

Spartans left the constitution untouched and did not restore the exiles. Thus, the whole internal unrest was between oligarchs. After the Corinthian War, some friends of the exiles were also νεωτέρων τινὲς ἐπιθυμοῦντες πραγμάτων (5.2.9). These “newer things” did not mean a change of constitution, for the dispute was finally resolved by a board of one hundred, fifty from those at home and fifty from the exiles, who were determined νόμους θεῖναι, καθ’ οὓς πολιτεύουσιντο (5.3.25). The reform of the laws is analogous to the Athenian experience of 404 B.C. The Athenians chose men οἱ [τοὺς πατρίους] νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ’ οὓς πολιτεύσουσι (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.2).²⁴ The only difference is that in Athens the ancestral laws were democratic, in Phlius oligarchic. There is absolutely nothing at Phlius to suggest that the dispute had anything to do with democracy. It was rather a split in oligarchic policy.

The same was true of Corinth. The στάσις did not involve a change of constitution, at least not at the outset. Instead, one group of oligarchs was pro-war and pro-allies, while the other was pro-peace and pro-Spartan. All of this points to the obvious conclusion that the entire dispute was a split in policy among Corinthian oligarchs.²⁵ The pro-war Corinthians found themselves in the minority unable to command power by legal means. Being the minority, they resorted to force to maintain their power.²⁶ That amply justifies the description of them as τινὲς τῶν ἐπιθυμούντων κράτους.²⁷

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24. For the entire sequence of events, see C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford, 1952), 285–98; K. R. Walters, “The ‘Ancestral Constitution’ and Fourth-Century Historiography in Athens,” *AJAH* 1 (1976): 129–44; and T. C. Loening, *The Reconciliation Agreement of 404/2 B.C. in Athens* (Stuttgart, 1987).

25. Hence, there is no reason to conclude with Thompson (“*Stasis*,” 142) “that Diodorus (or his source) regards the Corinthian murderers as partisans of democracy.” That opinion depends solely on the emendation that has been rejected.

26. This situation is quite analogous to that obtaining at Thebes, where in 382 B.C. the oligarch Leontides conspired with the Spartan general Phoebidas to suppress Hismenias, his political rival and opponent: Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.26–32; Diod. 15.20.2–3; Plut. *Pel.* 5, *Ages.* 23.6–11, *Mor.* 575F; Nep. *Pel.* 1.2–2.1.

27. It is a pleasure to thank Professor David Sansone and the two anonymous readers of *CP* for help in various ways. Any remaining errors are mine alone.

THE HOPE OF THE YEAR: VIRGIL *GEORGICS* 1. 224 AND HESIOD *OPERA ET DIES* 617

In *Georgics* 1 Virgil advises that the farmer not sow before the cosmical setting of the Pleiades (early November) (1.221–24):

ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur
Cnosiaque ardentis decedat stella Coronae,
debita quam sulcis committas semina quamque
invitae properes anni spem credere terrae.

The correlation of the setting of the Pleiades with sowing and plowing is taken over from Hesiod. Commentators have noted that Virgil incorporates elements from

Opera et Dies 383–86 in his description: *Atlantides* = Ἀτλαγενέων (383), *abscondantur* = κεκρύφαται (386).¹ His other model is *Opera et Dies* 614–17:

αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ
Πληιάδες θ' Ὑάδες τε τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος
δύνωσιν, τότε ἔπειτ' ἄρότου μεμνημένος εἶναι
ῥαΐου· πλειῶν δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἄρμενος εἴη.

The Hesiodic hapax πλειῶν (617) has given readers both ancient and modern trouble. The most natural meaning for the word in this context is 'seed'. So West: "What goes or is below the earth at that season is the seed, and in view of Hesych. πλειόνει· σπείρει this must be regarded as the likeliest meaning of πλειῶν (Sittl, Mazon). The etymology is perspicuous: < *πλη-ών, that which fills up or multiplies."² Nevertheless, πλειῶν is glossed ἐνιαυτός by the commentators and lexicographers (Proclus, Tzetzes, Hesychius) and is used in the sense 'year' by a number of Hellenistic poets.³

In *Georgics* 1.224 Virgil renders πλειῶν as *anni spem*: just as the πλειῶν is secured κατὰ χθονός, the *anni spem* is entrusted to the *invitae terrae*. Clearly Virgil's choice of *anni* demonstrates his awareness that πλειῶν may mean 'year'. But why *spem*? Varro notes that the rustic (and hence linguistically conservative) pronunciation *speca* (for *spica*) makes evident the word's derivation from *spes*: "spica autem, quam rustici, ut acceperunt antiquitus, vocant specam, a spe videtur nominata; eam enim quod sperant fore, serunt" (*Rust.* 1.48.2).⁴ So Virgil has a precedent for associating *spes* with agriculture. But it is especially interesting that Varro should elucidate the nominal etymology *spica a spe* by means of two closely linked verbs (*serunt* and *sperant*): farmers *sow* grain because they *hope* for the mature ears. The Greek for *sow* is σπείρω; thus Varro's *sperant* 'hope' suggests the interlinguistic equation *spero* = σπείρω. With *spem* Virgil picks up on this equation and captures the intuition that πλειῶν means 'seed'.

Thus Virgil in rendering πλειῶν as *anni spem* does two things: he acknowledges the Alexandrian tradition that πλειῶν means 'year' while at the same time allowing for the intuitive sense of πλειῶν 'seed'. Facing the problems presented by the hapax πλειῶν, Virgil interprets Hesiod instead of merely translating him. "The hope of the year" forms an elegant metonym for 'seed'. The collocation means more than the sum of its parts.⁵

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1. See R. Thomas, ed., *Virgil, "Georgics,"* vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1988), ad 1. 221.

2. M. L. West, ed., *Hesiod, "Works & Days"* (Oxford, 1978), ad 617.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Cf. Varro *Ling.* 5. 37.

5. We should like to thank Michael C. J. Putnam, David Konstan, and William Wyatt for their comments and suggestions.