-doing.

- (1) the border or flounce, on the tunic of a Roman lady, indicated her high moral character.

'In my verse shall be no wrong-doing'. Was there no wrong-doing in his verses? At the time Ovid wrote and published the Ars Amatoria Augustus was settling the Romans down into a stable way of life, after nearly a century of civil strife. In his new position of Princeps he was trying to reform the wayward morals of the citizens. His main target was the lax morality of the Romans. Apart from his laws regulating marriage he also passed in 18 B.C. the 'lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis'. Very heavy penalties were set down for the adulterer. Augustus not only reaffirmed the right of a father to kill both guilty parties, and of the husband to take the life of the paramour, but made conjugal unfaithfulness a public crime as well as a private offence. The same statute instituted a new jury-court before which not only the aggrieved parties but even the common informer might initiate a prosecution. Persons convicted of adultery became liable to banishment to a small island: conniving husbands were also threatened with penalties. It can be seen from the substance of the law that Augustus meant to stop at nothing to stamp out such a lax way of behaving, once and for all, yet Ovid treats adultery as though it were the expected thing, He even goes so far as to joke about the law:-

Non legis iussu lectum venistis in unum:  
fungitur in vobis munere legis amor. (A.A. II 157-8)

It is not by the command of the law that you  
have come together in bed: your law is love.

Ovid even goes on to justify adultery. He tells of how Menelaus went away to leave Helen to commit adultery. Why not? It was Menelaus's fault for leaving her alone, and she was cold and lonely.

Nil Helene peccat, nihil hic committit adulter:  
quod tu, quod faceret quilibet, ille facit.

(A.A. II 355-6)

Helen did nothing wrong, nor did her partner:  
He did what you, what anyone, would have done.

'He did what you, what anyone, would have done'. This is open defiance of the law as laid down by Augustus. If Ovid thought he could openly jibe at the moral code which the princeps was imposing, and get away with it, he was sorely mistaken. He even gives helpful advice to adulterers as well as condoning its practice. He gives instructions on how to make the husband of your sought-after lady-love comply with your actions, by making a friend of him. Give him the first place when the lot falls to you, yield to him in conversation, give him precedence even when you have that privilege.

Sint etiam tua vota, viro placuisse puellae,  
utilior vobis factus amicus erit.

(A.A. I 579-80)

Let it be your wish to gain favour with your girl's  
husband. He will be more useful to you once made a  
friend.

Among other reforms Augustus was also trying to bring back the old religion of Rome. Various cults from abroad infiltrated into Rome through soldiers and sea-farers, and Rome seethed with cults brought from all four corners of the world. It was an honest attempt to revive the 'pax deorum' of an earlier age and to re-establish the serene belief in the state-protecting deities of Rome. Among other contemporary poets his sentiments were patriotically shared by the Odes in Horace's third book. Yet what does Ovid say?

Nec timide promitte: trahunt promissa puellas;  
pollicito testes quoslibet adde deos.  
Iuppiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum

\* \* \*

Expedi esse deos, et, ut expedit, esse putemus.

(A.A. I 632-3, 637)

Do not be afraid to make promises: promises bring in the  
girls. Call whatever gods you like to witness. Jove from  
on high laughs at the broken promises of lovers.

\* \* \*

It is useful that there should be gods; as it is useful,  
let us believe that there are.

Augustus was trying to improve the moral tone of the capital as was indeed necessary after so many years of unrest, and at every step he was being ridiculed by Ovid. On the grounds of his agreement with illicit love and spurning of religion his poem may by all means be called immoral.



There were also lesser points outside the poem that made him unpopular with the princeps. It was customary for an eques to serve for a period of several years in the army, and Horace and Tibullus certainly had, though neither particularly enjoyed his experiences. Yet they had done what was expected of them. In the Fasti of Ovid we again see his persistent non-conformity to the accepted standards. He boasts that he cannot lift a spear with his right hand and generally scoffs at the army. 'Militia' to him is the camp of the lovers, fighting their campaign against their mistresses.

Aspera militiae iuvenis certamina fugi,  
nec nisi lusura movimus arma manu. (Trist. IV i 71-2)

The rough contests of military service I shunned even as a youth, and touched weapons only with a hand intending to play.

There were yet other things that insulted the Princeps. In the Ars Amatoria he was told that his famous mock battle had been a splendid occasion for picking up foreign girls. The porticoes dedicated by his sister to the memory of Marcellus and by himself, in honour of his wife, were among the best lovers' hunting-grounds.

The works of Ovid were not entirely without praise for the Emperor. He foretells the defeat of the Parthians; in the Metamorphoses he heaped lavish praise on Augustus. But this could in no way make up for the irreparable harm done in this poem. Even if he had intended to ridicule the reforms of Augustus and make adultery sound legal and normal instead of parodying the didactic style of writing, he could scarcely have made a better job of it. In fact it may even have been an additional motive for his writing the poem.

So left alone and friendless on the shores of the Black Sea, Ovid still laments:-

Hoc pretium curae vigilatorumque laborum  
cepimus: ingenio est poena reperta meo. (Trist. II 11-12)

This is the reward I have received for my work and my wakeful toil: a penalty has been found for my talent.

On the strength of the Ars Amatoria alone, this penalty was justly imposed.

R. ABBOT

### TROUBLES OF A LEXICOGRAPHER

Dr. Johnson once defined a lexicographer as "a harmless drudge, that busies himself with tracing the originals, and detailing the significance, of words"; Chambers' Dictionary defines the word "hack-work" as "literary drudgery for publishers; for example, the compilation of dictionaries". Earlier, another writer complained, "Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh".

If I am to explain how I came to be involved in this drudgery, I must go back to 1950, and to Mr. Jackson Knight, whose kindliness inspired its beginnings, and whose loss overshadowed its continuance. In 1950 Mr. Knight, hereinafter referred to as J.K., approached me with a suggestion that E. V. Rieu might be interested in producing a Penguin Dictionary of Classical Antiquity, preferably in a livelier and more modern style than the numerous other dictionaries that existed, and perhaps I might be entrusted with the compilation. There followed an eager correspondence, interrupted only by the six weeks or so of my first post-war visit to Greece (and that is another story, of which some of my classes have heard some details); but little more was heard of it for years, though Dr. Rieu (hereinafter referred to as E.V.R.) was occasionally heard to say that the matter was heavy on his conscience. It is only fair to say that since then I have met nothing but extreme courtesy and consideration both from Penguins and from E.V.R. himself.

In 1958 J.K. revived the suggestion; and, after correspondence and discussion, a contract was signed. It was clearly understood that I was to write brief entries, up to a fixed number of words; and that, for anything that I had not already at my fingertips, no objection would be raised if I copied or abridged the data in any reputable textbook or work of reference. There was no need to keep up to the latest will-o-the-wisps of scholarly fashion - if only because nothing dates so quickly as the latest fashion, and the most recent suggestion is often the first on the list to be discarded. It was also intended to provide, not a compendium of all the latest classical scholarship, but a guide and an explanation of that golden world of antiquity whose gleams have illuminated our own culture-pattern; I was not providing a manual for people who hoped to win a first class in Greats, but a textbook for people who wanted to know what were the Labours of Hercules, what is meant by the words QUO VADIS, and what is the meaning of the word "sic" in brackets. (Both the latter questions I have been asked within a year or so by people of intelligence and education).

I was asked to provide a sample short letter - G was suggested - and I did this over Spring 1959. With a few suggestions (for example, one member of the board felt that my observations under the heading GERMANI were "topical and tendentious", and another queried my association of GLADIATORS with Campania, rather than Etruria - a point made, though the questioner did not know this, by the distinguished French historian Heurgon - ) the general style and treatment was accepted and I got gladly down, in the summer, to A and B.

Here came the first shock. Not only was A a very long letter (it takes up about one seventh, I think, of Everyman's Classical Dictionary, and not much less of the OCD). But, just as I was ready to get down to it, and preparing for long days in the Roborough ... the Roborough began to be fitted with a new floor. We were not excluded from it, but the books were hurled into heaps from which we had to find what we needed; and though we were allowed to work in any place which was not actually being refitted at the immediate moment, it was not easy or congenial.

(I should add here that I have never had anything but unfailing courtesy and co-operation from the library staff. Inconveniences, of which there have been many, and some will be later described, came simply from the malevolence of the fates).

A and B were, however, finished in autumn 1959, C over the winter, and D (I think) round about Spring 1960. But now came another blow.

E.V.R., who had carefully read and commented on everything I had written hitherto, and had valiantly supported, against the opinions of several colleagues, the thesis that articles on BREAD and CABBAGES had as much place as articles on BALBUS and CAMILLUS, now decided that he could not be responsible for the whole work, and begged J.K. to find another person who would help J.K. where matters of specialized knowledge were concerned. J.K. then sent round to a number of friends in the world of classical scholarship, many of them in Northern universities.

As the poet says:

Bright and fierce and fickle is the South,  
And dark and true and tender is the North.

Dark, yes: true, perhaps; certainly not tender.

I should perhaps say what has been my attitude, as an Oxford man, to classical scholarship.

Antiquity has always been, to me, a radiant world, to be visited on a kind of time-machine, mainly on the wings of poetry; a world of brightness, vigour, wisdom, heroism, yes; a world, too, in which there is laughter. Plenty of hard work, certainly; whether it is a matter of learning what is already written, or going out and discovering more; or criticizing; or applying one's knowledge to the strange world in which, as in Plato's cave, we are compelled to live our daily lives. In Oxford it has been, I believe, generally accepted that the path of study was a hard one, but the world that it showed us was a delightful and an inspiring one. That did not prevent us accepting the fact, indeed an almost self-evident one, that there was a streak of the most amiable asininity in the character of Cicero; that myth, and history, provided bathos as well as pathos, villainy as well as virtue; that the ancients, like ourselves, were all too human, and that their feelings, and their experiences, were not so very unlike ours. One would not, indeed, deride Aeschylus, though one might sometimes be exasperated by Euripides; some fifth-century Athenian characters and events had a timeless

familiarity about them, and even in Homer there was Homeric laughter, but we would not ridicule Hector's farewell to Andromache. Above all, there was more to the classics than the deciphering of tombstones and the working-out of tax returns, though even these things had their uses; inscriptions might tell us a great deal that the literary sources did not mention, but an inscription could lie as shamelessly as a Court propagandist.

None of these propositions seem to be accepted in the North. When I said that Cicero's sarcastic comments after Pharsalus made the Republican camp too hot to hold him, a scorching comment came back, "Must he always be sneering at the man? This is outrageous". I could only reply timidly that I had said so because Plutarch had said so. Elsewhere I was accused of the, surely rather recondite, offence of "sneering at the Assyrians". (I plead innocent on that issue; but, if I had been accused of cordially detesting the Assyrians, I would certainly plead guilty; with the rider, that I had the best of reasons for supposing that my feelings were shared by the Supreme Being).

Here, of course, another point arises. What is classical antiquity, what does it involve, and where does it stop?

There is something, of course, to be said for the traditional view, that it is a closed capsule, beginning in 776 B.C., or perhaps with Linear A or Early Minoan I, and ending with Constantine, or perhaps with Alaric; and that it concerns Greeks and Romans, and those who adopted the Greek and Roman way of life, only. But neither time nor space, culture nor creed nor birth, can fairly be compartmented like that; especially if one is trying to show what relationship these things had to what preceded them, what surrounded them, and, above all, what is derived from them. Justinian, for example, is outside the classical age - but can one omit him? We must (I feel) also deal with the Byzantine afterglow (if only because so many of our authorities belong to it). And that Byzantine afterglow - should we not point out that the lights of Byzantium shone on our own King Arthur, that Byzantine in partibus infidelium, and even on Alfred, who wrote to Constantinople to ask for "some of the wisdom of the East", and whose art follows the Byzantine models? (In the end, with official consent, I included Arthur and omitted Alfred). And does the classical world include Christianity - apart, of course, from a few harassed figures in Nero's amphitheatres? To me, there is something both touching and impressive in the thought that so many ill-comprehended formulae in our own prayerbooks were compounded in the crucible of violent debates at Imperial councils, and sometimes indeed of savage street-fighting in Alexandria or Constantinople; but there are some scholars who react to the name of an early Christian Bishop much as the Devil reacts to a touch of holy water. Similarly, I find it, perhaps, even more impressive to think of Jewish practices and beliefs, not only from their kinship to our own, and their part in the development of human thought, but also from the sheer romance of a cult which joins modern Leeds, or Manchester, or Tel-Aviv to the world of Tacitus and Josephus, of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, even of Cyrus and Artaxerxes and Esther; and I have sometimes felt it only fair to try to remedy longstanding misapprehensions by pointing out that



Jewish law and practice, often thought ruthless and unbending, was in fact, even when compared to modern standards, humane and enlightened. However, when I said under the word ORDEAL that Jewish women suspected of infidelity were usually subjected to a formal ordeal, which usually pronounced them innocent, rather than being immediately stoned to death, this provoked the reply "This is extremely offensive". (However, I should perhaps add that no Scotsmen have protested when I included the dialogue between the Empress Julia Domna and the wife of a Scots laird called Argentocoxus).

And the other peripheral cultures. One cannot understand Greek religion and myth without some glance at the environment in which it grew. I did, with J.K.'s agreement, omit GILGAMESH (for much the same reasons as those which induced Cecil B. de Mille, very much against his will, to leave Moses OUT of the Wars of the Roses); but when a Roman heroic legend, or a Greek myth, has a precise parallel in Hindu or Celtic life or literature, should one not say so? And should one omit the epochmaking revelation that came under the name of Zoroaster? One French scholar has, to my mind, opened a whole world of new understanding by suggesting that the Indo-European culture-pattern is based upon a threefold division, on earth, in heaven and in the ranks of human society; the pattern of priests, warriors, and producers, Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite, Odin, Thor and Frey. This theory may, as so many English scholars think, be unfounded; but, like Frazer's Golden Bough, it has lit a flame, and once we have seen things in its strange light, they will never look quite the same again. Many reject this man, Dumézil, entirely; more, and myself among them, criticize much, and find much that is hard to appreciate and easy to misunderstand; but many of us can no more think about Romulus without thinking of Dumézil than we can think of mediaeval withcraft without thinking of Margaret Murray.

So much for the question how far we should go. More painful perhaps is the question, how extensive and accurate our knowledge ought to be.

