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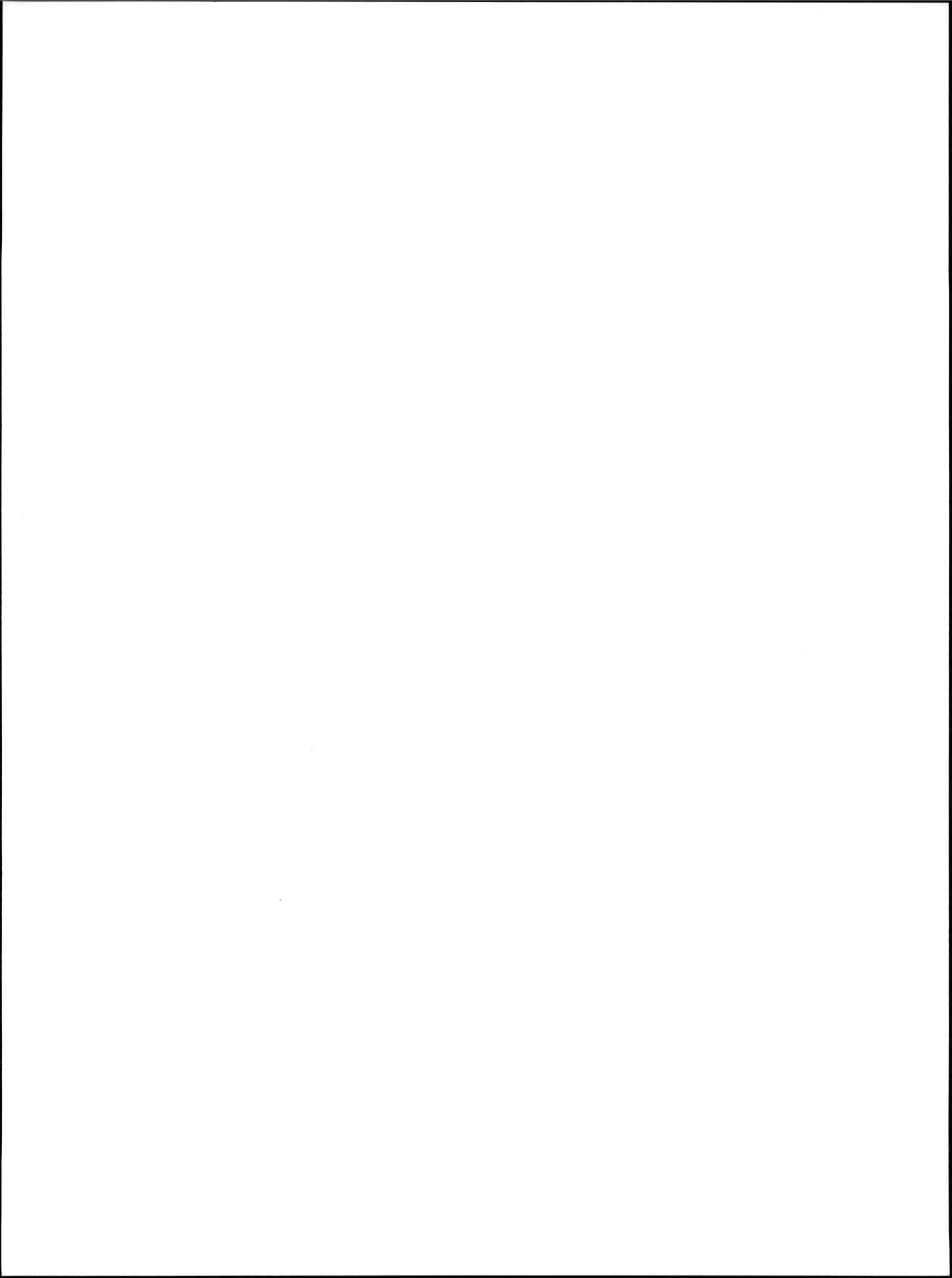
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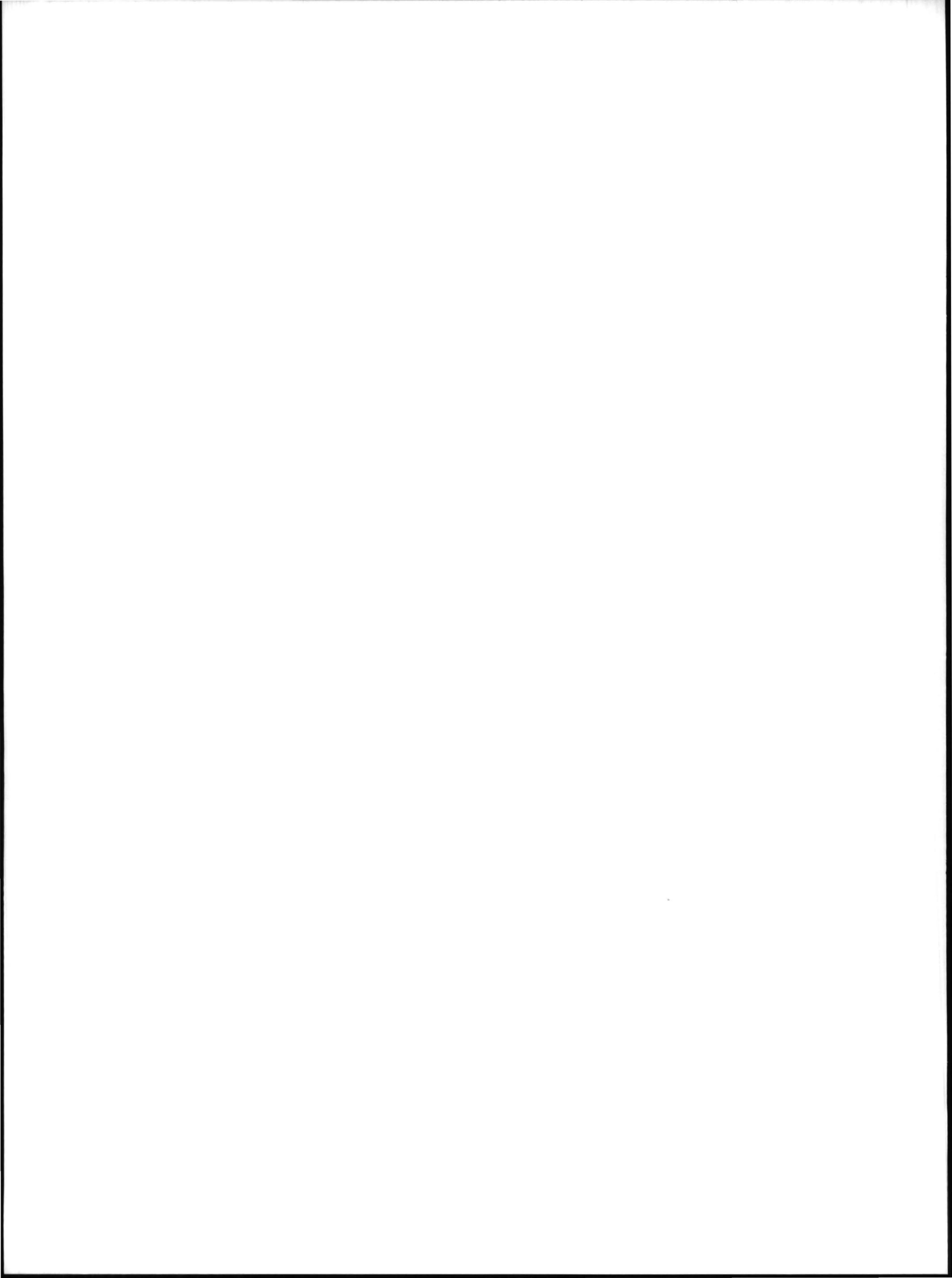
TORONE

THE LITERARY, DOCUMENTARY AND
EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA



ATHENS 2004





TORONE

TESTIMONIA

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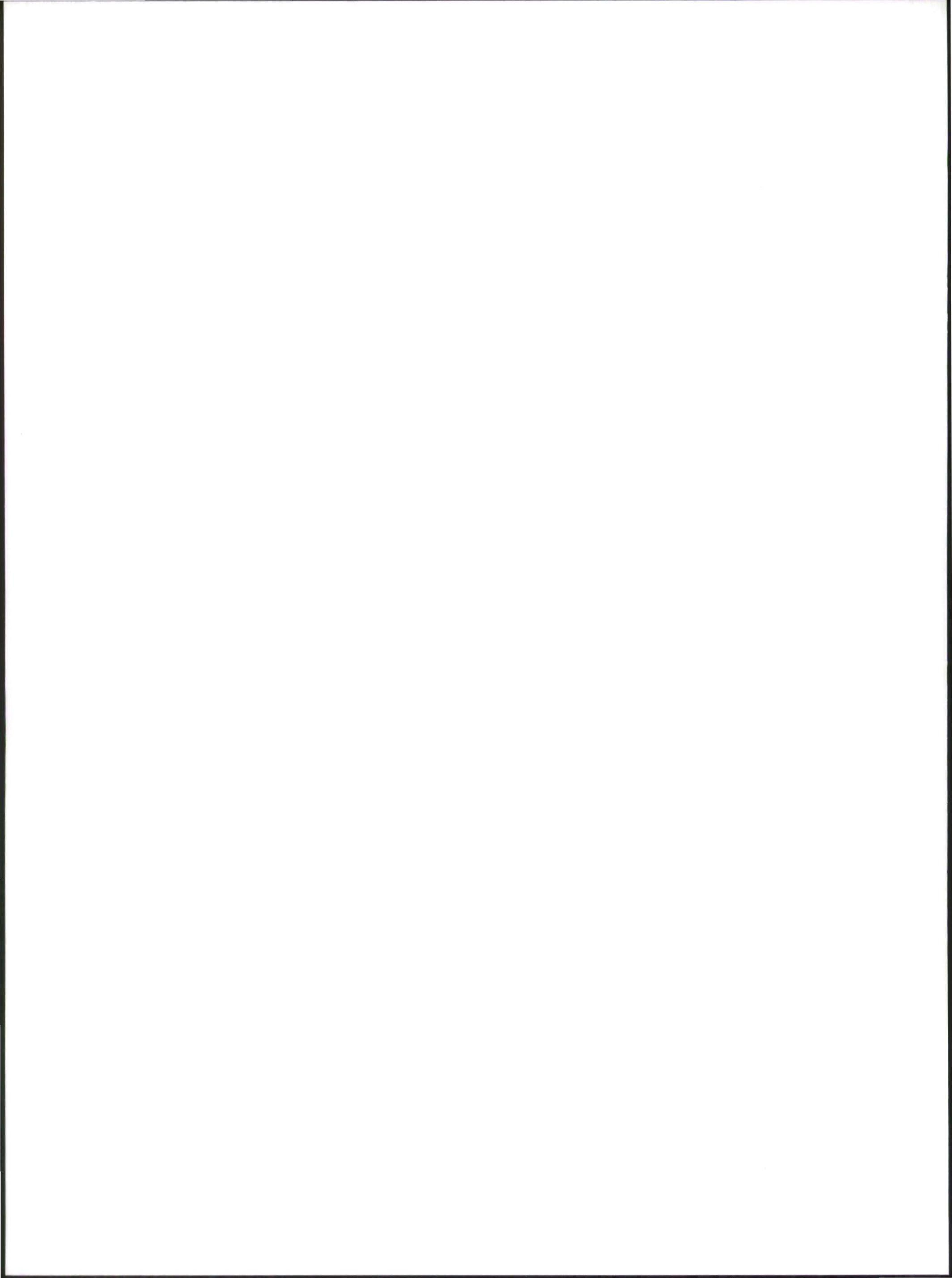
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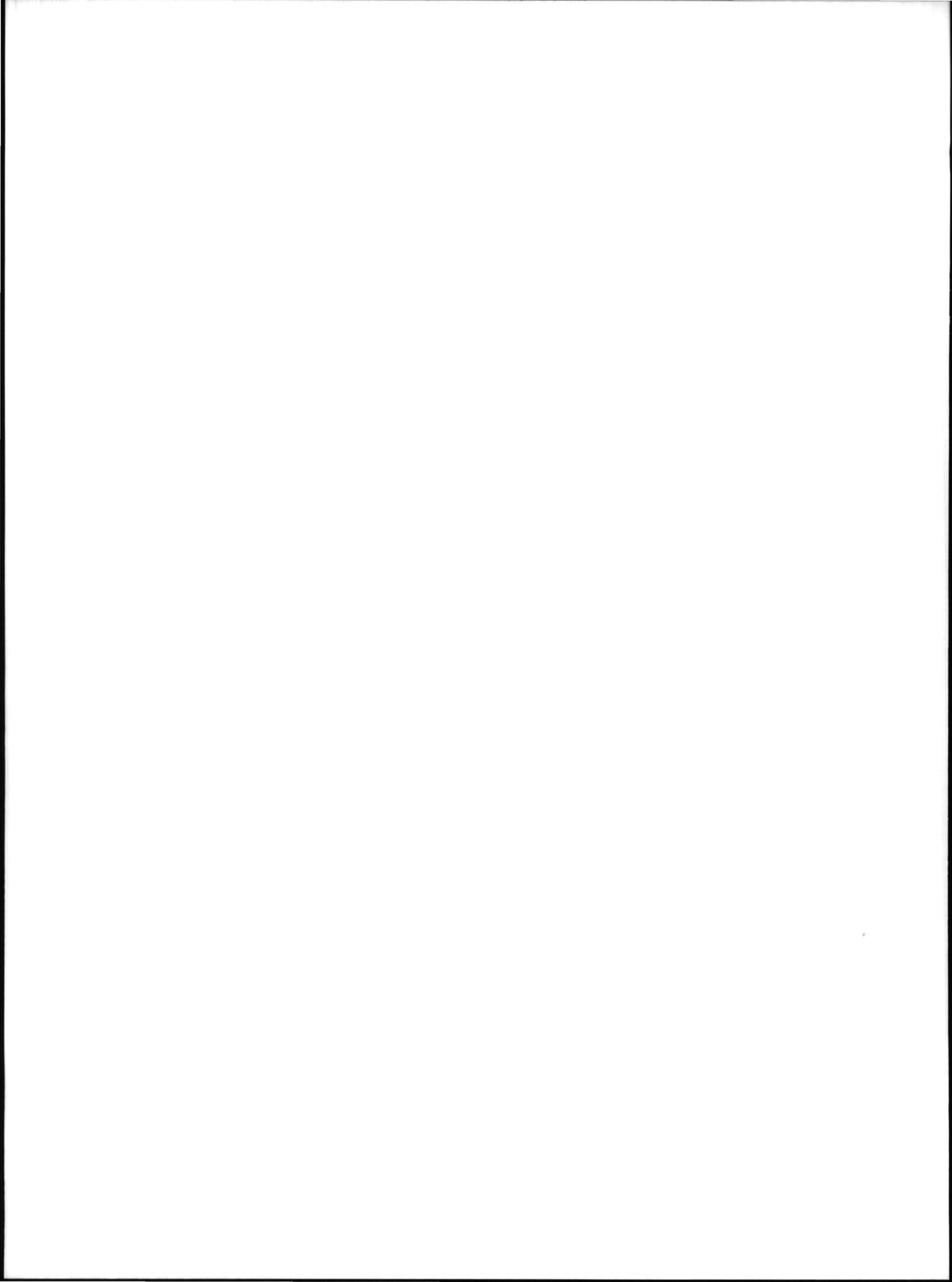
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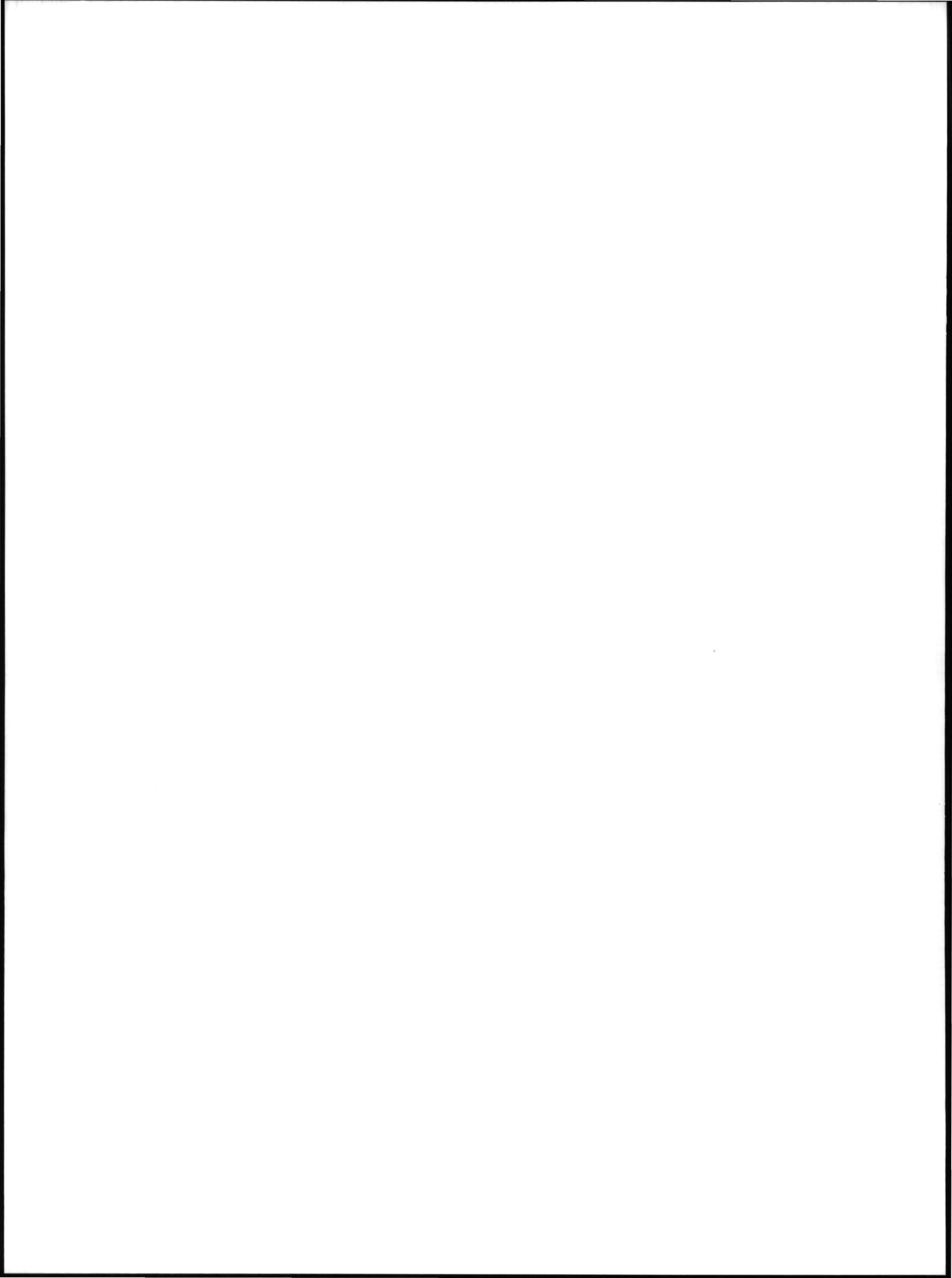
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Following the publication of Torone I in 2001, the Australian Archaeological Institute and the Athens Archaeological Society, are pleased to present to the international community of Classical and more generally Hellenic scholars the first of a monograph series resulting from the work that is being carried out by the Australian expedition to Torone since 1975.

It is unfortunate that the author of the Torone Testimonia was unable to go through and correct his manuscript at proof stage because of ill health. This was generously done by a distinguished Australian epigraphist, Mr. Sean Byrne, to whom the members of the Torone expedition are deeply indebted.

The expedition is also very grateful to the Athens Archaeological Society, and more particularly to its Secretary General Dr. Basil Petrakos, for accepting to publish this volume as item 230 of its monograph series.

*Alexander Cambitoglou
Director of the Torone Expedition*



PREFACE

As long ago as December 1997, I rashly predicted the completion of this project in the following year. However, various obstacles of a personal nature – including an unexpected return to Scotland after thirty three years in Australia – conspired to delay the final draft until the year 2000. Now, happily, after a long period of gestation, this work will see the light of day concurrently with the beginning of the new millennium and the new century in 2004.

It has been a great pleasure and satisfaction to me to have been associated over the last decade with the excavation at Torone in Chalcidice conducted by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens in collaboration with the Archaeological Society at Athens. Summer 1990 indeed brought me belatedly to my first direct experience of an archaeological ‘dig’, even though advancing years confined my endeavours to the more sedentary role of archivist, when I was not otherwise engaged working on deciphering the Lead Letter or tramping the ground in the steps of Brasidas and Cleon. My open-air seminar delivered on the Anemomylos at Torone was, both literally and figuratively, one of the high-points of my career.

When I first came to the Testimonia, I was immediately confronted with the problem of the organisation of the considerable material. It was, moreover, my avowed intent to provide not just a monotonous list of pieces of evidence pertaining to Torone and its people but rather something approaching an introduction to the history of the city from antiquity down to relatively modern times. It is for this reason that I have ventured to use the term testimonium in a somewhat more elastic fashion than is customary in such works. This terminological inexactitude will, I hope, be compensated for by the rich store of material here presented.

In PART I, by far the largest section of the study, the testimonia drawn from the ancient authors are presented, for convenience of consultation, in alphabetical order in Section A. In Sections B to E, however, I have felt it more appropriate and meaningful to list the material in chronological order, moving from antiquity right down to the destruction of the fortress on the Lekythos in the seventeenth century, and concluding with Benjamin Dean Meritt’s youthful and fruitful visit to the site in 1922.

PREFACE

PART II gathers such evidence as there is for the flora and fauna of Torone and the part these played in the prosperity and reputation of the place. Within the various subdivisions, the literary evidence is again presented in alphabetical order.

PART III is, unashamedly and necessarily, a hold-all for what remains. It embraces a wide variety of material, from literary epitaphs and sepulchral inscriptions to a selection of linguistic phenomena, mythological sources for the eponymous Torone herself, Proteus, her father or spouse, and the great figure of Greek tradition, Heracles. It is rounded off by the many references to the proverbial 'tranquil harbour' of Porto Koupho. The literary citations are again in alphabetical order, but the others have of necessity been arranged according to a variety of criteria which should be self-evident.

In the few instances where a testimonium offers evidence which cannot be contained within a single one of my categories and so is cited more than once, either in whole or in part, the further reference is given in round brackets alongside the primary citation number.

As regards my policy on the spelling of Latin and Greek names – if indeed my consistently inconsistent usage can be dignified with the name – I have felt content to follow in the main the practice of the editors of the third edition of the *OCD*. That is to say, Latin and English forms have generally, but not universally, been preferred. Thus, for example, I have deemed it proper to allow those Toroneans who found eternal peace in Athens to retain the forms inscribed and preserved on their sepulchral monuments.

Any work of scholarship demands the acknowledgement of sundry debts incurred during the period of gestation. I am particularly indebted to Alexander Cambitoglou, Director of the AAIA, who both suggested and entrusted this study to me, as well as to the sometime Deputy Director, John Papadopoulos, who first introduced me to the glories of Torone and who, over several years, has been a constant source of advice and information. I must also make special mention of the support afforded by my great friends and erstwhile colleagues, Bob Milns, who came close to having his name inscribed on the title-page, and Gavin Betts, whose skills in the information technology sphere and inexhaustible moral support have done so much to ensure the final completion of the work.

Among a host of other creditors, who will each be aware of their individual contribution and whom I thank most gratefully, are Malcolm Campbell, Pamela and Richard Catling, Elizabeth Craik, Kenneth Dover, Stephen Halliwell, Martine Henry, Judith Herrin, Charalambos Kritzas, Stephen Lambert, Angelos Matthaïou, Stavros Paspalas, John Traill and Geoffrey Woodhead. None of the above-mentioned, of course, shares in any way in the failings of this study.

PREFACE

Among institutions and organisations which have supported my work I wish to place on record my profound gratitude to the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, which allowed me, in May 2000, to complete my researches in Athens in a style to which I would be more than happy to become accustomed. The financial assistance which the Foundation provided and the general help and forbearance displayed by its officers, in particular the Deputy Director Mrs Effie Tsiotsiou, were unparalleled. I am also indebted for financial aid to Monash University, the Australian Research Council, and the University of St. Andrews. For general help and support I owe special thanks to the British School at Athens, in particular to its Director, David Blackman, and its Librarian, Penny Wilson-Zarganis; to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; the Gennadius Library; the École française d'Athènes; and to P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews of the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names Project.

A special mention must be made of the generosity of the School of Greek, Latin and Ancient History of the University of St. Andrews, where I am privileged to have the status of Honorary Professor. Not only has its immediate past Head, Professor Harry Hine, provided a contribution towards the expenses of travel to Athens; he has also made available accommodation and computer facilities without which I could not have brought this study to a satisfactory conclusion.

Finally, a word of thanks to my family, who have uncomplainingly tolerated my not infrequent absences while I enjoyed the delights of Greece. This work is dedicated to them.

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- EG *Epistolographi Graeci* (ed. R. Hercher, Paris 1873).
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- Zahrnt, M., *Olynth und die Chalkidier. Untersuchungen zur Staatbildung auf der chalkidischen Halbinsel in 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Vestigia. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Munich).
 —, Review of Hatzopoulos 1991 and Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, *Gnomon* 69, 420-432.



Fig. 1. Aerial view of Torone.

PART I

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

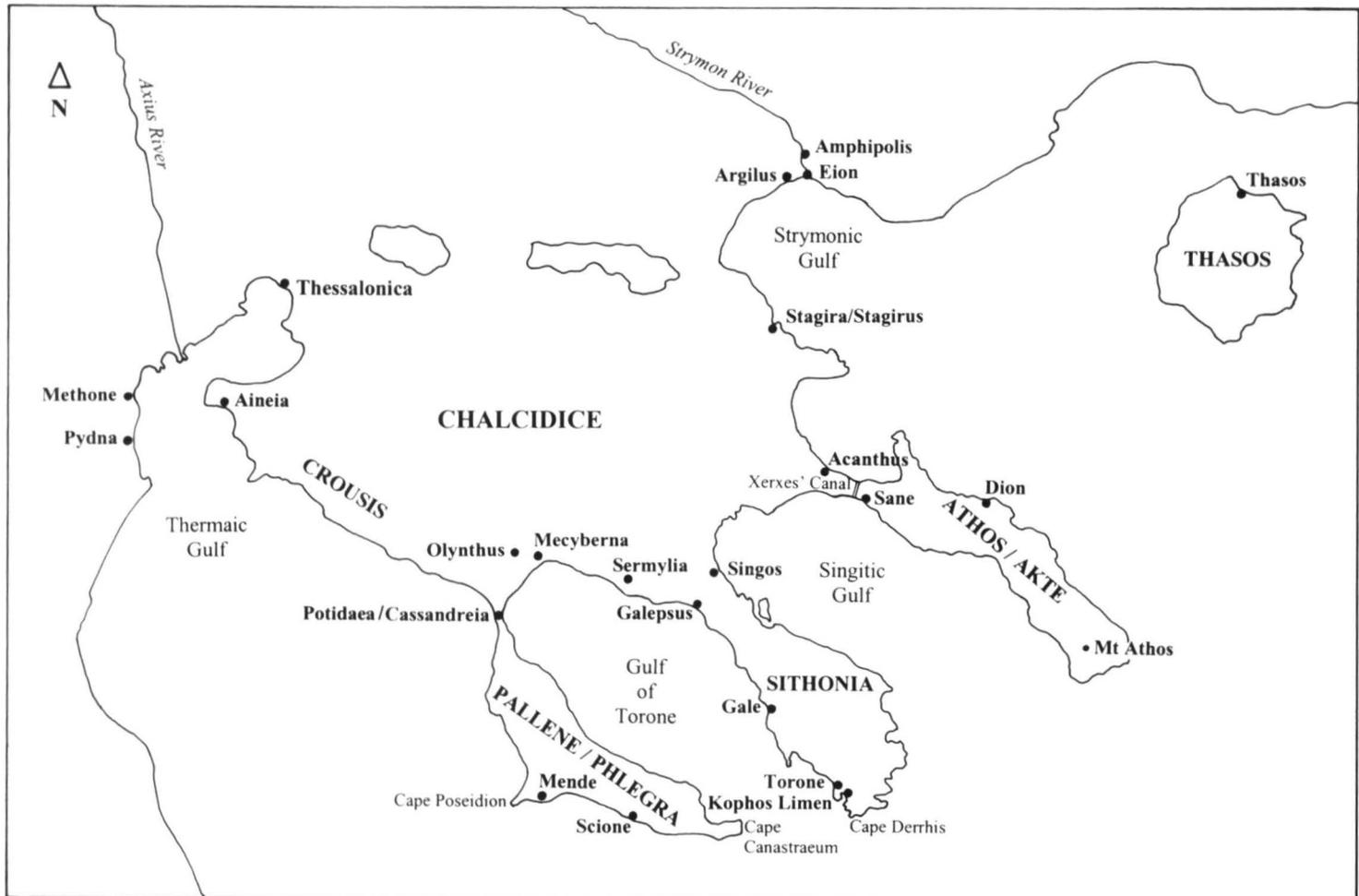


Fig. 2. Map of Chalcidice.

