

### Laispodias Andronymios\*

Laispodias was general in 414/3 and was evidently from a prominent family. Indeed the latter fact is stressed by the first citation in his entry in *PA* (no. 8963), from Theognostos' *Kanones* as in J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* II (Oxford 1835), 9.22 f.: Λαιποδίας (sic) Ἀδρωνύμιος ἐνὸς τῶν Ἀθηνησιν ἐπιφανῶν. Kirchner was evidently, and reasonably, puzzled by Ἀδρωνύμιος. The only other Laispodias in *PA* is no. 8962, who appears on a dedication, *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 616. A. E. Raubitschek included this as no. 87 in *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1949); he restored Laispodias in the genitive as a patronymic and properly supposed that the two men of the name were of the same family. As for the addition Ἀδρωνύμιος (sic—with omikron) he asks us to compare ΣΑτ. *Wasps* 1239 and the lexicon in order that we should believe that it 'means only that Laispodias was a proper name'. Indeed, in LSJ we find two references under Ἀδρωνύμιον as a noun meaning 'proper name', namely Theognostos and the scholiast. Complications set in. In the edition of W. J. H. Koster (Groningen 1978) the line reference to the scholion is 1238b and we find that Ἀδρωνύμιον only comes in by emendation. The relevant text is as follows:

Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Χαίριδος, ὡς Ἀρτεμίδωρος φησίν, περὶ μὲν τῆς Κλειταγόρας τῆς ποιητρίας, ὅτι ὡς ἄδρωνύμιον ἀναέγραφε. Κλειταγόραν Ἀμώνιος (*FGrH* 350 F 2) . . .

It is clear the concern here is with the *gender* of a proper name, not the identification of a name as such. The usual term for identifying a proper name is ὄνομα κύριον. And, finally, it is evident from Theognostos that Ἀδρωνύμιος must be a genitive.

The obvious conclusion must be that which disturbed Kirchner: Ἀδρωνύμιος is a patronymic. And so it must be an Ionic genitive of the name Andronymios. No such name is known, but that is no bar to its acceptance;<sup>1</sup> we have only two men called Laispodias in *PA* and the unusual name points to family relationship. There are two other characters to add. Laispodias of Koile, found on an ostrakon,<sup>2</sup> may be identical with *PA* 8962, while the restored Laispodias of Anaphlystos of *Agora* xv 492, line 152, is said in the index of that volume (p. 420) to be a likely descendant of the general of 414/3. The dedication of the early fifth century was made by Spoudis, which Raubitschek opines 'may be a short form of Σπουδίας or Σπουδίδης'. I suggest the name was no shortening but simply Spoudis and exhibited a form of spelling somehow traditional in the family. Raubitschek draws attention to the similar forms Πύθις, Χάρις and Κάλις and these forms should be taken to exist in their own right.<sup>3</sup> And for the genitive compare *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1647, l. 2, which gives us -[ι]ππος Χάριος Θυμ[αιτάδης] (*PA* 15468).

\* I must thank Professor M. J. Osborne for his helpful attention to the matter of this note and the readers of *JHS* for their remarks.

<sup>1</sup> F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle 1917), 350 f. has only names ending in -ωνυμος.

<sup>2</sup> R. Thomsen, *The origin of ostracism. A synthesis* (Copenhagen 1972), 76 n. 120; *ML* p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> On one of them see O. Masson, 'Pape-Benseleriana VII. Le nom Charis, féminin et masculin', *ZPE* xxxvii (1980), 109–113.

So just as Spoudis must be admitted as a name as it stands, though obviously related to the form Spoudias, alongside other analogous forms, so Andronymios must be given a place in Attic prosopography, completing *PA* 929. If it be accepted that we have evidence for nomenclature within a family, the patronymic of the general of 414/3 would seem to put him in the direct line, so that it is likely that his deme was Koile (tribe VIII).<sup>4</sup> This is not considered in the index to *Agora* xv, where it is suggested that Anaphlystos (tribe X) should be the deme, in which case the general would provide another example of double representation.<sup>5</sup> As it happens, none of the other known generals of 414/3 can be ascribed to tribe VIII, but none of this is needed evidence one way or the other for double representation in the *strategia*. It seems best to suppose that the name Laispodias had passed by marriage to the deme of Anaphlystos by the fourth century.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. K. Davies, *Wealth and the power of wealth in Classical Athens* (New York 1981), 160.

