

Vari in Attica, a rupestrian shrine that also underwent a significant number of alterations at the hand of its founder, Archdamus of Thera.¹⁵ As in Pantalces' cave, the central feature is a rock-cut stairway that connects the various subdivisions of the sanctuary.¹⁶ And, as in Pantalces' cave, we find here inscriptions that emphasize the architectural work carried out at the site, IG I³ 977 b, Ἀρχέδεμος ... Νύνφαι<ς> ἐχσοικοδόμωσεν and IG I³ 980, Ἀρχέδημος ... τάντρον ἐξηργάξατο.¹⁷ Archdamus is not celebrated in epic metre like his Thessalian equivalent; however, an even more direct tribute to his building skills survives in the form of a sculpture, roughly hewn in the rock of the cave, which depicts him in a stonemason's attire with hammer and square in hand.¹⁸ Commenting on the Vari site, W.R. Connor once remarked, 'There is no trace here of the fear of the banausic'.¹⁹ The same statement certainly holds true for the cave of Pantalces at Alogopati.

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doi:10.1017/S0009838811000279

and V. Rontiri, 'Το σπήλαιο στη θέση "Κρουνιά"', in A.A. Mazarakis (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας*: πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 27.2–2.3.2003 (Volos, 2006), 249–62, figs 1–10.

¹⁵ C.H. Weller, 'The cave at Vari', *AJA* 7 (1903), 263–349; G. Schörner and H.R. Goette, *Die Pan-Grotte von Vari*, Schriften zur historischen Landeskunde Griechenlands 1 (Mainz, 2004). On Archdamus – and his analogies with Pantalces – see also the recent study by A. Purvis, *Singular Dedications: Founders and Innovators of Private Cults in Classical Greece* (New York, 2003).

¹⁶ Weller (n. 15), 266–7, figs 2–3; Schörner and Goette (n. 15), folding map 3: 1, 12, 17; for some partial views of this structure see also pls 6.2, 9.1 and 14.

¹⁷ See Schörner-Goette (n. 15), 42–4, n. 1, pl. 29 and 51–4, n. 9, pl. 36.2.

¹⁸ Weller (n. 15), 270–1, figs 5–6; Schörner and Goette (n. 15), folding map 3: 4 and pls 11.1–2, 22.1, 25.1, 27.1, 28.1.

¹⁹ W.R. Connor, 'Seized by the Nymphs: nympholepsy and symbolic expression in classical Greece', *ClAnt* 7 (1988), 171, n. 52.

TWO NOTES ON XENOPHON: *HELLENICA* 1.4.20 AND *AGESILAUS* 2.26¹

1. *Hellenica* 1.4.20

ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἡσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἡδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς οἶός τε ὦν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν

¹ I quote the text and any apparatus from Marchant (Oxford, 1900–20), vols 1 and 5. I also cite the following by author's name: C.L. Brownson, *Xenophon I: Hellenica Books I–IV* (Cambridge, MA, 1918, rpt. 1985); L. Dindorf, *Xenophontis Historia Graeca* (Oxford, 1853²); O. Keller, *Xenophon: Hellenica* (editio minor, Leipzig, 1906), P. Krentz, *Xenophon: Hellenika I–II.3.10* (Warminster, 1989); E.C. Marchant and G.W. Bowersock, *Xenophon VII* (Cambridge, MA, 1968); E.C. Marchant and G.E. Underhill, *Xenophon: Hellenica* (Oxford, 1906); J. Marincola, D. Thomas and R. B. Strassler, *The Landmark Xenophon's Hellenika* (New York, 2009); T. Thalheim, *Xenophontis Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1910).

Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας.

4 πρότερον codd.: πρῶτον Dindorf [II]

At the end of a long sentence that explains how Alcibiades was received at Athens in 407 B.C. and granted full powers, Xenophon describes his first exploit, one calculated to cheer the hearts of the people of Athens. In 431 the Athenians had made a decision on the advice of Pericles not to contest the control of Attica with the Spartan army but to retreat behind their city walls and rely on their ships to provide them with what they needed. This entailed inconveniences both large and small. One of them was that the Eleusinian Mysteries, which were normally celebrated by worshippers who left the city by the Dipylon Gate and marched in procession fifteen miles to Eleusis, now had to be celebrated in a roundabout way, with the worshippers proceeding down the Long Walls and taking ship from Piraeus to the coast opposite Eleusis. Alcibiades restored the ancient Eleusinian procession – an appropriate action, no doubt, since he had been accused in 415 of profaning these mysteries. The effect of this on Athenian morale must have been very great.