A. AUTHORS

T 1 ARCHILOCHUS FR. 89 WEST, B (E₂) I 19-22

7th c. B.C. (?c. 680-640)

οἱ μὲν ἐν Θάσῳ .[
καὶ Τορωναίην[

οἱ δ' ἐν ὠκείησι () νηυσὶ
καὶ...ἐκ Πάρου τ[

*the men on Thasos
and Toronean
and those on swift ships
?and from Paros*

These extremely fragmentary lines come from the so-called Mnesiepes inscription, found in Paros in 1949. This text, dating from around the middle of the 3rd century B.C., is inscribed on two marble orthostate slabs, set up by Apollo's command in a sanctuary of Archilochus (the *Archilocheion*) on Paros (see *SEG* 15.517). The two stones contain a *vita* of Archilochus, as well as excerpts from his poems. On the second slab (B, E₂; the *siglum* E is derived from the find-place near the River Elitas) all that remains is the left side of the first column, but it contains a lengthy quotation (ll. 14-44) of Archilochus' verse in trochaic tetrameters, from which the above lines are cited.

Although it is reasonably clear that this fragment is concerned with Archilochus' involvement in the struggles of Paros against its neighbour Naxos, and although, not unexpectedly, there has been no lack of ingenuity expended in attempts to offer reconstructions and interpretations, the extremely fragmentary state of the text invites caution rather than extravagance. It is wise not to go beyond the obvious conclusion that this poem is to be seen within the context of the conflict between Paros and Naxos. (We may be confident in rejecting the speculation of Kontoleon in the presentation of the *editio princeps* [*ArchEph* 1952, 32-95] that these words are linked with the exploits of Heracles in this area of the northern Aegean, as described

by [Apollodorus] *Bibliotheca* 2.5.9 (T 116) and *IG* XIV.1293A.83-86 (T 119). Kontoleon contended that this poem was the common source of both later accounts.)

West (1974, 126) tentatively paraphrased the meaning of these lines as ‘Some [have fallen] at Thasos and Torone, others [have died] at sea.’ Be that as it may, for us the importance of this excerpt lies simply in the fact that it constitutes our earliest literary reference to Torone.

T 2 AELIUS ARISTIDES 8.17 LENZ

A.D. 117 - after 181

ἀλλ’ ἂν ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς, οὐδαμοῦ τὰ νῦν ἐγκλήματα πρὸς τὰς τότε αὐτῶν ἀνδραγαθίας ὄντα φανήσεται, καὶ μεγέθει λέγω καὶ πλήθει. νυνὶ μὲν γε Σκιώνην καὶ Μῆλον καὶ Τορώνην καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἑτέρας πόλεις ἀοίκους ἐποίησαν, τότε δὲ ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις συνδιέσωσαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἰδίᾳ μὲν πρὸς Δᾶτιν, κοινῇ δὲ μεθ’ ἡμῶν πρὸς Ζέρξην καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχους ἀγωνισάμενοι.

But if you make a correct examination, the present charges will obviously be of no significance when compared with their acts of bravery at that time – I mean both in respect of magnitude and number. In the recent war they made homeless the people of Scione and Melos and Torone and two or three other cities, but at that time they helped Greece to save all her cities, when they struggled individually against Datis, and in common with us against Xerxes and his lieutenants.

The imaginary speaker in Aristides’ *On making peace with the Athenians* is a Spartan urging mercy for the Athenians after their defeat in 405 B.C., on the grounds of their earlier great sacrifices on behalf of Greece at the time of the Persian Wars.

The treatment of Torone is not infrequently linked with those of Scione and Melos in the ancient literature, as examples of the brutality and ruthlessness of the Athenians in dealing with recalcitrant cities: see Isocrates 12 (*Panathenaicus*) 62-63 (T 18). For Melos and Scione alone, cf. Isocrates 4 (*Panegyricus*) 100. For the Athenians’ own fears as regards the sort of fate they might suffer after their defeat in 405, as they reflected on what they had done to Melos, Scione and Torone, along with Histiaea and Aegina, see Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3 (T 46).

After her revolt in the spring of 423 B.C., Scione was finally destroyed by the Athenians in summer 421; all adult males were put to death (though some must have survived to be restored later by Lysander in 405; Xenophon *Hell.* 2.2.9) and their women and children sold into slavery (Thuc. 5.32.1; but note Brasidas’ at least partial evacuation of them to Olynthus; Thuc. 4.123.4). Melos, which had refused to join the League, was besieged and finally crushed in the winter of 416/15, and suf-

ferred a fate similar, but not identical, to that of Scione (Thuc. 5.116.4). For the treatment of Torone by Cleon in 422, see especially **T 43** below.

T 3 DIODORUS SICULUS 12 ΠΙΝΑΞ

1st c. B.C.

Ἄλωσις Τορώνης καὶ κατασκαφή ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

Capture of Torone and destruction by the Athenians.

This entry from the Table of Contents of Book 12 refers to the events described in 12.73 (**T 5** below).

T 4 DIODORUS SICULUS 12.68.5-6

1st c. B.C.

παραγεγόμενος εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Ἀκτὴν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐν ταύτῃ δ' ὑπῆρχον πέντε πόλεις, ὧν αἱ μὲν Ἑλληνίδες ἦσαν, Ἀνδρίων ἄποικοι, αἱ δὲ εἶχον ὄχλον βαρβάρων διγλώττων Βισαλτικόν. ταύτας δὲ χειρωσάμενος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ πόλιν Τορώνην, ἄποικον μὲν Χαλκιδέων, κατεχομένην δὲ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων. προδιδόντων δὲ τινῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ τούτων εἰσαχθεὶς νυκτὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς Τορώνης ἄνευ κινδύνων.

When he (Brasidas) had arrived at Akte, as it is called, he pitched camp. In this area there were five cities, of which some were Greek, being colonies of Andros, while others had a Bisaltic populace of barbarians who were bilingual. When he had subdued these he marched against the city of Torone, a colony of the Chalcidians, which was held by the Athenians. Since certain men wished to betray the city, he was brought in by them during the night and took control of Torone without hazard.

The year is winter 424/3, when Brasidas, after a brief foray into Akte, turned his attention to the peninsula of Sithonia and its principal city Torone. For the fighting at Torone, see especially **T 38** below.

These words of Diodorus, Τορώνην ἄποικον Χαλκιδέων, may serve to introduce discussion of a controversy which has engaged the minds and passions of scholars for most of the twentieth century and looks set to continue into the twenty-first. The specific question is: was Torone a colony of Euboean Chalcis or not? The wider issue is the role of the Euboeans as active colonizers in the northern Aegean. Most recently, John Papadopoulos (1996; 1997; 1999), a scholar intimately connected with the excavation and interpretation of the site of Torone, has set forth his 'anti-

Euboean thesis', as it has come to be called, in a series of hard-hitting, penetrating and passionately argued papers. As well as arguing the archaeological case for the absence of adequate remains to justify the colonizing claims of the pro-Euboeans, he criticizes the privileging of literary sources in general over archaeological data in Aegean prehistory and classical archaeology. This has caused much re-thinking, but over the Torone question there is as yet no totally agreed position.

It may be useful to have a synoptic view vis-à-vis this central issue of the arguments of the principal protagonists and antagonists. The pro-Chalcis-in-Euboea lobby (who reflect the 'traditional' view, if we may call it that without prejudice) is championed by Donald Bradeen (1952), who maintained that the Euboeans colonized Chalcidice in the 8th century B.C. Support for this view came from R. D. Gold (1974), and, more recently, from Denis Knoepfler (1989; 1990), the latter arguing on the basis of the correspondence of month-names in the Euboean and Olynthian calendars, as well as alluding to the idiosyncratic numbering system used in deeds of sales from Chalcidice, which Knoepfler believed was of the same nature and origin as the Etrusco-Latin one. The doyen of Macedonian studies, N.G.L. Hammond (1995) also subscribes to the view that the Euboeans were active in colonizing in the north in the late 8th century, supported by Anthony Snodgrass (1999). Hammond and Snodgrass attempt to establish a distinction between Chalcidians (οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς; τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος), a pre-colonial group of Euboean settlers at Torone and elsewhere, and the later inhabitants of the colonies sent out from the late 8th century on.

Against this formidable battery of authority we find ranged E. Harrison (1912), who was the first to query the entrenched position, arguing that Chalcidice was inhabited not by Euboean colonists but by a local Greek race called Χαλκιδεῖς. Harrison's view had a mixed reception, with some support from A. B. West (1914; but later withdrawn in West's *History of the Chalcidic League* (West 1918)), U. Kahrstedt (1936), and R. M. Cook (1946). But by far the greatest blow against the traditional view was delivered by Michael Zahrnt (1971). In his landmark volume, *Olynth und die Chalkidier*, Zahrnt claimed that the population of Chalcidice was a native Greek tribe, of Ionian origin, which had settled there at the end of the Mycenaean period. (We should note that, more recently, in a review of Hatzopoulos (1991), Zahrnt (1997, 421 n. 4) has made a cautious and tentative retraction of his earlier claim that the *epigraphic* legacy of the Thracian Chalcidians does not justify our viewing them as colonists from Chalcis in Euboea. He does, however, still regard as valid his observation that the literary sources before Polybius and Strabo seem to know nothing of any Euboean origin of the Chalcidians. Even more up-to-date is information passed by personal correspondence to John Papadopoulos that Zahrnt now holds that Chalcidice is a special case, in that Sithonia was settled from

Euboea before the colonizing activities of the Euboean city-states. This shares common ground with the Hammond-Snodgrass position outlined above.)

Hornblower (1997) attempts a compromise between these warring factions. Diodorus clearly believes (or, at least, wishes his reader to believe) that Torone is a colony of Euboean Chalcis, and it is more than likely that his source was Thucydides via Ephorus. Thucydides himself describes Torone as *Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικήν* (4.110.1: T 38), in a passage where he tells us that Brasidas ‘made an expedition against Chalcidian Torone which was held by the Athenians.’ In what sense did Thucydides consider Torone to be ‘Chalcidian’? Rightly or wrongly, Diodorus obviously interpreted the wording to mean ‘a colony of Chalcis’. But did Thucydides? And, if he did not, what did he mean?

Hornblower contends that, whatever interpretation we put on *Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*, it must surely square with the neighbouring (4.123.4) description of Olynthus as *Ὀλυνθον τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*, in a passage where Brasidas *ὑπεκκομίζει* the women and children of Mende and Scione *ἐς Ὀλυνθον τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*, and this does indeed seem a reasonable *desideratum*. But we are immediately struck by the fact that, by no stretch of the imagination, could Olynthus ever be described as a ‘colony of Chalcis.’ For, as is well established, before Olynthus was handed over in 480 by Artabazus to Critobulus of Torone and *τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει* (Hdt. 8.127; T 17), it was Bottiaean. How then do we resolve this dilemma?

Hornblower is surely right in seeking in the adjective ‘Chalcidian’ some reference to origins or ethnic affiliation rather than the mere geographical specification ‘in Chalcidice’, which seems pointless and is, in any case, not conveyed by the adjective *Χαλκιδικός*. Nor can ‘Chalcidic’ imply membership of the Chalcidian League or state, since there is no evidence that Torone was a member in the fifth century. On the contrary, there are distinct signs of a tension between Torone and Olynthus, which, together with the physical distance between the two cities, will have kept them politically, as well as geographically, apart: e.g. at Thuc. 4.110.2 (T 38) it is an Olynthian, Lysistratus, who led the commandoes who slipped through the walls of Torone; and at Hdt. 8.127 (T 17) it is a Toronean, Critobulus, to whom Artabazus entrusted control of Olynthus. In another significant passage, Thuc. 5.3.4 (T 43), in describing Cleon’s arrangements for the prisoners-of-war after his recapture of Torone, the historian draws a clear distinction between three groups, *αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος Χαλκιδέων ἦν* – ‘the men of Torone (*αὐτοὺς* contrasts the immediately preceding *τῶν Τορωναίων γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας ἠνδραπόδισαν*) and the Peloponnesians and any of the Chalcidians who were there as well’ (*ἄλλους*). This interpretation of *ἄλλους* (not ‘and any other Chalcidians,’ with the point of reference of *ἄλλους* being the Toroneans, *αὐτοὺς*) is

strengthened by the positioning of Πελοποννησίους between the Toroneans on the one hand and the Chalcidians on the other; there are three groups here, not two.

Hornblower's compromise is to seek an interpretation of 'Chalcidic Torone/Olynthus' which will somehow allow us to combine elements of colonial descent from Euboean Chalcis with ethnic affiliation to a local Ionian *genos*, no easy task given the strength of Papadopoulos' archaeological case against the alleged colonizing activities of the Euboeans in the northern Aegean, particularly in Chalcidice. Hornblower's 'solution' is to argue that Thucydides and, with him, Ephorus in the fourth century, did embrace the concept of colonial descent for the Toroneans from Euboean Chalcis, and that non-Euboean 'Chalcidians', such as the Olynthians (after 480 B.C.), whose power was steadily growing in the fifth century, claimed Euboean origins in order to foster the belief that there was a link with Euboean Chalcis and to emphasise their 'Greekness' in a largely non-Greek environment. The close similarity of the names of the Chalcidians of the north and the citizens of Chalcis in Euboea would account for their targetting Chalcis, rather than some other Euboean city, as their Euboean 'connection'.

Hornblower is of the opinion that, no matter who the northern Chalcidians actually were, they must have included in their numbers 'some descendants of settlers from Euboea in general and from Chalcis in particular, settlers who had moved there when the Greek world was still young (let us avoid talk of 'Dark Ages'), by a process more like drift than like oikist-organised colonization'. And he adduces Thucydides' mention of there being only a 'small Chalcidian element', καί τι καὶ Χαλκιδικόν ἔνι βραχύ, on the Akte peninsula (4.109.4).

But this lyrical analysis smacks rather of an attempt to have the best of both worlds. Hammond's (1995) and Snodgrass' (1999) talk of pre-colonists and colonists is open to much the same challenge. Given the demonstrated paucity of archaeological evidence for the colonization of Chalcidice by the Euboeans, which Papadopoulos so rightly emphasises, it may well be wise to conclude that the Chalcidians of Chalcidice were a native, non-Euboean people, and that Diodorus (and Ephorus) simply got it wrong.

T 5 DIODORUS SICULUS 12.73.2-3

1st c. B.C.

προχειρισάμενοι στρατηγὸν Κλέωνα τὸν δημαγωγόν, καὶ δόντες ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν πεζήν, ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπους. οὗτος δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Σκιώνην, κάκεῖθεν προσλαβόμενος στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν πολιορκούντων τὴν πόλιν, ἀπέπλευσε καὶ κατῆρεν εἰς Τορώνην· ἐγίνωσκε γὰρ τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν ἐκ

τούτων τῶν τόπων ἀπεληλυθότα, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Τορώνῃ τοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους στρατιώτας οὐκ ὄντας ἀξιομάχους. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Τορώνης καταστρατοπεδεύσας καὶ πολιορκήσας ἅμα κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἴλεε κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἠνδραποδίσατο, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὴν πόλιν φρουροῦντας αἰχμαλώτους λαβῶν, δήσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

Having elected the demagogue Cleon general they gave him a significant land-force and sent him off to the Thraceward regions. He sailed to Scione, and, after taking additional soldiers from there from among those who were besieging the city, he sailed off and put in at Torone; for he knew that Brasidas was gone from these parts and that the soldiers who had been left at Torone were insufficient in number to do battle. After he had encamped near Torone and laid siege both by land and by sea, he took the city by force and enslaved the women and children, and after making prisoners of the men and those who were guarding the city, he put them in chains and sent them away to Athens.

The year is summer 422. For the details of the recapture of Torone by Cleon, see **T 43** below.

For the treatment of the prisoners, cf. **T 2** above.

T 6 DIODORUS SICULUS 13.41.2-3

1st c. B.C.

καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἄθω γενομένων τῶν τριήρων ἐπεγενήθη χειμῶν τηλικούτος ὥστε τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἀπάσας ἀπολέσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν δώδεκα μόνον διασωθῆναι. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ περὶ τούτων ἀνάθημα κείμενον ἐν τῷ περὶ Τορώνην νεῷ, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἐφορος, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον ταύτην·

οἶδ' ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα νεῶν θάνατον προφυγόντες
πρὸς σκοπέλοισιν Ἄθω σώματα γῆ πέλασαν
δώδεκα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὄλεσεν μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης
νῆάς τε στυγεροῖς πνεύμασι χρησαμένας.

When the triremes were off Athos such a storm came upon them that all the ships were lost and of the men only twelve survived. The circumstances are revealed by a dedication set up in the temple at Torone, as Ephorus says, bearing the following inscription:

these men from fifty ships, fleeing from death on the crags of Athos, brought their bodies to land, twelve

of them, while the mighty depth of the sea destroyed the others and their ships, which had encountered baneful winds.

The year is 411. After the Spartan defeat at Cynossema Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, had sent Epicles to bring back fifty triremes as reinforcements from Euboea. On the return journey this fleet was caught by a terrible storm off Mt Athos. Given the location of the storm and the relative proximity of the secure harbour at Torone, Jacoby (*FGrH* IIA.70 F199, Ephorus) was probably right to accept Schwartz's reading of Τορώνην for the Κορώνειαν found in the mss. of Diodorus. If that be accepted, then this is a reference to the Temple of Athena on the Lekythos (see **T 38**).

T 7 DIODORUS SICULUS 15.81.6

1st c. B.C.

ἄμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἔχων δύναμιν πεζὴν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν Τορώνην μὲν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν πολιορκήσας εἶλε, Κυζικηνοῖς δὲ πολιορκουμένοις ἐβοήθησεν.

At the same time as these events the Athenian general Timotheus, with both land and naval force, besieged and captured Torone and Potidaea, and brought help to the people of Cyzicus who were under siege.

These events belong to the year 364/3. Timotheus, the commander of the Athenian fleet operating in Macedonian waters with the cooperation of the Macedonians, forced Methone and Pydna into the Athenian Confederacy, and captured Torone and Potidaea (see Polyaeus 3.10.15, **T 26** below; cf. Isocrates 15 (*Antidosis*) 108, **T 19**). This in turn had the effect of making the Theban Epaminondas lift the siege of Cyzicus.

Whether or not this implies that Torone was a member of the Chalcidian League at this time is not clear. Other cities acquired by Timotheus included Methone and Pydna, which were never members of the League. We are also not sure how long Torone continued under Athenian control, although by 357 B.C., according to Isocrates 7 (*Areopagiticus*) 9, Athens had lost control of all the cities in the Thraceward region. That, of course, included the coastal cities of Chalcidice.

T 8 DIODORUS SICULUS 16.53.2

1st c. B.C.

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος μὲν σπεύδων τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις χειρῶ-

σασθαι Μηκύβερναν μὲν καὶ Τορώνην χωρὶς κινδύνων διὰ προδοσίας παρέλαβεν.

In the year of office of these men Philip, being eager to subdue the cities on the Hellespont, took control of Mecyberna and Torone by means of treachery (and) without the need for battle.

The year is 348/7. The capture of Mecyberna, the port of Olynthus (see **T 33**), and of Torone was part of Philip's campaign to incorporate Chalcidice. He needed to secure his rear first, before turning to his ultimate goal, the Hellespont.

It is generally agreed (see Zahrnt 1971, 108) that Torone was a member of the Chalcidic League at this time. The fact that she yielded to Philip without a fight and through treachery may be another example of the continuing differences between Torone and Olynthus. For Philip's next move was to capture and destroy Olynthus itself, in the same year.

T 9 EUSTATHIUS 358.35-39 (ON *ILIAD* 2.844ff.)

12th c. A.D.

ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἀπείρων γῆ κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, ἣν ζώνουσιν ὁ μέγας Αἴμος καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἕως καὶ εἰς βαθὺ τοῦ Εὐξείνου καὶ ὁ Θράκιος Βόσπορος καὶ ὁ Ἑλλησποντος καὶ τὰ τούτου προσάρκτια μέχρι καὶ ἔς τὸν περιαδόμενον Ἄθων καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτόν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ Τορώνη καὶ τὸ Ποσειδίου.

For in truth according to the poem it (Thrace) is a vast land, girdled by mighty Haemus and the regions beyond it and the successive areas right up to the depths of the Euxine and by the Thracian Bosphorus and the Hellespont and the northerly parts of it as far as both much-hymned Athos and the regions beyond it; among these lie both Torone and Poseidion.

Eustathius is here commenting on Homer's mention of the Thracian contingent in the Catalogue of Ships. The wording ἀπείρων γῆ is taken from the poem of Dionysius Periegetes (see **T 10** below) 1.323 Θρήικες, ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἔχοντες.

Why Eustathius should have chosen to mention by name only Torone and (Cape) Poseidion (presumably the Cape at the south-west tip of Pallene in the territory of Mende: cf. Zahrnt 1971, 214) is not at all clear; perhaps, as van der Valk (Eustathius 562) suggests, he has been influenced by his unidentified source. It is not impossible that both had in mind the tradition that Torone was the daughter of Poseidon.

T 10 (110) EUSTATHIUS ON DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ
 1.327 12th c. A.D.
 (GGM II, p. 276)

Οἶονται δέ τινες Παλλήνην λέγεσθαι τὴν τῆς Κασσανδρείας χερρόνησον, τῷ Αἰγαίῳ καὶ αὐτὴν παρακειμένην. ἔνθα που καὶ τόπος τις κατὰ παραφθορὰν Τορώνη λεγόμενος, ὁμωνύμως, ὡς ἔοικε, Τορώνη τῆ τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Πρωτέως θυγατρὶ κατὰ Λυκόφρονα.

Some think that Pallene is the name given to the peninsula of Cassandreia, which itself also lies adjacent to the Aegean. Somewhere in this area is also a certain place called by corruption Torone, with the same name, as it seems, as Torone the daughter of the Thracian Proteus, according to Lycophron.

For Dionysius' *Description of the Inhabited World*, written perhaps in the time of Hadrian, see *OCD*³ s.v. *Dionysius* (9). Dionysius' pseudo-epic work was in 1,185 hexameters (cf. *GGM* II, p. 103ff.).

This is Eustathius' note on l. 327 of Dionysius' 'poem', in particular on the words μελισσοβότοιο κατὰ σκοπιᾶς Παλλήνης – 'among the heights of Pallene, feeder of bees'. There is a certain vagueness in Eustathius' geography, since Torone actually, of course, lies on the peninsula of Sithonia to the east of Pallene.

I fail to see why Müller here chose to read Τορώνη as the name of the τόπος. 'By corruption' has no sense unless we read, with the bulk of the mss tradition, Τερώνη. The spelling with epsilon would reflect a variant attested from the earliest coinage down to time of the Athonite documents between the 13th and 16th centuries A.D. (cf. **T 99** below). Eustathius may be suggesting that 'Terone' was the original name of the city, later corrupted to 'Torone', under the influence of the name of the daughter of Proteus.

For the mythology, see Part IIID below.

For the confused reference to Lycophron (who, in fact, makes Torone the wife of Proteus), see **T 113**.

T 11 HARPOCRATION s.v. ΤΟΡΩΝΗ (**T 18** KEANEY) 2nd c. A.D.

Τορώνη· Ἰσοκράτης Παναθηναϊκῶ. πόλις ἐν Θράκῃ, ὡς Ἐφορος ἐν δ' ἱστορεῖ.

Torone: Isocrates in the Panathenaicus. A city in Thrace, as Ephorus records in Book 4.

For the reference to Isocrates (12.62-63), see **T 18**. For Ephorus, see *FGrH* IIA.70 n. 35.

‘A city in Thrace’: we have Torone elsewhere similarly described as ‘a city of Thrace’, although, of course, the so-called chorographic genitive permits also of the translation ‘in Thrace’.

Just as in the fifth century the Athenians had grouped the cities of Chalcidice in the Thraceward Tribute District, so it is clear that in the fourth the Chalcidic cities were regularly called ‘Thracian’. Hammond (1995, 307-8) has put it thus: ‘The term ‘Thraceward’ covered the coastal area of the Chalcidic peninsula, extending from the east coast of the Thermaic gulf south of Crousis to the west coast of the Strymonic gulf, and it was applied particularly to ‘the Thraceward Chalcidians’ (τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδέων).’ Cf. Casson (1926, 41): ‘Chalcidice was essentially the Greek Thrace bounded on the north by Macedonia.’

Thus we regularly find Torone described as being ‘of/in Thrace.’

T 12 (103) AELIUS HERODIAN *DE PROSODIA CATHOLICA* vi
(*GG* 3.1.1, p. 160, ll. 17-18)

2nd c. A.D.

ἔστι καὶ ἄκρα Τορωναίων Ἄμπελος λεγομένη.

There is also a cape of the Toroneans called Ampelos.

As Zahrt (1971, 152) notes, although Ampelos is called an *oppidum* by Pliny *NH* 4.10.37 (cf. **T 25**) and πόλις Θράκης by Hesychius s.v., it is designated as an ἄκρα by Herodotus (**T 16**), Ptolemy (**T 28**) and Stephanus of Byzantium (**T 31**). At most, Ampelos was a village, in the *chora* of Torone. It lay at the southern tip of Sithonia, and, as the name itself suggests, was very probably associated with the viticultural activities of the Toroneans. Cf. Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999, 166.

T 13 (104, 111) AELIUS HERODIAN *DE PROSODIA CATHOLICA* xii
(*GG* 3.1.1, p. 337, ll. 30-32)

2nd c. A.D.

Τορώνη πόλις Θράκης ἀπὸ Τορώνης τῆς Πρωτέως ἢ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Φοινίκης. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Τορώνη μετὰ Τροίαν κτισθεῖσα.

Torone, a city of Thrace, named after Torone the daughter of Proteus or of Poseidon and of Phoinike. There is also another Torone founded after Troy.

Herodian is giving examples of paroxytone proper names ending in -ώνη.

Our interest here focuses on this 'second Torone', which, according to this tradition (which is repeated by Stephanus of Byzantium, see T 32 below), was 'founded after Troy.' This is invariably interpreted as 'after the Trojan War.'

Gold (1974, 111-112; following Bradeen [1952, 380 n. 123]) and Snodgrass (1999, 89) both adduce the citation from Stephanus of Byzantium, but seem unaware of Herodian's priority. Gold, drawing the inference that the first Torone must have been founded before the Trojan War, suggests that the 'second Torone' was a resettlement by the Greeks of an earlier native site. Snodgrass, on the grounds that 'no other city of the name existed,' urges that Stephanus must have come across two conflicting traditions, one reflecting a foundation of Torone in the Homeric Age, the other a later foundation, and concluded that the reference was to two distinct places.

However this may be, Hammond (1995, 309 n. 13) points out that there was indeed another Torone, as we see from Ptolemy's list (3.13.3 Müller, where we should not confuse Torone with Toryne), 'in an area where connections with Troy were quite frequent.' This Hammond (1967, 661, 668) identifies with Nista. It might also be objected to the Bradeen/Gold theory that κτισθεῖσα is not quite the *mot juste* for 'resettlement'. It would seem rather to apply to the original foundation of a city.

T 14 (108) AELIUS HERODIAN *DE ORTHOGRAPHIA*
(GG 3.2.1, p. 592 l. 23)

2nd c. A.D.

Τορώνη πόλις Θράκης.

Torone, a city in Thrace.

For the geographical location see T 11.

T 15 HERODOTUS 7.22

5th c. B.C.

τῆ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἠπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδὲς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δωδέκα σταδίων· πεδίων δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης.

Where the mountain (Athos) ends in the mainland it is shaped like a peninsula and there is an isthmus of about twelve stades; here is level ground or hills of no great height from the sea by Acanthus (lit. of the Acanthians) to the sea over against Torone.

Herodotus is here describing the nature of the terrain through which Xerxes' canal was dug in 480 B.C. across the isthmus of Akte, from somewhere in the region of Acanthus (modern Ierissos), the principal city on the north-eastern shore of the isthmus (not 'north-east of the isthmus linking the peninsula to the mainland' [so Hornblower (1996) on Thuc. 4.84.1]; if anything it is to the north-west) to Sane at the narrowest point of the Akte peninsula on the southern side. (See now Isserlin, Jones, Papamarinopoulos and Ure, 1994.)

The wording used to describe the sea thus linked by the canal may occasion some surprise. Whereas 'the sea of the Acanthians' i.e. that part of the Strymonic Gulf facing the city of Acanthus near the north-east end of Xerxes' canal, is perfectly intelligible, 'the sea over against Torone' is less immediately so. For, of course, Torone is on the far (western) side of the peninsula of Sithonia and not on the Singitic Gulf, at which, effectively, Sane is looking. Even if we interpret 'Torone' to embrace all the southern part of the peninsula, over which it certainly had influence and control, this does not quite solve our problem. For it would make no sense to interpret 'the sea over against it' as the Gulf of Torone.

Torone is presumably named as the principal city towards the south of Sithonia – the general direction in which the Persians were heading – and 'the sea over against it' must be what Thucydides (4.109.3) calls τὸ πρὸς Εὐβοίαν πέλαγος, 'the sea towards Euboea'. In that passage Thucydides is speaking of Sane, which he describes as an Andrian colony close to the canal, facing the sea towards Euboea. Although, as we have said, Sane really looks across to Sithonia, it is the sea (and territory) beyond, i.e. south of, there which is the focus of interest. (For a similar reference to Euboea cf. Livy 45.30.4 (T 23) where he refers to the harbours at Torone, Mount Athos (= Akte), and at Aineia and Acanthus, '*alii «ad Thessaliam» insulamque Euboeam, alii ad Hellespontum opportune versi*'. This demonstrates that Euboea may customarily have been used as a point of reference for traffic coming from the north-east.)

Once Xerxes' ships had passed into the Singitic Gulf, they could follow the eastern coast of Sithonia round into the gulf of Torone and beyond. Cf. T 16 below.