It was clearly understood, though I do not think editors or critics have always accepted it, that we were not expected to be omniscient. (And I may say with delight, that many of my predecessors, too, have made the most magnificent howlers. Some misquote or mistranslate their authorities, as when an author calls Oedipus an "Unbehauster" and a translator thought that the author meant a wandering ghost, not a wandering exile; one scholar puts a purple stripe on the toga, when it should be on the tunic; another confuses the Asopos and the Oeroe, as Sophocles thought that the Thebans could see the sun rising over Mount Helicon; and there are many scholars who have made a man command armies three years after he was dead, or even show a man as son of A in the text and of B in the genealogical table at the end of the volume). One dear friend and respected colleague once told me to look up Plutarch's Life of Epaminondas; and Everyman's Classical Atlas long printed the Baths of Diocletian, 300 A.D., and the Column of Phocas, in the 6th century, on a map of "the Roman Forum in the time of Augustus". On subjects which I have not closely studied, and perhaps in some which I have, I have been liable to equal enormities. For one thing, as a friend once said, after completing a careful literary study into the world of boys' thrillers, "I am now so

completely brainwashed, I can't remember a single thing about Bulldog Drummond or Carl Petersen or any of them"; and after I have been frantically checking all the Metelli, I find I can remember very little about Metrodorus or Methymna, and it all has to be looked up in more reference books. Here, too, I sympathize with Hume; it was said that "his works would have been more accurate but for a certain lack of energy, which made him unwilling to move his massive frame from the end of the couch on which he was writing, to the other end, on which his books of reference were arrayed". It has not always been easy, on a hot day, to hurry from the top to the bottom of the library building, to find all the seats occupied, and to stand in an ill-lit basement holding a large volume of Daremberg-Saglio in one hand and trying to copy a reference, or abridge an article, in the other. And the much quoted Pauly-Wissowa, too. Alas; like many British scholars, I read German with difficulty. My knowledge was picked up, partly from Hugo, partly from Linguaphone, and partly on a four-month sojourn in the Rhineland at an establishment kept by two old ladies; a lovely district, and a profitable experience, but one which terminated in hard words and violent disagreements in May 1936. Since then I have passed twice, briefly, through German-speaking countries, and used the language, rather more often, as a kind of lingua franca with people who spoke it even worse than myself. And articles in German encyclopaedias are not always crystal clear even to those who know far more German than I know myself; even if they can tell, more readily than I can, whether a man who is "geschlagen" is killed or simply beaten; and whether a client prince who "beseitigt" an heir to the throne simply de-thrones him, or whether he murders him too. (This can sometimes be solved by looking up the references, but that means more stairs and more basements). And so many books are out - or missing - or stolen: once, the whole Greek Anthology had been borrowed by a man writing a thesis - and taken to Oxford. Surely a case of owls to Athens, coals to Newcastle, samovars to Tula? And for some six long months the three most vital volumes of Pauly-Wissowa were away at binders. And sometimes books go to the binders simply to give them the pattern to bind some more volumes ...

There are other difficulties too, of course. There are unsettled controversies; for example, Carcopino, like Dumézil, proposed many epoch-making theories, and like Dumézil he has generally been rejected; is it safe to accept him? Palmer's theories about the Trojans speaking Luvian seems thin, but it helps to understand some patterns of history; can one safely put it forward, and if one does, will it flatly contradict what one has said earlier? There was an Alexandrian lexicographer called Didymus, nicknamed Chalcenteros on account of his powers of endurance, and Book-Forgetter because in his twelfth volume he said the opposite of something he had said in his seventh; and how I sympathize with him; and indeed with those great writers, from Homer downwards, who kill a character in one chapter and show him alive and kicking in the next.

And the Byzantines. One of my teachers made a fortune with a book in which he admitted that "the kings of England in the fourteenth century become gradually less and less memorable, and sometimes even get into the wrong order".

Now, there is a fairly clear Zeitgeist about the classical, and the Hellenistic, period; nobody would confuse a fifth-century politician with a fourth-century politician, or a poet of the late Republic with a poet of the early Empire; but with Byzantines - it is not always easy to remember whether an Empress (and what Empresses!) or a heresiarch (and what heresies!) belonged to the sixth century, or to the ninth. Leo, and Irene, and the Iconoclasts; Galla Placidia, Anna Comnena, Primicerius and Protospatharius; well, if any of that magnificent procession, with their mitres and their mosaics, slips out of place by a century or more, they can always be checked from Gibbon. But so many things are uncertain, so many are controversial; the deeper one enters the world of encyclopaedias and learned periodicals and doctoral theses, the more variants one finds, and which is to be chosen?

It is delightful to open so many windows and see such a wealth of fact and fancy, horror and heroism, ribaldry and revolt, laughter and liberality, savagery and splendour and saintliness. Delightful, too, to think that one may pass some of it on; though one may sometimes feel sadly, with the White Knight, that one has a recipe of a pudding that is based on blotting paper; and that one doubts whether the pudding ever WAS made, and one doubts whether the pudding ever WILL be made. And to the critics, kindly or savage, gentle or supercilious, I would like to end with an adaptation of a well-known saying. Most of my pupils will remember the characteristic, though spurious, example of a Thucydidean anacoluthon which goes

A HARD THING TO DRIVE IS PIGS, MANY, BY ONE MAN, VERY.

I would like to adapt it slightly and say

A HARD THING TO OBTAIN IS THE ACCURACY OF A DOCTORAL THESIS ON SUBJECTS, FROM ABACUS TO ZYTHESTIATORION, MANY, BY ONE UNDERPAID HACK, VERY.

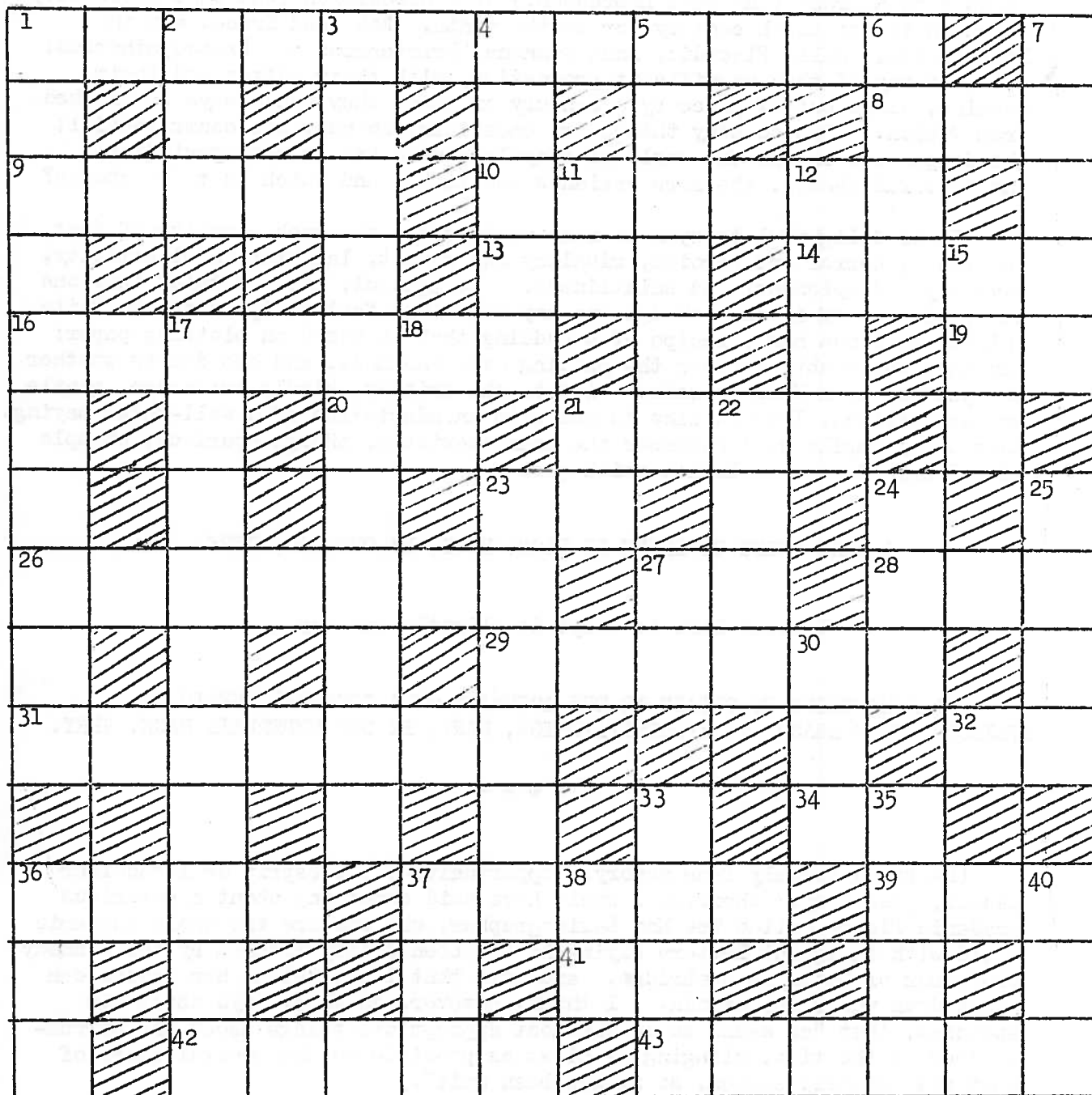
\* \* \* \* \*

(Restored largely from memory; opportunities for esprit de l'escalier usually passed up, otherwise I would have said something about a notorious academic figure called The Mad Lexicographer, who pesters the whole academic world with indignant letters saying he had been deeply wronged by the Kennedy Professor of Latin at Cambridge; and said that I understand how anyone can break down under the strain. I think, however, as Thuc. says about his speeches, that "as seems to me the most appropriate things about the circumstances of the time, clinging as close as possible to the general sense of what was actually spoken, so it has been said".)

H. W. STUBBS

16.

CROSSWORD



The solution will be published in the next edition of Pegasus

M. V. MATTHEWS



1. Only one of fifty to disobey (12).
8. English 'phy!' (3).
9. Capital! Or the wrong judgement? (5).
10. Nona, Decuma and Morta (6).
13. Short poem (3).
14. Can be 'pro' too (4).
16. Geryon's dog (7).
19. Elizabeth reigns in reverse (2).
20. Unit of measurement which may be of value (2).
21. Goddess wife of Osiris (4).
23. Preposition or means of persuasion? (2).
26. "My ancestors did from the streets of Rome  
The ----- drive, when he was call'd a king." SHAKESPEARE (7).
27. Ejaculation of woe (2).
28. French meadow in front? (3).
29. Rocky but wealthy island (6).
31. Caudine Forks disaster in this war (7).
32. She was changed into a cow by Jupiter; may have uttered this! (2).
34. Vowels for me to move (2).
36. Gave birth to twins on Ortygia (4).
37. She was visited by a shower of gold in a brazen tower (5).
39. Feminine 'thy' (3).
41. So is a bone backwards! (2).
42. He jumped over the wall (5).
43. Nymph beloved of Paris (6).

## CLUES DOWN

1. He was a pure bastard (10).
2. Neither more nor less (3).
3. The captured prow of Actium adorned it (6, 5).
4. An author in the family (5).
5. Parthenope was one of them (6).
6. Terence's cognomen (4).
7. Drink this and forget! (5)
11. Piece of date or preposition? (2).
12. Pisa in a different arrangement will hum in Latin (4).
15. You need an oar to reach it (3).
17. It has four feet (10).
18. English 'nos' (2).
21. It's just that! (2).
22. Colourful sister of the Harpies (4).
23. Wife of Proteus (6).
24. Harvest goddess (3).
25. Talented but unpopular emperor (4).
27. Vowels to demonstrate these (2).
30. Oh! a Roman equivalent (3)
33. "and why, indeed, ----, but for smelling out the  
odoriferous flowers of fancy, the jerks of invention?" SHAKESPEARE (4).
35. Once boon companion of 25 Down (4).
36. The Roman rules much of the modern (3).
37. It's for a long time (3).
38. I swim for a negative (2).
40. "And Caesar's spirit ranging for revenge  
With --- by his side come hot from hell" SHAKESPEARE (3).

EPISTOLA DE SCRIPTIS SINE NOMINE IMPRESSIS

Ioannes Editoribus, sapientissimis viris, S.D.

S.V.V.B.E.E.V. Per deum hominumque fidem ego vos, eruditissimi viri, oro obsecroque, quid hoc novum et in nostris partibus paene inauditum genus litterarum? qua ratione, aut potius excusatione, uti possint calidissimi scriptores qui praecellentissimam eruditionem suam multis in modis publici iuris facere velint, nomina sua prae se ferre non audeant? Pro di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? estne haec antiquissima nostra civitas, caput terrarum, semper fidelis, ubi natus est ille Thomas Bodlaeus, illustrissimus eques Oxoniensis, qui cum veram ac genuinam bibliothecam civitati suae donaret, nomen suum nequaquam occultare conatus esset - an, ut dicit poeta,

Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glaciale  
oceanum, quotiens aliquid de moribus audent  
qui Curios simulant ... ?

Immensa, ut Tullius noster dicit, immensa oratio est, amplissimi viri. Res ipsa, si quorundam amicorum verbis uti decet, res ipsa difficilior sane est quam videtur. editores enim Temporum scriptorum nomina semper occultare malunt, quibus de causis nescio. sed haec Londini, in ista penitus corrupta ac venali civitate, quam nemo fidelem vocare audeat. at ipsorum Londiniensium nonnullos nomina sua in calce codicis ponere nequaquam pudet - nos homines honestiores et semper fideles quid nomina nostra occultare conemur? an quod sententiarum nos pudet nostrarum? silentio - si recte ille Cantabrigiensis philosophus iudicavit - silentio omnino opus est ei, qui nihil magni momenti dicere possit. 'Non possumus', inquit, 'silere. res maximi momenti est. e re publica est populi Exoniensis'. scribeant, valeant, floreat - sed fortiter non ignave, audacter non infirme, fideliter non falso, palam magis quam in tenebris. clarorum virorum (feminarumque) non facta moresque solum, sed etiam nomina scire licet decetque. Proprium enim est ingenii humani magnorum atque eruditissimorum scriptorum magna cum laude nomina et dicendo extollere et scribendo posteris tradere et etiam lapidibus in locis publicis positae inscribere, ut mirentur aequales, sciant posterum, gaudeant ipsi cum mulieribus liberis amicisque suis. quomodo hoc facere possimus, si nomina ipsa scire nequimus? Valete, sapientissimi viri, et me pro nostra consuetudine amate. Exonii A.D. XIII Kal. Novembris Haraldo Wilsonio Eduardo Heathio Coss.

## ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC

The study of ancient Greek music is handicapped by the lack of texts with musical notation and the fragmentary nature of those which have survived. None dates back to the fifth century B.C., the period of most interest to classical scholars (1). Likewise there are no theoretical writings from this period. Aristoxenus (fl. c.318 B.C.) is the earliest writer of whose work a considerable amount has survived (2). There are scattered references to music in the writings of Plato and Aristotle (3) and the antiquarian Athenaeus preserves many quotations from early writers on music (4). For the rest we have to rely on post-classical authors (5). This article is an attempt to describe the development of Greek music from its earliest days to its decline in the fourth century B.C.

The musical styles of the fifth century were called ἄρμονίαι - a word which has caused much difficulty and confusion, especially as it is often translated 'mode'. It certainly did come to mean this (although octave-species is perhaps a better rendering), but there is not the slightest evidence that it originally had this sense. Its earliest meaning was 'a means of joining', then the joint itself, and finally the thing made by the joint, a 'framework', in which sense Sophocles used it of the lyre (6). In time the whole lyre (strings included) came to be seen as the framework which enabled the performer to play a certain style; ἄρμονία could now be applied to the strings alone (7).

