

# A Survey of Work on Plutarch's Greek Lives, 1951 – 1988<sup>1</sup>

by ANTHONY J. PODLECKI and SANDRA DUANE, Vancouver, B. C., Canada

## Contents

I. Introduction . . . . .	4054
II. Bibliographic Studies . . . . .	4054
III. Editions and/or Translations . . . . .	4055
IV. Plutarch the Biographer . . . . .	4058
A. General works on Plutarch . . . . .	4058
B. Plutarch's biographical aims and methods . . . . .	4060
1. Sources . . . . .	4060
2. Choice and arrangement of material . . . . .	4063
3. Chronology . . . . .	4064
C. Plutarch's analysis and presentation of character . . . . .	4065
D. Proem and <i>synkrisis</i> . . . . .	4067
E. Plutarch's philosophical, moral and religious attitudes as manifested in the Lives . . . . .	4068
F. Plutarch and the theatre . . . . .	4069
G. Miscellaneous topics . . . . .	4070
1. Women . . . . .	4070
2. Non-Greeks . . . . .	4071
V. Textual Studies . . . . .	4071
VI. Individual Lives . . . . .	4073
Addendum . . . . .	4127

<sup>1</sup> The *terminus post quem* represents ZIEGLER's RE. article (see below); occasionally a work that appeared after 1988 is noted. This survey incorporates bibliographical material prepared by Prof. P. A. STADTER, to whom we wish to express thanks. We are also grateful to the Interlibrary Loan division of the University of British Columbia library and the staff of the Department of Slavonic Studies for their assistance.

### I. Introduction

It is appropriate to begin with ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO's observation:

"Biography is perhaps the historiographical genre in which the creation of religious, philosophic, political and social bonds between writer and reader is most consciously pursued and most easily achieved."<sup>2</sup>

Plutarch seems to have been the creator of a distinctly new genre, political biography, in which the historical figures whose lives he recounts are presented as morally motivated individuals who, if their characters and motivations could be fully grasped, might provide useful lessons ("case-histories") for emulation, or in some cases, avoidance, by those who aspired to public careers in Plutarch's own day. Of course, because he was such a diligent investigator of facts, such a shrewd analyst of character, and such a graceful writer of prose, Plutarch's Lives have not only survived, but have exerted significant influence on thinkers and writers at different periods of world history since his own day.

### II. Bibliographic Studies

The most useful and complete is also the most recent, SCARDIGLI's *Scritti recenti sulle Vite di Plutarco (1974–1986)*<sup>3</sup>; our debt to this work is very large for material published during the years it covers, although our focus is somewhat narrower than SCARDIGLI's for, as she explains in her Introduction, she includes many studies that are preponderantly historical, whose importance for those interested in Plutarch's writings is only marginal. Still, she is a careful scholar and the Survey has the added virtue of including brief abstracts of the works cited. At the other end of the time-frame and just overlapping with our chronological limits are two Italian surveys, by DEL RE<sup>4</sup> and GARZETTI,<sup>5</sup> FLACELIÈRE reports on the main editions and commentaries, together with the

<sup>2</sup> A. MOMIGLIANO, *The historians of the classical world and their audiences: some suggestions*, *ASNP*, 3 ser. 8 (1978), 59–75 at 73–74 (= *Id.*, *Sesto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, vol. 1 [Studi e testi 150] [Rome, 1980], pp. 361–376).

<sup>3</sup> B. SCARDIGLI in: F. E. BRENN and I. GALLO, edd., *Miscellanea Plutarchea. Atti del I convegno di studi su Plutarco (Roma, 23 novembre 1985)* [Quaderni del Giornale filologico Ferrarese 8] (Ferrara, 1986), pp. 7–59 (23–41 for the Greek Lives).

<sup>4</sup> R. DEL RE, *Gli studi plutarchei nell'ultimo cinquantennio*, *A&R*, 4 ser. 3 (1953), 187–196.

<sup>5</sup> A. GARZETTI, *Plutarco e le sue Vite parallele. Rassegna di studi 1934–1952*, *RSI*, 65 (1953), 76–104.

principal biographical and historical studies, to 1969.<sup>6</sup> Also to be mentioned are bibliographies by ALSINA,<sup>7</sup> which is not so detailed but covers the main topics and comments on the major monographs back into the nineteenth century, and by AVERINCEV<sup>8</sup>, who provides a wide-ranging, critical study of German and other continental, as well as British and American, scholarship in the wake of F. LEO's influential monograph, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form* (Leipzig, 1901).

### III. Editions and/or Translations

Pride of place belongs to the complete edition by LINDSKOG and ZIEGLER, re-edited by ZIEGLER.<sup>9</sup> The Greek (and Roman) Lives appear in the following order (with relevant vol. and fasc. number, and abbreviation):

- |      |        |                       |                               |
|------|--------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| I.1  | (1960) | 'Theseus' [Ths.]      | (— 'Romulus' [Rm.])           |
|      |        | 'Solon' [So.]         | (— 'Publicola' [Pb.])         |
|      |        | 'Aristides' [Ari.]    | (— 'Cato maior' [CM.])        |
|      |        | 'Themistocles' [Thm.] | (— 'Camillus' [Cam.])         |
|      |        | 'Cimon' [Cim.]        | (— 'Lucullus' [Luc.])         |
| I.2  | (1964) | 'Pericles' [Per.]     | (— 'Fabius Maximus' [FM.])    |
|      |        | 'Nicias' [Ni.]        | (— 'Crassus' [Cr.])           |
|      |        | 'Alcibiades' [Alc.]   | (— 'Cortolanus' [Cor.])       |
|      |        | 'Demosthenes' [Dst.]  | (— 'Cicero' [Cic.])           |
| II.1 | (1964) | 'Phocion' [Pho.]      | (— 'Cato minor' [Cm.])        |
|      |        | 'Dion' [Di.]          | (— 'Brutus' [Br.])            |
|      |        | 'Timoleon' [Ti.]      | (— 'Aemilius Paullus' [Aem.]) |
|      |        | 'Eumenes' [Eum.]      | (— 'Sertorius' [Se.])         |
| II.2 | (1968) | 'Philopoemen' [Phi.]  | (— 'Flaminius' [Fl.])         |
|      |        | 'Pelopidas' [Pel.]    | (— 'Marcellus' [Mc.])         |
|      |        | 'Alexander' [Alx.]    | (— 'Caesar' [Cs.])            |

<sup>6</sup> R. FLACELIÈRE, *État présent des études sur Plutarque*, in: Association Guillaume Budé, *Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès (Paris, 5–10 avril 1968)* (Paris, 1969), pp. 483–506 (490–4 for the Lives).

<sup>7</sup> J. ALSINA, *Ensayo de una bibliografía de Plutarco*, *EC&AS*, 6 (1962), 515–533.

<sup>8</sup> S. S. AVERINCEV, *Biograficheskie sochineniya Plutarkha v zarubezhnoi nauke XX veka*. (The Biographical works of Plutarch in foreign scholarship in the twentieth century), *VDI*, 89 (1964), 202–212.

<sup>9</sup> C. LINDSKOG and K. ZIEGLER, *Plutarchi Vitae Parallelae* [Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, 1957–1980) 4 vols. (vols. 1–3 each in 2 parts).

- III.1 (1971) 'Demetrius' [Dtr.] (- 'Antonius' [Ant.])  
 'Pyrrhus' [Py.] (- 'Marius' [Ma.])  
 'Aratus' [Ara.]  
 'Artaxerxes' [Art.]  
 'Agis and Cleomenes' [ACl.] (- 'Tiberius and C. Gracchus'  
 (Cl. begins at ch. 22) [Gr.])  
 III.2 (1973) 'Lycurgus' [Lyc.] (- 'Numa' [Nu.])  
 'Lysander' [Lys.] (- 'Sulla' [Su.])  
 'Agesilaus' [Ag.] (- 'Pompeius' [Pm.])  
 fragments.

Vol. IV (1980) contains *Indices auctorum*, and *deorum, hominum, locorum*, completed by GÄRTNER. Besides a full apparatus this edition also provides a useful collection of *testimonia*, citations of parallel passages in Plutarch himself and in other ancient authors. Not far behind and equally useful in that it contains a French translation and exegetic material in the form of brief footnotes and «notes complémentaires» after each Life is the edition in 16 vols. by FLACELIÈRE and JUNEUX, with translation by CHAMBRY.<sup>10</sup> Vol. 16 contains an *index* of proper names by SIMON.

Editions, generally with commentary, of individual Lives are treated separately in the appropriate place below.

The translations which we have noted (in alphabetical order by modern language) are as follows.

English. The complete Loeb edition in 11 vols. by PERRIN, originally published 1914-1926, was reprinted;<sup>11</sup> vol. 11 contains an *index* of names and subjects by COHOON. There have been reprints in both the U.S.A. and Great Britain of JOHN DRYDEN'S translation, 'The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans', rev. by ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH.<sup>12</sup> Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans', Englished by SIR THOMAS NORTH, anno 1579, has also been reprinted.<sup>13</sup> There are translations, generally of selected Lives, by FULLER<sup>14</sup> and MCFARLAND.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the most readily available are the two volumes by SCOTT-KILVERT, 'The Rise and Fall of Athens. Nine Greek Lives',<sup>16</sup> containing Ths., So., Thm., Ari., Cim., Per., Ni., Alc., and Lys., and 'The Age of Alexander. Nine Greek Lives by Plutarch',<sup>17</sup> which contains Ag., Pel., Di., Ti., Dst., Pho., Alx., Dtr. and Py.

<sup>10</sup> R. FLACELIÈRE, M. JUNEUX and E. CHAMBRY (Paris, 1957-1983).

<sup>11</sup> B. PERRIN (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1967-1975).

<sup>12</sup> Respectively, Chicago, 1952, and London, 1969-1971 [Everyman's Library] 3 vols.

<sup>13</sup> E. FULLER (New York, 1959); it contains Ths., Lyc., So., Thm., Per., Alc., Ti., Alx. and Dst.

<sup>14</sup> J. W. MCFARLAND (New York, 1966).

<sup>15</sup> I. SCOTT-KILVERT (Harmondsworth, 1960; reprinted in hardcover, London, 1967).

<sup>17</sup> *Idem* (Harmondsworth, 1973).

French. Besides the translation by CHAMBRY in the FLACELIÈRE-JUNEUX edition already noted, there is a complete translation by LATZARUS,<sup>18</sup> The AMYOT translation of 1559 has been reprinted, in editions by WALTER and MASIN.<sup>19</sup>

German. There are complete translations by ZIEGLER and WÜHRMANN,<sup>20</sup> and by KALTWASSER.<sup>21</sup> Note also a selection by AX.<sup>22</sup>

Greek. Selected Lives have been translated by MANGINAS<sup>23</sup> (contains So. and Thm.) and POURNARAS<sup>24</sup> (contains Per. and Alc.).

Hebrew. There is a translation by HALEVY.<sup>25</sup>

Italian. A facsimile edition appeared of the 1482 translation of the 'Vitae parallelae' by JACONELLO.<sup>26</sup> There are modern translations by RIBERA<sup>27</sup> and CARENA.<sup>28</sup> Separate volumes with the title 'Antologia dalle Vite parallele' were produced by IZZO D'ACCINNI and SACERDOTI;<sup>29</sup> DEL RE provided a translation of the Pho. and Di. (with their mates, 'Cato minor' and 'Brutus').<sup>30</sup> To be noted also are two volumes of selections (Greek text with Italian commentary) by VALIGLIO.<sup>31</sup>

Japanese. There are complete translations by KONO,<sup>32</sup> TSURUMI,<sup>33</sup> and MURAKAWA.<sup>34</sup>

Norwegian. To be noted is MORLAND'S 'Livsskildringer med Sammenligning'.<sup>35</sup>

Polish. There is a complete translation by BROŻEK.<sup>36</sup>

Rumanian. There is a complete translation into Rumanian by BARBU.<sup>37</sup> Selections are translated by CREȚIA in a series edited by PIPPIDI.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>18</sup> B. LATZARUS (Paris, 1951-1955), 5 vols.

<sup>19</sup> Respectively, Paris, 1951 (praised by D. A. RUSSELL [see below] as "an excellent annotated reprint") and Paris, 1967.

<sup>20</sup> K. ZIEGLER and W. WÜHRMANN, *Große Griechen und Römer* (Zürich, 1954-1965), 6 vols. (vols. 1 and 2 reprinted Munich, 1979).

<sup>21</sup> J. F. KALTWASSER, edd. H. VON FLOERKE and L. KROENER (Munich, 1964-1965), 5 vols.

<sup>22</sup> W. AX, *Griechischen Heldenleben*. Thermistokles, Perikles, Alkibiades, Dion, Alexander, Agis (Stuttgart, 1955).

<sup>23</sup> S. MANGINAS [Coll. 100 athanata erga 48] (Athens, 1954).

<sup>24</sup> A. POURNARAS (Athens, 1953-1954), 2 vols.

<sup>25</sup> A. A. HALEVY, *Haye ishim* ('Lives of Men'), vol. 1, *The Greek Lives* (Jerusalem, 1971) (vol. 2, *The Roman Lives* by YOSEF G. LIEBES, 1954).

<sup>26</sup> BATISTA ALESSANDRO JACONELLO (L'Aquila, 1982).

<sup>27</sup> A. RIBERA (Rome, 1960), 2 vols.

<sup>28</sup> C. CARENA ('Turin, 1958), 3 vols.; (Milan, 1966), 4 vols.; (\*1984).

<sup>29</sup> A. IZZO D'ACCINNI and N. SACERDOTI (respectively Rome, 1959 and 1967).

<sup>30</sup> R. DEL RE (Rome, 1957).

<sup>31</sup> E. VALIGLIO, *Sparta nei suoi ordinamenti politico-sociali* (Turin, \*1963); *Idem*, *Arene nei suoi ordinamenti politico-sociali* (Rome, 1961).

<sup>32</sup> Y. KONO, *Purutaku Eiyuden* (Tokyo, 1952-1956), 12 vols.

<sup>33</sup> Y. TSURUMI, *Purutaku Eiyuden* (Tokyo, 1985; repr. of the ed. 1934), 8 vols.

<sup>34</sup> K. MURAKAWA, *Purutakokusu Eiyuden* (Tokyo, 1987), 3 vols.

<sup>35</sup> H. MORLAND (Oslo, 1967), 2 vols.

<sup>36</sup> M. BROŻEK, *Zywoty slawnych mezoj* (Wrocław, \*1977).

<sup>37</sup> N. I. BARBU, *Plutarh, Vieti paralele* (Bucharest, 1960-1969), 4 vols.

<sup>38</sup> P. CREȚIA, ed. D. M. PIPPIDI, *Proza istorică grecă* (Bucharest, 1970).

Russian. There is a translation of the Greek Lives by MARKIS and SOBOLÉVSKII,<sup>39</sup> and selections by BOTVINNIK and STRATAVOVSKII.<sup>40</sup>

Spanish. The complete translation by RANZ ROMANILLOS, originally published Madrid 1821–1830, was reprinted several times in whole or in part.<sup>41</sup> To be noted also is a translation of selections by MONTES DE OCA.<sup>42</sup> There are separate translations of *Ths.* and *Lyc.* by PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ<sup>43</sup> and of *Alex.* (Cs.), *Per./F.M.*, and *Alic./Cor.* by CRESPO.<sup>44</sup> A survey of Spanish translations from the 14th to the 20th centuries was provided by SÁNCHEZ LASSO DE LA VEGA.<sup>45</sup> The first translation into a modern language was in fact by a Spaniard, JUAN FERNÁNDEZ DE HEREDIA; he began it on Rhodes in September 1379, where he was governor at the time, and completed it before the end of 1384 at Avignon (HEREDIA died there in 1396). Although HEREDIA's work had hardly any circulation in Spain itself, it was translated into Italian in the final years of the 14th century, and often reprinted thereafter.<sup>46</sup>

#### IV. *Plutarch the Biographer*

##### A. General works on Plutarch

A place of honor must once again be accorded to ZIEGLER, an expanded version of whose 1949 article appeared in 1951 in RE as *Ploutarchos von Chaironeia*.<sup>46</sup> Of relevance to the present survey are sections iv, 'Die biographische Schriftstellerrei P.'s' (cols. 895–914) and v, 'Die Quellen der Bildung P.'s' (cols. 914–28). A brief but useful survey in English is GOSSAGE's chapter 'Plutarch' in the compilation by DOREY on Latin biography.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>39</sup> S. P. MARKIS and S. L. SOBOLÉVSKII, *Zhamenitnye greki* (Moscow, 1961–1964), 3 vols.

<sup>40</sup> M. N. BOTVINNIK and G. A. STRATAVOVSKII (Leningrad, 1961).

<sup>41</sup> A. RANZ ROMANILLOS (Buenos Aires, 1952), 2 vols.; (Barcelona, 1959), 4 vols.; (Madrid, 1980), 5 vols.; (Barcelona, 1986).

<sup>42</sup> F. MONTES DE OCA (Mexico City, 1982).

<sup>43</sup> A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ (Madrid, 1985).

<sup>44</sup> F. CRESPO, *Vidas paralelas: Alejandro-César, Pericle-Fabio Máximo, Alcibiades-Coriolano* (Barcelona, 1986).

<sup>45</sup> J. SÁNCHEZ LASSO DE LA VEGA, 'Traducciones españolas de las «Vidas» de Plutarco, E.Clas., 6 (1962), 451–514.

<sup>46</sup> See L. CLARE, 'La première traduction en Occident des Vies parallèles de Plutarque, BAGB, (1968), 405–26, and L. CLARE and F. JOUAN, 'La plus ancienne traduction occidentale des Vies de Plutarque, in: Association Guillaume Budé. Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès (Paris, 5–10 avril 1968) (Paris, 1969), pp. 567–9; also LASSO DE LA VEGA (note 44 above), 451–459.

<sup>47</sup> K. ZIEGLER, RE 21.1 (1951), cols. 636–962; cf. RE 21.2 (1952), cols. 2523–2524. It was later reprinted *separatim* (Stuttgart, 1964).

<sup>48</sup> A. J. GOSSAGE in: T. A. DOREY, *Latin Biography* (London, 1967), pp. 45–77.

Several books in English have appeared. Those by BARROW<sup>48</sup> and RUSSELL<sup>49</sup> cover similar ground, presenting information on Plutarch's life and career, his world-view or 'philosophy', his writings and his sources. Of relevance here are BARROW chaps. 7 and 11 ('The Lives', Plutarch's Knowledge of Latin; the Sources of the Lives, Roman and Greek) and RUSSELL chap. 6 ('An Introduction to the Lives') and, in part, chap. 3 ('The Scholar and his Books'). (RUSSELL had already touched on some of these points in an earlier article, 'On Reading Plutarch's Lives',<sup>50</sup> where he emphasizes Plutarch's didactic purpose, "to provide a repertoire of exempla for public men of Plutarch's own day" [p. 141] and those qualities that raised Plutarch above the other, more 'rhetorical' writers of his day, a "tremendous range of reading and great seriousness" [p. 143]). On a smaller scale than the books by BARROW and RUSSELL is one by GIANAKARIS.<sup>51</sup>

In a study of Plutarch's biographical methods and achievement, WARDMAN<sup>52</sup> argues that Plutarch's main purpose, in choosing his subjects for comparison, depicting them as political figures in crucial situations and subjecting their virtues (and failings) to close analysis, was to present useful examples or 'paradigms' to educated Greeks of his own day who might be thinking about entering public life. In an earlier essay WARDMAN<sup>53</sup> maintained that Plutarch used minor events, sayings and jests (cf. *Alex.* 1.2) for different purposes; sometimes they are used to fill out a Life sparse in recorded events (e.g. *McC.*), sometimes they are 'compendious,' allowing him to abbreviate when his sources provide him with too many *praxeis* for inclusion (as *Alex.*), sometimes permitting him an individual slant when he feels himself obliged to follow one dominant source, as in *Ni.* SCHNEEWEISS<sup>54</sup> emphasizes the care with which Plutarch selected from the material available to him, both historical and archaeological: "Das Material muß für die Erkenntnis der Persönlichkeit in ihrem Ethos brauchbar sein" (p. 151); Plutarch strove "nicht historische Fakten als solche zu schildern, sondern in ihren Motivationen moralphilosophisch zu erklären" (p. 153).

A 1978 Barcelona dissertation by PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ<sup>55</sup> deals in three parts with (respectively) the theory and practice of biography from its dim and fragmentary origins to the didactic but also 'historiographic' biographies of

<sup>48</sup> R. H. BARROW, *Plutarch and his Times* (London, 1967).

<sup>49</sup> D. A. RUSSELL, *Plutarch* (London and New York, 1967).

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, G&R, 2 ser. 13 (1966), 139–154.

<sup>51</sup> C. J. GIANAKARIS, *Plutarch* [Twayne's World Authors 111] (New York, 1979).

<sup>52</sup> A. E. WARDMAN, 'Plutarch's Lives' (London and Berkeley, 1974).

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*, 'Plutarch's Methods in the Lives', CQ, n. s. 21 (1971), 254–261.

<sup>54</sup> G. SCHNEEWEISS, 'Der Plutarch und die Biographien Plutarchs, in: W. SUERBAUM et al., edd., ... Gegenstand und Absicht in den Biographien Plutarchs, in: W. SUERBAUM et al., edd., Festschrift für Franz Egermann zu seinem 80. Geburtstag am 13. Februar 1985 (Munich, 1985), pp. 147–162.

<sup>55</sup> A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, *La biografía griega como genero literario. Plutarco y la biografía antigua* (we know this from a 14-page summary published by the University of Barcelona, Centro de Publicacions, 1978).

Plutarch (like others, he challenges LEO's schematic division into 'Peripatetic' and 'Alexandrian' schools); the patterns followed by Plutarch in his biographies, under the influence as he is of an ethico-political ideal; and a close analysis of FM. DEN BOER<sup>56</sup> sees Plutarch's object as a biographer to present examples of good actions from the past to inspire his readers; Plutarch's 'demonology' acknowledges the existence of evil in the world, but his innate optimism offers a world-view in which good predominates over bad. In a monograph AVERINCEV<sup>57</sup> assesses Plutarch's achievement against the background of biographical writing before his time. He views Plutarch as a moralist whose choice of subjects, who were for the most part ordinary, polis-oriented individuals rather than exceptions (monarchs) or aberrations (tyrants), as well as the intimacy of tone by which he seems to address the reader directly and take him into his confidence, put him outside the main currents of his time and of the Hellenistic biographical tradition. Plutarch created a new genre of moralizing political biography which was to have enormous influence on later literature. TZANNETATOS<sup>58</sup> presents a general survey of Plutarch's life and compositions; he emphasizes the breadth of Plutarch's interests and his experiences which encouraged him to be open-minded and fair, showing no bias to either side of the "Rome-Greece" dichotomy. Plutarch's virtue as a biographer is that "... he seeks with every word and every action that finds a place in the biography of a hero to compose an organic whole from which more or less readily the character emerges and his image appears before the eyes of the reader" (p. 37). To be noted also is a work by TZIMPOUKIDES<sup>59a</sup> who discusses such topics as Plutarch's ethico-philosophical opinions, his relation to his sources, and the ancient biographical tradition; he also presents a brief analysis of the individual Lives. VALGIGLIO<sup>59b</sup> argues that Plutarch uses *historia(i)* sometimes in the sense of "general history," an account of great events, and sometimes as "particular history," the narrative of an individual's actions, and so synonymous with "biography."

## B. Plutarch's biographical aims and methods

### I. Sources

Four doctoral dissertations on the general topic of Plutarch's attitude towards and use of his sources appeared in the U. S. A. From published synopses we note their contents in chronological order as follows. HERBERT's

<sup>56</sup> W. DEN BOER, *Plutarchus' oogmerk als biograf, TG*, 87 (1974), 365–378.

<sup>57</sup> S. S. AVERINCEV, *Plutarkh i antichnaya biografija (Plutarch and ancient Biography)* (Moscow, 1973).

<sup>58</sup> T. S. TZANNETATOS, 'Ο Πλούταρχος και ὡς συγγραφεύς, *Parnassos*, II.1 (1960), 21–41.

<sup>59a</sup> D. TZIMPOUKIDES, 'Ο Βιογράφος Πλούταρχος (Athens, 1987).

<sup>59b</sup> E. VALGIGLIO, 'Istoria e βίος in Plutarco, *Orpheus*, 8 (1987), 50–70.

study, Ephorus in Plutarch's Lives, a source problem',<sup>60</sup> argues that, paradoxically, Plutarch made little use of Ephorus (whom he cites 14 times and whom, according to HERBERT, he knew and used directly, not through Hellenistic intermediaries) for events in the fourth century, where Ephorus' account was "most complete and detailed," but relied on him for material in the fifth-century Lives, Thm., Ari., Per., Alc. and Lys. According to HERBERT, Plutarch "... at his best... weaves fact, anecdote, commentary, and even his own philosophic beliefs into a characterization which is both interesting and instructive."<sup>61</sup> FROST's dissertation, 'The Scholarship of Plutarch: The biographer's contribution to the study of Athenian history, 490–429 B. C.,'<sup>62</sup> analyzes the Thm., Ari., Cim. and Per. and concludes that in these Lives Plutarch made very little reference to written sources but relied mainly on his capacious memory. FROST finds Plutarch "capable of adjustment, and even distortion of his authorities to bring his hero's career into stronger relief... In his selection of material for his biographies, Plutarch was eclectic and unmethodical."<sup>63</sup> In his dissertation 'Plutarch's Use of Thucydides in the *Life of Nicias*, *Life of Alcibiades*, and *Life of Themistocles*'<sup>64</sup> LITTMAN concludes that Plutarch used Thucydides extensively in Ni., only partially in Alc., and still less in Thm.; even where he follows Thucydides closely, Plutarch paraphrases and supplements him. (We have not seen a work on this topic by TZANNETATOS.<sup>64a</sup>) EWANK's dissertation, 'Plutarch's Use of non-literary Sources in the *Lives* of sixth- and fifth-century Greeks',<sup>65</sup> examines the use Plutarch made of inscriptions, monuments, statues and other documents, oral tradition, religious ceremonies and topographical observations; she concludes that Plutarch knows these at first hand, but often cites from memory and his reports are sometimes inaccurate. There is a Belgian dissertation by PLEVOETS, 'Over de historische methode van de biograaf Ploutarchos'.<sup>66</sup> As the title implies, the author presents a comprehensive analysis of those methods employed by Plutarch which might be termed 'historical' (including autopsy, use of written and archaeological sources, etc.). The work runs to 552 typewritten pages, with an additional 98 pages of indices of key-words and passages cited.

In a monograph THEANDER<sup>67</sup> shows that the view that Plutarch always, or even generally, used intermediary sources is untenable; Plutarch based his

<sup>60</sup> K. J. HERBERT (Harvard, 1954); summary in HSCP, 63 (1958), 510–513.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 512.

<sup>62</sup> E. J. FROST (U. of California, Los Angeles, 1961); abstract in Dissertation Abstracts [DA], 26 (1966), pp. 6663–4.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 6664.

<sup>64</sup> R. J. LITTMAN (Columbia U., 1970); abstract in DA, 34 (1973), p. 2585 A.

<sup>64a</sup> T. S. TZANNETATOS, 'Ο Θεοκυδίδης ὡς πηγὴ παρὰ τῷ Πλούταρχῳ βιογράφοι (Athens, 1958).

<sup>65</sup> L. C. EWANK (U. of N. Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1982); abstract in DA, 43 (1983), p. 3587.

<sup>66</sup> M. PLEVOETS (Leuven, 1958/59).

<sup>67</sup> C. THEANDER, *Plutarch und die Geschichte* [Bull. Soc. des Lettres de Lund, 1950–51, fasc. 1] (Lund, 1951). The relevant sections are 'I. Autopsie und mündliche Tradition in Plutarchs Biographien', 'II. Plutarch als Biograph', and 'III. Plutarchs Verhältnis zu älteren Historikern in den griechischen Biographien' (section IV deals with the Roman Lives).

conclusions on autopsy (see the dissertation by EWBANK above, and now also J. BUCKLER, *Plutarch and Autopsy*, below in this same volume [ANRW II 33.6], pp. 4788-4830), and relied on oral tradition when such was available, and he most probably had first-hand familiarity with a majority of the authorities he cites. FROST<sup>68</sup> also contests MEYER's theory of a main, but unacknowledged, intermediary source. Plutarch's forebears were members of the intelligentsia and his own education was scholarly in the best sense, so there was no reason for him to rely on handbooks, compendia or commentaries. On the other hand, as FROST reasonably argues, "the more familiar Plutarch was with his source, or story, the more likely he was to be a bit casual with his data; when on unfamiliar ground, he is more careful and has perhaps made more precise notes" (p. 165).

LEVI<sup>69</sup> analyzes Plutarch's fifth-century Lives (Them., Ari., Cim., Per., Ni. and Alc.) and concludes that the biographical tradition followed by Plutarch, while essentially trustworthy, was also tinged by an ongoing debate between those writers who, respectively, approved of or were hostile to Athens' democratic 'revolution.' AMBAGLIO<sup>70</sup> examines passages in which Plutarch names Herodotus and compares these with the relevant Herodotean texts; although discrepancies and embellishments, which ought, according to AMBAGLIO, make us cautious in accepting *au pied de la lettre* Plutarch's citations of the non-extant, 'fragmentary,' authorities. STADTER<sup>71</sup> examines the use Plutarch makes of the speeches which Thucydides credits to Pericles, Nicias and Alcibiades. According to STADTER, Plutarch regards these not as historical documents but as quarrying-ground for factual or character-revealing material; "the speeches are given no special treatment as authentic representations of the speaker, though they are prized for the historical facts or insights into the protagonist's character and motives which Thucydides had written into them" (p. 122). DE ROMILLY<sup>72</sup> scrutinizes certain parallel passages concerning Pericles, Nicias and Alcibiades and argues that, because Plutarch is more interested in the personal and psychological aspects of his subjects, he often omits or distorts his Thucydean borrowings when these involve political 'analysis.' FROST<sup>73</sup> discusses the oath of Plataea, the 'Themistocles Decree' from Trozen and the so-called Peace of Callias, and concludes that Plutarch probably knew them not

<sup>68</sup> F. J. FROST, *Plutarch and Clito*, in: S. M. BURSTEIN and L. A. OKIN edd., *Panhellenica. Essays in ancient history and historiography in honor of Truesdell S. Brown* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1980), pp. 155-170.

<sup>69</sup> M. A. LEVI, *Plutarco e il V secolo* (Milan, 1955).

<sup>70</sup> D. AMBAGLIO, *Plutarco, Erodoto e la tradizione storica frammentaria*, RIL, 114 (1980 [1982]), 123-141.

<sup>71</sup> P. A. STADTER, *Thucydean Orators in Plutarch*, in: P. A. STADTER, ed., *The Speeches in Thucydides* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1973), pp. 109-123.

<sup>72</sup> J. DE ROMILLY, *Plutarch and Thucydides on the Free Use of Quotations*, *Phoenix*, 42 (1988), 22-34.

