

punishment of the guilty a precondition for belief in the gods, for belief in a divine order, or for pious worship.<sup>32</sup> Because the Theban elders do not distinguish between divine punishment and divine revelation through oracles, their precondition for belief in a divine order and for the reverence it demands is the fulfilment of the oracle to Laius.

The following points therefore emerge from a close examination of the ode:

(1) The ode does not offer a detailed comment on the preceding scene. The chorus is not passing judgement on any character in the play but offering a broad emotional response, as they do throughout the play. Of all the things they could have commented on in the preceding scene they single out one fact, that the oracle has failed. If oracles fail there is no divine order and consequently no human morality. The divine sanction of the first stanza is lost and the way is open for the criminal behaviour of the middle two stanzas. What threatens is the end of ordered society.

(2) The ode has a discernible logic. The point in the ode does not become explicit until the end. This structure is common in tragedy. Especially close to the present ode is the first stasimon of *Antigone*, 332–375. Vv. 332–364 are devoted to a sublime statement of man's achievements, before the second antistrophe (365 ff.) draws attention to the negative possibilities of human daring, under which the chorus would class the burial of Polynices. Here, as in the present ode, a positive song receives a negative twist at the end; here, as in the present ode, the song is only fully understood at the end; here, as in the present ode, the first three stanzas amount to a μέν-clause awaiting a δέ-clause at the close.<sup>33</sup>

(3) What the chorus says is perfectly valid. Sophocles is not indulging in polemic, however mild, against Aeschylus, as is sometimes supposed.<sup>34</sup> He is not rejecting hybris and its punishment as an important element in human life, or using this straightforward ('Aeschylean') morality to highlight the position of Oedipus, who sins in ignorance, for the reflections on hybris and crime (873 ff., 883 ff.) are not directed at Oedipus. There is no reason to suppose that Sophocles would reject anything said here by the chorus. Presumably he would not abandon religious belief because a single oracle failed, but his plays do accept the importance of oracles as an indication of a divine order. There is no reason to doubt that this reflects a belief of Sophocles himself. In insisting that every oracle must come true the chorus merely sharpens the antithesis between order and disorder in the world. Like most Greeks, Sophocles no doubt regarded the punishment of wrongdoers as one of the main functions of the gods. All we must do is avoid the mistake of supposing that

this ode encapsulates all Sophocles' thought about the gods.<sup>35</sup>

C. CAREY

*University of St Andrews*

<sup>35</sup> This note is an abridged version of a paper delivered at one of the Scottish Universities Greek and Roman Drama Seminars at Glasgow University in April 1983 and, with significant changes and corrections, at a meeting of the Oxford Philological Society in March 1985. I am grateful to all those who commented on both occasions, and particularly to Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones.

### The location of Tabai (*Periplus Maris Erythraei* 12–13)

The *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, written probably in the latter half of the first century AD, is a guide for merchants trading with eastern Africa, Arabia, and India. The anonymous author lists the various ports along the routes, indicating for each the facilities to be found and the objects of trade to be bought or sold there.<sup>1</sup>

A few of the ports are well known and can be identified with certainty. Many which are also mentioned in other writers, such as Strabo or Ptolemy, can be identified with varying degrees of certainty. The most difficult are those that occur only in the *Periplus*. One such is Tabai, on the African trade route.

This route took off from Myos Hormos or Berenicê, ran south down the Red Sea, east along the northern coast of Somalia (Barbaria in the author's terminology), and then south again along the east coast of Africa. Chapters 12–13 report on the easternmost part of the Somalia coast:

