

## NOTES

### Sickle and Xyele

Mr John Boardman's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that the sickles dedicated to Artemis Orthia at Sparta were used as strigils is most enlightening, and perhaps I may be allowed to find support in it for a theory that I have advanced elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> that this form of sickle is the ξυήλη of Xenophon, *Anabasis* iv 7.16; iv 8.25. It is true that the dedicating inscriptions never use the word ξυήλη. The sickle is only named twice, being called δρέπανον once and once δρεπάνη.<sup>3</sup> But this may be explained by the late date of all the inscriptions. Ξυήλη is only found in the two passages already cited from Xenophon, in the lexicographers (Hesychius and the Souda s-v.), who also give the Doric form ξυάλη, and in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (vi 2.32), where it means a spokeshave for smoothing the shafts of spears. It is probable that the word was obsolete even at Sparta in the Hellenistic period, and that even in Xenophon's time it was not in common use throughout Greece. Pollux (i 137) mentions the Laconian ξυήνη in a list of weapons, including δρεπάνη and δορυδρέπανον, and this misspelling (more probably that of a scribe writing from dictation than Pollux's own) does indicate the unfamiliarity of the word.

But Pollux does count the xyele among weapons, and so does Hesychius, who describes it as 'a small sword (ξυφίδιον τι) which some call a sickle (δρέπανον)'. They are probably relying on the passages in the *Anabasis*, where Xenophon says that the Chalybes butchered and beheaded their prisoners with a knife (μαχαίριον) as big as a Laconian xyele, which they carried at their belts, and that the Spartiate Dracontius had been exiled from home as a boy because he struck another boy with his xyele and accidentally slew him. Accordingly some modern scholars, including Kromayer,<sup>4</sup> have supposed that ξυήλη was the technical term for the famous Spartan short sword, and that this sword can therefore have been used only for slashing, not for stabbing. But, as Miss K. M. T. Chrimes has justly pointed out,<sup>5</sup> the 'sword-swallowers' blade that was mocked at by Demades must have been straight, and it would also seem that the sword of Spartan type that was used to kill Dion was probably in the circumstances of

the murder, used for stabbing. The New York relief,<sup>6</sup> which shows a fallen hoplite, almost certainly a Spartan, stabbing upwards with a straight, short blade, confirms this evidence. After all, Xenophon does not say that the knife of the Chalybes was a xyele, and his story of Dracontius implies that the xyele was used by the boys, and not normally as a weapon.

Mr Boardman's suggestion allows us to regard the boys' xyele, like the spokeshave of the *Cyropaedia*, as a 'scraper', which the connection of the word with ξύω (noted by Liddell and Scott) implies. 'Αποξύω in the sense of scraping oneself with a strigil, seems to be found only in Pliny's description of the famous statue of the Aproxymenos (*HN* 34.62). Xenophon himself prefers ἀποστλεγγύζω (*Oeconomicus* xi 18).

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<sup>6</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1954), No. 82.

### Cleon caricatured on a Corinthian Cup

For Bernard Knox in gratitude

John Boardman has recently published a Sam Wide Group cup, on the interior of which is painted a caricature of Oedipus and the Sphinx.<sup>1</sup> His accompanying illustration (Plate II 1) fully confirms the interpretation offered, that the Theban Sphinx—for once, in its physiognomy as well as in its anatomy, obtrusively male—is committing the nuisance of public masturbation. Although such offensive conduct seems, as Boardman observed, inexplicable within the Sphinx's mythic context, the artist's motive for this innovation becomes clearer if one can detect here an instance of the easy 'glide from the contemporary into the mythical world'.<sup>2</sup>

First, however, it should be recalled that, at least as early as Aeschylus' satyr play *Sphinx*, the Theban pest could be called Σφίγγα δυσμεριῶν πρότανιν κόνα (182 Mette, 236 Nauck). Sophocles' characterisation of the Sphinx (ἡ βαρωδός . . . κών, *OT* 391) may not reflect specifically Aeschylean inspiration, since both playwrights possibly draw on established terminology for the Sphinx in her role of agent, attendant, and watcher: a fragmentary Thessalian epitaph, dated c. 450 B.C., addressed the guardian figure that once surmounted the funeral column as 'Hound of Hades'.<sup>3</sup> But Κών was also—in the very years when the Oxford cup seems likely to have been

<sup>1</sup> J. Boardman, *JHS* xci (1971) 136–7.

