

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

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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 Μακρονυαλοῦ*. 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' ὕδατων ῥόαι . . .

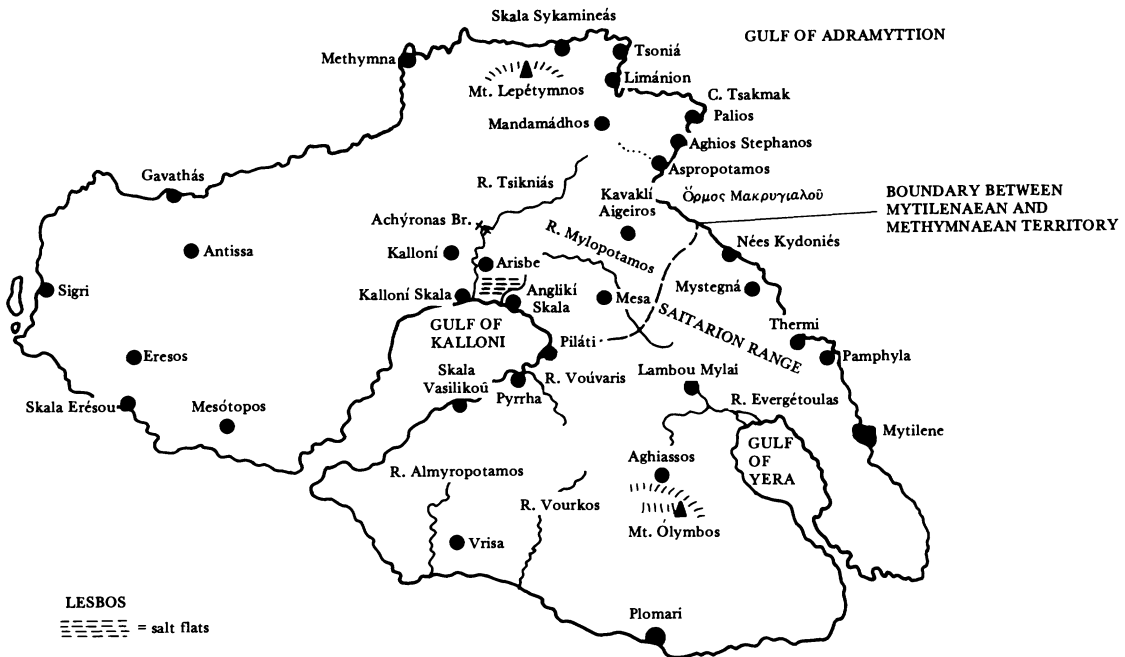
⁹ B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1967) 351. I have not seen A. M. Scarcella's short pamphlet *La Lesbos di Longo Sofista* (Rome 1968). In the Naval Intelligence *Handbook* (n. 5) iii 490, it is stated: 'Snow falls not infrequently but soon melts.' The latter claim is by no 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.



What are we told of the farm in question? It lay 200 stades, i.e. 37.2 km, distant from Mytilene, on the coast, close to an open beach, in an area rich with wheat, pasturage, vines, and wild game, but also immediately below hills and mountains (i 1.2). A further 10 stades (1.86 km) separated Chloe's abode from that of Daphnis (iii 5.4), so that their shared pastures presumably lay between 37.2 and 39 km from Mytilene. There was a perennial river flowing close by (i 23.2, iii 24.2). The estate was located in the territory of Mytilene, but close to Mytilene's frontier with Methymna (ii 13.2; cf. below, n. 22, and see also ii 12.1, ii 20.1). Ten stades, or 1.86 km, distant from it to the north there was a half-moon bay with a promontory and, behind the bay, a high crag (ii 25.1, ii 26.3, cf. iii 21.3). How do these conditions agree with Mason's thesis? First, the distance from Mytilene, 37.2 km takes us, not to the *ὄρμος Μακρυγιαλοῦ*, but considerably beyond it: over 2 km further than the town of Mandamádhos on the main road, a similar distance beyond the hamlet of Aghios Stephanos along the coast.¹⁴ It is the latter area, a wild rocky tract known today as Kalafátes, which particularly concerns us. Mason at one point (162), and for different reasons (see below), seems to locate the farm here, as on the evidence of the distance he would have