<sup>73</sup> F. J. FROST, *Some Documents in Plutarch's Lives*, *C&M*, 22 (1961), 182-194.

from stone copies but from collections of decrees like that by Craterus, which he mentions, or from Peripatetic writers like Theophrastus. HOMEYER<sup>74</sup> discerns as a forerunner of Plutarch's interest in biography the biographical studies of Aristotle and the Peripatos, which were not basically historiographic but rather studies of character-types and collections of exempla and apophthegms. According to her, another Hellenistic influence was the epideictic encomium. It remained for Polybius to introduce biographical research into the main stream of historiography. In an earlier article HOMEYER<sup>75</sup> traced the origins of biographical writing back to Herodotus and his *logoi* of Cyrus, Cambyses and Themistocles: "So ist Herodot nicht nur der Vater der *Genealogie*, sondern zugleich auch der Schöpfer eines Zweiges der biographischen Darstellungsweise geworden, die bis zu Plutarch reicht" (p. 81). Plutarch's familiarity with, and improvement upon, the earlier, more limited biographical achievement of Cornelius Nepos is stressed by GEIGER.<sup>76</sup> The whole question of Plutarch's use of sources at first-hand (especially in the Roman Lives) has recently been re-opened by DELVAUX,<sup>77</sup> who returns to the view of an unnamed, intermediary source for some details; "les écrits de César et de Pollion ... ne sont pas cités de première main, mais d'après une source principale que notre *ecrivain se garde de nommer*" (p. 44).

## 2. Choice and arrangement of material

The way Plutarch chose the subjects of his biographies and organized his material has been examined in two articles (in Russian) by AVERINCEV. In the first<sup>78</sup> he places Plutarch in the tradition of ancient biography which, however, contented itself with collections of Lives of monarchs, writers, philosophers, or bizarre curiosities, "long-lived individuals," *hetairai* and so on. Plutarch's innovation was that he chose noble (for the most part) examples of individuals who were polis-oriented and could therefore serve as models of *paideia* (defined by AVERINCEV as moral-philosophical culture) which is a prerequisite of *politikê aretê*. In a subsequent article AVERINCEV<sup>79</sup> argues that Plutarch organizes his biographies according to some (possibly unconscious) quantified standard of length, and they possess a thematic unity as well: in their totality

<sup>74</sup> H. HOMEYER, *Beobachtungen zu den hellenistischen Quellen der Plutarch-Viten*, *Klio*, 41 (1963), 145-157.

<sup>75</sup> EADEM, *Zu den Anfängen der griechischen Biographie*, *Philologus*, 106 (1962), 75-85.

<sup>76</sup> J. GEIGER, *Nepos and Plutarch: from Latin to Greek political biography*, *ICS*, 13 (1988), 245-256.

<sup>77</sup> G. DELVAUX, *Retour aux sources de Plutarque*, *LF&C*, 56 (1988), 27-48.

<sup>78</sup> S. S. AVERINCEV, *Podbor geroev v "Paralel'nykh Zhizneopisaniyakh" Plutarcka i antichnaya biografičeskaya traditsiya* (The Choice of Heroes in Plutarch's 'Parallel Lives' and Ancient Biographical Tradition), *VDI*, 92 (1965), 51-67.

<sup>79</sup> IDEM, *Priomy organizatsii materiala v biografiyakh Plutarcka* (Methods of organization of material in Plutarch's Biographies), in: M. F. GRABAR-PASSEK, ed., *Volprosy antichnoi literatury i klassicheskoi filologiya* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 234-246.

they create a purposeful, idealized image of the Greco-Roman state and the moral norms of its civilization.

GEIGER<sup>80</sup> attempts to answer the question why Plutarch chose to include Lives of some famous men and not others, and he finds several factors at work: Plutarch's personal interests and preferences; the need to find a 'mare' for an individual he had decided to include; the material available to him; and literary and artistic considerations. (We have not seen an earlier article by GEIGER.<sup>81</sup>) FRAZIER<sup>82</sup> also studies Plutarch's choice of heroes for his paired biographies; she sees the determining likenesses to be in a political role played by both men, or in similarities in their moral-political conduct, or in a significant action or event occurring in the lives of both. In a subsequent article FRAZIER<sup>83</sup> analyzes Plutarch's insertion of citations from poetry (e.g. Solon's elegies in *So.*, Aristophanes in *Per.*, *Ni.* 8 and *Alc.* 16) in an unchronological, or 'timeless' way (she writes of his «*désinvolution chronologique*»): «*Monument ou document, le texte cité est, en tout état de cause, hors du temps; toujours disponible dans le présent, il est prêt à s'inscrire dans la biographie au moment narrativement opportun, qui ne coïncide pas nécessairement avec le moment historique de sa composition*» (p. 308).

### 3. Chronology

BROŽEK<sup>84</sup> offers an acute critique of the use of internal cross-references to establish a relative chronology of the Lives. He maintains that it is unwise to use these cross-references as hard-and-fast indicators of publication dates; at most, they show that Plutarch was collecting the material to which he refers at that time: «*gewisse Biographien gleichzeitig und komplexweise vervollständigt wurden*» (p. 73). He suggests the following sequence of publication: «*Hauptreihe*» 1 (the missing *Ep.-Sc.* [probably the Younger]), *Pel.-Mc.*, 5 [Plutarch's own numbering] *Dst.-Cic.*, 10 *Per.-FM.*, 12 *Di.-Br.*; «*Nebenreihe*» *Lyc.-Nu.*, *Ths.-Ro.*, *So.-Pp.*, *Alc.-Cor.* THEANDER<sup>85</sup> suggests a slightly different ordering: 1 *Ep.-Sc.*, 2 *Thm.-Cam.*, 3 *Cim.-Luc.*, 4 *Sc.-Eum.*, 5 *Dst.-Cic.*, 6 *Lyc.-Nu.*, 7 *So.-Pp.*, 8 *Lys.-Su.*, 9 *Pel.-Mc.*, 10 *Per.-FM.*, 11 *Phi.-Fl.*, 12 *Di.-Br.* VAN DER VALK<sup>86</sup> proposes: 1 *Ep.-Sc.*, 2 *Pel.-Mc.*, 3 *Cim.-Luc.*, 4 *Phi.-*

<sup>80</sup> J. GEIGER, Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*: the Choice of Heroes, *Hermes*, 109 (1981), 85 – 104.

<sup>81</sup> IDEM, Plutarch's *Lives* as Literature, *Eshkoloth*, n. s. 1 (1975 – 76), 42 ff. (in Hebrew).

<sup>82</sup> F. FRAZIER, A propos de la composition des couples dans les «Vies parallèles» de Plutarque, *RPh*, 61 (1987) 65 – 75.

<sup>83</sup> EADEM, Remarques à propos de l'usage des citations en matière de chronologie dans les *Vies*, *ICS*, 13 (1988), 297 – 309.

<sup>84</sup> M. BROŽEK, Noch über die Selbstzitate als chronologischen Wegweiser in Plutarchs Parallelbiographien, *Eos*, 53 (1963), 68 – 80.

<sup>85</sup> C. THEANDER, Zur Zeitfolge der Biographien Plutarchs, *Eranos*, 56 (1958), 12 – 20.

<sup>86</sup> M. VAN DER VALK, Notes on the composition and arrangement of the Biographies of Plutarch, *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia, 1982), pp. 301 – 337.

*Fl.*, 5 *Dst.-Cic.*, 6 *Lyc.-Nu.*, 7 *Ths.-Ro.*, 8 *Thm.-Cam.*, 9 *So.-Pp.*, 10 *Per.-FM.*, 11 *Lys.-Su.*, 12 *Di.-Br.*, 13 *Ti.-Aem.*, 14 *Alex.-Cs.*, 15 *Pm.-Ag.* About the last books he is less certain, suggesting that «*V. Agis, Cleomenes-Gracchi; V. Demetrius-Antonius and V. Pyrrhus-Marius belong to the latest biographies*» (p. 316), and that «*V. Alcib. is anterior to V. Nicias*» (p. 335). The ordering is also discussed by PICCIRILLI,<sup>87</sup> whose list of Lives 1 – 10 is substantially the same as VAN DER VALK's with the exception of 9th place, which is occupied by *Lys.-Su.*

### C. Plutarch's analysis and presentation of character

Important in a general way for this topic is a monograph by DIHLE<sup>88</sup> and selected chapters in the books by BARROW, RUSSELL and WARDMAN cited above.<sup>89</sup> As RUSSELL remarks, Plutarch's theory of character is basically Aristotelian: «*A man's ethos displays itself in his praxeis and in his management of pathê, which have gone to form it. He is born with certain tendencies – this is his phusis – which education may develop, diminish, or conceal, but not fundamentally change or eradicate. Acts para phusin may occur; but they are rare, and need special explanation.*»<sup>90</sup> BARBU'S 1933 Strasbourg dissertation<sup>91</sup> has been reprinted. He analyzes the way Plutarch combines and reconciles (or not) his 'historical' and 'anecdotal' sources; he argues that Plutarch tended to rely on Peripatetic sources for intimate details of a subject's character, on Arthidographic sources for archaeological details and myths, and on historical sources for military campaigns and famous battles. BUCHER-ISLER<sup>92</sup> attempts a systematic classification of the virtues and vices that Plutarch holds up for admiration or disapproval in his heroes. Her conclusion is that Plutarch's portrayals ultimately fail as convincing individualizations (and therefore, for example, capable of change) because he is always bringing them into line with 'the norm' or 'the typical.' «*Sie sind so statisch wie der antike Zeitbegriff überhaupt*» (p. 61); «*Wie alle antiken Autoren interessiert ihn [sc. Plutarch] am Menschen im Grunde genommen nur das Typische*» (p. 79). Several of these virtues are analyzed in closer detail in a series of articles by MARTIN, «*The Concept of Prâotes in Plutarch's Lives*»<sup>93</sup> (MARTIN

<sup>87</sup> See under *Lyc.* below, note 388, pp. 1753 – 1755.

<sup>88</sup> A. DIHLE, Studien zur griechischen Biographie [Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge 37] (Göttingen, 1956); of particular relevance is sect. v, Plutarch's 'Cleomenes'.

<sup>89</sup> See notes 48, 49 and 52 (p. 4059 above).

<sup>90</sup> Op. cit. in note 50 (p. 4059 above), p. 144.

<sup>91</sup> N. I. BARBU, Les procédés de la peinture des caractères et la vérité historique dans les biographies de Plutarque [Studia Philologica 19] (Rome, 1976).

<sup>92</sup> B. BUCHER-ISLER, Norm und Individualität in den Biographien Plutarchs [Noctes Romanae 13] (Bern and Stuttgart, 1972).

<sup>93</sup> H. MARTIN, JR., GRBS, 3 (1960), 65 – 73.

offers as English equivalents "self-restraint," "forbearance") and "The concept of *Philanthropia* in Plutarch's *Lives*"<sup>94</sup> (according to MARTIN, this has a fairly wide range of meanings: courtesy, pleasantness, graciousness, often in contexts in which a man is praised for being *popularis*, able to consort with ordinary people; sometimes humaneness, clemency). FRAZIER<sup>94a</sup> has recently studied the background to Plutarch's use of *philotimia*. It is an ambiguous term which evokes Plutarch's suspicion as an obstacle to united political action, but can have a favorable sense as a psychological characteristic, especially when it is combined with other positive terms like *spoudê* and *enthusiasmôs*. (We have not seen a study by VOLPE CACCIATORE<sup>94b</sup> on *polypragmosynê*.) In a recent dissertation, ROSE<sup>95</sup> argues that in Plutarch's view a man's *aretê* (which ROSE defines as "manliness") was manifested not only in glorious actions but also in "minor incidents, sayings or jests;" "Plutarch uses the *Lives* to define, to exemplify and to synthesize *aretê* in terms of his own life and times..."<sup>96</sup> Plutarch's biographical methods are touched on, especially as they contrast with those of Suetonius, by STEIDL.<sup>97</sup> WARDMAN<sup>98</sup> shows that Plutarch put some emphasis on portraits as a guide to character, but valued verbal evidence more highly; Suetonius on the other hand never used statues (which are mentioned fairly frequently in his work) for purposes of character-analysis. BERGEN<sup>99</sup> (a student of DITLE'S), in a dissertation in which Tacitus gets the lion's share of attention, compares the two authors in respect of their moralizing purpose and their approach to the question of character-change (or revelation) (BERGEN's examples are, for Tacitus, Tiberius, and for Plutarch, Caesar and Philip V in Ara.). Some of this same material is taken up by GILL,<sup>100</sup> who notes similarities between the two writers.

POLMAN<sup>101</sup> classifies about one-half the *Lives* as "akmê-characterizations." A person's *akmê* (which was not an important feature of Peripatetic biography)

<sup>94</sup> IDEM, *AJP*, 82 (1961), 164-175.

<sup>94a</sup> F. FRAZIER, A propos de la « *philotimia* » dans les « *Vies* »: quelques jalons dans l'histoire d'une notion, *RPh*, 62 (1988), 109-127.

<sup>94b</sup> P. VOLPE CACCIATORE, Sul concetto di *πολυπραγμοσύνη* in Plutarco, in: *Talapia* 305, Studia Graeca Antonio Garzya sexagenario a discipulis oblata (Naples, 1987), pp. 129-145.

<sup>95</sup> JOSEPH J. ROSE, The Concept of 'aretê' in Plutarch's 'Parallel Lives', diss. (Rutgers, The State Univ. of New Jersey, 1988); cf. *DA*, 49 (1989), p. 3018 A.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> W. STEIDL, Sueton und die antike Biographie [Zeremara 1] (Munich, 1951), pp. 150 ff. (an analysis of Per.).

<sup>98</sup> A. E. WARDMAN, Description of personal appearance in Plutarch and Tacitus. The use of statues as evidence, *CQ*, n. s. 17 (1967), 414-420. Cf. A. GEORGIADOU, Idealistic and Realistic Portraiture in the Lives of Plutarch, below in this same volume (ANRW II 33.6), pp. 4616-4623.

<sup>99</sup> K. BERGEN, Charakterbilder bei Tacitus und Plutarch (Cologne, 1962).

<sup>100</sup> C. GILL, The Question of character-development, Plutarch and Tacitus, *CQ*, n. s. 33 (1983), 469-487. See also S. SWAIN, Character change in Plutarch, Phoenix, 43 (1989), 62-68. SWAIN holds that "only with Sertorius does [Plutarch] appear to admit the possibility of genuine character alteration in his subject" (p. 66).

<sup>101</sup> G. H. POLMAN, Chronological biography and *AKMÊ* in Plutarch, *CP*, 69 (1974), 169-177.

was chronologically flexible; it generally coincided with some significant event or set of events: ascent to kingship, attainment of high office, some outstanding military success. For Plutarch it was both a compositional technique and a method of characterization. HARRIS,<sup>102</sup> after a survey of Plutarch's biographical aims, concentrates on those of his subjects with an exaggerated sense of *philotimia*, the tyrannical characters ARTAXERXES, DION, ALEXANDER, CAESAR, DEMETRIUS and ANTONY; his autocrats, though somewhat artificially drawn and lacking psychological depth, are nevertheless presented convincingly "with that blend of good and evil which we associate with tragedy" (p. 200). PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ<sup>103</sup> argues that Plutarch portrays his noble characters as possessed of *aretê*, which, when nurtured by *paideia*, leads to prudence in the face of successes and failures brought by *Tychê*, whereas the ignoble have no such resources of moderation, and can only meet disgrace with death. In a recent article PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ<sup>103a</sup> studies the ideal of the philosopher-king (Plutarch's preferred form of government) as presented in the *Lives* and MOR. MARTIN<sup>104</sup> suggests that the notion of *pronoia*, forethought, which Plutarch ascribes to many of his heroes, is derived from its prominence as an imperial virtue in the first century; this shows the strong influence of contemporary ideology on Plutarch's thought and writings. PELLING<sup>105</sup> studies various aspects of Plutarch's presentation of character; he discerns a presentation of a few, telling childhood traits which are revelatory of the kind of person the subject will grow up to be. Another feature of Plutarch's technique is "his progressive redefinition of character. He tends to begin by presenting traits or themes rather crudely and bluntly, only later complementing and refining and adding the subtleties, and a character tends to become more singular as his *Life* progresses" (p. 269; PELLING chooses for particular analysis Aratus and Lysander).

#### D. Proem and *synkrisis*

In a survey of the thirteen formal proems to the *Lives*, STADTER<sup>106</sup> finds that they serve a variety of functions: to focus on the specific *aretê* of his heroes, and thus subserve his didactic purpose, or else to discuss his method

<sup>102</sup> B. F. HARRIS, The portrayal of autocratic power in Plutarch's *Lives*, in: B. F. HARRIS, ed., *Auckland Classical Essays* presented to E. M. Blacklock (Auckland, 1979), pp. 185-202.

<sup>103</sup> A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, Actitudes del hombre frente a la *Tychê* en las 'Vidas Paralelas' de Plutarco, *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Helenicos*, Univ. de Barcelona, 7 (1973), 101-110.

<sup>103a</sup> IDEM, El ideal de buen rey según Plutarco, in: J. M. CANDAU et al., ed., *La imagen de la realeza en la antigüedad* (Madrid, 1988), pp. 89-113.

<sup>104</sup> J.-P. MARTIN, Plutarque. Un aspect de sa pensée et son temps, in: J.-M. PAILLER, ed., *Mélanges offerts à Michel Labrousse* (Toulouse, 1986) [publ. as an extraordinary number of *Pallas*], pp. 59-78.

<sup>105</sup> C. B. PELLING, Aspects of Plutarch's Characterization, *JCS*, 13 (1988), 257-274.

<sup>106</sup> P. A. STADTER, The Proems of Plutarch's *Lives*, *ibid.*, 275-293.



and any special problems relating to his sources. "Throughout all the poems, formal and informal, the most distinctive feature is the way in which Plutarch uses them to establish his own *ethos*" (p. 292).

Several studies have appeared of the *synkrisis*, the comparison with which many of the paired Lives conclude. CONSTANZA<sup>107</sup> maintains that all the pairs had such formal concluding comparisons, which were necessary to Plutarch's moral purpose, and gave the pair in question a formal unity; some have dropped out in the transmission, like some of the Proems. A contrary view is proposed by ERBSE<sup>108</sup> who, presenting a close analysis of Dst.-Cic. and Di.-Br., argues for the close integration of the *synkrisis* in those pairs which contain them; "Ergab sich aber nun bei Betrachtung der Syzygien, daß *μοιωτέρες und διαομοίαι dem Biographienpaare regelmäßig inhaerieren, und überall und eben in derjenigen repräsentativen Ausprägung, die ihnen die methodische Diskussion verleiht, dann darf man wohl die Gedanken der Rahmenkapitel als Keimzelle der Doppelbiographie bezeichnen*" (p. 418). PEL-LING<sup>109</sup> argues that the element of comparison seems more central to Plutarch's biographical purpose in some Lives than in others (e.g. Phi.-Fl.); using the Dtr.-Ant. and Cor.-Alc. he shows that Plutarch sometimes moves from a comparatively simple and straightforward moral pattern in the first Life to a more complex one in the second.

E. Plutarch's philosophical, moral and religious attitudes as manifested in the Lives

FLACELIÈRE<sup>110</sup> detects several themes in Plutarch's digressions (esp. Rm. 28, Nu. 4, Mc. 3,6): he believes in a 'philanthropic' God, is very respectful of women and even a philogynist, an adherent of a strict code of conjugal love, hostile to Epicureanism<sup>111</sup> and very pro-Plato. According to AVERINCEV<sup>112</sup>

<sup>107</sup> S. CONSTANZA, *La synkrisis nello schema biografico di Plutarco*, Messina, 4 (1955), 127–156.

<sup>108</sup> H. ERBSE, *Die Bedeutung der Synkrisis in den Parallelbiographien Plutarchs*, Hermes, 84 (1956), 398–424 [= IDEM, *Ausgewählte Schriften zur Klassischen Philologie*, Berlin—New York 1979, pp. 478–505].

<sup>109</sup> C. B. R. PELLING, *Synkrisis in Plutarch's Lives*, *Miscellanea Plutarcea* (see note 3 above), pp. 83–96. — Now also see D. H. J. LARMOUR, *Making Parallels: Synkrisis and Plutarch's "Themistocles and Camillus"*, below in this same volume (ANRW II 33,6), pp. 4154–4200.

<sup>110</sup> R. FLACELIÈRE, *La pensée de Plutarque dans les 'Vies'*, BAGB (1979), 264–275.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. R. FLACELIÈRE, *Plutarque et l'épicurisme*, in: *Epicurea*, in *memoriae Hectoris Bignone, Miscellanea Philologica* (Ist. di filol. class. Univ. di Genova, 1959), pp. 197–215. Now also see J. P. HERSHBELL, *Plutarch and Epicureanism*, ANRW II 36,5, ed. W. HAASE (Berlin—New York, 1992), pp. 3353–3383.

<sup>112</sup> S. S. AVERINCEV, *K ponimaniyu mirovoztrenchekovo stilya Plutarkha* (Towards understanding the worldview-style of Plutarch), VDI, 104 (1968), 59–79, with an English summary at 78–9.

Plutarch's quiet, steady optimism was based on a genuine love of his city, Chaireneia, and a local patriotism which went against the grain of the sophisticated cosmopolitanism of other writers of his day; this accounts for both his genuine feeling for the life and institutions of the classical polis and for his intense interest in the personal and family life of his heroes.

Although he quarries his material beyond the Lives BABUT<sup>113</sup> uses them as well to establish Plutarch's ambivalent attitude: an avowed adherent of the post-Platonic Academy, he was overtly hostile to the political tenets of the Stoic, while at the same time having his heroes often espouse and adhere to its ethical principles, and he himself relied fairly heavily on the researches of Panaetius and Posidonius. And Plutarch parted ways from the Stoics over their views on the nature of man; «*Nouveau contraste entre le pessimisme moral des Stoïciens, associé à un optimisme métaphysique, et l'optimisme de Plutarque sur l'homme, qui se conjugue avec le pessimisme de sa vision du monde*» (p. 363). BRENK<sup>114</sup> notes that 45 dreams are narrated in some detail in the Lives; they are generally symbolic and/or oracular and brought on by stress as the hero faces a crisis, and are used by Plutarch for psychological analysis and to suggest motivation. BRENK<sup>115</sup> also analyzes more fully Plutarch's use of dreams, omens, oracles and other supernatural phenomena. VERNIERE<sup>116</sup> maintains that Plutarch depicts his subjects believing in the divine origin of certain signs and portents to throw light on their characters and psychology, while he himself often suspends judgement about the validity of these signs; the divine will can make itself known through apparitions and especially dreams, but human volition is not thereby coerced. Plutarch was not a determinist.

#### F. Plutarch and the theatre

Plutarch's citations from the tragedians and his use of theatrical terms and concepts to heighten the emotion of his narrative, or — more often — to indicate flamboyance, excess, or deception have been the subject of several studies. DE LACY<sup>117</sup> examines the philosophical basis of Plutarch's apparent disapproval of (though familiarity with) tragedy, and analyzes Dtr. (see under

<sup>113</sup> D. BABUT, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme* (Paris, 1969). Now also see J. P. HERSHBELL, *Plutarch and Stoicism*, ANRW II 36,5, ed. W. HAASE (Berlin—New York, 1992), pp. 3336–3352.

<sup>114</sup> F. E. BRENK, *The Dreams of Plutarch's Lives*, *Latomus*, 34 (1975), 336–49.

<sup>115</sup> IDEM, *In Mist Appareled, Religious Themes in Plutarch's 'Moralia' and 'Lives'* [Memorisyne Supplement 48] (Leiden, 1977). — Cf. ID., *An Imperial Heritage. The Religious Spirit of Plutarch of Chaironeia*, ANRW II 16,3, ed. W. HAASE (Berlin—New York, 1987), pp. 248–349.

<sup>116</sup> Y. VERNIERE, *Masques et visages du destin dans les 'Vies' de Plutarque*, in: F. JOUAN, ed., *Visages du destin dans les mythologies*. Mélanges Jacqueline Duchemin. Actes du colloque de Chantilly (1–2 mai 1980) (Paris, 1983), pp. 111–119.

<sup>117</sup> P. DE LACY, *Biography and tragedy in Plutarch*, *AJP*, 73 (1952), 159–171.

Dtr. below). The study has been taken further by one of DE LACY's students in a doctoral dissertation: O'DONNELL<sup>118</sup> examines Lys. 26,6, ACl. 39,1, Pel. 34,1, Alx. 19,6-8 and 75,5, Ti. 14,1-5 and Dtr. 53,2-7. TAGLIASACCHI<sup>119</sup> discerns *una vera e propria volontà di costruzione tragica delle Vite* (p. 131). Often the subjects have a kind of tragic flaw; *„le vite dei grandi personaggi storici sono infatti viste come lo svolgersi di un dramma e propriamente tragico è il principio secondo il quale esse sono concepite e condotte"* (p. 134). In a doctoral dissertation MITCHELL<sup>120</sup> notes 368 citations in Plutarch from Euripides, frequently made from memory, which she judges to be 97% accurate where they can be checked; "he quoted much more than he knew from his own reading."<sup>121</sup> DIGREGORIO pursues this topic further in three articles.<sup>122</sup> The main purpose of the last two is to try to determine which of the voluminous citations from the tragedians can be shown to be 'direct' from his own memory or direct consultation of the tragic text, which 'indirect,' from a gnomological compendium, anthology or some other second-hand route.

## G. Miscellaneous topics

### I. Women

BREMMER<sup>123</sup> argues that Plutarch went to some lengths to learn the names of his subjects' wives and daughters, often without success because of a general reticence on the part of Greek males in naming respectable women. LE CORSTU<sup>124</sup> analyzes and documents in detail almost every conceivable aspect of female life, behaviour and social status as depicted in the Lives; topics covered include marriage, divorce, wives' attitude to husbands, mothers' attitude to children and vice versa, women's religious life and political role, *hetairai* and foreign women, with a concluding chapter on Plutarch's attitude to women. In spite of Plutarch's well-known and palpably genuine affection for his own wife, *«il préfère s'en tenir aux idées traditionnelles de la prééminence des hommes sur les femmes»* (p. 274). SALVIONI<sup>125</sup> studies the cases in

<sup>118</sup> E. A. O'DONNELL, The transferred use of theater terms as a feature of Plutarch's style (diss., U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1975) (see DA, 36 [1975], p. 2798 A).

<sup>119</sup> A. M. TAGLIASACCHI, Plutarco e la tragedia greca, Dioniso, 34 (1960), 124-142.

<sup>120</sup> Sister S. G. MITCHELL, An analysis of Plutarch's quotations from Euripides (diss., U. of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1968) (see DA, 28 [1968], p. 4614 A).

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> L. DIGREGORIO, Plutarco e la tragedia greca, Prometheus, 2 (1976), 151-174; *Ibidem*, Lectura diretta e utilizzazione di fonti nelle citazioni plutarchee dei tre grandi tragici I, Aevum, 53 (1979), 11-50; and *Ibidem*, Lettura diretta ... II, *ibid.*, 54 (1980), 46-79.

<sup>123</sup> J. M. BREMMER, Plutarch and the naming of Greek women, *AJP*, 102 (1981), 425-426.

<sup>124</sup> F. LE CORSTU, Plutarque et les femmes dans les *Vies parallèles* (Paris, 1981).

<sup>125</sup> L. SALVIONI, Le 'madri dell'ira' nelle *Vite* di Plutarco, *Giornale filologico ferrarese*, 5 (1982), 83-92.

which certain individuals like Coriolanus, Sertorius, Antony and Alcibiades, who were raised and educated either by widowed mothers or as orphans, later turned against their 'fatherlands.'

### 2. Non-Greeks

In a dissertation, HOOD<sup>126</sup> maintains that Plutarch's Boeotian background was an embarrassment to him because of Boeotian Medism at the time of the Persian Wars; "Plutarch's distinct anti-Persian bias is accounted for by his traditionalistic Boeotian patriotism, his education under Ammonios, and his vicarious guilt for the medism of his ancestors."<sup>127</sup> NIKOLAIDES<sup>128</sup> argues that in both the *Mor.* and the *Lives*, Plutarch uses the term 'barbarian' to denote, or at least suggest, an individual or behaviour that is excessive, extravagant in affections, or generally uncivilized; conversely, *philanthropia* is invariably a Greek characteristic.

## V. Textual Studies

A reprint has appeared of ZIEGLER's 1907 Leipzig dissertation<sup>129</sup> in which he tried to establish the chronological priority of the tripartite recension over the bipartite (a position which he later recanted). Several studies were published that contained supplements to and corrections of ZIEGLER's Teubner text. ERBSE<sup>130</sup> analyzes many of the textual errors as due to scribal confusion about minuscule writing, misinterpretation of ligatures and general lack of understanding of tachygraphic (shorthand) conventions; confusion with respect to preverb is particularly common. CONOMIS<sup>131</sup> proposes the following changes in ZIEGLER's text: Thm. 8,2 ἐπ' [not ἐν] Ἀρεμυσίῳ, Thm. 9,5 πατέρων ἡῖρα [not ἡῖρα], Thm. 10,4 Ἀθηναίων [not Ἀθηναίων] μεδεούση, Sol. 13,1 αἱ δ' Ἀθήναι for of δ' Ἀθηναίῳ, Alc. 15,7 δμνίουσι γὰρ ὄροις (ἴστορος) χρισσέσθαι, Aem. 19,4 εἰς (Πόδναν) πόλιν, Ths. 24,4 Συνοικία (ΜΕΖΙΡΙΑC) for Μετοικία

<sup>126</sup> D. C. HOOD, Plutarch and the Persians (diss., U. of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1967) (see DA, 28 [1967], pp. 167-168 A).

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 168 A.

<sup>128</sup> A. G. NIKOLAIDES, *Hellenkos-barbarikos*. Plutarch on Greek and barbarian characteristics, *W.S.*, n. f. 20 (1986), 229-244.

<sup>129</sup> K. ZIEGLER, Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs (Aalen, 1974); for the complex issues involved, see the article by IRIGON in note 139 below, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>130</sup> H. ERBSE, Textkritische Beiträge zu den Biographien Plutarchs, *RhM*, n. f. 100 (1957), 271-294.

<sup>131</sup> N. C. CONOMIS, *Plutarchea II*, in: Φιλάρου. Τριτηκός Τόμος Σ. Γ. Κατωμένου (Thessaloniki, 1975), pp. 73-86.

(codd.). Rm. 4.5 *Ἀρεντάλιον* for *Ἀρεντάλιον* (ZIEGLER), Luc. 10.3 *ἀράτου* for *ἀκρίτου* πνεύματος, Dst. 2.4 CONOMIS retains, with the MSS, *πρός... ἐπιχορηγία*, Mor. 622 C *ἐπιχορηγία* for *† συγχωρηγία*, CM. 1.2 *πρός μηρός* (XYLANDER) for *τῆς μηρός*, CM. 55.3 *ἀπελειφθησαν* (ΚΟΚ) for *ἀπερρίφθησαν*, Sc. 22.12 *δὲ ἀλλοτριούς* αἰτίας. CONOMIS makes numerous additional suggestions which he calls "either pure conjectures or prompted from language considerations" (p. 81). MANFREDINI<sup>152</sup> appends textual notes, mainly improvements upon or clarifications of the entries in ZIEGLER's *apparatus*, on So. 12.3; Cam. 5.4; Pet. 23.4 and 33.5; FM. 17.7; Ni. 19.4; Pho. 12.3 and 30.7; Di. 16.5; Br. 14.4 and 46.4; Aem. 1.6; Ti. 10.5; Fl. 23.6; Ant. 28.10; Art. 30.1; ACI. 52(31).7; Gr. 35(14).4; Lyc. 5.12; Comp. Lyc.-Nu. 1.3; Lys. 18.5 and 19.9; Su. 27.8. MANFREDINI has also produced numerous other textual studies, several relating to the *scholia*. He notes<sup>153</sup> that about one-quarter of the MSS of the Lives contain *scholia*, and he attempts to identify among them a group written by Arethas, archbishop of Caesarea, between A. D. 917 and 920; these include Schol. τ Dio 9.2 and 9.3, Alex. 23.5, and Schol. IU Ni. 12.3. MANFREDINI<sup>154</sup> also presents a re-edition of the main *scholia* to the Lives, with *testimonia verborum*. MANFREDINI<sup>155</sup> also tackles the complex question of the possible influence of SchPlut on Etymologica subsequent to it, namely, the 'Etymologicum Symeonis' and 'Etymologicum Magnum'; he postulates an edition of the 'Etymologicum Genuinum' annotated by Arethas as the ancestor of Et. Mag. Elsewhere MANFREDINI<sup>156</sup> argues that in 3 Aldine editions of the Mor. and one of the Lives, the latter in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome (68.7.F.1), which had been in the possession of Cardinal Vincenzo Laureo (1523–1563), several marginal variants which either derive from other MSS or are conjectures should be attributed to the Cardinal. MANFREDINI<sup>157</sup> also shows that fol. 40–45 of the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. Gr. 686 come from the MS Athos Lavra Γ 84 (= 324), which originally contained all the Lives of vol. II of the tripartite recension (i. e. Pho.-Cm., Di.-Br., Aem.-Ti., Se.-Eum., Phi.-Fl., Pel.-Mc. and Alex.-Cs.). MANFREDINI<sup>158</sup> also shows that Vat. Gr. 1007 (A. D. 1428) is an apograph of Paris Gr. 1673 (13th–14th cent.).