<sup>5</sup> The other general from the tribe, indeed from the same deme, would be Konon, but the data on his command do not guarantee him a generalship in this year or at all in the context of Thuc. vii 31.4 f. This will be discussed under the appropriate year in my collection of Athenian officials, 684 to 322 BC, which has been aided by the Australian Research Grants Scheme.

### Two Herodotean dedications from Naucratis\*

In the 1903 season of excavations at Naucratis two sherds of Athenian pottery, inscribed with the name of a Herodotus, were found. They were subsequently presented to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford by the excavator, D. G. Hogarth. In this note I would like to question the supposed relationship between these two 'signatures' and the historian Herodotus, who dedicated part of his work to a study of Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

The inscriptions on the two sherds were published by Hogarth in 1905<sup>2</sup> and subsequently by Bernard in 1970,<sup>3</sup> however, a full description was not included in their catalogues. First, therefore, we should consider the two fragments:

(1) Oxford G.141.15 (FIG. 1):<sup>4</sup> a fragment from the bowl of a red-figure cup by the Euergides Painter.

\* I am grateful to Professor John Boardman and Mr Michael Vickers for reading, and commenting on, an earlier draft of this note. The following abbreviations are used: *Agora* xii: B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and plain pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries BC* (The Athenian Agora xii, Princeton 1970); *Beazley Addenda*: L. Burn and R. Glynn, *Beazley Addenda* (Oxford 1982); Bernard: A. Bernard, *Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs* I, 2 (Cairo 1970); Bloesch *FAS*: H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen* (Berne 1940); Boardman *ARFH*: J. Boardman, *Athenian red figure vases: archaic period* (London 1975).

<sup>1</sup> For Herodotus in Egypt, see especially T. S. Brown, *AJP* lxxxvi (1965) 60–76; A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Introduction* (Leiden 1975) 61–76. O. K. Armayor, *JARCE* 15 (1978) 59–73 (cf. *HSCP* 84 [1980] 51–74), is too sceptical.

<sup>2</sup> *JHS* xxv (1905) 116 fig. 2, nos 5 and 6.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard 706, 648 and 707, 649.

<sup>4</sup> *JHS* xxv (1905) 116, fig. 2, no. 5; Bernard 707, 648; *CVA* 1(3) pl. 14 (106) 21; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 93, 93.



FIG. 1: Fragment of a red-figure cup by the Euergides Painter (Courtesy Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

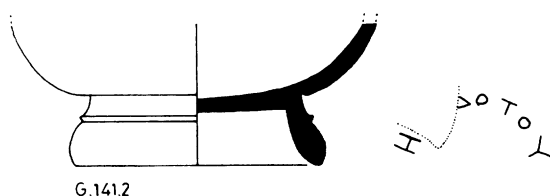


FIG. 2: Fragment of a black-glazed cup-kantharos (Courtesy Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

Beazley's description is as follows, 'A, a silen rushing to the right, his head thrown back, with something (a wineskin?) in his left hand. To the right, the lower part of the first letter of an inscription. Relief contour. Red wreath.' Inside the cup, there is an offset lip, on which there is an inscription ]ΩNHPOΔQ[.<sup>5</sup> Beazley preferred not to include the final omicron in his description,<sup>6</sup> but a study of the fragment shows that there is the start of a letter which Bernand included as an omicron in his publication. The inscription should read ]Θεοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἡρόδο[τος].

