P E G A S U S

The magazine of the Classical Society of Exeter University

October 1964 No. 2

Officers of the Classical Society 1964-65

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MARTIN JARVEY

It is with deep regret that we announce the tragic death of Martin Jarvey, during a climbing holiday in Switzerland.

To those of us who knew him, Martin was always good company, keen, able and interested in all he undertook. A young life, so full of promise, so tragically cut short leaves us all with a deep sense of loss.

To his parents especially we send our most sincere condolences.

EDITORIAL

This is the second issue of Pegasus, the magazine of the Classical Society of Exeter University. We hope now to produce an issue every term. Contributions are welcome.

We wish to keep the nature of this magazine unchanged, and it will therefore include all sorts of contributions related to the Classics, both serious and humorous. Articles on classical subjects and book reviews will be published side by side with versions, parodies, satires crossword puzzles and the like. The editors will, however, reserve the right to reject or modify some contributions, but the authors will always be consulted on these matters.

By the time this issue is published, the first year students will have settled in to their routine. We welcome them to the Classical Society, and to its various meetings and other activities. The Classical Association programme for this term is published on the next page. Apart from this, the Classical Society has many other attractions: play-reading guest-speakers, official and unofficial Bacchic revelries at the end of term.

We take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. David Harvey on the occasion of his marriage to Miss Hazel van Rest. We wish them both every happiness in the future.

Finally, I wish to thank all those who have assisted in preparing and producing this issue, especially Miss Judy Martin, the Departmental Secretary, who has so generously helped with typing and stencilling, and Mr. Terry Hunt, who collected the material during the last vacation.

B. R. MCSS

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION MEETINGS

Programme for Michaelmas Term 1964

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

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23RD

GILBERT MURRAY on
THE ADOPTION OF A SUCCESSOR:
theory and practice in the Roman Principate

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30TH

ARTHUR W. H. ADKINS on
HOMERIC VALUES AND MYCENEAN SOCIETY

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13TH

Professor JOCELYN M.C. TOYNBEE, F.B.A.,F.S.A., on
THE CELTIC TRADITION IN THE ART OF ROMAN BRITAIN

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27TH

ROBERT BROWNING on
BYZANTINE HISTORIANS

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11TH

R. W. B. BURTON on
SOME CHORUSES IN SOPHOCLES' "ANTIGONE"

THE USE OF WRITTEN DOCUMENTS IN THE BUSINESS LIFE OF CLASSICAL ATHENS

F. D. HARVEY

χρήσιμον ὥσπερ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς χρηματισμὸν καὶ πρὸς οἰκονομίαν. - Aristotle, Politics 1338 A 15-16

It is not easy to decide how much writing was required in the everyday processes of Greek business life. The opinions of scholars are divided (1), and it will be necessary to look at the evidence in some detail.

It is certainly true that, at least in the fourth century, Greeks engaged in trade at Athens put some of their contracts into writing. It is worth looking at the range of meaning of the word συγγραφή and its synonym συνθήκη (2). They are most commonly used to refer to the contract recording a maritime loan (3), but they can also refer to the document involved when the loan is for other purposes (4). A συνθήκη can be a memorandum of an agreement to pay back money (5). Συγγραφαί record the lease of temple property (6); συνθῆκαι record the lease of a bank, a shield factory, or a mine (7). Συνθῆκαι is used also of a contract of sale (8); or again, the word can refer to an agreement about the disposal of a man's estate (9), or an agreement to share a trierarchy(10). An artist's contract to paint pictures, and a sculptor's to make a statue, are recorded in συγγραφαί (11); indeed, if one hired a man's service for any purpose the conditions might go into a document (12). When a young man became an apprentice, his terms were embodied in a συγγραφή (13).

The range of activities, then, in which the details were committed to writing in the form of a συγγραφή or a συνθήκη is a very wide one. We must now ask how far down the scale this habit extended: was anything put in writing when relatively small sums were involved? All the examples which I have quoted concern large sums of money - a man's entire estate in one case (14), 105 minas in another (15); the smallest sum that I have been able to find is 300 drachmae (16), and even that is equivalent to little less than a workman's wages for a whole year (17).

At first sight, it might be thought that we have an untypical sample. All the instances of a private transaction

where an actual sum is named come from the Attic orators; in other words, the συγγραφή is mentioned because it is relevant to a lawsuit; and no-one goes to law about trifling sums. There is then, it seems, no reason to suppose that συγγραφαί were not written when smaller sums were involved.

This argument, however, ignores the motive which, according to our sources, led the traders at Athens to make συγγραφαί : "we make contracts with one another through distrust, so that the man who sticks to the terms may get legal satisfaction from the man who disregards them" (18). In other words, the possibility of a law-suit is envisaged from the start; so perhaps συγγραφαί were exceptional. But the motive which an orator emphasizes to strengthen his case may not be the whole truth, and to my mind the question cannot be settled one way or the other. Obviously, in the Greek world, just as today, nothing went into writing when the transaction was on a very small scale; no-one made a συγγραφή with the woman selling ribbons in the market-place (19). But we do not know at what level a transaction ceased to be trifling.

A consideration which is very relevant in this context is the date at which contracts were first used. For if the idea is relatively late, then one can assume that since Greek traders had managed without contracts for so long, their use would at first have been confined to a small number of transactions - the more important and the more complex. It is true that practically every example I have cited (20) comes from the fourth century: did Greek traders in the fifth century use no written contracts?

Here again lack of evidence prevents a clear reply. Our examples are from the fourth century because the extant speeches are mostly from the fourth century. It is rare to find the word συγγραφή before that date referring to a contract (21); but because the word had not yet settled into its fourth-century meaning, it does not follow that the use of such documents, which might have been called simply γραμματεῖα, was uncommon (22).

My refusal to commit myself on this question will come as a surprise to anyone familiar with Hasebroek's arguments. Hasebroek believed that most merchants were illiterate (23), and he sought to prove this by demonstrating the rarity of written contracts. His conclusions, however, are mistaken.

In the first place, he alleges that "only in bottomry loans do we find evidence of the use of written contracts" (24). As a general statement this is untrue; we have already seen that written contracts were used in a wide variety of activities. Whether or not it is true of merchants depends largely on the interpretation of a law cited in

the Demosthenic speech against Zenothemis (25). If one accepts the interpretation proposed by Gernet, as one surely must, this law explicitly recognizes the fact that merchants might take part in transactions involving συγγραφαί other than maritime loans.

Hasebroek's other arguments hang closely together. Συγγραφαί, he says, had no legal validity; in the law-courts, men called witnesses rather than producing documents; hence documents can rarely have been used. And in many cases, where we would expect a speaker to cite a document, he fails to do so. Therefore, merchants were generally illiterate(26).

I would question nothing in this argument except its conclusion. We do not need the hypothesis of illiteracy to account for a situation which can easily be explained otherwise. There are two reasons for the facts stressed by Hasebroek, one palaeographical, one legal; and both were pointed out by Pasquali (27). The Greeks, as a rule, did not join their letters together; they lacked a developed cursive script of the type with which we are familiar, and consequently there was nothing corresponding to the modern signature. So it was a very simple thing to forge a man's name on a document; and therefore witnesses were a more reliable means of proof than a document (28). The other consideration is simply this, that the law is conservative, and lags behind current practice. In Athenian law, 'proof' had come to mean the production of witnesses, the swearing of oaths and the use of torture. The law took hardly any account of the comparatively recent introduction of the συγγραφή; thus as a method of evidence the written document always took a subordinate place (29). Aristotle's discussion of the value of the written documents in the Rhetoric (30) is illuminating; he shows how a speaker can emphasize their value if they are in his favour, or pour cold water on them if they tell against him. It was not because they could not write, then, that Greek traders chose to use witnesses. This can be shown conclusively, for there are some cases in which they used both a written contract and witnesses (31).