<sup>2</sup> J. K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (1970) 38–9.

<sup>3</sup> R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *Artemis Orthia* (1929), 298, 302.

<sup>4</sup> J. Kromayer, in Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer* (1928) 39 n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* (1948) 363, citing Plutarch, *Moralia* 553D. Cf. also Plutarch, *Dion* 57–8.

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* XC (1970) 194–5.

<sup>2</sup> T. B. L. Webster, *The Art of Greece: The Age of Hellenism* (N.Y. 1966) 71.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 97 f., 99 (8), 402, pl. 11 (8); cf. *SEG* XXIII 453.

painted—a soubriquet with which Cleon had been dubbed, either because his critics punned on the demagogue's name, as D. M. MacDowell implies anew in *Aristophanes: Wasps*,<sup>4</sup> or because Cleon himself had posed as watchdog of Athens. Both alternatives of course have long been advanced in explanation of the canine imagery prevalent in the *Knights*,<sup>5</sup> where the Paphlagonian slave represents Cleon and the *κίνα Κέρβερον ἀνδραποδίστην* stands for him, too, in the mock-oracle at l. 1030. Later Diogenes of Sinope (a true-born Paphlagonian!) acquired title to the cognomen so securely that Aristotle could refer to him simply as 'The Dog' (*Rhet.* 1411a24), and his followers were ever after designated Cynics. The reason is commonly held to be that Diogenes was (like Cleon before him) characterised by shamelessness, peculiarly canine in the Greek view.<sup>6</sup> It is in part this *ἀναλδεια* involving 'conduct of everything in public'<sup>7</sup> that the cup painter has chosen, if the scene is rightly interpreted here, to illustrate as luridly in Cleon's case as it was to be dramatised by corresponding anecdote in Diogenes'.<sup>8</sup>

His insistence on public negotiations aside, another of Cleon's devices for increasing his control over public affairs may provide a yet more fundamental motive for our painter's presentation of Cleon *sub specie Sphingis*. If the demagogue was prone to draw on oracles for political ammunition, as *Knights* 61 (*ἄδει δὲ χρησμούς· ὁ δὲ γέρον σιβυλλιά*) together with the ensuing oracle contest there suggests, and as Cleon's dealings with the soothsayer Diopieithes bear out,<sup>9</sup> the Theban Sphinx's function, no less than its

form, would encourage the assimilation of Cleon to the part-leonine riddler. For, if the kling-clang of *Κλέων-Κύων* helped to prompt the association of Cleon with Sphinx *Κύων*, *Knights* 1037-43 (where 'Paphlagon' identifies himself with the *λέων* in his mock oracle) certifies a second pun on *Κλέων* suggestive of the Sphinx. Indeed, it has independently occurred to others<sup>10</sup> that *δηγθεῖς αἰθωνι Κλέωνι* in Hermippus (*fr.* 46 Edmonds) is inspired by *δέρμα λέοντος/αἰθωνος*, an *Iliadic* formula with variants in Homer and elsewhere.

The comic poet also exploited the possibilities offered by Cleon's connexions with the leather industry. Given Aristophanes' penchant for making a person's trade the butt of humour, it may not be amiss to examine the term for 'tanner', *βυρσοδέψης*, with which the Paphlagonian is first introduced (*Eq.* 44). *Βύρσα* is a word for 'hide' of uncertain origin;<sup>11</sup> but *σκυλοδέψης*, the word Aristophanes uses elsewhere (*Av.* 490, *Ec.* 420) for the same occupation, combines *σκύλος*, meaning *young dog* (masc. *EM* 720.19, Hsch.) as well as *skin, hide* (neut., e.g. Theoc. 25.142), with *-δέψης*. Since *LSJ* derives the second element of these compounds from *δέφω* and *δέγω*, which alike are used *in senso obscuro* (cf. *Eq.* 24, *Pax* 290, *Eub.* 120.5 in *Athen.* I 25c), it seems altogether likely that the derivatives were also susceptible of autosexual connotation, the more as *ὁ σκύλος* itself would possibly suggest *κύων* in the sense *frenum praeputii*;<sup>12</sup> in any case, these Greek terms for 'tanner'

<sup>10</sup> K. J. McKay, 'Studies in Aithon II', *Mnem.* XIV (1961) 20.