(2) Oxford G.141.2 (FIG 2):<sup>7</sup> found in the area of the Hellenion. The foot and part of the lower wall of a black-glazed cup-kantharos. There is a groove at the junction of the step and lower wall. Inside are stamped some enclosed ovules, and outside them linked palmettes. The underside is reserved and painted with a band and circle, a circle and dot; on the outer edge, an inscription Η[ ]ΔΟΤΟΥ, which should be reconstructed as Ἡ[ρο]δότου.

The large number of inscriptions from the sanctuaries at Naukratis give us the names of some of the dedicators. In the excavations of 1884–85 a cup dedicated by Phanes was found and interpreted by Gardner as a dedication by 'a certain Phanes, who deserted Amasis for Cambyses.'<sup>8</sup> Similarly, in the season of 1885–86, a multiple eye-cup was discovered, and Gardner stated that the dedicator was 'probably the famous early sculptor, Rhoecus'.<sup>9</sup> Likewise in the campaign of 1899, a cup foot with the graffito [Ἀρ]χεδίκη was found, and Edgar

<sup>5</sup> The inscription could only be read when the cup was inverted, or it could have been dedicated after it had been broken. Some of the dedications were made on broken vases, e.g. Oxford G.141.32 (*JHS* xxv [1905] 116 fig. 2, no. 37; Bernand 709, 680), a foot fragment from a neck-amphora. The graffito, IP.ΑΘΣ, is written on what was the inside.

<sup>6</sup> *CVA* Oxford 1(3) text 13.

<sup>7</sup> *JHS* xxv (1905) 114 and 116 fig. 2, no. 6; Bernand 707, 649.

<sup>8</sup> W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Naukratis* i (London 1886) 55; cf. Hdt. iii 4.

<sup>9</sup> E. A. Gardner, *Naukratis* ii (London 1888) 65.

recalled 'a famous Naukratite hetaira of this name'.<sup>10</sup> Thus, when in 1903, during the fourth season of excavation, a cup-kantharos, the base bearing the name of Herodotus, was found, there was a tradition of assigning inscriptions to people known from the work of the historian Herodotus. So Hogarth, no doubt influenced by Edgar's statement of 1899<sup>11</sup> that 'the practice of dedicating vases in the temples appears to have almost died out at Naukratis before the middle of the fifth century', presumed that the cup-kantharos was no later than the mid fifth-century and therefore linked it to a supposed visit of the historian to Naukratis; after all, 'this . . . was the Hellenion which Herodotus saw, and in which possibly he dedicated the vase'.<sup>12</sup>

In 1904, only a year after the final season of excavation, Stuart Jones hinted at a link with the historian<sup>13</sup> and, in 1916, Grafton Milne used the two sherds as a probable record of the historian's visit to Naukratis and saw 'no inherent improbability in accepting these two signatures as his autographs'.<sup>14</sup> In 1926, Spiegelberg used the sherds to confirm a visit of the Herodotus in the middle of the fifth century<sup>15</sup> and, in 1953, Hoffmann talked of 'two epigraphically dated mid fifth century sherds . . . bearing the signature Ἡρόδοτος' as part of a guest register.<sup>16</sup> Yet, in 1927, Beazley had assigned a date of the late sixth century to the red-figure sherd—half a century before Hoffmann envisaged Herodotus' visit.<sup>17</sup> Speculation on the authenticity of the sherds continues today.<sup>18</sup>

Of the two sherds, the red-figure one by the Euergides Painter belongs to a cup with an offset lip inside. An offset, close to the rim, is found on a cup painted by Epiktetos,<sup>19</sup> whose career has been dated to c. 520–490,<sup>20</sup> but the Euergides Painter's fragment is closer in shape to a cup by the Pan Painter,<sup>21</sup> whose career started sometime before 480.<sup>22</sup> The style of painting places the cup among the later works of the Euergides Painter, the silen, rushing with an arm outstretched, being close to the silen on the Painter's fragmentary cup from Cerveteri<sup>23</sup> and to two more, placed either side of Dionysos, on a Type B cup in Tours.<sup>24</sup> The conventional date for this painter is c. 515–500,<sup>25</sup> which is still some fifteen years before the accepted date of Herodotus' birth. Even if the chronological revisions, at present being proposed by some

<sup>10</sup> *BSA* v (1898–9) 56.

