

T. C. W. STINTON

COLLECTED PAPERS  
ON GREEK  
TRAGEDY

With a Foreword by Hugh Lloyd-Jones



CLARENDON PRESS

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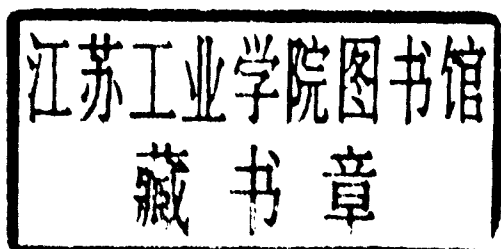
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## FOREWORD

Thomas Charles Warren Stinton was born on 7 February 1925 at Loughborough. His father was then Headmaster of the Grammar School there, and later became Headmaster of the Grammar School at Newcastle under Lyme. At Shrewsbury, a school with a notable classical tradition, Stinton was taught by a famous master, D. S. Colman, so that he had an excellent grounding in the classics. In 1944 he was elected to a scholarship at New College, Oxford; his undergraduate career was interrupted by military service in India, but he obtained First Classes both in Mods and Greats, taking his degree in 1949. Stinton profited much from the seminars of Eduard Fraenkel.

After a brief stay at Magdalen College as a Senior Demy, Stinton was elected to a Junior Research Fellowship at Merton College, which he held till 1953. At this time his main interest was in philosophy, and he began a study of Aristotle's categories. But this was never completed, for in 1953 he was elected Fellow and Tutor in Classics at Wadham College, and began to concentrate his interest upon Greek literature, and particularly Greek tragedy. Sir Maurice Bowra, at that time Warden of Wadham, with his usual flair for discerning promise in the young, had become aware of Stinton's gifts and realized that he would teach the Greek language and literature effectively.

Stinton as a young man was pale, dark, and intense, with steel-rimmed spectacles and beak-like nose. He had much of the shyness common among young scholars, particularly if they are English, and life in the common room of Merton College was not such as to diminish this. But in time he gained assurance, and after his move to Wadham would stand up to the formidable Warden and fully hold his own. Like Samuel Johnson, Bowra in his eagerness to win an argument would often catch up whatever debating tool lay to hand, however blunt; and it was highly entertaining to see how Stinton, often in concert with Humphry House, the authority on Coleridge, Keats, and Dickens, would good-humouredly resist the Warden's very positive contentions. Stinton had a singularly candid nature and an unusual determination to get as near as possible to truth, and his keenness in argument was tempered by an engaging courtesy. These qualities, together with his wide interests, by no means restricted to ancient literature, made him an effective lecturer and tutor. Sometimes in his anxiety to get things right he would irritate colleagues or pupils by his slowness, but this fault was linked with some of Stinton's finest qualities, and was easily forgiven.

Stinton's friends had come to think that he would be content to spend every term in Oxford, and always to remain a bachelor. But in 1971-2 he spent a term, with great success, as Visiting Professor in the University of Toronto, and in 1972 he married Sylvia Chilver and enjoyed a singularly happy married life.

Stinton published virtually nothing before reaching the age of forty, but after that his learned labour bore fruit in a series of articles which every scholar interested in Greek tragedy must consult.

Stinton was an acute and painstaking textual critic, as one sees above all from his 'Notes on Greek Tragedy' (Chapters 13 and 16). Twice he offered an interpretation of an entire ode, in 'The First Stasimon of Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*' (Chapter 20) and in 'Heracles' Homecoming' (Chapter 22), an article dealing with a chorus in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, a play on which he often lectured and to whose problems he frequently returned; and in the longest of his productions, 'Euripides and the Judgement of Paris' (Chapter 4) he offered an entertaining and penetrating study of the poet's various treatments of that fascinating subject. In 'Hamartia in Aristotle and Greek Tragedy' (Chapter 10), he made an important contribution to the modern discussion of tragic error, and in 'Si Credere Dignum Est' (Chapter 14), he showed that expressions of disbelief or scepticism in Greek literature are by no means always what they seem. A brief article about a fable in Phaedrus (Chapter 21) attests his familiarity with the modern literature about myth, a subject about which he at one time planned to write a book.