(12) And after this [i.e., a great laurel grove called Akannai, probably modern Alula], with the coast by now trending southwards, [come] the Spice Port and a promontory, the last along the coast of Barbaria towards the east, a precipitous one. The harbor [sc. of the Spice Port], an open roadstead, is dangerous at times because the site is exposed to the north. A local indication of the approach of a storm is that the sea floor becomes rather turbid and changes color. When this happens, all take refuge at the great promontory, a site offering shelter, called Tabai. Imports to the port are the aforementioned [i.e., those listed for the ports previously described]. It supplies cassia, *gizeir*, *asyphê*, *arôma*, *magla*, *motô*, frankincense.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive review of the problem of the date of the *Periplus*, see M. Rodinson in *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*, iv<sup>e</sup> Section (Sciences historiques et philologiques) cvii (1974–1975) 210–38 and cviii (1975–1976) 201–219. Rodinson bends over backward to give each and every argument a fair hearing and in the process concedes undeserved consideration to some that are patently of lesser worth and some that are highly dubious and so arrives at an unnecessarily imprecise conclusion. The strongest evidence, as is clear from even his cautious account (cf. 1974–1975, 212–16, 1975–1976, 218), is the mention in *Periplus* 19 of a Nabataean king named Malichas. Our knowledge of the Nabataean kings is fairly complete, and the list includes but two of that name. The Malichas of the *Periplus* cannot be Malichas I since his reign, 60–30 BC, was too early. The sole candidate is Malichas II, who held the throne from AD 40 to 71, although allowance must be made for a possible Malichas III who may have ruled during the early years of the Roman occupation; see A. Beeston in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* xlv (1981) 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Gizeir*, *motô*, and *asyphê* were respectively the best, second best, and a cheap grade, of cassia; *arôma* and *magla* probably were grades of cassia as well. See L. Casson, CQ xxx (1980) 496 and *Ancient trade and society* (Detroit 1984) 228–29.

<sup>32</sup> See Hom. *Od.* xxiv 351 f., Aesch. *Ag.* 1578 f., Eur. *El.* 583 f., *Suppl.* 731 f., *fr.* 577N<sup>2</sup>, *adesp.* *fr.* 465N<sup>2</sup>, and especially Soph. *El.* 245 ff. A number of these references were brought to my attention by Dr G. A. de Grouchy.

<sup>33</sup> Clearly I cannot accept the statement of Winnington-Ingram, *JHS* xci (1971) 125 = *Sophocles* 189: 'on any interpretation the antistrophe is somewhat tangential to the strophe (just as Ant. β is tangential to Str. β)'.  
<sup>34</sup> Winnington-Ingram, *JHS* xci (1971) 133 = *Sophocles* 202, S. Said, *La Faute tragique* (Paris 1978) 401; cf. G. Müller, *Hermes* xcv (1967) 269 ff.

