

The word ἀποκοντώ is very rare, occurring only here and in Procopius, *Secret History* ix 62. Procopius, in cataloguing Theodora's obscene doings, tells how she would step on stage amidst the actors, *λορδουμένη τε καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω ἀποκοντῶσα*. Bernhardt, in his edition of the *Suda* (Halle 1853), in which, s.v. *λορδουμένη*, the above happens to be cited, commented at length on the meaning of ἀποκοντῶ; he concluded that Procopius was talking *de projectu partium posteriorum* and, by way of confirming the sense, cited our passage from the *Periplus* which he rendered 'ita ut ancorae navis retinendae causa projectae statim a saxis praecidantur'.⁹

However, other nineteenth-century savants refused to accept ἀποκοντῶ and simply emended it out of the text—improperly, as Frisk (115) pointed out. Frisk himself retained the verb, assigned it (99) the meaning 'jeter (l'ancre) à la mer', and took (65) ἀντέχειν as a final infinitive after ἀποκοντουμένας. This has been accepted by Giangrande, who renders the passage (*JHS* xcvi [1976] 155) 'so that the cables of the anchors . . . lying on the bottom alongside the ships (παρακειμένας), which anchors are dropped (ἀποκοντουμένας) in order to hold out against the current (ἀντέχειν; cf. ἀντέχουσιν at §46),¹⁰ are cut (τέμνεσθαι) or some of them are chafed on the sea-bed'.

Both Frisk and Giangrande give to ἀποκοντῶ the sense 'drop anchor'. Yet why should the author go out of his way to select so unusual a word to express so ordinary a meaning?¹¹ Surely βάλλω or καθήμι (Pollux i 103) or ἀφήμι (Plut. *Coriol.* 32) would have done, had he wanted merely to say 'drop anchor'. Procopius' usage would indicate that ἀποκοντῶ means 'thrust out', not 'drop'.

A standard procedure today for securing a vessel in a tideway, called 'mooring', is to set out anchors from both sides of the bow with an equal amount of cable to each; the vessel forms the apex, as it were, of an isosceles triangle, of which the anchors form the other two angles and the cables the sides. Anchors so set can aptly be described as παρακειμένας, for they lie more or less parallel with the vessel and not ahead as a single anchor does. In a dangerous anchorage it is standard procedure as well to give anchors plenty of scope, to let out a long length of cable—and this is what the words ἀντέχειν ἀποκοντουμένας must refer to: the anchors are 'thrust out to withstand (sc. the current)'. Giving plenty of scope allows the cable to lie flatter and thereby provides a better direction for the strain on the anchor. But the cable inevitably lies nearer the bottom, and, if this is rough and uneven, is exposed to the danger the author describes.

influence of the preceding participles (Frisk 115). Giangrande points out (*JHS* xcvi [1976] 155) that in the koine of this period infinitives and participles mingle as syntactical equivalents.

⁹ The word also appears in Eustathius' *De Thessalonica urbe a Latinis capta* 96, used more or less in the same sense as in Procopius: Eustathius describes how the Normans, by way of insulting their captives, bared their rears, bent over to evacuate, and tried ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν ἀποκοντοῦν τὰ περιττὰ τῆς γαστρῆς.

¹⁰ The citing of ἀντέχουσιν at §46 as a parallel is misleading. Its presence there is the result of restoration; see below.

¹¹ Schmid in his review of Frisk's edition (*Philol. Wochenschr.* [1928] 788–95) was the first to point out (792) the inadequacy of Frisk's rendering of ἀποκοντῶ. He suspected—rightly, as we shall see—a distinction between παρακειμένας and ἀποκοντουμένας but the only restoration he could offer had, on his own admission, serious drawbacks.

The passage, therefore, can be rendered

so that the anchors lying parallel [i.e., dropped from the bows], thrust out to withstand [sc. the current], are cut loose, and some even get smashed on the sea floor.¹²

(iii) *Periplus* 46 (Frisk p. 15, lines 22–4)

The author's plain unvarnished style takes on color and drive as he describes the tremendous tides characteristic of India's estuaries, particularly the one where the key port of Barygaza was located (Broach on the Bay of Cambay). The rise and fall is dramatic, the inrush and outflow of incredible violence. Indeed,

γυνομένης γὰρ ὀρμῆς ἦδη περὶ τὴν πλήμην οὐδὲν παριεμένης αἱ κατέχουσιν ἄγκυραι.