The range of each ἄρμονία was an octave (8) but the number of notes forming the octave varied because in the time of Aristoxenus the number appears to have been eight (9), whereas originally it was seven (10). This was the number of notes in the scale of Terpander (fl. c.650 B.C.) who seems to have increased the span of the scale from a seventh to an octave (11). He was a widely travelled composer who finally settled in Greece after leaving his native island of Lesbos in his youth. In Sappho's time (c.600 B.C.) Lesbos had strong links with the East i.e. Lydia, Phrygia (which preserved parts of Hittite civilization), and even Babylonia and this influence was probably beginning to be felt in Terpander's day. In these early days the octave was much more important in the East than in Greece - the story of Pythagoras' discovery of the octave and other intervals has a close parallel in much earlier Hittite sources (12) - and it was from the East that Terpander was influenced to increase the range of his scale. The number of notes was not simply increased to eight; the number seven had such great influence that the number of notes in the scale remained at seven. Indeed Aristophanes (13) goes so far as to generalize that all ancient melodies were restricted to seven notes and this use of few notes (ὀλιγοχορδία) was much admired when contrasted with the πολυχορδία of the music at the end of the fifth century. The scale to which Terpander added the octave note was the Dorian and this could now correctly be called ἡ Δωριεὺς ἄρμονία. It was originally a diatonic ἄρμονία, but later became enharmonic (14). These are two of the three divisions of the tetrachord,

the other being chromatic. The diatonic tetrachord was divided into semitone, tone, and tone, of which there were two tunings called σύντονος and μαλακός (15) which altered the intervals slightly; the chromatic was made up of two semitones and an interval of one and a half tones; the enharmonic consisted of two quarter tones and an interval of two tones. Two diatonic tetrachords joined together but separated by a tone formed the Dorian ἄρμονία. These tetrachords formed the basis of all the ἄρμονιαί, not just the Dorian. The tetrachord may of course be divided in other ways (e.g. tone, semitone, tone) but they were not admitted to the system of ἄρμονιαί. The different tunings of the tetrachord provided a large variety of scales, but even so the ἄρμονιαί were only a few of the many scales which must have existed in Greece. They were developed by a long line of composers so that in the fifth century they were capable of providing the music for any occasion just as the major and minor scales have been developed over the past three hundred years.

Terpander's seven note scale lasted into the fifth century if we may judge by the references to the 'seven-voiced' lyre in classical literature (16). Terpander was also responsible for an increase in the number of strings of the lyre from four to seven (17). A good case has been made out for stopping notes on the lyre with seven strings and on the earlier three, four, and five stringed instruments so as to produce a complete octave (17a). On later lyres finger-boards were provided to make the stopping of notes easier, and perhaps more important to make the timbre of 'stopped' notes like that of 'open' notes, for in the absence of a finger-board the stopping of notes was bound to affect their quality. The progressive increase in the number of strings was due to a desire to avoid 'stopping' notes and so long as the system of ἄρμονιαί remained intact, it was necessary to stop only one note and that only when the number of notes in a ἄρμονία was increased to eight. This explains why the process of stopping notes is never depicted on vase paintings, for notes were stopped by pressing the string close to the cross bar at the top of the instrument and a hand is never shown in this position.

The earliest ἄρμονία was the Dorian: it was already in existence when Olympus arrived in Greece, for he fitted his so-called enharmonic scale into it (18). This early composer (fl. c.700 B.C.) also introduced, or rather reintroduced, as it had existed in Greece in Mycenaean times, the Phrygian ἄρμονία which was diatonic like the Dorian, was sung in a comfortable middle voice range (19), and was a tone higher than the Dorian. The latter fact clearly emerges from the two tonos lists of Aristoxenus (20). The inconsistencies of the lists show that there was disagreement about the relative pitches of the various scales. In ancient Greece there was no absolute pitch such as exists throughout Western Europe to-day. As different αὐλοί (21) were used to play different ἄρμονιαί some kind of relative pitch was preserved and this would remain constant in one city, where a large deviation from the accepted pitch would produce an odd effect. The tradition about relative pitch in theoretical writers is that of Athens. Aristoxenus cast his net wider than most writers: he tried to classify all scales that were known to him. Where his lists agree they may be taken as reflecting musical practice at Athens.



The Greeks attributed 'ethos' to their music. Aristotle and Plato (22) say that because good and bad qualities are reflected in certain types of music these should accordingly be accepted or rejected, and that music has the power to make one good and bad. The idea that music could influence character was introduced to Greece by Pythagoras and developed by Damon, the mysterious figure of fifth century music who exerted great influence on Plato (23). The Greeks in general rejected or ignored these ideas but quite naturally applied adjectives to different styles. All that is important for the present article is why each style was given certain attributes. Dorian and Phrygian music had completely different ethos; Dorian was stately (24), whereas Phrygian was ecstatic (25), able to arouse violent emotion. The pitch difference between them cannot account for this, nor the type of intervals of which they were composed. The important thing was the type of composition in which they were employed. The quick syncopated music of the dithyramb was composed in the Phrygian style, whereas the Dorian ἀρμονία provided the stately music of the Paean and Spartan marching songs. Pitch and intervallic structure sometimes affected the ethos and this was certainly the case with the Ionian ἀρμονία.

This was the next style to be introduced to mainland Greece. There were two types of Ionian music; in the first place there was the low-pitched (μαλακός) in which Pytherrmus (fl. c.530 B.C.) composed his drinking-songs (σχόλια), and secondly the high-pitched (σύντονος) Ionian music which Pratinas (26) mentions and which formed the music of laments. I have translated the much discussed words μαλακός and σύντονος low and high pitched. Σύντονος also implies the use of effort or energy and μαλακός that little energy is being expended i.e. a sense of relaxation. Aristotle (27) describes sounds which were μαλακός and high-pitched and vice versa, but this is not Ionian music in which high pitch is accompanied by effort, and low pitch with the lack of it. Anacreon (fl. c.520 B.C.) was a famous Ionian composer who was called to the court of Polycrates as a result of the popularity of his drinking-songs. Yet he does not seem to have written music in the Ionian style but rather in the Lydian (28). In fact Lydian music was much the same as Ionian; there is other evidence it was employed for drinking-songs, and it was also suitable for high-pitched lamentation (29). It was perhaps more usual to think of Lydian as low-pitched for it is called γλυκύς (30), and this was not a quality of σύντονος music (31), whereas Ionian was thought to be both high and low pitched. The two styles were preferred at the same pitch and the differences between them were a result of opening, concluding, and other melodic patterns peculiar to each one. There is another type of Lydian music which Pindar composed for some of his Odes (32). These formed the accompaniment to a dance in honour of the victorious athlete or the procession to his house, and being neither σχόλια nor laments they demanded music which preserved the characteristic intervals and melodic patterns of Lydian music but fell on the middle register. It was this Lydian scale which Aristoxenus placed a tone above the Phrygian. In all these scales there was probably a strong chromatic element present to give a special exotic flavour to the music. In time the chromatic tetrachords were seen as a development of the diatonic (one note was lowered) so that they could be projected onto τόνοι systems as though they had originally been diatonic.

A style which had existed both in Greece and Asia Minor from early days was the Aeolian, but by the end of the fifth century it had dropped out of use and its place taken by the Hypodorian which shared some of its characteristics (33). Other features were shared with Dorian music as the name indicates, for the prefix 'hypo' combines the senses of 'below' (but not in the later musical sense of a fifth below or a fourth above) and 'similar to' which is the sense Heracleides attached to it. In origin it was perhaps a Boeotian style, and if dialect is any indication, Boeotia possessed both Dorian and Aeolian elements in her population. Lasus (34) informs us that Aeolian music was βαρύβρομος from which we may deduce it lay at the bottom of the voice range, and the adoption of some Dorian characteristics and the change in name did not affect this. It was presumably diatonic like the simple Dorian.

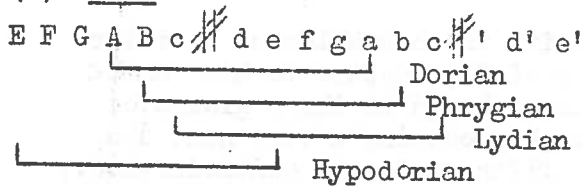
So far six ᾠμονίαι have been discussed (Dorian, Phrygian, High Ionian=Lydian, Low Ionian=Lydian, Middle Lydian, and Hypodorian) and for the purposes of the present article I shall disregard certain minor styles e.g. Locrian, Cretan, and Carian, which were not popular with composers of international standing, but there is one other major ᾠμονία, the Mixolydian, which calls for discussion. It was first employed by Sappho (35) although in what type of composition we are not told. It was known at Athens at least by the time of Lamprocles, and used by Euripides in one of his plays (36). Plato classes it with the σύντονος Lydian as unsuitable for lamentations, but it was more sober and restrained than the pure Lydian music. The name makes it clear there was an important Lydian element, but what was mixed with it? There is no evidence. However as Lesbos, Sappho's home, was Aeolian yet open to influence from Lydian Sardis Aeolian is the obvious choice. The tonos lists of Aristoxenus reveal that its pitch was uncertain but this anomaly may be removed if we assume it was once high-pitched but became lower when it was introduced to Athens (37).

Some attempt must now be made to place these ᾠμονίαι in the voice ranges. By voice range I mean the four groups into which human voices naturally fall - Bass E - e', Tenor B - b', Contralto e - e", Soprano b - b" (38) - and which are based on the averages of many voices so that a choir of two hundred can sing comfortably within them. The number of people with one type of voice may vary from region to region - Italy is famous for tenors, Russia for basses - and the type of society in a region may be responsible for this (39) but the ranges of the voices remain the same and have remained the same over the centuries. It is safe to assume the Greeks knew of these voice ranges and realized the ranges approximated to two octaves. As the notes which basses and contraltos, tenors and sopranos can sing are the same except for octave-differences, the voice ranges can be reduced from four to two (E - e'; B - b'). If a choir were performing we should expect them to sing in fifths, but there is no evidence for singing in fifths. The choirs did sing in octaves (40), thus producing a primitive harmony which is to be distinguished from the polyphony or more accurately heterophony which Plato (41) describes with disapproval. Singing in octaves destroyed ethos because one or both ᾠμονίαι had to be displaced from its natural position (42), so that to preserve ethos the members of a choir all had to have the same kind of voice.

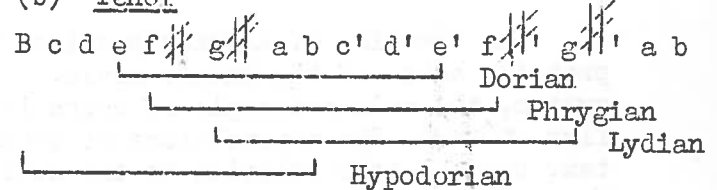
The Dorian, Phrygian, and Middle-Lydian ἀρμονίαι may now be placed in the voice ranges and Hypodorian added at the bottom.

Fig.1

(a) Bass



(b) Tenor



The diagrams do not give the intervals within the scale which all conform to the series STTTSTT or its chromatic form. Women's ἀρμονίαι were an octave higher. These are the only ἀρμονίαι which can be accurately pitched on the basis of the evidence already quoted.

The change from ἀρμονίαι to τόνοι (42a) to which Aristoxenus and later writers attribute the ethnic names was one result of the musical revolution of the fifth century B.C. (43). At the beginning of the century composers such as Phrynis and Melanippides began to write music in such a way that the traditional connexion of ἀρμονία and lyric form (44) was weakened as various types of lyric poetry were incorporated into one composition. This culminated in the poetry and music of Timotheus and Philoxenus at the end of the century. Composers had always been able to portray varying emotions and dramatic effects in the νόμος (45), which although popular in Olympus' and Terpander's day had remained in the background throughout the sixth and fifth centuries, only to be revived at the end of the fifth century as the desire for dramatic effects increased.

The important feature of the revolution for this article was the frequency of modulation (46). In the classical lyric forms there was no modulation and even in the early νόμος the ἀρμονία had remained unchanged for some time once it had been changed. In the new music modulations followed each other very quickly. To accompany this music a stringed instrument was needed which enabled the player to modulate quickly. This could be achieved by increasing the number of strings, but if too many were added the instrument became cumbersome, so that the number of strings was kept relatively small and stopping was reintroduced. The number finally decided on was eleven (47) to which a twelfth was possibly added later. It seems that often the player sounded the notes which lay outside the ἀρμονία on his eleven stringed instrument destroying the ethos of the ἀρμονία and suggesting that modulation in the real sense had taken place. Thus all references to notes outside the ἀρμονίαι (48) are seen to refer to the breakdown of the system of ἀρμονίαι. The lyre player could easily tune his instrument so that each ἀρμονία fell in the centre of a Greater Perfect System, producing the τόνοι as they are usually set out. This is only suitable for instrumental music for if he were accompanying voices every τόνοϛ extends either at top or bottom beyond the voice ranges, with the exception of the Phrygian τόνοϛ which fits exactly. This τόνοϛ became the basic (and only)

tuning of the eleven string lyre. When the eleven strings are distributed over two octaves there are five for each octave and one for the top note producing a pentatonic tuning such as Sachs has proposed after a study of Greek musical notation.

The treatise of Alypius provides the notation which enables us to interpret the notes of the extant music. It is specially adapted to his  $\tau\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  system, the main principle of which is that there should be three groups of five  $\tau\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota$ . The nomenclature of these, although producing a very neat system, bears little relation to the music of the fifth or fourth centuries B.C., but may have influenced composers who were attempting to write in an archaic style. As it stands the notation spans three octaves and a tone and is usually given the range F - g". This is an arbitrary choice and most scholars agree it should be lowered (49), possibly to c - d". I suggest that a semitone lowering is sufficient (E - f") thus bringing the central nucleus of signs within the octave e - e' and I shall now refer to the notation as applying to this range (50). There are in fact two systems. The vocal notation consists mainly of letters of the Ionic alphabet arranged to give a similar method of notation to that provided by the instrumental which is a mixture of Greek letters and signs from Eastern alphabets.

The groups of three signs make it clear that the system was originally devised for the enharmonic genus. Limiting discussion to the octave e - e' the inventor started at the bottom of the scale and worked upwards, his first sign notating e<sup>x</sup>f, his second f, f<sup>x</sup>, g, and so on. If this method is continued throughout the octave, e' does not have its own sign but is represented by the sign for D reversed and b' (unlike b) would also not have its own sign. It was better to have the same means of notating the same note in different octaves so that b and e' were each given upright signs. The upright signs taken together form the scale e f g a b c d e' which is not the result of any lyre tuning but the application of a system of notation. The signs for f g a c d were also fixed from this system and only altered for special reasons. The notation was adapted for the chromatic tetrachord; the sign for e<sup>x</sup> became the sign for e and the sign for f was applied to f. The sign for a whole tone raising was kept for chromatic music and was avoided when setting out the diatonic scales. Now that the signs on their backs could represent semitones f g a c d each had two signs and b and e three signs (the enharmonic notation provided two alternatives). When notating diatonic scales the alternative signs for b and e were forgotten, but the chromatic semitone notation for these notes and f g a c d was employed when the note below was only a semitone distant. The obvious theory is that this indicated a semitone stopping and the two notes were played on the same string. However if only one tuning is accepted for the eleven string lyre this cannot be so, whatever notes the strings are tuned to. Thus I differ from Sachs in saying the notation does not refer to lyre tuning and does not give any indication of which notes are to be stopped. Consequently it is impossible to determine the exact tuning as several pentatonic tunings are suitable.