<sup>11</sup> *BSA* v (1898–9) 57.

<sup>12</sup> *JHS* xxv (1905) 116.

<sup>13</sup> *AA* xix (1904) 192.

<sup>14</sup> *JEA* iii (1916) 77.

<sup>15</sup> *Orient und Antike* iii (1926) 13; W. Spiegelberg, *The credibility of Herodotus' account of Egypt in the light of the Egyptian monuments* (Oxford 1927) 12–13 [translation by A. W. Blackman].

<sup>16</sup> *AJA* lvii (1953) 193 n. 40.

<sup>17</sup> *CVA* Oxford 1(3) text 13.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. J. Boardman, *The Greeks overseas, their early colonies and trade* (London 1980) 132.

<sup>19</sup> Berlin inv. 4514 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 76, 78; Bloesch *FAS* pl. 34, 4c).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Boardman *ARFH* 57.

<sup>21</sup> Oxford 1911.617 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 559, 152; Beazley *Addenda* 127; Bloesch *FAS* pl. 37, 2).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Boardman *ARFH* 181.

<sup>23</sup> Leipzig T540 (part), T3599 (part), T3677, Tübingen E38, Heidelberg 22 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 93, 91).

<sup>24</sup> Tours 863–2–67 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 93, 90; Beazley *Addenda* 84).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Boardman *ARFH* 60.

scholars,<sup>26</sup> are accepted, and the painter's career is amended to the 470's, the cup was still made long before Herodotus the historian would have been in a position to dedicate it at Naucratis in the mid fifth century.<sup>27</sup>

The second 'signature' comes from the foot of a cup-kantharos, a shape that appeared in the early fourth century. It is unfortunate that the deposits from the agora at Athens in the early fourth century are scanty,<sup>28</sup> but we can see that by the second quarter of the century the shape was fully developed and had adopted the type of foot prevalent in the fourth century—a grooved resting surface, the black underside, with central rising cone, merging with the inside of the foot.<sup>29</sup> However, the underside of the Naucratis fragment is flat, reserved and decorated with painted bands and circles, close in appearance to the fifth-century heavy-walled cup-skyphoi.<sup>30</sup> The foot has a prominent lower member which is such a distinctive feature of cup-kantharoi. We should therefore consider this fragment as a transitional piece, coming between the fifth-century cup-skyphoi and the fourth-century cup-kantharoi. Inside is a debased scheme of stamped decoration—the ovules have become little more than dots which give a foretaste of rouletting. Such impressions are found on two red-figure heavy-walled cup-skyphoi—one by the Jena Painter, from the painter's workshop in Athens,<sup>31</sup> and the other by the Q Painter from Benghazi.<sup>32</sup> The technique of rouletting appears to have been adopted in the second decade of the fourth century at about the same time as the new type of underside and treatment of the foot.<sup>33</sup> Our fragment again seems to precede these innovations which suggests a date in the early fourth century.

The Naucratis foot fragment finds its closest parallels for the treatment of the foot, and the groove at the junction between the stem and wall, on two cup-kantharoi from Corinth,<sup>34</sup> dated to 390–380 BC. An equally early cup-kantharos, decorated inside with 'sparse, impressed palmette ornaments' comes from

<sup>26</sup> See E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, *PCPS* ccvii (1981) 97–136; cf. R. Tolle-Kastenbein, *AA* 1983, 573–584. With implications for the chronology of vase-painting, E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, *JHS* ciii (1983) 49–67.

<sup>27</sup> Herodotus' birth year is traditionally given as 484 (Aul. Gell. xv 23). This is unlikely to be correct, but most would date his birth about the 480's. Cf. J. Enoch Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge 1939) 84. A possible visit to Egypt would have been expected between the Peace of Callias (449) and 'sometime before 430' (Lloyd [n. 1] 66). However, for the Peace of Callias in the 460's see J. Walsh, *Chiron* xi (1981) 31–63.