In a comprehensive study, IRIGUIN<sup>159</sup> attempts to reconstruct a history of the MSS of the Lives based on indications in the Lamprias Catalogue, Sopatros

<sup>152</sup> M. MANFREDINI, *Plutarchea*, Boll. Class., 3 ser. 1 (1980), 113–115.

<sup>153</sup> IDEM, *Gli scoli a Plutarco di Areta di Cesarea*, Sic. Gymn., n. s. 18 (1975), 337–350.

<sup>154</sup> IDEM, *Gli scoli alle Vite di Plutarco*, Jahrb. d. österr. Byzant., 28 (1979), 83–119.

<sup>155</sup> IDEM, *Gli scoli alle Vite di Plutarco e i lessici bizantini coevi*, in: P. L. LEONE, ed., *Studi bizantini e neogreci*. Attri del IV congresso nazionale di studi Bizantini (Galatina, 1983), pp. 445–455.

<sup>156</sup> IDEM, *Su alcune Aldine di Plutarco*, ASNP, 3 ser. 14 (1984), 1–12.

<sup>157</sup> IDEM, *Un frammento parigino di un codice anonimo delle Vite di Plutarco*, *ibid.*, 527–530.

<sup>158</sup> IDEM, *Un antitràgo del codice plutarcheo Vatic.* Gr. 1007: il Paris. Gr. 1673, ASNP, 3 ser. 16 (1986), 717–724.

<sup>159</sup> J. IRIGUIN, *La formation d'un corpus. Un problème d'histoire des textes dans la tradition des Vies parallèles de Plutarque*, *Rev. d'hist. des textes*, 12–13 (1982–3), 1–13.

of Apamea, Photios and the earliest MS, Seitenstettensis 34 (second half of the 10th cent.); he concludes that there was not a single line of transmission, but that the MSS which we possess are the result of a compilation in the Byzantine period from «*éléments parfois disparates*» (p. 7). HOFMANN<sup>140</sup> argues that Par. Gr. 1671 represents an edition of the Lives in 3 volumes, supervised and corrected by Maximus Planudes, but written by one Theophilus at Constantinople and completed on July 11, 1296; Par. Gr. 1674, which is a contemporary copy of 1671, was probably written by the same scribe. TZANNETATOS and MIKROYANNAKIS<sup>141</sup> have investigated the contents of the manuscript Meg. Lauras Γ 84.

There are only two papyri which pertain to the Lives: P. Heidelberg Siegm. 209 (inv. 51) c. A. D. 180 containing Pel. 7.1–5 and P. Geneve inv. 272.a–b, before the middle of the 3rd century, containing parts of chs. 33–35 and 59–61 of Cs.<sup>142</sup>

## VI. Individual Lives

### Ag.

### Biography

A comprehensive account of Agesilaus' life and career has been published by CARTLEDGE.<sup>143</sup>

### Life

### a) general

Plutarch's portrayal of Agesilaus has been studied by VAN VRIESLAND.<sup>144</sup> CAWKWELL<sup>145</sup> examines the policies of Agesilaus as presented by the various sources, including Plutarch; he finds the dominant characteristics to be Panhellenism and loyalty to his supporters. A moralizing tendency in these sources is to be corrected, and Agesilaus is to be given credit for having a coherent policy (unfortunately he was confronted by Epaminondas' superior strategy

<sup>140</sup> PH. HOFMANN, *Deux témoins apparentés des Vies de Plutarque, les Parisini Gr. 1671(A) et 1674(D)*, *Scriptorium*, 37 (1983), 259–264.

<sup>141</sup> See under *Alex.*, note 224 below.

<sup>142</sup> According to IRIGUIN (op. cit. in note 139 above), the first, P. Heidelb. Siegm. 209 (inv. 51) was «*édité signalé par E. Bihlbel en 1938 mais publié seulement en 1958*» (p. 11, note 130). The second, P. Geneve inv. 272.a–b, was published by V. MARTIN in *Aegyptus*, 31 (1951), 138–147 (see ZIEGLER, *RE* 21.2 [1952], 2523–2524).

<sup>143</sup> P. CARTLEDGE, *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta* (London, 1987).

<sup>144</sup> V. E. VAN VRIESLAND, *Agesilaos (ontleend aan Plutarchus)* (Amsterdam, 1961).

<sup>145</sup> G. L. CAWKWELL, *Agesilaos and Sparta*, *CQ*, 26 (1976), 62–84.

at Leuctra). In a painstaking study based on his doctoral dissertation<sup>146</sup>, RIOS FERNÁNDEZ<sup>147</sup> closely compares the passages in Xenophon's 'Agesilaus' and 'Hellenica' on which Plutarch was drawing (in the author's opinion, directly) for his own portrait of Agesilaus; particularly informative for Plutarch's methods are the sources he used to supplement Xenophon's 'silences' about their mutual subject. HAMILTON<sup>148</sup> looks at several passages in the *Life* and compares them with the other main sources (Xenophon, Diodorus, Pausanias) to derive a chronology for the reign of Agesilaus.

b) individual chapters

6 (the dream of Agesilaus): BOMMELAER<sup>149</sup> argues that Agesilaus himself publicized this version of his dream.

9 (Agesilaus in Asia Minor): SEAGER<sup>150</sup> looks at the relations between Agesilaus and Persia and challenges CAWKWELL's view of Agesilaus' espousal of the principle of "freedom for the Greeks of Asia." "This may have been only a mask for the ugly face of imperialism" (p. 184). Further refinements of the view are put forward by KELLY.<sup>151</sup>

27 (Agesilaus' illness): MICHLER<sup>152</sup> discusses the problem with Agesilaus' leg as described in Plutarch and at Xen. Hell. 5,4,58 and concludes that it was thrombophlebitis.

32 ff. (internal problems at Sparta): DAVID<sup>153</sup> examines the reports in Plutarch and other sources of problems such as desertions of *perioikoi* and helots, as well as conspiracies, which Sparta encountered at home after the defeat at Leuctra.

*Synkrisis*: LUPPINO MANES<sup>154</sup> uses items in the *synkrisis* as points of departure for an analysis of the *Life*, and Plutarch's tendency to combine his sources to achieve objectivity.

<sup>146</sup> M. RIOS FERNÁNDEZ, *Plutarco y Jenofonte. Paralelismo filológico entorno a Agesilao* (Seville, 1979).

<sup>147</sup> *Idem*, *Los silencios de Jenofonte en el Agesilao de Plutarco*, *Habis*, 15 (1984), 41-70.

<sup>148</sup> C. D. HAMILTON, *Étude chronologique sur le règne d'Agesilaos*, *Ktema*, 7 (1982), 281-296. Now also see *Idem*, *Plutarch's 'Life of Agesilaus'*, below in this same volume (ANRW II 33.6), pp. 4201-4221.

<sup>149</sup> J. F. BOMMELAER, *Le songe d'Agesilas, un mythe ou le rêve d'un mythe?*, *ibid.*, 8 (1983), 19-26.

<sup>150</sup> R. J. SEAGER, *Agesilaus in Asia: propaganda and objectives*, *LCM*, 2 (1977), 183-184.

<sup>151</sup> D. H. KELLY, *Agesilaus' strategy in Asia Minor*, 396-395 B. C., *ibid.*, 3 (1978), 97-98.

<sup>152</sup> M. MICHLER, *Die Krankheit des Agesilaos in Megara*, *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, 47 (1963), pp. 179-183.

<sup>153</sup> E. DAVID, *Revolutionary agitation in Sparta after Leuctra*, *Athenaeum*, n. s. 58 (1980), 299-308.

<sup>154</sup> E. LUPPINO MANES, *La traccia della biografia plutarca di Agesilao: individuazione di una possibile indagine critica*, *Misc. grec. e rom.*, 14 [= *Studi pubblicati dell'Istituto italiano per la storia antica*, 42] (Rome, 1989), 87-122.

ACI.

Editions

DEI. RE<sup>155</sup> has an edition with introduction and commentary in Italian. MARASCO<sup>156</sup> has published an Italian commentary, without accompanying text, in two volumes. There is an edition with Greek text, and introduction, translation and notes in Spanish, by MARTÍNEZ LACY.<sup>156a</sup>

Sources

The major source for both lives has long been recognized as Phylarchus; GABBA<sup>157</sup> attempts to reassess Phylarchus' value as a source and to counteract Polybius' negative evaluation (II. 56-63). AFRICA's<sup>158</sup> attempted reconstruction of Phylarchus is valuable in illustrating elements of Plutarch's narrative. FUKS<sup>159</sup> agrees with GABBA that Plutarch has used Phylarchus, in particular with regard to Agis' plans of reform; additional sources include (for Hippomedon at Agis 6,5) Teles, *περί φύλης*. SHIMRON<sup>160</sup> argues against GABBA and AFRICA, who view Phylarchus' account of the early years of Cleomenes as incorrect; several passages in the *Life* are examined for support. MARASCO<sup>161</sup> noting passages in Aristotle's 'Politics' and in the fragments that deal with Spartan customs and institutions, as well as her decline into decadence, believes that Plutarch based his digressions on these topics on Aristotle's researches, especially in the 'Ἀκκαδαμονίων πολιτεία'.

Life - 'Agis'

a) general

SCHOECK<sup>162</sup> examines the similarities between the social climate described by Plutarch in the 'Agis' and that described in MORE's 'Utopia', and suggests

<sup>155</sup> R. DEL RE, *Agide e Cleomene* (Rome, 1960).

<sup>156</sup> G. MARASCO, *Commento alle biografie plutarchee di Agide e di Cleomene* [Biblioteca Athena, I] (Rome, 1981).

<sup>156a</sup> R. MARTÍNEZ LACY, *Vidas de Agis y Cleomenes* (Mexico City, 1987).

<sup>157</sup> E. GABBA, *Studi su Filarco*. *Le biografie plutarchee di Agide e di Cleomene*, *Athenaeum*, n. s. 35 (1957), 3-55; 193-239.

<sup>158</sup> T. W. AFRICA, *Phylarchus and the Spartan Revolution* (Los Angeles, 1961); cf. *Idem*, *Phylarchus, Toynee and the Spartan Myth*, *Journ. of the Hist. of Ideas*, 21 (1960), 266-272.

<sup>159</sup> A. FUKS, *Non-phyllarchean tradition of the programme of Agis IV*, *CQ*, n. s. 12 (1962), 118-121.

<sup>160</sup> B. SHIMRON, *Some remarks on Phylarchus and Cleomenes*, *RFIC*, 94 (1966), 452-459.

<sup>161</sup> G. MARASCO, *Aristotele come fonte di Plutarco nelle biografie di Agide e Cleomene*, *Athenaeum*, n. s. 56 (1978), 170-181.

<sup>162</sup> F. H. SCHOECK, *More, Plutarch and King Agis*. *Spartan history and the meaning of Utopia*, *PhQ*, 35 (1956), 366-375.

that Plutarch might have been a source for MORE. BERNINI<sup>163</sup> attempts to correct Plutarch's (and Phylarchus') negative picture of Leonidas, and argues that he must have had more influence on his son Cleomenes' character and policies than Plutarch allows.

b) individual chapters

5-7 (social reforms at Sparta): CHRISTIEN<sup>164</sup> argues that the law introduced by Epitadeus regarding the transmission of property belonged to the period immediately after the Peloponnesian War, and was known by Aristotle. It was designed to preserve the idea of the old ways, while permitting change. MARASCO<sup>165</sup> also discusses the law, which he believes was passed after Leuctra to counteract diminution in citizen numbers; it allowed two forms of land-transfer, by gift and by testamentary adoption. SCHÜTRUMPF<sup>166</sup> maintains that "the account in Agis 5 is a mere fiction in a Platonic spirit and is therefore historically useless" (p. 447); he traces it back to the Stoic Sphaerius of Borysthenes (p. 457).

FUKS<sup>167</sup> examines the composition of the citizen body before Agis' reforms and concludes that Plutarch's account is based on Phylarchus. CAMPAGNANO DI SEGNÍ<sup>168</sup> believes that *eleutheria* in Agis 6 should be understood as meaning the mode of life prescribed by Lycurgus, founded on a respect for laws. FUKS<sup>169</sup> notes that equality in Agis 7 (and also in Cleomenes 7) means both social equality (education, austere life, common messes) and economic equality (redistribution of land and expansion of citizenship).

8-12 (struggle for power): BERNINI<sup>170</sup> argues that the Lysander mentioned here and in other passages (as well as in Cicero) cannot be the ephor of 242/241. In another article<sup>171</sup>, he analyzes the struggle for power by Agis and

<sup>163</sup> U. BERNINI, Studi su Sparta ellenistica: da Leonida II a Cleomene III, QUCC, 27 (1978), 29-59.

<sup>164</sup> J. CHRISTIEN, La loi d'Epitadeus: un aspect de l'histoire économique et sociale à Sparte, Rev. hist. de droit français et étranger, 52 (1974), 197-221.

<sup>165</sup> G. MARASCO, La terra di Epitadeo e la situazione sociale di Sparta nel IV secolo, Ant. Class., 49 (1980), 131-145.

<sup>166</sup> E. SCHÜTRUMPF, The *Rhetra* of Epitadeus: a Platonist's fiction, GRBS, 28 (1987), 441-457.

<sup>167</sup> A. FUKS, The Spartan citizen-body in mid-third century B. C. and its enlargement proposed by Agis IV, Athenaeum, n. s. 40 (1962), 244-263.

<sup>168</sup> L. CAMPAGNANO DI SEGNÍ, Commento a Plutarco, Agide 6, 1-2, SCI, 4 (1978), 28-37.

<sup>169</sup> A. FUKS, Agis, Cleomenes and equality, CP, 67 (1962), 161-166.

<sup>170</sup> U. BERNINI, Due note sull'eforo Lisandro in Plutarco e in Cicerone, e sullo spartiatia Mandroefida nel Pirro e nell'Agide plutarchei, Atti dell'Istituto Veneto, 137 (1978-79), 451-465.

<sup>171</sup> IDEM, Chiarimenti cronologici all'eforato di Lisandro (243/2 a. C.), *ibid.*, 138 (1979-80), 521-537.

Lysander against Leonidas and looks at the debate on the *rhetra*; an appendix on Plutarch's methodology is also included.

Life - 'Cleomenes'

a) general

DIHLE<sup>172</sup> analyzes the 'Life of Cleomenes' as embodying the principles of ancient biography, arguing that Plutarch is not interested in historical biography in the modern sense but rather in demonstrating his hero's character as manifested through his actions; while accepting Phylarchus as a major source, he is more concerned to stress Plutarch's contribution to the figure of Cleomenes. BERNINI<sup>173</sup> investigates the events of the period 241-227 as recounted by Plutarch and other sources; in particular, he examines the assassination of Archidamus V (Cl. 5), and suggests a re-evaluation of the role of Nicagoras of Messenia.

b) individual chapters

(24)3 (the Achaean League): MARASCO<sup>174</sup> discusses the admission of Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos to the league in 235 B. C.

(38)17 (the place called the Aspis): CROISSANT<sup>175</sup> demonstrates that the locality referred to by Plutarch here and in Pyrrhus 32 is the acropolis of Argos, also known as Larissa.

(44)23 (the formation of a new company of soldiers): DAUBIES<sup>176</sup> argues that the soldiers enrolled in the new force were not taken from the newly-enfranchised helots mentioned just before, but were a new group, drawn from the perioikoi. URBAN<sup>177</sup> disagrees with this interpretation and prefers to understand both the actions taken by Cleomenes as referring to the helots.

(54)33 (the character of Ptolemy IV): MARASCO<sup>178</sup> examines the evidence of the sources concerning Ptolemy IV and concludes that the account in Plutarch is rather critical.

<sup>172</sup> A. DIHLE (note 88 above) v. Die Kleomenes-Vita des Plutarch, pp. 88-103.

<sup>173</sup> U. BERNINI, Archidamo e Cleomene III. Politica interna e estera a Sparta (241-227 a. C.), Athenaeum, n. s. 59 (1981), 439-458; *ibid.*, n. s. 60 (1982), 205-223.

<sup>174</sup> G. MARASCO, La politica achea nel Peloponneso durante la guerra demetriaca, A&R, 25 (1980), 113-122.

<sup>175</sup> F. CROISSANT, Note de topographie argienne (à propos d'une inscription de l'Aphrodision), BCH, 96 (1972), 137-154.

<sup>176</sup> M. DAUBIES, Cleomene III, les hilotes et Sellasia, Historia, 20 (1971), 665-696.

<sup>177</sup> R. URBAN, Das Heer des Kleomenes bei Sellasia, Chiron, 3 (1973), 95-102.

<sup>178</sup> G. MARASCO, La valutazione di Tolomeo IV Filopatore nella storiografia greca, Sileno, 5-6 (1979-80), 159-182.

Alc.

## Biography

A monograph by HATZFELD<sup>179</sup> has appeared in a second edition. To be noted is a recent title by ELLIS.<sup>180</sup> Cf. also an article by MCGREGOR<sup>181</sup> and a monograph by BLOEDOW.<sup>182</sup>

## Edition

There is an annotated edition by MOUNARD.<sup>183</sup>

## Sources

LITTMAN<sup>184</sup> includes this Life in his discussion of the use of Thucydides as a source for Plutarch. BURN<sup>185</sup> argues that the same source is shared by Plutarch in chapters 8, 12 and 16, and by pseudo-Andocides in the 'Contra Alcibiadem'; it may date to the end of the fifth century. BREITENBACH<sup>186</sup> examines the various sources for the events of 407/406, giving the text, translation and an interpretation of each; he concludes that Plutarch generally followed Xenophon, with some influence from Theopompus.

## Life

## a) general

RUSSELL<sup>187</sup> examines the structure of the first 16 chapters of the Life and concludes that the arrangement of the material is not chronological but literary and as a result, the text is only loosely structured and sometimes incoherent. DELAUNOIS<sup>188</sup> surveys the activities of Alcibiades as reported by Plutarch and other sources; he was handsome, versatile, opportunistic. «*La politique d'Alcibiade resta toujours habile, inspirée, spectaculaire, à la mesure de ses dons*» (p. 124). «*Il eût pu rester fidèle à la vérité et à la vertu socratiques: il a opté pour la subtilité et l'arrivisme sophistiques*» (p. 126).

<sup>179</sup> J. HATZFELD, Alcibiade. Étude sur l'histoire d'Athènes à la fin du Ve siècle (Paris, 1940; 2<sup>e</sup> 1951).

<sup>180</sup> W. M. ELLIS, Alcibiades (London, 1989).

<sup>181</sup> M. F. MCGREGOR, The Genius of Alcibiades, Phoenix, 19 (1965), 27-46.

<sup>182</sup> E. F. BLOEDOW, Alcibiades re-examined [Historia Einzels., 21] (Wiesbaden, 1973).

<sup>183</sup> H. MOUNARD, Vie d'Alcibiade (Liege, 1962).

<sup>184</sup> R. J. LITTMAN, Plutarch's Use of Thucydides ... (see above, n. 64).

<sup>185</sup> A. R. BURN, A biographical source on Phiax and Alcibiades?, CQ, n. s. 4 (1954), 138-142.

<sup>186</sup> H. R. BREITENBACH, Die Seeschlacht bei Notion 407/406, Historia, 20 (1971), 152-171.

<sup>187</sup> D. A. RUSSELL, Plutarch, 'Alcibiades' 1-XVI, PCPhS, 12 (1966), 37-47.

<sup>188</sup> M. DELAUNOIS, Les leçons d'Alcibiade, IEC, 46 (1978), 113-126.

## b) individual chapters

1 (Demosthenes): PICCIRILLI<sup>189</sup> concludes that the 'Demosthenes' alluded to in this passage is not the orator and that the difficulty mentioned of finding out the names of the mothers of distinguished men results from registration by the father's name.

6 (Alcibiades' shield): VON BLANGKENHAGEN<sup>190</sup> compares the representation on a sardonx of Eros with a thunderbolt with the description in Plutarch of the shield of Alcibiades, arguing that the sardonx is an accurate reflection of the shield and that Alcibiades imitated the figure of Zeus on the shield of Athena Parthenos in an act of arrogance.

20 (mutilation of the herms): DOVER<sup>191</sup> argues that Alcibiades was not connected with the mutilation of the herms but that it is a fourth-century tradition; the incident in Plutarch is connected with the profanation of the mysteries. The two events and the story of the two informants were fused in Ephorus who was then followed by Diodorus; Plutarch has drawn on an intermediate source which obscured the difference.

22 (Theano's refusal to obey the decree condemning Alcibiades): SOURVINOU-INWOOD<sup>192</sup> rejects the story on *a priori* grounds and argues that it is a later invention.

23 (date of the birth of Leotychidas): LITTMAN<sup>193</sup> rejects Plutarch's version of Leotychidas as the bastard son of Alcibiades, based on the date of the struggle for the throne upon the death of Agis; the tradition is also found at Ag. 3 and Lyc. 22.

33 (Critias' elegies): ZIEGLER<sup>194</sup> examines the elegy composed by Critias describing his efforts to secure Alcibiades' recall; he defends his suggestion that εἰκὼν be read for εἶκον in v. 2. TULLI<sup>195</sup> comments on Critias' use of the term σφραγίς, concluding that it means "my usual mode of expression, the strength of my language and style."

## Alc.

## Biography

A wealth of books about Alexander has been and continues to be produced, and it is not possible here to note them all. A specimen selection

<sup>189</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, Plutarco, 'Vita di Alcibiade' 1,3. Nota interpretativa, CCC, 7 (1986), 53-57.

<sup>190</sup> P. H. VON BLANGKENHAGEN, The shield of Alcibiades, in: L. F. SANDLER, ed., Essays in memory of Karl Lehmann (New York, 1964), pp. 38-42.

<sup>191</sup> K. J. DOVER, Diokleides and the light of the moon, CR, n. s. 15 (1965), 247-250.

<sup>192</sup> C. SOURVINOU-INWOOD, Priestess in the text: *Theano Menonios Agrylaethen*, G&R, 2, ser. 35 (1988), 28-39.

<sup>193</sup> R. J. LITTMAN, A new date for Leotychidas, Phoenix, 23 (1969), 269-277.

<sup>194</sup> K. ZIEGLER, Plutarchstudien XXII: Drei Gedichte bei Plutarch, RhM, n. f. 110 (1967), 53-64 (I. Kritias' Elegien an Alcibiades, pp. 53-57).

<sup>195</sup> M. TULLI, I.a σφραγίς δι' Crizia, QUCC, 48 (1985), 189-195.

## Alc.

## Biography

A monograph by HATZFELD<sup>179</sup> has appeared in a second edition. To be noted is a recent title by ELLIS.<sup>180</sup> Cf. also an article by MCGREGOR<sup>181</sup> and a monograph by BLOEDOW.<sup>182</sup>

## Edition

There is an annotated edition by MOUNARD.<sup>183</sup>

## Sources

LITTMAN<sup>184</sup> includes this Life in his discussion of the use of Thucydides as a source for Plutarch. BURN<sup>185</sup> argues that the same source is shared by Plutarch in chapters 8, 12 and 16, and by pseudo-Andocides in the 'Contra Alcibiadem'; it may date to the end of the fifth century. BREITENBACH<sup>186</sup> examines the various sources for the events of 407/406, giving the text, translation and an interpretation of each; he concludes that Plutarch generally followed Xenophon, with some influence from Theopompus.

## Life

## a) general

RUSSELL<sup>187</sup> examines the structure of the first 16 chapters of the Life and concludes that the arrangement of the material is not chronological but literary and as a result, the text is only loosely structured and sometimes incoherent. DELAUNOIS<sup>188</sup> surveys the activities of Alcibiades as reported by Plutarch and other sources; he was handsome, versatile, opportunistic. «*La politique d'Alcibiade resta toujours habile, inspirée, spectaculaire, à la mesure de ses dons*» (p. 124). «*Il eût pu rester fidèle à la vérité et à la vertu socratiques: il a opté pour la subtilité et l'arrivisme sophistiques*» (p. 126).

<sup>179</sup> J. HATZFELD, Alcibiade. Étude sur l'histoire d'Athènes à la fin du Ve siècle (Paris, 1940; 2<sup>e</sup> 1951).

<sup>180</sup> W. M. ELLIS, Alcibiades (London, 1989).

<sup>181</sup> M. F. MCGREGOR, The Genius of Alcibiades, Phoenix, 19 (1965), 27-46.

<sup>182</sup> E. F. BLOEDOW, Alcibiades re-examined [Historia Einzels., 21] (Wiesbaden, 1973).

<sup>183</sup> H. MOUNARD, Vie d'Alcibiade (Liège, 1962).

<sup>184</sup> R. J. LITTMAN, Plutarch's Use of Thucydides ... (see above, n. 64).

<sup>185</sup> A. R. BURN, A biographical source on Phaiax and Alcibiades?, CQ, n. s. 4 (1954), 138-142.

<sup>186</sup> H. R. BREITENBACH, Die Seeschlacht bei Notion 407/406, Historia, 20 (1971), 152-171.

<sup>187</sup> D. A. RUSSELL, Plutarch, Alcibiades I-XVI, PCPhS, 12 (1966), 37-47.

<sup>188</sup> M. DELAUNOIS, Les leçons d'Alcibiade, LEC, 46 (1978), 113-126.

## b) individual chapters

1 (Demosthenes): PICCIRILLI<sup>189</sup> concludes that the 'Demosthenes' alluded to in this passage is not the orator and that the difficulty mentioned of finding out the names of the mothers of distinguished men results from registration by the father's name.

6 (Alcibiades' shield): VON BLANCKENHAGEN<sup>190</sup> compares the representation on a sardonx of Eros with a thunderbolt with the description in Plutarch of the shield of Alcibiades, arguing that the sardonx is an accurate reflection of the shield and that Alcibiades imitated the figure of Zeus on the shield of Athena Parthenos in an act of arrogance.

20 (mutilation of the herms): DOVER<sup>191</sup> argues that Alcibiades was not connected with the mutilation of the herms but that it is a fourth-century tradition; the incident in Plutarch is connected with the profanation of the mysteries. The two events and the story of the two informants were fused in Ephorus who was then followed by Diodorus; Plutarch has drawn on an intermediate source which obscured the difference.

22 (Theano's refusal to obey on *a priori* grounds and argues that it is a later invention): INWOOD<sup>192</sup> rejects the story on *a priori* grounds and argues that it is a later invention.

23 (date of the birth of Leotrychidas): LITTMAN<sup>193</sup> rejects Plutarch's version of Leotrychidas as the bastard son of Alcibiades, based on the date of the struggle for the throne upon the death of Agis; the tradition is also found at Ag. 3 and Lyc. 22.

33 (Critias' elegies): ZIEGLER<sup>194</sup> examines the elegy composed by Critias describing his efforts to secure Alcibiades' recall; he defends his suggestion that εἰρὴν be read for εἶρον in v. 2. TULL<sup>195</sup> comments on Critias' use of the term σφραγίς, concluding that it means "my usual mode of expression, the strength of my language and style."

## Alx.

## Biography

A wealth of books about Alexander has been and continues to be produced, and it is not possible here to note them all. A specimen selection

<sup>189</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, Plutarco, 'Vita di Alcibiade' 1,3. Nota interpretativa, CCC, 7 (1986), 53-57.

<sup>190</sup> P. H. VON BLANCKENHAGEN, The shield of Alcibiades, in: L. F. SANDLER, ed., Essays in memory of Karl Lehmann (New York, 1964), pp. 38-42.

<sup>191</sup> K. J. DOVER, Diokleides and the light of the moon, CR, n. s. 15 (1965), 247-250.

<sup>192</sup> C. SOURVINOU-INWOOD, Priestess in the text: *Theano Menonos Agrylethen*, G&R, 2 ser. 35 (1988), 28-39.

<sup>193</sup> R. J. LITTMAN, A new date for Leotrychidas, Phoenix, 23 (1969), 269-277.

<sup>194</sup> K. ZIEGLER, Plutarchstudien XXII: Drei Gedichte bei Plutarch, RhM, n. f. 110 (1967), 53-64 (I. Kritias' Elegien an Alcibiades, pp. 53-57).

<sup>195</sup> M. TULL, La σφραγίς di Crizia, QUCC, 48 (1985), 189-195.

of the more important titles in English would include those by MILNS,<sup>196</sup> WELLES,<sup>197</sup> GREEN,<sup>198</sup> HAMILTON,<sup>199</sup> LANE FOX,<sup>200</sup> HEISSERER,<sup>201</sup> HAMMOND,<sup>202</sup> and BOSWORTH.<sup>203</sup> Works in other languages include: CLOCHÉ,<sup>204</sup> DASKALAKIS,<sup>205</sup> BAMM,<sup>206</sup> SCHACHERMEYR,<sup>207</sup> SEIBERT,<sup>208</sup> LAUFFER,<sup>209</sup> WIRTH,<sup>210</sup> and LEVI;<sup>211</sup> also collections edited by BADIAN<sup>212</sup> and SORDI.<sup>213</sup> Several works deal specifically with Alexander's military strategy and campaigns.<sup>214</sup> A survey of scholarly views of Alexander from 1940 to 1980 is presented by TREVES.<sup>215</sup>

#### Editions and translations

There is an English translation of this *Life* by MAIDMENT.<sup>216</sup> There are translations of this *Life* (along with *Cs.*) into German by GIEBEL<sup>217</sup> and

<sup>196</sup> R. D. MILNS, *Alexander the Great* (London, 1968).

<sup>197</sup> C. B. WELLES, *Alexander and the Hellenistic World* (Toronto, 1970).

<sup>198</sup> P. GREEN, *Alexander of Macedon* (Harmondsworth, 1970).

<sup>199</sup> J. R. HAMILTON, *Alexander the Great* (London, 1973).

<sup>200</sup> R. LANE FOX, *Alexander the Great* (London, 1973).

<sup>201</sup> A. J. HEISSERER, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks. The Epigraphic Evidence* (Norman, Ok., 1980).

<sup>202</sup> N. G. L. HAMMOND, *Alexander the Great: King, Commander and Statesman* (Park Ridge, N. J., 1980).

<sup>203</sup> A. B. BOSWORTH, *Conquest and Empire* (Cambridge, 1988).

<sup>204</sup> P. CLOCHÉ, *Alexandre le Grand et les essais de fusion entre l'Occident gréco-macédonien et l'Orient* (Neuchâtel, 1953).

<sup>205</sup> A. B. DASKALAKIS, 'Ο Μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος; καὶ ὁ Ἑλλητισμός (Athens, 1963).

<sup>206</sup> P. BAMM, *Alexander oder die Verwandlung der Welt* (Zürich, 1965; Engl. trans.: *Alexander the Great. Power as destiny* [New York, 1968]).