Stinton made a particularly valuable contribution to the study of the lyric metres of Greek tragedy. 'Two Rare Verse-Forms' (Chapter 3), 'More Rare Verse-Forms' (Chapter 9), 'Interlinear Hiatus in Trimeters' (Chapter 18), and above all 'Pause and Period in the Lyrics of Greek Tragedy' (Chapter 17) are indispensable to the serious student of this subject.

For many years Stinton had been engaged on the composition of a commentary on the *Prometheus Bound*, which he did not believe to have been shown not to be by Aeschylus. Unfortunately it has not proved possible to publish what he left, but his material will be useful to the scholar who undertakes the task.

Christ Church, Oxford  
29 April 1989

HUGH LLOYD-JONES

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# I

## REVIEW

### G. Méautis, *L'Authenticité et la date du Prométhée Enchaîné d'Eschyle*<sup>1</sup>

Despite his title, G. Méautis devotes only two pages to the question of authenticity. Schmid's view is rejected on the ground (1) that the *Prometheus Lyomenos* is by Aeschylus, therefore the *Prometheus Desmotes* must be (a strong but not conclusive argument); (2) that we have only 7 out of 80 plays written over 25 years, so that we cannot assess the differences of language, style, form, and content from A.'s other plays. This might be a reasonable conclusion, but it is surprising to find a rejection of all such arguments at the start (it does not prevent M. from using them: see B (7) below). M. now proceeds to his main thesis, that *PV* has an 'arrière plan politique'. Political interpretations of *PV* have never been conspicuously successful (recent specimens are collected by Lloyd-Jones in *JHS* lxxiv (1954), 237-8). M.'s contention, that Zeus stands for Hieron of Syracuse and Prometheus for pity incarnate, is not immediately plausible, and his arguments do not serve to establish it.

A. General. (1) Z. is depicted in *PV* as a cruel tyrant; Hieron, of whom A. would have had first-hand knowledge as a result of his first visit to Sicily, was just such a cruel tyrant; therefore Z. represents Hieron. (2) In the *Eumenides*, A. is concerned with the current state of political affairs in Athens; therefore in *PV* he is also concerned with the current state of political affairs (this argument is not explicit).|

B. Particular. (1) 122 Διὸς αὐλήν: αὐλή is not used elsewhere by A., and could not here mean 'dwelling'. The true sense is given by *Od.* iv. 74, where Telemachus marvels at the splendours of Nestor's palace: Ζηνὸς που τοιῆδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἐνδοθεν αὐλή. 'Il s'agit bien dans Eschyle d'un palais, d'une cour que fréquentent les courtisans et cela nous est un indice précieux de l'arrière plan politique de la tragédie. Le poète avait fréquenté une telle cour à Syracuse, connaissait son atmosphère, la cour de Z. n'est pas sans rappeler celle d'un autre tyran, Hiéron . . .'. (2) 180 ἄγαν δ' ἐλευθεροστομεῖς: 'freedom of speech is absent under a tyranny; the political significance of the word is shown by *Supp.* 948, *E. Andr.* 153'. (3) 222 τύραννος, 224 τυραννίδι: the

<sup>1</sup> Neuchâtel-Geneva, 1960.

repetition is deliberate, and reveals the 'arrière plan'. (4) The Oceanus scene can only be explained by the 'arrière plan'. 'A la cour d'Hiéron, Eschyle a dû en rencontrer de ces vieux courtisans à la fois retors et naïfs, qui croient avoir l'influence sur l'esprit du maître.' (5) *PL* ends with agreement and harmony. This idea of a reconciliation between Z. and the Titans is Orphic (Mazon, ed. Budé, i. 152); Cicero says that A. was a Pythagorean; Sicily is the chosen home of Orphism and Pythagoreanism: therefore the play was written for a Sicilian audience. (6) It is natural that the description of Etna should occur in a play written in Sicily; cf. *P.P.* i. (7) The choruses of *PV* have a much simpler rhythm than those of the other tragedies; it was harder to find adequate singers in Sicily than in Athens: therefore these choruses were written for Sicilian production.