<sup>11</sup> O. Szemerényi, *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Sprachforsch.* LXXIII (1955) 75, n. 1, calls it an Illyrian loan; on the basis of Hdt. III 110, *LSJ* lists its meaning as properly *ox-hide*. Yet it may be worth noting (1) that Herodotus' *βύρσαι καὶ ἄλλα δέρματα* in an Arabian setting need not have signified *ox-hides*; (2) that even if *βύρσαι* came to mean *hides* generally, it may originally, like *βοείη* and *κυνέη*, have applied to one animal; (3) that Late Latin *burdo* 'mule' and *burricus* 'small horse' (whose eventual derivative is 'burro', but whose supposed source in *burrus* 'red' troubled C. D. Buck, *Dict. of Selected Synonyms*, p. 172) may both lack a convincing etymology. Inasmuch as the most famous literary reference to the Paphlagonians (*Il.* II 851-2) also introduces the region's *ἡμίονων γένος ἀγροτεράων*, however exactly that phrase should be interpreted (G. Devereux, 'Homer's Wild She-Mules', *JHS* LXXXV 1965 29-32), I therefore venture the suggestion that *βύρσαι* for 'hides' was once restricted to equidae. If this proposal has merit, we may detect a second reason for Aristophanes' choice of ethnic for his 'slave', and translate 'the Brayer' as well as 'the Blusterer' (*παφλάζων*).

<sup>12</sup> For ancient testimonia that the meaning given by *LSJ* s.v. 'κύων' VII is too narrowly restrictive see J. Blakey, *supra* n. 5; for realia, G. L. Marini, *Il Gabinetto segreto del Museo naz. di Napoli* (Turin 1971).

<sup>4</sup> (Oxford 1971) 250, comm. ad l.895, and p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> For the full extent of this imagery see the Univ. of North Carolina dissertation by John M. Blakey: *Canine Imagery in Greek Poetry* (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1973) 163 ff.

<sup>6</sup> D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism* (London 1937) 29 and 5; Kurt von Fritz in *Philologus* Suppl. XVIII, 2 (1926) 47-9.

<sup>7</sup> We can well imagine Cleon's basing his demand for public negotiations with the Spartan envoys upon the argument that only shameful terms of peace required the cloak of secrecy. But the sexual colouring of this piece of anti-Cleonian propaganda is perhaps more likely to reflect the counterattack against his attempt to reform public morals (*Eq.* 878-9, *οὐκουν σε δῆτα ταῦτα δεωὸν ἐστι πρωκτοτηρεῖν, / παῦσαι τε τοὺς βιωνομένους*); some objected to the shamelessness of public delving into such matters, others may have circulated insinuations about the legislator's own mores.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. D.L. VI 46: . . . ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ποτε χειρουργῶν, "εἴθε," ἔφη "καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἦν παρατίψαντα μὴ πεινῆν." Cf. VI 69, where the phrase *πάντα ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ* occurs.

<sup>9</sup> On the sources for, and circumstances of, Anaxagoras' trial see now M. Montuori in *De homine* (Centro de Ric. per le Sc. mr. e soc., Ist. di Filos. Univ. di Roma) No. 22-3 (1967) 103-48.

may have influenced our painter to portray Cleon the Dog occupied as he is on the Oxford cup.

To turn from the 'Sphinx's' activity to his appearance. In *The Portraits of the Greeks* G. M. A. Richter concludes her introductory remarks on the second half of fifth century B.C. with the observation, 'It is clear that the art of portraiture was being widely practised at this time'.<sup>13</sup> Though the head and countenance of our 'Sphinx' lack the idealisation and detachment normally associated with portraiture of the period, they could well reflect the artist's satirical purpose<sup>14</sup> as well as that betrayal of the dignity of

<sup>13</sup> I (London 1965) 34. Cf. T. B. L. Webster, *Art and Literature in Fourth-Century Athens* (London 1956) 18-19 on the realism of certain late-fifth-century artists.