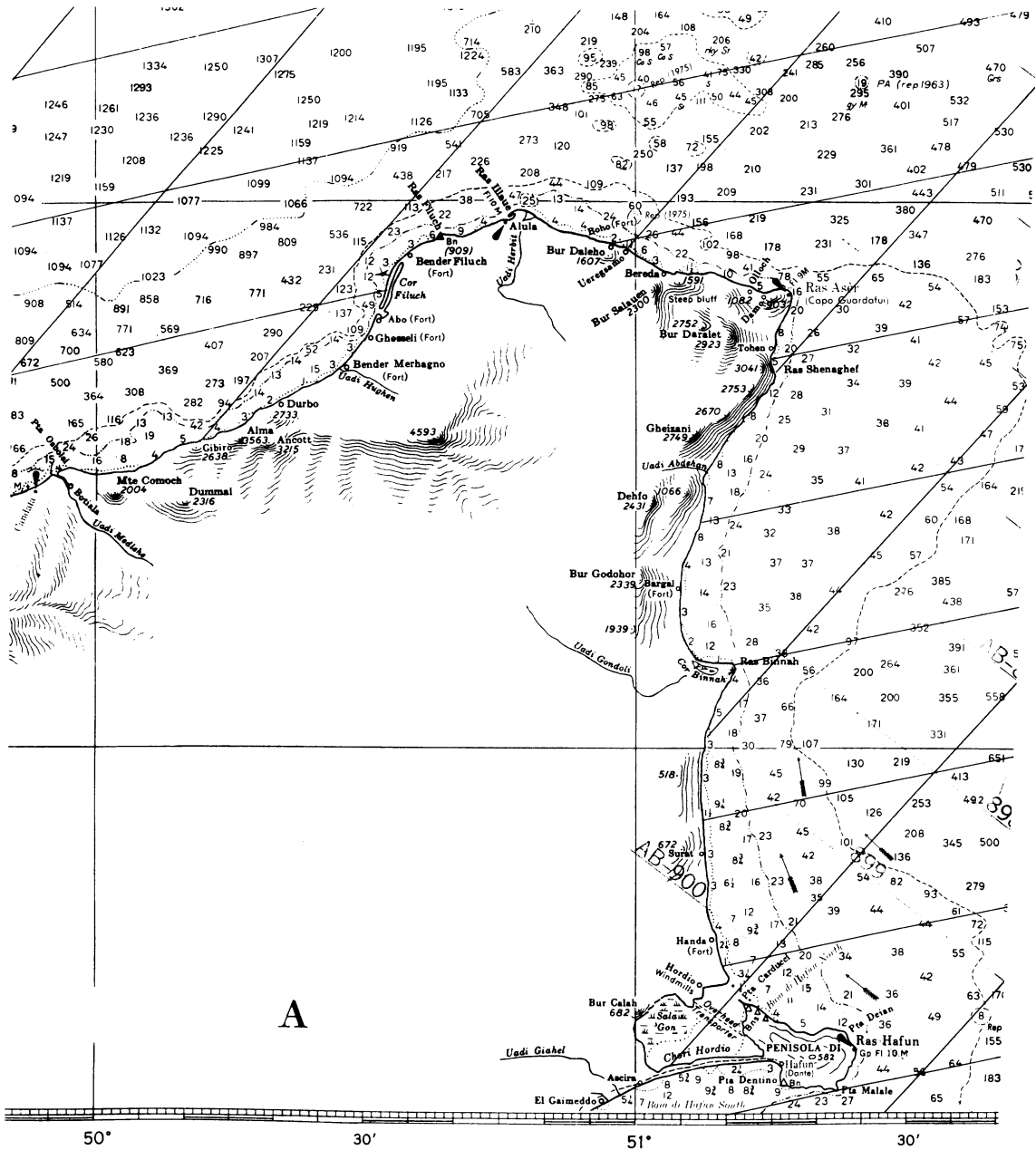


FIG. 1: The horn of Africa. Detail from U.S. Defense Mapping Agency, Hydrographic/Topographic Center, Chart No. 62000.

(13) From Tabai, after sailing 400 stades past a peninsula, towards which, moreover, the current sets, there is another port, Opônê.<sup>3</sup>

Of the four geographical references—the Spice Port, easternmost promontory, Tabai, Opônê—two can be securely identified and one with great probability. The promontory must be the tip of the horn of Africa, Cape Guardafui. And Opônê is surely Hafun—the modern name is descended from the ancient—an excellent harbor on the south shore of Ras Hafun, the peninsula

<sup>3</sup> The translation is from the text in H. Frisk, *Le Périphe de la Mer Érythré* (Göteborgs Högskolans Årsskrift xxxiii, [Göteborg 1927]).

that juts out so prominently some 85 nautical miles south of Guardafui; Hafun was still serving the sailing ships of Arabia and Persia up to a few decades ago.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> All translators agree on these identifications: C. Müller in *Geog. Gr. Min.* i (Paris 1855); J. McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea* (Calcutta 1879); B. Fabricius, *Der Periplus des Erythraischen Meeres* (Leipzig 1883); W. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (New York 1912); G. Huntingford, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Hakluyt Society, series 2, cli, London 1980). On the phonetic connection between Opônê and Hafun, see E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* ii (Berlin 1890) 202; F. Storbeck in *Mitt. des Sem. für Orientalische Sprachen an den königlichen Friedrich-*

Spice Port, which obviously was on the northern shore of Somalia shortly before eastbound travelers reached Guardafui, may well have been in the vicinity of the modern village of Damo, just three miles west of the cape, where pottery of the Roman period has been found.<sup>5</sup>

That leaves Tabai. The author supplies three significant clues: it is a big promontory, this promontory is located on the route from the Spice Port and Guardafui to Ras Hafun some 400 stades—*c.* 40 nautical miles—before Ras Hafun, and ships in the waters about the Spice Port will head for it to take shelter. Moreover, the context supplies yet another clue, namely what they were seeking to escape. The author here is dealing with the outbound voyage, specifically the run from Cape Guardafui south. This can only be done during the north-east monsoon;<sup>6</sup> the shelter, it follows, must have been against winds from the north. What big promontory, then, offering such protection, lies some 40 nautical miles above Ras Hafun?