And so, as a result, ships get carried headlong, tossed on their side, thrust aground on the shallows, etc.

The text in its present form is ungrammatical, clearly corrupt. Since the author obviously is telling us that anchors are of no help, Müller emended the last three words to οὐκ ἀντέχουσιν αἱ ἄγκυραι, translating the whole 'nam quum impetus undarum sub aestum sit nulla re frangendus, ancorae haud resistunt'. Fabricius and Frisk simply repeated Müller's text.

Though Müller's extensive revision can perhaps be defended on paleographical grounds, there is a much simpler and more obvious correction of the last three words, namely αἱ κατέχουσαι ἄγκυραι: the transformation of a participle to a finite form could have taken place, as frequently in this manuscript, through improper expansion of an abbreviation in the exemplar. Such a phrase would mean 'the restraining anchors', i.e., anchors specially set out to counter the extraordinary conditions, either extras over and above the number normally used¹³ or anchors dropped like those described in *Periplus* 40. Since the author's point is that even these will not hold, we must have a negative. But we need not restore one, as does Müller, since there is one available in the manuscript, οὐδέν. It follows that the participle after it, παριεμένης, must be corrupt. I suggest emending to παραμένουσιν; it has a good enough claim on the grounds of paleography and an excellent claim on the grounds of sense. The line, thus restored, states

For, once the thrust of the tide is under way, the restraining anchors do not stay in place.

New York University

LIONEL CASSON

¹² I owe thanks to my good friend and colleague, N. Lewis, for invaluable suggestions in connection with this passage.

¹³ Ancient craft carried many more anchors than their modern counterparts, which are generally content with three or four. The ship that carried St Paul to Malta had at least six (*Acts* xxvii 29–30). One ancient wreck had at least five, another eleven; cf. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 255–6.

The Paroeciographers on ΤΑ ΤΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΗΣΙΧΟΡΟΥ

As the last of his 'artis metricae scriptorum testimonia' for Stesichorus, 275 (b), Page¹ gives the following entry: 'Suda iv 586 A[dlr] s.v. τρία

¹ PMG p. 135.

Στησιχόρου . . . ἐπωδικὴ γὰρ πᾶσα ἢ Στησιχόρου ποιήσις; Diogenian. *cent.* vii 14 (et alii) οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις, sim. al., vid. L-S ad loc. i 288'. There are, in fact, far more testimonia than indicated by the out-dated and rather meagre note of Leutsch-Schneidewin,² and it is essential to discover the way in which these various references are phrased.³ For an attempt to reach the original form of the proverb, and an interpretation based on the exact wording of this original, was the basis of Otto Crusius' 'Stesichorus und die epodische Composition in der gr. Lyrik', the only truly critical examination of the proverb's various forms and sources that has so far been undertaken.⁴

In his article, Crusius attacked the belief—apparently supported by the deduction which the Suda draws from the proverb—that Stesichorus was responsible for introducing epodic composition. After a useful review of the history of this idea in modern scholarship (p. 3 f.) Crusius turned to examine the ancient evidence for the notion. By his time, of course, it had been established that in matters paroemiographical Photius, the Suda and Hesychius all derive their information from pseudo-Diogenianus, and thus, ultimately, from pseudo-Didymus. But in the lexicā's alphabetically arranged collections the phrase τρία Στ. has according to Crusius (5) been arbitrarily separated from its context (οὐδὲ . . . γινώσκεις) and from its true explanation. The Athous MS of Zenobius, like the above-mentioned lexicographical group, also draws on Pseudo-Didymus' collection of proverbs.⁵ Because of the non-alphabetical arrangement of its material, however, it probably preserves Didymus' original (here as elsewhere) more accurately than that group.⁶

Crusius therefore concluded that the proverb's original version was what we find represented by the Athous MS of Zenobius: οὐδὲ τρία τῶν Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις, i.e. 'you don't even know three verses (or poems) of Stesichorus'. τρία he took to have no specific numerical significance but rather to be a mere token sum typical in proverbs. He produced (6 n. 1) several alleged parallels (e.g. τὰ τρία τῶν εἰς τὸν θάνατον). τῶν he likewise thought 'ursprünglich' as indicated by the agreement of the Athous and Bodleian MSS against the combined evidence of Pseudo-Diogenian and the Suda. He even supposed that the latter's τρία τὰ Στησιχόρου