<sup>14</sup> The earliest graphic example of political caricature known to me is the figure in Persian dress—cap, trousers, pointed shoes, and all—that an irate Athenian incised on the back of an ostrakon bearing the name of Kallias Kratiou (preliminary reports of this 1966 Ceramicus find in D. Metzler, *Porträt und Gesellschaft* [Münster 1971] 86 and E. Vanderpool, *Ostracism at Athens* [Cincinnati 1970] 21-3 and n. 17). The presence of the epithet 'Mede' on four others of the 800 extant ostraca cast (c. 485 B.C.) against this 'friend of the tyrants' confirms the direct connexion of his name with the figure.

Caricature of historical or quasi-historical persons in fifth-century vase-painting does not entirely elude detection, either. A little seated figure with disproportionately large head, who 'must represent Aesop' (G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, I [London 1965] 72), is depicted on a Vatican kalyx and has been characterised by Ernst Pfuhl, *Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting*, transl. J. D. Beazley (London 1955) 62: 'In the early classical style the old emphatic manner retreats to the sphere within which it is countenanced in every age—caricature. A brilliant example is the picture <fig. 79> of the poet Aesop listening to the fox'.

Further, Georg Lippold, *RM* LII (1937) 44-7 and Pl. 14, recognised a dwarfish figure with Silen-like profile, who was shown dancing, on a table apparently—only a stamnos-fragment containing part of the dancer, with -ΚΑΕΙΑΗΣ legible above the dancer, survives—as the Hippocles famed from Herodotus' account of Agariste's wooing. J. D. Beazley, *JHS* LIX (1939) 11, while accepting the reading, was more inclined to see there not a parody of the Herodotean tale, but a scene from contemporary life of 'a popular dancing dwarf in Athens at the time' (c. 435 B.C.).

Metzler (*op. cit. supra*, pp. 87 and 101, especially, on figs. 3 and 11) detects caricature of an individual in other figures on fifth-century vases and sherds, but none of them can be identified. I add the equally nameless cartoon of a man's head (London, B.M. F704), illustrated by Erwin Bielefeld, *Zur griechischen Vasenmalerei des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (Halle

office for which Cleon was often berated (Plut. *Nic.* 8.3). No preserved portrait, sculptured or other, has heretofore been identified as that of Cleon; yet neither the Corinthian ambience of the painter nor the primitive character of his work would preclude his recollection, not mere imagination, of Cleon haranguing the demos from the bema.<sup>15</sup> Short of visual stimulation, a painter active in Corinth could have received verbal hints about Cleon's appearance, if we may suppose that the comic poets' productions trickled down to Corinth even during wartime.<sup>16</sup> *Knights* 230-3 on the mask-makers' fear of portraying 'Paphlagon' merely tantalisé,<sup>17</sup> but *Scholia in Lucianum* (Rabe, p. 116, 11.9-11 = Edmonds, I, Cratinus 217A: 'In appearance Cleon was repulsive, particularly about the eyebrows, as Cratinus tells us in the *Seriphians*') furnish at least one physical detail descriptive of Cleon—and consonant with the beetling brows of our 'Sphinxhead'.<sup>18</sup>

1952) fig. 40, and discussed by him (p. 19) as possibly exemplifying the style of the painter Pauson. This 'antike Karikaturist par excellence' (Metzler, *op. cit. supra*, p. 315) was censured by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1448a2) for representing men in a manner tending to degrade. Though Bielefeld's end-of-fifth-century date for this Pauson, and L. Guerrini's 'contemporaneo di Polignoto' in *Encicl. dell' Arte Ant.* V (1963) 998 s.v. 'Pauson', are both reconcilable with the Pauson mentioned by Aristophanes in *Acharnians* and two later plays, it must be sheer coincidence that the comic poet writes (*Thesm.* 948-49),

ὄταν ὄργια σεμνά θεαῖν ἱεραῖς ὄραις  
ἀνέχωμεν, ἅπερ καὶ Παύσων σέβεται,

even if Demeter and Kore are favourite subjects in the Sam Wide Group (R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* XXXVII (1968) 302 f.

