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SHAPING MEMORY IN ANCIENT GREECE: POETRY, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND EPIGRAPHY

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PREFACE

How do societies view their past? How does the past—collective and individual—and our relationship with it shape the social, cultural, and political context of the present? This volume stems from an Ancient History seminar series engaging with these questions, which took place at the Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London in the summer of 2012 and was co-organised by the editors. The present volume is comprised of chapters based on the papers delivered at the seminar and others specially commissioned for the present collection, which interlocked effectively with the volume's take on memory, enriching its themes, sources, and methodologies. Memory studies and its application to ancient societies is a diverse and dynamic field of research to which the present volume aims to contribute, building on existing scholarship within and outside of the study of the ancient world.

We would like to extend our warmest thanks to the audiences of the seminar; the Institute of Classical Studies and its Director at the time, Professor John North; and the contributors to both the seminar series and the volume itself not only for their illuminating contributions, but also for their collegiality and patience while this volume had been taking shape, a process which proved much more time-consuming than initially anticipated.

We are grateful to the *Histos* team, who provided its excellent and hospitable online platform, and the Supplementary Volumes editor John Marincola for his great editorial care and support; the reviewers of the individual chapters for insightful comments and suggestions; last but not least, Simon Hornblower, who read and made valuable comments on individual chapters and on the volume as a whole.

Christy Constantakopoulou
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INTRODUCTION:
COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN ANCIENT GREEK
CULTURE: CONCEPTS, MEDIA, AND SOURCES*

Maria Fragoulaki

1. Memory Studies and the Present Volume

Cultural or collective memory defies a stable definition. It can be viewed as an interdisciplinary space where different and at times overlapping terms, media, and methodologies speak to each other, casting new light on the multifaceted phenomenon of collective remembering or 'the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts'.[1] In the study of ancient societies this interdisciplinary dialogue can be particularly illuminating in exploring the dynamic and negotiable character of the memory of the past. Memory can be better observed through the symbiotic relationship of a variety of media (texts, objects, places, forms) and through different periods and genres, as a process of constant redefinition and reconfiguration, based not only on storing, inscribing and recording, but also on forgetting, effacing, destroying, and losing for ever.

The chapters of the present volume explore aspects of the shaping (and reshaping) of collective memory in ancient Greece, viewing it as a holistic cultural phenomenon, mobile, transformative and transformable. The volume contains different types of sources, media of memory and theoretical approaches, exploring boundaries, dialogues and interactions: literary works (Homer, Pindar, Herodotus, Thucydides, and significant intertexts), oral traditions and folktale, inscriptions, material culture, funerary epigrams and statues, ethnography. Its chronological scope encompasses the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. Some chapters (Pelling, Fragoulaki, Agócs, Baragwanath, Shear) zoom into a specific source (literary work or inscription), whereas others (Skinner, Low) provide more general and all-encompassing discussions. Themes and frameworks of memory explored in this volume are: *kleos* ('fame') and commemoration; praise as memory and media of praise; intertextuality and/as memory; the relationship between historiography, mythography, and ethnography; the interaction between

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* I use the following abbreviations: *CT* I–III = Hornblower (1991–2008); *PMG* = Page (1962).

[1] Erll (2008) 2.

textual and physical places of memory; and the centrality to ethnicity of collective memory.

This introduction does not provide a systematic charting of the rich theoretical field of memory studies and its application to the study of ancient societies and cultures. Major points of reference to one or another extent in all discussions in the field are figures such as Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Ricoeur, Jan Assmann, Pierre Nora, or Arjun Appadurai, and the chapters of this volume are no exception. In addition to this theoretical stratum, the present volume is also, like other recent studies in the field of Classics, informed by memory studies.[2]

Here, I would only like to pause at the centrality of myth and the mythistorical perspective of the past in Greek culture—an overarching methodological premise of this volume—, making a brief mention of Aleida and Jan Assmann's distinction between 'communicative' and 'cultural memory'.[3] 'Communicative memory' is associated with non-institutionalised forms of memory and is more limited chronologically, covering about eighty to a hundred years, consisting of the historical experiences of contemporaries. It is a memory framework based primarily on forms of everyday interaction, in which everyone is considered equally capable of remembering the common past. 'Cultural memory', on the other hand, 'comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch'[4] and is central to a group's identity, sense of belonging, and collective knowledge. This memory framework is primarily ceremonial, ritualistic, consisting of fixed contents and meanings, whose sources are often specialists and figures of intellectual or religious authority, such as priests, professors of history, or poets. Foundational narratives of a past recognised 'as ours', festivals, symbols, and institutions cohabit and construct cultural memory. That said, 'communicative' and 'cultural memory' are interdependent, and distinctions are far from unambiguous. For example, as has been pointed out, 'in the age of the Internet and formats such as Wikipedia there is an increased blurring of the distinction between specialists and laymen of the Cultural Memory'.[5] Among the Assmanns' features-parameters of cultural memory, events of a mythical/primordial past and ancient history hold pride

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[2] More recently, Castagnoli–Ceccarelli (2019), with bibliography. For the study of the relationship between memory and history, Simon Price's (2012) four contexts—objects and representations, places, ritual behaviour (and associated myths), and textual narratives—are illuminating. Foxhall–Gehrke–Luraghi (2010) and the concept 'intentional history' have been seminal in describing the constantly evolving perceptions of the past in the light of the present.

[3] Assmann (2008); Erll (2011) 27–37. For the distinction in the context of Homeric poetry, see Minchin (2012). Communicative memory is at times also referred to as 'social memory', although distinctions between these terms are too complicated to pursue, and vary across different schools of thought.

[4] Assmann (1995) 132.

[5] Erll (2011) 31, and, more generally, 27–37 on the Assmanns' work on cultural memory.

of place. In the words of Jan Assmann '[i]n the context of cultural memory, the distinction between myth and history vanishes'.[6]

In connection with ancient Greek culture, a mythistorical perspective does not mean that the Greeks were uncritical of myth, or that they did not distinguish between mythical and historical time or between fiction and 'truth'/'facts'.[7] Rather, a mythistorical perspective suggests that the Greeks used mythical narratives to construct a sense of Self and to unlock understanding of their historical past and present. Myth was a cognitive tool and a constantly active *comparandum*, by means of which the past could be remembered, processed, and described. An important feature of myth was its performative character, and its association with social and political institutions. Suffice it to think of myth's embeddedness in contexts such as the symposium, festivals, education, courtroom, political thought and debate. At the same time, Greek mythical narratives are inherently messy and non-hierarchical, as they are multi-medial, multi-vocal, and dynamic: they inhabit different media, fragmented or extant, and appear in variants, which may contradict or supplement one another. Myth, like memory itself, undergoes constant shaping and reshaping, and its study throws into relief a wider methodological need in the study of our sources: extant or fragmentary works of literature or inscriptions, graffiti, visual representations, architectural structures, archaeological sites, coins, objects of everyday use, are all important in illuminating the kaleidoscopic and polysemantic character of cultural memory.

This introduction aims to facilitate the reader in following the thematic threads across the chapters of this volume, shared concepts, questions, methodologies, and understandings, touching on some literary sources which do not enter the focus of the authors' contributions or do not feature elsewhere in the volume. Some of these sources have not received enough attention so far in relation to the theme of memory, whereas others have been extensively discussed, but it is hoped that their integration into the present introduction warrants a revisiting. The final part of this Introduction is an overview of the seven chapters of the volume.

[6] Assmann (2008) 113.

[7] E.g., Veyne (1988).

2. Memory in Homer

… Ναυσικάα δὲ θεῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα
στῆ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο,
θαύμαζεν δ᾽ Ὀδυσῆα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶσα
καί μιν φωνήσασ᾽ ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·   460
'χαῖρε, ξεῖν᾽, ἵνα καί ποτ᾽ ἐὼν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ
μνήσῃ ἐμεῖ᾽, ὅτι μοι πρώτῃ ζωάγρι᾽ ὀφέλλεις.'
τὴν δ᾽ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·
'Ναυσικάα, θύγατερ μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο,
οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θείη, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης,   465
οἴκαδέ τ᾽ ἐλθέμεναι καὶ **νόστιμον ἦμαρ** ἰδέσθαι·
τῷ κέν τοι καὶ **κεῖθι θεῷ ὣς εὐχετοώμην**
αἰεὶ ἤματα πάντα· σὺ γάρ μ᾽ ἐβιώσαο, κούρη.'

Nausicaa, gifted with beauty by the gods, stood by the door-post of the well-built hall, and she marvelled at Odysseus, as her eyes beheld him, and she spoke, and addressed him with winged words: 'Farewell, stranger, and hereafter even in your own native land may you **remember me, for to me first you owe the price of your life**.' Then Odysseus of many wiles answered her: 'Nausicaa, daughter of great-hearted Alcinous, so may Zeus grant, the loud-thundering husband of Here, that I may reach my home and see the **day of my return**. Then will I even there **pray to you as to a god all my days**, for you, girl, have given me life'.

(Hom. *Od.* 8.457–68; trans. A. T. Murray)[8]

This is a farewell scene between a young girl at marriage age and a mature man, Nausicaa and Odysseus, combining subtle individual characterisation and psychological brilliance. It rounds off the two interlocutors' encounter, which opened with Odysseus' supplication to the girl, where he wondered whether she was a god or a mortal (*Od.* 6.149). The farewell scene (and the Odysseus–Nausicaa encounter more generally) is not often discussed in connection with collective memory, probably because it is too private to be considered 'socially' or 'historically' significant. Yet this private moment deserves attention in relation to the public sphere too, on account of the social roles of the young woman and the man, who are a princess and a king, respectively.[9] It is a moment when both private and collective identities intersect.

   The young princess who knows that the day of her marriage approaches realises that the handsome stranger that Odysseus has become after their

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[8] All translations may have small changes.

[9] On character speech and its social context, see Pelling, below, Ch. 1, p. 26 on Nausicaa's speech: 'delightfully characterising of her […] trying to be so very mature'.

initial encounter was not meant to be her husband.[10] Nausicaa's character combines shyness and 'feelings unsaid',[11] conventional for her age and situation, with wisdom and exercise of power in the handling of the ethical, political, and gender dynamics of this relationship, unconventional for her age and gender. The disappointment of the unfulfilled potentiality of erotic and matrimonial union with Odysseus is balanced by an astonishing degree of female agency. By reminding Odysseus that she has saved his life after capturing him alive (ζωάγρι' ὀφέλλεις, *Od.* 8.462), Nausicaa uses memory as a means of reciprocal exchange; she asks Odysseus to remember her, when he returns to his country, impressing on him that gratitude for his life is owed to her 'first', that is, before everyone else (μνήσῃ ἐμεῖ', ὅτι μοι πρώτῃ, 8.462).[12]

With psychological and social shrewdness, Odysseus affirms the gratitude owed to Nausicaa ('for you, girl, have given me life', 8.468), promising to pray to her as if to a goddess for all his days (8.467–8). It might be suggested that, owing to the socially prominent status of Odysseus, what is implied by his words is not merely personal or familial memory (what the Assmanns call 'communicative memory'), but a ritual with wider implications for the collective memory of the Ithacan community. With some daring, the trace of an aetiology cult on Ithaca might be seen here. In any case, the prayer by the leader of a community introduced 'for the rest of his days' suggests permanency and possible institutionalisation, constitutive of cultural memory (again according to the Assmanns' categorisation).[13]

The *Odyssey* is a poem of memory, not by being preoccupied with heroic *kleos* on the battlefield in the sense that the *Iliad* is, but by exploring the boundaries of individual, *oikos*, and collective memory, as in the Nausicaa–Odysseus scene. It is the memory of Ithaca that keeps Odysseus' desire for return (*nostos*) to his fatherland alive (1.57–9): 'she [= Calypso] charms him to forget (ἐπιλήσεται) Ithaca. Odysseus, however, wanting to catch sight even of smoke leaping up from his land, is longing to die (θανέειν ἱμείρεται). *Nostos* itself is memory, since one must be able to remember to long for return.[14]

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[10] Nausicaa's marriage with Odysseus is an expectation of both herself (*Od.* 6.244–6) and her father Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians (*Od.* 7.313).