T 16 HERODOTUS 7.122

5th c. B.C.

κάμπτων δὲ Ἄμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσδε πόλεις, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην Γαληψὸν Σερμύλην Μηκύβερναν Ὀλυνθον.

And rounding Ampelos, the Toronean cape, it (Xerxes' fleet) passed the follow-

ing Greek cities, Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Meczyberna and Olynthus, and received from them ships and men.

From this we see that the Toroneans gave aid to the Persians in the invasion of 480 B.C. Again, however, the wording is a little ambiguous. It is implied by chap. 123 that the main fleet sailed straight across from Cape Ampelos (the southern tip of Sithonia, within the political ambit of Torone, hence 'Toronean'; see **T 12**) to Cape Canastraeum, the south-east tip of the peninsula of Pallene. The reinforcements from these Greek cities lying within the Gulf of Torone – Herodotus lists them from Torone in the south to Olynthus in the north (cf. **T 28**) – may have been escorted by a special detachment of Xerxes' fleet. Herodotus also tells us that Xerxes received ships and men from cities on the east coast of Pallene, within the Gulf of Torone, before proceeding up the west coast.

For the identification of Galepsus (= Gale, probably south of the modern Neos Marmaras; not to be confused with the Galepsus near Eion [see **T 44** below]) and Sermyle (= Sermylea; east of Meczyberna), see Zahrnt 1971, 178f. and 225-6.

T 17 HERODOTUS 8.127

5th c. B.C.

ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἑξαγαγῶν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοῖ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει· καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

And when he (Artabazus) had captured them (the Olynthians) by siege, he led them out to a lake and cut their throats, and handed over the city to the control of Critobulus of Torone and to the Chalcidian people, and thus the Chalcidians held Olynthus.

The period is the winter of 480/79. It is evident that Torone did not follow the example of Potidaea and other cities, who revolted after the Persian defeat at Salamis. Torone clearly wanted to keep its distance, literally and figuratively, from its rival Olynthus. If the Persians seem to have been conscious of this stand-off, this would explain their handing-over of Olynthus to the control of a Toronean.

τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος refers to the native people of Chalcidice, whom Herodotus also calls 'the Chalcidians.' It is from this time that the power of the Chalcidians begins to grow, a power which was to culminate later (in 432) in Olynthus becoming the focus of the Chalcidian League. (Note that, in all probability, Torone did not join this League until the fourth century.)

T 18 ISOCRATES 12 (*PANATHENAICUS*) 62-63

339 B.C.

οἶμαι δὲ τοὺς ἀηδῶς ἀκούοντας τῶν λόγων τούτων τοῖς μὲν εἰρημένοις οὐδὲν ἀντερεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν,..... κατηγορεῖν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρήσειν, ὅπερ ἀεὶ ποιεῖν εἰώθασι, καὶ μάλιστα διατρίψειν περὶ τὰ Μηλίων πάθη καὶ Σκιωναίων καὶ Τορωναίων, οἰομένους ταῖς κατηγορίαις ταύταις καταρρυπανεῖν τὰς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργεσίας τὰς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἰρημένας.

I think that those who listen to these words without pleasure will not be able to deny that what I have said is true..., but they will attempt, as they usually do, to denounce our city, ...and will especially harp on the sufferings of the Melians and Scioneans and Toroneans, thinking that by these accusations they will be able to sully the benefactions of our city which I have spoken of a moment ago.

In this work Isocrates attempts to glorify the achievements of Athens and minimize its brutality. For the treatment of Melos, Scione and Torone, see **T 2** above, and cf. *HCT* IV, 191 (on Thuc. 5.116.4).

T 19 ISOCRATES 15 (*ANTIDOSIS*) 107-108

353 B.C.

τοσαύτας ἤρρηκε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ὅσας οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, οὔτε τῶν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως οὔτε τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τούτων ἐνίας, ὧν ληφθεισῶν ἅπας ὁ τόπος ὁ περιέχων οἰκεῖος ἠναγκάσθη τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι· τηλικαύτην ἐκάστη δύναμιν εἶχε. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε Κόρκυραν μὲν ἐν ἐπικαιροτάτῳ καὶ κάλλιστα κειμένην τῶν περὶ Πελοπόννησον, Σάμον δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἴωνίᾳ, Σηστόν δὲ καὶ Κριθώτην τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Ποτίδαιαν δὲ καὶ Τορώνην τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης;

He (Timotheus) has taken more cities by storm than any other general, either from this city or from the rest of Greece, and the capture of some of these has compelled all the surrounding territory to make terms with our city; so great was their influence in each case. For who does not know that Corcyra has the most advantageous and finest position among the cities in the vicinity of the Peloponnese, Samos among the cities in Ionia, Sestus and Crithote among those in the Hellespont, and Potidaea and Torone among the Thraceward cities?

In this speech Isocrates, who had previously unsuccessfully defended himself against an actual challenge of *antidosis*, is answering a fictional charge brought against him by an informer. The speech is in fact a general defence *pro vita sua*. At

this point he is praising the brilliant career of his favourite pupil, now dead, Timotheus, son of Conon.

Potidaea and Torone were captured in 364 B.C. as part of the Athenian campaign against the Chalcidian League (of which Torone may or may not have been a member at that time).

The strategic importance of Torone at the protected south-western end of the peninsula of Sithonia is self-evident. Its harbour – especially the deep and well-protected anchorage at Porto Koupho – was one of the safest for shipping moving in both directions along the Thracian coastline, and offered hopeful refuge for any who survived the perilous rounding of Mt Athos at the tip of Akte. Its position vis-à-vis the Aegean, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea sets it apart from so many other Macedonian cities, which were placed rather to exploit the land and the hinterland than the sea.

It is this strategic importance of Torone which will have accounted for its survival many centuries after its rivals had ceased to exist.

T 20 LIVY 31.45.1

59 B.C. - A.D. 17

inrito incepto regressi ad Canastraeum Pallenes traiecere. inde superato Toronae promunturio navigantes Acanthum petiere.

Withdrawing after the failure of their attempt they crossed to Canastraeum in Pallene. From there, after rounding the promontory of Torone, they sailed on and made for Acanthus.

The passage comes from Livy's account of the Second Macedonian War, and the reference is to the naval campaigns of 199 B.C. of the Romans in conjunction with Attalus I of Pergamum.

The failed attempt is an attack on Cassandreia, which lay at the isthmus of Pallene, on the site of the former Potidaea. After this the Romans sailed south to Cape Canastraeum, the south-eastern promontory of the peninsula of Pallene, crossed to the tip of Sithonia – i.e. Cape Derrhis, here called the 'promontory of Torone', although it is some distance south of the city itself – then on to Acanthus at the north-eastern end of the Akte peninsula. (Briscoe, 1973, 154, agrees with Thiel in stating that 'they do not seem to have rounded the Akte peninsula'. But to reach Acanthus, which lay on the eastern side of the neck of the peninsula, they would certainly have had to round Mt Athos before sailing up the eastern coast of Akte. Cf. Hammond and Walbank 1988, 423.)

It is to be noted that the mss actually read 'coronae', but this is surely in error for 'Toronae'. (Conversely, one might mention here that the three apparent references to Torone in Livy 28.7.9,11 and 13 are all in error for Thronium, the capital city of Epicnemidian Locris. See Oberhummer, col. 1798; and for the site of Thronium, see Walbank 1967, 185.)

T 21 LIVY 44.11.2 and 4

59 B.C.- A.D. 17

condita est a Cassandro rege in ipsis faucibus, quae Pallenensem agrum ceterae Macedoniae iungunt, hinc Toronaico, hinc Macedonico saepta mari. ... Romanus ad Clitas, quas vocant, munimenta, cervis etiam obiectis, ut viam intercluderet, a Macedonico ad Toronaicum mare perducit.

It (Cassandraia) was founded by King Cassander at the isthmus itself which connects the territory of Pallene to the rest of Macedonia, and is bounded on the one side by the gulf of Torone and on the other by the gulf of Macedonia. Near the area called Clitae the Roman commander extended siege-works, together with a barrier of chevaux de frise, from the Macedonian to the Toronaic gulf, in order to cut off the road.

The year is 169 B.C., during the Third Macedonian War. The Roman fleet, under the command of C. Marcius Figulus, and assisted by Eumenes II of Pergamum, who brought 20 ships, and by 5 ships sent by Prusias II of Bithynia, here makes what turns out to be an unsuccessful attack on Cassandraia (= Potidaea). Cf. Walbank 1979, 343-4.

Livy here calls the Thermaic Gulf the gulf of Macedonia.

T 22 LIVY 44.12.7

59 B.C.- A.D. 17

circumvecti promunturium ad Toronen classem appulerunt. eam quoque oppugnare adorti, ubi valida defendi manu animadverterunt, inrito incepto Demetriadem petunt.

After sailing round the cape they put in at Torone. When they had attempted to attack this city also, they noticed that it was defended by a strong force; so they gave up their attempt and made for Demetrias.

The context is the same as **T 21**. After their unsuccessful attempt on Cassandreia, Figulus and his allies now sail down the west coast of Pallene and round Cape Canastraeum to attack – again unsuccessfully – Torone, before making for Demetrias, an important naval base on the Gulf of Pagasae.

T 23 LIVY 45.30.4

59 B.C. - A.D. 17

secunda pars celeberrimas urbes Thessalonicen et Cassandream habet, ad hoc Pallenen, fertilem ac frugiferam terram; maritimas quoque opportunitates ei prae-bent portus ad Toronen ac montem Atho Aeneamque et Acanthum, alii ad Thessaliam insulamque Euboeam, alii ad Hellespontum opportune versi.

The second region includes the very populous cities of Thessalonica and Cassandrea, and in addition Pallene, a fertile and fruitful land; maritime opportunities are also furnished for it by the harbours at Torone, Mount Athos, and at Aenea and Acanthus, some conveniently facing Thessaly and the island of Euboea, others the Hellespont.

The reference here is to the Roman settlement of Macedonia in 167 B.C. (see Hatzopoulos 1996, 43ff.). The land of the Macedonians was to be divided into four regions, of which the second, with Thessalonica as its centre, occupied roughly the area between the rivers Axios and Strymon and included the whole of Chalcidice (see Hammond and Walbank 1988, 563ff.; cf. Walbank 1979, 434-435; and *CAH* viii² p. 318).

Aineia in the west (on the Thermaic Gulf, south of Thessalonica) and Acanthus in the east serve as rough limits, but Mt Athos, with its reputation for shipwreck, is rather a surprise. Livy must be extending the name of the mountain to the whole peninsula of Akte, and referring to harbours further up the coast facing the Hellespont.

T 24 POMPONIUS MELA *DE CHOROGRAPHIA* 2.34

1st c. A.D.

in litore flexus Megybernaeus, inter promunturia Derim et Canastraeum et portum qui Cophos dicitur urbes Toronen et Myscellam atque, unde ipsi nomen est, Megybernam incingit.

On the coast the gulf of Megyberna, between the promontories of Deris (Derrhis) and Canastraeum, encloses both the harbour which is called Cophos, the towns of Torone and Myscella, and that of Megyberna, from which it gets its name.

Mela's three book geographical survey of the inhabited world contains little detail, and consists rather of a summarized list of names. Thrace and Macedonia are among those lands included in Book ii.

The gulf of Megyberna (usually Meczyberna, also Mekyperna [see T 33], the port of Olynthus) is more normally referred to as the Gulf of Torone. Only Mela and Pliny (NH 4.10.37; T 25) refer to it by this name.

Deris (Derrhis; now Cape Drepanon) forms the south westerly tip of Sithonia, directly across from Cape Canastraeum (now Cape Paliouri) at the south-eastern tip of Pallene.

Cophos, the modern Porto Koupho, lies just to the south of Torone. (For the citations of the proverb "Quieter than the harbour of the Toroneans", see T 120-126.)

The site of Myscella is unknown (but see Zahrt 1971, 206-7; 252, where it is suggested that it may be the same place as the Φυσκέλλα mentioned by Leake, Demitsas and Zanglis, placed by all three just south of the isthmus of Sithonia).

T 25 PLINY NH 4.10.33-39

A.D. 23-79

In this part of Book 4 Pliny provides a lengthy list – which it would not be profitable to quote in full here – of the peoples and cities of Macedonia. In section 35 he includes the *Toronaei* and in section 37 the *sinus Meczyberna, oppida Myscella, Ampelos, Torone, Singos*, 'the gulf of Meczyberna, the towns of Myscella, Ampelos, Torone, Singos.'

Pliny ends this section (39) with the comment that 72 of these cities of Macedonia were plundered and sold in a single day by L. Aemilius Paullus. This would have been in 167 B.C., after the defeat of the Macedonian King Perseus at the battle of Pydna on 22 June of the previous year. These cities, however, which were left to the mercy of the army by the Roman Senate, lay in Epirus, not in Macedonia: see Walbank 1979, 438, on Polybius 30.15; Livy 45.34.6; Plutarch *Aem.* 29. Polybius and Plutarch put the number of cities destroyed at 70, Livy at '*circa septuaginta*'. See also Hammond 1967, 634-5.

T 26 POLYAENUS STRATEGEMATA 3.10.15

2nd c. A.D.

Τιμόθεος ἐπολιόρκει Τωρώνην. οἱ μὲν Τωρωνᾶιοι μεγάλα ὕψη ἀντανέστη-

I. HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

σαν φορμῶν ψάμμου πληρουμένων. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος μηχανήμασι μακροτέροις ἐξ ἱστοῦ ἀκίδας περιθεῖς καὶ δρέπανα ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ ἱστοῦ ἐμβαλὼν ταῖς ἀκί-
σι διερρήγνυε, τοῖς δὲ δρεπάνοις ἀνέτεμνε τοὺς φορμούς, ὥστε ρεῖν τὴν ἄμ-
μον. τοῦτο δρῶμενον ἰδόντες Τορωναῖοι πρὸς ὁμολογίαν ἐτράποντο.

Timotheus was besieging Torone. To counteract this the Toroneans set up tall structures made of baskets filled with sand. Timotheus, with higher siege-engines, fastened barbs from a mast and inserted sickles on to the extremities of the mast and thus broke through (sc. the baskets) with the barbs. And with the sickles he slashed the baskets, so that the sand ran out. When the Toroneans saw him doing this they treated for peace.

The reference is to Timotheus' capture of Torone in 364 B.C. (see **T 7** and **T 19**) and gives some fascinating details into siege tactics of the era. Cf. Whitehead 1990, 193, note on 32.1 [masts], which deals with counter-contrivances against missiles coming over the wall from towers on masts or the like, including 'wooden towers or other tall structures made of sand-filled baskets.'

T 27 (114, 117) SERVIUS ON *GEORGICS* 4.390-1

4th c. A.D.

Pallene autem est chersonesos in Thracia, cuius in faucibus Torone est oppidum, ab uxore Protei cognominatum.

Pallene moreover is a peninsula in Thrace, at whose narrow point is the town of Torone, called after the wife of Proteus.

Servius wildly mislocates Torone at the isthmus of Pallene, the most westerly of the three fingers of Chalcidice: the city in question there would be Potidaea/Cassandraia. The confusion may perhaps be partly traced to the tradition that Proteus met and married Torone in Pallene: cf. **T 113**, where she is described as 'Phlegraean' i.e. from Pallene.

T 28 CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY *GEOGRAPHIA* 3.12.10 (Müller = 3.13.12 Nobbe) 2nd c. A.D.

In this section dealing with Macedonia Ptolemy is giving a description of the coast, from east to west. Under the heading Παραξίας we find the following list:

Ἄμπελος ἄκρα
 Δέρρις ἄκρα
 Τορώνη
 τοῦ Τορωναϊκοῦ κόλπου ὁ μυχός

Cape Ampelos
Cape Derrhis
Torone
the head of the gulf of Torone

which gives a perfectly reasonable progression from the southern tip of Sithonia up the west coast to the top of the Gulf of Torone.

Hatzopoulos (1996, 231-237), in his discussion of the various administrative districts of Macedonia under the Kings, argues persuasively that Claudius Ptolemy used the names Amphaxitis and Mygdonia for one and the same geographical area: the more modern name, Amphaxitis, belongs to the vocabulary of the later Hellenistic administration, while the older term, Mygdonia, preserves a pre-Macedonian geographical term. Moreover, urging that the Antigoneia of the Mygdonian cities listed by Ptolemy (3.13.36 Nobbe; 3.12.33 Müller) is identical to the Antigoneia Psaphara of Paraxia listed by Ptolemy (3.13.38 Nobbe; 3.12.35 Müller), he concludes that 'Ptolemy was clearly using different sources with different names for by-and-large the same regions and cities.' So, as Hammond (1972, 179) had already seen, Paraxia is simply another name for Amphaxitis, and Amphaxitis, Mygdonia and Paraxia should all be identified as different descriptions of the same administrative region.

Amphaxitis-Paraxia indicated more than just the area beside the River Axios; it has a considerably wider administrative sense viz all the Macedonian land between the Axios and the Strymon.

Thus it follows that the emendation of Παραξίας to Παρακτίας, as proposed by Fanoula Papazoglou (1988, 174 n. 8) is unnecessary, as is the change of Ἀμφαξιτιδος to Ἀμφακτίας at Ptolemy 3.13.10 Nobbe = 3.12.8 Müller (see Hatzopoulos 1996, 234 nn. 4 and 5). Papazoglou had wanted to locate Amphaktia near Akte, at the east of Chalcidice.

T 29 PSEUDO-SCYLAX *PERIPLUS* 66 (MACEDONIA)
 (GGM I, p. 53)

c. 350 B.C.

ἔξω δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ πόλεις αἶδε· Ὀλυνθος Ἑλληνίς, Μηκύβερνα Ἑλληνίς, Σερμουλία Ἑλληνίς καὶ κόλπος Σερμουλικός, Τορώνη πόλις Ἑλληνίς καὶ λιμὴν....

Beyond the isthmus (sc. of Pallene) are the following cities: Olynthus a Hellenic city, Mecyberna a Hellenic city, Sermylia a Hellenic city and the Sermylic Gulf, Torone a Hellenic city and harbour

The *periplous* which appears in Müller under the name of Scylax of Caryanda, a writer of the late 6th c. B.C., was actually compiled in the 4th c. B.C.

Müller notes that elsewhere the gulf is not called Sermylic, but usually Τορωνικός or Τορωναῖος, and that Pliny (*NH* 4.10.37; **T 25**) and Mela (**T 24**) call it the gulf of Mecyberna. (Note that Σερμυλία and Σερμυλικός are emendations for the Ἴσχυρία and Συρμονικός of the ms.)

The writer begins with Olynthus in the north and moves south-east, first to Mecyberna, the port of Olynthus, then to Sermylia, which, according to Hdt. 7.122 (**T 16**), lay on the coast immediately east of Mecyberna (cf. Zahrt 1971, 225-6), then on to Torone itself.

Hatzopoulos (1996, 473) accepts Kahrstedt's thesis (1953, 87) that, in this enumeration of cities, a differentiation of political status is signified by the inclusion or omission of the adjective Ἑλληνίς. πόλις Ἑλληνίς indicates an independent Greek city-state as opposed to the mere πόλεις which belonged to the Macedonian kingdom. Hammond (1995, 309-310), on the other hand, argues that the distinction was not one of independence but rather 'between cities planted by colonists from southern Greece and those cities that are in some sense indigenous.' Hammond is of the opinion that pseudo-Scylax bases this distinction on his conception that the boundary of Hellas ran from Ambracia in the west to Homolium on the river Peneus in the east: any city founded by Greeks beyond that boundary is a πόλις Ἑλληνίς.

T 30 PSEUDO-SCYMNUS (= PAUSANIAS OF DAMASCUS) *PERIEGESIS* 640-642
(*GGM* I, p. 221) between 127-110 B.C.

(For the identification of the author, see Diller 1955, 276-9; and for the date of the *Orbis Descriptio* see Habicht 1990, 575 n. 83. Scymnus of Chios (*flor. c.* 185 B.C.) is the alleged author of a lost prose *Periegesis*, but is not the author of this extant poetical geographical summary written in comic trimeters.)

εἶτ' ἔστι κόλπος λεγόμενος Τορωνικός,
οὗ πρότερον ἦν τις Μηκύβερνα κειμένη·
ἔξῃς Τορώνη τοῖς τόποις ὁμώνυμος.

Next there is the gulf called Toronic, where formerly was situated a certain Mecyberna; then comes Torone, which shares its name with the region.

With εἶτα the writer moves on from his description of Pallene. As we have seen above (T 24) the Gulf of Torone is occasionally referred to as the Gulf of Mecyberna (the port of Olynthus).

T 31 STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM s.v. ΑΜΠΕΛΟΣ 6th c. A.D.

Ἄμπελος· ...ἔστι καὶ ἄκρα Τορωναίων Ἄμπελος λεγομένη.

Ampelos: ...there is also a cape of the Toronaeans called Ampelos.

For the location of Ampelos, at the southern tip of Sithonia, in the territory of the Toroneans, see T 12 above.

T 32 (106, 112) STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM s.v. ΤΟΡΩΝΗ 6th c. A.D.

Τορώνη, πόλις Θράκης, ἀπὸ Τορώνης τῆς Πρωτέως ἢ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Φοινίκης, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Τορώνη μετὰ Τροίαν κτισθεῖσα. ὁ πολίτης Τορωναῖος. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη πόλις Σικελίας Τόροννα διὰ δύο νν καὶ δύο οο. λέγεται καὶ Τορωναϊκὸς κόλπος. οὕτως δὲ καλεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ Καναστραίου ἕως τῆς Δέρρεως.

Torone, a city in Thrace, named after Torone the daughter of Proteus or of Poseidon and of Phoinike. There is also another Torone founded after Troy. The citizen is a Toronean. There is also another city in Sicily, Toronna, spelt with two nus and two omicrons. We speak also of the Toronaic Gulf; it bears this name from Canastraeum as far as Derrhis.

Cape Canastraeum is at the south-east tip of the peninsula of Pallene, and can be clearly seen from Torone. Derrhis is a promontory at the south-west tip of Sithonia.

For 'Torone in Thrace,' see T 11; and for the Torone founded after Troy, see T 13. For the mythology, see T 110-112; and for the ethnic, see T 105-107.

T 33 STRABO 7 FR. 29 c. 64 B.C. - c. A.D. 21

(The part of Book 7 which contained the description of Macedonia and Thrace has been lost and is preserved only in some fragments.)

ὅτι τῆς Ὀλύνθου ἐπίνειόν ἐστι Μηκύπερνα ἐν τῷ Τορωναίῳ κόλπῳ.

The seaport of Olynthus is Mecyberna on the Gulf of Torone.

Mecyberna (as it is more commonly spelt), on the north coast of the Gulf of Torone to the east of Olynthus, was captured by the Olynthians from an Athenian garrison shortly after the Peace of Nicias: see Thuc. 5.39.1. It is to be identified with the ancient settlement at Molivopirgo (see Zahrt 1971, 203).

The site is described by D. M. Robinson 1935, 229-231. See also Mylonas 1943, 78-87.

T 34 STRABO 7 FR. 31

c. 64 B.C. - c. A.D. 21

μετὰ δὲ Κασσάνδρειαν ἐφεξῆς ἡ λοιπὴ τοῦ Τορωνικοῦ κόλπου παραλία μέχρι Δέρρεως. ἄκρα δ' ἐστὶν ἀνταίρουσα τῷ Καναστραίῳ καὶ ποιοῦσα τὸν κόλπον.

After Cassandreia comes in order the rest of the seaboard of the Gulf of Torone, as far as Derrhis. It (Derrhis) is a cape lying opposite Canastraeum and forming the gulf.

Cape Derrhis, opposite Cape Canastraeum in Pallene, closes the gulf of Torone. See **T 24, 28, 32, 35**.

T 35 STRABO 7 FR. 32

c. 64 B.C. - c. A.D. 21

ὅτι ἀντικρὺ Κανάστρου, ἄκρου τῆς Παλλήνης, ἡ Δέρρις ἐστὶν ἄκρα, πλησίον Κωφοῦ Λιμένος, καὶ ὁ Τορωναῖος κόλπος ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφορίζεται. καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς αὐθις κεῖται τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ Ἄθωνος, ὃ ἀφορίζει τὸν Σιγγιτικὸν κόλπον, ὡς εἶναι ἐφεξῆς κόλπους τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους πρὸς βορρᾶν, ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντας οὕτως: Μαλιακόν, Παγασιτικόν, Θερμαῖον, Τορωναῖον, Σιγγιτικόν, Στρυμονικόν.

Opposite Canastron (Canastraeum), at the extremity of Pallene, there is Cape Derrhis, near Porto Koupho, and the Gulf of Torone is marked off by these two. And towards the east again lies the cape of Athos, which marks off the Singitic Gulf, and so the gulfs of the Aegean Sea lie in the following order, although at a distance from each other, towards the north: the Malian, the Pagasean, Thermaic, Toronean, Singitic, Strymonic.

Perhaps we should read Καναστρ<αί>ου with Baladié, as in fr. 25 (restored) and 31.

Strabo lists the gulfs in order from the south: the Malian, which lies between Locris and Achaëa Phthiotis, west of the north-westerly tip of Euboea; the Pagasean to the south-east of Thessaly, so-called after the city of Pagasae; the Thermaic or Gulf of Salonica, so-called after Therme, a city near or at the site of the later Thessalonice; the Toronean, between the peninsulas of Pallene and Sithonia; the Singitic, between Sithonia and Akte, so-called after the city of Singos on the north-east coast of Sithonia (see Zahrt 1971, 226-9); and the Strymonic, to the east of Chalcidice, into which issues the River Strymon.

T 36 (107) *SUDA* T 798 ADLER

c. 10th c. A.D.

Τορωναῖος· ὄνομα κύριον. καὶ Τορώνη· πόλις ἐν Θράκη.

Toronean: a proper name (or adjective). Also Torone, a city in Thrace.

For 'Torone in Thrace', see **T 11**.

T 37 TACITUS *ANN.* 6.5.10

c. A.D. 56 - after 112/13

is Macedoniae tum intentus Achaïam quoque curabat. igitur quo vera seu falsa antiret, Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum praefestinans, mox Euboeam Aegaei maris insulam et Piraeum Atticae orae, dein Corinthiense litus angustiasque Isthmi evadit.

He (Poppaeus Sabinus) was at that time occupied in Macedonia, but was also responsible for Achaëa. In order therefore that he might preempt these reports whether true or false, hastening past the gulfs of Torone and Therme, he soon passed beyond Euboea, the island in the Aegean Sea, Piraeus on the Attic seaboard, then the Corinthian coast and the narrows of the Isthmus.

The reference is to the year A.D. 31, in which a false report was spread of an appearance in Asia and Achaëa of Drusus, the son of Germanicus. Dio (58.25.1) places this event three years later in A.D. 34, and claims that the impostor was handed over to Tiberius.

For the location of the two gulfs on Poppaeus' journey south, see **T 35** above.

T 38 THUCYDIDES 4.110-116.2

?460-400 B.C.

Because of the importance and fullness of Thucydides' account – 'in seven rich chapters Thucydides placed Torone and its topography under his powerful microscope' (Hornblower 1997, 178) – I have cited this item in full (except for Thucydides' report of the speech of Brasidas at 114.3-5).

110. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐσήκουον, εὐθύς στρατεύει ἐπὶ Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν, κατεχομένην ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ αὐτὸν ἄνδρες ὀλίγοι ἐπήγοντο, ἐτοιμοὶ ὄντες τὴν πόλιν παραδοῦναι. καὶ ἀφικόμενος νυκτὸς ἔτι καὶ περὶ ὄρθρον τῷ στρατῷ ἐκαθέζετο πρὸς τὸ Διοσκόρειον, ὃ ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως τρεῖς μάλιστα σταδίους. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἄλλην πόλιν τῶν Τορωναίων καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἐμφρουροῦντας ἔλαθεν· οἱ δὲ πράσσοντες αὐτῷ εἰδότες ὅτι ἦξι, καὶ προελθόντες τινὲς αὐτῶν λάθρα ὀλίγοι ἐτήρουν τὴν πρόσοδον, καὶ ὡς ἦσθοντο παρόντα, ἐσκομίζουσι παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἄνδρας ψιλοὺς ἐπτὰ (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ μόνοι ἀνδρῶν εἴκοσι τὸ πρῶτον ταχθέντων οὐ κατέδεισαν ἐσελθεῖν· ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Λυσίστρατος Ὀλύνθιος), οἱ διαδύντες διὰ τοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τείχους καὶ λαθόντες τοὺς τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνωτάτω φυλακτηρίου φρουροὺς, οὔσης τῆς πόλεως πρὸς λόφον, ἀναβάντες διέφθειραν καὶ τὴν κατὰ Καναστραῖον πυλίδα διήρουν.

111. ὁ δὲ Βρασίδης τῷ μὲν ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἡσύχαζεν ὀλίγον προελθῶν, ἑκατὸν δὲ πελταστὰς προπέμπει, ὅπως, ὅποτε πύλαι τινὲς ἀνοιχθεῖεν καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἀρθείη ὃ ξυνέκειτο, πρῶτοι ἐσδράμοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν χρόνου ἐγγιγνομένου καὶ θαυμάζοντες κατὰ μικρὸν ἔτυχον ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως προσελθόντες· οἱ δὲ τῶν Τορωναίων ἔνδοθεν παρασκευάζοντες μετὰ τῶν ἐσεληλυθόντων, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἢ τε πυλὶς διήρητο καὶ αἰ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν πύλαι τοῦ μοχλοῦ διακοπέντος ἀνεώγοντο, πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα τινὰς περιαγαγόντες ἐσεκόμισαν, ὅπως κατὰ νώτου καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν εἰδότας ἐξαπίνης φοβήσειαν, ἔπειτα τὸ σημεῖόν τε τοῦ πυρός, ὡς εἶρητο, ἀνέσχον καὶ διὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν πυλῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἤδη τῶν πελταστῶν ἐσεδέχοντο.