<sup>15</sup> Conceivably the bema can account for the odd 'abacus' atop Ionic capital on which our painter has perched his Sphinx, like 'a cormorant on a stone' (λάρος κεχρηῶς ἐπὶ πέτρας δημιουργῶν: *Eq.* 956, describing the device on the signet-ring worn by Paphlagon).

<sup>16</sup> That the war did not interrupt the flow of pottery from Athens to Corinth has been noted by Sharon Herbert, 'The Origin of Corinthian Red-figure' (summary), *AJA* LXXVI (1972) 211: 'Throughout the late fifth century some Attic rf. and undiminished black-glaze imports are found in the same contexts with Corinthian rf.'

<sup>17</sup> For a recent assessment of 'Portrait-masks in Aristophanes', see K. J. Dover in *Κωμωδοτραγῆματα. Studia . . . W. Koster in honorem* (Amsterdam 1967) 16-28.

<sup>18</sup> While the diminutiveness of trunk and limbs accords with the mannikins of normal Greek caricature, it remains to account for the scale of the 'Sphinx's pestle', outside even by satyric standards. But ἀλετριβανός and δοῖδνξ, of course, are the terms

To see deliberate individualisation in the portrayal of Oedipus is far more difficult. Not only was the motive of caricature presumably absent but the assumption of an individual antagonist to Cleon is not strictly necessary: Oedipus might be supposed to signify the entire opposition to Athens' imperialism under Cleon.<sup>19</sup> Yet it is bound to be recalled that precisely in the last years of Cleon's ascendancy the Peloponnesian League produced in Brasidas its first outstanding challenger to the expansionist policies of Cleonian Athens.<sup>20</sup> It is Brasidas whom Aristophanes, always alert to record events in terms of colourful personalities, singles out as the cause of allies' and traitors' defection from Athens (*Pax* 640, *Vesp.* 475). Our artist, for his part, must have placed a sword, instead of the more usual hunting

spears or walking stick, in Oedipus' hand to indicate the martial disposition of his Sphinx's foe.

If Brasidas in fact plays Oedipus to Cleon's Sphinx,<sup>21</sup> the comparison need not have seemed far-fetched to a Corinthian viewer. It is not merely that when Cleon's reputation for the capture of 292 enemy hoplites (120 Spartiates) on Sphacteria was fresh and formidable, Brasidas' rise to championship of the Peloponnesian cause might in itself elicit comparison with Oedipus' check to the pestilential Sphinx, slayer of the flower of Theban manhood.<sup>22</sup> But, further, as the careful portrayal of him in Thucydides is intended to make clear, the Spartan general was first to penetrate Athens' *arcana imperii*, which had thus far baffled her opponents, by showing how imperialism could be effectively combatted.<sup>23</sup>

under which Cleon is apprehended in the famous scene (*Pax* 228–88) in which War threatens to crush the cities of Greece in a great *thueia* or mixing-bowl. (For the precise import of these terms consult B. A. Sparkes, 'The Greek Kitchen', *JHS* LXXXII [1962] 125–6 and references there.) There is no reason to suppose that Cleon was called a 'pestle of war' only here (cf. *Eq.* 976–84), or that our painter would hesitate to turn the epithet *in malam partem*. That masturbation could be imagined in terms of kneading(?) imagery is indicated by *Clouds* 676, ἀλλ' ἐν θυεῖα στρογγύλη γ' ἀνεμάττετο, on K. J. Dover's interpretation of the line (*Aristophanes: Clouds* [Oxford 1968] 183); at the least, a sexual *double entendre* is involved.

<sup>19</sup> A Gillray etching of 'St George and the Dragon', which celebrates Admiral George Rodney's victory over the French fleet in June 1782, is instructive. There, despite the great caricaturist's penchant for exaggeration, the admiral's features are rendered with unemphatic faithfulness, while only the national identity of his monstrous adversary is shown, by the fleur-de-lis of the Old Regime patterned on its wings and by the frogs leaping from its bestial maw (Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray* [London 1851] no. 4).