[11] De Jong (2004) 212–13.

[12] De Jong (2004) 213 '"a guest will remember his host at home" motif'. ζωάγρια (not a frequent word in our sources) is used in a strikingly similar manner in Hdt. 3.36, in a context of reciprocal exchange and negotiating power through saving the life of a king. The king in Herodotus is Croesus, who is saved by slaves.

[13] In the poem's narrative, Odysseus has not yet revealed his identity to the Phaeacians (this happens at 9.19), so the social significance of Odysseus' promise is shared with the audience of the *Odyssey* and not Nausicaa herself, still unaware of Odysseus' identity. Meister (2020) 131–8 reads 'praying as if to a god' (τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῷ ὣς εὐχετοῴμην, *Od.* 8.467) in the light of Eupolis, fr. 384 K–A (οἷς ὡσπερεὶ θεοῖσιν ηὐχόμεσθα), ritual contexts, and power dynamics.

[14] Cf. Montiglio (2003) for the close relation between the memory of return and the memory of wandering in Homeric Odysseus. Cf. Malkin (2018) 86: 'Others have noted that

The episode of the Lotus-Eaters (*Od.* 9.82–104) is a mythical illustration of the close connection between memory, identity, and emotion. The desire to return home can only be generated by the recollection of what individuals and groups experience and recognise as home. The episode of the Lotus Eaters is narratologically framed by the war with the Cicones (9.39–61) that precedes it and the visit to the cave of the Cyclops (9.105–566) that follows it. Both of these violent and bloody encounters claim the lives of Odysseus' companions and come into contrast with the shorter visit to the land of the Lotus-Eaters, which is not overtly violent. But although the encounter with the Lotus-Eaters does not involve physical annihilation and death, it poses another deadly threat: forgetfulness of return (νόστου λαθέσθαι, 9.97), which would result from eating the lotus fruit. The episode's position in the narrative forms a triad of dangerous encounters (Cicones—Lotus-Eaters—Cyclops), suggesting that loss of memory and identity is nothing less than a form of death.[15]

The sorrow of constant longing is a dominant feature in Homeric Odysseus, as his first appearance in the poem demonstrates: 'She [= Calypso] found him on the shore, and his eyes were never dry of tears, and his sweet life was ebbing away, as he longed mournfully for his return' (*Od.* 5.151–3). Calypso's address to Odysseus confirms his constant sorrow and suffering (starting with κάμμορε 'unhappy man', 5.160, one of the adjectives used for Odysseus in the poem). Penelope's character too is constructed on longing for Odysseus, steadfastness in grief for his absence, and the painful memory of past happiness. Her first character speech in the poem demonstrates it: 'an **unforgettable grief** (**πένθος ἄλαστον**) affects me heavily. I long for a person so dear, **remembering** always that man whose **fame** is wide through Greece and middle Argos' (τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ποθέω μεμνημένη αἰεὶ | ἀνδρός, τοῦ **κλέος** εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, 1.343–4).[16] The social dimension of Penelope's speech must not be missed, as she

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the cognate of *nostos* is *noos*, "mind", with its implications of memory of the self, namely, "identity". For what is "remembering" if not "returning" in one's mind?', citing Frame (1978).

[15] Cf. de Jong (2004) 229, on the 'Iliadic flavour' of the episode of the Ciconians, opposing it with the non-violent 'forgetting-remembering motif' of the Lotus-Eaters episode, which 'is nevertheless a danger' (231). For memory in Homer as 'inability to forget', see Minchin's entry on 'Memory' in Finkelberg (2011).

[16] ἄλαστον, 'unforgettable' (< privative α + λαθ- aor. stem of λανθάνομαι, 'forget'). For the oppositional relation between *mnēs-* and *lath-* in the discourse of remembrance in Homer, see Bakker (2005), ch. 8; cf. Nikannen (2012). Later in the poem in the significant meeting between Penelope and the 'unknown guest' (Odysseus still in disguise), Penelope's painful longing for Odysseus appears again ('longing for dear Odysseus, I pine away in my heart', Ὀδυσῆ ποθέουσα φίλον κατατήκομαι ἦτορ, *Od.* 19.136). The description of the purple mantle and the golden brooch (*Od.* 19.225–7), which she had given to her husband, initiates a web of shared memories between the two interlocutors, which culminates in their recognition

situates her personal grief and family tragedy within the frame of Odysseus' heroic status and panhellenic fame, that is, within the frame of the collective memory of Odysseus' name and deeds.

Both spouses' personal grief, memory, and longing for each other have wider implications, beyond their *oikos* and marriage. Odysseus' absence from Ithaca lasts twenty years, of which ten years are occupied by his adventurous *nostos*; during the latter he makes wars and ties of friendship with individuals and communities, such as those with the Phaeacians. The intimate and personal aspect of Penelope's memories and longing have a social and public dimension as well, related to the royal status of her missing husband and the social norms of Ithacan society. During Odysseus' long absence her position has become socially untenable. After their son Telemachus' coming of age, Penelope's prolonged stay in Odysseus' household is perceived by her entourage as a social anomaly, and she is urged by both her parents and her son to leave Odysseus' home and join another household after marrying one of the suitors (*Od.* 19.158–60, 530–4).

The suitors themselves are intricately bound with acts of memory in the poem. As has been noted, probably from early on in the history of the word, *mnēmē* can also mean 'love' (including sexual love, *erōs*).[17] The Greek word for suitor *mnēstēr* (μνηστήρ) is in fact a cognate of *mnēmē*, denoting someone who is courting or wooing (being 'mindful' of) a much sought-after woman (*polymnēstē*: πολυμνήστην τε γυναῖκα, *Od.* 14.64). But the suitors' courting and 'mindfulness' is less about Penelope and more about plundering unlawfully her absent husband's household ('they will not woo righteously (δικαίως μνᾶσθαι), nor go back to their own, but at their ease they waste our substance insolently', 14.90-1). In the bow contest, Antinous, the leading suitor, in a short speech full of dramatic irony and false modesty, claims that he remembers Odysseus (μνήμων εἰμί, 21.95).[18] Although Penelope finally decides to set up the bow contest, which would result in her marriage to one of the suitors, this prospect is hateful to her (19.571–2). She is incapable of fathoming her future in a new marriage: either in the poetic narrative or in her own words, there is no hint at an expectation of a new life. In fact the only future she is capable of visualising is a permanent daydream state of nostalgic remembrance of her life in Odysseus' house: 'I think I shall ever remember even in my dreams' (τοῦ ποτὲ **μεμνήσεσθαι** ὀίομαι ἔν περ ὀνείρῳ, 19.581; 21.79).

and reunion (*Od.* 23.205–87). Cf. *Od.* 7.215–21 for the poignant association of grief and memory in Odysseus' own words.

[17] Krell (1990) 298.

[18] For the subtle semantics of memory in the *Odyssey*, in the context of critical dialogue with Jacques Derrida's *Mémoires* (1989), see Krell (1990) 298; for the bow-contest scene, Fernández-Galiano ap. Russo, et. al. (1992) 156–7, and 132 on indications that Antinous' words (and lines 80–100) are by the hand of B; M. L. West (2014) 279: 'may be a secondary expansion'.

Memory is also central in another marriage and a private scene taking place in the *Iliad*, between Hector and Andromache (*Il.* 6.392–502), in which the future of their family and its position in collective memory are explored. Prompted by the painful memory of the loss of her paternal family in Thebe under Plake by Achilles (6.413–28), Andromache visualises Hector's death and the dark fate of hers and their son that is bound to follow (6.407–10). If Penelope is fixed on her past, Andromache is fixed on her grim future. After her encounter with Hector, she goes back to her home in the Trojan palace and together with her waiting-women does not return to the loom and the spindle, a domestic female occupation of everyday normality (as urged by Hector, 6.490–2). Instead she abandons herself to lament, a ritual of death and commemoration ('so in his own house they made lament for Hector, while yet he lived', 6.500).[19] This is a lament of displaced temporality, as it does not happen posthumously, but it anticipates the death of the person being mourned for. Andromache lives in future time, mourning Hector, coping with the pain of his loss, and preserving his memory—at personal and collective levels—before his death.

Hector too is fixed on the future ('projected "memory"').[20] Like Andromache, Hector visualises the fall of Troy and his wife's captivity (*Il.* 6.440–65), wishing his own death before he lives to see these events (6.448, 454–65). But Hector's personal and domestic grief (ἄλγος, 6.450, 462) interlocks with, and is subordinate to, his aspiration of shaping not only the memory of the Trojans but of the Achaeans as well (6.456–61), so of humanity at large (cultural memory in the strongest sense, in Assmann's categorisation).[21] He thinks in terms of 'so people will say in the future' (ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει, 6.462 and 7.91), typical of the epic hero's concern for memory (see 4.182 for the same phrase used by Agamemnon; cf. 4.176).[22] In his own visualisation of a painful future, which he shares with his wife, Andromache will still be known as the wife of Hector, the man who 'excelled in battle' (ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι, 6.460). Hector is driven by the famously archaic mixture of duty and shame, which also entails preserving and expanding his and his father's great glory (μέγα κλέος, 6.445–6), handing over the baton to the next generation: he prays to Zeus that the memory of his royal *oikos* will be perpetuated through his son (ἀγαθόν, 6.478), whose excellence Hector hopes will surpass his own (6.476–81).

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[19] On ritual lament, see M. Alexiou (2002).

[20] Minchin (2012) 93. 'Hector and Andromache are pretty twin souls', as Chris Pelling points out to me, to whom I also owe the comparative point about Andromache and Helen below.

[21] See Minchin's illuminating reading of the scene against Assmann's theoretical background on memory: Minchin (2012), esp. 91–4.

[22] Echoed in Hdt. 6.77, in the hexameters of an oracle engaged with a Sparta-related war, κῦδος (another fame-related word), and 'future generations' (ἐπεσσόμενοι ἄνθρωποι), with Hornblower–Pelling (2017) 195; for the Spartans' heroic characterisation, see below, §5.

One is tempted to probe more into gender aspects of memory, turning the focus to Helen for a moment, a woman whose engagement with memory is different from that of Andromache and Penelope, in the *Iliad* and beyond. Helen's first appearance in the poem takes place inside Priam's palace, where she weaves on a 'big web' (μέγαν ἱστόν, *Il.* 3.125) the struggles (ἀέθλους) of war, suffered by both Trojans and Achaeans 'for her sake' (3.128). Weaving is a typically female activity, as said already, but this woman's narrating through weaving men's deeds and suffering, of which furthermore she herself appears to be the cause, is far from typical. The absence of a reference to singing in these lines, which often accompanied domestic occupations such as weaving, has been viewed as another indication of the scene's distinctiveness.[23] 'Deeds of men' (κλέα ἀνδρῶν, *Il.* 9.185–9) and 'works of men and gods' (ἔργ᾽ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, *Od.* 1.338) are sung in the epic by the men themselves, including the poet, as the Muse(s)' medium (*Il.* 1.1, 2.484–93).