¹⁴ See War Office General Staff map no. 4468, 'Lesvos', sheet 4 ('Ay. Paraskevi'), scale 1:50,000; distances confirmed by odometer as far as Aghios Stephanos, Aug. 1980. This map reads 29 km just before the Aspropotamos river, and 37 km at a point (keeping to the main road) well beyond the village of Mandamádhos. I read 29.5 km on the odometer at the Aghios Stephanos turn-off, and 34.4 just before Aghios Stephanos itself (the last two hundred yards were only negotiable on foot). In correspondence Mr Mason insists that 'there are enough unknowns here' [e.g. from and to where, precisely, are we measuring? and did the ancient route, like the modern, cut across the Pamphyla-Thermi headland, etc.] 'to say that a 200-stade distance could plausibly put you on the coast of the Ormos Makrygiou somewhere from Aspropotamo to Ay. Stephanos' [my italics]. But the difference in distance thus accounted for is negligible; and in any case, as we have seen, the coast by Aghios Stephanos simply does not fit Longus's requirements.

to: but he does not stress the precise location, and with good reason. Kalafátes is one of the barest, most barren regions of Lesbos. It has no beach, merely reefs. The eye looks in vain for arable land, hills, vines, game, or even for the otherwise ubiquitous olive. The ground is rough heathland, devoid of promontories. Aghios Stephanos has a small bay of sorts, but no headland, and very little sand.

Thus, Mason prefers to talk, without being too specific, about the 'communities around the *ὄρμος Μακρυγιαλοῦ*' (160). Yet even here, quite apart from the problem of mileage, he runs into at least two insuperable difficulties. Granted that the area has a suitable beach, with mountains at hand and good farming land around, there is still no perennial river. Mason reports the Aspropotamos as flowing in August 1976 (161), which suggests very exceptional circumstances, since in August 1980 it was bone dry, while every map known to me records it, correctly, as seasonal rather than perennial.¹⁵ Nor, within the bay area encompassing the Aspropotamos, is there anything resembling a headland or a half-moon harbour. Indeed, the very word *ὄρμος* suggests rather the open roadstead that we find here. But what finally eliminates the entire area as a candidate for the site of Longus's country estate is the question of interstate boundaries. Mason assumes that the modern, post-Turkish political division of the eparchies of Mytilene and Methymna, beginning at

¹⁵ General Staff map (n. 14); John Papanis, 'Map of Lesbos Island', scale 1:115,000, the best of the tourist maps, but apparently not available to Mr Mason; N. D. Voukelatos, 'Tourist Map of Lesbos', scale 1:150,000; V. Soutzidellis, 'Λέσβος: Χάρτης γεωγραφικός και τουριστικός', scale 1:140,000. Mr Mason now writes to me (June 1981) confirming the presence of water in the Aspropotamos in August 1976, 'but remember that we had two substantial rainy squalls: also the sea-level was high, and it may have backed up'. On-site inspection suggests to me that the second of these explanations is very likely: but neither does anything to suggest that the river is perennial rather than seasonal. Indeed, the reverse is true. Summer downpours can produce brief flash flooding in many of the dry watercourses on the island.

Achladeri on the Gulf of Kalloni, and turning north from the Saitarion range to reach the coast close to Skala Sikamineas, also represents the boundary as it was in antiquity. He stresses (160) the accessibility of the N.E. coast from Mytilene, its difficulty of access from Methymna—the kind of geographical logic that would place all of the east coast under the control of Mytilene. This claim, quite apart from exaggerating the physical barriers between Methymna and the coast below Mandamádhos, rests on a fundamental error.

