THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES



INSTITUTIONAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

The Journal of Hellenic Studies (ISSN 0075-4269) is published once a year in November. A subscription to The Journal of Hellenic Studies includes the annual volume of Archaeological Reports, which provides fully illustrated accounts of archaeological work in Greece and other parts of the world that are sites of Greek culture. The subscription price (excluding VAT) of volume 136 (2016), which includes print and electronic access, is £145 net (US\$252 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions. EU subscribers (outside the UK) who are not registered for VAT should add VAT at their country's rate. VATregistered customers should provide their VAT registration number. Japanese prices for institutions (including ASP delivery) are available from Kinokuniya Company Ltd, P.O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156, Japan. Prices include delivery by air where appropriate.

Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to a bookseller, subscription agent or direct to the publisher: Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK; or in the USA, Canada and Mexico: Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA.

COPYING

This journal is registered with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Organisations in the USA who are registered with C.C.C. may therefore copy material (beyond the limits permitted by sections 107 and 108 of US Copyright law) subject to payment to C.C.C. of the per copy fee of \$15. This consent does not extend to multiple copying for promotional or commercial purposes. Code 0075-4269/2016. ISI Tear Sheet Service, 3501 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA, is authorised to supply single copies of separate articles for private use only. Organisations authorised by the Copyright Licensing Agency may also copy material subject to the usual conditions. For all other use, permission should be sought from Cambridge or from the North American Branch of Cambridge University Press.

This journal issue has been printed on FSC-certified paper and cover board. FSC is an independent, non-governmental, not-for-profit organisation established to promote the responsible management of the world's forests. Please see www.fsc.org for information.

This journal can be found on Cambridge Core: www.cambridge.org/jhs

Printed in the United Kingdom at Bell & Bain Ltd, Glasgow © The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies 2016

THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME 136 | **2016**

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES 2016

The rights of translation and reproduction are reserved

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES Officers and Council Members 2016–2017

PRESIDENT

Professor R. Fowler FBA

VICE-PRESIDENTS

The following ex-Presidents Professor P.E. Easterling FBA

(1996-1999)

Professor R.G. Osborne FBA

(2002-2006)

Professor C.J. Rowe OBE

(1999-2002)

Professor M. Schofield FBA

(2008-2011)

and

Mr B. Gilmore

Mr G. Lemos

Dr P. Michelakis

Professor K.B. Saunders MD DSC FRCP

Professor B.A. Sparkes

Dr D. Thomas

COUNCIL

ELECTED 2014

Dr A. Alwis

Ms A. Bell

Professor P. Finglass

Ms D. Given

Dr C. Meyer

Professor R. Stoneman

ELECTED 2015

Dr E. Bracke

Dr E. Giusti

Dr J. Haywood

Dr D. McCombie

Dr C. Nifadopoulos

Dr N. Wiater

ELECTED 2016

Dr B. Currie

Miss A. Dowler

Dr S. Kennedy

Professor J. Mossman

Mrs M. Oikonomou

Dr V. Zali

HONORARY TREASURER

Mr P. Lennon

HONORARY SECRETARY

Dr M. Mountford

MEMBERSHIP OFFICER

Dr E. Bracke

EDITOR JHS

Professor D. Cairns

REVIEWS EDITOR JHS

Dr F. Hobden

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

President

Editor JHS

Reviews Editor JHS

Editor AR (Ms R. Doyle)

Editor Archaeology in Greece

(Dr M. Stamatopoulou) Production Editor JHS & AR

(Ms G. Coulthard)

Dr E. Bracke

Professor E.M. Hall

Dr P. Horky

Mr P. Lennon

Dr M. Mountford

Professor R.G. Osborne

Dr A. Ulbrich

Dr R. van Bremen

OFFICERS OF THE JOINT LIBRARY

Honorary Librarian Professor M.H. Crawford FBA

(served 1994 to July 2016)

Professor Michael Trapp

(elected August 2016)

Librarian

Mr C.H. Annis MA ALA

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Ms R. Doyle

BANKERS

Courts & Co.