<sup>20</sup> However tenuous a Brasidas–Oedipus link may now appear, it is no more far-fetched than the parallel drawn between Oedipus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom the famed Ithyphallic Hymn (Athen. VI 253e–f) hails as saviour of Athens from the Aetolian Sphinx. The grisly sequel to Oedipus' triumph may not have loomed as large in the Corinthian version of the myth, but even the Attic tragedies failed to deter Demetrius' Athenian encomiast.

That Brasidas invited comparison with the heroes of old is shown by Plato, *Symp.* 221c, where Alcibiades implies his likeness to Achilles, *παναόριος* as Gomme comments *ad* Thuc. V 11.1; cf. Diod. Sic. XII 43.2: *Βρασιδάς ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, νέος μὲν ὄν τὴν ἡλικίαν. . .* Our Oedipus' age agrees with the rendering found on other vases of the time, but also suits the precociousness of the Spartan general.

<sup>21</sup> Similarly as St George is seen in the guise of King George III while the Dragon is given the head of Napoleon, when Gillray renews the theme in the critical days of August 1805: A. M. Broadley, *Napoleon in Caricature, 1795–1821* (London/New York 1911) I, 231.

Just as the historical figures and forces represented by St George and Dragon had changed between 1782 and 1805, a quite distinct occasion would naturally underlie the Boeotian caricature of Oedipus and Sphinx which Boardman notes (*JHS* XC [1970] 195 and Pl. III 1). If A. Greifenhagen's mid-fifth-century dating is correct (*CVA* iii, p. 30), it removes any temptation to see in the 'dog'-Oedipus there an intelligent and energetic Laconian fox-hound (*ἀλωπεκίς*) specifically symbolising Brasidas.

<sup>22</sup> On this interpretation a choice of dates for the cup, ranging from c. August 424, when Brasidas foiled Athens' attempt to take Megara, to c. September 422, when word of Cleon's initially successful counteroffensive in Chalcidice reached Corinth, would be possible (time limits derived from Gomme *ad* Thuc. IV 70.1, 84.1, and V 2.1). The most plausible moment is perhaps to be sought in the days after the electrifying news of Amphipolis' fall, at the very end of 424, became known. This period tallies well with recent chronological conclusions on the activity of the Wide Group workshop. Mrs A. D. Ure (*JHS* LXIX [1949] 22) dated its products c. 430 B.C., but noted the close resemblance of a pyxis found in the polyandron for the Thespian dead at Delium in 424, and of details on a number of cups made c. 430–420. D. Callipolitis-Feytmans (*BCH* LXXXVI [1962] 142) concluded that production could not have started before the third quarter of the fifth century, and 'peut même être plus tardive puisqu'il s'agit d'une imitation . . . des ateliers attiques'.

<sup>23</sup> Thuc. IV 78–V 11. 'Brasidas is alone in suggesting a systematic policy of liberation as an answer to Athenian imperialism, in using all his strength . . . to persuade Athens' allies that they must desert her, to undermine her rule and to put a policy of anti-imperialism into practice. And it is obvious that

In conclusion it may be noted that, as Madame de Romilly stresses, Brasidas is presented as the Liberator, and in the Amphipolitans' eyes regarded as Saviour. The relevant passage in Thucydides (V 11.1) marks the first use in preserved Greek of *Σωτήρ* for an historical person. Yet, already in his *Oedipus the King*, Sophocles had assigned the antagonist the role of Saviour as well as Liberator. The play has been widely held to reflect in some sense the political and intellectual position of Athens in the years immediately following Pericles' death, even if not the character and fate of the Athenian leader himself. It is partly against the background of this play, which had just restored the old myth to wide currency, that this unprepossessing cup assumes an import not altogether trivial as contemporary graphic testimony of the fiercely anti-Cleonian animus felt—it is fair to suppose—by many outside Athens but previously documented in the history and comedy of the internal opposition alone.<sup>24</sup>

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Thucydides has given him a place of honour in his work. . . .': J. de Romilly, *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism*, transl. by P. Thody (Oxford 1963) 43.

<sup>24</sup> My warm thanks are due Professor Kenneth Reckford for very helpful comments on a draft of this paper. Naturally, responsibility for the ideas presented and the errors uncorrected rests solely with the author.