Helen's centrality ('for her sake') to the suffering caused by the very war she weaves on the cloth goes well beyond the standard intersection of the domestic and public spheres and a woman's role in it. Whether so much destruction and suffering were caused by Helen's own will and participation or came from somewhere outside is arguably the biggest question pertinent to causation and blame in Greek literature. The exploration of this open-ended question can be recognised also in the historians' complex and multivocal manner of exploring causes and responsibility.[24]

3. Memory and Historiography: Herodotus and Thucydides

Kleos and heroic memory are big interests that join poetry and historiography. As Pelling notes in the opening chapter of this volume, the historians are concerned with war and suffering, and this is probably why their material and outlook are so close to those of the *Iliad*, the archetypal narrative of suffering. The memory of the past and its preservation was a central aim for Herodotus and Thucydides. This aim emerges clearly in the proem of Herodotus' *Histories* (*praef.*):

Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά,

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[23] Nagy (1996b) 64–5 n. 23 on weaving words into fabric as a metaphor for singing and a 'substitution of content for form', in connection with Helen's weaving the Trojan War; ibid. n. 25, on Philomela as another woman associated with narrating her sad story through weaving (Ov. *Met.* 6.412–674).

[24] On Helen's lasting legacy in apportioning blame in Homer, Herodotus, Greek tragedy, and beyond, see up-to-date discussions in Pelling (2019).

τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ <δὴ καὶ> δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

This is the exposition of the enquiries made by Herodotus of Halicarnassus, in order that the accomplishments of men may not become extinct, nor the great and wonderful deeds of Greeks and barbarians lack renown, and especially the reason why they fought one another.[25]

Although the actual word 'memory' (*mnēm-*) does not appear in this programmatic statement, memory is presented as a twofold struggle against the forgetfulness which results from the passing of time: the first and more general aim of Herodotus' work is to prevent the fading and erasure of human events from memory; so memory as preservation. A second and more targeted aim is not mere preservation, but fame and immortality (*kleos*), applying to actions (or doings) of 'great' and 'admirable' ('remarkable') quality, among the totality of human events. Another parameter in the latter aim is that the celebration and immortalisation of remarkable human actions relate to collective entities on the map of human geography, consisting of two large groups: the Greeks and the Others ('barbarians'), both of whose actions deserve *kleos*. Herodotus' 'exposition of enquiry' (*historiēs apodexis*) therefore covers human events at universal scale, bestowing *kleos* on what the author finds remarkable among them. At the same time Herodotus' *apodexis* is a remarkable human doing itself, which secures the author's own *kleos*, by bestowing *kleos* on remarkable human doings (cf. in the same context *apodechthenta*—of the same root with *apodēxis*—used for remarkable 'barbarian' deeds). Finding out causes (αἰτίην) is vital to Herodotus' and all historians' claim to fame.[26]

The memory of the past, and its role in the collective consciousness of the Greeks, is central to Thucydides also. Unlike Herodotus, Thucydides does use the Greek word for 'memory' (*mnēm-*) in his methodological chapters (Thuc. 1.20–2). Although for a modern reader there is nothing remarkable in a methodological statement at the start of a book, at that early time of history writing, Thucydides' decision to explain how he worked was nothing

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[25] Trans. by D. Asheri, in Asheri–Lloyd–Corcella (2007) 7. Herodotus' ἐξίτηλα (1.1; also 5.39) is poetic. He is the earliest prose author to use the word, which is also found in Aeschylus and Euripides (*TLG* search). Later Dionysius of Halicarnassus uses the word in a memory context ('the man's memory did not become extinct' οὐ γέγονεν ἐξίτηλος ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ μνήμη, *AR* 8.62), probably under the influence of Herodotus (cf. *Pomp.* 3.3, where he praises Herodotus citing this phrase in his proem). For the 'inscriptional' and 'genealogical' dimensions of Herodotus' ἐξίτηλα, see Moles (1999), esp. 49–53.

[26] On Herodotus' proem and its interaction with poetry, see, e.g. Asheri *et.al.* (2007) 7–9; Bakker (2002). Nagy (1987) 183 draws an analogy with Ibycus' claim to fame, as a poet, through Polycrates' κλέος ἄφθιτον as subject of his poem (*PMG* 282.47–8). Cf. *aphthiton onoma* ('immortal name') in Theognis, below, pp. xxxv–vii.

less than revolutionary.[27] In a manner similar to that of Herodotus, Thucydides acknowledges that one of the challenges with which the historian is confronted is the forgetfulness resulting from the passing of time (χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα, 'forgotten by time', 1.20.3).[28] He also acknowledges the shortcomings of human memory (his own and that of others) when one tries to remember the speeches delivered: 'it was difficult to remember accurately the words uttered' (χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι, 1.22.1). Below the surface of this statement, one might be tempted to read the Homeric dead metaphor (ἔπεα πτερόεντα, 'winged words'; remember Nausicaa's 'winged words' to Odysseus (Hom. *Od*. 8.460), earlier in this chapter) and a reference to the elusive nature of utterances. But it is not only the accuracy of speeches that is difficult to pin down, Thucydides adds, but also that of 'the events that took place in the course of the war' (τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, 1.22.2). The challenge here was that the reports of the eye-witnesses for the same events differed 'depending on each one's loyalty or memory' (ὡς ἑκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι, 1.22.4); and, in the context of the plague, Thucydides returns to the adjustable and malleable nature of human memory in the light of the experiences of the present: 'Men shaped their memories according to their present suffering (οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο, 2.54.3).[29] Thucydides' presentation of Nicias' motives for sending a letter to the Athenians from Sicily, rather than an oral report delivered by a messenger, echoes very similar concerns, suggesting the superiority of the written word as a medium of memory and truth: 'Fearing that his message might be distorted by his emissaries, through incompetence at public speaking, failure of memory (μνήμης ἐλλιπεῖς), or adjustments to suit the mood of the masses (τῷ ὄχλῳ πρὸς χάριν τι λέγοντες), he wrote a letter' (7.8.2).[30]

Like Herodotus, Thucydides battles against forgetfulness. But unlike Herodotus, whose aim was to preserve human actions (ἔργα) of the (distant and more recent) past, Thucydides sharpens his focus onto the recent past and noteworthy events of it, at least for the most part of his work, using different criteria of historical selectivity. He sets as his aim to describe the 'greatest and most remarkable war of those that preceded it' (μέγαν τε [...] καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, 1.1 and 1.23.1), devoting textual space and energy to demonstrate the validity of his claim in a polemical

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[27] Marincola (2017a) on Thucydides' and other ancient historians' legacy on the theory of history-writing and their engagement with memory.

[28] ἀμνηστούμενα (< v. ἀμνηστεῖν) is a *hapax* in Thucydides and a rare word in general.

[29] Hornblower (*CT* I.327) rightly sees 'a touch of irony' here; a contemplative, even empathetic, sort of irony, it might be added, relating to Thucydides' wider concern for observing human nature in moments of crisis.

[30] Trans. M. Hammond (with minor modifications). Greenwood (2006) 76–82 for Nicias' letter as 'a fascinating commentary on the methodological chapter in Book 1' (81) and the letter's superior claim to truth and clarity, being a written medium.

manner. Immediately from the start Thucydides identifies the war as the type of noteworthy human actions and events in which he is interested. And being acutely aware of the limitations of human memory, he finishes his methodological chapters with his famous statement, reflecting his ambition:[31] 'I shall be content if it [= my history] is judged useful by those who will want to have a clear understanding of what happened—and, such is the human condition, will happen again at some time in the same or a similar pattern. It was composed as an everlasting possession, not a show-piece for a single hearing' (κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται, 1.22.4). So Thucydides' *History* was intended not only (or mainly) to record and preserve the events of the Peloponnesian War, but also to become a useful manual for identifying similarities and patterns in future time and for understanding human history. He introduces his work neither as a collection or compilation of remarkable events and actions nor as a rhetorical showpiece; rather he is submitting it to posterity as a cognitive tool of historical interpretation.[32] The very use of the aorist tense in the opening of his *History*, 'Thucydides the Athenian wrote' (Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε, Thuc. 1.1.1) suggests a reader in future time.[33] This is a grand vision and a very purposeful and ambitious engagement with the historio-graphic genre and its role in shaping the memory of the past.

4. Intertextuality and/as Memory of a Text

The memory of a text is its intertextuality.[34]

When literature is considered in the light of memory it appears as the mnemonic act par excellence. Literature is culture's memory […] 'Intertextuality' is the term conceived in literary scholarship to capture [the] interchange and contact, formal and semantic, between texts—literary and non-literary.[35]

Renate Lachmann's important work on literature as mnemonic act, a process by which a culture constantly rewrites and redefines itself, provides

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[31] For meta-history (i.e., statements on 'how to do history') in the ancient historians, see Grethlein and Krebs (2012).

[32] On the interaction between the particular/concrete and the general as a means of searching for causes and instructing, see Kallet (2006); for example, in the sections of the Great Plague in Athens (2.48.3) and the *stasis* at Corcyra (3.84.2), the description of the specifics provides opportunities for making more general points about human nature (ἀνθρωπεία φύσις) and its inferred inclinations (εἰωθυῖα) (3.84.2) in moments of crisis.

[33] Bakker (2002) 31 n. 68. At the same time his statement suggests that 'he sat down to record a set of events which were still in the future', *CT* I.5.

[34] Lachmann (1997) 15.

[35] Lachmann (2008) 301.

an appropriate theoretical space to situate intertextuality in this volume. The 'interchange and contact between texts' is pursued through both form and meaning; that is, it is not only similarity of language and form that is pursued in the intertextual observations in this volume, but also similarity of semantic potential and cultural experience. Such an approach to intertextuality 'construes intertextual bonds between literary and non-literary texts',[36] being particularly apt for the study of the affinities between the historians and the poets. For example, the worlds of Herodotus and Thucydides interact with that of Homer in important ways, with immortal fame (*kleos*) being central to the war narratives of all three authors. The word *kleos* itself is rooted in history and memory. Clio (Κλειώ), whose name is derived from *kleos*, was the daughter of Mnemosyne (Μνημοσύνη), the Memory goddess;[37] in a later period she was assigned history as her province. But the referential potential of *kleos* in both historians lies not in the actual presence of the word *kleos* in Herodotus and Thucydides, but in tropes and cultural parameters, which activate interrelations between the historians and Homer (and other poetic intermediaries, not least tragedy), and between the historians themselves, as texts that 'participate, repeat and constitute acts of memory'.[38]

The word *kleos* is not frequently used in either Herodotus or Thucydides. It appears only four times in Thucydides; never in the narrative of the war, but in passages engaging with an epic theme or in the heroic-panegyric rhetoric of the Funeral Oration.[39] Considering the obvious poetic overtones of the word and Thucydides' professed distance from the poets and the mythical quality of their stories (Thuc. 1.21.1), such a scarcity is probably not surprising. But in the most Homeric Herodotus one would have expected the word to crop up more frequently; the presence of the word ἀκλεᾶ in the opening statement of the *Histories* could encourage this expectation. Yet neither *kleos* nor its cognates appear frequently in Herodotus either. In addition to ἀκλεᾶ in the proem, there are only five further mentions, interestingly all in the context of Spartan history, illuminating Herodotus' use of the epic register as a means of heroic characterisation of the Spartans.[40] There is no doubt that each time Herodotus or Thucydides used

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[36] Lachmann (2008) 306.

[37] For Mnemosyne and the Muses, see Castagnoli–Ceccarelli (2019) 8–12 on the 'divine and transtemporal power of memory', and §5 below, on *mnēmosynon/a*.

[38] Lachmann (2008) 305.

[39] Thuc. 1.10.2 (κλέος, Lacedaemonian context); 1.25.4 (κλέος, Corcyraean-Phaeacian context); 2.44.4 εὐκλείᾳ (for the dead of the war), 2.45.2 (for women, through male focalisation). On panegyric rhetoric in relation to Isocrates's *Evagoras* see below, §6.