Mason found himself driven to embrace the modern eparchy division in part because of an article by J. D. Kondis, which argued that 200 stades from Mytilene would place the estate well over the boundary, in the territory of Methymna. Since Kondis, like Mason, took it as an article of faith that the estate did, in fact, lie somewhere on the north-east coast, he was forced into a counsel of despair: he argued for an alternative reading, *εἴκοσιν*, twenty stades, found, admittedly, in one of the two best MSS,¹⁶ but impossible to reconcile with reasonable or traditional boundary limits, or indeed with the evidence of Longus himself. Mason had no trouble in demolishing the twenty-stade theory,¹⁷ but since it appeared in a literary rather than a scholarly periodical, and thus was presented without documentation, he could not realise what strong grounds Kondis had for arguing that the longer distance would leave the estate on the wrong side of the boundary. Only in his posthumous *magnum opus*, *Λέσβος καὶ ἡ Μικρασιατικὴ τῆς Περιοχῆ* (n. 18) did Kondis fully explain his thesis. By a comparison of ancient *testimonia* with church records, he was able to demonstrate that it was the *ecclesiastical* boundaries which represented the division between Mytilene and Methymna—as it had existed ever since the Romans, in 167 B.C., during their war with Perseus, transferred to Methymna's control the territory of Antissa. The present eparchy boundaries are, in essence, those of the Turkish *καζάδες*, and relatively modern.¹⁸

The western extremity of this ancient frontier began

¹⁶ J. D. Kondis, 'Τὰ κατὰ Δάφνην καὶ Χλόην τοῦ Λόγγου καὶ ἡ Λέσβος', *Αἰολικὰ Γράμματα* ii (1972) 217–23, esp. 218, where the reading *εἴκοσιν* is upheld, on the grounds of topographical preferability [!] against *διακοσίων*, of which K. writes: 'Ὅσο γιὰ τὰ διακόσια στάδια, ἡ ἀπόσταση αὐτῆ θὰ ξεπερνοῦσε τὰ ὄρια τῆς "Μυτιληναίας" κατὰ πολὺ . . .'. For an evaluation of the MSS cf. H. van Thiel, 'Über die Textüberlieferung des Longus', *RhM* civ (1961) 356–62, and M. D. Reeve, 'Fulvio Orsini and Longus', *JHS* xcix (1979) 165–7.

¹⁷ Mason 160: 'It is incredible that a naval raid by ten Methymnaean warships (ii 19.3–ii 21.1) to a point 3.7 km from Mytilene should not have encountered an immediate military response', etc. It has been suggested to me, on the basis of iii 1.1, that it *did*, in fact, encounter an immediate response; but this is not quite accurate. The Mytilenaeans had to be told what was going on by folk from the countryside (καὶ τινες ἐμήνυσαν αὐτοῖς . . . ἐλθόντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν), and since they had a clear view from the castle and upper town at least as far N. as Pamphyla (7 km distant), it follows that the encounter must have taken place further afield—a full day's journey off, to judge from iv 33.2.

¹⁸ J. D. Kondis, *Λέσβος καὶ ἡ Μικρασιατικὴ τῆς Περιοχῆ* (Athens, Athens Center of Ekistics 1978) (hereafter Kondis, *Lesbos*) 49–50, 129–30, 261–3, confirmed by personal information from the Secretary to the Metropolitan, Mytilene; cf. also Kondis's more general study *Λεσβιακὸ Πολύπτυχο, ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν λογοτεχνία* (Athens 1973) 160–2. For the Roman settlement of 167 BC, which added Antissa to the territory of Methymna, see Livy xlv 31.14.

slightly north of the eparchy line, so that Pyrrha was included in Mytilenaeon territory,¹⁹ marched with the eparchy line as far as the Saitarion range, but then continued E.N.E. (see FIG. 1), reaching the coast at a point somewhat north of Néas Kydoniás. This agrees well with Strabo's evidence,²⁰ which places the village of Aigeiros in Methymnaean territory, close to the boundary with Mytilene, and at the narrowest part, i.e. on a line between the Kalloni salt-flats (or Angliki Skala) and the ὄρμος Μακρυγαλοῦ: Kondis points out that *καβάκι* is a Turkish-derived homonym for *αἴγειρος*, 'black poplar', and convincingly identifies the site with the modern Kavaklí, 'the place of poplars', where substantial ancient remains have in fact been found.²¹ With the establishment of this boundary-line, reinforced by the further evidence already discussed, the traditional location of Longus's estate on the N.E. coast can no longer be maintained. Where, then, should we look for it?