The three octave range of the notation may have been devised to cover all the notes playable on an αὐλός for the compass of that instrument was three octaves according to Aristoxenus (51). The same system was transposed for auloi of varying pitch, allowing the player to associate one sign with a particular fingering. Only one tuning was required for the lyre as the notation was transposed for each type of voice. I shall therefore speak of a tuning which is at correct pitch only for tenor voices and for which the signs between B and b' are needed.

When the four ἁρμονίαι I have placed in the voice-ranges are extended to the limits of the range the following scales result, all of which can be played on an eleven string lyre.

Fig.2.

Dorian	B c d	e f g a b c' d' e' f' g' a' b'
Phrygian	B c# d	e f# g a b c# d' e' f# g' a' b'
Lydian	B c# d# e f#	g# a b c# d# e' f# g# a' b'
Hypodorian	B c d e f# g	a b c' d' e' f# g' a' b'

They should no longer be called ἁρμονίαι because they have a compass greater than an octave; nor are they τόνοι in the Alypian sense for the order of intervals varied. I shall therefore call them proto-τόνοι. They are very similar to the scales which Ptolemy (52) described and significantly called τόνοι although they are extended octave species. This suggests the Alypian usage of τόνος may not be original.

There is no direct indication what Aristoxenus meant by τόνος. As he lived at attime when the fifth century styles were forgotten (53) he was probably more concerned to devise a system of Alypian τόνοι which covered all notes in use rather than try to recover the ἁρμονίαι and proto-τόνοι. This seems to be confirmed by the third list of Aristoxenian τόνοι which is extant (54). Many of the names have been applied in an arbitrary fashion but the relative pitches of the proto-τόνοι I have set out are still preserved and the list may be used to pitch the three remaining ἁρμονίαι and their resultant proto-τόνοι.

Fig.3.

High Ionian	b c# d# f f# g#	a# b c# d# f' f# g# a# b'
Mixolydian	c d e f g	a a# c' d' e' f' g' a' a#(e')(55)
Low Ionian	c c# d# f g	g# a# c' c# d# f' g' g# a#(c')

This completes the system of proto-τόνοι, the scales in use at the end of the fifth century. If the notation which Alypius assigns to the τόνοι with the same relative pitches (56) is transfered to this system then we have not only the scales

but the notation for the end of the fifth century. Sometime in the fourth century before Aristoxenus was writing the proto-τόνοι were converted into τόνου proper to provide a series of scales covering the total range of the αὐλός. The fact that Aristoxenus discusses them suggests they were employed by musicians because he paid greater attention to practice than to theory, but the names retained little if any of their former ethnic associations.

If the intervals which the τόνου present between e and e' in the third list of Aristoxenus are examined they are seen to produce the seven octave-species together with their correct names. The names have little connexion with practical music and are not applied to the octave species before late antiquity (57). Yet they may have been used in some Greek music in the fourth century or earlier because Aristoxenus describes them not as the central octaves of τόνου but as combinations of different types of tetrachord (i.e. not only semitone, tone, tone but tone, semitone, tone etc.), and pentachord. The correct Greek term for these scales is εἶδη τοῦ διαπασῶν but they would also be called ἀρμονίαι (58) because the ἀρμονίαι on becoming proto-τόνοι were still called by some ἀρμονίαι, leading to confusion between the two terms (59). Ἀρμονία was now connected with different series of intervals and it was easy to transfer the word from the classical scales to the octave species especially as an octave was the range of the old ἀρμονίαι.

The octave species are found in folk music throughout the Indo-European areas of Europe, so firmly established and in such isolated areas that any influence on their development from church music can be ruled out. There is no fundamental acoustical reason why an octave should be divided into seven parts, but it was probably influenced by the great magical and symbolic significance in the ancient Near East (60). The division of the octave into seven tones and semitones with which we are familiar in the modes was also dictated by magical ideas. The intervals of diatonic scale can be expressed by simple fractions said to be inherent in the whole cosmos and which it was desirable for men to know and copy. These ideas were current in Mesopotamia and Babylon long before Pythagoras introduced them to Greece in the sixth century. Eight was also a significant number especially in music because it produces a mode which is identical with the first in structure and is seen as the embodiment of the other seven (61). The indo-Europeans on coming into contact with more ancient civilizations were influenced in musical as well as other matters. As they migrated westwards they took their diatonic modes with them. The modes found in Greek folk-song (62) are not survivals of classical Greek music but of the more primitive folk and religious music. These alone of the numerous scales of Greek folk music were discussed by theorists because of their symbolic connexions, and it is even possible they were employed in cult hymns normally written in the Dorian ἀρμονία. When the classical ἀρμονίαι and the proto-τόνοι had fallen into disuse there may have been a 'return to nature' and music written in the octave species so that they may be detected in extant music, but without any ethnic associations.

Much has been written on the tonalities of the extant music. If the outline of musical history I have given is anywhere near the truth it is unlikely they will yield much information about the classical ἀρμονίαι and I shall therefore confine discussion to the melody of the Orestes fragment which has been claimed as an example of fifth century music.

The papyrus is old (63) and in a battered condition thus increasing the difficulties of interpretation. The notes of the melody are F $\sharp$ , G $\sharp$ , G $\sharp^x$  or A, A or A $\sharp$ , C $\sharp$ , D $\sharp$ , D $\sharp^x$  or E depending on whether it is chromatic or enharmonic. If it is taken as enharmonic the series of intervals is a tone, quartertone, quartertone, two tones, tone, and a quartertone which does not conform to any tetrachord system. The intervals are the same as the first six of the Phrygian scale which Aristeides (64) claims to be one of the ἀρμονίαι of Plato's Republic. These scales have aroused much difficulty because of their unusual structure. To some they have seemed so unusual that no-one could have invented them and the statements of Aristeides have been accepted as true (65). On the other hand it is possible Aristeides borrowed an enharmonic scale from contemporary music (66) and this would account for the scale of the Orestes fragment conforming to one of them. A musical setting of the Orestes was well known to Dionysius of Halicarnassus but it is most unlikely the music of fifth century productions was preserved with the texts. It was a common practice in post-classical times to set passages from tragedy to music and this music would be written in the contemporary idiom unless it were a mere academic exercise. The composer knew enough to write Phrygian music for a passage in dochmiacs, the metre of extreme emotion.

There is then no evidence this Phrygian scale was known in the fifth century; the balance of evidence is slightly against it. There is still no example of fifth century music and conclusions about this must still be based on contemporary literature and later theorists.

J. H. COWELL

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#### NOTES

1. The following is a list of texts with musical notation.
  - a) A papyrus fragment, mutilated and very small, of a few lines of Euripides' Orestes.
  - b) A papyrus from Cairo, with a few lines from a tragedy.
  - c) and d) The two Delphic Hymns. First was written c.138 B.C. and the second c.128 B.C.
  - e) Epitaph of Seikilos. Dated variously from 2nd century B.C. to the 1st A.D. Brief but complete.
  - f) g) h) i) Four fragments in a papyrus in Berlin containing a Paean to Apollo, three lines of instrumental notation, a few lines addressed to Ajax probably from a tragedy, and another three lines of instrumental notation.
  - j) k) l) Two Hymns to the Muse (after printed as one composition), a Hymn to the Sun, and a Hymn to Nemesis, all preserved in Byzantine manuscripts. The last may have been composed in the second century A.D.

- m) A Christian Hymn of the third century A.D. The music may not be Greek.
- n) Exercises in Bellerma's Anonymous. More rhythmic than melodic interest.
- o) Oxy. Pap. 25, 2436. Some kind of monody; music obscure.
- a) c) d) e) j) k) l) are transcribed at the end of K. von JAN, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*. The only examples old and complete enough to cast any light on ancient modality are c) d) e) j) k) l).
- 2. The edition of H. S. MACRAN is still indispensable.
- 3. All the passages in which Aristotle discusses music are gathered together in JAN op.cit. (including the 'Problems' most of which is probably not by Aristotle himself).
- 4. v. esp. Athenaeus Bk. 14 which preserves some of Heracleides Ponticus work 'About Music'.
- 5. The following are the main works:
  - a) The 'Section of the Canon' attributed to Euclid (c. 300 B.C.) based on the theories of Pythagoras
  - b) The 'Concerning Music' attributed to Plutarch very doubtfully.
  - c) The 'Concerning Music' of Aristides Quintilianos (1st to 2nd century A.D.)
  - d) The 'Manual' of Nicomachus again based on Pythagoras.
  - e) and f) The 'Introduction of Harmonics' of Cleonides and G. dentios (c. 2nd century A.D.)
  - g) The 'Harmonics' of Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.)
  - h) The 'Introduction to Music' of Alypius (c. 360 A.D.)
  - i) The 'Introduction to the Art of Music' of Baccheios the Elder (4th century A.D.), partly Aristoxenian.
- d) e) f) h) i) are all in JAN op.cit.
- 6. Fr. 244P.
- 7. For a thorough discussion of all the meanings of ἀρμονία v. B. MEYER - 'Ἀρμονία Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes von Homer bis Aristoteles.
- 8. PHERECRATES Fr. 25E; Aristotle, *Prob.* 19, 25.
- 9. Aristoxenus, *Harmonics* p. 36; Aristot. *Met.* 109A13; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 617B.
- 10. Aristot., *Prob.* 19, 32. cf. 25.
- 11. Ibid.
- 12. E. WERNER, *The Sacred Bridge*, p. 376.
- 13. Fr. 659E.
- 14. This is assumed from the fact it was the last to be introduced v. H. ABERT, *Die Lehre vom Ethos*, p. 109.
- 15. Aristoxenus *Harm.* 45; cf. Cleonides Ch. 7 p. 190 JAN.
- 16. Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 70-1; *Nem.* 5, 24; Ion of Chios Fr. 3, 3E; Eur. *Alc.* 466, Ion 881, *I.T.* 1128.
- 17. Fr. 5E.
- 17a. v. C. SACHS, *Die griechische Instrumentalnotenschrift*, *Zeit. f. Musik* 6 (1924) pp. 292 ff.

18. Plut. Mus. 11.
19. Aristides Quint. says the Phrygian scale lay  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \phi\omega\nu\eta\varsigma$  (1.11). The διθυραμβικὸς τρόπος was μεσοειδής and the dithyramb was in Phrygian style.
20. Harm 37; set out in New Oxford History of Music (NOHM) Vol.I, p.350.
21. Αὐλός is normally translated 'flute' but it was a reed instrument although the number of reeds was not known for certain. Pronomus of Thebes first made αὐλόνι on which more than one ἄρμονία could be played (Ath. 14, 631E).
22. Aristot. Pol. 1339B 11ff; Plato, Rep. 398E ff.
23. v. H. RYFFEL Mus. Helvet. 4 (1947) pp.23-38; for the possibility of Plato's personal acquaintance with Damon v. A.E. RAUBITSCHKEK Class. and Med. 10 (1955) pp.78-83.
24. Abert op.cit. pp.80 ff.
25. Ibid. pp.84 ff.
26. Fr. 5E.
27. De Aud. 804A23ff.
28. Ath. 14. 635C.
29. Ib. 638F; Plut. Mus. 15.
30. Schol. ad Pind. Ol. 5, 44.
31. Aelian VH. 12, 46.
32. Ol. 5, 19; 14, 17; Nem 4, 45.
33. Ath. 14, 624C.
34. Fr. 1E.
35. Plut. Mus 16.
36. Ibid; Plut. Mor 46B.
37. For the development of high and low Mixolydian v. M. I. HENDERSON, CQ 36 (1942) pp. 94 ff.
38. v. R. DONINGTON, The Instruments of Music p.109. The notation is



(A cross (x) after a note indicates a  $\frac{1}{2}$  tone).

39. A. LOMAX, American Anthropologist 61 (1959) pp.927 ff; cf. Ethnology 1 (1962) pp 425 ff.
40. Arist. Prob. XIX 40.





58. Aristot. Pol. 1276 B 5; Aristox. Harm. 36; Cicero, Tusc Dip. 1.18; Pliny N.H. 2, 84.
59. Especially by Plutarch Mus. 17, Mor. 389 E.
60. v. article by B. J. HARTNELL in Pegasus I (1964) The Significance of Seven.
61. WERNER op.cit. pp.373 ff.
62. GROVE'S Dictionary of Music and Musicians 5th ed. Vol III, pp.269-70.
63. It was written c.200 B.C. E. G. TURNER, J.H.S. 76 (1950) p.95.
64. I.9
65. J. F. MOUNTFORD, C.Q. 17 (1923) pp.125 ff. M.I. HENDERSON, C.Q. 36 (1942) pp. 94 ff.
66. C. F. ABDY-WILLIAMS, C.R. 16 (1902) pp.409 ff.

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#### THE CLASSICAL PARTY (1965)

Praise we must really accord it,  
 Everyone helped towards it,  
 The star-turn was Ray,  
 When we all heard him say,  
 "But can we really afford it?"

Anon.

LADY MARY AND THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY

The classicist turning to other periods of literature is apt to find himself measuring and comparing in a sort of eternal triangle of us and them and the Greeks. The latter are not necessarily some superior touchstone, revealing the false ring and the baser metal, but they at least offer an extra comparison, in attitude as well as in expression, which may heighten one's critical awareness. And sometimes the later writer forces comparison upon us by apparent imitation or reminiscence.

The English 18th century, so classical yet so un-Greek to its successors, naturally stipulates such comparison - at the centre of it Pope, with his translation of Homer. Dare one suggest that he has caught something of the original, and that neither Arnold nor Rieu has such exclusive claims? And yet - the gulf that separates him from the world of early epic is obvious.

Turning to verse epigram, one may seem in some ways to narrow the gap. Even Simonides sounds more like the 18th century idea of classicism than Aeschylus or Pindar does, let alone other later authors found in the long tradition of the Greek anthology. Inside that collection one may well feel that the compression of this brief form limits, and to some extent imposes uniformity, suppresses individuality. Aeschylus and Euripides have to obey the same rules. They are like actors with four-line parts. And the rhythm of elegiac couplets, like 18th century rhyme, lends itself to the pointed. Even the 20th century, less enamoured of rhyme, is apt to translate Greek epigrams into heroic couplets, though some may resist this treatment.

Epigram in epitaph might seem to bring Pope even nearer to the real classical original. For this, the serious epigram, takes us back to Simonides, aiming at maximum effect in shortest compass, and invention born of necessity. An epigram was of course originally an inscription - on trophies, dedicated offerings, but above all on a tomb. The development of epitaph to epigram in the modern sense, the relationship between the two, is an interesting study in form and effect. Brevity is said to be the soul of wit. It is a soul which can practically create its own body. To say scarcely anything where much might be said is to be paradoxical and unexpected. The effect may be unconscious or forced upon us. So particularly in epitaphs. If lack of space or money compels, we may find ourselves describing the deceased simply as "corn merchant" or "a Christian", leaving thereby a vague impression that pungent contempt or restrained tribute might have been intended. Conscious art soon intervenes. Any rigid, economical form, any limitation, drives the artist to choose more carefully, to discipline himself. The best must be selected, because it is going to stand alone, which will either heighten its effect or show up its nakedness.

