

RELIGION AND COLONIZATION
IN
ANCIENT GREECE

BY

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Map 1.



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their purpose is apparent in their effect: the shift of emphasis from the mother-city to the oikist, thus enhancing local pride. It is also possible that the fiction of the surprised oikist was not always a late invention since such a public image of a leader *malgré lui* would have enhanced the oikist's direct authority as a leader.

Apollo and the oikist complement each other; Lampros is certainly wrong to postulate a gradual fading of Apollo's role as oikist and his replacement by human oikists. While it is true that Apollo sometimes appears as "spontaneously prophesying" about colonization he is far from being guilty of usurpation or "imperialism" as, for example, J. Defradas labels some of Delphoi's activities, particularly with regard to colonization. This becomes particularly clear in inquiries by colonies at Delphoi later in their history especially when questions concerning the rightful oikist or mother-city arose. Only as a last resort, and rarely too, were disputes resolved by making Apollo himself an oikist. Such inquiries also illustrate the memory of Delphoi's involvement in colonization (which can also be learnt from Delphic symbols in colonial coinage) and the seriousness with which colonies regarded the identity and the cult of their founders. This was equivalent, in turn, to an inquiry about their very own self-identity. Moreover, the subsequent special relations with Delphoi also illustrate that colonies continued to regard the questions about their foundation in religious terms. Delphoi and the oikist came to symbolize beginnings and those beginnings represented the identity of each colony.

The introductory sections in chapter I discuss the need to concentrate on Delphoi and not on other oracles; a review of previous studies follows, in order to establish and clarify our position on two main areas of contention in modern scholarship: when did Delphoi begin to exert its predominant influence in Greek colonization and which of the oracular responses preserved in our sources may be considered authentic. We maintain that Delphoi was actively involved in Greek colonization from the 8th century B.C. and that we are entitled to regard as authentic not a negligible amount of foundation oracles. We hope that our arguments, when added to past discussions, will help to influence opinion away from the strayed direction which certain scholars have followed.

The second section discusses the method of consultation by oikists, which is important both for the question about the authenticity of oracular responses and in order to understand the nature and importance of the designation which the oikist received at Delphoi. If oikists used just a "yes or no" lot-oracle, then the answers would merely have provided a confirmation of the colonization enterprise and hence we must suspect all extant verse oracles as forgeries and view the oikist's designation in a much diminished light. We analyse the evidence and conclude that the opposite was probably true: the oikist would be personally admitted to the *pythia* and would be addressed through her in a full oracular response.



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The second part of the book discusses the founder's cult in the subsequent history of the colony. The cult of the oikist was a *nomos*, universally practiced in Greek colonies; it was a hero cult and it took place annually around the tomb of the oikist, who was buried in the heart of his new city, its *agora*. In chapter V we establish that the oikist cult was, in fact, a common practice; we examine the form and significance of the cult, which was practiced as an annual commemoration; finally we discuss the evidence and reasons for burial in the heart of the *polis*, the *agora*.

In chapter VI we discuss individual historical personalities who were accorded a founder's cult. Generally we avoid cults dedicated to fictitious eponyms. Such cults are unhelpful in shedding light on historical events – the evidence concerning them is often much too late and usually does not go beyond the mere mention of a name. Eponymous founders are mentioned here only when their cults aid our understanding of generally accepted, traditional practices. We begin with Battos, the founder of Kyrene, about whose cult at the *agora* we possess the earliest and fullest literary evidence. Battos' tomb may have also served as an oracle, which leads us into a discussion of whether tombs of oikists served as oracles in colonies as a general practice. Finally, we examine the archaeological evidence for the identification of Battos' tomb and for tombs of other oikists. We then turn to the cult of other founders: The Spartan Phalanthos, who is supposed to have been exiled from the colony he founded (Taras) and to have caused his own ashes to be scattered in Taras' *agora* after his death; Timesias of Klazomenai, the oikist who was overcome by natives and failed in his attempt to colonize, but who was accorded a founder's cult one century later by the Teian founders of Abdera; the adoption of the oikist cult by the people of Magnesia on the Maeander, who accorded it to Themistokles the Athenian; and the exceptional position and cult of the living Athenian Hagnon at Amphipolis and the official transfer of the status and cult of the oikist to Brasidas the Spartan after the latter's death. Next we turn to some later cases in Greece and Sicily. Sikyon provides an interesting case where the honours of oikists were extended to other persons, notably Euphron in 366 B.C. (and some contemporaries elsewhere: Epimelides, Podares), Demetrios Poliorketes in 303, and Aratos in 213. In particular, Sikyon sheds the most light on the practice of and attitudes toward burials in the *agora*, as the case of the Orthagorid Kleisthenes in the 6th century already indicates. Finally, the cults accorded to Sicilian rulers are studied together: Gelon, Theron, Hieron (who was active as an "oikist" himself), Dion, and Timoleon.

In chapter VII we discuss aspects of the role of the oikist cult in colonies. It is not sufficient to show that the cult existed; it must be determined whether it also fulfilled a real and important function in the life of the community. First we study the titles of oikists in the context of their cult, especially *archēgetēs*. These titles indicate the wider religious and social connotations of the



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CHAPTER ONE

THE FOUNDERS OF COLONIES AND APOLLO'S ORACLE

Introduction: The Role of Delphoi in Greek Colonization

The founders of Greek colonies were invested with religious authority by oracles, especially Delphoi. So far as our evidence goes, we can effectively discuss only the oikists who are reported to have consulted Delphoi, because evidence for the role of other oracles in Greek colonization is meagre and uncertain. In particular, not one foundation oracle with any claim to authenticity has come down to us from any oracle other than Delphoi. Some late authors, notably Cicero, mention in generalizing statements other oracles, such as Dodona and Ammon, and some scholars have justifiably regarded it as probable that Apollo's oracles in Asia Minor may have been consulted, especially by the great colonizing state, Miletos.¹ It seems significant, however, that as early as the first half of the 6th century B.C., Phokaia, according to Herodotus, consulted Delphoi rather than one of the oracles in Asia Minor.² Moreover, the cumulative impression formed from all our sources, both historical and spurious, is that Delphoi was regarded in antiquity as the most prominent authority by far in matters of colonization. Therefore, in concentrating on Delphoi, we are not merely discussing one oracle among many, but the most influential one in colonization. On the other hand, we must keep in mind that the role of oracles, particularly in colonization by the Eastern Greeks, must remain obscure.³ Since the same god, Apollo, was probably involved with colonization in Asia Minor and Delphoi, we are still encouraged to assume that the designation of oikists was similar in both areas.

In order to understand the nature of the religious authority conferred on the oikist and how it related to his various functions, we should first assess Delphoi's role in colonization; in order to do so, we must determine the trustworthiness of the reported or quoted foundation oracles which constitute a major part of our literary evidence.

Past discussions on the role of the Delphic oracle in Greek colonization

¹ See for surveys of such late generalizing statements Pease (1917: 1-2); Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol. I 50); Lombardo (1972: 63ff.). The probability of consultations at Didyma (Asia Minor) is represented by Hammond (1967^a: 113) as a fact.

² See our section on Kyrnos below, p. 72f.

³ There is a remote possibility that some historical foundation oracles were derived from the oracle of Zeus at Dodona or of Ammon in Siwa. See n. 1 above. There is no concrete evidence for this, however.



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Because we are concerned with historical colonies we shall have little to say on legendary oikists and legendary foundation oracles. Some of the work, however, which has been done on this aspect of *ktiseis* is relevant because the authors had to bring historical Delphoi into their discussion. B. Schmid wrote a thesis on poetical accounts of foundations;³⁰ L. Gierth discusses the subject in order to try and assess its relation to historical writing, but his chapter on *Delphische Orakelgeschichten* is somewhat general.³¹ A recent work by F. Prinz addresses the topic of poetical foundations in a detailed and exhaustive treatment (but mostly down to the Ionian migrations).³²

M.P. Nilsson, in his *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, investigates the reasons for the success and influence of Apollo and the Delphic oracle in colonization. His conclusion is significant and seems to provide us with if not a historical, at least a religious answer; Apollo's influence was due to his exegetic function of pointing out the proper cults and rites and to whom they should be accorded. Apollo functioned in colonization as a divine mediator between men and gods by expounding religion.³³ This same point has been repeated in an article by M. Lombardo entitled "Le concezioni degli antichi sul ruolo degli oracoli nella colonizzazione greca."³⁴ Lombardo is good on particular aspects, such as his emphasis on the Delphic prescription of establishing cults (see in *Kyrrnos*, below) and temples. His methodology however, which explains later sources first (e.g., Celsus, Lucan, Cicero), seems to have led him astray in his discussion of which oracles, besides Delphoi, were concerned with colonization; due to this methodology Lombardo allows a far greater role to other oracles.

Finally, we ought to mention J. Fontenrose's *The Delphic Oracle*.³⁵ Its usefulness lies in its accessible catalogue of inquiries and responses with cross references and classifications of modes. However, because Fontenrose disbelieves almost all of his evidence, too often an oracle is rejected out of hand because he labels it "unlikely" with no further discussion.³⁶ Fontenrose defines as historical only oracles that were spoken during the life of the source reporting them;³⁷ he also qualifies the word "historical" to avoid confusion with "genuine," but is not always successful in maintaining this distinction.

This short survey of the earlier scholarly discussion reveals that there is great room for disagreement about the two interconnected questions: the authenti-

³⁰ Schmid (1947).

³¹ Gierth (1971).

³² (1979).

³³ Nilsson *GGR*⁴ 637–640.

³⁴ (1972: esp. 86).

³⁵ (1978).

³⁶ Fontenrose (1978: e.g., 141–142).

³⁷ *Ibid.* 7.