In fact, a site 37.2 km distant from Mytilene, and by the sea, can be found only in one other place, and that is on the Gulf of Kalloni, near the site of ancient Pyrrha: an area of water subject, despite being almost landlocked, to violent squalls and storms (i 1.2, ii 14.1, cf. Naval Intelligence *Handbook* [n. 5] 500), and the shores of which could well be described in such terms as *παραλίαν* or *παραθαλασσία* (ii 19.3, ii 12.1–2, cf. ii 20.1). Today the coastline is fertile and charming, while the harbour of Skala Kallonis forms the centre for a vigorous sardine-fishing industry.

By either of the two existing routes—via the main Mytilene–Methymna road as far as the Gulf, then by coastal track, or following the old trail through the upland pine forest above Lambou Mylai—the recorded distance is, precisely, 37 km to the modern village of Achladeri. A little to the north, perhaps no more than a kilometer or two, ran the ancient boundary between the territories of Mytilene and Methymna: it may even have been marked, for part of its length, by the Voúvaris River.²² This river, furthermore, is today the

¹⁹ Kondis, *Lesbos* 50, §198.

²⁰ xiii 2.2: ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ Μυτιλήνης καὶ τῆς Μηθύμνης κατὰ κόμην τῆς Μηθυμναίας, καλουμένην Αἴγειρον, στενωπάτη ἐστὶν ἡ νῆσος . . . The fact that Strabo gets the actual width of the neck of land here hopelessly wrong does not necessarily invalidate his relative siting of Aigeiros. His measurement of twenty stades could only apply to the coast just S. of Mytilene, to the E. of the Gulf of Yera. This is patently absurd for a point stated to be close to the Methymna boundary: it looks as though he confused two sets of figures in his source (on internal evidence he is unlikely to have visited Lesbos himself). He also places Pyrrha (xiii 2.2) on the *west coast* of the island, yet at the same time makes it no more than 80 stades (14.88 km) from Mytilene (xiii 2.4)! For further errors of this sort cf. Mason 154–7.

²¹ Kondis, *Lesbos* 262, §1407: . . . τὸ ὄνομα Καβακλί (θέση αἴγειρων, ἀπὸ τὸ καβάκι, ποὺ σημαίνει αἴγειρος καὶ πέρασε στὴν τοπικὴ διάλεκτο ἀπὸ τὰ τουρκικὰ) . . . R. Koldewey's arguments, supported by H. G. Lolling, in that generally excellent study *Die Antike Baureste der Insel Lesbos* (Berlin 1890) 43, for Mystegna as the site of Aigeiros, do not carry conviction. The equation Aigeiros = Kavaklí is also accepted by H.-G. Buchholz, *Methymna* (Mainz 1975) 150 n. 454. For ancient remains at Kavaklí see: S. Anagnostes, *Ἡ Λεσβίας ὠδὴ: ἡ ἱστορικὸν ἐγκωμίον τῆς νήσου Λέσβου* (Smyrna 1850, repr. Athens 1972) 156–8.

²² I am assuming (see above) that at ii 13.2 the young men of Methymna are described as having sailed 30 stades (5.58 km) to the vicinity of Daphnis and Chloe's estates not, as is generally assumed (e.g. by Naber 201), from the point at which they lost their rope, but from the outset of their expedition: καὶ σταδίου τριάκοντα

only true perennial waterway on Lesbos, fed by never-ceasing springs: when other larger streams, such as the Mylopótamos or the Tsikniás, either dry up or are reduced to a mere trickle, the Vouvaris, even in the height of summer, flows deep and full.²³ If Daphnis wanted to swim in August he could not—*experto credite*—have chosen a more pleasant place for it. Wild game abounds in the area. There is both pasturage and arable farmland. Vines and olives grow in abundance. High rocky hills run down to the beaches in a series of headlands. Longus's general conditions, we may say, are met with striking precision. Despite deforestation, we even find the abundant woodland that flourished near the estate:²⁴ the *δάσος πεύκων*, the pine forest, that distinguishes Lesbos is not restricted (as Mason, 161, implies) to the eastern part of the island. Nor, it is worth noting, do such conditions prevail all the way down the Gulf of Kalloni. South-west from Achladeri the landscape suddenly changes. Towards Skala Vasilikou and beyond the coast is a flat plain, open, rocky, wrack-washed, without beaches or headlands. It is only Pyrrha that meets all the required conditions. The partial destruction of the city itself (Strabo xiii 2.4, Plin. *NH* v 139), probably by an earthquake occasioning a seismic tilt and consequent flooding (Kondis, *Lesbos* 344–6), need not have affected the coastal area generally as a hunting or farming domain. Let us test it, then, in the context of Longus's narrative.

