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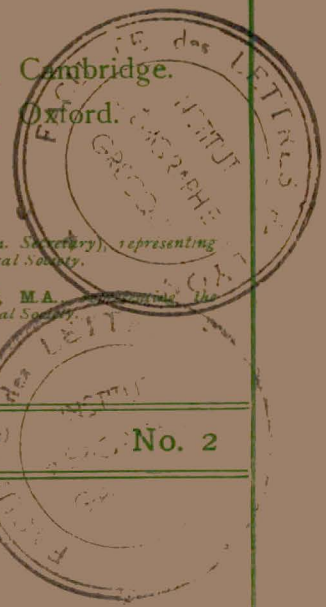
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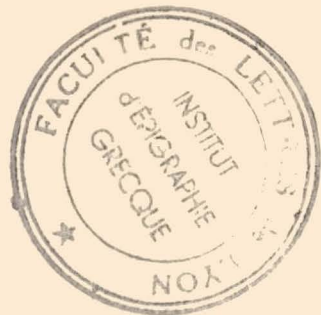
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ANTONY'S LEGIONS.

It is important to ascertain whether in the Actium campaign Antony really had only the small proportion of Italian legionaries sometimes assigned to him,¹ and this can only be done by analyzing his legionary figures from Philippi onwards. Unfortunately, though Appian is usually quite clear, he omits one figure at the very start, which prevents one treating the matter synthetically; so one must analyze backwards from Antony's legionary coins.

These coins were assigned by Grueber to 32-1 B.C.,² but they may have extended over more than two years. Grueber negated the view of de Salis, that they extended from 39 to 31, on the ground of their 'uniformity of type and similarity of fabric'; but this could be accounted for if, as indeed Grueber suggested, the whole were struck in one mint, while the historical reasons for thinking they began before 32 (though certainly not in 39) are strong. For J. Kromayer has shown, from the effect upon Octavian, that Antony's arming certainly belongs to the latter part of 35;³ and I take it that all his new legions were in existence by spring 34, and that the coins started about that time. The coins show 30 legions, numbered 1 to 30; the series belonging to 8 legions, numbers 1 and 24-30, are rare,⁴ those of the other 22 are common. The only explanation of this so far is Kromayer's:⁵ the 8 rare series are the 8 new legions. This is improbable for many reasons: (a) the number 1 cannot well be a new legion; (b) three of the new legions are explicitly dated to summer 35,⁶ so the 22 series which are common must then have been going on for many years previously, which I fancy no numismatist would accept; and (c) the question of the two legions completely destroyed by the Parthians in Media in 36. Two of the new legions must have replaced these two and borne the same numbers (for on the coins no numbers between 1 and 30 are missing); but as the coins know nothing of old or new, but merely give numbers, these two numbers should be as common as any, so the equation 8 rare series = 8 new legions breaks down. Apart from this, (a) seems decisive by itself. We must therefore start afresh—that is, the explanation of the 8 rare series must be not temporal, but geographical; it has to do with where the legions were stationed. From spring 36 onward the bulk of Antony's army was fighting somewhere in Asia;⁷ we have to find 8 legions which were doing

¹ For example, J. Kromayer, *Hermes* XXXIII, 1898, p. 68, says that more than half his army was Graeco-Asiatic; T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire*, p. 147, says 'two-thirds of the legionaries were Orientals.'

² H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* II, 1910, p. 526.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 17 sqq.

⁴ Grueber, *ib.*, p. 528. Mr. H. Mattingly kindly informed me that this is still so.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 29; followed by V. Gardthausen, *Augustus*, I, i, p. 354.

⁶ The three taken over from Sextus Pompey; App. *B.C.* V, 571, 598.

⁷ 36: Parthian war; wintered in Syria. 35: campaign against Sextus Pompey; wintered in Syria. 34: conquest of Armenia; army stayed in Armenia, and was brought back about November, 33.

something else. One is clearly the legion left at Jerusalem in 37 with Herod,¹ and probably not withdrawn till 32, if then² (perhaps Herod paid it); and the other 7 can only represent the army of Macedonia, which must have had a separate organization; how completely it stood apart is shown by the fact that, after Appian ends, our remaining (inferior) sources, concerned with events in Asia, never mention it.³ Prior to the Actium campaign, then, the army of Macedonia was presumably 7 legions (I will come to the question of the legionary numbers presently), and from this hypothesis, which we shall find that the story confirms, we can work backwards.