[40] κλέος in Herodotus (6 mentions): ἀκλεᾶ, 1.1; ἀκλεῶς, 5.77.1; κλέος, 7.220.2 and 220.4 (Thermopylae); κατὰ κλέος, 9.48.3; 9.78.2. Cf. Hornblower's (2013) comment on 5.77.1: 'a very strong word for that most unusual event, a Spartan military setback, though not an actual defeat'. Thermopylae is another Spartan military setback-turned-into-victory of panhellenic proportions, where again *kleos* is used to underscore its heroic characteristics

the word, they did it in full awareness of its cultural overtones and its effect on their audiences.

5. The Thermopylae Episode in Herodotus: Catalogues and 'Leaving Behind Words as Memorials' (ἔπεα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι)

The Thermopylae narrative in Herodotus is a section with acknowledged Homeric influences.[41] The battle of Thermopylae was one of the 'Great battles', which became a defining moment for the collective memory of the Greeks and other nations, a milestone in world military history, and a symbol of physical and moral courage.[42] Soon after it took place (480 BC) it acquired the dimensions of myth through its commemoration in various sources. Simonides of Keos (6th/5th century BC) had written a lyric poem of which only a fragment survives (*PMG* 531, cited in D.S. 11.11.6), and it is no accident that Herodotus' narrative of the battle is intensely engaged with epic tropes, the archetypal genre of heroism, and especially Homer. In Herodotus' account of the battle, Simonides appears as the poet of the funerary epigram commemorating the death of the seer Megistias, one of the three epitaphs in total cited by Herodotus (7.228.4).[43]

Genealogy is one of the epic tropes with which Herodotus engages in this episode.[44] In the preliminaries to the battle we are provided with the genealogy of the king of Sparta, Leonidas, a descendant of Heracles and Zeus, and a short note about the circumstances in which Leonidas became king after Cleomenes' death (7.204–5).[45] It is in the Thermopylae narrative that two of the six mentions of the word *kleos* in the whole of Herodotus appear, before and after the hexameter oracle foreseeing Leonidas's death (7.220.2

and symbolism. On the relative scarcity of the word *kleos* in Herodotus, more recently Darbo-Peschanski (2019) 164–5.

[41] Boedeker (2003); Pelling (2006); Foster (2012); de Jong (2015); Carey (2016); Marincola (2017b); Vannicelli (2017); Pelling (2019) 203–4: 'The most Homeric battle of all is Thermopylae'.

[42] Cartledge (2006); Carey (2019).

[43] The fourth-century historian Ephorus too was occupied with the battle; he must have been the source of the later Diodorus (1st c. BC).

[44] Thomas (1989), on the oral and written contexts of lists of names and genealogies, as frameworks of memory; Fowler (1998) on Greek genealogical thinking, alerting against sharp divisions between oral and written modes of cognition. Lists of names (priests and officials) are attested as early as the sixth century, often being compilations of earlier lists: Thomas (1992) 66 with n. 52 on early lists of names from Laconia (second half of 6th c. BC), perhaps lists of victors. For lists and catalogues as repositories of memory and their performative potential, see Minchin (2001). On 'memory and archives', see Castagnoli–Ceccarelli (2019) 13–17.

[45] For a Homeric analogy, whereby the divine descent of the heroes killed in battle magnifies their honour, see the genealogy of the two sons of Diocles, descendants of the river-god Alpheios, killed by Aeneas (*Il.* 5.541–9).

and 220.4), reinforcing the poetic-heroic tenor of the episode. The lion-theme makes its appearance in the oracle referring to the Persian attack, which 'neither the might of bulls nor yet that of lions will check' (7.220), evoking the Homeric epic, where the lion simile is used for the prowess of the fighting heroes, often in combat (e.g., *Il.* 5.136–43, 476, 554–60, 12.298–308). Leonidas' own name and the stone-lion monument that was erected to commemorate Leonidas' illustrious death at the battle are two further evocations of the lion theme (Hdt. 7.225.2). The oracle itself is more likely to have been fabricated after the event, as part of the Spartans' recasting their defeat into a victory, shaping panhellenic memory and their own 'predestined' and special role in it.[46] By securing the immortality of the Spartan 'great deed' at Thermopylae, Herodotus secured the memory of his own work too. Let us look more closely at his authorial strategies of memory, concentrating on two instances.

The first instance is the non-naming of the Three Hundred Spartans who fought and fell at Thermopylae on the side of their leader Leonidas, which the historical narrator presents as deliberate, since he emphatically claims that he had been able to retrieve all the names: 'distinguished Spartans, whose names I was told as men of valour, and I was told the names of all the Three Hundred' (ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων ἐπυθόμην τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων, Hdt. 7.224). Whether Herodotus had or had not been able to retrieve all the names of the Three Hundred is an insoluble problem, touching on key questions, such as naming and non-naming practices, access to oral and written sources, and the role of catalogues and genealogies in his work. If we assume that he had retrieved all or some of the names, he must have done so through oral enquiry (ἐπυθόμην bears 'oral' overtones, but does not exclude other types of enquiry), or through consultation of written sources (e.g., an inscription on the Spartan acropolis or other record), or more likely through a combination of both.[47] An attractive suggestion is that Herodotus' statement could have been the trace of a missing catalogue of the fallen, which existed in a previous version of his text, intended for performance in Sparta or other Doric cities in the Peloponnese and Magna Graecia.[48]

However, as has been pointed out, 'anonymity can be as effective a strategy as naming',[49] and, independently of whether Herodotus had the names or not, what is of interest for our discussion is authorial agency and

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[46] Cf. Carey (2019) 140–1.

[47] Paradiso (2011) for a good discussion of possibilities; more recently Vannicelli (2018). Herodotus' claim is discussed in the light of Pausanias' later statement (3.14.1) that he had seen a *stēlē* in Sparta with the names of those who fought at Thermopylae inscribed on it. As has been persuasively argued (Low (2011) 6), the monument Pausanias saw in the Roman period most probably did not contain the original list of names.

[48] Ball (1976).

[49] Hornblower (2013) 30.

the way it is being proclaimed. In the narrative of the battle of Salamis a similar assertion is being made: 'I could **list** the names of many Ionian trierarchs (ἔχω … *καταλέξαι*) who captured Greek ships, but I will restrict myself to mentioning only two Samians', accompanied by a justification of this decision (Hdt. 8.85.2–3). Herodotus' more general habit to state omission of information has been noticed; catalogues of names of warriors and military forces are prominent examples (e.g., 7.96).[50] Catalogues of forces in the *Histories* point to the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* in the *Iliad* in an obvious and specific manner, but catalogues in Herodotus more generally should be considered in the context of his selective interaction with the epic. For example, Leonidas' genealogy is a small-scale catalogue, which reinforces the heroic-epic tenor of the Thermopylae episode. Yet it might be argued that a much longer catalogue of three hundred personal names and patronymics would have interrupted the historical narration substantially, by interposing a characteristically poetic-mythical means of narration in an obvious and overwhelming manner, which would have had important consequences for Herodotus' work. Whilst being a powerful mnemonic act of performative-poetic potential, such a long list of names would have blurred the boundaries between poetry and prose far too much, dimming the distinctiveness of Herodotus' historical narrative.

As in the Salamis passage (Hdt. 7.96.1), in the Thermopylae episode too it is as if the historical narrator says: 'I could have cited these names had I chosen to, but I did not'. Knowing the names and not sharing them might appear mean-spirited, even 'malicious' (if we are to think of Plutarch and his attack against Herodotus on grounds of what he called 'maliciousness', *κακοήθεια*). But it is certain that this act secures the audience's involvement in historical enquiry and the investigation of a series of questions, which are bound to emerge in perpetuity: What were the names of the fallen Three Hundred? Did the historian really have access to all, some, or none of those names? If he did, why might he have held these names back? Ancient audiences, especially in Sparta and the Dorian world, would have been tempted—and freer—to produce their own lists of the fallen, using resources of memory within their grasp (stories of private, family, or epichoric nature, or local written records; communicative or social memory, in Assmann's categorisation).[51] Modern audiences have different resources at their disposal to investigate questions of ancient prosopography and identities, such as databases of digitised ancient sources and software, where different levels of memory interlock in sophisticated ways. But in all cases questions about this authorial choice remain open.

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[50] Lateiner (1989) 74–5; Darbo-Peschanski (2019) 166 on Hdt. 8.85.2–3, as departure from epic memory and *kleos*.

[51] Cf. Hdt. 7.197 on Herodotus' access to, and selection of, local history (ἐπιχώριον λόγον). On local memories, memorials, and histories see Thomas (2019).

The authorial twofold claim of knowing the names of the Three Hundred and not stating them unites these individual heroic deaths into a single heroic act of collective distinction and courage, which, together with the few named individuals in the episode, above all their illustrious leader, Leonidas, creates a *lieu de mémoire*, a distinct textual space of everlasting significance in the cultural memory of not only the Spartans but also the Greeks as a whole. At the same time Herodotus' deliberate anonymisation of the Three Hundred is a process of monumentalisation of his own work too, aiming to create a place for itself along with other cultural means and institutions of commemoration: statues and epitaphs, such as those mentioned by Herodotus, and works of literature before him, such as Simonides' poem.

The second instance is another case of monumentalisation and concerns the short anecdotal story of Dieneces, one of the Three Hundred. Amidst the anonymisation of the Three Hundred Spartans, Dieneces, by being one of the few Spartans to be named in the episode, is automatically placed in a conspicuous position. The anecdote is a piece of oral tradition (ἔπος, 7.226.1; φασί, 7.226.1, 226.2), which Herodotus selects among other stories about the battle and includes in his panhellenic narrative, saving it for posterity. According to this story, before the battle Dieneces was alerted by a non-Lacedaemonian (a man of Trachis) to the vast superiority of the Persian numbers in comparison with those of the Greeks at Thermopylae: if the Persians were to shoot their arrows all together, they could hide the sun. Dismissive of the Persian foe, Dieneces is said to have replied that if the Persians could hide the sun, so much the better, since the battle could take place in the shade (7.226). A story-telling statement by the historical narrator to his audience concludes the vignette: 'Such and similar words, it is said, that the Lacedaemonian Dieneces left behind as memorials' (ταῦτα … καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτοτρόπα ἔπεά φασι Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα, 7.226.2).

The use of the word *mnēmosynon* in this episode has not escaped attention, in relation to the use of *ergon* in the *Histories* (appearing already in the proem ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, *praef.*), written and oral media of posthumous commemoration, and Herodotus' Homeric intertextuality in the handling of individual and collective *kleos*.[52] But the point must be pressed further, as it is remarkable that the structure μνημόσυνον/α (κατα)λείπεσθαι ('leaving behind as memorial/s') is found nowhere else in the whole corpus of our sources until Late Antiquity, except for Herodotus, where it crops up several times.[53] The semantics of the phrase itself and even more so its uniqueness

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[52] Immerwahr (1960); Steiner (1994) 140–1; Pelling (2019) 203–4. Bakker (2002) 26–7: 'The desire to leave *mnēmosuna* is mirrored and answered by Herodotus' wish to record them as *erga megala apodekhthenta*'.

[53] Passages retrieved from *TLG* search. I have used square brackets for either the passages where the verb (κατα)λείπομαι is *not* used or for 2.135.3, where the semantically similar μνημήιον features in the same structure: 1.185.1: μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο; 186.1: μνημόσυνον …

in our sources throw into relief the agency of the character of Dieneces and of the historical narrator in shaping collective memory.

