

APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER AND THE HOLLOWS OF EUBOIA

(PLATE 18)

THE following text ¹ is inscribed on a rectangular block of local gray stone built into a shepherd's hut between Palaiochora and Grambia, somewhat inland from the modern port of Karystos in southern Eubolia.² The stone is broken to the right and beneath.

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.49 m.

Height of letters, lines 2-4, *ca.* 0.02 m.

a. 48 a.		ca. 30
	^{v3} ὁ δῆμ[ο]ς ὁ [Καρυστίων ^{v3}]	
	Ἀπ(πιον) Κλαύδιον Ἀππίου υἱ[ὸν Πόλχρον στρ-]	
	[ατ]ηγδὸν ἀνθύπατον Ῥ[ωμαίων ? εὐεργεσί-]	
	ας ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας [?τῆς εἰς ἐαυτόν]	

COMMENTARY

Line 1: Two letters in this line occupy about as much space as three letters in lines 2-4. Thus the 16 letters of the proposed restoration would equal 24 letters in lines 2-4. If the heading was symmetrically disposed, one should add three uninscribed spaces at the right to correspond to the three preserved on the left. The resulting line length of 30 standard letters is the same as that restored for lines 2-4. The photograph (Pl. 18) appears to show traces of the bottoms of some of the missing letters, but none can be definitely read.

Line 2: The abbreviated praenomen may be paralleled from *I. Cret.*, IV, 215, dated before Actium, though most examples are Augustan or later. The restoration of the cognomen Pulcher is justified below, in the paragraph on Identification, and its spelling with omikron is found also in *I.G.*, II², 4109 (51 B.C.), and *I.G.*, VII, 428, cf. *L'ann. Epigr.*, 1967, 532 and notes 9 and 17 below. For Latin, cf. *I.L.S.*, 467.

¹ We should like to thank the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to publish this inscription, and our colleagues P. S. Derow, E. J. Weinrib and T. P. Wiseman for valuable help and advice. Parts of this article were read by us as papers before the Archaeological Institute of America, in December 1970; cf. *A.J.A.*, LXXV, 1971, pp. 208, 216.

² A Turkish grave marker built into the corner of the same hut is visible from the cobbled mule path, about five minutes' climb above the edge of the trees which roughly mark out Palaiochora, the site of ancient Karystos. The owner of the building said that the ancient stone had come from Grambia, where such things were not uncommon. He had built it into the hut in 1945 and could not say precisely whence he had taken it or where others like it might be found.

Line 3: The expression *στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος* is a regular Greek translation for *proconsul* in the second and earlier part of the first centuries B.C.³ The suggested word division is no more than probable.

DATE

The date of our text is secured within narrow limits by the combination of the use of an abbreviated praenomen with the translation of *proconsul* as *στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος*. One would need quite a strong reason to put it before 50 or after 30 B.C. The evidence of the letter forms supports this date.⁴ This dating enables us to identify the man honored and even the occasion of his honors with some assurance.

IDENTIFICATION

The praenomen Appius is restricted to the patrician Claudii, whose family tree is illustrated in Figure 1.⁵ All Appii Ap.f. Claudii in the second and first centuries B.C. bear the cognomen Pulcher; as earlier Appii are excluded by the dating, the cognomen is a certain restoration in the present text. Three known Appii Ap.f. Claudii fall within the first century B.C., Nos. 3, 4, and 5 in Figure 1.

Of them, the first is probably too early for the abbreviated praenomen, as he died in 76 B.C., and the last is not known to have been proconsul in Greece or to have held any important official post. The obvious identification is that with No. 4, the consul of 54 B.C., and there is in fact also a literary tradition which strongly supports this ascription.⁶

³ H. J. Mason, *The Terminology of Roman Government in Greek Sources*, Toronto, forthcoming, s.v.; M. Holleaux, *Στρατηγὸς Ὑπατος*, Paris, 1918, pp. 12-13, 38. Only *S.E.G.*, XII, 452 and *Inscr. Délos*, 1626 have been dated after 50 B.C.

⁴ Cf. J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*², Berlin, 1948, nos. 111-114, *I.G.*, XII, 9, Table 4.

⁵ Material in parentheses and filiation including an interrogation point are conjectural. The following sources were used in the compilation of the stemma: W. K. A. Drumann-P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*, II, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 140-141; *R.E.*, III, 1899, cols. 2665-6; *P.I.R.*², C 982-987, and stemma p. 236; T. P. Wiseman, "Pulcher Claudius," *H.S.C.P.*, LXXIV, 1970, pp. 207-221; T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of The Roman Republic* (Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, XV), Cleveland, 1968 (hereafter Broughton, *MRR*).

⁶ An identification with the consul of 54 B.C. is supported by a comparison of the relevant section of the careers of all Appii Ap.f. Claudii; sources, unless otherwise noted, are those listed in note 5.