I assume, as everyone now does, that the number of legions Antony took to Media against the Parthians in 36 (including Canidius' force) was 16.⁴ To make up this number he had in Asia the army Ventidius had had in 39 and 38, subsequently (38-7) commanded by Sosius, and Domitius' two legions in Bithynia.⁵ Ventidius' army was 11 legions,⁶ but one was detached in 37 and stationed at Jerusalem; at the end of 37, therefore, Antony had available in Asia 10 plus 2 legions only, and must have brought 4 from elsewhere.

To find these 4 legions we must go back to the state of things after the peace of Brundisium, when early in 39 Antony divided his army between his two best generals, sending Ventidius with 11 legions against Labienus and the Parthians, and Pollio with an unknown force against the Parthini and Illyria. After Pollio's successful campaign Antony divided Pollio's army (presumably this refers to the year 38), leaving part to watch the Parthini and the Dardanians, and stationing part in Epirus.⁷ He wanted 4 more legions for his Parthian campaign (which was meant to begin with an invasion of Armenia in 38, but could not), and sent for them to Africa,⁸ not knowing that Lepidus had secured his 4 legions in Africa (these 4, therefore, do not have to be further considered). But as in 37 he *did* bring to Asia 4 more legions for his Parthian campaign of 36, these can only be the legions from Epirus, which had been stationed there to be handy;⁹ and the rest of Pollio's army must be the 7 legions which continued to form the army of Macedonia; that is, early in 39 Antony had given to Pollio 11 legions, the same number as to Ventidius. After the peace of Brundisium, therefore, Antony had 22 legions of his own, besides the two which Domitius brought him shortly before the peace, and which after the peace were sent with Domitius to Bithynia.

I go back now to the Perusine war. At this time Antony had 13 legions in Italy under Ventidius, Pollio, and Plancus,¹⁰ and 11 in Gaul under Calenus;¹¹ Appian is explicit that these were different forces.¹² Plancus' command was on a different footing from the rest; it formed no part of Antony's original

¹ Jos. *Ant.* XV, 72.

² If Plut. *Ant.* 71 be correct, it was still there in 30; but this is so unlikely that Plutarch must be taken to mean Herod's own troops.

³ Unfortunately Kromayer, *op. cit.*, also overlooked it, which affects some of his conclusions.

⁴ The source-figures are fully discussed by Kromayer, *ib.*, p. 23.

⁵ For these two legions see App. V, 104, 233-4.

⁶ Jos. *Ant.* XIV, 468 [16, 1], after Sosius took over.

⁷ App. *B.C.* V. 320.

⁸ *Ib.* 321.

⁹ *Ib.* 320.

¹⁰ *Ib.* 208.

¹¹ *Ib.* 213, 215.

¹² *Ib.* 213, ἀλλὰ δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῶ.

troops, but had been raised during the war by Fulvia.¹ Plancus lost 2 legions to Agrippa,² and the rest of his command was taken over by Ventidius,³ giving Ventidius and Pollio 11 legions (13 minus 2) between them; of these, 7 were Pollio's (Vell. II, 76, 2). Octavian got Calenus' 11 legions.⁴

He was entitled to keep two of them, for after Philippi Antony had borrowed two from him, to be repaid from Calenus' force.⁵ But it was the loss of the other 9 legions of Calenus which made Antony think of war;⁶ consequently (though it is not recorded) the peace of Brundisium must have contained a provision that Octavian should return these 9 legions to Antony, for he certainly would not have made peace without them. But Octavian had given 6 of Antony's legions to Lepidus;⁷ it will appear that these 6 were 4 of Calenus' and the two which Agrippa had taken from Plancus, and which were only new recruits. Octavian therefore could only give back 5 of Calenus' legions to Antony, and had to owe him 4. We know that he did owe 4, because after the peace of Tarentum he renewed his promise to pay Antony these 4 legions.⁸ This proves that, of the 6 legions given by Octavian to Lepidus, Antony only claimed 4, and this in turn is only explicable if two of the 6—the two Antony did not claim—were Plancus'; Antony's reason was that Plancus' legions were not his (Antony's) own, but Fulvia's, and as between Fulvia and Octavian he held that Octavian was justified in what he had done. After the peace, then, Antony had (apart from Domitius' 2) 16 legions, i.e. 11 of Ventidius-Pollio and 5 once Calenus', returned to him by Octavian. (The 4 Octavian continued to owe him he never got, and they fall out of the story.) But we have seen already that he really had, not 16, but 22. The other 6 are accounted for by Appian's statement that before the peace Antony summoned to Italy his army from Macedonia;⁹ early in 40, therefore, that army was 6 legions.