Those who have commented on the passage assumed that Tabai was more or less near to the Spice Port so that ships hastening towards it would not have far to go. Most of them favored Ras Shenaghef,<sup>7</sup> a big promontory no more than 13 or so nautical miles away. It has dubious qualifications as a place of refuge,<sup>8</sup> but this fact was overlooked. However, what could not be overlooked was its distance from Ras Hafun, a good 75 nautical miles, almost double the *Periplus*' figure of 400 stades. Fabricius solved that problem by cavalierly inserting in the text an additional leg of 400 stades.<sup>9</sup> A few commentators insisted that the site of Tabai be even nearer the Spice Port than Ras Shenaghef. Glaser put Tabai on Guardafui itself, 'an der nördlichsten Stelle der Ostseite', adopting Fabricius' insertion to take care of the distance. Huntingford, the most recent translator, put it at Tohen, roughly one-third of the way from Ras Shenaghef to Guardafui, without confronting the problem of the distance.<sup>10</sup>

Long ago, Charles Guillain, a naval commander who wrote on the basis of extensive experience during the days of sail in the waters we are concerned with, rejected identifying Tabai with the anchorages at Shenaghef or Tohen because

l'un et l'autre mouillage sont exposés aux vents du nord; aussi sont-ils périlleux parfois, c'est-à-dire quand, ainsi que cela a lieu au début de la mousson de nord-est et dans les trois premiers mois de son cours, les vents de cette partie viennent à souffler par bourrasques qui durent de trois à cinq jours. C'était sans doute dans de

*Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, zweite Abteilung xvii (1914) 123. On the port of Hafun, see A. Villiers, *Sons of Sinbad* (New York 1940) 97–99.

<sup>5</sup> N. Chittick in *Azania* xi (1976) 123–24 and *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* viii (1979) 275.

<sup>6</sup> L. Casson in *TAPA* cx (1980) 27–29 = *Ancient trade and society* 187–88.

<sup>7</sup> So McCrindle, Fabricius, Schoff, E. Warmington in *Cambridge History of the British Empire* viii<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge 1963) 64.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot* (Hydrographer of the [British] Navy, twelfth edition 1980) 14. 184–85; *Sailing Directions for the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf* ([U.S.] Defense Mapping Agency, Hydrographic/Topographic Center, second edition 1983) 167. Neither publication lists any anchorages in the vicinity of Ras Shenaghef.

<sup>9</sup> This factitious leg has made its way into a number of translations: Schoff's, Warmington's (n. 7), R. Mauny's (*Journal de la Société des Africanistes* xxxviii [1968] 26).

<sup>10</sup> Glaser (n. 4) 201–202; Huntingford 94.

semblables circonstances et d'après les indices qui annoncent ces bourrasques que, comme le dit l'auteur du Périple, "les bateaux allaient se mettre à l'abri sous le grand promontoire de Tabae, lieu couvert et sûr. . . ." Le grand promontoire de Tabae ne peut donc être que la pointe nord-ouest de la presqu'île de Hhafoun, et son mouillage, la baie du nord de cette même presqu'île, nommée Khour-Hordya, sur le côté nord de laquelle est aujourd'hui le village d'Hordya, où l'on fait encore un peu de commerce.

Furthermore,

Si nous mesurons 400 stades ou 13 lieues à partir du mouillage d'Hordya, en côtoyant la presqu'île, comme il est dit dans le Périple, nous arrivons dans la baie sud de Hhafoun.<sup>11</sup>

In other words, in Guillain's view, a port on the north side of Ras Hafun, on the bay that on modern charts is called Chori Hordio, satisfied all the requirements: it was on a big promontory, it offered the required protection, and the run from it around the peninsula to Opônê, the major port on the south side of Ras Hafun, was 400 stades, just as the text stated. Now, a century later, Guillain's conjecture has been confirmed: precisely where he placed Tabai, a recent investigation by N. Chittick has brought to light ancient remains, including pottery that goes back to the third and second century BC. On the south side of the peninsula he uncovered extensive remains of a later date, and these he is fairly sure are of Opônê. What he found on the north side was such as to lead him to conclude that 'the site is presumably the remains of a small port establishment of the 2nd or 3rd century BC'. He also came upon vestiges of later occupation, probably the third century AD, and these included turtle bones but no shells—a good indication that by then the port was dealing in tortoise shell, just like its neighbor Opônê, which exported 'great amounts and finer than any other' (*Periplus* 13). Chittick remarks that this small port was one 'of which the Roman geographers were ignorant'.<sup>12</sup> It was unknown to geographers but not to those who, like the author of the *Periplus*, sailed the African trade route.<sup>13</sup>

