

hanging nominative,<sup>8</sup> which points to a certain deviation in the regularity of the syntactic-grammatical links, without affecting the sense of the sentence.<sup>9</sup>

These emendations result in the following text and translation:

τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων <σφι> εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες ...

On the golden basin has been inscribed ‘of the Spartans’, who claim that it is their votive offering, although they say something false ...

Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen

MICHELE SOLITARIO  
[michele.solitario@uni-tuebingen.de](mailto:michele.solitario@uni-tuebingen.de)  
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## SOPHOCLES, *THYESTES* FR. 260A RADT\*

### ABSTRACT

*Two conjectures are proposed on Sophocles’ Thyestes (fr. 260a Radt) which restore Sophoclean language and metre.*

**Keywords:** Sophocles; *Thyestes*; Stobaeus; Herodian; tragedy; textual criticism; indirect tradition

A palimpsest *codex* in Vienna (Cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) presents, as *scriptura superior*, a twelfth-century copy of Symeon Metaphrastes’s biography of John Chrysostom, copied over the erased pages of a tenth-century copy of an abridged version of Herodian’s *De prosodia catholica* and of an eleventh-century book of the *Basilika*.<sup>1</sup> Technological advances have allowed scholars to increase the number of readable sections of the *scriptura inferior*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>8</sup> On this grammatical issue, see R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1898–1904), §493; E. Schwyzler and A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik. Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik* (Munich, 1950), 403 and 705.

<sup>9</sup> See Hdt. 4.132.1 Δαρείου μὲν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἦν Σκύθας ἐσωτῶ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, **εἰκόζων** τῆδε; 3.16.3 τὸ ὄν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισι ἐστὶ, Πέρσῃσι μὲν δι’ ὃ περ εἴρηται, θεῶ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι **λέγοντες** νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου· Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νενόμισται πῦρ θηρίων εἶναι ἔμψυχον; and 8.49.2 αἱ γνώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλεῖστα συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχεῖν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, **ἐπιλέγοντες** τὸν λόγον τόνδε. See also 7.157.2 ἀλλῆς μὲν γὰρ **γενομένη** πάσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς χεῖρ μεγάλη συνάγεται.

\* Editions used and referred to only by the editor’s name: H. Hunger, ‘Palimpsest-Fragmente aus Herodians Καθολικὴ προσῳδία Buch 5–7’, *JöByz* 16 (1967), 1–33; H. Lloyd-Jones (ed.), *Sophocles: Fragments* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 2003<sup>2</sup>); S. Radt (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (TrGF)* vol. 4, (Göttingen, 1999<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> The dating is suggested by E. Gamillscheg, ‘Der Codex des Herodian in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek zur Anwendung neuer Technologien in der Handschriftenforschung’, in V. Somers (ed.), *Palimpsestes et éditions de textes: les textes littéraires* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2009), 101–10.

<sup>2</sup> Hunger; Gamillscheg (n. 1).

Herodian's *De prosodia catholica* survives only in epitomes; the palimpsest's Herodian is the least epitomized of these which survives, as it contains the largest number of quotations.<sup>3</sup> Only the palimpsest (fol. 3v) presents a quotation from Sophocles' *Thyestes*. Its original reading, offered by Hunger, was:

τροπή, τροπαίος: Ἴων ἐν Φρουροῖς: τροπαῖον αὐ̄ με παρεφόβησεν ἄβρα, καὶ Σοφοκλῆς  
Θυέστη· ... καὶ Ζεὺς τροπαίος ... τοῖς τόποις

Hunger later improved his reading of the passage, which he communicated to Radt, who included it in *TrGF* vol. 4. The part concerning Sophocles' text as offered by Radt reads:

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Θυέστη: “ἦ Ἄτρει μούμφ καὶ Ζεὺς τροπαίος ἐσκεκόμισται τόποις;”

The hiatus between the particle ἦ and Ἄτρει would be impossible in tragedy. Therefore, Lloyd-Jones rightly reads ἦ Ἄτρει as part of Herodian's introduction rather than as the beginning of the quotation. In other words, it is given as an alternative title for the play:

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Θυέστη ἦ Ἄτρει: “μούμφ καὶ Ζεὺς τροπαίος ἐσκεκόμισται τόποις”

Ἄτρεύς is not known to have been an alternative title for Sophocles' *Θυέστης*. Nevertheless, the fact that the two characters are famous for being locked in restless rivalry could easily have meant that the plot concerned them both, and therefore it would hardly be surprising if the same play had been referred to by either name.<sup>4</sup>

The fragment cannot be assigned to any known metre. The prosody of the quotation (μούμφ – τόποις) is – – – – υ – υ – υ υ – – υ –. Starting from the end, we can easily isolate the last four syllables (–μισται τόποις) which form a regular iambic metron. Immediately before this last sequence we find the first obstacle to an iambic analysis: the text has a pyrrhic (υ υ: –κεκο–) where an iambic sequence would require an iamb (υ –); if an iamb could be restored, the text starting with καὶ Ζεὺς would form a full iambic trimeter. As for the first word (μούμφ), it cannot be taken as the ending of the preceding iambic trimeter, since that would require a short penultimate syllable.