I go back now to Philippi. After the battle the two triumvirs kept on foot 11 legions, partly (it is not known how far) Cassius' men; Antony's share was 6, but he borrowed 2 more from Octavian, to be repaid out of Calenus' force (it has already been seen that they were repaid).¹⁰ Part of these 8 legions he left in Macedonia with Censorinus to deal with Cassius' allies, the Parthini; Censorinus defeated the attempt of the Parthini to invade Macedonia, and triumphed January 1, 39.¹¹ The rest of these 8 legions Antony took with him to Asia; when late in 41 he went to Alexandria he left them in Syria with Saxa, and early in 40, when the Parthians invaded Syria, they were destroyed or (being Cassius' men) deserted to Labienus;¹² the Parthians got their eagles,¹³ and these legions ceased to exist. It is here that Appian has the omission to which I referred; he does not say how Antony divided the 8 legions he kept

¹ App. B.C. V, 130.

² *Ib.* 209.

Appian.

³ *Ib.* 211.

⁴ *Ib.* 213-15.

⁹ App. V, 243.

¹⁰ *Ib.* 13, 14.

⁵ App. V, 14; Dio XLVIII, 2, 3.

⁶ App. V, 247.

⁷ *Ib.* 223.

¹¹ Plut. *Ant.* 24; *C.I.L.* I, 2nd ed., p. 461; see V. Gardthausen, *Augustus* II, p. 236.

⁸ *Ib.* 396, called 20,000 men. Plutarch, *Ant.* 35,

says 2 legions, but this cannot stand against

¹² App. V, 42; Dio XLVIII, 25, 2 sqq.

¹³ *Mon. Ancyr.* V, 40-3 (138).

after Philippi. We have now seen that Censorinus had 6 in Macedonia, so that 2 were lost with Saxa.

Thanks therefore to Appian's careful figures, the story, based on the hypothesis that before the Actium campaign the army of Macedonia consisted of 7 legions, is perfectly clear and consistent from 42 to 35; and this shows that the hypothesis of 7 legions in Macedonia is correct. From the peace of Brundisium, therefore, to 36 Antony had 24 legions (22 plus Domitius' 2); he lost 2 in Media in 36, and in 35 he got 3 from Sextus and raised 5 new ones, making the 30 of the legionary coins. It may be assumed that the 24 legions which he had from 40 onwards were numbered 1 to 24; of the 8 new ones of 35, two bore the numbers of the two lost in Media, and the other 6 were numbered 25 to 30.

I have supposed that 7 of the 8 rare series belonged to the army of Macedonia. But the 7 legions of that army had been in Macedonia (or Illyria) since 39; and 6 of the rare series, 25 to 30, must from the numbers be new legions. The deduction is that in winter 35-4 Antony brought 6 of the 7 veteran legions of Macedonia to Asia and replaced them in Macedonia by 6 new ones, numbers 25-30; Censorinus' 6 legions had presumably been at about full strength in 42, and in 35 the Macedonian legions were anyhow stronger than those which had been in the Parthian war. Numbers 1 and 24 were then the 7th legion in Macedonia and the legion at Jerusalem; which was which cannot be said.

I can now consider the Actium campaign. In spring 32 Antony had 22 old legions and 8 new ones. Of the old, the majority were his own veterans, going back to the armies of Censorinus, Pollio, Ventidius, and Calenus—veterans in fact, whether technically so or not; Domitius' 2 legions had anyhow seen 10 years' service; those originally of Plancus—probably 1, or 2 at the outside—had seen 8 years' service; the worst of them were by now seasoned troops. Naturally in 32 Antony would take the 19 best to Greece;¹ presumably therefore he took the 7 of the former army of Macedonia, which had suffered less than the rest, and 12 from the army which had invaded Parthia in 36, the best army, says Plutarch (*Ant.* 43), which that age saw. Of the 11 legions not in Greece, 4 were in Cyrene,² and the other 7 were divided between Alexandria, Syria, and Macedonia (for the northern frontier could not be left unguarded),³ but in what proportions cannot be said. Of these 11 legions, the 8 new ones did contain many Greeks and Asiatics;⁴ but that has nothing to do with the army Antony led against Octavian. The question here is, to what extent (if any) he made good, by incorporating new recruits, the losses which 12 of the legions of his army in Greece had suffered in the invasion of Parthia.