Most of these arguments are clearly worthless.

A: Z. might just as well be modelled on Hipparchus or the Satrap of Sardis; but there is no reason to suppose that he was modelled on anyone: the argument begs the question. B: (1) *αὐλή* means 'dwelling' or 'hall', though in *Od.* iv. 74 it could have the original meaning 'courtyard'. The political sense is not found before New Comedy. (2) Of course Prometheus is under constraint. (3) *τύραννος* in tragedy often means simply 'ruler'; and a single repetition is not necessarily significant, though M. several times asserts that it is. But in fact the word occurs ten times in *PV*, which is significant; and in A. its sense is never good, like that of *βασιλεύς*, though it is often unambiguously bad (I owe this observation to Lloyd-Jones). So the point is valid, though not as M. states it. (4) Even if M.'s assessment of the Oceanus scene is correct, it cannot be used as an argument. (5) The reconciliation is not Orphic merely because it first occurs in Pindar; and if it were, the conclusion would still not follow. (6) This point has often been made and met. In general a passage in drama cannot be convincingly shown to have external reference unless it is dramatically unjustified. But the description of Etna, though certainly suitable for a Sicilian audience, is quite in place. (7) The *structure* of the choruses is simple; the *rhythm* of the second stasimon is as complex as anything in A. But M.'s blanket rejection of Schmid's stylistic arguments stops him from using this one.

From the thesis which he takes to be established by these arguments, M. concludes that *PV* and *PL* were written in Sicily during A.'s second visit.

This date he supposes to be confirmed by the close relation of the plays to the *Oresteia* (both depict evolution ending in harmony, and the beacon speech in the *Agamemnon* is akin to the geographical speeches addressed to Io and Heracles). The traditional antithesis between the attitude to Z. in the *Oresteia* and *PV* is easily resolved: in *PL* Zeus is benevolent. M. does not consider Farnell's argument (*JHS* liii (1933), 40–50) that Greek gods do not develop in character, the Erinyes being no exception. (Indeed, M. refers to no modern literature at all except Schmid, *Prometheus*, Schmid-Stählin, Séchan, *Le Mythe de Prométhée*, Focke in *Hermes* lxxv (1939), Glotz, *Histoire grecque*, and

two works of his own, and, apart from a certain conjecture of Stanley, to no modern editions except Mazon, Rose, and Weir Smyth's Loeb edition of the fragments, which he wrongly attributes to Lloid-Jones (*sic*): so that it is often impossible to tell what he considers to be new or even controversial.) He might have argued that A. did not complete the trilogy owing to his death (so D. S. Robertson in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 1938, 9 ff.), or did not write | a third play because only two were needed in Sicily (H. J. Rose); but in fact he never refers to any third play.

The bulk of the essay (9–59) consists of a running commentary on the play and fragments, much of which does not bear directly on the main thesis. Some of it is sound, but hardly any is original.