440 Strand

London WC2R 0QS

AUDITORS

MHA MacIntyre Hudson

31 St George's Place

Canterbury, Kent CT1 1XD

INVESTMENT ADVISORS

Rathbone Investment Management

1 Curzon Street

London W1J 5FB

HONORARY MEMBERS

Mr C.H. Annis, London, UK

Professor Sir John Boardman,

Oxford, UK

Professor N.C. Conomis, Athens,

Greece

Professor Dr Dr h.c. A. Dihle,

Cologne, Germany

Professor P.E. Easterling,

Cambridge, UK

Professor W. Fuchs, Oxford, UK

Professor J.R. Green, Sydney, Australia

Mr T. Harrison, Newcastle upon

Tvne. UK

Professor K. Itsumi, Toyko, Japan

Professor J. Jouanna, Paris, France

Dr V. Karageorghis, Nicosia, Cyprus

Professor R. Kassel, Cologne, Germany

Dr J.A. Koumoulides, Muncie IN, USA

Professor D. Kurtz, Oxford, UK

Professor F. Lissarrague, Paris, France

Professor A.A. Long, Berkeley CA,

Mr A. Matthaiou, Athens. Greece

Professor J. McK. Camp II, ASCSA

Athens, Greece

Mr M. Moschos, Athens, Greece

Professor O. Palagia, Athens, Greece

Professor J.-Th. Papademetriou,

Athens, Greece

Professor J.J. Pollitt. Yale New

Haven CT, USA

Mrs Anne Powell-Jones, Burford, UK

Professor B. Ridgway, Bryn Mawr

PA, USA

Professor D.A. Russell, Oxford, UK

Professor G. Sifakis, Thessalonike,

Greece Professor E. Simon, Würzburg,

Germany

Professor B.A. Sparkes,

Southampton, UK

Professor H. von Staden, Princeton

NJ. USA

CORPORATE MEMBER

Charles Ede Ltd

WITH ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO

The Cambridge H.A. Thomas Fund

The Institute of Classical Studies

THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME 136 | **2016**

Contents

- v proceedings of the society for the promotion of Hellenic Studies 2015–2016
- 1 ANDREW T. ALWINE, Freedom and patronage in the Athenian democracy
- 18 TIMOTHY G. BARNES, Alcman's muses: Alcman *PMGF* 28 (85 Calame), the φι-case and the syntax of divine invocation in Greek and Indo-European
- 39 MIRKO CANEVARO, The procedure of Demosthenes' *Against Leptines*: how to repeal (and replace) an existing law
- 59 ΜΑΚΚ DE KREIJ, Οὕκ ἐστι Σαπφοῦς τοῦτο τὸ ἆσμα: variants of Sappho's songs in Athenaeus' Deipnosophistae
- 73 ANTHONY ELLIS, A Socratic history: theology in Xenophon's rewriting of Herodotus' Croesus logos
- 92 ARJAN NIJK, How to control the present: a unified account of the nonpast uses of the agrist indicative
- 113 CHRISTOPHER PELLING, Herodotus, Polycrates and maybe Stesimbrotus too?
- 121 VALERIA SERGUEENKOVA, Counting the past in Herodotus' Histories
- 132 DEBORAH STEINER, Harmonic divergence: Pindar's fr. 140b and early fifth-century choral polemics
- 152 PETER THONEMANN, Croesus and the oracles
- 168 ROBERT W. WALLACE, Redating Croesus: Herodotean chronologies, and the dates of the earliest coinages
- 182 TIM WHITMARSH, Diagoras, Bellerophon and the siege of Olympus

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

- 187 Literature
- 220 History
- 264 Art and archaeology
- 280 Philosophy
- 295 Byzantine and modern Greek studies
- 299 Reception and history of scholarship
- 309 Linguistics
- 311 Index of books reviewed

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES 2015–2016

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at 4pm on Saturday 11th June 2016 in the Woburn Suite G22/26, Senate House, Malet Street, London. The President, Professor Robert Fowler, was in the chair and welcomed members.

The minutes of the previous meeting were accepted.

Professor Fowler discussed the activities of the Council and Committees during the past year. The headline for 2016 was the signature of an agreement with the University of London, effective from 1st January 2016. The two Societies also jointly established a company, called the Hellenic and Roman Library ('HARL'), to operate the Joint library on their behalf. The University Agreement provides greater certainty as to the terms to govern the operation of the combined library for 25 years and shelters the two Societies from increasing space charges. In addition, the new arrangements provide a better basis for fundraising, as the Societies will be seeking funds primarily to support salaries of library staff. Professor Fowler further reported that HARL had engaged a professional fundraiser, Mr William Conner, for an initial six months to help the directors structure their ideas and focus on priorities. The process would be reviewed at the November Council. The directors of HARL had recommended that each Society set aside £150,000 of its reserves as a donation to the campaign. These funds would be spent on the library anyway, but, if we do raise sufficient funds, the long-term threat to the Society's reserves will be removed.

Professor Fowler informed members of the ill health of the Honorary Librarian, Professor Michael Crawford, who had suffered a stroke while in Paris. A new Honorary Librarian would be jointly appointed by the University of London and HARL to take office from 1st August 2016. Professor Fowler expressed the Society's profound gratitude to Professor Crawford, who had supported the library through very fraught times, successfully seeing off threats like St George saw off the Dragon. He wished Professor Crawford a swift recovery.

Professor Fowler highlighted that *ARGO*, the Society's magazine, continues to sail on. The Society was endeavouring to increase its subscriber list having received many positive comments and encouragements.

