

sense given to *ράβδος*, I suspect that the reference is to a wooden tuning pin. Here is West on the subject:

One or two early Archaic and even Classical representations [of lyres] have been interpreted as showing fixed pegs, but this is uncertain. What clearly was common, from the seventh century on, was winding the string round the yoke and binding in some kind of solid piece that the player could move up and down to adjust the tension. Sometimes it seems to have been a straight slip of wood or some other hard material. This is the same means of tuning as was used for the early Mesopotamian lyres.⁹

Such a piece of wood might plausibly, I think, be described as a *ράβδος*, and there would have been one at the end of each string. It will be observed that the adjective should really apply to *χορδάν*, but enallage is common in the later fifth century; for an example in a contemporary dithyrambic poet, cf. Timoth. *PMG* 791.119f.¹⁰ Thus, the whole line should be translated 'on the five-pinned collection of strings'.

A final note: in his discussion of *κερατόφωνον* Barker seems unaware of Wagener's conjecture *ἐρατόφωνον*,¹¹ but is no doubt right to assume that 'horn-voiced', meaning 'soft-voiced' or 'mellow', is the required sense. But adjectives in *κερατο-* normally exhibit a long second syllable; the only exceptions are a fragment of the epic poet Phaestus (3rd c. B.C.), *Ζεῦ Λιβύης Ἀμμων κερατηφόρε κέκλυθι μάντι*, 'Libyan Zeus, horned Ammon, hearken to the seer' (p. 28 *CA*), the MS reading at Nonn. *D.* 3.76 *κερατοξόος* 'horn-polishing' (where Meineke and Ludwig read *κεραο-* after *Il.* 4.110 *κεραοξόος* . . . *τέκτων* 'a craftsman who polishes horn'; Keydell prints *κερατο-* with Rebmann), and Manetho 4.91 *κερατώπις* 'looking like horn' (4th c. A.D.). We might better read *κεραόφωνον* here (tent. Bergk, *PLG*³) on the model of *κεραοξόος* (*Il.* 4.110, and its imitation at Simias *AP* 6.113.3 = *HE* 3278); the same error occurs at *Il.* 4.110 in one of the Homeric MSS (*U*² = Venet. 455, s. xiii-xiv).

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⁹ M. L. West (n. 8), 61.

¹⁰ See in general V. Bers, *Enallage and Greek Style* (Leiden, 1974), W. Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der euripideischen Lyrik* (Stuttgart, 1934), 182ff.

¹¹ In F. A. Gevaert, *La Musique de l'Antiquité* (Ghent, 1875-81), 2.633.

THE DISORDERS OF THE 170s B.C. AND ROMAN INTERVENTION IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREECE

In the settlement after the Roman defeat of Philip V of Macedon at Cynoscephalae, T. Quinctius Flamininus freed the Thessalians, Thessalian Perrhaebians, Magnesians and Euboeans, and endowed these peoples with federal constitutions. Most scholars assume that these constitutions were narrowly oligarchic, intended to ensure the predominance of the propertied Greeks with whom Roman aristocrats naturally identified.¹ The social disorders of the 170s in central Greece are adduced as evidence for the Thessalian aristocrats' domination in the Thessalian League's

¹ Representative of this view are G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei romani*² iv.1 (Florence, 1969; orig. Turin, 1923), 94-5; M. Holleaux, 'Rome and Macedon: the Romans against Philip', in *CAH* viii.197-8; J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford, 1968), 284-5; G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient World* (London, 1981), 525. Dissent is rare: A. Passerini, 'Studi di storia ellenistico-romana, VI: I moti politico-sociali della Grecia e i Romani', *Athenaeum* 11 (1933), 322-4; E. Gruen, 'Class conflict and the third Macedonian war', *AJAH* 1 (1976), 39, is vigorously sceptical of the *opinio communis*.

constitution. According to this theory, the aristocrats exploited their power in order to enrich themselves at their fellow citizens' expense; the result was widespread impoverishment and a debt crisis.²