Hasebroek also makes much of the fact that the Greeks did not use receipts (32). Here we ought to distinguish between two types of situation. When a sum of money was handed over, and there had been no previous written transaction, the payment was made before witnesses; there was no receipt (33). But when there had been a previous συγγραφή, and the payment was the fulfilment of its terms, the original document was destroyed before witnesses, or cancelled; no second document was issued (34). In neither of these cases does the lack of a receipt tell us anything about literacy. I have already given the reasons why Greeks preferred witnesses to documents. In the second type of transaction, there is a written document; we use two pieces of paper where the Greeks used one, but that does not mean

that we are more literate than they. Admittedly, the Greek procedure could lead to embarrassment. A speaker in the law-courts, for example, who wants to show that a payment did not take place, could not say "There is your receipt?"; he had to show that the payment could not (οὐδ' ἐνῆν) have taken place (35). It is thus, as Hasebroek says, a primitive system; but not an illiterate one.

So much, then, for contracts and receipts. What about accounts? Did the average Athenian who handled money in the course of his daily life keep any record of how much he spent and how much he gained? We know of one such Athenian who did - a private citizen, not a trader - and even though he is fictitious, he cannot be lightly dismissed. At the beginning of Aristophanes' Clouds, we find Strepsiades in bed, anxiously reckoning up his debts. "Light the lamp and fetch the ledger (γραμματεῖον)", he says to a slave, "so that I can read how many creditors I have and calculate the interest. Let's see, how much do I owe? '12 minas to Pasias'" (this is the form of the entry in his book). "12 minas to Pasias? What for? 'When I bought the racing-horse.' ... What next? '3 minas to Amynias for a chariot and pair of wheels'." (36). Admittedly, Strepsiades, with his extravagant wife and his spendthrift son, had every reason to keep accounts; but since he is made to go through his books at the beginning of a comedy, we can be pretty sure that this process would have been familiar to Aristophanes' audience(37); and if Strepsiades, who is not a business man, keeps accounts, then a fortiori we would expect business-men to do so.

We know of one man who kept very detailed accounts. Apollodorus tells us that he kept a record of the money he spent when he was trierarch; not just his expenses, but where the money went (ὅποι ἀνηλώθη), and for what purpose (ὅ τι ποιούντων), the price (ἡ τιμὴ τίς ἦν), the sort of currency (νόμισμα ποδαπόν) and even the rate of exchange (ὁπόσου ἡ καταλλαγὴ ἦν τῷ ἀργυρίῳ) (38). This must have been quite exceptional, or he would not have drawn attention to it. It was expenditure for the state, and very large sums were involved.

There is, as far as I am aware, no other evidence to go on; we can only ask ourselves whether it was likely that business-men should keep accounts. There was nothing resembling income-tax, so that a man had no need to keep records for that purpose; and there was hardly any credit trading (39). Yet common prudence would surely be sufficient to prompt a man to keep accounts, if he handled money at all. Strepsiades did it, and I see no good reason to deny that the custom was widespread. Probably the accounts would not have been very full or regular; but at least men would have kept some note of debts owed or owing (40).

Closely connected with accounts are inventories and lists of stock; here again, memoranda may have been kept, though we have no certain evidence (41). A broken piece of pottery, dated to the late fourth century, was found during the recent excavations of the Agora (42). It is simply a list of household vessels; we can read on it such words as λοπάδες

(casseroles), πίνακες (plates), βατάνη (flat dish), followed by figures. We can only guess why anyone should want to make a list like this, and my own guess is that it is some potter's list, a list of articles sold or for sale. How frequently such lists were made it is impossible to say.

Again, traders needed to correspond with their partners in distant cities; we know that they sometimes put their messages into writing (43); but we have no idea how often this was done.

I do not intend to go into the technicalities of Greek banking(44). By modern standards it was primitive. Nowadays, if someone wants to pay you money, he writes your name, the amount and his signature on a sheet of paper; you take this to your bank, and collect the money. In Athens, he would have to go along to his bank and tell them verbally to pay you so much out of his account. This order was entered into the banker's books. If the banker could recognize you, that was all; if not, he wrote down the name of the person who was to identify you(45). It will, however, be quite clear from what I have already said, that it was not widespread illiteracy which was responsible for the oral character of this procedure, but the ease with which a Greek signature could be forged. The bankers themselves, of course, had to be literate (46).

At this point, it is worth asking a closely allied question: was the average Athenian any good at arithmetic? The evidence is slight, but the answer seems to be yes. Aristotle says that for complicated sums, it was an advantage to know your multiplication tables up to 10 times (οἱ κεφαλαισμοί) (47); we have no idea how many people could manage this. We have a speech, however, delivered before a law-court, in the course of which the speaker makes a financial calculation (48); a pointless procedure, if few of his audience could follow it. I am inclined to think that he may even have done the sum on a whitened board, and that when he said in court τόσον καὶ τόσον (a phrase which is hard to explain otherwise) he pointed to the written figures. So too in the assembly: Thucydides represents Pericles as making a public calculation of Athenian resources (49). Plato's remark that many Spartans could not even count (50) perhaps implies that most Athenians could. Even the simplest transactions in the market-place would involve the addition and subtraction of money; and since it required no great wit to learn the lower figures in the acrophonic script which was generally used in this period (51), I have little hesitation in concluding that most Athenians could write down their sums (52).

To return from this digression: the arguments which Hasebroek brought forward in his attempt to show that Greek traders - and therefore traders at Athens, the city about which we have most information, and the centre of Greek trade (53) - were illiterate, are valueless. Nor can we say that writing materials were too expensive to be used widely in business life. We are told that a scrap of paper for a συγγραφή cost two coppers (i.e. a quarter of an obol) (54). On the other hand, how much was committed to writing, and how often, is a question that cannot be answered.(55)

NOTES

(1) See J. Hasebroek, 'Zum griechischen Bankwesen', Hermes lv (1920), 113-73 (esp. 118-35, 140, 152-4); J. Hasebroek, 'Die Betriebsformen des griechischen Handels im IV. Jahrhundert', Hermes lviii (1923), 393-425 (esp. 393-6, 416-7); J. Hasebroek, Trade and Politics in ancient Greece (London, 1933), 10-11, 21, 89-90, 169-70 (the Eng. trs. of Staat und Handel im alten Griechenland, Tübingen, 1928). I shall refer to these as Hasebroek A, B and C respectively. The fundamental discussion is B; C takes the arguments of A and B for granted. F. Oertel, review of Hasebroek C, Deutsche Literaturzeitung xlix (1928), 1626-7. G. Pasquali, 'Commercianti Ateniesi analfabeti?', Studi Ital. di Filolog. Class. n.s. vii (1929), 243-9. L. Gernet, Droit et société dans la Grèce ancienne (Paris, 1955), 173-200, esp. 186-93 (reprinted from R.E.G. li (1938), 1-44). J.W. Jones, The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks (Oxford, 1956), 219-22. G.E.M. de Ste. Croix. 'Greek and Roman Accounting', in Studies in the History of Accounting, ed. A.C. Littleton and B.S. Yamey (London, 1956), 27-31. I shall cite these by their author's name only.