This is the sort of reflection one finds oneself making on the epitaphs of the Greek anthology. A visit to Exeter Cathedral immediately after reading them will suggest comparison with the rhetorical prose tributes of our own 18th and 19th centuries. But epitaphs, however short, may indicate fundamental attitudes as well. Even "Resurgam", "Requiescat", "In Memoriam" are different messages. Even two lines may opt to lecture the living rather than lament the dead. So

one is not surprised to find that, when Pope produced three versions of a brief verse epitaph on two lovers, and Lady Mary Wortley one very different specimen, none of them is what the Greek would have said in similar circumstances. The comparison is suggested not only by the general similarity of genre, but by one or two Greek epigrams which come near enough to the particular subject matter. One of these is by Diotimus, which may be rendered in English as follows:-

Flecked with the heavy snow-flakes from the hill  
The cattle came at eve of their own will.  
Therimachus, alas, sleeps by the oak  
The last long sleep, lulled by the lightning-stroke.

Pope has a more striking incident to write about, but what he decides to see in it is more significant. He uses the words "romantic" and "romance" at the beginning of the letter to Lady Mary which includes the epitaphs, and Edith Sitwell speaks of him writing here with "romantic enthusiasm". One notices also his expectation of tears, that 18th century water-mark of sensibility. Who — between him and us and the Greeks — is furthest from whom at this point?

"I have a mind" he writes, "to fill the rest of this paper with an accident that happened just under my eyes, and has made a great impression upon me. I have just passed part of this summer at an old romantic seat of Lord Harcourt's, which he lent me. It overlooks a common field, where, under the shade of a haycock, sat two lovers, as constant as ever were found in romance, beneath a spreading beech. The name of the one (let it sound as it will) was John Hewet; of the other Sarah Drew. John was a well-set man, about five-and-twenty, Sarah a brown woman of eighteen. John had for several months borne the labour of the day in the same field with Sarah; when she milked, it was his morning and evening charge to bring the cows to her pail. Their love was the talk, but not the scandal of the whole neighbourhood; for all they aimed at was the blameless possession of each other in marriage. It was but this very morning that he had obtained her father's consent, and it was but till the next week that they were to wait to be happy. Perhaps this very day, in the intervals of their work, they were talking of their wedding clothes; and John was now matching several kinds of poppies and field-flowers to her complexion, to make her a present of knots for the day. While they were thus employed (it was the last of July) a terrible storm of thunder and lightning arose, that drove the labourers to what shelter the trees or hedges afforded. Sarah, frightened and out of breath, sank on a haycock, and John (who never separated from her) sate by her side, having raked two or three heaps together to secure her. Immediately there was heard so loud a crack as if heaven had burst asunder. The labourers, all solicitous for each other's safety, called to one another: those that were nearest our lovers, hearing no answer, stept to the place where they lay; they first saw a little smoke, and after, this faithful pair — John, with one arm about his Sarah's neck, and the other held over her face, as if to screen her from the lightning. They were struck dead, and already grown stiff and cold in this tender posture. There was no mark or discolouring on their bodies, only that Sarah's eyebrow was a little singed, and a small spot between her breasts. They were buried the next day, in one grave, in the parish of Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire; where my lord Harcourt, at my request, has erected a monument over them. Of the following



epitaphs which I made, the critics have chosen the godly one: I like neither, but wish you had been in England to have done this office better; I think 'twas what you could not have refused me on so moving an occasion:

## I

'When Eastern lovers feed the fun'ral fire,  
On the same pile the faithful fair expire:  
Here pitying Heav'n that virtue mutual found,  
And blasted both, that it might neither wound.  
Hearts so sincere th' Almighty saw well pleas'd,  
Sent his own lightning, and the victims seiz'd.

## II

'Think not, by rig'rous judgment seiz'd,  
A pair so faithful could expire;  
Victims so pure Heav'n saw well pleas'd  
And snatch'd them in celestial fire.

## III

'Live well, and fear no sudden fate;  
When God calls virtue to the grave,  
Alike 'tis justice, soon or late,  
Mercy alike to kill or save.  
Virtue unmov'd can hear the call,  
And face the flash that melts the ball.

Upon the whole, I can't think these people unhappy. The greatest happiness, next to living as they would have done, was to die as they did. The greatest honour people of this low degree could have, was to be remembered on a little monument; unless you will give them another - that of being honoured with a tear from the finest eyes in the world. I know you have tenderness; you must have it; it is the very emanation of good sense and virtue; the finest minds, like the finest metals, dissolve the easiest".

Lady Mary's answer to this letter is declared by Edith Sitwell to be characteristic of her at her best and showing considerable sense and vigour as well as her usual cynicism.

"I must applaud your good-nature," she writes, "in supposing that your pastoral lovers (vulgarly called haymakers) would have lived in everlasting joy and harmony, if the lightning had not interrupted their scheme of happiness. I see no reason to imagine, that John Hughes and Sarah Drew were either wiser or more virtuous than their neighbours. That a well-set man of twenty-five should have a fancy to marry a brown maid of eighteen, is nothing marvellous; and I cannot help thinking that, had they married, their lives would have passed in the common track with their fellow-parishioners. His endeavouring to shield her from a storm was a natural action, and what he would certainly have done for his horse, if he had been in the same situation. Neither am I of opinion that their sudden death was the reward of their mutual virtue. You know the Jews were reproved for thinking a village destroyed by fire more wicked than those that had



escaped the thunder. Time and chance happen to all men. Since you desire me to try my skill in an epitaph, I think the following lines, perhaps more just, though not so poetical, as yours:

'Here lies John Hughes and Sarah Drew;  
Perhaps you'll say, what's that to you?  
Believe me, friend, much may be said  
On this poor couple that are dead.  
On Sunday next they should have married:  
But see how oddly things are carried!  
On Thursday last it rained and lightn'd;  
These tender lovers, sadly frightened,  
Sheltered beneath the cocking hay,  
In hopes to pass the time away;  
But the bold thunder found them out  
(Commission'd for that end no doubt);  
And seizing on their trembling breath  
Consign'd them to the shades of death.  
Who knows if 'twas not kindly done?  
For had they seen the next year's sun,  
A beaten wife and cuckold swain  
Had jointly curs'd the marriage chain:  
Now they are happy in their doom,  
For Pope has writ upon their tomb.

"I confess these sentiments are not altogether so heroic as yours; but I hope you will forgive them in favour of the last two lines. You see how much I esteem the honour you have done them; though I am not very impatient to have the same, and had rather continue to be your stupid living humble servant, than be celebrated by all the pens in Europe."

It is interesting to analyse Pope's three versions, whichever may be deemed the more "godly". In the first epitaph a Hindu husband becomes a lover, and his widow a sort of "widow Dido", acting by will rather than custom. Heaven rewards faithfulness with shared death, pitying the one left - that the other has been doomed (by heaven or fate) seems tacitly assumed. Hindu and celestial behaviour are both somehow romanticised. The reward of paradise appears implied.

The second version denies the possible allegation of punishment, adds purity to faithfulness as virtues, and implies more clearly the deliverance to a better place as reward.

The third version is furthest from the actual event. It bids us all be prepared. Death is indifferent to the virtuous, who will face it bravely. God is just.

Clearly the cynic may be provoked to query as not proven both the virtue and the reward - the justice of heaven and the purity, courage or even faithfulness of the victims. One understands Lady Mary's reaction.

A Greek writer, also, if instinctively, aiming at epigram in epitaph, would have had, by tradition, different religious and emotional starting-points from Pope. Not righteous God and rewards in heaven, but envious gods, grudging too great human happiness, and on the other hand the doubtful value of human existence and the impermanence of all things, above all youth, whose passing the Greeks were apt to lament as much as that of life itself, and the fickleness of human affections. Housman's epigrammatic epitaphs catch, with something modern added, this particular spirit of the Greeks - "Life to be sure is nothing much to lose, but young men think it is, and we were young".

Lady Mary brings in the doubtful value of life (at least for the lower orders), basing any possible kindness or mercy in the deity not on fervent and charitable belief in rewards above, but on cynical assurance of hell on earth avoided. Her remark on time and chance happening to all men is nearer to the Greek anthology in its cool rationalism. But she is crude and cruel in reaction to Pope's sentimentality, emphasising her aristocratic indifference to the death of two such ordinary people. (As Theognis wrote elegiac couplets, one might pause to compare the differing disdain of Greek oligarch and English aristocrat - hot hatred and cold snobbery). One notes that Pope wants to believe both that his lovers were happy in their death and that they would have been happy in their life - the best of both possible worlds.

I suggest the Greek writer would probably have arrived at a more neutral position between Pope and Lady Mary, based on more universal values as well as particular Greek ideas - the transitory happiness of all human beings, which accident may or may not have terminated too soon. It is interesting to consider what possibilities would have been open to him. If he had mooted, like Pope in his second version, the question of lightning punishing sin, his rejection of the idea in this instance, as well as the sin imagined to be punished, would have been on a different basis. The sin would have had to be either pride or perjury by a god's own name. As regards pride, the hybris of the highest tops which lightning strikes, one could only imagine it relevant if the two lovers claimed to be more blessed than Zeus - and that brings us back to the envy of the gods. As for perjury, more than one classical poet makes the point that Zeus was not inclined, and was indeed in no moral position, to take lovers' perjuries seriously. Nor is it easy to see how any epigram could have used this point here, unless it were alleged that he positively hated loyalty in love on either side.

The approach from the side of a more personal, amorous Zeus could bring one nearer to Lady Mary's frivolous mood. But her cynicism only scores as an answer to Pope's sentimentality, just as her humorous doubt of purity depends for comic tone on a stiff, solid background of puritanism somewhere. A Zeus indulgent to male perjury, or envious of the youth but very ready to save the young woman from a fate other than death, or henpecked himself in heaven, or sympathising with young love in general - these are possibilities which the personal, amorous Zeus suggests. The first two do not fit this double death. The comic kindness of a disillusioned couple in heaven saving young lovers from their own fate might just have been tried by someone like Lucian. But the idea of more serious kindness,

of death at the height of happiness as a boon, is much more probable. It is in tune with Greek tradition, from Solon and Sophocles onwards. Herodotus could have conceived of this kindness of the gods as well as of their envy. The question of pre-marital continence could scarcely have intruded.

So what would a Greek have written in Pope's place? Perhaps very briefly something like this:

συμφιλῶντε Χλόην Δάφνιν θ' ἐνὶ πληξῇ κεραυνῷ  
Ζεὺς· πότερον φθόνος ἦν ἢ πρὸς ἐρῶντε χάρις;

Less briefly, in an English translation:

Chloe and Daphnis loved each other well,  
And on them both one bolt from heaven fell,  
Caught in each other's arms. Shall we then find  
That Zeus was envious to their love, or kind?

Here only present love is vouched for. Heaven may be kind, in a sadder sense than Pope's, a more sympathetic sense than Lady Mary's, or crueller than Christianity can admit.

This is of course a very limited and relatively light-hearted exercise in literary comparison. But I hope that readers of Pegasus will discern in it some relevance to their subject of study.

F. W. CLAYTON

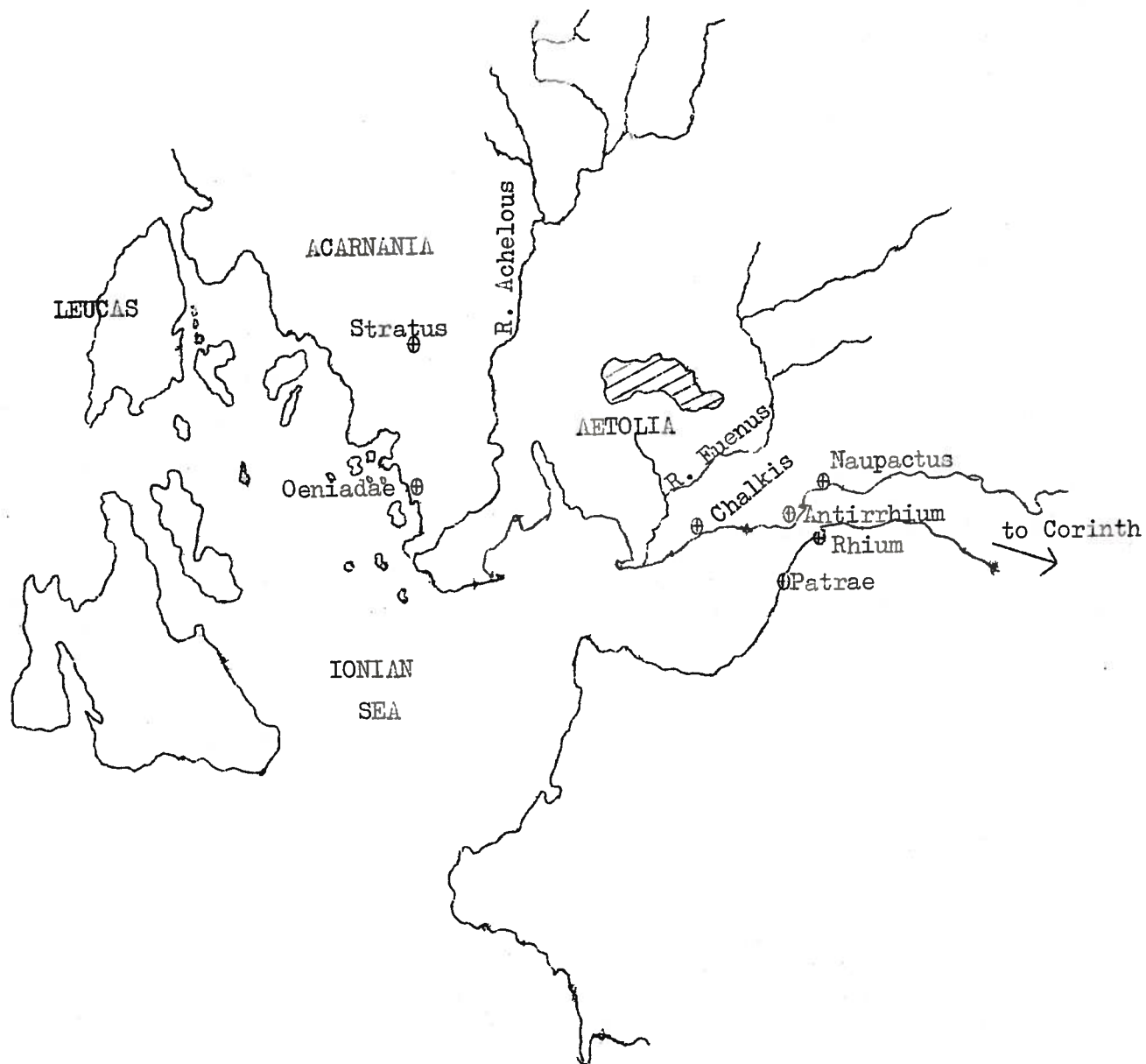
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#### NOTICE

In addition to the list of speakers during Letn term on page 2 of the present issue, we wish to announce that on Friday, 11th March 1966, Dr. Michael Winterbottom of University College London, will read a paper on "Some mediaeval English writers of Latin" to the University Classical Society.

It is intended to combine this paper with a Classical Society Dinner, but it is not yet known if there will be sufficient support for such a venture. The Society President, Michael Webb, would like to hear members' views on the subject, preferably before February 28th.

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THUCYDIDES II, 83, 3.

The passage we propose to examine in this article has been discussed — both from the textual and historical point of view — by various editors, commentators, translators and historians. We find, however, that most of them tend to deal only with individual aspects of it, and the nearest approach to a full-scale discussion is that of Grote, with whom we find ourselves at variance. In what follows we shall try to provide a detailed commentary on this passage and reconstruct the events described in it.