Mnēmosynon in Herodotus is used more frequently for memorials of significant technological achievements and monumental architecture or sculpture. Such is the case of the painting and inscriptions which the Greek architect Mandrocles commissioned to commemorate his bridging of the Bosporus for the Persian king Darius and had them dedicated to the Heraion in his native island of Samos (Hdt. 4.88.2, *bis*); one of the rare instances where the word stands alone, unaccompanied by (κατα)λείπεσθαι. Another example is the major technological innovations and construction works of the Egyptian queen Nitocris. This is the first time the phrase μνημόσυνον/α (κατα)λείπομαι appears in Herodotus, in a statement which also poses the question of memory in relation to the materiality/immateriality of historical discourse: 'she left memorials which I will narrate' (μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, 1.185.1).

But there are also a few cases in which the word μνημόσυνον is used for immaterial things or concepts. On the eve of the battle of Plataea, one of the Persians banqueters at the banquet taking place in Thebes (speaking in Greek (Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν), as Herodotus notes) predicts the Persian disaster, wishing to leave his thoughts as memorials (μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, Hdt. 9.16.2). Again, on the eve of the battle of Marathon, another major event in the collective memory of the Greeks, the idea of 'leaving behind as memorial' one's own correct decision-making and immortal association with the freedom of Athens becomes part of the Miltiades' rhetorical persuasion of the polemarch Callimachus to cast the correct vote, which would determine the fate of his city. Adding symbolic capital to strategic considerations, Miltiades brings the immortal memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton into his argument (6.109.3):

> The future of Athens lies in your hands now, Callimachus. You can either cast us down into slavery or win us our freedom—and thereby ensure that you will be remembered as long as there are people alive on this earth (μνημόσυνον λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον), with a higher reputation even than Harmodius and Aristogeiton.[54]

ἐλίπετο; [2.101.2]; 2.110.1: μνημόσυνα … ἐλίπετο; 2.121.1: μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο; [2.135.3 μνημήιον … καταλιπέσθαι]; 2.136.3: μνημόσυνον … λιπέσθαι; 2.148.1: μνημόσυνα … λιπέσθαι; 4.81.6: μνημόσυνον … λιπέσθαι; [4.88.2, *bis*]; 4.166.1: μνημόσυνον … λιπέσθαι; 6.109.3: μνημόσυνον λιπέσθαι; 7.24: μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι; 7.227: λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα; 9.16.2: μνημόσυνα … καταλιπέσθαι.

[54] Trans. R. Waterfield. Hornblower–Pelling (2017) 247: 'just as there will be material "memorials" dotted around the plain of Marathon and as Kallimachos will have his own monument on the Acropolis […] Hdt.'s work will play its own part in such memorialising […]. The middle λιπέσθαι emphasises "leaving *for yourself*"'.

It can be suggested that the role of the word *mnēmosynon* in the *Histories* is revelatory of memory's centrality to ethnicity: Dieneces' anecdote, the Persian symposiast's words spoken in Greek, and Miltiades' rhetoric are immaterial entities, related to the Greek struggles for freedom and self-determination. Among the memorable deeds of human history, Herodotus' selectivity juxtaposes the technological achievements and architectural sites of monumental scale associated with non-Greeks with the Greeks' imma-terial achievements. The Greeks' monuments are memorable words and deeds, which are to be preserved and memorialised in his own historical narrative. It is the dissemination of the historical work through the cultural technology of writing and performance that will transform Dieneces' *epea* (in the phrase ἔπεα … λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα) from 'winged words' into a monument of panhellenic history, inscribing them into the collective memory and identity of the Greeks.[55] In this context the episode arguably functions as a sort of historiographic *sphragis* ('seal') of the author's ambition to deliver his work as a lasting memorial of history writing,[56] all the more so in an episode with strong epic tenor.

Like the word κλέος, the word ἔπος itself (repeated twice, framing the Dieneces vignette: Hdt. 7.226 and 227) is in obvious dialogue with Homer. In terms of speech-act patterning, the position of the story in the narrative before 'joining battle with the Mede' (7.226) bears resemblance to bravura utterances in the *Iliad* (boast speeches, in Martin's typology), by which the Homeric heroes, just like Dieneces, challenge the enemy and boost morale before entering battle.[57] Hector's threatening speech-act reported by Agamemnon (just as Dieneces' speech is reported by the historical narrator) is a case in point: 'I fear that mighty Hector may really make good his word (ἔπος) and the threats with which once he menaced us as he spoke among the Trojans, that he would not return to Ilios from the ships till he had burned the ships with fire and slain the men as well' (*Il.* 14.44–7). We first hear of the same threat from Hector himself in his exhortation to the Trojans, in which memory plays a key role: 'be men, my friends, and take thought of furious valour (**μνήσασθε** δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς) […] but whenever it is that I come close to the hollow ships, then see that consuming fire be not

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[55] In the whole of the *TLG* corpus this is the only time that the combination of the words ἔπος and μνημόσυνον appears. On μνημόσυνον and (κατα)λείπομαι, see above n. 53.

[56] Bakker (2002) 30–1: 'Herodotus' first words thus become an implicit version of the *sphragis* of the corpus of Theognidean elegy'. On Theognis, see below, pp. xxxv–vii.

[57] Such threats (*apeilai*) are typical speech-acts of heroic discourse in the *Iliad*, discussed along with other categories of speeches in Martin (1989). Perhaps Martin's schema draws too rigid a distinction between *epos* and *mythos*, taking *mythos* to denote an authoritative speech-act and *epos* to designate any utterance in the *Iliad* (p. 46), both terms describing speech-acts (cf. Griffin (1991), for reservations).

forgotten (**μνημοσύνη τις ἔπειτα πυρὸς δηΐοιο γενέσθω**)'(*Il.* 8.174 and 181).[58] The word *mnēmosyne* appears in the *Iliad* only in this passage (*Il.* 8.181), as a common noun.[59] This is a poetic example which illustrates further the special connection between memory (*mnēm-*) and the act of narration, suggested above. Suffice it to remember the Homeric narrator's repeated invocations of the Muses, daughters of Mnemosyne, as (re)sources of memory and inspiration, and guarantors of every bard's everlasting glory (*kleos*).[60]

Both Hector's and Dieneces' utterances precede illustrious heroic action in battle which follows immediately afterwards (cf. Hdt. 7.226.1, 'It is said that before he joined battle with the Medes [Dieneces] said these words'): '"word" and "deed" becomes a merismus, expressing an ideal totality by reference to the extremes which shape it'.[61] The Iliadic 'speaker of words and doer of deeds' (*μύθων τε ῥητῆρ᾽ ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων*, *Il.* 9.443) fits Dieneces' heroic character, as he is one of the Three Hundred Spartans who fell on the battlefield, remaining steadfast in the commands they had received. The epitaph commemorating their death celebrates consistency between word and deed too: 'Stranger, tell the people of Lacedaemon | that we who lie here obeyed their commands' (*ῥήμασι*, Hdt. 7.228.2). This was one of the three funerary epigrams inscribed on *stēlai* erected sometime after the events to commemorate the dead at Thermopylae, together with architectural structures and physical forms, such as Leonidas' lion statue (still

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[58] For the Homeric *μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς* as a call to action, see Castagnoli–Ceccarelli (2019) 4 ('prospective memory'). Dodds' discussion of the verb *οἶδα* ('know') and *νόος* ('mind' or 'heart') explores the relationship between action, cognition, and ethics, 'explaining character or behaviour in terms of knowledge' (Dodds (1951) 16): e.g., *Il.* 24.41: *λέων δ᾽ ὣς ἄγρια οἶδεν* 'knows wild things like a lion' (cf. *Il.* 16.72–3: *εἴ μοι … ἤπια εἰδείη* 'if he had a kindly mind (or: *understanding*) towards me'); *Il.* 16.35: *νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής* 'a merciless *understanding*'. The knowledge-based approach to character and action prompts an analogy with Hector's *μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς* as cognitive-based action, informed by memory and heroic ethics.

[59] The word also appears in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* as the mother of the Muses (line 429); see also above, p. xxi; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 54. But 'remembering' as a verb (*μιμνήσκω/ομαι*) is very frequent in Homer: see Martin (1989) 78ff. on its semantics in the *Iliad*, especially in speeches, with reference to the work of J.-P. Vernant and M. Detienne, on 'the interactions among Greek notions of memory, persuasion, truth and time' (78 n. 55).

[60] Nagy (1996a) 126: '*mnē–* […] means not just "remember" but something like "narrate from memory"', connecting it with mythical thought, as an 'essence of being […] beyond sensible reality' and a truth which is mastered by the poet. 'Mnemosyne' has had huge transferrable potential and resonance in later periods, like the Trojan myth and the Homeric text itself. We may recall Aby Warburg's (1866–1929) *Mnemosyne Atlas*, a work of iconographic memory, meant to represent art as a mnemonic record of complex 'exchanges' and 'migrations'. On Warburg's importance for social memory, see Gombrich (1970) (referring to Warburg as 'a theorist of social memory'), in Olick, et al. (2011) 104–9.

[61] Martin (1989) 27. Definition of 'merismus' in *OED*: a form of synecdoche in which two (or, in early use, sometimes more) contrasting or complementary parts are made to represent the whole.

standing in place in Herodotus' time: 7.225.2). As in his narration of the 'memorials' (μνημόσυνα) that the Egyptian queen Nitocris had left behind (see above, p. xxvi), in the Thermopylae episode Herodotus inscribed words, deeds, and monuments into cultural memory. The materiality of his written account—the materialisation of his own aim to 'leave behind words as memorials' (ἔπεα λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα)—proved more resilient than the materiality of inscribed monuments.[62]

6. Memory and Praise: Isocrates' *Evagoras*

The superiority of speeches in relation to other media of commemoration is an overarching idea in Isocrates' *Evagoras*, a prose encomium (speech of praise) that belongs to the genre of panegyric (epideictic) oratory. In the speech Isocrates claims to have been a pioneer of prose praise (9.8), and indeed *Evagoras* is the earliest prose encomium surviving in our sources, though not the earliest one known to us (Arist. *Rhet.* 1368a17). The speech was written and delivered soon after the death of Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus, in 374 BC, as part of the memorial event-festival organised in honour of the dead king by his son Nicocles, who succeeded him to the throne.[63] Let us take a closer look at the opening paragraphs (9.1–4):[64]

[1] ὁρῶν, ὦ Νικόκλεις, τιμῶντά σε τὸν τάφον τοῦ πατρὸς οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῶν ἐπιφερομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ καὶ γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἵππων τε καὶ τριήρων ἁμίλλαις, καὶ λείποντ' οὐδεμίαν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπερβολήν, [2] ἡγησάμην Εὐαγόραν, εἴ τίς ἐστιν αἴσθησις τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων, **εὐμενῶς μὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι** καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ **χαίρειν** ὁρῶντα τήν τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν σὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, **πολὺ δ' ἂν ἔτι πλείω** χάριν ἔχειν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, εἴ τις δυνηθείη **περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἀξίως διελθεῖν τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων·** [3] εὑρήσομεν γὰρ τοὺς φιλοτίμους καὶ μεγαλοψύχους τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ μόνον ἀντὶ τῶν τοιούτων **ἐπαινεῖσθαι** βουλομένους, ἀλλ' **ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀποθνῄσκειν εὐκλεῶς αἱρουμένους**, καὶ μᾶλλον **περὶ τῆς δόξης** ἢ τοῦ βίου σπουδάζοντας, καὶ

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[62] On the materiality of texts, see Petrovic–Petrovic–Thomas (2018); S. West (1985) on Herodotus' use of inscriptions.

[63] Atack (2020) 123 situates this and the other two related Cypriot orations of Isocrates (*Nicocles* and *Ad Nicoclem*) in the context of the Greek discourse of monarchy, also identifying intellectual and generic interactions. On the speech, see E. Alexiou (2015), with further bibliography; id. (2010); Too ap. Mirhady–Too (2000) 139–40; Gera (1993) 7; Race (1987), on Isocrates' debt to Pindar. On 'tools' of memorialisation and heroization in the fourth century BC, see Ferrario (2014).