<sup>207</sup> F. SCHACHERMEYR, *Alexander der Große. Das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Wirkens* [Öster. Akad. d. Wiss., ph.-hist. Kl., SB, 285] (Vienna, 1973).

<sup>208</sup> J. SEIBERT, *Alexander der Große* (Darmstadt, 1972).

<sup>209</sup> S. LAUFFER, *Alexander der Große* (Munich, 1978).

<sup>210</sup> G. WIRTH, *Studien zur Alexander Geschichte* (Darmstadt, 1985). This is a collection of previously published articles and reviews.

<sup>211</sup> M. A. LEVI, *Introduzione ad Alessandro Magno; Idem, Alessandro Magno* (both Milan, 1977).

<sup>212</sup> E. BADIAN ed., *Alexandre le Grand: image et réalité* [Fondation Hardt, Entretiens, 22] (Vandoeuvres-Geneve, 1975).

<sup>213</sup> M. SORDI ed., *Alessandro Magno tra storia e mito* (Milan, 1984).

<sup>214</sup> J. F. C. FULLER, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (London, 1958, and *New Brunswick, N. J.*, 1960); D. W. ENGBELS, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army* (Berkeley, 1978); A. FERRILL, *The Origins of War from the Stone Age to Alexander the Great* (London, 1985) chap. 6, 'Alexander the Great and the Origins of Modern War', pp. 187-223.

<sup>215</sup> P. TREVES, *Alessandro post-bellico*, *Cultura e Scuola*, 77 (1981), 81-91.

<sup>216</sup> K. J. MAIDMENT, *Plutarch, Life of Alexander* (Auckland, 1971). (B. REES in G&R, 19 [1972], p. 215 called it "a model of clarity and decorum.")

<sup>217</sup> M. GIEBEL, *Plutarch, Alexander, Caesar* (Stuttgart, 1980).

KALTWASSER,<sup>218</sup> and into Spanish by RIBA.<sup>219</sup> A text of both *Lives*, with annotated translation in Italian by MAGNINO,<sup>220</sup> has recently appeared (there is an additional introduction to *Cs.* by LA PENNA<sup>221</sup>). There is a commentary in English without accompanying Greek text by HAMILTON.<sup>222</sup>

#### Sources

WARDMAN<sup>223</sup> analyzes the *Life* and Plutarch's essay 'De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute' (326 D ff.) to discover a combination of two explanatory concepts: *τύχη* and *τὸ θεοειδές*. In the composite picture of Alexander fashioned by Plutarch these become less negative than he found them in his Peripatetic and Stoic sources.

#### Text

TZANNETATOS and MIKROYANNAKIS<sup>224</sup> examine the MS Meg. Lauras Γ 84 (324) which contains chaps. 37,5 to 77,8 of *Alx.*, the *Se.*, and several *synkrisis*; the MS. seems originally to have contained the following *Lives*: *Aem.-Ti.*, *Se.-Eum.*, *Phi.-Fl.*, *Pel.-Mc.*, and *Alx.-Cs.* PELLING<sup>225</sup> looks at Zonaras' epitomes of the *Alx.* and *Cs.* to discover material from the lacunae at the end of Plutarch's *Alx.* and at the beginning of his *Cs.* See also an article by MANFRE-  
DINI.<sup>226</sup>

#### Life

##### a) general

BADIAN<sup>227</sup> challenges TARN's view of an Alexander "dreaming" of ... 'the brotherhood of man or the unity of mankind'. The authenticity of the letters used by Plutarch in this *Life* is examined by HAMILTON,<sup>228</sup> who catalogues 31

<sup>218</sup> J. KALTWASSER, *Alexander, Caesar. Lebensbeschreibungen* (Berlin, 1982).

<sup>219</sup> C. RIBA, *Alejandro y César* (Barcelona, 1970).

<sup>220</sup> D. MAGNINO et al., *Plutarcho, Vite Parallele: Alessandro, Cesare* (Milan, 1987).

<sup>221</sup> A. LA PENNA, *ibid.*

<sup>222</sup> J. R. HAMILTON, *Alexander* (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>223</sup> A. E. WARDMAN, *Plutarch and Alexander*, CQ, n. s. 5 (1955), 96-107.

<sup>224</sup> T. S. TZANNETATOS and E. I. MIKROYANNAKIS, Πλούταρχου Βίαι γνώστοι καὶ ἰγνώστοι εἰς τὸ ἴν. Γ 84 (324) περιγράφων χειρόγραφον τῆς Μεγ. Λαύρας, *EEAth*, 18 (1967-68), 339-351.

<sup>225</sup> C. B. R. PELLING, *Plutarch, Alexander and Caesar: Two new fragments?*, CQ, n. s. 23 (1973), 343-344.

<sup>226</sup> M. MANFREDINI, *Un nuovo testimone di Appiano in un codice di Plutarco* [Vat. Pal. 2], *AFLN*, 20 (1977-78), 105-108.

<sup>227</sup> E. BADIAN, *Alexander the Great and the unity of mankind*, *Historia*, 7 (1958), 425-444 (= G. T. GRIFITH ed., *Alexander the Great. The main problems* [Cambridge, England, 1966], pp. 287-306).

<sup>228</sup> J. R. HAMILTON, *The letters in Plutarch's Alexander*, *PACA*, 4 (1961), 9-20.



letters and argues that it is not possible to draw any conclusions on the corpus of letters, but that each must be assessed individually. MONTGOMERY<sup>229</sup> looks at various passages in the Life and in other sources concerning Alexander's accession to the throne of Darius and the ceremonies involved. Two articles deal with the appearance of Alexander: SCHWARZENBERG<sup>230</sup> considers the picture of Alexander in Plutarch, with special consideration given to the influence of Callisthenes and Eratosthenes, and examines the artistic representations in connection with the literary sources. LEIMBACH<sup>231</sup> argues that Plutarch relied on written reports of Alexander's appearance, the majority of which were trustworthy, and thus "... *Alexander eine weiße Haut, ein gerötetes Gesicht und eine noch auffälligerer Rötung der Brust hatte. Er hielt häufig den Kopf nach links oben gewendet mit einem sehnsüchtigen Ausdruck seiner Augen*" (p. 219). MOSSMAN<sup>232</sup> provides a study of Plutarch "developing and exploring the epic dimension of Alexander in the Life" (p. 84); "he [Plutarch] also uses tragic colouring to delineate the darker side of Alexander's character" (p. 85).

#### b) individual chapters

1 (small things like jests reveal character): VOYTS<sup>233</sup> illustrates Plutarch's comment here by the story told at 'Virae Vergilianae' p. 35 DIEHL about the inferior poet Bathyllus, whose bluff Vergil called and wittily exposed his claims to having composed two of Vergil's verses.  
(similarities between painting and biography): KORUS<sup>234</sup> traces Plutarch's changing attitude to the visual arts in relation to other genres such as poetry, as indicated by this chapter and elsewhere in his writings.  
2-3 (Alexander's alleged divine genealogy): BRAUN<sup>235</sup> analyzes the story of the divine conception of Alexander and also looks at other sources for the legend. HECKEL<sup>236</sup> examines evidence presented by Plutarch here and at Mor. 401 A - B for the name(s) of Alexander's mother.

4 (Aristoxenos and other Peripatetic sources): MENSCHING<sup>237</sup> analyzes the Peripatetic sources for Alexander (Aristoxenos' ἱστορικά ὑπομνήματα' are 229 H. MONTGOMERY, Thronbesteigung und Klagen. Eine orientalische Sitte von nicht-orientalischen Quellen wiedergegeben, in: *Opuscula Atheniensia*, IX [Acta Inst. Athen. regni Sveciae, Ser. in-4°, 15] (Lund, 1969), pp. 1-19.  
230 E. SCHWARZENBERG, The portraiture of Alexander, in: E. BADIAN, ed., *Alexandre le Grand. Image et réalité* (see note 212 above), pp. 223-278.  
231 R. LEIMBACH, Plutarch über das Aussehen Alexanders des Großen, AA (1979), 213-220.  
232 J. MOSSMAN, Tragedy and epic in Plutarch's *Alexander*, JHS, 108 (1988), 83-93.  
233 C. J. VOYTS, Bathyllus ontmaskerd, *Hermeneus*, 35 (1963), 53-54.  
234 K. KORUS, Poezia a malarsko w literackich poglądach i praktyce Plutarcha z Cheronoi, *Eos*, 66 (1978), 203-212 (in Polish with abstract in Latin).  
235 E. BRAUN, Eine Alexanderlegende, *JGAI*, 39 (1952), 139-145.  
236 W. HECKEL, Polyxena, the mother of Alexander the Great, *Chiron*, 11 (1981), 79-86.  
237 E. MENSCHING, Peripatetiker über Alexander, *Historia*, 12 (1963), 274-282.

mentioned in this chapter) and concludes that "... *Aristoxenos positiv. Dikaiarch höchstens indifferent und allem Theophrast negativ über Alexander schrieb*" (p. 280)

6 (breaking of Bucephalus): FRASER<sup>238</sup> suggests that the technique employed by Alexander to break Bucephalus involved not facing him into the sun, but simply making sure that the flapping cloak did not startle him (cf. Plutarch's phrase ἀροππίνας τῆν χλαμίδα).

8 (Alexander's literary tastes): BROWN<sup>239</sup> examines the list of books reportedly sent by Harpalus, and reduces it to Euripides, Philistos' Σικελικά', and the dihyrambists Philoxenos of Cythera and Telestes of Selinus.

9 (conflict with Philip): SISTI<sup>240</sup> discusses the conflict between Philip and Alexander, in particular, the necessity for Alexander to succeed in Persia because he felt threatened by Philip's new marriage, and the events which made it necessary for Alexander to assassinate Philip. DEVELIN<sup>241</sup> analyzes the accounts of the murder of Philip as given by Plutarch here, and by other sources.

12 (manipulation of the calendar by Alexander): EDMUNDS<sup>242</sup> argues that the manipulation of the calendar by Alexander at Tyre (Alx. 25,2; he intercalated an extra 28th day in the month) indicates how a similar manipulation at the Granicus should be interpreted, when he introduced a repeated month Artemisios, thus satisfying the demands of both strategy and piety.

14 (Alexander's response to Diogenes): RADT<sup>243</sup> examines the response made to Diogenes here, concluding that it is taken from the Alexander Novel by Onesicritus. Other passages examined include 21,9; 52,4-7 (see below); 62,8.

16 (battle at the Granicus and dedications): COSTA<sup>244</sup> compares the sources for the number of Alexander's ἱππῆς and concludes that Plutarch's figure of 25 is correct; furthermore he accepts the implication of Plutarch's use of the word εἰκόνας, that the commemorative statues by Lysippus were portraits. HAMMOND<sup>245</sup> analyzes Plutarch's account as well as those of Arrian, Polyaeus, Diodorus and Curtius Rufus to consider the terrain and determine the tactical problems encountered.

17 (sanctuary in Lycia): LE ROY<sup>246</sup> elucidates this passage by referring to excavations at the Letoon of Xanthus. Re-examining this passage I.E. ROY<sup>247</sup>

238 A. D. FRASER, The 'breaking' of Bucephalus, *CW*, 47 (1953), 22-23.

239 T. S. BROWN, Alexander's book order (*Plut. Alex.* 8), *Historia*, 16 (1967), 359-368.

240 F. SISTI, Alessandro νόθος βασιλεύς, *AION* (filol.), 1 (1979), 71-80.

241 R. DEVELIN, The murder of Philip II, *Antichthon*, 15 (1981), 86-99.

242 L. EDMUNDS, Alexander and the calendar (*Plut. Alex.* 12,2), *Historia*, 28 (1979), 112-117.

243 S. L. RADT, Zu Plutarchs *Vita Alexandri*, *Mnemosyne*, 4 ser. 20 (1967), 120-126.

244 M. P. COSTA, Testimonianze per i cavalieri del Granico di Lisippo, *AFLB* 17 (1974), 115-135.

245 N. G. L. HAMMOND, The battle of the Granicus River, *JHS*, 100 (1980), 73-88, esp. 85-87.

246 C. LE ROY, Alexandre en Lycie (Plutarque, *Alexandre* 17,4-6), *REG*, 90 (1977), xx-xxii.  
247 IDEM, Alexandre à Xanthos, in: *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* [Bibl. Inst. Fr. d'Et. anatol. à Istanbul, 27] (Paris, 1980), pp. 51-62.

identifies the fountain mentioned by Plutarch as the water of the nymphaeum of the Letoön; he also publishes a dedicatory inscription by Alexander: Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλευς ἀνέθηκεν.

21 (temptation of the Persian women): KEAVENEY<sup>248</sup> takes the phrase ἀγνηδόνες ὀφθαλμῶν to be the Persian way of saying that Alexander was painted by seeing a desirable woman whom he could not possess (cf. Hdt. 5.18).  
28 (Alexander's immortal "father"): HAMILTON<sup>249</sup> dates the letter to the Samians to early 323, and maintains that it is genuine and shows Alexander's state of mind at the end of his life when he was considering himself the son of Ammon. ROSEN<sup>250</sup> disagrees, arguing on grammatical grounds that the letter is not authentic.

31 (campaigns of 332–330 B. C.): BURN<sup>251</sup> examines several events in these campaigns such as the eclipse and the date of Gaugamela as related in Plutarch and other sources. WIRTH<sup>252</sup> discusses the encampments at Gaugamela; cf. also a monograph by MARSDEN.<sup>253</sup>

35 (discovery of naphtha): SANSONE<sup>254</sup> looks at the rather unusual digression on the discovery of naphtha by Alexander's men at Babylon and argues that it shows the volatile nature of Alexander's character.

38 (burning of the palace in Persepolis): REHORK<sup>255</sup> argues that the account of the burning of the palace at Persepolis in Plutarch and other sources has Herodorean overtones, accentuated by the tragic character of Thais. BALZER<sup>256</sup> believes that the burning was calculated, but a mistake; unlike Memphis, Thebes and Babylon, Achaemenid Persepolis resisted Alexander the "usurper" and so he decided to punish her and at the same time destroy a potential rallying point for resistance to his rule of Asia. HECKEL<sup>257</sup> suggests that Cleitarchus is the ultimate source of the account by Plutarch (and all the other sources) of Alexander's encounter with the satrap Ariobarzanes at the Persian, or Sossian, Gates, and the subsequent burning of the palace at Persepolis.

40 (bronze statue at Delphi of Alexander and the lion): VASIC<sup>258</sup> argues that Craterus' thank-offering at Delphi – a bronze statue of Alexander battling a lion – has no direct connection with the lion-hunt mosaic at Pella.

<sup>248</sup> A. KEAVENEY, Two Alexanders and ἀγνηδόνες ὀφθαλμῶν, GIF, 30 (1978), 268–270.

<sup>249</sup> J. R. HAMILTON, Alexander and his so-called father, CQ, n. s. 3 (1953), 151–157.

<sup>250</sup> K. ROSEN, Der göttliche Alexander, Athen und Samos, Historia, 27 (1978), 20–39.

<sup>251</sup> A. R. BURN, Notes on Alexander's campaigns, 332–330, JHS, 72 (1952), 81–91.

<sup>252</sup> G. WIRTH, Zwei Lager bei Gaugamela. Zur großen Konfrontation 331 v. Chr., Quad. Catan., 2 (1980), 51–100 and 3 (1981), 5–61.

<sup>253</sup> F. W. MARSDEN, The Campaign of Gaugamela (Liverpool, 1964).

<sup>254</sup> D. SANSONE, Plutarch, Alexander and the discovery of naphtha, GRBS, 21 (1980), 63–74.

<sup>255</sup> J. REHORK, Homer, Herodotus and Alexander, in: R. STIEHL and H. E. STIER, edd., Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachbarwissenschaften. Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6. 10. 1968 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 251–260.

<sup>256</sup> J. M. BALZER, Alexander's burning of Persepolis, Iranica Antiqua, 13 (1978), 119–133.

<sup>257</sup> W. HECKEL, Alexander at the Persian gates, Athenaeum, n. s. 58 (1980), 168–174.

<sup>258</sup> R. VASIC, Das Weihgeschenk des Krateros in Delphi und die Löwenjagd in Pella, AK, 22 (1979), 106–109.

42 (pursuit of Darius): DALY<sup>259</sup> prefers to read ἐν δέκῃ for ἔνδεκα, thus securing agreement with the tradition in Arrian of the time of the pursuit of Darius.

44 (knowledge of the Aral?): DAFFINA<sup>260</sup> challenges TARN's view that "nearly sweet water" refers to the Aral Sea; the first mention of the Aral is by the Byzantine ambassador Zemarcho in AD 569.

47 (variant reading at 47.1): HAMILTON<sup>261</sup> disagrees with ZIEGLER's supplement <πείρα> προσέβαλε, "he applied a test," and accepts the anonymous προσέλαβε, "he won over."

50 (death of Clitus): CARNEY<sup>262</sup> looks at the incident as related here and in other sources with a view to showing that, "while ... not an act of policy, it was both more personal and more political than has previously been seen" (p. 149).

52 (interpretation of συνήθων): Four articles deal with the translation of ὀλιγοπία τῶν συνήθων in this passage: RADT<sup>263</sup> has two articles, the more recent a follow-up to the other, where he argues that a *scholion* to Thucydides 3.38.5 provides an interesting parallel to Plutarch's phrase. HOIWERDA<sup>264</sup> and PLEKET<sup>265</sup> discuss the interpretation, with reference to Radt's earlier article.

64 (Indian philosophers): VAN THIEL<sup>266</sup> analyzes the incident of the ten gymnosophists and maintains that the key to its correct interpretation is the occurrence of the term ἄριστος in the fifth reply; at the end Alexander is caught by his own ἀριστεία. DUMÉZIL<sup>267</sup> suggests that some of the answers in this chapter, and the incident of Calanos and the hide in the following chapter, are derived from authentic Indian sources.

69 (omens of Alexander's death): SMELIK<sup>268</sup> looks at the omens and portents here and in ch. 73.2–9, and argues that because of Alexander's mistrust of the Babylonian priesthood, he thwarted their efforts to install a substitute king in Babylon to avert the death of Alexander himself.

74 (story of the *proskynesis*): HECKEL<sup>269</sup> accepts Arrian's statement that it was Leonnatus who ridiculed Alexander's attempt to introduce *proskynesis*,

<sup>259</sup> L. W. DALY, Plutarch *Alexander* 42, 6, AJP, 98 (1977), 124–125.

<sup>260</sup> P. DAFFINA, Aral, Caspio, Tanais, RSO, 43 (1968), 363–378.

<sup>261</sup> J. R. HAMILTON, Notes on Plutarch (*Alex.* 47.70; *Brit.* 12), CP, 51 (1956), 170–172.

<sup>262</sup> E. D. CARNEY, The death of Clitus, GRBS, 22 (1981), 149–160.

<sup>263</sup> S. L. RADT, above, note 243 esp. pp. 123–125 (he interprets συνήθων as gen. pl. neut., and assigns to it the meaning "conventional"); *IBEM*, Noch einmal Plutarchs *Vita Alexandri* 52,4, Mnemosyne, 4 ser. 21 (1968), 289 (he cites a scholion on Thuc., 3.38.5 [p. 185.18 HUDEL]).

<sup>264</sup> D. HOIWERDA, Zu Plut. *Alex.* 52,4, Mnemosyne, 4 ser. 20 (1967), 440–441.

<sup>265</sup> H. W. PLEKET, Συνήθης, *ibid.*, 439–440.

<sup>266</sup> H. VAN THIEL, Alexanders Gespräch mit den Gymnosophisten, *Hermes*, 100 (1972), 343–358.

<sup>267</sup> G. DUMÉZIL, Alexandre et les sages de l'Inde, in: *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante* (Brescia, 1976), II, 555–560.

<sup>268</sup> K. A. D. SMELIK, The 'omina mortis' in the Histories of Alexander the Great, *Alexander's attitude towards the Babylonian priesthood*, Talanta, 10/11 (1978/79), 92–111.

<sup>269</sup> W. HECKEL, Leonnatos, Polyperchon and the introduction of *proskynesis*, AJP, 99 (1978), 459–461.

not, as Plutarch reports, Cassander; Plutarch's version is based on the tradition that Alexander was hostile to Antipater and his sons. He concludes that the story of Cassander regarding *proskynesis* is derived from later tradition and results from opposition to Antipater and his sons.  
 (statue at Delphi): BENDINELLI<sup>270</sup> discusses the iconography of bronze representations of Alexander in light of the fear that Cassander reportedly felt when he saw the statue at Delphi.

#### Ara.

#### Editions

The edition with English commentary by PORTER<sup>271</sup> has been reprinted. There is an edition of this Life (along with Art.), with Italian translation and commentary, by MANFREDINI and others.<sup>272</sup>

#### Life

individual chapters

5 (Aratus' plan for a fortified outpost in Sicyon): the ROBERTS<sup>273</sup> cite an inscription from Teos in which the term *ζωπίον* occurs in line 22 with the meaning «fort», as in Plutarch.

8 (use of guard-dogs at Sicyon): Lines 18–20 of the inscription just mentioned<sup>274</sup> illustrate the use of guard-dogs in fortresses, which figure in the story of Aratus' assault.

13 (painting at Sicyon): CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO<sup>275</sup> interprets the rare word used by Plutarch here, *ζησιτογραφία* (lit., "good painting"), as "academic painting", and illustrates the style from the last phase of Pompeian wall painting.

14 (epigram on Aratus' statue): ORSI<sup>276</sup> argues that the reading in v. 6 of the epigram should be *δαμόιον ἴσον* instead of *δαμόιον* on the basis of Theognis 678. (PAGE<sup>277</sup> had accepted REISKE's *δαμόιον ἴσον*.)

<sup>270</sup> G. BENDINELLI, Cassandro di Macedonia nella Vita plutarchea di Alessandro Magno, *RFIC*, 93 (1965), 150–164.

<sup>271</sup> W. H. PORTER, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΡΑΤΟΣ, Plutarch's Life of Aratus (Dublin and London, 1937; repr. New York, 1979).

<sup>272</sup> M. MANFREDINI, D. ORSI and V. ANTELAMI, Le Vite di Arato e di Artaserse (Milan, 1987).

<sup>273</sup> L. and J. ROBERT, Une inscription grecque de Teos en Ionie: Union de Teos et de Kybissos, *Journal des Savants* (1976), 153–235 at 213–214.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206–209.

<sup>275</sup> M. CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO, La chrestographia, *Arch. Class.* 8 (1956), 24–28.

<sup>276</sup> D. ORSI, Plutarcho, *Vita di Arato* 14.4, QS, 16 (1982), 283–286.

<sup>277</sup> D. L. PAGE, Further Greek Epigrams (Cambridge, 1981), p. 456.

33 (Aratus' injury in the Thrusian plain): DALY<sup>278</sup> suggests that *σπῆαι* here means that Aratus actually broke his leg, not just twisted it.

47–54 (War of the Allies, 220–217 B. C.): ORSI<sup>279</sup> looks at, in both Plutarch and Polybius, the beginning of the war, Aratus' speech on Mt. Ithome, and the change in character of Philip V.

49 (revolution of Messene): MENDELIS<sup>280</sup> examines the date of the revolt in Messene, also reported in Polybius 7.12.1, and determines it to have occurred c. 215 B. C.

#### Ari.

#### Editions

There is an edition of this Life by CALABI LIMENTANI<sup>281</sup> which includes the Greek text with Italian commentary and translation. A similar edition of the Ari. and its mate CM., with English translation and commentary by SANSONE,<sup>282</sup> has recently appeared.

#### Textual

VASMANOLIS<sup>283</sup> provides emendations, critical notes and interpretation for sections 1.2; 1.5; 2.6; 3.1; 4.6; 5.3; 7.2 (bis); 7.3; 8.2; 8.4; 11; 14.4; 14.6; 14.8; 15.4; 17.1; 17.3; 21.5 (bis) 23.2; 24.1; 24.2; 24.3; 24.6; 25.4; 25.6; 26.1 and 27.2.

#### Life

#### a) general

PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ<sup>284</sup> argues that Plutarch emphasizes Aristides' patriotism to justify his poverty, rather than emphasizing Aristides' sense of justice. This results from Plutarch's tendency in some cases to subordinate individual ethical values to the collective interest.

<sup>278</sup> L. W. DALY, Miltiades, Aratus and compound fractures, *AJP*, 101 (1980), 59–60.

<sup>279</sup> D. ORSI, Osservazioni sui capitoli finali della Vita di Arato plutarchea, *AFLB*, 25–26 (1982–83), 179–187.

<sup>280</sup> D. MENDELIS, Messene 215 B. C., an enigmatic revolution, *Historia*, 29 (1980), 246–250.

<sup>281</sup> I. CALABI LIMENTANI, *Vita Aristidis* (Florence, 1964).

<sup>282</sup> D. SANSONE, Plutarch, Lives of Aristides and Cato (Warminster, 1989).

<sup>283</sup> G. E. VASMANOLIS, Παρατηρήσεις εἰς Πλουτάρχου Ἀριστέιδην, *Platon*, 27 (1975), 153–161.

<sup>284</sup> A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, Pobreza, justicia y patriotismo en la "Vida de Aristides" de Plutarcho, *Sodalitas*, 1 (1980), 145–153.

## b) individual chapters

1 (Aristides' background): PICCIRILLI<sup>285</sup> looks at Demetrius' testimony regarding Aristides' wealth and the date of his archonship (after Plataea) as reported in Plutarch, and argues that it should receive more consideration than it usually has been given. OKONOMIDES<sup>286</sup>, in a comparison with Ari. 1.6, postulates a restoration of "Aristeides" at IG II<sup>2</sup> 3018, line 4.

5 (Marathon): HODGE,<sup>287</sup> basing his conclusion on estimates of distance and maximum ship-speed, questions the tradition regarding the arrival of the Persian fleet at Phaleron in 490 B. C.

7 (ostracism): RAUBITSCHER<sup>288</sup> looks at the evidence in this passage for the counting of ostraka in which Plutarch says that the votes were counted twice, and compares it to Philochorus where the interpretation has generally been that there is only one count; he concludes that Philochorus is not clear and could be compatible with Plutarch.

11 (Plataea): BOURRIOT<sup>289</sup> makes a psychological and historical study of the personality of Pausanias as presented by Plutarch. PRANDI<sup>290</sup> studies the Delphic oracle allegedly given to Aristides before the battle and concludes that only the second part, specifying the site as the plain of Demeter and calling for cession of territory to Athens, is authentic (the rest having been composed at the time of the Peace of Nicias).

13 (conspiracy of Agasias): HARVEY<sup>291</sup> argues that the Agasias of Acharnae whom Plutarch names here is identical with one of the individuals whose name is found on ostraka, which shows that Plutarch's narrative is historically valid.

20 (Euchidas' run after Plataea): FROST<sup>292</sup> compares the story of Euchidas' run from Plataea to Delphi and back on the same day with other famous runs: Philippiades' to Sparta before Marathon (Hdt. 6, 105 - 106), and Thersippus' (Heracl. Pont. fr. 156 WEHRLI), or Eucles' (Plut. Mor. 347 C) after.

21 (treaty of Plataea): RAUBITSCHER<sup>293</sup> presents new arguments for the historicity of the treaty and the authenticity of Plutarch's account with his source perhaps dating from the fourth century.

<sup>285</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, Demetrio Falereo e l'arcontato di Aristide. Una testimonianza 'scomoda', *ASNP*, 3 ser. 13 (1983), 659 - 672.

<sup>286</sup> A. N. OKONOMIDES, *Attic choregic inscriptions*, *Anc. World*, 3 (1980), 17 - 22.

<sup>287</sup> A. T. HODGE, Marathon to Phaleron, *JHS*, 95 (1975), 169 - 171.

<sup>288</sup> A. E. RAUBITSCHER, Philochorus frag. 30 (Jacoby), *Hermes*, 83 (1955), 119 - 120.

<sup>289</sup> F. BOURRIOT, Pausanias fils de Cleombrotos vainqueur de Plataees, *Inform. Hist.*, 44 (1982), 1 - 16.

<sup>290</sup> L. PRANDI, Plutarco, *Aristide* 11,3 - 9 e la cessione del territorio di Plataea, in: *La Beotie antique* (Lyon-Saint-Etienne, 16 - 20 mai 1983) (Paris, 1985), pp. 211 - 217.

<sup>291</sup> F. D. HARVEY, The conspiracy of Agasias and Aischines (Plutarch, *Aristeides* 13), *Klio*, 66 (1984), 58 - 73.

<sup>292</sup> F. J. FROST, The dubious origins of the 'Marathon', *AJAH*, 4 (1979), 159 - 163.

<sup>293</sup> A. E. RAUBITSCHER, The covenant of Plataea, *TAPhA*, 91 (1960), 178 - 183.

22 (decree of Aristides on eligibility for the archonship): MANFREDINI<sup>294</sup> compares the story of the decree given in Plutarch with the Plutarchan excerpt by Pletro, where the details of the changes in eligibility requirements for the archonship are substantially different; he believes that Plutarch's testimony is trustworthy, in spite of *Ath. Pol.* 26,2.

25 (oath of the Delian League; identification of Aristides and Alcmeon): JACOBSON<sup>295</sup> considers near Eastern parallels for the oath and concludes that it emphasizes not eternity but the seriousness of the curse that is to befall oath-breakers. PICCIRILLI<sup>296</sup> considers the evidence of the ostraka Agora Inv. P 9945 and P 5978, as well as Aristides' other Aeginetan connections, to conclude that the "Aristeides of Aegina" mentioned in the eleventh of the fictitious "Themistocles Epistles" (p. 751 HERCHER) is the famous Aristides. BARRETT<sup>297</sup> suggests that the Alcmeon mentioned in this passage (and at *Mor.* 805 C) may be Alcmeon Aristonymou, represented by 6 Cerameicus *ostraka*.

26 (death of Paches): WESTLAKE<sup>298</sup> argues that the story of Paches' suicide at Ari. 26,5 (also at *Ni.* 6,1) is based on a misunderstanding of Old Comedy.

## Art.

## Edition

There is an edition of this *Life* (along with *Ara.*), with Italian translation and commentary, by MANFREDINI<sup>299</sup> and others.

## Life

## a) general

ORSI<sup>300</sup> examines the Persian institution of kingship, Artaxerxes' devotion to the goddess Anaitis, and, in connection with chp. 3,1 - 2, the coronation ceremony of Achaemenid kings.

<sup>294</sup> M. MANFREDINI, Il decreto di Aristide sull'arcontato e un *excerptum* plutarcheo di Giorgio Gemisto Pletone, *ASNP*, 3 ser. 1 (1971), 81 - 86.

<sup>295</sup> H. JACOBSON, The oath of the Delian League, *Philologus*, 119 (1975), 256 - 258.

<sup>296</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, Aristide di Egina. Per l'interpretazione degli ostraka Agora inv. P 9945 e P 5978, *ZPE*, 51 (1983), 169 - 176.

<sup>297</sup> J. BARRETT, Alcmeon, the enemy of Themistocles, *Anc. World*, 1 (1978), 67 - 69.

<sup>298</sup> H. D. WESTLAKE, Paches, Phoenix, 29 (1975), 107 - 116 (= IDEM, *Studies in Thucydides and Greek History* [Bristol, 1989] ch. 4).

<sup>299</sup> M. MANFREDINI, D. ORSI and V. ANTELLAMI, *Le Vite di Arato e di Artaserse* (Milan, 1987).

<sup>300</sup> D. P. ORSI, La rappresentazione del sovrano nella Vita di Artaserse plutarchea, *Anc. Soc.*, 19 (1988), 135 - 160.