(2) Συγγραφή is (naturally) always the document; συνθήκη is strictly the transaction but comes to be used of the document on which the transaction is recorded. Single and plural are used indifferently. Sometimes we find the non-technical word γραμματεῖον 'document' (e.g. Isocr. 17 (Trapez.), 23-33 passim). See Gernet, 189-91. For the use of the words in the private speeches of Demosthenes, see R. Weil's 'Index des termes du droit' in the Budé Demosthenes (Plaidoyers civils, IV (1960)), s.vv. συγγραφή, συνθήκη (pp. 181, 183-4). My examples are confined to transactions where money is involved.

(3) Dem. 29 (Aphob.) 36 (cf. 27.11); ps.-Dem. 32 (Zenoth.). 1, 2, 5, 16, 19; ps.-Dem. 34 (Phorm.) 3 and passim; ps.-Dem. 35 (Lacr.).1 and passim (the document is quoted, 10-13; it is genuine); ps.-Dem. 56 (Dionys.). 2 and passim. Anyone not content with 'passim' will find full references in Weil's index (see n.2). On shipping loans, see e.g. H. Michell, The Economics of Ancient Greece [2] (Cambridge, 1957), 345-50.

(4) ps.-Dem. 33 (Apat.). 12 (personal loan to enable a man to pay off maritime loan); ps.-Dem. 50 (Polycl.).61 (loan to pay sailors' allowance); ps.-Dem. 53 (Nicostr.).10 (loan to pay ransom).

(5) Isocr. 17 (Trapez.). 19-33.

(6) I.G. i^2 377 (Delos) = M.N. Tod, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions I^2 (Oxford, 1946) no. 54, line 19; Gernet, 190 n.2

(7) Dem. 36 (pro Phorm.). 4, and 45 (Steph.). 32,41 (bank and shield factory); Dem. 37 (Pantaen.). 5-9, 29-30 (mine).

(8) Hyper. 5 (Athenog.). 8 ff.; the man who signed it got into trouble through not paying proper attention to its terms. See F. Pringsheim, The Greek Law of Sale (Weimar, 1950), 191-2.

(9) ps.-Dem. 48 (Olymp.). 9-12 and passim; cf. ps.-Dem. 43 (Macart.) 7 (a document in a conspiracy to secure an estate); Dem. 55 (Callicl.).31 (documents in dispute about land, allegedly forged).

(10) ps.-Dem. 50 (Polycl.). 68.

(11) ps.-Andoc.4.17; Dem.18 (de Cor.). 122, from which one gathers that such a document would include detailed specifications.

(12) Lys. 3.22; Aeschin. 1.160-5. The use of a written document would not, of course, have been confined to the type of transaction referred to in these passages.

(13) Hippocratic oath. The exact interpretation of συγγραφή here is in dispute (see W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Hippocrates I (1923), 292-3); but there can be no doubt of the general sense.

(14) ps.-Dem. 48 (Olymp.). 9-12 and passim.

(15) Dem. 37 (Pantaen.). 4

(16) Lys. 3.22

(17) A.H.M. Jones, Athenian Democracy (Oxford, 1957) 135, based on the Erechtheum accounts of the last decade of the fifth century; the Lysias speech belongs to the 390's.

(18) Aeschin. 1.161. The same idea, though no mention of the law-courts, in ps.-Dem. 33 (Apat.). 36, cf. 46 (Steph.).28. Cf. Eur. fr. 578 N.^{2} (Palamedes), lines 8-9: δέλτος.. οὐκ ἐᾷ ψευδῆ λέγειν. No doubt there were other reasons as well (Gernet, 191-3); but it would be wrong to reject the testimony of the orators.

(19) Dem. 57 (Euboul.). 30-31.

(20) The exceptions are the Delos lease (n. 6 supra)and the Hippocratic oath (n.13).

(21) Gernet, 190-1.

(22) To my mind it is not particularly significant that Isocrates, writing about 392, avoids the term συγγραφή when he might have used it, and says συνθήκη and γραμματεῖον instead (Gernet, 190); for Isocrates never uses συγγραφή - the word is not in his vocabulary.

(23) Hasebrock C 10-11, 21, 89-90, etc. Hasebrock even cites Plato Laws 643D- 644A to support his case (B 395); but when Plato says that traders are uneducated, he means that they have not received the true, Platonic education which will make them perfect citizens. As Plato himself implies, they may very well have had an adequate conventional education.

(24) Hasebrock C 89, 170; B 394

(25) ps.-Dem. 32 (Zenoth.).1; Gernet, 186-9. Jones, 219, ignores Gernet's view.

(26) Hasebrock A 154, B 395-6, C 89, 169. Hasebrock (B 395) cites Isocr. 21 (Euthyn.) as an example of failure to produce a document; but this is a quite exceptional case - a hasty transaction motivated by fear of the Thirty, where secrecy was essential; naturally Nicias would avoid putting anything in writing. There were not even any witnesses.

(27) Pasquali, 245-8.

(28) For a more recent discussion of the lack of a cursive script, see H. Hunger in Geschichte der Textüberlieferung (Zurich, 1961), 74-5. Turner (6-8) dissents, chiefly on the grounds of Plato Laws 810B; but the existence of rapid writing mentioned here and in Σ.Aristoph. Acharn. 686 does not necessarily imply the existence of a cursive script. On the absence of signatures, see de Ste. Croix, 30. A man would none the less be able to recognize something that he himself had written (Dem.29 (Aphob.). 21, cf. ps.-Dem. 33 (Apat.). 17; G.M. Calhoun, 'Documentary frauds in litigation at Athens', C.Phil. ix (1914), 134-44, at 143 n.9) For the frequency of forgeries, see Calhoun, op. cit. passim esp. 137-9. For seals and other attempts to prevent forgeries, see R.J. Bonner, 'The use and effect of Attic seals', C. Phil. iii (1908), 399-407; Calhoun, op. cit., 142-4; Pasquali, 247-8; de Ste. Croix, 30. On the use of witnesses generally see de Ste. Croix. 28-9; F. Pringsheim, op. cit., 43-7.

(29) Gernet, 194-5.

(30) Ar. Rhet. 1.15.20-25 (1376 A 33 -B30). With 22, cf. Isocr. 18 (Callim.). 27-8, though here Isocrates is using συνθῆκαι in a broader sense. Cf. also Ar. Rhet. 1.2.2 (1355B 35 -39).

(31) ps.-Dem. 35 (Lacr.). 10-14; 48 (Olymp.). 9-11; cf. 34 (Phorm.). 28. The point was made by Oertel, 1627.

(32) Hasebrock A 122, B 393-5, C 89.

(ERRATUM: In note 28, for "Turner" read "E.G. Turner", Athenian Books in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (London, 1952)."

(33) ps.-Dem. 34 (Phorm.). 30; Dem. 36 (pro Phorm.). 16; ps.-Dem. 49 (Timoth.). 18. See Pasquali, 247. It was the debtor, not the recipient, who called witnesses; it was a mark of distrust (Theophr. Char. 18.5, cf. n. 36 infra) or of stupidity (ib. 14.8) for the recipient to do so.

(34) The clearest example is ps.-Dem. 33 (Apat.). 12. See also Isocr. 17 (Trapez.). 20, ps.-Dem. 34 (Phorm.). 31; 56 (Dionys.). 14-16. See also n. 36 infra. The same procedure on a public level: I.G. i^2 91 = Tod, op. cit. I^2 no. 51a = B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery and M.F. McGregor, The Athenian Tribute Lists II (Princeton 1949) D1, lines 9-12; ps.-Dem. 58 (Theocr.). 50-2; Ar. Ath. Pol. 47.5, 48.1, 59.3. See de Ste. Croix, 31.