[64] For the translation of the *Evagoras*, I have used Too ap. Mirhady–Too (2000) and Van Hook (1945).

πάντα ποιοῦντας, ὅπως ἀθάνατον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην καταλείψουσιν. [4] αἱ μὲν οὖν δαπάναι τῶν μὲν τοιούτων οὐδὲν ἐξεργάζονται, τοῦ δὲ πλούτου σημεῖόν εἰσιν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀγωνίας ὄντες, οἱ μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς αὑτῶν, οἱ δὲ τὰς τέχνας ἐπιδειξάμενοι, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐντιμοτέρους κατέστησαν· ὁ δὲ λόγος εἰ καλῶς διέλθοι τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις, ἀείμνηστον ἂν τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσειεν.

[1] Nicocles, as I saw you honour your father's tomb not only with a multitude of beautiful gifts, dances, songs, and gymnastic contests, and in addition, with competitions involving horses and triremes, leaving no room for anyone to outdo you in these matters, [2] I thought that, if the dead know anything about what occurs here, Evagoras **gladly receives** these tributes and **rejoices** in seeing your concern for him and your lavish expenditure, **but he would be thankful above all else** if someone could give **a deserving account of his activities and of the dangers he undertook**. [3] We shall discover that ambitious and noble men not only wish to be praised for such things but that **they prefer to die gloriously rather than to live**, that they are concerned about honour rather than livelihood, and that they do everything possible to leave behind an **immortal memory** of themselves. [4] Expenditures produce none of these things but are (merely) a sign of wealth. Those who participate in music and other contests—some demonstrating their powers, others their skills—gain more recognition for themselves. **But a fine speech that recounts Evagoras' deeds would make his excellence ever-remembered among all men**.

The proem is structured as a double *priamel* (1–2 and 3–4), a rhetorical figure where one element is extolled by comparison to others, through a paratactic order (A, B, C are good, but D is even better/the best; Pind. *Ol.* 1.1–7 is a poetic example). The commemorative event comprised athletics, choral and musical performances, chariot-races, naval competitions involving triremes, religious rituals with offerings, organised with care to the utmost degree, and all the indicia of royal magnificence. But what is presented as a superior and novel medium of memorialisation is a speech praising the achievements, thoughts, and character of Evagoras ('but […] a deserving account', 2; and 'but a fine speech', 4). The postulated emotions (pleasure and gratitude) of the dead king as a result of the honours bestowed on him by his living son relate to a wider theme in ancient Greek literature, namely, the communication of the world of the dead with the world of the living, a sense that 'the ancestors are watching'.[65] The speech is singled out as the best

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[65] For the glory bestowed to dead ancestors through the illustrious deeds of the living, see Alcibiades' speech in Thuc. 6.16.1 (in relation to his Olympic victories; cf. Archidamus

means by which the deeds and career of the dead king can be immortalised (ἀείμνηστον τὴν ἀρετήν, 9.4; cf. 40, 74), through the artistry of the orator, thus providing the dead with the greatest pleasure.

In the proem of the *Evagoras*, men of ambition and nobility are identified as key recipients of this lesson of statesmanship and morality. Among these men are also Evagoras' son, Nicocles, and Nicocles' own sons, who are urged to study and imitate the virtues of Evagoras and follow his example (Isoc. 9.35, 76–7)—that of a king who had 'preferred to die gloriously (ἀποθνῄσκειν εὐκλεῶς) rather than to live' (9.3).[66] A similar desire is expressed by Hector in his prayer to Zeus, when Hector wishes that his son continue his father's royal dynasty among the Trojans, surpassing him in excellence (*Il.* 6.476–81). And in the Thermopylae episode a glorious-death event is the ground for praising Leonidas and the Three Hundred. A glorious death is the ticket to posthumous fame and praise, and such an exit from life would have befitted Evagoras' life and career. Yet as we know from Diodorus (15.47.8), Evagoras' death was anything but noble or heroic, as he was killed by a eunuch who had organised a plot against the king, and for this reason we get no mention of the king's death in the speech, as we would have expected ('eulogistic obscurity').[67]

The hybrid quality of the *Evagoras*, combining the epideictic-funerary and the didactic dimensions, are reminiscent of earlier rhetorical experiments, such as Thucydides' Funeral Oration. That speech is a eulogy of the anonymous Athenian soldiers who died in the first year of the Peloponnesian War (431–430 BC), and, like Isocrates' rhetorical experiment, it too innovates in that it is not so much a eulogy of the fallen, as of the Athenian democratic constitution and way of life. In that speech the word *kleos* makes two of its four appearances in the whole of Thucydides (see above), and words related to memory (*mnēm*-) abound, as for example in the phrase ('glory eternally remembered' δόξα … ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται, Thuc. 2.43.2). In the Funeral Oration and other speeches put in the mouth of Pericles (cf. 'posterity will remember' (μνήμη καταλελείψεται), 2.64.3), memory is part of a nationalistic discourse, aiming to boost morale and create a sense of superiority and distinctiveness of the Athenians vis-à-vis the Spartans, the main enemy in a destructive war among the Greeks.[68]

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in Thuc. 2.11.9), with Hornblower's note (*CT* III.342) on Thuc. 6.16.1, about 'messages to the underworld' and poetic analogies (e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 14.20–5; *Ol.* 8.77–84; *Pyth.* 5.98–103).

[66] Marincola (2014), on the historical function and value of *exempla* in Isocrates. To what extent Nicocles was indeed a virtuous and just ruler as described in Isocrates' encomium is unknown. External sources point to the rather default portrait-stereotype of the oriental despot with a taste for excess and debauchery (e.g., Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 114; see Maier (1994) 328).

[67] E. Alexiou (2010) 47–8; Cannavò (2015) 235–6.

[68] For a comparison between Thucydides' Funeral Oration and Isocrates' *Evagoras* concerning the combination of lament and consolation, see E. Alexiou (2010) 31.

If democracy provided the ideological and constitutional framework for the Athenians' collective elitism and politics of hegemony, in fourth-century BC Cyprus, it was Evagoras' enlightened kingship, according to Isocrates' speech, that provided the constitutional and ideological framework of the promotion of Hellenic identity and 'freedom from barbarism', as unifying factors for the mixed ethnic and cultural environment of the island (consisting of Persian, Phoenician, and indigenous-Eteocypriot elements). Evagoras was a successful local ruler (often called a 'tyrant' in the speech, E.g. Isoc. 9.32, 34) with claims of Greek nobility rooted in myth, who managed to install himself to the kingdom of Salamis and in a short period of time present the Persian king with the threat of a unified Cyprus under his rule.[69] The figure of the wise king is an overarching theme in Greek literature from Homer onwards, and in the *Evagoras* kingship is called 'the greatest, noblest, and most intensely coveted of divine and mortal goods' (9.40). The orator's claim that 'this man possessed it in the finest way' is also a way of returning to the theme of the 'fine speech' of the proem: 'which poet or inventor of speeches could find praise worthy of his actions?' (τὸν δὴ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὄντων κάλλιστα κτησάμενον τίς ἂν ἢ ποιητὴς ἢ λόγων εὑρετὴς ἀξίως τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαινέσειεν;, 9.40; see also Isoc. *To Philip* 5.144 for the same pairing of poets with inventors of speeches).

As an inventor of speeches, while being occupied with praise just like the poets, in fact taking the baton from them, Isocrates proclaimed his distance from them (E.g. 'such devices do not exist for prose writers', 9.10), who in the same passage are referred to as 'attracting and guiding the souls of their listeners' (ψυχαγωγοῦσι τοὺς ἀκούοντας). Proclaiming distance from the poets, while at the same time doing the same as them, is a wider strategy of prose genres, employed by the Greek historians too. Typical examples are Thucydides and Polybius, who, often in programmatic passages, underscore the didactic value of their works, in practical and moral terms, presenting them as historical lessons, meant to be juxtaposed to the emotionality and pleasure of poetic genres.[70] But like the historians, Isocrates too has affinities with the themes and tropes of poetry, and especially the epinician.

Myth and its comparative potential are important mechanisms of two co-ordinated functions: praise and historical interpretation; the *Evagoras* is no exception. The mythicisation of historical events and personalities, such as Cyrus the Great and Evagoras himself (9.37–9) is a feature shared with

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[69] It is notoriously difficult to identify the meaning of τύραννος and τυραννίς in Greek political vocabulary. Evagoras' noble genealogy bears overtones of divine legitimation to power typical of kings (cf. τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀπὸ Διός, Isoc. 9.81). Cf. D.S. 14.98, using ἐβασίλευσε for Evagoras' accession to the kingdom of Salamis first and then to the rest of Cyprus. Atack (2020) 132 draws a comparison with the mythical king of Athens Theseus, noting that tyrant might be a more accurate classification. For the history of Cyprus in the years of Evagoras' reign, see Maier (1994) 312–16.

[70] Marincola (2014), on Isocrates' relationship to rhetoric and historiography.

poetry.[71] The presentation of Evagoras' achievements is poised between the danger of appearing to exaggerate (μείζω λέγων (48); cf. the reference to *hyperbolē* in the proem, 9.1) and the need for proof, according to the conventions of rhetoric (μέγιστον τεκμήριον, 51). In Cyprus' turbulent history in the fourth century BC and its complicated geopolitics, the presentation of Evagoras' effective leadership, and his military successes against the Great King, border on the realm of myth: 'The most marvellous thing of all is that the city, which Evagoras had taken from another despot with fifty men, could not be defeated by the Great King who had so much power' (9.64). The orator wonders: 'Which of the heroes will be found to have accomplished such deeds if we take away the myths (μύθους) and examine the truth (ἀλήθειαν)?' (9.66). Evagoras and his greatness are taken to have been responsible for the 'everlasting fame of the Cypriot war', as Evagoras' efforts to unify the island under his rule are named, adding grandeur (ἀείμνηστον γεγενῆσθαι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν περὶ Κύπρον, 9.67): this is the second (and last) time the word ἀείμνηστος appears in the *Evagoras* after the proem (see above).

The process of mythicisation of the Greek struggles for freedom and self-determination against the Persian Empire is a distinctive feature of the literary and visual narratives of the Greeks, immediately after their victory at Plataea marking the end of the wars (479 BC), which shaped the Greeks' collective memory and sense of identity. Within just a hundred years, that is, about the time when *Evagoras* was delivered, the heroic status and fame (*kleos*) of figures who played a leading role in battles against the Persians were hardly distinguishable from that of the Homeric Achilles.[72] In the *Evagoras*, Achilles is not just part of the 'default' comparative background of mythical heroes, typical of contexts of praise, but he is a kinsman of Evagoras and his royal house, who claimed descent from Teucer, mythical oikist of Salamis in Cyprus, named after Salamis off the shores of Attica. According to myth, Teucer was brother of the Greater Ajax, son of Telamon, brother of Peleus, Achilles' father (9.12–19).

At the end of the *Evagoras* (73–5), the orator returns to the 'skilfully produced speeches' and the overarching idea, launched in the proem, that speeches are superior media of memory, juxtaposing statues and speeches/words: 'while effigies of the body are fine memorials (μνημεῖα), yet likenesses of deeds (πράξεων) and of the character (διανοίας) are of far greater value, and these are to be observed only in discourses composed according

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[71] On the interaction of myth and history in Evagoras' praise, see Atack (2020) 132–4. Evagoras is deemed to have been the most noble, splendid, and pious of all mortals, demi-gods, and gods, who have ever held royalty (Isoc. 9.39). The tripartite division of all beings into mortals, demi-gods (or heroes), and gods is typical of both prose and poetic contexts of praise: e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 2.2: τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν; Antiph. 1.27: οὔτε θεοὺς οὔθ' ἥρωας οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους, with E. Alexiou (2010) 123.