If the Methymna youths who went poaching in Mytilene's territory—a habit as prevalent today as in antiquity—did so from the north of the Gulf of Kalloni (either Skala Kallonis or Angliki Skala would offer a natural and convenient base for seaborne operations), a cruise of thirty stades (5.58 km) would bring them precisely to the area of Pyrrha.²⁵ The naval raid by a Methymna squadron, which likewise cruised as far as Daphnis and Chloe's estate, will have followed an identical route. When these raiders had filled their ships with booty, they turned back. After sailing ten stades (1.86 km) north, the commander decided to rest his men, and put in to a half-moon beach, sheltered from the weather by a long projecting headland.²⁶ The beach and the headland are both there, below the area now known as Piláti, and precisely ten stades from Pyrrha. What is more, among the other unpleasant experiences undergone here by these sailors was the unearthly sound of a flute *ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθίου πέτρας τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄκραν*,²⁷ 'from the steep crag above the ridge'. That *παρελάσαντες* (i.e. *in toto*) in fact better sustains this meaning, since the root meaning of *παρελαύνω* is to row or sail *past* or *by*, and Longus is clearly measuring off their progress against the whole length of the coastline.

²³ It has been objected that both at i 23.2 and iii 24.2 there is mention of Daphnis bathing, or fishing *εἰς τοὺς ποταμούς* or *ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς*, plural, whereas the Vouvaris remains the only river on the island that would fit such a description. But as Mason recognised (161 n. 29), 'the rivers may have been larger in antiquity, on the assumption that the woods were more extensive than at present.' It is perhaps worth recording, then, that in July 1980 the Evergétoulas also maintained a full, if sluggish, flow.

²⁴ See, e.g., proem i 1, ii 20.3, iii 16–17, iv 14.

²⁵ ii 12.1, 13.2; and cf. n. 22.

²⁶ ii 20.1, 21.1, and esp. 25.1: *ἄκρας οὖν ἐπεμβαίνουσης τῷ πελάγει λαβόμενος ἐπεκτεινομένης μνηοειδῶς, ἧς ἐντὸς θάλαττα γαληνότερον τῶν λιμένων ὄρμον εἰργάζετο*, etc. I am grateful to my old friends Julie Copeland and John Slavin for photographing this area on my behalf.

²⁷ ii 26.3. For the notion of Pan piping from the top of a high crag

remains clearly distinguishable today. When Mytilene retaliated with an attack by land, their troops marched against Methymna, says Longus, 'as quickly as possible' (*τὴν ταχίστην*), and therefore surely by the most direct route, in order to catch their opponents unawares.²⁸ This would take them along the main Mytilene–Kalloni road, skirting the northern shore of the Gulf. Their meeting with the Methymnaean herald, a hundred stades (18.60 km) from Methymna itself, can then be located just where we might expect it, at the Achironos river-bridge, or ford, where the first foothills of the northern mountains overlook the Kalloni plain. This also enables us to place these, like the other, troop movements reasonably close to Daphnis and Chloe's estate, a condition required by the novel's plot.²⁹ To invade Methymna overland by way of the north-east coast would be, at the very least, strategically implausible.³⁰ With the relocation of the estate near Pyrrha, this necessity at once vanishes.

The establishment of the Mytilene–Methymna frontier enables us to solve another problem, this time at least putatively historical. In the late fifth century BC the frontier followed the same course between the Gulf of Kalloni, north of Pyrrha, and the *Ὀρμος Μακρυγιαλοῦ*: Methymna had already absorbed the territory of Arisbe, though a long stretch of her frontier marched now with Pyrrha rather than with Mytilene.³¹ It was, then, at some point between 424 and 414³² that Antiphon composed the defence speech for a Mytilenean named Euxitheos, charged with murder.³³ Euxitheos had set sail for Ainos in Thrace aboard the same ship as one Herodes, an Athenian: their route took them up the east coast of the island. At some point they ran into a storm, one of those violent *fortounas* that still threaten shipping regularly in the Gulf of Adramyttion (Edremit). They ran for shelter in a harbour in Methymnaean territory, where they found several other vessels gathered. During their stay, Herodes vanished, and Euxitheos was subsequently accused of killing him. Problem: which was the harbour in which they sought refuge?