(35) ps.-Dem. 34 (Phorm.). 5

(36) Aristoph. Clouds 18-24, 30-1. In line 23, I take "when I bought the racing-horse" as an entry in the ledger, thus making it parallel with line 31. Editors and translators, however, with the exception of van Leeuwen, treat it as a remark prompted by Strepsiades' memory, not by his ledger. When one of his creditors, Pasias, comes to collect the money (1214-58), he brings a witness with him. There is no mention in the text of a document to be destroyed, but for all we know Pasias may have come on to the stage waving one.

(37) Note, however, that there is no reference to household accounts in Xenophon's Oeconomicus.

(38) ps.-Dem. 50 (Polycl.). 30

(39) Hasebroek C 76, 86-8, 169

(40) de Ste. Croix, 29

(41) On a public level there are, of course, the numerous inventories of temple property, e.g. I.G. i^2 280 = Tod, op. cit. I^2 no. 69; references to others in Tod's note.

(42) P 10810. See H. Thompson in Hesperia, suppl. iv (1940), 135; B.A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, Pots and Pans of Classical Athens (Agora picture book 1, Princeton, 1961), fig. 23. The text is not yet officially established, but the American School kindly informs me that publication by E. Vanderpool is forthcoming. Since it was found in a filling in the Tholos (and is thereby dated c.300), it is impossible to judge from its archaeological context what its purpose might have been. Thompson (loc. cit.) describes it as a shopping list or kitchen inventory. Two similar lists were found at the same time. From the photograph I read:

κάρ̣ο̣]οπος [	(trough)
ὀ]βελίαι Δ1[	(? cups; see L.-S.-J. s.v. ὀβελεία) (a)
λοπάδε[ς	(casseroles)
πίνακε [ς	(plates)
με ? οι 1111[	(I must confess this defeats me)
βατάνη[	(flat dish)
ποτήρια 11[	(drinking cups)
λήκυθος [	(oil-flask)
ἡμίχουν [	(small pitcher)
ῥοφεῖα Δ [	(?porridge-bowls) (b)

(a) It is obvious that the writer made a mistake, and started to write the more familiar ὀβολοί - an indication that he was used to keeping accounts?

(b) Not in L.-S.-J.; from ῥοφῶ , to gulp down, as γραμματεῖον. that on which one writes, from γράφω (cf. ῥόφημα , porridge)?

(43) ps.-Dem. 34 (Phorm.). 8, 28; even Hasebroek (B 416-7) admits this, though he thinks that Greek merchants did not have agents to inform them in writing of the state of the market (B 416-7, C 82).

(44) For discussions of Greek banking relevant to our present enquiry, see Hasebroek A passim; Pasquali, 247-8; de Ste. Croix, 27-9; etc. A good popular account of Greek banking will be found in G.M. Calhoun, The Business Life of Ancient Athens (Chicago, 1926), 81-131; see also Michell, op. cit. (in n. 3 supra), 333-51.

(45) ps.-Dem. 52 (Callipp.), 3-6; εἰώθασι in 4 shows that this is the regular procedure. See Hasebroek A, 118-20; Pasquali, 248; de Ste. Croix, 27-8.

(46) Hasebroek A, 130-3; de Ste. Croix, 27-9

(47) Ar. Topica 8.14 (163B 25-8).

(48) ps.-Dem. 34 (Phorm.). 24-5. The arithmetic is not altogether straightforward; see Paley and Sandys ad loc.

(49) Thuc. 2.13. 3-8; not a Thucydidean speech, and probably an accurate report of Pericles' argument.

(50) Plato Hipp. maj. 285C. The Spartans cannot, of course, have been totally innumerate; there are other reasons why Thucydides (5.68.2) could not ascertain their numbers.

(51) de Ste. Croix, 52-3 with bibliography in n.13 on p. 52; A.G. Woodhead, The Study of Greek Inscriptions (London, 1959), 107-10. For an example, see n. 42 supra.

(52) On arithmetic in Athenian education, see P. Girard, L' éducation athénienne^2 (Paris, 1891), 136-8; F.A.G. Beck, Greek Education 450-350 B.C. (London, 1964) 123-5. Note the demonstration with the slave in Plato's Meno (82A - 85B), which implies some elementary knowledge on his part (e.g. 83E). For the use of the abacus, see de Ste. Croix, 59-60. Some Athenian abaci survive, I.G. ii^2 2777-81. For regulations on the teaching of arithmetic in ideal states, see Plato RP 536D (cf. 537A); Laws 818A, 819B-D (comparison with Egypt); Isocr. 12 (Panath.). 26-8 (cf. 11 (Busiris). 23 - Egypt again).

(53) The traders at Athens were, of course, not by any means all Athenian citizens.

(54) ps.-Dem. 56 (Dionys.). 1; no doubt a contemptuous exaggeration, but it cannot be far from the truth.

(55) It is perhaps worth pointing out that the people whose name is virtually synonymous with trade in the ancient world, the Phoenicians, found it necessary to develop writing at an early date. See D. Harden, The Phoenicians (London, 1962), 116-8.

F. D. HARVEY

FECI, FECISTI, FECIT

'Tu, Tulle, in carcerem ibis quod tantum facinus fecisti'!
'Dic potius "faceres", O Nero'
'Haudquaquam faciam'.
'Sed ego non feci, igitur "facerem" dicere oportet'.
'Dicta, revera, mutabuntur: "tu, grammatice, morituris es propter tuam superbiam". Bene feci?'

P. A. GRUNDY

AENIGMATA PARUULA

1) Nulla membra habeo, sed viam ubique
facio. Me nemo ignorat nisi fortunatissimus

(responsum: 'Dolor'.)

2) Mihi forma est quadrata: non cuiquam
obsto sed ut hoc faciam omnes volunt.

(responsum: 'Porta'.)

P.A. GRUNDY

ALICE IN THE UNDERWORLD

Overlanders wandering we have been lost
in the mist of too great certainty

Rising e have lost roots
springing ever long spaces
devouring the embittered earth

a laden cloud a vagrant storm
threatening and promising
but passing on
unyielding

Often we have bent head to dust
and succumbed weeping there penitents
but rising we are not reformed

Rising we must hurry on over land
and so afraid of falling that we build
our grottoes in the utmost sky
and if we fall fall upward