14: ἀτολμός εἰμι does not mean 'I do not dare', but 'I cannot bring myself to', and so in 17. 169: μακάρων πρύτανις is rightly rendered 'maître absolu'. 250: 'A. here goes flat counter to Hesiod, of whom he was certainly thinking' (but cf. Wilamowitz, *Interpretationen*, 131), 'since ἐλπίς, left in Pandora's jar, is the only evil spared to men. It cannot be translated "hope", since it would be absurd of Hesiod to affirm that men do not possess hope: we should render "attente", "prévision".' ἐλπίς can of course be neutral (see Fraenkel on Ag. 1434); but it is equally absurd to say that men have no expectation of the future. They have not, of course, prevision; but ἐλπίς does not mean 'prévision'. (For the literature on this notorious problem see O. Lendle, *Die 'Pandorasage'*, 105 n.) 305: Mazon's 'colère' is unexceptionable. 329 f.: if this probably corrupt passage does refer to a lost *Titanomachy*, as Mazon suggests, there is no irony. (M. adopts without question the orthodox view of Oceanus as a timorous, time-serving old hypocrite. His comments on 388 ff., 'Prometheus plays with Oceanus like a cat with a mouse', etc., are baffling). 385: Mazon does not translate μὴ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν by 'excès de bonté'. He translates εὐφραίνονται by 'par excès de bonté'—a misinterpretation, but not impossible, as is M.'s 'paraître penser faux' for μὴ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν. 388: 'in spite of the authority of the scholiast, Mazon, and Rose' M. translates θρήνος οὔμός by 'my lament', an interpretation which he claims is supported not only by Ag. 1322 but by PV 615. As all editors since Schütz have understood the phrase to mean 'your lament for me', his selection seems invidious; but in any case this interpretation does not depend on authority, but on the argument, stated by Rose and quoted by M., that P. has not in fact lamented his fate to O. He has of course done so to the chorus, hence θρηγῶν at 615; the relevant parallel is θρηγείσθαι in 43. Ag. 1322 is nothing to the point. 509: 'this note of optimism in spite of all, this belief that a beneficent power directs the world, is found also in the *Agamemnon*', cl. 1485–8. The 'optimism' is dispelled by P. in the next line; and it is certainly not found at Ag. 1485 ff. or elsewhere in that play; any more than a belief in a beneficent power. (Nor is Z. a god of pity, either in the *Iliad* or in A. (p. 59).) 887 ff.: 'Rose is wrong in saying that this ode is not authentic. (1) There is a γνώμη at 224 and a γνώμη here; (2) the ideas resemble those of 526 ff., therefore this is Aeschylean.' These arguments refute themselves. (Rose's objection, that the γνώμη is flat

after Io's exit, is also invalid. Kranz' arguments against the authenticity of this and the preceding ode (*Stasimon*, 225–6), not mentioned by M., are much more acute, but can be met.) 526 ff.: this is not a hymn to joy, or anything like it. 560: it is well observed by M. Hofstetter that the conventional persuasion of Hesione by P. is sharply contrasted with the violent rape of Io. 944 ff.: Hermes' words are well compared with those of Kratos' opening speech. 1026 ff.: 'this means, for Hermes, that P. will never be freed.' This is correct, but M. does not meet D. S. Robertson's objections to Chiron as *διάδοχος τῶν σῶν πόνων* (*JHS* lxxi (1951), 150–5); and on p. 56 he seems to think that this condition is not only necessary but also sufficient for P.'s release, which makes nonsense of his interpretation of *PL*.

M.'s reconstruction from the fragments has not the 'certitude' which he claims. *PL* may have been parallel in structure to *PV*, but we cannot be sure. Zeus is not shown to be full of understanding and affection for the human race (this seems to be inferred (1) from his release of P., which begs the question, cf. Lloyd-Jones in *JHS* lxxvi (1956); and (2) from *οἰκτιρεῖ*, fr. 199. 6). But M. does well to insist on the importance of Ath. 672f and 674d as evidence of *voluntary* reconciliation. |

M. concludes with a brief sketch of the political background of the *Oresteia* and *Prometheia*. Again, he claims too much. We do not know at all why A. went to Sicily on either occasion. Nor do we know for sure what his relations were with political parties in Athens: it is certainly illegitimate to infer from the *Eumenides* that he was against Ephialtes' reforms. The Sicilian background would be appropriate if *PV* were a political play: this is all. Even if M. had shown independently that the play was late and written in Sicily, he would still not have proved that it had any political reference; to argue from the supposed political reference to the date is out of the question. Such indications as we have certainly seem to favour a late date; but they are far from conclusive, and M. adds nothing to them.

COMMUNICATION<sup>1</sup>

## The First Sicilian Slave War

It is not easy to see what kind of reader Mr Green is addressing in his recent article on 'The First Sicilian Slave War' (*Past and Present*, xx (Nov. 1961), 10–29). The detailed presentation and voluminous notes suggest the specialist. But as his main conclusion—that the war 'was not an *Urkommunist* revolution against slavery, or, indeed, any kind of socialist or left-wing economic revolt' (p. 24) but was sparked off by the nationalist ardour of Syrians and Cilicians, and maintained by the religious fervour of the mystery cults with which it became associated—is already familiar to specialists,<sup>2</sup> we must assume that it is directed to the general reader. It might, therefore, be worthwhile to mention a few points on which the general reader could be misled.