## b) individual chapters

6 (letter of Cyrus II to the Spartans): ORSI<sup>301</sup> concludes, "La lettera ... sembra contenere le motivazioni pubbliche della rivolta, forse più adatte ad un interlocutore persiano che ad uno greco."

26, 27 (the younger Aspasia): FOGAZZA<sup>302</sup> examines the evidence concerning the younger Aspasia and concludes that Aelian's testimony (V.H. 12.1) is to be preferred to Plutarch's: "Aspasia" was her given name and "Miltō" a sobriquet, rather than the reverse; he also looks again at the chronological connections between the events narrated in the last five chapters of the Life.

## Cim.

## Commentary

There is an unpublished dissertation by STUART.<sup>303</sup>

## Textual

VASMANOLIS<sup>304</sup> provides textual notes on the following passages: 2,4; 3,3; 4,7; 7,4; 8,9; 10,1; 10,7; 10,9; 11,1; 13,4; 13,7; 14,4; 15,2 (bis) 15,3; 16,4 (bis); 17,4; 17,7; 17,9; 18,5; 18,6; and 18,7.

## Life

## a) general

In a short analysis GARCÍA VALDÉS<sup>305</sup> concludes that in this Life (as in others) Plutarch manifests both objectivity and subjectivity. «La objetividad se muestra en la variedad de fuentes y el uso que hace de ellas. La subjetividad en el juicio personal que se trasluce a lo largo de toda la biografía» (p. 324). BOFFO<sup>306</sup> examines Cimon's relations with Athens' allies and she concludes (on the basis of material in chps. 6-14 and other sources) that, for all his vaunted 'conservatism,' his actions reflect an aggressive and imperialistic expansionism.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>302</sup> G. FOGAZZA, *Aspasia minore*, pp. 25 (1970), 420-422.

<sup>303</sup> M. J. STUART, A Historical Commentary on Plutarch's Biography of Cimon (diss. Princeton, 1975). Note also C. CARENA, M. MANFREDINI and L. PICCIRILLI, *Plutarco. Le vite di Cimone e di Lucullo* (Milan, 1990). See Addendum p. 4127 below.

<sup>304</sup> G. E. VASMANOLIS, Φιλολογικά ζητήματα εἰς Πλουτάρχου Κίμωνα, *Platon*, 28 (1976), 277-287.

<sup>305</sup> M. GARCÍA VALDÉS, Aproximación a la Vida de Cimón de Plutarco, in: *Unidad y pluralidad en el mundo antiguo. Actas del VI Congreso español de estudios clásicos* (Sevilla, 6-11 de abril de 1981) II (Madrid, 1983), pp. 317-324.

<sup>306</sup> L. BOFFO, Cimone e gli alleati di Atene, *RIL*, 109 (1975), 442-450.

## b) individual chapters

8 (Cimon's capture of Skyros): The value of this 'discovery' by Cimon for purposes of political propaganda is studied by PODLECKI,<sup>307</sup> while LUPPINO MANES<sup>308</sup> argues that Plutarch's account reflects two separate and contradictory versions, the second of which gave prominence to the Delphic oracle at the expense of the Thessalians and the Amphictyony.

9 (Ion of Chios a guest at Laomedon's dinner-party): HUXLEY<sup>309</sup> dates the occasion c. 465 B.C.

10 (Gorgias' comment on Cimon's use of wealth): The implications of Gorgias' testimony to Cimon's liberality, which is corroborated by Theopompus (FGH Hist 115 Ff 89 and 135), are studied by MUSTI;<sup>310</sup> the aristocrats' practice of garnering *timé* among the poor through private benefactions was replaced by Pericles' scheme of state-sponsored *misthos* for public service.

12 ff. (Eurymedon and after): Plutarch mentions Callisthenes several times in these chapters, and his pervasive influence as a source is detected by SCHREINER.<sup>311</sup>

13 (the so-called "Peace of Callias"): Much has been written on this topic. MEISTER<sup>312</sup> follows Callisthenes and Theopompus in attacking its authenticity; WALSH<sup>313</sup> and, more recently, BADIAN<sup>314</sup> defend it, but wish to move it from just after 450, where it is placed by most scholars who accept it, to a date closer to the one implied by Plutarch's account in this passage, after Cimon's victory at the Eurymedon river. Cf. also a monograph by SCHRADER<sup>315</sup> and a chapter in a monograph by DAY.<sup>316</sup>

(beautification of Athens): DELVOYE<sup>317</sup> believes that the embellishments sponsored by Cimon included the two statues of Athena, Promachos and Lemnia, by Pheidias, and the Hephaestion.

<sup>307</sup> A. J. PODLECKI, Cimon, Skyros and 'Theseus' Bones', *JHS*, 91 (1971), 141-143.

<sup>308</sup> E. LUPPINO MANES, I Tessali e Delfi nell' impresa di Cimone a Sciro, *RIL*, 110 (1976), 131-141.

<sup>309</sup> G. L. HUXLEY, Ion of Chios, *GRBS*, 6 (1965), 29-46.

<sup>310</sup> D. MUSTI, Il giudizio di Gorgia su Cimone in tema di XPHMATA, *RFIC*, 112 (1984), 129-153.

<sup>311</sup> J. H. SCHREINER, More anti-Thukydeidean studies in the Pentekontaetia, *SO*, 52 (1977) 19-38 (Callisthenes' history of Alexander in Plutarch's *Cimon*, pp. 21-29).

<sup>312</sup> K. MEISTER, Die Ungeschichtlichkeit des Kalliasfriedens und deren historische Folgen [Palingsnesia, 18] (Wiesbaden, 1982).

<sup>313</sup> J. WALSH, The authenticity and the dates of the Peace of Callias and the Congress Decree, *Chiron*, 11 (1981), 31-63.

<sup>314</sup> E. BADIAN, The Peace of Callias, *JHS*, 107 (1987), 1-39.

<sup>315</sup> C. SCHRADER, La paz de Callias. Testimonios e interpretación (Barcelona, 1976).

<sup>316</sup> J. W. DAY, The Glory of Athens. The Popular Tradition as reflected in the Panathenaicus of Aelius Aristides (Chicago, 1980) chap. VI, 'The Peace of Callias', pp. 140-171 (with App. 1, pp. 181-195).

<sup>317</sup> C. DELVOYE, Art et politique à Athènes à l'époque de Cimon, in: J. BINGEN et al., ed., *Le monde grec: pensée, littérature, histoire, Hommages à Claire Preaux* [Univ. libre de Bruxelles, Fac. de philos. et lettres, no. 52] (Brussels, 1975), pp. 801-807.

14 (Thessalian proxy): CONNOR<sup>318</sup> believes that the problematic proxy, seemingly attested by a scholiast on Aelius Aristeides, should be accepted; it probably came late in Cimon's career.

15 (Cimon's alleged attempt to restore an Areopagite aristocracy): PETROCELLI<sup>319</sup> believes the report at Cim. 15.3 should be taken seriously and cites as additional evidence *Dst.* 23, 205.

16 (Cimon's wives and children; cf. *Per.* 29): In the aforementioned article CONNOR also suggests that the "woman of Cleitor" was Cimon's first wife and mother of Lakedaimonios and Eleios (or Oulios); Isodike, the Alkmeonid, was his second wife and bore him Peisianax and Thessalos (the Cimon and Miltrades attested by the scholiast on Aelius Aristeides are doubtful). PICCIRILLI<sup>320</sup> accepts Stesimbrotus' testimony and concludes that Cimon's first wife was the woman from Arcadian Cleitor, by whom he had two or three sons, before he married (c. 478) Isodike, who was the mother of Lakedaimonios.

16–17 (response to Spartan appeal at the time of the earthquake): PAPANTONIOU<sup>321</sup> accepts Plutarch's report of two Athenian missions, the first to Sparta, the second to Ithome; the Spartans sent Pericleidas to Athens immediately after the earthquake. Cf. also an article by PICCIRILLI.<sup>322</sup>

18–19 (Cimon's last expedition, to Cyprus): PARKER<sup>323</sup> compares Plutarch's account with that of Thucydides and Diodorus and argues that, in spite of differences in detail, a coherent picture emerges of an Athenian attempt to get control of Cyprus and its surrounding waters; the attempt failed. Cf. also articles by BARNES<sup>324</sup> and SORDI.<sup>325</sup>

*Dtr.*

### Biography

The dramatic history of Demetrius is the subject of a monograph by MANNI.<sup>326</sup>

<sup>318</sup> W. R. CONNOR, *Two Notes on Cimon*, *TAPhA*, 108 (1967), 67–75.

<sup>319</sup> C. PETROCELLI, *Un nuovo dato per la biografia cimonia*, *QS*, 11 (1980), 383–392 (esp. 387–388).

<sup>320</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, *ΓΥΝΗ ΚΑΙΤΟΠΙΑ, ΚΑΙΤΟΠΙΑ, ΑΛΙΤΗΡΙΑ* *Moglie di Cimone?, RfIC*, 110 (1982), 278–282.

<sup>321</sup> G. A. PAPANTONIOU, *Once or Twice?*, *AJP*, 72 (1951), 176–181.

<sup>322</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, *Il filolacnismo, l'incesto e l'ostracismo di Cimone*, *QS*, 19 (1984), 171–175.

<sup>323</sup> S. T. PARKER, *The objectives and strategy of Cimon's expedition to Cyprus*, *AJP*, 97 (1976), 30–38.

<sup>324</sup> J. BARNES, *Cimon and the first Athenian expedition to Cyprus*, *Historia*, 2 (1953–54), 163–176.

<sup>325</sup> M. SORDI, *La vittoria dell'Eurymedon e le due spedizioni di Cimone a Cipro*, *RSA*, 1 (1971), 33–48.

<sup>326</sup> F. MANNI, *Demetrio Poliorcete* (Rome, 1951).

### Editions

MANNI<sup>327</sup> has also published an edition with commentary. LEVI<sup>328</sup> provides marginal notes to MANNI's introduction and commentary, looking in particular at individual chapters. There is an Italian translation of this *Life* (along with the *Ant.*) by CERRINA.<sup>329</sup>

### Sources

SWEET<sup>330</sup> argues for an uncritical combination of two traditions, one annalistic, probably Hieronymus (with Philochorus as the source for the Attic campaigns), and the other anecdotal, probably Duris. Much of MANNI's introduction is devoted to an analysis of the sources; he concludes that at least two principal sources underlie the narrative: the first favorable to Demetrius (possibly Hieronymus), the second hostile and 'Athenian' (perhaps Duris). LEVI<sup>331</sup> supplements MANNI's observations on sources without commenting on their identification, though he notes the importance of the 'Athenian' source. HADLEY<sup>332</sup> sees Hieronymus as the source for the portents in chap. 29. FLACELIÈRE<sup>333</sup> in the introduction to the Budé edition notes that no modern scholar has been convincing in analyzing the sources, but suggests that the main sources were Hieronymus and Phylarchus. MARASCO<sup>334</sup> postulates as the principal sources Hieronymus and Duris, with Philochorus consulted for secondary points; Plutarch probably knew Demochares only indirectly.

### Life

a) general

DE LACY<sup>335</sup> discusses Plutarch's use of a tragic pattern in the *Life*.

b) individual chapters

8 (Antigonus' war of liberation in Greece): SIMPSON<sup>336</sup> notes that Plutarch is the only source to discuss Antigonus' motives for the war and concludes that

<sup>327</sup> *Idem*, *Plutarco Vita Demetri Poliorcetes* (Florence, 1953).

<sup>328</sup> M. A. LEVI, *Demetrio Poliorcete nella biografia Plutarca*, in: *Idem*, *Quattro studi Spartani e altri scritti di storia greca* (Milan, 1967), pp. 177–190.

<sup>329</sup> G. CERRINA, *Vita di Demetrio e di Antonio* (Rome, n. d.).

<sup>330</sup> W. E. SWEET, *Sources of Plutarch's Demetrius*, *CW*, 45 (1951), 177–181.

<sup>331</sup> See n. 328 above.

<sup>332</sup> R. A. HADLEY, *Hieronymus of Cardia and early Seleucid mythology*, *Historia*, 18 (1969), 142–152.

<sup>333</sup> R. FLACELIÈRE, *Plutarque, Vies XIII* (Paris, 1977), pp. 10–13.

<sup>334</sup> G. MARASCO, *Introduzione alla biografia plutarca di Demetrio*, *Sileno*, 7 (1981), 35–70.

<sup>335</sup> P. DE LACY (see note 117, p. 4069 above), 168–171.

<sup>336</sup> R. H. SIMPSON, *Antigonus the One-Eyed and the Greeks*, *Historia*, 8 (1959), 385–409.

the noble motivation ascribed to Antigonus here is not historical; he had military reasons for his policy.

10-12 (introduction of the ruler-cult): LANDUCCI GATTINONI<sup>37</sup> cites epigraphic and literary evidence supporting Plutarch's account (in contrast to Diodorus 20,46,2-3) of the extravagant divine honors awarded to Demetrius by the Athenians, many of whom must have found these excesses distasteful, and even sacrilegious.

15-16 (the battle of Salamis): HAUBEN<sup>38</sup> reviews the discrepancy in ancient authors concerning the fleet strength at the battle and argues that the numbers can be made consistent by emending Diodorus (20,50,1) to 180, the figure given by Plutarch.

21 (Zoilos, the Cypriot[?] armorer): MARASCO<sup>39</sup> dates this incident to the beginning of the campaign of 304.

(Alkimos): HABICHT<sup>40</sup> identifies the retainer of Demetrius as the Alkimos mentioned in IG II<sup>2</sup> 773.

24 (the exile of Demochares): SMITH<sup>41</sup> discusses the much-disputed date of this exile and argues against those who would change it to 292; Plutarch is clear and consistent and his date of 303 ought to be followed.

25 (Demetrius' toast at Corinth): HAUBEN<sup>42</sup> explains the situation of the toast (also found in Praec. rep. ger. 823 C-D), that Antigonus wished to expand Alexander's empire and appropriate the title of king while Demetrius wanted to keep the title for himself. The court titles Demetrius assigned to the other *diadochi* are also discussed. MONACO<sup>43</sup> looks at the incident as told in Dio Cassius and its resemblance to the other sources.

26 (initiation of Demetrius into the mystery cults at Eleusis): LANDUCCI GATTINONI<sup>44</sup> examines Plutarch's account (perhaps based on Philochorus) of Demetrius' initiation at Eleusis in 302 B.C., which was done for propaganda purposes and, since it was not carried out according to traditional procedures, shocked proponents of religious orthodoxy.

29 (portents received by Demetrius and Antigonus before Ipsus): HADLEY<sup>45</sup> argues that these portents (also those in Diodorus and Appian) come from

<sup>37</sup> F. LANDUCCI GATTINONI, La divinizzazione di Demetrio e la coscienza ateniese, *CISA*, 7 (1981), 115-123.

<sup>38</sup> H. HAUBEN, Fleet strength at the battle of Salamis (306 B.C.), *Chiron*, 6 (1976), 1-5.

<sup>39</sup> G. MARASCO, Note ellenistiche, *Prometheus*, 9 (1983), 221-231 at 221.

<sup>40</sup> C. HABICHT, Athenisches Ehrendekret vom Jahre des Korobos (306/5) für einen königlichen Offizier, *AJAH*, 2 (1977), 37-39.

<sup>41</sup> L. C. SMITH, Demochares of Leuconoe and the dates of his exile, *Historia*, 11 (1962), 114-188.

<sup>42</sup> H. HAUBEN, A royal toast in 302 B.C., *Anc. Soc.*, 5 (1974), 105-117.

<sup>43</sup> G. MONACO, Un'eco di Plutarco in Cassio Dione, in: M. J. FONTANA and others, ed., *Φιλία καὶ φιλοφροσύνη. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni*, V (Rome, 1980), pp. 1555-1559.

<sup>44</sup> F. LANDUCCI GATTINONI, Demetrio Poliorcete e il santuario di Eleusi, *CISA*, 9 (1983), 117-124.

<sup>45</sup> HADLEY, above n. 332. See also HADLEY, Royal propaganda of Seleucus I and Lysimachus, *JHS*, 94 (1974), 50-65.

Hieronymus of Cardia, who seemed to be clear in specifying both time of prophecy and of fulfillment, and concludes that there was a trend of prophecy in favour of Seleucus.

38 (Antiochus' love for Stratonice): BREVET<sup>46</sup> comments on the digression regarding the doctor, Erasistratos, who recognized the object of Antiochus' love-sickness through the symptoms as described by Sappho (fr. 31). BREEBAART<sup>47</sup> suggests that the speech made by Seleucus after he decided to bestow his wife Stratonice upon his son Antiochus was intended mainly for the Macedonian troops in Seleucus' army. LANDUCCI<sup>48</sup>, comparing Plutarch's version with that of Appian, *Syriaca* XI, 59-61, postulates a common, pro-Seleucid source, Hieronymus of Cardia; she also discusses variants in the story in Valerius Maximus (5,7,1), Lucian (de Syra Dea 17-8) and Julian (Misopogon 347-8).

41 (the allegedly half-finished cloak of Demetrius): The point made by Plutarch about the reversal of Demetrius' fortunes is based on a misunderstanding of a technical term. WACE<sup>49</sup> looks at dedications of textiles from Egypt dating to the second and third centuries to derive an idea of the decoration and material of cloaks of this type. PICARD-SCHMITTER<sup>50</sup> explains that Plutarch misunderstood the meaning of ἡμικαλῆς; a synonym, ἡμιφύς, is found in inscriptions, and the terms must refer to a certain type of weave; the cloak was in fact finished.

46 (the revolt and siege of Athens): DEPRADO<sup>51</sup> challenges the chronology of Plutarch, arguing that Athens rebelled in fall 287, before Demetrius' force was strengthened, and that Demetrius' siege was in spring 285.

Dst.

Life

a) individual chapters

1 (the fragment quoted): LEWIS<sup>52</sup> argues that the fragment which Plutarch quotes here (756 PAGE PMG), from a poem honoring Alcibiades, was

<sup>46</sup> F. J. BREVET, Sappho en de dokter, *Hermeneus*, 41 (1970), 250-251.

<sup>47</sup> A. B. BREEBAART, King Seleucus I, Antiochus and Stratonice, *Mnemosyne*, 4 ser. 20 (1967), 154-164.

<sup>48</sup> F. LANDUCCI, Problemi dinastici e opinione pubblica nel 'caso' di Stratonice, *CISA*, 5 (1978), 74-84.

<sup>49</sup> A. J. B. WACE, The cloaks of Zeuxis and Demetrius, *JCEAI*, 39 (1952), 111-118.

<sup>50</sup> M. TH. PICARD-SCHMITTER, Sur la chlamyde de Démétrios Poliorcète, *RA*, 46 (1955), 17-26.

<sup>51</sup> A. R. DEPRADO, La liberazione di Atene nel 286 A. C., *RFIC*, 31 (1953), 27-42.

<sup>52</sup> D. M. LEWIS, *Delendum?*, *CR*, n. s. 18 (1968), 267.

written by Euripides, not Simonides, in spite of Plutarch's doubts (εἰθ' ἔτερός τις ἦν) and the statement of Ammianus Marcellinus (14,6,7; cf. 640 PAGE PMC).

19 (the role of Fortune in events): CASTIGLIONI,<sup>353</sup> comparing Polybius, notes Plutarch's observation regarding the intervention of Fortune in the cycle of events that resulted in the end of freedom for the Greeks; he also suggests emendations for various passages (Py. 10,1; 14,8; 25,1; Ma. 15,5; 33,3; Su. 31,9; Ti. 6,4; 30,4; Eum. 18,5).

(text of 19,3): MAGNINO<sup>353a</sup> believes that the MS reading φέρων (modifying Θερμώδων) should be retained.

25 (alleged bribery of Demosthenes by Harpalus): WORTHINGTON<sup>354</sup> argues that the story of the bribe of the golden cup given to Demosthenes by Harpalus is "inconsistent with contemporary evidence, muddled, and has features of the sort that can often be found in his own handling of material for literary effect" (p. 233), and should therefore be regarded as a late invention.

26 (the fine for accepting the bribe): GOLDSTEIN<sup>355</sup> discusses the problems associated with the amount of the fine in the different accounts given in Plutarch, Pseudo-Plutarch, and Demosthenes, and argues that the inconsistency results from the sale of Demosthenes' property during his exile. The sources cannot be used, then, to establish a chronology of 323-322. KNOX<sup>356</sup>, using this chapter as a point of departure, catalogues the Athenian demos' harsh, ungrateful and often unreasonable treatment of its politicians between 490 and 322 B.C.

*synkrisis*: CALP<sup>357</sup> has translated the 'Comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero' into Turkish, with a brief introduction.

Di.

### Biography

There is a monograph by BERVE<sup>358</sup> and a general article by WESTLAKE.<sup>359</sup>

<sup>353</sup> L. CASTIGLIONI, *Decisa forficibus VIII*, RIL, 84 (1951), 30-54 at 34-40.

<sup>353a</sup> D. MAGNINO, *Nota plutarchea* (Plut. *Dem.* 19,3), ACDebreceen, 23 (1987), 63-65.

<sup>354</sup> I. WORTHINGTON; Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 25 and Demosthenes' Cup, CP, 80 (1985), 229-233.

<sup>355</sup> J. A. GOLDSTEIN, Demosthenes' fine and its payment, 323-322 B.C., CJ, 67 (1971), 20-21.

<sup>356</sup> R. A. KNOX, 'So mischievous a beast? The Athenian *demos* and its treatment of its politicians', G&R, 2 ser. 32 (1985), 132-161.

<sup>357</sup> H. CALP, Demosthenes ile Cicero nun karstlastirilmasi, Tercüme, 14 (1960), 9-15.

<sup>358</sup> H. BERVE, Dion [Akad. Wiss. Mainz, Aband. d. geistes- u. socialwiss. Kl. 1956, nr. 10] (Wiesbaden, 1957).

<sup>359</sup> H. D. WESTLAKE, Dion: a study in liberation, in: *Idem*, *Essays on Greek Historians and Greek History* (Manchester and New York, 1969), pp. 251-264.

### Editions

PORTER<sup>360</sup> has produced an edition with English commentary that is mainly historical; it includes a discussion of Plutarch's sources.<sup>361</sup>

### Sources

SORDI<sup>362</sup> argues that the account in Plutarch (which is different from that of Diodorus) results from his source, Timonides, who is the spokesman of the tyrant and is preoccupied with the distinction between citizens and other elements joined in a coalition.

### Life

#### a) general

VOIT<sup>363</sup> compares the Lives by Nepos and Plutarch, and concludes that both accounts derive from a single Hellenistic archetype, perhaps Theopompus of Chios. AALDERS<sup>364</sup> examines evidence of a coin of 357 B.C. from Zacynthus which may show that Dion was a citizen there and held public office; this would fit Plutarch's account of Dion's popularity in Greece during his exile. MARASCO<sup>365</sup> discusses the liberation of Sicily as seen in chaps. 22 ff. of the Dion and parallel sources (Plato, Ep. 7; Diod. Sic. 16,6 ff.; Nepos, Dio).

#### b) individual chapters

5 (the sale of Plato into slavery): SORDI<sup>366</sup> accepts the story of Dionysius' attempt to sell Plato into slavery on Aegina (also in Nepos' Dion 2,3 and Diog. Laert. 3,18 f.); she thinks this goes back ultimately, via a Hellenistic biographer, to a reliable witness in the fourth century Academy.

9 (the timorousness of the elder Dionysius): ZIEGLER<sup>367</sup> compares the various versions of an anecdote found in Cicero (Tusc. 5,30,58), Diodorus (20,63,3) and Plutarch (here and de garr. 508 E-509 A), about the elder Dionysius' fear of having his hair cut by outsiders.

13 and 21 (use of the title 'king' by the Deinomenids and the Dionysii): OOST<sup>368</sup> looks at the evidence in various literary sources, including 'Dion', to

<sup>360</sup> W. H. PORTER, *Life of Dion* with introduction and notes (Dublin, 1952; repr. New York, 1979).

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, Sect. iii, 'The principal sources of the Dion', xvii-xxvii.

<sup>362</sup> M. SORDI, *Dione e la symmachia siciliana*, Kokalos, 13 (1967), 143-154.

<sup>363</sup> L. VOIT, *Zur Dion-Vita*, *Historia*, 3 (1954), 171-192.

<sup>364</sup> G. J. D. AALDERS, *Dion on Zacynthus*, *Archeol. en hist. opgedr. aan H. Brunsting* (Bussum, 1973), pp. 141-144.

<sup>365</sup> G. MARASCO, *La preparazione dell'impresa di Dione in Sicilia*, *Prometheus*, 8 (1982), 152-176.

<sup>366</sup> M. SORDI, *Dionigi e Platone*, in: *Studi Mammì*, VI (see note 343 above), pp. 2015-2022.

<sup>367</sup> K. ZIEGLER, *Eine Anekdote um Dionysios I.*, *Gymnasium*, 74 (1967), 529-531.

<sup>368</sup> S. I. OOST, *The tyrant kings of Syracuse*, CP, 71 (1976), 224-236.



determine the use of the title 'king' by the Deinomenids and Dionysii of Syracuse, concluding that both dynasties did use the title and that the terms 'tyrant' and 'king' were not always distinguished.

<sup>32</sup> (the dispute between Dion and Heracleides): LEHMANN<sup>369</sup> argues, on the basis of a rather cryptic reference in *Acneis Tacticus* (31), that the version in Diodorus (16,6,5 and 16,6,2) is to be preferred; Plutarch's account, which is hostile of Heracleides, possibly goes back to a falsification by the Academy (cf. Timonides FGrHist 561, mentioned at Di. 31 and 35) intended to cast Dion in a more favorable light.

<sup>36</sup> (Plutarch's judgement on Ephorus): CANFORA<sup>370</sup> argues that the entire passage from  $\text{on } \mu\eta\upsilon \text{ o}\ddot{\upsilon}\delta'$  to  $\text{top}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon$  should be added to JACOBY FGrHist 70 F 220.

<sup>37</sup> (redistribution of land and houses in Syracuse): FUKS<sup>371</sup> looks at the importance of the redistribution and at the ideological justification given by the leaders of the poor; in light of this, *eleutheria* and *douleia* should be interpreted in economic terms.

<sup>49</sup> (the identification of Neapolis): CASTELLANA<sup>372</sup> identifies Neapolis with Colle del Castellazzo, founded by Dionysius II.

#### <Ep(aminondas)>

SHRIMPTON,<sup>373</sup> following earlier suggestions by WILAMOWITZ and PEPER, examines the evidence for the lost 'Life of Epaminondas' as a source for Pausanias; he concludes that the lost Life was probably one of Plutarch's best works. In an earlier, unpublished, doctoral dissertation SHRIMPTON<sup>374</sup> argued that the later tradition about Epaminondas, which he describes as "uniform," was based on the researches of Ephorus, who borrowed from Callisthenes; Ephorus seems to have shown a preference for Epaminondas, and Callisthenes for Pelopidas. More recently TUPLIN<sup>375</sup> has challenged SHRIMPTON's position that "Plutarch's 'Life' survives in references to Epaminondas made by Pausanias."<sup>376</sup> TUPLIN believes, upon examination of Pausanias 9,13,1–15,6 as an *epitome* of the lost Life, that the evidence is inconclusive for a direct

<sup>369</sup> G. A. LEHMANN, *Dion und Herakleides*, *Historia*, 19 (1970), 401–406.

<sup>370</sup> L. CANFORA, *Plutarco su Eforo* (una nuova testimonianza), *AFLB* 12 (1967), 71–75.

<sup>371</sup> A. FUKS, *Redistribution of land and houses in Syracuse in 356 B. C.*, and its ideological aspects, *CQ*, n. s. 18 (1968), 207–223.

<sup>372</sup> G. CASTELLANA, *La Neapolis nella chora acragantina e la colonizzazione dionisiana della Sicilia*. Proposta di identificazione di una città antica con nota sul sito di Caltafracci presso Agrigento, *PP*, 118 (1984), 375–383.

<sup>373</sup> G. S. SHRIMPTON, *Plutarch's Life of Epaminondas*, *Pacific Coast Philology*, 6 (1971), 55–59.

<sup>374</sup> *Idem*, *The Epaminondas Tradition* (diss. Stanford, 1970); cf. *DA*, 31 (1970), 2362–2363 A.

<sup>375</sup> C. J. TUPLIN, *Pausanias and Plutarch's Epaminondas*, *CQ*, n. s. 34 (1984), 346–358.

<sup>376</sup> *DA*, 31 (1970), 2362 A.

connection between Pausanias and Plutarch. Two articles by BUCKLER<sup>377</sup> mention the lost 'Life of Epaminondas' in connection with events dealing with Pelopidas. We have not seen a work by FORTINA.<sup>378</sup>

#### Eum.

#### Life

#### a) general

WESTLAKE<sup>379</sup> argues that Plutarch was not impressed with Eumenes, perhaps because he did not admire cleverness as much as virtue; sources used include Hieronymus, who had served with Eumenes and perhaps shows some bias, and also Duris.

#### b) individual chapters

3–4 (Eumenes' administration of his satrapy at Cappadocia and the levy of cavalry in 322 B. C.): BRIANT<sup>380</sup> discusses the policies of Eumenes in the administration of his satrapy, noting that the passage provides important evidence on the government of satrapies after Alexander. In *Eum.* 4, the issue of the levy of cavalry in Cappadocia is examined to try and determine whether Eumenes continued Alexander's policies regarding racial mixture; BRIANT concludes that Eumenes was mainly interested in holding his satrapy and recruiting a local army.

9 (the battle between Antigonos Monophthalmos and Eumenes): ENGEL<sup>381</sup> compares Plutarch's account with Diodorus (18,40,1 ff.) on the battle which occurred at Orkynia in Cappadocia in early 320 B. C., and prefers Diodorus.

12 (the siege of Nora): ANSON<sup>382</sup> looks at the evidence of Diodorus for the release of Eumenes from Nora by Antigonos in 318 B. C. and concludes (following FONTANA<sup>383</sup>) that Diodorus, using Hieronymus, is to be preferred over Plutarch, who used Duris as his source.

16–18 (death of Eumenes): HAMMOND<sup>384</sup> examines Plutarch's account of the role of the Macedonian *argyraspides*, "Silvershields," who were Macedonian veterans in Eumenes' army until they betrayed him to Antigonos.

<sup>377</sup> J. BUCKLER, see. *Pel.* below, notes 450 and 452, p. 4106.

<sup>378</sup> M. FORTINA, *Epaminonda* (Turin, 1958).

<sup>379</sup> H. D. WESTLAKE, *Eumenes of Cardia*, *Bull. Rylands Library, Manchester*, 37 (1954–55), 309–327 (= *Idem*, *Essays on Greek Historians and Greek History* [Manchester and New York, 1969], pp. 313–330).

<sup>380</sup> P. BRIANT, *D'Alexandre le Grand aux diadoques*. *Le cas d'Eumène de Cardia*, *REA*, 74 (1972), 32–73.

<sup>381</sup> R. ENGEL, *Anmerkungen zur Schlacht von Orkynia*, *MH*, 28 (1971), 227–231.

<sup>382</sup> E. M. ANSON, *The siege of Nora*. A source conflict, *GRBS*, 18 (1977), 251–256.

<sup>383</sup> M. J. FONTANA, *Le lotte per la successione di Alessandro Magno dal 323 al 315* (Palermo, 1960).

<sup>384</sup> N. G. L. HAMMOND, *Alexander's veterans after his death*, *GRBS*, 25 (1984), 51–61.