² In what follows L-S=E. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Göttingen 1839: repr. Hildesheim 1958) and *Corp. Par. Gr. Suppl.*=the Supplement to that work (Hildesheim 1961) containing six articles adding to the paroemiographic corpus. Miller=M. E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* (Paris 1868; repr. Amsterdam 1965) on pp. 341 ff. of which was published for the first time the Athous text of Zenobius' collection of Greek proverbs. On these last two works see W. Bühler, 'On Some MSS of the Athous Recension of the Greek Paroemiographers', *Serta Turyniana, Studies . . . in honor of Alexander Turyn* (Urbana 1974) 412.

³ Note Bühler's conclusion (n. 2) that 'for an accurate knowledge of the transmitted wording and a conclusive appreciation of the mutual relationship of the texts, it is still indispensable to refer to the manuscripts, since several of the transcriptions are either inexact or incomplete or both'. Bühler's article is fundamental for the textual transmission of the corpus of Greek proverbs, and he has placed me further in his debt by sending me additional information about the sources of the proverb considered here.

⁴ In *Commentationes Philologicae* (quibus Ottoni Ribbeckio . . . congratulantur discipuli Lipsienses) (Leipzig 1888) 3 ff.

⁵ Bühler (n. 2) 411.

⁶ For 'alphabetization in this kind of literature', as 'always open to the suspicion of later origin' see Bühler (n. 2) 410 and n. 2.

implies the reading τρία τῶν Στ. and that Photius' τρία Στ. represents no more than an arbitrary correction of the Suda. For the genitive plural he compared Ar. *Nub.* 1365 τῶν Αἰσχύλου λέξει τί μοι, and for the general idea that ability to remember lines from great poets is a sign of good breeding 1355 f. of the same play

πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν λύραν λαβόντ' ἐγὼ 'κέλευσα
ἄσα Σιμωνίδου μέλος, τὸν Κριὸν ὡς ἐπέχθη,

and fr. 223 of the same poet (from *Daitales*: i 449 Kock).

Now the fresh information that has accrued since Crusius wrote confirms in the highest degree his enthusiasm for τῶν. But it also quite overthrows the case for τρία unpreceded by a definite article. For as I learn from Prof. Bühler, though the Athous itself reads οὐδὲ τρία τῶν Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις, Atheniensis 1083 which is a copy of the Athous (see Bühler 419 ff., 424 ff.) has οὐδὲ τὰ τρίτα (sic) τῶν Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις (cf. S. Kugéas, *Corp. Par. Gr. Suppl.* v 9) and so does what Bühler on p. 413 calls the Athous' 'index of 89 numbered lemmata . . . followed by the complete text (numbers agreeing with the index)'. The other MSS of Zenobius' collection of proverbs also have οὐδὲ τὰ τρία and that (or τὰ τρίτα) is what the majority of our other sources present us with. The Suda's τρία τὰ Στησιχόρου is therefore just as likely to be a corruption of τὰ τρία τῶν Στησιχόρου.

Crusius' interpretation was anyway open to doubt on several quite independent grounds. In the first two of his Aristophanic passages, failure to recite from the *oeuvre* of Simonides and of Aeschylus is not an indication of stupidity but rather of contempt for those poets as hopelessly old-fashioned. And again, in proverbs, the number three may occasionally have a general and non-specific connotation, but it may also have a perfectly precise and exact significance: thus, in the example cited above (τὰ τρία τῶν εἰς τὸν θάνατον) the reference is to the three modes of suicide: ξίφος, κώνειον.⁷

Both quantity and quality of MSS, then, suggest that

οὐδὲ τὰ τρία τῶν Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις

was the original form of the reproach cast in the teeth of notoriously sluggish and stupid individuals. Was it intended to convey 'you don't even know the three famous lines (sc. ἔπη?) of Stesichorus' (lines/poems)?⁸ Or 'you don't even know the three famous divisions (sc. μέρη?) of Stesichorus' (poems)? Neither possibility can be totally excluded, but the former reads rather more naturally as Greek. The three lines from one of the Palinode were, as Wilamowitz in particular stressed,⁹

⁷ See Ed. Fraenkel, *Philol.* lxxxvii (1932) 470 ff.=*Kl. Beitr.* i 465 ff.

