multiple courts each day and multiple cases heard by each court, that may have pushed the number of cases over a thousand.

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BUILDING FOR THE NYMPHS

Now, exactly this same contemplation of subservience to human use makes the Greek take some pleasure in *rocks*, when they assume one particular form, but one only – that of a *cave*.[1]

South-west of Pharsalus, in one of the cliffs overlooking the southern edge of the Enipeus valley, is an ancient shrine to the Nymphs known as Alogopati or Karapla cave.[2] Information on the sanctuary and its founder survives in two rock-cut inscriptions carved respectively on the east and south walls of the cliff. The text on the east wall, assigned palaeographically to the late sixth/early fifth century B.C.E., contains the dedication of the cave by a certain Pantalces (*SEG* 1, 1923, 247 = *IThess.* 1, 72). The second inscription, of a somewhat later date, is an epigram of twenty hexameters addressed to the visitors of the cave (*SEG* 1, 1923, 248 = *IThess.* 1, 73). The first eight lines of this poem offer a brief but lively overview of the shrine, its cults and its furnishings; I print them below as they appear in the recent edition by J.C. Decourt:[3]

θεός.
χαίρετε τοὶ πᾳ[ριόντες, ἄπ]ᾳ[ς] θῆλύς τε καὶ ἄρσην,
ἄνδρες τε ἠδὲ γυναῖκες ὁμῶς παῖδές τε κόραι τε·
χῶρον δ᾽ εἰς ἱερὸν Νύμφαις καὶ Πανὶ καὶ Ἑρμῆι,
Ἀπόλλονι ἄνακτι, Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἑταίραις,
Χίρωνος τ᾽ ἄντρον καὶ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ ἠδ᾽ Ὑγιείας·
τούτων ἐστὶ τ[ά]δ᾽, ὦνα Πάν, ἱαρώτατ᾽ ἐν αὐτῶι
ἔμφυτα καὶ πίνακες καὶ ἀγάλματα δῶρά τε πολλ[ά]·

[1] Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 3 (London, 1872[3]), 19.

[2] Essential bibliography: N.J. Giannopoulos, '*Ἄντρον Νυμφῶν καὶ Χίρωνος παρὰ τὴν Φάρσαλον*', *BCH* 36 (1912), 668–9; '*Φαρσάλου ἄντρον ἐπιγεγραμμένον*', *AE* (1919), 48–53, pls 1, 3 = *SEG* 1 (1923), 247–8 (with corrections and additional supplements by J.J. Hondius and W. Croenert). D. Levi, 'L'antro delle ninfe e di Pan in Tessaglia', *ASAA* 6–7 (1923–4), 27–42, pls 1–51. F. Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien: Landeskundliche und geschichtliche Beschreibung Thessaliens in der hellenischen und römischen Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1924; repr. Amsterdam, 1967), 144. W. Peek, 'Metrische Inschriften', *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand* (Munich, 1938), 18–27, pl. 1. J.C. Decourt, *Inscriptions de Thessalie, I : Les cités de la vallée de l'Énipeus*, Études épigraphiques 3 (Paris and Athens, 1995), 90–4, nn. 72–3, pl. 8, figs 47, 48. J. Riethmüller, *Asklepieia: Heiligtümer und Kulte einer griechischen Heilgottheit*, Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 2 (Heidelberg, 2001), 293–6, n. 147.

[3] Decourt (n. 2).

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7 Decourt (after Hondius): *τόδ'*, *ὦνα Πάν*, *ἱαρωτὰ τ'* Giannopoulos; *τὸ χω<ρί>ον ἅπαν ἱαρωτὰ τ'* Peek.

God.
Welcome passersby, every female and male, men and women as well as boys and girls, to a place sacred to the Nymphs, Pan and Hermes, to Lord Apollo, Heracles and the fellow deities, to the cave of Chiron, Asclepius and Hygeia: theirs, o Lord Pan, are these most sacred things inside it, plantings, icons, statues, and many gifts.