## Lyc.

## Editions and translations

There is an edition of this Life and the Nil., with Italian translation and notes, by MANFREDINI and PICCIRILLI.<sup>385</sup> The MS tradition is discussed separately in an article by MANFREDINI.<sup>386</sup>

There is an annotated Spanish translation of this pair along with the This. and Rom., by PEREZ JIMÉNEZ.<sup>387</sup>

## Sources

PICCIRILLI,<sup>388</sup> whose placement of this pair of Lives as number 6 in the series has already been mentioned, also catalogs and discusses Plutarch's named sources for both Lives; he believes that Plutarch had made a collection of 'Apothegmata Laconica' (Mor. 208 A - 242 A) which he then drew on for material in the Spartan Lives.

## Life

## a) general

Certain themes running through the Lyc., So. and CM. are analyzed by LAVERY.<sup>389</sup> Lycurgan Sparta is the subject of two studies by OLIVA.<sup>390</sup> Cozzoli<sup>391</sup> critically examines, in the light of evidence recorded by Plutarch in this Life and elsewhere, as well as by other authors, the myth of absolute equality of property at Sparta under the Lycurgan system. DEN BOER's monograph<sup>392</sup> draws extensively on Plutarch, particularly in his discussions of the Great Rhetra and Spartan social structure and education. SCHNEEWEISS<sup>393</sup> maintains that the educational system which Plutarch ascribes to Lycurgus is a philosophical idealization and in conflict with the historical facts.

<sup>385</sup> M. MANFREDINI and L. PICCIRILLI, *Vite di Licurgo e di Numa* (Milan, 1980).

<sup>386</sup> M. MANFREDINI, Nuovo contributo allo studio della tradizione manoscritta di Plutarco, *le Vitae Lycurgi et Numae*, ASNP, 3 ser. 11 (1981), 33-68.

<sup>387</sup> A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, Plutarco, *Vidas paralelas*, I: Teseo-Romulo, Licurgo-Numa (Madrid, 1985).

<sup>388</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, *Cronologia relativa e fonti delle Vitae Lycurgi et Numae* di Plutarco, in: *Studi Manni V* (see note 343 above), pp. 1751-1764.

<sup>389</sup> G. B. LAVERY, Training, trade and trickery: three lawgivers in Plutarch, *CW*, 67 (1973/4), 369-381; see further under So. below.

<sup>390</sup> P. OLIVA, Lycurgan Sparta, *ZAnt.*, 16 (1966), 123-134; IDEM, *Das lykurgische Problem*, *AAntHung*, 15 (1967), 273-281.

<sup>391</sup> U. COZZOLI, I fondamenti del kosmos licurgico nel pensiero di Plutarco, *Cultura e Scuola*, 66 (1978), 84-93.

<sup>392</sup> W. DEN BOER, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam, 1954).

<sup>393</sup> G. SCHNEEWEISS, History and Philosophy in Plutarch. Observations on Plutarch's Lycurgus, in: G. BOWERSOCK and others, ed., *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to B. M. W. Knox on the occasion of his 65th birthday* (Berlin, 1979), pp. 376-382.

## b) individual chapters

1 (Simonides' testimony on Lycurgus' genealogy): PICCIRILLI<sup>394</sup> argues, in opposition to FLACELIERE and DEN BOER, that Plutarch is here referring to Simonides the poet, not "the genealogist"; it is relatively unusual that Lycurgus should be included in the Euryponitids, and the reference may have occurred in Simonides' encomium for the fallen at Thermopylae.

5 (text of 5.9): MADDOLI<sup>395</sup> argues that the text is not to be corrected (that is, by removal of οὐκ), for Plutarch is playing on the sense of ἀγαθός.

6 (the 'Great Rhetra'): numerous studies have appeared on the text and interpretation of this problematic document, which Plutarch appears to preserve on Aristotle's authority. Among them may be mentioned those of HAMMOND,<sup>396</sup> ERASMUS,<sup>397</sup> BUTLER,<sup>398</sup> JONES,<sup>399</sup> FORREST,<sup>400</sup> GIANOTTI,<sup>401</sup> BRINGMANN,<sup>402</sup> LÉVY,<sup>403</sup> PAVESE,<sup>404</sup> and TSOANAKIS.<sup>405</sup>

8 (redistribution of land by Lycurgus and Polydorus): MARASCO<sup>406</sup> detects inconsistencies in Plutarch's account of Polydorus' political sympathies; the version found at Lyc. 8.6 and Pausanias (3.3.2 ff.), which makes him into a populist, is an invention of the reformist propaganda of the third century.

11 (Lycurgus' blinding by Alexander): On this incident see an article by PICCIRILLI.<sup>407</sup>

21 (citation of Alcman at 21.6): COSTANZA<sup>407a</sup> believes that Plutarch has interpreted Alcman fr. 41 PAGE PMG incorrectly.

28 (text of 28.7): KEANEY<sup>408</sup> suggests punctuating ... καταστῶσι, πρῶτον ...

<sup>394</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, *Simonide poeta o Simonide genealogista?* (Plut. Lyc. 1.8 = Simon. fr. 123 Page), *RFIC*, 106 (1978), 272-276.

<sup>395</sup> G. MADDOLI, Per il testo di Plutarco, *Lyc.* 5.9, *AFLPer*, 18.1 (1980-81), 179-181.

<sup>396</sup> N. G. L. HAMMOND, The Creation of Classical Sparta, in: IDEM, *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 47-103 (= IDEM, *The Lycurgan Reform at Sparta*, *JHS*, 70 [1950], 42-64, with additions).

<sup>397</sup> H. J. ERASMUS, Two notes on the early history of Sparta, *PACA*, 4 (1961), 3-9.

<sup>398</sup> D. BUTLER, Competence of the demos in the Spartan Rhetra, *Historia*, 11 (1962), 385-396.

<sup>399</sup> A. H. M. JONES, The Lycurgan Rhetra, in: E. BADIAN, ed., *Ancient Society and Institutions*. Studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th birthday (Oxford, 1966), pp. 165-175.

<sup>400</sup> W. G. FORREST, Legislation in Sparta, *Phoenix*, 21 (1967), 11-19.

<sup>401</sup> G. F. GIANOTTI, Note alla rhetra di Licurgo, *RFIC*, 99 (1971), 430-434.

<sup>402</sup> K. BRINGMANN, Die Große Rhetra und die Entstehung des spartanischen Kosmos, *Historia*, 24 (1975), 513-538.

<sup>403</sup> E. LÉVY, La Grande Rhetra, *Ktema*, 2 (1977), 85-103.

<sup>404</sup> C. PAVESE, Un'emendazione alla rhetra di Licurgo, *RFIC*, 95 (1967), 129-33.

<sup>405</sup> A. G. TSOANAKIS, La rhetre de Lycurgue, l'annexe - Tyrée, *Ελληνικά Suppl.*, 6 (1954).

<sup>406</sup> G. MARASCO, La leggenda di Polidoro e la ridistribuzione di terre di Licurgo nella propaganda spartana del III secolo, *Prometheus*, 4 (1978), 115-127.

<sup>407</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, Licurgo e Alcandro. Monofalimia e origine dell'agoge spartana, *Historia*, 30 (1981), 1-10; cf. IDEM, *Due ricerche Spartane*, *ASNP*, 3 ser. 8 (1978), 914-947, sect. I, 'L'occhio di Licurgo', 917-936, where it is argued that Lycurgus' monophthalmity befits him as a "figura eroico-divina" with potent powers both in peacetime and in war.

<sup>407a</sup> S. COSTANZA, Plutarco e il frammento di Alcmane *ἔπειτα γὰρ ἀντα τῷ τῦτάρω*, *Vichiana*, 16 (1987), 71-84.

<sup>408</sup> J. J. KEANEY, Two textual notes on Aristotle: I. *Ath. Pol.* 58.3; II. F. 538 Rose (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 28.7), *LCM*, 4 (1979), 17.

## Lys.

## Biography

There is a general work by **BOMMELAER**,<sup>409</sup> in which he briefly discusses Plutarch's use of his sources (pp. 44–45). Cf. also a monograph by **LOTZE**.<sup>410</sup>

## Life

## a) general

In a longer article on Plutarch's biographical methods, **RUSSELL**<sup>411</sup> gives a short analysis of Lys.

## b) individual chapters

1 (statue in the Treasury of the Acanthians at Delphi): **BIELFELD**<sup>412</sup> discusses various depictions deriving from what he believes to be a late-fifth century original statue of Lysander, either that mentioned here or (as he thinks more probable) a dedication by the Samians at Olympia mentioned by Pausanias (6,3,14).

2 (Aristotle's testimony to Lysander's melancholia): **FLACELIÈRE**<sup>413</sup> argues for retention of the MS reading Ἡρακλέους and suggests that the source is probably Aristotle, Problems 30,1, where Lysander's temperament is mentioned along with Heracles' 'melancholic' nature (so, too, **B. PERRIN** in the Loeb ed.).

(embassy to Dionysius): **SANSONE**<sup>414</sup> and **RENEHAN**<sup>415</sup> each address the anecdote told at the end of this chapter, but present different solutions to the textual problem. **SANSONE**, comparing the MSS of Apoph. Lac. 229 A # 1, suggests that the name "Aristas" has been replaced by *πρεσβευτής*, which was originally a gloss; **RENEHAN** takes *πρεσβευτής* not as appositional, but as the subject of the sentence (he feels that *πρεσβευτής* <τις> might be the correct reading).

<sup>409</sup> **JEAN-FRANÇOIS BOMMELAER**, *Lysandre de Sparte: histoire et traditions* [BEFAR, 240] (Paris, 1981).

<sup>410</sup> **D. LOTZE**, *Lysander und der peloponnesische Krieg* [Abhand. sächs. Akad. der Wiss. zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Kl. 57,1] (Berlin, 1964).

<sup>411</sup> **D. A. RUSSELL** (op. cit. in note 50, p. 4059 above), sec. iv, pp. 151–154.

<sup>412</sup> **E. BIELEFELD**, *Gott, Heros oder Feldherr?*, *Gymnasium*, 71 (1964), 519–534.

<sup>413</sup> **R. FLACELIÈRE**, *Heracles ou Héraclite*, in: *Hommages à M. Delcourt* [Coll. Latomus 114] (Brussels, 1970), pp. 207–210.

<sup>414</sup> **D. SANSONE**, *Lysander and Dionysius* (Plut. *Lys.* 2), CP, 76 (1981), 202–206.

<sup>415</sup> **R. RENEHAN**, *Plutarch, Lysander 2: an addendum*, *ibid.*, 206–207.

7–8 (sense of *ἀσποικιῶλαι*): **DE DECKER**<sup>416</sup> follows up an earlier article explaining the similarities between *ἀσποικιῶλαι* ("variegate," LSJ; "trick out, play a shifty part," **PERRIN**) and the Dutch word "*versierden*" as used in *World War II*.

15 (Lysander's entry into Peiraeus): **Plutarch** dates Lysander's occupation of the Peiraeus to 16th Mounychion, "the same date as the battle of Salamis" (also at *Mor.* 349F); at *Cam.* 19,6 the battle is dated "about the 20th Boedromion." This discrepancy is discussed in an article by **BADIAN** and **BUCKLER**<sup>417</sup>, who suggest that the victory won in Mounychion was the "other" Salamis, in Cyprus, as part of the campaign in which Cimon was killed c. 449. **LOTZE**<sup>418</sup> argues that if **Plutarch's** date for Lysander's entry into Peiraeus (about 24th April 404) is correct, the Attic year 405/4 will have begun before the summer solstice, i. e. about 18 June 405. Some of the material in chapters 15–21 of this Life is discussed in an article by **ANDREWES**,<sup>419</sup> who describes **Plutarch** in this section as being "in one of his less chronological moods" (p. 211).

16–17 (Gylippus' theft): **ALESSANDRI**<sup>420</sup> ascribes this version of the story (which **Plutarch** also mentions at *Ni.* 28 and *Per.* 22) to Ephorus, not Timaeus; the "owls" were mainly plated coins minted by Cyrus in imitation of Athenian owls.

18 (Lysander's dedications at Delphi and divine honors to him): See on this subject an article by **ZINSERLING**.<sup>421</sup>

## Ni.

## Editions, translations, commentary

There is an edition with commentary in Spanish of this Life together with the *Per.* by **ALSINA CLOTA**<sup>422</sup> and a Spanish translation of both Lives by **PEREA MORALES**.<sup>423</sup> A text, with annotated translation in Italian by **MANETTI**,<sup>424</sup> has recently appeared. **MARASCO**<sup>425</sup> has published an edition of

<sup>416</sup> **J. DE DECKER**, *Semantische Beschouwing*, *Hermeneus*, 22 (1951), 142–146; cf. **H. SCHADEE**, *ibid.*, 19 (1948), 160–161.

<sup>417</sup> **E. BADIAN** and **J. BUCKLER**, *The Wrong Salamis?*, *RhM*, n. f. 118 (1975), 226–239.

<sup>418</sup> **D. LOTZE**, *Der Munchion 404 v. Chr. und das Problem der Schaltfolge im athenischen Kalender*, *Philologus*, 91 (1967), 34–46.

<sup>419</sup> **A. ANDREWES**, *Two notes on Lysander*, *Phoenix*, 25 (1971), 206–226, esp. 211.

<sup>420</sup> **S. ALESSANDRI**, *Le civette di Giliippo* (Plut., *Lys.*, 16–17), *ASNP*, 3 ser. 15 (1985), 1081–1093.

<sup>421</sup> **G. ZINSERLING**, *Persönlichkeit und Politik Lysanders im Lichte der Kunst*, *Wiss. Zeits. der Fr. Schiller Univ. Jena*, ges. u. sprachwiss. Reihe, 14 (1965), 35–43.

<sup>422</sup> **J. ALSINA CLOTA**, *Vidas de Pericles y Nicias* (Madrid, 1961).

<sup>423</sup> **B. PEREA MORALES**, *Pericles y Nicias* (Madrid, 1961).

<sup>424</sup> **D. MANETTI** in: **L. CANFORA** et al., edd., *Vite parallele: Nicia* (Milan, 1987), v. II.

<sup>425</sup> **G. MARASCO**, *Vita di Nicia* (Rome, 1976).

the Ni. with Italian commentary. There is an unpublished dissertation by TITCHENER,<sup>426</sup> who maintains that Plutarch was put off by Nicias' superstition, but felt compelled to find a mate for Crassus.

#### Sources

There are several articles dealing with Plutarch's sources for this Life; LAURITANO<sup>427</sup> attempts to find traces of the work of Philistos (see also an article by PEDECH,<sup>428</sup> who believes that Philistos took a Syracusan viewpoint and emphasized internal events at Syracuse, as well as personalities and personal exploits of men like Sikanos and Heraclides, keeping a balance between Hermocrates and Gylippus), while LAFFI<sup>429</sup> ascribes to the Sicilian historian an exaggeration, for patriotic reasons, of numbers of the attacking force and a diminution of Syracusan defenders; he thinks that both Philistus and Timaeus gave prominence to the figure of Hermocrates, but diverged in their evaluation of Gylippus. Plutarch's extensive reliance in this Life on Thucydides is studied in the dissertation by LITTMAN,<sup>430</sup> already noted.

#### Life

##### a) general

GIL,<sup>431</sup> after an introductory section on Plutarch's approach to biography, argues that the same image of Nicias can be found in Plutarch, Thucydides, and Plato's 'Laches', and that both his private and political life were determined by two factors: his wealth and his religiosity. On the basis of a garbled reference in Diogenes Laertius (1,110) and some references in Plutarch HUXLEY<sup>432</sup> suggests that Nicias went to Crete for divine help against the plague. NIKOLAIDIS<sup>433</sup> examines in detail the way Plutarch's prejudice against Nicias colors his account, both in the Life and the *synkrisis*.

##### b) individual chapters

1 (excesses of Timaeus' account): MEISTER<sup>434</sup> argues that Plutarch was right in his negative judgement of Timaeus, whose excessive patriotism led him to

<sup>426</sup> F. TITCHENER, A historical commentary on Plutarch's 'Life of Nicias' (diss., Univ. of Texas, 1988); see DA, 49 (1988), 1448-A.

<sup>427</sup> R. LAURITANO, Ricerche su Filisto, Kokalos, 3 (1957), 98-122.

<sup>428</sup> P. PEDECH, Philistos et l'expédition athénienne en Sicile, in: Studi Manni, V (see note 343, p. 4094 above), pp. 1709-1734.

<sup>429</sup> U. LAFFI, La tradizione storiografica siracusana relativa alla spedizione ateniese in Sicilia (415-413 a. C.), Kokalos, 20 (1974), 18-45.

<sup>430</sup> See note 64, p. 4061 above.

<sup>431</sup> L. GIL, La sembleria de Nicias en Plutarco, EClás, 6 (1962), 404-450.

<sup>432</sup> G. HUXLEY, Nicias, Crete and the plague, GRBS, 10 (1969), 235-239.

<sup>433</sup> A. G. NIKOLAIDIS, Is Plutarch fair to Nicias?, ICS, 13 (1988), 319-334.

<sup>434</sup> K. MEISTER, Die sizilische Expedition der Athener bei Timaios, Gymnasium, 77 (1970), 508-517.

demigrate Gylippus. CITTI<sup>435</sup> examines Plutarch's meaning when he says he has tried to recover details which have escaped "most (other) writers" (τοὺς πολλοὺς).

2 (text of 2,6): MARTIN<sup>436</sup> defends M's ὑπεροφῶντας.

3 (bronze palm-tree offered on Delos): COURBIN<sup>437</sup> calculates the force necessary for the bronze palm-tree to be overturned in a storm and concludes that Plutarch's account is correct.

4 (reference to Nicias in Aristoph., Birds): On the basis of the present passage GILL<sup>438</sup> argues that the reference at Birds 593-595 regarding the consultation of seers about getting rich from miming refers to Nicias.

6 (story of Paches/command at Spartolos): WESTLAKE<sup>439</sup> considers that the story of Paches' suicide is based on a misunderstanding of Old Comedy. THOMPSON<sup>440</sup> believes that the story that Kalliaides and Xenophon were in command at Spartolos should not be rejected but that the attribution of the capture of Nisaia to Nicias is probably incorrect.

15 (story of Sophocles and Nicias): WESTLAKE<sup>441</sup> examines the circumstances under which the exchange between Sophocles and Nicias took place, as reported in this chapter.

23 (superstition of Nicias): BODÉUS<sup>442</sup> looks at the question of the superstition of Nicias, with particular consideration to the issue of the eclipse.

29 (Athenian prisoners in Sicily): KELLY<sup>443</sup> argues, from a study of the sources, that Plutarch's account of the deaths of the Athenian prisoners in the quarries is not accurate and that it is likely that those who survived were ransomed; it is suggested that perhaps the first source for their death in the quarries was Timaeus.

#### Pel.

#### Sources

SORDI<sup>444</sup> agrees with WESTLAKE that both Diodorus and Plutarch used Callisthenes as their main historical source; Plutarch added anecdotes from a

<sup>435</sup> V. CITTI, Plutarco, Nic. 1,5: storiografia e biografia, in: A. MASTROGINQUE, ed., Omaggio a Piero Treves (Padua, 1983), pp. 99-110.

<sup>436</sup> H. MARTIN, Jr., Plutarch's *Themistocles* 2 and *Nicias* 2,6, AJP, 85 (1964), 192-195 at 194-195.

<sup>437</sup> P. COURBIN, Le colosse naxien et le palmier de Nicias, in: *Études Déliennes* [BCH, Suppl. I] (Paris, 1973), 157-172.

<sup>438</sup> D. GILL, *Birds* 593-595. A note, HSCPh, 79 (1975), 69-72.

<sup>439</sup> H. D. WESTLAKE, see Ari. above, note 298, p. 4089.

<sup>440</sup> W. E. THOMPSON, The errors in Plutarch, *Nikias* 6, CQ, n. s. 19 (1969), 160-162.

<sup>441</sup> H. D. WESTLAKE, Sophocles and Nicias as colleagues, *Hermes*, 84 (1956), 110-116 (reprinted in: IDEM, *Essays on Greek Historians and Greek History* [Manchester and New York, 1969], pp. 145-152).

<sup>442</sup> R. BODÉUS, Un aspect du platonisme de Plutarque?, *LEC*, 42 (1974), 362-374.

<sup>443</sup> D. H. KELLY, What happened to the Athenians captured in Sicily? *CR*, n. s. 20 (1970), 127-131.

<sup>444</sup> M. SORDI, La lega tessala fino ad Alessandro Magno [Studi pubbl. dell'Ist. Ital. per la

novelistic tradition about Jason of Pherae. FUSCAGNI<sup>45</sup> also identifies Callisthenes as the main source and specifically as the source of the subtle Philip propaganda in which Pelopidas is presented as a forerunner of Philip.

#### Life

##### a) individual chapters

11 (the attack by Pelopidas on pro-Spartan leaders): BORTHWICK<sup>46</sup> argues for an identification of the scene on the Panagjurishte gold amphora as the attack made on the leaders of the pro-Spartan government at Thebes in 379 B. C.

13 (the first boeotarchy of Pelopidas): ROESCH<sup>47</sup> accepts Plutarch's account that Pelopidas was elected as one of four boeotarchs, and believes that the number of boeotarchs resulted from a new constitution which the Thebans established for themselves. FUSCAGNI<sup>48</sup> believes Plutarch was misled by his source in calling Pelopidas a boeotarch in 379, for only two boeotarchs would have come from Thebes at this time; instead, Pelopidas was boeotarch (with Gorgidas) in 378.

23 (battle against the Spartans at Leuktra): BUCKLER<sup>49</sup> argues that Plutarch's account of the events is not confused; both Plutarch and Xenophon (Hell. 7.5, 22 ff.) used Callisthenes, and the two accounts complement each other. He argues that Plutarch's ἀνέπτυσσον = Xenophon's παραγάρων; "according to Plutarch, Kleombrotos at Leuktra was attempting to fold back the right wing and moving them behind the line, which remained facing ahead" (p. 85). In a more recent article, BUCKLER<sup>50</sup> looks at the evidence from Plutarch and others on the use of the wedge as a military tactic in the battle at Leuktra, and he argues against the hypothesis that the wing was used in this way at this time.

24 (restoration of the Messenians): DIPERSIA<sup>51</sup> comments on the return of the Messenians after Leuktra.

25 (the trials of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, 369): BUCKLER<sup>52</sup> believes that Plutarch knew only one tradition of the trials, but that he emphasized or

St. Ant. 151 (Rome, 1958) at 193–223; cf. H. D. WESTLAKE, The sources of Plutarch's *Pelopidas*, CQ, 33 (1939), 11–22.

<sup>45</sup> S. FUSCAGNI, Callistene di Olinto e la Vita di Pelopida di Plutarco, CISA, 3 (1975), 31–55.

<sup>46</sup> E. K. BORTHWICK, The scene on the Panagjurishte amphora. A new solution, JHS, 96 (1976), 148–51.

<sup>47</sup> P. ROESCH, Thespies et la confédération beotienne (Paris, 1965), pp. 100 ff.

<sup>48</sup> S. FUSCAGNI, Le boeotarchie di Pelopida e il numero dei boeotarchi dopo la liberazione della Cadmea del 379, RIL, 106 (1972), 415–433.

<sup>49</sup> J. BUCKLER, Plutarch on Leuktra, SO, 55 (1980), 75–93.

<sup>50</sup> IDEM, Epaminondas and the *Embolon*, Phoenix, 39 (1985), 134–143.

<sup>51</sup> G. DIPERSIA, La nuova popolazione di Messene al tempo di Epaminondas, CISA, 2 (1974), 54–61.

<sup>52</sup> J. BUCKLER, Plutarch on the trials of Pelopidas and Epaminondas (369 B. C.), CP, 73 (1978), 36–42.

suppressed various facts in different places (e.g. Mor. 540 D–E), depending on his purpose. A more complete account of the trial probably was provided in Plutarch's lost *Life of Epaminondas*.

26 (Philip's stay at Thebes): SORDI<sup>43</sup> compares the various accounts of Philip's consignment to Thebes – the date, the place, the length of the stay, the person responsible – in various sources; the source for Plutarch's account is probably Callisthenes.

#### Per.

##### Editions, Translations, Commentary

HOLDEN'S 1894 text with English commentary has been reprinted.<sup>454</sup> PODLECKI has produced a short commentary to accompany SCOTT-KILVERT'S translation.<sup>455</sup> STADTER'S full commentary in English (with ZIEGLER'S text) has recently been published.<sup>456</sup>

There is an edition of Per. and Ni. with Spanish commentary by ALSINA CLOTA,<sup>457</sup> a Spanish translation of the same two Lives by PEREA MORALES,<sup>458</sup> and a separate edition of Per. by BRASA.<sup>459</sup>

J. G. DE VRIES excerpts the Greek text of chaps. 5, 6, 8, 16.2, 24, 28, 35, 38 and 39.3, together with brief annotations in Dutch.<sup>460</sup>

#### Textual

SANSONE<sup>461</sup> provides textual and exegetical notes on Per. 1,1; 7,7; 9,1; 11,1; 28,5; 28,6 and 31,4.

#### Life

##### a) general

In a Frankfurt dissertation MEINHARDT<sup>462</sup> discusses various aspects of Pericles' life and career as well as (in chap. IV) Plutarch's sources. A brief

<sup>43</sup> M. SORDI, Il soggiorno di Filippo a Tebe nella propaganda storiografica, CISA, 3 (1975), 56–64.

<sup>44</sup> H. A. HOLDEN, Plutarch's Life of Pericles (Chicago, n.d.).

<sup>45</sup> A. J. PODLECKI, Plutarch: Life of Pericles, a companion to the trans. of I. SCOTT-KILVERT (Bristol, 1987). (For the translation, see above p. 4056 note 16.)

<sup>46</sup> P. A. STADTER, A Commentary on Plutarch's *Pericles* (Chapel Hill, 1989).

<sup>47</sup> J. ALSINA CLOTA, *Vidas de Pericles y Nicias* (Madrid, 1961).

<sup>48</sup> B. PEREA MORALES, *Pericles y Nicias* (Madrid, 1961).

<sup>49</sup> S. R. BRASA, *Pericles* (Salamanca, 1962).

<sup>50</sup> J. G. DE VRIES, *Uit Plutarchus' Leven van Pericles*, *Hermeneus*, 46 (1975), 276–292.

<sup>61</sup> D. SANSONE, Notes on Plutarch: *Pericles and Fabius*, *ICS*, 13 (1988), 311–318.

<sup>62</sup> E. MEINHARDT, *Perikles bei Plutarch* (Frankfurt/Main, 1970).

analysis of the Life is presented by STEIDLE in his monograph on Suetonius.<sup>463</sup> The rhetorical structure of the Life is analyzed by STADTER.<sup>464</sup>

BREBAART<sup>465</sup> disputes Plutarch's view of a change in Pericles' character; his 'democratic' behavior earlier in his career was simply a pragmatic role he played to strengthen his position vis-à-vis Cimon and other political opponents. FERRARESE<sup>466</sup> traces the anti-periclean tone of the central chapters to a fifth century aristocratic tradition opposed to democracy. Pericles' personality and policies as presented by Thucydides and Plutarch are analyzed by RODRIGUEZ ADRADOS.<sup>467</sup>

b) individual chapters

3 (portrait): Pliny the Elder (Nat. Hist. 34.74) comments that the statue by Cresilas justifies Pericles' cognomen 'Olympian.' RAUBITSCHKEK<sup>468</sup> suggests that it was dedicated by Pericles' son Xanthippus.

4 (Anaxagoras' influence): Plutarch's references to Anaxagoras, both in the Life and elsewhere, are studied by HERSHBELL.<sup>469</sup>

8 (Thucydides son of Melesias): The opposition of Thucydides, to which Plutarch refers here and later in the Life, is analyzed by FROST;<sup>470</sup> cf. also an article by ANDREWES.<sup>471</sup>

11 (the size of Athens' peacetime navy): S. K. EDDY<sup>472</sup> emends the phrase at 11.4, "sending out annually sixty triremes" to "sixteen."

12 ff. (the building program): A Dutch translation of chapters 12-14 and a discussion of the political aspects of Pericles' building program is provided by BOERSMA-ZUUR and TYBOUT.<sup>473</sup> BOEMER<sup>474</sup> offers a German translation of 12.1-4, while AMELING<sup>475</sup> believes that Plutarch is more concerned to en-

<sup>463</sup> W. STEIDLE, Sueton und die antike Biographie [Zetemata 1] (Munich, 1951), pp. 150-166.

<sup>464</sup> P. A. STADTER, The Rhetoric of Plutarch's *Pericles*, *Anc. Soc.*, 18 (1987), 251-269.

<sup>465</sup> A. B. BREBAART, Plutarch and the Political Development of Pericles, *Mnemosyne*, 4 ser. 24 (1971), 260-272.

<sup>466</sup> P. FERRARESE, Caratteri della tradizione antipericlea nella 'Vita di Pericle' di Plutarco, *CISA*, 3 (1975), 21-30.

<sup>467</sup> F. RODRIGUEZ ADRADOS, Pericles y la democracia de su época, *EClás.*, 6 (1962), 333-403.

<sup>468</sup> A. E. RAUBITSCHKEK, Zur Periklesstatue des Kresilas, *Arch. Class.*, 25/26 (1973-4), 620-621.

<sup>469</sup> J. HERSHBELL, Plutarch and Anaxagoras, *JCS*, 7 (1982), 141-158.

<sup>470</sup> F. J. FROST, Pericles, Thucydides, son of Melesias, and Athenian politics before the war, *Historia*, 13 (1964), 385-399.

<sup>471</sup> A. ANDREWES, The Opposition to Pericles, *JHS*, 108 (1978), 1-8.

<sup>472</sup> S. K. EDDY, Athens' Peacetime Navy in the Age of Pericles, *GRBS*, 9 (1968), 141-156.

<sup>473</sup> G. BOERSMA-ZUUR, Pericles en zijn bouwprogramma, *Hermeneus*, 46 (1975), 216-220;

<sup>474</sup> F. BOEMER, Die Akropolis (Plutarch, Vita des Perikles XII, 1-4), *Gymnasium*, 58 (1951), 2.

<sup>475</sup> W. AMELING, Plutarch, Perikles 12-14, *Historia*, 34 (1985), 47-63.

courage his contemporaries in their own building projects. (General discussion of Athens' buildings can be found in BOERSMA<sup>476</sup> and TRAVLOS.<sup>477</sup>)

14 (ostracism of Thucydides): Cf. an article by KRENTZ,<sup>478</sup> who dates the ostracism to 437 or 436, rather than the generally accepted date, spring 443.

15 (text of 15.3): For  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  τοῖς υἱέσι Weisvert<sup>479</sup> proposes  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ τοξία [increment] τοῖς υἱέσι.

17 (Congress Decree): The authenticity of this document is disputed by SEAGER<sup>480</sup> but defended by GRIFFITH<sup>481</sup> (on grounds of the rarity of the specification at Per. 17.2 that the ambassadors be men over fifty years of age). SCHRADER<sup>482</sup> also believes it to be a fourth century forgery.

20 (expedition to the Black Sea): BRASINSKII<sup>483</sup> discusses the date and geographical extent of Pericles' Pontic expedition. FERRARESE<sup>484</sup> believes the account is spurious and derives from anti-Macedonian propaganda in the fourth century, but Plutarch's testimony, though unique, is defended by KARAMOUTSOU<sup>485</sup> and VINOGRADOV<sup>486</sup>, who argues that numismatic and epigraphic evidence supports Plutarch's version of Pericles' moves against the tyrant Sinope, Timesilaos.

23 (cleruchy to Chalcis): MANFREDINI<sup>487</sup> argues that Plutarch has erroneously contaminated his sources here, and that Herodotus' testimony (at 5.77.2, which should not be emended) is to be preferred.

<sup>476</sup> J. S. BOERSMA, Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B. C. [Scripta Archaeologica Groningana, 4] (Groningen, 1970).