<sup>28</sup> *Agora* xii 12.

<sup>29</sup> This is best shown by a workshop group from the second quarter of the fourth century, P. E. Corbett, *Hesp.* xxiv (1955) 172–186. Slightly later than the Naucratis foot, Newcastle 163 (*AR* 1969–70, 61–62 no. 16). In Reading, no number, there is now a rim fragment from such a cup-kantharos from Egypt, presented by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

<sup>30</sup> For a comparison between cup-skyphoi and cup-kantharoi see *Agora* xii fig. 6 nos. 612, 617 and 621 (cup-skyphoi) and nos. 648–650 (cup-kantharoi). Heavy-walled cup-skyphoi from Naucratis include Oxford G.139.1, G.141.41 and G.141.48.

<sup>31</sup> Jena 1 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1515, 66 [Style C]; *JHS* lxiv [1944] 71, 17 and 75).

<sup>32</sup> London 1867.5–12.33 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1519, 21; *JHS* lxiv [1944] 74, 28 and 75).

<sup>33</sup> For rouletting see *Agora* xii 30–31.

<sup>34</sup> Corinth C-37–211 (*Agora* xii fig. 6, 648 and pl. 56, 648) and C-37–212 (*ibid.* fig. 6, 649). Virtually identical is a cup-skyphos from the Troad, Charterhouse 89.1960.

Marion on Cyprus,<sup>35</sup> which may suggest the route by which the Naucratis example reached Egypt from Athens.<sup>36</sup> A cup-kantharos from Panticapaion has a similar foot.<sup>37</sup> With such a late date, it would be impossible for the historian to have dedicated this vase as he is generally presumed to have died either during, or not long after, the Archidamian War.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, we should consider the two 'signatures' that Grafton Milne considered to be autographs of the historian. There are only three shared letters (Δ, Η and Ο) and one of these, Δ on the black-glazed sherd, is partly missing. However there is a different style in the two Η's—on the cup fragment, the cross-bar is placed half-way up the letter, whereas on the cup-kantharos it is nearer the bottom—hardly a point upon which to date the two sherds, but it does suggest that these two vases were 'signed' by two different people called Herodotus, which should suggest caution to any who are even considering the possibility that the red-figure cup might be a dedication by the historian.<sup>39</sup>

The black-glazed cup-kantharos, potted in the second decade of the fourth century (after the historian's death) shows that there was more than one Herodotus in antiquity who had an interest in Egypt. Indeed the cheapness of the dedication, some four obols,<sup>40</sup> should have pointed towards some poor Greek, by coincidence named Herodotus, rather than towards the wealthier, travelling historian. When the two inscriptions were found in 1903, there was a well-established tradition of assigning inscriptions to 'historical' figures, and so these two were attributed to the historian. Thus scholars, with a desire to prove that the Herodotus did visit Egypt and Naucratis, uncritically accepted the two sherds as proof of such a tour in the mid fifth century. This note has shown that the cup-kantharos 'signature' can have

<sup>35</sup> Stockholm M.36.8 (E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist and A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus expedition, finds and results of the excavations in Cyprus* ii [Stockholm 1935] 277 and pls. I and cxlii, 1).

<sup>36</sup> Workshop links can be seen between Cyprus and Egypt. On the underside of a fragmentary Attic black-glazed bolsal from Naucratis, London 1900.2–4.17 (*BSA* v [1898–9] 56, 114; O. Masson, *Les Inscriptions Syllabiques Chypristes* [Paris 1961] 354, 370; A. W. Johnston, *Pottery from Naucratis* [London 1978] 17), is part of a Cypriot syllabic graffito, ka-wa?. Two identical bowls with rilled rims, though using different palmette stamps, come from Marion (Oxford 1933.1702 [T. 5]) and Naucratis (Oxford 1912.40). Two identical amphoriskoi from the workshop of Edinburgh 1885.168 come from Marion (Oxford 1890.675 [B. 4]; *JHS* xi [1890] 50) and Alexandria (R. Pagenstecher, *Expedition Sieglin* II. 3: *Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin* [Leipzig 1913] 21 fig. 27). A cup by the Euergides Painter (Lost: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 96, 134) and one in his manner (London E28: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 98, 13) also come from Marion. For further links between Cyprus and Naucratis see *Opuscula Atheniensia* iii (1960) 179.