A. TEXT, TRANSLATION AND GENERAL COMMENTARY1. Text (Powell's OCT)

ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἀντιπαραπλέοντάς τε ἐώρων αὐτούς, παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κομιζομένων, καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαΐας πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρασ ἡπειρον διαβάλλοντες ἐπ' Ἀκαρνανίας κατεΐδον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλχίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐήνου ποταμοῦ προσπλέοντας σφίσι καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ἀφορμισάμενοι, οὕτω δὲ ἀναγκάζονται ναυμαχεῖν κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν.

διαβάλλοντες Stahl : διαβαλλόντων codd.

ἀφορμισάμενοι Poppo, Bloomfieldium se sequi ratus, qui tamen

ἀφορμησάμενοι coniecerat : ὑφορμισάμενοι codd.

2. Literal Translation

But after they (the Corinthians) saw them (the Athenians) sailing parallel to them, as they themselves were sailing close to their own coast; and, as they were crossing from Patrae in Achaëa towards the opposite coast in the direction of Acarnania, they observed the Athenians sailing towards them from Chalkis and the river Euenus — for they did not escape their notice weighing anchor during the night — in this manner they were forced to fight in the middle of the channel.



### 3. General Commentary

Note: We shall work on the assumption that the subject with which this sentence begins is the same as that of the last sentence: οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, and that this remains the subject throughout the sentence. More under the individual points.

παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κοιμιζομένων - τῶν Κορινθίων Schol.(1). That this applies to the Corinthians (so also Classen ad loc., Bloomfield ad loc., Grote (2) p.223, Poppo ad loc.), and not both the Corinthians - sailing along the Peloponnesian coast - and the Athenians - sailing along the northern coast (as implied by Busolt (3), and Henderson (4) and Hammond (5), who may have followed Busolt) - can be established on the following grounds:

- a. σφῶν in Attic is reflexive and does not mean the same as ἄμφω.
- b. In the sequel it is used as reflexive: τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ... προσπλέοντας σφίσι (which can only mean τοῖς Κορινθίοις).

This does not mean, of course, that the Athenians did not sail close to the northern coast - they possibly did: but Thucydides does not say this. We have no quarrel with Busolt if he means that this is what was likely to have happened. But that he may have read this into σφῶν is not unlikely: Classen ad loc (q.v.), as well as the Schol., find it necessary to explain that the Corinthians are meant.

διαβάλλοντες - Stahl's emendation should be read. Classen's reasons are insufficient, and his remark that 'Durch diese Änderung wird aber wohl Thuc. selbst korrigiert' passes our understanding - especially since we are not fortunate as Classen in having access to Thucydides' autograph. That the reading διαβαλλόντων agrees in form with κοιμιζομένων, as Classen indicates, is clear - and indeed would explain the origin of the error.

When the subject of the genitive absolute is the same as that of the main clause, this is done to give emphasis or prominence to the idea contained in the gen. abs. There is no need for this special emphasis in the case of διαβάλλοντες - 'while they were crossing' - which simply agrees with the verb κατεῖδον and is a 'circumstantial participle'. There is, however, a need to emphasize παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κοιμιζομένων - which is a new idea expressed in a sort of 'aside' ('and notice that they were sailing close to their own coast'), and which also explains the way they reached Patrae and why one can simply assume that they took off from Patrae. On this later. For this emphatic meaning of the gen. abs. where the subject is the same as that of the main clause see Madvig, Syntax of the Greek Language, Eng. Trans., London 1873, Ch.181 Rem.6; Smyth, Greek Grammar 2073; Schwyzler Gr. Gramm. II p.399; Kühner-Gerth II p.110.

ἐπ' Ἀκαρνανίας - 'in the direction of Acarnania', not just 'towards Acarnania': the opposite coast is that of Aetolia, and they would have to march through Aetolia to reach Acarnania, the final aim of the expedition. Their original plan was to sail to Leucas. They have now changed it and were, as Thuc. says, πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἡπείρον διαβάλλοντες. More in the historical commentary.

καὶ (οὐκ ἔλαθον) - We translate καὶ as 'for'. From a strictly grammatical point of view, it could be taken as a simple conjunction: κατεῖδον ... καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον. But the sequence of facts would demand, in this case, that οὐκ ἔλαθον should precede κατεῖδον. That Thuc. puts it where he does seems to us to indicate more than a mere conjunction of events: he probably wants us to understand that this is the reason why the Athenians were sailing towards them ('for they had been observed') - or even that this is what they realized when they saw the Athenians advancing towards them. Logically both could apply - and in fact both happened. But this does not mean that both are implied in the words of Thuc., and we prefer to make the minimal assumption.

οὐκ ἔλαθον - οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Schol. - 'whereas the natural structure of the sentence, as well as the probabilities of fact, lead the best commentators to consider οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι as the nominative case to that verb' (Grote, note 1 on p.223). We would prefer to consider οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι of the last sentence as the subject. Gramatically, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, just mentioned in the accusative in the last clause, could just do. But surely it is the Corinthians who would wish to escape the notice of the Athenians and not vice versa. More in the historical commentary.

ἀφορμισάμενοι - This is Bloomfield's own revised emendation (which he later recants). Poppo never adopts it and never improves on Bloomfield's first emendation, as Mr. Powell seems to imply (6). Both the MSS reading ὑφορμισάμενοι and Bloomfield's emendation are rare words, likely to be confused by scribes who would not get the precise sense of either. And there is no need to dwell on the palaeographical likelihood.

The MSS reading is retained against Bloomfield's emendation by Arnold (7), Grote (8), and Poppo in his third edition (9), and reverted to by Bloomfield himself in his second edition (6).

Arnold rejects the reading ἀφορμισάμενοι of Bloomfield's translation - of which later. Bloomfield's second emendation probably escaped his notice. He says: 'But I do not see on what principles of criticism we can suppose every existing ms. to have agreed in substituting a difficult reading for an easy one'. The 'lectio difficilior' objection is answered by Bloomfield's second emendation, which is as rare. As for the principles of criticism, one wonders how much the Head Master of Rugby could know about the concept of an archetype. And, as Haupt said, 'if the sense requires it, I am prepared to write Constantinopolitanus where the MSS have the monosyllabic interjection ο'.  
ο

Grote and Poppo, however, try to justify the MSS reading, and the latter's arguments are accepted and modified by Bloomfield in his second edition. The various senses of ὑφορμισάμενοι suggested by them are:

1. Haak's 'clam appellere ad littus' - supported by the definition in Bekker, *Anecdota* p.312: ὑφορμισάμενος: λάθρα καὶ κακούργως ὀρμισάμενος (10) - mentioned by Poppo. It is likely, as indicated by Poppo, that this definition refers to our passage (11).
2. Grote - for reasons explained by him, which we find unnecessary to discuss - thinks that this sense will not do and suggests 'taking up a simulated or imperfect night station', supporting it by the force of ὑπὸ as in Xenophon, *Hell.*, IV, 7, 2 (12).
2. is unconvincing: if the meaning 'simulated' was inherent in the ὑπὸ of ὑπέφρον, Xenophon would not say a few lines later σπονδὰς ὁδὲως ὑποφερομένας. On grounds of language Grote's interpretation is not proven.
1. is linguistically possible, was very probably the meaning given it by the Byzantine lexicographer, and was also accepted as the proper meaning of this verb in the earlier editions of LS (in LSJ it has been altered into the simpler 'come to anchor'). This is also applicable - as far as context goes - to Plutarch Solon 9. But in neither of these passages - or, as far as we know, elsewhere - is there any proof that the sense 'λάθρα' should be read into this verb in addition to the simpler and more economic sense. ὑπὸ means nothing more than the technical 'sub' in 'navem subducere': see Bloomfield's note in his 1842-3 edition.
3. From the point of view of context, one could accept the MSS reading in the simple sense of 'come to anchor': 'for their coming to anchor at night had not escaped the Athenians'. This is what Bloomfield did when he decided, in his second edition, to return to the MSS reading. But this will be putting it too late in the sentence. The simple sense of this part of the sentence would merely imply that it was their taking off towards dawn - not their anchoring in the evening - which is relevant to, and explains, the fact that the Athenians were now sailing towards them as they were crossing.

The assumption that one can still accept the MSS reading is thus unlikely from a mere look at the context. But historically it would also necessitate reading into this passage a few facts that are not in it, or assuming with Grote a lacuna in the narrative praeter necessitatem. This we shall discuss in the historical commentary.

Bloomfield's earlier emendation ἀφορμησάμενοι is good and well attested, but ἀφορμισάμενοι seems still preferable: a. since it does not necessitate the assumption of a vitium Byzantinum earlier than the papyri which may have this portion of the text (13), b. since it is a more technical term (and a 'lectio difficilior').

τὸν πορθμὸν -- They crossed from Patrae, as Thuc. himself says: ἐκ Πατρῶν is clearly connected with διαβάλλοντες. That is, unless we accept Grote's theory that there is a gap in Thucydides' narrative and everything down to προσπλέοντας σφίσι took place on the first evening. Our reasons for rejecting this are discussed elsewhere.

We shall show in the historical commentary why we think the Aetolian coast was their destination. πορθμὸς is 'strait' (or 'channel') - see Fraenkel, Agamemnon 306. So it is elsewhere in Thuc. Grote objects to extending the meaning of πορθμὸς to the crossing between Patrae and the mouth of the Euenus. Rightly: but this is not where they were crossing to (see historical commentary) - even if, as we have said, agreeing with Thucydides against Grote, they crossed from Patrae. The place between Rhium and Antirrhium is called τὰ στενὰ is 86, 5. The crossing from Patrae to the opposite coast of Aetolia is about 8-10 miles, which is 2-3 miles or so more than the crossing from Rhegium to Messene, called πορθμὸς in IV, 24, 4. Would one take Thucydides to be as pedantic as some of his modern commentators?

On the interpretation of this word we are in complete agreement with Gomme's first note on p.217. We cannot agree with some other details in this note: on which later.

## B. HISTORICAL COMMENTARY

### 1. General Account

Phormio was stationed at Naupactus with 20 ships. Cnemus was engaged in land operations in Acarnania, and the Corinthians and their allies sent 47 troop ships to support him. They did not think Phormio would attack their 47 ships, nor did they themselves want a sea fight, as the troops on board were trained for land operations.

As they sailed past Naupactus, they saw the Athenian fleet sailing parallel to them. They kept sailing close to the northern coast of the Peloponnese and, as night came, they anchored at Patrae. Before dawn they weighed anchor in an attempt to cross to the coast of Aetolia before they could be spotted by Phormio in full daylight. As they were crossing, they saw Phormio and his fleet sailing towards them from Chalkis and the mouth of the Euenus, and were forced to fight.

On most points, this account agrees with those of Busolt, Henderson and Hammond, and differs from that of Grote. As we feel that some of Grote's arguments have not been answered in detail and other points have been neglected, we shall now go into them from the historical point of view.



## 2. Some Details

### Anchoring at Patrae.

As indicated in the general commentary (τὸν πορθμὸν), ἐκ Πατρῶν goes quite clearly with διαβάλλοντες, and therefore their starting-point for crossing must have been Patrae. We think this is the plain meaning of the sentence, and this in itself is enough to refute Grote's interpretation that they 'returned to the coast of the Peloponnesus, and brought to for the night at some point near to Rhium, the narrowest breadth of the strait'. Grote would have us believe that they took off from Patrae towards Acarnania in the evening before the battle; that it was then that the Athenians - who, one remembers, had been sailing parallel to them - were coming towards them from the mouth of the Euenus - which is a few miles ahead - and that then they were forced into a simulated anchoring near Rhium. But this would imply a second attempt to cross, not conveyed by διαβάλλοντες which Grote has used up in his first attempt. Could one read this, too, into ὑπομεισάμενοι? One wonders.

The simple meaning of the text seems to us to imply nothing more than that they were sailing close to the coast (see note in the general commentary on παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κομιζομένων: it was probably the advent of Phormio that made the Corinthians keep close to their own coast, although this would involve them in a longer journey. By saying this, Thuc. does not need to give any further explanation why it was from Patrae that they set off the following morning. It was thus natural for the Corinthians, rather than the Athenians, to keep close to the coast - which will support our general explanation of these words). Patrae was where they put up for the night, merely because that was the place on the coast which they reached when darkness was falling - and this would naturally be their starting-place before dawn. It was probably not too dark for Phormio to sail west to Chalkis and the mouth of the Euenus: he must have done this, since he attacks from there at dawn. A possible reason for Phormio's sailing there would be that the strategic position of the place of his anchoring would enable him to cover any attempt made by the Corinthians to break out into the Ionian or to make a landing on the southern coast of Aetolia.

### Destination and possible change of plans

Originally, the Corinthians were destined to join Cnemus in Leucas. Cnemus had not awaited them, but had crossed into Acarnania and was now preparing to attack Stratus (80, 8). They either knew or guessed that Cnemus would by now be in Acarnania. In the natural course of events, one would not expect them to think of crossing by land through Aetolia, for reasons explained in III, 94, 4-5. But the new factor emerging in the threat of the Athenian fleet probably compelled them to consider this possibility. Thuc. says that they were 'crossing from Patrae in Achaea



towards the opposite coast in the direction of Acarnania'. This could just possibly be forced to mean that they were crossing there still with the intention of sailing to Acarnania. But: a. Thuc. does not say this; b. this would involve them in getting past Phormio, whereas the best course - that is, if they still thought of sailing through the Ionian - would be to keep close to their own coast until they had passed Phormio at a safe distance, and then and only then take off towards Acarnania. This would involve a loss of time while Cnemus was waiting, as well as the risk of interference on Phormio's part in the open sea. The only other course would be to cross over to Aetolia and march through it probably to join Cnemus. Risking an encounter with the Aetolians would be dangerous but at least unpredictable, whereas encountering Phormio on the way along the north coast was more than predictable, and the loss of time involved in the other course was certain. We therefore believe that this is what they decided, as well as what Thuc. plainly says they did.

Grote says that they 'brought to for the night at some point near to Rhium, the narrowest breadth of the strait ... during the course of the night, they left their station, and tried to get across the breadth of the gulf, where it was near the strait and comparatively narrow, before Phormio could come down upon them'. The Rhium myth is simply not in the text of Thucydides. We realize that Grote assumed a lacuna in the narrative, agree with Gomme that it is unconvincing, and on the grounds of our previous discussion find it also unnecessary: especially since all these 'facts' were concocted merely in order to preserve the MSS reading where the emendation is easy and would make plainer sense. Add to this the attitude of the other Rhium, 86, 3. (14).

Gomme (note pp.217-8) says: 'It seems likely that the Peloponnesians intended to land at Kryoneri' etc... This could just do for πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπερὰς ἡπειρόν. But while the Corinthians anchored at Patrae, Phormio was still sailing west. The best course for them would be to sail north, not north-west, where they were likely to encounter Phormio.

Busolt, p.977, says they were trying to sail north-west to the coast of Acarnania, and Adcock (CAH V, Ch.VIII, p.208) thinks they were sailing in the direction of Oeniadae. Although this would be closer to their original plan, we have shown our reasons for rejecting it.

