

CHAPTER 10

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN LONDON

Distribution of Settlement

Since its beginning, Cypriot settlement in Britain has always been highly concentrated in London, as was indicated in Table 9.6 in the preceding Chapter. During the post-war period the proportion of Cypriot immigrants living in London, as recorded by successive Censuses, has varied between three-quarters and four-fifths. The number of Cypriot settlers in London increased fourfold between 1951 and 1961, and by a further third between 1961 and 1966. It was estimated that some 53,000 Cypriot immigrants were resident in Greater London in 1966, allowance having been made for underenumeration in the Census. When all members of 'Cypriot households' (i.e. with head or head's spouse born in Cyprus) are considered, the estimated overall size of Cypriot settlement in London is approximately 80,000 persons for 1966. This figure includes children born in Britain to one or more Cypriot parents, but excludes non-Cypriot spouses.

Yet although the proportion of Cypriots settled in London has remained fairly constant, the distribution of Cypriots between the various areas of the metropolis has changed considerably through time. As total numbers have increased, so Cypriots have spread further afield residentially. Certain areas have been especially popular, while others have been largely neglected - all this, as we shall see shortly, for particular social and economic reasons.



The predominant trend in the distribution of Cypriots in London has been the spreading of settlement northwards, out from the centre of the city. This extension has been not so much fan-shaped as tubular, stretching in a channel from Camden Town and Islington beneath, to the Haringey area above. This shape is no accident, for it spans the adjacent lengths of the Northern and Piccadilly Underground railway lines, which lead directly back into the heart of London's West End. Cypriot workers in the clothing and catering trades, just to mention the two most frequent ones, thus have easy access by public transport to the central area where most of their workplaces are situated.

Analysis of the distribution borough by borough reveals the development of the pattern of Cypriot settlement in London in greater detail. Prior to the war, most Cypriot immigrants lived and worked in and around the Soho area in London's West End. The 1931 Census showed that two-thirds of Cyprus-born residents in London (County) were located in four adjacent Inner London boroughs - St. Pancras, Holborn, Westminster and St. Marylebone, in that order of scale. Inspection of Registers of Electors and Street Directories for these areas for later years of the 1930s indicate more specifically that it was in the northern part of Soho that the immigrants were predominantly settled. Their cafes and businesses were concentrated in the streets around St. Giles High Street, Soho Square and Charlotte Street, not far from where the first Greek Church in London (from which 'Greek Street' derived its name) had been located some 250 years before¹. In the centre of this area of settlement, at the junction of Oxford Street and Tottenham Court Road, the four boroughs mentioned above met at a point. To say that pre-war Cypriot settlement was spread among four boroughs would therefore be rather misleading, for in fact it was a highly localised settlement situated in adjacent corners of the four administrative areas.

Figures for the principal boroughs of Cypriot settlement in London for after the war are given in Table 10.1. For 1951, the most populous borough was still St. Pancras, but a considerable amount of settlement had already taken place in neighbouring Islington. About one-quarter of Cypriot residents in London (County) were located in St. Pancras, twice as many as in Islington. Paddington and

Table 10.1

PRINCIPAL BOROUGHs OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN LONDON
1951-1966

Number of persons born in Cyprus enumerated in:

<u>London A.C.</u>		<u>Greater London</u>	
<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1966</u>
St Pancras 2,116	Islington 9,114	Islington 10,300	
Islington 1,004	St Pancras 4,114	Haringey 7,960	
St Marylebone 457	Hackney 1,388	Camden 3,690	
Paddington 412	Lambeth 1,357	Southwark 3,410	
Lambeth 382	Camberwell 1,135	Hackney 3,400	
Westminster 298	Stoke 931	Barnet 1,830	
	Newington		
LONDON A.C. 6,799	LONDON A.C. 26,308	GR. LONDON 45,000	

Notes: (1) 'New' London boroughs, as in 1966, comprised the following 'old' boroughs, as in 1961 and before:-
Islington = Finsbury, Islington
Haringey = Hornsey, Tottenham, Wood Green
Camden = Hampstead, Holborn, St. Pancras
Southwark = Bermondsey, Camberwell, Southwark
Hackney = Hackney, Shoreditch, Stoke Newington
Barnet = Wembley, Willesden

(2) In 1961, there was already substantial Cypriot settlement in London boroughs outside London A.C. (Administrative County). In Hornsey 1723 persons born in Cyprus were enumerated, and in Tottenham 1110 persons born in Cyprus. Of the remaining boroughs, only Wood Green is likely to have contained a comparable number of persons born in Cyprus, but the figure in this case is unobtainable.