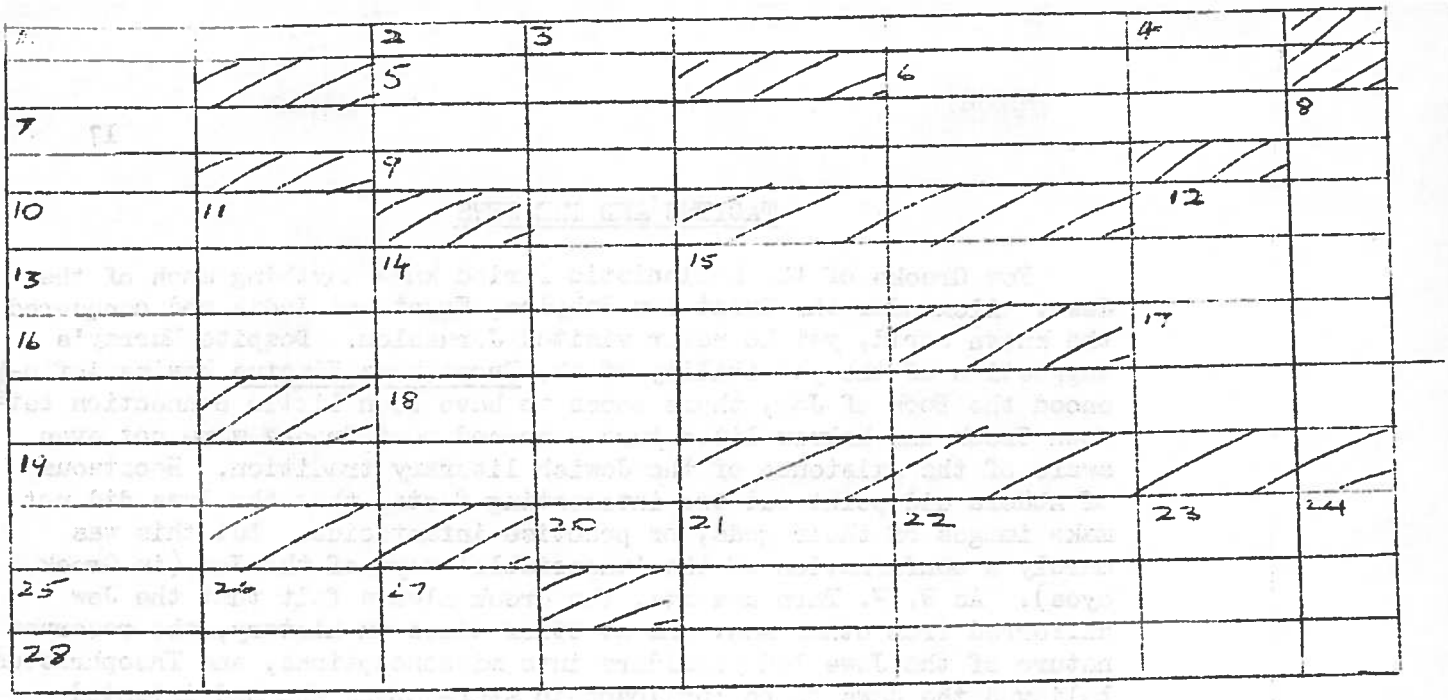
to hills and spires and pointed pyramids

Lest we should fall to thee Persephone
and feel the warm blood fatal to our ecstasy
the blood that blooms in field and flower

Lest we should hunt again Eurydice
thy heartbeat that is all the birds' decree
and prelude to all song and mortal power

Lest we should die Demeter and live with thee

JAKOB



CLUES

ACROSS

1. Founder of Greek Tragedy?
5. Lars Porsenna initially.
6. Nimirum - but no wonder.
7. School of Philosophy with connections with 2 down.
9. "Nam Venusinus - finem sub utrumque colonus" Horace, Satires 2.1
10. A very common pronoun (masc.)
12. A common diphthong.
13. "Some aspects of later - " Inaugural lecture by Prof. Clayton.
16. "Invitus, ne turpe -, ne sordida mappa Horace, Epistles. 1.5.21
17. Ante meridiem.
18. Ah! - a moth (1, 5.)
19. "Calceus est sarta terque quaterque -" Martial 1.103
20. One of the 7 Sages of Greece with whom we associate the Seisachtheia.
25. Ah!
28. A philosopher with a funny nose!

DOWN

1. A celebrated Athenian statesman and general.
2. Birthplace of Zeno and Parmenides.
3. True-blooded Spartans.
4. "- fatur lacrimans" Vergil.
8. Garland.
11. Well, I'm not sitting!
12. Ancient Altars.
14. "Cum ea de salute sua -" Caesar.
15. The Historical Muse has lost her end, poor thing!
21. "aether, extrema -,et determinatio mundi" Cic.N.D.2.40
22. Sine!
23. "Summ - niti" Sallust C.1.1.
24. We are emphatic.
26. " - - Bacche!" (2,2.)
27. Appius Claudius initially.

TACITUS AND THE JEWS

Few Greeks of the Hellenistic Period knew anything much of the Jews. Alexander the Great saw Babylon, Egypt and India and conquered the known world, yet he never visited Jerusalem. Despite Murray's suggestion of the possibility of the Prometheus Vinctus having influenced the Book of Job, there seems to have been little connection between Greek and Hebrew literature - indeed most Greeks were not even aware of the existence of the Jewish literary tradition. Hecataeus of Abdera did point out two interesting facts, that the Jews did not make images of their gods, or practise infanticide. But this was merely a confirmation of the 'unsociable' ways of the Jew (in Greek eyes). As W. W. Tarn asserts, the Greek always felt that the Jew differred from other men. As at other times in history, the reserved nature of the Jews led outsiders into misconceptions, and Theophrastus believed the Jews to be 'philosophic star-gazers who had invented human sacrifice'. In fact, there was no internal knowledge of the Jews in Greek literature until Josephus. But gradually the Jews had grown accustomed to the Greek language and civilization, due to the neighbouring Hellenistic cities and Egyptian rule. Throughout the Greek world Jews were accepted as metrics (resident aliens), and as soon as they were sufficiently numerous, they set up a synagogue and formed a private association for worship with officials who tried all cases concerning Jews according to Jewish laws. Gradually it became the Jew's right to form his own πολιτευμα - the first step towards a self-inflicted ghetto system.

In Rome, however, the Jew was not allowed such freedom. He was allowed to form a synagogue-association but beyond that he had no rights. Jews involved in scandals brought pressure to bear against the whole Jewish community. In addition the Romans began to grow angry at Jewish distrubances in the rear of the war against the Parthians, so that anti-Jewish feelings are understandable amongst the populace of Rome.

Tacitus seems to have an innate anti-Jewish feeling which, quite contrary to any logic, breaks out, sometimes quite vehemently, often very subtly. In some passages one gets the impression of an unconscious anti-Semitic feeling beneath the bare words of the surface. In the Annals Jews come to prominence in two passages. The first is in Book II when the forbiddance of Egyptian and Jewish rites at Rome by the Senate under Tiberius is related. After the simple announcement Tacitus progresses into a description of the punishment; 'they were, 4,000 in number, transported to Sardinia to put down piracy there, and if they should die because of the inclement climate, it would be a "vile damnum"' . Perhaps it could be suggested that this is simply a case of negative Roman superiority rather than active anti-Semitism, but this punishment, we are told by Josephus, was sufforod only by the Jews, not by the Egyptians. The passage is introduced by an impersonal 'Actum et de sacris

Aegyptiis Iudaeisque pellendis' without any reason attached, as if no reason is required when dealing with such races. The Jews were regarded wrongly as that race of which the Christians were a sect - in fact the names become practically synonymous. Jews would not eat with Gentiles, Christians would not attend pagan festivals - hence, the mistaken connection. So in the famous passage on the burning of Rome, and Nero's attribution of the cause to the Christians, Tacitus has in his mind not so much a religious sect, containing Romans as well as others, as Jews. Firstly he reduces them to the level of the common people 'quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat.' Then he calls Christianity an 'exitiabilis superstitio' which broke out not only in Judaea, its place of origin, but also at Rome. But by the time that he reaches the end of the chapter, he has mentioned the name Nero which rouses such feelings of horror and hatred that he actually admits the possibility of the Christians being merely scapegoats. Nevertheless, the Christians are 'sontes et nouissima exempla meritos'.