A possible objection is: 'What did they intend to do with the ships once they reached Aetolia?' Not even Thucydides knew the answer to this one: after all, he does not make them reach Aetolia. But the troops on board were trained for land operations; once they have disembarked - even if not according to the original plan - the Corinthians would have defeated Phormio's intention. They would still be left with a manageable number on board. Without the soldiers, the ships would now be lighter and their captains in a better position to make whatever move they chose.

Busolt's and Adcock's interpretation would suit the words of Thucydides as well as ours does. In either case one has to theorize. We think that our assumption provides the Corinthians with the more rational course. Of course, we do not know that they did take our advice.

The historical likelihood of ἀφορμισόμενοι.

The theory of Grote, who tries to save the MSS reading at the price of assuming a lacuna in the narrative and filling it with facts which Thucydides could not have failed to notice and report, has been dealt with adequately. Fortunately, historians have not normally followed him and have adopted Bloomfield's emendation.

We have also explained why ἀφορμισόμενοι would not do in the sense of 'clam appellere ad littus', or even in the simple sense of 'their anchoring at night did not escape the Athenians'. To repeat it now from the more factual point of view: even if they had reason to try to conceal their anchoring from the Athenians, they certainly had much better reasons to conceal their taking off. After all, this was their emergency plan (see note on destination).

If, however, we read ἀφορμισόμενοι the sentence becomes clear (which, after all, is quite possibly the author's intention), and the account quite consistent. The Corinthians sailed along the coast and reached Patrae, where they anchored at night (see note on anchoring at Patrae). Thuc. would feel no need to mention this, as he does say that this is where they took off the following morning (not every Classical writer would feel the need to say: 'And, O my son, be, on the one hand, good, and do not, on the other hand, be bad'). The Corinthian commanders must have decided that their best hope of escaping Phormio lay in making a crossing towards the Aetolian coast under cover of darkness. But they could not risk landing their forces in Aetolia at night, for the reason given in our discussion of destination. Their best course, therefore, was to leave just before dawn, hoping to escape Phormio in the half-light and arrive in Aetolia just after daybreak. This is why Phormio found them at dawn on their way across the channel.

If the Corinthians had listened to Grote's advice and had 'tried to get across the breadth of the gulf, where it was near the strait and comparatively narrow, before Phormio could come down upon them', they might have succeeded in avoiding Phormio. But they would then have landed near Antirrhium - and they must have known from reading Thucydides that ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ 'Πῶς φέλοισιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις' (86, 3). Whatever the actual result, it appears to us that the Corinthians - unlike the Ionians in Herodotus V, 36 - were justified in ignoring the historian's advice.

J. M. FOREMAN  
J. GLUCKER

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Note: We are very grateful to Mrs. M. Connolly, of the University Library, Exeter; Mr. N. G. Wilson, of Lincoln College, Oxford; Mr. B. J. Hartnell, of Ripon Hall, Oxford; and the Librarian of the London Library. Many points in this article would have been left unfinished but for their kind help in procuring books and information not otherwise available in this corner of the world.

NOTES TO ARTICLE ON THUCYDIDES II, 83, 3.

1. Quoted from the Oxford edition, Oxoniae (sic) e theatro Sheldoniano, MDCXCVI. The scholia relevant to this sentence appear on p.133.
2. References are to the Everyman's Edition, Vol.6. Grote's narrative is on p.223 and his explanations of the text appear in footnote 1, pp.223-5.
3. Griechische Geschichte, III, II, Gotha 1904, pp.976-7.
4. The Great War between Athens and Sparta, London 1927, pp.98-9.
5. A History of Greece to 332 B.C., Oxford 1959, p.353.
6. We find it useful to give a short account of Poppo's treatment of this emendation:
  1. The relevant volume of his first edition appeared in 1826, three years before the appearance of Bloomfield's translation, in which ἀφορησάμενοι - Bloomfield's first emendation - was suggested. Naturally he adopts the MSS reading.
  2. In the relevant volume (1843) of Poppo's second edition, he still adopts the MSS reading and has a longer note on it - still with no mention of Bloomfield's emendation. By this time Bloomfield's 1830 edition - in which the latter's second emendation was put forward - was available to Poppo. He does not use it on this point.
  3. In the last volume of his second edition (Supplementa et Indices, 1851), Poppo has a note to this place: 'Falsas aliorum explicationes et conjecturas bene etiam Dido exagitat'. Still no reference to Bloomfield - at least not by name.
  4. In the meantime, Bloomfield had produced his second edition (1842-3) in which he retracts his earlier emendations and accepts the MSS reading in the third sense discussed by us.
  5. It is only in Poppo's third edition - published in 1866, the last year of his life - that he mentions Bloomfield's emendation. He still reads ὑφορησάμενοι in the text, and says in the note: '... pro quo ἀφορη. legi voluit Bloomfield' - and explains why he rejects it. He certainly reads ἀφορη(σάμενοι) as Bloomfield's emendation. In his Introduction to this edition, pp.XLVIII-L, he mentions both Bloomfield's editions, as well as his translation.

We assume that Mr. Powell has examined on this point only Bloomfield's translation and Poppo's third edition.

One should, therefore, restore to the apparatus Stuart Jones's note: 'ἀφορησάμενοι Bloomfield: ὑφορησάμενοι codd.'
7. In a note to this passage in his translation, Oxford 1847.
8. Loc. Cit.
9. Lipsiae MDCCCLXVI, p.179. For details about Poppo's various editions, see note 6 above.
10. The MS reads: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ κακούργως ὑφορησάμενοι - but Bekker's restoration is as certain as anything could be: not so his readings - see next note.

11. The only other place to which the lexicographer could refer is Plutarch Solon 9, where the form is ὑφορμίσασθαι.  
 1. This is a dictionary of Λέξεις Ῥητορικαί. Both Thuc. and Plutarch's Lives were read in Byzantium (Vasiliev, Hist. Byz. Emp., IInd. edition, II, 488; Krumbacher p.218). But for rhetorical style and Attic diction Thucydides is the obvious candidate (Marcellinus, Vita Thuc.I).  
 2. Our lexicographer quotes his words in the form he finds them - see ὑποτείνουσιν on the same page. We therefore agree with Poppo (in note ad loc. in his first ed.) that this is the text the lexicographer is referring to. Poppo quotes the Anecd. in his first edition as: ὑφορμισάμενοι: λ. κ. κ. ὀρμισάμενοι. This is probably an accident, since, in his third edition, it has been corrected to ὑφορμισάμενος: λ. κ. κ. ὀρμισάμενος. Assuming however that the lexicographer is referring to our passage, we think he probably did write: ὑφορμισάμενοι: λ. κ. κ. ὀρμισάμενοι.
12. In the Everyman edition this is misprinted IV, 72.
13. According to the Conspectus Siglorum in Powell's OCT, there are two papyri which may contain this portion of the text, π 5 (3rd century A.D.) and π 14 (4th-5th century A.D.) - but they are not quoted in the apparatus for our text, and the predicament in which some libraries find themselves nowadays has not enabled us to refer to the original publications. This is, however, a minor point, since even by the 3rd century A.D. iotacism was common, to say the least. See for example the texts in Debrunner's Nachklassisches Griechisch 5, 8d and 8e. Even on accepting, as we do, Bloomfield's second emendation, one still has to assume - pace Arnold - that the α was changed to υ in some form of an archetype. This gives food for thought on the problem of the archetype, into which we do not want to enter: adhuc sub iudice lis est. (The same problem arises in relation to διαβάλλοντες).
14. The only possible evidence to support Grote's theory about the location of the battle being near Rhium is Diodorus XII, 48, 1 - which Grote does not mention. Diodorus does say that the battle took place περὶ τὸ 'Ρίον καλούμενον. But Diodorus derived his account probably from Ephorus, and in the last instance from Thuc. See E. Schwarz in RE vol.5, pp.663 ff. (esp.679-82), s.v. Diodorus 38. A glance at the passage from Diodorus as compared with Thucydides II, 84, 4 will show where Diodorus derived his 'information':

Diodorus XII, 48, 1

αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ ναυμαχία  
 συνέστη περὶ τὸ 'Ρίον καλούμ-  
 ενον. οἱ δ' 'Αθηναῖοι τροπαῖον  
 στήσαντες καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι  
 περὶ τὸν 'Ισθμὸν ναῦν καθιερώσαντες  
 ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς πόλιν  
 συμμαχίδα Ναύπακτον.

Thucydides II, 84, 4.

οἱ δὲ 'Αθηναῖοι καταδιώξαντες  
 ... ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τροπαῖον  
 στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ 'Ρίῳ καὶ ναῦν  
 ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι  
 ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς Ναύπακτον.

Book Review

Daily Life in Greece in the Age of Pericles, by Robert Flacelière.  
Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 42/-., tr. by Peter Green. 310pp.

Like most French popular history, the 'Daily Life' series is always readable, though sometimes inaccurate, sometimes irritatingly facetious and often badly translated. Its best is probably Mireaux' on Homeric Greece; its worst is probably Jean Robiquet on the French Revolution. A volume on Periclean Athens by Professor Flacelière arouses the liveliest expectations; Professor Flacelière is never dull, and nobody could be dull on such a theme.

These expectations must be partly disappointed. There are few errors of fact (one of them is the suggestion that rats, which did not appear in Europe for another thousand years, were one of the minor plagues of Athens), and there are some details, such as the description of the enrolment of mass injuries, which will be informative, and interesting, to the learned and the uninformed reader alike. But scholars and philhellenes will be distressed at the rehashing of several dreary, and largely untrue, commonplaces; many of them were exploded by Grote a century ago, but some have had to wait for Gomme, or Kitto, in our own day. Thus, we read that Greek ships seldom ventured out of sight of land (though it is admitted that they sailed from Corcyra to Taranto without coasting all round Dalmatia and Umbria and Picenum); Greek women lived in subjection and seclusion, their marriages arranged by their parents (is this practice unknown in the author's own country?), love is rare between married couples and unknown between engaged couples (has the author never read the *Antigone*?), women are expected to tolerate their husbands' infidelities (if Jason, or Heracles, or Agamemnon expected any such tolerance, they were rudely disillusioned), sophists, unlike Socrates, were low fellows who expected to be paid for teaching wisdom and virtue (what does Professor Flacelière get his salary for?), and there was no genuine universalist morality until one was invented by Socrates and elaborated by Plato (in fact, the Protagoras teaches us that the general principles of humanism were commonplaces in democratic Athens, Socrates called them into question, and Plato violently opposed them). Athens is "bellicose, expansionist, and imperialist" - true, if Lincoln's America and Gladstone's England were, but misleadingly emphasized. We hear a lot about the destruction of Melos, but we are not told that Melos was as near a Spartan ally as makes no difference, nor that the Spartan navy, with help from Melos, had been indiscriminately sinking both Athenian and neutral shipping, nor that Sparta herself had exterminated the men of Plataea. More misleadingly, we are told that Athens, like all ancient states, was totalitarian, and that "any attempt to drive a wedge between temporal and spiritual functions was unthinkable": in fact Cleisthenes had done much, and Themistocles did more, to separate the secular from the religious. Much is made of the witch-hunt against Pericles' friends, and (of course) of the execution of Socrates; these events are regarded as if they had happened 'in vacuo', and it is not made clear that the attacks on Pericles' friends were a deliberate



piece of McCarthyism, and that the prosecution of Socrates occurred in an atmosphere very similar to that which surrounded the trial of Marshal Pétain. (It is, however, grudgingly admitted that the prosecution were ready to allow Socrates to escape; and that he was, according to the law, invited to suggest his own penalty -- and here Flacelière mentions his contumacious offer to accept free board for life as a public benefactor, but omits his reasonable offer to pay a 30-mina fine). He also accepts Keramopoullos' view, that the ordinary capital punishment was a form of crucifixion; it might be over-bold to say that this view had been exploded, but it is certainly not widely accepted by British or Continental historians.

This thesis, of a totalitarian and intolerant Athens, in a world in which all states were equally totalitarian and intolerant, goes back to Fustel de Coulanges; and it has disagreeable (and, here at least, quite unintended) implications. Originally, it implied that the liberalism of the French Republic was unprecedented, and possibly disastrous. It is the same with the kindred view that Athens was no real democracy, since the slaves did all the work while their masters spent all their time talking politics. This view was exploded by Pericles himself, and has been recently exhumed, for quite respectable motives, by Finley; but it used to be brought forward with two, equally unattractive, implications. In America, it was used to show that slavery is a universal, and perhaps beneficent, institution; in Europe, it was used to prove that working people do not deserve to have political freedom or responsibility. Here, Flacelière repeats the statement that slave witnesses were invariably tortured before giving evidence: in fact it is clear that they were only tortured when their evidence might incriminate their masters. Elsewhere, he rather mitigates the horrors of Athenian slavery; he says, truly, that laws existed against cruelty to slaves, but he does not make it clear that there were very few laws which protected a slave against his master, as distinct from protecting his master's interest against brutality and blackmail by strangers, and the few such laws which did exist were neutralized by the difficulty of finding anyone qualified to prosecute a cruel master or the questionable validity of a slave's evidence.

Athens is denigrated, but it is fair to say that Sparta is not idealized - Flacelière has read Ollier and Roussel profitably - but there are some odd statements. Not everyone will accept his view that there was an "aristocratic coup" about 550 which put an abrupt stop to certain "democratizing tendencies"; the present reviewer would agree that events of that time strengthened the nobility and weakened the monarchy, and thus hindered urbanization and progress, and some historians would not even go as far as that. Nor were helots slaves (incidentally, the "story of the intoxicated helot", with its faintly Sherlockian undertones, might have been elaborated), and the Crypteia, elsewhere correctly described, on Jeanmaire's authority, as a kind of werewolfery, was hardly a "slave-raid". He takes Xenelasiae to be mass deportations; here he would have done better to follow Fustel de Coulanges, who pointed out that the term clearly denoted individual deportations, though it was sometimes applied to the exclusion of immigrants from participation at particular festivals. Broadly, however,

French logic has prevented him swallowing any forms of the Spartan myth - Berve, and Chrimes, and even Xenophon himself, were less critical. Like Xenophon, Flacelière admires an army which can quickly deploy from march-order into battle order, but he is not quite sure what happened in a hoplite battle; he seems to hesitate between the rugger-scrum theory and the single-combat theory. On mercenaries, and fancy weapons such as slings and catapults, he is helpful; here as elsewhere, his details are better than his generalizations.

But his epilogue disarms much of this criticism. He is writing partly, at least, to disillusion people "dazzled by the glorious light of Hellas", who take a Swinburnian view about Greek "joy in life" and overestimate the virtues of the 'kalos kagathos' (neither he nor they seem to appreciate Grote's point that the 'kalos kagathos', like the French 'bien pensant', was usually rather nastier than the ordinary plebeian). Even Socrates could not prevent his pupils from becoming traitors and tyrants in later life (this, by a compatriot of Celine and of Drieu la Rochelle); the Eleusinian Mysteries promised salvation without much attention to morals (what, one may wonder, about the Court chaplains of Louis XIV?), but he speaks highly of Orphism (which he still seems to believe to have insisted on vegetarianism; his treatment of religion, and the supernatural in general, would be more satisfactory if he showed some knowledge of Dodd's work on this subject). Taine's view of "a Greece of religious festivals and country pastimes" (and, after all, these things did exist) may have called for some corrective - but, really, did the French public, which has for thirty years been able to read Glotz, and Bizet, and Cloché, and Hatzfeld, really need to be told that Greece was not all Alma Tadema and Walter Pater?