Events hosted at the Hellenic Centre, lectures by Professor Josiah Ober (Stanford University) and Sir Michael Llewellyn Smith (British Ambassador in Greece 1996–99), had proved very successful, with good attendance. The summer lecture by Professor Phiroze Vasunia (University College London) had also been very enjoyable and well attended.

Mr Peter Lennon (Honorary Treasurer) presented the 2015 Accounts. In 2015 the Society had net incoming resources (excluding net gains on investment assets) of £73,816 (2014: £64,585). Members' subscriptions increased by 9% to £60,530 (2014: £55,513). Publishing income increased by 17% to £111,633 (2014: £95,547). Investment income declined by 9% to £42,632 (2014: £46,753). The Society's main overheads were library costs (£72,612) and staff costs (£49,773), and these were maintained at similar levels as in 2014. The first year for the publication of *ARGO* gave rise to net costs of £5,465, but this ignores the unquantifiable impact on members' subscriptions. From a cash-flow perspective, the Society's year-end cash had increased to £148,867 (2014: £90,177), excluding the cash held in the investment portfolio. Of the net incoming resources of £73,816, £61,750 was represented by non-cash items relating to the Joint Library. Net investment gains amounted to £5,024 (2014: £36,283). Overall the investment portfolio (managed by Rathbones) showed a 1% decline in value to £1.367m. This largely reflects the movements in global equity markets in the period. During 2015 Rathbones implemented the decision of the Society's Finance & Investment Committee substantially to complete the

unwinding of the holding in the Veritas Global Equity Income Fund. As a result, going forward, the whole portfolio will be managed on a discretionary basis by Rathbones, within the mandate given by the Society. Looking forward to 2016, the Society has sufficient cash reserves for its immediate operating needs. The adoption of the 2015 Financial Statements was proposed by Dr David Thomas and seconded by Ms Davina Given. The accounts were unanimously adopted. Professor Fowler thanked Mr Lennon and Ms Doyle for their work throughout the year.

Professor Malcolm Schofield proposed the election of Mrs Anne Powell-Jones (The Classics Bookshop) as an Honorary Member of SPHS, seconded by Ms Davina Given. Her election was unanimously approved.

The following resolutions were proposed by Professor Fowler and seconded by Dr Margaret Mountford:

for re-election as Vice-Presidents: Professor Pat Easterling, Mr Brian Gilmore, Mr George Lemos, Dr Pantelis Michelakis, Professor Robin Osborne, Professor Christopher Rowe, Professor Ken Saunders, Professor Malcolm Schofield, Professor Brian Sparkes and Dr David Thomas;

for re-election as Honorary Secretary: Dr Margaret Mountford;

for election as Members of Council (to serve 2016–2019): Dr Bruno Currie (Oriel College, Oxford), Miss Amelia Dowler (Curator of Greek Coins, The British Museum), Dr Steven Kennedy (Classics Master, Harrow School), Professor Judith Mossman (University of Nottingham), Mrs Maria Oikonomou (Swansea University) and Dr Vasiliki Zali (University of Liverpool).

The nominations were unanimously adopted. Professor Fowler expressed his and Council's gratitude to Dr Mountford for agreeing to carry on. He expressed his thanks to those members stepping down: Professor Douglas Cairns (although he would remain on Council as Editor of *JHS*), Dr Myrto Hatzimichali, Professor Ahuvia Kahane, Professor Irene Lemos, Mr Adrian McAra, Dr Andrew Shapland and Dr Tracey Rihll. The Society was very grateful for their service and dedication to Hellenic studies.

Mr Lennon proposed for re-election as Auditors: MHA MacIntyre Hudson, 31 St George's Place, Canterbury, Kent CT1 1XD, seconded by Dr Mountford. The delay in the production of the 2016 Financial Statement was queried. Mr Lennon stated that it was the wrong time to switch, with extensive changes in the Society's financial arrangements with the University of London in 2016; however, the Auditors would be carefully monitored. Their election was approved.

The proceedings were drawn to a close.

SOCIETY EVENTS 2015–2016

Thursday 26th November 2015, The Hellenic Centre: 'The rise and fall of Classical Greece', Professor Josiah Ober (Stanford University).

Thursday 25th February 2016, The Hellenic Centre: 'Paddy Leigh Fermor and friends: explorations in his archive', Sir Michael Llewellyn Smith.

Wednesday 25th May 2016, Senate House: 'Dionysus and India: Lucian to Gandhara', Professor Phiroze Vasunia (University College London).

Saturday 11th June 2016, Senate House: 'Master of those who know: a celebration of Aristotle's 2,400th birthday', Professor Edith Hall (King's College London).

Friday 24th June 2016, The British Museum: 'Sicily: a force to be reckoned with in the ancient world', Dr Michael Scott (University of Warwick).