#### A Further Note on Sea-Birds

In a 'Note on Sea-birds' [*JHS* xcii (1972) 172–3] Miss Sylvia Benton comments on Mr J. K. Anderson's preceding Note, *Θραξ, Δυτίνας, Καταράκτης*. But if we are to identify the species to which ancient names refer we must limit ourselves to those species which are now, or can be shown to have once been, present in Greece, and for this both accuracy of observation and a knowledge of the literature on the ornithology of Greece seem desirable. Miss Benton says: 'A ship on which I was sailing was dive-bombed by Gannets just east of the harbour of Tinos: no doubt they were defending their nests on the cliffs'. But the Gannet (*Sula bassana*) is a bird of the North Atlantic which does not now nest, if it ever did, in the Mediterranean nor indeed south of 51° N. on the eastern coasts of the Atlantic, so that these dive-bombers, whatever they were, could hardly have been Gannets. There are only two authentic records of Gannets in Greece at all, in May 1853 and in April 1965 (A. Kanellis: *Catalogus Faunae Graeciae; pars II Aves* ed. W. Bauer, O. v. Helversen, M. Hodge, J. Martens. Thessaloniki, 1969).

*Δυτίνας*, Miss Benton says, 'must refer to a bird diving from the surface like our divers, the commonest of which is our Little Grebe (*Podiceps ruficollis* [*sic*

for *ruficollis*]), but of course the term could include all ducks'. Leaving aside for the moment the implication that a grebe is some kind of duck, a term which denotes diving from the surface could not include all ducks since many species, including about half of those found in Greece, do not normally dive at all: hence the common differentiation between 'surface-feeding' (or 'dabbling') and 'diving' ducks.

Then as for the birds on the Middle Minoan jug from Palaikastro, Miss Benton says that 'according to the *Guide to the Birds of Britain and Europe*, there appear to be two birds, but I can only find one name, *Colymbus Arcticus* [*sic*, for *arcticus*]'. In Roger Peterson, Guy Mountfort and P. A. D. Hollom's *Field Guide to the Birds of Britain and Europe*, 1954, and in Bertel Bruun's *The Hamlyn Guide to Birds of Britain and Europe*, 1970—it is not clear to which of these Miss Benton is referring—the four European species of *Colymbidae* are illustrated and each, of course, provided with its own scientific name. *Colymbus arcticus*, the Black-throated Diver, is a regular winter visitor to Northern Greece but is rare in the south. (The Great Northern Diver, *C. immer*, has never been recorded in Greece.) However, as Miss Benton rightly says, 'divers do not dive from rocks, nor stand upright on stones' (or anywhere else). The birds on the Palaikastro mug are not painted in a realistic manner, and might, perhaps, be intended for Cormorants (*Phalacrocorax carbo*) or Shags (*Ph. aristotelis*) which can stand upright and which, on the water, can easily be mistaken by the inexpert for Divers of the genus *Colymbus*. Both species are known from Crete.

Mr Anderson's identification of *Θραξ* with the Great Crested Grebe (*Podiceps cristatus*) can be further supported by the fact that the bird breeds now on the Stymphalian lake (Bauer *et al.*: *op. cit.* p. 24); it may well have done so in the time of Dionysius. But it is difficult to understand why Miss Benton thinks that any name appropriate to a grebe 'would apply more obviously to the Pin-tail Duck'. The Pintail (*Anas acuta*) is a surface-feeding duck which can stand and walk perfectly well, since its legs are not, like a grebe's, placed far to the rear (*πυγόσκελις*). Neither is it possible to give any meaning in ornithological terms to the remark that the bird *Θραξ* 'is said to be near to a duck, but presumably not an actual duck'. A duck is a duck, and a grebe is a grebe and, taxonomically, 'never the twain shall meet'. It is also untrue to say that 'no duck has a long thin beak': both the Merganser (*Mergus serrator*) and the Goo-sander (*M. merganser*), of birds known in Greece at the present day, have long, thin, red beaks; they also, incidentally, have crests.

In her final paragraph Miss Benton writes: 'Professor Tinbergen [*sic*, for Tinbergen] tells us that Kittiwakes indulge in family battles, when the birds start moving about *en famille* among their crowded nests, but these birds are not gulls'. Kittiwakes are gulls. They do not move about among their crowded nests, which are placed on the narrow ledges