At the beginning of the fifth book of the Histories, fifteen chapters are devoted to a History of the Jews. However, Tacitus' account is far from being based on historical certainty. He connects the Jews (Iudaei) with the Idaeans who lived near Mount Ida in Crete, and places their migration 'qua tempestate Saturnus vi Iovis pulsus cesserit regnis,' obviously connecting the Sabbath, the Jewish institution probably best-known to the Romans, with Saturni dies and a worship of Saturn. His account of the Exodus must have come from deprecatory Egyptian sources - the Exodus could not have taken place in the reign of Bocchoris, a king of the 24th dynasty which lasted from 763 until 720 B.C. As is often the case in the Annals, despite his avowed intention therein, Tacitus uses an obscure 'plurimi auctores consentiunt'- the probable sources are Lysimachus of Alexandria, Manetho, Diodorus and Trogus Pompeius. Strong language is often used when dealing with the Jews, as in 'id genus hominum ut invisum deis' spoken almost from the position of Roman divine right. As in later literature, (cf. Shylock in The Merchant of Venice and Barabas in The Jew of Malta) the Jews' attraction to money is depicted in the explanation of the contributions of Jews and proselytes towards the temple funds: - 'Nam pessimus quisque sprotis religionibus patriis tributa et stipes illuc gerebant' (cf. Exodus XXX 11-16 'An half shekel shall be the offering of the Lord. Everyone ..... from twenty years old and above, shall give an offering unto the Lord.) 'Sprotis religionibus patriis' would sound to Roman ears in recitation (the usual form of publication at Rome) like a rejection of 'pietas', the tie of son to father, which was one of the most revered bonds of Roman society. Tacitus' inconsistency is shown by the way in which he complains of the Jews - 'non Caesaribus honor', while he himself does not exactly effuse love of the Caesars (cf. Annals XIII 53.4 formidolosum id imperatoris dictitans quo plerumque prohibentur conatus honesti; Annals XIV 47.1. in quantum

praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio datur, clarus). Extreme inaccuracy in the description of John of Gischala taking over the force of Eleazer condemns the Jews of irreligious dissension - 'Nox Ioannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi qui Eleazarum manumque eius obtruncarent, templum potitur.' When the Jews' opposition (Levit. XIX 26, Jer. X.2.) to a particular weakness of Tacitus (and other Roman and Greek historians), prodigies, becomes apparent, he can hardly restrain himself from abusive attacks - 'Euenerant prodigia, quae neque hostiis neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa'.

Pliny (NH XXIV 5) states that 'vincendo victi sumus : paremus externis'. So in Tacitus' works the Greek and the Jew are put on a par, as, though conquered, they showed an air of superiority, the one by his literary and scientific achievements, the other by his refusal to consort with other races. But Tacitus had a definite reason for hating Greeks and Jews - the harm which they caused to Rome. In fact, Tacitus himself connects, mistakenly, Judaism with the Greek worship of Dionysus (Hist. V. 5. 22-7):- 'sed quia sacerdotes eorum (the Jews) tibia tympanisque concinebant, hedera vinciebantur, vitisque aurea templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, domitorem orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis. Quippe liber festos laetosque ritus posuit, Iudaeorum mos absurdus sordidusque'. Tacitus deals patronizingly with the Parthians and shows no bitterness towards the Germans who are depicted as defenders of virtue and integrity. The German envoys who, on a visit to Rome, were taken to the Theatre of Pompey, and demanded to sit in those seats which were reserved for senators, shouted out that none was mightier or more faithful than the Germans, 'quod comiter a visentibus exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui et bona aemulatione.' The Dacians, too, are treated honourably:- 'nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus.' Boudicca, although cruelly treated by Romans, merely adds to Roman glory:- 'clara et antiquis victoriis par ea die laus parta.' Courageous adversaries, in fact, help build and increase the fame of Rome. The Parthians, Germans, Dacians and Britons all reminded Tacitus of the prisca fides and simplicity which was apparent in the early times of Rome herself, and even as far as the Republic which he loves so much. Such nations could not harm Rome more than temporarily, but foreign religions could strike at the very heart of Rome. In the Annals when Pomponia Graecina is entrusted to her husband A. Plautius on the charge of being 'superstitionis externae rea', Tacitus states that:- 'isque prisco instituto propinquis coram de capite famaque coniugis cognovit et insontem pronuntiavit'. The use of 'priscus,' rather than any other word of the same meaning, in antithesis to the 'superstitionis externae' is noticeable. It is part of the common idea of decline which is met with so often in Vergil.

When, therefore, one considers the background afforded by the times in which Tacitus composed his works, his anti-Jewish feelings can at least be understood because of the external appearance of Judaism manifested by the exclusiveness and fanaticism of its adherents, even if one cannot excuse his innate racial prejudice. Tacitus was writing at a difficult period, and had the best interests of Rome at heart, but he was living the wrong age, he was a republican in Imperial Rome.

T.J. HUNT

THROUGH THE MAGNIFYING GLASS

'Now position every rank
With cavalry in the centre;
Set one wing on either bank
- And from the rear I'll watch you'.

Then as the Gauls attacked his lines
Marcellus left the field.
He heard shrill shouts, such hideous signs
- And stayed to watch no longer.

Spurring his horse he galloped away,
Slipt, slid, rolled down mountain paths,
Hurried and raced by night and day
To escape those barbarous throngs.

'O Fabian, if you had seen their hordes,
-Thousands and thousands came pouring down,
Whirling spears and glittering swords,
Which hacked my troops to pieces'.

'So, Marcellus, you return,
Solo disgrace of your legion?
You know the fate that cowards earn?'
'I know, but first want vengeance'.

They marched towards the fatal scene
And found no bodies - not a Gaul.
But near, a Roman camp was seen,
Intact, with Gallic horde entire - of
forty prisoners!

P. A. GRUNDY

ANSWERS

ACROSS		DOWN	
1.	Thespis	1.	Themistocles
5.	L.F.	2.	Elea
6.	Ei.	3.	Spartiates
7.	Eleatics	4.	Sic
9.	Arat	8.	Stemma
10.	IS	11.	Sto
12.	AE	12.	Asae. (old form of arae)
13.	Stoicism	14.	Orat
16.	Toral	15.	Cli (o)
17.	A.M.	21.	Ora
18.	A! tinea	22.	Let
19.	Cute	23.	Ope
20.	Solon	24.	Nos
25.	Eia	26.	Io Io (ἰω ἰω)
28.	Socrates	27.	A.C.

Answer to the Greek Unseen Competition in 'Pegasus' No. I

1. Author's identity: The author is John Glucker, a twentieth century writer of Greek (among other things), living in Exeter.

2. The book in which the passage appears: The passage was written especially for 'Pegasus' No. I.

3. The period in the history of Greek Literature: The Twentieth Century.

4. The sort of style and diction it is written in and who are the main authors who incluenced its style: It is written in the form of a Greek philosophical discussion, and is chiefly influenced by the style of the Greek philosopher, biologist, astronomer, historian and literary critic Aristotle (4th century B.C.), by whom our author is very much influenced. It is mainly a parody of a sort on the style of Aristotle at his worst, when he takes all sorts of things for granted and draws all sorts of inferences from them as if all is clear.

5. Any other points of interest in its text: Two main points. (a) The quotation from Thucydides contains one manuscript reading which is rejected by most editors (including the O.C.T.) and three readings fabricated by our author with (as far as I know) no manuscript authority behind them. This was done to test the ability of our participants to check references carefully, though the number of inferences that can be drawn from a quotation which differs from our text is almost infinite. (b) The passage quoted from 'the poet' was written by no Greek poet at all, and is a 20th-century forgery, pure and simple. Some clues are given. The verb NEMOMAI in the Middle voice is, if we trust our dictionaries, never used in the active sense in which our author uses it. Also the phrase λιγυφθόγγοις ἐπέεσσιν is a bit strained, and would not be used by a real epic poet, although it could have been used by a Byzantine imitator who did not have a good command of the epic language, and therefore could give a semblance of a real Byzantine text. The word φιλολογικὴ (τέχνη) for the study of ancient documents is not attested by our dictionaries for Classical Greek. I still would not be surprised if I found it in some late grammarian (our dictionaries are never complete), but it does not become regular-nisi fallor-before the late Byzantine period. (There is no good Mediaeval Greek dictionary in our library to check this). The word γραμματικὴ, on the other hand, is attested by Plato, Aristotle, and almost all the Alexandrian writers.