## SOURCE CRITICISM

'Our evidence for them [the slave revolts], as might be expected, stems almost wholly from pro-Roman sources' (p. 10); 'the one writer who probably considered the slaves' wars from the insurgents' point of view was a Jewish freedman, Caecilius of Cale Acte; the loss of his monograph *On the Servile Wars* is irreparable' (p. 25 n. 2); 'it seems likely that Livy, when composing his account (on which Florus was dependent), consulted Caecilius . . . ; it would be from this pro-servile source that he drew evidence about the slaves' first triumphs' (p. 29).

A simple picture emerges: on the one hand the main evidence, the account of Diodorus Siculus, based on pro-Roman sources; on the other the lost pro-servile monograph of Caecilius, used by Livy and through him Florus, not available to or suppressed by Diodorus. This picture is utterly unwarranted.

Granted that Caecilius was in fact a Jewish freedman and that his

<sup>1</sup> Written in collaboration with W. G. G. Forrest.

<sup>2</sup> See Joseph Vogt's monograph *Struktur der antiken Sklavenkriege* (Mainz, 1957), to which Mr Green refers on matters of detail.

book was a serious work of history,<sup>3</sup> (i) it does not follow that he had servile sympathies any more than it follows that men of working-class origin have working-class sympathies; (ii) even if he had, he was most unlikely to have voiced them in Rome, where he taught rhetoric; (iii) even if he did voice them, he cannot have spoken with any authority, since it is very improbable that there were any unofficial, pro-servile written records of the war, and oral tradition at that range of time would be quite unreliable. We cannot even be certain that Caecilius wrote before Livy, who, according to Mr Green, introduced him to our tradition.

We cannot then assume that Caecilius' book was pro-servile; that it would have told us anything we do not know from other sources; or that anything in Florus derives from it. Florus is, in fact, violently anti-servile in tone; much more so than Diodorus. Indeed, Diodorus' sympathetic account of the slaves' plight before the outbreak is used by Rathke<sup>4</sup> as an argument for identifying one of Diodorus' sources as Posidonius, an identification which is pretty certainly right.<sup>5</sup>

Now Posidonius, unlike Diodorus, was a powerful intellect; and Mr Green might have hesitated to father on him the statement that the rebellion 'was entirely unexpected, a bolt from the blue' (p. 11)—a statement which would make nonsense of the passage in which it occurs (xxxiv–xxxv. 2. 25), where the causes of the outbreak are analysed. The full text reads: '*to the majority* [our italics], the rebellion came as a complete surprise, but to those who were capable of a sensible judgement, the outcome was rational enough'.

Whether Posidonius was either the ultimate source or the only source are other questions. He came, like Eunus, from Apamea, and might, therefore, have a particular interest in the war; he had a considerable interest in slavery; he could have collected much original material on his travels.<sup>6</sup> But the amount of detail in Diodorus (and relatively in Florus) is surprising when we remember that Posidonius was writing some fifty years after the event. It is tempting to look for another, earlier, authority, and one lies to hand in the annalist L. Calpurnius Piso, who has been suggested as one of Livy's sources by Rathke (op. cit. 16 ff.). An excessive interest in the slave war would be understandable in a man who was not only one of the successful consuls (in 133), but also (probably) one of the less successful praetors

<sup>3</sup> Doubts have been raised on both points, but Mr Green is probably right to follow Jacoby (FGH 183, Kommentar) in rejecting them.