[72] On the ideological and cultural impact of the Persian Wars from the fifth century BC onwards, see Bridges–Hall–Rhodes (2007).

to the rules of art' (ἐν τοῖς λόγοις … τοῖς τεχνικῶς ἔχουσι) (73–4). Then we are presented with the reasons for which speeches are to be preferred to statues. The first reason is that 'honourable men (καλοὶ κἀγαθοί) pride themselves not so much on bodily beauty as they desire to be honoured for their deeds (ἔργοις) and their wisdom (γνώμῃ)' (74). The second reason relates to the speeches' ability to travel far and wide (ἐξενεχθῆναι) in Greece (εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα) and be disseminated (διαδοθέντας) in gatherings of men of good sense (ἐν ταῖς τῶν φρονούντων διατριβαῖς);[73] the mobility of word (oral and written) points to the didactic dimension of prose praise and the elite environment of the symposium, where such speeches were circulated and performed, further anchoring the speech and its subject of praise, a Cypriot dynast, into the cultural and institutional framework of Greece.[74] A further advantage of the speeches is that they afford the possibility of imitation of the character and thoughts of those who are represented in them, whereas no one is able to make their own body resemble a statue or a painting. Imitation is another aspect reminiscent of the performative potential of speeches, and, through it, their ability to instruct.

The question of materiality and immateriality of media of memory, and the difficulty in drawing a sharp line between written and oral word, reverberates in Herodotus' 'leaving behind memorials' (μνημόσυνον/α καταλείπομαι), as we saw. Thucydides' famous aspiration to deliver his work as 'an everlasting possession' (κτῆμά ἐς αἰεί, 1.22.4) arguably evokes a literary monument or 'memorial', and has been situated also in poetic contexts where literature is monumentalised, such as Horace's 'more lasting than bronze my monument shall be … I shall not wholly die' (*Odes* 3.30.1–6) and Pindar's 'a Pythian victor's treasury of songs has been built' (*Pyth.* 6.6–7).[75]

The contrast between static statues and mobile speeches in Isocrates' *Evagoras* travelling through space is surely reminiscent of a similar contrast between statues and song, in the opening of Pindar's *Nemean* 5, praising the victory of a boy pancratiast, Pytheas of Aegina:[76]

> οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσοντα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματ'
> ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος

[73] E. Alexiou (2010) *ad loc.* notes that διαδοθέντας (< διαδιδόναι) suggests some form of publication of Isocrates' speeches (as does ἐκδιδόναι). I think 'disseminated' is a safer translation, also encompassing semantic overtones of ἐκδιδόναι. Van Hook (1945) translates διαδοθέντας as 'having been spread', Too ap. Mirhady–Too (2000) as 'published'.

[74] The Greek struggles against the Persians in the fifth century were a *topos* of praise in rhetorical exercises, public orations, or display speeches that were to continue into Roman Imperial times. See, e.g., Vasunia (2003) on Plutarch's *On the Glory of the Athenians*, where Isocrates makes an appearance being preoccupied with writing artful speeches on Athens' 'glorious past'.

[75] Moles (1999), esp. 33–7.

[76] E. Alexiou (2010) 177.

ἑσταότ'· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας ὁλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' ἀοιδά,
στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας διαγγέλλοισ', ὅτι
Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυσθενής
νίκη Νεμείοις παγκρατίου στέφανον …

I am not a sculptor, so as to fashion stationary statues that stand on
    their same base.
Rather, on board every ship and in every boat, sweet song,
go forth from Aigina and spread the news that
Lampon's mighty son Pytheas
has won the crown for the pancratium in Nemea's games …

(*Nem.* 5. 1–5; trans. W. H. Race)

Like Isocrates' prose encomium, in Pindar's *Ode* the statues, standing heavy
on the restricted and concrete space of their pedestals, are contrasted with
the mobility and immateriality of 'sweet song' which travels through space
on the watery paths of the sea.[77] The empowering effect of song through its
ability to travel over the sea securing the eternal memory of mortal men is
also found in the elegiac verses of Theognis of Megara (237–52):[78]

σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷσ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον
    πωτήσῃ, κατὰ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος
ῥηϊδίως· θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσσῃ
    ἐν πάσαις πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν,
καί σε σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις νέοι ἄνδρες
    εὐκόσμως ἐρατοὶ καλά τε καὶ λιγέα
ᾄσονται. καὶ ὅταν δνοφερῆς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
    βῇς πολυκωκύτους εἰς Ἀίδαο δόμους,
οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολεῖς **κλέος**, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις
    ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποισ' **αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα**,
Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφώμενος, ἠδ' ἀνὰ νήσους
    ἰχθυόεντα περῶν πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον,
οὐχ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος· ἀλλά σε πέμψει
    ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων.
πᾶσι δ', ὅσοισι μέμηλε, καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀοιδή
    ἔσσῃ ὁμῶς, ὄφρ' ἂν γῆ τε καὶ ἠέλιος.

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[77] The 'song as journey' can be found in the poetic motif of song-path (οἴμη); cf. Agócs,
below, pp. 94–5.

[78] Hunter and Rutherford (2009) 7: 'The itinerancy, both real and imagined, of poets is
intimately tied to the ambitions of and for their poetry to enjoy fame and reception all over
the world. Theognis' claim to his beloved Kyrnos is perhaps the most celebrated instance of
this idea'. The problems of the Theognidean collection (*syllogê*) are many, but do not affect
my point: Hubbard (2007), with further bibliography.

> I have given you wings with which you will fly, soaring easily, over the boundless sea and all the land. You will be present at every dinner and feast, lying on the lips of many, and lovely youths accompanied by the clear sounds of pipes will sing of you in orderly fashion with beautiful, clear voices. And whenever you go to Hades' house of wailing, down in the dark earth's depths, never even in death will you lose your fame, but you will be in men's thoughts, your name ever immortal, Cyrnus, as you roam throughout the land of Greece and among the islands, crossing over the fish–filled, undraining(?) sea, not riding on the backs of horses, but it is the splendid gifts of the violet–wreathed Muses that will escort you. For all who care about their gifts, even for future generations, you will be alike the subject of song, as long as earth and sun exist.
>
> (trans. D. E. Gerber)

The educational-erotic atmosphere of symposium is unmissable in these lines, evoking an aristocratic code of heroism and male homoerotic intimacy. But the Theognidean corpus, and elegy more generally, is also preoccupied with wisdom and advice related to the public sphere (27-32):[79]

> σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷά περ αὐτός,
>   Κύρν', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον·
> πέπνυσο, μηδ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασι μηδ' ἀδίκοισιν
>   τιμὰς μηδ' ἀρετὰς ἕλκεο μηδ' ἄφενος.

> It is with kind thoughts for you that I shall give you advice such as I myself, Cyrnus, learned from noble men while still a child. Be sensible and do not, at the cost of shameful or unjust acts, seize for yourself prestige, success, or wealth. (Gerber, tr.)

These lines come from an earlier elegy of the sequence of Cyrnus-poetry (19–30), which has attracted much attention, because they are related to the problem of the authenticity of the 1,400 lines of the corpus, and the question of the relationship between oral and written form and transmission. It contains what is known as the *sphrêgis* ('seal'), where the poet has included his name in a gesture of securing immortalisation. The possibility of the poet's identity being forgotten appears to be no option in these assertive lines (λήσει δ' οὔποτε), emphatically hammering home the poet's aspiration by οὐδέ τις, πᾶς τις, πάντας (19–22):

> Κύρνε, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω
>   τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν, **λήσει δ' οὔποτε** κλεπτόμενα,
> **οὐδέ τις** ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοὐσθλοῦ παρεόντος,

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[79] Bowie (1986) for elegy's potential contexts of performance.

ὧδε δὲ **πᾶς τις** ἐρεῖ· ᾽Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
τοῦ Μεγαρέως· **πάντας** δὲ κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός᾽.

> For me, a skilled and wise poet, let a seal, Cyrnus, be placed on these verses. Their theft **will never** pass unnoticed, nor **will anyone** take something worse in exchange when that which is good is at hand, but **everyone** will say, 'They are the verses of Theognis of Megara, and he is famous **among all men**'. (Gerber, tr.)

In general, oral poetry is associated more easily with performance, rather than written compositions, which tend to be associated with reading. Theognis' 'seal' is certainly a nod to the written medium and its own power of transmission and crystallisation. But the poet's use of the cultural technology of writing and its possibilities should not be taken to suggest a dichotomy between the written and oral modes of wisdom and their performative potential. Sympotic contexts illustrate well the co-existence and harmonious combination of oral and written word: 'Every aristocratic male who sits on a banquet couch reciting one of these elegies becomes another Theognis, and the handsome youth beside him becomes another Cyrnus'.[80] Ethical and political wisdom were transmitted and performed in such contexts over a considerable span of time from the archaic period until the Late Antiquity, accommodating both poetry and prose. Fourth-century *Evagoras* belonged to this long tradition of performed wisdom, characteristic of sympotic contexts. It was a polished funeral panegyric, aiming to 'disseminate' its political and ethical advice 'in gatherings of men of good sense' and among 'noble men' (9.74).

In practice mobility/immobility and materiality/immateriality are qualities shared by most media of memory which have come down to us from antiquity. The literary texts and inscriptions that we possess have travelled a long distance in space and time, before they come to our hands, often in very fragmentary states; and part of our job is to fill in the gaps with the help of other materials from the past and modern methodologies. The same applies to ancient statues, objects of art or everyday use, and architectural structures: they survive in fragments or in reconstructed or severely damaged states, most of them detached from their physical and social contexts, having travelled from one location or museum collection to another. The most monumental structures among them, if they manage to survive war and natural or other disasters, travel in their viewers' travel logs, drawings, paintings, photographs and videos. Last but not least digitisation has helped texts and objects to travel long distances virtually and be shared simultaneously by individuals and communities of experts and others, often in interactive and global environments. The advent of the World Wide Web

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[80] Hubbard (2007) 212.

(www) in the mid-1990s has created a globally interconnected world, adding new dimensions to the memory of the past and its reception. It has revolutionised the tools and methodologies of intertextuality and provided new understandings and experiences of mobility/immobility and materiality/immateriality.

7. The Present Volume

Epic and historiography as 'literature of suffering'[81] is the subject of Pelling and Fragoulaki, who concentrate on the historians' debt to Homer in shaping memory. Pelling (Ch. 1) explores the complexities of causation in the Greek historians and their Homeric blueprints, with special attention to speech-exchanges in Homer, their societal background, and the intersection of the divine and human levels in the epic. Central to Pelling's discussion is the acknowledgement that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reverberated with a web of stories with which Homer's initial audiences construed meanings. These echoes went beyond verbal similarities to encompass themes and plot. Pelling demonstrates that such an acknowledgement is useful for the study of the historians' debt to Homer, and can be referred to as a broadened sense of intertextuality. Through a similar approach to a broadened sense of 'text', Fragoulaki (Ch. 2) turns the focus to a specific piece of literature of suffering, the episode of Mycalessus in Thucydides (7.29–30), as Thucydides' nod to Homer. This nod, it is argued, was more intelligible to fifth-century audiences, who were steeped in what is called the 'Homeric experience', that is, the audience's familiarity with the Homeric texts as living tradition and culture, through interlocking performative, mythological, religious-cultic, and educational contexts. Modern audiences' relationship with Homer and Thucydides is a very different one and, it is suggested, so is their perception of Thucydides' Homeric interactions. Narratives of identity (Greek/non-Greek, panhellenic/local) are important parameters in this intertextual quest of memory.