The 16 legions with Antony in Media in 36 totalled 60,000 men, or 3,750

¹ The number, 19, in Plut. *Ant.* 68 is the campaign total.

² The eighth was one; Grueber II, p. 583.

³ Kromayer, who suggests 4 in Alexandria

and 3 in Syria (this has usually been followed since), has again forgotten Macedonia.

⁴ On the epigraphic evidence see O. Cuntz, *Jahresh.* XXV, 1930, p. 70.

to a legion, about three-quarter strength. His loss in this campaign was 37 per cent. all over, which for the 16 legions would be 22,200 men.¹ But two legions were annihilated; deducting these 7,500 men, we get a loss of 14,700 for the other 14 legions, or 12,600 for 12. But a disproportionate amount of fighting and loss must, in the nature of the case, have fallen on the cavalry and light-armed, and the cavalry is known to have lost 40 per cent. (4,000 out of 10,000); so the figure for the losses of 12 legions may be called 12,000. As Octavia in 35 brought him 2,000 picked Italian troops,² this meant that he would have had to raise 10,000 men to restore these 12 legions to their strength as at spring 36 (three-quarter strength).

A very simple calculation shows that he did not do so. The tradition that Octavian's infantry strength in the campaign was 80,000³ must be taken as correct, for there is no reason to the contrary; the figure must have been well known, and no one had any interest in falsifying it. Even if we put his light-armed at an extremely low figure, this cannot mean over 75,000 legionaries; probably it really means about 72,000,⁴ or conceivably even 70,000. Now Octavian could have brought far more legionaries had he wished—he had 45 legions by the end of 36—and therefore he brought only what he thought would suffice (they had to be fed by sea transport from Italy); but he was of course well informed concerning Antony's strength, and he must have given himself *some* margin; only a fool would have underrated Antony's veterans, and he was not a fool. Consequently Octavian's figures make it incredible that Antony could have had more than some 65,000 legionaries. But if Antony had restored these 12 legions to three-quarter strength, 3,750 men apiece, then, even if we take the 7 Macedonian legions as *low* as possible, say 4,000 men apiece, he would have had 73,000 legionaries as a minimum, and possibly more; and this simply will not do. Now to get 65,000 legionaries Antony only had to raise, not 10,000 men, but 2,000; these he could easily get from the Italians in the east—Caesar's colonies⁵ and the very numerous traders. It is however far more probable that the legions who were going to the front were not adulterated at all, and that his real legionary force was 63,000 or thereabouts,⁶ all well-seasoned Italian troops; and this becomes almost certain when it is remembered that his master Caesar never adulterated veteran legions, however low their numbers had become. I may note here that for the battle of Actium each commander shipped anything from 35,000 to 40,000 legionaries. Octavian shipped 8 legions and 5 cohorts.⁷ Antony's fleet, excluding Cleopatra's squadron which was manned by her own mercenaries, was some 340 ships of the line, not far from the average power of a

¹ Plut. *Ant.* 50, 51; Kromayer *op. cit.*, p. 27. The percentage follows from Plutarch's figures, the Armenian contingent being first deducted from Antony's total force.

² Plut. *Ant.* 53.

³ *Ib.* 61.

⁴ Crassus in 53 took 4,000 light-armed to 35,000 legionaries, and Octavian knew that

Antony would be tolerably strong in light-armed.

⁵ As Sextus enrolled Italians from Caesar's colony at Lampsacus, App. V, 570.

⁶ The exact figure depends on the (unknown) strength of the 7 Macedonian legions. Possibly his aim was 60,000, the same figure as against Parthia.