<sup>4</sup> *De bellis servilibus* (1874). Rathke's monograph, unlike Caecilius', is not lost, though Mr Green does not mention it. We have seen only the *capita selecta* published in 1904, where, for Posidonius, see pp. 7 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Jacoby, FGH 87 F 108, Komm. pp. 206–8; cf. F 8.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. K. Reinhardt, art. 'Posidonius' in *RE*.

a few years before. Piso's annals were brief and we cannot be sure that they treated the slave war at all. But they may have done so and in any case another work cannot be ruled out.

Mr Green does not mention Posidonius, or Piso in this context.<sup>7</sup> Serious thought about either could be more helpful than speculation about a shadowy rhetorician. For example, Diodorus' mistake about the Roman *equites* (p. 29 n. 31) may well be due, as Jacoby suggests (loc. cit. 207), to deliberate falsification by the pro-senatorial Posidonius. Might anything else in Diodorus' account be similarly coloured; or affected by Posidonius' views on slavery? Again, Piso was, according to Mr Green (p. 17), an 'anti-Gracchan'. Indeed he was, in 123 (Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 20. 48 etc.) and probably as early as 132; but Gracchus' methods in 133 alienated several important men who had initially supported his agrarian schemes and probably continued to do so even after they had abandoned him. Piso might be one of these,<sup>8</sup> for the Calpurnii Pisones have some links with pro-Gracchan families, and one Calpurnius, a Bestia, was prepared to serve on a Gracchan commission as late as 121 (*ILS* 28). He would then have shared Gracchus' views on slaves (p. 10)—an excellent reason for 'exaggerating the slaves' first triumphs' even if it meant exaggerating his own ill success as praetor (it might also excuse it).

Mr Green's treatment of the texts which survive is equally unsound. He observes, for example, that Diodorus 'gives two slightly differing accounts' of the slaves' meeting which started the insurrection. In the first, he says, 'the motives are entirely private and domestic'; in the second 'the slaves are deputies from a much larger and more general body . . . Obviously the first is Roman propaganda, designed to minimise the political motives of the uprising' (p. 12). This is quite extraordinary. Diodorus' original text at this point does not survive; we depend (a) on a version made by Photius, and (b) on various excerpts. Photius gives a brief but continuous account of conditions in Damophilus' household and of the meeting of the slaves (apparently those of the household); one excerpt covers Damophilus much more fully, a second excerpt describes, again more fully, the meeting. Thus, in the excerpts, an artificial break has been made between the two sections, a linking phrase has been dropped, a new subject ('the slaves') has been introduced. But, apart from this, the language of Photius and the excerptor is so similar that it is quite obvious that they are telling the same story, that they are both basing themselves on one single account in Diodorus. That account may originally have contained

<sup>7</sup> He appears incidentally as an annalist on p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Popillius Laenas, we believe, was another deserter from the Gracchan cause (pp. 11, 25 n. 18).



reference to 'a wider body', but if that body has disappeared it is due not to Roman propaganda—above all not to pre-Diodoran propaganda—but simply to the whim of a Byzantine scholar in his treatment of Diodorus' text.<sup>9</sup>

Another example. For Mr Green the chief chronological problem of the revolt is 'really a problem in semantics' (p. 29). The Romans only admitted that there was a revolt with the sending of a consular army in 134, but the slaves knew that they were engaged in more than normal brigandage some time before, and their view was handed down by pro-servile sources. This fantasy is achieved simply by ignoring the interdependence of most (perhaps all) of our chronological sources, i.e. by misrepresenting Orosius, Obsequens, and the like as independent witnesses and, unless we misread Mr Green badly, by ascribing an epitome of Livy to the Roman tradition, Livy himself to the pro-servile. In fact, Obsequens, Orosius, the *Periochae*, and Florus are, to all intents and purposes, Livy (though Florus may have added some details on his own account), and from them we get a clear picture of Livy's treatment of the revolt. It was described in Book lvi (*Periocha*) under the consuls of 134 (Obsequens), but the description included an account of the outbreak which Livy placed some time, perhaps as much as four years, before (the *Periocha* mentions 'praetores', Florus gives four praetorian names).