⁸ τὰ Στησιχόρου by analogy with τὰ Αἰσχύλου etc. (cf. τῶν Αἰσχύλου . . . τι from the *Clouds* as cited in the text). This nuance of the definite article is not recognised by LSJ s.v. ὁ, ἡ, τό but cf. Athen. xiii 610c=Stes. fr. 199P ἐκ τῶν Στησιχόρου (rightly translated 'from the poems of Stesichorus' by C. B. Gulick, *Athenaeus* vol. vi [Loeb 1937] p. 289), and Σ RV on Ar. *Pax* 797 ff.=Stes. fr. 212P: ἐστὶ δὲ παρὰ τὰ Στησιχόρου (παρὰ Στησιχόρω V) ἐκ τῆς Ὀρεστιάδας (correctly rendered 'this comes from the passage of Stesichorus' by J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* ii [Loeb 1924] p. 53). For ἔπη used of Stesichorus' lyric verses see Heraclides Ponticus fr. 157 Wehrli καθάπερ τὴν [sc. λέξιν] Στησιχόρου τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων μελοποιῶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ἔπη, and Paus. ix 11.2=Stes fr. 230P Στησιχορος ὁ Ἰμεραῖος καὶ Πανύσσας ἐν τοῖς ἔπειαν ἐποίησαν.

⁹ *Textgeschichte d. gr. Lyriker* (Berlin 1900) 35; *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 242.

	PSEUDO-HERODIAN		SUDA	LEXICON COISL.	PHOTIUS	HESYCHIUS
	<p>Φιλέταιρος A. Dain, <i>Le Philétarios</i> (Paris 1954) p. 82 no. 103 = codex Pictonii post Moerlin 479 cited by L-S ad Ps.-Diogen. cent 7.14 (i. 288).</p>	<p>Laurent 58.24 (Cohn, <i>Corp. Par. Gr. Suppl.</i> i 27 cf. <i>ibid.</i> 83) (On οὐδε Bühler informs me <i>per lit.</i> 'wahrscheinlich kein Akzent, aber wegen eines Fleckes nicht ganz sicher').</p>	<p>iii 580 Adler</p>	<p>384 (p. 153 Gaisford).</p>	<p>Lexicon (ii 599 Porson) = Suda (iv 586 Adler) = Pausanias Atticist. (Erbse, <i>Untersuch. z. d. Attizistischen Lexica</i>, ADAW Berlin ph.-hist. Kl. [1949] 214) s.v. τρία Σττησιχόρου στροφήν, αντίστροφον, ἐπωδόν. ἐπωδική γὰρ πάσα ἡ τοῦ Σττησιχόρου ποιήσις, καὶ τὸν τελέως ἀκουσὸν τε καὶ ἀπαίδευτον λοιδοροῦντες, ἔφασκον ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Σττησιχόρου εἶδέναι.</p>	<p>(iv 173 Schmidt). s.v. τρία Σττησιχόρου ἔθος ἦν παρὰ (Musurus: <i>περὶ cod.</i>) πᾶσιν ἔδεσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὰ Ὀμήρου.</p>
οὐδὲ τὰ τρία τῶν Σττησιχόρου γνώσεις καὶ ἀμύσεων ἐφρηται ἢ παροιμία ἐπειδὴ	<p>τοῦ Στ. (τρίτα Α, -ωρου Α3C) fin.</p>	<p>[γνώσεις? fort. Mon.] ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμυθῶν. δύο γὰρ ἦδον στροφήν, ἀντιστροφήν, καὶ μίαν ἐπωδόν fin.</p>	<p>τὰ τρία Σττησιχόρου x x x x x εὐδοκίμος ἦν fin.</p>	<p>τρία δ' ἂν εἴη, αἱ δύο ἀντιστροφοὶ καὶ ἡ ἐπωδός, δι' ἧν σφύκνεται τὰ λυρικά ποιήματα fin.</p>		