⁷ Orosius VI, 19, 8 (*i.e.* Livy).

quinquereme, and a quinquereme carried 100-130 troops; this would give him about the same force, more than half of his legionaries. The 20,000 legionaries whom Plutarch says he shipped obviously relate, like Livy's 170 ships, to his right wing only, his own command.¹

It follows that, in the Actium campaign, Antony had not 100,000 infantry, as Plutarch (*Ant.* 61) says, for certainly the client-kings did not bring some 35,000 foot; their primary business was to supply cavalry, and even of that they only brought small contingents (*post*); Antony, whose army was fed from Egypt, had to consider the question of supply as carefully as Octavian. He possibly did have more light-armed than his rival;² but if we suppose an infantry total of 75,000, more or less, we are nearer the mark than Plutarch is. There can have been no question of Octavian being outnumbered.

In conclusion, I may formulate the problem of Antony's cavalry, as it has never been stated and is, I think, insoluble. He kept 10,000 horse after Philippi,³ and took part to Asia with him, but how much cannot be said.⁴ In the Perusine war Ventidius and his other generals had 6,500 horse;⁵ whether part of this was part of the 10,000, and how much of it Antony ultimately secured, is unknown; he must have kept a cavalry force with the army in Macedonia, even if small, and must have had *some* loss in the battles of Saxa and Ventidius. In 36 he took to Media 10,000 Gallic and Spanish horse of his own,⁶ that is of his original cavalry; as he needed all the cavalry he could get, and as he left Syria and Asia Minor bare of troops, he probably now had no more, unless in Macedonia. Of this 10,000 he brought back 6,000 only.⁷ Now in the Actium campaign Plutarch gives him 12,000 horse of his own, and *in addition*, it seems, the armies of the client-kings.⁸ He could perhaps have recruited *some* cavalry outside their domains, in Thrace, Macedonia, Roman Syria; but for a generation the East had been drained, and it is extremely unlikely that he could have raised his own total to 12,000. Of the four chief client-kings, Amyntas of Galatia brought 2,000 horse;⁹ doubtless Archelaos of Cappadocia was called on for the same figure; Polemon of Pontus could only send a small force, as he was guarding the Upper Euphrates against a hostile Armenia, but he and the smaller dynasts from Thrace, Paphlagonia, the Amanus, and Emesa, could certainly send another 2,000;¹⁰ Herod and his

¹ See for all this Tarn, *The Battle of Actium*, *J.R.S.* XXI, 1931, p. 173.

² For the invasion of Parthia, Antony, besides legionaries, his own cavalry, and the 16,000 Armenian horse, had 14,000 men to cover his own light-armed and the cavalry and light-armed of the client kings (*Plut. Ant.* 37). As the client-kings supplied 6,000 horse to the army of Actium (*post*), it follows that that army's light-armed could not well exceed 10,000-12,000 at the very outside. Perhaps both sides had about 10,000.

³ *App.* V, 14.

⁴ Only mentioned in the raid on Palmyra, *ib.* 37, 38.

⁵ *Ib.* 208.

⁶ *Plut. Ant.* 37.

⁷ *Ib.* 50.

⁸ *Ib.* 61.

⁹ Horace, *Epode* IX, 17-18.

¹⁰ I omit the supposed Median cavalry, though it appears in Plutarch's list of auxiliaries (*Ant.* 61). Dio XLIX, 44 says that in 33 Antony exchanged some troops with the Median king, but subsequently withdrew his own men without returning his cavalry to the Mede; yet he asks us to believe that, notwithstanding this treachery, the Mede remained faithful to Antony and his interests (LI, 5, 5). As Antony had officially accused Octavian of not giving him the legions promised him at Tarentum in exchange for the ships he had given (*Plut. Ant.* 55), Dio's story probably represents an attempt of someone to

army were not there. It seems then that, if Plutarch be right, Antony had 18,000 horse or over—12,000 of his own and at least 6,000 of the client-kings—and this seems inconceivable; for in the two critical cavalry battles he was defeated each time by Octavian's 12,000 horse, and on the second occasion the defection of Amyntas and his 2,000 Galatians sufficed to decide the day.¹ It seems then that Plutarch must have reckoned the cavalry of the client-kings twice over; the scheme in his source may have been that Antony had 12,000 all told—6,000 of his own, brought back from Media, and 6,000 of the client-kings. But even this would not end the difficulty; for Antony had left some cavalry in Alexandria,² and he can hardly have left none in Syria, even if he trusted that the rebel Tiridates and the king of Media would between them hold Parthia. Perhaps he had more cavalry left in spring 36 than 10,000; perhaps he did raise some before 32 by recruiting; perhaps 12,000 in Greece (including client-kings) is a true total. But we have not really the material to say.