However, the evidence does not support the prevailing theory. If anything, I would argue, it appears the government was more sympathetic to the debtors than to the creditors. According to Diodorus, a cancellation of debts was issued. This action provoked a violent reaction on the part of the creditors, 'When the Thessalians emulated the Aetolian cancellation of debts and factional strife and disorder broke out in every city . . .'.³ The creditors—not the debtors—initiated (or reinitiated) the violence. The senate then sent Appius Claudius to mediate. He successfully settled the problem with a compromise solution⁴ that was easier on the creditors than the earlier cancellation of debts in that it stipulated repayment over ten years, though without *iniustum faenus* (Livy 42.5.8–10). Significant is the fact that the Thessalian communal or federal mechanisms Flamininus instituted had allowed a *χρεωκοπία*, an unambiguously popular measure.⁵ This is hardly evidence for an oligarchic constitution. Nor is the economic crisis itself to be attributed to Flamininus' dark 'alliance with the hated capitalists'.⁶ The crisis in fact started in Aetolia;⁷ it was regional, not merely Thessalian. Scholars have suggested a variety of causes: Aetolia's burdensome war indemnity;⁸ loss of employment due to peaceful times (no booty, no mercenaries);⁹ repercussions of the war with Antiochus,¹⁰ or of all the recent wars involving Rome (including losses to Roman plundering).¹¹ All these explanations are best seen as contributing factors. We should note, too, the general economic malaise of this era, as described by Rostovtzeff.¹² One more possibility merits consideration—crop failures due to drought or blight.

An inscription of Thisbe records a decree instituting *σιτώναι*.¹³ One of Oropus preserves a decree honouring two importers of grain.¹⁴ A third, from Chorsiae, honours a certain Capon from Thisbe for having obtained for Chorsiae an advance on grain

² Larsen (n. 1), 285; cf. De Sanctis (n. 1), 108–9, 263; Holleaux (n. 1), 198. For bibliography on the disorders in Thessaly, see D. Mendels, 'Perseus and the socio-economic question in Greece (179–172/1 B.C.). A study in Roman propaganda', *AncSoc* 9 (1978), 61, n. 39.

³ *ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς χρεωκοπίας κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν ζήλωθείσης, καὶ πάσης πόλεως εἰς στάσεις καὶ ταραχῆς ἐμπιπτούσης . . .*, 29.33 (my translation is based partly on that of F. R. Walton in the Loeb series).

⁴ Larsen (n. 1), 283; J. Deininger, *Der politische Widerstand gegen Rom in Griechenland, 217–86 v. Chr.* (Berlin and New York, 1971), 150.

⁵ Note, though, that the traditional rich/poor dichotomy in ancient debt crises is not universally accepted: Mendels (n. 2), 61; Deininger (n. 4), 147; contra, de Ste. Croix (n. 1), 659–60.

⁶ Holleaux (n. 1), 198.

⁷ For the ancient sources and modern bibliography on the economic crisis in Aetolia see Mendels (n. 2), 59, n. 29; add Deininger (n. 4), 146–52, and Gruen (n. 1), 35–42.

⁸ Klaffenbach, *IG* ix. xlv, ll. 14–6; Gruen (n. 1), 35, acknowledges that this played a role.

⁹ De Sanctis (n. 1), 263–4; Gruen (n. 1), 35.

¹⁰ Passerini (n. 1), 326–7.

¹¹ De Sanctis (n. 1), 108; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941), 2.616–17, on the deleterious effects of the Roman wars on the Greek economy.

¹² Rostovtzeff (n. 11), 603–32.

¹³ *IG* vii. 1719. Dated between 191 and 172 by M. Feyel, *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie* (Paris, 1942), 45–6; first quarter of the 2nd century by P. Roesch, 'Notes d'épigraphie béotienne', *RPh* 39 (1965), 258.