In this Table the column furthest to the left contains the fullest form of the proverb and its explanation, corresponding almost totally to what we find in Athous 1.23. x indicates that the entry in question contains the words and phrases arranged within this leftmost column, < > that it does not. Minor divergences in spelling or phraseology are shown by citation of the relevant spelling or phrase. Thus, c.g., Zenob. Bodl. 732 reads: οὐδὲ τὰ τρία (τρίτα b) τῶν Σττησιχόρου γνώσεις. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων καὶ ἀμύσεων ἐφρηται. ἐπειδὴ δύο ἀντιστροφῶς ἦδον οἱ λυρικοὶ καὶ μίαν ἐπωδόν. When a particular entry contains phrases peculiar to itself these are quoted in full. All such phrases happen to occur at the end of their entries.

famous throughout antiquity largely thanks to Plato's citation of them in the *Phaedrus*, and ignorance of them would supply a suitable symbol of imbecility.

Crusius was probably right, then, to urge the absence of any independent evidence for Stesichorus' introduction of epodic composition. But he went somewhat astray over the original proverb's real meaning. And the evidence he went on to adduce does not exclude Stesichorus' claim to that title quite as firmly as he imagined. It is true, as he stressed and several scholars have more recently confirmed, that the sequence of A, A, B can be detected as an architectonic device in Alcman's Louvre Partheneion and several Aeolic stanzas of Alcaeus and Sappho,¹⁰ and doubtless extended back to the most ancient times.¹¹ But the statement that *all* the poetry of Stesichorus was triadic has yet to be contradicted by a papyrus find; nor is there any likelier candidate than Stesichorus for the title of first poet to employ triads.¹²

M. DAVIES

St John's College, Oxford

¹⁰ See, for instance, D. Korzeniewski, *Gr. Metrik* (Darmstadt 1968) 12, 129 f., or M. L. West, *CQ* xxi (1971) 312 f.

¹¹ See, e.g., West, *CQ* xxiii (1973) 180.

¹² The scheme does not imply that Stesichorus' poems were composed for the chorus. I shall expand upon this in my commentary: for the moment see e.g. West (n. 10) 309, 313, M. W. Haslam, *QUCC* xvii (1974) 33.

Longus, Antiphon, and the Topography of Lesbos

Since *Daphnis and Chloe* is a work of fiction, modern criticism has paid little attention to the topographical details of Lesbos which Longus scatters through his work. Today a preoccupation with biographical or topographical realism in literature is out of fashion, and Longus's world has in any case been described, by one of his most perceptive modern critics, as 'un monde des plus irréels'.¹ Yet just as Longus's women reveal a striking blend of fictional romance and social realism,² so the background to his narrative, however much adorned with items of baroque fancy, nevertheless remains solidly based on the geography and ecology of Lesbos itself. The cave of the Nymphs, with its grotto, its spring, and its clutter of statues, may derive from the pastoral property-closet,³ but Longus's description of Mytilene agrees with those given by Strabo and Pausanias,⁴ and many other details—the trailing vines, the wine, the flourishing orchards, the prevalence of hares for hunting⁵—suggest familiarity with the ter-

¹ B. P. Reardon, *Courants littéraires des II^e et III^e siècles après J.-C.* (Paris 1971) 201.

² A. M. Scarcella, 'La donna nel romanzo di Longo Sofista', *Giorn. Ital. di Filol.* xxiv (1972) 63–84.

³ Longus (ed. G. Dalmeyda) i 4.1–3, i 7.2, iv 39.2. It would be natural to seek such a cave, if one existed, near the source of the island's one perennial river, the Vouvaris (see below), but this area (like much of Lesbos) is now (August 1980) off-limits on grounds of military security. It is an odd coincidence (but, I would judge, no more than that, unless a garbled memory of *Daphnis and Chloe* itself) that a shepherd should have told me a highly circumstantial story of how once, out in the hills and blind drunk, he stumbled on just such a cave, full of statues—but after sobering up could never remember his way back there!

⁴ Longus i 1, cf. Paus. viii 30.2, Strabo xiii 2.2, Diod. xiii 79.5–6, and R. Herbst, 'Mytilene', *RE* xvi (1933) 1417–19.