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Ἔτι τοίνυν οὐδὲν ἀπὸ ποιητικῆς λόγῳ χρησιμώτερον ὑπάρχει τοῦ δεθέντα μέτροις τὰ φραζόμενα καὶ συμπλακέντα μᾶλλον μνημονεύεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖσθαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τότε πολλὴν ἔδει μνήμην παρεῖναι· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐφράζετο καὶ τόπων σημεῖα καὶ πράξεων καιροὶ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ διαποντίων καὶ ἡρώων ἀπόρρητοι θῆκαι καὶ δυσεξεύρετοι μακρὰν ἀπαίρουσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἴστε γὰρ Τεῦκρον καὶ Κρητίνην καὶ Γνησίοχον καὶ Φάλανθον, ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἡγεμόνας στόλων ὅσους ἔδει τεκμηρίοις ἀνευρεῖν τὴν διδομένην ἐκάστῳ καὶ προσήκουσαν ἴδρυσιν·

“Then, besides, there is nothing in poetry more serviceable to language than that the ideas communicated, by being bound up and interwoven with verse, are better remembered and kept firmly in mind. Men in those days had to have a memory for many things. For many things were communicated to them, such as signs for recognizing places, the times for activities, the shrines of gods across the sea, secret burial-places of heroes, hard to find for men setting forth on a distant voyage from Greece. You all, of course, know about Teukros and Kretines and Gnesiochos and Phalanthos and many other leaders of expeditions who had to discover by means of evidential proofs the suitable place of settlement granted to each.” (tr. Babbitt, Loeb)

We note with Lombardo⁵⁴ that there are four elements which Plutarch emphasizes:

1. signs to recognize places
2. appropriate times
3. temples of gods across the seas
4. tombs of heroes.

The first clearly conforms to the specifications of geographical directions: it is the responsibility of the oikist to recognize the site. We shall show that sometimes folk-motifs, especially paradoxical riddles, when they are found together with straightforward directions, may support the authenticity of a particular oracle rather than render it suspect, because such *motifs* could be “signs” which aid the oikist in pinpointing the site within the general area also mentioned in the foundation oracle. For example, the settlers of the colony sent to Thourioi received an oracle at Delphoi telling (the Athenian embassy) to settle where they would be able to drink water by measure and to eat their bread without measure.⁵⁵ The solution was found in a local spring whose waters issued from a bronze pipe called a *medimnos* (“measure”) by the natives. It was probably the Athenian oikist and religious specialist, Lampon, who provided the proper interpretation,⁵⁶ thereby pinpointing the site and solving the “riddle.” The case belongs to the Classical period,⁵⁷ but there is no reason to

⁵⁴ (1977: 65).

⁵⁵ Diod. XII.10.5; cf. Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II No. 131).

⁵⁶ Cf. Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.I 187).

⁵⁷ See pp. 97–101.



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what we consider to be historical (i.e., not the product of folklore or legend) foundation oracles.

A section of *Conclusions* will close this chapter in an attempt to present the more general picture that should emerge from the following sections.

Before we approach the relevant cases, we must first inquire about the method oikists may have used to consult Delphoi.

Authenticity of Oracular Responses and the Method of Consultation

How the oikist received the foundation oracle is an important question which cannot be answered conclusively. The oracles that we possess show the inquirer, usually the oikist,⁶⁴ receiving an oral reply from the mouth of the Pythia. If, however, another method of inquiry was used which could be answered only in the negative or affirmative, then any oracular response containing a reply longer than "yes" or "no" could be proved inauthentic.

The Pythia herself prophesied only one day every month and only nine months every year.⁶⁵ We also hear of oracles by lot (cleromancy) at Delphoi. If these were given on other auspicious days, they could have been more readily obtained.⁶⁶ P. Amandry, who is a firm believer in cleromancy at Delphoi, posits a bean oracle in which two beans were used for affirmative or negative answers. Another way in which beans may have been used was in the selection of names from a given list. Thus a Thessalian king is said to have been selected by the use of *φρυκτός*, a "roasted bean."⁶⁷ Possibly, too, the ten eponymous Athenian heroes of the Kleisthenic tribes were selected in this way from a list of a hundred.⁶⁸ These examples however are inapplicable to a colonial situation.

The sources which mention oracular lots at Delphoi are late, and their context is mythological.⁶⁹ We have, however, from the 4th century B.C. one inscription which Amandry regards as decisive.⁷⁰ The inscription contains sacred regulations for Delphoi and Skiathos. After stating public and private charges for the *pelanos* (sacrificial cake) and for the hide of the victims⁷¹ (in both cases: one Aeginetan *stater* for the public consultation, two *obols* for the private one), one reads:

⁶⁴ Pease (1917: 6).

⁶⁵ On the procedure of the oracle see in general Amandry (1950) and Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol. I ch. 3).

⁶⁶ Amandry (1950: ch. 2).

⁶⁷ Plut. *Mor.* 492b.

⁶⁸ *Ath. Pol.* 21.6.

⁶⁹ Amandry (1950: 25–32).

⁷⁰ Ibid. 32f.; cf. Parke and Wormell (1956: 18–19).

⁷¹ On animal sacrifices in general: Burkert (1977: 101–115). On use of the parts of the animal: Puttkammer (1912).



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στέλλεσθαι μετὰ Χαλκιδέων εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον).⁸⁹ The name of the leader of the Messenians is furnished by Pausanias in a passage otherwise full of anachronisms.⁹⁰ The name is *Alkidamidas*, the fourth-generation ancestor of Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegion. Since the historical dates of the latter are 494–476 B.C., Pausanias is obviously mistaken; the mistake, however, seems to concern Anaxilas (not Alkidamidas), whom he dates to the 29th Olympiad, that is, the mid 7th century B.C. If one counts four generations back, the picture once again is reconciled with history, although that date would still place Alkidamidas in the later years of the first Messenian War.⁹¹ That the Messenians participated at all in the early foundation has sometimes been suspected as anachronistic; specifically, it was typical of Timaeus to combine different groups of colonists.⁹² However, the arguments advanced in favor of the historical authenticity of the Messenian participation, which are also based on epigraphical evidence (Dorian elements) and cult (of Artemis Phaselitis), seem to us convincing.⁹³ If this is so, we may possess the name of the actual Messenian leader, Alkidamidas, and we should also credit him with receiving the oracle's reply during the Messenian delegation's reported consultations at Delphoi.

That the fugitive Messenians facing destruction and conquest should consult Delphoi seems credible, particularly as the inquirers are said to have requested a religious answer concerning Artemis. This type of combining two distinct parties seems to be what Delphoi did best in the context of colonization: it provided the colonizers with the needed additional recruits⁹⁴ and, on the other hand, gave the rootless group of potential settlers a concrete address. Alkidamidas should be viewed as a leader of such a group that came to Delphoi for directions (perhaps already having agreed on the need to colonize somewhere).

Should we regard him as a proper *oikistēs*? That his Messenians came to be incorporated in the Chalkidian foundation should not trouble us too much. Lamis, the contemporary oikist of the group of Megarians who ended up at Megara Hyblaia, tried his fortune for a while at Leontinoi; that is, he too attempted an incorporation. There is no doubt, however, that Lamis was an *oikistēs*, as Thucydides explicitly refers to him.⁹⁵

The importance of Alkidamidas' descendant, Anaxilas, explains how the memory of Alkidamidas survived, just as the importance of the Deinomenids provides us with some details about the family's history for the early settlement of Gela.⁹⁶

⁸⁹ Strabo VI.257; cf. Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II 370).

⁹⁰ Paus. IV.23.5–7; cf. Manni (1980: 314–315).

⁹¹ See on this passage in Pausanias Bérard (1957: 94–95; 103); Vallet (1958: 72–74).

⁹² That Timaeus was Strabo's source see n.87 above.

⁹³ Vallet (1958: 71–80); Bérard (1957: 102–104); Dunbabin (1949: 12–13).

⁹⁴ Cf. also the "recruitment oracle" for Kyrene in Hdt. IV.159.3.

⁹⁵ VI.4.1.

⁹⁶ Hdt. VII.153. with Compernelle (1957); Kesteman (1970). See pp. 97; 251; 259, below.



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logous to the Hebrew "promised land."¹¹³ In this way, the oracle justifies the settlement and, in this case, also, the expulsion of local inhabitants.¹¹⁴

The most remarkable aspect about the traditions concerning Rhegion's foundation is that of the colonial *dekatē* ("tithe"). It is known otherwise only in legendary cases: the *genos* of the Gephyraioi was consecrated as a tithe (δεκατευθέντες) by the Athenians, sent to Delphoi and from there to Tanagra.¹¹⁵ According to Aristotle, the Macedonian Bottiaioi were sent by Cretans as an ἀπαρχή to Delphoi. From there they went to Italy and ended up in Thrace.¹¹⁶ The Dryopes of Asine and Hermione believed that they had been conquered by Herakles and sent as an ἀνάθημα to Delphoi whence they set out to Asine and Hermione.¹¹⁷ After the fall of Thebes the daughter of Teiresias, Manto, was dedicated with other captives to Delphoi and was sent to found Kolophon.¹¹⁸ Finally, the people of Magnesia on the Maeander believed that they had originated as a *dekatē* sent to Delphoi after the Trojan war; they were sent to Crete for 80 years but then were not allowed to return to their native Thessaly; instead, they were assigned an oikist, Leukippos, who led them to Asia Minor. These Magnesians were, in the words of Aristotle (or Theophrastus) ἱεροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, Δελφῶν ἀποικοί.¹¹⁹ In the 3rd century B.C. the Magnesians set up a long and detailed inscription in their *agora* narrating their foundation and "quoting" foundation oracles given to them and to their oikist, Leukippos, who asked for a personal confirmation. The inscription is a forgery, as Wilamowitz has shown, yet it provides us with the most detailed framework for ideas about the practice of the tithe.¹²⁰

In the Classical period there are two cases where we find *dekateuein* attested,

¹¹³ E.g., to Abraham, *Gen.* 15.7,18; 17.8; to Moses, *Deut.* 34.1–5.