To sum up. In the Actium campaign, the legionaries of Antony's army in Greece were all Italians and almost certainly all seasoned Italian troops. The light-armed and cavalry were of course not Italians, but nothing turns on this, as Octavian's cavalry and light-armed, or the bulk of them, would not be Italians either. The only Greeks and Asiatics Antony had, apart from rowers, would be perhaps some 4,000 horse³ and an unknown number of his light-armed. Pictures of Antony meeting Octavian at the head of a motley half-Asiatic army do not belong to history.

W. W. TARN.

INVERNESS.

show that Antony had done much the same thing; it is on a level with the two untrue propaganda stories (charge and countercharge) that Octavian had incited Artavasdes' treachery to Antony, and that Antony had then captured Artavasdes by treachery himself. The methods of Graeco-Roman propaganda, though vigorous,

were primitive.

¹ Horace, *loc. cit.*

² Plut. *Ant.* 71 implies that what horse Antony had there in 30 was his own, not Cleopatra's.

³ Assuming 12,000 horse, of which 6,000 were Antony's own (Gauls and Spaniards) and 2,000 were Galatians.

MISCELLANEA—IX.

I. HESIOD, fr. 96 (*frag. Berol.* 10560). This long fragment, which was published by Schubart and v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in the *Berliner Klassikertexte*, 1907, and reprinted by Rzach in the *Hesiods of 1908 and 1913*, has hardly received the attention it deserves. I give the portion on which I comment:

- 56 ἢ τέκεν Ἑρμιόνην καλλίσφυρον ἐν μεγάροισιν
 ἄελπτον· πάντες δὲ θεοὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔθεντο
 ἐξ ἔριδος· δὴ γὰρ τότε μῆδετο θέσκελα ἔργα
 Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, μείξαι κάτ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν
- 60 τυρβάξας, ἤδη δὲ γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
 πολλὸν αἰστώσαι, τῶν δὲ πρόφασιν μὲν ὀλέσσαι
 ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω [ν ἵνα μὴ δειλ]οῖσι βροτοῖσι
 τέκνα θεῶν μι[γέη χάριν ὀφ]θαλμοῖσιν ὄρωντα,
 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν μάκαρες [καὶ ἐς ὕστερον] ὡς τὸ πάρος περ
- 65 χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων [βίωτον κα]ὶ ἦθε' ἔχωσιν.
 τ[ῷ μάλαι δάμνατο φύλα κατα]θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
]μ ἄλγος επαλγεῖν [sic]
 Ζεὺ[ς]ωας ἔκερσε
 ο[]ερ. ζει
 70 ἐ]πὶ μαστῷ
]μηδέ τις ἀνδρῶν
 νηῶν δὲ]μελαινάων ἐπι βαίη
 χερσίν τε β]ίηφί τε φέρτατος εἶναι
 η]ε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
- 75 [ὅσσα δ' ἔην ὅσα τ' ἐ]στὶ καὶ ὀππόσα μέλλει ἔσεσθαι
 [πᾶσι θεμιστεύων μέγ]α μῆδεταὶ ἠδὲ γεραίρει
 [βουλὰς πατρὸς εὐίο]Διὸς νεφεληγερέτοιο
 [οὐ γ]ά[ρ τις σ[ά]φα ἦδε'] ὅτι φράσσασθαι ἔμελλεν
 [οὔτε θ]εῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
- 80 παμπ]όλλας αἰδῆ κεφαλὰς ἀπὸ χαλκὸν ἰάψ[ει]ν
 ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων ἐν δημοτῆτι πεσόντων.

I print without notice the editors' supplements and add my comments.

59 = καταμείξαι. 63 μιγέη Rzach; χάριν, since κάλλος and εἶδος are unmetrical. The daughters of men required some attraction in the eyes of the τέκνα θεῶν. 66 so perhaps. 69 ? ἔραζε, as 87. 70 ? μὴ παῖς ἐπὶ μαστῷ. 72 νηῶν δέ, not τε. 73 εὔχετο μὲν, or εὐχόμενος. 74 ? οὐρανίωνων ἠὲ or ἠδέ. 75 Ἀπόλλων· ὅσα δ', since Apollo must be introduced. 80 χαλκὸν is subject. For φράζεσθαι with verb cf. *h. Apoll.* 402, Callim. *Hec.* 34. 38.