JOHN GLUCKER

GREEK UNSEEN COMPETITION

A.

1. Author: Metrodorus of Lampsacus. The passage is philosophical and suggests a post-Aristotelian author with its use of terms such as ἐνεργεία and δυνάμει.
His home in Lampsacus explains Ionic forms like ἀιέι.
According to Liddell & Scott he uses ἐμπειρία elsewhere to include τέχνη and ἐπιστήμη.

2. Work: probably περὶ σοφίας.(I have been unable to locate a copy of Körte's text of Metrodorus.)

3. Period: Metrodorus lived from 331/330 to B.C. 278/7, a contemporary and friend of Epicurus.

4. Style: As his Master testified our author's writing shows little originality; his style is fairly plain and his vocabulary suitably abstract including many terms borrowed from Aristotle. Metrodorus was a leading allegorist, (O.C.D. s.v. Metrod. and Allegory, Greek), and his knowledge of literature is shown by the quotations in this passage - even if his text of Thucydides differs from ours at four points in this excerpt.

Judging by this passage Metrodorus' style seems to have been influenced mostly by the philosopher giants, Plato and Aristotle.

L'Allegro

B.

1. The clue to the correct answer is in line two: the use of the word τεχυῶν where we would expect τεχνῶν . At first I imagined that this was some dialect form - perhaps some kind of pidgin-Greek used to communicate with Thracians, and incluenced by Thracian to some degree; but I can find no confirmation for this hypothesis (cf. however the modern village Stepsisnimini, clearly derived from ἐπιστήμη).

2. Since, thon, τεχυῶν is not a Greek word - at least, not a word known to Dean Liddell, nor to Dr. Scott, nor to Sir Henry Stuart Jones, nor to Roderick McKenzie M.A. nor even brought to light by "the co-operation of many scholars" (see LSJ^{9} p. i. cf. iii - xiv) - I confidently deduce that THE PASSAGE WAS NOT WRITTEN BY A GREEK AT ALL. The form τεχυῶν must be a mistake; and it is not the kind of mistake that a Greek would be likely to make.

3. Not Greek! And yet free texts of the author are promised! What is this work which Mr. Glucker is so eager to banish from his shelves?

4. Readers of "Landscape with Dead Dons" by Robert Robinson (London, 1956) - and if you have not read it, sir, may I suggest you do so forthwith? - will know that no forger ever totally conceals his identity. My hopes were raised when, reading down the last letters of every line, I found NEE; but alas, the SHAM which I had hoped would follow could not be traced. But in the first letters of lines 15, 16, 17, 18 I found the answer: lambda, alpha, sappho, tau: LAST! The author is therefore Hugh Last, formerly Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford.

5. Once this is discovered, everything else falls into place. I add the following observations, which clinch the matter.
   (a) The quotation from Thucydides is all wrong. Clearly a quotation from memory. Last, being an ancient historian, had his Thucydides by heart; being a Roman historian, he got it wrong. Indeed I suspect that Last realised it might be wrong, and that the letters APOT which follow his name, if you continue reading down the left hand side, stand for lo less than "Alas, Poor Old Thucydides".

   (b) Why did he choose to hide his name at the beginnings of lines? See Matthew xx. 16: So the LAST SHALL BE FIRST, AND THE FIRST LAST.

   (c) My father's cousin was a pupil of Last's, and one day when visitng him at Brasenose, he discovered him writing out something in Greek. He tells me that he could not be certain whether the first words were ὅτι μὲν οὖν they may have been, he tells me, or on the other hand they may not have been (it is some years ago now). "What's that?", my father's cousin asked. He was a man gifted with keen intellectual curiosity. "Greek", replied Last, with the simplicity of the true scholar, and hastily put it aside. "Now, now", said cousin Algernon, who had an irresistable sense of humour," a cobbler should stick to his last, and Last, he ho, should stick to his Roman History". Last made no reply.

   (d) The fact that in line 10 the first example that springs to the author's mind is ἱστορία should not be overlooked. Last proceeds to remark that history is better than rhetoric, because it is written down. A curious remark. Did Last have a feud with T.F. Higham, the Public Orator, at the time?

(e) Line 14: "they can be preserved for a long time". Another indication of non-Greek authorship. So can pickles, for that matter. The Greeks were all of them Great Writers, and none of them would have said anything so prosaic. Last, however, for all I know, may have been very fond of pickles.

(f) In line 31 Γράψας βιβλία πολλὰ is a clear reference to Last's numerous contributions to the Cambridge Ancient History. I look forward with pride to receiving a complete set of this work as my prize. Please do not forget to give me the volumes of plates as well.

UNSINNSCHREIBER

COMMITTEE'S DECISION ON GREEK UNSEEN COMPETITION

Two answers have been submitted to us. We regret the small number. The first answer was by 'L'allegro' and the second by 'Unsinnschreiber'. We have examined the answers mainly in relation to the four items specified in the regulations for this competition.

1. Authorship. L'allegro thinks it is a disciple of Aristotle. Unsinnschreiber thinks it is Hugh Last. Both have some point. The Greek style is an imitation of Aristotle, but it is also written by a contemporary writer.

2. The book in which this passage appears. L'allegro at least tries to guess which book it is. Unsinnschreiber does not try to find out how we came by Hugh Last's composition, and therefore does not answer this question.

3. The period in the history of Greek Literature to which it belongs. Again, L'allegro answers this, while Unsinnschreiber does not. Of course, he assumes that everybody knows when Hugh Last lived (false assumption), but he should have tried to find out which period in Greek literature Last is trying to imitate.

4. The style and diction, and the authors who incluenced it. L'allegro is right in thinking that the style is influenced by Plato and Aristotle - although he should have noticed that it is more Aristotelian than Platonic in style. Unsinnschreiber is too busy telling stories about Cousin Algernon to answer this question at all.

5. Any other points of interest in the text. Both answers indicate the differences between our unseen and the present printed text of Thucydides. None of them has gone into the trouble of finding out that one of these different readings is given by some MSS (this can easily be found out from the apparatus in the O.C.T.), whereas the others were concocted especially for this unseen. None of them has discovered anything wrong in the 'quotation' from poetry.

From the more general comparison of these two answers, we get the impression that, whereas L'allegro has tried to answer the questions posed to him by this unseen, and, not knowing it was a modern fabrication, came as near as possible to an answer,

Unsinnschreiber either knew or guessed that it is a modern concoction, and he, therefore, occupies himself in answering in kind. We greatly recommend his answer as a humorous response to the unseen. But from the point of view of detecting style and influences we find L'allegro preferable. We, therefore, decide to give the prize to L'allegro.

J. W. Fitton

T. J. Hunt

J. Glucker

On opening the envelopes we find that L'allegro is MR. B. J. HARTNELL, and Unsinnschreiber is MR. F. D. HARVEY. The prize, therefore, goes to MR. B. J. HARTNELL.

J.W.F.
T.J.H.
J.G.