What of the distance from the Spice Port? The site in question is almost a two-day sail away, far beyond what commentators reckoned feasible for a dash to safety. The answer lies in their understanding of the bit of weather lore given in the text. They assumed the author was describing the kind of signs which indicate that a storm is soon to follow. He was describing rather the kind which indicate that one will occur within the next few days.<sup>14</sup> Thus vessels that were headed for the Spice

<sup>11</sup> *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale* i (Paris 1856) 99–100.

<sup>12</sup> *Azania* xi (1976) 120–23; *IJNA* viii (1979) 275–77.

<sup>13</sup> Chori Hordio at present is too shallow for anything but small craft and its use was limited even in Guillain's day (op. cit. n. 11, ii 390–91). However, he had no hesitation in accepting it as a harbor of refuge in ancient times, and the archaeological evidence that a port of the Greco-Roman period once existed there confirms his judgement.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Theophr. *Sign.* 10, 11, 21 (signs indicating rain within three days). Columbus, seaman nonpareil, was a skilled reader of the signs of a storm to come in the near, not immediate, future. When he arrived at San Domingo on 29 June 1502, he was certain trouble was brewing, so he not only requested permission from the local governor to bring his ships into the safety of the harbor but cautioned that a big fleet which was already there and preparing to depart, should not be allowed to leave for the next eight days. He was refused the permission, and his advice was pointedly disregarded. The fleet sailed out on 1 July, the weather no doubt still being deceptively fair, and thirty or forty hours later the storm hit—three days after Columbus'

Port, reading the telltale signals and aware of the dangerous northern exposure there, sailed right on, rounding Guardafui and putting in at Tabai. They lost little by doing so, for, from Tabai it was but 400 stades to Opônê, and Opônê handled just about the same objects of trade as the Spice Port.<sup>15</sup>

LIONEL CASSON

*New York University*

prediction. He himself had time to take refuge at a harbor some 50 nautical miles from San Domingo. See Bartolomé de la Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Bk. 2, chap. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Periplus* 12, 13.

### A convention of metamorphosis in Greek art\* (PLATE VIII)

As part of his recent study of 'Narration and allusion in Archaic Greek Art',<sup>1</sup> Professor A. M. Snodgrass has cause to treat of the famous Attic black-figure vase<sup>2</sup> which depicts Circe handing a cup containing her sinister brew to one of Odysseus' sailors. She is stirring it with her wand the while, and yet this sailor, and three companions besides, have already been transformed into various animals (or at least his head, and their heads and arms have been). Professor Snodgrass has no difficulty in explaining the apparent simultaneity of separate events here and elsewhere on this vase-painting as relating to what he calls the 'synoptic' technique of early Greek Art, that familiar device whereby several successive episodes in a narrative are presented together within the same picture. And he is inclined towards a similar line of explanation as regards the partial transformation of Odysseus' ἑταῖροι: the artist 'wished to express the passage of time by indicating a half-way stage in the transformation'.<sup>3</sup>

Snodgrass at once proceeds to point out that such an interpretation 'is not fully compatible with the "synoptic" method as outlined above, since it would involve representing different individuals at the same moment of time'. Partly in view of this difficulty, partly for other reasons, I should like to advance a quite different explanation: the artist chooses to depict the metamorphoses in this manner (which, if interpreted *literally*, would lead to the conclusion that the transformation was incomplete) because he wishes to signify that the ἑταῖροι are not really pigs (or lions or horses or rams to

\* Professor John Boardman and Dr Michael Vickers kindly read and improved earlier drafts of this note.

<sup>1</sup> The eleventh J. L. Myres Memorial Lecture (delivered at New College, Oxford, on 29th May 1981; published 1982).