¹¹⁴ The name Αὔσων χώρα appears first in Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F63. Dion. Hal. 1.53.3 says that Ausonia is the old Greek name for Italy. Cf. Rohrbach (1960: 7).

¹¹⁵ Suidas s.v. δόρυ καὶ κηρύκειον; Zenob. III.26; Eustath. in *Iliad* 408.4.

¹¹⁶ Aristotle fr.485 = Plut. *Thes.* 16.2; Plut. *QG* 298f–299a.

¹¹⁷ Paus. IV.34.9. For other references see Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II No. 448); Ducat (1974: 100ff.)

¹¹⁸ Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I.308; cf. Paus. IX.33.2; Diod. IV.66.5–6; Apollod. III.7.4. Similarly for Klaros – Paus. VII.3.1.

¹¹⁹ Athenaeus IV.173.e–f (= *FHG* II fr. 198a); cf. Conon *Narr.* 29 = *FGrHist* 26 F1(29).

¹²⁰ Kern (1894); Wilamowitz (1895: 177–198); Kern (1900 No. 17). Cf. Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II No. 378–382; Vol.I 52–54); Schmid (1947: 94ff.) Parke and Wormell op. cit. try to create an impression of a kernel of truth by quoting Aristotle (or Theophrastus) as if the Magnesians "used to supply any Delphian who settled among them a roof, salt, olive oil, vinegar, lamp oil, beds, coverlets and tables." But the text does not say "Delphian" and the words τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι may simply mean "travellers." This is how Athenaeus himself understood it because in the words prefacing this he says "to any foreigners" (τοῖς παραγιγνομένοις 173e). Strictly speaking, Delphians are attested as enjoying this right (probably as visitors, not settlers) only in Delos (ibid. = *FGrHist* 396 F7) where the reciprocal religious interests are self-evident. Cf. Prinz (1979: 111–121).



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There are others,¹⁴⁰ but except for the Eretrians, as argued above, there is no need to see in them a reflection of a *dekatē*.

Archias and Syracuse

A foundation oracle which Parke and Wormell consider authentic is reported for Archias, the Corinthian founder of Syracuse (founded 733 B.C.).¹⁴¹ Archias was one of the Herakleidai, probably a Bakchiad.¹⁴² Perhaps he had special connections with the region of Tenea which supplied most of the colonists.¹⁴³

An anecdote narrated by Plutarch¹⁴⁴ gives details about why Archias had to leave Corinth. Rejected in his effort to win the love of the young Aktaion, Archias' followers attempted to abduct him and in the struggle that ensued between those who tried to carry him off and those who pulled him back, Aktaion was torn to death. No punishment was meted out following this horrible end.¹⁴⁵

But the invocations of the desperate father made just before his public suicide brought about drought and pestilence (αὐχμὸς καὶ λοιμὸς κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν). Delphoi was consulted by a delegation which included Archias among its members. The oracle specified the reason for the natural disaster as the wrath of Poseidon and ordered punishment (ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε μῆνιν εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος οὐκ ἀνήσοντος, ἕως ἂν τὸν Ἀκταίωνος θάνατον μετέλθοιεν). Archias did not dare to return to Corinth but sailed to Sicily and founded Syracuse.¹⁴⁶

Bérard considers the anecdote not without historical value but does not elaborate.¹⁴⁷ Dunbabin notes: "it is interesting that such discreditable incidents

¹⁴⁰ See section on Kyrene p. 60ff.

¹⁴¹ Thuc. VI.3.2. On Syracuse's foundation see Bérard (1957: 116ff.); Dunbabin (1948: 14–16); Boardman (1980: 172–174); Graham (1982: 105–106). Cf. Manni (1981: 228–234).

¹⁴² Thuc. *ibid.*; cf. *Marmor Parium* No. 31 (a 10th generation from Temenos, obviously a "mistake"); Plut. *Mor.* 772d–773b; schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV.1212; Arist. fr.611, 19; Diod. VII.9.6. See Bérard (1957: 118–119); Will (1955: 296ff.) in general on Bakchiads and Heraklids at Corinth: Graham (1971: 220 n.2).

¹⁴³ Maybe he owned land there and once the region was stricken by natural disasters (below) and overpopulation he was a more willing candidate for emigration. See Strabo VIII.380: λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρχία τῷ στείλαντι τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀποικίαν, τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐποίκων ἐντεῦθεν συνεπακολουθῆσαι, . . . Cf. Bérard (1957: 126); Dunbabin (1948: 15) implies that this region was particularly prone to suffer from natural disasters.

¹⁴⁴ Plut. *Mor.* 772d–773b.

¹⁴⁵ Compare the opposite type of story about King Solomon where the true parent gives up her child to preserve him: I *Kings* 3.16–28.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Diod. VIII.10.1–3; schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV.1212 (where the whole Bakchiad clan is exiled).

¹⁴⁷ Bérard (1957: 119).

should be remembered (or invented) about the founder of a colony.¹⁴⁸ The elements of this story, as told by Plutarch, certainly seem to be loosely joined. This merits a closer analysis.

An inquiry at Delphoi by a founder who wishes to atone for a blood guilt is a common *motif* in legendary foundation oracles but “never in historical foundations” (Parke).¹⁴⁹ Archias seems to be an obvious exception, but we should still regard Parke’s statement as essentially correct. We propose that the love story (which may simply be an adaptation of certain aspects of myth and ritual)¹⁵⁰ may be separated from the account of the actual consultation. We would then be left with the following sequence:

- (1) *loimos*, i.e., natural disasters
- (2) *Divine wrath* thought to be its cause
- (3) *Inquiry at Delphoi by a delegation which includes the oikist*
- (4) *Colonization*

This is precisely the sequence reported for Rhegion and for some legendary foundations, notably Magnesia. It may even be possible to argue that what we have here is a hidden *motif* of *dekatē*; but this is not necessary. The situation implies overpopulation (which is inherent in any shortage of food caused by natural disasters) and a need to colonize.¹⁵¹

The story in Plutarch makes an abrupt turn at the point where the oracle orders “punishment” and where Archias goes to settle. If we eliminate the anecdotal element this would be a possible context for the foundation oracle as it is preserved in Pausanias:¹⁵²

Ὀρτυγίη τις κεῖται ἐν ἡεροειδέϊ πόντῳ
Θρινακίης καθύπερθεν, ἴν’ Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα βλύζει
μισγόμενον πηγαῖσιν ἑὺρρείτης Ἀρεθούσης.

A certain Ortygia lies in the misty deep,
opposite Thrinacia, where the mouth of Alpheus bubbles,
mingled with the springs of fair-flowing Arethusa.¹⁵³

Parke and Wormell consider this oracle to have “claims to authenticity,” probably because of its geographical character, devoid of anecdotal or mythological turns. The myth about the river god Alpheios who chased the lovely

¹⁴⁸ (1948: 15).

¹⁴⁹ Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.I 54; cf.304).

¹⁵⁰ Will (1955: 180–187).

¹⁵¹ Graham (1971: Appendix I 218ff.), for a discussion of Corinth’s aims in colonization and about whether Archias’ activity was the result of his own initiative or whether it was an official enterprise planned by the state. For the colonists, at any rate, this was irrelevant because they would have had to rely on Archias’ leadership to conquer the site of settlement (Thuc. VI.3.); Boardman, *op. cit.*

¹⁵² V. 7.3; cf. Verg. *Aen.* III.692ff. with Parke’s commentary (1941: 490); Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II No. 2).

¹⁵³ Tr. Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.I 67).



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- (1) Taphios has been emended by Oldfather to Ταφιάσσος,¹⁶⁸ that is, the Aitolian mountain.¹⁶⁹
- (2) Similarly, Chalkis is Aitolian.¹⁷⁰
- (3) "The sacred land of the Kouretes" is strikingly mythical. The reference is probably to Pleuron.¹⁷¹
- (4) The islands of the Echinades lie off the Akarnanian shore across from the mouth of the river Acheloos, which by Herodotus' time filled part of the sea with alluvial deposits.¹⁷²

The second part of the list continues without mentioning the greater part of the journey northwards.¹⁷³ It resumes its description of the route of the voyage with the landmarks of Kroton: the Lakinian promontory, which became the site of Hera's famous temple; the promontory of Krimissa, which except for being an obvious landmark, was also a legendary foundation of Philoktetes;¹⁷⁴ and the river Aisaros,¹⁷⁵ which ends the list and pinpoints the site. Kroton was built at its mouth.¹⁷⁶ The geographical indications, which are precise and straightforward, imply a good knowledge of the site itself.¹⁷⁷

When the two parts of the list are viewed together, it becomes clear that they could not supply actual directions for someone inquiring about the way to Kroton. The point of departure for the route described may be applicable to someone setting out from either Delphoi itself or from Achaia in the northwest Peloponnese. What is perhaps more important is that this first part of the described route to Kroton was superfluous because an Achaian surely would have known the waters of the Corinthian Gulf and the Akarnanian coastline very well.

This observation brings out again the initiative of Delphoi. It also illustrates yet again that Delphoi's main role in colonization was not to supply geographic information, as has sometimes been suggested.¹⁷⁸ On the other hand, the epic and sublime language of the description has a markedly local character as it evokes associations with local myth (e.g., the Kouretes). Parke is right in doubting a forgery in this case: a forger would either have had to be extremely

¹⁶⁸ *RE* s.v. Taphiassos.

¹⁶⁹ Strabo IX.427; X.451. But cf. Myrsilos *FGrHist* 477 F6 = *Antiq. Hist. Mir.* 117, for ὄρος ταφίου.

¹⁷⁰ Strabo IX.427. Its first mention is in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships *Il.* II.640.