The text therefore poses two metrical problems. The one concerning μούμφος can be solved quite easily: the Ionic prosody of the adjective is unacceptable at the end of the trimeter, and Sophocles regularly employs Attic μόνοϛ where the metre requires a short syllable. It is likely, therefore, that Sophocles' original line ended with μόνϛ, which was subsequently corrupted into a variant form attested in epic and tragedy.<sup>5</sup> Its referent cannot be determined.

As for ἐσκεκόμισται, the text as we have it tells us that Zeus Tropaios, probably meaning his cult and victory trophies, which are his characteristic votive offerings, has been introduced to certain places whose identity we do not know. The perfect tense suggests that the physical action of bringing the god into the land has already

<sup>3</sup> S. Roussou, *Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome of Herodian's De Prosodia Catholica* (Oxford, 2018), 12–16; A.R. Dyck, 'Aelius Herodian: recent studies and prospects for future research', in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2.34.1 (Berlin and New York, 1993), 772–94, at 780–1.

<sup>4</sup> For the number and titles of Sophoclean plays about Atreus and Thyestes, see T. Suaria, 'Sophocles' Thyestes plays: how many is too many?', in N. Bruno, G. Dovico, O. Montepaone and M. Pelucchi (edd.), *The Limits of Exactitude in Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Literature and Textual Transmission* (Berlin and Boston, 2022), 363–91.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. F.T. Ellendt, rev. H. Genthe, *Lexicon Sophocleum* (Berlin, 1872<sup>2</sup>), 458–9.

occurred, but its effect is still ongoing as Zeus and his trophies are currently present. The present ἐσκομίζεται, which would indicate that the trophies are being raised while the action is taking place, presents a meaning that makes no less sense than the transmitted text and allows the restoration of a complete iambic trimeter. A scribe may have misspelled ἐσκομίζεται, or that part of the line could have suffered material damage.

I suggest the following text:

μόνον  
καὶ Ζεὺς τροπαῖος ἐσκομίζεται τόποις  
  
to/for (...) alone  
and Zeus, the granter of victory, is introduced to places | (...)

ἐσκομίζεται is less intrusive on the paradosis than Lloyd-Jones's εἰσεκόμασεν ('has stormed into the place'). While it is true that the idea of storming into a place is easier to associate with the king of the Olympians than that of being brought into one (ἐσκομίζεται), the idea that a god's cult and its relative cult-object may be introduced to new places is not difficult.

*Sapienza Università di Roma*

TOMMASO SUARIA

[tommaso.suaria@uniroma1.it](mailto:tommaso.suaria@uniroma1.it)

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## APPRENTICESHIP CONTRACTS IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

### ABSTRACT

*Numerous apprenticeship contracts survive among the papyri of Graeco-Roman Egypt, but scholars have been left guessing whether this documentation offers a sound comparison to job training in Classical Greece. This paper points out that such apprenticeship contracts are firmly attested in a work of Xenophon, revealing that, by the mid fourth century B.C., Athens was already home to the practice of formal apprenticeship.*

**Keywords:** apprenticeship; job training; Classical Athens; Xenophon; *Art of Horsemanship*

Recent decades have witnessed debate over the nature and extent of apprenticeship in the Classical Greek world, and that debate has taken us to some strange places. One finds it claimed, for instance, that apprenticeship simply did not exist in the Classical period; while apprentices are amply attested in, say, Roman Egypt, the lack of comparable documentation from the Greek world reflects a fundamental difference in the system of training workers—or so the reasoning goes.<sup>1</sup> Others have thought to

<sup>1</sup> T. Rihill, 'Skilled slaves and the economy: the silver mines of the Laurion', in H. Heinen (ed.), *Antike Sklaverei: Rückblick und Ausblick. Neue Beiträge zur Forschungsgeschichte und zur Erschließung der archäologischen Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 2010), 203–20, at 203 ('We simply do not find this sort of relationship in the classical Greek world'), 206 ('there does not appear to be such an institution in this time and place').