CATALOGUE RAISSONE

> The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblees ... And further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.
>
> Ecclesiastes XII, 11-12

A. Severyns, Texte at apparat. Histoire critique d'une tradition imprimée Academie Royale de Belgique. Brussles, 1962

Mr. Gladstone, a great admirer of the Homeric problem (amongst other problems), coined the word 'Homerology'. One finds it gratifying to see that all the examples of this word cited by the Oxford English Dictionary go back to the 1880s and 1890s. The danger of over-specialization in the Classics is now enormous, and one is sometimes not too sarcastic in predicting the time when we shall have a lecturer in Herodotus Book I, a professor of Livy Book XXII, and so on. Of course, one has to specialize in order to do competent research, but it may do one some good not to forget the old concept of Literae Humaniores, the difference between the Classics and entomology-and one's readers.

Textual criticism has been considered by some adverse critics (and there are many who could not care less for the difference between 'qua' and 'quam' in Virgil VI, 96), as no more than intelligent proof-reading. This is, of course, not true. In some respects - in sifting and examining the evidence - textual criticism is much like a natural science, in another, and more important, respect - that of actually editing the text and emending it - it is very much of an art. Its best pratitioners were men of immense knowledge, who tried their best to overcome the errors of the tradition and come as near to what was written by the Greek and Roman (and English and French and American, for that matter) writers as possible. They considered the proof-reading part as an important necessity, not as the final aim. In the hands of Professor Severyns, one suspects, textual criticism really becomes intelligent (and very dry) proof-reading.

The book is, as my title shows, a 'catalogue raisonné' of errors in the printed editions of the fragments of Proclus' Chrestomathia, known to us in vol. V of the O.C.T. Homer. To make this more concrete: this book - all 357 pages of it - is a very detailed discussion of errors in the printed editions of a Greek text which occupies ten pages only. Professor Severyns finds this a satisfactory procedure: by analysing in microscopic detail all the various types of errors which have crept into a tiny bit of a Greek text in the hands of various editors, by classifying them and by extracting some general conclusions,

one can teach a lesson not only to editors of Proclus, but to editors in general and anyone interested in textual criticism. There is no doubt about Professor Severyns' competence on this subject: he has produced books and articles on this text, and his knowledge of the details can hardly be surpassed: in fact, he has turned himself almost into a 'Proclologist' (or should one say 'Proclosopher'?). The questions I should ask are two: 1. What are, for the general reader, the most important conclusions to be drawn from this voluminous study? 2. Since the book is intended not only for editors of Proclus - do the conclusions emerge out of the ocean of details clearly enough so as to be appreciated, without much difficulty, by us?

There is one general conclusion which can be drawn from this book: editors - and, therefore, also their printed texts - are not infallible. They are careless in collating, careless in using their, or other people's, collations, careless in reading the proofs, ignorant of some of the rules of accentuation, enclitics, breathings and suchlike things, and sometimes ignorant of some more important grammatical and dialectal points. Apart from this, some unintentional errors creep into printed texts and are not corrected when the proofs are read. The apparatus criticus is not always clear and sometimes misleading. Some so-called standard texts (we know - or we should know - that they don't exist - or only for commercial purposes) come in for severe criticism, and a teacher who is very often confronted with a blind admiration shown by his students to an Oxford Text - <u>any</u> Oxford Text - is glad to find that even the great T. W. Allen was a little sluggish when he had to leave Homer 'proper' for the volume of Fragmenta et Testimonia. (He relied for these, says Severyns, pp. 308-319, on inadequate previous collations without checking on them, and the evidence seems to be convincing). We have known all this before - at least those of us who have tried to compare various editions of the same text and see how their authors treat the manuscripts and each other. But it needed some more particular attention and study.

But what I would consider as Professor Severyns' main achievement is the new light he sheds on the technical side of producing a new edition and its consequences for the text. We learn here - what at least some of us have known before - that nowadays editors do not prepare their collations and editions using one manuscript as a basis, but that they usually collate new manuscripts - and prepare the new edition using one of the existing printed editions (this enables our author to produce his 'stemmata editionum': diagrams of 'who used whose printed editions as a basis'). This in itself is indifferent: one always has to choose a starting point, and perhaps a printed edition is more accurate than <u>a</u> manuscript. But here beginneth the trouble, too. When an editor has decided on what points his edition will differ from his 'basis', he prepares his new text. He either

copies out the text, or prepares what Severyns calls a 'manuscrit belge': a printed copy of the edition he has used, with his corrections. This means one thing, at least: that in most cases some of the errors in the printed edition which served as a basis would not be eliminated from some of the later editions based on it. So mistakes remain long after the editor who made them has been superseded: especially so mistakes in the 'minutiae' like accents and enclitics. As one would expect, more mistakes would survive in an edition based on a 'manuscrit belge'. The act of copying out the text makes learned editors a bit more aware of their predecessors' errors. Though some errors have a long life anyhow.

So there is something to be learned from this book - even, for all that I know, something new. Yet I do not feel that I could honestly recommend the reading of it - all 357 pages of it - to students: not even to research students. In fact, once I have read it myself and drawn the main conclusions, I am not looking forward to re-reading it. Why?

Presentation. What one would expect from a book like this is to present briefly the main general points which would interest editors (not just of Proclus), textual critics (not just of Proclus), and some general readers (not just of Proclus), this to be followed by examples from the text to illustrate the points - something on the lines of W. M. Lindsay's Introduction to Latin Textual Emandation. Instead of doing this, Professor Severyns seems to sacrifice everything to detail and method. His method is a combination of the biological catalogue, the typical French 'Doctorat d'Etat' and the seminar-room method of exposition. Every part of the book is divided into chapters, paragraphs, and every chapter has a sort of unofficial 'avant-propos' which sets the problem (mainly by overstating the obvious and producing more and more subdivisons with new terms and their definitions), and ends with a 'conclusion'. The trouble about these 'conclusions' is that they are not always really conclusions. In many cases the general conclusion - the thing that would interest simple folks like myself who are not going to re-edit Proclus after Professor Severyns has done it so well - appear in the middle paragraphs, labouring under the heavy weight of massive lists of errors and discrepancies and their class-room manner of discussion.

For this is what the bulk of this book consists of: lists upon lists upon lists of errors and discrepancies, and a rather conversational style of discussion which would suit a seminar on Proclus, and in all probability may have originated there ('How can one explain the survival of this error in later editions? Can one say that ...? No, because ...' and so on). This goes on and on - and on, and makes what might have been a very useful and interesting article or booklet into a tedious, 357 page collection of 'causeries'. The reader, however, cannot afford to skip much, since some of the more important conclusions come unexpectedly and may be missed by skipping.

One feels that Professor Severyns has forgotten that, for the reader who is not specializing in Proclus, the facts should be subordinated to the main points. Perhaps he has forgotten that the readers do not all of them specialize in Proclus.

One can, perhaps, end with a quotation (not from Proclus), and a story. The quotation is taken from Cicero, De Oratore II 308-9: Multa enim occurunt argumenta, multa quae in dicendo profutura videantur; sed eorum partim ita levia sunt, ut contemnenda sint ... quae autem utilia sunt atque firma, si ea tamen, ut saepe fit, valde multa sunt, quae ex eis aut levissima sunt aut aliis gravioribus consimilia, secerni arbitror oportere atque ex oratione removeri: equidem cum colligo argumenta causarum, non tam ea numerare soleo quam expendere.

Now the story: A famous French orientalist once prepared an edition of an Arabic text. He received the proof-sheets: 50 pages of introduction and a few hundred pages of text, translation and notes. After a day or two he asked for permission to change the introduction, which, he said, he was finding less and less satisfactory. One cannot say No to a famous scholar: after all, a new major work can come out of this. So he sat in his attic for a fortnight and revised the thing. He came out with a completely new introduction: 5 instead of 50 pages. 'I have put into these five pages', he said, 'everything I had said before'. I believe him.

JOHN GLUCKER