Several times we have noticed Flacelière's failure to realize the similarity between ancient Greece and modern France; perhaps his failure to mention, or even to imply, the similarities is deliberate, and not simply naive. It is odder that a man who has lived for five years in Athens should not mention the continuity of ancient and modern Greece (except, on page 274, in the matter of courage in war); and that he should be surprised that ancient Greeks "spat everywhere regardless". (Modern Greeks do the same, and indeed Professor Flacelière's compatriots are not the cleanliest people imaginable; the domestic deficiencies mentioned on p.20 were paralleled in a Provencal hotel in 1938, where a tourist was assured, "Monsieur, vous trouverez un seau dans votre chambre".) The translator, himself a distinguished philhellene, sometimes makes good the author's deficiency with a personal parenthesis explaining how these things are ordered in modern Greece. In general, the translator serves the author well; he is not one to think that Maxence is the name of a city, or to write to the author to ask him what "système D" means. But he leaves in an occasional gallicism; he is over-addicted to the word "veritable", and his rendering of the phrase "aussi monotone que mécanique", on page 131, is over-literal for a phrase which simply means "dull and machine-like". An odd four-letter word on the same page, and a grosser one on p.74, may make this an unsuitable

book for children, who would otherwise find it delightful. Sometimes the material is too much for the translator; the etymological points about the word 'Cericus', on p.9, may puzzle readers who do not know the French word 'céramique', and in connection with the word 'metic', on p.41, the author himself is in the wrong: far from having "kept its pejorative sense down the centuries", the word "métèque" was exhumed as a term of abuse in the 1890's by Charles Maurras, a kind of Colin Jordan of the Third Republic. The diacritical marks are a delight - they do not even follow the rather arbitrary principles sketched out in the translator's preface; but they are not allowed to assault the eyes, as so many marks, and apostrophes, and diaereses, are too frequently allowed to do, and the italics are no more obtrusive than is required, apparently, by the printers' trade union. Misprints and oversights may occur to anyone; but why is the good ship 'Paralus' called the 'Paralia', a name which belongs to a part of the Attic coastline? Again, anyone may be excused for calling Xenophon's Oeconomicus the Oeconomica, and the present reviewer sometimes gets the terms confused; but Mr. Green might have checked the name while reading the proofs. Nevertheless, the mistakes are few, and the print is singularly easy on the eye; the illustrations are excellent (how different from the blurred landscapes in some school textbooks, and the depressing tomato-soup vase-paintings reproduced in others!) and one might only wish that they did not have to be bunched together in the middle of the book.

H. W. STUBBS

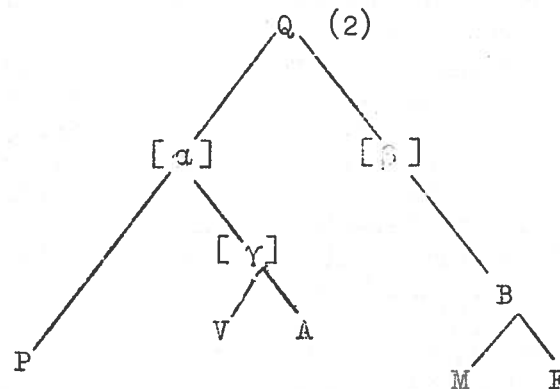
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#### THE MEDIEVAL TRADITION OF CICERO'S THEOLOGICAL WORKS

Because of the 'tabula rasa' of documentary evidence in the middle ages for Cicero's theological works - the De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, and De Fato - the only means by which one can satisfactorily reconstruct their traditions is by proceeding backwards in time from our manuscripts along lines of probability. The most important manuscripts for a critical edition of the theological works are:

- A Leidensis Vossianus 84 (IX-X cent.)
- B Leidensis Vossianus 86 (X cent.)
- F Florentinus Laurentianus Marcianus 257 (X cent.)
- M Monacensis Univ. Lib. 528 (XI cent.)
- P Vaticanus Palatinus 1519 (X or XI cent.)
- V Vindobonensis 189 (IX-X cent.)

Manuscripts ABF contain the following works: De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, Timaeus and De Fato (both fragmentary), Topica, Paradoxa, Lucullus, and De Legibus. M contains all except the Topica, as did V formerly, but in the latter manuscript several quaternions containing the text of the De Natura Deorum have been lost, and many quaternions at the end have suffered a similar fate, with the result that the whole of the De Legibus, as well as the last forty-four paragraphs of the Lucullus, has disappeared (1). The remaining manuscript, P, contains only part of the De Natura Deorum (a considerable number of leaves having been lost), the De Divinatione, and the Carmina de Hortorum Cultura of Walafrid Strabo. The relationship of these manuscripts for the text of the De Natura Deorum can best be illustrated by the following stemma:



For all the other texts contained in it (including the De Divinatione and De Fato), F is taken from A (3). For purposes of textual criticism M and F can immediately be eliminated as they are copies, M of B, and F of B and A. But it soon becomes apparent that there is some sort of a tradition between the two families, represented by APV on the one hand, and B on the other. Not only does each of these four manuscripts contain both the De Natura Deorum and De Divinatione, but three of them contain (or, at least, originally contained) all the texts except the Topica - i.e. the De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, Timaeus, De Fato, Paradoxa, Lucullus, and De Legibus. It is this fact which prompted Schwenk (4) to propose that a corpus Tullianum stood as the exemplar for these manuscripts, and he even went so far as to suggest, quite reasonably, that the exemplar was written in France, in minuscules, and was mutilated by the loss and also by the transposition of several quaternions, as well as single folios.

When was this corpus formed? The consensus of opinion seems to favour some time in the Carolingian renaissance. But here we must avoid a danger which is only too frequently ignored. When one first starts to study textual criticism in any depth, one is fed upon notions of an archetype - so much so, in fact, that it becomes almost a matter of mystical worship. The archetype becomes fixed and certain - and yet an archetype is merely a satisfactory reconstruction, along lines of probability (not certainty), whereby editors try to

get one stage further back towards the author's own autographed copy. If manuscripts ABPV of the De Natura Deorum, in this case, had been lost, then we would reconstruct an archetype out of M and F, and it would assume the importance of Q in our state of ignorance. The danger is obvious, it is of making extant manuscripts, admittedly part of an ancient tradition, stand for more than they are really worth. If, then, for the moment, we accept Q, arbitrarily, as the archetype, we may come to some conclusions from the relationship of works contained in that archetype. It seems certain that the De Natura Deorum and De Divinatione, in their immediate proximity, owe their position either to a tradition from Roman times, wherein related works remained together, or to the later work of a scribe who realised that they should stand together and restored them to their rightful places. The positions of the Timaeus and De Fato are harder to explain and possibly belong to a period earlier than our archetype. The Paradoxa, Lucullus, and De Legibus are in no way connected by consideration of content, and have come individually into the corpus at some time before Q. The remaining work, the Topica, is of considerable interest however for two reasons. Firstly, it is not a philosophical work at all, but rhetorical. And secondly it is the only member of the philosophical corpus which does not find its way into the excerpts of Hadoard, the West Frankish presbyter. On this collection of excerpts from Cicero's philosophical works a wealth of material has appeared (5) — some sensible and critical, some rashly credulous. The excerpts (6) are found in a manuscript in the Vatican library, codex Reg. Suec. 1762, and have been dated variously by, amongst others, Mollweide in the 7th century, and by Schwenk and Beeson in the 10th. In so far as the contents of the corpus are concerned, the manuscript of Hadoard (K) is descended directly or indirectly from F which, in turn, is taken from the second correctors of A and B. The obvious conclusion is that K must be of less antiquity than F, (if it is directly descended, as Beeson and Schwenk prefer), and of no real value to the criticism of these texts. Mollweide's articles on the excerpts are full of poor judgement, mingled with an almost theatrical love of drama. He reconstructs, with little evidence, (and no proof!), another corpus of Cicero's works; but even the verbose Pease (7), while mentioning most of Mollweide's conjectures, manages to pass off his rash theories. I should, perhaps, defend the inclusion of the Topica in the corpus Tullianum against the opinion of Schwenke (8) that it formed no part of the corpus, and hence its omission from M and V, most notably; my defence would consist of calling Schwenk back from the dead and asking why it should be that ABF all included the Topica and in its peculiar position. Surely there can be less chance of coincidence in the case of inclusion (or addition) than in omission? Further, it seems a safe assertion that the scribes of M and V rightfully considered that the Topica had no place amongst the philosophical works, and left it out, just as Hadoard, who took his excerpts from F, ignored the fact that the Topica was contained in F, and omitted the work for the very reason that it was not philosophical, but rhetorical.



If we may return to the theological works again, we can survey their situation in Q. As I have said, between the De Natura Deorum and De Divinatione, on the one hand, and the De Fato, on the other, we have what we may call an intruder - the Timaetus. (For in the eyes of a Christian scribe, a work which was known by its sub-title in the middle ages as "De Essentia Mundi et Cocli", after its contents, would hardly be classed with treatises on divination and Stoic fatalism - the scribe would certainly not understand that all these subjects came under the general heading of 'Natural Science' ( $\phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ ) in the ancient world). There can be no possibility that the two latter works (i.e. the Timaetus and De Fato) were transposed by some chance (as happened with several quaternions in B); we have as clear proof the highly cogent, but somewhat mathematical, calculations of Clark (9), who also shows what happened to the lacunae which we find at the end of the Timaetus, and at the beginning and end of the De Fato. By a comparison of the remains of the Timaetus with the text of Plato's work from which Cicero translated, Clark shows how an idea of the original length of Cicero's work can be arrived at by increasing the Latin text of the Timaetus proportionately with that of Plato. It appears that the Timaetus in Q occupied some 65 folios (of which only eleven, or one-sixth of the whole, are extant), so that the first three works in Q (i.e. the De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, and Timaetus) filled 191 folios - and, as Yon shows from internal evidence (10), since only a brief portion is missing at the beginning of the De Fato, we need add only one folio to bring the number of folios up to 192, or 24 quaternions (11), (in which Q appears to have been gathered). The end of the De Fato, as we have it, is followed immediately in our manuscripts by paragraph 4 of the Topica, except in the case of B, where we find the beginning of the Topica (1-3) copied by a reviser on a loose folio. So Clark suggests (12) that in Q the missing end of the De Fato and the beginning of the Topica formed respectively the recto and verso of a single leaf - and the reviser of B copied the beginning of the Topica, but not the end of the De Fato, because it did not have a subscription, and he could not identify the fragment. On the main lacuna (at 2.4) Clark has further ingenious theories, but they are of no real concern to us here.

Since, as has been seen, the De Fato is separated in Q by the intruding Timaetus, it seems unlikely that these works had a common tradition which descended directly from Roman times - otherwise they would be found in correct sequence. Much more likely is it that these works did not find themselves in near proximity to each other until Q, or some such archetype. As far as I have been able to find, the only author to show any acquaintance with Cicero's theological works during any part of the dark ages is as early as Isidore (570-636), and the next mention does not come until the twelfth century with John of Salisbury (13) among others. Indeed it is not until Petrarch (14) that these works returned to Italy, their native land - not even Dante gives any evidence of knowing them (15). The more one thinks of their place of refuge, the more one's eyes turn towards Schwenk's belief in France, and the evidence of the Bec catalogue. As with the theological works, so with the remainder of the corpus does it seem certain that the whole collection is the result of chance, where single works add themselves to the main body without any design. Does this

mean that Q is the first manuscript which contained all these works together? Although it is not necessarily so, it does begin to appear that way, for if a reasonably sensible scribe were copying all the works of the corpus, surely he would notice the connection between the De Fato and its two companion volumes. Or perhaps this is to credit the medieval mind with more sense and wider reading than it possessed; For, for what other reason, save ignorance, could the Topica be included in the philosophical corpus? The whole answer to the problem seems to lie in our thinking of the collection as a philosophical corpus. Is it not rather a collection of works of Cicero, without the necessity for specialisation? Medieval monks were not scholars, but dilettantes as their making of excerpts clearly shows. That this corpus should have come together at all is surely an example of the spirit shown by Wibald of Corbie who writes (c. 1146):

Ipsius (Ciceronis) opera universa quantacumque  
inveniri possunt, in unum volumen confici volumus.

'We would like to see all Cicero's works which can  
be found, put into one volume'.

Why were no more works added to those above? We know that the rhetorical works existed in many places, during the middle ages, so surely it is reasonable to expect that they would be added to those already collected together? To this question there is no answer. In the words of that 'worthy clerk' I merely leave it to you. However I will repeat an earlier statement, in conclusion, that the 'corpus Tullianum' is only a reconstruction, along lines of probability, but never certainty.

T. J. HUNT

### Notes

1. It is tempting to think that either of these two manuscripts, or at least a 'gemellus', is that which appears in the 12th century catalogue of the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, as follows:
 

no. 77 Tullius de natura deorum libri iii, de divinatione libri ii,  
Timaeus Platonis ab eo translatus et de fato liber, ad Ortensium  
liber i (i.e. the Lucullus which is often confused with the non-extant  
Hortensius), et de legibus libri iii.

and which is quoted by L. Delisle, Le Cabinet des manuscrits, Paris, 1874,  
vol.II, p.524.
2. The archetype, so designed by A. C. Clark, The descent of manuscripts, Oxford, 1918, p.326.

3. Not as P. Schwenk, Apparatus Criticus ad Ciceronis libros De Natura Deorum, Cl. Rev., 1890, p.349, who believes that both the De Nat. Deor. and De Div. were copied out of A, a misconception from which A. Yon, Le traité du destin, Paris, Budé, 1950, p.LIII, also suffers.
4. P. Schwenk, Cl. Rev., 1890, p.347-8.
5. See P. Schwenk, Der Presbyter Hadoardus Cicero-Excerpte, Philol., Supplementband 5, (1889), pp.397-588; R. Mollweide, Die Entstehung der Cicero-Exzerpte des Hadoards, Wien. Studien. 33 (1911), 274-292; 34 (1912) 383-93; etc; C. H. Beeson, The collectaneum of Hadoard, Cl. Philol. 40 (1945) 220-1.
6. From the following works: Lucullus, Tusculans, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Officiis, Paradoxa, De Legibus, Hortensius, Timaeus, De Oratore.
7. A. S. Pease, De Natura Deorum, Harvard, 1955, p.58.
8. P. Schwenke, Philol., Suppl. 5 (1889), p.523.
9. A. C. Clark, op. cit., pp.337-41; conveniently summarised by A. Yon, op. cit., pp.LVIII-LIX.
10. A. Yon, op. cit., pp.XVI-XIX.
11. Not 34, as the unmathematical Yon.
12. A. C. Clark, op. cit., p.336.
13. See C. Schaarschmidt, Johannes Saresberiensis, Leipzig, Teubner, 1862, p.92, who states that John knew all three theological works.
14. To Petrarch is attributed the famous MS of Cicero's philosophical works at Troyes, no.552, which contains the De Nat. Deor., De Div., and De Fato (twice!). See P. de Nolhac, Petrarque et l'humanisme, Paris, 1907, pp. 226-30.
15. See E. Moore, Studies in Dante, Oxford, 1896, p.268.