<sup>477</sup> J. TRAVLOS, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens (Engl. ed. New York, 1971). (We have not seen two works mentioned by STADTER [note 456 above]: H. KNELL, *Perikleische Baukunst* [Darmstadt, 1979] and A. CORSO, *Monumenti Periclei: Saggio critico sulla attività edilizia di Pericle* [Ist. Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, Memorie, cl. d. sc. mor., lett. ed. arti, 40.1] [Venice, 1986]).

<sup>478</sup> P. KRENTZ, The Ostracism of Thukydides, son of Melesias, *Historia*, 33 (1984), 499-504.

<sup>479</sup> D. WEISSERT, Plutarch, Perikles 15.3. Ein neuer Konjekturevorschlag,  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ τοξία, *SCI* 2 (1975), 157-162.

<sup>480</sup> R. SEAGER, The Congress Decree. Some doubts and a hypothesis, *Historia*, 18 (1969), 129-141.

<sup>481</sup> G. T. GRIFFITH, A Note on Plutarch, *Pericles* 17, *ibid.*, 27 (1978), 218-219.

<sup>482</sup> C. SCHRADER, El decreto del Congreso y el fragmento 153 de Teopompo, *Cuad. de Investigación - Filol.*, 1, 1 (1975), 77-101 (cf. *Annee Philol.*, 1975, p. 655).

<sup>483</sup> I. B. BRASINSKII, L'expédition pontique de Périclès, *VDI*, 65 (1958), 110-121 (in Russian with French summary).

<sup>484</sup> P. FERRARESE, La spedizione di Pericle nel Ponto Eusino, *CISA*, 2 (1972), 7-19.

<sup>485</sup> S. N. KARAMOUTSOU,  $\text{H } \epsilon\kappa\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$  τοῦ Περικλή σὺν Πόντῳ (Pericles' Pontic expedition, with English summary) *Dodone*, 8 (1979), 9-36.

<sup>486</sup> J. G. VINOGRADOV, Sinope und Olbia im 5. Jhrdt. v. u. Z. Das Problem der Staatsordnung, *VDI*, 156 and 157 (1981), 65-90 and 49-75 (in Russian with German summary).

<sup>487</sup> M. MANFREDINI, La cleruchia ateniese in Calcidie. Un problema storico e una questione di critica testuale (Hdt. V. 77), *SCO*, 17 (1968), 199-212.

24 (Pericles' amorous involvement with Aspasia; his failed marriage): Aspasia is the subject of a study by MONTUORI.<sup>488</sup> In two articles CROMEY<sup>489</sup> defends the order given by Plutarch of the marriages of Pericles' wife and kinswoman (whom CROMEY identifies as Deinomache, daughter of Megacles): Hipponicus (II), Pericles, Cleintias (II).

26 (Pericles' hostile designs on Cyprus during the Samian war): CORBETTA<sup>490</sup> argues that Plutarch was wrong to reject the testimony of Stesimbrotus (FGrHist 107 F 8).

28 (Pericles' alleged cruelty to the Samians): VON DER MÜHLL<sup>491</sup> argues from the way that Plutarch refutes Duris of Samos by referring to Ephorus here, and to Ephorus and Theopompus at Alc. 32.2, that he used the latter two authors directly and not through an intermediary source.

30 (Anthemocritus and the so-called 'Megarian Decree'): CONNOR<sup>492</sup> attacks Plutarch's account as having been anachronistically transferred from the fourth century (later CONNOR<sup>493</sup> recanted somewhat), but Plutarch's version is defended in articles by DOVER,<sup>494</sup> BLIQUEZ,<sup>495</sup> CAWKWELL,<sup>496</sup> and FORNARA.<sup>497</sup> SORDI<sup>498</sup> argues that so far from being "reasonable and courteous" (DE STE CROIX's phrase<sup>499</sup>), Plutarch's description at 30,3 εὐνόητος καὶ φιλανθρώπου δίκαιολογίας ἐχόμενον means exactly the opposite; she interprets ἐχόμενον to mean "removed from ...". In a recent article STADTER<sup>500</sup> has maintained that although all these moves against Megara seem to be given as separate stages, they are really different aspects of the same decree.

<sup>488</sup> M. MONTUORI, *Di Aspasia milesia*, *AFLN*, 20 (1977-78), 63-85; cf. also G. FOGAZZA, *Aspasia minore*, PP, 25 (1970), 420-422.

<sup>489</sup> R. D. CROMEY, *Pericles' Wife*, *Chronological Considerations*, GRBS, 23 (1982), 203-212; *idem*, *On Deinomache*, *Historia*, 33 (1984), 385-401.

<sup>490</sup> C. CORBETTA, *La fallita spedizione di Pericle a Cipro del 440-439 B. C.*, *RIL*, 91 (1977), 156-166.

<sup>491</sup> P. VON DER MÜHLL, *Direkte Benützung des Ephoros und des Theopomp bei Plutarch*, *MH*, 11 (1954), 243-244 (reprinted in: B. Wyss, ed., *P. von der Mühl, Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* [Basel, 1976], pp. 344-346).

<sup>492</sup> W. R. CONNOR, *Charinus' Megarean Decree*, *AJP*, 83 (1962), 225-246.

<sup>493</sup> *idem*, *Charinus' Megarean decree again*, *REG*, 83 (1970), 305-308.

<sup>494</sup> K. J. DOVER, *Anthemocritus and the Megarians*, *AJP*, 87 (1966), 203-209 (= *Idem*, *The Greeks and their Legacy* [Oxford, 1988], pp. 181-186).

<sup>495</sup> L. BLIQUEZ, *Anthemocritus and the ὀργαῖς disputes*, *GRBS*, 10 (1969), 157-161.

<sup>496</sup> G. L. CAWKWELL, *Anthemocritus and the Megarians and the decree of Charinus*, *REG*, 82 (1969), 327-35.

<sup>497</sup> C. FORNARA, *Plutarch and the Megarian Decree*, *YCS*, 24 (1975), 213-228.

<sup>498</sup> M. SORDI, *Il decreto di Pericle contro Megara, un decreto ragionevole e umano?*, in: P. MAGGI, ed., *Studi in onore di Ferrante Rittatore Vonwiller*, II (Como, 1980), pp. 507-511.

<sup>499</sup> See in general on this vexed topic, G. E. M. DE STE CROIX, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London, 1972), *General Index s.v. 'Megarian Decrees'*.

<sup>500</sup> P. A. STADTER, *Plutarch, Charinus and the Megarian Decree*, *GRBS*, 25 (1985), 351-372.

32 (attacks on Pericles and his friends): Various aspects of these attacks are discussed in articles by RUDHARDT,<sup>501</sup> CONNOR,<sup>502</sup> FROST,<sup>503</sup> and MARASCO.<sup>504</sup>

36 (Xanthippus' denunciation of Protagoras): DURIC<sup>505</sup> argues that Protagoras, in his disputation with Pericles about the javelin, did not intend his arguments to be taken seriously, but was merely being paradoxical and 'sophistic'.

37 (Pericles' citizenship law): Cf. on this subject a monograph by PATTERSON<sup>506</sup> and an article by WALTERS.<sup>507</sup> At Pet. 37,4 PEREMANS<sup>508</sup> defends the *lectio difficilior*, ἐπιθήτων.

## Phi.

### Biography

ERRINGTON has produced a general study of Philopoemen.<sup>509</sup>

### Sources

In his Appendix I, 'Sources', ERRINGTON accepts ZIEGLER's view<sup>510</sup> that Plutarch used Polybius' 'Life of Philopoemen', now lost, only sparingly and that he derived most of his information on Philopoemen from Polybius' 'Histories'. According to ERRINGTON, Plutarch also used Aristocrates of Sparta and another source which cannot now be identified, possibly a collection of anecdotes.<sup>511</sup> PÉDECH<sup>512</sup> sets out to determine, based partly on Plutarch, the plan and content of Polybius' work on Philopoemen and argues that the first two books concerned his education and early deeds and that the third book contained the major events of 209-183 B. C. TREU<sup>513</sup> replies to PÉDECH and concludes that Plutarch's 'Life of Philopoemen' does not offer any help in reconstructing Polybius.

<sup>501</sup> J. RUDHARDT, *La définition du délit d'impieeté d'après la législation attique*, *MH*, 17 (1960), 87-105.

<sup>502</sup> W. R. CONNOR, *Two Notes on Diopitthes the Seer*, *CP*, 58 (1963), 115-118.

<sup>503</sup> F. J. FROST, *Pericles and Draconides*, *JHS*, 84 (1964), 69-72.

<sup>504</sup> G. MARASCO, *I processi d'impieeté nella democrazia ateniese*, *A&R*, 21 (1976), 113-131.

<sup>505</sup> M. DURIC, *Ein plutarchisches Zeugnis über Protagoras*, *Ziva Antika*, 3 (1953), 65-73 (in Serbian with German summary).

<sup>506</sup> C. PATTERSON, *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451-50 B. C.* (New York, 1981).

<sup>507</sup> K. R. WALTERS, *Perikles' Citizenship Law*, *Cl. Ant.*, 2 (1983), 314-336.

<sup>508</sup> W. PEREMANS, *Sur le droit de cité à Athènes au Ve siècle av. J.-C.*, in: *Zetesis: Album amicorum door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan E. de Strijker* (Antwerp and Utrecht, 1973), pp. 531-540.

<sup>509</sup> R. M. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen* (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>510</sup> K. ZIEGLER, *Polybios*, RE, 21.2 (1952), 1472.

<sup>511</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 509, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>512</sup> P. PÉDECH, *Polybe et l'éloge de Philopoemen*, *REG*, 64 (1951), 82-103.

<sup>513</sup> M. TREU, *Biographie und Historie bei Polybios*, *Historia*, 3 (1954/55), 219-228.

## Life

## a) individual chapters

10 (his statue at Delphi): POUILLOUX and ROUX<sup>514</sup>, on the basis of fragments and Plutarch, attempted to reconstruct the statue of Philopoemen, of which the base was found at Delphi (FD III.1, 47–49); the argument was rejected by DAUX<sup>515</sup> and reaffirmed by ROUX<sup>516</sup>. VATIN<sup>517</sup> argues that Plutarch follows Polybius (11,18) closely in his details of the battle against Machanidas but abridges his description, having in mind the statue of Philopoemen at Delphi. 15 (actions against Sparta): GOLAN<sup>518</sup>, after analysis of Philopoemen's actions against Sparta as detailed in Plutarch in particular, concludes that Philopoemen was more interested in oppressing other Greeks than in opposing Romans. SWAIN<sup>519</sup> pays "careful attention to the similarities and differences which Plutarch has introduced" in the pair Phi./Fl. He discerns "the deliberate introduction of similar traits for the two heroes" who "share as their leading characteristic φλοιοπιᾶ and its associated traits."<sup>520</sup>

## Pho.

## Biography

General works have appeared by GEHRKE<sup>521</sup> and TRITLE.<sup>522</sup>

## Life

## a) general

BEARZOT<sup>523</sup> has published a monograph on Plutarch as a source for the career of Phocion. Cf. also an article by BEARZOT,<sup>524</sup> who sees Plutarch drawing on a Peripatetic source with Isocratean influences, perhaps Hermippus.

<sup>514</sup> J. POUILLOUX and G. ROUX, *Énigmes à Delphes* (Paris, 1963), pp. 37–40.

<sup>515</sup> G. DAUX, *La base de Philopoemen à Delphes*, BCH, 90 (1966), 283–291.

<sup>516</sup> G. ROUX, *Problèmes delphiques d'architecture et d'épigraphie*, RA, (1969), 29–56 at 29–36. *La base de Philopoemen* (FD III, 1, 47–49).

<sup>517</sup> C. VATIN, *Polybe, Plutarque et la mort de Machanidas sous les coups de Philopoemen*, in: Association G. Budé, Actes du IX Congrès, Rome 13–18 avril 1973 (Paris, 1975), pp. 211–217.

<sup>518</sup> D. GOLAN, *Philopoemen immodicus and superbus and Sparta*, SCI, 1 (1974), 29–39.

<sup>519</sup> S. SWAIN, *Plutarch's Philopoemen and Flamininus*, ICS, 13 (1988), 335–347.

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 345 and 344.

<sup>521</sup> H.-J. GEHRKE, *Phokion: Studien zur Erfassung seiner historischen Gestalt* [Zetemata 64] (Munich, 1976).

<sup>522</sup> L. J. TRITLE, *Phocion the Good* (London, 1988). Now cf. *Id.*, *Plutarch's Life of Phocion: An Analysis and Critical Report*, below in this same volume (ANRW II 33.6), pp. 4258–4297.

<sup>523</sup> C. BEARZOT, *Focione tra Storia e Trasfigurazione ideale. Le fonti: Plutarco* [Univ. del Sacro Cuore, Sc. stor. XXXVII] (Milan, 1985).

<sup>524</sup> EADERM, *Focione φίλος τοῦ βεσιλεύου: il tema dell'amicizia con Alessandro nella tradizione biografica fociniana*, in: M. SORDI, ed., *Alessandro Magno tra Storia e Mito* (Milan, 1984), pp. 75–90.

## b) individual chapters

6–7 (revenues from the allies): MITCHEL<sup>525</sup> argues that there were revenues collected from Athens' allies as early as 377 B.C.

17 (Hyperides' name on the list demanded by Alexander): BRACCESI<sup>526</sup> suggests that the name "Hyperides" should be suppressed here; it is possible that Plutarch was writing this list from memory.

18 (the *chora basilike* of Alexander): HEISSERER<sup>527</sup> examines the circumstances in which the four towns mentioned (Kios, Gergethos [Gergis], Mylasa and Elaia) became part of the Macedonian King's "royal territory" or personal domain, and so within his disposition as a "gift" to Phocion.

23 (Leosthenes and the Athenian command): TRITLE<sup>528</sup> examines Leosthenes' role as a rhetor at the time of the Lamian War as well as a general, and accordingly challenges the view put forward by Plutarch earlier in the Life (Pho. 7.5–6) that the two functions were essentially separate in the fourth century. (Further to this theme cf. an article by ROBERTS,<sup>529</sup> who adduces evidence from Pho. 14.)

31–37 (events in the last years of Phocion's life): ERRINGTON<sup>530</sup> discusses the chronology of events in this period, including Phocion's negotiations with Nicanor, which he dates between spring 318 and Phocion's death, 19 Mounychion 317.

(comparison with Caro the Younger): Even though there is no formal *synkrisis*, Plutarch is at pains to draw a comparison between his two heroes, as GEIGER<sup>531</sup> shows.

## Py.

## Biography

Full-length studies of Pyrrhus have been published by NENCI,<sup>532</sup> LÉVÉ-QUE,<sup>533</sup> who includes a discussion of Plutarch's Life and its sources, and GAROUFLIAS.<sup>533a</sup>

<sup>525</sup> F. MITCHEL, *The assessment of the allies in the Second Athenian League*, *Class. Views/FMC*, 28 (1984), 22–37.

<sup>526</sup> L. BRACCESI, *A proposito d'una notizia su Iperide*, RFIC, 95 (1967), 157–162.

<sup>527</sup> A. J. HEISSERER, *A reference to the chora basilike of Alexander the Great* (Plut. *Phokion* 18.5), in: D. F. BRIGHT and E. S. RAMAGE, edd., *Classical texts and their traditions. Studies in honor of C. R. Trahman* (Chico, CA., 1984), pp. 67–73.

<sup>528</sup> L. J. TRITLE, *Leosthenes and Plutarch's view of the Athenian strategia*, *Anc. Hist. Bull.*, 1 (1987), 6–9.

<sup>529</sup> J. T. ROBERTS, *Paradigm Lost: Tritle, Plutarch and Athenian Politics in the fourth century*, *ibid.*, 34–35.

<sup>530</sup> R. M. ERRINGTON, *Diodorus Siculus and the chronology of the early Diadochoi*, 320–311 B.C., *Hermes*, 105 (1977), 478–504, esp. 489–496.

<sup>531</sup> J. GEIGER, *Nepos and Plutarch: from Latin to Greek political biography*, ICS, 13 (1988) 245–256 at 254–256.

<sup>532</sup> G. NENCI, *Pirro. Aspirazioni egemoniche ed equilibrio mediterraneo* [Univ. di Torino, Pubbl. della Fac. di Lett. e Filos., V, fasc. 2] (Turin, 1953).

<sup>533</sup> P. LÉVÉQUE, *Pyrrhos* [BEFAR, 185] (Paris, 1957).

<sup>533a</sup> P. GAROUFLIAS, *Pyrrhus, King of Epirus* (London, 1979).



## Translations

BROŹEK has translated into Polish chaps. 4 - 5, 8 - 9, 12 - 13, 14, 17 - 19, 21, 32 - 34.<sup>534</sup>

## Sources

LÉVÊQUE<sup>535</sup> notes the diversity of Plutarch's sources in this Life. The basis for the narrative is Hieronymus of Cardia, but Plutarch has also used Proxenos, who wrote on Epeiros history (FGH Hist 425), Timaeus for the Sicilian expedition, and Phylarchus for the Peloponnesian expedition which resulted in Pyrrhus' death; Plutarch probably also was familiar with some Roman analysts, like Valerius Antias.

## Life

## a) general

FLACELIÈRE<sup>536</sup> examines the alleged connection between Pyrrhus and Delphi and concludes, on the basis of Plutarch's total silence on the matter, that none such existed; «*Pyrrhos, à mon avis [he writes], pourrait avoir à l'égard de Delphes, bien des motifs de réserve, sinon d'hostilité*» (p. 300).

## b) individual chapters

3 (Pyrrhus' few teeth and peculiar upper jaw): MARASCO<sup>537</sup> thinks that the story is an invention of the annalistic tradition, whose intent was to emphasize Pyrrhus' superhuman powers.  
 (Pyrrhus' healing powers): NENCI<sup>538</sup> examines the tradition of Pyrrhus' thaumaturgy and sees it as part of the propaganda-campaign to reinforce notions of Pyrrhus' divinity and philanthropy.  
 8 (Pyrrhus and the competition between the flute-players): VANDONI<sup>539</sup> publishes a papyrus fragment (Milan N cat. 225) containing the anecdote of Pyrrhus' reply when asked to judge who was the better of two flute-players, "Polyperchon is the best general"; the story illustrates Pyrrhus' refusal to be drawn into a discussion of an expertise which did not concern him and in the papyrus it is expanded to include a second remark by Pyrrhus in explanation

<sup>534</sup> M. BROŹEK, *Pyrrhus* 4 - 5, 8 - 9, 12 - 13, 14, 17 - 19, 21, 32 - 34, Filomatara, 191 (1965), 67 - 77; 192 (1965), 128 - 134; 193 (1965), 169 - 175.

<sup>535</sup> Op. cit. in note 533 above, pp. 61 - 66.

<sup>536</sup> R. FLACELIÈRE, *Pyrrhos et Delphes*, REA, 70 (1968), 295 - 303.

<sup>537</sup> G. MARASCO, Note ellenistiche, *Prometheus*, 9 (1983), 221 - 31 at 229 - 231.

<sup>538</sup> G. NENCI, Il segno regale e la taumaturgia di Pirro, *Miscellanea di studi alessandrini in memoria di A. Rostagni* (Torino, 1963), pp. 152 - 161.

<sup>539</sup> M. VANDONI, *Dati papiri dell'Università di Milano*, *Acme*, 8 (1955), 137 - 144 at 137 - 138.

of his first, somewhat unexpected, reply (unfortunately, this part of the papyrus is illegible).

13 (the phrase ἄλως ναυτιώδης at 13,1): TOOHEY<sup>540</sup> thinks that the phrase, which seems to mean "boredom to the point of nausea," is drawn directly or indirectly from Seneca (Ep. 24,26) and is anachronistic for the 3rd century B. C.

14 (conversation with Cimeas on the purpose of conquest): The authenticity of the conversation is defended by LÉVÊQUE (above), but this position is rejected by WILL<sup>541</sup> and WALBANK<sup>542</sup> in their reviews of LÉVÊQUE's book. More recently MARASCO<sup>543</sup> has examined the question, in particular the sources used by Plutarch; he argues that Plutarch here is drawing on Duris of Samos.

22 - 23 (Sicilian expedition): LA BUA<sup>544</sup> discusses in great detail Pyrrhus' expedition to Sicily.

26 (destruction of Aegae by Gauls): ANDRONICOS<sup>545</sup> identifies Aegae as modern Vergina, and explains the destruction of the royal tombs there as resulting from the rampages of the garrison of Gauls whom Pyrrhus had left in charge after he captured the place in 274/3 B. C.

32 (topography of Argos): LAMBRINOUDAKIS<sup>546</sup> identifies the "aspis (shield) overlooking the theatre" mentioned by Plutarch here and at Cl. 17 as a small plateau near the hill of Prophetes Elias.

## So.

## Biography

General treatments of Solon's life and political career include those by MASARACCHIA,<sup>547</sup> FERRARA,<sup>548</sup> VOX,<sup>549</sup> and OLIVA.<sup>550</sup> Cf. also two chapters by HAMMOND<sup>551</sup> and one by ANDREWES.<sup>552</sup>

<sup>540</sup> P. TOOHEY, *Plutarch, Pyrrh.* 13: ἄλως ναυτιώδης, *Glotta*, 65 (1987), 199 - 202.

<sup>541</sup> E. WILL, *RPh*, 33 (1959), 111 - 112.

<sup>542</sup> F. W. WALBANK, *English Historical Review*, 74 (1959), 93 - 94.

<sup>543</sup> Op. cit. in note 537 above, pp. 229 - 231.

<sup>544</sup> V. LA BUA, La spedizione di Pirro in Sicilia, *Settima Miscell. Greca e Romana* [Studi pubblicati dell'Istituto italiano per la storia antica], 31 (Rome, 1980), pp. 179 - 254.

<sup>545</sup> M. ANDRONICOS, Ἀνασκαφὴ στὴ Μεγάλη Τοῦρα τῆς Βεργίνης (The excavation of the great tumulus at Vergina), *AAA*, 9 (1976), 123 - 130, with Engl. summary at 130.

<sup>546</sup> V. LAMBRINOUDAKIS, Προβλήματα περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν τοπογραφίαν τοῦ Ἀργίου, *Athena*, 71 (1969 - 70), 47 - 84 at 47 - 72.

<sup>547</sup> A. MASARACCHIA, *Solone* (Florence, 1958).

<sup>548</sup> G. FERRARA, *La Politica di Solone* (Naples, 1964).

<sup>549</sup> O. VOX, *Solone autoritratto* [PROAGONES, Studi, 20] (Padua, 1984).

<sup>550</sup> P. OLIVA, Solone, *Legende und Wirklichkeit* [Xenia, 20] (Konstanz, 1988), pp. 86 - 96 contain a very full bibliography of books and articles on Solon classified under various headings.

<sup>551</sup> N. G. L. HAMMOND, *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford, 1973), chap. 5, 'Land and Society in the Athens of Solon', pp. 104 - 144 and chap. 6, 'The Chronological Basis of Solon's Reforms', pp. 145 - 169.

<sup>552</sup> A. ANDREWES, *Solon*, in: J. BOARDMAN and N. G. L. HAMMOND, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2 ed., III.3 (Cambridge, 1982) chap. 43, sect. iv, pp. 373 - 391.

There is a full collection of testimonia by MARTINA.<sup>553</sup> RUSCHENBUSCH<sup>554</sup> has collected the laws ascribed to Solon and provided a German commentary.

#### Editions

MANFREDINI and PICCIRILLI<sup>555</sup> have provided an edition with introduction, text, apparatus criticus, Italian translation and commentary.

#### MSS

The MS tradition of the Life has been studied by MANFREDINI.<sup>556</sup>

#### Life

##### a) general

PICCIRILLI<sup>557</sup> attempts to fix the chronology of this Life's composition (he places it eleventh and thinks it was written between A.D. 97 and 110) and maintains that Plutarch's sources included, besides Hermissippus and Didymus, numerous other authors whose works Plutarch knew either at first- or second-hand. SAMUEL<sup>558</sup> emphasizes the social effects of Solon's reforms on the lives of ordinary Athenian citizens; it "represented a far-reaching change in the relationship between the citizen and the state" (p. 234). LAVERY<sup>559</sup> compares Plutarch's portrayal of Lycurgus, Solon and the Elder Cato with respect to the three lawgivers' attitudes towards governmental involvement in education, towards money and trade, and their use of manipulation or trickery. AVERINCEV<sup>560</sup> analyzes Plutarch's technique of composition as illustrated by this Life; he treats various topics such as Solon's youth, the legends regarding Solon the Sage, his political activities and his involvement with the Cylonian curse, Epimenides' purification of Attica, the comparison between Solon and Lycurgus, and the difficult closing period of Solon's life, including his alleged

<sup>553</sup> A. MARTINA, Solone. Testimonianze sulla vita e l'opera (Rome, 1968).

<sup>554</sup> E. RUSCHENBUSCH, ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Die Fragmente des solonischen Gesetzeswerkes mit einer Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte [Historia Einzelschriften, 9] (Wiesbaden, 1966).

<sup>555</sup> M. MANFREDINI and L. PICCIRILLI, Plutarco. La Vita di Solone (Milan, 1977).

<sup>556</sup> M. MANFREDINI, La tradizione manoscritta della Vita Solonis di Plutarco, ASNP, 3 ser. 7 (1977), 945-998.

<sup>557</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, Cronologia relativa e fonti della Vita Solonis di Plutarco, *ibid.*, 999-1016.

<sup>558</sup> A. E. SAMUEL, Plutarch's account of Solon's reforms, GRBS, 4 (1963), 231-236.

<sup>559</sup> G. B. LAVERY, Training, trade and trickery: three lawgivers in Plutarch, CW, 67 (1973/4), 369-81.

<sup>560</sup> S. S. AVERINCEV, Nablyudenija nad kompozicionnoj tehnikoj Plutarcha v „Parallelnych Zhizhneopisanijakh“ („Solon“), Voprosy klassicheskoj Filologii, 1 (1965), 160-180.

struggles against Peisistratus. PALADINI<sup>561</sup> suggests that Plutarch was drawing on a Peripatetic tradition concerning the Seven Sages, perhaps Hermissippus' περὶ τὸν σοφῶν.

##### b) individual chapters

2 (Solon's early travels for trade): MARTINA<sup>562</sup> maintains that Plutarch expanded a conventional element found in Hermissippus "and others" about Solon's travels "for commerce" to become the program of Solon's later efforts to improve the citizenry.

3 (citation by St. Basil of fr. 4 DIEHL [= 15 WEST]): MORELLI<sup>563</sup> argues that Basil did not use Plutarch directly for this citation, but a compendium of gnomic verses in which "Theognis" (cf. Theognis 315-8) was also synopsized.

4 (Thales and the tripod): HERSHBELL<sup>564</sup> believes that Plutarch got his information about Thales (also in chaps. 2 and 6 of this Life, and elsewhere) and the other Milesian philosophers from a Peripatetic source, e.g., Hermissippus or Theophrastus.

8 ff. (the war with Megara for Salamis): FRENCH<sup>565</sup> places Solon's participation in the war with Megara early in his career; PICCIRILLI<sup>566</sup> also tries to sort out the complicated and not always coherent chronology in Plutarch's account.

11 (Sacred War): For the Sacred War in general and Solon's alleged place in it see the studies by FORREST<sup>567</sup> and SORDI.<sup>568</sup>

13 (*Hektémoroi* or *Hektémoroi*): These "sixth-parters" are studied by LOTZE,<sup>569</sup> who considers earlier theories and tries to envisage the stages by which the poor Athenian farmers were reduced to this state of indebtedness.

14 (Solon's alleged deceit of both rich and poor): Phantias' testimony on this point is rejected by MÜHL.<sup>570</sup>

(chronology of Solon's legislation): HAMMOND<sup>571</sup> wishes to separate the legislation from the archonship.

<sup>561</sup> M.-L. PALADINI, Influenza della tradizione dei Sette Savi sulla Vita di Solone di Plutarco, REG, 69 (1958), 377-411.

<sup>562</sup> A. MARTINA, Plutarco, Vita di Solone 2.1, RIL, 113 (1979), 88-98.

<sup>563</sup> G. MORELLI, Il Solone di Basilio di Cesarea, RFIC, 3 ser. 91 (1963), 182-196.

<sup>564</sup> J. HERSHBELL, Plutarch and the Milesian Philosophers, Hermes, 114 (1986), 172-185.

<sup>565</sup> A. FRENCH, Solon and the Megarian Question, JHS, 77 (1957), 238-246.

<sup>566</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, Solone e la guerra per Salamina, ASNP, 3 ser. 8 (1978), 1-13.

<sup>567</sup> W. G. FORREST, The First Sacred War, BCH, 80 (1956), 33-52.

<sup>568</sup> M. SORDI, La prima guerra sacra, RFIC, n. s. 31 (1953), 320-346.

<sup>569</sup> D. LOTZE, Hektémoroi und vorsolonisches Schuldrecht, Philologus, 102 (1958), 1-12.

<sup>570</sup> M. MÜHL, Solon und der Historiker Phantias von Lesbos, RhM, n. f. 98 (1955), 349-354.

<sup>571</sup> N. G. L. HAMMOND, (as in n. 551 above), pp. 145-69.

("tyranny is a fine stronghold, but there's no way down from it"): DEN BOER<sup>572</sup> suggests that this saying could be turned into an authentic Solonian couplet, but this is disputed by MARTINA.<sup>573</sup>

15 (cancellation of debts): MÜHl.<sup>574</sup> argues that only debts connected with agriculture and land-tenure can have been involved.

(augmentation of measures and change in coinage): this vexed topic (also with variations at Ath. Pol. 10) has called forth a wealth of treatments including those by KRAAY,<sup>575</sup> CRAWFORD,<sup>576</sup> LÉVY,<sup>577</sup> FISCHER,<sup>578</sup> RHODES<sup>579</sup> and CREATINI.<sup>580</sup> Cf. also an article by WATERS.<sup>581</sup>

(text of 15.6): CORCELLA<sup>582</sup> accepts the reading of the MS Seitenstettensis 34  $\rho\rho\iota\tau\omicron\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$  which he interprets, *ala terra, sostantivo che si legge nel testo precedente*" (the full text of Solon's poem as at Ath. Pol. 12.4).

18 (the popular judiciary): RUSCHENBUSCH<sup>583</sup> argues that both Plutarch here and his probable source, Ath. Pol. 9.1, have misunderstood *ephebis* as *appellatio*; in Solon's time the Heliaia would have been a court of first instance, not an appeals court.

20 (law requiring the taking of sides in time of *stasis*): GOLDSTEIN<sup>584</sup> believes the law to be genuine; DAVID<sup>585</sup> on the other hand argues that it is a forgery,

<sup>572</sup> W. DEN BOER, A New Fragment of Solon?, *Mnemosyne*, 4 ser. 19 (1966), 46–47.

<sup>573</sup> A. MARTINA, *Plutarco*, Sol. 14.8, QUCC, 14 (1972), 41–45.

<sup>574</sup> M. MÜHL, Solon's sogenannte  $\rho\rho\epsilon\omega\nu$   $\delta\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\eta\iota$  im Lichte der antiken Überlieferung, *RhM*, n. F. 96 (1953), 214–223.

<sup>575</sup> C. M. KRAAY, The Interpretation of *Ath. Pol.* chap. 10, in: C. M. KRAAY and G. K. JENNINGS, ed., *Essays in Greek Coinage* presented to Stanley Robinson (Oxford, 1967), pp. 1–9.

<sup>576</sup> M. H. CRAWFORD, Solon's alleged reform of weights and measures, *Eirene*, 10 (1972), 5–8.

<sup>577</sup> E. LÉVY, La réforme solonienne des mesures, poids et monnaies à propos d'une controverse récente, *Gazette Numismatique Suisse*, 23 (1973), 1–6; he generally agrees with KRAAY and believes that Androtion's testimony, as reported by Plutarch, can be reconciled with that in Ath. Pol.

