republishing one of the finest scarabs found there. ${ }^{8}$ When Professor O. Masson reconsidered the evidence then available for the necropolis in question, he concluded that Tomb no XII (or XI as it is called more often than not by Ohnefalsch-Richter) was identical with Tomb no. IV, thus conflating the two separately existing tombs into one. ${ }^{9}$ The German Tamassos Expedition has recently managed to relocate both tombs and has completely re-excavated no. IV. ${ }^{10}$ In the light of this, Masson's conflation of the tombs must be discounted and the early Attic black-figure skyphos in the Fitzwilliam Museum can henceforward be assigned with confidence to 'Royal Tomb' no. XII at Tamassos, which lies to the west of no. IV.

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## Phocylides

Phocylides was famous as a poet of admonitory or gnomic verse. Isocrates names him together with Hesiod and Theognis, saying that they are praised as the best counsellors for human life, though their advice is seldom followed (ii 43). He is again bracketed with Theognis by Dio of Prusa (ii s), Athenaeus (632d), and Cyril (c. Iul., Patrol. lxxvi 84Id). Theophrastus quoted a line of Theognis (147) in different works as 'Theognis' and as 'Phocylides': we should not infer that it occurred in both poets, but simply that people tended to muddle them.
 we must suspect that this was a guess based on nothing more than the similar tendency of their work, for certainly neither named the other. ${ }^{1}$

Phocylides' maxims, like Theognis', have a nominal addressee ( 3.8 Bgk . фí $\lambda^{\prime}$ '̇ं $\tau a \hat{\rho} \rho \epsilon$ ), but they are clearly intended to be of general utility; Dio loc. cit. represents
 differ from Theognis' in being in hexameters, not elegiacs. ${ }^{2}$ They were not, therefore, sung to the aulos at symposia, as Theognis expects his verses to be (237-43), but recited. ${ }^{3}$ Whatever kind of occasion is to be imagined, it seems likely that they were recited not as isolated apophthegms of two or three lines but in connected series, as they were later to be found in books.

[^1]This point requires amplification. It appears at first sight to be in flat contradiction to the testimony of Dio of Prusa xxxvi in f.:






 $\pi o \lambda \lambda o v ̂ a ̂ \xi \iota \iota v \dot{\eta}_{\gamma} \gamma \underset{\mu}{\mu} \epsilon v o s$.
What Dio found in his Phocylides was a sequence of short, apparently independent items, marked off one from another by the phrase кai тó $\delta \epsilon \Phi_{\omega \kappa v \lambda i ́ \delta \epsilon \omega}$ which appears in four of our fragments. But they stood together in one book, and there is no reason to suppose it was any different with the Phocylides known to Isocrates and Plato. It is not hard to imagine a fifth-century schoolmaster reciting such a Phocylides to his class and hearing them recite it back; or a rhapsode giving a recital of Phocylides' collected wisdom in the same catalogue form.

I suspect that it was intended as a coherent composition from the start. It is usually thought that the purpose of the $\kappa$ кai тódє $\Phi_{\omega \kappa v \lambda i ́ \delta \epsilon \omega}$ was to label each separate utterance in the hope of preventing misappropriation-the kind of misappropriation that Theognis alludes to in 19-23, and that Thestorides of Phocaea is said to have practised with certain poems of Homer. ${ }^{4}$ But it must have been obvious to anyone who thought twice about it that such a device offered no protection whatever. A plagiarist had only to substitute his own name, or, if that could not be fitted in, some other phrase such as $\epsilon \boldsymbol{v} \boldsymbol{\mu} \circ \iota \phi \rho a ́ \zeta \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$. It is further to be noted that кai i $\boldsymbol{\sigma} \delta \boldsymbol{\delta}$ places each item so introduced in relationship to others already given. The particle itself implies, not a wholly independent utterance, but an addition to a series.