1. Died in office as consul. No connection with Greece known.
2. Present in Greece frequently 196-173, but as *legatus*.
3. Proconsul of Macedonia in 78, but illness prevented him reaching the province. Again proconsul in 76, he died on campaign in Thrace. There is no known connection with Eubolia. His career is discussed by W. C. McDermott, *Phoenix*, XXIV, 1970, p. 39, but the effects of his exile are underestimated.
4. In 61, he was in Greece, collecting art for his aedileship; during his consulate, he vowed a

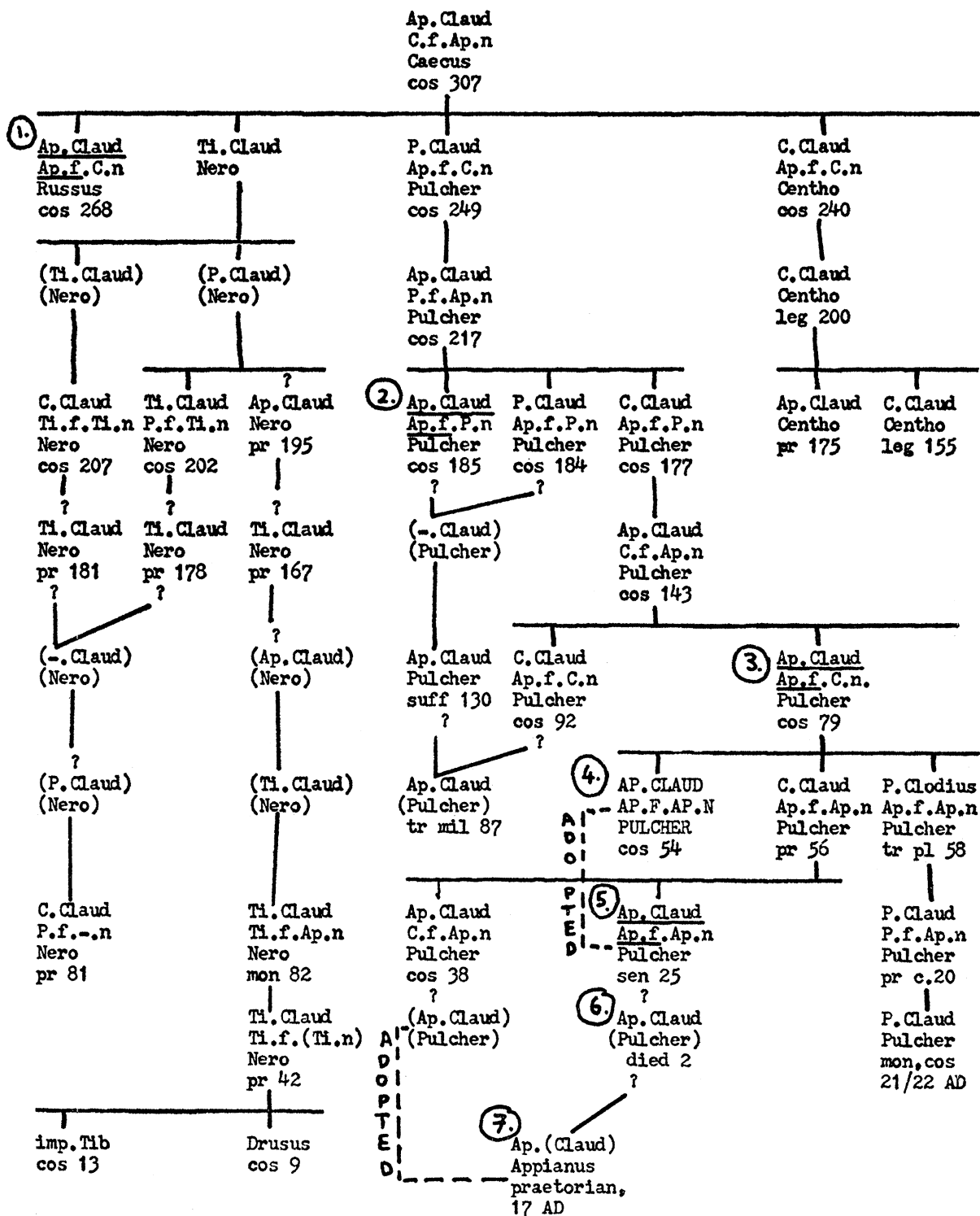


FIG. 1. The Family of the Patrician Claudii.

According to Lucan and others,⁷ the consul of 54 B.C., while serving as Pompey's commander in Greece in 48 B.C., consulted the long dormant Delphic oracle on the outcome of the Civil War. He received some such answer as "*nihil ad te hoc, Romane, bellum: Euboeae Coela obtinebis.*"⁸ He duly went to the "Hollows," and he died and was buried there, thus "occupying" them in an unexpected way. The Hollows are defined in this account as the southern Euboian gulf, marked out by Rhamnous, Chalkis, and Karystos, a location which is discussed below. Lucan assigns Appius Claudius a *memorable bustum* on the Euboian shore of the gulf. Thus Appius Claudius Pulcher, *cos* 54, died and was buried in Southern Euboia in spring or summer, 48 B.C., while holding proconsular imperium. Our text must surely record honors paid to him by the people of Karystos just before, or possibly just after, his death.⁹

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

What was Appius doing in the area? Despite his remarkable reputation for

propylon at Eleusis, and began construction on return from his proconsulate in Cilicia in 51; crossed the Adriatic with the Pompeians in 49; the literary sources in note 7 attest to his proconsulate in Greece in 48 and special ties to Euboia. He is the subject of L. A. Constans, *Un Correspondant de Cicéron*, Paris, 1921.