<sup>37</sup> London 1856.10–4.119.

<sup>38</sup> The arguments are summarised by J. A. S. Evans, *Herodotus* (Boston 1982) 16. Herodotus may have outlived the Archidamian War (C. W. Fornara, *JHS* xci (1971) 25–34), but it is hard to accept J. D. Smart's argument that he lived to publish his history after 404 (*Phoenix* 31 (1977) 251–2); see now J. Cobet, *Past Perspectives* (ed. I. D. Moxon, J. D. Smart and A. J. Woodman, Cambridge 1986) 17–18.

<sup>39</sup> The frequency of the name 'Herodotus' is well illustrated by *PW* viii 989–992. Perhaps a greater degree of caution is called for with regard to the prevalent interpretations of the Archedike, Phanes and Rhoikos inscriptions.

<sup>40</sup> The price is derived from a transitional cup-skyphos from Nola, Louvre N1840, on which there is a graffito that reads, twenty-five vases for sixteen drachmae (i.e. 3.84 obol per cup-skyphos).

no future in the debate over the supposed visit of the historian to Egypt. Indeed the Euergides Painter's cup can only be interpreted as a sanctuary dedication by a Herodotus, and should not be used as evidence for a visit of the Herodotus to Egypt, however tempting it may be to use it as such.

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**Where three roads meet:  
a neglected detail in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*\***

'There is surely more than geography involved in the extraordinary stress laid in the play on the importance of the branching road.' So writes the latest editor of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, R. D. Dawe, who proceeds to mention the 'sexual significance . . . (the junction of the human trunk and legs)' which 'people tell us' is to be discerned behind the references to the cross-roads where Oedipus met and killed his father.<sup>1</sup> Dawe finds it difficult to make up his mind whether quasi-Freudian symbolism is properly to be attributed to Sophocles, and in adopting an equivocal position he cites only one further factor, that 'the imagery of cross-roads is common enough representing a point where a crucial decision has to be made'.

It is disappointing that the matter should be left there, and it is with some surprise that one turns to earlier commentators and critics only to find exiguous illumination on this detail of the play and the myth. In particular, it seems not usually to be thought pertinent to refer to the well-attested religious significance of branching roads in ancient Greece (as in many other cultures). Yet it is obvious that the myth of Oedipus's parricide did not require that father and son should have met and clashed at the forking of a road; their paths could have been imagined to converge in many different circumstances.<sup>2</sup> But without the *tríodos* a factor of important potential to a tragedian's treatment of the legend would have been lost, and Sophocles had good reason for retaining an element which had certainly played a part in the Aeschylean version, even if, as we shall see, he altered the emphasis given to it by his predecessor. In this note I wish to argue that the handling of the cross-roads in the *OT* carries a charge of

blended irony and religious suggestiveness. Before examining this aspect of the play, however, it will be helpful to glance at some other passages in Greek literature which show how the motif of a *tríodos* could be exploited for its religious associations.

About the general character of these associations little needs to be said here. It will be readily recalled that cross-roads were connected in particular with the chthonic deity, Hekate, but also with Persephone, who like Hekate could be called *ἑνοδία θεός*; and that, because of these connections, such places were the location of various ritual practices, especially of a cathartic or apotropaic kind.<sup>3</sup> This background explains why in most of the references to cross-roads in classical literature a religious point can be traced. (Plato *Laws* 799c-d provides a rare instance where the configuration of roads stands purely for a difficult and decisive choice.) Even at Theognis 911,