Phocylides is named not merely to give credit where it is due but to lend authority to the precepts; I think we may take it as axiomatic, whenever precepts are presented in association with a name, that such is the intention. If we look about in the field of gnomic and didactic literature without limiting our gaze to classical Greece, ${ }^{5}$ we see that it is usual for the source of the advice to be identified, whether as a god, a king, some other respected personage, or simply an anonymous wise man. It is a feature of some texts that we are reminded of this source repeatedly. Two thousand years before Phocylides, a Sumerian poet composed the Instructions of Šuruppak, in which the antediluvian sage Suruppak was represented as instructing his son Ziusudra. ${ }^{6}$ The line

> šuruppak dumu na na-mu-ri
> 'Suruppak gave instructions to his son',

[^2]which first appears in the introduction (line 4), is repeated after fourteen lines, again after ten, again after sixteen, and at least once subsequently. In a later recension of the work, dating from $c$. 1800 в.с., these reprises have been reduced in number but made more elaborate:
(78) Suruppak gave instructions to his son,

Suruppak, son of Ubartutu, gave instructions to his son Ziusudra.
A second time Suruppak gave instructions to his son,
Suruppak, son of Ubartutu, gave instructions to his son Ziusudra.
And likewise in 148 ff ., with 'third' instead of 'second'.
We find a similar technique in an Old English gnomic poem preserved in the Exeter Book. ${ }^{7}$ The opening verses announce that this is how a wise old father taught his noble son. Then after eleven lines of precepts we have

> Fæder eft his sunu fród gegrétte
> ópre sípe:
> 'The experienced father again addressed his son another time:'

After only four and a half more lines of instruction it is
Đriddan sýpe poncsnottur guma
bréostgehygdum his bearn lǽrde.
'A third time the wise man
with his breast-thoughts taught his child.'
And so on until ten lessons have been reported. The introduction occupies two lines in each case; the wording is skilfully varied, the most constant feature being the adverb eft 'again'. The number of verses in the successive sections of instruction from the third to the tenth is: four, three, nine, seven, five, four, nine, seventeen.

A more stereotyped form of heading appears in a Middle English gnomic poem, the Proverbs of Alfred, composed in the twelfth century. ${ }^{8}$ After the prologue which explains that King Alfred gave all this advice to a gathering of bishops, scholars, earls and knights at Seaford, each section-there are 28 of them in the longest recension, amounting to 512 short verses-is introduced by

> pus quax Alfred Englene frouere, 'Thus quoth Alfred, England's support',
or more often simply
pus quað Alfred.
In the Trinity College Cambridge MS. B. I4. 39 the Proverbs are followed (without indication of a change) by another, shorter poem of somewhat later date in which Alfred again plays the part of instructor, but this time addresses his son. There are five sections, 133 lines, and again each section begins 'pus quad Alured', followed this time by 'Sune min so leue', 'Sone min so dere', or 'Lewe sone dere'.

Obviously this repetition is not the result of collecting together in one book a quantity of little pieces that had been circulating separately, each labelled 'pus quad Alfred', no two of them overlapping in content. It is a literary device designed to impose some organization

[^3]upon material that was by nature lacking in structural cohesion. Essentially the same purpose is served by other formulas in some Norse gnomic poetry. In the Loddfáfnismál (Hávamál III-37), stanza after stanza of Óðin's instruction begins with
Ráðomc pér Loddfáfnir, at pú ráð nemir, nióta mundo, ef pú nemr,
pér muno góð, ef pú getr.
'I counsel thee, Loddfafnir, and hear thou my counsel:
profit shalt thou if thou hearest,
good thy gain if thou learnest.'
Often only a single precept follows. In the Sigrdrifumál (22-37), the instruction of the Valkyrie Sigrdrífa to Sigurð is marked out by the series 'pat ræð ec pér ib fyrsta', 'bat ræð ec pér annat', 'This I counsel thee first', 'This I counsel thee second', and so on up to the eleventh.

In view of the parallels I would suggest that the recurring каi тó $\delta \epsilon \Phi_{\omega \kappa v \lambda i ́ \delta \epsilon \omega}$ in Phocylides' book served simply to mark new items or sections in a single gnomic poem. Its implication is that Phocylides is a man whose advice is worth attending to. The ancients assumed that he was the actual poet, but appear to have known nothing about his life or person. It is equally possible that he was someone known at the time and place of composition as a sage of a former generation. Later Greek poets, after all, composed moralizing poems in the persons of Bias of Priene ( $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ 'I I $\omega \nu i ́ a s, ~ \tau i ́ v a ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau ' ~ a ̈ \nu ~ \tau \rho o ́ \pi o \nu ~ \epsilon v ̉ \delta a \iota \mu o \nu o i ́ \eta, ~$
 Pythagoras, and others. ${ }^{9}$ It may be that the technique of repeating 'This too is the instruction of-' came ultimately from some oriental model. Šuruppak was still studied by the Babylonians (in translation) towards the end of the second millennium, more than a thousand years after the original composition, and its form may have been copied in later Babylonian wisdom texts now lost. In my introduction to the Works and Days I argue that there must have been a tradition of wisdom poetry in Ionia before Hesiod, and that Hesiod's poem shows the influence of Near Eastern literature of this type, whether this influence came through the Ionian tradition or by a separate route. It is quite possible that Phocylides inherited the кai ró $\delta \epsilon$ form from orientalizing Ionian forerunners.

I have so far said nothing of the one or perhaps two elegiac distichs of Demodocus of Leros that begin каi $\tau$ ó $\delta \epsilon$ $\Delta \eta \mu о \delta o ́ \kappa o v .{ }^{10}$ There is little that needs to be said except that Demodocus is notable for his sharp wit, which he directs in fr. I against his neighbours the Milesians. His каi $\tau o ́ \delta \epsilon \Delta \eta \mu о \delta o ́ \kappa o v$ is surely to be understood as parody of the well-known Milesian Phocylides-poem. If we knew his exact date, it would give us a terminus ante quem for Phocylides; but we do not really know whether he lived in the sixth century or the fifth.

Now for some remarks on the individual fragments of the poem. There is more in some of them than meets the eye at first glance.

If Phocylides followed his own advice, he addressed his instruction to a boy, and this fragment may come from an introduction in which he explained why he was instructing him. In the pseudo-Hesiodic Precepts of Chiron it was
${ }^{9}$ See further my Hesiod, Works and Days 24 f .
io The phrase is attested only in fr. 2, plausibly supplemented in fr. 1.
said that children's education should begin at the age of seven, or in the seventh year ( fr .285 ); that rule may likewise have been laid down in relation to the addressee of the poem, Achilles, who according to Pindar went to the Centaur $\dot{\epsilon} \xi \epsilon ́ \tau \eta s$ тò $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau o \nu$ (Nem. iii 49). Cf. also Thgn.






Like Hesiod, Phocylides encourages his pupil to seek prosperity and livelihood through agriculture. It is through this prosperity that one may hope to attain $\dot{\alpha} \rho \epsilon \tau \dot{\eta}$, still used here in the sense of social status, being an

 $\dot{o} \pi \eta \delta \epsilon i ;$ see my commentary ad loc. According to the story told by Herodotus v 29, Milesian farming in the sixth century was in a poor state, and the city was only put on its feet when the government was entrusted to those few who were found to run their farms efficiently.

Hesiod also gives advice on borrowing, Op. 349 ff. Bergk conjectured that каi тó $\delta \epsilon \Phi_{\omega \kappa v \lambda i} \delta \epsilon \omega$ preceded.


 є́a $\theta \lambda o ́ v$.

For all one's efforts, success depends ultimately on the gods. Cf. Op. 474, 483 f., $667-9$; Thgn. 133 ff., 149 f., 155 ff., 161 ff., 660 ff.; Solon 13.67-70.


Advice on тò $\beta$ ou入є $\epsilon \in \iota v$ : Thgn. 69 ff., 633 f., 1051 ff. Note the recurrence (here and in 14 above) of $\delta i \zeta \eta \sigma \theta a \iota$


The next group of fragments brings us more into the sphere of politics and society.

Eunomia is more important than magnificence. Nineveh was destroyed in 612, and with it collapsed the mighty Assyrian kingdom after three centuries of splendour. It did not impinge on the Greeks while it existed: it was its fall that attracted their attention and made it suitable as a moral paradigm. I take it, then, that the verses date from after 612. But if Phocylides was a sage of an earlier time, he might have been represented as saying this while Nineveh still stood, in the same way as a later fable made Solon disparage the wealth of Sardis before its fall.

Albrecht Dihle argues further that the verses will date from before 547, because the impression made upon an Asiatic Greek by the fall of Lydia must have put the fall of Nineveh 65 years earlier very much in the background of his thoughts. ${ }^{12}$ This is reasonable.

[^4]$12 \pi 0 \lambda \lambda a ̀ \mu \epsilon ́ \sigma o \iota \sigma \iota \nu a ̂ \rho ı \sigma \tau a \cdot \mu \epsilon ́ \sigma o s ~ \theta e ́ \lambda \omega ~ \epsilon ̉ v ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota ~ \epsilon i v a l . ~$
The middle is the safest station when the city is polarized

 $\dot{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \dot{\omega}$ (when the democrats are turbulent, the prudent aristocrat does not express his indignation too
 $\pi о \sigma \sigma i v, \mu \eta \delta \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o \iota \sigma \iota \delta \iota \delta o v ̀ s ~ K u ́ \rho \nu \epsilon \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \omega ̀ v ~ \dot{\epsilon} \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$; perhaps


 $\phi \rho о \nu \tau i \zeta \epsilon \iota \nu, a ̈ \sigma \sigma \sigma^{\prime} \grave{\alpha} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \gamma \sigma \gamma \gamma u ́ \zeta \omega \sigma \iota \pi 0 \lambda i ̂ \tau \alpha \iota$.
'One must be concerned for one's friend about whatever the people are murmuring'-and presumably warn him if he is in danger.


Criticism of unpleasant nobles. One expects better from men of good family.


A warning to distrust outward appearances. Cf. Thgn. 965
 sober manner' but 'ornate apparel'. That such apparel was assumed by certain men of note in sixth-century Miletus may be gathered from a tradition about Anaximander:



 ท่ $\delta \epsilon ́ a ~ к \omega \tau i ́ \lambda \lambda о \nu \tau а ~ к а Ө \eta ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \nu ~ о i \nu о \pi о т а ́ \zeta \epsilon \iota \nu . ~$
$\kappa \omega \tau i \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \nu$ is somewhat pejorative, used in archaic Greek of foolish chatter or insincere pleasantry. The addition of $\dot{\eta} \delta \dot{́} a$ definitely suggests the latter sense, cf. Op. 374 aíuv́da
 $\mu a \lambda \theta a \kappa \grave{\alpha} \kappa \omega \tau i \lambda \lambda \omega \nu$, Solon $34.3 \kappa \omega \tau i \lambda \lambda$ догта $\lambda \epsilon i ́ \omega s$. Phocylides probably went on to say 'but one should be careful and observant of those present'. In times of political uncertainty the symposium afforded good opportunities for seeing into other men's minds, but one had to avoid appearing too alert. The best commentary is Thgn. 309 ff .



Miletus suffered severely from civil strife for two generations after the tyranny of Thrasybulus (Hdt. v 28). The dating inferred from the Nineveh allusion would put our poem in this period of strife, and the above fragments fit well into that context.








A quite different subject. The choice of a suitable wife and the avoidance of dangerous women is a typical topic in oriental wisdom literature, touched on also in the Works
and Days. The idea of types of women formed from different animals is set out at much greater length in Semonides 7. Phocylides' four all appear there. The women who come from the in $i \pi \sigma \frac{\alpha}{} \alpha \iota \tau \dot{\eta} \epsilon \sigma \sigma \alpha$ and the bee are described in similar terms in both poems. Phocylides' sow- and bitch-women, however, have qualities which correspond rather to Semonides' earth-woman ( 22 f . oü $\tau \epsilon$
 respectively. Phocylides hardly succeeds, in the space he allows himself, in giving his sow-woman any specifically porcine feature. Whether he is drawing directly on Semonides or on a commonplace of popular philosophy cannot be decided with certainty. ${ }^{13}$

To sum up: the evidence is consistent with the hypothesis that the hexameter fragments ascribed to Phocylides come from a gnomic poem, composed in Miletus in the first half of the sixth century, in which one Phocylides was represented as giving advice to a juvenile friend on a range of topics including how to become a man of standing; how to conduct oneself in a society shot through with political tensions; the different types of women. Such a poem fits well when seen in its historical context, and no less well when seen against the general background of archaic Greek and earlier oriental wisdom poetry.