5. Attendance in the senate in 25 is his only recorded act as an adult. Called Appius Minor to distinguish him from the consul of 38.
6. Executed for adultery with Julia; no political career known.
7. Expelled from the senate by Tiberius, while apparently of praetorian rank; otherwise unknown. For this generation of Claudii, see Wiseman, *op. cit.*

⁷ Lucan, V, 194-236, Valerius Maximus, I, 8, 10, Orosius, VI, 15, 11. The three authors seem likely to have had a common source for this oracle in Livy, on whom they all drew extensively; see *Commenta Bernensa* on Lucan, VIII, 91; R. Pichon, *Les sources de Lucain*, Paris, 1912, *passim*; K. Zangemeister, *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*, V, 396, 688-692. P. G. Walsh, *Livy, His Historical Aims and Methods*, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 41, 50, 109, 272, illustrates various preoccupations of Livy's that would encourage him to record this incident.

⁸ The Latin prose version is that of Valerius Maximus, followed by Orosius; Lucan is naturally more elaborate. The ambiguity rests in *obtineo*, used both in the sense *regere provinciam* (e.g. Caesar, *B.Civ.*, I, 30) and in the sense *sedem occupare* (e.g. Lucretius, III, 988). In the Greek, an original Εὐβοίας Κοῖλα κατέχεις would provide a better ambiguity of the same sort; contrast *Cyrene Edict*, I, 14 (Malcovati, *Imp. Caes. Aug. Op. Fr.*, p. 60) with Aeschylus, *Ag.*, 454, which, like the oracle, alludes to the grave.

⁹ The dating of Appius' death before Pharsalos is explicit in Valerius Maximus, implicit in Lucan, Orosius, and in Cicero, *Brut.*, 77, 267. On earlier visits to Greece, Appius had not had proconsular imperium: the inscriptions from Attica in 51 B.C. emphasize his newly-won title *imperator* (*I.L.S.*, 4041, *I.G.*, II², 4109, cf. Cicero, *Att.*, VI, 1, 26, VI, 6, 1). In 49 B.C., he did not have imperium (Cicero, *Att.*, VIII, 15, 3, from which Broughton, *MRR*, II, 261 should be corrected), and probably therefore received it at Thessalonike on January 1, 48 (Dio Cassius, XLI, 43, 1). Though the top of the block could not be inspected, our inscription seems unlikely to have formed part of a *memorable bustum*, and an honorary base during Appius' life seems more probable.



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|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Korkyra | 4. The Isthmus | 7. Chalkis |
| 2. Naupaktos | 5. Megara | 8. Larisa |
| 3. Patrai | 6. Athens-Peiraeus | 9. Thessalonike |

FIG. 2. Pompey's Lines of Communication.

superstition,¹⁰ it was not simply because the Delphic oracle sent him there. The literary sources contain the surprising suggestion that it was an attempt to establish political neutrality which brought him to Euboa. With this view there are a series of difficulties. First, it contains the dubious assumption that Euboa was somehow remote from the conflicts of the difficult winter 49-48 B.C.¹¹ Second it was difficult for any public figure to be neutral in this period, as Cicero's vacillations indicate; Appius' censorship in 50 had left him many enemies among the Caesarians in Italy, and his daughters were married to Pompey's son and to Brutus.¹² Finally, it would have been very difficult for him to withdraw once he had accepted command in Greece in 48, and had he done so, it is remarkable that neither Caesar nor Cicero is known to have commented on the change of heart.¹³

Euboa's strategic importance to an active Pompeian commander in 48 should not be underestimated. Pompey's strategy was "Themistoklean," to rely on his fleet, based at Korkyra, for an eventual return to Italy (Cicero, *Att.*, X, 8, 4). But his land forces were centered on Thessalonike and later, when the final conflict developed, at Larisa. Pompey would depend heavily on sea routes for communication. Considerations of supply and of security will have required the keeping open of the north Aegean, and his fleet's freedom of movement will have required the control of a series of vital positions on land (Fig. 2): the narrow entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, the Isthmus of Corinth, some points in the Saronic Gulf, and the Euripos. Naupaktos had been taken from a Pompeian garrison by Calvisius (Caesar, *B.Civ.*, III, 35), but Patrae on the other side of the narrows remained Pompeian to the end. A subordinate of Pompey fortified the Isthmus;¹⁴ Megara held out until after the battle of Pharsalos, and Piraeus had to be taken by force (Dio Cassius, XLII, 14). There will have been Pompeian forces guarding the Euripos too, and Appius Claudius' function is clear. Pompey will have known, if only from the experience of Roman commanders

¹⁰ Cicero, *Brut.*, 267, *Div.*, I, 29, 132, *Fam.*, III, 4, 1; fragments of his technical work on augury are preserved in Festus, 214, 382, 462-464 L.

¹¹ This assumption is spelled out by Constans, p. 115, "loin du fracas des armes . . . une ile tranquille de la Grèce."

¹² For the censorship, Broughton, *MRR*, II, 247-248. Cicero, *Att.*, IX, 1, 4, speaks of *inimicitiae recentiores* which forced Appius to leave Italy when Caesar came, and refers to both marriage ties in 51 B.C. in *Fam.*, III, 4, 2; cf. *Vir. Illustr.*, 82 and Dio Cassius, XXXIX, 60. Brutus delivered the *laudatio* for his father-in-law, Malcovati, *Orat. Rom. Frag.*³, 158, 23, p. 465.

¹³ Cicero stated in 49 B.C. that none of those who made their peace with Caesar was *inconstantior* than Appius (*Att.*, VIII, 1, 3); but the context suggests instability of character rather than a lack of loyalty to the Pompeian cause. As late as January or February 48 B.C. Curio (in Cicero, *Fam.*, VIII, 17, 1) described Appius as a Pompeian and something of a liability. Cicero named Appius as a distinguished member of the "senate in exile," without a hint of disloyalty (*Phil.*, XIII, 29).