<sup>2</sup> The name-piece of the Painter of the Boston Polyphemus and datable c. 560 BC (Boston 99.518: *ABV* 198): Chr. Zindel, *Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus* (Basel 1984) No. 8 (with bibliography). Reproduced here as PLATE VIIIa with the kind permission of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

<sup>3</sup> Snodgrass (n. 1) 7. Literary representations of metamorphosis sometimes choose (usually for comic effect) to depict an incomplete stage of the process: see e.g. A. S. Hollis, *Ovid Metamorphoses Book VIII* (Oxford 1970) xvi f. Snodgrass 5 rightly says that the Boston vase is 'always chosen to express the quintessence' of the 'synoptic' technique. Since he wrote it has so been treated again by, for instance, W. Raeck, 'Zur Erzählweise archaischer und klassischer Mythenbilder', *JDAI* ic (1984) 4 f.

mention the respective heads of the other companions) but that they were 'really' (or at least were 'originally' and are 'basically') human beings. Their status as transmogrified humans is thereby stressed.<sup>4</sup>

Snodgrass also considers an alternative explanation for the artist's choice of schema: perhaps he 'wanted a composition of upright figures, not grovelling animals'. A composition which in fact chose to portray Odysseus' men as 'grovelling animals' would encounter another difficulty besides: it would not be at all clear that they were anything but perfectly normal swine, lions or the like.<sup>5</sup> Such a conclusion at least is suggested by the extreme rarity of this alternative. The only ancient instance of a composition where the men *are* totally metamorphosed into animals occurs on a cup (dated to before 480 BC) by the Brygos painter<sup>6</sup>: though fragmentary, this reveals the potentially confusing nature of the design.<sup>7</sup> Such vacillation crucially dilutes the impact of the picture, and one can instantly see the advantages over this approach of the convention employed by the vase painter of our black-figure cup.

If we are right to see in his composition a mode of distinguishing metamorphosed men from real animals, we might interpret it as analogous to the point made by the *Odyssey's* poet<sup>8</sup> (x 239 f.)

οἱ δὲ συῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε  
καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.

Compare Ovid *Metam.* iii 203 f. of Lycaon's metamorphosis: *lacrimaeque per ora/non sua fluxerunt: mens tantum pristina mansit.*

Such an interpretation certainly matches other modes of representing metamorphosis in Greek art. We are familiar with the stylised depictions of Thetis' transformations during her struggle with Peleus, whereby the essential and original shape of the sea nymph is stressed (e.g. on the red-figure cup signed by Peithinus<sup>9</sup> where

<sup>4</sup> This will, of course, be true of the numerous other depictions of the story in ancient art, which almost invariably show Odysseus' comrades with only their heads metamorphosed into various animals: see F. Brommer, *Odysseus* (Darmstadt 1983) 70 ff., esp. the summary on 79, Raeck (n. 3) 16 ff. The latter (like Snodgrass, whom he does not mention on the Boston vase) interprets the device as an 'Übergangsform'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes Odysseens dans l'art antique* (Paris 1968) 124.

<sup>6</sup> Athens Acropolis 293: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 369.5; cf. Brommer (n. 4) 72.

<sup>7</sup> The potentiality for confusion emerges still more clearly from such a specimen of more recent art as a seventeenth century tapestry woven from a design by Jacob Jordaens, where it is uncertain whether we are being shown some men as totally transformed into swine and others as yet unchanged, or whether the pigs are perfectly normal animals whose company the as yet unmetamorphosed companions will soon join. (Tapestry designed c. 1630-35 AD, woven by E.R.C. and other unidentified weaver at Brussels, now in Mexico [private collection]. Illustrated in R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens* [Sotheby Publications 1982] plate 104 [143]).

<sup>8</sup> According to Snodgrass (n. 1) 7 our vase 'shows familiarity with the *Odyssey*, yet paradoxically at the same time declares its independence of literary influence'. I am less sure about the second half of this statement.

<sup>9</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museum 2279: *ARV* 115.2 (illustrated in J. Boardman, *Athenian red figure vases: the archaic period* [London 1975] fig. 214.1). X. Krieger, *Der Kampf zwischen Peleus und Thetis in der gr. Vasenmalerei (eine typologische Untersuchung)* (Diss. Erlangen 1973) deals with other vase-paintings of the subject that employ this convention. A similar device is often used to depict Nereus' resort to metamorphosis in his struggle with Heracles: cf. the column-krater by