The point at which the *fortouna* hit them will almost certainly have been as they were rounding Cape Tsakmák.³⁴ Though they would have been in Meth-

cf. iv 3.2. The reading *ἀπὸ* (Courier) . . . *ὑπὲρ* (VF), rather than *ὑπὲρ* (F) . . . *ὑπὸ* (V), is strikingly confirmed by the actual configuration of the crag above Piláti bay, immediately N. of Pyrrha.

²⁸ iii 1.1–2.1.

²⁹ As Mason perceived (154) Naber's arguments (n. 1) 201 §3 clearly imply this condition, though they do not specifically state it.

³⁰ Mason (154) is well aware of this, but fails to draw the obvious conclusion from it.

³¹ Hdt. i 151: Kondis, *Lesbos* 268–9, §§1437–40, with fig. 21 (he dates the absorption of Arisbe c. 700 B.C. partly on archaeological grounds). Koldewey (n. 21) 29–30, dates the city wall of Arisbe before this period.

³² The date is disputed, though it cannot have been earlier than the revolt of Mytilene in 428, and is unlikely to have been later than 414, since the revolt of Ionia, the Sicilian disaster, and the Decreean war (§§78, 81) are clearly still in the future. See P. S. Breuning, *CQ* xxxi (1937) 67–70 and K. J. Dover, *CQ* ns i (1950) 44–60.

³³ The best edition is the Budé by Louis Gernet (Paris 1923) 101–36. No adequate commentary exists: that of Domenico Ferrante (Naples 1972) is of little value, and indeed more can be gleaned from the brief but sensible notes in the Loeb edn edited by K. J. Maidment, *Minor Attic Orators* i (1941) 148–231.

³⁴ Information from local caique captains in Mytilene and Methymna (Molyvos), in particular Christos Tsapounis of Molyvos,

ymnaean territory from a point to the south of the ὄρμος Μακρονγιαλοῦ, there are no true harbours along this stretch of coast, merely open roadsteads. This is true of Aghios Stephanos, Palios, and Tsoniá. The one possible exception is Limanion: and by underwater inspection I established that the Limanion harbour mole is of relatively modern construction, so that this, too, in antiquity was a mere ὄρμος. Now though in Methymnaean territory, the harbour in which Euxitheos's ship sought refuge was, as Antiphon makes clear, a good distance from Methymna itself. There thus remains only one possible candidate: the beautiful natural harbour of Skala Sikamineas, so well sheltered from northern storms, and so mild of climate in winter, that it is known locally as Little Egypt. The mole reveals squared ashlar blocks and other dressed stones that date back at least to the Hellenistic period. Better known as the setting for Stratis Myrivilis's novel *Ἡ Παναγία ἢ Γοργόνα* [*The Mermaid Madonna*], Skala Sikamineas, with its whitewashed chapel and fishtail ikon, can now claim at least one brief moment of notoriety in the classical period too.³⁵

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who confirmed, from personal experience, the severe storms that can develop in the Gulf of Kalloni from winds off the surrounding mountains. The Gulf is regarded by sailors very much as an extension of the sea rather than as a mere inland lake.

³⁵ This paper, in a slightly different form, was originally presented at the annual meeting of the AIA in New Orleans, December 1980. I am greatly indebted to the University Research Institute of the University of Texas at Austin for funding the field trip to Lesbos during which the topographical investigations described above were carried out. I have benefited from discussion of the problems involved with various friends and colleagues, both in Greece and the U.S.A., and from correspondence with Dr Hugh J. Mason of the University of Toronto. None of the above-mentioned should be held responsible for any errors that may remain: these can safely be ascribed to my own sloth, carelessness, or obstinacy.