⁵ Longus ii 1.1–4, iv 10.3, iv 2.2, iii 33.4, ii 13.12. It is not necessary

rain. The description in the proem of the grove of the Nymphs, thick with flowers and trees and watered by a single spring, at once calls to mind the site of the great temple at Mesa, in the Kalloni plain.⁶ Most striking of all, since often used as evidence for Longus's *ignorance* of Lesbos, is his vivid description of a heavy snowfall, much at odds with later travellers' accounts of the climate's perennial mildness.⁷ But in the winter of 1964, when I was living on the island, snow lay three feet deep in the chestnut forest above Aghiassos, while Methymna was icebound, with frozen taps and sub-zero temperatures, for ten days, so that all the eucalyptus trees outside the schoolhouse died. The worst winter in living memory was that of 1953/4; the mountains are frequently snowbound. Longus, like Alcaeus, who also describes such conditions,⁸ knew what he was talking about.⁹

The only systematic attempt in recent years to deal with the topography of Lesbos as treated by Longus is that of Hugh J. Mason.¹⁰ The main value of this article is threefold. First, it re-emphasises Longus's acquaintance with the topography of the island. Second, it disposes, once and for all, of the arguments that Naber and Hiller von Gärtringen advanced against the accuracy of Longus's distances,¹¹ by exploding the eccentric but popular notion that ancient distances were measured as the crow flies rather than by actual track-distances, and by settling on Strabo's stade of 186 m—eight to a Roman mile—as the unit of measurement standard in Longus's day.¹² Third, in order to discredit Naber, Mason also establishes (what should never have been doubted) the gross inaccuracy of many sea and land distances advanced by Strabo for Lesbos (pp. 155–7). All this is highly valuable work. Unfortunately, Mason then attempts to use his findings to place the country estate of *Daphnis and Chloe* where others had done before him,¹³ on the north-east coast of the island, in the area of the *Ὀρμος Μακρονγαλοῦ*. This siting, described by Mason as 'natural' (149), is, on several counts, quite impossible.

to argue, with P. Grimal, 'Le jardin de Lamón à Lesbos', *Rev. Arch.* xlix (1957) 211–14, that Lamo's orchard derives from an Oriental literary tradition: every fruit that Longus mentions can be found growing on the island today. See Dori Diálekto, 'Ὁ Νόμος Λέσβου' (Athens 1980) 9–65, and the Naval Intelligence Division's *Geographical Handbook for Greece* (London 1945) iii, *Regional Geography* 510–13.

⁶ Proem i 1: καλὸν μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄλλοσ, πολὺδενδρον, ἀνθηρόν, καρπάρυτον, μία πηγὴ πάντα ἔτρεφε καὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ τὰ δένδρα . . .

⁷ See the Budé edn² (Paris 1960) ed. G. Dalmeyda, xiv–xv.

⁸ Fr. 338 L-P: ὕει μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐκ δ' ὀράνω μέγας | χεῖμων, πεπάγαιον δ' ὕδάτων ῥόαι . . .

⁹ B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1967) 351. I have not seen A. M. Scarcella's short pamphlet *La Lesbos di Longo Sofista* (Rome 1968). In the Naval Intelligence *Handbook* (n. 5) iii 490, it is stated: 'Snow falls not infrequently but soon melts.' The latter claim is by no means always true; it depends very much on altitude and chill-factor, which in turn is conditioned by the tearing gales that scour the island in winter, and were clearly known to Vitruvius (i 6.1).

¹⁰ H. J. Mason, 'Longus and the topography of Lesbos', *TAPA* cix (1979) 149–63. (Hereafter 'Mason'.)

¹¹ S. A. Naber, 'Adnotationes criticae ad Longi Pastoralia', *Mnemos.* v (1877) 199–220; F. Hiller von Gärtringen, 'Neuer Forschungen zur Geschichte und Epigraphie von Lesbos', *Göt. Nachr. Phil.-hist. Kl. Fachgr. I*, n.f. i (1934–6) 107–19.

¹² Mason 150–4 and evidence there adduced. This was by far the most common version in Strabo's day, cf. vii 7.4: but the 'Olympian' stade of 179 m was only minimally shorter.

¹³ E.g. K. Bürchner, 'Lesbos', *RE* xii.2 (1925) 2113.