112. καὶ ὁ Βρασίδης ἰδὼν τὸ ξύνθημα ἔθει δρόμῳ, ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐμβοήσαντάς τε ἀθρόον καὶ ἐκπληξιν πολλὴν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει παρασχόντας. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς πύλας εὐθύς ἐσέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ δοκοὺς τετραγώνους, αἱ ἔτυχον τῷ τείχει πεπτωκότι καὶ οἰκοδομουμένῳ πρὸς λίθων ἀνολικὴν προσκείμεναι. Βρασίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐθύς ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως ἐτράπετο, βουλόμενος κατ' ἄκρας καὶ βεβαίως ἐλεῖν αὐτήν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ὄμιλος κατὰ πάντα ὁμοίως ἐσκεδάννυντο.

113. τῶν δὲ Τορωναίων γιγνομένης τῆς ἀλώσεως τὸ μὲν πολὺ οὐδὲν εἶδος ἔθορυβεῖτο, οἱ δὲ πράσσοντες καὶ οἷς ταῦτα ἤρεσκε μετὰ τῶν ἐσελθόντων εὐθύς ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὀπλῖται καθεύδοντες ὡς πεντήκοντα) ἐπειδὴ ἦσθοντο, οἱ μὲν τινες ὀλίγοι διαφθείρονται ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οἱ μὲν πεζῇ, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς, αἱ ἐφρούρουν δύο, καταφυγόντες διασώζονται ἐς τὴν Λήκυθον τὸ φρούριον, ὃ εἶχον αὐτοὶ καταλαμβάνοντες, ἄκρον τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπειλημμένον ἐν στενωῷ ἰσθμῷ. κατέφυγον δὲ καὶ τῶν Τορωναίων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἦσαν σφίσι ἐπιτήδαιοι.

114. γεγενημένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἤδη καὶ βεβαίως τῆς πόλεως ἐχομένης ὁ Βρασίδης τοῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Τορωναίοις καταπεφευγόσι κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο τὸν βουλόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐξελθόντα ἀδεῶς πολιτεύειν, τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις κήρυκα προσπέμπας ἐξιέναι ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τῆς Ληκύθου ὑποσπόνδους καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας ὡς οὔσης Χαλκιδέων. οἱ δὲ ἐκλείψειν μὲν οὐκ ἔφασαν, σπείσασθαι δὲ σφίσι ἐκέλευον ἡμέραν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνελέσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἐσπείσατο δύο. ἐν ταύταις δὲ αὐτὸς τε τὰς ἐγγύς οἰκίας ἐκρατύνατο καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ σφέτερα. καὶ ξύλλογον τῶν Τορωναίων ποιήσας ἔλεξε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνθῳ παραπλήσια....

115. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παραθαρσύνας διελθουσῶν τῶν σπονδῶν τὰς προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο τῇ Ληκύθῳ· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἠμύνοντό τε ἐκ φαύλου τειχίσματος καὶ ἀπ' οἰκιῶν ἐπάλξεις ἔχουσῶν, καὶ μίαν μὲν ἡμέραν ἀπεκρούσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία μηχανῆς μελλούσης προσάξεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀφ' ἧς πῦρ ἐνήσειν διεννοοῦντο ἐς τὰ ξύλινα παραφράγματα, καὶ προσιόντος ἤδη τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἧ ᾤοντο μάλιστα αὐτοὺς προσκομιεῖν τὴν μηχανὴν καὶ ἦν ἐπιμαχώτατον, πύργον ξύλινον ἐπ' οἴκημα ἀντέστησαν, καὶ ὕδατος ἀμφορέας πολλοὺς καὶ πίθους ἀνεφόρησαν καὶ λίθους μεγάλους, ἀνθρωποὶ τε πολλοὶ ἀνέβησαν. τὸ δὲ οἴκημα λαβὼν μείζον ἄχθος ἐξαπίνης κατερράγη καὶ ψόφου πολλοῦ γενομένου τοὺς μὲν ἐγγύς καὶ ὀρώντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλύπησε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφόβησεν, οἱ δὲ ἄπωθεν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ διὰ πλείστου, νομίσαντες ταύτη ἑάλωκέναι ἤδη τὸ χωρίον, φυγῇ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὤρμησαν.

116. καὶ ὁ Βρασίδης ὡς ἦσθετο αὐτοὺς ἀπολείποντάς τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὀρών, ἐπιφερόμενος τῷ στρατῷ εὐθύς τὸ τεῖχος λαμβάνει, καὶ ὅσους ἐγκατέλαβε διέφθειρεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς τε πλοίοις καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ χωρίον ἐς Παλλήνην διεκομίσθησαν· ὁ δὲ Βρασίδης (ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ληκύθῳ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερόν, καὶ ἔτυχε κηρύξας, ὅτε ἔμελλε προσβαλεῖν, τῷ ἐπιβάντι πρώτῳ τοῦ τείχους τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἀργυρίου δώσειν) νομίσας ἄλλῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ ἢ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὴν

ἄλωσιν γενέσθαι, τὰς τε τριάκοντα μνᾶς τῆ θεῶ ἀπέδωκεν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὴν Λήκυθον καθελὼν καὶ ἀνασκευάσας τέμενος ἀνῆκεν ἅπαν.

110. *As they (Sane and Dion) would not yield, he (Brasidas) immediately made an expedition against Chalcidic Torone, which was held by the Athenians; a few men wanted to bring him in, since they were prepared to betray the city to him. He arrived when it was still dark, around dawn, and took up a position with his army near the Dioskoureion, which is about three stades distant from the city. He went undetected by the rest of the people in Torone and by the Athenians of the garrison there; but those who were dealing with him and knew that he would come – some few of them had actually secretly gone out – were watching for his approach, and when they perceived that he was there, they introduced into their city seven light-armed men with daggers, under the command of Lysistratos of Olynthus; (out of the twenty men who had at first been assigned this task only this number were not scared to enter). They slipped through the wall facing the open sea, and, without being detected, went up and killed the guards at the uppermost watchpost – the city rose towards a hill – and began to break down the postern-gate on the side opposite Canastraeum.*

111. *After advancing a little way Brasidas remained quiet with the rest of his force, but sent forward 100 peltasts, in order that, whenever any gates were opened and the pre-arranged signal raised, they might rush in first. As time went on and they were wondering why, they had gradually got close to the city; while those of the Toroneans who were cooperating inside with the group who had entered, when the postern-gate had been broken down and the gates near the agora had been opened after the bar had been cut through, first of all brought some men round and introduced them by the postern, in order that by suddenly attacking down from the rear and on both sides they might throw into a panic those in the city who were completely ignorant of the situation. Next they raised the fire-signal, as arranged and now brought into the city through the gates near the agora the remainder of the peltasts.*

112. *When Brasidas saw the signal, he set off at a run, rousing his troops who raised a shout together and caused great consternation among those in the city. Some immediately began to burst in by the gates, others over some square beams, which, for the purpose of dragging up stones, happened to have been laid against the wall, which was in a state of collapse and was being repaired. And so Brasidas with the main body of his force immediately turned uphill against the high parts of the city, with the intention of capturing it completely and decisively. The rest of his troops began to scatter in all directions.*

113. *While the capture was taking place, most of the Toroneans, knowing nothing of what was going on, were thrown into confusion, but the collaborators and those to whom the situation appealed immediately joined those who had entered. When the Athenians perceived what was happening – there were about fifty hoplites in the agora who were sleeping there – though some few of them were killed in hand-to-hand fighting, the rest fled, some by land, some on to the two ships on patrol there and escaped safely to the Lekythos, the fort which they had occupied and were holding with a force of their own men. This is a promontory jutting out into the sea and cut off from the city by a narrow isthmus. All the Toroneans who were well-disposed towards the Athenians also took refuge there with them.*

114. *Since it was now day and the city was under firm control, Brasidas made a proclamation to those of the Toroneans who had taken refuge with the Athenians that anyone who wished could come out and return to his own property and continue to exercise his rights as a citizen without fear. But to the Athenians he sent a herald and urged them to leave the Lekythos, on the grounds that it belonged to the Chalcidians, under the protection of a truce and taking their belongings with them. The Athenians refused to leave, but urged him to make a truce with them for a day for the purpose of taking up the dead. Brasidas granted them two days. And during this period he himself strengthened the nearby houses, while the Athenians strengthened their own position. He then called a meeting of the Toroneans and spoke to them in much the same terms as he had at Acanthus. (See chaps. 85-87.)*

115. *After he had spoken and encouraged them along these lines, now that the truce had expired he began his attacks on the Lekythos. The Athenians were defending themselves from a flimsy wall and some houses with parapets, and for one day they beat him off; but on the following day, when a siege engine was about to be brought up against them from the enemy side, from which it was intended to hurl fire on to the wooden breastwork, and the army was already approaching, they erected a wooden tower on top of a building at the point where they thought that the enemy would be most likely to bring up their engine and where their position was most vulnerable to attack, and they carried up many jars and casks of water as well as some large stones, and a large number of men went up (sc. on to the tower). But because the building had received too heavy a load, it suddenly collapsed with a loud crash, and caused more annoyance than alarm among the Athenians who were nearby and could see what had happened; but those who were at a distance, and in particular those who were furthest away, thinking that the place was already captured at this point, rushed in flight to the sea and their ships.*

116. *When Brasidas realised that they were abandoning the parapets and saw what was happening, he charged with his army and immediately captured the wall, wiping out all those whom he caught inside. The Athenians left the place in their boats and ships and thus crossed over to Pallene. As for Brasidas – there is a temple of Athena on the Lekythos, and, on the point of making his assault, he happened to have made a proclamation that he would give thirty minae of silver to the first man to mount the wall – since he now considered that the capture had been effected by other than human agency, he paid over the thirty minae to the goddess for her temple, and after razing and clearing the Lekythos he converted the entire place into a sacred precinct.*

The following comments are brief and selective. For a full treatment and analysis of this attack by Brasidas in the winter of 424/3, see Henry 1995, 107-117.

* (110) Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικήν:

See the discussion at **T 4** above of the origins of the Chalcidians in general and Torone in particular.

* ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Λυσίστρατος Ὀλύνθιος:

For the possible significance of the choice of an Olynthian to lead this commando mission, see **T 4** above.

* (114) ὡς οὔσης Χαλκιδέων:

We should note that it is Brasidas (not Thucydides) who is urging the claim that the Lekythos ‘belongs to the Chalcidians.’ *Autrement dit*, these words are tendentious; they do not state a fact, they merely assert a claim to ownership of or control over the fortress of Lekythos by the Chalcidian League. It would be natural for the Chalcidians to lust after this strategically important stronghold, one that remained a focus of military commanders for centuries, right up to the time when it was destroyed by il Capetano Generale Morosini in 1659 A.D. (see **T 70** below).

The political reality is that Torone was not at this time a member of the Chalcidian State or League. But the Chalcidians would have liked to think she was. Cf. **T 4**.

* ἔλεξε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνθῳ παραπλήσια:

In his earlier speech at Acanthus (4.85-87) Brasidas had first introduced the theme of ἐλευθερία (‘liberation’), then, somewhat obliquely, that of violence and force (a heavy hint that the Acanthians would risk much if they refused his overtures). Brasidas assures them that he really means no harm to them, but only wants

to offer them freedom from the Athenians. He concludes with the not unsophistic plea that, if the Acanthians submit, they will not only avoid any unpleasantness but will actually win praise for aiding the cause of liberation. (See Hornblower 1996, 277-278.)

Here, at 4.114.3-5, these arguments are not simply paraphrased or summarised by Brasidas; rather we find additional arguments particularly relevant to the situation at Torone e.g. that those of the Toroneans who had taken refuge with the Athenians should not be afraid to resume their everyday activities as citizens; and that there would be no reprisals among the citizen body against those who had taken different sides. But, as at Acanthus, he claims that he comes with impartiality and goodwill, although the Toroneans will have to watch out in the future if they don't cooperate with the Spartans. (See the remarks of Hornblower 1996, 353: 'the essential phenomenon varies in form, τοῖς εἴδεσι διηλλαγμένα, according to circumstances.')

* (116) ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ληκύθῳ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν:

It is on the Lekythos that the efforts of the excavators have been concentrated since 1986. The Lekythos is 'a promontory (assigned the designation Promontory 1 on the current excavation sketch-map) jutting out into the sea and cut off from the city by a narrow isthmus' (4.113.2; see Henry 1995, 115-117, with fig. 8). The evidence of excavation has now confirmed Thucydides' statement about the presence of a Temple of Athena there: a shoulder fragment of an amphora with the incised letters ΑΘΗ (inv. no. 86.227) was found in 1986 in Trench 67 on the Lekythos (see **T 101** below), and the discovery of many, large well-worked blocks of poros limestone, including a triglyph (inv. no. 90.649), plus a number of limestone *guttae*, confirm a Doric building of archaic date.

* τῷ ἐπιβάντι πρώτῳ τοῦ τείχους τριάκοντα μνᾶς δώσειν:

This would appear a more than generous 'carrot' to dangle before his soldiery – at 1 dr. per diem, it would represent 3000 days pay – so much so that some commentators have refused to accept the reading, and have, for example, emended the Λ (=30) of the mss to Δ (=4). There is also the possibility that the 30 minas was not the *douceur* offered to the soldiers but the sum actually dedicated to the goddess. See, however, Hornblower 1996, 355 for a fuller review of the issue.

T 39 THUCYDIDES 4.120.3

?460-400 B.C.

περαιωθεὶς δὲ καὶ ξύλλογον ποιήσας τῶν Σκιωναίων ἔλεγεν ᾗ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνθῳ καὶ Τορώνῃ.

After effecting the crossing (sc. to Scione) he (Brasidas) called a meeting of the Scioneans and repeated what he had said at Acanthus and Torone.

After describing (4.117-119) the terms of the one year's armistice concluded in Elaphebolion 423, Thucydides now goes on to discuss the revolt of Scione from the Athenians (summer 423).

For the site of Scione, see Meritt 1923, 450-1. And for the harangues of Brasidas at Acanthus and Torone, see Thuc. 4.85-87 and 114.3-5 (T 38 above). See also Hornblower 1996, 276-8 and 353.

T 40 THUCYDIDES 4.122.2

?460-400 B.C.

καὶ ἡ μὲν στρατιὰ πάλιν διέβη ἐς Τορώνην, οἱ δὲ τῷ Βρασίδᾳ ἀνήγγελλον τὴν ξυνηθῆκην, καὶ ἐδέξαντο πάντες οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ξύμμαχοι Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ πεπραγμένα.

The army crossed back to Torone, and the messengers formally announced the agreement to Brasidas, and all the Thraceward allies of the Lacedaimonians accepted what had been done.

It is still summer 423. Brasidas was on the point of attacking Mende and Potidaea in Pallene when news of the armistice arrived. He crossed back to Torone to meet the messengers.

For the site of Mende, see Meritt 1923, 447-50.

T 41 THUCYDIDES 4.129.1

?460-400 B.C.

Βρασίδης δὲ ἀναχωρήσας ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐς Τορώνην καταλαμβάνει Ἀθηναίους Μένδην ἤδη ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡσυχάζων ἐς μὲν τὴν Παλλήνην ἀδύνατος ἤδη ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι διαβάς τιμωρεῖν, τὴν δὲ Τορώνην ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν.

Returning from Macedonia to Torone, Brasidas found the Athenians already in possession of Mende; thinking that it was now impossible for him to cross to Pallene and bring help, he remained quietly where he was, but kept watch over Torone.

Still summer 423. At this point Thucydides deals with the Athenian counter-attacks in Pallene (against Mende and Scione). Brasidas had been forced by his alliance with Perdiccas – who is soon to change sides again (4.132.1) – to make a campaign with him in Lyncestis.

As Hornblower (1996, 403) notes, ‘the [Athenian] expedition is against Mende and Skione only. The Athenians can do nothing about Torone, because Brasidas took it before the truce.’

T 42 THUCYDIDES 4.132.3

?460-400 B.C.

καὶ Κλεαρίδα μὲν τὸν Κλεωνύμου καθίστησιν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, Πασιτελίδαν δὲ τὸν Ἡγησάνδρου ἐν Τορώνῃ.

He (Brasidas) placed Clearidas son of Cleonymus at Amphipolis and Pasitelidas son of Hegesander at Torone.

Still summer 423. Commissioners have come from Sparta, bringing a group of young Spartans, with the intention (παρανόμως, says Thucydides) of making them governors over cities in Spartan control.

For a discussion of the full interpretation of this passage, see Hornblower 1996, 408-409.

We may note that the mss here favour *Epitelidas* rather than *Pasitelidas*, but editors have tended, in view of 5.3.1 and 2 (see **T 43** below), to emend to *Pasitelidas*. The change is, however, not necessarily demanded, since, as was pointed out by Lewis (1952, 142), Brasidas could have changed the governor during the winter, and, even if he did not, who is to say that it is *Epitelidas* that is wrong and not *Pasitelidas*? See the discussion in Hornblower 1996, 410.

T 43 THUCYDIDES 5.2-5.3.6

?460-400 B.C.

Again I have chosen to give a lengthy citation, further to clarify the topography of the site and to balance **T 38**.

2. Κλέων δὲ Ἀθηναίους πείσας ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὀπλίτας ἔχων διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους καὶ ἵππείας τριακοσίους, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων πλείους, ναῦς δὲ τριάκοντα. σχῶν δὲ ἐς Σκιώνην πρῶτον ἔτι πολιορκουμένην καὶ προσλαβὼν αὐτόθεν ὀπλίτας τῶν φρουρῶν, κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸν Κωφὸν λιμένα, τῶν Τορωναίων ἀπέχοντα οὐ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως. ἐκ δ’ αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτομόλων ὅτι οὔτε Βρασίδης ἐν τῇ Τορώνῃ οὔτε οἱ ἐνόντες ἀξιόμαχοι εἶεν, τῇ μὲν στρατιᾷ τῇ πεζῇ ἐχώρει ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ναῦς δὲ περιέπεμψε δέκα <ἐς> τὸν λιμένα περιπλεῖν. καὶ πρὸς τὸ περιτείχισμα πρῶτον ἀφικνεῖται, ὃ προσπεριέβαλε τῇ πόλει ὁ Βρασίδης

ἐντὸς βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὸ προάστειον καὶ διελὼν τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους μίαν αὐτὴν ἐποίησε πόλιν.

3. βοηθήσαντες δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Πασιτελίδας τε ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων καὶ ἡ παροῦσα φυλακὴ προσβαλόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἠμύνοντο. καὶ ὡς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα περιέπλεον <αἱ> ἐς τὸν λιμένα περιπεμφθεῖσαι, δείσας ὁ Πασιτελίδας μὴ αἱ τε νῆες φθάσωσι λαβοῦσαι ἐρῆμον τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῦ τειχίσματος ἀλισκομένου ἐγκαταληφθῆ, ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸ δρόμῳ ἐχώρει ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι φθάνουσιν οἳ τε ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐλόντες τὴν Τορώνην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἐπισπόμενος αὐτοβοεῖ, κατὰ τὸ διηρημένον τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους ξυνεσπεσών. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Τορωναίων εὐθύς ἐν χερσὶ, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον καὶ Πασιτελίδαν τὸν ἄρχοντα. Βρασίδης δὲ ἐβοήθει μὲν τῇ Τορώνῃ, αἰσθόμενος δὲ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐαλωκυῖαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀποσχὼν τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους μὴ φθάσαι ἐλθών. ὁ δὲ Κλέων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖά τε ἔστησαν δύο, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν λιμένα, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τειχίσματι, καὶ τῶν Τορωναίων γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας ἠνδραπόδισαν, αὐτούς δὲ καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος Χαλκιδέων ἦν, ξύμπαντας ἐς ἑπτακοσίους, ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν Πελοποννήσιον ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς γενομέναις σπονδαῖς ἀπῆλθε, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἐκομίσθη ὑπ' Ὀλυνθίων, ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς λυθείς. εἶλον δὲ καὶ Πάνακτον Ἀθηναίων ἐν μεθορίοις τεῖχος Βοιωτοῖ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον προδοσίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων φυλακὴν καταστησάμενος τῆς Τορώνης ἄρας περιέπλει τὸν Ἄθων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν.

2. *At the end of the armistice Cleon persuaded the Athenians to let him sail out to the Thraceward area; he had twelve hundred Athenians hoplites and 300 (Athenian) horsemen, larger numbers of the allies, and thirty ships. Putting in first at Scione, which was still being besieged, and taking on some hoplites from the garrison there, he sailed into the Kophos Limen, which belonged to Torone and was not far from their city. From there, informed by some deserters that neither was Brasidas in Torone nor were those in the city a match for him in battle, he began to advance with his land-force against the city, while he sent ten ships round to sail into the harbour. First of all he encountered the enclosing wall, which Brasidas had added to the city in his desire to incorporate the suburb, after demolishing part of the old wall and thus creating one single city.*

3. *Pasitelidas, the Spartan governor, and the garrison that was present rushed to the defence at this point, and, when the Athenians attacked, tried to beat them off. But, since they were hard pressed and the (Athenian) ships that had been sent round were sailing into the harbour, Pasitelidas was afraid that the ships might capture the*

city undefended before he could stop them, and that, if the (new) wall were taken, he might get trapped there. So he abandoned it and began to proceed at the double into the city. But the Athenians forestalled him: those from the ships captured Torone, while their land-force, by following hard on his heels, without striking another blow burst into the city with him at the breach in the old wall. They killed some of the Peloponnesians on the spot in hand-to-hand fighting, others they captured alive, including Pasitelidas the governor. Brasidas was on his way to relieve Torone, but, when he heard en route that it had been captured, he turned back, about 40 stades short of arriving in time. Cleon and the Athenians set up two trophies, one at the harbour, the other at the wall; they enslaved the women and children of the Toroneans, and the men of Torone, the Peloponnesians and any Chalcidians who were there, some 700 men in all, they sent off to Athens. Later on when the treaty was concluded, the Peloponnesian prisoners were released; the rest were recovered by the Olynthians, ransomed man for man. About the same time the Boeotians also captured by treachery Panactum, an Athenian frontier fort. After Cleon had established a garrison at Torone, he weighed anchor and sailed round Athos with the intention of attacking Amphipolis.

For a full discussion of the recapture of Torone, Brasidas' headquarters, by Cleon, see Henry 1995, 118-120, with figs. 9 and 10; and cf. Hornblower 1996, 424-429.

The year is 422/1, around the end of August 422.

* (2) κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸν Κωφὸν λιμένα:

For the Kophos Limen, see Hornblower 1996, 425-6, and cf. below the *Testimonia* referring to the proverb 'Quieter/more tranquil than the harbour of the Toroneans' (T 120-126). The mss actually read Κολοφωνίων, but there can be no doubt that the reading should be κωφὸν (or Κωφόν). Hornblower observes that there was another 'Still Harbour', at the Piraeus near Athens (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.31), probably to be identified with the 'bight attaching to the northern side of the Grand Harbour'. (LSJ⁹ s.v. κωφὸς opt, with less reason, for Munychia, in contrast to the noisy Piraeus.)

* (3) τῶν Τορωναίων γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας ἠνδραπόδισαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος Χαλκιδέων ἦν, ξύμπαντας ἐς ἑπτακοσίους, ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

For the treatment of the prisoners, cf. T 2.

For the correct interpretation of ἄλλος, see commentary on T 4 above. Zahrnt (1971, 250) stresses the differentiation made between Toronean and Chalcidian prisoners, and takes this to mean that Torone was not at this time a member of the Chalcidian state. Cf. Hornblower 1997, 181.

T 44 THUCYDIDES 5.6.1

?460-400 B.C.

ὁ δὲ Κλέων ὡς τότε ἀπὸ τῆς Τορώνης περιέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὀρμώμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἰόνος Σταγίρω μὲν προσβάλλει Ἀνδρίων ἀποικία καὶ οὐχ εἶλε, Γαληψὸν δὲ τὴν Θασίων ἀποικίαν λαμβάνει κατὰ κράτος.

When Cleon had at that time sailed round from Torone against Amphipolis, making Eion his base he attacked Stagirus, an Andrian colony, without capturing it, although he did take the Thasian colony Galepsus.

It is still summer 422.

After describing some events in Sicily, Thucydides returns to Cleon's campaign in the north.

The site of Stagirus or Stagira, well-known as the birth-place of Aristotle, is not the modern inland town of Stagira (which has a statue of the great philosopher to greet the visitor), but the modern Olympiada, on the coast south-east of Lake Bolbe, about half-way between Acanthus and Argilus. See Zahrnt 1971, 238-243; and Hornblower 1996, 286 (on Thucydides 4.88.2).

Galepsus lay on the coast south-east of Eion (Eion, of course, lying at the mouth of the Strymon). It is not to be confused with the Galepsus (= Gale) on the west coast of Sithonia of Herodotus 7.122 (see **T 16** above). Cf. Zahrnt 1971, 178-9; and Hornblower 1996, 339-40 (on Thucydides 4.107.3).

T 45 THUCYDIDES 5.18.8

?460-400 B.C.

Σκιωναίων δὲ καὶ Τορωναίων καὶ Σερμυλιῶν καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλην πόλιν ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀθηναίους βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς.

As to Scione, Torone, Sermylia, or any other city now held by the Athenians, the Athenians shall determine as they see fit about these and any other cities.

The year is winter 422/1, and this section deals with the terms of the Peace of Nicias as they affected the cities named (or implied) above. Torone was left to the Athenians.

We may note that the Athenians did not reduce Scione until summer 421 (see 5.32.1); cf. **T 2** above.

For Sermylia, east of Mecyberna, see Zahrnt 1971, 225-6; cf. Hornblower 1996,

481. It must now have been in Athenian hands, although we have not been so told by Thucydides.

For the passage as a whole and the possibility of the words καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων being an intrusive gloss, see Hornblower, 1996, 481-2.

T 46 XENOPHON *HELL.* 2.2.3

c. 428 - c. 354 B.C.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορὰ, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστὺ διῆκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαῖας καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

At Athens the Paralus arrived at night and the disaster was bruited abroad, and lamentation extended from the Piraeus through the Long Walls to the city, one man passing on the news to the next; with the result that during the night no-one went to bed, but all mourned not just the dead but much rather their own selves; for they thought that they would suffer the sort of fate which they had inflicted upon the Melians, colonists of the Lacedaimonians, after they had overcome them by siege, and upon the people of Histiaea and Scione and Torone and Aigina among many others of the Greeks.

The 'disaster' is the final defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami in 405 B.C.

Here once again the fates of Melos, Scione and Torone are linked together (see **T 2** above), along with Histiaea (whose inhabitants were expelled by the Athenians in 446, the city itself being replaced by a new settlement of 2,000 Athenian cleruchs at Oreus: see Thuc. 1.114.3), and Aigina (whose inhabitants were expelled in 431: see Thuc. 2.27; those who had accepted the Spartan offer of Thyrea as a place of refuge were themselves either killed or taken to Athens to be executed in 424, after Thyrea had been captured and destroyed: Thuc. 4.57). In 405 Lysander restored the Aiginetans to their city, as did he also the Melians who had escaped the massacre (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.9).

T 47 XENOPHON *HELL.* 5.3.18

c. 428 - c. 354 B.C.

ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσιῶν ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει

I. HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὄπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει αὐτῷ, τότε τῆς Ὀλυνθίας εἶτι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐδήου καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας ἰὼν αὐτῶν ἔφθειρε τὸν σῆτον· Τορώνην δὲ καὶ προσβαλὼν εἶλε κατὰ κράτος.

Agesipolis advanced straight from Macedonia and halted near the city of the Olynthians. When no-one tried to come out against him he then proceeded to lay waste whatever part of Olynthian territory remained (sc. unravaged), and advancing into the territory of their allies, he destroyed the corn; he also attacked and took Torone by storm.

The year is 380 B.C. Agesipolis, son of Pausanias, the Lacedaimonian king, is campaigning against Olynthus.

Although Torone did not join the revolt of the Chalcidian cities in 432/1, the implication here is that it *did* belong to the Chalcidian League at the time of its capture by the Spartan king Agesipolis. Exactly when it joined we cannot be sure. Zahrt (1971, 250) writes: 'Während des spartanisch-olyntischen Krieges war Torone Mitglied des chalkidischen Bundes (Xen. *Hell.* 5,3,18); wann der Anschluß erfolgte, kann aber nicht entschieden werden.'

After the temporary dissolution of the League in 379 Torone was independent until captured by Timotheus in 364/3 (see T 7 above).

B. ATHENIAN TRIBUTE QUOTA LISTS AND RE-ASSESSMENT DECREE

T 48 LIST 1 (454/3)

IG I³ 259.II.15

Το[ροναῖοι: X]ΗΗ

T 49 LIST 2 (453/2)

IG I³ 260.VIII.10

[X]Η[Η] Τορον[αῖοι]

T 50 LIST 7 (448/7)

IG I³ 264.IV.16

ϞΗΗϞΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ [Τορο]ναῖοι

T 51 LIST 8 (447/6)

IG I³ 265.II.71

[XΗΗ] [Τορ]οναῖοι

and II.101

ΗΗΗΗΓ[Γ]ΗΗΗΙΙ Τορο[ναῖοι]

T 52 LIST 9 (446/5)

IG I³ 266.II.28

ϞΗ Τοροναῖοι

I. HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

T 53 LIST 11 (444/3)

*IG I*³ 268.III.3

[^ΡH] Τορον[αῖοι]

T 54 LIST 12 (443/2)

*IG I*³ 269.III.18

^ΡH [T]οροναῖοι

T 55 LIST 13 (442/1)

*IG I*³ 270.III.18

[^ΡH] Τοροναῖοι

T 56 LIST 14 (441/0)

*IG I*³ 271.II.52

^ΡH Τοροναῖοι

T 57 LIST 15 (440/39)

*IG I*³ 272.I.51

[^ΡH] [T]οροναῖοι

T 58 LIST 21 (435/4)

*IG I*³ 277.V.23

[^ΡH] [T]ορ[οναῖ]οι

T 59 LIST 23 (432/1)

*IG I*³ 280.II.51

^ΡH Τοροναῖοι

B. ATHENIAN TRIBUTE QUOTA LISTS AND RE-ASSESSMENT DECREE

T 60 LIST 25 (430/29)

IG I³ 281.II.17

XHH Τορονάιοι

T 61 LIST 26 (429/8)

IG I³ 282.II.29

[XHH] [Το]ρο[ν]αῖοι

T 62 RE-ASSESSMENT OF TRIBUTE (425/4)

IG I³ 71.III.160

ΔΡ-- [Τορονάιοι]

T 48-62 may be considered together. Although some entries involve restorations, there can be little or no doubt that these have been accurately supplied, as regards both figures and ethnic.

These lists, of course, record the sixtieth of each city's tribute-payment which was given to Athena. These *aparchai* were recorded by the *hellenotamiai*, submitted to the public auditors, and inscribed and publicly displayed.

The earliest payments by Torone seem to have been set at the comparatively large figure of twelve talents. Although the amount of the quota is partially restored in Lists 1, 2 and 8 (first entry), the figure of 790 dr 4 obols of List 7 added to the figure of 409 dr 2 obols of the second entry in List 8 yields a quota of 1,200 dr, which reflects an assessment of 12 talents. Thus in 447/6 we assume that Torone paid her regular payment of 12 talents (entry 1), plus arrears (entry 2) for the previous year, so that her contribution for the earlier year also eventually totalled 12 talents.

We see clearly from Lists 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21 and 23 that Torone's contribution was lowered to six talents as from 446/5 (List 9). But in 430/29 (List 25), and probably also in 429/8 (List 26), the Toroneans are again paying twelve talents, and by the time of the Re-assessment Decree of 425/4 we find that Torone is now facing a payment of at least 15 talents. (Cf. Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor 1950, 325: "This ... no doubt helped to prepare the way for Brasidas in the following year.")

In conclusion, the Tribute Quota Lists reveal a city of considerable means, from which the Athenians were able to squeeze a greater than average 'contribution.'

C. DOCUMENTS FROM MT ATHOS

The *Actes* are a series of documents from various monasteries on Mt Athos, claiming ownership of, or making leases on, sundry parcels of property. For reasons of space I have deliberately limited the citations to short sections or phrases. Commentary is also kept to a minimum.

The reader will note that, apart from the frequent abbreviations employed in these often lengthy documents, there are numerous false breathings and no consistency in the matter of iota subscript. Torone is regularly, but not invariably, spelt 'Terone'.

Here and there I have ventured to make a very few insignificant 'adjustments,' where I felt from the Plates that the transcription was not completely accurate. I crave indulgence for this reckless behaviour, which should, however, neither confuse nor distress.

N.B. For greater convenience I have listed these in chronological order.

1. *ATHOS VIII*

Actes de Lavra II

T 63 *ACTES DE LAVRA II*, 97: ACT OF THEODOROS TZIMPEAS

A.D. 1304

Acting on imperial orders, Theodoros Tzimpeas goes to Longos (= Sithonia; it was λόγγος, 'scrub/thicket', particularly the thorny kind, which so hampered the activities of the Australian team in their attempts to clear the slopes of Hill 2, Anemomylos, in preparation for excavation), and puts the monastery of Lavra in possession of various pieces of property there situated, including (II. 11-12)

τὸν Ἁγ(ιον) Ἰω(άνν)(ην) τ(ὸν) Θεολόγ(ον) πλησίον τῆς Τερών(ης) μ(ε)τ(ᾶ) τ(ῆς) νομαδιαίας γῆς καὶ ἐντὸς | αὐτῆς χοράφια ὡσεὶ μοδί(ων) ἑξήκοντα.

Saint John Theologos near Terone together with the pasture land and fields within it, of about 60 modioi.

μόδιος is here used as a square-measurement (rather than a measure of volume: see Schilbach 1970, 56-74, with Tabelle II, 268-9).

Later in the document, after mention of further parcels of land, we find the περιουσιμὸς of the places where these parcels are to be found, including (II. 41-42)

κ(αὶ) φθάνει εἰς τ(ὸ) λιβάδιον τῆς Τερώνης κ(αὶ) εἰς τὴν ἐκεῖσε μ(ε)γ(ά)-
λ(ην) πέτραν, κ(αὶ) ἔρχετ(αι) ἕως τοῦ λιμένος τοῦ λεγομ(έν)ου Κωφοῦ.

and (sc. the property) extends to the meadow of Terone and to the great rock there (Vigla) and it goes as far as the harbour called Kophos.

T 64 ACTES DE LAVRA II, 109 PRAKTIKON OF PERGAMENOS AND PHARISAIOS A.D. 1321

A vast written report of Constantine Pergamenos and George Pharisaios, registrars of the *theme* of Thessalonica, lists a series of pieces of land, together with the amount of their revenue, including (I. 983) the location

εἰς τὴν Τερών(ην)

at Terone.

[N.B. The document cited in Appendix IX of the same volume (pp. 306-8), concerning the property of Lavra on Longos, and allegedly of the year 1319, refers to Terone in l. 14. But it is manifestly false and based on no. 97 (T 63 above).]

2. ATHOS VI

*Actes d' Esphigménou*²

T 65 ACTES D' ESPHIGMÉNOU² 22: CHRYSOBULL OF STEPHANUS DUŠAN A.D. 1346

The monks of Esphigmenou have made a request to the *basileus* Stephanos Dušan for confirmation of a list of possessions, including on Longos (II. 11-12)

καὶ χειμαδεῖον περὶ τοῦ Λογγοῦ πλησίον | τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον
ἢ Τερώνη (*sic*)

and a winter-pasturage on Longos near the beach, the one (i.e. the pasturage) called Terone.

The *basileus* confirms their ownership.

[N.B. The document given in Appendix D (pp. 192-4), purportedly a Chrysobull of John V Palaeologus in response to a request from the monks of Esphigmenou, is false. It refers to Terone in l. 3.]

3. ATHOS X

Actes de Lavra III

T 66 *ACTES DE LAVRA III*, 159: CHRYSOBULL OF JOHN VII PALAEOLOGUS A.D. 1407

John VII gives six monasteries, of which one is Lavra, a part of the revenues of Pallene-Cassandra. The Emperor has had a ditch dug across the isthmus of Pallene, and has put the peninsula under cultivation. We read (**I. 22**)

καὶ ἤνωσα τὴν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ Θερμαϊκῷ θάλασσαν μετὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ Τορωναικῷ θαλάσσης καὶ νῆσον εἰργασάμην τὴν ἤπειρον

and I joined the sea in the Thermaic Gulf with the sea in the Gulf of Torone and I made the mainland an island.

4. ATHOS II²

Actes de Kutlumus

T 67 *ACTES DE KUTLUMUS* 47: EDICT OF JOHN VIII PALAEOLOGUS(?) ?A.D. 1447

In reply to a request from the monks, the *prostagma* confirms to Kutlumus the possession of various lands on Longos, including (**II. 2-3**).

τοὺς εἰς τὸν Λογκὸν εὕρισκομένους τόπους, ἤγουν τὴν Τριστιρίκ(ην), τὴν Τορώνην καὶ τὸ Γεράνιν

the places found on Longos, viz Tristirike, Torone and Geranin.

The readings Τριστιρίκ(ην) and Γεράνιν are urged by Lemerle in the *Addenda et Corrigenda*, part 2, p. 405. I can confirm the former after an examination of Plate

LXVII, but the latter is too indistinct for me to make any judgement (although the neuter article τὸ does seem to be certain).

Lemerle comments that Tristirike is ‘un toponyme d’origine slave fréquent en Grèce’, but, curiously, goes on to cite the Μετόχιον Τρεστενίκα (*sic*) in Chalcidice. There is, in fact, a modern village Τριστινίκα just 1km north of Torone, which may possibly be the place intended in our document.

As for Γεράνιν, Lemerle tells us that it is a ‘toponyme multiple,’ which also appears in the form Gerānion. It presumably lay in the same area as Torone and ?Tristinika.

Note that here we have the spelling ‘Torone’.

Lemerle prefers the date 1447 to the alternative 1432.

5. ATHOS III

*Actes d’Esphigmenou*¹

T 68 *ACTES D’ESPHIGMENOU*¹ XXV

A.D. 1527

The central Council of Athos recognizes the rights of the monks of Esphigmenou over the *metochion* of Torone which had been contested by the monks of Zographou. Esphigmenou had leased out Terone to Zographou, but the latter had stopped paying the rent. (The false document referred to above (note following **T 65**) may have been forged at the time of the dispute of AD 1527.)

We read

l. 7 περί τινος τόπου εἰς τὸν Λογκόν, Τορώνην ὀνομαζόμενον
concerning a certain place on Longos, called Torone

l. 11 ἵνα βόσκωσι τὰ βουβάλια αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν (*sic*) Τορώνην
in order that they may feed their ?water-buffalo at Torone.

The gender (τὸν) of Terone, provided that the transcription is correct, need not detain us, but we should attempt to identify the species underlying the word βουβάλια.

Kriaras is particularly unhelpful, sending the reader through a maze of cross-references among words beginning βου- or βοδ-, without at any stage indicating just what the meaning might be. Sophocles, however, gives the meaning ‘buffalo’ for βούβαλος, and this is probably what the neuter βουβάλιον is meant to convey here.

‘Buffalo’ is the sense of the word in Agathias 9.4.5, where the writer is describing the death of Theudibertes, King of the Franks, son of Theodericus, in a hunting accident. Theudibertes is gored by a ταῦρος, which was μέγας τε καὶ ὑψίκερως, ‘not domesticated and used for ploughing, but one which lived in the woods and mountains and killed its adversaries with its horns.’ Agathias continues: βουβάλους οἶμαι τόδε τὸ γένος καλοῦσι – ‘I think they call this kind βούβαλοι’.

Charalambos Kritzas has suggested that, provided there is water or marshy ground at Torone – which there certainly is just to the north west of the harbour – these *boubaloi* are likely to be water-buffalo. He has himself seen such animals in considerable numbers on the marshy ground along the banks of the River Hebrus.

I am also informed by Commander Terence Mitford that, in Rough Cilicia, even in areas with no marshland whatsoever, water-buffalo are common. The essential is simply a plentiful supply of water.

T 69 *ACTES D’ESPHIGMENOY*¹ XXVI

A.D. 1528

Makarios, bishop of Hierissos, confirms the agreement reached (after further dispute) between the monks of Esphigmenou and Zographou in the matter of the land at Terone on Longos.

We read:

II. 2-3 ἐν φιλονεικίᾳ διὰ τινὰ τόπον λεγόμενον Τερώνην ἐν τῷ Λογγῶ

in a dispute about a certain place called Terone on Longos

II. 17-18 ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Τερώνῃ ἄνευ ὀχλήσεως καὶ παραχῆς

in the place called Terone without disturbance and uproar.

Terone is declared a common domain where the herds of the two monasteries may graze in peace.

D. DESTRUCTION OF TORONE BY THE VENETIANS IN A.D. 1659

An early – and fascinating – account of the storming of Torone by the Venetians in A.D. 1659 under the command of the Captain General Francisco Morosini is given by Girolamo Brusoni (1676, 60-61). Although not the only such description, it may perhaps serve to represent this important event in the history of Torone.

T 70 Partito la prima volta da i Dardanelli, dove si era portato non men per fare opposizione all'Armata nemica, che per ingelosire il Governo con la corrispondenza, che teneva con Assan Aga, e con altri Ribelli dell'Asia; prese partito il Capitan Generale di tentare l'acquisto di Torone situato sopra una punta del Golfo di Salonichi e di Cassandra, luogo importante per essere l'ordinario ricovero delle Armate Turchesche, e de' Legni, che navigano per quelle coste. E perche conveniva in questa occasione adoperare anzi l'arte, che la forza, fece sbarcare solamente il Capitan Generale la gente delle Galeotte, e indrizzarla, non verso la Piazza, ma verso lo stretto; d'onde solo potevano aspettare i Turchi soccorso. Del quale perciò disperati, lasciata ogni cosa in abbandono, tutto venne conquistato da' Veneti. La preda fu considerabile per la quantità, e qualità de' Cannoni, che si levò dalla Piazza, che a forza di mine fu mandata in aria.

Setting out the first time from the Dardanelles, where he had gone not less to oppose the enemy fleet than to make the government jealous of the relationship which he retained with Assan Aga and with other rebels of Asia, the Captain General made up his mind to attempt the conquest of Torone, situated on a headland of the Gulf of Salonica and of Cassandra, a place important for being the normal refuge of the Turkish fleet and of the vessels which sail along those coasts. And since it was advantageous on that occasion to employ cunning rather than force, the Captain General merely disembarked the crews of the galleys and directed them not against the fortress but against the narrow part (i.e. the isthmus neck), from where alone the Turks could expect assistance. Despairing of such (sc. assistance) for that reason, everything was left abandoned, and the whole place was overcome by the Venetians. The booty was considerable for the quantity and quality of the canons which were removed from the fortress, which was blown up by means of mines.

The Morosini were one of the leading families of la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia. Francesco was born in 1618 and died in Romania in 1694. He succeeded Marcantonio Giustiniani as the 109th Doge. He had a brilliant career as the supreme commander of the Venetian fleet, and it is perhaps unfortunate that a military genius of such talent is nowadays best remembered for his role in the destruction of the Parthenon on 26 September 1687: cf. Paton (1940, 3), 'best remembered only for the destruction of the most perfect monument of Athenian architecture.' See also Hadjiaslani (1987). We see here that Morosini was already busy destroying the remains of antiquity in 1659.

Although Brusoni displays a somewhat confused perception of the geographical position of Torone ('on a headland of the Gulf of Salonica and of Cassandra'), his account of the operation is clear enough. Rather than attempt to storm the fortified Lekythos (la Piazza), the Venetians directed their attack on the narrow neck (lo stretto) which joins that promontory to the mainland. Having secured that, the Venetians effectively had the Turks cut off on Lekythos, much as Brasidas had done with the Athenians many centuries before.

This storming and destruction of Torone by the Venetians is also indicated on Map 8 of the *Arcipelago* of the famous Venetian geographer and cosmographer, the Franciscan Father Vincenzo Coronelli (1650-1718). Coronelli's engravings and illustrations were used as part of the propaganda to justify the huge cost of the Venetian wars against the Porte. He did not himself travel in Greece or the Levant but clearly had access to information gathered by the army engineers, some of which is still preserved in the state archives of Venice (see Leonora Navari, 1995, 505-519).

Ermanno Armao (1951, 36) referring to the Gulf of Cassandra, 'l'antico *Toroniacus Sinus*', claims that Coronelli, on Map 8 of *Arcipelago*, called it the '*G. d'Aiomama o di S. Anna o di Torone*'. In fact, a closer scrutiny of the wording on Map 8 reveals that it reads

G. d'Aiomama, o(?)
S. Anna, e di Torone
Toroniacus Sinus

What Armao saw as the first 'o' may, in fact, be a very small round island, just to the right of the word 'Aiomama'. The second 'o' simply does not exist: it is certainly the letter 'e'. (The words 'G. d'Aiomama' are not italicized.)

On his map 8 Coronelli has completely distorted the three-fingered shape of the Chalcidic peninsula, in the process virtually combining the peninsulas of Sithonia and Akte/Athos into one – although he more or less correctly places the line of Xerxes' canal across the isthmus of this giant double finger, and seems to be aware that Capes Derrhis and Ampelos are somewhere at the foot of the more westerly prong.

As for the description, what Coronelli meant to convey was, I believe, 'Gulf of Aiomama or S. Anna, and of Torone, Toroniacus Sinus' i.e. just as S. Anna is explanatory (and, as Armao suggests, perhaps a corruption) of Aiomama, so the name 'Toroniacus Sinus' is explicable in the light of the name of the city of Torone. He is indicating that the names Gulf of Aiomama and Gulf of Torone are interchangeable.

However that may be, Coronelli clearly identifies the site of Aiomama with that of Torone; for, at the north-western head of what should be the Gulf of Torone (or Cassandra), he has marked 'Aiomama o Toron, incendiato da Ven. 1659'; cf. the map in Coronelli 1706, 3, where he also places 'Toron' at the site of Aiomama. Aiomama, provided it is to be identified with the Hagios Mamas named Olynthus by the Early Helladic people (see Gude 1933, 2-3; cf. Mylonas, 1929, 96-97), is thus more or less correctly placed, but Torone is a long way from its true location in the south-west of Sithonia. It has nothing to do with Aiomama, as Armao correctly observes (1951, 38), although he is wrong to claim further (1951, 39) that Torone 'corrisponde al porticciuolo moderno di Porto Cufo.' The Torone destroyed by Morosini lies to the north of Porto Koupho, as Meritt demonstrated in 1923, and is beautifully depicted by Coronelli in illustration 48, 'Fortezza di Toron', of his *Arcipelago* (cf. Coronelli 1689, illustration 186). Clearly seen are the fortress on Lekythos, the Anemomylos and Vigla; in the background are the peaks guarding the entrance to Porto Koupho. Coronelli evidently had a good idea from his sources of information as to what Torone looked like, but seems to have been less clear in his mind as to precisely where the city was located.

When Brusoni describes Torone as 'a place important as the normal refuge of the Turkish fleet and of the vessels which sail along those coasts' he may have been referring to Porto Koupho, which then as now is the obvious place of refuge for ships in bad weather, as opposed to the open, sandy harbour of Torone itself. But it is not unlikely that we are meant to envisage also the fortress of Torone on the ancient Lekythos.

E. THE EARLY MODERN TRAVELLERS AND MERITT'S 1922 VISIT

In the various accounts of the nineteenth and early twentieth century travellers in Macedonia there is no general agreement as to the location of the site of ancient Torone; much of this disagreement doubtless lies in the fact that not all of these wanderers actually penetrated as far as our city, a failure unfortunate but not entirely inexcusable, given the nature of the terrain of Sithonia and the difficulty of access even by boat.

The following selected passages are neither comprehensive nor, strictly speaking, what one would normally term 'testimonia'. My justification for including them is that they do shed light on the long history of the subject of this study, and help to round out our picture of its survival over the centuries.

T 71 Foremost amongst these adventurers is perhaps COLONEL W. M. LEAKE. Although he surely never set eyes on Torone he is under no delusion as to its precise location viz near the site of the modern hamlet of Τορω̃νι (1835, 155). In his account of his travels in October/November 1806 he passes to a discussion of the peninsula of Sithonia, 'now called Longos, from its being principally a forest.' He writes (1835, 119):

a little to the north of [Cape Drepanon i.e. Derrhis] is Kufó, a land-locked harbour, and then [i.e. moving northwards] the ruins of Torone, still preserving the ancient name. Kufó also is ancient, being the ordinary Romaic form of Κωφός (deaf), which gave rise to the Greek proverb κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωναίου λιμένος, the harbour having been so called, according to Zenobius, because, being separated from the outer sea by two narrow passages, the noise of the waves was not heard in it. It was perhaps the same mentioned by Thucydides as the harbour of the Colophonii.

For the proverb and discussion of the reference to two entrances, see **T 120-126** below.

The fact that the Colonel can speak of two passages between the inner harbour and the outer sea confirms that he had never had the privilege of gazing on the impressive entrance through the cliffs at Porto Koupho.

The reference to Thucydides is to 5.2.2 (T 43), where all the mss offer Κολοφωνίων. The text is universally emended to Κωφόν.

T 72 As we see from LEAKE'S map (*'Macedonia including Paeonia with the adjacent parts of Illyria and Epirus,'* Leake 1835, 155, although the map bears the date 1836) he correctly located the site at the modern hamlet, as did Dr K. F. Kinch (1894, 147), who visited the area in the early 1890s and accurately placed Torone about twenty minutes walk north of Koufó. This would be by the path over the low saddle between the village of Toroni and the northern end of Porto Koupho.

T 73 LIKEWISE, MARGARITES DEMITSAS (1896, 616) states:

Ἡ Τορώνη ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα κατὰ τὴν μυθολογίαν ἀπὸ Τορώνης θυγατρὸς τοῦ Πρωτέως ἢ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ ἔκειτο ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς καὶ ἐξόχου θέσεως, ἔνθα νῦν κεῖται τὸ χωρίον Τορῶνι, διατηρήσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα, εἶχε δὲ ναὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων καὶ φρούριον Λήκυθον, ἐφ' οὗ ὑπῆρχε καὶ ναὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

.....

Ἡ Τορώνη ἐφημίζετο διὰ τὸν καλούμενον Κωφὸν λιμένα, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ παροιμία «κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωναίου λιμένος».

.....

Torone got its name according to mythology from Torone, daughter of Proteus or of Poseidon and lay on a high and prominent position, where now lies the village of Toroni, preserving the ancient name, and it had a temple of the Dioskouroi and a fortress Lekythos, on which stood also a temple of Athena.

.....

Torone was renowned because of the so-called Kophos harbour, from which we also get the proverb 'quieter than the harbour of Torone.'

For the relationship between Torone and Proteus, see T 110-115 below.

The references to the Dioskoureion, the Lekythos and the Temple of Athena all derive from Thucydides; see T 38 above.

T 74 On the other hand, ADOLF STRUCK, who visited the area in 1901 and 1903 but turned east across the peninsula to Sykia before reaching the κωφὸς λιμὴν, wanted to identify Torone with some ruins he found some 10km to the north, near the Bay of Vathy. He writes (1907, 62-63):

Mit 210m erklimmt der Weg den höchsten Punkt und senkt sich nach dem Metochion Asapikón und der Bucht Wathís herab, wo nahe am dem heute noch Torónis genannten Flecken im innersten Winkel des Küsteneinschnittes die geringen Ruinen von Torone liegen, nach dem der Golf von Kassándra einst Sinus Toronaïcus hiess. Etwas Mauerwerk und einige Marmorbalken zwischen Steinhaufen und Ziegelfragmenten kennzeichnen auf einem Hügel von geringer Ausdehnung die alte Stadtlage.... Bevor man Koufos erreicht, soll in einem Talgrunde nahe der Küste eine kleine Ruine liegen, die den türkischen Namen Kalé führt. Wir zogen es vor, den kürzeren Weg über eine Einsattlung (290m) des Kammes nach Sykiá einzuschlagen...

In 210m the path reaches its highest point and runs down to the metochion Asapikon and the Bay of Vathy, where in the inmost recess of the coastal indentation the meagre ruins of Torone lie close to the hamlet still to this day called Toroni, after which the Gulf of Cassandra was once called the Sinus Toronaïcus. Some masonry and marble slabs among heaps of stones and tile-fragments mark the old town's position on a hill of limited extent.... Before one reaches Koufos some small ruins, which bear the Turkish name Kale, are said to lie in low ground near the coast. We preferred to take the shorter path over a saddle (290m) of the ridge to Sykia...

Had Struck continued south, instead of turning off east in the direction of Sykia, he would surely have reached the same conclusion as Kinch and Demitsas viz that Torone lay on the site of the modern hamlet.

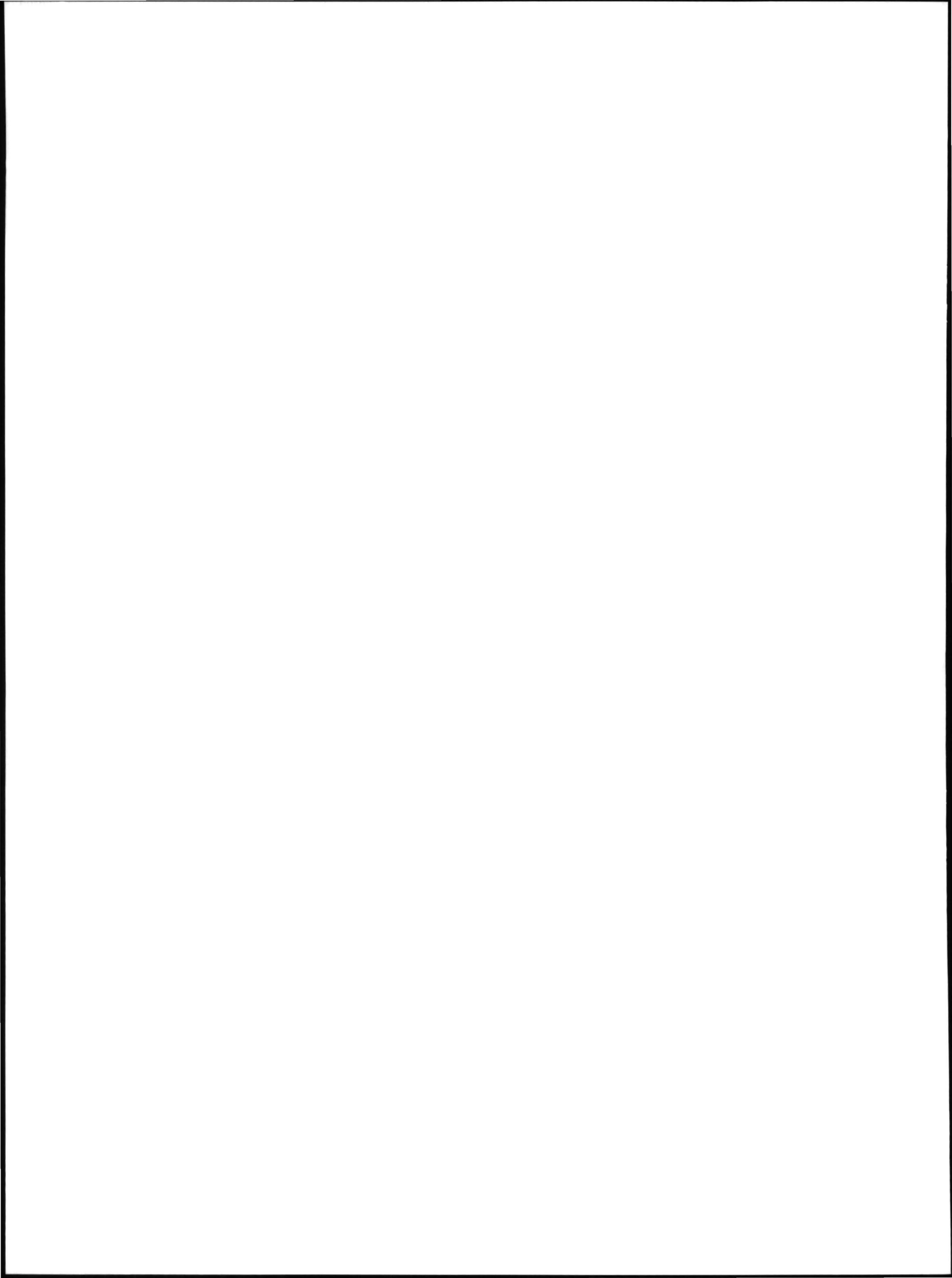
T 75 For, as was finally demonstrated once and for all by BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT, and has been absolutely confirmed by subsequent excavation, ancient Torone did indeed stand on the site just north of Porto Koupho, still to this day called Τοῦῶνι. Meritt writes (1923, 455-456):

The site which fulfills all these requirements is on the northern slope of the hill which flanks the harbour of κωφὸς on the north. The hill itself towers well above the city and slopes down abruptly except on the north and east. On the east a low saddle connects it with the other hills of the peninsula, and on the north, after a very slight saddle, it slopes gradually down to the sea. It is on this last northern slope that the ruins of Torone are preserved.

Arriving by boat from Pallene in January of 1922, Meritt walked the ground from Koufó in the south to Vathy in the north. Although he had no proper surveying instruments, he produced a remarkably (but not totally) accurate sketch-map of the area, and terminated any further speculation as to the location of the site of Torone.

PART II

NATURAL HISTORY AND RESOURCES



A. LAND RESOURCES

The prosperity of fifth-century Torone is reflected in the size of its contributions to the Delian League. Much of this prosperity will have been based on its natural resources, as well as its trading activities (cf. Zahrt 1971, 248). The literary *testimonia*, however, as opposed to the evidence furnished by excavation, are rather limited for the economic basis of life at Torone, but nevertheless do make their own contribution and also have a certain fascination in themselves. Cf. also **T 91** below.

A. LAND RESOURCES

1. EGYPTIAN BEAN

T 76 ATHENAEUS 3.72b-d

2nd-3rd c. A.D.

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ φυτῶν οὕτω γράφει· ὁ κύαμος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φύεται μὲν ἐν ἔλεσι καὶ λίμναις ---- γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ κατὰ Κιλικίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκπέττουσιν αἱ χῶραι· καὶ περὶ Τορώνην τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ἐν λίμνῃ τινὶ μετρίᾳ τῷ μεγέθει, καὶ αὕτη πέττεται καὶ τελοκαρπεῖ.

Since αὕτη must refer to the λίμνη, it is hard to justify the middle πέττεται. Comparing the text of Theophrastus (see **T 78** below), one may read πέττει here (and perhaps also τελειο-).

Theophrastus writes as follows in his work On Plants: the bean grows in Egypt in swamps and marshes... It also grows in Syria and throughout Cilicia, but these countries do not bring it to ripeness. It also grows at Torone in Chalcidice in a marsh of moderate size, and this (sc. marsh) brings it to maturity and produces perfect fruit.

As he tells us, Athenaeus is quoting directly from Theophrastus ἐν τῷ περὶ φυτῶν. I list both Athenaeus and his original Theophrastus (**T 78**), since the work of both authors has survived independently.

For detailed information on the Egyptian bean, *Nelumbo nucifera*, see Suzanne Amigues (1989, 266-267, notes 12 and 15), where she remarks that the lake – ‘le lac’: I would prefer ‘marsh’ – in question at Torone must have benefited from ‘un microclimat favorable,’ since usually in Europe the fruit of the bean does not reach maturity.

T 77 PLINY *NH* 18.30.121-2

A.D. 23-79

nascitur et in Aegypto nascitur et in Syria Ciliciaque et in Toronaeo Chalcidices lacu.

Toronaeo is Rackham's suggestion for the *Torone* of the mss; von Jan emends to *Toronae*. Either way, we have a clear reference to Torone.

It (the Egyptian bean) also grows in Egypt It also grows in Syria and in a marsh of Torone in Chalcidice.

T 78 THEOPHRASTUS *HP* 4.8.7-8

c. 372-287 B.C.

ὁ δὲ κύαμος φύεται μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι καὶ ταῖς λίμναις..... γίνεται δὲ οὗτος καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ κατὰ Κιλικίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκπέπτουσι αἱ χῶραι· καὶ περὶ Τορώνην τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ἐν λίμνῃ τινὶ μετρίᾳ τῷ μεγέθει· καὶ αὕτη πέπτει [καὶ τελειοῖ] καὶ τελειοκαρπεῖ.

In the last half-dozen words, although the text is uncertain, the sense is not in doubt. For the impossible αὕτη of the mss, we should read αὔτη, referring to the λίμνη. καὶ τελειοῖ is probably the product of dittography with the correct reading τελειοκαρπεῖ, spelt with intervocalic iota: cf. **T 76** above.

The (Egyptian) bean grows in swamps and marshes.....This plant also grows in Syria and throughout Cilicia, but these countries do not bring it to ripeness. It also grows at Torone in Chalcidice in a certain marsh of moderate size; this (sc. marsh) brings it to maturity and produces perfect fruit.

2. MILK

T 79 ARISTOTLE *HA* 523a

384-322 B.C.

ὄλως δὲ τὰ μηρυκάζοντα γάλα πολὺ καὶ χρήσιμον εἰς τυρείαν ἀμέλγεται. περὶ δὲ Τορώνην αἱ βόες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πρὸ τοῦ τόκου διαλείπουσι, τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον πάντα ἔχουσι γάλα.

Generally, ruminants produce milk in quantity and suitable for cheese-making. At Torone cows stop producing (milk) for a few days before calving, but are in milk all the rest of the time.

Aristotle is here discussing milk-producing animals. Just why he should cite specifically the cows of Torone is not clear, but, as a native of Chalcidice, he was in a position either to visit Torone himself or to have acquaintances who knew Torone well. He is thus able to speak with some authority on such matters (cf. T 82, 84 below).

3. WINE

In an article of elegant bouquet and flavour, attention has been drawn by John Papadopoulos and Stavros Paspalas (1999, 166-172) to the emphasis the Toroneans themselves laid on wine in their coinage. Although there is apparently no explicit *testimonium* concerning viticulture at Torone, it is certainly implied in the name of Cape Ampelos. According to Herodotus 7.122 (see T 16) and others (see T 12, 31), the region of Ampelos fell within the sphere of the Toroneans.

We know that the wine of Mende was highly prized, and not just for socializing, but with a genuine medicinal function: cf., e.g., Hippocrates *Internal Affections* 13. 16-18 and 24 ('Mendaian wine is recommended for its therapeutic purposes, not least for its laxative properties', Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999, 175). It is in this context that we may choose to see a reference to 'Toronean wine' in the next entry.

T 80 HIPPOCRATES *DISEASES* 2.47b.2

?c. 400 B.C.

καὶ ἢν μὴ ἴῃ τὸ πύον, κατ' ὀλίγον πυριᾶν κατὰ τὸ στόμα σίου χυλῶ, οἴνω
τορνίῳ, γάλακτι βοεῖῳ ἢ αἰγείῳ, ἴσον ἑκάστου συμμίξας.

and if the pus does not go, gradually administer by mouth a vapour-bath concocted of water-parsnip juice, ?Tornian wine, and cow's or goat's milk, mixing together equal parts of each.

The writer is here discussing the treatment for internal suppuration after pneumonia.

Jacques Jouanna (1983, 248 n. 7) observes that the adjective τóρνιος is confirmed by Pollux, *Onomasticon* 6.82, where it is used to describe a variety of a bunch of grapes. (This is not included in either the 1968 Supplement to *LSJ* or the 1996 revised Supplement.) But it is still not clear whether this might refer to the round shape of the bunch (cf. Chantraine 1968, s.v. τóρνος) or to its place of origin, ?Tornia. Jouanna concludes that 'le vin 'tornien' est le vin tiré de cette variété de raisin', and leaves it at that.

II. NATURAL HISTORY AND RESOURCES

Paul Potter, however (1988, 271 n. 1), is moved to suggest that, given the relative proximity of Torone to Mende, we should perhaps see here a reference to Torone (and presumably, therefore, read *Τορωναίω*). Such a reference to 'Toronean wine' would not surprise us, and it would seem, as Papadopoulos and Paspalas have argued, that the economy of Torone depended heavily on wine. They note the archaeological evidence for domesticated grape seeds at least as early as the Early Iron Age, and draw our attention to the significance of wine as reflected in the emblems (amphora with grapes and vine leaves; oinochoe) chosen by Torone for its coinage (Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999, 166-170). They likewise adduce the evidence of the modern flourishing wine industry just north of Torone at Porto Carras.

B. MARINE RESOURCES

1. DOG-SHARK

T 81 ATHENAEUS 7.310c

2nd-3rd c. A.D.

ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν ταῖς καλαῖς ταύταις ὑποθήκαις παραινεῖ·
ἐν δὲ Τορωναίων ἄστει τοῦ καρχαρία χρῆ
τοῦ κυνὸς ὀψωνεῖν ὑπογᾶστρια κοῖλα κάτωθεν.

*Anyway, in these splendid Counsels Archestratus gives the following advice:
In the city of the Toroneans you should buy the hollow parts of the dog-shark
from the belly underneath.*

There follows a long recipe for the preparation of this delicacy, which Archestratus remarks is known to few mortals.

For this quotation from Archestratus of Gela, a contemporary of Aristotle, see Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 154. The same quotation is also found in the *Epitome* of Athenaeus, 7.310a,c (see Peppink, 1937). Further references to Archestratus occur in Athenaeus 4.162b and 163c,d.

For the *carcharias*, see D'Arcy Thompson 1947, 106-107. Thompson describes it as 'a rare dish for a gourmet'.

2. SEA-URCHIN

T 82 ARISTOTLE *HA* 530b

384-322 B.C.

περὶ δὲ Τορώνην εἰσὶν ἐχῖνοι λευκοὶ θαλάττιοι καὶ τὰ ὄστρακα καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας καὶ τὰ ῥά, μείζους δὲ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς μῆκος· ἢ δ' ἄκανθα οὐ μεγάλη οὐδ' ἰσχυρά, ἀλλὰ μαλακωτέρα, τὰ δὲ μέλανα τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πλείω, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἔξω πόρον συνάπτοντα πρὸς ἑαυτὰ δὲ ἀσύναπτα, τούτοις δ' ὡσπερ διειλημμένος ἐστίν. κινουῦνται δὲ μάλιστα καὶ πλειστάκις οἱ ἐδώδιμοι αὐτῶν· καὶ σημεῖον δέ· αἰεὶ τι ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκάνθαις.

II. NATURAL HISTORY AND RESOURCES

In the region of Torone there are sea-urchins which are white both as regards their shells and spines and eggs, and they are bigger than the others with respect to length; but their spines are not big or strong, but rather soft. The black parts which come from the mouth are more than usually numerous, and are connected with the external passage but not with each other. By these the urchin is, as it were, divided up. The edible ones move about most and most often. And there is also proof of this in that they always have something on their spines.

See **T 79** above for comment on Aristotle and Torone.

T 83 PLINY *NH* 9.51.100

A.D. 23-79

ex eodem genere sunt echini quibus spinae pro pedibus.nec omnibus idem vitreus colos: circa Toronem candidi nascuntur spina parva.

To the same genus belong sea-urchins which have spines instead of feet..... They do not all have the same transparent colour; in the district of Torone there are those which are born white, with small spines.

For considerable information on the various kinds of *echinos*, see Thompson 1947, 70-73. Thompson is, however, perhaps a little vague in his location of Torone, which he places as 'near Mount Athos'.

3. SPONGES

T 84 ARISTOTLE *HA* 548b

384-322 B.C.

ἔχει δὲ καὶ αἴσθησιν, ὡς φασίν. σημεῖον δέ· ἐὰν γὰρ μέλλοντος ἀποσπᾶν αἴσθηται, συνάγει ἑαυτὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν ἀφελεῖν ἐστίν. ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖ καὶ ὅταν ἦ πνεῦμα πολὺ καὶ κλύδων, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποπίπτειν· εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ περὶ τούτου ἀμφιβητοῦσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν Τορώνῃ.

(A sponge) also has sensation, so they say. And as proof of this claim they allege that, if it is aware that someone intends to pull it off, it contracts and is difficult to detach. It does the same also when there is much wind or rough water, so as not to be knocked off. There are some people, for example those at Torone, who dispute this claim.

B. MARINE RESOURCES

Aristotle makes further reference to this claim for the sensibility of the sponge at *HA* 487b and 588b, but, as his sceptical ὡς φασι indicates, he is obviously aware of the falseness of the suggestion. See also **T 85** below.

Papadopoulos informs me that the sea-urchin is attested in stratified contexts dating back at least to the Early Iron Age.

See **T 79** above for comment on Aristotle and Torone.

T 85 PLINY *NH* 9.69.148-149

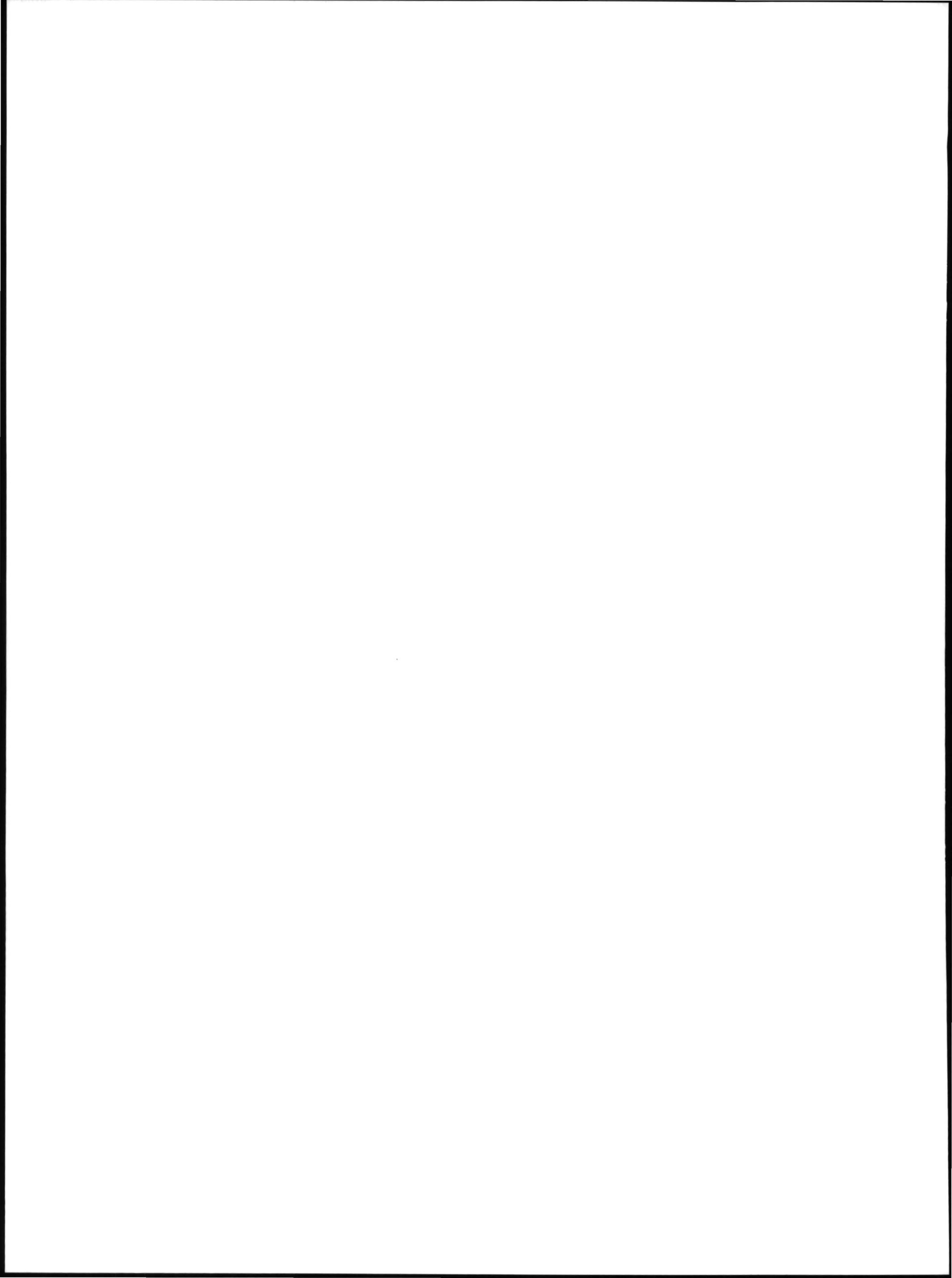
A.D. 23-79

intellectum inesse his apparet, quia, ubi avulsorem sensere, contractae multo difficilius abstrahuntur. hoc idem fluctu pulsante faciunt. vivere esca manifesto conchae minutae in his repertae ostendunt. circa Toronem vesci illis avulsas etiam aiunt et ex relictis radicibus recrescere in petris.

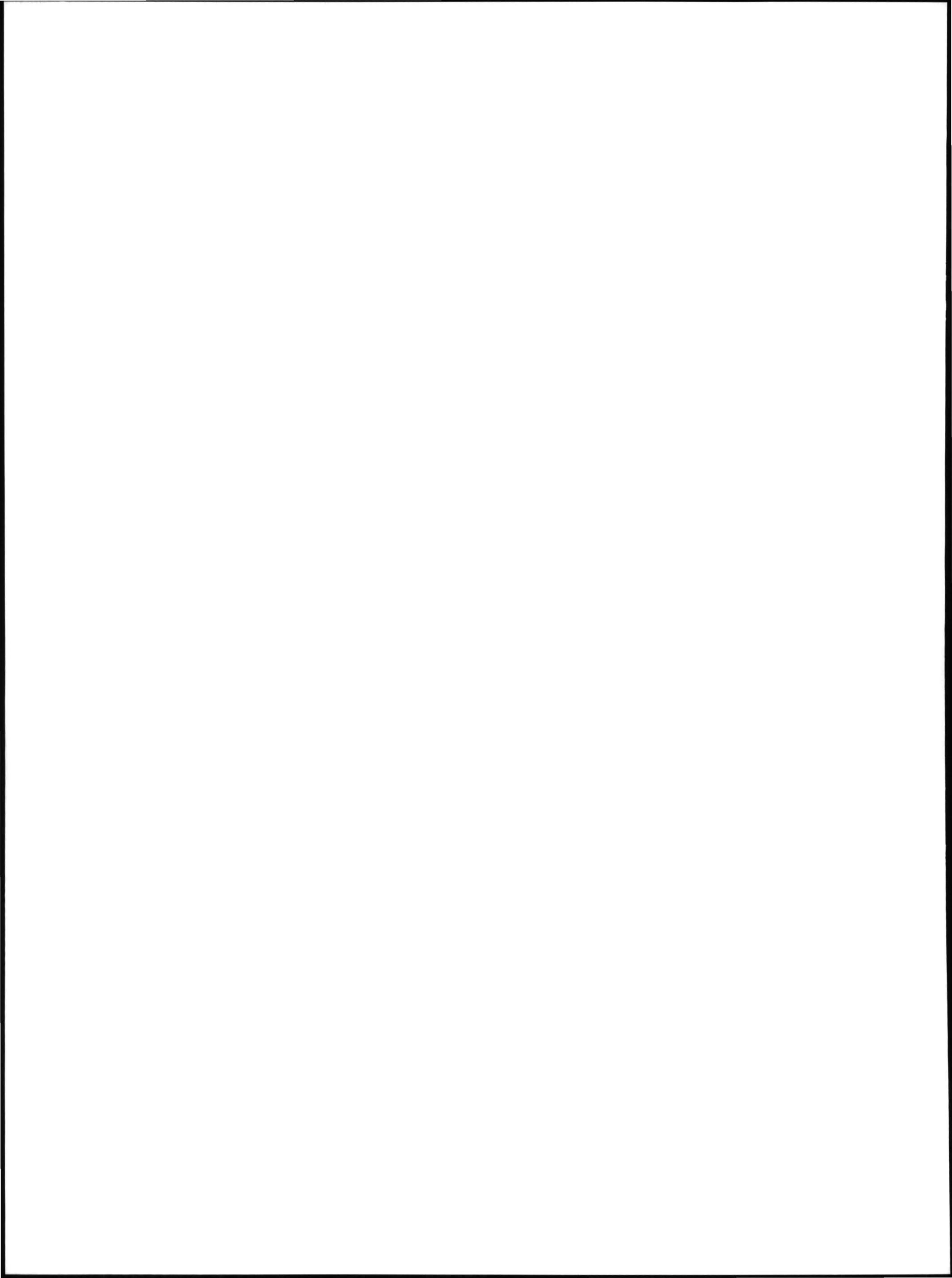
It is evident that there is sensation in them, because, when they are aware of a sponge-gatherer, they contract and become much more difficult to detach. They do the same thing when the waves are beating. The tiny shells found inside them clearly show that they live by eating food. They say that in the neighbourhood of Torone they can feed on these shell-fish even when they have been torn away (sc. from the rocks) and that they grow again on the rocks from the roots that have been left there.

For a discussion of the *spongos*, see Thompson 1947, 249-250, where he notes, with reference to the sensibility of the sponge, 'This statement, often repeated, would be true of the limpet, but is a mere fable or legend as told of the sponge.'

See also **T 84** above.



PART III
MISCELLANEA



A. EPITAPHS (LITERARY)

T 86 NICAENETUS *AP* 7.502

3rd/2nd c. B.C.

FOR BITON, A NATIVE OF AMPHIPOLIS BURIED AT TORONE

ἤριον εἰμὶ Βίτωνος, ὁδοιπόρε· εἰ δὲ Τορώνην
λείπων εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεαι Ἀμφίπολιν,
εἰπεῖν Νικαγόρα παιδῶν ὅτι τὸν μόνον αὐτῷ
Στρυμονίης Ἐρίφων ὤλεσε πανδυσίη.

Traveller, I am the tomb of Biton; and if, as you leave Torone, you are on your way to Amphipolis itself, tell Nicagoras that, at the setting of the Kids, the Strymonian (wind) destroyed his only son.

Gow-Page (1965, II 419) note that the traveller appears to be addressed, as he leaves Torone for Amphipolis, by a tomb just outside the city. Biton had presumably either been shipwrecked or blown overboard to his death. The wind that had killed him was the deadly Strymonian (cf. Hdt 8.118; and Aesch. *Aga.* 192, for the baneful winds from the Strymon which detained the Greek fleet at Aulis). The setting of the Kids (roughly December-January) is often associated with bad weather (see Gow-Page 1965, II 195).

Since Amphipolis lies on the Strymon, Biton had, ironically, been killed by his 'home' wind.

T 87 PHAEDIMUS *AP* 7.739

3rd c. B.C.

ON POLYANTHUS, DROWNED NEAR SKIATHOS, BUT FOUND BY FISHERMEN IN NETS NEAR TORONE

αἰάζω Πολύανθον, ὃν εὐνέτις, ὧ παραμείβων,
νυμφίον ἐν τύμβῳ θῆκεν Ἀρισταγόρη
δεξαμένη σποδιήν τε καὶ ὀστέα· τὸν δὲ δυσᾶες
ὤλεσεν Αἰγαίου κῦμα περὶ Σκίαθον,
δύσμορον ὀρθρινοί μιν ἐπεὶ νέκυν ἰχθυβολῆες,
ξεῖνε, Τορωναίων εἴλκυσαν ἐς λιμένα.

III. MISCELLANEA

I bewail Polyanthus, whom, passer-by, Aristagore his wife placed newly-wedded in this tomb, having received dust and bones – him the stormy wave of the Aegean destroyed off Skiathos – after fishermen in the early morning dragged his ill-fated corpse, stranger, into the harbour of the Toroneans.

Skiathos, off Cape Magnesia, is some 70 miles south-west of Torone. The destruction of Persian ships wrecked in this area (see Hdt. 7.183) indicates its danger. Note the allusion to fishing as an activity at Torone, as well as to the safety of its harbour.

The body has been brought to Torone and cremated, the ashes given to his wife. For a full commentary see Gow-Page 1965, II 457.

B. INSCRIPTIONS

1. HONORARY

T 88 CITIZENSHIP DECREE OF THE SAMIANS IN HONOUR OF GYGES SON OF MENESTHEUS OF TORONE (*IG XII (6) 46*) 321-306 B.C.

Γύγεω τοῦ Μενεσθέως
Τορωναίου.
ἔδοξε τῶι δήμῳ, Διονύσιος
Λεοντίσκου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ
5 εἰσαγαγὼν ἔχει Γύγης
Μενεσθέως Τορωναῖος
πυρῶν μεδίμνους τρισχιλί-
ους κατὰ τὸν νόμον, δεδό-
χθαι τῶι δήμῳ· ἐπαινέσαι
10 τε αὐτὸν καὶ δεδόσθαι αὐτῶι
πολιτείαν ἐφ' ἴσηι καὶ ὁμοίῃ
καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ ἐπ[ι]-
κληρῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φυλὴν
καὶ χιλιαστὺν καὶ ἑκατο-
15 στὺν καὶ γένος καθότι καὶ
[τ]οὺς ἄλλους πολίτας.
[τὸ δὲ] ψ[ή]φισμα τό[δ]ε ἀναγρά-
[ψαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην] καὶ - - -

In honour of Gyges son of Menestheus of Torone. Resolution of the people, Dionysios son of Leontiskos moved the motion: whereas Gyges son of Menestheus of Torone has brought in 3,000 medimnoi of wheat in accordance with the law, be it resolved by the people to commend him, and that citizenship be given to him on fair and equal terms, both to himself and his descendants, and to assign him by lot to a tribe, chiliastys, hekatostys and clan, just like other citizens; this decree shall be inscribed [on a stone stele] and [- - -]

After the Return from their lengthy exile in late 324 or early 323, the Samians were short of grain; they may have offered citizenship to traders, like Gyges, who agreed to import it and sell at a reasonable price, or who were persuaded to sell their entire stock to the Samians.

There is a short discussion of this text, originally published by Schede 1919, 15-16 no. 6 (see *SEG* 1.361) in Shipley 1987, 170 and 204. Schede offered the vague date 'fin.s.iv.'; this was refined by Habicht (1957, 253-270), on a variety of grounds, to a point between 321 and 306 B.C.

Writing on the general disappearance of the *ethnikon* Τορωνναῖος after the fourth century B.C., Hatzopoulos (1988a, 47 note 8: see *SEG* 38.845; cf. Zahrt 1971, 250-251) considers the significance of the ethnic Toronean as applied to Gyges here. Does it mean that Torone survived as a city after Philip's destruction of the Chalcidian League in 348 and up to the foundation of Cassandreia in 315, (a synoikismos in which, admittedly, we have no definite information that Torone had to participate)? Or was Gyges, like so many Olynthians, only an exile attached to the memory of his mother city, which had lost its polis-status? Hatzopoulos does not think that the mention of *Toronaei* by Pliny (4.10.35; **T 25** above) is conclusive for any continuing political significance. See also Hatzopoulos 1996, 204.

Papadopoulos (1996, 163) notes that this document offers verification for a commercial link between Chalcidice and East Greece. The fact that Gyges is a Lydian name may be additional evidence for a close connection between Chalcidice and Anatolia.

2. SANATIO OF A TORONEAN AT THE SANCTUARY OF ASCLEPIUS AT EPIDAUROS

T 89 *IG* IV² 121.98-103

350-300 B.C.

ἄνθρωπος Τορωνναῖος δεμελέας. οὗτος ἐγκαθεύδων ἐνύπνιον εἶδε·
 ἔδοξέ οἱ τὸν θεὸν τὰ στέρνα μαχαίραι ἀνσχίσσαντα τὰς δεμε-
 λέας ἐξελεῖν καὶ δόμεν οἱ ἐς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ συνράψαι τὰ στή-
 θη· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἐξῆλθε τὰ θηρία ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων
 5 καὶ ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο· κατέπτε δ' αὐτὰ δολωθεὶς ὑπὸ ματρυιᾶς ἐγ κυ-
 κᾶνι ἐμβεβλημένης ἐκπιῶν. *vac.*

A man of Torone [who was cured of] leeches. As he was sleeping in the temple he had a dream; he dreamt that he saw the god split open his chest with a knife, remove the leeches, put them in his hands and stitch up his chest. When day arrived

B. INSCRIPTIONS

he came out with the creatures in his hands and was healed. He had swallowed them down, tricked by his step-mother, who had put them in a potion which he had drained.

This too may be considered evidence for the continued existence, if not political integrity, of Torone after Philip's campaign against the Chalcidian League and the massacre at Olynthus in 348. See **T 88** above.

3. COMMERCIAL

T 90 DEED OF SALE (SEG 24.574)

353/2 B.C.

Τύχη ἄγαθή· ὠνή οἰκίης·
μείς Ἀρτεμισίων· ἱερ-
εὺς Εὐφραντίδης Ἀρι-
στοτίμο· Φιλώνιχος
5 Ἀντιφῶντος παρ' Ἀρι-
στοκλέος τοῦ Παρμ-
ένοντος, ἦν ἐπρίατο
παρὰ Ποσειδίππο τῷ
Διοδώρο καὶ Διονυσί-
10 ου τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος,
τὴν ἐχομένην τῆ-
ς ἑαυτοῦ ἢ γείτων Ἄ-
σανδρος· 8ΧΔΔ. Βε-
βαιωτῆς Καλλιτέ-
15 λης Ἀριστοκλέος·
μάρτυρες Ἄσανδ-
ρος Ἐπικράτεος,
Ἀρχεπτόλεμος
Κλεομάχο, Κλεό-
20 νικος Ἀγαθοκ-
λέος.

Good Fortune. House purchase. Month of Artemision; the priest Euphrantides son of Aristotimos. Philonichos son of Antiphon (sc. purchased a house) from Aristokles son of Parmenon, which (the latter) had purchased from Poseidippos son of

Diodoros and Dionysios son of Antiphon, adjoining his own house, whose (other) neighbour is Asandros. 112 (drachmas). Guarantor Kalliteles son of Aristokles; witnesses Asandros son of Epikrates, Archeptolemos son of Kleomachos, Kleonikos son of Agathokles.

This text has been bedevilled by *lapsus stili*, if not *mentis*. In the original publication M. Karamanoli-Siganidou (1966, 152-7) omitted the words τοῦ Παρμένοντος in her text, an omission rectified by the editors of *SEG*. More confusingly, in the relevant entry at *SEG* 37.588 the name 'Diodoros' appears three times in error for 'Dionysios'. This unfortunate slip makes understanding of the procedures involved even more difficult to grasp.

It is likely, however, that we are here dealing not with the outright sale of a house, but with the procedure known as *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*, in which, in return for a loan over a given period, a house which was 'sold' was really put up as a security against the loan. Thus the new 'owner' did not have full right of disposal of the property, and a stone such as this would be erected to clarify the legal status of the property.

In this particular instance Poseidippos and Dionysios had 'sold' their house to Aristokles as security against a loan of 112 drachmas. Probably because Poseidippos and Dionysios could not repay this loan, Philonichos, the brother of Dionysios, had paid the loan back to Aristokles and so had himself become the creditor; for Aristokles had now 'sold' the house to him. (See Hennig 1987, 154-155.)

Hennig thus sees a correlation between the extremely low 'price' and the fact that this is only an apparent sale. In the case of similarly low house prices at Olynthus, however, Hatzopoulos (1988b, 72-76) relates the phenomenon there to the turmoil preceding the outbreak of war between Philip and the Chalcidian League.

The priest named in lines 3-4 is the eponymous federal priest, whose period of office serves to date the year of the document. Hatzopoulos places him in the year 353/2.

T 91 BUSINESS LETTER WRITTEN ON LEAD (*SEG* 43.488)

350-325 B.C.

[. .⁴ . .]τος Τεγέαι χαίρειν. [ξύ]λα οὐκ ἔχω ἐμ Μ[ένδηι ?]
 [ῶνε]ῖσθαι. σὺ δὴ ἀπόστειλον ἡμῖν εὐ[θέως] εἰ πλο[ῖον] ἔχεις,
 [έπτ]ὰ πριάμενος, εἰ ἐν δυνατῶι ἐστιν, τάλαντα [. . . .^{c.8}].
 [μή] δὴ ἐλάσ<σ>ω μηδέν σο[ι παρ]ε[χ]έτω μάλιστα μὲν [. . . .^{c.8}].
 5 [ἀπ ?]άντων, εἰ δὲ μ[ή]^{c.8}]· καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν χαρι[εῖ] ἡμῖν].

B. INSCRIPTIONS

[πέ]ραγον δ' ὦν[ή]μ[ατα ἐ]πτὰ [ἡμερῶν] ἢ κατακωλ[ύ]σω. vac.
[ἔρρ]ω?[σο].

[...]tos sends greetings to Tegeas. I am unable to buy wood in M[ende?]. So you dispatch some to us immediately, if you have a boat, buying seven talents if it is possible [from]. Let him not supply you with any less at all, preferably [of], but, if not, [of]. And if you do this, you will oblige us. Complete your purchases within seven days or I shall put a stop (sc. to the arrangement). Farewell(?).



Fig. 3. The business letter on lead.

Note that, in *SEG* 43, although correctly assigned to Torone, this text has been mistakenly placed under 'Thrace'. The full-stop at the end of l.5 has also been omitted.

This important text, found at Torone in 1976, was first published by Henry 1991 (and is republished by him in Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 2001, pp. 765-771). It is one of a very small group of Greek private letters on lead which have survived from antiquity. Jordan (2000, 91-92), in publishing a personal letter found in the Athenian agora from one Lesis to his mother and to one Xenokles, gives an up-to-date list of twelve such letters, eight published in full, one in part, and three remaining unpublished. He makes the important point that the 'crisp and sure' writing and lack of word-division at line-ends in such texts imply the work of a professional scribe. (Jordan 2000, 93; cf. also *SEG* 42.1750.)

Although, unfortunately, there are a few *lacunae*, the sense is never in doubt. What we have here is a commercial transaction involving the purchase of seven talents of firewood, which, unlike building timber, was sold by weight. ξύλα καύσιμα was of great importance in the ancient economy, not simply for heating and cooking,

but also for such activities as smelting and making sacrifices etc. (see Henry 1991, 69-70; and cf. Meiggs 1982, 204-206; Olson 1991, 411-420). For the significance of the timber supplies of Macedonia and Chalcidice for *ship-building*, cf., e.g., Xenophon *Hell.* 5.2.16: ξύλα ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, with reference to Olynthus in 383 B.C.

With respect to the suggested restoration at the end of l. 1, it is interesting to note that there is an unpublished letter from Mende (see Jordan 2000, 92 note 5).

4. SEPULCHRAL

Buried at Torone

T 92 SEG 3.496

early Christian?

Ἀριστόκλεια Ν[έ]στορος
χαῖρε.

Aristokleia daughter of Nestor, farewell.

This marble stele, with a sculptural representation of a man, woman and boy, first published by Meritt (1923, 459-460, with note 3), was originally found at Hagia Kyriaki, north of Torone, on the *metochion* of the Esphigmenou monastery, and was later transferred to the monastery itself on Athos. Meritt commented on the poor workmanship of the stele, and suggested a possible date about the turn of the Christian era.

The text as here restored is Tod's.

Buried in Athens

T 93 IG I³ 1377 (= IG i² 1043)

c. 450-420? B.C.

Ναύτης
Εὐδημί|δο
Τορωνα-
ῖος.

Nautes son of Eudemides of Torone.

B. INSCRIPTIONS

The text is stoichedon. The last 2 letters of line 2 are continued on the right side of the stone.

T 94 *IG I³ 1378 (= IG i² 1044)*

c. 450-420? B.C.

Μίκκος
Καλλικλείδο
Τορωναῖος.

Mikkos son of Kallikleides of Torone.

T 95 *IG I³ 1379 (= IG i² 1074)*

c. 440-420? B.C.

Ἑρμοτέλης
Ἄριστόνο
Τορωναῖο-
ς.

Hermoteles son of Aristonous of Torone.

N.B. On the assumption that the grave-stele for Mikkos (**T 94**), which is cut in eastern Ionic script, was to be dated before the middle of the fifth century, when one would not yet expect to find Ionic script employed in Athens, Lillian Jeffery (1990, 363, with note 1) deduced that this reflected the local script of Torone. Support for this theory was sought from the graves of Nautes and Hermoteles (**T 93, 95**), both belonging to the second half of the same century.

Although all three are now placed by Lewis-Jeffery (*IG i³*) in the latter half of the century, with a lower limit of 420 B.C., the conclusion that the Toroneans used the east Ionic script should remain unchallenged. This then becomes an important element in the debate on the origins of the Chalcidians (see **T 4** above), since, as Jeffery puts it, 'nothing demonstrably in Euboic letters has been found as yet among the rest' (sc. of the inscriptions of the cities of Chalcidice). Cf. Zahrnt 1971, 20, and **T 100** below.

T 96 *IG II² 10453*

before 350 B.C.

In the *editio minor* Kirchner opted for the following:

III. MISCELLANEA

Ἀγλώκρ[ιτος]
 Τορωνα[ῖος]

which would yield a grave monument commemorating a male, one Aglokritos of Torone. However, the name Aglokritos cannot be correct: for it is one letter too long for the physical requirements of the stone.

For a full discussion of the text of this stone, see Henry and Traill 2001. For present purposes, a brief outline of the argumentation and conclusion may suffice.

From the pages of George Finlay's extant notebooks in the British School at Athens (where the stone also resides as part of the collection of Finlay's books, papers and antiquarian objects which were handed over to the School in 1899) it would appear that Finlay, unlike anyone else then or now, was able to read an additional two letters in each line at the right-hand edge, AT and IA respectively. This has led Stephen Lambert (2000, 499) to choose the restoration of the female Ἀγλωκράτ[η] | Τορωναία..

However, the form Aglokrate, rather than the expected Aglokrateia, while not impossible, raises an element of doubt. Likewise, we cannot feel great confidence in the alleged additional letters from Finlay's sketches. It is much more likely that we here have a male deceased, with a name of nine letters. The only such candidate is then Aglokreon.

So

Ἀγλωκρ[έων]
 Τορωνα[ῖος].

Aglokreon of Torone.

As a parallel for our resurrected Toronean we may adduce the ambassador Aglaokreon of Tenedos, who is named twice by Aeschines (*On the Embassy*, 2.20 and 126) as the representative of the allies on the embassy to Philip in 346 B.C.

T 97 IG II² 10454

before 350 B.C.

Πάμφιλος Πρωθῶ
 Τορωναῖος. Τορωναία.

Pamphilos of Torone.

Protho of Torone.

B. INSCRIPTIONS

Provided the deceased of **T 96** remains a male, Protho retains the distinction of being the only female Toronean whose name has come down to us from ancient Athens.

T 98 *IG II² 10455*

before 350 B.C.

Τιμοκρ - -

Τορων - -

Timokr. of Torone.

Buried on Thasos

T 99 *POUILLOUX 1954, no. 111*

end 4th / beginning 3rd c. B.C.

Ἀριστοβούλ[η]

Βιακράτου

Τερωναίη.

Aristoboule daughter of Biakrates of Terone (sic).

Pouilloux (1954, 317-318) notes: “la tradition littéraire n’a transmis que la forme Toroné, mais les monnaies indiquent toujours l’ethnique Τερωναῖος.” This claim, while in essentials correct, does not embrace the later spelling with epsilon found in some documents from the monasteries on Mt Athos e.g. **T 63, 64, 65** (all of the 14th century) and **69** (16th century). **T 66** and **67** (of the 15th century) and **T 68** (of the 16th) prefer the form with omicron.

Pouilloux also comments that Torone was ‘un centre actif pour le commerce de vin’: cf. **T 80** above.

5. MISCELLANEOUS

T 100 *INSCRIBED BLOCK (SEG 38.717)*

archaic period

Γ (but retrograde)

On an Archaic block found in 1988 built into a Byzantine tower on the Lekythos

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was incised this single retrograde letter *vau* or *digamma* of Archaic form. It is probably a mason's mark, possibly indicating a numerical sequence.

The significance of this tiny shred of evidence belies its brevity. For the form of the letter with its long tail is quite different from the tail-less *vau* characteristic of Euboea and her colonies in the Archaic period. Thus this constitutes a not unimportant factor in the ongoing controversy over the alleged Euboean origins of the Chalcidians of the north (see **T 4** above; and cf. Jeffery 1990, 25).

T 101 INSCRIBED AMPHORA FRAGMENT (*SEG* 37.589)

?

Ἀθη[νᾶ or -ᾶς]

On a shoulder fragment of an amphora, discovered in 1986 (see Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1988, 205, 214 and 217 *Illust.* 42), is inscribed this graffito, which, as Hornblower (1996, 355) points out, could equally well be restored in the dative Ἀθη[νᾶι].

The discovery of many well-worked blocks of porous limestone, including a triglyph, plus a number of limestone *guttae*, confirm the presence of a Doric building of Archaic date (cf. Henry 1995, 117 note 40). The graffito is presumably to be interpreted as an offering to the goddess Athena, and is surely related to the Temple of Athena mentioned by Thucydides 4.116.2 (see **T 38** above.)

T 102 CHRISTIAN FRAGMENT (*SEG* 38.718)

undated

Κύριε. βοήθησον τοῦ δού-
λου σου [- -]

Lord, help Thy servant ...

This fragment of a terracotta water basin/bowl was found during the excavation of the Christian Basilica of Haghios Athanasios by N. Nikonanos in the 1970s. The remains of the basilica are to be seen on the small stretch of flat ground immediately north of the fortified classical city.

C. LINGUISTIC PHENOMENA

1. ACCENTUATION

T 103 (12) AELIUS HERODIAN *DE PROSODIA CATHOLICA* vi
(GG 3.1.1, p. 160, ll. 16-18)

2nd c. A.D.

The καθολική προσῳδία, dedicated to Marcus Aurelius, a study in 20 books on the rules of accentuation in Greek, was epitomized as early as the fourth century. It is to be noted that Lentz's work is not the production of a transmitted text but a reconstruction based on extant epitomes and examples drawn from other sources and even rules of his own invention (see Dyck 1993, 776).

τὰ διὰ τοῦ ελος μονογενῆ προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ πάθος τι γένοιτο, ἄμπελος.ἔστι καὶ ἄκρα Τορωναίων Ἄμπελος λεγομένη.

Simple nouns in -ελος are proparoxytone, unless modified, ἄμπελος. There is also a cape of the Toroneans called Ampelos.

For Ampelos, see **T 12, 16, 28, 31**. Ampelos was at most a village at the southernmost tip of Sithonia, within the *chora* of Torone.

T 104 (13, 111) AELIUS HERODIAN *DE PROSODIA CATHOLICA* xii
(GG 3.1.1, p. 337, ll. 30-32)

2nd c. A.D.

Herodian here gives examples of paroxytone proper nouns ending in -ώνη.

Τορώνη, πόλις Θράκης, ἀπὸ Τορώνης τῆς Πρωτέως ἢ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Φοινίκης. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Τορώνη μετὰ Τροίαν κτισθεῖσα.

Torone, a city in Thrace, named after Torone the daughter of Proteus or of Poseidon and of Phoinike. There is also another Torone founded after Troy.

For the mythology, see **T 110-112**. For the Torone founded after Troy, see **T 13** above.

2. ETHNICS

T 105 STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM s.v. ΙΣΤΩΝΗ

6th c. A.D.

Ἰστώνη, ὄρος προσεχὲς τῇ Κερκύρα. Θουκυδίδης τρίτη. τὸ ἔθνικόν Ἰστωνᾶϊος ὡς Τορωνᾶϊος.

Istone, a mountain near Corcyra. Thucydides in Book 3. The ethnic is Istonaios, like Toronaios.

Istone is probably Pankrator, north of the city and the highest mountain on the island. The reference is to Thuc. 3.85.3.

T 106 (32, 112) STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM s.v. ΤΟΡΩΝΗ

6th c. A.D.

Τορώνη, πόλις Θράκης, ἀπὸ Τορώνης τῆς Πρωτέως ἢ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Φοινίκης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Τορώνη μετὰ Τροίαν κτισθεῖσα. ὁ πολίτης Τορωνᾶϊος. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη πόλις Σικελίας Τόροννα διὰ δύο νν καὶ δύο οο. λέγεται καὶ Τορωνᾶϊκὸς κόλπος. οὕτως δὲ καλεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ Καναστραίου ἕως τῆς Δέρρεως.

Torone, a city in Thrace, named after Torone the daughter of Proteus or of Poseidon and of Phoinike. There is also another Torone founded after Troy. The citizen is a Toronean. There is also another city in Sicily, Toronna, spelt with two nus and two omicrons. We speak also of a Toronaic Gulf; it bears this name from Canastraeum as far as Derrhis.

For the geography, see **T 32** above. For the mythology, see **T 110-112** below.

T 107 (36) SUDA T 798 ADLER

10th c. A.D.

Τορωνᾶϊος, ὄνομα κύριον. καὶ Τορώνη, πόλις ἐν Θράκη.

Toronean, a proper name. Also Torone, a city in Thrace.

3. ORTHOGRAPHY

T 108 (14) AELIUS HERODIAN *DE ORTHOGRAPHIA* s.v. ΤΟΡΩΝΗ
(GG 3.2.1, p. 592, ll. 23-24)

2nd c. A.D.

(For the *de orthographia*, see Dyck 1993, 788-789.)

Τορώνη πόλις Θράκης. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη πόλις Σικελίας Τόροννα διὰ δύο νν καὶ δύο οο.

Torone, a city in Thrace. There is also another city in Sicily, Toronna, spelt with two nus and two omicrons.

Cf. also the latter part of the citation from Stephanus of Byzantium (**T 106** above).

4. WORD DERIVATION

T 109 EUSTATHIUS ON *ILIAD* 11.236

12th c. A.D.

The gloss is on the words οὐδ' ἔτορε ζωστῆρα παναίολον.

ἔτρωσε. τὸ δὲ ἔτορε δεύτερός ἐστιν ἀόριστος, συγκοπεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐτόρησε, κατὰ τὸ ἐχραίσησεν ἔχραιομεν, ἐδούπησεν ἔδουπεν, ἐκτύπησεν ἔκτυπεν. ὠνοματοπεποιήται δὲ τὸ ἔτορεν ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ θέμα αὐτοῦ, ἐξ οὗ κατὰ συγκοπήν τὸ τρῶ τρήσω. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τορεῖν καὶ φώνημα τορόν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἡ Τορώνη κύριον, ἧ πόλις Θρακικὴ ὁμώνυμος, περιαδομένη καὶ νῦν.

ἔτρωσε: *the form ἔτορε is a second aorist, shortened from ἐτόρησε, in the same way as ἐχραίσησεν ἔχραιομεν, ἐδούπησεν ἔδουπεν, ἐκτύπησεν ἔκτυπεν. The form ἔτορεν has been coined just like its primary form/root, from which by syncope we have the form τρῶ τρήσω. From τορεῖν there is also the phoneme τορόν,..... . Perhaps also Torone, a proper name, with which a Thracian city is like-named, celebrated even to this day.*

Eustathius cites the name of the eponymous Torone (for whom see section D immediately below).

D. MYTHOLOGY

1. TORONE

There is a double tradition about the eponym of the city. In the one, she is the daughter of Proteus, or of Poseidon and Phoinike; in the other, she is Proteus' wife.

Papadopoulos (1996, 167), arguing against a Euboean origin for Torone, comments with respect to the eponym: 'It is also worth noting that the same Torone has a distinctly non-Greek heritage, albeit mythical: a mother by the name of Phoinike and a father or husband, in several versions, of Egyptian descent.'

Although Proteus is associated with Egypt by the poet of the *Odyssey* (see 4.384ff, and West (1998, ad loc.)), West argues that Proteus was probably originally linked with the north Aegean, but was translated to Egypt simply to suit Homer's purposes. At any rate, the Egyptian connection persisted alongside the Chalcidic one.

(a) daughter of Proteus, or of Poseidon and Phoinike

T 110 (10) EUSTATHIUS ON DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ
1.327 (*GGM* II, p. 276) 12th c. A.D.

οἴονται δέ τινες Παλλήνην λέγεσθαι τὴν τῆς Κασσανδρείας χερρόνησον, τῷ Αἰγαίῳ καὶ αὐτὴν παρακειμένην. ἔνθα που καὶ τόπος τις κατὰ παραφθορὰν Τορώνη λεγόμενος, ὁμωνύμως, ὡς ἔοικε, Τορώνη τῆ τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Πρωτέως θυγατρὶ κατὰ Λυκόφρονα.

Some think that the name Pallene is given to the peninsula of Cassandreia, which itself also lies adjacent to the Aegean. Somewhere in this area there is also a place called by corruption Torone, with the same name, as it seems, as Torone the daughter of the Thracian Proteus, according to Lycophron.

Note that, in fact, Lycophron makes Torone the wife of Proteus. See **T 113** below.

T 111 (13, 104) AELIUS HERODIAN *DE PROSODIA CATHOLICA* xii 2nd c. A.D.
(GG 3.1.1, p. 337, ll. 30-32)

Τορώνη πόλις Θράκης ἀπὸ Τορώνης τῆς Πρωτέως ἢ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Φοινίκης. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Τορώνη μετὰ Τροίαν κτισθεῖσα.

Torone, a city in Thrace named after Torone the daughter of Proteus or of Poseidon and Phoinike. There is also another Torone founded after Troy.

For the Torone founded after Troy, see **T 13** above.

T 112 (32, 106) STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM s.v. ΤΟΡΩΝΗ 6th c. A.D.

Τορώνη, πόλις Θράκης, ἀπὸ Τορώνης τῆς Πρωτέως ἢ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Φοινίκης.

Torone, a city in Thrace, named after Torone the daughter of Proteus or of Poseidon and Phoinike.

(b) wife of Proteus

T 113 LYCOPHRON *ALEXANDRA* 115-116 ?early 2nd c. B.C.

Kosmetatou (2000, 32) describes the *Alexandra* as a ‘poem, composed of 1,474 trimeters, [with] the length of a tragedy and the form of an inflated, tragic messenger’s speech.’ She adds that it is ‘the most obscure and enigmatic literary work of the Hellenistic period and, indeed, it could be argued, of the entire Antiquity.’ She dates the life and work of Lycophron to the early second century B.C., at Pergamum, placing the composition of the poem between 196 and 194 B.C. Some scholars, however, continue to associate the author of the *Alexandra* with the dramatist of the early third century B.C.: cf., e.g., Hurst 1991; see also *OCD*³, s.v. Lycophron (2). The issue is of some complexity, but need not detain us here.

The *Alexandra* of the title is Cassandra, whose prophecy is here being reported to Priam by a slave. She says that Paris will be deprived of Helen by Proteus, who is described as

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ὁ γάρ σε συλλέκτροιο Φλεγραίας πόσις
στυγνὸς Τορώνης

the sullen husband of Phlegraean Torone who shares his bed

That is to say, Torone is here the wife of Proteus. Phlegra, according to Herodotus 7.123, was the earlier name for Pallene. In this tradition Proteus had come from his home in Egypt to Pallene in Chalcidice, where he married Torone, as we can see from ll. 125-127:

καὶ πατρὶ πέμψας τὰς ἐπηκόους λιτὰς
στῆσαι παλίμπνου εἰς πάτραν, ὅθεν πλάνης
Παλληνίαν ἐπῆλθε γηγενῶν τρόφον

he sent to his father (Poseidon) prayers that were heard, to set him returning to his native-land, whence he had come as a wanderer to Pallene, nurse of the earth-born.

T 114 (27, 117) SERVIUS ON *GEORGICS* 4.390-1

4th c. A.D.

Servius' commentary is on the words '*hic nunc Emathiae portus patriamque revisit Pallenen.*'

Pallenen hoc ideo dixit, quia Proteus, antequam in Aegyptum commigraret, Thraciae fuit incola, ubi habuit uxorem Toronen, filios Telegonum et Polygonum, qui cum advenas luctari secum adigerent et excruciant, ad postremum victi et interempti ab Hercule animum patris perculerunt. quapropter cum taedio praesentium rerum vellet solum vertere, Neptunus illic subter mare specum fecit, per quam in Aegyptum commeasse dicitur. Pallene autem est chersonesos in Thracia, cuius in faucibus Torone est oppidum, ab uxore Protei cognominatum.

He speaks of Pallene precisely because, before Proteus migrated to Egypt, he was an inhabitant of Thrace, where he had a wife Torone and sons Telegonus and Polygonus. Since they used to force strangers to fight them and used to torture them, they were finally defeated and killed by Hercules, and so dismayed the heart of their father. Therefore, since he wished, because of the weariness of the present situation, to change his country, Neptune made a channel there beneath the sea, by which he (Proteus) is said to have crossed to Egypt. Pallene moreover is a peninsula in Thrace, at whose narrow point is the town of Torone, called after the wife of Proteus.

Virgil here follows the tradition that links Proteus' origins with Chalcidice. Hopkinson (1994, 223) argues for the *Victory of Berenice* of Callimachus (see *SH* 254.5) as the common source of Nonnus and Virgil; for Callimachus there calls Proteus Παλληγνέα μάντιν.

(c) 'Toronean' Proteus

T 115 NONNUS *DIONYSIACA* 21.287-289

flor. 450-470 A.D.

καὶ θεὸς ἀμπελόεις προτέρας ἔρριψε μερίμνας
τερπωλῆς τ' ἐπέβαινε, ἐπεὶ μάθεν ἔνδοθι πόντου
πάντα Τορωναίοιο παρὰ Πρωτῆος ἀκούων

The god of the vine threw away his former cares and entered into delight, when within the sea he had heard and learned the whole story from Toronean Proteus.

Nonnus of Panopolis in Egypt wrote this enormous work encompassing the whole story of Dionysus in 48 books, with the deliberate intention of rivalling Homer. Martin West (*OCD*² s.v. Nonnus) describes the work as a 'monotonously lush jungle of mythological learning and sensual description.' Books 13-40 cover Dionysus' fight against the Indians and their King Deriades.

In what sense is Proteus 'Toronean'? I assume that the adjective both indicates that he came from that region and also carries the connotation of his relationship to the eponym of the town, whether father or husband. At Book 44.334 Proteus is referred to as δαίμονα Παλληγναῖον. The fact that Proteus can be considered as originating from both Torone and Pallene may be at the root of Servius' geographical blunder (see **T 27** above).

2. HERACLES AND THE SONS OF PROTEUS VIZ POLYGONUS/TMOLUS AND TELEGONUS

T 116 [APOLLODORUS] *BIBLIOTHECA* 2.5.9

1st / 2nd c. A.D.

The *Bibliotheca*, ascribed to Appollodorus (born c. 180 B.C.), is a study of Greek mythology and belongs to the 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

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καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Θάσον καὶ χειρωσάμενος τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Θραῶκας ἔδωκε τοῖς Ἀνδρόγεω παισὶ κατοικεῖν. ἐκ Θάσου δὲ ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπὶ Τορώνην Πολύγονον καὶ Τηλέγονον, τοὺς Πρωτέως τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος υἱούς, παλαίειν προκαλούμενος κατὰ τὴν πάλην ἀπέκτεινε. κομίσας δὲ τὸν ζωστῆρα εἰς Μυκῆνας ἔδωκε Εὐρυσθεῖ.

And when he (Heracles) had come to Thasos and subdued the Thracians who were living there, he gave it to the sons of Androgeos to settle in. Setting out from Thasos to Torone, challenged to wrestle by Polygonos and Telegonos, the sons of Proteus the son of Poseidon, he killed them in the wrestling-match. He brought the belt to Mycenae and gave it to Eurystheus.

Proteus' sons had the disagreeable habit of waylaying and torturing strangers, forcing them to wrestle to the death. Heracles turned the tables by challenging them to wrestle with him, the story here being told in the context of his ninth labour, the winning of the belt of Hippolyte. Cf. T 119.

T 117 (27, 114) SERVIUS ON *GEORGICS* 4.390-1

4th c. A.D.

Pallenen hoc ideo dixit, quia Proteus, antequam in Aegyptum commigraret, Thraciae fuit incola, ubi habuit uxorem Toronen, filios Telegonum et Polygonum, qui cum advenas luctari secum adigerent et excruciant, ad postremum victi et interempti ab Hercule animum patris perculerunt. quapropter cum taedio praesentium rerum vellet solum vertere, Neptunus illic subter mare specum fecit, per quam in Aegyptum commeasse dicitur.

He speaks of Pallene precisely because, before Proteus migrated to Egypt, he was an inhabitant of Thrace, where he had a wife Torone, and sons Telegonus and Polygonus. Since they used to force strangers to fight them and used to torture them, they were finally defeated and killed by Hercules, and so dismayed the heart of their father. Therefore, since he wished, because of the weariness of the present situation, to change his country, Neptune made a channel there beneath the sea, by which he is said to have crossed to Egypt.

Incensed by his sons' wickedness, Proteus beseeched his father Poseidon to allow him to migrate to Egypt by a passage made under the sea. When news of his sons' death reached him, he could neither rejoice – for they were his offspring – nor feel sorrow – for they deserved their fate.

Cf. the notes on **T 114** and **116**.

T 118 SPEUSIPPUS *LETTER TO PHILIP*

c. 407-339 B.C.

(*EG*, p. 629ff.; ISNARDI PARENTE 1980, no. 156)

τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἐξαγγέλλει περὶ τὴν Τορωναίαν τοὺς Πρωτίδας τυράννους Τμῶλον καὶ Τηλέγονον ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀνέλοι καὶ περὶ Ἀμβρακίαν Κλείδην καὶ τοὺς Κλείδου παῖδας ἀποκτείνας. Ἀριστομάχῳ μὲν τῷ Σιθῶνος τὴν Τορωναίαν τηρεῖν προστάξειεν, ἦν Χαλκιδεῖς ὑμετέραν οὔσαν κατώκισαν, Λαδίκη δὲ καὶ Χαράττη τὴν Ἀμβρακικὴν χώραν ἐγχειρίσειεν, ἀξιῶν ἀποδοῦναι τὰς παρακαταθήκας τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γινομένοις.

In the same way he records that Heracles killed the tyrants Tmolus and Telegonus, sons of Proteus, at Torone, and when he had killed Kleides and the sons of Kleides at Ambracia, he committed to the care of Aristomachos, the son of Sithon, the territory of Torone, which, when it belonged to you, was colonised by (the) Chalcidians, and he entrusted to Ladikes and Charattes the region of Ambracia, stipulating that they give back these deposits to his descendants.

The subject of ἐξαγγέλλει is Antipater of Magnesia, the pupil of Speusippus, and the bearer of Speusippus' letter to Philip II of Macedon. Speusippus, the nephew of Plato, was the second head of the Academy.

There is some dispute about the genuineness of the letter, but it has generally been accepted since the work of Bickermann and Sykutris (1928); cf. Isnardi Parente (1980, 391-402). Markle (1976, 92 with n. 29) dates the letter to the winter of 343/2.

Markle argues persuasively that, unlike those who took advantage of the discrediting of Isocrates and his supporters to reject the embassy of Python sent by Philip in 343, Speusippus, in seeking the favour of Philip towards the Academy, wanted him to utilize Antipater's accounts of the exploits of Heracles – the god, of course, claimed by the Macedonian Royal Family as their ancestor – to legitimize his claim to various territories once held by the Athenians and others. Hammond and Griffith (1979, 514) comment: 'the distinguished head of Plato's Academy, through his tame historian Antipater of Magnesia, had gone to no small trouble scouring the life and hard times of the god Heracles, to find just those things there that might be of use to Philip at just this particular moment.'

It is in this context that Antipater attempts to establish a prior claim by Philip to areas, including Torone, from which the Athenians had been driven out. (Philip had captured Torone in 348 cf. **T 8**.) Likewise, the claim that Heracles had conquered

Ambracia is an attempt to encourage Philip to 'take back' his heritage. It is emphasised that the rulers to whom Heracles had entrusted these places had received them as a *parakatatheke*. The legitimate heir was therefore Philip.

Torone is twice referred to here as 'Toronaia,' an adjectival form rather than a substantive. Unless we accept this as an otherwise unattested alternative form of the name of the city (perhaps on the analogy of Ποτειδαία), we could understand χώραν and take the reference to the 'territory of Torone.'

T 119 IG XIV.1293A.83-86

late 2nd c. A.D.

FGrH IA n. 40, *Heraklesgeschichte der Tabula Albana* (cf. Anna Sadurska, 1964, 83-94, no. 19 Tabula J, Tabula Albani; Moretti *IGUR* no. 1633. See also Horsfall 1979, 26ff.).

καὶ Θάσον ἔλων [Σθενέ]λ-
ω καὶ Ἀλκαίω παρέδωκε· Τορών-
αν τε εἶλε, Πολύγονον καὶ Τηλέ-
γονον ἀπέκτεινε.

The restoration in l. 83 is not certain: see *IG ad loc.*

And when he (Heracles) had captured Thasos he handed it over to [Sthene]lus and Alcaeus; and he took Torone, and killed Polygonus and Telegonus.

The *Tabulae Iliacae* is the name given to a series of twenty low reliefs in miniature combined with inscriptions. Only eleven are actually concerned with the *Iliad*. Our text, 19J, *Albani Heracles*, Roma, Villa Albani, inv. 957, records the Ἡρακλέους πράξεις. It is in the same tradition as **T 116** above.

E. PROVERBS

Zenobius made an epitome of the collections of proverbs of Didymus and Lucillus Tarrhaeus. In the Middle Ages the *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* consisted of (i) the work of Zenobius, in alphabetical order; (ii) a collection of *proverbs of Plutarch used by the Alexandrians*, probably derived from Seleucus of Alexandria; and (iii) an alphabetical list of *Popular Proverbs*, ascribed to Diogenianus, but probably the work of an anonymous writer. From these emerged the later collections of Gregory of Cyprus, Macarius and Apostolius. See *OCD*³, s.v. Paroemiographers.

1. “QUIETER THAN THE HARBOUR OF THE TORONEANS”

The reference in the following *testimonia* is clearly to the harbour of Porto Koupho (see **T 24** etc.), to the south of Torone, not to the sandy harbour at Torone itself. The harbour at Porto Koupho is indeed ‘quiet’ or ‘tranquil’ inside, being cut off from the open sea by a narrow entrance, then opening out considerably inside. There is only one entrance (see below).

Although ‘quiet’, ‘tranquil’, ‘still’ appear to be the generally accepted renderings of κωφὸς in relation to harbours – there was another famous ‘Still Harbour’ at the Piraeus: Xenophon *Hell.* 2.4.31; see Hornblower 1996, 425-426 – it should be noted that, theoretically, κωφότερος might be translated as ‘deaf’, since, as we are told (see below), those inside the harbour could not hear the roar of the outer sea. Strictly speaking, of course, it is the people inside who are ‘deaf’, rather than the harbour itself. Nevertheless, to call someone ‘deaf’ is a not unattractive image.

T 120 MICHAEL APOSTOLIUS, CENTURY X.34
(see *CPG* II, p. 494)

15th c. A.D.

Κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωναίων λιμένος· λιμὴν τις ἦν στενὰς ἔχων τὰς εἰσβάσεις.

III. MISCELLANEA

Quieter than the harbour of the Toroneans; it was a harbour with narrow entrances.

This is identical to **T 121** below.

T 121 DIOGENIANUS OF HERACLEA, CENTURY v.43
(see *CPG* I, p. 260)

2nd c. A.D.

The list of *Popular Proverbs* which appear under the name of Diogenianus are probably erroneously so ascribed.

Κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωναίων λιμένος· λιμήν τις ἦν στενὰς ἔχων τὰς εἰσβάσεις.

Quieter than the harbour of the Toroneans; it was a harbour with narrow entrances.

Cf. **T 120**, with which this is identical.

T 122 AELIUS HERODIAN, *EXTRACT FROM HERODIAN* (ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΗΡΩΔΙΑΝΟΥ), no. 99

2nd c. A.D.

Κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωναίων λιμένος.

Quieter than the harbour of the Toroneans.

Dain (1954, 32) comments: 'nous trouvons dans *l'Extrait d'Hérodien* une suite de dix-sept paragraphes, dont quelques-uns rappellent la manière du *Philétairos*, mais dont les autres (nn. 94-104) présentent dans l'ordre alphabétique onze proverbes connus par les recueils de Zénobios et de Diogénianos.'

T 123 PHOTIUS *LEXICON*
(Theodorides II, κ 1338)

A.D. c. 810 - c. 893

κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωνέος λιμένος· περὶ Τορώνην τῆς Θράκης καλεῖται τις κωφὸς λιμήν.

Τορωνέος: I would suggest that this is simply a corruption of Τορωναίου

(or -ων), ε being an orthographic variant for αι, and the ending -ος resulting from homoioteleuton with λιμένος. Cf. **T 125** and **126**.

Quieter than the harbour of Torone; near Torone in Thrace there is a harbour called Kophos.

T 124 PLUTARCH, *PROVERBS USED BY THE ALEXANDRIANS* (ΠΑΡΟΙΜΙΑΙ ΑΙΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΣ ΕΧΡΩΝΤΟ), CENTURY i.91 1st/2nd c. A.D.
(see *CPG* I, p. 334)

In *RE* xviii (1949) 1735-1778, especially 1764, Karl Rupprecht, following Curtius, argues that Seleucus of Alexandria, a contemporary of Augustus and Tiberius, who also wrote a work of the same name according to the *Suda*, was Plutarch's source here. Rupprecht maintains that Plutarch did not himself compile this collection but merely revised that of Seleucus.

Κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωναίων λιμένος· λιμὴν ἔστι καλούμενος περὶ Τορώνην τῆς Θράκης· οὗτος δὲ ἔχει [--] καὶ μακρὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους καθαιρέσεις, ὡς μὴ ἀκούεσθαι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς θαλάσσης ἦχον.

Τορωναίων is Leutsch's emendation of the mss Τορωνίων. After ἔχει he supplies καὶ στενὰς from Zenobius (see **T 126** below).

For καθαιρέσεις Leutsch recommends the κατάρσεις of Zenobius (**T 126**; cf. **T 125**), probably correctly. Thucydides 4.26 uses κάταρσις in the sense 'landing-place', but the word can also mean 'landing, bringing to land.' In the proverb before us it surely has to bear the meaning 'entrance' or 'approaches' i.e. the place through which the landing is effected, for only the entrance from the open sea can be described as both 'narrow' and 'distant' [sc. from the landing-place itself].

Quieter than the harbour of the Toroneans; there is a harbour so-called (i.e. κωφός) near Torone in Thrace; this has approaches from the open sea which are [both narrow] and distant, so that the sound of the sea cannot be heard by those inside it.

T 125 *SUDA*, K 2310 ADLER

10th c. A.D.

Κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωνέος λιμένος· περὶ Τορώνην τῆς Θράκης καλεῖται τις

κωφὸς λιμὴν. εἴρηται δὲ ἡ παροιμία, παρόσον ἐν Τορώνῃ τῆς Θράκης λιμὴν στενὰς ἔχει καὶ μακρὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους κατάρσεις, ὡς μὴ ἀκούεσθαι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς θαλάσσης ἦχον.

Τορωνέος: here too we should read Τορωναίου or Τορωναίων (see **T 123** above). (Bernhardy 1853, 389 reads Τορωναίου, and translates ‘*Surdior portu Toronaeo,*’ noting ‘*quod portus ille longos et angustos habet aditus, adeo ut strepitus maris in eo non audiatur.*’)

I also suspect that the article τὰς has fallen out between μακρὰς and ἀπό; cf. **T 124** and **126**.

Quieter than the harbour of Torone; near Torone in Thrace there is a harbour called Kophos. The proverb has been formulated inasmuch as at Torone in Thrace a harbour has approaches from the open sea which are narrow and distant, so that the sound of the sea cannot be heard by those inside it.

T 126 ZENOBIUS CENTURY iv.68
(See *CPG I*, p. 103)

2nd c. A.D.

Κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωναίου λιμένος· λιμὴν ἐστὶ περὶ Τορώνην τῆς Θράκης· στενὰς δὲ ἔχει καὶ μακρὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους κατάρσεις, ὡς μὴ ἀκούεσθαι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς θαλάττης ἦχον.

Quieter than the harbour of Torone; there is a harbour in the neighbourhood of Torone in Thrace; it has approaches from the open sea which are narrow and distant, so that the sound of the sea cannot be heard by those inside it.

Schneidewin (*CPG I*, 334) emends the mss reading Τορωνέων to Τορωναίου. Either this or the plural Τορωναίων must be correct. (See **T 123** above).

Schneidewin also notes: ‘καὶ μακρὰς dedi ex VB: vulgo δύο μακρὰς.’ This explains Leake’s comment (1835, 119): ‘the harbour having been so called, according to Zenobius, because, being separated from the outer sea by *two narrow passages* (my italics), the noise of the waves was not heard in it’ (**T 71**). If Leake had ever penetrated down to Porto Koupho, he could never have made such a statement.

2. "TORONE'S SPONGES" (?)

T 127 MICHAEL APOSTOLIUS CENTURY xvii.18
(CPG II, p. 689)

15th c. A.D.

Τορώνη· Δίδυμός φησιν, ὅτι παροιμία ἐστὶν τῶν ἀρμοζομένων καὶ σεμνοποιούντων ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία· Ἴσοκράτης δέ φησι πόλιν εἶναι ἐν Θράκῃ.

Torone: Didymus says that there is a proverb with respect to those who adapt themselves and hold their heads high in the face of opposition; Isocrates says that it is a city in Thrace.

There is clearly something wrong here: how can the single word Τορώνη constitute a proverb? The unwary and paroemiographically uninitiated reader should be warned at the outset that this is a bogus proverb, which has arisen out of confusion in the sources.

In a footnote to Diogenianus V.43 (see **T 121** above) Leutsch had written: 'Aliud a Torona ductum proverbium, Τορώνης σπόγγοι, extat apud Apost. XIX, 41,' but, by the time he came to publish vol. II of CPG (1851), he completely retracted this claim, noting 'patet ea quae ad Diog. V, 43 de Toronae spongiis, prorsus delenda esse' (emphasis mine; see CPG II, p. 689, app. crit. to Apostolius xvii.18).

The confusion is to be explained as follows: the entry in Harpocration s.v. Τορώνη (see **T 11** above).

Τορώνη· Ἴσοκράτης Παναθηναϊκῶ. πόλις ἐν Θράκῃ ὡς Ἐφορος ἐν δ' ἱστορεῖ.

is immediately followed by the entry

Τοὺς ἑτέρους τραγωδοὺς ἀγωνιεῖται· Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δημάδην. Δίδυμός φησιν ὅτι παροιμία ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρμοζομένων καὶ σεμνοποιούντων ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία.

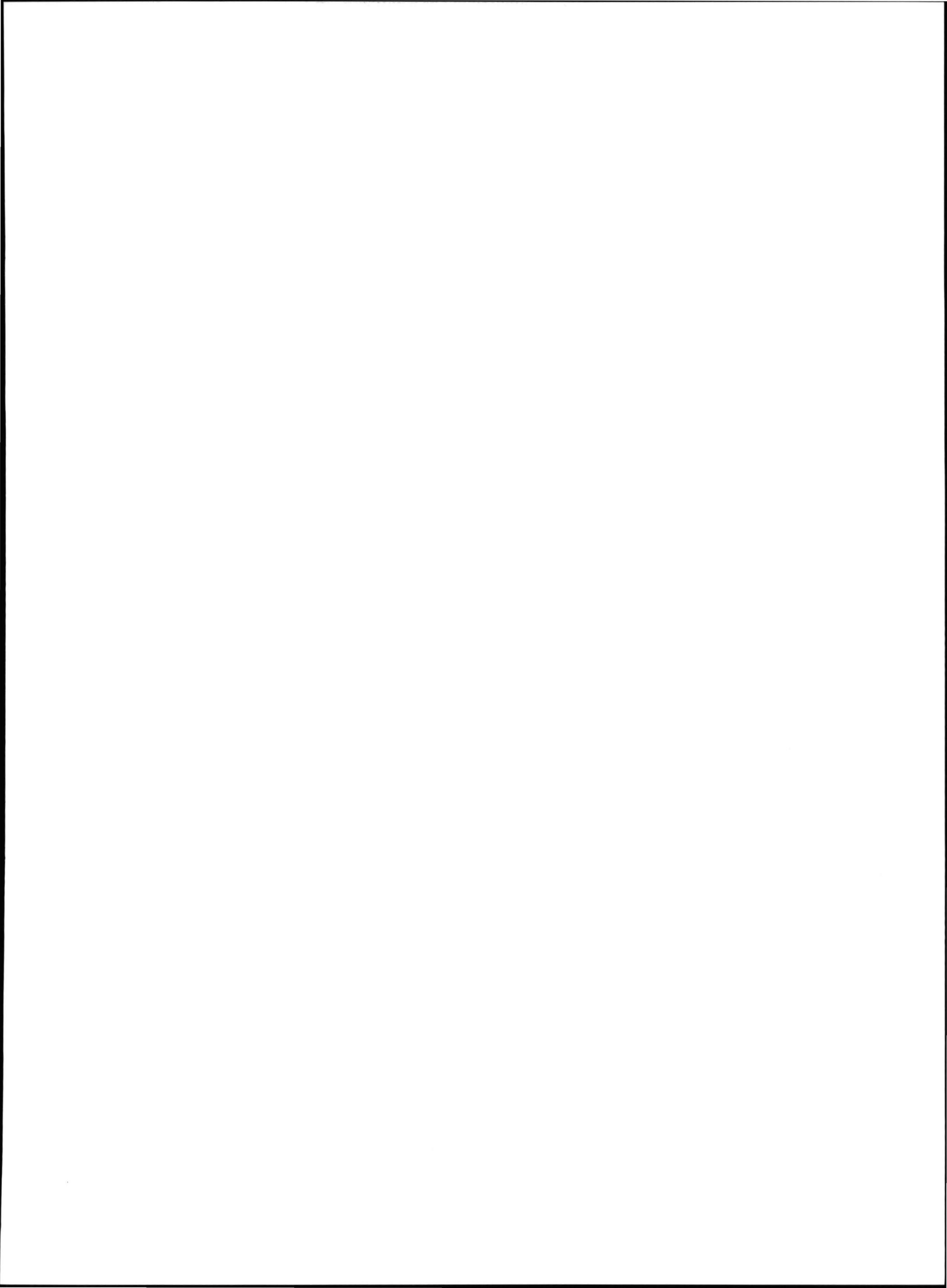
The exact meaning of this quotation has been much debated and disputed (see Conomis 1961, 97-98), but it appears to approximate to our aphorism 'live to fight again another day.' So we might translate:

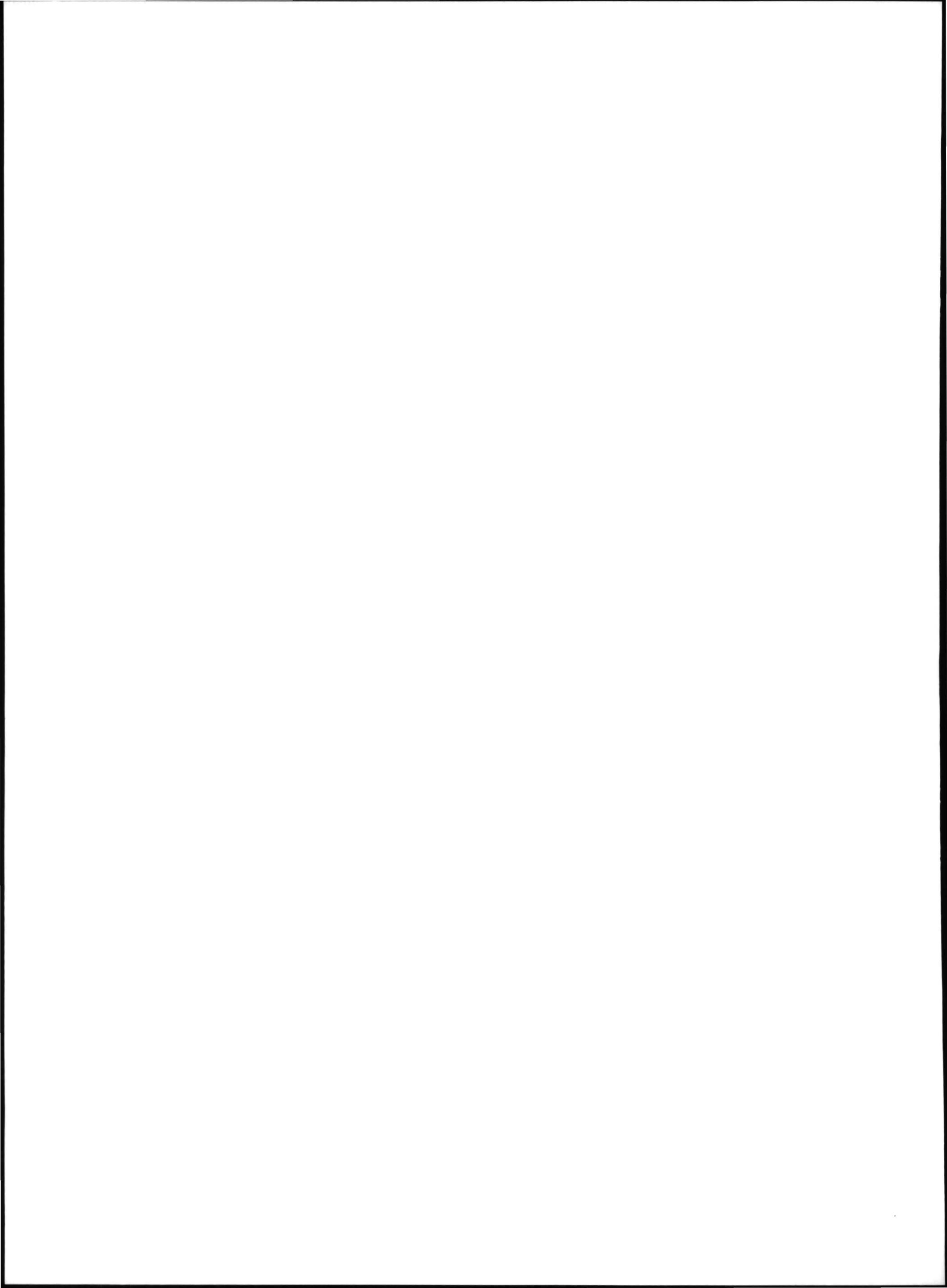
he will contend against the rest of the tragedians; Lycurgus in the speech Against Demades. Didymus says that there is a proverb concerning those who, in the face of adversity, are adaptable and hold their heads high.

III. MISCELLANEA

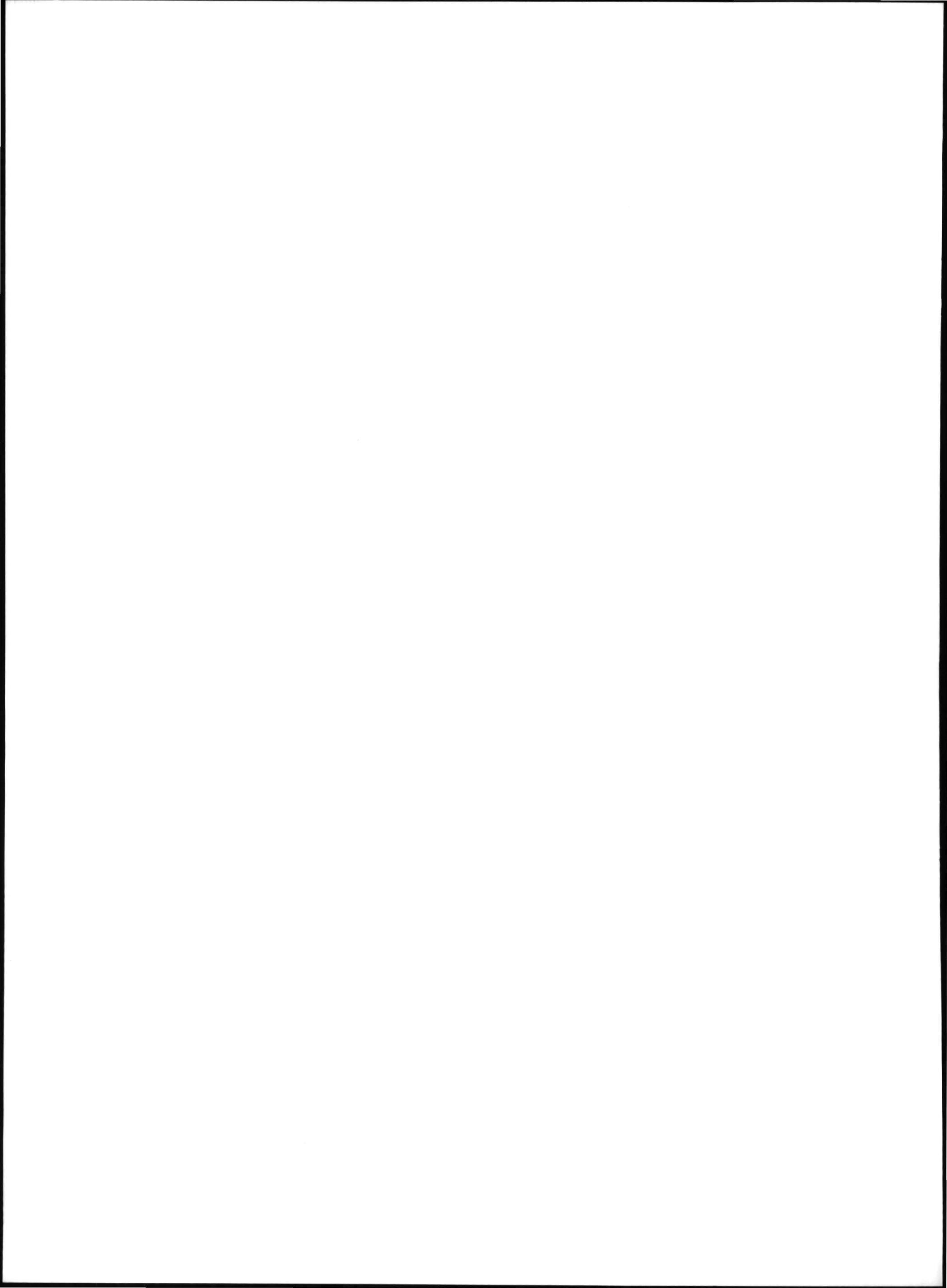
These two entries have been muddled and conflated, finally yielding the nonsense preserved in Apostolius xvii.18 (= xix.41). Since the word *Τορώνη* by itself could not constitute a proverb, a connection with sponges was introduced, presumably via Aristotle *HA* 548b (see **T 84** above; and cf. Pliny *NH* 9.69.148-149 (**T 85**), whose remarks might be interpreted to suggest that Torone's sponges 'adapt themselves in the face of danger.'

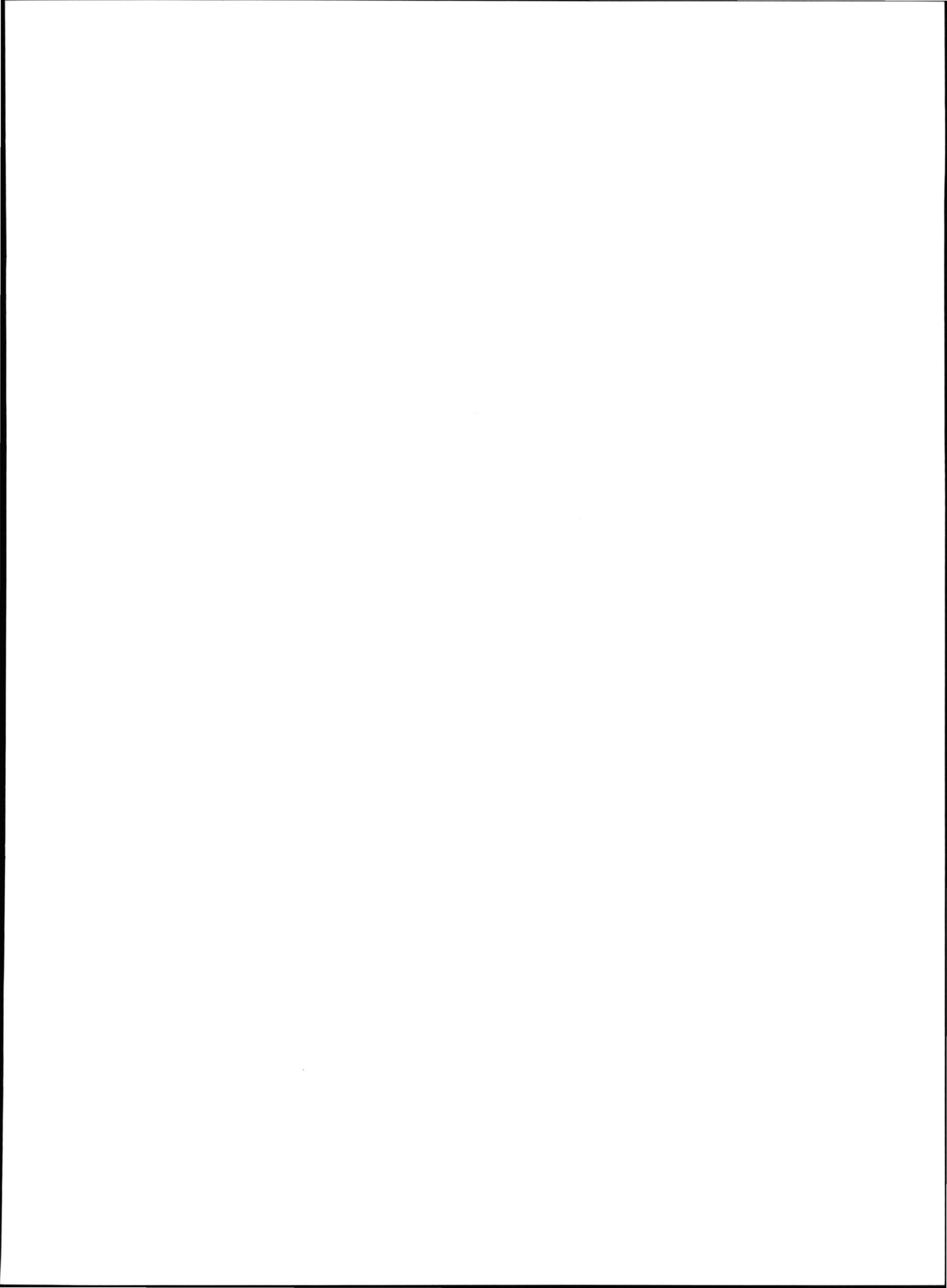
We can thus safely dispense with the courageous qualities of Toronean sponges, but not, of course, with the *testimonium* itself.

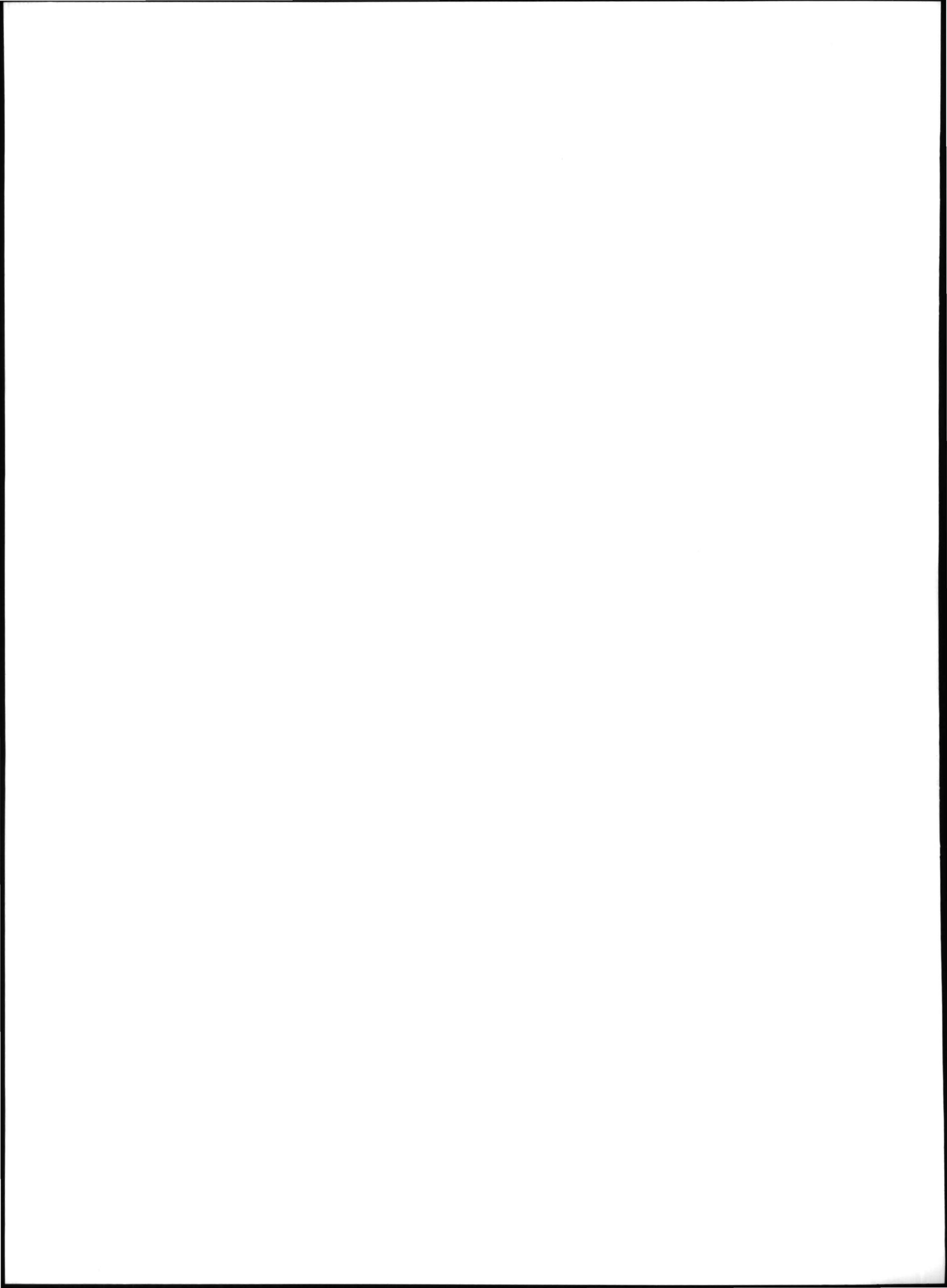




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