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${ }^{13}$ Bergk appends to his collection of fragments a number of anonymous gnomic hexameters which may come from Phocylides. Their inclusion would not significantly affect the picture I have drawn.

## The Arabic version of Galen's 'De Sectis ad eos qui introducuntur

In this study ${ }^{1}$ we have compared an Arabic translation with a well-edited Greek text, in the preparation of which, moreover, the editors have found no evidence of any major lacunae in their MSS, and which we may suppose to correspond closely with Galen's original composition. It was, consequently, from the first improbable that we should make any very striking discoveries: nothing was to be expected at all comparable with the indubitable evidence for the inversion of a leaf in the codex from which are derived our Greek manuscripts of Galen's $A n$ in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur (Furley and Wilkie, $C R$ xxii [1972] 164-7).

For anyone interested in the Arabic translations of Galen's works there was, however, a compensatory advantage in the possibility thus presented of assessing the quality of the Arabic version. The reputation of the translator, Hunain ibn Ishàq, has, indeed, already been long established; and we were prepared to find his translation at the least respectable; it is safe to say, however, that we have found it uniformly excellent. In the three or four cases where a sentence seemed to have been misunderstood, the initial impression of error has been dissipated by a more careful reading of the Arabic (confirmed

[^5]by Dr Lyons); or by the consultation of further Arabic manuscripts, which showed faults of transcription in the manuscript from which our first transcript was made. To explain what we have found with respect to Hunain's choice of individual words, we must describe the method we adopted. One of us (J.S.W.) made a translation, as nearly as possible literal, from the Arabic into English, scrupulously avoiding any consultation of the Greek text. We then met and compared this English version with the Greek. It happened again and again that an English word was found to represent the Greek word tolerably well, but not exactly. Reference to the lexicons showed, however, that the English word chosen represented merely one of the possible meanings of the Arabic, and among the others listed was to be found the exact equivalent of the Greek.

A persistent source of scepticism as to the value of Arabic manuscripts of translations from the Greek is the belief that, however good the original translation may have been, the extant manuscripts mugreatly infected with glosses, introduced in the course of transmission, that no reliance can be placed upon the Arabic, as we now have it, as a representation of the original text of the translation.

We can say categorically that this is totally false of the extant manuscripts of the treatise here considered; and equally false of the manuscripts of the Ars parva with which we are now engaged (It is also false of the MSS of the De usu pulsuum and of the An in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur, J.S.W.).

We have found perhaps five or six possible glosses, each consisting of only a few words. Of these it is possible that one or two represent words present in Galen's Greek, which have dropped out of the Greek MSS. It is, moreover, extremely difficult to distinguish between what is to be considered a gloss (where only a few words are concerned) and what is a legitimate explicative translation. In one case, where we have conceded a possible gloss, Dr Lyons considered that what we have is introduced simply to avoid a gross inelegance, which would result in Arabic from the adoption of a too direct rendering of the Greek syntactical form (see below on H 15.24 ).