Bentley, Philostratus, and the German Printers

Referring to a copy of F. Morel's edition of Philostratus (Paris 1608), which contains MS notes by Richard Bentley and bears the shelfmark 679.g.13, the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* clxxxix (London 1963) Col. 253 states:

Imperfect; wanting all that in the preceding copy follows the work of Eusebius against Hierocles. The first four leaves are inserted from another edition, and between the fourth and thirteenth page the leaves are wanting.

To the best of my knowledge, the true nature of the inserted leaves has not been noticed hitherto. The reason may be the Catalogue's emphasis on the incomplete state of this copy: readers will naturally have turned, in the first place, to the complete copy which also contains MS notes by Bentley (shelfmark 678.h.8). It must have been the latter (or possibly C.48.1.3, where all Bentley's notes are copied in the more distinct handwriting of C. Burney) that was consulted, e.g., when C. L. Kayser prepared his critical edition of *Vita Apollonii* (Zürich 1844).¹ In the complete copy the marginal notes of

¹ P. xv with n. 2 Cf. also Kayser in his Heidelberg edn of *Vitae Sophistarum* (1838) xxxviii f., and *RE* xx.1 (1941) 174.

Bentley continue—although with great variations in frequency—right through the works of Philostratus, providing MS collations as well as numerous emendations to the text.

But what of the copy first referred to? It contains, indeed, four printed pages (not 'four leaves') from 'another edition'; to be exact, specimen pages for Bentley's own critical edition of Philostratus—which never appeared!

That this is so should be evident from the following description. The four pages contain the first three chapters of *Vita Apollonii* (i 1–3, ending with τῷ γὰρ Νινίῳ), the Greek text printed in the outer column, the Latin version in the inner, and notes at the bottom of the page. Two different founts have been used for both the Greek and the Latin text.² The wording of the Latin largely coincides with the corrections to Morel's version which Bentley himself has written between the lines in the complete copy of Philostratus, and the Greek text is also often changed in accordance with the marginal notes in that other copy. Moreover, the format of the critical notes printed at the bottom of the four pages corresponds well to that of the handwritten notes which we find from p. 13 on in our incomplete copy. Incidentally, these notes as well as the revision of the Latin translation and the cancelling of Morel's headings to the chapters are to be found only in a small part of the copy, pp. 13–29 and 37–65, corresponding to *Vita Apollonii* i 8–15 and i 18–ii 4. The rest of this incomplete copy (including its continuation in another volume, shelfmark 679.g.14) contains no notes at all in Bentley's hand.

Obviously, the incomplete copy is identical with the copy intended for the printer of the new edition. Whereas the complete copy contains all Bentley's work on the text through the years, the incomplete one represents—as far as his notes go—the final stage before the edition went to the press. The first twelve pages are missing because they have already been sent to the printer. The four printed pages inserted in their place are what Bentley received back. But is this all that was printed (the twelve missing pages contain four more chapters), and why was the edition never completed?

The first question I shall have to leave open: perhaps some other library or private collector has the answer.³ The other one I shall discuss more fully. In fact, there occur at different places vague references to specimen pages of a Bentley edition of Philostratus having been circulated,⁴ and J. H. Monk, in his large biography of Bentley (2nd edn, London 1833), has his story to tell. In 1691, Bentley had undertaken to edit three authors: Philostratus, Hesychius, and Manilius (i 34). Arriving at the year 1694, Monk resumes (i 57 f.):

² The printer has demonstrated one of his Greek founts on p. 1–2, another on p. 3–4. The first Latin fount has been used on p. 1–3, the second on p. 4 only. The second Greek fount is *without ligatures*, apparently a very early example of its kind. I wish to thank Dr S. Fogelmark (Lund) for discussion and elucidation of this and several other points in the present paper.

³ The present writer, who is preparing a new critical edition of *Vita Apollonii* for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Leipzig), would be grateful to be notified if someone knows of the existence of more pages of Bentley's unfinished edition: Professor Tomas Hägg, Department of Classics, Sydneplass 9, N–5000, Bergen, Norway.

⁴ In Olearius' edn of Philostratus (Leipzig 1709) p. x, in Fabricius' *Bibl. Gr.* (cf. below), and in the Bentley Bibliography by A. T. Bartholomew (Cambridge 1908) no. 138.