¹⁴ Caesar describes him (*B.Civ.*, III, 56) as in command of Achaea, but his next line, *ut Achaia Fufum prohiberet*, indicates that the command was little more than Peloponnesos. He should not be regarded as a replacement for Appius Claudius, whose command is called Achaea by Valerius Maximus, but Graecia by Orosius.

in the area, the critical importance of Chalkis, and the prominence given to Chalkis in Lucan's account confirms the view that it was Appius' main charge.¹⁵

A further aspect of Pompeian strategy should be mentioned here. Pompey notoriously tried to avoid a pitched battle in the weeks before Pharsalos. His subordinates also, it emerges from the narrative, were required to wage a war of attrition, holding only a few defensible strongholds. This policy might delay and distract Caesarian forces in a number of positions without much drain on Pompey's own manpower. When Calenus marched south and east with fifteen Caesarian cohorts, the Pompeian Rutilius immediately retired to the Isthmus, leaving Delphi, Thebes, and Orchomenos to surrender peacefully (Caesar, *B.Civ.*, III, 56), while the ports of Athens and Megara prolonged resistance. If Chalkis was undefended, it seems remarkable that Calenus did not move against a key position in Pompey's rear; if, on the other hand, Appius held it while refusing any assistance to Pompeians in Boiotia, even though his action had a sound strategic basis, it is not difficult to see how a story of his neutrality might grow up.¹⁶

It is possible, then, to understand why Appius should be told by the oracle that his place was at Chalkis, and also how the traditional misinterpretation of his withdrawal to Euboia arose. But the oracle named not Chalkis alone, but an area bounded off by Chalkis, Rhamnous, and Karystos. The Euboian gulf does indeed narrow considerably off Rhamnous (Fig. 3), so that it is a good topographical defining point for the approach to the Euripos. Furthermore, in a story that illustrates the power of Fate, Rhamnous' association with Nemesis is symbolically important (cf. Lucan, V, 233). *I.G.*, VII, 428 also associates Appius with Oropos, near Rhamnous, possibly in 49-48.¹⁷ But why should Karystos be named? On topographical grounds, a place opposite Rhamnous, such as Styra, would seem more appropriate.¹⁸ There may have been strategic reasons for holding Karystos, as her port, Geraistos, controls a major route to Asia Minor, where Metellus Scipio was busy in winter 49-48.¹⁹ Or the Claudii

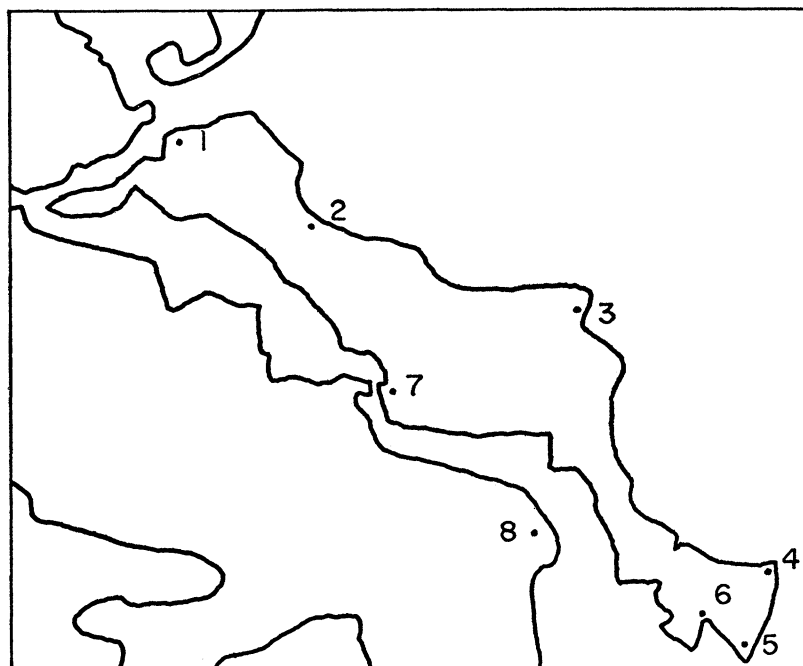
¹⁵ Lucan, V, 227 and 236. Livy, XXXI, 23 suggests in the context of the Second Macedonian War that the Euripos is as critical by sea as Thermopylae by land; Philip V regarded it as one of the three "Fetters" of Greece, Polybios, XVIII, 11, 4-5 (Livy, XXXII, 37, 4).

¹⁶ There were Boiotians serving in Pompey's army (Caesar, *B.Civ.*, III, 4, Appian, *B.Civ.*, II, 70, 75); to them, as their cities were captured without resistance, Appius' behavior must have seemed more like treachery. If the ultimate source for the story is Livy (see note 7 above), the reception of a tendentiously anti-Claudian account is not surprising, see P. G. Walsh, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 89.

¹⁷ Constans, *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 114, note 4 places it in this period, suggesting that Appius visited the shrine of Amphiaraos either for his health or to consult another oracle. But the absence of any official title perhaps makes it more suitable to his visit to Greece in 61, when he had no official standing; on that visit, he plundered art treasures from near-by Tanagra (Cicero, *Dom.*, XLIII, 111).