¹⁴ *IG* vii. 4262. Dated c. 190–80 by M. Feyel, *Contribution à l'épigraphie béotienne* (Le Puy, 1942), 282, n. 3.

when other cities had forbidden its exportation.¹⁵ These three inscriptions, and most especially the prohibitions against the export of grain, indicate a serious shortage of grain in Boeotia in the first third of the 2nd century.¹⁶ R. Etienne and D. Knoepfler suggest later dates for the inscriptions: *IG* vii. 1719 (Thisbe) to the second quarter of the 2nd century; *IG* vii. 4262 (Oropus) to c. 180; *ISE* 66 to a little after 171.¹⁷ If we accept either the lower limits of the older dating or Etienne/Knoepfler's dating, the Boeotian food shortage falls roughly in the same period as our debt crisis. A proxeny decree of Gonnoi praises a Nicias of Phalanna for having supplied Gonnoi with grain on credit during 'a corn shortage last year'.¹⁸ The inscription belongs in the same period as the Boeotian inscriptions.¹⁹ A 'dearth in the land' is also mentioned in an Athenian decree dated 176/5–175/4, honouring a merchant who delivered oil to the city so Athens could sell it at a profit during a time of a bad harvest.²⁰

Thus, considerable testimony can be adduced as evidence for a regional farm crisis: (1) debt problems in Aetolia; (2) debt problems in Thessaly; (3) debt problems in Perrhaebia; (4) *IG* vii.1719 (Thisbe in Boeotia); (5) *IG* vii. 4262 (Oropus in Boeotia); (6) *ISE* 66 (Chorsiae in Boeotia); (7) Helly, *Gonnoi* ii.41 (in Thessaly); (8) *SIG*³ 640 (Athens). Individually these records yield little, but together they suggest a drought or blight in eastern central Greece which resulted in food shortages and financial hardship for farmers and ultimately led to a debt crisis in certain areas. This picture is consistent with what we know of the climatological pattern of Thessaly. Garnsey, Gallant, and Rathbone have shown 'that Thessaly would frequently live up to its reputation as a major grain producing area, but that it also would suffer deficits of sizeable magnitude nearly as often'.²¹ Vulnerable as they were to shortages, it is easy to

¹⁵ *ISE* 66. Dated between 200 and 180 by Roesch (n. 13), 261; beginning of the 2nd century by L. Moretti, *ISE* 66, 168.

¹⁶ Roesch (n. 13), 258–9; R. Etienne, D. Knoepfler, *Hyettos de Béotie et la chronologie des archontes fédéraux entre 250 et 171 avant J.-C.* (*BCH* suppl. iii, 1976), 209, n. 3.

¹⁷ On *IG* vii.1719, see 209, n. 705; on *IG* vii.4262, see 209, n. 705 (in the archonship of Agathocles, which they date to c. 180 [318]); on *ISE* 66, see 243–4.

¹⁸ ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι δὲ ἔτει / [οὐ]σης σπανοσιτίας, B. Helly, *Gonnoi* (Amsterdam, 1973), 2.41, lines 15–16.

¹⁹ After dating the inscription 'entre 180 et 160 av. J.-C. environ' from its letter forms and language (Helly [n. 18], 45–6), Helly argues that the Third Macedonian War is the most likely cause of the dearth: 'Même pendant la guerre contre Persée, Phalanna a fourni de riches moissons à l'armée romaine: elle était plus loin du théâtre des opérations. [note: Tite-Live, 42.65.1–2 (été 171 av. J.-C.): les Romains ont moissonné en toute tranquillité sur le territoire de Phalanna, sine ullo armato praesidio passim vagantes per agros Romanos metere] Gonnoi au contraire s'est trouvée au centre du dispositif militaire des Macedoniens, et a certainement ressenti, plus durement que sa voisine les conséquences économique de la guerre' (46, n. 20). But, in fact, the Macedonians surprised the Romans harvesting Phalanna's crops. A major battle with thousands of casualties ensued, and the Macedonians captured the harvest (all in Livy 42.65–6). Phalanna had thus endured the loss of its harvest and a major military engagement nearby. Helly's distinction is false. Phalanna may have simply been better prepared for bad years. Even this is uncertain—we do not in fact know where Nicias got his grain and need not assume he got it from Phalanna. The bad harvest in Gonnoi could well have been part of the same natural farm crisis attested in the Boeotian inscriptions.