Sources: Population Censuses; 1966 Sample Census figures supplied by the General Register Office.

St. Marylebone boroughs come next on the list: taken together these four areas contained more than half of all Cypriots living in London. Cypriot settlement had become somewhat dispersed, but continued to be localised in areas close to the immigrants' places of work in the West End. Street Directories and other circumstantial evidence indicate clearly, though, that by this time the main residential area for Cypriots was no longer within the West End itself, but had shifted northwards to Mornington Crescent and Camden Town. Here Greek shops and cafes had appeared, and the first Greek Orthodox Church for Cypriots was opened in 1948 in Pratt Street, Camden Town. Significantly, these areas offered cheaper housing than within the West End itself, yet were only a short bus ride or underground railway journey to the north.

By 1961, the distribution had changed considerably, chiefly due to a nine-fold increase in the number of Cypriots now living in Islington. With over 9,000 Cyprus-born persons enumerated, Islington contained more than a quarter of all Cypriot immigrants in London. The number in St. Pancras also increased, but only two-fold, so that it now contained less than half the number in Islington - the two boroughs changing places, as it were, in the hierarchy of popularity among Cypriot settlers. No other area figured comparably with these two, though Hackney in the north, and Lambeth and Camberwell south of the river all contained more than 1,000 Cypriot immigrants as enumerated by the Census. Once again, therefore, the centre of gravity of Cypriot settlement in London had shifted: this time as large numbers of new immigrants sought cheap but central housing in the terraced properties of Islington. However, the settlement at this time was still largely confined to the 'reception' areas, those parts of the 'twilight zones' of Inner London which were suitable for easy communication with Cypriot work-places and leisure facilities in and around the West End. Although a movement from the inner city areas to better quality housing further out had already begun, it was still on a relatively small scale. Not until 1966 does this more fundamental change in the pattern of Cypriot settlement in London become marked in the statistics derived from the Censuses.

In 1966, Islington remained the most frequented borough, as may be seen from Table 10. Due to the amalgamation of London Boroughs (and in some cases re-organisation), Islington now included the old area of Finsbury. Allowing for this addition, the number of Cypriot settlers in old Islington can have increased only slightly, though with an enumerated total of 10,300 this still accounted for as many as 23 per cent of all Cypriot immigrants in Greater London.

The most significant change between 1961 and 1966, however, was the emergence of the new borough of Haringey as the second most popular residential area for Cypriots in London. In 1966 just short of 8,000 Cypriot immigrants were enumerated in this area, 18 per cent of the total in Greater London. Modern Haringey comprises the previous boroughs of Hornsey, Tottenham and Wood Green, which had already begun to be settled on a small scale around 1960. It is in the Haringey area especially that future expansion of Cypriot settlement in London is probable, as families leave the inner city areas such as Islington and St. Pancras when they become able to afford improved housing. Islington, although its overall numbers remained fairly constant in the inter-censal period, probably saw much mobility of Cypriots across its borders - new immigrants coming in, and longer settled families departing northwards.

This process of residential mobility is revealed more clearly in the case of the 'old borough' of St. Pancras, now incorporated in the modern Camden. For in spite of the addition of Hampstead and Holborn areas, the Cypriot population of Camden in 1966 was about 10 per cent lower than in 1961, indicating a substantial loss of population from the central and traditional area of Cypriot settlement around Camden Town. This change has been largely due to the processes mentioned above, though it may have been hastened by the extensive redevelopment of the Camden Town area which is being carried out by the Local Authority.