As transmitted, however, Xenophon's wording seems unidiomatic. Whether we read *πρότερον* or Dindorf's *πρῶτον*, the genitive absolute says that, although the Athenians were celebrating (*ἀγόντων*) the mysteries by sea because of the war, he made them (*ἐποίησεν*) by land. Since *ἄγειν* is the idiomatic verb with religious festivals and *ποιεῖν* is not – and furthermore, if it were, it would not be reasonable in this context for a single individual to be the subject of the verb – we should consider emending.² I suggest κατὰ γῆν <ἄγειν> ἐποίησεν, 'he caused them to celebrate them by land'. The origin of the omission is clear: haplography of ΑΓΗΝΑΓΕΙΝ as ΑΓΗΝ.

Dindorf proposed *πρῶτον* very briefly,³ but more could be said. If we read *πρότερον* the adverb must go with the genitive absolute, indicating that the Athenians *previously* celebrated the mysteries by sea because of the war, but then the position of *μὲν* is difficult: it seems to imply a contrast with another genitive absolute or some other form of subordination. By contrast *πρῶτον μὲν* sets up a contrast between main clauses, between Alcibiades' first act and his subsequent ones mentioned in the next sentence: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρατιάν, κτλ. There is a further advantage to *πρῶτον μὲν*, in that it makes it plain to someone reading the Greek in the order in which it comes that the main clause, so long delayed by multiple participial subordination, has finally arrived.

2. Agesilaus 2.26

ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ ἔργα διεπράξατο. Ἀὐτοφραδάτης τε γὰρ πολιορκῶν ἐν Ἀσσῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνην σύμμαχον ὄντα δείσας Ἀγησίλαον φεύγων ὤχετο· Κότυς δ' αὖ Σηιστὸν πολιορκῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔτι οὐσαν λύσας καὶ οὗτος

² Dindorf says 'Intellige ἄγεσθαι', as does Underhill, but this seems awkward to me. Brownson translates 'he led out all his troops and *conducted* by land the procession ... which the Athenians had been *conducting* by sea'. There are similar translations in Krentz and Marincola.

³ 'Fortasse autem πρότερον ex praecedenti προτέρων illatum pro πρῶτον.' The conjecture finds a place in Keller's *editio minor*, which has no apparatus criticus.

τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπηλλάγη· ὥστ' οὐκ ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τρόπαιον τῶν πολεμίων εἰστήκει αὐτῷ.

Xenophon describes the successes that Agesilaus enjoyed in old age. Too old to be a general, but seeing that his country needed money, he went on embassies to raise it. Yet even appearing without an army and in the role of ambassador he caused those who were damaging the interests of his country to run away. The passage then appears to say that it was not without reason that a trophy to mark the rout of enemies had been raised in his honour (εἰστήκει αὐτῷ), also because of his service as ambassador. But this implies something quite contrary to Greek precedent: that a trophy was raised when no battle had taken place and no actual victory had been won. We need a counterfactual here: ὥστε οὐκ <ᾶν> ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τρόπαιον τῶν πολεμίων εἰστήκει αὐτῷ: 'Therefore it would have been quite reasonable if a trophy to mark a rout of the enemy had been raised in his honour also because of his service as ambassador'.⁴ The disappearance of *AN* in the sequence *OYKANAAIOΓΩC* is easily accounted for, since both *AN* and *AA* consist of alpha followed by a letter with a diagonal element, and haplography could easily have occurred.

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doi:10.1017/S0009838811000309

POSTSCRIPT

After working out what could be said in favour of these conjectures, I naturally tried to find out whether either had been anticipated. I was unable to find any earlier scholar who took exception to the *Hellenica* passage, but as regards the *Agesilaus* passage I found I had a predecessor in F.K. Hertlein, *Conjecturen zu griechischen Prosaikern* [I] (Wertheim, 1861), 13. The suggestion finds only one mention in any apparatus criticus that I have been able to see, that of Thalheim. More curious still, the *reading* ᾶν ἀλόγως is printed as the text of the manuscripts, with no angle brackets around ᾶν and nothing in the apparatus criticus, by E. Luppino Manes, *L'Agesilao di Senofonte: tra commiato ed encomio* (Milan, 1992). Her text seems to have been reproduced from an earlier edition that I have not been able to locate. Marchant's Loeb does the same thing. This note thus rescues Hertlein's conjecture from two distinct kinds of oblivion.

⁴ The pluperfect plus ᾶν in the apodosis of an unreal condition, though it does not occur on every third page of Greek, is the normal way to express the idea that a certain state of affairs *would obtain* (as the result of a past occurrence) if an event in the past or present had been different: see the examples in Smyth §§2306 and 2310 and K.-G. 2.469–70, e.g. Aeschin. 3.252, εἰ μία ψήφος μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ' ᾶν, 'if one vote had been cast differently, he would now be a banished man'.