²⁰ καὶ ὁρῶν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν / σπάνιν τοῦ ἐλαίου διὰ τὴν γεγονοίαν ἀφορίαν ἐν τεί χ[ώ]ραι, *SIG*³ 640, on which see esp. A. v. Premenstein, 'Athenischer Ehrenbeschluss für einen Grosskaufmann', *AthMitt* 36 (1911), 73–86; in the archonship of Hippacus, dated by W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (New York, 1939), 188–9.

²¹ P. Garnsey, T. Gallant, and D. Rathbone, 'Thessaly and the grain supply of Rome during the second century B.C.', *JRS* 74 (1984), 34; esp. 30–5.

see how Thessalian farmers might be reduced to petitioning creditors to save their farms and families. Flamininus need not shoulder the blame.

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PARTHENIANA MINORA

In my edition of Parthenius of Nicaea, which appeared in 1999 with Oxford University Press, I have tried to take as comprehensive a view of my subject as possible. Still, there is only so much a girl can be expected to pick up, even within the five or so years between the book's genesis and conclusion. Here is some late-breaking information, which I would have included in the book if only I had known before sending it off to the typesetter. I begin with some minor remarks and conclude with a longer one.

P. 159. Fr. 18 ὑμέες. I made rather heavy weather of this; it is, of course, a pseudo-Ionic form. I claimed that it only recurred as a *v.l.* in Hdt. 8.22. In fact it also occurs in class β of the manuscripts in Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 13, in a parody of Ionic speech in the mouth of Democritus. See H. Weir Smyth, *The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects: Ionic* (Oxford, 1894), 442 (§ 558.5), and for the *v.l.* ἡμέες in Herodotus, H. Rosén, *Eine Laut- und Formenlehre der herodotischen Sprachform* (Heidelberg, 1962), 105 (§ 23.11), n. 126.

P. 205. The first word of the translation of the lemma (127) should be 'bath-tub', the basic meaning of *δροίτη* from which Parthenius, following Aeschylus, diverged. The point is that Aeschylus, in whom this word is first attested, always uses it of Agamemnon's bath-tub (which is also his 'coffin'), although only in *Cho.* 999 is 'coffin' its primary sense. Here I wish to add that a semantic overlap between 'tub' or 'bath-tub' and 'coffin' is paralleled in a few other words, in addition to *πύελος* / *πυελίς*, as noted in my commentary. *σκάφη*, normally a tub, trough, or bath-tub, is inscriptionally attested as a coffin several times in the north-western corner of Asia Minor (Louis Robert, *Hellenica* i.63 and n. 1); it is interesting that some of the inscriptional attestations of *πύελος* as 'sarcophagus' come from the same area (LSJ s.v., 4). Parthenius' use of *δροίτη* is literary and imitates Aeschylus; but he must also have been aware of these parallels from local usage in his homeland. There are more from further afield. There are over half a dozen instances of *λούτρα* meaning 'sarcophagus' or 'coffin' in the epigraphy of Corycos in Cilicia (*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae* iii, index, v. 'Gräberwesen', p. 237): at least some of the inscriptions in question are Christian. *ἄγγειον*, properly a 'vessel for holding liquid or dry substances' (LSJ s.v.), may also mean 'coffin', 'sarcophagus', in imperial inscriptions from the west coast of Anatolia (ibid. I.3). And Latin *solium*, essentially a throne, may also mean a tub, bath-tub, or a kind of sarcophagus (*OLD* s.v., 3a, 4). I am grateful to Martin West for bringing this last case to my attention. The main reason for this overlap must have been the shape of the object in question; still, it is curious that it should occur in so many different words.

P. 461. Alexander Aetolus, ap. *Ἐρ. Παθ.* XIV, line 12 *σχήσει τὸν λιθόλευστον ἔρων*: as a parallel to the unusual phrase *ἔχειν ἔρωτα* my commentary should have noted Hdt. 5.32 *ἔρωτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι*.

P. 486. I missed an echo of Herodotus in XVII.4, where Periander's mother asks him whether he enjoyed the company of his mystery lover the night before: *τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναπνυθανομένης αὐτῆς εἰ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ γένοιτο καὶ εἰ αὐτὸς λέγοι*