¹⁸ Styra probably still belonged to Eretria at this time (Strabo, 446), but it is conceivable that she was Karystian. The name might have seemed a little obscure to a Roman audience.

¹⁹ For Scipio, see Caesar, *B.Civ.*, III, 31, 33, and *S.I.G.*³, 757 (Pergamon). For the signifi-



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|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Oreos | 4. Kaphereus | 7. Chalkis |
| 2. Kerinthos | 5. Geraistos | 8. Rhamnous |
| 3. Kyme | 6. Karystos | |

FIG. 3. Sketch Map of Euboia.

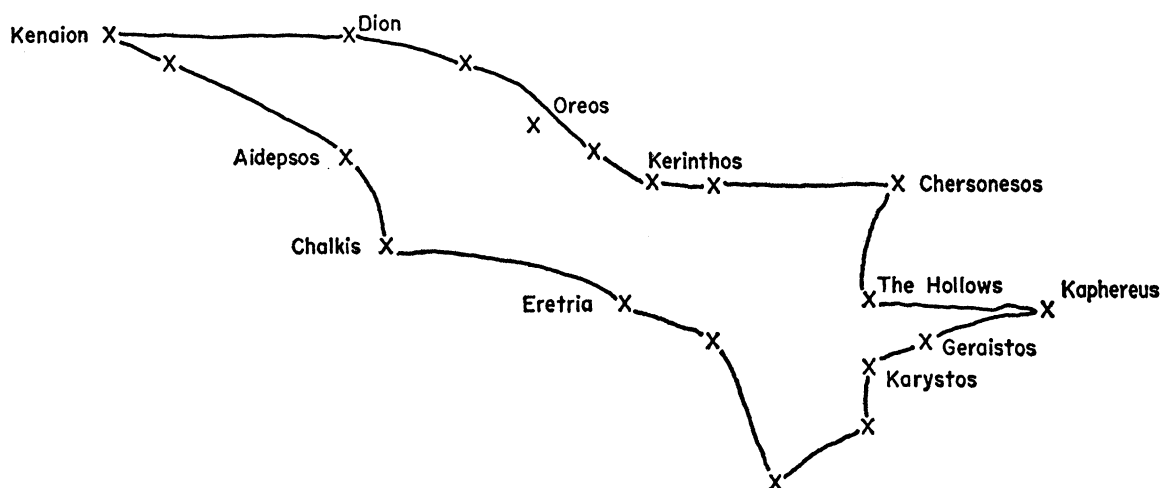


FIG. 4. A Map of Euboia on Ptolemy's Co-ordinates.

may have had private interests in Karystos.²⁰ The importance of the new inscription is that it suggests that Appius Claudius did in fact go to Karystos, and so presumably had reason to; Delphi's knowledge of this reason will explain its choice of geographical terminology equivocal between Chalkis and Karystos.

THE LOCATION OF THE HOLLOWS (Fig. 3)

The geographical terminology needs discussion. Lucan and Valerius Maximus show that the oracle called the strait between Southern Euboia and Attica, viewed as a depression in the surface of Greece, "The Hollows." This precise location of the Hollows is found only in the story of Appius Claudius; although Strabo (445) likewise placed the Hollows on the inside coast of Euboia, he described them as a concavity in two dimensions, not three, as a curve in the coast-line of Euboia between Chalkis and Karystos rather than the south Euboian gulf. Nevertheless, Strabo wrote within about a generation of the oracle, and his location looks more like a re-interpretation of it than a conflicting version.²¹

Wherever else we read about the Hollows they appear to be on the outer, Aegean coast, north from Cape Kaphereus, where Ptolemy (III, 15, 25) specifically puts them (Fig. 4). There are four major accounts of the Hollows: Livy, the narratives of the return of the Greek heroes from Troy, Dio of Prusa, and Herodotos.

Livy's narrative of the Second Macedonian War records the presence of the Romans at Oreos in Northern Euboia in 199 B.C. He relates (XXXI, 47, 1) that "as the autumnal equinox was drawing near, and as the bay of Euboia which they call *coela* (*sinus Euboicus quem coela vocant*) was by sailors reputed dangerous, it was judged expedient to return to the Piraeus without delay." As Hawkins observed,²²

By the context it appears that at this time Chalcis was in the possession of their enemies. Their fleet therefore could not pass through the Euripus, and as no

cance of Karystos on the route to Asia Minor, note Plutarch, *Brut.*, XXIV, 3, where it is said that Brutus intercepted a Roman treasure-ship en route from Asia at Karystos.

²⁰ Karystian marble was first given prominence at Rome by Caesar's lieutenant Mamurra (Pliny, *H.N.*, XXXVI, 48) and was later an imperial monopoly (*C.I.L.*, III¹, 563, VI, 8486). This growing industry might have interested Appius and his heirs.

²¹ W. K. Pritchett, *Studies in Greek Topography*, II, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969, chapter 3, "The Hollows of Euboia," p. 19, states the reverse, namely that "Valerius Maximus and Lucan were apparently following Strabo." That these authors, whose concern was primarily moralizing, should consult a technical geography conflicts with what we know about their use of sources (see note 7 above). This view also overlooks the different interpretations of *κοῖλος*. Strabo's account shows a professional's interest in a technical term, and hence is more likely to be a re-interpretation than the casual account of the term in Valerius.