¹⁷¹ *Il.* IX.529ff.; Strabo X.451; 462–463; 465–466. See also the apparat. crit. in Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol. II No. 44).

¹⁷² *Il.* II.625–626; Hdt. II.10.3; cf. Thuc. II.102.2 (but Paus. VIII.24.11).

¹⁷³ Rohrbach (1960: 12).

¹⁷⁴ Bérard (1957: ch. IX).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Theocritus IV.17; Ovid *Met.* XV.23 (Aesris); Strabo VI.262.

¹⁷⁶ Bérard (1957: 157).

¹⁷⁷ On sites at mouths of rivers: Lacroix (1965: 115ff.).

¹⁷⁸ Pease (1917: 16).



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καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

“Askest Arcadia from me? ‘Tis a boon too great for the giving.
Many Arcadians there are, stout heroes, eaters of acorns, –
These shall hinder thee sore. Yet ‘tis not I that begrudge thee:
Lands Tegeaeon I’ll give thee, to smite with feet in the dancing,
Also the fertile plain with line I’ll give thee to measure.”¹⁸⁶ (Tr. Godley, Loeb)

The inquiry is first restated, as it was in the former oracle about Sikyon. Then follows the personal denial, which is, however, not dependent on Apollo’s own arbitrary decision but on the fact that the Arkadians will offer resistance. This is also similar to the reason given for the denial in the oracle about Sikyon, implied in line 2: “even if you were made of bronze.”¹⁸⁷ In place of the desired destination, an alternative is provided by each oracle: Tegea and Taras. Nothing is said in the first oracle about Taras about war with the inhabitants (in contrast to Tegea). In the second this is explicit: “a plague on the Iapygians” (see below). Our evaluation of the authenticity of these oracles should depend partly on this point: Antiochus clearly implies friendly relations with the natives when he says that the colonists “were welcomed” by the local inhabitants: καὶ ἐδέξαντο αὐτοὺς οἱ τε βάρβαροι καὶ οἱ Κρήτες οἱ προκατασχόντες τὸν τόπον. On the other hand, it is Antiochus himself who quotes the oracle about the plague to the Iapygians as the only foundation oracle just a few lines before.

Moreover, Justin preserves a tradition according to which the former inhabitants fled to Brentesion, thereby signifying a forcible expulsion of the natives.¹⁸⁸ But even if we accept Bérard’s view that in the initial stage relations had been friendly,¹⁸⁹ the question about the second oracle should remain open because it is perfectly possible that on setting out from the Peloponnesos the colonists could not have anticipated what kind of relations they would have with the natives and would have considered resistance likely (see more on this *motif* below).

The oracle represents Delphoi as initiating the colonization of Taras as a reply to the colonists’ wish to colonize. It is probably addressed to the oikist, who is provided with the appropriate geographical details. Unlike the oracle about Kroton, nothing is mentioned of the route but only instructions on how to recognize the place on arrival.

“Mark Satyrion and the gleaming water of Taras.” Satyrion (modern Leporano) lies a few miles east of the site of Taras and apparently was the site of

¹⁸⁶ Hdt. 1.66.1; cf. Rohrbach (1960: 17); Crahay (1956: 150).

¹⁸⁷ Corinth probably would not have allowed it; cf. Forrest (1957: 172). For the significance of “bronze” see Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II No. 302).

¹⁸⁸ Justin II.4; cf. Strabo VI.282. See also our discussion on the cult of Phalanthos below, p. 216ff.

¹⁸⁹ (1957: 171). This would imply that the first oracle has more claims to authenticity because it does not mention war and that the second is spurious because it does.

a preliminary settlement;¹⁹⁰ local legend later made its eponym, the nymph Satyrion, the mother of the eponymous hero, Taras.¹⁹¹ The oracle probably refers to a topographical area; in the second oracle this area is referred to, with "Taras," as πίων δῆμος ("rich country"). Some late sources, however, seem to indicate that previously a settlement had existed there.¹⁹² Taras could be a reference to the sea, but more probably the river is meant; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his paraphrase of the oracle, specifies ποταμὸν Τάραντα.¹⁹³ In verse 6, however, we read Τάραντα ποιοῦ, that is, the name of the future colony. This does not have to be anachronistic; colonies were often named quite straightforwardly after rivers (e.g., Gela),¹⁹⁴ and even if the first settlement had not been on the site of the acropolis of the later Tarentum, its name could have been Taras. The oikist, then, is given two topographical landmarks and also a name for the colony.¹⁹⁵

The third sign by which to recognize the site is "the harbour on the left." Strictly speaking, upon approaching Taras the harbours are on one's right, but from the point of view of a ship going "up" from the Peloponnesos, it can be regarded as "left." A better translation, however, is probably *western*, which is another meaning of σκαίος.¹⁹⁶

The fourth sign by which the site is to be recognized is not topographical but a riddle: where the goat dips its beard in the water. Parke, who generally rejects such *motifs* as belonging to folklore, approaches this oracle hesitantly; "there are no traces of accretion of legend in it." On the other hand, the pun on the he-goat he takes as an "early accretion."¹⁹⁷ It is important to emphasize that, as was the case with Rhegion, the recognition of the site by the oikist does not depend on the solution of the riddle. In an alternative legendary account of Phalanthos that is indeed the case: he was told to found a city where rain pours out of the clear sky; the solution was the tears that flowed from the eyes of Aithra, his wife, whose name can be taken literally to mean "clear sky."¹⁹⁸ But in our case the riddle is a mere addition to the mention of three straightforward landmarks. One can even say that the oracle directs the oikist exactly to the place where he will find the solution of the riddle, which is completely

¹⁹⁰ Lo Porto (1964a: 177–279); (1964b: 67–80).

¹⁹¹ See also Dunbabin (1948: 30); Willeumier (1939: 6, 46).

¹⁹² Steph. Byz. s.v.; Servius ad Verg. *Georg.* II.19; Probus ad loc. Dion. Hal. XIX.1.2 in his paraphrase of this oracle calls it χώριον τῆς Ἰαπυγίας Σατύριον which may mean either (L.S.J. s.v. χώριον 1, 2).

¹⁹³ Loc. cit. For the river see e.g., Appian *BC* V.93.292; Paus. X.10.8; Steph. Byz. s.v. Τάρας.

¹⁹⁴ Lacroix (1965: 115ff.).

¹⁹⁵ Naming the colony was probably the function of the oikist; see the case of Hagnon in Thuc. IV.102.3; cf. Aristoph. *Birds*, 809–811 with Burelli (1972: 105).

¹⁹⁶ L.S.J. s.v. II.

¹⁹⁷ Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol. I 73).

¹⁹⁸ Paus. X.10.6.

different from finding the place according to the riddle. As was the case with Rhegion, the oikist is supplied with the religious authority to pinpoint the spot of settlement within the area given him to colonize. To the colonists, then, their oikist would appear to be translating the god's own command into physical terms of a site.

Oracle II

Satyron and Taras are explicitly said to be a gift from the god (δῶκα). This again provides justification and sanction for the settlement as well as for the expulsion of the native Iapygians.

This *motif* of supplying justification and sanction is implied also in the phrase: "a plague to the Iapygians." It has been rightly compared by Rohrbach¹⁹⁹ to the Homeric expression applied to Achilles; Peleus says of his son that he raised him "to be a plague to the Trojans" πῆμα γενέσθαι Τρωσί.²⁰⁰ In the context of colonization an even closer analogy in form and in content to the justification of war against natives occurs in the legendary oracle given to Neleus, the founder of Miletos. He was told to "drive out the wicked Karians," Νηλεῦ, φράζεο, ὅπως ἀδίκων Καρῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν ἐξέλασας, κτλ.²⁰¹ These parallels would take us beyond the limits of our subject, and at this stage we can only point them out. It is important to emphasize, however, that they all imply the need for justifying conquest. The foundation oracle of Taras is, therefore, not an isolated case, but is compatible with a common Greek attitude.

We should add, however, that it is still possible for someone to argue that the existence of the Homeric parallels may tell against the authenticity of our oracle and that it may have been concocted on the basis of these parallels. This is possible, of course, but such a contention must not disregard either the phenomenon of recurring *motifs* in religious lore and in literature, which, although repeated, are not necessarily copied from each other.

To conclude, for colonists setting out towards a distant location with a reasonable expectation of war against natives, such an oracle could raise morale and allay fears. At the same time, the language which is used evokes epic, or heroic, associations. The colonists could look up to their leader not just as a divinely appointed oikist but also as a military commander cast in the heroic mold.²⁰² Rather than diminishing the danger of encounters with local inhabitants, the oracular response creates the impression of a divinely justified and

¹⁹⁹ (1960: 19).

²⁰⁰ *Il.* XXII.421–422.

²⁰¹ Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II No. 301, No. 302) for text and sources.

²⁰² This partly accounts for the heroic cult accorded to oikists after their death. See the second part of this work.

inspired war, with the god personally at the side of the leader.

The Joint Foundation of Gela

Gela, on the southern shore of Sicily, was founded in 688 B.C. by Rhodians and Cretans; the oikists were Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos of Crete.²⁰³ In time the memory and cult of Antiphemos and the role of Rhodes came to overshadow Entimos and Crete; in some early accounts, notably that of Herodotus, Crete and Entimos were left out altogether.²⁰⁴ Antiphemos was also remembered as a commander in the field against the local Sikanians of Omphake from whom he “retrieved” a statue “made by Daidalos” (see below).²⁰⁵

A separate foundation legend grew up around the figure of Antiphemos; a “foundation oracle” is attributed to him together with his brother, Lakios, the oikist of Phaselis. According to it, Antiphemos laughed when he heard he was to found a city; this was the origin of the name, *Gela*, from γελᾶω. The story was in vogue quite early, and Aristophanes uses the pun.²⁰⁶

In contrast to this anecdotal foundation story mentioning Antiphemos alone, there is an oracle preserved by Diodorus which seems to Parke quite straightforward in character and which mentions both oikists. For this reason, Parke regards it as authentic:

Ἐντιμὸς ἡδὲ Κράτωνος ἀγακλέος υἱὲ δαΐφρον,
ἐλθόντες Σικελὴν (καλὴν) χθόνα ναίετον ἄμφω,
δεινόμενοι πτολίεθρον ὁμοῦ Κρητῶν Ῥοδίων τε
πὰρ προχοᾶς ποταμοῖο Γέλα συνομώνυμον ἄγνοῦ.²⁰⁷

Entimos and the cunning son of famous Kraton, go both to Sicily and inhabit that fair land, when you have built a town of Cretans and Rhodians together beside the mouth of the holy river Gela, and of the same name as it. (Parke)

The oracle (or at least, its last verse) cannot be regarded as authentic for the simple reason that the settlement did not receive the name, *Gela*, until later: the first name was *Lindioi*, as Thucydides explicitly states.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Thuc. VI.4.3. See Bérard (1957: 225–235); Manni (1981: 176–177); Graham (1982: 163–166).

²⁰⁴ Hdt. III.153. Bérard (1957: 226–229); Graham (1971: 20). See the discussion below p. 259; 53ff.

²⁰⁵ Paus. VIII.46.2.; IX.40.4. Dunbabin (1948: 112, 318).

²⁰⁶ Kock *Comm. Att. Frag.* I p. 546 No. 618 = Plut. *Comparationis Aristophanis et Menandri Compendium* 835c: ὑπὸ γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν ἀφίξομαι. For the anecdote: Aristaenetos *FGrHist* 771 F1 = Steph. Byz. s.v. Γέλα; cf. *Et. Magn.* s.v. Γέλα 225.1; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F358 = schol: Thuc. VI.4.3. (it is unclear, however, whether Theopompus is the one who tells the story; see Fontenrose, 1980, on “Q41”); Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol. I 64–65; Vol. II No. 410).

²⁰⁷ Diod. VIII.23.1. Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol. I 65).

²⁰⁸ VI.4.3. Cf. Call. *Aetia* II fr.43 for its origin from Lindos in Rhodes; Graham (1971: 20).

Wentker put forward a theory which attempts to resolve some of the difficulties: because Thucydides uses the term, ἔποικοι, (in contrast to ἀποικοι), Gela was an additional settlement or a refoundation of a former colony of Lindos. The name, Gela, being the name of the local river, is in itself neutral (unlike Lindioi).²⁰⁹ In this way, Diodorus' oracle may be regarded as authentic because Gela would be this *epoikia*. The argument from terminology, however, is weak: Thucydides did not use *epoikoi* or *epoikia* in a narrow legalistic way. In one place he even defined "additional settlers" as ἀποικοι.²¹⁰ Also, neither does Thucydides nor any other source refer to such two phases: Entimos and Antiphemos, seem in VI.3.4 to be the founders of Lindioi as well.

Historically there is no real doubt about Cretan presence in Gela at the initial stages of the foundation. Pottery finds show Cretan wares (rare in other parts of Sicily) from the period of the foundation and perhaps earlier. There were also found Cretan *pithoi* used for child-burials. The statue of Daidalos, which Antiphemos was said to have retrieved (above), may also reveal Cretan influence.²¹¹ In a later period the Rhodians came to predominate, especially at the time of the foundation of Akragas (580 B.C.) when Gela was reinforced by additional Rhodians. As we said, the Rhodian oikist also came to overshadow the Cretan. This possibly alarmed the Cretan population of Gela. In general, Greek colonies of "mixed origins" often suffered tensions and civil discord, and the lines of division based on descent would be remembered for long periods.²¹²

The oracle we have may reflect the Cretans' attempt to insure their traditional status in the face of this Rhodian reinforcement.

This hypothesis is borne out by the following considerations:

- (1) The oracle cannot be authentic (the use of Gela as the colony's name).
- (2) The oracle mentions Entimos, who is usually forgotten. Although after Thucydides everyone could know about Entimos (see below), the foundation lore of Gela generally focused on Antiphemos only.
- (3) The peculiar emphasis on the joint aspect of the colonization, which is an exceptional feature in foundation oracles.

This last point merits elaboration: Entimos precedes Antiphemos in the first line, as does Cretan in the third.²¹³ Twice the "togetherness" of the colonization is stressed: first the oikists themselves (ἄμφω) and then the colonists (ὁμοῦ Κρητῶν Ῥοδίων τε). The general impression is not that of a regular founda-

²⁰⁹ Wentker (1956: 129–139); Asheri (1967: 5–30, esp. 12ff.).

²¹⁰ V.116.4. See Dover's commentary on Thuc. VI.4.3. (Gomme: 1980).

²¹¹ Graham (1971: 19–20).

²¹² Aristotle *Pol.* 1303a 25; Graham (1971: 15–22).

²¹³ Rohrbach (1960: 22 n.2) notes that Antiphemos is addressed in an epic fashion as "the son of . . ." This should not imply, however, that Antiphemos' importance over Entimos is apparent in the oracle. The reason may have been metrical.

tion oracle but of a Delphic sanction for a social order, confirming the parity of the oikists and colonists and probably also the parity of the state cult for the two oikists.

- (4) The name, Gela, in this context is easily explained either as a compromise (Wentker) or more probably as a simple anachronism. One hundred years after its foundation the colony had expanded and was probably already known as Gela. This was probably the name used by the native Sikels and Sikans because of the river, Gela.

The concoction of this oracle, therefore, may fit an early historical context. This is still a conjecture, but it does not seem likely that the joint aspect of the foundation would have been emphasized at a later period, when the Rhodian element had finally overshadowed the Cretan. In any case, Parke's notion that the prefoundation oracle is authentic should be rejected; the oracle should rather be viewed as an *early* post-foundation oracle whose purpose was perhaps to sanction the social order of the mixed colony, possibly in the vein of other such post-foundation oracles (e.g., Zankle, Thourioi, Epidamnos).²¹⁴

Abdera: The Failure of Timesias

The people of Teos, fleeing the Persians, founded Abdera (544 B.C.). There they accorded heroic honours to the former (historic) founder of Abdera, Timesias of Klazomenai. Timesias' attempted foundation (ca. 650 B.C.) failed because of the resistance of the Thracian tribes who expelled him.²¹⁵

According to Plutarch, Timesias was hated in his native city (because he insisted on doing "everything himself"), and when he realized this left Klazomenai with his wife.²¹⁶ In a completely different context, while discussing the fickleness of friendship, Plutarch quotes a line from an oracle:

ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ τῷ Τιμησίᾳ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας δοθείς
χρησμὸς προηγόρευσε
σμῆνα μελισσῶν τάχα τοι καὶ σφῆκες ἔσονται.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ See below, pp. 76; 86; 198–9; 254ff. For two obviously late and spurious oracles concerning Antiphemos and Entimos see Zenobius I.54 who mentions a riddle: to beware of the quadruple danger. Zenobius adds that the two were not careful and were killed by a Phoenician pirate. Bérard (1957: 233 with n.4) seems to give this story some credit because Zenobius is known to have read Hippys of Rhegion, but this does not seem justified. Another oracle which seems to justify wars with natives is found in Artemon of Pergamon: *FGrHist* 569 F1 = schol. Pind. *Ol.* II.16; cf. schol. 70g (Drachmann).

²¹⁵ Hdt. I. 168; cf. Solin X.10 (for Klazomenai as mother-city). On Timesias' cult see p. 221ff.

²¹⁶ Was he an *aesymnetes*? See A. Demandt in *RE Suppl.* XIV.796. That the opposition was political is implied both by the public aspect of the hatred and by the comparison to Themistokles: Plut. *Mor.* 812b; cf. Aelian *VH* XII.9 (τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν).

²¹⁷ Plut. *Mor.* 96b.

As the oracle given to Timesias about his colony prophesied,
 Soon shall your swarms of honey-bees turn out to be hornets. (tr. Babbitt, Loeb)

Parke interprets this oracle as prophesying Timesias' expulsion by the Thracians: "the native inhabitants first were to appear friendly, but later to turn to bitter enemies." He concludes, therefore, that the oracle may be treated as a *vaticinium post eventum*.²¹⁸

We consider this interpretation improbable since there are good reasons to believe that the Thracians did not appear friendly to the Greek colonists. Thrace was notorious for bellicosity and hard-fought battles, as is shown by the many failures attending Athens' repeated attempts to settle the Strymon valley before she finally succeeded in establishing Amphipolis.²¹⁹ The region of Abdera was likewise hostile: not long before the Klazomenian foundation Archilochos lost his shield fighting in the territories of the Saioi. These are identified by Strabo with the Sinties or Sepaioi who used to reside near Abdera. Anakreon also mentions the Sinties as enemies of Abdera.²²⁰ This lends substance to our assumption that Thracians actually fought Greeks in the area of Abdera not long before the attempted settlement by Timesias. The oracle, therefore, may not be viewed as reflecting a friendly stage of relations between colonists and natives.

On the other hand, a more straightforward interpretation seems to be borne out by Plutarch himself. We suggest that the "honey bees" are Timesias' fellow citizens at Klazomenai. This is indicated by the first context in which Plutarch mentions Timesias: in spite of the fact that ἦν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός he was forced to leave. This is underlined by the comparison to Themistokles, which clearly implies ungratefulness: "Why, my dear people, are you tired of receiving repeated benefits?"²²¹ Plutarch probably drew his information about Timesias from the same literary source which contained the oracle quoted above. This line that was preserved may even have been the opening line paraphrasing, as often, the reason for the inquiry.

Thus Parke's objection to the authenticity of the oracle seems to be removed. On the other hand, there is no direct evidence that it is authentic, but that would be too much to hope for. In the second context (on Friendship), Plutarch uses the oracle as a proverb (which also indicates that he understood

²¹⁸ Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.I. 61) conjecture also that the oracle was forged at the time of the Teian foundation.

²¹⁹ See cf. p. 228ff.; p. 81ff.

²²⁰ Strabo X.457; cf. XII.549. Anakreon: Diehl fr.20 = Page, *Poetae melici graeci* (1962) fr.504 = schol. *Od.* VIII.294. See also Strabo XIV.644; Suidas s.v. Ἀνάκρεων; Pind. *Paean* II.59ff. On this see the discussion in Isaac (1986: 81 with n.51 on Anakreon for more references). Isaac conjectures that the Thasians attempted to settle there but this does not seem to be evidenced just by the battles fought against the Thracians there.

²²¹ *Mor.* 812b: τί ὦ μακάριοι, κοπιᾶτε πολλάκις εὐ πάσχοντες; tr. Babbitt, Loeb.

“honey-bees” as Klazomenians). Moreover, Plutarch’s remark that this was an oracle given to Timesias *περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας* does not serve a purpose for his argument in the context of friendship but is added incidentally. Therefore, this remark should not be suspected as his invention but is rendered somewhat more trustworthy as derived from a literary source about which, however, we know nothing.²²²

Delphoi is not mentioned explicitly, but it is probable on general grounds that the inquiry was believed to have been made there. What is more important is the way in which Timesias *qua* oikist appears in this tradition: an historical oikist who does not operate as a representative of his mother-city. Historically, perhaps, Klazomenai did support him, perhaps in the same way that Miltiades the Elder was supported by the Peisistratids when he went to the Chersonese to become tyrant there, taking Athenian colonists with him.²²³ As far as the *ktisis* is concerned, Timesias was represented as an individual who received his “mandate” to colonize from an oracle.

That the enterprise failed probably did not add to Delphoi’s reputation; it seems that this is the reason why Parke chose to interpret the prophecy as a *vaticinium post eventum* implying future failure. But this is not the only time that Delphoi failed in a colonization prophecy, and there were many ways to explain that (e.g., Dorieus’ attempt to found Herakleia, below). It is even possible that Timesias was honoured as oikist by the Teian colonists on the orders of Delphoi. Delphoi could then point out that the foundation ultimately did succeed.²²⁴

Thasos: “A Conspicuous City in the Dimly Seen Island”

The island of Thasos, which lies off the Thracian coast, was colonized by Paros in the first half of the 7th century B.C.²²⁵ No literary source explicitly mentions an oikist; a foundation oracle, however, which has been considered

²²² Perhaps it was from this source, too, that Maximus of Tyre drew his interesting detail that Timesias foretold an eclipse (XIII.5). On the whole there cannot have been much in local Abderan tradition about Timesias. The important state cult soon came to be dedicated to the mythical eponym Abderos for whom annual *agōnes* were celebrated (Servius on *Aeneid* I.756. Cf. Isaac (1986: 78–79); *RE* s.v. Abderos (Tümpel) Col. 23–4 and *RE* Suppl.III Col.14 (Oldfather).

²²³ On Miltiades see section below and in the discussion about his cult, p. 77f.; 190–195.

²²⁴ On Delphoi as an authority on who should be considered a hero see Farnell (1909: V 206–208).

²²⁵ A Parian foundation: Thuc. IV.104.4; Strabo X.487. The date is not fixed; based partly on considerations involving the foundation oracle under discussion here, it is usually presented as ca. 680 B.C., i.e., at the time of Telesikles, the father of the poet, Archilochos (fl. 650 B.C.): Boardman (1980: 229–233). The archaeological evidence, however, does not take us earlier than ca. 650 B.C.; the recent discussion by Graham (1978) attempts to dismiss Telesikles as the oikist and lowers Thasos’ foundation to ca. 650 B.C., i.e., the *floruit* of Archilochos; contra, see Pouilloux (1982: 91–101). See also below.

genuine by some,²²⁶ is addressed to Telesikles, the father of the poet Archilochos. Since foundation oracles are often addressed to oikists, the inference, *prima facie*, seems to be that Telesikles was the oikist of Thasos.²²⁷ Moreover, the oracle itself seems to designate Telesikles oikist. That Delphoi and the Pythian Apollo were at all involved in the foundation of Thasos seems to be indirectly attested by the prominence of the cult of the Pythian Apollo and by Thasos' subsequent close relations with Delphoi. Together with Athena Poliouchos, the Pythian Apollo was the city's chief deity.²²⁸ The temple on the Pythios-terrace, which belonged to the late 5th century B.C., was shown to have replaced a smaller one of a much earlier date.²²⁹ There is also an obscure tradition about an arbitration of the Pythian Apollo between Thasians and Thracians which was possibly early.²³⁰ In the 4th century B.C. Delphoi served as an arbitrator between Thasos and its colony, Neapolis.²³¹

The crucial issue, however, is whether Telesikles was the oikist and, since that is based only on the foundation oracle, whether the latter is genuine.

The oracle is quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium²³² and by Oenomaos of Gadara, who adds an interpretative paragraph. Oenomaos was a Cynic philosopher of the early 2nd century A.D. who composed a treatise which quoted a number of oracles in order to show their inherent deceit: what is fated to happen will happen anyway.²³³ The oracle about Thasos is as follows:

ἄγγειλον Παρίοις Τελεσίκλεές ὧς σε κελεύω
νήσῳ ἐν Ἑρίῃ κτίζειν εὐδείελον ἄστυ

Parke and Wormell translate as follows:²³⁴

Announce to the Parians, Telesikles, that I bid you found a conspicuous city in the island of Eeria.

²²⁶ Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.I 66); the authors, however, are inconsistent because in their *corpus* (Vol.II) the oracle (No. 230) is placed in the fifth period, i.e., between the Peloponnesian War and 373 B.C.; cf. Graham (1978: 78). Pouilloux (1954: 24ff.) also believes in the authenticity of the oracle although id. (1963: 9) is more cautious; cf. Graham (1978: 78 n.106). Pouilloux (1982) now emphasizes that the *possibility* that the oracle is authentic is a strong argument in itself.

²²⁷ See Pease (1917: 6) for oikists as inquirers and our introduction to this chapter.

²²⁸ Pouilloux (1954: 27; 327).

²²⁹ Ibid. 28 n.2; 116.

²³⁰ Ibid. 31. See Call. *Aetia* fr.104, with scholia; Pfeiffer (1949).

²³¹ Graham (1971: ch.V).

²³² S.v. Θάσος.

²³³ Oenomaos' motive was personal disappointment he experienced from his consultation of the oracle at Klaros. The oracles he quotes are mostly Delphic, perhaps from some collection of oracles: Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II xi). It is extant in Eusebius *PE* 6, 7 p.256b.

²³⁴ Commas are omitted in our citation on purpose; Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II No. 230) place a comma after Telesikles; Graham argues for a second one after κελεύω; see below. The translation is in Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.I 66). For similar translations see Graham (1978: 76).

Telesikles, therefore, clearly appears as the oikist; he is commanded by Apollo to found a city and to tell the Parians about it. As we have said, this is the convention of most foundation oracles.²³⁵

Graham proposes a different translation of this oracle, based on his interpretation of the clause, ὥς σε κελεύω: according to his reading, in which ὥς means *as* rather than *that*, the clause becomes parenthetic. Literary parallels and concordances convince him that the “Greeks will have naturally taken ὥς with κελεύω in verse as meaning *as*, and to take it as meaning *that* would be most unnatural.”²³⁶ The change in meaning is significant; instead of being ordered to found a colony, Telesikles becomes a mere announcer of the god’s command.

In his treatise, Oenomaos makes Apollo claim that the following events would not have occurred unless he (Apollo) had commanded them: that Telesikles announced his order; that Archilochos guided the Parians to Thasos, telling them that its former name was Eeria; that the Parians actually founded it. Oenomaos also has Telesikles claim (by a twist of sophistry) that he would have made the announcement to the Parians whether the god had ordered him or not. Graham is certainly right that in Oenomaos’ view, at least, Telesikles’ role is merely that of an announcer, not of an oikist.²³⁷ Because the ancients were interested in Archilochos and in *ktiseis*, the silence of Oenomaos becomes significant, especially since his knowledge of Eeria – which apparently derives from a poem of Archilochos – suggests that Oenomaos was also acquainted with “the available material about Archilochos.”²³⁸

Jacoby, in contrast, thought that the name, Eeria, was the only thing worth preserving from Oenomaos. He may be right.²³⁹ If Oenomaos’ source for his whole work on oracles was merely a collection of oracles, then he probably read Eeria in that collection, and, therefore, an argument from silence about what he knew or did not know about Archilochos himself becomes less significant. On the other hand, the fact that the name, Eeria, does appear seems to indicate that the oracle itself was indeed concocted on the basis of a poem of Archilochos. The concocted oracle can thus be grouped with other fictitious oracles which are centered around the biography of Archilochos.²⁴⁰

²³⁵ We find, therefore, the view of F.H. Sandbach which Graham refers to (1978: 77 *infra*) erroneous.

²³⁶ (1978: 77). Original italics.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.* 78.

²³⁹ (1941: 103).

²⁴⁰ Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.II No 230–232); cf. *SEG* XV 517 with Parke (1958: 90–94). Numbers 4 and 5 in the *corpus* of Parke and Wormell which they consider authentic have been shown also as spurious: Tarditi (1956: 122–139). Tarditi notes the similarity to a story about Hesiod: 131 on Plut. *Numa* IV.6 and he notes a play on words which appears in Archilochos fr.88A (Diehl).

Another argument for the inauthenticity of the oracle is the role of Eeria as a "riddle": "The Parians will come to it when my son, Archilochos, has told them that that island was formerly called Eeria."²⁴¹ "Riddles" are often regarded as a sign of a folklore *motif*.

The name seems to us to have been a stock "former name of places": Pliny mentions it as a former name of Thasos and of Crete;²⁴² Apollonius Rhodius mentions it as the ancient name of Thessaly.²⁴³

It seems to us that the riddle itself is more subtle: the word, *aeria*, is in fact an adjective meaning either "early," or "at (or with) early dawn."²⁴⁴ It can also mean "misty," "dimly seen."²⁴⁵ If we apply the second meaning, we arrive at a perfectly legitimate literary sense common in (mostly) spurious foundation oracles, that is, a paradox: a foundation is ordered of a "clearly seen" (εὐδείελον) city on a "dimly seen"²⁴⁶ island.

To resume, the oracle seems spurious to us. On the other hand, we hesitate to remove Telesikles as the oikist; there are many spurious foundation oracles about real oikists; although their content is usually historically worthless, they still preserve the memory of a real founder. Oenomaos, after all, does not deny that Telesikles was an oikist, nor does he attribute this function to Archilochos.²⁴⁷ On the other hand, even Graham agrees that "one may well argue" the mere fact that Telesikles is addressed (even if as a mere announcer) means that "*prima facie* he is likely to have been the *oikistēs*."²⁴⁸ Since we cannot be sure how Oenomaos arrived at his information, we do not consider that the argument from silence about him should be pressed. We concede, however, that the matter is far from certain because the spurious foundation oracle is the only basis for regarding Telesikles as an *oikistēs*.

The historical foundation of Thasos involves many other problems which do not concern us here. Specifically, because we reject the foundation oracle itself as a late invention, we cannot use it as an historical source for the question of the oikist and Delphoi.

²⁴¹ Graham's translation of Oenomaos (1978: 77).

²⁴² *NH* IV.73; IV.58; cf. Gellius XIV.6.4; Steph. Byz. s.v.

²⁴³ IV.267. See *RE* s.v. *Aeria* (Hirschfeld) Col.673 for more examples (Pietschmann; Ihm; Tümpel).

²⁴⁴ L.S.J. s.v. This is the earlier meaning.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ Rohrbach (1960: 25, 39) compares it to the oracle reported by Menekles of Barka for Kyrene: ἡπειρος ἀμείνων ἡῶς (see section on Kyrene). He prefers to see in *Aeria* the "early" island in the sense of Jungfräulicher Boden (p. 25), i.e., virgin lands. Thasos, however, was not "virgin" as the poems of Archilochos show.

²⁴⁷ Graham (1978: 80–81).

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 78.

The Foundation of Kyrene in Libya

The North African colony of Kyrene was founded by Thera ca. 630 B.C.²⁴⁹ The source material for the account of its foundation and for the oracular literature associated with it is quite rich in comparison to other colonies: accounts in Pindar²⁵⁰ and Herodotus (below), an inscription which claims to be the original foundation decree,²⁵¹ and other isolated references in ancient literature. Herodotus provides the detailed framework; he begins by narrating the foundation of Thera from Sparta (IV.146–149) and goes on to provide two distinct versions for the foundation of Kyrene: a Theraian version (150–153) and a “Kyrenaian” one (154–158).

The two, as it will be shown, are structurally similar but differ in detail, roles, and emphasis; they also provide mutually exclusive foundation oracles.²⁵² As they have come down to us, it is unlikely that they are authentic. On the other hand, the connection with Delphoi is well attested (also in subsequent relations), and even Defradas accepts the basic elements of Delphoi’s involvement as true.²⁵³ The stories themselves, as we find them in Pindar and Herodotus, appear to have originated at least as early as the 6th century B.C., if not earlier. Consequently, even if invented (or paraphrased), the oracles provide us with an opportunity to study in relative detail perceptions of the oikist’s role with regard to the Delphic oracle which are early and thus valuable. Much has been written about the oracular literature associated with Kyrene’s foundation; we shall here confine ourselves to the subject of the oikist alone. Let us begin by examining the two versions of the foundation story in Herodotus, using his text as a point of reference for other sources when needed.

Theraian Version

Oracle I

The Theraean king Grinnos comes with his entourage to Delphoi to sacrifice a hecatomb; while inquiring about “other matters” (περὶ ἄλλων) the Pythia

²⁴⁹ For a general account and discussion: Chamoux (1953); for the evidence concerning its foundation and date *ibid.*, ch.IV (esp. 120–124). See also Schaefer (1952: 136–170); on the founder: Büsing (1978: 51–79); for archaeological survey and discussion Boardman (1980: 153–159); Graham (1982: 134–138). A collection of sources for the religious history of Kyrene with commentary: Vitali (1932). For a discussion on the foundation oracles: Defradas (1972: 245–257); Crahay (1956: 110ff); Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.I 73ff.); Rohrbach (1960: 31ff.); Schmid (1947: 108–116); Gierth (1971: 96–103); Fontenrose (1978: 120–123; Q45–Q51); cf. Kirchberg (1965: 51–53).

²⁵⁰ *Pyth.* IV.4–8; 59–63; *Pyth.* V.85–95.

²⁵¹ ML 5.

²⁵² Crahay (1956: 118).

²⁵³ Defradas, *op. cit.*

responds that he should found a city in Libya (χρῆ ἡ πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν). Grinnos is reluctant, asks to be excused because of his age, and points seemingly at random to Battos, son of Polymnestos, a descendant of the Minyan Euphemos (IV.150).²⁵⁴

Herodotus does not quote the oracle but reports it indirectly. No specific place in Libya is mentioned, and the command is reported straightforwardly without any elements of folklore or a "riddle" by which a site may be recognized. Grinnos is addressed as king; the position of oikist is conferred on him alone. Apollo clearly does not agree to the shifting of the designation to Battos.

The sacrifice which Grinnos brings to Delphoi merits a comment: the hecatomb was an exceptionally costly sacrifice undertaken only under extraordinary circumstances.²⁵⁵ We thus gain an insight into the "other matters" about which Grinnos was inquiring at Delphoi; probably some sort of trouble at home, whether social and political or simply hunger and overpopulation, preceded his consultation. A severe seven year drought is reported by Herodotus to have followed and to have occasioned a second oracle; but it may have started earlier.

Oracle II

The Pythia's response to the inquiry about the drought was the order to send a colony to Libya (προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίαν). It does not mention Grinnos, who is likely to have been dead by this time, since he had already been an old man seven years before. This again illustrates that the oracle was given to him *qua* king, as the responsibility to colonize lay on the Theraians. On the other hand, no other oikist is mentioned (IV.151.1).²⁵⁶

The Theraians find a Cretan guide; a small group lands on the offshore island Platea (probably modern Bomba)²⁵⁷ where they leave their guide, Korobios. The others return home and tell "their countrymen that they had colonized an island on the coast of Libya" (ἀπήγγελλον ὥς σφι εἴη νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ ἐκτισμένη) (IV.153); what follows reads like a paraphrase of an official decree: "The Theraians resolved to send out men from their seven regions, taken by lot one of every pair of brothers, and making Battos leader and king of all." Two fifty-oared ships (penteconters) carried the colonists to Platea.

The way the oikist is chosen in the Theraian version is noteworthy: Battos is made a *hegemon* and *basileus* only after the foundation had officially taken place, albeit symbolically, by leaving one man there. He is also not officially

²⁵⁴ Pind. *Pyth.* IV.4ff. reports that Medea prophesied Kyrene's foundation to Euphemos. For other references Vitali (1932: No. 197–208; pp. 74–83, 114–120); cf. Defradas (1972: 242–245).

²⁵⁵ *RE* (Stengel) s.v. ἡκατόμβη; Schaefer (1952: 137 n.13); Rohrbach (1960: 32).

²⁵⁶ We disagree with Gierth (1971: 100) that in both oracles of the Theraian version no oikist is named. Grinnos, in Herodotus' story (in the first consultation) clearly reacts as if he is designated.

²⁵⁷ Bomba: Boardman (1980: 154).

called "oikist;"²⁵⁸ in the "Agreement of the Founders," which echoes this paraphrase, he is called *archēgetēs* and *basileus*.²⁵⁹ The difference is not great, and it can be shown that sometimes the three words are used as synonyms and sometimes to emphasize certain aspects of the founder's role.²⁶⁰ Still, one wonders if the reason for the lack of the appellation *oikistēs* in this particular context is that Battos is not said to have ever received the sanction of Delphoi, in contrast to the Kyrenaian version where he was: in Pindar's words (Pindar reflects the Kyrenaian version), χρῆσεν οἰκιστῆρα, that is, clearly a designatory oracle (see below).²⁶¹

The relatively small number of colonists that occupied the two fifty-oared ships is intriguing in itself and may be relevant to the question of Battos' position. The number cannot represent every young male (from a family of at least two sons) from the seven districts of Thera; nor could it provide a solution to overpopulation and hunger. Perhaps the men took Libyan wives;²⁶² Herodotus says that at the time of Battos II the "dwellers in Kyrene were no more in numbers than when they had first gone forth to the colony" (οἴκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν) (IV.159.1). *Prima facie*, this small number better suits the interpretation of the local Hellenistic historian Menekles of Barka (2nd century B.C.), who rationalized Battos as the head of an exiled political faction. The small number also seems to fit Rohrbach's hypothesis (following P. Roussel), that in fact what we have here is another *dekatē* foundation, such as Rhegion's.²⁶³ But in fact the small number cannot have constituted the total number of colonists; this is borne out by Kyrene's size and fast development which is indicated by archaeological evidence about the early phases of Kyrene's settlement and, even more important, the surprisingly early date (probably even 620) of Kyrene's own subsidiary colonies.²⁶⁴ The colonists in the two fifty-oared ships are best understood, therefore, as a bridgehead. We will have occasion to return to this problem when discussing Menekles of Barka; but first let us return to Herodotus and the Kyrenaian version.

Kyrenaian Version

Oracle I

Battos, a bastard son of a respected Theraian (Polymnestos) and a Cretan

²⁵⁸ Herodotus calls him that in IV.159.1.

²⁵⁹ ML 5, lines 26–27.

²⁶⁰ For a discussion of the terms see our section on *archēgetēs* below, pp. 241ff.

²⁶¹ Cf. Schaefer (1952: 138).

²⁶² Cf. Hdt. IV.153; IV.186; Pind. *Pyth.* IX.103–125; Call. *Hymn* II.86; SEG IX.1.1–3.

²⁶³ Roussel *REG* 49 (1936) xlii; Rohrbach (1960: 33). On Menekles see below.

²⁶⁴ Boardman (1980: 158).

concubine, comes to Delphoi to inquire “about his voice” (apparently stammering) but is told to found a city in Libya (IV.155.3). The initiative is clearly Delphic, a point which is emphasized by all the sources reflecting the Kyrenaian version.²⁶⁵ The inquiry about the voice (περὶ φωνῆς) does not mention the Greek word, βατταρίζειν (to stammer), which in later sources was used to explain the name, *Battos*.²⁶⁶ Herodotus suggested an explanation: *Battos* is a Libyan word signifying “king.” Accordingly, the Pythia was in fact also prophesying future kingship for the oikist (IV.155). Pindar knows the “real” name – Aristoteles – and it is remarkable that Herodotus does not seem to know it.²⁶⁷

This difficulty has raised a lot of controversy. Parke takes Herodotus at face value and concludes that the oracle must be anachronistic because the title, *Battos*, cannot have been conferred before the settlement of Kyrene itself.²⁶⁸

Chamoux, who studied the matter in great detail, argues convincingly that the similarity to the Libyan word for *king* was a relatively late discovery and that Herodotus in fact reports an *aition*.²⁶⁹ Battos’ son was not called *Battos* but Arkesilas, as were others in the dynasty, according to the Greek custom of naming the son after the grandfather: this signifies the use of *Battos* more as a name than as a title. The issue is complex and cannot be settled with certainty; it is noteworthy, on the other hand, that none of the Kyrenaian kings was called Aristoteles. If we follow Chamoux, Battos either adopted that name at some point in his career, perhaps because of its similarity to the Libyan word, or that the Libyans came to identify his name with the concept of “king” (cf. “Caesar”). It is also possible that he was in fact a stammerer and that the similarity between *Battos* and *battarizein* did not escape Greek ears.²⁷⁰ Like many other leaders he may have created a virtue out of a defect. Similar notions seem to have existed at an early age about Mysellos, the founder of Kroton, who was perhaps a hunchback.²⁷¹

The reported oracle, although perhaps inauthentic, did seem probable to those from whom Pindar drew his information, that is, at the latest within a

²⁶⁵ Apollo was represented as giving the oracle “spontaneously”: Pind. *Pyth.* IV.60; cf. ML 5 line 24. For the meaning of αὐτοματίζω see Parke (1962: 145–146). See also Schaefer (1952: 138); Chamoux (1953: 93ff.); Defradas (1972: 248).

²⁶⁶ *Et. Mag.* s.v. (191.21); Suidas s.v. Βάττος and βατταρίζειν. Cf. Vitali (1932: 54). Herodotus himself calls Battos ἰσχνόφωνος (IV.155.1). See also Williams (1978: ad Call. *Hymn* II.76).

²⁶⁷ *Aristoteles*: Pind. *Pyth.* V.87; cf. Call. *Hymn* II.76 with Williams (1978 commentary ad loc.); Vitali (1932: index s.v.); Chamoux (1953: 97 n.2); Defradas (1972: 247 n.4). On Herodotus’ knowledge of the name (V.155.1): τῷ ὀνόματι ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὡς Θηραῖοι τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι, ὡς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω ἄλλο τι.

²⁶⁸ Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol. I 74); cf. Schaefer (1952: 150–152).

²⁶⁹ Chamoux (1953: 95–98).

²⁷⁰ Hdt. IV.155.1: ἰσχνόφωνος.

²⁷¹ See p. 43ff.

little over a century after Kyrene's foundation. Its most important aspect is its emphasis on Delphic initiative and personal designation of the oikist. Pindar articulates this designatory aspect best when he says that the Pythia χρησεν οἰκιστῆρα Βάττον.²⁷² This is also stated in the "Agreement of the Founders" (line 24): ἐπεὶ Ἀπόλλων αὐτομάτιξεν Β[άτ] – / τωι καὶ Θηραίοις ἀποι[κίξαι] Κυράναν, ὀριστὸν δοκεῖ Θη[ραῖ] – / [ο]ις ἀποπέμπεν ἐς τὰν [Λιβ]ύαν Βάττομ μὲν ἀρχαγέτα[ν] / [τ]ε καὶ βασιλῆα, ... The Kyrenaian version, as reflected in these three sources, clearly emphasizes this designatory aspect of the first oracle, in contrast to the Theraian version, where this is conspicuously absent.

Battos, however, behaved "scandalously;"²⁷³ when the Pythia declined to answer his question he left in the middle of her repetition of the response (IV.155). He returned to Thera; things went badly for him and the Theraians, and the latter, "ignorant of the cause of their suffering" (ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφοράς) (IV.156.1), sent to Delphoi. This emphasizes the private nature of the first consultation (and designation).

Structurally, oracles II and III of the Kyrenaean version correspond to oracle II of the Theraian, that is, an inquiry following a failure to accomplish the colonization.

Oracle II

The Theraians then inquire "about the present troubles" (περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν) (IV.156.1). "The Pythia responds, telling them that they will fare better if they together with Battos settle Kyrene in Libya" (ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε συγκτίζουσι Βάττω Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν) (IV.156.2). The Theraians, accordingly, send out Battos with two fifty-oared ships; the party tries to return but is prevented from landing by stones which are thrown at them by the Theraians who had remained at home. The men turn to Platea where they settle for two years.

The story can be understood in many ways, one of which is certain; it may be regarded as simply representing an expulsion.²⁷⁴ It is very similar to the story about the Eretrians who were driven out of Korkyra and, when they tried to return home, were repulsed by slings.²⁷⁵ Or, on the contrary, the story may indicate that the unwilling Theraians were forced to send out a colony.

Battos does not appear as a member of the party that goes to Delphoi. He

²⁷² *Pyth.* IV.6; cf. 61–62 where Pindar mentions the notion (found also in Herodotus) that the Pythia declared Battos king. Perhaps there was a tradition of sanctioning the kingship at Kyrene (after its foundation) by Delphoi which Pindar reflects and Herodotus uses in a different way.

²⁷³ Defradas (1972: 249).

²⁷⁴ Thus Defradas, *op. cit.*, in accordance with Menekles (*FGrHist* 270 F6, below).

²⁷⁵ Plut. *QG* II 293a-b. See above, p. 38.

is made a leader *malgré lui*, which probably enhanced his image as leader. We may not be sure of the precise details concerning Battos but the *motif* of the “surprised oikist” is so common in foundation stories²⁷⁶ that one is led to infer that it probably occurred in actual, historical colonizations: as a leader, the oikist needed all the authority he could muster; the colonization enterprise probably seemed ominous to many colonists. Thus the fiction of Delphoi’s initiative in general and that of the oikist *malgré lui* in particular probably improved morale. So did the belief that the god himself delegated and oversaw the accomplishment of his prophecy through his personally chosen agent, the oikist.

Oracle III

After two years in Platea the colonists still fared badly; they left one man behind and all of them (πάντες) sailed to Delphoi. There they complained that although they had settled Libya they still did not fare better (φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσσειν οἰκεῦντες) (IV.157.1). Seeking approval for a course of action already decided on by asking it as a question (“Would one fare better if . . . ?”) was a common method of inquiry at Delphoi.²⁷⁷ The complaint is noteworthy because the oracle had, in fact, promised that the Theraians would fare better, not the colonists. It is strictly emphasized that in this consultation Thera plays no role and that the colonists inquire only about themselves.

It is this aspect that induced P. Roussel to suggest an analogy to the *ver sacrum*. This theory was taken up enthusiastically by Rohrbach, who claimed that the colonists were now bypassing their mother-city because they were the possession of the god (*Eigentum*); they were like the wandering Magnesians or Chalkidians.²⁷⁸ It is dangerous to engage in identifying “reflection of hidden realities” without any explicit statement in our sources that Kyrene was peopled by a *dekatē*. A point in Herodotus also argues against the notion of a wandering people; unlike the Magnesians, who were all said to have left Crete and to have gone to Delphoi, the colonists of Battos took care to leave one man behind (like Korobios in the Theraian version). This action symbolized (again like Korobios) that their presence there was not interrupted through their own arbitrary and unsanctioned decision.

Battos now appears at Delphoi no longer as a Theraian but as an independent leader. As we have said, the oikist embodies the transformation of the potential colony into an actual one. In the episode of Platea we catch a rare glimpse of the oikist during this very process because the normal colonizing process has

²⁷⁶ Parke and Wormell (1956: Vol.I 50).

²⁷⁷ Fontenrose (1978: Appendix BIII, No. 14).

²⁷⁸ See note 263 above.



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This book offers, for the first time, a comprehensive study of the relation between Greek colonization and religion in the archaic and classical periods, when Greeks of varied origins settled along the coasts of Northern Africa, modern France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, the Propontis and the Black Sea, in a dynamic movement of colonization. In addition to innumerable distinctive characteristics there were certain religious practices and beliefs common to most: the consultation of Apollo, the use of divination, the transfer of sacred fire, and the creation of new sanctuaries for the gods in their new world. The memory of their foundation would also be commemorated in the colonies for centuries, through the hero cult of the founder, which also set the model for the later Hellenistic and Roman ruler cults. In general, the creations of new city states introduced changes both in social and religious attitudes and practices, which in turn came to influence also the older Greek world.

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