As for settlement elsewhere in London, this still lies mostly in other Inner boroughs both north and south of the river (see Table 10.2). But although in most Inner boroughs the actual number of Cypriots has increased, their share of the total Cypriot settlement in London has increased little if at all. In Hackney (now including the former Stoke Newington and Shoreditch boroughs) towards 8 per cent of London Cypriots now reside, the same proportion as Southwark (which now incorporates the

Table 10.2

CYPRUS-BORN POPULATION OF GREATER LONDON BOROUGHES

1966

City of London	-	Islington	10,300
Barking	60	Kensington and	680
Barnet	1,830	Chelsea	
Bexley	10	Kingston upon	200
Brent	1,140	Thames	
Bromley	310	Lambeth	1,680
Camden	3,690	Lewisham	910
Croydon	330	Merton	180
Ealing	450	Newham	340
Enfield	1,240	Redbridge	320
Greenwich	320	Richmond upon	230
Hackney	3,400	Thames	
Hammersmith	690	Southwark	3,410
Haringey	7,960	Sutton	140
Harrow	310	Tower Hamlets	1,410
Havering	80	Waltham Forest	610
Hillingdon	230	Wandsworth	720
Hounslow	480	Westminster,	1,340
		City of	
		<u>GREATER LONDON</u>	<u>45,000</u>

Note: Total for Greater London differs slightly from that in Census Publications since the above figures are drawn from a preliminary analysis of returns.

Source: Data made available by the General Register Office

Camberwell area, as well as the old borough of Bermondsey): in both these cases there has been a slight increase. In Westminster, on the other hand, (this now includes old Paddington and St. Marylebone boroughs) there has been a decline not only in the proportional share of the total (to 3 per cent), but also in the actual number of Cypriot immigrants residing. In the Outer London boroughs to the north, by contrast, there has been a general tendency for Cypriot settlement to increase, although except in Haringey the numbers remain relatively small. Barnet (with towards 2,000 enumerated, or 4 per cent of London Cypriots), Enfield and Brent appear as the main Outer Boroughs, apart from Haringey, in which Cypriot settlement is increasing.

This detailed analysis of Cypriot settlement borough by borough indicates a high degree of concentration of settlement in certain regions of London. First of all, most Cypriots live north of the river - 81 per cent to be precise. Moreover, almost two-thirds of London Cypriots live in just seven of the northern boroughs: the sector defined by proceeding outwards from Camden and Islington. Almost precisely half of all Cypriot immigrants in Britain resided in this one sector of London at the time of the 1966 Census. Lastly, taking just the three main boroughs of Cypriot settlement - Islington, Haringey and Camden - the concentration is still more marked: virtually half the Cypriot immigrant population of Greater London is contained in this relatively small area.

Little change in this degree of concentration of the immigrant population occurred between the 1961 and 1966 Censuses. The proportion residing in the three most frequented boroughs (Islington, Haringey and Camden) declined only slightly between 1961 and 1966, to 49 per cent from 51 per cent, although between and within these areas there is evidence of considerable movement. Yet if instead one takes the proportion of Cypriots living in the Inner London boroughs (as defined by membership of the Inner London Education Authority), and compares it with the proportion in the Outer boroughs, there appears a marked change over the decade. The proportion residing in the Inner Boroughs declined from

77 per cent in 1961 to 65 per cent in 1966; or to put it the other way round, the increase in the proportion of Cypriot immigrants residing in the Outer boroughs rose from 23 per cent to 35 per cent. In actual numbers enumerated, the increased immigrant population in the Outer boroughs rose from 7,732 to 16,450 - more than twofold - while that in the Inner regions rose only slightly. Over this period, then, it appears that immigration from Cyprus into the reception areas of the inner city was approximately equal numerically to the amount of movement out of these areas of more established settlers. However, this overall picture conceals variations in rates of movement within the period, for the rate of immigration declined sharply in 1962, while the acceleration of movement into north London has probably occurred more recently. The Cypriot immigrant population in the inner city areas is likely to have been still increasing quite rapidly in 1961, whereas by 1966 it was probably declining.