Obscured by the weathering of the rock, the text of these lines is hardly legible today without the aid of a squeeze. Especially problematic is the reading of line 7. Decourt opts for the old restoration *τ[ά]δ̣'*, *ὦνα Πάν* over Peek's hypermetrical *τὸ χω<ρί>ον ἅπαν*, but this choice likewise fails to satisfy the metre, being one quantity short of completing the hexameter.[4] In terms of sense, the sudden shift in addressee is just as dubious: what is this address to Pan doing, in a speech otherwise directed from start to finish to the visitors of the cave?[5]

Editors who support the restoration *τ[ά]δ̣'*, *ὦνα Πάν* also read *ἱαρώτατ'* instead of *ἱαρωτὰ τ'* in the second half of the line, thus depriving the text of a perfectly sound Thessalian idiom.[6] As *ἱαρωτὰ τ' ἐν αὐτῶι* implies, the word missing *in lacuna* had to be another designation of space, such as *χῶρον* in line 4 or *ἄντρον* in line 6. Based on my own examination of the inscription, I suggest *τ[ὸ δ]ὡ̣[μα] ἅπαν*, which fits the traces on the rock as well as the required metrical positions:[7]

τούτων ἐστὶ τ[ὸ δ]ὡ̣[μα] ἅπαν ἱαρωτά τ' ἐν αὐτῶι

Theirs is the entire building and the sacred things within it

That a natural formation should be referred to as a building is not as strange as it may seem. *Δῶμα* is employed metaphorically in both epic and epigrammatic poetry to indicate a cave inhabited by Nymphs.[8] In the case of the Alogopati/

[4] *ὦνα* gives ‒ ˘ in the third metron. To support this reading it would be necessary to correct *ὦναξ* or *ὦ ἄνα*.

[5] *χαίρετε τοὶ πᾰ[ριόντες*, line 1. In the second half of the epigram, not printed here: *ἀναβαίνετ[ε]*, *θύετε*, line 19; *εὔχεσθε*, *εὐφραίνεσθε*, line 20.

[6] See *ἐν τοῖς ἱαρουτοῖς* in an inscription from Krannon, *IG* 9.2.461b.

[7] The stone has: *ΤΟΥΤΩΝΕΣΤΙΪ*[1–2]*Ω*[1–2]*ΑΠΑΝΙΑΡΩΤΑΤΕΝΑΥΤΩΙ*. A sequence ˘ ‒ ˘ is required to complete the hexameter (‒ ‒ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ⁝ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ‒), mutilated in its second and third biceps. The hiatus between *δ]ὡ̣[μα]* and *ἅπαν* is consistent with the extensive use of this feature throughout the poem, cf. *IThess* 1, 73, lines 2, 4–6, 8, 10–11,15–18. For the use of the feminine caesura, see lines 2–3, 5, 11, 15, 18, 20.

[8] e.g. *Od.* 5.6, *ἐν δώμασι νύμφης*; *Studia Pontica* 3 (1910) 26, *Νύμφαι ἀκοσμήτοις ἐνὶ δώμασι ναιετάουσαι*. An interesting Thessalian parallel for the use of this term is found, if the editor's restorations are correct, in an epigram from the nearby city of Atrax, now at the archaeological museum in Larissa, inv. ΑΕΜΛ 89/18 = *ZPE* 14 (1974) pp. 19–25, pl. 1, fig. 1. The text celebrates the foundation of a hilltop sanctuary for the Nymphs: *[εἰπόν, τίς τόδε δῶμ]ᾰ̣ καὶ ᾰ̣̀[ντί]α πᾶν ἐπόνη[σεν]*, | *[στήσας σὺν πολλ]οῖς θύμασιν ἀνθέματα*, | *[ὄχθαισιν Πηνειοῦ ὑ]πὸλ λόφον ἀνθεμ[ό]ε̣[ντα]*, | *[ἦι ποσὶ δινοῦντ]ᾰι Ναΐδε̣ς ἁβρόπεπλοι.* | 5 *Ν[α]ϊᾰ̣́[σ]ιν Νύμφαισι κατ' ἀγλαοε̣[ι]δ̣έ̣ᾰ̣ χῶρον* | *[δ]ὡ̣[μά] τε̣ ἴδρ[υ]σ[ε π]έ̣τροις καὶ [κέρατ' ἀρ]χυρέᾰ̣* | *Ἄρνεκλος προφρόνως, ἐκλυομ.[ένην ὅθ] ὑγείαν* | *ἐξᾰ̣[ῦτις] λᾰ́[χ'] έ̣ᾐν, νοῦσον ἀπωσ[άμενος]·* | *αἷς πρέπει ἀθανάτους αὔξων τιμαῖσιν ὁ Σούου* | 10 *υἱὸς ἐπηγλάϊσεν Ναϊάδων τέμενος.* | *Ἀστίουν*. Beyond the use of the word *δῶμα* there are some remarkable thematic affinities between the Atrax and Alogopati epigrams; see especially 1 *ἐπόνη[σεν]*: 11 *[ἐ]ξεπονήσατο*; 2 *σὺν πολλ]οῖς θύμασιν ἀνθέματα*: 3–4 *ἱαρωτά … δῶρά τε πολλ[ά]*; 4 *[ἦι*