We defer the identification of the Arabic MSS to the end of this paper and pass at once to our results.
(Note on abbreviations. H: G. Helmreich's edition in Claudii Galeni Pergameni Scripta Minora iii (Leipzig 1893). K: Kühn's edition, Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia, i (Leipzig 1821), A: J. S. Wilkie's translation of Arabic version. The Greek MSS are referred to according to Helmreich's edition, viz. $\mathrm{L}=$ cod. Laurentianus LXXIV $5, \mathrm{~L}^{1}=$ eius manus prima, $\mathrm{L}^{2}=$ eiusdem manus altera; $\mathrm{M}=$ cod. Mosquensis $283 ; \mathrm{m}=$ cod. Mosquensis $5 \mathrm{I} ; \mathrm{V}=$ cod. Venetus bibliothecae Marcianae V 9; v=cod. Venetus eiusdem bibliothecae 282.)
 'be well acquainted with the diversity of states of the air, of waters...' K's $\phi$ vo $\sigma v$ is ungrammatical. The Arabic suggests the presence, in his Greek text, of a word (e.g. $\phi \dot{v} \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ or $\phi \dot{v} \sigma \epsilon \omega \nu$ ) governing á $\epsilon^{\prime} \rho \omega \nu$, $\dot{v} \delta a ́ \tau \omega \nu . . .:$ a double genitive would have been clumsy but might help to account for the corruption.
H 5.3 [фа́́р $\mu \alpha \kappa о \nu]$. K 69.16 stet. A: 'this drug'. The Arabic supports retention of фáp $\mu \alpha \kappa о \nu$.
H 7.12 ff. The Greek text suggests greater bleeding if the


[^0]:    ${ }^{8}$ E. Zwierlein-Diehl, Antike Gemmen in deutschen Museen i, Berlin (1969) 65 no. 13 s , pl. 32; see also A. Furtwängler, Beschr. der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium (1896) pl. 3 and AG i pl. 7.19; discussed also by M.-L. Vollenweider, Cat. Mus. d'Art et d'Histo ire de Genève i (1967) 123 under no. 157.

    9 'Re herches sur les Antiquités de Tamassos', $B C H$ lxxxviii (1964) 199 ff.

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    { }^{10} \text { Buchholz in } A A 1973 \text { 299, 322, } 330 \text { ff., figs. 23, 32; } A A 1974578 .
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[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Suda, from Hesychius of Miletus. Cf. my Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus (1974) 65 f .
    ${ }^{2}$ They are collected in Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci, ii 68-72; Diehl, Anth. Lyr. I, i $57-60$. I follow Bergk's numbering. The evidence that Phocylides also wrote elegiacs is unreliable; see my Iambi et Elegi Graeci, ii 93, and Studies 171.
    ${ }^{3}$ Chamaileon fr. 28 Wehrli (Ath. 620c) knows of performers who sang
    
     lost the art of composing for themselves; see $C Q \times x i(1971) 307 \mathrm{ff}$.

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ Ps.-Hdt. vit. Hom. $15-17$. Much has been written on the supposed device of the $\boldsymbol{\sigma \phi \rho a \gamma i s}$, a pseudo-technical term constructed on a misinterpretation of Thgn. I9 and idle speculation about the meaning of $\sigma \phi \rho a \gamma$ is as a part of the citharodic nome (Poll. iv 66). Poets mention their own names for a variety of reasons. To put all such mentions under the single heading odpayis is to succumb to that love of formulaic labels that so often serves as a curb to thought. J. Geffcken, Gr. Literaturgeschichte i (Anmerkungen) 96 n. 2 diagnoses Phocylides' repetition of his name as a 'Mangel an Originalitat'.
    ${ }^{3}$ I have made a short survey of this literature, with particular emphasis on the ancient Near East, in the introduction to my edition of Hesiod's Works and Days (Oxford 1978).
    ${ }^{6}$ B. Alster, The Instructions of Šuruppak (Copenhagen 1974); Studies in Sumerian Proverbs (Copenhagen 1975).

[^3]:    ${ }^{7}$ T. A. Shippey, Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English (1976) 48-52.
    ${ }^{8} \mathrm{O}$. Arngart, The Proverbs of Alfred (Skrifter utgivna av kungl. humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, 32/2) 1942.

[^4]:    ${ }^{11}$ Theognidean line-references in sloping type indicate that the poem in question is anonymous.
    ${ }^{12}$ Gr. Literaturgeschichte (1967) 79.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ We must express our warmest thanks to Dr M. C. Lyons of Pembroke College Cambridge, who has been most generous in allowing us to consult him on many particular points. He takes, of course, no responsibility for any inaccuracies that may remain.