Density of Settlement

So far the analysis has focused on the distribution of the Cypriot immigrant population in London. As regards the density of Cypriot settlement among the London population as a whole, it is as well to note first of all that the total overall proportion of Cypriot immigrants in Greater London in 1966 was little more than one half of one per cent (see Table 10.3). Cypriots constituted 12 per cent of all 'New Commonwealth' immigrants in Greater London at that date. Considering boroughs individually, the highest density occurred in Islington, where 4.4 per cent of the borough population

Table 10.3

DENSITY OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN LONDON BOROUGH 1966

	Number born in Cyprus	% of Borough Population	% of those born in 'New Commonwealth'
Islington	10,300	4.4	36.1
Haringey	7,960	3.2	32.0
Camden	3,690	1.7	23.4
Southwark	3,410	1.2	23.5
Hackney	3,400	1.4	14.4
GREATER LONDON	45,000	0.6	12.2

Source: Population Censuses, and General Register Office.

was born in Cyprus. In Haringey and Camden boroughs the proportions were 3.2 per cent and 1.7 per cent respectively. As a proportion of 'New Commonwealth' immigrants specifically, Cypriots were in the region of one-third in both Islington and Haringey, whereas in Camden (as in Southwark) they were slightly less than one-quarter of the total. In each of these three boroughs, the number of Cypriots was only slightly less than the number of Caribbean immigrants, the largest group in each case. Thus even if in no area were Cypriots actually the most numerous, there were three boroughs in which they could be said to be jointly the major ethnic group. In all other boroughs, not only were the Cypriots proportionately fewer, but they were far outnumbered by other ethnic minorities, in almost all cases by immigrants from the Caribbean.

Such overall figures for these very large London boroughs, with populations in the region of a quarter of a million, tell one nothing of the local propinquity of Cypriot dwellings. Here the analysis of data for Enumeration Districts carried out by the Centre for Urban Studies is valuable. These data

were obtained from the 1961 Census returns, and refer to blocks of streets each containing approximately 660 persons².

This 'microscopic' evidence shows for 1961 that although Cypriots did tend to concentrate in certain broad areas of the city, at the local level they did not form dense compact settlements, but rather tended to be scattered among a number of adjacent localities. Thus out of some 4,500 Enumeration Districts in London, there were only 51 in which more than 10 per cent of the population had been born in Cyprus. Twenty-nine of these localities were in Islington (the old, smaller borough), the highest density being 18 per cent. A further 11 such localities were in St. Pancras,, 4 more in St. Marylebone, and the remainder in diverse other boroughs. These statistics do not of course represent ecologically defined groupings of population, but merely divisions drawn for the convenience of enumeration. Because of this, it may be that the figures conceal somewhat higher densities occurring in the occasional locality - 'natural' areas arbitrarily dissected by the enumerator's pencil. There can be few (if any) of these, however, and none with more than about 50 per cent Cypriot immigrants. The tendency would seem rather to be the other way - for local dispersal within a larger area, the whole or a substantial part of a borough. An indication of this is that in Islington alone there were 79 Enumeration Districts with 6 per cent or more persons born in Cyprus. Thus neither do Cypriots form dense clusters, nor are they so scattered among the population as to be scarcely detectable. Instead they incline to frequent certain areas of the metropolis, and within these areas to intermingle residentially with the rest of the local population in a fairly even pattern.

It should be noted here that all that has been said so far (as well as much that follows) refers only to Cypriot immigrants in the strict sense of the word. No allowance has been made for children born in Britain to Cypriot families in the foregoing analysis, and indeed no precise information is available for the distribution of Cypriots in London which includes British-born Cypriots as well. Clearly, many of the proportions cited, especially those for the Cypriot component of local and area populations, might be slightly different if the statistical coverage were more complete.

Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots

The overall pattern of Cypriot settlement in London conceals differences between that of Greek and Turkish Cypriot immigrants. The Census does not distinguish between the two groups, but statistics for the number of immigrant children in schools which are collected by the Department of Education and Science provide an approximate indication of the distribution of Greek and Turkish Cypriots within London at the end of 1966³. These statistics specify the number of children born outside the British Isles, or born within the United Kingdom to parents arriving within ten years previously; and who are attending schools with ten or more 'immigrant pupils' (so defined). Greek and Turkish Cypriot children are distinguished in terms of the language spoken. The actual numbers may therefore be expected to underestimate the true number of Cypriot children of these age-groups. They are chiefly inaccurate in relation to the number of Greek children, since they exclude the many children born in Britain to parents who arrived before 1957.

Dealing first with the overall ratio of Greek to Turkish Cypriot settlement within London, it would appear from these figures that the settlement is divided in a ratio of 70 per cent Greek to 30 per cent Turkish (see Table 10.4). However, for the same reason just stated, these figures for immigrant children in schools certainly overestimate the proportion of Turkish Cypriots in London. A further reason why this ethnic ratio may be inaccurate is on account of demographic factors influencing the proportion of school-age children per total population in each ethnic sub-group. Turks, being the more recent migrants, are less likely to have completed their families; the two groups also differ as to stage of family cycle at the point of migration. Furthermore, completed family size and family-building patterns may vary between them. The exact proportion of Greek and Turkish among Cypriots in London must therefore remain conjectural. It is probable, however, that the ratio of Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriots in London is close to 3:1. On this basis it may be estimated that the overall size of Greek Cypriot settlement in London in 1966 was approximately 60,000 persons, and that of Turkish Cypriot settlement approximately 20,000 persons.

As regards the distribution of the two groups within London, figures for the Inner London boroughs have been obtained, but a comparable series for individual Outer London boroughs has not been accessible. In the Outer London area as a whole, however, it can be seen from Table 10.4 that Cypriot settlement is predominantly Greek. Only about one-fifth of Turkish Cypriots in London live

Table 10.4

CYPRIOT IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN LONDON SCHOOLS

JANUARY 1967

	Greek Speaking	Turkish Speaking	All Cypriot Children
Greater London	9119	3857	12976
Outer boroughs	3416	791	4207
Inner boroughs	5703	3066	8769
Hammersmith	127	31	158
Kensington & Chelsea	86	15	101
Westminster	229	11	240
Camden	862	74	936
Islington	2373	754	3127
Hackney	570	658	1228
Tower Hamlets	257	213	470
Greenwich	43	57	100
Lewisham	105	296	401
Southwark	445	670	1115
Lambeth	393	190	583
Wandsworth	213	97	310

Note: (a) "immigrant children" = children born outside the British Isles or born in the United Kingdom to immigrant parents who arrived on or after 1 January 1957.

(b) Tables relates to all County and Voluntary Primary and Secondary Schools with 10 or more immigrant pupils.

Source: Data supplied by Department of Education and Science, and Inner London Education Authority.

outside the Inner London boroughs (as defined for educational purposes). In Inner London therefore, Turks constitute a far more substantial proportion of Cypriot settlement, whereas in the more suburban areas they are relatively few.

Within the Inner London area, as we have already seen, Cypriot settlement centres on Islington, Camden and Hackney in the north,; and several central boroughs immediately to the south of the river. Although Greeks may be found in all these areas, they tend to be concentrated in the northern boroughs, while the Turks are divided more evenly between north and south. In the north, Greeks live mostly in the traditional strongholds of Cypriot settlement - Camden and Islington. The chief areas of Turkish settlement in the north are Islington (though on a smaller scale than the Greeks) and neighbouring Hackney. In Camden, on the other hand, Turks are found scarcely at all: they appear not to have settled in this centre of Greek Cypriot activities. In Islington, the two groups are indeed mixed - though not to the extent that the figures might lead one to suppose. First-hand observation reveals that Greeks tend to congregate on the western side of the borough, while Turks have settled more in the north-eastern parts. In north London as a whole, therefore, the two ethnic sub-groups have a markedly different spatial distribution. This is not a case of clear segregation, but rather one of concentration in distinct though adjacent areas: the Greek Cypriots immediately north of the West End in Camden and

west Islington (and also further north from there), and the Turkish Cypriots to the east of that, on the other side of Islington and in Hackney (and beyond).

South of the river, both Greeks and Turks appear to predominate evenly through the Inner boroughs; but overall Turks appear to predominate on the 'south bank'. As regards individual boroughs, it is again the eastern ones in which Turks are most numerous - Southwark and Lewisham. The numbers involved are relatively small, though, for less than one-fifth of all Cypriot immigrants in London reside south of the River Thames.