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Karapla cave, the designation is further justified by the architectural improvements introduced at the site by the sanctuary's founder, Pantalces. The use of δῶμα in line 7 is indeed coherent with the celebration of Pantalces' building skills in the second half of the epigram, where the construction of a stairway to the cave is described (lines 13–14):

> Ἡρακλέης μὲν ἔδ<ω>κ' ἰσχὺν ἀρετήν τε κράτος τε,
> ὤιπερ τούσδε λίθους τύπτων ἐπόησ' ἀναβαίνειν

Heracles gave him strength, goodness and might, with which he struck these rocks and built a way up.[9]

The reference is to six massive steps, crudely hewn in the side of the cliff, which still today facilitate the ascent to the site.[10] On top of these stairs, the remaining structures of the shrine are built into a small ledge projecting in front of the cave: a rustic altar within an apsidal chapel, a niche, shelves for the display of votives and a bench.[11] Completing the configuration of the δῶμα was a roof, no longer visible today, that stretched above the cave entrance.[12] Mixed with pieces of roof tiles, a conspicuous amount of fragmentary tablets, figurines and pottery sherds was found in this spot, showing that the roofed area once housed an assortment of votives much like the one described in line 8 of the poem.[13]

Several other sites can be cited to illustrate how the idea of a cave can be reconciled with that of a building.[14] An instructive example is that of the cave of

ποσὶ δινοῦντ]αι Ναΐδες ἁβρόπεπλοι: 10 Νύμφαι τῶνδ' ἐπιβαινέμεναι χώρων; 5 ἀγλαοε[ι]δέα χῶρον: 4 χῶρον δ' εἰς ἱερὸν; 6 ἵδ̣ρ[υ]σ[ε π]έ̣τ̣ροις: 14 τούσδε λίθους τύπτων ἐπόησ'. For τὸ δῶμα ἅπαν as 'the whole building', cf. expressions such as ὁ χῶρος ἅπας *et sim.* (e.g. Arr. *Ind.* 21.11, Βίβακτα ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ, ὁ δὲ χῶρος ἅπας Σάγγαδα). For the same syntagma without the article, in the sense of 'every building', see Opp. *H.* 3.247, ἅπαν δ' ἐπὶ δῶμα λέληκεν.

[9] Literally 'made them go up', i.e. 'turned them into steps' (the translation 'way up' is from J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore* (Oxford, 2001), 17; cf. D. Comparetti's '*salita*' in 'Iscrizioni dell'antro delle ninfe presso Farsalos', *ASAA* 4–5 (1921–1), 152). ἀναβαίνειν is an appropriate verb for a flight of steps; on the use of ἀνάβασις, ἀναβασμός and related words as synonyms of κλίμαξ, see R. Ginouvès, R. Martin and F. Coarelli, *Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine* (Athens 1985), 2.197.

[10] First reported by Levi (n. 2), 29, as 'un'erta gradinata di alti scalini rocciosi'; see also Decourt (n. 2), 'quelques marches visiblement aménagées en escalier rustique' (lemma to *IThess.* 1, 72, 88). More specifically Peek (n. 2), 19, was able to distinguish 'sechs in der Felsen gehauene Stufen oder Stufenauflager von wechselnder Höhe hinauf'. On the use of stairs in sacred caves, see F. Martorano, 'I ninfei', in F. Costabile (ed.), *I ninfei di Locri Epizefiri: Architettura culti erotici sacralità delle acque* (Catanzaro, 1991), 3–15, at 14.

[11] A brief account of these rock-cut features is given by Peek (n. 2), 19, although this description omits the apsidal chapel, which can be seen in an unpublished photograph from the Italian excavations of 1923 (Archivio Fotografico della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 329). I am grateful to the SAIA's director, Prof. Emanuele Greco, for granting me access to this and other materials from Levi's files.