²² J. Hawkins, "On the Syrinx of Strabo and the Passage of the Euripus," in R. Walpole, *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, London, 1818, p. 537. Livy here seems quite clearly to be dependent upon Polybios; see H. Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der Vierten und Fünften Dekade des Livius*, Berlin, 1863, p. 130.

other course remained toward the Piraeus but along the eastern coast of Euboea, it is there, and there only, that we must look for the bay denominated Coela.

It was off Kaphereus that the returning Greek heroes came to grief, misled in a nocturnal storm by deceptive signal fires that King Nauplios had lit, in vengeance for the unjust execution of his son Palamedes.²³ Coming from the Troad, the Greeks could only have been wrecked by a beacon displaced northward from Kaphereus, along the outer shore.²⁴

Dio of Prusa recounts his own shipwreck, also in the Hollows of Euboea. He devotes an oration to the idyllic pastoral life he claimed to have found there, in the farthest reaches of the island, the rugged valleys of Cape Kaphereus, overlooking the open Aegean and the route from Chios.²⁵

The connection of the Hollows with Kaphereus which these two stories attest is in the highest degree plausible. The rounding of that Cape was the first major hazard encountered by sailors coming across from Asia Minor or down from Thrace, and its reputation was proportionately great. The dangers are mentioned in literary, proverbial and technical writers.²⁶ In the Byzantine period the promontory was re-named *xylophagos*, "timber-eater," and it was still well known for maritime disasters in the nineteenth century.²⁷

²³ Homer had not implicated Euboea in their fate, but his account soon gave way to one that put a general disaster to the Greek fleet together with the death of Ajax the Lesser off Kaphereus. The motive of the change was probably to introduce Nauplios' vengeance (although Nauplios does not occur in the epitome of Hagias' *Nostoi* or in Alkaïos), and Nauplios was regularly associated with the wreck from the fifth century onwards. For the Homeric account, see *Od.* III, 134-193, IV, 495-513, *C.R.*, LVI, 1942, pp. 63-65; for the *Nostoi* and Alkaïos, see A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la chrestomathie de Procle*, IV, Paris, 1963, lines 294-295, D. L. Page, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta*, Oxford, 1968, Alkaïos fr. 138, G. Huxley, *G.R.B.S.*, X, 1969, pp. 5-11. The earliest surviving references are Euripides, *Tro.*, 84-91, *Hel.*, 776-777. See also Apollodoros, II, 23, *Ep.*, III, 7-8, VI, 7-11, scholia on Euripides, *Or.*, 432, Hyginus, *Fab.* 95, 105, 116, 117, 249, Lykophron, *Alex.*, 373-386, 1090-1098, Ovid, *Met.*, XIV, 464-482, Propertius, IV, 1, 113-118. Quintus Smyrnaeus, XIV, 419-630, Seneca, *Ag.*, 548-599, Vergil, *Aen.*, XI, 260.

²⁴ Lykophron, whose topography is characteristically erudite, wrecks them here, and Tzetzes, *ad loc.*, makes explicit the identification with the Hollows. Propertius' *sinus Euboicos* (IV, 1, 114) perhaps do not constitute by themselves a telling argument for the association of the Hollows and Kaphereus, but they are a previously unnoticed straw in the wind. Philostratos, *Her.*, X, 11, puts the wreck *περὶ κοίλην Εὐβοίαν* and clearly thinks that the Persian misfortune occurred in the same place (*ἐν κοίλῃ Εὐβοίᾳ* *V.A.*, I, 24, cf. *V.A.*, III, 23). For the use of *κοίλη Εὐβοία* = τὰ κοίλα *Εὐβοίας* cf. *κοίλη ναῦς*.

²⁵ Dio Chrysostom, *Or.*, VII, esp. 7, 31, 55. Another (mythical) wreck may be found in Lucian, *Jup. Trag.*, 15.

²⁶ Aristotle, *de Ventis*, 973 = fr. 238 Rose, Philodemos, 260, 19 Sudhaus, Alkiphron, *Ep.*, I, 10, 3; cf. Athenaeus, 212 B. *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 90.

²⁷ For the name *xylophagos*, see Apollodoros, *Ep.*, VI, 11. Tzetzes *ad* Lykophron, *Alex.*, 373, 384-386, schol. *ad* Philostratos, *V.A.*, I, 24 (Bekker, p. 114), schol. *ad* Euripides, *Or.*, 422, Eudocia *ap. J. Vilhoison, Anecdota Graeca*, Venice, 1781, p. 403. For the modern wrecks, see Gounaropoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νήσου Εὐβοίας*, Thessalonike, n. d. (= 1930), pp. 132-134.

These traditions firmly associate the Hollows with Kaphereus; Ptolemy's coordinates place them outside the Cape, North and West (Fig. 4). But Strabo's epitomator placed the Hollows between Karystos and Kaphereus, a stretch of coast which, though *inside* the Cape, does substantially face the open Aegean. Some well-informed scholars follow him, notably Pritchett.²⁸ That coast is not concave; but *koilos* can refer to a concavity in the land, namely to valleys or ravines,²⁹ such as are indeed found on this coast. But each ravine ends in a small but usable harbor; the harborless coast *outside* Kaphereus seems more appropriate for a coast with a history of maritime disaster. It is there all three modern Greek historians of Euboia place the Hollows.³⁰ Furthermore, Euripides (*Troades*, 84) speaks of a *μυχός*, a recess, and Livy more specifically of a bay, a *sinus*. The coast north of Kaphereus may not seem on a modern map much more like a bay than that between Kaphereus and Karystos, but on Ptolemy's map, Figure 4, the difference is striking. Finally, Pritchett offers no explanation of Ptolemy's mistake or that of the other sources.

We may now turn to the fourth account of the Hollows, the famous narrative in which Herodotos (VIII, 13) has 200 ships, the so-called Deep Sea Squadron, sail from the coast of Magnesia, outside Skiathos, down the east coast of Euboia, and wreck themselves off the Hollows. The news of the disaster reaches the Greeks at Artemision a little more than twenty-four hours after the Persians set out. The distance the Persians travelled is clearly a problem.

Recent scholars have often improperly abandoned geographical tradition to give the Hollows an arbitrary new location well north along the outer coast, off Kerinthos or Kyme.³¹ Older scholars tended to believe the western location of the Hollows

²⁸ W. K. Pritchett, *op. cit.* (note 21 above). The text of Strabo's epitomator is most accessible in Pritchett's discussion, p. 20. This view is expressed also by Rangabé, *Memoires présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions*, III, 1852, pp. 197-239, by R. S. Young, "The Antiquities of South Euboia," *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1930 (unpublished), p. 18 and by T. W. Jacobsen, *Prehistoric Euboia* (unpublished dissertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1961), p. 126 note 214.

²⁹ Cf. Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 325, Herodotos, VII, 129, Livy, XXXII, 4, Strabo, 336, 756. The locations called Hollows in Herodotos, VI, 26, Polybios, V, 103, 4, Ptolemy, III, 11, 9 (cf. Pliny, *H.N.*, IV, 74, Amm. Marcellinus, XXII, 8, 4) are unhelpful. Hollows in the sea in Apollonius Rh. II, 595, Polybios, I, 60, 6; two-dimensional Hollows in Thucydides, VII, 25, 2, VII, 84, 4, cf. Euripides, *Tro.*, 84-91.

³⁰ Gounaropoulos, *loc. cit.* (note 27 above); D. Chatzikonstantes, *Ἱστορία τῆς Καρύστου*, Athens, 1947, p. 10; T. Papamanoles, *Κάρυστος*, Athens, 1954, p. 10.

³¹ J. Munro *ap.* G. C. Richards, "The Hollows of Euboia," *C.R.*, XLIV, 1930, pp. 61-62; A. Köster, *Klio*, Beiheft XXXII, 1934, pp. 70-71; J. Labarbe, *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pp. 384-441, esp. p. 401; J. F. Lazenby, *Hermes*, XCII, 1964, pp. 264-284, esp. p. 281 and note 6; J. A. Evans, *Historia*, XVIII, 1969, p. 339, note 60. Bursian's view that the "Hollows of Euboia" referred to the whole coastline, inside and outside, of south Euboia, is another attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable and most implausible in its vagueness (C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, II, Leipzig, 1872, p. 398; and *Quaestiones Euboicae*, Leipzig, 1856, p. 43, followed with caution by F.

found in the "Delphic" narratives concerning Appius, which is certainly incompatible with Herodotos, and to rewrite him accordingly. Munro is an extreme example, but many believe with Beloch and Hignett that the Deep Sea Squadron never existed, or with Bury and Burn that it set out a good deal earlier than Herodotos said.³² None of these drastic remedies appears essential if the Hollows are correctly located, with Ptolemy, north of Kaphereus. In that case, early reports of the effects of the big storm might have been carried north the morning after by the Athenian reinforcements.³³

CONCLUSIONS

We may now return to the inscription. Its importance for the topography of Euboia is that it helps to show Appius Claudius' connection with Karystos. His presence at Chalkis, stressed in the literary record, is intelligible on strategic grounds; the new text shows why Delphi prophesied an ambiguous association between Appius and a region that included both Chalkis and Karystos.

This in turn enables us to see the unity behind the sources that place the Hollows on the inside coast; they are following the oracle. Once the testimony against the obvious location of the Hollows, outside Kaphereus, is reduced to a single Delphic utterance, we may set it aside. The Hollows were where Ptolemy said; Herodotos' account of the Deep Sea Squadron may stand.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Colleagues have expressed reservations about the dismissal of Strabo's evidence which our solution to the problem of the Hollows makes necessary. Yet it is most improbable that the term Hollows always referred to the inner coast between Chalkis and Karystos; to believe that would be to dismiss Ptolemy and Livy (Polybios) and Dio Chrysostom and Herodotos, as well as the tradition about the heroes returning from Troy, and Pritchett has shown that the Hollows must be in close association with Kaphereus, *op. cit.* (note 21). It is *possible* that the use of the name changed markedly over the centuries, applying to the outer coast in Greek times (Herodotos, Polybios, and Ptolemy's source ?), the inner coast in early Imperial times (Strabo, Lucan, and Valerius Maximus), and the intermediate area, between Karystos and Kaphereus, later again (Dio Chry-

Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboia*, Berlin, 1903, pp. 6-9, and by A. Philippson, "Euboia," *R.E.*, VI, 1907, cols. 853-854; cf. Geiger, "Koila, 1)," *R.E.*, XI, 1, 1921, col. 1048.

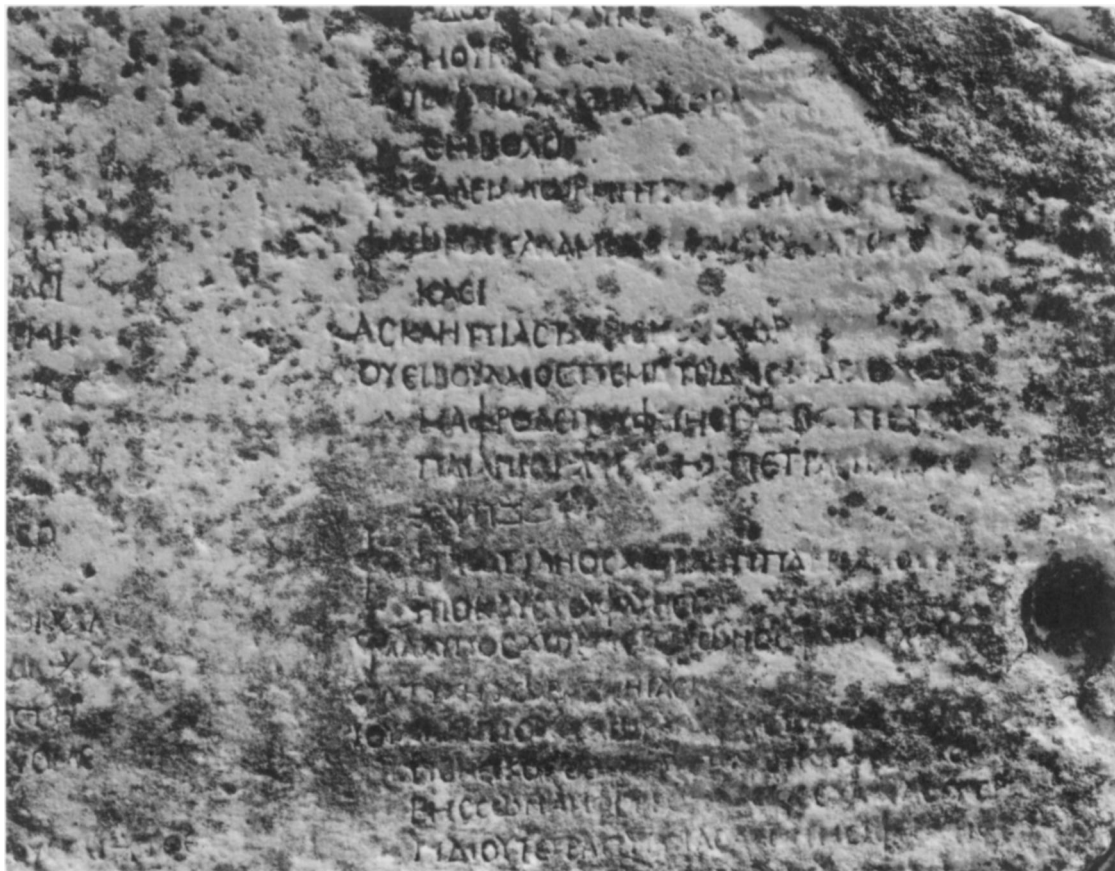
³² J. B. Bury, *B.S.A.*, II, 1895-1896, pp. 83-104; G. B. Grundy, *The Great Persian War*, London, 1901, p. 335; W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.*, XXVIII, 1908, pp. 202-233; E. Obst, *Der Feldzug des Xerxes*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 115; J. A. R. Munro, *J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, pp. 294-332, *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 290; K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, Strassburg, 1916, II², pp. 87-90; A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks*, London, 1962, pp. 398-399; C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece*, Oxford, 1963, appendix 6.

³³ At this stage, obviously, larger issues intrude: what reality underlies the story of the Athenian reinforcements? How seriously should Herodotos' chronological details be taken? Our point is only that, given fast Persian ships, wrecks near Philagra (the northern limit of the Hollows?) and some sort of all-clear signal from Philagra to Marmari, Herodotos' narrative is clear and consistent enough (Fig. 3).

sostom and Strabo's epitomator), but it seems to us quite unlikely (*pace* A. Baumeister, *Topographische Skizze der Insel Euböia*, Lübeck, 1864, p. 69, compare Bursian's view [note 27]). Nor need one be very hesitant in declaring that Strabo was wholly dependent on a faulty literary tradition stemming from the Delphic oracle of 48; his account of Euböia is as a whole notoriously second-hand and inaccurate. Geyer, for instance, *op. cit.* (note 31), points out a string of obvious errors (Geyer, pp. 6, 35 note 6 and 90 [Strabo misplaces the famous hot springs of Aidepsos near Chalkis], 55-57 [Strabo alleges that the Eretrians refounded their city on a new site after the destruction of 480 B.C.], 59, 82, 89, 115, cf. 91) and concludes that Strabo can hardly have visited Euböia. W. Aly singles out the Euböian section of Strabo to illustrate dependence on literary sources (peripatetic according to Aly, see his *Strabonis Geographica IV, Strabo von Amiseia*, Bonn, 1957, pp. 347-359). The new Cologne fragment of Alkaios casts strong doubt on Strabo's location of Euböian Aigai, *pace* Huxley, *op. cit.* (note 23); add to Huxley's material Nonnos, *Dionysiaka*, XIII, 164.

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Detail of Lines 100-118 on Inscribed Face of Orthostate 10
 STEPHEN G. MILLER: A ROMAN MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



Inscription from Karystos Honoring Appius Claudius Pulcher
 HUGH J. MASON AND MALCOLM B. WALLACE: APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER
 AND THE HOLLOWS OF EUBOIA