These inferences from the Department of Education statistics are confirmed by figures obtained by Nearchou for the distribution of Greek and Turkish immigrants resident in London in 1958.⁴ Nearchou took a sample of 5,500 Cypriot families who called at the Government of Cyprus' London Office in that year and classified them by the postal area of their address. Again, it is doubtful how much can be accurately inferred from these figures, for the basis of the sample is unknown, as is the representativeness of callers at the Government Office. On the other hand, the number is substantial, and there is no reason to suppose that callers were unduly unrepresentative as regards area of residence. (The ratio of Greeks to Turks in the sample at 4:1 is as would be expected for that date.) An additional difficulty is that the sample is not so much of Cypriots but of Cypriot addresses - it relates only to heads of families or single persons. Clearly, therefore, the figures cannot be regarded as in any way precise; nonetheless, there is no reason to doubt the validity of the broad pattern of distribution thus revealed.

As may be seen from Table 10.5, Greek Cypriots area as before shown to be concentrated in the north and north-western areas (more detailed analysis shows the concentration to be greatest in the NW1, N1 and N7 postal areas covering Camden Town and Islington). Turkish addresses are located

Table 10.5

DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT IMMIGRANTS
RESIDENT IN LONDON, 1958

	%	All London	<u>By Postal Area</u>						
			W	NW	WC	N	E	SE	SW
ALL CYPRIOTS	100.0	100.0	10.3	20.3	2.9	41.9	6.6	10.9	6.9
GREEK CYPRIOTS	79.3	100.0	12.2	23.9	3.0	40.9	5.5	6.7	7.4
TURKISH CYPRIOTS	20.7	100.0	2.9	6.3	2.4	45.4	10.6	27.0	4.8

Source: Nearchou, p.71

chiefly in the Northern areas, and to a lesser extent south of the river. These figures for the distribution of the two ethnic groups in 1958 may be compared with those for the distribution of school-age children at the beginning of 1967. In the case of Greek Cypriot settlement there appears to have been little change in the pattern of distribution. In the case of Turkish Cypriot settlement, however, the proportion living south of the river in 1958 was substantially smaller than in 1967, indicating that Turkish settlement there has grown faster during the 1960s and that the area has been notably more attractive to Turks than north London.

In general then, given that Cypriot settlement in London tends to be centralised and on a north-south axis, we find that the ethnic sub-groups weave something of a variation on this basic theme. The Greeks were relatively concentrated in the north, and on the western side of the settlement zone, though their settlement spread extensively into other areas. Turks, on the other hand, were most numerous on

the eastern side of the settlement zone, and were fairly evenly divided between the north and south banks of the river. Turks, in addition, were more confined to the Inner boroughs of the city, Greeks having moved more into the suburban areas. Nowhere in central London was settlement exclusive to one or other group, except in the area of Camden, the focus of Greek-Cypriot community life. The Turkish-Cypriot settlement lacked such a geographical focal point, which may be in part due to the less formally organised character of Turkish Cypriot settlement in London.

But these differences in the distribution of the two groups within London have also been influenced by a number of other factors, the chief among which is the more recent arrival of Turkish immigrants. The location of jobs and housing available to Cypriot migrants has varied through time, and longer established settlers have had the opportunity to accumulate resources sufficient to allow them more choice as regards where to live and work. The early Greek immigrants could meet their needs in the West End and Camden Town, but by the mid-fifties it was necessary for new arrivals to seek cheap housing further afield. Through the 1950s it appears that migrants were usually able to find work within the Cypriot community, but in the 1960s work as well often had to be found further afield. Thus while successful early Greek migrants moved away from the centre through choice, new migrants were settling further away too - obliged to seek cheap housing in the poorer areas to the south and elsewhere, as we have seen, Turkish Cypriots now often predominate. Opposing these centripetal pressures were the social values of the immigrants, emphasising proximity and solidarity of kin and compatriots; these in turn tended to keep both Greek and Turkish settlement relatively distinct. Thus the emergence of the present distribution of the two ethnic sub-groups has been a complex one, the outcome principally of periods and rates of settlement, the availability of jobs and housing, traditional social values, and the development of organised ethnic communities.

Footnotes

¹ On the site of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Charing Cross Road: see Cardwell, J.H. et al., Two Centuries of Soho, London 1898, pp. 31-35; and Dowling, T.E. and Fletcher, E.W., Hellenism in England, London 1915.

² Figures made available by the Centre for Urban Studies, University College, London.

³ Department of Education and Science, Statistics for Education 1967, Vol. I, "Schools", H.M.S.O. 1968; figures for individual Inner London boroughs made available by the Inner London Education Authority.

⁴ Nearchou, p. 71.