'quibbling' (cf. Lys. 8, 11), 'making a show of learning'. — 342: (φρενίτιν) ἑ, 'Or generally', hence 'or another': cf. my notes on Thuc. VI 34, 2, Mnem, IV 7 (1954), 38, and Pl. Meno 86 d 1, Mnem. IV 10 (1957), 295. — 349: παλιν. Not translated by A. The meaning seems to be 'in her turn' (cf. LSJ III). — 389: ἀγωνίαν. 'Agony' (LSJ 3), viz. on the part of those who are not in the secret, rather than 'excitement' (A.). — 423: ξαί Θεόι. 'And all gods' or 'and the other gods' rather than 'and the gods' (A.): for ξαί 'and generally' cf. my notes on Epitr. 70, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 21, and Ps. Pl. Clit. 408 e 7, Mnem. IV 35 (1982), 145.

3707 GP Zeist, Homeruslaan 53

W. J. Verdenius


The aim of Stadter's book is to present an overall picture of Arrian and his writings, as one of the most interesting representatives of his age. It links up with recent studies by Bowersock and Reardon on the intellectual movements of the second century, and more pertinently with the studies of Bosworth, Breebaart and Wirth, who have begun to treat Arrian as more than a source for Alexander. The book contains chapters on Arrian's life, his encounter with Epictetus, his governorship of Cappadocia; it converges on two extensive chapters on the Anabasis, the largest section of the book, followed by a chapter on Arrian's lost works. Stadter's method is to relate Arrian's writings with his life and contemporary experiences. It is altogether a comprehensive study of the historian as a man of letters and as a Greek fully involved in the administration of the empire. For Stadter's purpose Arrian's entire oeuvre had to be taken into account, including the fragments of his lost histories.

Arrian stands out as a complex figure, in certain respects as atypical of his age. His writings reveal his fascination with all aspects of generalship. This is brought out in his minor works such as the Ectaxis or Battle formation against the Alans, and the Ars tactica. In the Anabasis he develops on a larger canvas ideas on generalship expressed in his shorter treatises. The desire to instruct in the arts of warfare underlies the massive scale of Arrian's lost Historia successorum Alexandri; and his lost Parthica was partly conceived as a casebook for battles. Philosophy was a facet, not the focus, of Arrian's life, and he did not allow it to hinder his senatorial career, yet

we find the permanent effects of his acquaintance with Epictetus in Arrian's non-philosophical writings, and it influences his presentation of Alexander. Arrian himself did not escape the deep-seated tension introduced by the challenge of Epictetus to the common incentives which urged his pupils to public service (23; 201 n. 4). The ethics of Epictetus underlies the moralizing tone of Bk. VII of the Anabasis, which concentrates on the various modes of viewing Alexander (86) around its major themes of success and death. It is also reflected in the Parthica (141, the Armenian King's way of life). But it is in the second preface (1,12,5), crucial for our understanding of Arrian's purpose, that the influence of Epictetus is decisive: "for me these writings are .... native city, and family, and magistracies". Arrian's reversal of the proem topos, the identification of the author, has troubled his modern interpreters (64 f.; 212 n. 16). Stadter here identifies the philosophical motive, namely to glory solely in his writings as constituting what the author truly considers his own, being that "over which he has control", and to renounce the externals of his career, associated with the pomposity of contemporary writers (212 n. 20). To this immediate context also belongs the literary motive, the need for artistic excellence in a fitting history of Alexander. The single-minded focus on Alexander has led to criticism of the omissions in the Anabasis (99 f.). Arrian's selectiveness, however, was "deliberate"; his aim was not a study of a war, but of a man (63). This accounts for the moral emphasis, increasingly prevalent from Bk. IV onwards (103), and articulated finally in the epilogue, the evaluation of Alexander as a whole (7,30,1).

Stadter contests the view that Arrian took refuge in a Hellenic past to escape from an unhappy present under Roman rule (Bowie and Reardon; and more recently Hornblower, associating Arrian with "the nostalgia of the Second Sophistic", Hieronymus of Cardia, p. 2). Unlike Plutarch Arrian felt himself part of Roman rule and completely at home in his own world. The Parthica and the Hist. success. Alexandri were intimately concerned with the present. Arrian's attitude to classical models and his proficiency in reviving traditional genres — ethnography in the Indike (116), local history in the Bithyniaca (153), geography in the Periplus (41) — are indicative of his literary stature. The problem of genre received special attention in Stadter's reconstruction of lost works, our conception of which depended in part on their literary form (232 n. 14). Perhaps the disproportion in the Parthica between the earlier campaigns and the