<sup>578</sup> T. FISCHER, Zu Solons Maß-, Gewichts-, und Münzreform. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag, *Chiron*, 3 (1973), 4–14.

<sup>579</sup> P. J. RHODES, Solon and the Numismatists, *Num. Chron.*, 7:15 (1975), 1–11; *Idem*, A Commentary on the Aristotelian 'Athenaion Politeia' (Oxford, 1981), pp. 164–168.

<sup>580</sup> F. CREATINI, Riflessi sociali della riforma ponderale di Solone, *SCO*, 34 (1984), 127–132.

<sup>581</sup> K. H. WATERS, Solon's Price-equalization, *JHS*, 80 (1960), 181–190.

<sup>582</sup> A. CORCELLA, Su Plutarco, *Vita di Solone* 15.6, *QS*, 28 (1988), 165–169.

<sup>583</sup> F. RUSCHENBUSCH, *Ἡλιαία*. Die Tradition über das solonische Volksgericht, *Historia* 14 (1965), 381–384.

<sup>584</sup> J. A. GOLDSTEIN, Solon's law for an activist citizenry, *Historia*, 21 (1972), 538–545.

<sup>585</sup> E. DAVID, Solon, neutrality and partisan literature of late fifth-century Athens, *MH*, 41 (1984), 129–138. See also V. BEKS, Solon's law forbidding neutrality and *Lysias* 31, *Historia*, 24 (1975), 493–495; R. DEVELIN, Solon's law on *stasis*, *ibid.*, 26 (1977), 507–508; and K. VON FRITZ, Nochmals das Solonische Gesetz gegen Neutralität im Bürgerzwist, *ibid.*, 245–247; B. MANVILLE, Solon's law of *stasis* and *atimia* in archaic Athens, *JAPHA*, 110 (1980), 213–221 [for]; J. BLEICKEN, Zum sogenannten *Stasis-Gesetz* Solons, in: J. BLEICKEN, ed., *Symposium für Alfred Heuss* [Frankfurter Althistorische

—fabricated by a person closely connected with the so-called moderate oligarchs of late fifth-century Athens (i.e., the Theramenean group)" (p. 135).  
(law on dowries): PICCIRILLI<sup>586</sup> argues that Solon's legislation was intended to reduce luxurious dowries.

21 (law against public rituals of mourning): On the basis of the archaeological evidence (sixth century funerary monuments and pictorial representations), CORDANO<sup>587</sup> believes that these restrictions on public mourning are post-Solonian.

23 (law on procuring): MAFFI<sup>588</sup> maintains that the laws against procuring applied only to freeborn women.

(text of 23.3) VAN DEN OUDENRIJN<sup>589</sup> defends the MS tradition  $\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\omega\nu$  (which ZIEGLER also prints) against the popular conjecture  $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omega\nu$ ; "Solon, in his valuation of sacrifices, reckons a sheep and a drachme as equivalent to a *medimnos*" (p. 20).

24 (law on naturalized citizens): This law has been studied by PAGLIARA.<sup>590</sup>

25 (*axones* and *kurbets*): Among the numerous treatments of these material embodiments of Solon's laws may be mentioned those by ANDREWES,<sup>591</sup> who believes that "the original laws of Solon were available for study in the fourth century, and indeed, much later" (p. 26); PICCIRILLI,<sup>592</sup> who posits, as the authority for Plutarch's account, the sources used by Didymus; a monograph by STROUD<sup>593</sup>; and an article by ROBERTSON.<sup>594</sup>

26 (alleged post-legislative travels): Among treatments of this problematic topic may be mentioned those by REEKER,<sup>595</sup> PODLECKI,<sup>596</sup> and SHEPPARD.<sup>597</sup> ALESSANDRI<sup>598</sup> argues that Plutarch's account of Solon's participation in the founding of Soli in Cyprus is unhistorical.

Studien, 12] (Frankfurt, 1986) [against]. Cf. also C. PECORELLA LONGO, Sulla legge 'Soloniana' contro la neutralità, *Historia*, 37 (1988), 374–79.

<sup>586</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, La legge di Solone sulla dote (Plut., *Sol.*, 20.6), in: L. GASPERINI, ed., *Scritti storico-epigrafici in memoria di Marcello Zambelli* [Univ. di Macerata, Pubbl. Fac. di Lett. e Filos., V] (Macerata, 1978), pp. 321–324.

<sup>587</sup> F. CORDANO, Morte e pianto rituale nell'Atene del VI sec. a. C., *Arch. Class.*, 32 (1980) [1983], 186–197.

<sup>588</sup> A. MAFFI, Le leggi sulle donne IG 4, 72, 16–20, *Plut. Sol.* 23, 1–2, in: *Sodalitas*. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino [Bibl. di Labeo, 8] (Naples, 1984–5), III, pp. 1553–1567.

<sup>589</sup> C. M. A. VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, Solon's system of property-classes once more, *Mnemosyne*, 4 ser. 5 (1952), 19–27.

<sup>590</sup> C. PAGLIARA, Il νόμος τῶν ἠμεροποιῶν τῶν Solone, *AFL*, 2 (1964–5), 5–19.

<sup>591</sup> A. ANDREWES, The Survival of Solon's Axones, in: D. W. BRADEEN and M. F. MCCREIGOR, ed., *Φόρος*. Tribute to B. D. Merritt (Locust Valley, N. Y. 1974), pp. 21–28.

<sup>592</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, *Plutarco*. V. Solonis 25, 1–2, *ASNP*, 3 ser. 7 (1977), 999–1016.

<sup>593</sup> R. STROUD, The Axones and Kurbets of Drakon and Solon (Berkeley, 1979).

<sup>594</sup> N. ROBERTSON, Solon's Axones and Kurbets, and the sixth century background, *Hermes*, 35 (1986), 147–176.

<sup>595</sup> H.-D. RUEKER, *Solons Reisen*, *AA&A*, 17 (1971), 96–104.

<sup>596</sup> A. J. PODLECKI, Solon's Sojourns, in: P. T. BRANNAN, ed., *Classica et Iberica*. A Festschrift in honor of the Rev. Joseph M.-F. Marique, S. J. (Worcester, Mass., 1975), pp. 31–40.

<sup>597</sup> A. R. SHEPPARD, The date of Solon's travels, *LCM*, 5 (1980), 205–208.

<sup>598</sup> S. ALESSANDRI, Solone a Cipro, *AFL*, 8–10 (1977–80), 169–193.

## Thm.

## Biography

General works on Themistocles have been produced by PAPASTAVROU,<sup>599</sup> PODLECKI,<sup>600</sup> and LENARDON.<sup>601</sup> To be noted also are articles by DEN BOER<sup>602</sup> and FROST.<sup>603</sup>

## Editions and commentaries

There is an edition of this Life with brief commentary in French by FLACELIÈRE,<sup>604</sup> a commentary in English without accompanying text by FROST,<sup>605</sup> and an edition of Thm. and Cam. with Italian translation and commentary by CARENA, MANFREDINI and PICCIRILLI.<sup>606</sup>

## MSS

MANFREDINI<sup>607</sup> catalogues and discusses the manuscript families of the tripartite (Y) and bipartite (S and its descendants) recensions.

## Textual

VASMANOLIS<sup>608</sup> offers exegesis of textual points and suggested emendations at 2,4; 2,8; 3,1; 5,6<sup>609</sup>; 6,1; 11,1; 11,3; 13,5; 14,3 (bis); 14,4; 16,1; 16,2; 16,5; 22,2; 23,4; 29,1; 29,2; 29,5 and 29,9.

<sup>599</sup> I. PAPASTAVROU, *Θεμιστοκλής Φεράρτιος*. Ἱστορία τοῦ τριάντος καὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς του (Athens, 1970); German trans. by A. SIDERAS (Darmstadt, 1978).

<sup>600</sup> A. J. PODLECKI, *The Life of Themistocles*. A critical survey of the literary and archaeological evidence (Montreal, 1975).

<sup>601</sup> R. J. LENARDON, *The Saga of Themistocles* (London, 1978).

<sup>602</sup> W. DEN BOER, *Themistocles in fifth century historiography*, *Mnemosyne*, 4 ser. 15 (1962), 225–237.

<sup>603</sup> F. J. FROST, *Themistocles' place in Athenian politics*, *CSCA*, 1 (1968), 103–124.

<sup>604</sup> R. FLACELIÈRE, *Plutarque. Vie de Thémistocle* [Collection de textes grecs commentés 15] (Paris, 1972).

<sup>605</sup> F. J. FROST, *Plutarch's Themistocles*. A historical commentary (Princeton, N. J., 1980).

<sup>606</sup> C. CARENA, M. MANFREDINI, and L. PICCIRILLI, *Le Vite di Themistocle e di Camillo* (Milan, 1983).

<sup>607</sup> M. MANFREDINI, *Note sulla tradizione manoscritta delle 'Viteae Thesaei—Romuli' e Themistocleis—Camilli' di Plutarco*, *CCG*, 4 (1983), 401–407.

<sup>608</sup> G. E. VASMANOLIS, *Κριτικά καὶ ἐρμηνευτικά εἰς Πλουτάρχου Θεμιστοκλέα, Πλατόν, 25* (1973), 281–293.

<sup>609</sup> Cf. also IDEM, *Ἐπανόρθωσις καὶ συμπληρώσεις εἰς παλαιότεραν ἐργασίαν*, *ibid.*, 28 (1976), 286–287.

## Life

## a) general

MARTIN<sup>610</sup> shows that in Plutarch's portrait of Themistocles his dominant characteristics are *sunestia* and *philotimia*.

## b) individual chapters

1 (membership in Lycomid genos): This and other topics are taken up in an article by PICCIRILLI.<sup>611</sup>

2 (text of 2,3): MARTIN<sup>612</sup> defends the MS reading *ὑπεροπῶν* (which had also been accepted by HOLDEN) for MADVIC's widely accepted emendation *ὑπεροπῶν*.

(Mnesiphilus): A philosophical *diadoché* Solon – Mnesiphilus – Themistocles is postulated by FERRARA,<sup>613</sup> cf. also an article by FROST.<sup>614</sup>

(decree of *apokéruxis* by his father): For this topic cf. a study by PICCIRILLI<sup>615</sup> as well as the article mentioned in note 611, pp. 161–162.

4 (Miltiades' alleged opposition to Themistocles' naval policy): GRUEN<sup>616</sup> believes that Stesimbrotus' testimony should be accepted.

8 (Artemisium and the temple of Artemis): PICCIRILLI<sup>617</sup> discusses Themistocles' activities under the patronage of Artemis (here and in chap. 22).

11 (decree for recall of the ostracized): The conflicting traditions regarding this decree (also at Ari. 8) are studied by BURSTEIN.<sup>618</sup>

19 (Themistocles' naval policy): According to RAUBITSCHER<sup>619</sup> this chapter derives from an anti-democratic interpretation that linked proximity to the sea with domination by the demos; cf. also an article by HAAS.<sup>620</sup>

20 (scheme to burn the Spartan ships): GIANNELLI<sup>621</sup> thinks that the story here (and at Ari. 22) goes back to a fabrication by Theopompus model-

<sup>610</sup> H. MARTIN, Jr., *The Character of Plutarch's Themistocles*, *TAPhA*, 92 (1961), 326–339.

<sup>611</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, *Themistoclea*, *MH*, 39 (1982), 157–164.

<sup>612</sup> H. MARTIN, Jr. (see note 436 above), 192–194.

<sup>613</sup> G. FERRARA, *Themistocle e Solone*, *Maia*, 16 (1964), 55–70.

<sup>614</sup> F. J. FROST, *Themistocles and Mnesiphilus*, *Historia*, 20 (1971), 20–25.

<sup>615</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, *L'apokéruxis di Themistocle*, in: *Studi in onore di A. Biscardi I* (Milan, 1982), pp. 343–354.

<sup>616</sup> E. S. GRUEN, *Stesimbrotus on Miltiades and Themistocles*, *CSCA*, 3 (1970), 91–98.

<sup>617</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, *Artemide e la metis di Themistocle*, *QS*, 13 (1981), 143–166.

<sup>618</sup> S. M. BURSTEIN, *The recall of the ostracized and the Themistocles Decree*, *CSCA*, 4 (1971), 93–110.

<sup>619</sup> A. E. RAUBITSCHER, *Meeresnähe und Volksherrschaft*, *WS*, 71 (1958), 112–115.

<sup>620</sup> C. J. HAAS, *Athenian naval power before Themistocles*, *Historia*, 34 (1985), 29–46.

<sup>621</sup> G. GIANNELLI, *Chi incendiò le navi persiane a Micale?*, in: *Studi in onore di U. E. Paoli* (Florence, 1955), pp. 355–358.

led on the account in Herodotus (9.106), where it was probably Themistocles who was responsible for burning the captured Persian ships after Mycale.

21 (Timocreon, Themistocles' adversary): Cf. articles by FORNARA,<sup>622</sup> MATTINGLY,<sup>623</sup> ROBERTSON,<sup>624</sup> SCHIEBER,<sup>625</sup> who believes that Timocreon's poem against Themistocles was written in the spring of 477, and VOX.<sup>626</sup>

22 (shrine to Artemis Aristoboulé in Melite): THREPSIADES and VANDERPOOL<sup>627</sup> published an excavation done in 1958 which they believe to be this shrine, but reservations have been expressed by AMANDRY.<sup>628</sup>

23 (Themistocles and Pausanias): BARRETT<sup>629</sup> tries to reconcile Plutarch's account with that in Diodorus (11.54–6); cf. also articles by PODLECKI<sup>630</sup> and CAWKWELL.<sup>631</sup>

24 (Themistocles on Corcyra): Cf. an article by PICCIRILLI.<sup>632</sup>

25 (Themistocles' escape-route to Asia): This and other topics are discussed by FLACELIERE<sup>633</sup> (also ch. 31: dates of Themistocles' birth and death; ch. 20: Themistocles' opposition to the Amphictyons' plan to expel Medizing states).

27 ff. (exile): cf. articles by VAN COMPERNOLLE,<sup>634</sup> and CULASSO GASTALDI.<sup>635</sup>

<sup>622</sup> C. FORNARA, Some aspects of the career of Pausanias of Sparta, *Historia*, 15 (1966), 257–271 at 257–261.

<sup>623</sup> H. B. MATTINGLY, Poets and Politicians in fifth century Greece, in: K. KINZL, ed., *Greece and the eastern Mediterranean in ancient history and prehistory. Studies presented to Fritz Schachermeyr* (Berlin and New York, 1977), pp. 231–245 at 231–236.

<sup>624</sup> N. ROBERTSON, Timocreon and Themistocles, *AJP*, 101 (1980), 61–78.

<sup>625</sup> S. S. SCHIEBER, Leontychidas in Thessaly, *AC*, 51 (1982), 5–14.

<sup>626</sup> O. VOX, Bacchylide e Timocreonte contro Themistocle, *Prometheus*, 10 (1984), 117–120.

<sup>627</sup> J. THREPSIADES and E. VANDERPOOL, Themistocles' sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboulé, *Adelt.*, 19 (1965), 26–36.

<sup>628</sup> P. AMANDRY, Themistocle a Mélite, in: ΧΑΡΙΕΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΝ Κ. ΟΡΛΑΝΔΟΝ, 4 (Athens, 1967), pp. 265–279.

<sup>629</sup> J. F. BARRETT, The Downfall of Themistocles, *GRBS*, 18 (1977), 291–305.

<sup>630</sup> A. J. PODLECKI, Themistocles and Pausanias, *RFIC*, 104 (1976), 293–311.

<sup>631</sup> G. L. CAWKWELL, The Fall of Themistocles, in: *Auckland Classical Essays presented to F. M. Blakelock* (Auckland and London, 1970), pp. 39–58.

<sup>632</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, Themistocle *επιγρήτης* dei Corciresi, *ASNP*, 3 ser. 3 (1973) 317–355.

<sup>633</sup> R. FLACELIERE, Sur quelques points obscurs de la Vie de Themistocle, *REA*, 55 (1953), 5–28.

<sup>634</sup> R. VAN COMPERNOLLE, Une tradition acheménide sur l'exil de Themistocle<sup>2</sup>, in: J. SERVAIS et al., edd., *Stemmata. Mélanges de philologie, d'histoire et d'archéologie grecques offerts à J. Labarbe* [L'antiquité classique, suppl.1] (Liège et Louvain-La Neuve, 1987), pp. 267–273.

<sup>635</sup> E. CULASSO GASTALDI, Themistocle e la via dell' esilio, in: L. BRACCESI, ed., *Tre Studi su Themistocle* (Padua, 1987), pp. 133–163.

Ths.

Myth

Various aspects of the Theseus myth have been studied by DEN BOER,<sup>636</sup> DUGAS and FLACELIERE,<sup>637</sup> BROMMER,<sup>638</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD,<sup>639</sup> and NEILS.<sup>640</sup> Cf. also a collection of articles edited by WARD.<sup>641</sup>

Editions and Translations

There is an edition of this Life (along with Rom.), with commentary in Italian, by AMPOLO and MANFREDINI.<sup>642</sup> PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ<sup>643</sup> has produced a Spanish translation of the Ths. and Lyc. (along with their companions, Ro. and Nu.).

MSS

Cf. the study by MANFREDINI,<sup>644</sup> already mentioned.

Life

a) general

Wüst<sup>645</sup> looks at Plutarch's 'Life of Theseus' and 'Life of Solon' to try to explain the question of the connection between the isomoria of Theseus and that of Solon and also to determine the meaning of ἐπιγέωποι. DEN BOER,<sup>646</sup> who finds it hard to understand why Plutarch took seriously the historicity of his sources, points out that Plutarch nevertheless recognized the difficulty of getting a true picture of Theseus. FROST<sup>647</sup> argues that Plutarch did special research for the Ths., without merely relying on his copious reading and excellent memory. "Since the *Theseus* was one of his last works, this

<sup>636</sup> W. DEN BOER, Theseus: the growth of a myth in history, *G&R*, n. s. 16 (1969), 1–13.

<sup>637</sup> C. DUGAS and R. FLACELIERE, *Thésée, images et récits* (Paris, 1958).

<sup>638</sup> F. BROMMER, Theseus. Die Taten des griechischen Helden in der antiken Kunst und Literatur (Darmstadt, 1982).

<sup>639</sup> C. SOURVINOU-INWOOD, Theseus as Son and Stepson. A tentative illustration of Greek mythological mentality [BICS, Suppl. 40] (London, 1979).

<sup>640</sup> J. NEILS, *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus* [Archaeologica, 76] (Rome, 1987).

<sup>641</sup> A. G. WARD, ed., *The Quest for Theseus* (London and New York, 1970).

<sup>642</sup> C. AMPOLO and M. MANFREDINI, *Le vite di Teseo e di Romolo* (Milan, 1988).

<sup>643</sup> A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, *Plutarco, Vidas paralelas, I: Teseo-Romulo, Licurgo-Numa* (Madrid, 1985).

<sup>644</sup> M. MANFREDINI, see *Thm.* above, note 607 (p. 4120).

<sup>645</sup> F. R. WÜST, *Gedanken über die attischen Stände. Ein Versuch*, *Historia*, 8 (1959), 1–11.

<sup>646</sup> As in note 636 above.

<sup>647</sup> F. J. FROST, *Plutarch and Theseus*, *CB*, 60 (1984), 65–73.

unique material must have been produced by research completed specifically for this *Life*" (p. 67).

LARMOUR<sup>648</sup> discusses various ways that Plutarch selected and manipulated his material in such a way as "both to enhance the parallels [and contrasts] between Theseus and Romulus and, more importantly, to display in their actions those traits of character and morality which are to be delineated in the *Synkrisis*" (p. 375).

b) individual chapters

<sup>16</sup> (φωήνν ... και μοῦσαν): RENEHAN<sup>649</sup> maintains that this is not, as ZIEGLER suggested, a poetic tag, but rather a reminiscence and blending of certain phrases in Plato (Minos 320 E, Laws 666 D and 667 A).

<sup>20</sup> (influence of Megarian tradition/the *cowade*): PICCIRILLI<sup>650</sup> looks at the Megarian tradition in this *Life*, in particular the use of Hereas (cited here and at ch. 32.7, Theseus' slaying of Sciron's son Alycus) as a source. In connection with the Cypriot ritual commemorating the pregnancy of Ariadne, KOURTAS<sup>651</sup> considers the tradition of the *cowade*, in which young men in Greece imitate pregnant women, and brings it into association with modern examples of *appevoλoxeia*, male (mimic) pregnancy.

<sup>21</sup> (Delian granos dance in imitation of the labyrinth): DUCHEMIN<sup>652</sup> connects the labyrinthine movements of the 'crane dance' with nuptial or initiation dances among the sacred grottoes and mountain caverns of Crete.

<sup>23</sup> (Theseus' forgetfulness): KOURTAS<sup>653</sup> discusses Theseus' neglect to put up the white sail in terms of the Freudian theory of parapraxis: he covertly desired to succeed his father, Aigeus, on the throne.

<sup>25</sup> (aristocratic constitution/institution of Isthmian Games): SARKADY<sup>654</sup> argues that the ascription to Theseus of an aristocratic constitution dates to the archaic period and that the 'democratic Theseus' is a later invention. ANGELI BERARDINI<sup>655</sup> discusses an Oxyrhynchus papyrus apparently from an hypothesis to Pindar's Isthmians, which she reconstructs in light of Plutarch's

<sup>648</sup> D. H. J. LARMOUR, Plutarch's compositional methods in the Theseus and Romulus, *TAPA*, 118 (1988), 361 - 375.

<sup>649</sup> R. RENEHAN, Poet or Plato in Plutarch?, *CP*, 74 (1979), 244 - 245.

<sup>650</sup> L. PICCIRILLI, Tre ricerche sulla storiografia megarese, *ASNP*, 3 ser. 4 (1974), 387 - 422.

<sup>651</sup> D. KOURTAS, ΔΥΟ ΕΠΕΣΟΔΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΖΩΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ, *Platon*, 30 (1978), 128 - 133 (English summary, p. 132: Two incidents from the *Life* of Theseus indicating the hellenism of Cyprus and of the Aegean Sea).

<sup>652</sup> J. DUCHEMIN, Le theme du heros au Labyrinthe dans la « Vie de Thésée », in: Association Guillaume Budé (see note 6 above), pp. 533 - 542.

<sup>653</sup> KOURTAS as in note 651 above.

<sup>654</sup> J. SARKADY, Die Theseus-Sage und die sog. theseische Verfassung (Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* XII und *Plut. Theseus* XXV), *AAHtung.*, 17 (1969), 1 - 10.

<sup>655</sup> P. ANGELI BERARDINI, Una nuova fonte sull'istituzione dei giochi istmici (P. Oxy. 2451 fr. 1), *QUCC.*, 16 (1973), 138 - 141.

description of Theseus' foundation of the games as an ἀγών ἐπιδρόμος commemorating his slaying of Sinis.

<sup>32</sup> (Menestheus/Alycus): CANTARELLI<sup>656</sup> looks at the whole mythic tradition concerning Menestheus; on the basis of a passage in Hermogenes (περί τῶν στυάσεων, WALZ, *Rhetores Graeci* VII, 5, 26) she believes that the tradition of his conflict with Theseus originated in the partisan battles of the late fifth century. She also compares Plutarch's account of the rape of Helen in chs. 31 - 34 with other versions. Along similar lines GIANFRANCESCO<sup>657</sup> discusses the Hermogenes passage just referred to and tries to reconstruct Antiphon's *λόγος δίκαιονικός* for Menestheus as aristocratic (oligarchic) propaganda circulated at the time of the Sicilian expedition. ΖΑΪΤΣΕΥ<sup>658</sup> suggests that the hexameter fragment which Plutarch cites at ch. 32, 7 from Hereas (on whom see on ch. 20 above) might have been inserted at the beginning of Bk. 2 of Hesiod's 'Catalogue of Women'.

Ti.

Biography

Full-length studies have been produced by WESTLAKE,<sup>659</sup> SORDI,<sup>660</sup> and TALBERT.<sup>661</sup>

Sources

FONTANA<sup>662</sup> reviews the sources relating to Timoleon, concluding that there is an apparent unity of tradition which reaches its culmination in the work of Timaeus, and, among later writers, Plutarch. The archaeological evidence also supports Timaeus' enthusiastic portrait of Timoleon. TALBERT's book contains two chapters of particular relevance, (1) "Timoleon and Plutarch," in which Plutarch's characterization of Timoleon is examined, and (2) "The Literary Sources for Timoleon's Career" (Plutarch used Timaeus as a main source, along with a Hellenistic, perhaps Peripatetic, biography also

<sup>656</sup> F. CANTARELLI, Il personaggio di Menesteo nel mito e nelle ideologie politiche greche, *RIL*, 108 (1974), 459 - 505.

<sup>657</sup> L. GIANFRANCESCO, Un frammento sofistico nella *Vita di Teseo* di Plutarco?, *CISA*, 3 (1975), 7 - 20.

<sup>658</sup> A. I. ΖΑΪΤΣΕΥ, Un fragment d'Hésiode sur Thésée et Halycos, *VDI*, 72 (1960), 93 - 96 (in Russian).

<sup>659</sup> H. D. WESTLAKE, Timoleon and his Relations with Tyrants (Manchester, 1952).

<sup>660</sup> M. SORDI, Timoleonte [ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΑ. III] (Palermo, 1961).

<sup>661</sup> R. J. A. TALBERT, Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily, 344 - 317 B. C. (Cambridge, 1974).

<sup>662</sup> M. J. FONTANA, Fortuna di Timoleonte. Rassegna delle fonti letterarie, *Kokalos*, 4 (1958), 3 - 23.

used by Nepos). SORDI<sup>663</sup> argues that the principal source was not Timaeus but Athanis; this accounts for the difference in the accounts of Plutarch and Diodorus, who did use Timaeus.

### Life

#### a) general

SIÖQVIST<sup>664</sup> looks at the Timoleon legend in Plutarch and Diodorus, whose source must be the propaganda which the clever statesman himself was concerned to foster, e.g., that concerning his Sicilian enterprise as falling under the protection of Demeter and Kore, to whom a sanctuary has been excavated at Morgantina. GEIGER<sup>665</sup> analyzes the Life and maintains that it was written after A.D. 99, late in its series; he, like others, proposes Timaeus as Plutarch's main source. SWAIN<sup>665a</sup> looks at the element of *tyché* in both Timoleon and Aemilius, concluding that in Ti. it indicates divine support associated with his cause of liberation of the Greeks, while in Aem. it is used only in the sense of his own personal fortune.

#### b) individual chapters

8 (the crossing to Italy): BICKNELL<sup>666</sup> discusses the timing of Timoleon's crossing to Italy and the appearance of the comet, comparing the account in Plutarch with that in Diodorus.  
 11 (attitude towards the Carthaginians): PRANDI<sup>667</sup> examines the attitude towards the Carthaginians as represented here in a traditional topos.  
 29 (the inscription at Corinth commemorating the battle at the Crimissus river): PRANDI<sup>668</sup> argues that the inscription published by K. K. SMITH in AJA, 23 (1919), 362–372 and containing the phrases "from the enemy," "founder" and "freedom," is not that referred to by Plutarch here, but rather Timoleon's dedication to Poseidon mentioned by Diodorus (16,80,6). KENT<sup>669</sup> suggests that Timoleon's victory monument is to be identified as a bronze Poseidon, possibly by Lysippus of Sikyon.  
 35 (the resettlement of Sicily): ASHERI<sup>670</sup> examines the issues surrounding the resettlement of sites in Sicily; in the first article, he prefers to read Cos in

<sup>663</sup> M. SORDI, *Timeo e Atanide, fonti per le vicende di Timoleonte*, Athenaeum, n. s. 55 (1977), 239–249.

<sup>664</sup> E. SIÖQVIST, *Timoleonte e Morgantina*, Kokalos, 4 (1958), 107–118.

<sup>665</sup> GEIGER, (see note 80 above), pp. 99–104.

<sup>665a</sup> S. SWAIN, *Plutarch's Aemilius and Timoleon*, *Historia*, 38 (1989), 314–334.

<sup>666</sup> P. J. BICKNELL, *The date of Timoleon's crossing to Italy and the comet of 361 B. C.*, *CQ*, n. s. 34 (1984), 30–34.

<sup>667</sup> L. PRANDI, *La fides punica e il pregiudizio anticarraiginese*, *CISA*, 6 (1979), 90–97.

<sup>668</sup> *Idem*, *Le dediche di Timoleonte a Corinto per la vittoria del Crimiso*, *RIL*, 111 (1977), 35–43.

<sup>669</sup> J. H. KENT, *The victory monument of Timoleon at Corinth*, *Hesperia*, 21 (1952), 9–18.

<sup>670</sup> D. ASHERI, *A note on the resettlement of Gela under Timoleon*, *Historia*, 19 (1970), 618–623; *Idem*, *I coloni etei ad Agrigento*, *Kokalos*, 16 (1970), 79–88.

place of Ceos as the source for the settlers for the reorganization of Gela in 337 B. C., while in the second, he argues that Agrigento was repopulated by Timoleon with settlers from Elea, which may be identified with Flen of Epirus.

### Addendum

The publication of the following volume has recently been announced: A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ and G. DEL CERRO CALDERÓN, edd., *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Obra y Tradición. Actas del I Symposium Español sobre Plutarco* (Fuengirola 1988, Málaga, 1990). Among the contents essays of relevance to the present survey are: A. BRAVO GARCÍA, *A proposito del Escorialensis Q.I.6 (507) de las Vitae: Notas de Paleografía y Codicología*, pp. 249–256; E. CRESPO, *El final de la guerra del Peloponeso: Notas Históricas a Plutarco, Vida de Lisandro*, pp. 13–18, pp. 63–72; M. GARCÍA VALDES, *Algunas sugerencias sobre la Vida de Agesilao*, pp. 27–38; F. J. GÓMEZ ESPINOSA, *Plutarco y la revolución social*, pp. 87–94; M. MANFREDINI, *Codici minori delle Vite*, pp. 9–20; and J. PASCUAL GONZÁLEZ, *Plutarco y su visión de la hegemonía tebana*, pp. 73–80.

A. BLAMIRE has published *Plutarch, Life of Kimon* (Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, Bulletin Supplement 56, Classical Handbook 2] 1989) containing ZIEGLER's text, an English translation, a commentary devoted mainly to historical matters, and an extensive bibliography.

AUFSTIEG UND NIEDERGANG  
DER RÖMISCHEN WELT  
(ANRW)

---

RISE AND DECLINE  
OF THE ROMAN WORLD

HERAUSGEBEN VON / EDITED BY  
WOLFGANG HAASE  
UND / AND

HILDEGARD TEMPORINI

TEIL II: PRINCIPAT  
BAND 33.6

---

PART II: PRINCIPATE  
VOLUME 33.6



WALTER DE GRUYTER · BERLIN · NEW YORK 1992

AUFSTIEG UND NIEDERGANG  
DER RÖMISCHEN WELT  
(ANRW)

GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR ROMS  
IM SPIEGEL DER NEUEREN FORSCHUNG

TEIL II: PRINCIPAT

BAND 33:

SPRACHE UND LITERATUR

6. TEILBAND

(ALLGEMEINES ZUR LITERATUR DES  
2. JAHRHUNDERTS UND EINZELNE AUTOREN DER  
TRAJANISCHEN UND FRÜHHADRIANISCHEN ZEIT  
[SCHLUSS])

HERAUSGEBEN  
VON  
WOLFGANG HAASE



WALTER DE GRUYTER · BERLIN · NEW YORK 1992

SUNY ALBANY  
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY