OXFORD

EARLY GREEK MYTHOGRAPHY

VOLUME 2: COMMENTARY

Robert L. Fowler

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OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
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First Edition published 2013

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Data available

ISBN 978-0-19-814741-1

As printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

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INTRODUCTION

THE explosion of cultural brilliance in fifth-century Greece has traditionally been credited to victory in the Persian Wars. From that surprising result came liberation from foreign domination, confidence in the superiority of Hellenism and the sheer exhilaration with which the Greeks seized their moment in history. Thus began the Classical Age. This received myth, like all good myths, has some truth in it, and some falsehood; but one point which it overlooks is that the cultural explosion was already well under way in the sixth century. Growing prosperity fed the splendid courts of tyrants, built shining new temples and agorai, and crowded public spaces with sumptuous dedications. People travelled far to attend the newly-founded regional and pan-Hellenic festivals, where they could be dazzled by the rich offerings, meet Greeks from cities hitherto known to them only in poetry, struggle to understand the dialects, watch virtuoso performances and marvel at the kaleidoscopic world they now inhabited. New groups, previously excluded, clamoured to participate in the political process. Philosophers expounded bold and worrying new theories, questioning even the notion of god. Passive acceptance gave way everywhere to active challenge. Public places teemed with talk, argument, inquiry.

The exposure to new information and perspectives afforded by this environment fed a naturally hungry curiosity; people wanted to find things out. *Δίζησις* they first called this spirit of investigation, then *ἱστορίη*.[1] If philosophers asked where the cosmos came from, others inquired about the past of human society. In this they were encouraged by the strong sense of history the Greeks had always had, as evinced by epic and lyric poetry. The local nymphs who gave birth to eponymous heroes; the offspring of gods who first peopled the landscape (some of them sprung from the very earth); the arrival of immigrants from elsewhere in Greece, or exotic places like Egypt and Phoenicia; the growth of the great clans; the foundation of civic institutions; the aetiology of cults; the deeds of the ancestors at Thebes and Troy: these topics could not be absent from any good account of a city's past. Locally such knowledge was passed on not only by poets, but among families and priestly clans. But as soon as the horizon was extended beyond the boundaries of the polis, specialist knowledge was needed to explain how the traditions of all the cities went together.

Attendance by the wealthy elite at the international festivals, and their exogamous marriages, created one network in which stories could pass from city to city; the busy

[1] Fowler, 'Herodotus and his Prose Predecessors' 29–33 on these terms.

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distinction was not fully articulated. So, to some extent, the corpus of *EGM* is compiled from the retrospective vantage point of the fourth century; that too might seem illegitimate to some readers. Yet this development clearly had its roots in the fifth century, and one is thus justified, with due qualifications, in speaking of mythography in the period. In other words it is not a category wrongly imposed by moderns.

One of the early signs of unease about myth is the tactic of rationalization deployed by many of our writers, beginning with Hekataios. People like Herakleitos objected to the immoral behaviour of gods in Homer and other poets; he declared the gods (or god) to be entirely different in nature, whereas others such as Theagenes of Rhegion resorted to allegory (the gods stand for something entirely wholesome if you know how to decode the story). Rationalization is rather different, objecting not to immorality but impossibility. When generalized such a principle can only lead to demythification. It is not yet generalized in Hekataios, but it is by the time of Herodoros. Hekataios does not rationalize consistently, and allows that the heroes could perform feats beyond the ability of ordinary mortals. He still records miracles without apparent demur (fr. 15). A rational outlook can also make room for gods (in whom Herodotos certainly believed); it can even allow them to do some amazing things, since by definition gods have such powers. Yet there must be a limit to the number of times the gods may intervene in one's narrative, especially if they intervene in spectacular ways, if it is still to retain a rationalistic spirit. Rationalism implies realism in the sense that a sequence of events should conform to the expectations of ordinary experience. The question is how far one's belief may permit one to argue without embarrassment that divine intervention *is* a part of ordinary experience. The implication does not run in the other direction, however, from realism to rationalism. One can tell a story, as Pherekydes often does, with many realistic touches, yet still allow gods to play their full, traditional part in the course of events. Pherekydes himself had no interest in rationalism, though it was hardly new in his day; Hellanikos too is not so much inclined to use it as Herodoros. There was no linear progression here, and traditional belief continued to exist alongside rationalistic alternatives for the rest of antiquity, as it does today.

If one was not troubled by the scruples of a Hekataios, one could simply tell the stories straight, gods and all. This does not mean the stories were told uncritically. There were plenty of other things one might object to. Chief among them (and this is Hekataios' stated starting-point) was the plenitude of versions. They could not all be right. Really only one could be right, or some plausible reconciliation of versions. One might object also to the implications of a story or a genealogy if they did not accord with contemporary experience or perceptions. Whether Telamon was a son of Aiakos, for instance, or son of Aktaios (Pher. fr. 60) is not a matter to be settled by consulting the parish registry; it is a construct arising from Athens' relationship with Salamis in the fifth century, and assent to one version or the other will follow from one's take on the contemporary issues.

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poets had long practised instinctively, the mythographers isolated one element in the poetic compound, and mass-produced it in synthetic, concentrated form.

Within this broad picture there were of course nuances. Not all the writers in the corpus wrote exactly the same kind of mythography. Some (though few) included theogony; some were more interested in local than pan-Hellenic history; some were comprehensive, while others concentrated on specific themes; some, like Hekataios, Ion, and Metrodoros, wrote other things besides mythography. Some were more rationalistic than others; they all made different choices from the methodological toolkit (etymology, chronology etc.).

In Part B, the Philological Commentary, I provide discussions of each author's character as a mythographer, and comments on non-mythological matters such as the contents of individual books, problems of text and attribution, dates, and so on. The bulk of this work is, however, taken up with the Mythological Commentary in Part A, which proceeds topic by topic rather than author by author. This procedure has produced a somewhat unorthodox commentary, but given the conception of these texts as a corpus, it seemed recommended. The alternative, to proceed author by author throughout, would have made it more difficult to assess the significance of variants: one would need to cross-refer to all the other fragments in any case, so it is easier just to treat them all together. One can then see what the state of the myth was according to the early mythographers, and compare that with epic, tragedy, and so on; and this, I imagine, is what people most often want to know from this material. To assist the reader looking only for discussion of a single fragment, I have identified through bold type the principal treatments of each one; these are also identified in the index, along with secondary references. In a very small number of cases discussion of a fragment is equally split between two sections; these are both marked in the index. With very few exceptions I assume the reader has consulted the texts listed in sub-section headings; that is, I do not take space here to summarize the contents of *EGM* 1.

Inevitably the commentary is much taken up with establishing who said what, that is with cataloguing and analysing the variants; in this endeavour I have found certain books indispensable, and have used them constantly.[13] Given the gaps in our record one often has no choice but to make assumptions if one is to make any progress; the number of conditional expressions in the commentary is unavoidably large. Another very basic difficulty facing the reconstruction of these lost texts is the deformation inflicted by their being continually excerpted and paraphrased. Alan Cameron, in his superb *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, has shown just how unreliable the attributions are in scholiastic sources which preserve these summaries. Unfortunately these constitute the great majority of the sources in this collection. The surviving handbooks of later

[13] These are *RE*; Roscher, *Lex.* (available online through the Internet Archive); *LIMC*; Robert, *GH*; West, *HCW*; Gantz; and of course Jacoby, *FGrHist*. Also invaluable were *IACP*, *LGPN*, and the *Barrington Atlas*.

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PART A

Mythological Commentary

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on the wrong subject. More will be said about Akousilaos and Epimenides as authors in Part B, but their peculiar status is worth mentioning here as intimately related to their writing of theogony and cosmology.[7] In doing so they placed themselves in the tradition of philosophy; mythography staked out different territory, between Homer, Hesiod's *Catalogue*, and the Cyclic Epics on one side, and history and tragedy on the other.

§1.2 *Primordia mundi*

§1.2.1 CHAOS AND THE FIRST GENERATIONS (Akous. fr. 6; Epimen. frr. 6–7; Hellan. fr. 202A)

Akousilaos seldom differs radically from Hesiod in the surviving fragments.[8] Epimenides, in whose name various works circulated, is somewhat more adventurous. Someone wishing his readers to think they were gaining access to arcane Cretan wisdom would naturally work in odd details, such as the world-egg, from the more exotic theogonies. Even so the basis remains Hesiod. In his *Theogony* (116–38), Chaos comes first; then Gaia, Tartaros,[9] and Eros. From Chaos emerge Erebos and Night; Night then bore (τέκε) Aither and Day to Erebos. Gaia gives birth to Ouranos, the mountains, Pontos, all without the embrace of love; to Ouranos in the normal manner she bears Okeanos and the other Titans (Fig. 1.1).

Akousilaos (frr. 6a–d) also starts with Chaos, but there is some disagreement among the sources as to what came next in his account. Plato (fr. 6a) quotes Hesiod's lines about Gaia and Eros, and says simply that Akousilaos agrees with him. Damaskios, however (fr. 6b), writing in the early sixth century AD, says that Erebos and Night

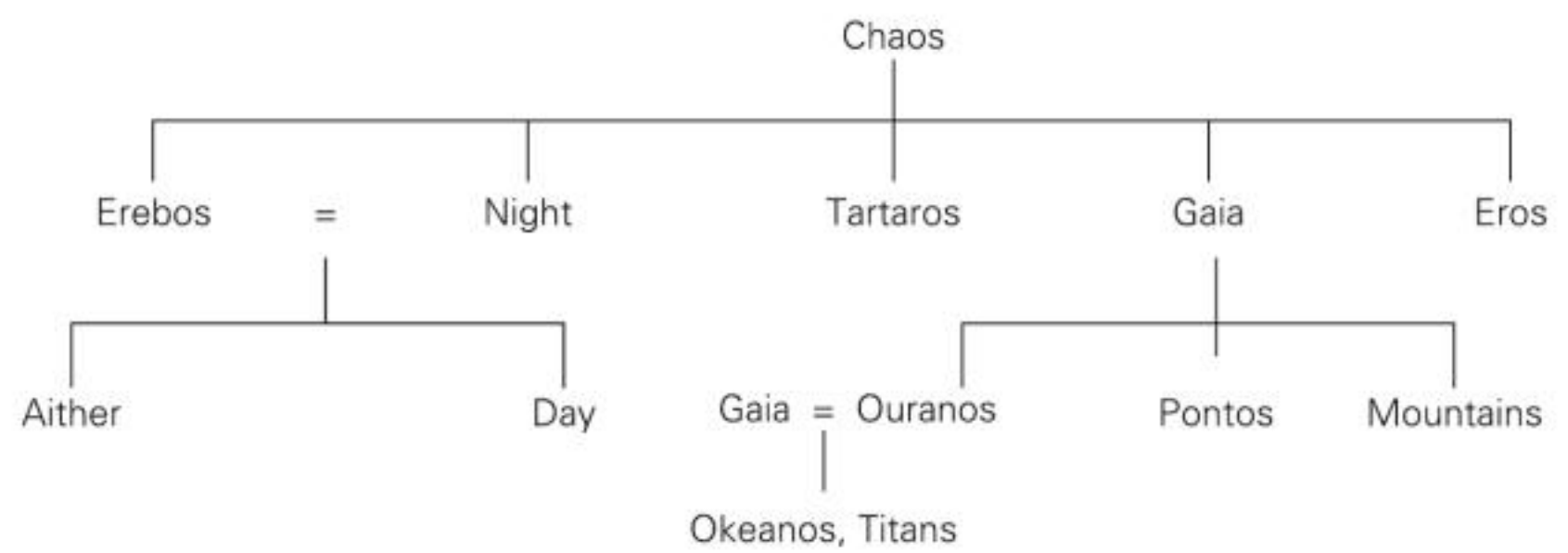

FIG. 1.1

[7] Hesiod, Akousilaos, and Orpheus are the three names that spring to mind as authors of theogony for Menander Rhetor (Akous. test. 4).

[8] Clement (test. 5) confirms the relationship, but Josephus (test. 6) claims that Akousilaos frequently disagrees with Hesiod. The degree of disagreement of which we are aware is minor, but could be exaggerated if one chose. See Part B for a study of the question.

[9] West ad loc. ably defends l. 119.

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In **Epimen. fr. 7** Pausanias reports that for Styx's consort Epimenides offered not Pallas as in Hesiod (*Th.* 376, 383) but Peiras, 'whoever that is'. (Not that Pallas is much less obscure; see West on *Th.* 376.) This Peiras has indeed been read as 'limit' (e.g. Tortellini Ghidini, 'Epimenide a Creta' 62). Epimenides says his daughter was Echidna, who in later Orphic tradition (fr. 58 Kern, 81 Bernabé) is a daughter of Phanes himself, so perhaps there was a more elevated role for her in early Orphic tradition, and for her father. On the other hand, if Epimenides is making the notion of 'limit' do such important work, he has not made Peiras particularly prominent in his scheme. For different suggestions about Peiras see §7.1.1 n. 8.

Epimenides' egg is another item not found in the Derveni poem or the Eudemian theogony. But that it is an element in early Orphic myth may be deduced from Aristophanes' use of it in his bird-Theogony, *Aves* 693 ff., where it is produced by Night. It is also part of the theogony of 'Hieronymos and Hellanikos' (fr. 202A), though this is of uncertain age. Perhaps, like Aristophanes, Epimenides placed Eros, the principle of generation, at this point in his theogony.[23] The egg comes from the Near East and would have been known in archaic Greece.[24] There is no need to report here the details of the eastern version, nor its various applications in Orphic myth. But its presence in Epimenides and Aristophanes, and absence in other early Orphica so far known, together with other features which are shared between these various sources in contrasting ways, warn against an over-confident reconstruction of the earliest texts. Rather like the famous gold leaves, every version could have slight differences, while being based on a stock of common verses and motifs.

Concerning the (Orphic) theogony 'according to Hieronymos and **Hellanikos**' (**fr. 202A**), the citation is already in its form sufficient to excite suspicion of inauthenticity. Certainly the details that follow bear no resemblance whatsoever to anything Hellanikos wrote, even stripped of their neo-Platonic accretions, and one point in particular, the equation of Herakles with Chronos, seems unlikely for Hellanikos' day.[25] Exactly what Damaskios found before him in his source is hard to say, but he seems to have been at a loss as to which author was original; he is reduced to guessing that these were alternative names for the same person. Hieronymos of Rhodes (the Peripatetic) and Hieronymos 'the Egyptian' (*FGrHist* 787; quoted by Josephus) have both been proposed as the one in question here, the latter more probably (West, *The Orphic Poems* 177–8). Possibly Hieronymos cited Hellanikos as an authority on cosmology or on Orphic affairs, but there is little warrant for this in the surviving fragments; fr. 5

[23] Bernabé, '*Teogonia*' 208; possibly Damaskios' *ἄλλην γενεὰν προελθεῖν* suggests this.

[24] *RLAC* 4 (1959) 731 s.v. Weltei; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* 103–4; id., '*Ab ovo*'. Bremmer, *GRC* 15, credits Egypt as the source.

[25] West, *The Orphic Poems* 193–4 traces it to Stoic allegory, probably Kleanthes. See also Brisson, 'Damascius et l'Orphisme' 195–201 and *ZPE* 144 (2003) 19 n. 2, who dates the composition to the beginning of the 2nd c. AD; *Orphic.* frr. 69–89 Bernabé.

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ancient poets (cf. *Λ*6 1071[b] 27 = *Orphic.* fr. 24: '*theologoi* who make Night parent of all'), so that we may believe that in the first passage too he has not only Homer in mind. In Aristotle, as in Hesiod (*Th.* 777) it is Styx not Acheloos who is eldest and most honoured, so the parallel with Akousilaos is inexact; the honour due to age is a commonplace (e.g. Plato quoting Akous. fr. 6a); but one may nonetheless entertain the suspicion that Akousilaos has heard this language in poetry, perhaps even alternative cosmology. His source for this detail, at any rate, is (unusually for him) not Hesiod. One is further encouraged in this admittedly bold surmise not only by the textual history of *Il.* 21.195 (above) but by the Derveni papyrus (xxii f.) in which, during the second creation, Zeus first produces Okeanos and immediately thereafter Acheloos.

§1.3.2 CHILDREN OF OKEANOS (Ephyra, Rhodos, Europe, Thraike, Asia, Libye, Perseis, Daeira, Triptolemos) (Andron fr. 7; Epimen. fr. 11; Eumel. fr. 1; Hek. fr. 35A; Pher. frr. 45, 53)

The children of Okeanos mentioned in our corpus are mostly daughters:[38] Hesione, wife of Prometheus and mother of Deukalion (Akous. fr. 34); Europe and Thraike, daughters of Okeanos by Parthenope, and Asia and Libye, daughters by Pompholyge (Andron fr. 7); Styx (Epimen. fr. 7); Seirenes, by Ge (Epimen. fr. 8, suppl.); Rhodos (Epimen. fr. 11); Ephyra wife of Epimetheus (Eumel. fr. 1); Perseis (Hek. fr. 35A); Daeira, sister of Styx (Pher. fr. 45); Philyra, mother of Cheiron (Pher. fr. 50); Peitho, wife of Argos (Pher. fr. 66); Aithra, wife of Atlas (Pher. fr. 90c). Of sons, we hear of Triptolemos, son by Ge (Pher. fr. 53); possibly also the text of Apollodoros should be emended so that Asopos is a son of Okeanos in Akous. fr. 21 (below, §1.9.3). In this section we discuss those frr. mentioned in the heading above.

In archaic poetry (principally Hes. *Th.* 337–70 and *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 417–23) rivers are sons of Okeanos, springs are daughters. The names of the latter[39] therefore often suggest qualities associated with water; however, because they are *kourotrophoi* (*Th.* 347), their names sometimes connote wealth, bounty, or desirable moral and intellectual qualities: e.g. Plouto, Tyche, Idyia, Metis, Melobosis, Peitho (if not rather an erotic association), Eurynome. Their generally benevolent and sympathetic nature is on display in the *Prometheus Bound*, whose chorus they form, and in vase-painting, where they are companions of Persephone at her unfortunate abduction (*LIMC* nos. 3–9). 'Europe' and 'Asie' in Hesiod's catalogue do not conform to either of these types, and look like geographical eponyms. West in his commentary (on 357) is sceptical: he notes

[38] Weizsäcker in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v.; Deichgräber, *Die Musen*; West on *Th.* 337–70; Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 5, 417–24; L. Kahil and N. Icard-Gianolio in *LIMC* s.v.

[39] Among early authors Okeanids are also named by Homer *Il.* 18.399 (Eurynome), *Od.* 139 (Perse); Aisch. *PV* 560 (Hesione); Pind. *Ol.* 5.4 (Kamarina).

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part to the secrecy of the Mysteries, but perhaps also to the unimportance of this particular kind of accuracy in ritual matters (cf. §1.7.7). There is even a tradition that Persephone's mother was not Demeter but Styx (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.13), which might provide a point of contact between Aischylos and Pherekydes, if it does not exactly harmonize them. Daeira's name may mean, or have been perceived to mean, Knowing One, which links well to the inside knowledge of the initiate.[52] An Attic religious official *δαειρίτης* (*Δαειρίτης*?) is attested by Pollux (1.35), of whose ritual activity Daeira may have been a projection.[53]

Pher. fr. 53 surprisingly makes Triptolemos a son of Okeanos and Ge. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (153, 473–9), he is one of several *βασιλῆες* of Eleusis to whom Demeter teaches her sacred rites. There is no hint at all of his later role as the first human to whom Demeter vouchsafed knowledge of agriculture, and who subsequently spread this boon to the rest of the world; indeed, the story in the *Hymn* is incompatible with it, for there agriculture is already known.[54] The later story is first attested in literature in Sophokles' *Triptolemos* (probably of 468), and most eloquently in Isokrates' *Panegyrikos* 28–31; vase-paintings, however, show that it was popular from about 530 onwards.[55] The myth redounded very much to the glory of the Athenian polis, and the propaganda value was exploited by successive regimes; it was even possible for the city at the height of its imperial power to require *aparchai* of corn and barley from its allies, and invite contributions from other cities, in recognition of the gift. The famous decree[56] repeatedly identifies the tithing as traditional, and has the backing of Delphi for its claims, which it seems that most Greek cities, though not all, accepted.

This dissonance between the myth of the *Hymn* and the (apparently) later story was at one time diagnosed, like some other features of the poem, as a conflict between the traditions of an independent Eleusis and those of Athens before the latter incorporated the former. Although there was a time when Eleusis was independent, and, like any deme, it continued to nurture local pride long after the synoecism, recent work has stressed that Athenian myth represents the union of the two cities as happening at a very early time, functionally coeval with the birth of the Athenian polis; material evidence also suggests a unity from the late Dark Ages onwards.[57] The divergence needs

[52] Or people may have heard 'torch', cf. *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 48 with Richardson; or 'sister-in-law' (Phot. δ5). Pausanias the Atticist and Ailios Dionysios δ1 Erbse ap. Eust. loc. cit. = *FGrHist* 369 F 1 (cf. Phot. δ25) referred to *ὑγρὰ οὐσία*, which they say was called *δαῖρα* in the mysteries.

[53] For discussion of Daeira see R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 340; Clinton, *Sacred Officials* 98. Pàmias on fr. 45 wonders whether when Pausanias refers to *οἱ παλαιοί* he was thinking rather of Pherekydes of Syros; cf. app. crit. to fr. 177.

[54] Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 153; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 99–101; id., *Greece and Rome* 38 (1991) 12.

[55] G. Schwartz, *LIMC* 8 (1997) s.v.; Sommerstein and Talboy, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays* 2.219.

[56] *IG* I³ 78 = ML 73. The decree dates from between 435 and 415.

[57] For the myths and a general discussion see Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reconstructing Change'; for the synoecism, R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 10–17, 25.

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schol. (D) *Il.* 15.18, Probus on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.31. Though the attribution of the allegory to his two authorities is in all probability Fulgentius' (they surely did not both say this), the story could have been allegorized already in Hellanikos' day. Yet there is nothing else in his fragments to suggest that he would have expounded such views. Add to that the uncertainty about the titles of both works he cites and the conclusion must be that the fragment is at least a *dubium*. On Fulgentius' citations cf. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* 308–9.

§1.5 Prometheus (Eumel. fr. 1b, Pher. frr. 17, 50, 83)

The Prometheus myth is not well represented in the surviving fragments of the mythographers, though it was well established in the archaic age; apart from Hesiod, the story in all probability stood in the *Titanomachy*, an old suggestion of Welcker's which S. R. West ('Prometheus Orientalized') has rendered all but certain (see further M. L. West, *EFH* 581–4). In particular the notion of the culture-bringer, embryonic in Hesiod but full-blown in the *Prometheus Bound*,[69] probably came from Mesopotamian accounts into archaic Greek epic.[70] In the mythographers, the surviving details are these: Eumel. fr. 1b, Ephyra is wife of Epimetheus; Pher. fr. 7, the eagle sent to eat Prometheus' liver was the child of Echidna (daughter of Phorkys) and Typhon; Herod. fr. 30, Herakles assists Prometheus, here humanized as king of the Scythians; Pher. fr. 17, Prometheus gives Herakles quite particular advice as to how to acquire the apples of the Hesperides; Pher. fr. 83, Cheiron dies as a result of Herakles' unintentional wounding; Akous. fr. 34, he is father of Deukalion. Pher. fr. 7 will be discussed below (§1.6.2), and Herod. fr. 30 will be discussed in §8.4.10, where Pher. fr. 17 also returns; for Akous. fr. 34 see §3.1. In this section we discuss the other fragments in the heading.

When Apollodoros says, apparently, that at Prometheus' instigation Zeus allowed Herakles to exchange his mortality for the wounded Cheiron's immortality, thus allowing the latter to die, the source is almost certainly Pherekydes. *Bibl.* 2.119–20 runs as follows; notice the close similarity with **Pher. fr. 17**:[71]

παριὼν δὲ Ἀραβίαν (sc. *ὁ Ἡρακλῆς*) *Ἠμαθίωνα κτείνει παῖδα Τιθωνοῦ. καὶ διὰ τῆς Λιβύης πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν παρ' Ἡλίου τὸ δέπας λαμβάνει.*[72] *καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν*

[69] Regarding the authenticity of the *PV* I agree with the view that it was completed by Aischylos' son Euphorion on the basis of a plan or draft by his father. See M. L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart, 1990) 67–72; *CQ*² 50 (2000) 338–52. The theology, however, is Aischylean; see White, 'Io's World'.

[70] Bremmer, *OCD*⁴ s.v. Culture-bringers; Burkert; 'Sacrificio-Sacrilegio'; Rudhardt, 'Les mythes grecs'. For general discussion of Prometheus see e.g. Kirk, *Myth* 226–38; *The Nature of Greek Myths* 136–43; Pisi, *Prometeo*; Rath, 'Prométhée'; Rudhardt, 'Les mythes grecs'; Sourvinou-Inwood, 'The Hesiodic Myth of the Five Races'; Vernant, *Myth and Society* 158–85; West, *Th., Op.*, indexes s.v. Prometheus; Whitehead, 'On Prometheus'; Wirshbo, 'The Mekone Scene in the *Theogony*'.

[71] The connection was already observed by Heyne (cf. Jacoby on frr. 16–17).

[72] *θάλασσαν καταπλεῖ οὗ τὸ δέπας καταλαμβάνει* codd.; *παρ' Ἡλίου* Robert, *λαμβάνει* Hercher, *παραλαμβάνει* Frazer. Van der Valk, 'On Apollodori *Bibliotheca*' 126 n. 87, suggests *καταβαίνει* for *καταπλεῖ*, then perhaps *τὸ* <*Ἡλίου*> *δέπας*.

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recall in the same ritual act both the imprisonment and the triumphant release of mankind's benefactor nicely instantiates the ambiguous and anxious attitude about civilization, progress, and man's relation to the gods that both the Hesiodic and the Aischylean myths evince.

Prometheus' punishment implies his crime, but whether Pherekydes and others said this was the deception at the first sacrifice, the theft of fire, or both, we do not know; nor do we know what other events of the Titan's biography might have featured in their accounts. It would be pleasing to think that Prometheus' creation of man was known to early mythography; on the evidence, however, it appears to be an innovation of the fourth century.[86] Hesiod is notoriously vague on the original creation, and his Five Ages are very much a personal contribution; elsewhere, men arise from the earth and/or are descended from gods in various ways (see §3). Pherekydes' Athenians no doubt descended from Erichthonios; the problem of how immortal seed became mortal would have been glossed over. The story leaves little room for Prometheus. Other cities gave similar accounts; at Argos, for instance, Phoroneus was father of all; at Lokros, it was Deukalion. Apollodoros *Bibl.* 1.45–7 tidily reconciles all traditions by saying that Prometheus created man from clay, and that Zeus destroyed the Bronze race of men with the flood, whereupon Deukalion built his larnax. As we shall see, stories about the flood and about the creation of man circulated separately at first; one of these stories might have been about Prometheus, but who told it, and how it might have consorted with other tales, we do not know.

Finally we should note the quite unusual role **Eumelos fr. 1b** assigns to Epimetheus. A tradition of unknown origin is reported by the same scholiast that Ephyra, the former name of Corinth, derived from a homonymous daughter of Epimetheus; Eumelos, by contrast, made Ephyra Epimetheus' wife, and daughter of Okeanos and Tethys. We are at the very beginning of the stemma, and obviously Epimetheus here cannot be the usual dope. Probably also Pandora had no role in this story. Deeply embedded though the folktale motif of the wise and foolish brothers might appear to be, this ancient story suggests that Epimetheus originally had a different standing, comparable to that of

Prometheus in a scene probably inspired by Aischylos' *Prometheus Lyomenos*, Athena is seated behind Herakles, and has already half-formed the wreath she will place on his head, at which her gaze is directed; the wreath is either willow or laurel. On a bell-krater of about 420 BC by the Nikias Painter (*LIMC* Prometheus no. 124 = Antiochos 3) there is a torch-race which could be that of the Prometheia; the athletes wear crowns with long pointy leaves (?), while (?) Prometheus wears a laurel wreath.

[86] Aisch. fr. 369 *ἐκ πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητὴ γυνή* (sc. Pandora), and Ar. *Aves* 686, humans are *πλάσματα πηλοῦ*, are suggestive; in the Mesopotamian myth lying behind Prometheus, his counterpart Ea creates man (S. R. West, 'Prometheus Orientalized' 145 n. 72). In Greek sources, Prometheus first clearly creates man in Heraclides Ponticus fr. 66; then Philemon fr. 93, Menander fr. 508, adesp. com. 1047. Protagoras, in a myth apparently of his own invention, says in the Platonic dialogue that the gods made all living things from earth and fire, and gives Prometheus and Epimetheus the role of assigning each creature its special attributes. See further Kraus, *RE* 23.696–8; Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace *Carm.* 1.16.14; Pfeiffer on Kallimachos fr. 493.2; Headlam on Herondas 2.28; Bremmer, *GRC* 33 n. 65.

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a people Arimoi and mountains Arima.[101] Apollonios of Rhodes has Typhon blasted on Kaukasos (where there was a Typhonian Rock to commemorate the event) but staggering off to the Nysian plain and Lake Serbonis. In common with Apollodoros and other later accounts, Apollonios envisages a multi-stage fight, with incidents at various locations: a useful way for a mythographer to combine the claims of competing versions, but in this case the multiple staging could be an original part of the story, as appropriate to a battle of this magnitude. The report of **Pher. fr. 54** makes it clear that Kaukasos was a way-station; after the mountain was set ablaze by Zeus' thunderbolt,[102] Typhon fled to Pithekoussai, where early Greek settlers had drawn inferences from the region's volcanoes. Strabo (13.4.6) knows a theory that *arimos* is Etruscan for *πίθηκος*; it is not impossible that Etruscan words were known to Greeks in Pherekydes' day,[103] but of course we do not know that Pherekydes drew this connection, if it was there to draw. Possibly Pherekydes started the battle in Kilikia, where both Pindar and Aischylos[104] have Typhon born (cf. Apollod., schol. B *Il.* 2.783); nearby Hittite place-names 'Arimmata' and 'Erimma', and the Hittite myth of the battle of the storm-god and Hedammu, make it quite probable that this was indeed the primary locale of the myth, subsequently transported westwards with the colonizers.[105] These writers agree too in imprisoning Typhon under Aitna, though Pindar adds in the first *Pythian* that his body stretched as far as Kymai. Pindar (fr. 91) also knows the story (common to Nikandros and Apollodoros) of how the gods, fleeing from Typhon, changed themselves to animals and fled to Egypt, where similar stories of gods changing into animals in battle were told—another link with that country.[106] If Egyptian Kasion figured in Akousilaos' version, perhaps he had this story too. We may rule it out for Pherekydes: when the scholiast says that Pherekydes did *not* send Typhon to Syria, 'as Apollonios says', he means he did not send him to Lake Serbonis near Kasion. To complete the list of early variants, the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* (32) strangely puts Typhon under a Boiotian mountain (cf. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 4.11, Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 177, who reports also Phrygia as

[101] Hesiod, loc. cit., says it is Echidna's dwelling-place, and puts it beneath the earth; this was eventually placed at the swampy lake Gygaia: cf. Hdt. 1.93, Lykoph. *Alex.* 1353, Xanthos *FGrHist* 765 F 13, Lane Fox *Travelling Heroes* 306, and L. Robert, *BCH* 106 (1982) 334–59.

[102] As Fontenrose, 'Typhon among the Arimoi' 77 notes, this incident probably furnished the etymon for the name of the mountain. Note that this fr. is uniquely cited as 'Pherekydes in the Theogony'; see Part B, 'The Structure of Pherekydes' Book' *ad fin.*

[103] See §2.1 *ad fin.*, §18.6. By Virgil's time (*Aen.* 9.716) 'Inarime', from *εἰν Ἀρίμοις* (written as one word in some Homeric MSS: see Radt on Strabo loc. cit.), is an alternative name for the island; this at least betrays the scholar's hand, and the Etruscan etymology (unconfirmed from Etruscan sources), rather too good to be true, could also be learned speculation.

[104] Pind. *Pyth.* 8.16 (further in Pindar, *Ol.* 4.6–7, *Pyth.* 1.15–28, frr. 91–3); Aisch. *PV* 351.

[105] Bonnet, 'Typhon et Baal Saphon'; Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon* 450–9; Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 299–314.

[106] J. G. Griffiths, 'The Flight of the Gods Before Typhon'.

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see e.g. *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 24–5, Lykoph. *Alex.* 1175, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9, Cic. *ND* 3.46; in Mousaios (fr. 87 Bernabé), Zeus is her father, but he then hands her over to Perses. Perses is also implied by Hekate's epithet Perseis (above, §1.3.2), which may be the primary datum in all of this; Greeks might have understood it as 'destroyer', with reference to her witchcraft. This, as well as Perseis mother of Aietes and Kirke in Hesiod (*Th.* 957) and Hek. fr. 35A, is no doubt the warrant for the link to Kolchis drawn by Dionysios Skytobrachion (fr. 21; cf. Diod. Sic. 4.45), who makes Perses a son of Helios and brother of Aietes; Aietes in turn marries his niece Hekate, so that she becomes mother of Kirke and Medeia (in Hesiod and others, Aietes marries an Okeanid). The chthonic aspect of Hekate is on view also in Bacchylides fr. 1B, who says she is daughter of Night, in the Orphica (fr. 400 Bernabé; cf. Kallim. fr. 466), where she is daughter of Zeus and Demeter, and in the remarkable story told by the scholia to Theokritos (2.12b), apparently from Sophron (fr. *7; below, n. 126), where she is daughter of Zeus and Hera.[118]

Hesiod, whose famous hymn to Hekate (*Th.* 404–52) makes her responsible for all manner of blessings, and no harm, might have objected to her being listed here among the minor divinities; though others too identified positive features, her dark side looms much larger in the Greek *imaginaire* and keeps her off centre stage. One can only speculate as to what lies behind Pherekydes' genealogy. In view of her grandfather Paion he might have thought of Hekate as a healer, though this is one virtue Hesiod does not explicitly credit her with (she is at least *κουροτρόφος*, 450). If on the other hand her sinister aspects are relevant, then one might point to the rain-ritual on Keos conducted by Aristaios, vividly evoked by Burkert, *HN* 109–15, with its sacrifice to the Dog-Star and aetiological link to Lykaon in Arkadia, home of werewolves. Aristaios is of course father of Aktaion, the hunter torn apart by his hounds; Hekate is associated above all with dog sacrifices.[119] But the matter is really unknowable. For Hekate generally, see Nilsson, *GGR* 1.722–5; West on Hes. *Th.* 404–52; Burkert, *GR* 171; Johnston, *Restless Dead* 203–49 and *BNP* s.v. Hecate.

§1.6.6 THE WINDS (Akous. fr. 15)

The lines in Hesiod (*Th.* 379–80) on which the scholiast comments are:

> *ἀργεστὴν Ζέφυρον Βορέην τ' αὐψηροκέλευθον*
> *καὶ Νότον*

with which one may compare l. 870, *νόσφι Νότου Βορέω τε καὶ ἀργεστέω Ζεφύροιο.* In both lines *ἀργεστής* must be an epithet, as it is in Homer (*Il.* 11.306, 21.334). As West

[118] In schol. Theok. 2.35/36a, Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 1180 she is daughter of Pheraia (daughter of Aiolos) and Zeus; this is merely an interpretation of Artemis' epithet Pheraia (Kallim. *Hymn.* 3.259; schol. Lykoph. loc. cit.). In Hsch. α1155 she is strangely the daughter of Admetos; 'some say this is Bendis'. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 23) she was equated with Iphigeneia, according to Pausanias, who draws this inference from *εἰνοδίη* in fr. 23a.26 (Gantz 26–7). She is probably Karian in origin: Debord in Rumscheid, *Die Karer und die Anderen* 256.

[119] If Lloyd-Jones is right in his supplement of a 3rd- or 2nd-c. Boiotian inscription, there is evidence of a cult of Aristaios in Boiotia (*Academic Papers* 2.331–2).

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§1.7.2 KABEIROI (Akous. fr. 20; Pher. fr. 48)

Names, indeed, were often a point of uncertainty. Although there were local differences which one would wish to note, the activities and functions of these spirits were so similar, and so flexible, that names could change according to the sensibility of whoever was naming them. The 'Great Gods' of Samothrace and many another location were essentially nameless. Herodotos felt able to say, without a hint of embarrassment, that the mysteries of Samothrace were those of the Kabeiroi; Stesimbrotos agreed (*FGrHist* 107 F 20); Strabo, who quotes the fragment, reports that his principal source Demetrios of Skepsis emphatically disagreed (fr. 61 Gaede = *FGrHist* 2013 F 61). We do not know where the Kabeiroi of **Akousilaos (fr. 20)** and **Pherekydes (fr. 48)** were situated, but the role of Hephaistos suggests Lemnos. Strabo goes on to say[124] that the Kabeiroi were especially at home on Lemnos and Imbros, and in the cities of the Troad; possibly this information came ultimately from one of these writers, though it comes from Demetrios in the first instance. Pherekydes, however, put his nine 'Kyrbantes'[125] on Samothrace. (Nine is a typical number for men's groups; cf. e.g. *Il.* 2.94, 7.161, 16.785, 24.252; nine Telchines, below, p. 52.) Strabo next notes Herodotos' identification of a shrine of the Kabeiroi in Memphis (3.37), which Kambyses vandalized; these were sons of Hephaistos, according to the Egyptians, and pygmy-like statues represented both, a point to which we shall return in a moment. Hephaistos suggests Lemnos rather than Samothrace; the former island was also the setting of Aischylos' *Kabeiroi* (frr. 95–7a Radt).

In spite of Herodotos, however, the name of the Kabeiroi is not attested in the classical inscriptions on Samothrace, and Hemberg (*Die Kabiren* 74–81) advances good reasons for believing that the gods there were not so called. Kabeiroi are attested, among other places, in Lemnos, Imbros, Pergamon, Miletos, Chios, Delos, Anthedon, and Makedonia,[126] but they are especially known from Thebes, whose Kabeirion has yielded extraordinary finds. Herodotos would have had his grounds for saying that the Samothracian gods were Kabeiroi (he claims, after all, to know the *ἱρὸς λόγος*), and we are in a position to see what some of them might have been; but it is interesting that he advances this identification *as if* uncontested, when either it was quite contestable (which would be revealing of his tactics as a controversialist), or divergent views were routine in such contexts (so that no one would think it worthwhile contesting them).[127]

[124] *μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἴμβρῳ καὶ Λήμνῳ τοὺς Καβείρους τιμᾶσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Τροίῃ κατὰ πόλεις· τὰ δ' ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐστι μυστικά* (the particles *μὲν οὖν* mark the words as his).

[125] On the form of the name see below, p. 52.

[126] Summary in Graf, 'Cabiri'; details in Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* ch. 2; see also Burkert, *GR* 281–5; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 117 f.; Kern, 'Kabeiros und Kabeiroi', with his *Nachtrag* in *RE* 16.2 (1935) 1275–9 s.v. Mysterien. If we could be sure that the *historia* in schol. Theok. 2.12 reports a story from Sophron (fr. *7) we would have them as chthonic spirits of purification in Syracuse.

[127] I expand on this thought in 'Herodotos and the Early Mythographers: The Case of the Kabeiroi'. See also below, p. 57.

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Alongside the Samothracian trinity there was a fourth god, Kasmilos. The Hellenistic historian Dionysodoros identified him with Hermes (*FGrHist* 68 F 1 ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.916/8), as did Lykophron *Alex.* 162 (where one scholion cites Tyrsenians, Tzetzes the Boiotians). Herodotos, we recall, tells us that from the Samothracian mysteries the Greeks learned the practice of carving ithyphallic herms, originally a Pelasgian custom. Two such herms were to be seen at the entrance to the *anaktoron* according to Varro (*De lingua Latina* 5.58) and Hippolytos (*Haer.* 5.8.10). Kasmilos is Akousilaos' Kamillos/Kadmilos **(Akous. fr. 20)**, son of Kabeiro; the uncertainty is typical of borrowed names.[147] As the Axio- group seems to form a unit, this Kadmilos could be a kind of attendant alongside them, and thus easily identified with Hermes;[148] possibly, however, Kadmilos was another name of the son (misinterpreted by Mnaseas/Dionysodoros). Possibly too there is some connection between Kamillos/Kadmillos/Kasmilos of Samothrace and Kasmin(e) of Thebes (above, n. 129): was Hermes/Kasmi'n'os there the son of Meter/Kasmine? or even the mysterious consort?

However that may be, there seem to be basic similarities between the Kabeiroi of Thebes and the Great Gods of Samothrace.[149] To these we add Lemnos, where inscriptions identify Anakes 'Lords' as well as the Great Gods and the Kabeiroi. Hippolytos *Haer.* 5.7.4[150] reports that Lemnos herself gave birth to Kabeiros, a fair child celebrated in orgiastic mysteries. Kabeiros could also have been the name of the father in this version, but to judge from Akousilaos (fr. 20) and Pherekydes (fr. 48), and his general importance in Lemnian cult, Hephaistos is a likelier candidate.[151] In Akousilaos, Hephaistos is father, with Kabeiro, of Kamillos, who in turn is father of the Kabeiroi and possibly also the Kabeirides; whether or not these were also his daughters, the two groups could reflect the groups of men and women participating in the cult.[152]

[147] Kasm(e)ilos is also attested in Hipponax fr. 155b ('Kadmilos' in ad. iamb. 58), and in an inscription (ii–iii c. AD) from Imbros, *IG* XII 8.74. Kamillos seems likelier for Akousilaos as the *lectio difficilior* in Strabo. A. H. Sayce, *JHS* 45 (1925) 163, first connected Kasmilos with the Hattic god Hasammil, who appears to be a god of smiths as well as one who offers protection of homes, and is a useful ally in battle; cf. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* 259 and index s.v.; Gurney, *Hittite Religion* 12; Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 129; Beekes, 'The Origin of the Kabeiroi' 467. Varro *LL* 7.34, citing Kallimachos fr. 723 (see Pfeiffer), Juba *FGrHist* 275 F 88, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.22.2 and others, followed by some moderns, equated the Kadmiloi with the *camilli* of Roman religion, but this looks tendentious; the supposed Etruscan link is hardly certain. Cf. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* 407–8.

[148] Cf. Dion. Hal. quoted last note (Kadmiloi the servants of the Kouretes and the Megaloi Theoi); '*amminister*' says Varro, διάκονος effectively Juba. Two youthful assistants in the cult of Trophonios at Lebadeia were called *Hermai* (Paus. 9.39.7). Strabo 10.3.7 identifies all Kouretes, Kabeiroi etc. as πρόπολοι θεῶν. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 95–6. On Kadmos' interesting role in Nonnos see above, n. 93.

[149] Cf. also below, p. 52 on the Korybantes at Erythrai. Schachter, 'Kadmos' 147–8, argues for actual importation of the Boiotian cult by immigrants from the eastern Aegean, such as Hesiod's father.

[150] Adapted from a poem of uncertain antiquity; see *PMG* 985.

[151] Nonnos refers several times (e.g. *Dion.* 14.19–22, 17.195) to two sons of Hephaistos and Kabeiro from Lemnos, Alkon and Eurymedon. Cf. Hsch. and Phot. s.v. Κάβειροι.

[152] Cf. below, p. 51 on the Korybantes. Women participated in the Theban cult of the Kabeiroi (Schachter, 'Evolutions' 127 f.).

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group, and γόητες; the men are the 'right-hand' group, and undo the spells.[172] If the wording in Strabo, who quotes Sophokles, can be pressed, it was specifically the men who discovered and worked the ore, as in real life. If the Daktyloi were, at least in origin, begrudging and malevolent spirits guarding the minerals of the earth, one can well imagine rituals designed to circumvent or appease them. From such specific origins a mystery cult of more general significance might have developed, as was the case at Eleusis. The Daktyloi's constant association with Rhea and Mt Ida points to mysteries as well. Pausanias (5.7.6) equates them with the Kouretes and credits them with looking after the baby Zeus for Rhea (whose children they actually seem to be in Sophokles); Strabo (10.3.22) says that, according to some, the Kouretes and Korybantes were offspring of the Daktyloi. The sources from the start are uncertain about which Ida is meant, the Phrygian or the Cretan; Ephoros makes them travel from one to the other.

§1.7.4 TELCHINES (Armen. fr. 8; Epimen. fr. 5; Xenom. frr. 1, 4)

The Telchines, though quite similar to the Daktyloi, are known particularly for their malignant envy. Most famous is the prologue to Kallimachos' *Aetia*, but our own **Xenomedes (frr. 1, 4)** is earlier evidence for the same idea. In Stesichoros (*PMGF* 265), the earliest reference, they are already nasty pieces of work, being equated or somehow associated with the Keres and σκοτώσεις, whatever that might mean.[173] Bacchylides (fr.

[172] Burkert, '*ΓΟΗΣ*' 39 = 176 n. 14, well defends the transmitted text, citing Menander *Heros* fr. 5 Koerte = 1 Sandbach *ἀναλυθῆναι· τὸ καθαρμῷ τινι χρήσασθαι φαρμάκων* and Magnes fr. 4, where Kassel and Austin provide further illustration of the usage in the lexicographers, e.g. Phot. α1546 *ἀναλύειν· τὸ ἑτέροις φαρμάκοις καθαίρειν τὸν πεφαρμαγμένον* and 1549 *ἀναλῦσαι· τὸ δι' ἐπῳδῆς τινα τῆς βλάβης ἀπαλλάξαι*. Purification is a common feature of initiations. Graf, 'Mythical Production' 326, quotes the further interesting parallel 1 Enoch 8:3, where Semiazas, one of the fallen angels who teach mankind various arts, teaches *ἐπαοιδὰς καὶ ῥιζοτομίας*, while another, Amaros, teaches *ἐπαοιδῶν λυτήριον*. For the early association of male with right, female with left cf. Parmenides *Vors.* 28 A 54, B 17, Anaxagoras 59 A 107, Pythagoreans 58 B 30; see further E. Lesky, *Zeugungs- und Vererbungslehren* 1263–93; Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter* 64–6, 70; Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy* 37–41 and 'Right and Left in Greek Philosophy'. The Delian Apollo says to Kallimachos that he holds the Graces in his right hand, the bow and arrow in his left hand, as he is quicker to reward than punish (Kallim. fr. 114 with Pfeiffer, *Ausgew. Schriften* 55–71). Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.120 says that Asklepios used the Gorgon's blood, which he obtained from Athena, to kill or resurrect men; the fatal blood came from the left-hand veins, the restorative from the right (cf. Eur. *Ion* 1001–17). Much material in Wirth, *Die linke Hand*.

[173] Suet. ap. Eust. *Il.* 772.3 = p. 99 Taillardat: *Στησίχορος δέ, φασί, τὰς Κῆρας καὶ τὰς σκοτώσεις Τελχῖνας προσηγόρευσε*. Various explanations reported by Herter, 'Telchinen' 208–9 and Blinkenberg, 'Rhodische Urvölker' 293 n. 1. The fragment appears to have suffered from abbreviation; darkness of one kind or another could be the result of the Telchines' sorcery. In medieval and modern Greek *σκότωμα* is a violent death, *σκοτώνω* to kill; Hdn. *Π. καθ. προσῳδίας* 1.17.17 Lentz reports *λέγονται δὲ καὶ Τελχῖνες θηλυκῶς αἱ ὑπὸ πληγῆς εἰς θάνατον καταφοραί* (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.32 n. 5; Taillardat, ed. Suet. p. 134). For their envy see Nik. Dam. quoted above, n. 120, Diod. 5.55.3, Nonn. *Dion.* 8.108, 14.36, 30.226, Phot., *Suda* s.v. *Τελχῖνες*, schol. Stat. *Theb.* 2.274–6, and other sources quoted in the apparatus to Xenom. fr. 4. Nonnos, *Dion.* 14.39 (al.), Hsch. s.v. *Λύκος*, and Tzetzes quoting Bacchyl. fr. 52 tell us that one of the Telchines bore this name. Herter, 'Telchinen' 199–200 is probably right to regard this as Hellenistic speculation rather than Bacchylidean, and to connect the name with Rhodian claims to have colonized Lycia (Diod. 5.56.1). However, Blinkenberg 282 n. 1 might be right to think of the proverbially evil eye of the wolf: cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.365–7; Theok. 14.22 with Gow. See below n. 186. Another possibility is the use of wolf's blood in magic (Plut. *De Iside et Osiride* 46); Daktyloi appear to be making use of this substance in the Eretrian hymn of the late 4th c. BC *IG* XII.9.259 = *Coll. Alex.*

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γεγονέναι καὶ παρηλλαγμένους ταῖς μορφαῖς λέγουσι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δαίμοσι, τὰ δ' ἀνθρώποις, τὰ δὲ ἰχθύσι, τὰ δὲ ὄφεσιν ἐμφερεῖς γίνεσθαι· εἶναι δὲ <αὐτῶν ἐνίους add. Eust.> *καὶ ἄχειρας καὶ ἄποδας, πάντας δὲ γλαυκῶπας καὶ μεγαλόφρυας* (*μελανόφρυας* Eust.) *καὶ ὀξυδερκεστάτους καὶ μέσον τῶν δακτύλων δέρματα ἔχοντας ὥσπερ τοὺς χῆνας*. According to this somewhat self-contradictory catalogue they are amphibian shape-shifters; but some of them (when not shape-shifting, presumably) have no hands or feet; yet all of them (except presumably those without the appropriate appendages) have webbed fingers and toes. The evil eye well suits their habitual jealousy.[186] Their trick of shape-shifting, a natural trait of bogeys,[187] is here motivated rather by their marine nature. Of this there are some hints in other sources, the earliest of which is Simias of Rhodes itself (fr. 11 Powell *ἀμμὰς / Ἰγνήτων καὶ Τελχίνων ἔφυ ἡ ἁλυκὴ ζάψ* —yet his fr. 17 puts them on Crete); it seems on the evidence to be a secondary development.[188] However that may be, this one extended description does not make the Telchines dwarfish, substituting rather other outlandish features to mark their status. It would be pleasing if Lagarde's etymology were verifiable, from a root **θϝελχ-*; cf. Old Norse *dverg*, Old High German *twerg*, German *Zwerg*.[189] Blinkenberg ('Rhodische Urvölker' 288) reports that in the sanctuary of Athena Lindia and others on Rhodes Ptah-type statues dating from *c.*550 on have been found in abundance (cf. above, p. 38).

§1.7.5 KOURETES AND KORYBANTES (Eumel. fr. 10; Pher. fr. 48)

Our exploration of the limits of early syncretism continues with the Kouretes and Korybantes. The Kouretes in later tradition are the young, noisy, armed dancers of Crete who conceal the cries of the baby Zeus by banging on their shields with their lances, thus preventing detection by Kronos. In the immediate post-classical period, Kallimachos in his *Hymn to Zeus* (34–54) has the familiar story (also Arat. *Phain.* 35). The earlier record, however, is very fragmentary. In the *Catalogue of Women* (Hes. fr. 10a.17–19; see West, *HCW* p. 59) the Kouretes gain a passing mention as sportive dancers; they are, very surprisingly, gods, in spite of being the offspring (apparently) of one of the daughters of Doros (who had married a daughter of Phoroneus). Other offspring of

[186] On the evil eye see Johnston, *Restless Dead*, index s.v. (who gives further references); Bernand, *Sorciers* 97–105. Johnston 197 points out that in Greek belief intentional use of the evil eye is associated exclusively with 'the world of the abnormal or the barbaric'; this fits the Telchines well.

[187] Empousa in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 293 is the earliest example in Greek literature; see Johnston, *Restless Dead* 171, 179–82, and Buxton, *Forms of Astonishment* 172–4.

[188] Diod. 5.55.1 says they were sons of the Sea who with Kapheira daughter of Okeanos reared the baby Poseidon; the infant was brought to them by Rhea. This is an obvious calque on the Zeus myth (and Kapheira perhaps on Kabeiro, though Cape Kaphereus could be relevant). Cf. Suet. loc. cit.; Nonn. *Dion.* 14.37–48., al.; Tzetzes, *Theog.* 86. Some scholars have suggested, rather feebly, that because the Telchines lived on islands they became sea-daemons; I should guess rather that the sea as the home of monsters was available at any time as a signifier of alienness. Detienne and Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence* 259–75, think Suetonius is describing seals, and offer a structuralist analysis of the myths based on the significance of these animals.

[189] *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866) 290 n. 1. Prellwitz (above, n. 173) 148–54 tried to make out a connection with *χαλκός*. Both etymologies must be regarded as uncertain.

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by all these groups: craftsmanship; sorcery; initiation; foreignness, primitivism, monstrosity or physical oddity; peculiar genealogies; a relationship with orgiastic cult and mysteries. One can make out differences, but assimilation was likely from an early period, making the task of sorting out the reality of individual cults exceptionally difficult and, in some respects, possibly pointless.[204]

§1.7.6 KYKLOPES (Andr. fr. 16A; Hek. fr. 367; Hellan. fr. 88; Pher. fr. 46)[205]

The Kyklopes seem to fit less neatly onto this grid; nor do they swap places with any of the others in any story—that is to say, the syncretism did not extend so far as to include them. Nonetheless they have clear affinities with the others: they are monstrous outsiders; they are famous as craftsmen; there is a notable lack of canonicity in their myths. Also like the others, they come from the early strata of mythical time, before the settled order of things. In Hesiod's *Theogony* (139–46) they are children of Heaven and Earth, *ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντες*; imprisoned by Ouranos for an unstated reason (502; presumably fear of their power, as at 617–20 of the Hundred-Handers—those *ὑπερήφανα τέκνα*, 149), they are subsequently released by Zeus, to whom in gratitude they supply thunder and lightning for his battle with the Titans. (Apollodoros 1.7 adds—from the *Titanomachy*?—that on the same occasion they provided Hades with his helmet and Poseidon with his trident.) In *Odyssey* 9 they inhabit a world outside of space and time; the adventure comes in the geographically indeterminate part of the poem, and its inhabitants have been on their island presumably for ever. Outside Homer, they are chiefly famous as builders of the stupendous, 'Cyclopean' walls of Mykenai and Tiryns.[206] Strength, craftsmanship, and living in primordial time—whether that of cosmic or civic creation—are the common ground between these masons and Hesiod's Kyklopes.[207] Thucydides (6.2.1) tells us that part of Sicily was said to have been inhabited 'in the most ancient times' by Kyklopes and Laestrygones: mere poets' tales, he adds scornfully—hitting, one suspects, at his probable source, Antiochos of Syracuse.[208] Here the Kyklopes in Sicily play a role similar to that of the Telchines in Rhodes.

[204] Cf. also above, n. 123 on the possible fluidity of cult realities. R. Parker, 'Early Orphism' 494, quotes Aisch. *PV* 210 *Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία* as an early example of syncretism (cf. his *On Greek Religion* 69–70); see Allan's insightful study 'Religious Syncretism' for general discussion. As he well notes, polytheism is fundamentally syncretistic. Herakleitos *Vors.* 22 B 15 *ὡυτὸς δὲ Ἀίδης καὶ Διόνυσος* is probably not an example; see T. M. Robinson's commentary ad loc.

[205] In **Andr. fr. 16A** both the ascription and the subject (the Kyklopes) are very doubtful, dependent on rewriting the apographs.

[206] For Mykenai, see e.g. Pindar fr. 169a7; Pher. fr. 12; Soph. fr. 227; Eur. *HF* 15, 944, *El.* 1158, *Tro.* 1088, *IT* 845, *IA* 1501; Hellan. fr. 88; Paus. 2.16.5; for Tiryns, see Pindar fr. 70a6 (*u.v.*; see van der Weiden ad loc.); Bacchyl. 11.77; *TrGF* adesp. 269; Strab. 8.6.11; Apollod. 2.25; Paus. 2.25.8. Cf. also Nikophon frr. 6–12 K.–A., Antimachos *SH* 77.

[207] Interestingly, Euripides twice adds the epithet *οὐράνιος* to 'Cyclopean walls' (*El.* 1158, *Tro.* 1088), which need mean no more than 'soaring', but one wonders if he has not the Hesiodic genealogy in mind.

[208] Euripides also reflects this tradition (*Kykl.* 95, al.). The fragments of Epicharmos' *Kyklops* do not reveal the setting, but one suspects it was his native Sicily (*PCG* 1.49).

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Kabeiros and Pais, Kabeiro and Hephaistos, Kadmos and Harmonia, the Dioskouroi—take your pick. The standard myths of pan-Hellenic festivals arise in the ambit of high civilization and the polis; these myths lie outside such control. The protagonists of the stories are usually, fittingly, older than the Olympians (older, that is, in mythical not historical terms); they are foreigners of one stripe or another, and their anthropomorphism, if it can be called that, is that of mutants. The Orphic discoveries of recent decades have taught us how little we knew about this substratum of Greek religious experience. It is beginning to look as though mysteries, whether Orphic, Kabeiric, or Korybantic, were very thick on the ground.[218]

It is instructive to note the presence, or rather the absence, of these figures in the high genres of epic and tragedy; the Kabeiroi, for instance, are suitable matter for the iambographer Hipponax, fr. 78.11, but rarely for ordinary tragedy, let alone epic.[219] Such evidence as exists from the archaic period for our various figures comes from the Epic Cycle or occasional fragments of lyric; Homer is silent, except on the Kyklopes—where he is unique. The Kyklopes subsequently enjoyed a long run in comedy and satyr-drama. Austere Pindar is, it seems, silent about the Telchines in the seventh *Olympian*. Of course, much of pan-Hellenic myth as presented by epic and high poetry had its origin in local stories, which at some point must have passed from one sphere to the other; travelling bards were always happy to add appropriate material to their repertoire. As presented in epic, however, the myths are the possession of everyone. Convention dictates that bards behave as if obscure, novel, or even invented details were traditional and familiar to all.[220] A similar process is going on in the mythographers and historians. They are bringing local information to the attention of a pan-Hellenic audience. Yet there is a subtle difference in attitude, springing from the task at hand. The historian's job is to investigate, to find things out, and communicate them; such discoveries will often be made in specific locations. Mythography and historiography's location is precisely on the border between local and pan-Hellenic. Their audience is international, their material often local. When one of our *histores* works a local detail (whether from his locale or someone else's) into a narrative for pan-Hellenic consumption, he is making a bid for its acceptance on that level. The epic convention which pretends that the information is traditional works against this enterprise because its whole point is to find new things out. Because this is their purpose, mythographers and historians offer many novelties. They then have two choices. They can (as is the norm in

[218] A point well made by Graf, 'Lesser Mysteries'. Robert Parker points out to me that the Samothracian mysteries in time became well organized and appealed to a prosperous international clientele (Dimitrova, *Theoroi and Initiates*), but we lack the evidence for the earlier period. It is clear that already in Herodotos' time they were of more than local interest.

[219] In Hipponax someone is being twitted for offering a mere sprat to the Kabeiroi (instead of a pilot-fish? cf. above, p. 47). Aischylos' *Kabeiroi*, frr. 95–7a Radt does not seem to have been a satyr-play: see *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 204; Sommerstein, *Aeschylus* 3.108.

[220] See Scodel, *Listening to Homer* ch. 1.

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northern part of Mt Ossa,[228] at whose foot lay the polis Homolion.[229] Thirdly, 'Homoloia' is the name of a festival attested at Orchomenos (*IG* VII 48, 3196, 3197; also 3195 according to Schachter, *Cults* 1.142), and, most probably, at Thebes;[230] the month-names also imply festivals in at least some of the attested locations. Fourthly, 'Homoloios' and 'Homolois' are epithets of several deities: apart from Zeus in Thessaly, Thebes and Boiotia in **Aristoph. fr. 2** (confirmed for Thebes by *IG* VII 2456, and possibly for Orchomenos by *SEG* 26.585; Schachter, *Cults* 3.121 n. 4), there is also Zeus in Eretria (*IG* XII 9.268), Athena in Thebes (Lykoph. *Alex.* 520 with schol.) and Demeter (Photios and *Suda* s.v. *Ὁμολώϊος* = Aristoph. fr. 2: Schachter 1.168 warns that this could be a Thessalian Demeter as easily as Boiotian).[231] The human names 'Homolois' and 'Homoloichos' are occasionally also attested in Euboia and Athens, very commonly in Boiotia, whether named for month or god.[232]

The widely attested month-name and the plenitude of deities are the most suggestive data here, implying festivals presided over by a god of local importance who acquired his epithet from the event. Zeus and Athena, at any rate, are pre-eminently political deities, and Demeter can often behave like one. Several modern authorities have derived the name from *ὁμός* + *λαός*, though the -*ω*- is unaccounted for;[233] Istros (quoted along

[228] e.g. Strab. 9.5.22; schol. Theok. 7.103 citing Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 228, Aristodemos 383 F 5b and Pindar fr. 113; Paus. 9.8.6–7.

[229] Ps.-Skylax 33, *IG* IV².1.94.1.b.6, Strabo loc. cit., Dion. Per. 34 *GGM* 1.239, etc.; *IACP* no. 448.

[230] Aristodemos, loc. cit. Aristodemos is dubbed 'the Theban', but Jacoby in his introduction to his frr. canvasses the view that he might be identical with the Alexandrian quoted by the Pindaric scholia (whose citations he reproduces as frr. 10–16); Schachter then suggests that Aristodemos, working second-hand, might have been talking about the Orchomenian festival, not the Theban. Aristodemos, at any rate, thought he was talking about Thebes. Fr. 5b simply says that Homolos was a mountain in Thessaly, according to Ephoros 'and Aristodemos of Thebes in his discussion of the festival Homoloia'. Fr. 5a, however, quoted by schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1119, in a discussion of how the Homoloid gates at Thebes got their name, says that they were named after the nearby shrine of Homoloios. The MSS offer *διὰ τὸ πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ Ὁμολῴου ἥρως*; Rabbow ap. Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 26 (1891) 215 = *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.50, emended to *ὅρους*, noting Steph. Byz. *Ὁμόλη· ὄρος Θεσσαλίας . . . καὶ Θηβῶν αἱ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει <πύλαι> Ὁμολωΐδες καὶ Ζεὺς Ὁμολώιος τιμᾶται ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ*. The difficulty is that this 'mountain' by the Theban gate is nowhere else attested, and is rather incredible; better to think that the mountain in this obviously abbreviated entry in Stephanos is the Magnesian one (see Paus. loc. cit. for another story drawing the same connection). Wilamowitz' reasoning seems pedantic ('. . . wenn ein Grab oder Heroon eines *Ὁμολώιος* in der Nähe lag, so hiess das Thor nach diesem Homoloos, nicht wegen der Nähe des Monuments'); in fr. 4 Aristodemos effectively says that the Ogygian gates were so called because the tomb of King Ogygos was nearby. Wilamowitz was certainly right to feel uncomfortable about *ἥρως*; however, emendation to *ἡρῴου* is easy. Aristodemos frr. 5a and 5b together make a coherent package concerning the gate, the shrine, and the games. (Jacoby on Aristodemos, and on Istros 334 F 5, n. 3, is also sceptical about the mountain.)

[231] Other literary sources attesting Zeus Homoloios are listed by Schachter 3.148 n. 3 among which note Hsch. s.v. *ὁμολώϊος Ζεύς*, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 520, and Steph. Byz. (cited last note).

[232] Also attested are heroes Homoloeus (schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1119) and Homolois (ibid.; schol. Aisch. *Sept.* 568–72, 570, pp.256–7 Smith; Tzetz. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 520), children of Amphion and Niobe; these are advanced as yet more eponyms of the gates. For the Boiotian names (also Homoloiodora/os, Homoloion, Homolophantos) see *LPGN* 3B 324–5.

[233] Fehrle in Roscher, *Lex.* 6.647 and Ziehen in *RE* 5A.2.1517 list various modern guesses; cf. Trümpy, *Monatsnamen* 225. Like (perhaps) Kallimachos (see below), Wilamowitz. (n. 230) thought of *λῶ* and suggested that the epithet was equivalent to *ὁμόβουλος*.

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a humbler officiant perhaps) was assigned to put fire every day upon the altar of Iodama and say three times in the Boiotian dialect 'Iodama lives and demands fire.'

This Itoneion was from Hellenistic times the federal sanctuary of the Boiotians; there was a month Pamboiotios and a panegyris Pamboiotia. There is, unfortunately, no early evidence for this function of the sanctuary, likely though it may seem. A site north of the acropolis of Koroneia, whose buildings had religious use and which dates to at least the middle of the sixth century BC, has been identified as the Itoneion, an identification accepted or rejected with varying degrees of caution by experts in local topography; the alternative location in the plain is attractive.[248] Whatever the status of the Boiotian confederacy might have been in this period,[249] the ethnic awareness of the Boiotoi is implied by various archaic texts (beginning with the *Iliad*, e.g. 2.494, 5.710, 13.685, 15.330) and genealogies. The cult of Athena at Koroneia is attested in Alkaios fr. 325, who calls her *πτολεμάδοκος* (but not Itonia); this already is pan-Hellenic fame. The first occurrences of Itonia are a dedication of the late sixth/early fifth century from Koroneia (*SEG* 28.458), then Bacchyl. fr. 15 *χρυσαίγιδος Ἰτωνίας*, and Pindar in a Partheneion (fr. 94b 47), who attests a hippic agon for the goddess. That Athena's warlike nature is particularly stressed in this cult is to be inferred not only from Alkaios' epithet and Simonides' story, but from various vases perhaps to be connected with the Itoneion, particularly a sixth-century black-figure lekane (British Museum B80).[250] On this vase, Athena appears as Promachos with helmet, shield, spear above her head, and one foot forward. A panegyris is indicated, with procession, altar, sacrificial bull and goat. Beside Athena, a snake is depicted on a stand. Schachter, recalling Pausanias' two bronze statues, raises the possibility that the snake represents Zeus Chthonios; Strabo (9.2.29) says that Hades shared the sanctuary, *κατά τινα μυστικὴν αἰτίαν*. This would explain Hades' unexpected appearance in the sanctuary (some scholars have instead amended to 'Ares'), but perhaps the snakes, so commonly associated with Athena, are sufficient to justify that without thinking specifically of Zeus: the snake on the Athenian acropolis, after all, is not Zeus but Erichthonios. Of course, Zeus and Athena do go well together; their rituals were closely intertwined in Athens.

Athena's goat sacrifice indirectly raises the subject of the *αἰγίς*, which will lead us to Iodama. Athena's goatskin breastplate upon which the Gorgon was fixed in epic serves either as impenetrable armour or to terrify the enemy when shaken in their face.[251] In

[248] Xen. *Hell.*4.3.20 and Plut. *Ages.* 19.2 show that the temple was close to the site of the two battles of Koroneia (cf. Paus. 3.9.13); Strabo 9.2.29 says 'in the plain before Koroneia'. See Schachter, *Cults* 1.120–7; P. Krentz in Beister and Buckler, *Boiotika* 313–17; Deacy, 'Athena in Boiotia' 92; Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods* 362.

[249] See Schachter in *Boiotika* (n. 248) 73–86, and now in detail S. Larson, *Tales of Epic Ancestry*.

[250] For details of the vases see Schachter 119, 122.

[251] For an overview of work on the aegis see Fowler, '*ΑΙΓ*- in Early Greek Language and Myth'; N. Robertson, 'Athena as Weather Goddess'; R. Parker, *BNP* s.v.; Watkins, 'A Distant Anatolian Echo in Pindar'; Bremmer, *GRC* 314–17.

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of Poseidon in his temple at Aigai, Euboia) and Verg. *Aen.* 3.74. Kallimachos (fr. 59.6 = *SH* 265.6) and Lykophron (*Alex.* 135) offer *Αἰγαίων*. One can never be sure in such notices whether the information was really to be found in the cited authority or the scholiast, noticing the epithet in the author, has drawn his own inferences. After all, the passage of Homer cited for an alternative explanation—that it was called after 'Aigai', an island sacred to Poseidon—says nothing about the naming of the sea (nor does it say that Aigai was an island). In itself, shorn of context, one would assume the datum to be a reference to Poseidon of Aigai, whether the one in Achaia or Euboia, or even Lakonia (Aigiai).[263] Perhaps Pherekydes told a story about how Poseidon came to claim Aigai as his own. But in that case, Pherekydes' information does not differ from Homer's for the scholiast's purposes. More probably, the epithet arose in the context of some other story, perhaps that of Theseus (Dolcetti, *Ferecide di Atene* 22).

A story with a connection to the sea is in fact readily at hand. In the Titanomachy (fr. 3), Aigaion, son of Pontos, fought with the Titans against the gods (cf. Antimachos fr. 14 Matthews, Verg. *Aen.* 10.565, Stat. *Theb.* 2.596); Kinaithon in the *Herakleia* (fr. dub. 7 Bernabé = *Heraclea* fr. A Davies p. 142) says that he was defeated by Poseidon (as one would expect), and the scholiast who quotes him (on Ap. Rhod. 1.1165c) paraphrases *κατεποντίσθη εἰς τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου "ἠρίον Αἰγαίωνος"*, as if 'tomb of Aigaion' meant the sea itself (so Wendel understands the scholiast). In Hesiod's *Theogony* 617–728, Aigaion/Briareos was on the other side in this battle, a tradition that seems to lie behind the curious incident of Aigaion/Briareos in *Il.* 1.399–406 (reprised by Ion of Chios, *PMG* 741). Either way, we are dealing with a somewhat shadowy figure of early legend, a member of the previous generation of gods. Above all because of the name of the Aegean sea itself, the guess is easy that he was a pre-Greek sea-god, perhaps the pre-Greek sea-god, ousted by Poseidon upon arrival.[264] Various evidence connects the root *αἰγ-* with the sea: the words *αἰγιαλός* 'shore', *αἶγες* and *αἰγάδες* 'waves', perhaps *αἰγίς* (cf. *ἐπαιγίζω, καταιγίζω*); the legendary home of Poseidon already mentioned; and most interestingly the story of the terrifying storm that struck the heroes returning from Troy, at Aigai according to Alkaios fr. 298; whether Alkaios meant the Aigai near Lesbos, or the usual location of the storm at Cape Kephereus in Euboia (also called Aigaie), it comes to the same thing for the present purpose.[265] Theseus has two fathers, Aigeus and Poseidon. The root

[263] For the last see Paus. 3.21.5. For ancient sources on Euboia and Achaia see *LfgrE* s.v. *Αἰγαί*; the location of both is uncertain, which suggests they may have existed in legend only. The Achaian would have Homeric authority (*Il.* 8.203, cf. 2.574–5, 13.21, *Od.* 5.381), whereas the Euboian has strong associations in Cyclic epic (see below). Aiga (or Aix) in Aiolia is another theoretical possibility (Strabo 13.1.68, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1165c). Further discussion at *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 101 n. 20.

[264] Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage* 240–1.

[265] For Aigaie see schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1165c, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Κάρυστος*, Eust. *Il.* 281.3. For further details and discussion see my article (above, n. 251). One can speculate that the Nostoi might have given Pherekydes an opportunity to speak of Poseidon Aigaios.

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The epithet would denote the recipient of a bull sacrifice, like the later Taurobolion for Kybele.[278] Conceptually this seems easier, though it must be admitted that literary evidence for such a sacrifice is also thin. Apart from this *Suda* entry, there is only Paus. 1.27.10, a legendary example (the bull of Marathon; sacrificed rather to Apollo according to Plut. *Thes.* 14). Schol. *Il.* 2.550 states roundly that only female victims are acceptable to Athena. However, the goddess is shown on a number of Attic vases with a bull, some of them clearly prepared for sacrifice; Jean-Louis Durand argues that symbolically a bull would be appropriate for Athena Polias, as it was for Zeus Polieus.[279]

Whether Tauropolos or Taurobolos, it is worth wondering whether Xenomedes too told the story of Anios (Pher. fr. 140,→§18.2.4), perhaps claiming it for Keos.

§1.9 Sons and Daughters of Gods

§1.9.1 TITYOS (Pher. frr. 55–6)

Tityos is the son of Zeus and Elare the daughter of Orchomenos (Pher. fr. 171;→§5.5), so he might have been mentioned in relation to him (though we do not know in what context Orchomenos in his turn figured in Pherekydes' book); or, as Tityos is grandfather of the Argonaut Euphemos (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.46 where see Braswell, Ap. Rhod. 1.181), he might have been mentioned in that connection; or again, in the Nostos of Odysseus (fr. 144). However, Tityos' role in myth is as one of the great sinners, who assaulted Leto and was punished appropriately in the afterlife (*Od.* 7.324, 11.576); as Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.23 works him into his account of Apollo's exploits, we consider him here, without suggesting thereby that Pherekydes did so in the context of a theogony. Homer does not actually say who killed Tityos; **Pher. fr. 56** names both Apollo and Artemis, while Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.90) uniquely mentions only Artemis; in art, Apollo and Artemis are common (*LIMC* Tityos nos. 2–15), but we also find Apollo alone (nos. 17–31) and once with (?) Zeus (no. 16). Homer does, however, say that Tityos was a child of Gaia; Pherekydes' story **(Pher. fr. 55)** that Elare was pushed into the earth by Zeus fearing Hera's jealousy, but that Tityos subsequently emerged and was therefore known as 'earthborn', looks like an attempt to square Homer with the tradition that Tityos' mother was Elare (Hes. fr. 78 *Εἰλαρίδης* as matronymic, Simon. *PMG* 560 *Ἔλάρα*, Pind. fr. 294 *Ἀλέρα*), much like Ap. Rhod. 1.762 (whose scholia report our fr.). The colourful

[278] For the Taurobolion see S. Price, *BNP* s.v.

[279] Durand, *Sacrifice et labour* 32–41; see also *LIMC* Athena no. 574. Stengel, *Opferbräuche* 191–6 and *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* 152–3, supports the ancient view, though without reference to the visual material. G. Seiterle, *Antike Welt* 28 (1997) 201–8 also adduces visual evidence that Athena in Pergamon received bull sacrifice; indeed he boldly reassigns the great altar to her. His list includes early Hellenistic coins with Athena on one side and bulls' heads on the other; cf. the similar coins from Thourioi *c.*400 BC reproduced by Prieur, *Les Animaux sacrés* 14.

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(Dam. fr. 11, Euag. fr. 2, Hellan. fr. 5, Pher. fr. 167;→§20), and that implied by Hekataios' claim to be sixteen generations from divinity (Hek. test. 4;→Part B). Hellanikos in his *Atthis* said that Andokides was descended from Odysseus and Telemachos and ultimately Hermes (*FGrHist* 4 F 170 = 323a F 24), and probably could have given a complete genealogy if pressed (cf. fr. 156). Other aristocratic families would have made similar claims, but the need for full documentation was felt only in particular circumstances (in general, Greeks were less concerned about human ancestors than Romans were). The Spartan king-list, with its concerns with legitimacy and Heraklid status, is one such circumstance, but generally, as Rosalind Thomas argues, complete genealogies were more likely to turn up in mythography than elsewhere (*Oral Tradition and Written Record* 159–60). The catalogic instinct was inherited from Hesiod. The mythographers were not, however, concerned to determine the size of the chronological gap between their day and the time of the heroes, though as we see from Herodotos this was being calculated already by the middle of the fifth century.[288] The rarity in mythography of genealogies extending from mythical to historical times suggests nonchalance; it does not suggest the historian's anxiety that the *spatium mythicum* needs to be anchored, but rather a sense (which is ultimately significant, to be sure) that the heroic *mythoi* were the subject of this genre and nothing else. So when such links are drawn it will be for other reasons—the Philaidai, for instance, because of Pherekydes' connections with the family in historical Athens. For Hippokrates, we have no way of telling from the citation what exactly Pherekydes said about his family. Though we know little of the doctor's life, his floruit is usually placed in the 430s, so Pherekydes cannot have brought the genealogy down that far. Soranos has got it as a product of research by Eratosthenes and/or Apollodoros, who drew in some unknown way on Pherekydes.[289] Most likely he gave some of the descendants of Podaleirios and Machaon, whose parentage and movements after the Trojan War figured in the competing claims of the Asklepiadai in different historical cities. For the variants and discussion see esp. Rubin, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*; also Thraemer, *RE* 2.2.1658–61, 1683–4, 6.1.187–9.

(iv) **Andr. fr. 3** and **Akous. fr. 19** are two more Philodeman snippets; of Andron, who says only that Zeus ordered Apollo to serve Admetos for a year; concerning Akousilaos, who here follows and is cited with Hesiod (fr. 54(b)), we learn that Apollo was about to be hurled into Tartaros by Zeus when Leto successfully intervened on his behalf. Tartaros is where gods go who threaten to overthrow the current king of heaven; Apollo's attempt to eliminate the supply of thunderbolts would have that effect. The incident is mentioned also by Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.122.

[288] e.g. 2.145, Herakles 900 years before his own time; Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 74–6.

[289] See also Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 103. Soranos' numbers just about work: twenty generations after Herakles should mean that Hippokrates was born in 480, which is earlier than the usual date of *c.*460, but until the 21st generation is complete one can still count 20.

(v) **Pher. fr. 35** is a verbatim quotation; he tells the story briefly in a digression (see Part B for the place of this fr. in Pherekydes' book). The details are that Apollo killed not the Kyklopes but their sons (→§1.7.6); that he did penance for a year;[290] and that Asklepios' offence was that he was raising the dead at Delphi. The type of offence and the location are the kinds of details that are fair game for free mythographical invention. Apart from the long list given by schol. Eur. *Alk.* 1 (which quotes Pher.) there is schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.96 (see the app. crit.), Phld. *De Piet.* N 1609 V (p. 52 Gomperz), Paus. 2.26.4–5, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.121, Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 1.260–2, Hyg. *Fab.* 49.1 (several of these quote Stesich. *PMGF* 194 who after Hesiod fr. 54 is the earliest authority for this story). All early versions say the offence was resurrection; in the Hellenistic period variants involving healing appear (the Proitides, the Pheneidai). Pherekydes is the only writer to put the event at Delphi, perhaps because of Asklepios' father; he is writing well before Asklepios' cult arrived in Athens and maybe even before it was fully developed in Epidauros and other sites in the Peloponnese. Stesichoros placed the event at Thebes. Thessaly is the oldest attested location for Asklepios, attested in Homer and other evidence, and implied by his genealogy (whichever mother one chooses).[291] There is no evidence for Asklepios' cult at Delphi, so Pherekydes' choice must have something to do with the nature of the myth; perhaps the exploration of the life/death divide is relevant, given Delphi's place in Greek myth as the enforcer of such morality. Ironically, it is Asklepios' own father who issues the command *γνῶθι σαυτόν*, know that you are mortal; but Greek myth affords other examples of gods punished in order to teach the implied audience the lessons of mortality, principally in stories of rebellion against Zeus. On the cult of Asklepios, see the discussion and references of Graf in *BNP* s.v. Asclepius; Lorenz, 'Asklepios'; Bremmer, *GRC* 253–61; Wickkiser, *Asklepios*.[292]

(vi) **Pher. fr. 131** adds the detail that Apollo gave Hermes his wand (*ῥάβδος*) while he was doing his service to Admetos. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (529), Apollo bestows the gift on Olympos, after the brothers' reconciliation. At l. 70, Hermes goes to Pieria to steal Apollo's cattle; in Sophokles' *Ichneutai* (fr. 314.30) Apollo says he has come from Thessaly in search of his herd. He catches up with Hermes at Mt Kyllene in Arkadia. Admetos is at least a northerner, but the *Hymn* imagines a different era of mythological time altogether from his. The innovative nature of the *Hymn* is well known. But Pherekydes' version is not necessarily older for that reason; his variant has the appearance of a tidy linkage between two stories: he has asked himself, where were the cattle in the tale of Hermes and Apollo? By supposing they were Admetos' cattle, he gives historical specificity to the events (in the *Hymn* the cattle are first described simply

[290] So also Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.122; Myth. Vat. I 46.6 says 9 years, which may be his idea of the so-called Great Year. For such terms cf. Kadmos (Hellan. fr. 51; §10.3), Poseidon and Apollo (Hellan. fr. 26; §8.5.3), and Herakles (Pher. fr. 82; §8.5.5).

[291] E. Aston, *CQ*² 54 (2004) 18–32.

[292] On the etymology of the name see now Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v.

as 'cattle of the gods', 71). Yet he cannot have imagined that Hermes was born so late; therefore the wand (oddly enough) was a gift to the fully-grown god. Symbolically there is additional logic to his innovation, given the nature of Asklepios' story as read above; the wand of Hermes the psychopomp, crosser of boundaries, symbolizes his magical capacity. Cf. Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Herm.* 528–32.

An implication of this assessment is that Pherekydes is later than the *Hymn*, unless one thinks that the wand (and the close relationship implied between the two brothers) was traditional, not an innovation of any one text. Some scholars have put the *Hymn* in the fifth century, but the latest editor (Richardson) follows those who date it to the late sixth.

§1.9.3 ASOPOS (Akous. fr. 21)

Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.156 (also e.g. Diod. Sic. 4.72.1) says that the river Asopos was son of Okeanos and Tethys, which is what one would expect to be Akousilaos' view from Hes. *Th.* 337–70 and Akous. fr. 1 (above, §1.3.2), but Apollodoros says that according to Akousilaos he was son of Pero and Poseidon, while others say Zeus and Eurynome. Either alternative is unusual, though not entirely unparalleled. In the list of sons of Poseidon compiled by Wüst, *RE* 22.1.468–77, we find Amyros (→§6.3.7), which is also the name of the city by Lake Boibe; Selinous, the Achaian river near Helike (Steph. Byz. ε56); Melas, the supposed former name of the Nile (ps.-Plut. *De fluv.* 16.1); and our Asopos. Pausanias has a rationalized tale in which Asopos is a human who discovers the river, so it was named after him (2.12.4). Were it not for Selinous one might be tempted, like Pausanias, to explain these away, perhaps by arguing that the sons are eponyms of places or regions (Amyros, Asopia) rather than the rivers. But despite the rarity of parallels there is nothing intrinsically implausible about Poseidon's performing this role.[293] Neither Asopos nor Selinous is listed among the sons of Okeanos by Hesiod (*Th.* 337–70). Pausanias names as mother of Asopos the mountain Kelousa (Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.7; 'Kelossa' in Strabo 8.6.24, Eust. *Il.* 291.22); Akousilaos' Pero could be related in some way to the granddaughter of Tyro who fell in love with Enipeus, and mated with Poseidon disguised as him. But the name could equally well be corrupt. Comes' suggestion, that a lacuna should be diagnosed in Apollodoros, would allow this view to be imputed to some other authority, and Akousilaos to revert to orthodoxy.

§1.9.4 THE MUSES (Anaxim. fr. 4; Eumel. fr. 9)

Eumel. fr. 9 is quoted by Tzetzes who provides other examples of non-canonical numbers of Muses: four according to Aratos (*SH* 87, cf. Cic. *ND* 3.54 with Pease); five

[293] For Zeus there is only the Xanthos of *Il.* 14.434, as Skamandros a son of Okeanos at Hes. *Th.* 345, and the Hermos (Hom. *Epigr.* 1.5 ap. *Vit. Hom. Herod.* 9, imitating *Il.* 14.434); the idea could be metaphorical (cf. *Il.* 16.174 διπετής of the Spercheios). List of Zeus's sons in H. Schwabl, *RE* Suppl. 15.1247–58.

according to 'some'; seven according to Epicharmos (fr. 39, from the *Wedding of Hebe*), where the editors note Polyzelos fr. 9, and Myrsilos of Methymna *FGrHist* 477 F 7, who also had seven. Krates, fr. 128 Broggiato, for unknown reasons had eight; cf. Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.8, and Broggiato's commentary. Eumelos' three recur in Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 222, Aratos' four in Mnaseas fr. 13 Cappelletto. In art, the number of Muses on a vase is often restricted by space, but on an aryballos of the early sixth century (*LIMC* Herakles no. 3331 = Mousa, Mousai no. 122 bis), depicting the wedding of Herakles and Hebe, there are seven, exactly as in Epicharmos.[294] Though Hesiod's nine were canonical (repeated in fact by Eumelos in another fr., 34 West; cf. *Od.* 24.60, etc.) these variants are typical of divine collectivities, who may also of course be represented by the singular, as in the opening of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; cf. Moira/i, Erinys/es, etc.[295] Philosophers and allegorists were free to make up reasons for the numbers; a sample is given by Tzetzes, loc. cit., who refers to the three *τόνοι*, the three *προσῳδίαι*, the four dialects, the five senses, the seven strings of the lyre, *καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα*. In this tradition belongs Fulgentius quoting the spurious 'Anaximandros of Lampsakos' (**Anaxim. fr. 4**), who says that Apollo and the nine Muses represent the ten parts of the mouth. See further R. Janko, *ZPE* 118 (1997) 78; Mayer, *RE* 16.1,687–91.

That Mnemosyne and Zeus were parents of the Muses, as in Hesiod, is also nearly universal, but Alkman (*PMGF* 5 fr. 2 ii, 8.9) and Mimnermos (fr. 14) distinguished two groups: an older one, daughters of Ouranos and Ge (like their mother Mnemosyne in Hesiod), and the younger ones, daughters of Mnemosyne. Alkman's cosmological leanings may have been responsible for this innovation. Eumelos is alone in saying Apollo was their father; if he was not inconsistent, perhaps in this particular the epitome contradicts the earlier poem. But it would not be surprising if some early poet thought Apollo was the father, as he is so constantly represented with them in art and verse. The watery names of two of the daughters as transmitted in Eumelos (Kephiso and Borsythenis) find a parallel in Epicharmos' list, which includes Achelois alongside Neilo, Asopo and others; Hermann's conjecture of 'Achelois' for 'Apollonis' as the name of the third seems highly probable. Kephissos, Acheloos and the inspirational spring Kastalia come together in Pausanias' account of Delphi (10.8.9–10), quoting Panyassis fr. 2 and Alkaios fr. 307; this does not seem coincidental. Eumelos' Borysthenis may have been inspired by Argonautic saga and exploration of the Black Sea.

[294] See Palutan, 'Le *Nozze di Ebe*' 245–6, who quotes other possible examples from art of seven Muses; cf *LIMC* s.v. Mousa, Mousai nos. 1–26, with comm. p. 679.

[295] See e.g. Burkert, *GR* 173–4.

§1.9.5 THE THRIAI (Pher. fr. 49)

The Thriai are eponymous of the *thriai*, stones used in prophecy.[296] One strand of evidence, best represented by *Etym. Magn.* 455.34, offers an Attic connection:

θρίαι (leg. *θριαί*)· *αἱ μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι, οἱονεὶ τρίαι τινὲς οὖσαι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ τρεῖς νύμφαι αἱ θυγατέρες τοῦ Διὸς, εὑρηκυῖαι τρεῖς ψήφους μαντικὰς, παρέσχον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἥτις ἐγκαλουμένη ὡς ἀλλότριον πρᾶγμα μετιοῦσα (τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν), ἔρριψεν αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Θριάσιον πεδίον. Παρὰ τὸ τρία, γέγονε θρία καὶ Θριάσιον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἔρριψεν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τὰς μαντικὰς ψήφους, αἵτινες θρίαι λέγονται· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ μαντεύεσθαι <θριᾶσθαι> λέγεται. Καὶ αὗται τρεῖς εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμόν. ἢ παρὰ τὸ τρισσαί· ἢ ἀπὸ Θριασίου τινὸς οὕτως καλουμένου.*[297]

The entry is a typical jumble of information. Athena's stone-tossing is said to account for the name of the Thriasian plain (and the deme Thria), but there is a competing explanation involving an eponym Thriasios.[298] We are told that the pebbles and the maidens alike were three in number. The number is, strictly speaking, adventitious: the Thriai and Athena could have done their business with the *thriai* whatever their number; it seems unlikely, in fact, that the number of stones was everywhere invariable in oracular practice, and the mediating form *τρίαι* is the typical invention of an etymologist.[299] One might reasonably conclude that we have to do with two distinct explanations: (1) the *thriai* were named after the Thriai, daughters of Zeus; (2) the *thriai* were so called because they were three in number.[300] Nonetheless, the sources repeatedly present these data together, so that for them, at least, they amount to a single explanation. One must also consider the well-known passage in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* which speaks of three Parnassian bee-maidens who taught Apollo prophecy; Apollo makes a gift of these maidens to his young half-brother (550–67). Apollodoros, in telling the story of their encounter, finishes by saying that Apollo taught Hermes the art of divination with pebbles (3.10.2 (115)). Apollodoros mentions neither Thriai nor bees, but

[296] For the use of pebbles and similar objects in prophecy, tossed and/or drawn, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination* 1.189–97; Halliday, *Greek Divination* 205–18; F. E. Robbins, 'The Lot Oracle at Delphi'; V. Ehrenberg, *RE* 13.2.1452–6 s.v. Losung; K. Latte, *RE* 18.1.831–2 s.v. Orakel; Amandry, *La Mantique apollinienne à Delphes* 25–36; Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* 219–23; Frazer on Paus. 7.25.10; Williams on Kallim. *Hymn* 2.45. Another tradition, perhaps invented by Apollodoros (*FGrHist* 244 F 153; cf. *Etym. Magn.* 455.45), looks rather to *θρῖα* 'leaves'; Hsch. s.v. *θριάζειν* cites Soph. fr. 466 from the *Mad Odysseus* and Eur. fr. 478 from his *Likymnios* (though we do not know whether they so etymologized the verb).

[297] The entry is also in *Etym. Gen.* B (p. 160 Miller). Similarly Orion 72.12 Sturz; *Etym. Magn.* 455.47 – *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.265.11; *Etym. Gud.* 264.34 Sturz; Attic glosses in MS Vind. Phil. 172, ed. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* 394.31. For the Thriai, see also schol. Kallim. *Hymn.* 2.45 *μαντικαὶ ψῆφοί εἰσιν αἱ θριαί. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὰς εὑρῆσθαι ὑπό τινων τριῶν νυμφῶν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θριαὶ ὠνομάσθησαν οἱονεὶ τριαί*; sim. *Etym. Gud.* 266.6 Sturz, Hsch. s.v. *θριαί*, and other sources cited by Bühler on Zenob. 2.76.

[298] He is attested also in a late inscription *IG* II² 5007; there was also a hero Thrious (Steph. Byz. *θ*61; Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 170).

[299] A device already known from the *Cratylus*, e.g. 411e.

[300] Hence my suggestion <ἢ>, which assumed a word dropped because of the surrounding ee-sounds. In the light of the above argument this might be thought unnecessary.

already Gottfried Hermann in his edition of 1806 put these passages together and guessed that the bee-maidens of the *Hymn* were the original Thriai.[301] Whether the bees have a literal implication (reflecting the use of real bees in prophecy) or are a metaphor of some special quality the maidens possess, it is hard to see how pebbles eventually came into it;[302] but the coincidence between these passages is suggestive. Noting finally that Kallimachos (*Hymn. Apoll.* 45) regarded mantic pebbles as Delphic, one may be reasonably confident that the connection between the maidens of the Homeric hymn, stones, Thriai, and the number three, is at least classical.

A Delphic connection is found also in Zenobios (Ath.) 2.76, who is explaining the proverb 'many are pebble-tossers (*θριοβόλοι*) but few are prophets'. He begins by quoting Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F 195), who says that the three Thriai were nymphs who lived on Parnassos and were nurses of Apollo; to them we owe mantic pebbles, *θριαί*, and the verb *θριᾶσθαι* 'prophesy'. Others, he continues, say that Athena invented pebble-prophecy, but as it gained in favour at the expense of Delphi, Zeus, to gratify Apollo, rendered its prophecies false. So when people returned to Delphi, the Pythia remarked scornfully, 'Many are pebble-tossers, but few are prophets' (or. fals. 610 Parke–Wormell; cf. Steph. Byz. *θ*59, *Suda θ*490, *π*1932).

Much remains uncertain as far as Pherekydes is concerned. Jacoby saw that the Attic connection was likely to be what counted for him; perhaps the story in *Etym. Magn.*, which also shares his genealogy, is his. Jacoby probably went too far, however, in keeping Attica and Delphi strictly apart.[303] It is worth noting in Jacoby's favour that Pherekydes (fr. 131) differs from the Homeric *Hymn* as to when Apollo gave Hermes his rod; this detail is in the same part of the *Hymn* as the Thriai (529). But in general the Attic story presumes the Delphic practice, and the entry in the *Etymologicum* explicitly affirms that prophecy is Apollo's affair. The story could easily have been that the maidens had come from elsewhere, looking for a home.[304]

[301] He even wrote *Θριαί* for *σεμναί* in l. 552, a suggestion in which he has not won much assent (the latest editor, M. L. West, rejects it). Càssola in his edition firmly rejects the connection.

[302] For discussion see J. Larson, 'The Corycian Nymphs' and *Greek Nymphs* 12; J. McInerney, *GRBS* 38 (1997) 267–8. Cf. also A. B. Cook, 'The Bee in Greek Mythology' and Scheinberg, 'The Bee Maidens of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*'.

[303] See also his comments on Philochoros, where he is taking Wilamowitz to task, who has an important discussion at *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.372–3 [1.379–80]. Jacoby argues that Philochoros would have explained the name of the deme in his *Atthis*, not in his writings on prophecy, and that 'if he derived it from the Thriai it is not easy to understand why Zenobios quoted *ἄλλοι* as evidence for Athena's invention'; but who is to say that this fr. does not come from the *Atthis*, or that Philochoros did not use the other story about Athena?

[304] The Attic Thriai who inspire the crow in Kallimachos' *Hekale* (fr. 74.9 Hollis) could be native or immigrant. The abode of Archilochos' Thriai (quoted with Pherekydes) is unknown; I do not see why it could not be Delphi.

It is set in the earliest days of Attic history, before Thria was even named. The text does not actually say whether the stones were the very first of their kind, or ones that answered an already established description. It exhibits uneasiness with the practice; Zenobios' story (surely not Attic) involves Athena in positive discomfiture. She is not, indeed, a goddess normally associated with prophecy.[305] A clutch of authorities, beginning with Pollux 9.96, associates dice-throwing with the Skira;[306] Frazer, among others, guessed that it was for mantic purposes. In that case, Bouché-Leclercq justly remarks, 'il faut que, bon gré mal gré, la déesse locale, Athênè, accepte le patronage de cette industrie' (1.193).

We also do not know whether the Delphic maidens were daughters of Zeus, as Pherekydes makes them; it could be mere accident that the fuller sources for the Delphic story are silent on the point. As such, however, they will belong to the earlier strata of mythological history. Hesychios s.v. *θριαί* says they were the first prophets; this could be an inference from the Homeric hymn, or, as Wilamowitz sensed, a distant echo of Pherekydes.

[305] Williams, however (above, n. 296), notes Kallim. *Hymn* 5.121, Euphorion fr. 190, and the temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi.

[306] The evidence is assembled by Jacoby on Philochoros 328 FF 14/16, nn. 42–3; Jacoby himself thought it was just a gamblers' district.

Material com direitos autorais

§2

PELASGIANS, LELEGES, DRYOPES, AND ARKADIANS

§2.1 Pelasgians[1] (Akous. fr. 25; Hek. frr. 119, 127; Hellan. frr. 4, 91–93; Pher. fr. 156)

We take the Pelasgians first, as the most representative pre-Greek population in the mythographical tradition. The first thing to notice about them is their ubiquity. In an appendix to his book *Die Pelasger*, Lochner-Hüttenbach lists 149 localities in which Pelasgians are attested, covering most of Italy, Greece, and the Aegean; in the first part of his book he requires 93 pages to list and translate every passage in which they are mentioned. Yet, in spite of this literary record, it was impossible to point to a living, breathing Pelasgian.[2] No one would shake your hand in agora or forum and say 'I am a Pelasgian'. No Pelasgian ever issued a coin, manufactured an artefact, cut an inscription, or wrote a book; no Pelasgian words came to the notice of ancient grammarians; no Pelasgian even had the misfortune, like a Thracian or a Karian, to serve as a slave in a more civilized household. Not that any of this prevented people from thinking they knew who or where Pelasgians were. Just the opposite: their very elusiveness encouraged the game. The label could be attached to almost anyone. It is curious, though, that reports of Pelasgian sightings assume typical forms: they are said to be a remnant surviving in some place amid civilized people, or one among a jumble of barbarian peoples in a region, or to have lived in a town up to the day before yesterday. Very often too identifications are bound up with a theory about the Pelasgians' true origins. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, for instance, says (1.21.1) that Falerii and Fescennium in his day retained a few of the old Pelasgian ways, 'such as the Greeks used to have; for instance, the fashion of their armaments, their Argive shields and

[1] This section updates my article 'Pelasgians'. Since then Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Herodotos (and others) on Pelasgians', has contributed an important discussion. See also Munson, *Black Doves Speak: Herodotus and the Languages of Barbarians* 7–13.

[2] Luraghi makes a telling observation ('Local Knowledge in Herodotus' *Histories*' 159): '. . . although the Pelasgians appear quite often in Herodotus, if we collect all the ἀκοή statements concerning them we immediately notice a rather strange phenomenon: it is always someone else who speaks about them, be it the priestesses of Zeus at Dodona (2.52.2–53.3), the Athenians, or Hecataeus (6.137). Apart from the populations living on the fringes of the world, the Pelasgians are the only ones who never "speak" themselves, the only ones about whom only other people "speak".'

spears . . .' and so on, listing 'old' Greek customs. Dionysios' belief is that Pelasgians were in fact early Greeks who came from Arkadia. Anyone who thought differently, arguing, for instance, that the Pelasgians were identical with the Tyrsenians, would dismiss Dionysios' examples. The method of reasoning merely goes to show that identification was impossible.

Some passages of Herodotos and Thucydides might seem to make against these claims, but on closer examination they do not. In the vexed chapter 1.57, Herodotos is trying to determine what language the Pelasgians spoke. The method is necessarily roundabout. He identifies a few cities—Kreston, Plakie, and Skylake—which are Pelasgian; judging by these, he says, the language they spoke would have been 'a barbarian one'. For these cities all speak the same language ('a barbarian one') as each other, but a different one from their immediate neighbours; therefore they kept the language they originally spoke when they were forced out of Thessaly and Attika. Neither the method nor the answer inspires confidence, and the whole discussion takes place in the context of a general theory of origins, just as in Dionysios. One may wonder too whether Herodotos' ear for barbarian languages was fine enough to distinguish them from each other, and it is cause for concern that Thucydides (4.109) clearly implies that the Krestionatai, one of Herodotos' three Pelasgian groups, were *not* Pelasgian.[3]

Thucydides in the same place says that Akte was occupied by a mixture (NB) of barbarians, but mostly Pelasgians—Tyrsenians, he says, who once occupied Lemnos and Athens. The identification of Pelasgians with Tyrsenians reflects the influence of Hellanikos (fr. 4), who probably first made the equation.[4] If Herodotos knew this theory, he implicitly rejects it when he refers to the 'Pelasgians who live beyond the Tyrsenians' in 1.57. So more theorizing lies behind Thucydides' remark.

These Pelasgians of Akte are said to have come from Lemnos and Athens; this presumes the eviction of the Pelasgians from Athens described in Herodotos 6.137, who reports an anti-Athenian account of the incident from Hekataios (fr. 127).[5] Suspiciously,

[3] On the variant Kreston/Kroton in Herodotos see Jacoby on *FGrHist* 265 F 35; Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 2.226; Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie* 101–13. The reading Kreston is correct; Thucydides is obviously speaking of the same folk (Asheri ad loc. does not even consider Kroton). Plakie is mentioned nowhere else except by Dionysios (*Ant. Rom.* 1.29.3), quoting Herodotos; of Skylake, we know only that it was mentioned by Hekataios in the *Periodos* (*FGrHist* 1 F 218), which raises the suspicion that Herodotos is working here with second-hand information. *Contra* Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.24–5, 119 (citing also Hellan. fr. 4), Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* 1.2.51, and Beekes, *The Origin of the Etruscans* 38–9.

[4] Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie* 291–3 thinks the tradition may have been older. Perhaps Soph. fr. 270, which refers to *Τυρσηνοὶ Πελασγοί*, is earlier; both Jacoby on Hellan. fr. 4 and Lochner-Hüttenbach (*Die Pelasger* 103) think Sophokles is the debtor.

[5] According to Jacoby on Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 FF 99–101, Herodotos was the first to combine two originally separate stories: one about the Pelasgians and the Akropolis wall, and another about the Lemnians who raided Brauron (6.138–40), which was obviously concocted to justify the Athenian conquest of the island. By making the Lemnian raiders Pelasgian, he actually made it easy for someone to equate the real Tyrsenians of Lemnos with the Pelasgians (Jacoby p. 413). However, Jacoby's long chain of reasoning is not entirely persuasive: he argues that Hekataios knew the raiding story, but said the Lemnians were Tyrsenians

the Pelasgians were all gone from Lemnos in Herodotos' day. Miltiades had supposedly cleared them out at the end of the sixth century. Perhaps they were still there when Hekataios wrote, if he wrote before Miltiades took the island. But even if they were, it is interesting that these Pelasgians are not native to the island, but have come from Athens. This is typical. Pelasgians have no home; they are always people who have come from some place else, and live under a standing order of eviction (*πολύπλανον καὶ ταχὺ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς τὰς ἀπαναστάσεις*, says Strabo 13.3.3).[6] In any scenario of upheaval, change of dynasty, or turbulent pre-history, Pelasgians, like Leleges (Pher. fr. 155), Aonians (Hellan. fr. 51a), and others (Hek. fr. 119), are very apt to figure in the accounts of fact-starved historians. If the Lemnians evicted by Miltiades were non-Greeks and relative newcomers to the island, their true ethnicity might have been doubtful, and we note that when they left the island for Akte they were merely one among a crowd of barbarians. Again one wonders how good Greeks were at distinguishing barbarians under such circumstances.

We see then that in all these early historians references to the Pelasgians are very problematic. They existed no more than the Amazons or Atlantis. This has not discouraged scholars ancient and modern from trying to identify the true Pelasgians. Guesses have ranged from Hellanikos' Tyrsenians—to which an inscription on Lemnos at least lends some colour[7]—to pre-Hellenic Indo-Europeans, pre-Hellenic non-Indo-Europeans, Philistines, Hungarians, Indians, Poles, *Urfinnen*, etc. Lochner-Hüttenbach's own candidate is the Illyrians, for whom he builds a superficially impressive case, but much of it rests on precarious foundations, and other cases could be made from the same data.[8] Even if the sources were not fundamentally vitiated by *Tendenz*

(p. 411), and did not draw the connection with the Pelasgian wall story for which Herodotos cites him; and (p. 410) that Herodotos knew the Lemnians only as Pelasgians, not Tyrsenians, for his Tyrsenians went directly from Lydia to Italy without a stopover (1.96). Yet the Tyrsenians of Lemnos were 'real' (n. 5), a fact 'we may trust Hekataios to have known' (n. 30), though not, apparently, Herodotos. Easier to suppose that Hekataios thought of the Lemnians (or at least some Lemnians) as Pelasgian—that is, that he rounded off his story of the wall by saying where the Pelasgians had emigrated to (a supposition Jacoby, n. 16, must needs deny). His ultimate point is that the Lemnian victims of Miltiades had already been persecuted once by the Athenians. The story serves as hostile propaganda in the context of Athenian aggression. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading a Myth, Reconstructing its Constructions' argues persuasively that elements of the story are older, but it was reshaped after the conquest of Lemnos to provide justification.

[6] De Simone, *I Tirreni a Lemnos* 49 endorses Bader's view, *Langues indo-européennes* 67, that the etymology of the word *Πελασγοί* itself is 'wanderers'. But R. Beekes, *Mnem.*[4] 54 (2001) 361, offers powerful objections against this. See also below, n. 31. Cf. the description of the Leleges at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.10.2 ('the ancients called any group of mixed exiles unable to inhabit any country securely as their homeland "Leleges"').

[7] *IG* XII 8.1 (6th c.). The language and script, though not identical with Etruscan, are similar. See Heurgon, 'À propos de l'inscription «tyrrhénienne» de Lemnos'; G. and L. Bonfante, *The Etruscan Language* 60–2; R. Drews, *Historia* 41 (1992) 25. Recent excavations at the Kabeirion have turned up another brief text: see *SEG* 45.1194; De Simone (above, n. 6); Beekes, *Mnem.*[4] 54 (2001) 359–64; Bremmer, 'Hephaistos Sweats' 198 n. 33. Beekes, *The Origins of the Etruscans*, supports with his usual vigour Herodotos' view that the Etruscans came from Lydia (cf. further below, n. 31).

[8] The Illyrian cause is most recently taken up by G. Bonfante, 'A Note on the Pelasgians'.

they were situated at a time when the putative original strain of the Pelasgians had long been diffused beyond recognition. Wilamowitz had it right in 1880: '[Pelasgian] is only a relative ethnic term. Pelasgians exist only to be displaced; they are only there in connection with some other tribe.'[9]

To be a foil is their normal function. Like other barbarian folk already mentioned, they typically play a role in the troubled prehistory of a nation, which ends when the rightful owners arrive and lay claim to the land. The interesting thing about the Pelasgians is that they are consistently a foil to the Greeks themselves. The Pelasgians are *the* pre-Greek population in Greek consciousness; and insofar as there certainly was a pre-Greek population, one might feel justified in calling them Pelasgian. But this is merely to substitute one name for another. We can say nothing whatsoever about this group as an ethnos, and it is hardly likely that the entire pre-Greek population of the Balkans and the Aegean basin was a single undifferentiated people.

The real interest, then, of the Pelasgians, is their role in debates about Greek ethnicity. These debates continued throughout the archaic period and were still a live issue in the classical period. Each text touching on these issues comes from a particular place and time, and offers a different take. Unfortunately we rarely have sufficient evidence to assess the precise meaning of every change in a genealogy, or to catch the subtleties implicit in a particular choice of words or approach to the problem. Those alive at the time and fully familiar with the contemporary political map would have understood the language. Even non-political considerations might affect what an author has to say. In the case of the historians, one comes to realize that they are not always motivated not only by their particular *Sitz im Leben* or the changed realities of their own day, but also by a compulsion to disagree at all costs with what other historians or poets have said.

The Pelasgian story begins in Homer. In the *Catalogue of Ships* we learn that those who live in Pelasgian Argos, Alos, Alope, Trachis, Phthia, and Hellas, are called Myrmidons, Hellenes, and Achaians (*Il.* 2.681–4). At *Il.* 2.840 we learn that there were Pelasgians on the Trojan side, led by Hippothoos and Pylaios sons of Lethos the Pelasgian, son of Teutamos from Larisa. They are mentioned again among the Trojan allies at 10.429. Hippothoos himself dies at 17.301 'far from Larisa'. This suggests confusion, for if the Thessalian Larisa is meant, it is an odd place for a Trojan ally to call home, but on the other hand, if the Larisa in the Troad is meant, Hippothoos is not far from it.[10] Finally in the *Iliad* at 16.233 Achilleus prays to Pelasgian Zeus of Dodona, whose prophets are the Selloi of the unwashed feet. In the *Odyssey* there is one mention of the Pelasgians; they are one of several peoples who make up the population of Crete (19.177).

These Homeric references do not suggest a people of any distinct outlines. The confusion about the Pelasgian allies of Troy is revealing, and the Cretan Pelasgians have

[9] *Aus Kydathen* 144; cf. *Aristoteles und Athen* 2.73 n. 4, *Euripides: Herakles* 2.1 n. 2.

[10] Cf. Lochner-Hüttenbach, *Die Pelasger* 153.

already established their role as part of a crowd. More helpful are the references to Pelasgian Argos and Pelasgian Zeus, each in association with sites of very great antiquity in Greek tradition. 'Pelasgian Zeus' is a religious appellation, and 'Pelasgian Argos' has the air of an epic formula; we may take these as traditional and primary. There is no reason, unless we read the later texts back into Homer, to think that the adjective in these passages refers to an ethnos—i.e. that 'Pelasgian Zeus' is the Zeus who used to belong to the Pelasgians, who, we should infer, were once much in evidence in Dodona (the 'seat of the Pelasgians' according to Hesiod fr. 319); that is one possible interpretation, but not the only one. The other is that the adjective simply means something like 'ancient' or 'primeval', and that the Pelasgoi, the 'ancient people', owe their name to the epithet rather than the other way around. Such ancient people there had once been, and Greeks had to have a name for them, but to think that the designation 'the ancient race' is historically helpful is to put cart before horse.

Both Phthia and Dodona are sites associated with the birth of the name 'Hellenes'. Phthia eventually won, but there were scholars in antiquity who thought that the Selloi of Dodona were the original, true Hellenes; some scholars today agree with them, appealing to linguistics and archaeology for support.[11] It seems possible that these very passages of Homer were the warrant for the later role of the Pelasgians as *the* precursors of the Greek race. If their name really meant 'the ancient people' then it was all the easier.

Support for this understanding of the adjective 'Pelasgos' comes from the *Catalogue of Women*, where we learn that Pelasgos was the first inhabitant of Arkadia, sprung from the earth.[12] One cannot get any older than that; the Arkadians after all were already in Arkadia before the moon was in the sky.[13] The Arkadian claim is acknowledged by historians such as Dionysios who say the Pelasgians emigrated from Arkadia to various locations. The claim is implicitly acknowledged by **Akousilaos (fr. 25)** when he worked Pelasgos into the Argive stemma by making him a brother of Argos and son of Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus, son of Inachos the river. Argive tradition as established in the archaic epic the *Phoronis* held that Inachos was the beginning of all things, and Phoroneus was the *Urmensch*;[14] Akousilaos' treatment of Pelasgos looks like a rejection of Arkadian claims (the implicit acknowledgement). Apollodoros, who cites Akousilaos, adds the revealing detail that this Pelasgos gave his name to *all* the Pelasgians in the Peloponnese, which would include of course the Arkadians.[15]

[11] See §4 n. 32.

[12] Fr. 160; so also Asios fr. 8.

[13] References for this idea, and for the Arkadians as primitive 'acorn-eaters', in Burkert, *HN* 84 n. 1 (*HN*[2] 98 n. 1); Nielsen, *Arkadia* 71–2; Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan* 7–8; Roy, 'On Seeming Backward' 74.

[14] *Phoronis* fr. 1. See §7.1.1.

[15] Jacoby ad loc. thinks this point cannot be from Akousilaos, who according to him agreed with Hesiod (fr. 161.2) that Pelasgos was father of Lykaon; but one can imagine Akousilaos saying both these things.

To judge from his prominence in Herodotos, Hekataios was a major player in these discussions **(Hek. fr. 127)**.[16] Certainly he had strong and unorthodox opinions about the genealogy of the Hellenes (frr. 13, 16;→§4.4). Hekataios is a very good example of the dictum that historians were motivated by a desire to contradict their predecessors. Having unearthed authoritative local information he did not hesitate to reject the Hesiodic account, in which the Aitolians were allied closely to the Aiolians. Furthermore, Hekataios separated the Ionians from the Dorians and Aiolians more sharply than the Hesiodic *Catalogue* had done. In his account, Ionian unity received full stress.

The Lemnian story involves Pelasgians living among the Athenians, on land given by them in return for building the wall on the acropolis. The wall was known in Athens as the Pelargic or Stork wall. Hekataios' story may imply the connection made in later sources, beginning with Philochoros, between Pelasgian and Pelargian, but as Dunbar and others argue this piece of local folk-etymology is not relevant to the general mythical tradition.[17] Probably Hekataios drew the connection from Pelasgian to Pelargian rather than the other way around: for him the Pelasgians were not native to Athens; they got their land in return for services rendered. Therefore they already had their name when they came to Athens, and built a wall originally called Pelasgic, but later called Pelargic. Before they came to Athens they probably lived in the Peloponnese.

Strabo's quotation of **Hek. fr. 119** on this point is not quite as clear as one could wish. Whether the whole of his disquisition about pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece comes from Hekataios may be doubted. His contribution may end after the first sentence. But the general thrust of the argument must have been similar (cf. §14.1). Hekataios will have been the man, then, who contributed to the mainstream of discussion the idea that, generally speaking, details apart, Greece was Pelasgian before it was Greek—or at least the Peloponnese, from which the Pelasgians spread further afield.[18] Thus both Herodotos and Thucydides, in various casual remarks;[19] and Aischylos, in the *Suppliants*

[16] See also above, n. 5.

[17] Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 99; Dunbar, *Aristophanes: Birds* 497–8. *Contra* Paraskevaidou, 'The Name of the Pelasgians'. Granted, the propensity of birds to contribute the names of some of these groups is curious; apart from Pelargoi, there are Dryopes 'woodpeckers' and Meropes 'bee-eaters'. (*Pace* Paraskevaidou, Leleges does not mean 'storks' in ancient Greek; modern Greek *λέλεκας/λελέκι* comes by way of Turkish *leylek*.)

[18] Cf. Jacoby on *FGrHist* 4 F 4. If Strabo's comment about Eumolpos and his invading Thracians comes from Hekataios, it has implications for Attic myth; see §16.2.3.

[19] Hdt. 2.56 (Pelasgie the former name of Greece); Thuc. 1.3.2 (Greece was mostly Pelasgian in the early days). See further in Herodotos 1.146 (Pelasgians from Arcadia only one of many ethne who make up the Iones); 2.50 (names of the gods come from Egypt except for a few which they do not recognize; these came from Pelasgians, except Poseidon's, which came from Libya); 2.51 (herms are Pelasgian; Pelasgians are the former inhabitants of Samothrace); 2.52 (more on Pelasgians and the names of the gods); 7.94 (Iones living in the Peloponnese before the Dorian invasion were called Pelasgoi Aigialees); 7.95 (the islanders were Pelasgian but became Ionian; the Aiolians were once called Pelasgian—one would like to hear more about this!); 8.44 (Athenians were Pelasgian in days of the Pelasgoi; on this passage more below, p. 92).

of 463 BC, about the date of Pherekydes' book, makes Pelasgos claim the whole of Greece as his kingdom (250–9). If this was Hekataios' attitude, then he did not confine Pelasgians to Arkadia like the *Catalogue*; he would have been more sympathetic to Akousilaos' idea that Pelasgos gave his name to all the Pelasgians of the Peloponnese, though he may not have agreed with the notion that he was Argive, and his own thesis differed crucially in suggesting a notion of historical evolution.

Turning to Pherekydes we may say that he laid down the point of view on which Hellanikos was to expand in reaction to Herodotos. If Herodotos' talk of Pelasgians turning into Ionians and Athenians was already current in Pherekydes' day, and not merely a personal theory, Pherekydes was having none of it. (One would like to know what Aischylos said about this problem.) From **Pher. fr. 156** it is clear that for Pherekydes the Pelasgians are a specific people, not a vague and diffuse pre-Hellenic mass. Dionysios, who quotes the fragment, is interested in the branch that emigrated to Italy. Pherekydes (fr. 12) placed some Pelasgians also in Thessaly, at Larisa, in Pelasgiotis (cf. Hellan. fr. 91, which makes Larisa daughter of Pelasgos;→§7.2.5).[20] It is a reasonable conjecture that they emigrated there from Arkadia, perhaps with a sojourn at Argos; for the connection of Argos and Thessaly is a primary datum of tradition evidenced not only by the Homeric *Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* of the northern district but also by Larisa itself, which is the name both of the Thessalian town and of the acropolis of Argos. The Athenians for Pherekydes were surely autochthonous, and had nothing to do with the Pelasgians (autochthonous *Arkadians*, as in Hesiod fr. 160). A later reworking of Pherekydes' book was called 'The Autochthones' (*FGrHist* 333), probably taking its cue from the genuine Pherekydes, and it seems a safe inference from fr. 2 of Pherekydes, the famous genealogy of the Philaidai, that he discussed Attic saga in book 1 of his work.[21] Thus he began with his own country, celebrating its autochthony and antiquity, and countering the claims in particular of Argos as made by Akousilaos. Pherekydes probably accounted for the way the Athenians became Hellenes in the simple manner of the *Catalogue*, by saying that Xouthos had an Athenian mother. It was not in his interest to make it out as a problem.

For Herodotos, however, it was the whole problem. We need to consider his views in detail if we are to understand the mythographers. He bought into the theory that Greece was generally Pelasgian before it was Hellenic; indeed, he sees the Greek world as divided between these two ancestries, quite logically, for the Dorians, of all Greeks, were the only ones who had no one in their ancestry besides Hellen.[22] But in 1.56 he seems to equate these two groups with the Dorians and the *Ionians*, i.e. Spartans and Athenians, reflecting the power structures of his own day. As the lines between the

[20] Also Paus. 2.24.1. Cf. Soph. fr. 379 (from the *Larisaioi*) *Λάρισα μήτηρ προσγόνων Πελασγιδῶν*. Further on Pher. fr. 156 see below, §2.4 and §17.5.

[21] See Part B on the structure of Pherekydes' book.

[22] Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.115.

groups had become even more sharply drawn than Hekataios had imagined, the problem of how one came to be the other was that much more acute. Figuring also in this discussion of Herodotos' is new thinking about the relation of language to ethnicity, and about the evolution of human societies; Herodotos has been having conversations with Sophists.

Here is the text:

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους. ἱστορέων δὲ εὕρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἕλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὄσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἱστιαιῶτιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

(57) ἥντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἳ ὅμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι {καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε},[23] εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι, δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. (58) τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσσῃ μέν, ἐπείτε ἐγένετο, αἰεί κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι. ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὸν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμώμενον αὔξηται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρὸς δὴ ὦν ἔμοιγε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθῆναι.

Next Kroisos, inquiring as to the most powerful, considered which Greeks he might befriend. His inquiries revealed the pre-eminence of the Lakedaimonians and the Athenians, the one being a Dorian people, the other Ionian. These were the leading societies of the day; anciently one had been Pelasgian, the other Hellenic. The former had never yet migrated, the latter had moved about a great deal. In the time of King Deukalion they lived in Phthiotis; in the time of Doros son of Hellen they inhabited the territory around Mounts Ossa and Olympos, known as Histiaiotis. When the Kadmeians evicted them from Histiaotis they took up residence on Pindos, and were called Makednoi. From there they moved again to Dryopis, whence they came to the Peloponnese, and so acquired the name Dorian.

I cannot say for certain what language the Pelasgians spoke. But if one can reason from those Pelasgians still living in Kreston beyond the Tyrsenians, who were at that time neighbours of the present-day Dorians—they lived then in the country now called Thessaliotis—and also those living in Plakie and Skylake in the Hellespont, who were in those days dwelling among the Athenians; if, as I say, one can base one's conclusions on these, the Pelasgians spoke a barbarian tongue. If this holds true of all Pelasgians, the Attic people, being Pelasgian, must have learnt a new language at the time that they became Hellenic. Neither Krestoniates nor Plakians

[23] For the deletion see below, n. 25.

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Pelasgians (and perhaps Herodotos thinks it was always a distinct group, just waiting to break off), it was but weak at first, but with time it grew to a great size, as many other barbarian tribes converted to Hellenism. 'Other' means in addition to the Pelasgians, which Sauppe added into the text; some alteration is necessary on any reading, but even if one does not add Pelasgians, they are implied. One might think at first that this chapter refers to the Athenians only, and that when Herodotos speaks of the Hellenic group splitting off from the Pelasgians, he means the point at which some Athenians converted to Hellenism, isolating the Pelasgians among them, who eventually left.[24] But this makes nonsense of the remark about the accession of many other ethne. Rather, Herodotos is thinking of how the original tiny nucleus of Hellenes, i.e. the Dorians, gradually expanded to include Aiolians (who are called Pelasgians at 7.95) and Ionians (who are called Pelasgians from the Peloponnese at 1.146 and 7.94), and then other groups such as Pelopidai, Inachidai, Kadmeians, Aitolians, Arkadians, Eleans, Dryopes, all in addition to the Pelasgians. The last sentence in ch. 58 clearly contrasts Greeks and barbarians, not Athenians and barbarians; and so does the rest of the chapter.[25]

On this reading of his argument, let us see what it tells us about Herodotos' views of Pelasgians and Greeks. Once established, the Greek ethnos was an immutable essence. The language never changed, he says. The group grew bigger as others join in, and to that extent it evolved, but the vital step, the evolution from Pelasgian to Greek, was not a matter of imperceptible change by degrees. It simply happened, and after that you were either one or the other. Herodotos' theory is very satisfying from a Greek point of view, because the traffic between the groups is all one way. The Greek nation was strong from the start, whereas the barbarians were unstable. Everyone secretly longs to be a Greek, and in those early days a lot of lucky people got the opportunity to make the change. No one would become a barbarian by choice.

Herodotos is necessarily vague about how the Greek race came into existence (ch. 58); it just suddenly appears. His ideas also lead him into difficulty, as we have seen, in places like Athens which had once been Pelasgian, but became Greek; there is no real distinction between these and the first Greek race, the Dorians, which had also been Pelasgian, except that the Dorians converted first. His understanding of the evolution commits him to the view that there was a general substratum of Pelasgians living in Greece which as a whole turned into Greeks. But in ch. 56, when he speaks of Pelasgoi who were living with the Athenians he seems to echo a different view, whereby the Pelasgians were temporary immigrants only. One can save his consistency in this part of his book

[24] McNeal, 'How did Pelasgians become Hellenes?', after others.

[25] I can see no way that the words *καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε* make sense in the context of Herodotos' argument on any reading, and have concluded that they are interpolated. A plethora of Pelasgian cities is potentially confusing, and having Pelasgians who no longer call themselves Pelasgian is unhelpful at best, damaging at worst (how could they be recognized except by their language, which is the point under contention?). Otherwise the text is Hude's, which does not differ from Rosén's except in allowing Sauppe's *Πελασγῶν* for *πολλῶν* of the MSS in 1.58.

by assuming that at this point in ch. 56 he is thinking of those Pelasgians who refused to convert; I think that is probably what he does mean at this point, but when at 6.137 he repeats Hekataios' story about the expulsion of the Pelasgoi from Attica, and the Athenian response to it, he presupposes the temporary immigrant theory. Then at 2.51, when he reports that the worship of herms was taken over by the Athenians from the Pelasgians, he comments 'The Athenians at that time still counted as Pelasgians, who lived with them in their country, and as a result came to be considered Greeks themselves', his confusion is complete.

Herodotos may not have won through to perfect clarity, but he could not have done so without admitting various inadmissible propositions, e.g. that even the Dorians had once been Pelasgian. Ultimately, the problem of reconciling the claims of the Hellenic nation with the ethnicity of the poleis was insoluble. To Herodotos' great credit, he has contributed the useful notion of evolution to the debate, and faced up to a problem other historians avoided, of just how all these different groups came to be Greek. One can even say that Herodotos has found the best possible way of squaring this particular circle.[26]

When we turn finally to Hellanikos, we find a treatment at first glance more sophisticated than that of Herodotos, if we may assume that the account in Dionysios of Halikarnassos (1.11–30) owes much ultimately to him.[27] Dionysios' account has not been taken from Hellanikos directly, since it contradicts him in one important respect—for Dionysios, the Pelasgians are definitely not Tyrsenian—and is hard to reconcile with him in another (Dionysios' and Myrsilos' Pelasgians suffer extinction in Italy, whereas Hellanikos' Pelasgians presumably live on as Tyrsenians). One of Dionysios' more immediate sources is Myrsilos of Methymna (*FGrHist* 477 FF 8–9), whose account of the Pelasgians' decline he says he has copied more or less verbatim (1.23.5, except of course that Myrsilos called them Tyrsenoi, not Pelasgoi), and who was dependent on Hellanikos for a good deal of information, but also made changes in order to assert his independence. Nevertheless, one or two details suggest the hand of Hellanikos: the way that the chronology is carefully measured in terms of generations before the Trojan War, and the way that key names have been doubled (Lykaon, Pelasgos) to fill out the necessary number of generations. Dionysios/Hellanikos' basic story (**Hellan. frr. 4, 91, 92**) is that the Pelasgians, under Pelasgos II, emigrated from Argos to Thessaly, where

[26] Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Herodotos (and Others) on Pelasgians', assesses Herodotos' text more generously than this. She contributes the useful observation that the Pelasgians have 'ambiguous ethnicity': they are sometimes barbarian, but at other times are proto-Greek (as they are for Dionysios, for instance, or Aischylos' *Suppliants*; on the latter cf. E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* 168, 171–2; Georges, *Barbarian Asia* 164). One might add that the polis/pan-Hellenic tension can affect the degree of ambiguity; the polis, within its own internal frame of reference, can admit affinity with Pelasgian ancestors with less embarrassment than would be the case if other poleis were listening in. But even within the polis' frame of reference the Pelasgians can never be wholly 'Greek' (wholly 'Hellenic', children of Hellen).

[27] For discussions of this passage see Musti, 'Etruschi e Greci'; Sánchez Jiménez, 'Helánico y Dionisio'.

the district Pelasgiotis was named after them.[28] After a few generations of prosperity they were evicted by the 'Hellenes'.[29] Some went to other parts of Greece, some to Asia, but most went to Italy, landing by the river Spines in the Po delta (cf. Dion. Hal. 1.18.3) and proceeding from there to Kroton (Cortona) in the heart of Etruria. Here Dionysios and Hellanikos diverge; the latter says that the Pelasgoi changed their name to Tyrsenoi, whereas Dionysios seeks an indigenous origin for the race. Some Pelasgoi in time returned to Greece; Hellanikos fr. 92 reports a resettlement on Lesbos (Metaon, founded by 'Tyrsenian' Metas), and it seems possible that Lemnos was colonized or recolonized at this time too.[30] This means that according to Hellanikos the people of Lemnos, Etruria, Metaon on Lesbos, and many another spot, could be called either Tyrsenian or Pelasgian with equal accuracy, and thus we come full circle, for that just goes to show that no one really knew what a Pelasgian was.

The report in **Hellan. fr. 93** that Pitana (founded by Amazons, Diod. 3.55.6) was enslaved by Pelasgians and freed by the Erythraians stands isolated. Jacoby (after Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.23 n. 1, cf. 35) thought 'Pelasgians' must have replaced 'Tyrsenians' in the tradition, so that the conquerors of Pitana will have been these Tyrsenians on Lesbos; hence he put frr. 92 and 93 together. Pitana was to become Aiolian in due course, Erythrai Ionian; but these events will have taken place before the migrations.

Hellanikos seems to have thought harder about the big picture and tried to account for everything, reconciling competing traditions by various ingenious conjectures. His detailed account is superficially more impressive than Herodotos'. We have various stages of Pelasgian migrations, dozens of destinations, elaborate genealogies, and carefully calculated chronology. The crucial thing we should like to know is how Hellanikos handled the question of conversion to Hellenism. His barrage of facts may have

[28] For Pelasgos I see Hellan. fr. 36 (§7.1.2). It appears that Hellanikos, unlike Pherekydes, did not acknowledge originary Arkadian Pelasgoi (cf. below, p. 108), since Pelasgos I came from Argos to Arcadia. According to Hyg. *Fab.* 225, Pelasgos son of Triopas (Hellanikos' genealogy in fr. 36) built the first temple of Olympian Zeus in Arkadia. *P.Oxy.* 42.4306 fr. 1 i.21–5 adds that this was the Zeus 'called Lykaios'; this is a confused combination of Zeus Lykaios first honoured by Lykaon, and Zeus Olympios first honoured by Pelasgos. The latter could be good Arkadian tradition, appropriated by the Argives.

[29] So Hellanikos in the verbatim fr. 4. Dionysios credits the Kouretes and Leleges 'who are now called Aitoloi and Lokroi', and 'many others who lived around Parnassos; the commander of these forces was Deukalion son of Prometheus and the Okeanid Klymene'. Together these are the nascent Hellenes; perhaps this is Myrsilos' expansion of Hellanikos. Herodotos' words at 1.57 *Πελασγῶν . . . οἳ ὅμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι* (*οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην*) (above, p. 91) may imply that he knew a similar story (so Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.106; cf. Diod. 14.113.2, schol. *Il.* 2.841). In fr. 91 the detail that Akrisios founded Larisa cannot be from Hellanikos, for it is inconsistent with the report that the city was named after Larisa daughter of Pelasgos II. Nor did Akrisios found Larisa in Pher. fr. 12. Hellanikos' Teutamides recalls the Pelasgian of that name in *Il.* 2.843.

[30] Jacoby suggested that the wanderers of fr. 71a who settled on Lemnos after their eviction from Thessaly were the Pelasgians mentioned by Dionysios at 1.18.1; see §17.8. Whether in historical fact Lemnos was recolonized from Etruria is a different question: see Heurgon, *CRAI* 1988, 26 and R. Beekes, *Mnem.*[4] 54 (2001) 359–64 (against); R. Drews, *Historia* 41 (1992) 27 (for). Eichner, 'Neues zur Sprache der Stele von Lemnos', tentatively concludes in this first of a promised series of studies that the language came from Italy to Lemnos.

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concealed a failure to come to grips with the real problem, which Herodotos at least tried to solve.

Hellanikos' Tyrsenian connection is intriguing and raises the possibility of contact between Greeks and Etruscans. The king in whose reign the Pelasgians were evicted from Thessaly Hellanikos calls Nanas, which may be an Etruscan name.[31] Etruscans had been trading with Greeks for centuries by the time Hellanikos wrote, and there would have been plenty of opportunity to exchange traditional lore. A little further south in Latium Greek legends took root with the first Greek settlers, influencing the young city of Rome, which had come to the attention of the Greeks already in the fifth century.[32] Wiseman has made a strong case that Roman legend is much older than we think, and informed Greek accounts at an early date;[33] perhaps the same might be true of the Etruscans. Briquel (*Les Pélasges en Italie* 629–30) suggests that the Etruscans were happy to connive in the idea that they were Pelasgian, because it could be very useful in promoting friendly relations with Greeks; he thinks that on this basis the people of Agylla, later Caere, were able to build a treasury at Delphi. So we are told by Strabo, at any rate (5.2.3); but curiously enough, Pausanias passes round the site without noticing any Pelasgian treasuries, and it seems unlikely that the archaeologists will ever find one.[34]

§2.2 Leleges (Hek. fr. 18A)

As Strabo (7.7.2) turned from Pelasgians to Leleges so shall we. At first glance they appear to be a people with a clearer historical outline, being fairly closely associated with the Asia Minor seaboard (the Troad and Ionia).[35] But confidence could be misplaced. They are characterized first and foremost as wanderers by Strabo (loc. cit.; also 12.7.3, cf. 12.8.4) and Dionysios (*Ant. Rom.* 1.10.2), sharing this essential nature with the Pelasgians (Dionysios also calls them *μιγάδες*); they are of course barbarian. Strabo (7.7.2) frankly states that they have died out, like the Kaukones, once so ubiquitous. He fairly reflects

[31] See Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie* 149–55 citing earlier authorities. According to schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 1242b, 1244b *νᾶνος* in Etruscan meant 'wanderer' and was their name for Odysseus. (In Lykophron's poem it means 'dwarf' and refers to Odysseus' short stature;→§18.6.) It is unclear whether the word *nanuś* in a (lost) Etruscan inscription is a proper name (Briquel 150); contrariwise, and suggestively, names like it are common in Asia Minor.

[32] Hellan. fr. 84:→§18.6; Antioch. fr. 6:→§17.5.

[33] Wiseman, *History and Imagination* esp. ch. 2; *Roman Drama and Roman History* 1–16; *Remus. A Roman Myth* esp. ch. 4;→§18.6.

[34] For attempts to identify the building see Jacquemin, *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* 73, who, following G. Pugliese Caratelli in *SE* 33 (1968) 225–6, suggests that the report might be connected with the events recorded by Herodotos 1.167 (expiation enjoined by Delphi upon the people of Agylla for sacrilegious treatment of Phokaian prisoners).

[35] Rumscheid, 'Die Leleger: Karer oder Andere?', reviews the evidence; see also Descat, 'Les traditions grecques sur les Lélèges'.

the state of the sources when he says that according to some people they are identical with the Karians, whereas others said they merely lived among them; these attempts to assimilate the Leleges to a historical people are revealing. Herodotos (1.171), echoed by Strabo (12.8.5, 14.2.27), says that the Karians originally came from the islands, at which time they were ruled by Minos and were called Leleges. Kallimachos/Xenomedes (fr. 1.62) says that Karians and Leleges together settled Keos; they are evidently different, but closely associated. The story perhaps implies (if Xenomedes knew the tradition Herodotos reports) that Keos was not part of Minos' thalassocracy, as the settlement took place after the Karians had come into existence; a pleasant thought for Keans, but belied by archaeology, as the island has Minoan remains. Pherekydes (fr. 155) more clearly distinguishes the two people, assigning specific geographical domains to each. Pausanias (7.2.8) says the Leleges were a part of the Karian race and occupied most of Lydia; Philip of Theangela (*FGrHist* 741 F 1; third century BC?), who wrote a book 'On the Karians and Leleges', claimed that the latter were slaves of the former; however, Theangela being a Karian city, chauvinism could have played a role here. Steph. Byz. s.vv. *Μεγάλη πόλις* and *Νινόη* records that Aphrodisias, now a Karian city, had been a city of Leleges.

To remain in Asia Minor for the moment, the *Iliad* places the Leleges at Pedasos near Mt Ida (*Il.* 21.87), later said to have changed its name to Methone/Mothone (Strab. 8.4.3, Paus. 4.35.1), and nearby Gargaros (or Gargasos, as Hellan. fr. 158 apparently had it) had once been a city of the Leleges (Alkman *PMGF* 154, *Etym. Magn.* 221.26). Also in the Troad was their city Antandros (Alk. fr. 337).[36] Old Smyrna belonged to the Leleges, says Strabo (14.1.4). In the *Iliad* the Leleges are allies of the Trojans, encamped in book 10 along with the Pelasgians, Paiones, Karians, and Kaukones; their 'famous' king Altes gave his daughter Laothoe as wife to Priam (21.85, 22.51). Further south, Strabo (7.7.2) says that all Ionia was occupied by Karians and Leleges until the Ionians evicted them; more specifically, Pherekydes (fr. 155) places the Karians in Miletos, Myous, the peninsula of Mykale, and Ephesos, and the Leleges on the coast as far as Phokaia and on the islands Samos and Chios.[37] The Milesian connection is reinforced by Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 127 ap. Strab. 14.1.6). On Samos, the earliest recorded inhabitants are Leleges (of unclear origin) ruled by Ankaios son of Poseidon and Astypalaia. Asios fr. 7 ap. Paus. 7.4.1 gives the genealogy: the Aitolian Oineus' daughter Perimede marries Phoinix; their daughters were Astypalaia and Europe. As part Phoenician, but mostly Greek, Ankaios constitutes a legitimizing presence in advance of the Ionian occupation. Both

[36] Herodotos (7.42) calls it Pelasgian: the terms are interchangeable. Hellanikos probably named Gargaros in connection with the Aiolian migration (→§19.4); also Lamponion (fr. 159) and Assos (fr. 160). Leaf thought Assos was the same as Lelegian Pedasos, but as J. M. Cook pointed out, *The Troad* 245, Strabo's report (13.1.59) that Pedasos no longer existed in his day rules this view out.

[37] Pausanias (7.2.8), perhaps carelessly, says Ephesos was occupied by Leleges and 'Lydians' (i.e. Karians); 'Karians and Leleges', Strabo 14.1.21. Strabo 14.1.15 says vaguely that Karians first inhabited Samos.

for the date and clarity of their reports Asios and Pherekydes seem to reflect good old traditions.[38]

The firm association with the Troad and Ionia might, as remarked above, tempt one to think of the Leleges as a historical people, until one turns one's eyes back to the mainland and finds them paving the way for a number of Greek nations. The association of Leleges with Lokroi was traditional.[39] Boiotia was home to a jumble of Aones, Temmikes, Leleges, and Hyantes before Kadmos' Phoenicians arrived (Strab. 9.2.3). Aristotle (fr. 473, ap. Strab. 7.7.2) places them in Akarnania; he also says that the Lokroi who had been Leleges lived in Aitolia. An Aitolian connection is suggested by the genealogy of the Samian Ankaios (above; cf. Dion. Kalliphontis 71, *GGM* 1.24), and Dionysios (*Ant. Rom.* 1.17.3) has them also bursting into Thessaly, in co-operation with the Kouretes (the later Aitolians). The historical mingling of Aitolians and Lokrians is behind this. The eponym Lelex was autochthonous in Lakonia according to Pausanias (3.1.1, 4.1.1; cf. schol. Eur. *Or.* 626, Apollod. 3.10.3), but Strabo knows another one in Leukas, father of Teleboas and hence the Teleboans (7.7.2). Pausanias (1.39.5–6) has a quite detailed story (of uncertain date, as often) according to which Kar son of Phoroneus (!) was first king of the Megarid; twelve generations later Lelex came from Egypt, and the people were called Leleges after him; four generations later Megareus son Poseidon and Iphinoe (the woman and the god make him a new lineage-founder in the standard way) acquired the kingdom from Nisos, son of Pandion, Iphinoe's father, thus ending Athenian domination. Aristotle also recognized Leleges/Lokroi in the Megarid, and indeed the spreading of the Lokroi from Opous to Aitolia westward and Boiotia and the Megarid southwards makes a plausible picture; Pausanias' story could be a Megarid revision of a myth offensive to that city's sensibilities. The Leleges of Leukas could, in turn, be an Aitolian outpost, so that all spring from a common origin—but the autochthonous Lakonian figure remains unaccounted for, and no surviving story connects the Leleges of Asia Minor with those on the mainland.[40] The picture is further confused by stories in Pausanias linking Megarian Leleges with Pylos in Messenia and Elis (4.36.1, 6.22.5); Ovid knows of them at Troizen (*Met.* 8.567). Like the Pelasgians, the Leleges are a convenient name for pre-Hellenic inhabitants of one kind or another, perhaps originating in some firm historical context, but one which is no longer recoverable.[41]

[38] For Ankaios see also §19.2.2, at n. 66, and §6.3.6.

[39] Hes. fr. 234 (West, *Cat.* 52 n. 42;→§4.1).

[40] The Lokrian city of Physkos had a homonym in Karia (Strabo 14.2.4). Calame, 'Spartan Genealogies' 158, well writes: '. . . the Lelegian ruler embodies the otherness that will allow the assertion of identity. Hence his initial, aboriginal position. As with every tale, genealogy begins its narrative process with a lack-situation . . .'.

[41] A. H. Sayce, *JHS* 45 (1925) 163, thought the Lulahhi, foreign mercenaries in some Hittite inscriptions, might be the Leleges. The name is at least derived from a pre-Greek (non-IE) language: Beekes, *Etym. Dict.*, p. xxxiii.

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went to live in Physka in Mygdonia. It is presumably these displaced remnants who marched with Xerxes (Hdt. 7.185.2). Primeval-origin hunters might see this sudden appearance of another Physk-word as confirmation of the Leleges' historicity, but one ought not to build much out of a place apparently called 'Pudding'; the name, indeed, could have suggested to Hekataios his hypothesis that the vanished Thessalian Eordoi became Leleges.

Lykophron (*Alex.* 1342) also mentions the Eordoi in connection with the European expedition made by the Mysians and Teukrians before the Trojan War, which reached as far as the Peneios; this is based on Hdt. 7.20.2. The mention of the Eordoi (whose region he says was devastated) could be Lykophron's inventive supplement, but this fragment of Hekataios suggests that he had some warrant. One may conjecture that the Eordoi had been shunted south of the Peneios by this incursion. Kassandra says the leader was her grandfather, which is to say about the time of the Argonautic expedition; one would then surmise further that Amyros founded his city and joined the Argonauts. Equally consistent with these meagre data, however, would be the speculation that the Eordoi had once been Thessalian, and moved north to Makedonia, subsequently to be harassed by Teukrians and Temenids. Some stayed behind and were subsumed by the Leleges.

§2.3 Dryopes (Herod. fr. 36; Pher. frr. 8, 19)

The Dryopes, in contrast to Pelasgians and Leleges, succeed in moving out of the shadows of myth into something like a clear historical identity.[45] The case is instructive. Like the others, they have a history of forcible eviction and migration, and they figure in the pre-history of various Greek cities; but not nearly so many, nor so far-flung. As with the Leleges, there was a historical Greek nation willing to claim them as ancestors; but unlike the Lokroi, whose descent from the Leleges was of little more than antiquarian interest, the Dryopian ancestry of certain Dorians or semi-Dorians was a genuine part of ethnic awareness in the archaic and classical periods. In question are the people of Asine, particularly the Messenian one, who rejoiced in the name Dryopes 'even in our time', says Pausanias (4.34.11). They had lived originally in Dryopis, later called Doris, the small region between Oita and Parnassos, which was believed to be the last staging-post in the migration of the Dorians to the Peloponnese (→§9.1).[46] They

[45] For overviews of the tradition see Fourgous, 'Les Dryopes' and Strid, *Die Dryoper.*

[46] There is some vagueness as to the precise location, as might be expected; Pher. fr. 8 has them spilling over into the Spercheios valley, but still 'on the borders of Malis' (fr. 19), i.e. on the slopes of Oita. Berkel's emendation in fr. 8 is certain ('Peneios' is a nodding scribe's substitution of one famous river for another). Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.121c, Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 980 name Dryope as one of the six cities in the Dorian hexapolis between Oita and Parnassos, confirmed for the 2nd c. BC at least by the ethnic *Δρυοπαῖος* in inscriptions (*SIG*³ 610.52, 53, *IG* IX.1.229.2, 230.2; *IG* IX² 1.1.25.14; D. Rousset, *BCH* 113 (1989) 233). About the ethnicity of the residents we can say nothing.

were evicted from their home by Herakles and resettled in the Argolid in Hermion(e) (Hdt. 8.43, 73), Asine (many sources), and presumably Dryope itself (**Herod. fr. 36**), if it ever existed.[47] Kallimachos (fr. 705) also puts them in Halieis, Diodoros in Eion, Nicolaus Damascenus in Troizen, all in the eastern Argolid. The Asinaioi were then chased out by the Argives, not long after 776 BC according to Pausanias (4.8.3); archaeology shows that the city was in fact sacked in the late eighth century.[48] They then founded their new city in Messenia, where they were protected by, and fought for, the Lakedaimonians. Their history is completely bound up with that of the Dorians, but a serious falling-out with the Argives created a strong wish to assert a separate identity, which some of them stoutly maintained in succeeding centuries. Herodotos emphatically distinguishes Dryopes from Dorians; yet Dryopis was the motherland of the Dorians (8.31), and only later came to be called Doris (8.43).

Of interest therefore are the variant versions of the contretemps in Dryopis, and the ultimate ancestry of the clan. The involvement of the Dryopes in the ragged progress ('return') of the Dorians to their homeland, like that of other groups, was traditional, and it was agreed on all sides that Herakles defeated the Dryopes in the region of Parnassos. The *casus belli*, in the commonest story, was the beastly behaviour of the Dryopian king Theiodamas. Herakles, travelling with Deianeira and infant son Hyllos, asked the king, who was engaged in ploughing with two oxen, for some sustenance for the baby; rudely refused, Herakles seized one of the oxen and enjoyed a family feast. Pursued to Trachis by Theiodamas at the head of an army of Dryopes, Herakles had a good deal of trouble defending the city; he even had to arm Deianeira, who was wounded in the breast (so schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1212–19a). Prevailing in the end, he killed the king, took his son Hylas under wing, and transported the whole nation to the Peloponnese, so that by being mixed with a number of other peoples, and no longer living as brigands, they would become civilized. Kallimachos (fr. 25) says this is why they were called 'Asineis', i.e. 'not harming'.[49]

The savage character of the Dryopes is stressed by **Pher. fr. 19** and other sources (Apollod. 2.155, Kallim., Ap. Rhod. and schol., Ov. *Ibis* 486). Herodotos is silent on the events that led to their eviction, merely reporting the fact, as does Pausanias, who,

[47] Attested nowhere else. Possibly the account in Stephanos has been confused, and Herodoros referred to the town near Oita. Stephanos' entry is Epaphroditos fr. 64, where see Braswell and Billerbeck.

[48] P. Courbin, *La Céramique géométrique de l'Argolide* (Paris, 1966) 14, 26, cited by R. Hägg, 'Geometric Sanctuaries in the Argolid', in Piérart, *Polydipsion Argos* 9–21 at 18. For Asine and the legends see now Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods* 132–60; see also Barrett, 'Bacchylides, Asine, and Apollo Pythaieus'.

[49] The legend has a doublet in the story of the ploughman at Lindos, told by Kallimachos in the same part of the *Aitia*, which was the aition for a festival involving consumption of quantities of beef and ritual cursing: Kallim. frr. 7.20–1, 22–3 (where see Harder); Konon, *Dieg.* 11 (see Brown ad loc. and Blakely's *BNJ* commentary). Hylas' adoption by Herakles prepares the way for his fatal encounter with the nymphs during the Argonautic expedition, so it may be regarded as an addendum to the Dryopes story (→§6.3.2). Strid, *Die Dryoper*, argues that in Pher., if we had his version, Herakles would have battled the Dryopes to rid the world of these brigands; the story about Theiodamas not giving him a meal is later, and incompatible with the first.

however, also reports an argument about the immediate sequel: the Messenian Asinaioi did not agree that they were imprisoned by Herakles and sent to the Peloponnese on order of Delphi; rather, they escaped after the battle and made their own way to Eurystheus, Herakles' arch-enemy and taskmaster, who gave them their new home. This of course redounds to the credit of the Asinaioi, who probably would not have agreed about the *casus belli* either.[50] The same point of view is evident in the paean Bacchylides wrote perhaps for the Argives in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaieus in Asine (fr. 4). In Antoninus Liberalis' idiosyncratic tale (*Met.* 32 = Nik. fr. 41) there is nothing barbaric about the Dryopes. Pausanias' informants also proudly noted their piety towards Delphi and Apollo, who was in fact Dryops' father. This touches on the other point of disagreement. **Pher. fr. 8** makes Dryops a son of the river Spercheios and Polydore, daughter of Danaos; that is to say, an Argive by maternal affiliation. So too Antoninus. A different tradition makes him son of Arkas (Aristotle fr. 482) or of Apollo and Dia, daughter of Lykaon, i.e. Arkadian in the end;[51] the nineteenth Homeric *Hymn* (34) makes Pan himself a son of Hermes and a nymph, daughter of Dryops. Either ancestry places the Dryopes at home in the Peloponnese, whither they could be said to 'return', like the Dorians. But the Arkadian genealogy repudiates any link with Argos and would have been useful for pro-Asinaian purposes, perhaps already in the early archaic period.[52] That Pherekydes called the Dryopes a 'tribe of robbers', and gave them the Argive genealogy, are sufficient hints that he told the story of the transplantation in the anti-Asinaian mode. Presumably the other details (the *casus belli*, Hylas) were there too (the business over the oxen, at any rate, is in Apollodoros), but that is no more than surmise.

The Dryopes turn up in only a few other places. In archaic poetry, a man named Dryops is killed at *Il.* 20.455; accordingly, he is listed among the sons of Priam (Apollod. 3.152), and Strabo (13.1.8) says there were Dryopes on the Propontis west of Kyzikos. This reflects (as does Strabo in Hek. fr. 119) a clearly hostile view of the Dryopes as outright barbarians. Stesichoros allows them an appearance at the Kalydonian Boarhunt (*PMGF* 222). In the historians, there are Dryopes on Euboia, at Styra (Hdt. 8.46; Paus.

[50] Though the conflict of Dryopes and Dorians seems to go back to the early archaic period, the triumph of the Delphic Amphiktiony in the First Sacred War might have had an effect on the myth-making: the involvement of Delphi in the story might date to this period, and it is interesting that in Anton. Lib. 4 (= Nikandros fr. 38, Athanadas *FGrHist* 303 F 1) Dryops has a son Kragaleus. Though the story in Antoninus is not entirely consonant with the archaic situation (Kragaleus is a just man; though he decides against, and is punished by, Apollo, he decides in favour of Herakles), K. O. Müller already drew the connection with the Kragallidai, villains in the Sacred War. Cf. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie* 1.99–100; Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking' 14–15 (where 'perfectly unHellenic Dryopes' is overstated).

[51] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1212–19d, *Etym. Magn.* 288.32 (*Etym. Gen.* p. 93 Miller, adding *οὕτως Ἀπολλώνιος*, i.e. *Argon.* 1.1213; but this wrongly imputes what the scholia say to Apollonios), Lykoph. 480 with schol.

[52] The link between Dryops 'oak-man' and the acorn-eating Arkadians (Hdt. 1.66 etc.; above, n. 13) might have been embraced in Arkadia itself, even with its hints of savage origins (Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan* 7). The brief report in Strabo (8.6.13) combines traditions: Asine was founded by Dryopes, he says, either by Dryops son of Arkas coming from the Spercheios region as Aristotle says (fr. 482), or by the Dryopians whom Herakles evicted from Doris by Parnassos.

4.34, who adds that they did not like to be reminded of their identity) and nearby Karystos (Thuc. 7.57.4, Diod. 4.37.2); not too far away was the island of Kythnos (Hdt. 8.46). These are easy migrations from the original home. At the other end of the Argolid, Stephanos s.v. *Νεμέα* reports them in that city. Further afield, Diodoros (loc. cit.) has them migrating to Cyprus after Herakles' eviction. Herodotos (1.146) says that, like many other groups, the Dryopes joined the Ionian migration.

All in all this is a much clearer history than that of either Pelasgians or Leleges, and the associations with the eastern Argolid are particularly strong. Because of the history of conflict, the people of Asine chose to nurse their sense of difference; that it was anchored in something real is suggested by some distinctive features in the material culture of the Argive city.[53] Other Dryopes who remained in the Argolid were reticent about their status, preferring to be assimilated to the Dorians though, as Kowalzig argues (*Singing for the Gods* 132–60), the myth, and performances such as Bacchylides' ode, shows that Dryopian ethnicity was not lost sight of. But it remains true that not even the Asinaioi called themselves straightforwardly 'Dryopes'; they were Asinaioi, who had been Dryopes. The latter remain creatures of dim pre-history, who probably existed but whose real historicity lies in the use the Asinaioi, and the Argives, made of them.[54]

The mythographers might have told the story of Theiodamas and Hylas in connection with either Herakles or the Argonautic saga. For Pherekydes, we know from the book-number of fr. 19 that the former option holds true. Apollodoros, who is indebted to Pherekydes for much of his account of Herakles, briefly sketches the encounter with Theiodamas in that context; conversely, after telling the story of Hylas and the Argonauts, he goes on immediately to say that according to Pherekydes (fr. 111) and Herodoros (fr. 41) Herakles did not actually sail with the Argonauts.[55] Pher. fr. 8, on the other hand, occurs in the context of the Inachid genealogy.

§2.4 Arkadians (Eumel. frr. 7–8; Hek. fr. 9; Hellan. frr. 37, 161–2; Pher. frr. 5, 156–61)

It is admittedly hard on the Arkadians to bracket them with Pelasgians and such folk, yet their genealogies place them outside the line of Deukalion and Hellen, and their association with Pelasgians is old in the sources. The only link with Hellen's line seems

[53] J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 136–7. For slight evidence that Demeter was especially worshipped by them (a hypothesis already of K. O. Müller) see *ibid.* 101.

[54] The grammarians quote some 'Dryopian' words; perhaps they knew some words from Asine, but they all look factitious (e.g., *πόποι* means 'gods' in Dryopian). See schol. Hom. *Il.* 1.591c, 13.390a1–2, *Od.* 1.32, 63. Of uncertain antiquity is the tradition that Ambrakia was called Dryopis: ps.-Skymnos 453, Dion. Calliphontis 30, Anton. Lib. 4 (above, n. 50); Hammond, *Epirus* 425, accepts it as ancient. If so, it is interesting that the two geographers in the same breath define this region as the limit of Hellas; beyond lie barbarians.

[55] After the story of Theiodamas Apollodoros relates Herakles' help to Aigimios, and a further battle with Laogoras, king of the Dryopes and ally of the Lapiths, *ὑβριστὴν ὄντα*. Perhaps this too is Pherekydes.

to be a quite oblique one: at the time of the return of the Herakleidai, the then ruler of the Arkadians, Kypselos son of Aipytos, married his daughter to Kresphontes, first ruler of Messenia. We have this from Pausanias (8.5.6), and it seems probable that it is a mytheme of the fourth century, reflecting Arkadia's involvement in the liberation of Messenia in 369.[56] The isolation of Arkadia is doubtless exaggerated, and they certainly counted as Greeks in many contexts; but the absence of the genealogy is remarkable, and does count as evidence of a certain distance between them and the Hellenes. The usual dynamic whereby cities found ways to attach themselves to the descent of Hellen was delayed here, or invisible to us. The example of Kresphontes does show that a link could be forged if desired; it may be that Arkadians on the whole felt less compelled than others to do so. The image of isolationism is not completely without foundation, though we may be dealing here also with the difficulties the Arkadians themselves had in forging a group identity amid competing internal loyalties to region and tribe.[57]

Like Sparta and Crete, the mythology of Arkadia is told to us largely by outsiders. Their history began according to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 160) and Asios (fr. 8) with the autochthonous Pelasgos; Hesiod (fr. 161) makes him father of Lykaon. Pelasgos signifies immemorial antiquity, and it is this claim that was contested by Akousilaos in fr. 25. The story of Lykaon and his sons was told in the *Catalogue* (frr. 161–8), which lies behind Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.96–109) and **Pher. fr. 156**.[58] The latter is quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who informs us also that Pherekydes listed the sons of Lykaon and all the places they inhabited; Dionysios says Lykaon had 22 sons, and perhaps this was Pherekydes' tally. We also have an account of early Arkadian history in Pausanias (8.2–4), and the crime of Lykaon is famous from Ovid (*Met.* 1.196–240).[59] In Ovid, Lykaon serves Jupiter human flesh to test his claim that he is a god. He is punished by being turned into a wolf; but since he is emblematic of the impious age, not only he and his house are annihilated, but, through the flood, the whole human race save Deukalion and Pyrrha. In Apollodoros, Zeus arrives in disguise, and Lykaon serves him human flesh on the advice of Mainalos, his oldest son. Zeus destroys the house with his thunderbolt, except for the youngest son Nyktimos, at the intercession of Gaia. In his time, Apollodoros says, the flood came; 'some say' it was inflicted because of the crimes of his brothers. The hesitation reveals that the flood story was imposed on the older tradition some time between Hesiod and Apollodoros, and indeed it is not mentioned in fr. 160 of the *Catalogue*. Unfortunately we cannot be completely confident about what 'Hesiod' did say in that poem. The fragment comes from the Eratosthenic *Katasterisms*. The

[56] Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* 62–3, 215–16.

[57] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* 38–42, 155–62; Roy, 'On Seeming Backward'. Cf. below, p. 108.

[58] The implications of Pher. fr. 156 for his view of the Pelasgians have been discussed above, §2.1, and its implications for Italian history are discussed in §17.5.

[59] See also Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 FF 37–9, Hyg. *Fab.* 176–7, schol. Eur. *Or.* 1645–6 (on which see below); further references in Frazer, *Apollod.* 1.390 n. 1. Complete testimonia in Piccaluga, *Lykaon*.

reason given for the awful feast is that Lykaon was angry with Zeus for having seduced his daughter Kallisto; the child served up in the stew was none other than Arkas, her son. Lykaon is turned into a wolf, and Arkas is pieced back together by Zeus. There follows the story of Kallisto, who, transformed into a bear, accidentally wandered onto forbidden ground; pursued by the Arkadians, Arkas among them, she was rescued by Zeus and placed among the stars. The problem is that in the *Library* (3.100) Apollodoros says that according to Hesiod Kallisto was a nymph; if so, Lykaon's motive for the feast according to fr. 160 is removed, since she was not his daughter. Robert supposed that the genealogies came from different Hesiodic poems; Apollodoros would have drawn on the *Catalogue*, while Eratosthenes drew on the *Astronomy*.[60] This is a plausible explanation of the discrepancy, but we remain unenlightened about the motivation for the feast in the *Catalogue*, and about Lykaon's relationship to Kallisto.

Murderer, cannibal, werewolf: this is not a good start for the nation. Yet Lykaon was a figure of obvious importance in Arkadia, since most of his sons are eponyms of Arkadian towns.[61] Pausanias' account, derived from Arkadian sources, begins by stressing Lykaon's foundations (the polis of Lykosoura, the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus, and the Lykaian games). These are the basic institutions of civilization, after the pastoral, acorn-eating life of Pelasgos.[62] Pausanias then gives a version of the human sacrifice that minimizes the offence so far as possible: Lykaon was in fact the first person to bring a sacrifice of meat to the altars of the gods; but he brought a human baby. For this he was punished by his metamorphosis into a wolf. The crime seems to be an innocent mistake, and even the punishment is represented as characteristic of a more virtuous age: the gods in those days dealt their justice immediately, and, conversely, pious men became gods themselves (Aristaios, Britomartis, Herakles, Amphiaraos, Kastor, and Polydeukes are instanced). Nowadays, says Pausanias, wickedness is so monstrous that adequate punishment must be reserved for the next world. Nikolaos of Damaskos also paints Lykaon in a good light, attributing the crime to his sons; this shift of the blame is reflected also in Apollodoros. Hyginus, *Fab.* 225, says he built the temple of Hermes Kyllenios (Paus. 8.17.1).

Pausanias' is clearly a revisionary account, which makes use of the motif popularized by Euhemeros that gods were but great men of old. But we may reasonably suppose that

[60] Preller–Robert, *GM* 304 n. 2; cf. W. Sale, *RhMus*[2] 102 (1962) 133–41; West, *HCW* 92.

[61] Over 70 are named in various sources; some are eponyms of places or peoples outside Arkadia (such as Oinotros and Peuketios), some simply bear good heroic names, while others have no obvious *raison d'être* or their names are corrupt. They are listed in both Roscher, *Lex.* and *RE* s.v. For a study see Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.152–6. Nielsen, *Arkadia* 235 n. 36, advances reasons for thinking that Apollodoros' list predates the Arkadian League of 370, and suggests Pherekydes as its source (but note Dionysios' 22 sons, above). Kallisto is the only daughter of any importance, but two others are attested: Dia, mother of Dryops (above, p. 102); Helike, eponym of the Achaian town (Steph. Byz. ε56; *IACP* no. 235).

[62] In the *Suppliants* (250) Aischylos feels it necessary to give his Pelasgos, a king in charge of a fully developed nation, an autochthonous father Palaichthon. Gourmelen, 'Le crime de Lykaon', gives a nuanced account of this ambiguous figure.

a sympathetic portrait like his would have been embraced by earlier Arkadians. The dreadful sacrifice, whether intentional or not, was clearly a fixture of the tradition, and could not be ignored. It related directly to rituals in the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus, which was a kind of amphictionic sanctuary for the Arkadians.[63] To be sure, it is hardly unusual that a hero should have blemishes on his record; on the contrary, it is hard to name one who has not. Perhaps the unsavoury past is less of a problem than it might appear to be. Moreover, there is a familiar dynamic of ethnogenesis: out of dark, somewhat chaotic beginnings emerges the founder Arkas; Arkadians as a group take their start from the bright new hero, but they do not lose touch with their primeval roots. The positive progression is the main point, and is the sort of thing that annual festivals would re-enact and reinforce. A similar progression obtains on Keos and Rhodes with respect to the myths of the Telchines (→§1.7.4).

One can admit all of this, but some slight problems remain. The historical inhabitants of towns named after Lykaon's sons were in a metaphorical sense descendants of these founders, or closely identified with them. Accounts such as Apollodoros' or Ovid's, in which all the sons perish, leave one wondering how all these cities explained their history after the first generation. Pausanias, one notices, omits all mention of the flood, and Lykaon's sons thus found their cities unmolested. But lest one think that this must be the true (or only) Arkadian myth, the odd fate of Nyktimos needs to be considered. He is the son of Lykaon who in both Pausanias and Apollodoros succeeds to the throne. But then he simply dies, to be succeeded by Arkas. Of his own progeny we hear almost nothing. In another section of his Arkadian book (8.24.1) Pausanias gives a genealogy of the founder of Psophis, who traced his ancestry six generations back to Nyktimos.[64] This has the appearance of coming from an altogether different local tradition; at any rate, Nyktimos' failure to leave a successor as king of Arkadia remains unexplained.

One version, surfacing first in Lykophron, says that it was actually Nyktimos whom Lykaon killed.[65] This would work better with respect to the logic of ethnogenesis if at the

[63] Burkert, *HN* 84–93 with references to earlier treatments; Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* 183–4, 258–69; Hughes, *Human Sacrifice* 96–107; Bremmer, 'Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice' 65–78.

[64] Psophis son of Arron son of Erymanthos son of Aristas son of Parthaon (Musurus: Parthrion codd.) son of Periphetos son of Nyktimos. Steph. Byz. s.v. (704.18 Meineke) says that Psophis was a son of Lykaon; in the same entry he quotes Hek. fr. 6 on the Erymanthian Boar (→§8.4.4), so this might be his genealogy.

[65] *Alex.* 481 (cf. schol. ad loc., Nonn. *Dion.* 18.22, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 36.5, Arnob. 4.24). Older scholars (e.g. Usener, *Götternamen* 199–216; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 1.63–81) naturally thought in terms of Light vs. Dark, and nature mythology (compare Lykos and Nykteus in Boiotia, §10.2 n. 18: an intriguing parallel, but we know of no connection with our Arkadian pair). There is some evidence for the play of light and dark in the Arkadian ritual (cf. Buxton, 'Wolves and Werewolves in Greek Thought' 78 n. 49), and the etymology has been defended by reference to *λυκαυγής*, *ἀμφιλύκη*, *λυκοειδής* (Hsch. λ1383–5), *λυκόφως*, *λυκάβας* (but the latter is surely pre-Greek: Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v.). But the alpha is recalcitrant and others relate *Lukāwōn to Hittite *Lukkawanni*, inhabitant of Lycia (Bremmer loc. cit. (n. 63) 76–7). In Lykaon's case, at least, wolves had long since won out in popular imagination, and such folktale names need not carry the heavy burden of theology placed upon them.

same time Kallisto, mother of Arkas, were daughter of Lykaon. This she is in **Eumel. fr. 7** and in some part of the Hesiodic corpus (above). The old regime is terminated by the death of the only heir, but Arkadians retain a link to these aboriginal times through the founder's mother; the father is a god as usual. Another early authority makes Kallisto a daughter of Nyktimos, which works nearly as well (Asios fr. 9, assuming his 'Nykteus' is the same person). But we have seen that in another part of the Hesiodic corpus she was simply a nymph, which breaks the link with Lykaon; then there is **Pher. fr. 157**, which says she was daughter of one Keteus.

That the name is not corrupt is guaranteed by two other sources. First, there is the version of Ariaithos of Tegea (*FGrHist* 316 F 2 ap. Hygin. *Astr.* 2.1, 2.6)—an Arkadian historian at last: but one already responding, it seems, to a pan-Hellenic conversation. He said that Kallisto was rather named Megisto, and her father was Keteus son of Lykaon, thus confirming Keteus as Arkadian.[66] Secondly, there is a scholion on Euripides' *Orestes* 1646, a rather idiosyncratic and doubtless Hellenistic version of Arkadian history, but one which has various points of contact with other accounts. It begins with Pelasgos (son of Arestor, son of Iasos) coming from Argos, civilizing the hitherto savage natives of Arkadia, and founding the city Parrhasia; his wife was Kyllene, eponym of the mountain, and his son was Lykaon, who founded the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Parrhasia. He leaves his kingdom to his son Nyktimos, in whose time the flood occurred. Next there ruled Dorieus (!) son of Eikadios and Koroneia.[67] His son was Parthaon;[68] his sons were Keteus and Paros;[69] and Keteus was father of Kallisto by one Stilbe.[70] Kallisto bore Arkas to Zeus, and his sons by Leaneira were Elatos, Apheidas, and Azan. This cannot be Pherekydes' story, if only because of the premature presence of Dorians, but it again confirms that the mysterious Keteus was an Arkadian figure and, in this version at any rate, has no relation to Lykaon.

Like Pausanias, the scholion presents a positive portrait of Lykaon. Unlike Pausanias, it includes the flood and acknowledges the break that followed Nyktimos. Thus, on the one hand we have a primeval ruler whose sons found cities all over Arkadia, but none of whom has overall dominion, and all of whom perish in some accounts; on the

[66] Ariaithos' date is undetermined; at least 4th-c., very likely later. (See now M. Jost's and J. Roy's *BNJ* commentary.) He probably cited Pher. fr. 58 elsewhere in his book (→§4.5). According to Istros, *FGHist* 334 F 75, Arkas was son of 'Themisto' and Zeus (cf. Eust. *Il.* 300.29 and on Dion. Per. 414). Bremmer points out to me that *καλὴ καὶ μεγάλη* is a common description of female beauty (*καλή τε μεγάλη τε* is a Homeric formula, *Od.* 13.289, 14.7, 15.418, 16.158), so Ariaithos has simply substituted one term for the other: W. Verdenius, *Mnem.*[4] 2 (1949) 294–8.

[67] For Eikadios see §1.8.1.

[68] 'Parthion' codd.; cf. Paus. 8.24.1 (above, n. 64); Schwartz suggested 'Porthaon' (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.97 has 'Portheus').

[69] Cf. Kallim. fr. 710.

[70] The name recurs as a daughter of Heosphoros, by Hermes mother of Autolykos (schol. *Il.* 10.266–7a1), and as a daughter of Peneios, mother by Apollo of Lapithes (schol. *Il.* 1.266–8, schol. D *Il.* 12.181, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.40–1).

other hand we have a federal eponym Arkas who may or may not be related on his mother's side to his predecessor. From some points of view, the myths of Lykaon and Kallisto might have been originally quite separate from each other, combined only at a late stage, and perhaps only by mythographers;[71] yet the genealogical link was forged already by Eumelos, as we have seen, and perhaps too in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, i.e. by the sixth century at the latest; the establishment of the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios *c.*600 BC gives a *terminus ante quem* for at least that part of the construct. If it reflects Arkadian views in any way, one might diagnose competing attitudes to the ethnos' own coherence. The ambiguous nature of an eponym could be worked to advantage: on a strong view, an ancestor; on a weak view, one who simply gave his name to the people, as Pelops gave his name to the Peloponnesians. Retaining a strong relationship with both Lykaon and Arkas leaves one with the most to explain in mythological terms. In different contexts one could choose one or the other according to need. Taking Pher. frr. 156 and 157 together, we might infer that in his account the sons of Lykaon were more important than Arkas. The sons did not all perish; subsequently Arkas somehow gave his name to the people. If this Arkas was not a son of Lykaon, as he was in Ariaithos the Arkadian, it does not suggest a strong corporate presence of Arkadians in Pherekydes' day.[72]

Some details may be remarked on. In fr. 156, Pherekydes has made Kyllene, the eponym of the Arkadian mountain, wife of Lykaon (and mother of all his children?), whereas in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.96 Kyllene is Lykaon's mother, wife of Pelasgos.[73] Apollodoros gives Meliboia daughter of Okeanos as an alternative mother, which West suggests (*HCW* 91) may be from Akousilaos, as he and Hesiod had just been contrasted with respect to their accounts of Pelasgos himself (see Akous. fr. 25, app. crit.). Pherekydes names Deianeira as Lykaon's mother; an arbitrary invention, it would seem. It recurs in Dionysios *Ant. Rom.* 1.11, in a passage that may owe something to Hellanikos; Deianeira there is daughter of Lykaon I and mother of Lykaon II. Concerning Hellanikos' account of Arkadia we are very poorly informed; in **Hellan. fr. 161** we learn only that he said the Arkadians were autochthonous. This is a commonplace;[74] yet, if the surmise is correct (above, p. 94 and §7.1.2) that Hellanikos, like Akousilaos, placed the first Pelasgos in Argos, we may be able

[71] Cf. Henrichs, 'Three Approaches to Greek Mythography' 261–2 (an important discussion); West, *HCW* 154–5; Bremmer, 'Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice' 75–6. The progeny of Arkas cluster in eastern Arkadia whereas Lykaon abides in the western part. The literary and artistic sources for the Kallisto myth are discussed also by I. McPhee, *LIMC* 5.1.940 and by Gantz 725–9. Epimen. *Vors.* 3 B 16 said that Arkas and Pan were the sons of Kallisto and Zeus (→§11.2.2).

[72] Jacoby on fr. 156 went so far as to infer that because of the decisive break Pherekydes must have included the flood in his account, but this is surely too bold an inference. Nonetheless that break was clearly there in some versions and whoever subsequently inserted the flood at this point had good warrant.

[73] Schol. Eur. *Or.* 1646 also gives Kyllene as wife of Pelasgos. Paus. 8.4.6 oddly says the mountain was named after Kyllen son of Elatos.

[74] In addition to texts mentioning the autochthonous Pelasgos e.g. Hdt. 8.73, Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23, Dem. 19.261, *CEG* 2.824.2 mention Arkadian autochthony (references from Nielsen, *Arkadia* 70 n. 134).

to draw an inference, for if the Pelasgians are not the autochthones in question, somebody else must be. Possibly it is Lykaon, but he is a figure associated with the beginning of civilization rather than aboriginal condition; more probably it is the mysterious Aizeios who appears only in Dionysios 1.11.2, 1.12.1. One is tempted to suppose the name has something to do with the Azanes, but there is no evidence to support such a view.[75]

The remaining Arkadian fragments in our corpus are brief. We take them in order of the edition:

Elatos and Apheidas **(Eumel. fr. 8)**. Fr. 8a, from Apollodoros, merely quotes Eumelos for the different name he gave to the mother of these sons of Arkas; his nominee, a nymph Chrysopeleia, corresponds to the Dryad Erato named by Pausanias (8.4.2), prophetess of a once oracular Pan (8.37.11), depicted on the Arkadian monument at Delphi found in modern times (Paus. 10.9.5; *CEG* 2.824). That the story in fr. 8b was also found in Eumelos is highly unlikely; as Wilamowitz supposed, and Leone's new edition of the scholia to Lykophron confirms, Tzetzes has added Eumelos from Apollodoros, and only then for the name of the nymph; for the main story he cites Charon *FGrHist* 262 F 12, on which see Jacoby, and J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs* 73–5. Apheidas and Elatos had a brother Azan, eponym of the Azanes of northern Arkadia (Paus. 8.4.1).[76] Pausanias also says that Apheidas ruled in Tegea, while Elatos had Mt Kyllene (as yet unnamed). He adds an illegitimate brother Autolaos (cf. 8.25.11); at 10.9.5 he adds Triphylos, a consequence of Triphylia's joining the Arkadian League in 370 B C. In Eumel. fr. 8b there is another son Amphidamas (cf. schol. *Il.* 2.603–9). Apheidas was father of Stheneboia, who married Proitos, and Aleos, the father of Auge, Kepheus and Lykourgos (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.102) and Amphidamas (Paus. 8.4.8, Ap. Rhod. 1.161).

Arkadian Supper. According to Hekataios **(Hek. fr. 9)**, this consisted of barley-cakes and pork. Athenaios, who quotes the fragment, is working his way through regional menus, and one may doubt whether Hekataios himself used the phrase 'Arkadian supper' as if proverbial. The menu is very simple (cf. Archil. fr. 2), so perhaps from early times (the fragment is of course from the *Genealogiai*); the context could be the feast of Lykaon, human flesh having been mixed in with the pork.

Kepheus. Apollonios (1.161–3) in his catalogue of Argonauts includes Kepheus and Amphidamas sons of Aleos; his scholiast tells us that there were two Kepheis, the son of Aleos and, according to **Hellan. fr. 37**, the son of . . . somebody else. Wendel noted Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.37 where Kepheus son of Lykourgos is a Kalydonian Boarhunter; Jacoby on the other hand assumed the father was Poseidon (fr. 99;→§12.3.3). One would normally assume the Boarhunter and Argonaut to be the same person, however, and we may wonder if Apollodoros' genealogy in 1.37 is simply a confusion (Amphidamas is

[75] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.153 n.1.

[76] On the Azanes see Nielsen and Roy, 'The Azanians of Northern Arkadia'.

another Arkadian figure about whom genealogists were uncertain). The son of Poseidon, eponym of Kaphyai and living long before either adventure, would certainly be a different person.

Mt Mainalon. The scholiast on Ap. Rhod. 1.769–73, elucidating a reference to Atalante 'who once on Mainalon gave Jason the gift of a far-flying spear', explains that Mainalon is a mountain in Arkadia where Atalante roamed; it is named *ἀπὸ Μαινάλου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος* according to **Hellan. fr. 162.** The eponym everywhere else is son of Lykaon, and it is in this era that he belongs; Jacoby well suggests that when the scholiast says *ἀπὸ Μαινάλου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος* he means not 'Mainalos son of Arkas' but 'Mainalos the Arkadian'. The scholiast's main point here is that there were two Atalantai, one Arkadian, the other Boiotian, the daughter of Schoineus, whom Hippomenes married when he won the famous race; 'the Arkadian' may be the scholiast's addition.[77] The two girls have the essential point in common that they shun marriage; perhaps they were in fact one figure to begin with. The Arkadian Atalante is a huntress like Artemis stalking her prey in the wilds of Mainalon; she also participates in the Kalydonian Boarhunt and the Funeral Games of Pelias, and sometimes even accompanies the Argonauts. In the course of time the two Atalantai inevitably became confused, or put back together (e.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.105–9). When Apollodoros (3.109) says she was daughter of Mainalos according to Euripides, this is merely a misreading of *Phoin.* 1162.[78]

Hysia. Stephanos tells us that Pherekydes mentioned Hysia, the polis 'in Arkadia' **(Pher. fr. 5)**. The place in question (also called Hysiai) is on the road from Argos to Tegea, and is normally considered part of the Argolid.[79] The border of Arkadia was somewhat flexible, changing over time, as we see also from Pher. fr. 161 (below); see Nielsen in *IACP* p. 505 and *Arkadia* 89–112. Nielsen (110) suggests that Hysiai might have been part of Arkadia following the Argive defeat at Sepeia, 494 BC, until Argos was sufficiently strong again to take the field against Sparta with Tegea (466?). This tallies well with a date in the 460s for Pherekydes' activity. There is no known mythological context for the fragment.

Areithoos. At *Il.* 7.8–10, Paris kills Menesthios of Boiotian Arne, son of Areithoos 'Clubman' and Phylomedousa. At 7.131–56, during one of Nestor's 'would I were young' speeches, he tells how he killed Ereuthalion during a fight between the Pylians and the Arkadians (mentioned also at 4.319); Ereuthalion was bearing Areithoos' arms. These had been given him by his master Lykourgos, then an old man, who had killed Areithoos

[77] This counters Nielsen's well-taken point, *Arkadia* 273 n. 15, that Hellanikos would not need to add 'the Arkadian' in a work *On Arkadia*. There is a striking parallel for the story of Schoineus in the Grimm Brothers' 'Six Soldiers of Fortune', no. 71 in the usual numeration.

[78] For the sources of the myth of Atalante see Robert, *GH* 83–4, 93–6, Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.92–7, Boardman, *LIMC* 2.1.940, Gantz 335–9, and Barringer, 'Atalanta as Model'; for her son Parthenopaios, §12.3.3.

[79] Thuc. 5.83.2; Strab. 8.6.17; Paus. 2.24.7 (in ruins by his day); Bölte, *RE* 9.1.540; Shaw, 'Olympiad Chronography' 284–5; *IACP* p. 601.

by confronting him in a defile where he had no room to swing his club. The Mythographus Homericus on the first Homeric passage provides the *historia*, which is merely a paraphrase of the second Homeric passage with some additional narrative ornaments: he says there was a border dispute between the Boiotians and the Arkadians; Areithoos invaded and carried off much booty; Lykourgos roused the Arkadians and laid his ambush.[80] The *historia* is attributed to Pherekydes **(Pher. fr. 158)**, and it appears from fr. 159 that he did mention it (see below). We have no further knowledge of this story from any other source.[81] One thing Pherekydes cannot have said, even if he was vague about the limits of Arkadia (frr. 5, 161), is that there was a border dispute with Boiotia. Boiotia is MH's surmise from the fact that Areithoos' son resides at Arne. More likely the border dispute was with Triphylia or Messenia, as suggested by Nestor's history. Homer's commentators broke their heads over the chronological puzzle: Nestor, ancient of days, says that when he was young he killed Ereuthalion, and even then the death of Areithoos lay long before—yet here is Paris killing Areithoos' son at Troy. One solution was to assume that there were two Areithooi, one Arkadian and one Boiotian. Another was to suppose that Lykourgos was already old when he killed Areithoos, and left a very young Menesthios behind at home ('one year old', specifies the scholiast), who then lived a very long time and was the oldest fighter at Troy after Nestor.[82] In Pausanias' king-list (8.4.10), Lykourgos is king at about the right time for his enemy's son to fight at Troy (Lykourgos' great-nephew is contemporary with Herakles' son Hyllos, 8.5.1). In truth we have a free-standing story about a primitive Arkadian warrior,[83] worked into the *Iliad* without concern for chronology. We cannot know how Boiotia came into the picture, or how Pherekydes handled these problems, if he did.

Phera; River Dardanos. In his telling of the battle with the Arkadians (above, on Pher. fr. 158) Nestor places it, according to the received text, 'beside the walls of Pheia, by the river Iardanos' (*Il.* 7.135) but also 'by the swift-flowing Keladon' (133). The two lines consort ill together; moreover, Pheia in Elis has no river to speak of, and is altogether in the wrong place for the battle. Conversely, no river Iardanos is known in the Peloponnese; but the Cretan Kydones live *Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα* at *Od.* 3.292. The Keladon is in exactly the right place for this border-fight (Paus. 8.38.9, cf. Kallim. *Hymn* 3.107), near Theisoa (*Barrington Atlas* 58 B2). Christ and after him West deleted l. 135. Ancient scholars tried other remedies; Strabo offers a particularly violent one at 8.3.21, substituting 'Akidon' for 'Keladon' and 'Chaa' for 'Pheia'. Didymos suggested 'Dardanos' and 'Pherai'. As his authority he quotes **Pher. fr. 159**. Now 'Dardanos' would produce an

[80] On the text see Part B.

[81] Pausanias says Areithoos' grave was shown near Mantineia (8.11.4); of Lykourgos king of Arcadia he says this cowardly killing was all he was remembered for (8.4.10).

[82] A version of this is supported by Kirk ad loc.

[83] Primitive: Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan* 22. Free-floating story, going back to the Dark Age or beyond: Bremmer, 'What is a Greek Myth?' 1–2; A. Hoekstra, *Med. Ned. Ak. Wet., Afd. Letterk.*[2] 108 (1981) 54–66.

hexameter with no caesura,[84] and is nowhere attested as a river. If Pherekydes wrote 'Pherai' he is likely to have meant the town at the mouth of the Nedon, modern Kalamata, even if it is a little far south for a fight with Arkadians.[85] Strabo says (8.4.4) that Nestor got his epithet 'Gerenios' from nearby Gerena, which has been located (*IACP* p. 556). Now though we may suspect this association to be somewhat artificial—the origins of Nestor's epithet are lost in the prehistory of epic—it was quite possibly believed in the classical period, and could have influenced Pherekydes. Unfortunately, the Nedon will not go into the hexameter without further rewriting. Maybe, after all, we should believe Didymos, that Pherekydes said 'Dardanos': he does seem to have taken a stand on various Homeric names (→§18.3.9), and would have known that the Iardanos was in Crete. To save Homer's credibility he made a minimal alteration. His standards of versification might have been no better than those of many inscriptions ('often atrocious': West, *Greek Metre* 36, noting for lack of caesura *CEG* 1.83.1).

Diope **(Pher. fr. 160)**. The entry in Stephanos is now δ91 Billerbeck. Nothing else is known about this 'polis' (on this term see Part B, introduction to Hellanikos).

Phrixa **(Pher. fr. 161)**. Stephanos tells us that Pherekydes put this polis (*IACP* no. 309) in Arkadia; it is normally considered to be in Triphylia. On the shifting border of Arkadia, see Shipley in *IACP* p. 505 (cf. on Hysia above). Jacoby noted Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μάκιστος* (428.11 Meineke), who says the city was named after Makistos the brother of Phrixos, the eponym of Phrixa. He then notes Herodotos 4.148, according to whom the Minyans who had been chased from Lemnos by the Pelasgians, and were then evicted from Lakonia, settled Phrixos, Makiston, and other towns in this area.[86] The Lemnian Minyans were descended from the Argonauts. Jacoby therefore suggested that a tradition lies behind Stephanos in which Triphylia was colonized directly from Thessaly,[87] by a descendant of Phrixos son of Athamas (cf. Pher. fr. 101). This seems very possible; although Stephanos does not say who Phrixos' father was, to call him 'brother of Makistos' would be odd if they were two of the many sons of Lykaon. That is of course the other possibility; Mekisteus is one of Lykaon's sons at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.97 (Kaukon, eponym of the Kaukones who are also resident in this region, immediately precedes). Phrixos, however, is not so named in any surviving source.

[84] *Φηρᾶς πὰρ τείχεσσιν Δαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.*

[85] Pheraia in Elis seems too obscure, and would require one to think that the Pylians of Elis are the combatants: Strab. 8.3.32; Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* 3.35–7. Its river is the Erymanthos. Yet at 6.21.6 Pausanias notes a ruined temple of Athena Kydonia near Phrixa (which is close to Pheraia, and in Arcadia according to Pher. fr. 161), founded by Klymenos, a descendant of Herakles the Daktyl, who came from Kydonia in Crete 'and the Iardanos river': a seemingly gratuitous addition; is the Arkadian Iardanos close by?

[86] See Corcella on 4.145.3, 148.1–3.

[87] On the legendary links between the regions cf. §5.3.1.

§3

DEUKALION

THIS section concentrates on the myth of Deukalion and Pyrrha in its own right, particularly the flood; their progeny and appropriation by Thessaly are discussed in §4.

§3.1 Names and Genealogy (Akous. fr. 34)

Both 'Deukalion' and 'Pyrrha' occur as names in Linear B (PY An 654.12, *de-u-ka-ri-jo*; KN Ap 639.11 *pu-wa*). The etymology of Deukalion's name is disputed; Bader, 'De Pollux à Deukalion', favours 'briller, voir', with reference primarily to brightness, whereas Janko, 'Polydeukes and Deukalion', argues for a connection with *γλυκύς/γλεῦκος*.[1]

In myth, Deukalion is everywhere the son of Prometheus, but the mother's name varies. Corruption unfortunately affects the Hesiodic fragments. Fr. 2 (see Hellan. fr. 6), according to the MSS, astonishingly names Pandora, but in a work purporting to be Hesiodic this seems incredible.[2] Hes. fr. 4 (see Akous. fr. 34) names †*Πρυνείη*, for which various emendations have been proposed; if the true form began with a P, it would have been easy for a sleepy copyist to write 'Pandora' by mistake in fr. 2. The woman's name in the *Catalogue* is thus unrecoverable.

Akousilaos' candidate (**Akous. fr. 34**) is an Okeanid Hesione, which might be taken for free invention did it not recur in the *PV* (560); if the latter is not dependent on the former, one may speculate that their common source was the *Titanomachy*, which perhaps mentioned the flood (see below), and which has long been thought to lie behind the *PV* (→§1.5). Another possibility is the *Phoronis*, one of Akousilaos' main sources, or (less probably) Mousaios (*Vors.* 2 B 18; see Pher. frr. 90c, e), who gave Prometheus' brother Atlas an Okeanid wife. Someone else even more boldly suggested Asia as

[1] Bader also in *REG* 99 (1986), pp. xii–xiv. Epicharmos has the curious variant *Λευκαρίων*, perhaps for comic reasons ('white man' vs. 'red woman': so Wilamowitz apud Kaibel); Deinolochos of Syracuse (test. 2.4, *PCG* 1.177) also wrote a play of this title. Oldfather, *RE* 13.1.1176 thought *λεύειν* 'to stone' might be relevant, in view of the *λᾶας/λαός* story; cf. *Et.Gud.* s.v. *λευρόν*.

[2] Admittedly, it is worrying that Pandora figures as Deukalion's mother again in Strabo 9.5.23 p. 443; perhaps as a mother-of-mankind figure she was wife of Prometheus in some local traditions. In Hes. fr. 5 she is mother of Graikos, for whom see §4.2. Cf. West on *Op.* 81; Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* 119 n. 1; Bremmer, *GRC* 32–4; Hirschberger ad loc. (her fr. 2). The report in schol. Hes. *Op.* 158a that Deukalion and Pyrrha were the offspring of Epimetheus is another strange aberration; could it come from Eumelos, who, as we saw (§1.5), had a quite different view of this Titan's attainments?

Prometheus' mate (Hdt. 4.45), which Sturz (in Sturz[3]) implausibly wanted to substitute for Hesione in Akousilaos.[3] Klymene, who according to the scholiast who quotes Akous. fr. 34 was the wife of Prometheus in 'most' authorities, is otherwise attested in late sources only (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.17.3, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.79c(?), 81, schol. Pl. *Ti.* 22a), though Jacoby on frr. 6 and 117 thought Dionysios' source might have been Hellanikos. In Hesiod *Th.* 510 she is Prometheus' mother.

§3.2 The Flood Myth: Who knew what, when? (Akous. fr. 35; Andr. fr. 8; Hellan. frr. 6, 117a)

Deukalion and Pyrrha survive the great flood and repopulate the earth, partly by normal procreation, partly by casting stones over their shoulders which turn into men and women. In Lokrian Opous, as we see from Pindar, the distinction was turned to political advantage; the aristocracy claimed descent from Deukalion himself, whereas the people could do no better than the stones. The story played on a popular etymology of *λαός* 'people' from *λᾶος/λᾶας* 'stone' (Hes. fr. 234, **Akous. fr. 35**, Pindar, Epicharmos fr. 120; possibly also *Il.* 24.611). As West points out (*HCW* 55, following Preller–Robert, *GM* 84 n. 2), this creation myth is no different in kind from stories of men being created from ants on Aigina (Hes. fr. 205) or from a serpent's teeth in Thebes, and need not presuppose a prior flood. The flood is first brought into relation with the stone story explicitly in Epicharmos and Pindar.[4]

That the story of the flood is intrusive in Greece has long been recognized. There is no mention of it in the genuine Hesiod, nor apparently in the *Catalogue* (West, *HCW* 55). It sits uneasily with the usual Greek idea of two ages of history, which proceed from one to the other without the agency of any natural cataclysm: an age of heroes descended from various autochthonous, divine, and immigrant figures; and the present age.[5] In its

[3] In Lykoph. *Alex.* 1283 and Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8 Asia is Prometheus' mother (a dual role reminiscent of Klymene); she starts life as an Okeanid in Hes. *Th.* 359. Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* 119, after Gruppe *Griechische Mythologie* 1.90–1 and Wilamowitz, *Aischylos* 136–7, regards the two names as alternative forms of the same word, but the linguistic argument is quite precarious. Tzetzes on Lykoph. loc. cit. gives Axiothea as yet another alternative, which points to a cult connection on Samothrace; see §1.7.2 n. 159.

[4] If the wording in Akous. fr. 23 can be trusted, he no doubt connected them too (see below). For anthropological parallels to the stone story, see Röhrich, 'Anthropogonie' and Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament* 586 (and 82–131 for the flood). Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* 103 suggests that the motif of throwing the stones behind them stresses the mysterious and sacred quality of the act; Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* 228 more mundanely thinks of agricultural practice. Cf. Bremmer, *GRC* 124–5. For the worldwide flood myth Dundes, *The Flood Myth*, provides an overview; for the myth in Greece, the Near East, and India, orientation and bibliography may be found in Versnel, 'What's Sauce for the Goose is Sauce for the Gander' 86 n. 156; West, *EFH* 489–93; Hirschberger on Hes. fr. 5 M.–W. (fr. 2 H.); Bremmer, *GRC* 101–16.

[5] Hesiod's Five Ages are plainly grafted onto this scheme; how successfully is a matter of debate: against the assessment that this myth is inconsistent with his own view of Pandora (e.g. West on *Op.* 106–201; Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* 177–8) see Sourvinou-Inwood, 'The Hesiodic Myth of the Five Races'. That the careers of the offspring of these *Urmenschen* (Hellen, then Doros and the others) must take place after the Trojan War is a clear sign of the difficulty.

original Near Eastern home the flood myth is found in several versions, most famously for modern audiences the relatively young one of Noah. For whatever reason it attached itself to Deukalion, perhaps because, as a Lokrian (Hes. fr. 234, Pind. *Ol.* 9), he was geographically the closest of various Greek *Urmenschen* to Euboia, an important conduit of Eastern materials and ideas to Greece in the Dark Ages.[6] It is attractive to think that the *Titanomachy* already assigned this role to Deukalion, since it knew other stories from the Akkadian *Atrahasis*, and in all probability the epic of Gilgamesh as well (whose influence has been detected also in Homer).[7] Both of these epics contained the flood story. Bremmer further suggests that fr. 4 Bernabé of the *Titanomachy* (fr. Davies, Eumel. fr. 14 West), which speaks of fish in the sea, might even come from a description of the flood. Early Greek knowledge of *Atrahasis* is also implied by the plot of the *Cypria*.[8]

The story of the flood, therefore, although not native mythology, was certainly known in archaic Greece. Its occurrence already in Pindar and Epicharmos—and surely *PV* 231–3—points to an archaic predecessor. Among mythographers, it is unambiguously attested in **Hellanikos (fr. 117a)** and **Andron (fr. 8)**. That the earliest mythographers (Hek., Akous., Pher.) knew the myth seems probable, but it is very difficult to show that they did. Hekataios (frr. 13–16) certainly had strong and novel opinions about Deukalion's progeny (→§4.4), but we do not know what he said about the flood; Pherekydes fr. 23 looks reassuringly orthodox, but is once again silent on the key point.[9] The citations of Akousilaos fr. 23 (and Hellanikos fr. 47) are unfortunately less helpful than one might wish. Behind the blithe statements of a Julius Africanus or a Clement lie Alexander Polyhistor and Kastor of Rhodes (both first century BC), who land us squarely in the swamp of ancient chronography.

Before attempting to find our way through that quagmire (below, §3.3) let us offer one or two general comments. Given that the story was certainly current in Greece, as we have just seen, this presented a problematic choice for the mythographers: either to ignore it, or to reconcile it with their local traditions. If their local tradition was not north-central Greek, and they were therefore loath to think of Deukalion as their primal ancestor, such reconciliation would necessarily involve some modification of the original story, since Deukalion and Pyrrha could not be the flood's only survivors. They had either to find some way for their true ancestors to survive the flood (thus Apollodoros says that all men perished, 'except for a few who sought refuge in the

[6] See especially M. L. West, *JHS* 108 (1988) 166–72 and Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes*.

[7] See S. R. West, 'Prometheus Orientalized'; M. L. West, art. cit. last note and *EFH* index s.v. Gilgamesh; Bremmer, *GRC* 103–6; Janko on *Il.* 14.200–7, 15.185–93.

[8] See Scodel, 'The Achaean Wall', and Burkert, *OR* 88–91 ~ *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* 34–40; West, *MH* 52 (1995) 211–13 ~ *EFH* 377–80. S. R. West (*per litt.*) notes that the present *παίζουσι* makes against Bremmer's reading; other contexts are imaginable for the fragment.

[9] Jacoby on fr. 156 thought that Pherekydes included the flood; see §2.4 n. 72.

highest mountains in the vicinity'), or they had to confine the flood to other regions; for instance, Aristotle, *Met.* 352a32–b3 restricts it to the region of Dodona. By making the flood a less than universal catastrophe, such modifications fatally undermine the original point of the myth, which is that the flood marks a totally new beginning of human civilization. The survivor of the flood should be a culture-hero who invents various technologies and founds human institutions such as sacrifice. These functions in Greek myth are usually given to Prometheus or to a local *Urmensch*; Phoroneus, for instance, brought fire to man according to the Argives (Paus. 2.19.5), caused them to live in towns (2.15.5), and founded the cult of Hera (Hyg. *Fab.* 143, 225). These or similar claims no doubt played a part in Akousilaos' book.[10]

One hint of Deukalion as culture-hero survives in the mythographers: **Hellanikos fr. 6** says that he established an altar of the twelve gods in Thessaly (Phthiotis).[11] This act certainly followed hard on the end of the flood to mark the restitution of order. Deukalion's post-diluvial sacrifice turns up in several places: according to Apollodoros, he sacrificed to Zeus Phyxios, who was worshipped in Thessaly (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.1147, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.48); according to Arrian, *FGrHist* 156 F 16, he sacrificed to Zeus Aphesios after landing in Argos; according to the Marmor Parium (*FGrHist* 239 A 4), he sacrificed to Zeus Olympios in Athens (and built his temple); according to the recently published *P.Oxy.* 62.4306 fr. 1 i 19 ff. (first or second century A D), a list of those 'who first constructed the altars of the gods', Deukalion built the second of all altars (Pelasgos built the first), amazingly, at Dion in Makedonia. These stories once again reveal the attempts made to graft the flood myth onto local traditions. Similarly, in Hellanikos fr. 135 Iasion is the only man after the flood with seed grain, and so must re-establish agriculture; normal tradition places him in Crete, but Hellanikos seems to have put him in Samothrace (→§18.1.1). Other stories, of various dates and origins, attest the same process: in Megara, Megaros was guided to the summit of Mount Gerania after the flood by the sound of cranes (*γέρανοι*; Paus. 1.40.1); Makar built the city of Karides on Chios after the deluge (Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 11); Makareus resettled Lesbos (Diod. Sic. 5.81.3); the cult of Zeus Hellenios was established by Aiakos on Aigina in gratitude for salvation from the flood (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5.17b); Zeus sent the flood because of Lykaon of Arkadia's wickedness (Ov. *Met.* 1.163–323); and so on.[12] Some of these stories no doubt

[10] See Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* 217–39 for the evidence concerning Deukalion, Phoroneus, Merops, Inachos, and others.

[11] For Deukalion and sacrifice see Rudhardt, 'Les mythes grecs'; Bremmer, *GRC* 112–14; Georgoudi, 'Les Douze Dieux' (for the twelve gods see also on Herodoros fr. 34, §8.4.5). Plutarch, *Adversus Coloten* 31 makes Deukalion responsible for religion generally among the Hellenes. Jacoby on Hekataios fr. 2 wondered whether Hekataios represented Deukalion as founder of the city Iton in Phthia and its cult of Athena Itonia (→§1.8.4).

[12] Secondary too is the use of the flood myth as an aition for various rituals; numerous instances, none attested early, in Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* 239–58.

figured in old mythography. If Hekataios mentioned the flood in connection with Deukalion (frr. 13–16), he too would have regarded it only as a local nuisance, no global catastrophe. The absence of the Deukalion saga in Homer (and much other epic), art, and tragedy, also suggests that it was not well established as a national myth; that it flourished at a different level is perhaps suggested by its popularity in comedy (not only Epicharmos and Pherekrates fr. 125, from the *Myrmekanthropoi*,[13] but in the fourth-century Antiphanes frr. 78–9, Euboulos fr. 23, and Ophelio test. 1).

There are two further reasons, admittedly slight, for thinking that Akousilaos mentioned the flood. First, Plato in the *Timaios* mentions Phoroneus, Deukalion, and Pyrrha in the same breath, and Phoroneus points to Akousilaos, whom Plato certainly knew (he preserves fr. 6a for us). However, Plato in the same sentence speaks of calculating the number of years since the days of Deukalion; it would be surprising to find this in Akousilaos, though not impossible so far as his date is concerned, for Hekataios (test. 4) had the same chronographical misadventure in Egypt as Solon did according to Plato. Akousilaos was not a man to devote much thought to scientific method, and the only point really securely attested for him in these citations is that Phoroneus was the first human. Akous. fr. 23c is particularly clear proof of this; fr. 23b (= Hellan. 47a) is no less transparent, for Akousilaos certainly did not calculate years before the first Olympiad. In fr. 23a the word *γάρ* after Akousilaos' name is a giveaway, for it imputes to him a reasoning that belongs rather to Clement's authority; indeed, it appears to make Akousilaos say that the first man Phoroneus was preceded by Inachos (in Akousilaos we may assume Inachos was the river). Certainly Akousilaos did not concede that there had been earlier kings in Sikyon; this, rather, is Kastor's reconstruction (*FGrHist* 250 F 2), and perhaps Alexander's as well.

Secondly, Bremmer (*GRC* 111) has noticed a suggestive detail in Apollodoros: Greece, he says, was inundated outside the Isthmus and the Peloponnese (1.47). The beneficent deity who thus protected the Peloponnese was possibly an Argive one, and Akousilaos might be the ultimate source of this statement.[14] Similarly, an Athenian source will lie behind the Marmor Parium's view that Attika remained dry (*FGrHist* 239 A 4). However, Heyne took Apollodoros' 'Greece' here to be Thessalian Hellas, a survival of the earlier, more restricted use of the word (Hellas being Deukalion's son:→§4.1); this view has recently been restated by Dräger ad loc. and Trzaskoma and Smith, '"Hellas" in the *Bibliotheke* of Apollodorus'. Apollodoros also tells us that on this occasion the mountains of Thessaly were rent asunder. The perspective is simply that of northern Greece, and the Peloponnese is not relevant.

[13] See Kaibel's comment, *PCG* 7.161.

[14] Note, however, Faber's conjecture *ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ* for *ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ*, discussed by M. Huys in Van der Stockt, *Plutarcheia Lovaniensia* 157–9; accepted by Papathomopoulos.

§3.3 Ogygos (Akous. fr. 23; Hellan. fr. 47)

We turn now to assess how much we can learn about early flood traditions from the difficult **Akousilaos fr. 23** and **Hellanikos fr. 47**. The answer will be, unsurprisingly, 'nothing certain', but we can make some modest progress.[15] Both fragments mention Ogygos, not Deukalion, as the hero of the flood. Clement's truncated quotation of the *Timaios* makes it look as if both Plato and Akousilaos meant a flood in the time of Ogygos, but Plato in the immediate sequel specifies Deukalion. As for Julius Africanus and pseudo-Justin, Jacoby (on *FGrHist* 328 F 92; cf. on 323a F 10, and *Atthis* 127) argued that Ogygos did not figure as a king of Athens in either Hellanikos or Philochoros, retracting his earlier support (on 4 F 47) for even this minimal inference. It is certainly true that the earliest surviving authority to mention a flood during the reign of 'King Ogygos' is Varro, *Res Rust.* 3.1.2, and his Ogygos was king of Thebes.[16] Kastor seems to have posited an Ogygian flood too (see Jacoby on *FGrHist* 250 F 9), but considered Ogygos a Titan (F 1). The first writer to say that the flood occurred in the time of an Attic Ogygos is actually Tatian, *ad Gr.* 39. Jacoby accordingly argued that Ogygos as an Attic flood hero is a creature of Hellenistic chronographers, who posited two (or more!) floods in their efforts to work Greek and Jewish traditions into a consistent universal history. Caduff strongly supports him, pointing out that the sources for Ogygos' flood are all synchronizers and system-makers; Ogygos' flood has no independent existence. Plato in the *Timaios* (23b) knows but one great flood, Deukalion's; this yields a *terminus post quem* for the invention of a second (earlier) flood of which Ogygos was the hero. (Indeed, this passage in Plato may be the warrant for later inventions; the Egyptian tells Solon that there were many other floods before Deukalion's. Thus Plato himself in *Critias* 112a.) In Attica, Ogygos was originally a local ruler only; specifically, his associations were with Eleusis (Paus. 1.38.7 says that 'some' authorities make him father of Eleusis; Pausanias himself is sceptical).

These arguments are broadly persuasive, but admit some revision. It remains possible (*a*) that some earlier authority placed *Deukalion*'s flood in the time of Ogygos, without distinguishing two floods, and (*b*) that this Ogygos was king. Indeed, if these conditions did not obtain, it would be hard to see what warrant later chronographers would have had for treating Ogygos in the manner they did. Certainly Ogygos was known to the early Greeks; Panyassis fr. 24 (quoted with Hek. fr. 10) is fairly clear evidence of

[15] Amid his many writings on the subject, Jacoby provided a brilliant outline of the history of chronography in his comments on Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 92, which may serve as a guide. Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists* 8–15, also has a short overview; Clarke, *Making Time for the Past*, discusses chronography in instructive detail at various points in her book; and see Möller, 'Epoch-Making Eratosthenes'.

[16] Ogygia is a Niobid in Hellan. fr. 21; cf. Soph *OC* 1770 ('Ogygian Thebes'), Eur. *Phoin.* 1113 (the Ogygian gates at Thebes). Korinna *PMG* 671 actually names Ogygos as king of Thebes, but her date is still contested.

this,[17] and Korinna, *PMG* 671 would be even clearer if we could be sure that she was a fifth-century writer. The adjective *ὠγύγιος* meaning 'primeval', 'of immemorial antiquity', and sometimes possibly 'awesome' occurs from Homer onwards; its associations are suggestive.[18] There are grounds for connecting Ogygos with the Og of *Deuteronomy* 3, last of the giants.[19] If he is not in fact native to Greece it might explain why he has no clear place in the framework of Greek myth, and why his outlines are so vague.

Early sources, then, show that Ogygos was known in some capacity; his kingship can perhaps be inferred from later writers. Shortly after his quotation of Hellan. 47a, Eusebios (i.e. Julius Africanus, fr. 34 Wallraff) says *μετὰ δὲ Ὤγυγον διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ πολλὴν φθορὰν ἀβασίλευτος ἔμεινεν ἡ νῦν Ἀττικὴ μέχρι Κέκροπος ἔτη ρπθ· τὸν γὰρ μετὰ Ὤγυγον Ἀκταῖον ἢ τὰ πλασσόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲ γενέσθαι φησὶ Φιλόχορος* (*FGrHist* 328 F 92a, *ad fin.*). Though the connection with the flood and the calculation cannot safely be imputed to Philochoros, the second sentence is his.[20] (If the first sentence reflects Philochoros in some way, then of course he did acknowledge Ogygos.) Philochoros is arguing with someone who claimed that Aktaios and others unnamed had been early kings of Athens, that is, before Kekrops; his argument cannot have been that only one king, Aktaios, did not exist.[21] That Ogygos was among them is probable enough in view of his prominence in later chronography.

If the locution *Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος* in Julius Africanus' and Justin's citations of fr. 47 can be pressed at all (Jacoby on *FGrHist* 328 F 92, n. 13), then Philochoros depended on Hellanikos in this part of his history, and may have derived the polemic from him too. But on reflection this seems improbable. Firstly, Jacoby (on *FGrHist* 4 FF 38–49) argued that the consistency of the Attic king-list from the fourth century on, which begins with Kekrops, bespeaks a decisive treatment, which was very likely Hellanikos'. If so, the target of the criticism may be Pherekydes; but if he (or Hekataios,

[17] In connection with Panyassis note that the Praxidikai are daughters of Ogygos in the *Suda* s.v. *Πραξιδίκη* = Dionysius Chalcidensis *FHG* 4.394; these Underworld guarantors of oaths, invoked in curse tablets, have associations with the Erinyes and Persephone: H. Ehrlich, *RhM*² 63 (1908) 638–9; van der Kolf, *RE* 22.2.1751–61; Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses, and Risk* 148. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ὠγυγία* says the Lycians were called Ogygian; so too were Boiotia and Thebe (*sic*) after Ogygos son of Termera (cf. Tremileis). One suspects Hekataios knew all this.

[18] 'Ogygie' is the name of the eerie Kalypso's island in the *Odyssey*; used as an adjective of the river Styx at Hes. *Th.* 806 (where see West); cf. Empedokles *Vors.* 31 B 84.10; Aisch. *Sept.* 321 (where see Hutchinson); fr. 273a 7 (of *Χθών*); Soph. *Phil.* 142; Kallim. *Hymn* 1.14, 4.60; Simias fr. 24.12 Powell; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 6.71d. For the Underworld connection see last note.

[19] Fauth, 'Prähellenische Flutnamen', after others. In Pherekydes of Syros, 'Ogenos' is Okeanos: Schibli, *Pherekydes* 14 n. 2, 54 n. 7. But pre-Greek is another obvious possibility (*o-ku-ka* is a personal name in Linear B, PY Cn 719.5). See also §1.3.1 on Okeanos.

[20] Jacoby, *Atthis* 320 n. 168, writes 'I should not like to decide with certainty whether Philochoros expressly exercised criticism or whether Africanus wrote as he did only because he did not find the names in Philochoros'; the second possibility is worth raising (the 'does not say' idiom; cf. Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 77), but the wording seems strong enough to decide against it.

[21] Apart from Ogygos and Aktaios, other possibilities are Kolainos (→§16.1.3), Porphyrion, Mounichos (→§16.1.2), Mopso(po)s (→§18.5.2) and Periphas (cf. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* 28–9).

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for that matter) had made Ogygos and all the others kings of Attica before Kekrops, we should expect to find some echo of it in mainstream mythography.[22] Secondly, there is the awkward fact that in fr. 42b Hellanikos seems to suggest that Mounichos was king of all Attika; it is a rather feeble evasion to respond that being an Attic king 'does not necessarily mean the same as "king of Athens"' (Jacoby on *FGrHist* 323a F 5), especially if Athens was where he lived. However, if Hellanikos synchronized his Attic with his Boiotian history, Mounichos almost certainly postdates Kekrops, and we need to find another way to understand fr. 42, perhaps allowing Mounichos to be a lesser king in Peiraieus alongside the king in Athens; see §16.1.2.

One can at least say that a quiet but persistent undercurrent of stories about kings before Kekrops goes back a considerable distance and keeps surfacing in the Atthidographic tradition (Pher. fr. 60?, Aisch. *Eum.* 1011, Hdt. 8.44, Skamon *FGrHist* 476 F 3, Marmor Parium *FGrHist* 239 A 1, Paus. 1.2.6, 1.5.3, 1.14.7). Someone, perhaps after an ambiguous lead given by Hellanikos, made the strong claims that provoked Philochoros. This person's motive would have been to boost Athens' and Eleusis' claims to antiquity vis-à-vis Argos; this will be the origin of the universally attested synchronism with Phoroneus. It is possible that in both Pherekydes and Hellanikos Ogygos figured as an Eleusinian, and that Deukalion's flood was placed in his time, or at least that such an inference could be got out of their books. But we must finally be content to remain agnostic with respect to these two writers.[23]

§3.4 Miscellanea (Akous. fr. 46; Andr. fr. 8; Hek. fr. 35; Hellan. frr. 196, 202)

First, the word *λάρναξ*. **Andron (fr. 8 = Hellan. fr. 196)** offers the adventurous etymology *λάρναξ* > *Λαρνασσός* > *Παρνασσός* in defence of Parnassos as the landing-site after the flood;[24] he is perhaps arguing with Hellanikos, who derived the name of the mountain from an eponymous hero (fr. 196)[25] and said (fr. 117a) that the drifters landed rather on Mt Othrys in Thessaly (see §4.1). *λάρναξ* is the word used by Hellan. too in fr. 117a and everywhere else in connection with Deukalion (repeatedly in the Epicharmos papyrus,

[22] Pherekydes mentions an Aktaios father of Telamon in fr. 60 (→§16.3.1, at n. 99), but this is probably not the Attic king; such obvious anachronisms are avoided even in early mythography.

[23] Hellanikos and the other early Greek writers did not of course mention Moses; what is really being said is that their own chronological schemes, when aligned with Hebrew history, show that Moses was older. It is very doubtful that the interval in fr. 47a should be attributed to Hellanikos; see §19.3 n. 107.

[24] Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Παρνασσός* = Alexander Polyhistor *FGrHist* 273 F 83; *Etym. Magn.* p. 655.5 (*Etym. Gen.* p. 237 Miller) which also cites Andron fr. 8 (this should be added to the app. crit.).

[25] Little is said about this hero elsewhere; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Παρνασσός* says that he was the first to prophesy at Delphi, quoting Alexander Polyhistor *FGrHist* 273 F 83; Paus. 10.6.1 says the oldest city near Delphi was named after him, and that he invented ornithomancy. His mother was a nymph Kleodora, his divine father Poseidon, and his human father Kleopompos. His city was destroyed in the flood.

where the chest is the object of comic business). The *λάρναξ* is nothing like Noah's ark or the vessel of most eastern versions, but it is the usual container for Greek hero(in)es putting to sea (Danae, Thoas, Auge, Rhoio), leading Bremmer to comment that 'Greek tradition . . . adapted the Near Eastern ark to one of its own stock motifs' (*GRC* 110). Some oriental versions do, however, envisage an ark which is more like a chest than a boat (West, *EFH* 491–2), and the floating baskets containing babies like Moses are not dissimilar; this is a folk-tale motif found in various cultures (ibid. 439–40; Bremmer, 'Romulus, Remus and the Foundation of Rome' 30).

Second, the strange report in **Hekataios fr. 35 = Akousilaos fr. 46 = Hellanikos fr. 202** that the ancients lived 1,000 years might have something to do with the flood; in the Bible (*Gen.* 6:3), God limits man's life to 120 years just before the flood, and in the Sumerian king-lists antediluvian monarchs live to fabulous ages (cf. West on Hes. *Op.* 130; Scodel, 'The Achaean Wall' 41; Berossos *FGrHist* 680 FF 4–5). In this respect antediluvian humans resembled those of Hesiod's earlier races (*Op.* 114, cf. 130, fr. 1.10; fr. 356, quoted with our mythographers), and indeed of the Golden Age in many traditions.[26] Apollodoros attempts to combine the two stories by saying that Zeus used the flood to destroy the Bronze Race; perhaps other mythographers before him did so too, but we have seen that Hellanikos and the others allowed the flood only limited efficacy. For all we know they might have told the story of the Golden Age wholly separately from Deukalion and his doings, and in that connection reported the marvellous lifespan of our predecessors. Or (most probably) the fragment is wholly fictitious; at best it is a product of careless memory, for Josephus wants merely to defend the longevity of certain biblical figures (post-diluvial, as it happens) by making the general point that Greek writers also report the longevity of early humans. He did not need to be more accurate than that. Hekataios in fr. 35 may even be the Abderite, or someone under that mask (see the app. crit.).

[26] Gatz, *Weltalter* 18–21, index s.v. *absentia morbi*; McCartney, 'Longevity and Rejuvenation'. For bibliography on the Golden Age see M. Davies, *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 265 n. Hellan. fr. 195 and Dam. fr. 5 offer other instances of longevity; →§4.2.

§4

DEUKALIONIDAI

§4.1 'Hellenism'[1] (Hek. fr. 14)

The principal son of Deukalion is Hellen, eponymous ancestor of the Hellenes. The process whereby all Greeks came to be Hellenes is of fundamental importance not only to the mythographical tradition, but also to the way that tradition relates to the lived history of the archaic and classical periods. It is necessary therefore at this point in the commentary to explain the dynamics of this process, and to date its various stages. The major branches—Aiolidai, Dorians/Herakleidai, Ionians—will receive treatment in separate sections (§§5, 9, 19 respectively), as do the ancient lineages such as the Inachidai who preceded, and then were attached to, the Hellenic line. In this section we discuss first the creation of the Hellenes themselves (§4.1), then other branches of the Deukalionid line not immediately or obviously connected to the Aiolid, Dorian, Achaian, or Ionian branches: Eleians and Aitolians (§4.2), who bring with them the Kalydonian Boarhunt (§4.3); Lokrians (§4.4); and finally the Thessalians themselves, together with the Makedonians (§4.5).

We need, as often, to start with the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. In it Deukalion and Pyrrha are parents also of three daughters: Thyia, who by Zeus was mother of Magnes and Makedon; Pandora (fr. 5: a homonym of Epimetheus' wife);[2] and (by reasonable, though not certain conjecture) Protogeneia (as in Pher. fr. 23), mother of Aethlios, ancestor of the Aitolians through his grandson Aitolos (Apollod. 1.49, Paus. 5.1.3; below, §4.2). To this early generation belong also the Leleges (→§2.2), who sprang from the stones; at some point they became known as Lokroi under the leadership of Lokros (fr. 234).[3] The sons of Hellen were Doros, Aiolos, and Xouthos; Xouthos' sons were Achaios and Ion.

[1] In the following pages I draw upon and adapt some of the material in my article 'Genealogical Thinking'.

[2] I follow West, *HCW* 52; *contra* e.g. P. Dräger, *Gymnasium* 99 (1992) 409–21. Nevertheless, a second Pandora is decidedly odd. Perhaps at one time Pandora I bore Graikos to Epimetheus, or even Prometheus. The *Catalogue* poet found the implications of that too much to bear and created Pandora II in order to move Graikos to a more suitable place in the stemma (below, n. 32).

[3] Lokros' parents are not identified in the surviving fragments; M. L. West, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 29, suggests his name might have stood among the sons of Aiolos in fr. 10a.28. He could also have descended from Protogeneia; see below, p. 145.

This genealogy, which became standard, has several tendentious purposes: it accounts for the principal subdivisions of the Greek race in historical times; it also explains (or claims) that the Ionians and Achaeans were more closely related to each other than they were to the other two groups by making their eponyms the sons of one Xouthos, a genealogical cipher existing only for this purpose; finally, while stressing the close relations of Ionians and Achaeans, it puts them further away than the others from the common ancestor Hellen, and therefore implies that they are not quite as Hellenic. A hundred or so years later Herodotos has an even blunter version of this scheme, reflecting the distribution of power in his day: the Spartans are Dorians, the Athenians are Ionians; the former are Hellenic, the latter were Pelasgian, but became Hellenic (Hdt. 1.56).

That this stemma is a recent innovation is apparent from Homer, who, though he is not unaware of the new order,[4] calls the Greeks variously Argeioi, Danaoi, and Achaioi, according to metrical convenience; the interchangeability of the terms suggests no very firm doctrine about genealogical relationships between the groups. Within the *Catalogue* itself the secondary nature of the Deukalionid stemma is patent: these eponyms sit very poorly with the other great stemmata—Inachidai, Pelopidai, etc.—which are in fact the primary ones; if the Argives and the Athenians had always been Hellenes, they would have claimed original descent from Hellen. In due course, they found ways to claim descent, or at least affiliation. The Argives gave Doros a native wife, daughter of Phoroneus (Hes. fr. 10b; West, *HCW* 59). The Athenians gave Ion an Athenian mother (Hes. fr. 10a 23) and a role in a crucial war of Athens' early history (Hdt. 8.44.2), as a result of which they named their four tribes after his sons (Hdt. 5.66, Eur. *Ion* 1575–81). They shared these tribal names, of course, with the Ionians of Asia Minor, as well as the names of many months and festivals, especially the Apatouria, and a dialect. To bolster their claim to paternity of this kinship group they said that the leader of the Ionian migration, Neleus, was a son of an Athenian king. This king (Kodros) was a Neleid from Pylos, and thus ultimately a descendant of the Hellene Aiolos (Hellan. fr. 125, Pher. fr. 155;→§19.2.2).

The situation with the Dorians is somewhat different at first glance. Greek tradition, followed by many modern scholars until recently, held that they were invaders who came from north central Greece at the beginning of what we call, or used to call, the Dark Ages; the Athenians, by contrast, were autochthonous, and had never migrated (so e.g. Herodotos). For the Athenians to become Hellenes, some process of accommodation was necessary, whereas the Dorians had been Hellenes all along. Yet this understanding could just as easily be the result of retrojection and accommodation as the Athenian one. In other words, at some point in their history the Argives, Spartans, and others felt the same need as the Athenians to claim Hellenic status, but did so by

[4] For the details see below, p. 127.

different means. The Athenians, who would not give up their claim to autochthony, could produce Hellenic credentials of only doubtful value.[5] The Dorians, or (to take the same point a step further) groups who chose to adopt this label, more boldly claimed that they had always had this affinity with each other and with Hellen. That entailed claiming that their original homeland lay elsewhere. They were thus obliged to say also that they had supplanted the 'earlier' kings of Messenia, Sparta, and Argos, whereas in fact the earlier people of these cities may in some cases have been their own ancestors. The removal of the 'earlier' kings was legitimized by a story which made the usurpers the descendants of an even earlier king, Herakles, the rightful heir to power.[6]

Of course, to allow full scope for the revision of genealogies is not to close the door on history altogether. These revisions are made in the light of contemporary realities, and these realities have a history.[7] Greeks did migrate in the Dark Ages; the Ionians did cross the Aegean. There was a break and a new beginning, and the upheaval was greater in the Peloponnese than in Attica. But it must be admitted that the evidence of archaeology and dialectology provide a very imperfect fit with the claims of Greek legend.[8] The latter have long shaped the standard view of Greek history; had archaeology been the only guide this view would have been quite different. 'Dorian' and 'Ionian' are cultural terms above all. The sixth-century account of their history is a massive simplification of a centuries-long process. Even if archaeology showed an influx of people into the Peloponnese in the Dark Ages, sometimes violent, sometimes gradual, it can tell us nothing about the blood ties of these people to their predecessors. It cannot give us the fine details of the picture: the thousand tiny but accumulative comings and goings, subtle shifts in the balance of power from year to year, assimilation of non-material

[5] On Athenian autochthony see §16.1.4.

[6] Herakles may count as a king for this purpose; the story was of course that he was meant to rule over his fellow men, but was deprived of the chance by Hera's stratagem. The pattern here described is common; Henige, 'Oral Tradition' 374, writes '... changes in dynasty ... may well be masked as stories of "lost", "hidden", or "exiled" heirs who reappear when necessary to carry on the dynasty', and quotes African examples as well as classical ones (Kyros in Herodotos 1.108–30 is said to be a grandson of the last Median king).

[7] With the addition of this second clause I modify slightly Osborne's (*Greece in the Making* 47–51) and J. M. Hall's similar assessment. As Pietro Vannicelli points out to me, the three tribes of the Dorians, despite occasional variations, can hardly be attributed to independent and arbitrary invention by all the people who suddenly decided to call themselves Dorian. These tribes have a history. There are also the shared month names, religious festivals, and other institutions (*νόμμα*). Cf. Malkin, *Myth and Territory* 43–5. Ulf, 'Griechische Ethnogenese versus Wanderungen', argues too radically that the Hellenic ethnogenesis actually started in Asia Minor and worked its way westward across the Aegean.

[8] For a recent survey of the archaeological record see Deger-Jalkotzy, 'Decline, Destruction, Aftermath', who writes simply that the 'classical view that the Dorians were responsible is refuted on archaeological grounds' (391); similarly Dickinson, 'The Collapse at the End of the Bronze Age'. Blakely, *BNJ* commentary on Konon, *Dieg.* 26 gives bibliography for discussion of the Invasion; see esp. J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 114–28; *Hellenicity* 73–82. The geographical spread of the West Greek dialect group clearly suggests affinity, but not by descent from a single dialect but from a long period of geopolitical and cultural interrelation and linguistic diffusion beginning at the end of the Mycenaean period. A lucid overview of the dialect issue in Horrocks, *Greek: A History* 6–15; cf. J. Méndez Dosuna, 'The Doric Dialects' 444–5.

culture, changes in self-definition. These can all alter radically in a single generation; that oral legend should be a safe guide to cultural, political, and biological relationships over six centuries is simply impossible.

The different situation in Homer and the internal inconsistencies of the *Catalogue* compel us to admit that a retrojective revision has occurred. Anthropology provides abundant parallels for this process. Changing relationships in a traditional society result in constantly revised genealogies. The inevitable contradictions, unexplained links, and chronological problems resulting from these revisions are gaily tolerated. Indeed people are usually unaware of them, since they know only that small fragment of their society's total genealogical lore which concerns them. Greece like every country had its own special conditions affecting this universal behaviour. Had the various groups of Greeks been more cohesive, forming in effect a single tribe, one can expect that over time this new understanding of their relationship to Hellen would have had a greater effect on the genealogies; Inachos, Kekrops, Kadmos and the others would have become Deukalionids. But they were not so cohesive; they were, instead, a collection of independent societies, which created strong centrifugal forces.[9]

Another pertinent consideration is the fixing of the genealogies. Had they remained fluid, as in a fully oral society, further homogenization could be expected. Writing often plays a role in the fixing process, but need not be the only cause; it may be itself part of a larger process. Indeed, to say that because genealogies become fixed (say, by writing), homogenization stops, may be to reverse cause and effect; it is more correct to say that once the desire to homogenize no longer exists, the genealogies become fixed (if remembered at all). Fluid genealogies are characteristic of an oral, tribal society. The Greeks by the sixth century BC had ceased to be either, but were rather in transition. The dynamics of the polis were different from those of the Dark Age tribes. Genealogies did not vanish, but played new roles within and without the polis. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* did much to fix the Greeks' understanding of their relations to each other. At a minimum, they were all Hellenes. The Persian Wars confirmed this proud self-image. There would always be room for argument over details, but there would never again be the kind of sea-change that occurred between the ninth and seventh centuries, as order finally succeeded the chaos of the post-Mycenaean period.

We must therefore seek to account for the change between Homer and the *Catalogue* in terms of shifting political and cultural relationships of the time. As we must state what that time was, a brief discussion of the dates of these poets is in order. To take the *Iliad* first:[10] the indications are slight (else the issue would have been settled long ago),

[9] Cf. Càssola, 'Le genealogie mitiche' 9 (an article which I find anticipates some of my remarks in 'Genealogical Thinking'; I thank Alessandro Pagliara for the reference).

[10] For convenient overviews of the evidence see M. L. West, 'The Date of the *Iliad*', *The Making of the* Iliad 15–19, and (even more emphatically) 'Echoes of Hesiod and Elegy in the *Iliad*'; see further Osborne, 'Homer's Society'.

but point to the early seventh century. Most persuasive are the allusions to hoplites and their various accoutrements; this type of warfare was introduced in the late eighth century and common by the second quarter of the seventh. The Gorgon device on Agamemnon's shield (*Il.* 11.36–7) is first exampled around 670 (*LIMC* s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones no. 159). The strange absence of artistic representations of anything in the *Iliad* before *c.*625 is suspicious, but ultimately inconclusive; the interplay between literary texts and (stubbornly independent) artistic traditions is full of surprises. Walter Burkert argued that *Il.* 9.381–4 cannot be a reminiscence of Bronze Age Egyptian Thebes, but refer rather to the city restored in 715;[11] he had originally suggested further that the lines would have made best sense after the destruction of the city in 663, but he has since abandoned this refinement.[12] As West notes, the splendours of that city could well have come to the Greeks' attention while it yet thrived. Moreover, not all critics have accepted the impossibility of a Bronze Age reminiscence.[13]

Similarly open to the vagaries of individual judgment are the allusions to Hesiod West detects in the *Iliad* and uses to support his long-held view that Hesiod (whatever his date) came first. The same argument that West uses to deny allusions in lyric poetry to Homer before *c.*600 (Alkaios fr. 44.6–8)—an argument with which the present writer is wholly in sympathy[14]—applies equally to Homer's allusions to Hesiod: the fabulous riches of oral poetry lost to us, but circulating in every agora and every panegyris in the Greek world, must make us very cautious in detecting these connections. West himself advances the arresting hypothesis that the passage describing the destruction of the walls of the Achaean camp at 12.17–33 is inspired by the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib in 689 BC, who records in an inscription how he diverted waters to level the buildings so that no trace would be left for future generations to see. In the same way the gods divert the rivers of the Troad and demolish the Achaean wall.[15] This is not the whole of West's argument, but suffice it to say that though the similarities are interesting, it seems to me that the scene in Homer is well within the bounds of the poet's own highly gifted imagination, by extrapolation from ordinary Greek experience. Conversely, West dismisses too easily Janko's linguistic arguments for the relative order *Iliad, Odyssey, Theogony, Works and Days.*[16] In sum, a date between 700 and 680 for the *Iliad* will not be far wrong.

[11] Burkert, 'Das hunderttorige Theben'.

[12] 'Oriental Myth and Literature', and at p. 82 of the same volume; id. *OR* 49 (the *Iliad* dates to 'around 700 BC').

[13] A. Heubeck, *Schrift* 109–16 and *Gymnasium* 89 (1982) 443; Janko, *The* Iliad: *A Commentary* 4.14.

[14] *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric*, ch. 1.

[15] West, *EFH* 377–80. Cf. Janko, *CQ*² 48 (1998) 1 n. 5.

[16] *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*. In his most recent essay, 'Echoes of Hesiod and Elegy in the *Iliad*', 212 n. 12, West addresses Janko's arguments directly; the objections there raised were already met by Janko in the original publication. Most scholars will continue to agree with Aristarchos that Hesiod got his list of rivers in the Troad (*Theog.* 340–2 ~ *Il.* 12.20–3) not from his father the sailor (as West), but from the *Iliad*.

For the date of the *Catalogue* a *terminus post quem* is probably provided by the references to Kyrene in frr. 215–217A; the city was founded about 620, so allowing some time for its mythology to develop and become known would give us a date of about 600.[17] That Sikyon is made son of Erechtheus in fr. 224 looks like a reflection of the anti-Argive policies of the tyrant Kleisthenes (*c.*595–575), which included the marriage of his daughter Agariste to the Athenian Megakles. The fate of Phokos and his two sons suggests the circumstances of the First Sacred War.[18] A *terminus ante quem* of about 510 is provided by Hekataios' reference to the *Catalogue* in fr. 19. The appearance of a block of verses from the *Catalogue* in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* of *c.*570 would provide an even higher *terminus ante quem*, if we could be sure that the original author put the two poems together.[19] However, Kleisthenes may also provide the lower *terminus*; it seems unlikely that the poet would have excogitated this role for Sikyon after the tyrant's demise. A date of *c.*580 thus seems likely to be right.

The victory of Hellenism, if it may be so termed, was assured by the time of the *Catalogue*, in which its implications have been fully worked out. When we look more closely at Homer we find that he is not quite at the beginning of the development. He is aware of Aiolians, Dorians, and Ionians, even if he very rarely mentions them.[20] As regards the term *Ἑλλάς* itself, there is a progressive extension of its application from *Iliad* to *Odyssey* to Hesiod, from Achilleus' small kingdom around the Malian gulf in the first work (closely associated and apparently contiguous with Phthia), to north-central Greece in the second, to the whole of Greece in the third.[21] The term *Πανέλληνες* undergoes a similar extension, from 'northern Greeks' (*Il.* 2.530) to 'all Greeks' (Hes. *Op.* 528, fr. 130, Archil. fr. 102).

On this showing we may place the birth of Greek ethnic identity, if not its widest diffusion, at a time slightly before Homer, in the late eighth century BC. The question

[17] West, *HCW* 130–6; D. Marcotte, *REA* 57 (1988) 249–57; March, *The Creative Poet* 157–9; Janko, *The* Iliad: *A Commentary* 4.14; Rutherford, 'Mestra at Athens' 114–16; Cingano, 'The Hesiodic Corpus' 116–18. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* 248 n. 38, argues after others, esp. Drexler, *Hermes* 66 (1931) 455–64, that Kyrene's story is older and that the *Catalogue* might have told it without any reference to Libya (cf. West, *HCW* 87; Dräger, *Argo Pasimelousa* 221–8). This is clearly possible; but see further below pp. 148–9. Janko's statistical methods make the *Catalogue* contemporary with the genuine Hesiod, but if as many scholars believe the *Catalogue* as we have it is based on a fixed Hesiodic original, it will contain many frozen archaisms. It must be admitted that if the Kyrene-Ehoie is actually from the *Megalai Ehoiai*, it is irrelevant for the dating of the original poem; but this is not known (D'Alessio, 'The *Megalai Ehoiai*' 206–7).

[18] Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking' 13–15.

[19] Most (Loeb edn.), adheres to the view that a later editor combined them; see also West, *HCW* 136. *Contra* R. Janko, *CQ*² 36 (1986) 39; March, *The Creative Poet* 159. A different solution in Martin, 'Pulp Epic' (both by the same poet).

[20] Descendants of Aiolos: *Il.* 6.154, *Od.* 11.235–59; Dorians: *Od.* 19.177, and perhaps *Il.* 2.655; Ionians: *Il.* 13.685–9. Details in Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking'.

[21] Achilleus' kingdom: *Il.* 2.683, 9.395, 9.478, cf. *Od.* 11.496; northern Greece: *Od.* 1.344, 4.726, 4.816, 15.80; Greece as a whole: Hes. *Op.* 653. See S. R. West on *Od.* 1.344; *LfgrE* s.vv. *Ἑλλάς*, *τὸ Ἄργος*; Wathelet, 'L'origine du nom des Hellènes'; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* 1.1.332 n. 1.

then becomes, what circumstances at that time induced the people, first of north-central Greece, then of all Greece, to accept the new name 'Hellenes', rather than some competitor? To answer, 'because they knew that the Hellenes of Phthia were the purest descendants of the original Indo-European immigrants of a millennium before', is merely to compound pleasant romanticism with worrying racism, and to overlook the embarrassing fact that these pure Hellenes disappeared from historical view just at the moment of their onomastic triumph. The tribe did not exist in historical times. The answer will lie instead in the genealogy: in whose interest is Hellen said to be a son of Deukalion and father of Aiolos, Doros, and Xouthos? In a word, the Thessalians.

Although to judge from Hesiod fr. 234 and Pindar's ninth *Olympian*, the story of Deukalion was originally Lokrian, Thessaly appropriated him at an early stage. The *Catalogue* (fr. 6) and **Hek. fr. 14** say that his descendants ruled in Thessaly; Hellanikos (fr. 6) also says he was king there. The same fragment of Hellanikos reports the building of the altar for the twelve gods, an act signifying the establishment of society itself under the heavenly corporation (→§3.2). The Thessalian cities mentioned in the first book of Hellanikos' *Deukalioneia* (frr. 8–9; below, §4.5) belong in this connection; they will have got their names from eponymous descendants of Deukalion. Herodotos (1.56.3) says Deukalion was king of (Achaia) Phthiotis, the southern part of Thessaly closest to Lokris. According to Rhianos fr. 25 Powell, the oldest name for Thessaly was Pyrrhaia, after Deukalion's wife.[22] When Apollodoros of Athens, following Hellanikos (fr. 117a), says that Deukalion had 'lived' at Kynos in Lokris, it probably means after the flood (at the end of Pyrrha's life) rather than before; either way, it reduces the Lokrian claim by saying that Deukalion had not always been in Lokris, or did not forever stay there. Pindar's Opous is cut out altogether. In defiance of tradition Hellanikos also makes Deukalion land at Mt Othrys in Thessaly (on the edge of Phthiotis) rather than Parnassos.[23] All these data confirm Thessaly's connection with Deukalion.

As for Hellen, there was never any doubt about his Thessalian status; Thessalian Phthiotis is the heir of Iliadic Phthia.[24] The same is true of Hellen's son Aiolos; Thessaly was predominantly Aiolian in historical times. The ultimate homeland of the Dorians in Herodotos 1.56 and Andron fr. 16a, before Doris, was Thessaly, first Phthiotis in the time of Deukalion, then Hestiaiotis in the time of Doros. Hekataios' mention of the 'Dorian city' Amphanai (fr. 3;→§9.2) may belong in this context. The Aleuads of Pindar's day were clear that they were Heraklids (*Pyth.* 10.1–6).

[22] She made her way back to Lokris, if she did not start there, to be buried at Kynos according to Apollodoros *FGrHist* 244 F 183; if the scholiast can be trusted, Hellanikos said the same thing (fr. 117a). Her son Hellen, according to Strabo 9.5.6 p. 432, was buried in the Thessalian city Melitaia, once called Pyrrha.

[23] *νύμφη Ὀρσηΐς*, Hellen's wife in Apollod. 1.49, is in fact a *νύμφη Ὀθρυΐς* (cf. the corruption in Hellan. fr. 125); this might come from Hellanikos. Amphiktion king of Athens is in the same sentence.

[24] Ancient references, beginning with Thuc. 1.3.3 (Hellen king of Phthiotis), in West, *HCW* 53 n. 43. Hellen's tomb was shown in Melitaia (Strabo 9.5.6 p. 432).

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course of the eighth and seventh centuries. Had Elis had the religious prestige of Delphi, the Greeks might have been known under a quite different name. As it was, the Eleians had to find a place in the Hellenic stemma.

§4.2 Eleians and Aitolians (Akous. fr. 36; Dam. fr. 5; Epimen. fr. 12; Hek. frr. 15, 25, 35; Hellan. frr. 118, 187b, 187A, 195, 202; Pher. fr. 121)

The *Catalogue* brought together independent lineages headed by men, by means of the women. In the case of the Eleians there were several such linkages, because they were brought into the Deukalionid stemma at the same time as, and through, their Aitolian cousins across the Corinthian Gulf. To appreciate all the nuances of this operation we need to return to the other offspring of Deukalion and Pyrrha, Hellen's sisters (Fig. 4.1).

The eponyms who descended from Hellen's siblings rather than Hellen himself find themselves in an ambivalent position. On the one hand they are less Hellenic; on the other hand, their more direct descent from the *Urmensch* Deukalion confers a certain status, and recognizes their antiquity and independence. That Zeus sires these eponyms also adds kudos, and, as often, obviates the difficulty that if a lineage-founder has a human father, the father ought to be the real lineage-founder, not the son. (Thus Hellen too, according to some authorities and perhaps the *Catalogue* as well, was really the son of Zeus;[31] otherwise the Greeks would not be Hellenes but Deukalionidai.) The balance of the account, however, is reckoned clearly in favour of subordination. The crucial point is that these others are not immediate descendants of Deukalion; rather, they are

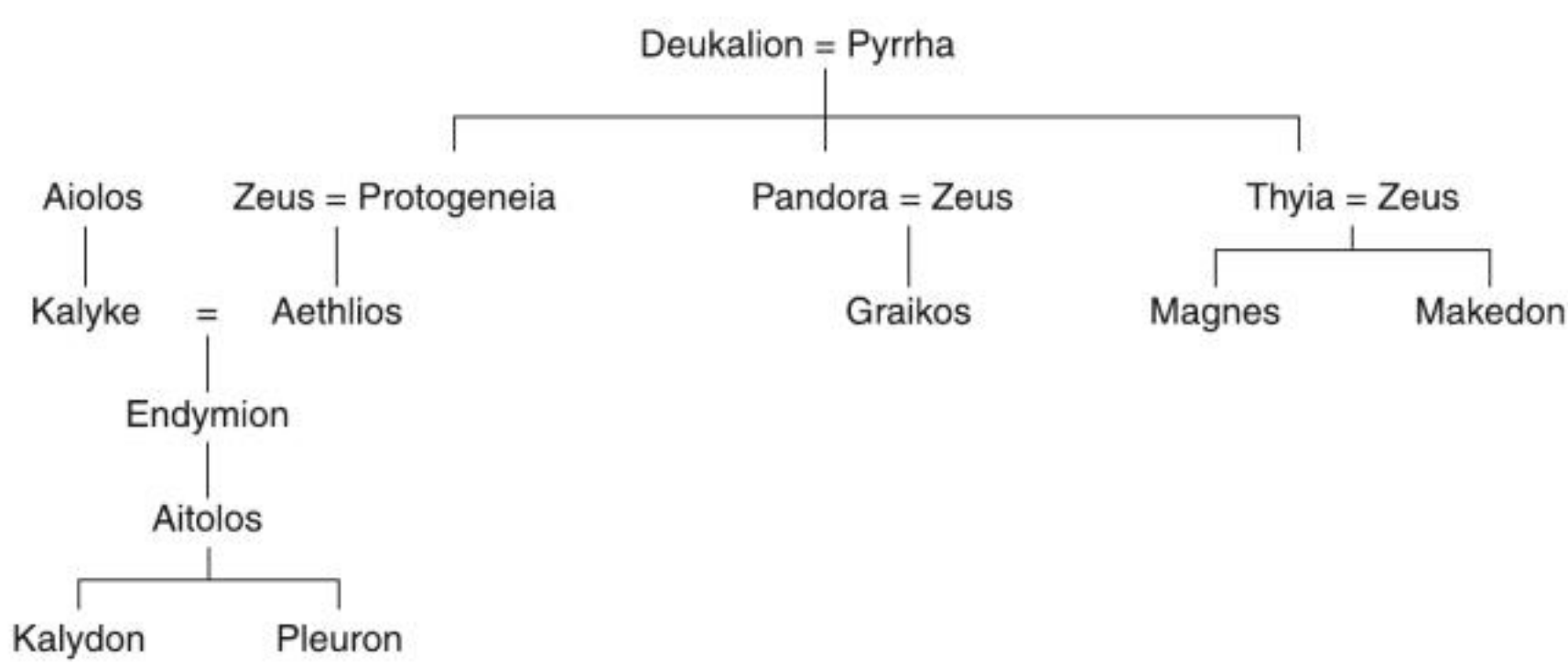

FIG. 4.1

[31] Konon, *Dieg.* 27; Apollod. 1.49; schol. Pl. *Symp.* 208d = Hellan. fr. 125; Eust. *Od.* 1644.10.

grandsons, and their mothers exist only to insert an extra generation and put these eponyms on the right level. It would be unthinkable for Makedon and Magnes to be brothers of Hellen. In the same way Pandora's son Graikos, who in some quarters had a better claim than Hellen to give his name to the Greeks,[32] was put firmly in his place.

Aethlios, however, is treated a little more carefully. Still only a grandson, he is nonetheless the offspring of the 'Firstborn' daughter, and 'thus superior to the mothers of Graikos, Magnes, and Makedon' (West, *HCW* 141). But if he himself is permitted to bypass Hellen, his independence lasts only a generation, for he marries a daughter of Aiolos, Kalyke, and so the rest of the line is Hellenic by maternal affiliation.[33] His son is Endymion; his grandson is Aitolos, eponym of the Aitolians. Aitolos' sons are the city-eponyms Kalydon and Pleuron, and from them descend a numerous cast of characters known from epic poetry. A daughter of Aethlios married Alektor, king of Elis. Aethlios himself is probably a hypostasis of Zeus Aethlios of the Olympic Games,[34] and as such is Eleian; so is Endymion (already in Ibykos *PMGF* 284). But apart from their position at the very top, the Eleians are very scarce in the stemma, which is really Aitolian. That is because there were so few of them in the first place. There was no great store of Eleian epic, whereas the Aitolians contributed one of the four great, originally independent, cycles, alongside the Theban, Trojan, and Argonautic sagas. Whoever thus integrated the Aitolians into the Hellenic family was probably not Aitolian but Eleian, or one sympathetic to their claims. Note too that the man in the position of lineage-founder is no eponym of a people, no great tribal leader who fathered mighty sons; he is a symbol of the games. That is the Eleians' passport to Hellenism.

The legends reveal a delicate negotiation with respect to the priority of Eleians over Aitolians. Pausanias (5.1.4–8; cf. 5.8.1, 6.20.9) says that the (eventual) Eleians emigrated from Aitolia to Elis, then relates how Endymion held a footrace to see which of his three sons Epeios, Paion, and Aitolos would be king. Epeios won, and Paion angrily went as far away as possible—to Paionia, to which he gave his name. Aitolos ruled after Epeios, but had to flee for reasons of blood-guilt. He went to Aitolia, henceforth so called after him. Aitolos was succeeded in Elis by Eleios, son of Poseidon and Eurykyde daughter of

[32] As the Graikoi do not appear in our corpus I shall not discuss them in detail, but their claim was known not only to the Romans. See the references in West, *HCW* 54 n. 48 and Calce, *Graikoi ed Hellenes*. The Helloi/Selloi of Dodona, the oldest Greek sanctuary according to Hdt. 2.52.2, were also contenders for the donors of the national name: see Caduff, *Sintflutsagen* 103–4; P. Wathelet, 'L'origine du nom des Hellènes' 122–3; Hammond, *Epirus* 365–73; A. Lesky, *WS* 46 (1928) 114–29; Wilamowitz, *Euripides: Herakles* 2.1 n. 1, *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.23. Only the faintest echoes of these controversies survive into classical sources, so thorough was the victory of the Hellenes.

[33] Paus. 5.8.2 knows a tradition in which Aethlios is actually son of Aiolos.

[34] West, *HCW* 60 n. 67; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.70 n. 3.

Endymion;[35] a new genealogical start, as signalled by the deity, and henceforth the people were called Eleian. Strabo (8.3.33, 10.3.2–4, 9.3.12), following Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 FF 115, 122ab), is also clear that Aitolos son of Endymion came from Elis to Aitolia; he does not say whether Endymion's ancestors had first come the other way, but he implies that they did. In these accounts, the Eleians were Aitolian, and spent some time as Aitolians in Elis before becoming Eleian; conversely, the Aitolians, though originating in Aitolia, had to spend some time in Elis before their identity fully emerged. Thus far we seem to have a fine balance between the two groups. Apollodoros, however (*Bibl.* 1.56–7), has Endymion come from *Thessaly* to Elis, from where Aitolos goes to Aitolia for the same reason as in Pausanias and Strabo.[36] This strengthens Elis' hand by removing the first habitation in Aitolia, but still keeps Aitolos as their progenitor.

Thus these legends attempt to keep up the pretence of parity, if with a slight advantage to the Eleians. Not everyone bothered with such niceties, however: for Pindar (*Ol.* 3.12) and Herodotos (8.73.2) the Eleians are casually and simply Aitolian. It is clear, indeed, that an independent Aitolian genealogy, associated with the Kalydonian epic, has been appropriated by the Eleians, and grafted onto the Hellenic tree. One sign of the grafting is the egregious mismatch of generations; traditionally, many of the Kalydonian Boarhunters competed in the funeral games of Pelias, but Meleagros in the *Catalogue of Women* is eight generations from Aiolos as opposed to Jason's three. Aitolian Porthaon married an Aiolian woman from his great-grandmother's generation according to the same poem (West, *HCW* 141). Another sign of Aitolian priority is the way Aitolos' brother Epeios precedes Eleios and the Eleians. The Epeians and Eleians are closely, indeed indistinguishably associated in Homer (*Il.* 2.615–19, 11.671–761, *Od.* 13.275; cf. Strabo 8.3.8), but the former survive in the historical period only through the town of Epeion in Triphylia. In **Hellan. fr. 195**, the Epeians are said to be resident in Aitolia, which probably implies the version whereby Aitolos takes the Epeians with him upon departure from Elis; these long-lived people display marvellous characteristics of the sort one finds around the edges of Herodotos' map. Nothing else quite like this is attested for Hellanikos (excepting the doubtful fr. 202;→§3.4) or Damastes (whom Valerius quotes with Hellan. fr. 195: **Dam. fr. 5**), but one can hardly rule it out. They both wrote about the Hyperboreans, youthful and long-lived according to some (e.g. Pindar,

[35] Eurypyle according to **Hellan. fr. 187A**, it would seem; see the apparatus criticus (to which add Konon, *Dieg.* 14. R. Kassel points out *per litt.* that in the text βασιλεύσαντας should be corrected to βασιλεύσαντος; compare *Etym. Magn.* 426.12). NB the fragment of Aristotle there cited makes Epeios a son of Eleios, and we are not quite sure of Epeios' place in the *Catalogue* (West, *HCW* 60, 63). Hek. fr. 25 (and *FGrHist* 1 F 121, quoted with it) strongly distinguishes Eleians and Epeians (→§8.4.5); on the Dyme mentioned in 1 F 121 (*IACP* no. 234) cf. Antim. fr. 27, with Matthews' commentary and Moscati Castelnuovo, 'Dyme achea ed epea'. On Konon, *Dieg.* 14 see now Brown, and Blakely (comm. in *BNJ*).

[36] Similarly ps.-Skymn. 473–7, schol. *Il.* 13.218 = Daimachos *FGrHist* 65 F 1; cf. also Nikandros *FGrHist* 271–2 F 6, with Jacoby (though his assessment of Nikandros' motives is different; he seems to assume that Endymion went straight to Aitolia in his account).

Pyth. 10.41, Kallim. *Hymn. Del.* 282, Strabo 15.1.57 quoting Simon. *PMG* 570 and Megasthenes *FGrHist* 715 F 27b, Plin. *NH* 4.89)—though with respect to the Hyperboreans, Hellan. fr. 187b, if the last sentence is his, said just the opposite: that sexagenarians were escorted outside the gates and despatched.[37]

However, this analysis of the development of the legends should not be translated straightforwardly into a historical narrative, that Aitolians crossed the water and founded Elis. The low-lying coastal region around Kalydon and Pleuron and eastward to Naupaktos was contested territory at many times in Greek history and, we may presume, prehistory. Archaeology shows links in material culture between Aitolia and Elis in the late Geometric period,[38] unsurprisingly given the proximity and relative ease of travel between these areas. We may assume movement in either direction for centuries preceding our period. At the time that the Hesiodic stemma was created, the Eleian claim had conceptual priority, for it is the Olympic connection that provides the Aitolians with their Hellenic credentials; the Aitolians might have been quite content to accept the argument—there are, incidentally, no known Aitolian Olympic victors in the archaic period, which further indicates their late arrival on the Hellenic scene[39]—while at other times they might assert Aitolian priority by claiming, as in Pausanias, that the Eleians themselves had first emigrated from Aitolia. Conversely, by equating Aitolian and Eleian ancestry the Eleians, like the incoming Herakleidai, could claim merely to be returning to their homeland. Perhaps the location of the tomb of Aitolos son of Oxylos (who guided the Herakleidai, and claimed Elis) just at the gate leading to the city of Olympia and the sanctuary of Zeus—'so that the corpse should be neither within nor without the city' (Paus. 5.4.4)—has something to do with this equipoise.

As Endymion has come up in this discussion we may pause here to consider **Akous. fr. 36, Pher. fr. 121**, and **Epimen. fr. 12**, which are all quoted together by the scholia to Apollonios 4.57–65, where Selene mentions her lonely love for Endymion in his cave at Latmos. The story familiar from the later vulgate (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.56) is that Zeus offered Endymion a gift, and he chose eternal sleep. The Latmian cave is attested as early as Sappho fr. 199, then in Ar. fr. 937 (cf. Strabo 14.1.8 quoting Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 239); 'the

[37] A similar law was famously said to be in force on Keos; see §20 on Hellan. fr. 187. Instances of amazing longevity are assembled from ancient literature by McCartney, 'Longevity and Rejuvenation' and Gatz, *Weltalter*; they are for the most part either distant in time (legendary: people from the Golden Age, Nestor, Teiresias) or space (*Randvölker*). Exceptions are some islanders (a sort of margin in any case), and semi-legendary figures like the Sibyl or Epimenides. Valerius and Pliny in the part of their books where they quote Hellan. fr. 195 provide other instances. The name quoted from Dam. fr. 5 ('Litorius' or 'Pictoreus') would seem to be corrupt; I have no suggestion.

[38] Coldstream, 'The Meaning of Regional Styles' 23; Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles* Appendix 1. Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* 129–30 also argues for dialectal contiguity in the late Bronze Age in this region; her methods are heavily criticized by H. N. Parker, 'The Linguistic Case'. Gehrke, 'Sull'etnicità elea' 13, well observes that if the Eleians had had a free hand, they would have invented a myth of autochthony; this suggests some reality behind the traditions.

[39] J. M. Hall, *Ethnicity* 170.

sleep of Endymion' was proverbial.[40] Hellenistic and Roman poetry found the story irresisistible,[41] and it was a favourite theme of Roman art, particularly for sarcophagi, eternal, youthful sleep being a kind of immortality.[42] The melancholic love-death theme appeals powerfully to the imagination of all ages; but what this figure has to do with Endymion in Elis is hard to see. The gift the Eleian had of being able to choose his moment of death, attested for Hesiod (fr. 10.62) and the mythographers, is intriguing; though one presumes he must choose to die at some point, the unusual gift (on what pretext?) suggests a kind of immortality, or at any rate an unusual mortality.[43] Perhaps we should recognize two distinct, homonymous figures, with some oblique interference from one to the other.[44] The story in the *Megalai Ehoiai* and Epimenides also involves love for a goddess, but as a transgression punished (in Epimenides) by eternal sleep. We do not learn if this Endymion was son of Aethlios and Kalyke.

Another small sign that the Aitolo-Aiolian/Hellenic accommodation was not uncontested is the report of violent conflict between Aiolians and Aitolians in Strabo 10.3.4 and 10.2.6 (= **Hellan. fr. 118**).[45] Strabo says that Olenos, which was located near New Pleuron (i.e. the third-century refoundation; *IACP* no. 153), was destroyed by the Aiolians, as was Pylene, which they moved to higher ground and renamed Proschion (*IACP* no. 154; unlocated, but west of Pleuron and Kalydon, near modern Aitolikon: Thuc. 3.102.5, 106.1); the careless Hellanikos, as usual (= Hellan. test. 23), does not know this, but puts the cities in their old locations. Hellanikos also regards Makynia (*IACP* no. 149) and Molykria (no. 150) as ancient cities, says Strabo, though they were founded after the return of the Herakleidai. Of Olenos and Pylene nothing is known besides what Homer says in *Il.* 2.638–9, that they were Aitolian cities near old Pleuron (Strabo 10.2.4, 10.3.6: on the coast near Kalydon). Just possibly Hellanikos placed Herakles'

[40] e.g. Pl. *Phd.* 72c, Aristot. *Eth. Nik.* 1178b, Zenob. 3.76.

[41] e.g. the passage of Ap. Rhod. just mentioned; Theok. *Id.* 3.49–50, 20.37–9; Nik. fr. 24; Kallim. fr. 110 (Catullus 66.5–6); *AP* 5.123, 165, 6.58; Prop. 2.15.15–16; Ov. *Am.* 1.13.43–4, *Ars Am.* 3.83, *Her.* 18.62. Likymnios *PMG* 771 has the unusual version that Hypnos loved him, and allowed him to sleep with his eyes open so he could enjoy his gaze.

[42] H. Gabelmann, *LIMC* 3.1.726–42.

[43] Ceccarelli in her *BNJ* commentary on Peisandros fr. 7 suggests that in some version Endymion might have refused to choose, and so was punished with eternal sleep.

[44] Bremmer, 'Local Mythography', argues the case for Karian origin and east–west migration (cf. Pelops and others); similarly Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.114 n. 1 [1.116 n. 2].

[45] Cf. schol. *Il.* 2.494–877 (2.289.24 Erbse) with Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 4.542–9, schol. *Il.* 9.539 (2. 515 Erbse, *in apparatu*) = *FGrHist* 301 F 1, with Jacoby's introduction. Thuc. 3.102.5 refers *en passant* to 'what is now called Aiolian territory, Kalydon and Pleuron'. The historical Aitolians, living in the adjacent uplands, like others coveted the litoral, and succeeded in bringing it under control more often than not. What this passing remark has to do with the legendary links of Aitolia to Aiolians is quite unclear (cf. Bommeljé, 'Aeolis in Aetolia'). 'Now' should refer to a recent change, not merely a departure from Homeric nomenclature; as Corinth, proverbially Aiolian through Sisyphos, always had strong interests in the area, and as Molykria was their colony, perhaps it was a recent propaganda victory of theirs. They might have appealed to other links with Aiolians such as find echoes in Ephoros and Strabo. See further Antonetti, 'La tradizione eolica in Etolia'.

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killing of Chairias (or Archias) in Proschion (Hellan. fr. 2;→§8.5.9), as did Nikandros fr. 17; the latter gives the name of the boy's father as Pyles, who must be the eponym of Pylene, which produces a chronological muddle.[46] Hellanikos might have said something like 'in Pylene (which is now called Proschion)' without mentioning the change of location, which would allow the captious Strabo to attack him. Regarding Makynia and Molykria the archaeological record does not contradict the assertion that they are younger foundations. A story in Plut. *Mor.* 294f implies that Makynia was at one time regarded as Lokrian before it was Aitolian, and another in *Mor.* 162d implies that Molykria was in Lokrian territory in the days of Hesiod. The city, a colony of Corinth, was under Athenian sway when it was seized by the Aitolians in 426 (Thuc. 3.102.2). Strabo's report implies that Hellanikos treated them all as Aitolian.

An even clearer sign of contestation is Hekataios' startlingly different account of Aitolian origins (**fr. 15**)—a reminder of how fluid traditions are, and how lacunose our knowledge. He says that Deukalion's son Orestheus ('Mountainman') came to Aitolia *ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ*;[47] he then relates a strange tale about the foundation of viticulture, an event reflected in the names of the son and grandson; in the fourth generation Aitolos himself is born. The mothers' names are missing, but Orestheus is son, not grandson of Deukalion like Makedon or Graikos, and his wife is more likely to be a nymph than an Aiolid. Presumably derived from local sources, this myth describes the progress from savagery to civilization: the planting of vines, the transition from life in the hills to life in an organized political unit (Aitolia).[48] A motif inherent in the Deukalion myth is

[46] I. Cazzaniga, *Paideia* 28 (1973) 47–50. True, Athenaios says immediately after quoting Hellanikos 'this is why he left Kalydon'; *prima facie* he is still summarizing Hellanikos, but 'Kalydon' is vulgate and could be Athenaios' own gloss.

[47] Taking possession of virgin country? Evicting Pelasgians or such like? At someone's invitation? Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 122 ap. Strab. 10.3.2 says he evicted Kouretes, which supports the second option; Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* 66, regards this as a reflection of Bronze Age succession patterns, whereby sons do not succeed to the kingship, but rather sons-in-law, i.e. option 3.

[48] In Aristoph. fr. 1A we find Oineus building city-walls, another mark of the culture hero (→§17). Bertelli, '"C'era una volta un mito"' 62 and 'Des généalogies mythiques à la naissance de l'histoire' 24, also regards the story as local aetiology; Antonetti, 'Les Étoliens' 59, regards it as anthropological theorising on the part of Hekataios. Pausanias in his day heard it among the neighbouring Ozolian Lokroi (10.38.1; Lerat, *Les Locriens* 2.4). Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods* 237, wonders if Pausanias' *ἅμα τῷ ἦρι* came from Hekataios, and notes Erigone in Attic legend; on this and other parallels see R. D. Griffith, *Mouseion*[3] 10 (2010) 429–36. Oineus is the eponym of wine also in Nikandros fr. 86 and Melanippides *PMG* 761, with no context; in Hyg. *Fab.* 129, however, the story is told that Dionysos fell in love with Althaia, whereupon Oineus tactfully withdrew and let the god have his way; Oineus' reward was the vine, and the result of the union was Deianeira (cf. Apollod. 1.64, Satyros *FGrHist* 631 F 21, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 4.127). This could have been the plot of a satyr-play (Seaford on Eur. *Kykl.* 39), and possibly Soph. fr. 1130 was it (*Das griech. Satyrspiel* 368–74): the person whose approach is announced at the end could be Dionysos himself, if it is not Silenos. Later in the play the union with Althaia was followed by the gift of wine, notably absent from the satyrs' list of blessings in the fragment—otherwise an odd omission. We do not know whether Hekataios told the better-known stories about Oineus, father of Meleagros and Tydeus (next section), but in that context too Apollodoros (1.64) says that he received the vine from Dionysos at Kalydon. Cf. N. Robertson, *HSCP* 95 (1993) 217–18.

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here spun out over several generations.[49] Aitolos in this scheme retains his true status as a lineage-founder, for those who precede him are figures of folklore and cult, useful as buffers between him and Deukalion, but providing a far stronger link with the latter than the *Catalogue* allowed. On the other hand, the Aitolians are clearly un-Hellenic in Hekataios' assessment, which is perhaps due to the admixture of barbarians in the ethnos (Eur. *Phoin.* 138, Thuc. 3.94, Polyb. 18.5.7)—but it could just as well, depending on one's view of Hellenism, be meant to reflect positively on the Aitolians.[50]

§4.3 The Kalydonian Boarhunt (Eumel. fr. 2; Hellan. fr. 119; Pher. frr. 9, 123)

Eumel. fr. 2, Hellan. fr. 119 and **Pher. fr. 9** are all quoted by a scholion on Ap. Rhod. 1.146–9 to explain why Apollonios calls Leda, mother of Spartan Helen, 'Aitolian'. The simple answer is that her father Thestios was Aitolian. (This is the only link between these two genealogies, incidentally, although Tyndareos' brother Ikarios had an Aitolian wife in one myth;→§13.2.) The scholiast then comments that Ibykos called her Pleuronian, but Hellanikos called her Kalydonian: an innocent-seeming remark which, however, plunges one straight into the thickets of Aitolian genealogy and legend. Pleuron is the home of the Kouretes who fought the Kalydonians after the Boarhunt. The genealogies in various authorities are reasonably constant about the following details (see the chart below): Kalydon and Pleuron were sons of Aitolos; Pleuron was father of Agenor father of Porthaon; Porthaon was father of Oineus, king of Kalydon, who married Althaia daughter of Thestios; and Althaia was mother of Meleagros. Thestios was king of Pleuron,[51] so his daughter could be called Pleuronian; but as she married the king of Kalydon, she could be called Kalydonian. So far, still relatively simple.

Homer himself introduces the first complication. As he tells the story, Althaia's loyalty to her natal family over that of her husband is the nub of the conflict; as Bremmer

[49] Cf. Caduff, *Sintflutsagen* 118. Deukalion's son Amphiktion was host to Dionysos on his arrival in Attika (Paus. 1.2.5, cf. Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 5); Deukalion's daughter Thyia in pseudo-Hesiod also points to Dionysos (Thyiades = maenads; see Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Greek Perceptions of Ethnicity' 181–2; J. Schmidt, Roscher *Lex.* s.v. Thyiades; *LIMC* 8.1 s.v. Thyiades). See also next section for further Dionysiac connections.

[50] The possibility also exists that some later descendant married into the Hellenic line.

[51] Hes. fr. 25.13; Bacchyl. 5.125–35, 149–51; Strabo 10.2.24, 10.3.6; schol. (D) *Il.* 9.529; Eust. *Il.* 774.27, *Od.* 1470.26. March, *The Creative Poet* 36–7, finds it awkward that Meleagros's withdrawal from battle with the Kouretes actually helps his mother's family (if they are Pleuronian) and that Althaia subsequently is among those asking him to return to battle; she argues that the Kouretes were a foreign tribe, unrelated to Althaia. It is true that Homer contrasts not Pleuronians and Kalydonians, but Aitolians and Kouretes, and at *Il.* 14.115–17 the sons of Portheus (= Porthaon) live in both Kalydon and Pleuron (cf. 2.638–40, 13.216–18). However, in Homer one naturally assumes (as did Bacchylides) that Althaia's brother was killed in the battle with the Kouretes. 'Kouretes' is not a straightforward ethnonym (→§1.7.5, §1.7.8), so confusion is unsurprising.

shows, this is a deep-rooted pattern.[52] That Homer introduced innovations to the traditional story in the interests of his exemplum is generally recognised. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 25.12–13) Meleagros is simply killed by Apollo as he fights before Pleuron; the same was true of the archaic *Minyas* (fr. 5). Bacchylides, however, follows Homer in the accidental killing of kin (two uncles now), and adds the motif of the fatal log (also in Phrynichos *TrGF* 3 F 6 and Aischylos *Cho.* 603–12). Probably Stesichoros before him in his *Boarhunters (PMGF* 221–2(a)) introduced new details, given his expansive manner, but we know little of the poem.

As Meleagros himself is not mentioned in our corpus except in connection with Thersites (see below), we do not know which version Pherekydes and others followed. The genealogy of Thestios in Pherekydes throws up a new difficulty, however. Pherekydes said that his wife was Laophone daughter of Pleuron; their daughters were Leda and Althaia.[53] This differs radically from both the *Catalogue of Women* and Apollodoros. The Hesiodic poem has the stemma shown in Fig. 4.2.[54]

Apollodoros is similar, but makes the three sisters Sterope, Stratonike, and 'Laophonte' daughters of Pleuron; so here is a point of contact with Pherekydes. However, he still has Thestios in the same generation as Oineus, and gives his wife's name as 'Eurythemis', which matches Hesiod's Eurythemiste. Unless Thestios unusually married an older woman, Pherekydes would have had to put Thestios in the same generation as Agenor, so as to marry a coeval (this would incidentally entail breaking the connection between Thestios' mother and Agenor); but then his daughter Althaia

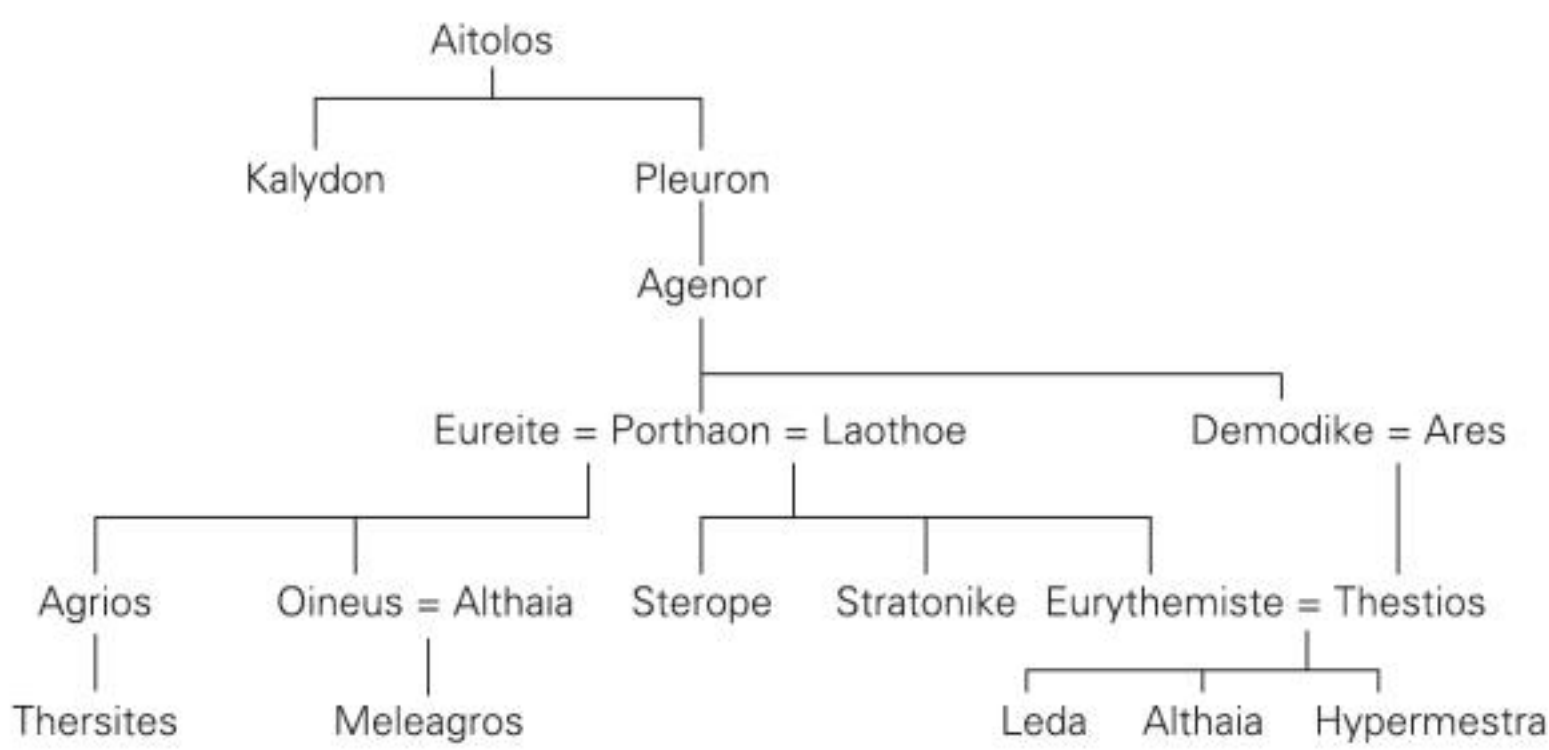

FIG. 4.2

[52] Bremmer, *GRC* 329–32; see also his 'La plasticité du mythe' for the Meleagros story.

[53] 'Laophone' is Wilamowitz's emendation on the grounds that 'Laophonte' would not fit in a hexameter.

[54] West, *HCW* 174.

would be a generation older than her husband Oineus, which is equally anomalous.[55] One of the constants mentioned above turns out not to be constant after all. When we then notice that Asios made Thestios a son of Agenor (fr. 6), and furthermore that in Hekataios (fr. 13; §4.4 below) Oineus was *father* of Aitolos, it becomes clear that the genealogies inherited from the archaic period were anything but fixed. If there was an independent epic on the subject it does not seem to have stamped its authority on the tradition any more than Stesichoros' citharody.

Pherekydes' placement of Thestios was unlikely to have been motivated by chronological considerations, as it is not Thestios who creates the difficulty in the tree but the whole attempt to graft Aitolians onto Aiolians (above, p. 132). Hesiod fr. 26.5–21) perhaps offers a clue: the three daughters of Porthaon (Sterope, Stratonike, Eurythemiste) are said there to leave the home of their mother and father, take to Parnassos and sport among the Nymphs, Muses, and Aphrodite. They are behaving like the Thyiades, and call to mind other groups of three sisters who worship Dionysos at Thebes or Argos, and provide the aition for his thiasoi. We may be dealing, then, with an independent, aetiological mytheme (three daughters of the king who take to the wilds), which was differently slotted into the genealogies of the Boarhunters legend; the king in question may vary. Thestios married one of these sisters, like Athamas, or indeed like Oineus the Wine-man. Perhaps there were other stories, now lost, about Oineus' misadventures (see previous section for his Dionysiac connections). The three sisters of the next generation appear to mirror the first three, but these ones have a sinister cast: Althaia murdered her son Meleagros; her daughter Deianeira, 'man-destroyer', killed Herakles; Leda's daughter Helen was blamed for the destruction of a whole generation. Hypermestra has a better record, though she is mother of the doomed Amphiaraos (Hes. fr. 25.34, Paus. 2.21.2). Interestingly, Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.63) has a second Sterope, a daughter of Porthaon by Euryte, who with Acheloos was mother of the lethal Seirenes (→§1.6.3).

If parts of the Kalydonian genealogy were aetiological (see also §8.3, §1.7.8), the overall thrust was political and cultural, once it was taken out of the local orbit and rendered pan-Hellenic by the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. It is worth noting that in that poem's genealogy (above) Porthaon by his wife Laothoe (of unknown heritage) has three daughters, but by his Aiolian wife Eureite he has five sons including Agrios and Oineus. The subsequent history of Oineus, the subject of the *Alkmeonis*—the exile of his son Tydeus (Pher. fr. 122;→§12.3.2), his deposition by the sons of Agrios, and the vengeance wrought by his

[55] There are instances in myth of marriages between aunts and nephews (Bremmer, 'Fosterage' 8–9), but otherwise men marry older women only when a queen requires a new king, as in Oidipous' case, or (potentially) Penelope's; cf. Andraimon and the daughter of Oineus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.78).

grandson Diomedes—plays out at Kalydon, where Oineus is king.[56] The sons of Porthaon, that is, are Kalydonian, but the daughters are Pleuronian, and their line runs into the sand.[57] On the other hand the sons of Porthaon descend from Pleuron, not Kalydon, who is almost without issue; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.59 is alone in mentioning any (only two daughters, and a grandson Oxylos—a unique genealogy for him too). Hesiod's genealogy expresses a belief in the greater antiquity of Pleuron, but also makes clear its supersession by Kalydon, which must reflect the perceived strength of the two cities. Homer as we noted equates Kalydonians and Aitolians, somewhat confusingly in context.

Eumelos' chauvinism in fr. 2, which makes Leda a daughter of Glaukos of Corinth by way of a transparently invented story, is typical of him; he was fortunate in finding at least one follower, the lyric poet who is quoted by the same scholiast (name corrupt; Alkman or, much more probably, Alkaios are suggested).[58] **Pherekydes (fr. 123)**, however, taps into a genuine and interesting tradition. Thersites, one of the sons of Agrios, is listed by him among the Kalydonian Boarhunters; but on the day of the hunt he declined to take part, and was flung off a cliff by Meleagros. Thus did he become a cripple. Euphorion (fr. 82) also knew this story, which will have come from archaic epic.[59] The story of his death at Achilleus' hands in the *Aithiopis* (Gantz 621–2) was also old tradition, like the story of his and his brothers' deposing of Oineus. In none of these stories does he cut a good figure: in the Boarhunt he is a coward; in the dethroning of Oineus he is a traitor; and when Diomedes comes to exact his revenge, he has already fled to the Peloponnese, where he subsequently kills Oineus in a sacrilegious and final cowardly act (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.79). His offensive behaviour in the *Aithiopis* cost him his life at the hands of an infinitely superior hero. All of this was in the background for Homer in the *Iliad*, who completely and unusually suppresses his genealogy.[60] Diomedes was in fact Thersites' cousin, and Quintus of Smyrna represents him as being angry about his death at Troy (1.768). The scholiast who quotes Pher. fr. 123 comments innocently that Homer would not have allowed Odysseus to beat Thersites if he were related

[56] *Alkmeonis* fr. 4; Soph. fr. 799.3–4; Eur. *Suppl.* 148, *Oineus* frr. 558–70 and the *Alkmeon* plays; Diod. Sic. 4.65.2; Paus. 2.25.2; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.77–9, 3.86; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 37; Hyg. *Fab.* 175. Thuc. 2.68.3 (cf. 2.102) seems to disregard this tradition, making Amphilochos son of Amphiaraos founder of Amphilochian Argos (*IACP* no. 115) without Alkmeon's help; this was probably the version already of Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1 F 102c (cf. Hammond, *Epirus* 448). It is however hard to know how much of the sequel as given by Apollod. *et al.* was already in the *Alkmeonis*, and how much was added by the tragedians. But this only underscores the point about the weakness of the archaic tradition about Kalydon. For a study of the sources see Prinz 177–87 (who argues that Thucydides in fact reflects the archaic epic). I see no role for Corinth in these stories, as has sometimes been said, though it colonized Akarnania. The burial of Oineus at Argos is one possible context for Hek. fr. 4 (→§20).

[57] Stratonike's son was Eurytos father of Iphitos and Iole (Hes. fr. 26).

[58] West, '"Eumelos"' 131. For further discussion of Eumel. fr. 2 see §17.3.

[59] Also in schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 999, Tzetzes *Chil.* 7.879–89.

[60] *Il.* 2.211–77. Martin West, *per litt.*, disagrees, holding Pherekydes responsible for equating the Homeric and Aitolian Thersites.

to Diomedes; but Homer has deprived him of his aristocratic credentials. The earlier epic presented Thersites as a simple negative exemplum, warning against cowardice and betrayal of class ideals. Homer's portrait, marked out as his own by its invented speeches and crowd of neologisms, exhibits extreme loathing. He elaborates the disgusting details of Thersites' appearance, and makes him no longer an aristocrat but a mutinous demagogue; even his name, in itself a fine one for a warrior, is given a new sarcastic meaning, denoting not courage but insolence. If earlier epic exhorted those born to the manor to live up to ideals, Homer has turned the story into one of conflict between aristocratic rulers and an upstart, elite and non-elite. His complex depiction of the problems of leadership should not be interpreted anachronistically as if Homer were adopting the neutral stance of the modern commentator, the distanced explorer of issues; there is no doubt here of his political allegiance.[61]

For Pher. fr. 36, the death of Ankaios at the tusks of the Boar, see §6.3.6.

§4.4 Lokrians (Hek. frr. 13, 16; Hellan. frr. 11–13, 117b, 120, 121, 125; Pher. frr. 23–4)

That Hekataios had strongly personal views on Hellenism is plain from **fr. 13**, which amazingly asserts that Hellen himself was merely a grandson of Deukalion. We need to consider this fr. here in order to understand the Lokrians in Hek. fr. 16. Hellen's father in Hekataios was Pronoos, a name obviously invented after Prometheus to supply an extra generation at this point.[62] Why he wanted one probably has something to do with the other progeny. The scholion is explicit that Hekataios named only three sons of Deukalion. Apart from Pronoos and Orestheus there is Marathonios. What role did he play? If Marathonios had no progeny, the imbalance at the very top of the stemma is quite striking. In the absence of progeny, the reason for Marathonios' prominence is presumably the battle of 490; but one puzzles to find a reason why he is a son of Deukalion, rather than autochthonous or Kekropid, if the only motive for his insertion is to glorify Athens. More probably he is Deukalionid because of his progeny; the logical choice is Xouthos, and thence to Ion and Achaios. In this way Hekataios, as he did for the Aitolians, would have asserted the Ionians' and Achaeans' independence from Hellen, to their greater glory. Inserting the extra generation before Hellen would make Ion, Achaios, Doros, and Aiolos (the last two being presumably sons of Hellen as everywhere else) contemporary with one another: a satisfying arrangement. The position of Marathonios also amounts to strong support of the Athenians' claim to parentage of

[61] On Thersites see Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias* 145–7; Ebert, 'Die Gestalt des Thersites'; Brügger and Stoevesandt on *Il.* 2.211–78; W. Thalmann, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 1–28; Scodel, *Listening to Homer* 202–8. Further references in Lincoln, *Authority: Construction and Corrosion* 174.

[62] Cf. the corrupt name of Deukalion's mother in Hes. fr. 4, for which Dindorf proposed 'Pronoe' (→§3.1).

the Ionians.[63] Later writers record that the Marathonian tetrapolis was founded by Xouthos; perhaps Hekataios already knew this tradition.[64] The community's venerable age might have been sufficient warrant for Hekataios' innovation; if so, the battle cannot be used to date his book. On the other hand, all these factors, the battle included, might have played a role in his reasoning.

Fr. 16 appears to make against this speculation about Ion's status in Hekataios; but it is corrupt. Some emendation is required on any analysis. As it stands it would have to be translated 'There was an older Ion, a Lokrian, the son of Physkos';[65] but startling though Hekataios can be, it is hard to think what use he could have made of two Iones. If one of the first two names is changed to the genitive case (either 'Lokros, son of Physkos, was older than Ion' or 'Ion, son of Physkos, was older than Lokros'), the younger man in either rendering will be someone else's son, and we are left to wonder in what mythological context such a comparison would be important. A story involving half-brothers would be possible; a quarrel might have led to emigration, as in the story of father and son in Plutarch and Eustathios, quoted below. But it is hard to believe in Ion half-brother of Lokros or Ion son of Physkos. There is another possibility: construe 'there was an older Lokros, son of X'; the natural completion is 'than Lokros, son of Y'. The two Lokroi will be the Ozolian and the Opountian, and Hekataios is explaining the split. The remains of an expression containing the name of Y may be lurking in the corrupt first word; or we may accept Wilamowitz's *τῶν*, which is an easy correction, and suppose that the names of the two fathers were given in the preceding sentence. One of them was Physkos, so let us see what is known about him.

Apart from Hekataios there are only four passages that name him, and there is reason to think that they derive not from Hekataios, but from Hellanikos. The passages are:

Steph. Byz. s.v. *Φύσκος. πόλις Λοκρίδος, ἀπὸ Φύσκου τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος. ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα Φύσκος πόλις Καρίας . . . λέγεται καὶ ἀρσενικῶς ὁ Φύσκος. "Φύσκος δέ, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Λέλεγες οἱ νῦν Λοκροί . . ."*

[63] Jacoby on Hek. fr. 16 says that Hekataios confined the term 'Ionian' to the Dodekapolis, citing Hdt. 1.142–8 (but this proves nothing for Hekataios), and observes 'die schnell fortschreitende, aber schwierig durchzuführende annektierung durch Athen geschah nach seiner zeit'; therefore, he says, Hekataios' Ion came straight from Achaea and had nothing to do with Athens; like the Aitolians they descended from Orestheus. The Ionian connection with Achaia is ancient too (Hdt. 7.94), but Hekataios cannot have ignored passages like *Il.* 13.689, where the Athenians are known to be Ionian (Janko ad loc. thinks the interpolation, if it is one, may actually be the work of Ionians rather than Athenians) or Solon fr. 4a. On the antiquity of the Ionian/Athenian connection see §19.2.1.

[64] Konon, *Dieg.* 27 (<Xouthos> supplied by Höfer), Strabo 8.7.1. On the Tetrapolis see R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* index s.v.; on the traditions surrounding Xouthos in Attica and elsewhere Càssola, 'Le genealogie mitiche' 17–20, 31–2. *IG* I³ 255 A13 (*c.*430 BC) makes provision for sacrifice to Xouthos; S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 71–5, has now made it all but certain that the stone came from the Marathon region.

[65] For *Λοκρός* as adjective see Eur. *IA* 262, Xen. *An.* 7.4.18. The expression remains suspiciously compressed; one expects something like *πρεσβύτερος δέ τις Ἴων Λοκρὸς ἦν, Φύσκου παῖς.*

Ps.-Skymnos 587–91:

Λοκροί
ὧν πρῶτος ἦρξεν, ὡς λέγουσ', Ἀμφικτύων
ὁ Δευκαλίωνος, ἐχόμενος δ' ἀφ' αἵματος
Αἰτωλός, εἶτα Φύσκος, ὃς γεννᾷ Λοκρόν,
ὃς τοὺς Λέλεγας ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Λοκρούς.

Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 15 p. 294d–f. *Τίς ἡ ξυλίνη κύων παρὰ Λοκροῖς; Φυσκίου (sic) τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος υἱὸς ἦν Λοκρός· ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ Καβύης Ὀποῦς. πρὸς ὃν ὁ πατὴρ διενεχθεὶς καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναλαβὼν περὶ ἀποικίας ἐμαντεύετο. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος κτίζειν πόλιν ὅπουπερ ἂν τύχῃ δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ κυνὸς ξυλίνης, ὑπερβαίνων εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν*[66] *ἐπάτησε κυνόσβατον.*[67] *ἐνοχληθεὶς δὲ τῇ πληγῇ διέτριψεν ἡμέρας αὐτόθι πλείονας, ἐν αἷς καταμαθὼν τὸ χωρίον ἔκτισε πόλεις Φυσκεῖς καὶ Οἰάνθειαν*[68] *καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, ὅσας οἱ κληθέντες Ὀζόλαι Λοκροὶ κατῴκησαν.*
Eust. *Il.* 277.17. *Ὀποῦντος . . . Κῦνος οὗ Ὁδοιδόκος οὗ Ὀϊλεύς. οἱ δὲ παλαιοί φασι καὶ ταῦτα· Ἀμφικτύονος καὶ Χθονοπάτρας ἀπόγονος Φύσκος, οὗ Λοκρός, ὧν ἀπὸ μὲν Φύσκου Φύσκοι πρώην, ἀπὸ δὲ Λοκροῦ Λοκροὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν· Λοκροῦ δὲ Ὀποῦς, πρὸς ὃν διενεχθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ Λοκρὸς ἐᾷ μὲν ἄρχειν ἐκεῖνον, αὐτὸς δὲ οἰκεῖ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ ἔχων ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν τοὺς ἐκεῖ, οἳ Ἑσπέριοί τε καὶ Ὀζόλαι ἐκαλοῦντο περὶ Αἰτωλίαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑτέρας, φασί, πλευρᾶς οἰκοῦντες κατὰ Κρισσαῖον πεδίον.*

Plutarch and Eustathios go back to the same source, presumably a scholion on *Il.* 2.527,[69] and behind that perhaps Aristotle's *Constitution of the Opountians* (frr. 560–4).[70] What has not been noticed is that Eustathios' unique *Χθονοπάτρα* is surely the same as Hellanikos' *Ξενοπάτρα* (**fr. 125**), a similarly unique daughter of Hellen: one has been corrupted into the other in one of these sources (by an inversion of 'native' and 'foreign': *Χθονοπάτρα* is perhaps the original). In (Plutarch + Eustathios =) Aristotle, therefore, we may have Hellanikos' account of the foundation of western Lokris. Except for Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25, where he is son of Hellen, Amphiktion is everywhere a son of Deukalion; an indication that Hellanikos agreed with the majority is that in the Attic

[66] *εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ* Weniger in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Lokros coll. Eust.

[67] The story of the wooden dog is also in Didymos (p. 242 Schmidt) ap. Athen. 2.82 p. 70c and Hsch. s.v. *κύναρος*. Wood and dog curiously combine again in Hekataios' story of Orestheus' bitch. Tümpel, 'Deukalion' 267 and others connect the story with Kynos and say it must have been East Lokrian originally, but there are chronological problems if Deukalion had already lived at Kynos. The coincidence of the name is admittedly suggestive, but not decisive ('Thebes' was not 'Cowtown' despite the story of the cow, Hellan. fr. 51; contrarily, Mukalessos was named after the same cow's lowing, Paus. 9.19.4). Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* 91, remains agnostic.

[68] *Ὑάνθειαν* codd., *Ὑάντειαν* edd.; corr. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 357 n. 3 (cf. Oldfather, *RE* 17.2.2086).

[69] Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 358. Didymos probably drew on the scholion as well; as his reference to the wooden dog oracle is in the context of a commentary on Sophokles, he is unlikely to be Plutarch's source.

[70] The ascription depends on schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.86, which says that Aristotle named the daughter of Opous as Kambyse, obviously identical with Plutarch's Kabye. See W. A. Oldfather, *Philol.* 67 (1908) 426 n. 47 and K. Giessen, *Philol.* 60 (1901) 466–8. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 357, cautiously agrees. Huxley, *Pindar's Vision of the Past* 31, emends to Kaphye, surmising that she is the eponym of Kaphyai by Mount Mainalos.

king-list, which in all likelihood goes back to him,[71] Amphiktion is son of Deukalion. Thus Amphiktion, brother of Hellen, would have married his niece Chthonopatra, daughter of Hellen.[72] The change of name to Lokroi is traditional (Hes. fr. 234), but the previous name was Leleges (cf. also Skymnos), not Physkeis; if we do have Hellanikos before us here, he differed from tradition in this respect.[73] Comparing now Stephanos and pseudo-Skymnos, we find that the stemma is identical except for Aitolos. If we disregard this as intrusive,[74] Hellanikos' genealogy was Deukalion→Amphiktion→Physkos→Lokros, and we may believe that he accommodated Aitolos as the *Catalogue* did (as a descendant of Protogeneia, daughter of Deukalion).

If these passages go back to Hellanikos, where does that leave Hekataios in fr. 16? We do not know what he said about Amphiktion; nor unfortunately do we know what the *Catalogue* said.[75] Presumably Amphiktion came into existence with the amphiktiony,[76] and the near unanimity of our sources that he was a son of Deukalion probably goes back to pseudo-Hesiod. Hekataios, we know, did not agree, as his three and only three sons of Hellen are Orestheus, Pronoos, and Marathonios. It would be a reasonable conjecture that Hekataios made Amphiktion a son of Pronoos so that he should still be brother of Hellen; he would make no sense whatever in the line of Orestheus or Marathonios. The Lokrians, however, could fit in either Orestheus' or Marathonios' line. As for Physkos, to make him son of Aitolos might seem to put his son Lokros

[71] Jacoby on *FGrHist* 4 FF 38–49. Jacoby (*Das Marmor Parium* 35) also thought that Hellanikos was first to make Deukalion's son Amphiktion a king of Athens, because Herodotos (7.200) knows him only as the hero of the amphiktiony at Anthela (his shrine implies burial there). Amphiktion's status as king of Athens in all later sources probably does go back to Hellanikos; but his entry into Athenian saga may be even older, if it is related to their membership of the Pylian–Delphic Amphiktiony in the 6th c. But the archaic list of members is uncertain, and there were other amphiktionies (Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking' n. 26; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 80; Harding, *The Story of Athens* 39, 210–12). Ion's Athenian mother is already a fixture in the *Catalogue*, fr. 10a.20–3; yet a tradition that Amphiktion was autochthonous survives in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.187). On the Attic king-list see §16.1.1.

[72] Was their son Itonos (above, n. 27)? If so, Chthonopatra might be right in view of the chthonic associations of Athena Itonia (→§1.8.4).

[73] This could mean that Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.17.3, on the eviction of the Pelasgoi from Thessaly, will not go back to Hellanikos as Jacoby thought: *περὶ τὴν ἕκτην γενεὰν ἐξελαύνονται (οἱ Πελασγοὶ) Θετταλίας ὑπό τε Κουρήτων καὶ Λελέγων, οἳ νῦν Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Λοκροὶ καλοῦνται, καὶ συχνῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασὸν οἰκούντων, ἡγουμένου τῶν πολεμίων Δευκαλίωνος τοῦ Προμηθέως, μητρὸς δὲ Κλυμένης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ*. One might combine Dionysios and Eustathios and say that according to Hellanikos they were called Leleges under Deukalion, Physkeis under Physkos, and Lokroi under Lokros; in this case, the quotation cited by Stephanos (see above) might even be his. Jacoby's suspicion that Hellanikos lies behind Dionysios has much to recommend it (→§7.1.2). See also below, p. 146.

[74] Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 359; cf. Daux, 'Remarques sur la composition du conseil amphictionique' 98, who argues that it reflects the annexation of Lokris by Aitolia in the 3rd c. BC (Wilamowitz thinks in terms of late antiquity). Marcotte, in his 2002 edition of ps.-Skymnos, makes the attractive emendation *Ἴτωνος* (MS D has *Ἴτωλος*); on Itonos cf. above, n. 27.

[75] Hes. fr. 4 = Akous. fr. 34 is unhelpful.

[76] He is founder of the league in Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 63, Marmor Parium 239 A 5, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25.3.

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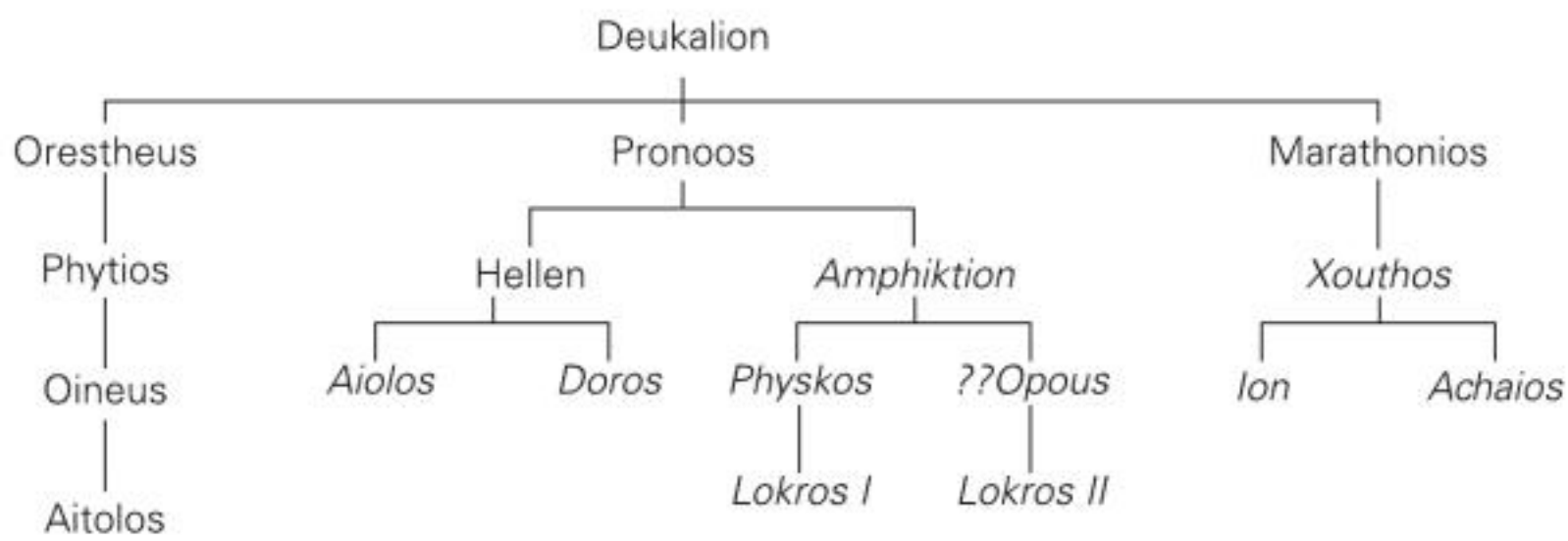

FIG. 4.3

rather late chronologically, but there is no evidence that mythographers were especially sensitive to such considerations at this date. Pausanias (5.16.6) reports a heroine Physkoa at Elis, who bore a son to Dionysos and was honoured by choruses; of uncertain antiquity, as always, but if she was known in Hekataios' day, the close associations of Elis and Aitolia might have influenced him (the Dionysiac connection—cf. Phytios and Oineus—is also suggestive). Alternatively, the Lokrians' association with the amphiktiony would place them on the Hellenic side. Physkos might be a son of Amphiktion, or son of Pronoos. On balance it seems likeliest that Hekataios neither put Physkos on a par with Hellen, nor made the west Lokrians mere grandchildren of Aitolos (Fig. 4.3).[77]

As father of the other Lokros, I have suggested Opous, elsewhere Lokros' son (but also his grandfather in Pindar). The parents would be the eponyms of the two principal, early Lokrian cities (the western one principal at least in legend).[78] If this stemma is along the right lines, one can imagine that in Hekataios' story Lokros I, the elder, had the stronger claim to the throne, but for some reason emigrated and named the new city after his father. (Similarly in the story told by Plutarch and Eustathios, the father, i.e. the man with the primary claim to rule, cedes to his son.) Hekataios puts Hellen and Amphiktion on a par, appropriately enough in view of his importance in the growth of Hellenic consciousness.

Further with respect to Hellanikos, Wilamowitz's conjecture in **fr. 117b** seems likely to be right; but the scholiast's meaning in this badly abbreviated note is hard to divine. He is trying to explain 'the stock of Iapetos' (in spite of commenting on a lemma *Κρονιδᾶν*), and says that Pindar 'like Hellanikos' traced the descent of the Opountians from Deukalion. But Pindar's meaning in *Olympian* 9 is also obscure, at least to anyone who was not at the original performance. At l. 41 of the poem he calls Opous the 'town

[77] Conjectural names in italics.

[78] On inscriptional evidence for the historical Physkeis (city name and ethnic identical) beginning in the 4th c. see Lerat, *Les Locriens* 1.48–50; *IACP* p. 392. The legends rather imply early prominence; cf. Oldfather, *RE* 13.1.1185; Lerat, *Les Locriens* 2.15 (sceptical).

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