ἐν τρίοδῳ δ' ἔστηκεν δὺ' εἰσι τὸ πρόσθεν ὁδοί μοι

the choice between the forks of the road has darker overtones. The dilemma between styles of life is tied up with the question of one's apportioned *αἴσα* (907) and with the difficulty of foreseeing one's *βίτου τέλος* (905). The image is therefore not purely formal; it has the resonance of symbolising a choice which the individual may not fully grasp, a choice which may involve factors beyond his control and a destiny he cannot anticipate. The same is true of Xen. *Mem.* ii 1.21 ff., where, in Prodicus's allegory, Virtue and Vice appear to the adolescent Heracles as he sits at a forking road pondering on the choice between ways of life.<sup>4</sup> The English dead metaphor here notionally corresponds, of course, but its triteness gives no clue to the special force of the image in Greek.

The alignment of roads and destinies is more explicitly utilised by Plato in the myth of the *Gorgias*. Here Socrates pictures the Judges of the Underworld conducting their tribunal in a meadow, 'at the cross-roads which fork one way to the isles of the blest and the other to Tartarus' (524a 2-4). The parting of the ways not only represents the decisiveness of final judgement, but reproduces the distinction between the lives that the souls have chosen to live. If we combine this image with a related passage from the myth of the *Phaedo*, we can say that the cross-roads in Hades are the fulfilment of the choices previously made by the souls at all the 'forkings and crossings of roads' which they encounter on their way to Hades (*Phaedo* 108a 4). And we can observe that in this same passage of the *Phaedo* Plato attests the ubiquity of religious rituals at cross-roads in his time, for

<sup>3</sup> On Greek cross-roads see T. Hopfner, *RE* VIIa 161-6, and for comparative evidence the article by J. A. MacCulloch in the *Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh 1908-26) vol. 4, 330 ff. For the link with Hekate (found in Sophocles himself in *fr.* 535 Radt and Pearson=492 N<sup>2</sup>, with which *cf.* *Ar. fr.* 515 PCG=500-01 Kock) see e.g. Heckenbach, *RE* VII s.v. 'Hekate', esp. 2775, and T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg 1960). On Hekate and Persephone: *Soph. Ant.* 1199 and *Eur. Ion* 1048, with N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 155-7. For various references to religion at cross-roads see *Eur. Supp.* 1212, *Ar. Pl.* 594-7, *fr.* 209 PCG=204 Kock, *Plato Phaedo* 108a 5, *Leg.* xi 933b 3, *Thphr. Char.* xvi 5, 14, *Callim. Hymn* 6.114, and *cf.* R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983) 30 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* the story about Socrates at *Cic. Div.* i 54.123, where the symbol of a *tríodos* is combined with Socrates' divine voice.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sophocles: Oedipus Rex* (Cambridge 1982) 3. I am not sure who Dawe's 'people' are. There seems to be no comment on this detail of the Oedipus saga in any of Freud's discussions, but for a psychoanalytical interpretation see D. Van der Sterren, *Oedipe: une étude psychanalytique* (French transl., Paris 1974) 71-8. According to C. G. Jung, *Symbols of transformation* (Engl. transl., London 1956) 371, cross-roads are symbolic of the mother and for this belief see also T. Gould, *Oedipus the King* (New Jersey 1970) 156 (*cf.* 92-3 for a reference to Hekate).

<sup>2</sup> B. Knox, in *Sophocle* ed. J. de Romilly (*Fond. Hardt* XXIX, [1983]) 182, denies that the three roads are of much significance, and observes that the killing could have occurred 'just as well on one road'; but he misses the implication of this last remark. Knox had earlier, in *Oedipus at Thebes* (London 1957) 91, referred without elucidation to the 'terrible significance' of the *tríodos*. Lamer, *RE* XII 494, is both pedantic and, in view of *OT* 1398 ff., wrong to suggest that the parricide occurs only in the vicinity of the cross-roads. C. Segal, *Tragedy and civilisation* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1981) 221-2 stresses the importance of the bestial, unnatural atmosphere of the place and the encounter (and *cf.* 368 f. on roads in the *OC*).