[12] Giannopoulos (n. 2), 668; cf. *AE* (n. 2), 48 (confirmed by Levi [n. 2], 32). On the presence of roofs at cave sites see Martorano (n. 10), 14–15. Greeks appear to have made a distinction between naturally and artificially roofed caves: see Dionys. Trag. fr.1 Snell νυμφῶν ὑπὸ σπήλυγγα τὸν αὐτόστεγον (LSJ, s.v. αὐτόστεγος = αὐτόροφος). I owe this reference to Dr A.G. Nichols.

[13] For a full catalogue of the findings see Levi (n. 2), 32–42 and pls 7–51. No archaeological remains were retrieved inside the cave proper, which in antiquity was occupied by a small stream.

[14] In Thessaly, mention should be made of the recently discovered cave of Krounia, equipped with a roof, stairs, benches and an extensive body of waterworks. See C. Agouridis, I. Zygouri

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Vari in Attica, a rupestrian shrine that also underwent a significant number of alterations at the hand of its founder, Archedamus of Thera.[15] As in Pantalces' cave, the central feature is a rock-cut stairway that connects the various subdivisions of the sanctuary.[16] And, as in Pantalces' cave, we find here inscriptions that emphasize the architectural work carried out at the site, *IG* I^3 977 b, *Ἀρχέδεμος … Νύνφαι<ς> ἐχσοικοδόμεσεν* and *IG* I^3 980, *Ἀρχέδημος … τἄντρον ἐξηργάξατο*.[17] Archedamus is not celebrated in epic metre like his Thessalian equivalent; however, an even more direct tribute to his building skills survives in the form of a sculpture, roughly hewn in the rock of the cave, which depicts him in a stonemason's attire with hammer and square in hand.[18] Commenting on the Vari site, W.R. Connor once remarked, 'There is no trace here of the fear of the banausic'.[19] The same statement certainly holds true for the cave of Pantalces at Alogopati.

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and V. Rontiri, '*Το σπήλαιο στη θέση "Κρουνιά"*', in A.A. Mazarakis (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας· πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 27.2–2.3.2003* (Volos, 2006), 249–62, figs 1–10.

[15] C.H. Weller, 'The cave at Vari', *AJA* 7 (1903), 263–349; G. Schörner and H.R. Goette, *Die Pan-Grotte von Vari*, Schriften zur historischen Landeskunde Griechenlands 1 (Mainz, 2004). On Archedamus – and his analogies with Pantalces – see also the recent study by A. Purvis, *Singular Dedications: Founders and Innovators of Private Cults in Classical Greece* (New York, 2003).

[16] Weller (n. 15), 266–7, figs 2–3; Schörner and Goette (n. 15), folding map 3: 1, 12, 17; for some partial views of this structure see also pls 6.2, 9.1 and 14.

[17] See Schörner-Goette (n. 15), 42–4, n. 1, pl. 29 and 51–4, n. 9, pl. 36.2.

[18] Weller (n. 15), 270–1, figs 5–6; Schörner and Goette (n. 15), folding map 3: 4 and pls 11.1–2, 22.1, 25.1, 27.1, 28.1.

[19] W.R. Connor, 'Seized by the Nymphs: nympholepsy and symbolic expression in classical Greece', *ClAnt* 7 (1988), 171, n. 52.

TWO NOTES ON XENOPHON: *HELLENICA* 1.4.20 AND *AGESILAUS* 2.26[1]

1. *Hellenica* 1.4.20

ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἠσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἠδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἁπάντων ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς οἷός τε ὢν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν

[1] I quote the text and any apparatus from Marchant (Oxford, 1900–20), vols 1 and 5. I also cite the following by author's name: C.L. Brownson, *Xenophon I: Hellenica Books I–IV* (Cambridge, MA, 1918, rpt. 1985); L. Dindorf, *Xenophontis Historia Graeca* (Oxford, 1853^2); O. Keller, *Xenophon: Hellenica* (editio minor, Leipzig, 1906), P. Krentz, *Xenophon: Hellenika I–II.3.10* (Warminster, 1989); E.C. Marchant and G.W. Bowersock, *Xenophon VII* (Cambridge, MA, 1968); E.C. Marchant and G.E. Underhill, *Xenophon: Hellenica* (Oxford, 1906); J. Marincola, D. Thomas and R. B. Strassler, *The Landmark Xenophon's Hellenika* (New York, 2009); T. Thalheim, *Xenophontis Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1910).

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