Thus, if Livy is 'pro-servile', so are all the others. Who then is pro-Roman? Diodorus presumably. But, as Mr Green points out, Diodorus explicitly dates the outbreak to about 140 BC, and nothing could be more 'pro-servile' than that. True, Diodorus' manuscript has been emended here to produce a date nearer 135 (see e.g. Rathke, op. cit. 28ff.), but Mr Green seems unaware of this; unfortunately so, since he is therefore driven to misinterpreting Diodorus' narrative in order to produce a similar result. 'It is clear from the context that he [the praetor Hypsaeus who arrived in Sicily shortly after the capture of Enna] immediately preceded Fulvius Flaccus, i.e. that his praetorship can be dated to 135' (p. 28). Since Diodorus does not even mention Fulvius (or his successor Piso) it is difficult to see how this can be so clear. After dealing with Hypsaeus, Diodorus (through Photius) says that the slaves captured several cities and destroyed many armies 'until the consul Rupilius recaptured Tauromenium' (i.e. in 132). We cannot see that these words are a more apt description of a gap of two years than they would be, say, of a gap of six. In short, Diodorus' chronology is uncertain; he may have agreed with the Livian tradition,

<sup>9</sup> The facts are made perfectly clear in Jacoby's presentation of the text (*FGH* 87 F 108).



he may not. Serious trouble may have begun, i.e. Enna may have been seized, about 139 or about 135; we simply do not know.<sup>10</sup>

#### TEXTUAL CRITICISM

'Eunus . . . boasted of being the Goddess's consort' (p. 11); 'Florus says: "fanatico furore simulato . . . Syriae deae comes iactat", comes is an almost certain emendation of the MS. reading comas' (p. 25 n. 23). *Comes iactat* (as an equivalent of *comitem se iactat*) is not only not certain, it is not Latin; and there is, besides, no reason to doubt *comas*—'he tosses his hair about in honour of the Syrian Goddess'—in view of such passages as Var *Men.* 132 'tibi nunc semiviri teretem comam volentem iactant' (of the Galli, eunuch priests of the Goddess); Ulp. *Dig.* xxi. 1. 1. 9 'si servus inter fanaticos non caput iactaret', etc.; or Quint *Inst.* xi. 3. 71 'adeo iactare (caput) et comas excutientem rotare fanaticum est'.<sup>11</sup> | Eunus may well have claimed to be the goddess's consort; but the only direct evidence that he did is brought into being by an absurd conjecture.

#### VARIA

(a) 'Even through the worst of the insurrection the grain-supply to Rome never failed (Cic., *Verr.*, ii. 3. 54)' (p. 10 with n. 10). This is unintelligible in its context; it is also probably untrue. At least, Cicero says no such thing; in the passage cited he admits that harvests were lost, only, he claims, the farms themselves were not permanently ruined. Besides, Valerius Maximus implies for the year 138 a serious shortage of grain at Rome (iii. 7. 3) which it is tempting to connect with the Sicilian trouble (and to use as another slender chronological argument).

(b) 'This Flaccus . . . [C. Fulvius, consul of 134] was the brother of M. Fulvius Flaccus' (n. 58). He was not; the two men did not even share a grandfather (see Broughton, *MRR* i. 490, 510).

(c) 'It took Lucullus to defeat him [T. Minucius Vettius in 104]' (p. 21). For us 'Lucullus' means the distinguished general of the Mithridatic War; the subduer of Vettius was a little-known L. Licinius Lucullus, praetor in 104.

(d) 'The lowest estimate of the numbers . . . derives from Livy,

<sup>10</sup> In view of App. *BC* i. 9 and Val. Max. iii. 7. 3 (a passage not cited by Mr Green; see p. 91) we are inclined to prefer the earlier date, but with no great confidence.

<sup>11</sup> Compare E. *Ba.* 150 (of Bacchantes); Antip. Sid. *AP* vi. 219, Ov. *Fast.* iv. 244, Apul. *Met.* viii. 27 (all of Galli); Catul. lxiii. 23 (of Bacchantes compared with Galli); Tac. *Ann.* xi. 31 (of an orgiastic charade); Tib. ii. 5. 66 (of the priestess of Apollo).