Myth and identity are central to *ktisis* ('foundation') stories, the theme of Agócs' and Baragwanath's chapters, which concentrate on the foundation story of Cyrene in north Africa and its two major narratives in our sources: a victory ode (a choral poem) (Agócs on Pindar's *Pythian 4*), and a piece of historical prose (Baragwanath on the Libyan *logos* in Herodotus' *Histories*). Agócs (Ch. 3) explores the relationship between poetic form and political ideology and what has been called the 'alliance between power and memory'.[82] He does this through a close narratological reading of Pindar's *Pythian* 4, contextualised in pre- and post-Pindaric sources and modern anthropological theory on oral traditions. Agócs argues for oral-tradition tropes, also suggesting that a vista of divine intention behind Cyrene's

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[81] Pelling, below, p. 26.

[82] Baragwanath, below, p. 88.

history, conjured up by the poem's configuration of mythistorical strata, can be helpfully illuminated by biblical hermeneutics and the concept of 'typology'.

Baragwanath (Ch. 4) concentrates on the close connection of ethnography and historical narrative in Herodotus' *Histories*, showing the deep embeddedness of the Libyan *logos* in the *Histories* (4.145–205) and the section's contribution to Herodotus' probing of cause and responsibility. Discussion of related concepts, such as blame, vengeance, justice, punishment, and gender norms offer further opportunities to observe Herodotus' interaction with the world of the epic and his 'work's dialogic and culturally relativistic program'[83] by challenging the opposition between 'Greeks' and 'barbarians'. Ethnography as a tool of historical explanation is shown to be a major means by which Herodotus embeds his work in Greek cultural memory.

Ethnography is the focus of Skinner's discussion (Ch. 5) too, of shared memories, juxtapositions, and the co-existence of 'Self' and 'Other'. Skinner advocates for the methodological need to cross generic and epistemological boundaries, also touching on overarching themes of the present volume, such as the interconnectedness between myth and history, and the close relationship between history, ethnography, and geography. A variety of extant and fragmentary narratives of the past—textual and material—are selectively cross-examined, against theories of identity (Homi K. Bhabha on hybridity, and Stuart Hall on fluidity and relativity/positioning). Herodotus' diffused world and ethnographic material, poetry (not least Homer and epinician), and inscriptions play an important role in this holistic approach of the 'culture work',[84] constitutive of Greek self-consciousness in the culturally dynamic environment of the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean.

Low and Shear turn the focus to a specific city, Athens, and the role of inscriptions in (re)shaping collective memory. Both discussions reveal the interplay between the static and fixed nature of inscribed monuments, at least at the time of their erection, and their fluid and malleable nature, when one follows their 'adventures': their mental travels through the eyes of the beholders and the travels of the inscribed monuments themselves in time and space. Low (Ch. 6) discusses a number of inscriptions from classical Athens, concentrating on practices of destruction, erasure, and reconstruction, reflecting the Athenians' changing views of the past. Important questions in Low's treatment are the negotiation of individual and collective memories within Athens' democratic decision-making, and the relationship between written and unwritten memory. As Low shows, literary texts are important for the exploration of these questions. In the final chapter of the volume (Ch. 7) Shear concentrates on a specific inscription from Hellenistic Athens, namely the honorary decree of Phaedrus of Sphettus (*IG* II² 682), unravelling

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[83] Below, p. 157.

[84] Below, p. 190.

the complexities of an erasure made on the inscription (a case of *damnatio memoriae*). This action is discussed in detail in the light of the Athenians' complicated history in the third century BC and their change of heart towards the Antigonids in *c.* 200 BC. The inscribed monument's position in the commemorative space of the city and its juxtaposition with other monuments are important parameters in both Shear's and Low's epigraphic discussions.

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1

HOMER AND THE QUESTION WHY[*]

Christopher Pelling

Abstract: Historiography's debt to Homer is immense, especially in exploring matters of cause and effect. The epics trace things back to beginnings, even if those are only 'hinges' in a still longer story; they use speech-exchanges not merely to characterise individuals but also to explore features of their society; the interaction of human and divine is complex, but the narrative focus characteristically rests more on the human level; allusiveness to narratives of earlier and later events also carries explanatory value. Epic and historiography alike also cast light on why readers find such aesthetic pleasure in stories of suffering, brutality, and death.

Keywords: Homer, historiography, causation, explanation, intertextuality.

I t is no secret, and no surprise, that Greek historiography is steeped in Homer: how could it not be so? Epic was the great genre for the sweep of human experience, especially but not only in war; Homer was the narrator supreme. There have been many studies of the ways that individual historians exploit Homer to add depth to their work. I have contributed one myself on Herodotus,[1] Maria Fragoulaki writes in this volume on Thucydides, and others have covered writers down to and including the Second Sophistic.[2] Still, when completing a monograph on historical explanation in Herodotus,[3] I was struck even more forcefully than before by how many of the characteristic interpretative techniques—not merely what they do, but how they do it—are already there in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. As the similarity of title shows, this paper is a companion piece to that book, though a full treatment would itself have swollen to monograph proportions, and the points have relevance to many other historical writers as well as Herodotus. Just as explanation is a multiple and complicated business, so the discussion here will have to range swiftly and sometimes dogmatically over some of the most disputed areas of Homeric scholarship. There will also be

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[*] Many thanks to Simon Hornblower for his comments on an earlier draft.

[1] Pelling (2006), with references to previous scholarship.

[2] See now Hunter (2018). For Thucydides see also the overviews of Rengakos (2006) and Joho (2017); for imperial Greek, Kim (2010). The classic treatments are Strasburger (1972) and on the *Odyssey* Marincola (2007); recently Rutherford (2012) is outstanding.

[3] *Herodotus and the Question Why*, henceforth *HQY* (= Pelling (2019)).

an imbalance between the *Iliad*, which will dominate the first three-quarters of the paper, and the *Odyssey*. (There may be reasons for that: see below, p. 22.) Homer is explaining events that we at least firmly regard as fictional, and the historians, at least most of the time, are not: that remains a crucial difference, for even if the Greeks 'believed in their myths' they may have believed *in a different way* from the way they believed in the truth of the Persian or Peloponnesian Wars.[4] But Herodotus, and so many historical writers who followed him, knew where to find a model that would serve them well.

1. Beginnings

> Sing, goddess of the wrath of Achilles son of Peleus, the baneful wrath that caused ten thousand pains for the Achaeans. It cast to Hades many strong souls of heroes, and made the men themselves prey for dogs and all the birds; and the plan of Zeus was being accomplished. Sing it from the point when they first stood apart in strife, the son of Atreus, lord of men, and godlike Achilles.[5]

Cause and effect are there from the first lines of the *Iliad*: it is a story of the wrath, $\mu\hat{\eta}\nu\iota\varsigma$, that caused the Achaeans so many pains. That only takes us part of the way in the effects, as it will not be just Achaeans that will be sent down to Hades. Eventually the wrath will embrace Trojans too, and will be laid to rest only once Hector is dead and Achilles has found some peace with Priam in Book 24. But it already suggests points that will recur in the historians: the value, possibly the indispensability, of causal sequence in giving shape and intelligibility to a narrative; the centrality of warfare and strife, and the role of human emotion in driving them; and the way that proemial statements are literally first words, not the last word on any topic they introduce, and are there to be progressively refined and expanded as the story goes on.[6]

Renuancing starts early, as by line 5 we know this was not just a human narrative: $\Delta\iota\grave{o}\varsigma$ δ' $\dot{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tauo$ $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\eta}$, 'and the plan of Zeus was being accomplished'. Since antiquity it has been disputed exactly what is meant by that.[7] Does 'the plan of Zeus' underlie everything, even before Achilles becomes wrathful and the plot-line of the *Iliad* begins? If so, is that because Zeus is writing the whole script for the war and everything was predetermined? Might this be a reference to the particular 'plan of Zeus' that we find

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[4] So Veyne (1988)—but the issues are complicated.

[5] *Il.* 1.1–7. All translations are my own.

[6] *HQY* ch. 5(c).

[7] The alternative interpretations are distinguished particularly clearly by Clay (1999); cf. also Redfield (1979) 105–8 = (2001) 470–4.

as early as the *Cypria*, that Zeus planned the Trojan War as a way of easing the earth from over-population (*Cypr.* fr. 1 W.)?[8] (The *Cypria* is probably later than Homer, and the over-population idea may have been conceived as an explanation of the Iliadic phrase itself,[9] but it may be drawing on earlier traditions.)[10] Or, as Aristarchus seems to have argued,[11] does this 'plan' only commence at the end of Book 1, when Achilles' mother Thetis pleads with Zeus to 'give victory to the Trojans, so that the Achaeans may pay my son back and enhance him with glory' (1.509–10)? There is no single right answer to that question, 'what does the plan of Zeus mean?': all these interpretations are possible, and always were.[12] Homer's audience, like those of the historians, are left to do some of the interpretative work themselves, and not everything is laid out for them from the start. But the important signal to the hearer or reader is that both dimensions matter, divine and human; that both have effects; and that explanations may be required on both levels.

In narrative, a starting-point is needed. The Muse is asked to take up the story[13]

> from the point when they first stood divided in strife, the son of Atreus, lord of men, and divine-blooded Achilles. (*Il.* 1.6–7)

So one looks for the beginning, a reflex that is again seen in, for instance, Herodotus' very first chapters—what, or who, started it? A similar reflex explains why the ships that bore Paris and Helen to Troy can be called the 'ships that started the troubles', the νῆας … ἀρχεκάκους (Hdt. 5.63), and the phrasing here to the Muse—take it up 'from the point when'—intimates that

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[8] Thus Kullmann (1955). There are Mesopotamian parallels that date from well before Homer (Scodel (1982) 40–2; Burkert (1992) 100–6; M. L. West (1997) 480–2 and (2007) 23), strengthening the possibility that the idea was familiar to Homer and his audience: cf. Burgess (2001) 149 and Barker (2009) 44. Currie (2016) 1–2 plays with the idea of even *verbal* allusion here to a preceding poem or poems.

[9] Thus Griffin (1977) 48 = (2001) 384, finding in the *Cypria* version 'an idea … of a distressing thinness and flatness, dissolving the *Iliad*'s imposing opaqueness to an all too perspicuous "rationality"'.

[10] More on such issues later: see below, pp. 14–21.

[11] Cf. Kirk (1985) and Pulleyn (2000) ad loc.

[12] For similar open readings cf. Clay (1999); Burgess (2001) 149–50; Marks (2002) 16–19; and Allan (2008). Slatkin (1991) 118–22 suggests that a broader, more destructive plan can be seen as 'distilled' in Zeus' intention to fulfil his promise to Thetis: similarly Murnaghan (1997) and Allan (2008) 208.

[13] Unless the syntax of line 6 makes this a starting point within the longer-term 'plan of Zeus', identifying the time when the plan of Zeus began to take effect through the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles: so e.g. Redfield (1979) 96 = (2001) 458, and see the discussion of Marks (2002) 12–19. That would decide the interpretative question in favour of taking the 'plan of Zeus' further back than Thetis' approach. There are, however, reasons why hearers were unlikely to take the words in this way: cf. Kullmann (1955) 167 and Pulleyn (2000) ad loc.

the story of the *Iliad* is part of a longer thread, presumably the Trojan War as a whole. Similarly those Herodotean ships mark a new phase within a much longer sequence of Greek and Persian interaction. In each case, though, this will be a particularly important point, a 'hinge'.

The next reflex is to look to the gods (*Il.* 1.8–10):

> And which of the gods was it that sent them together to fight in strife? It was the son of Leto and Zeus: for it was he who, angry with the king, roused a destructive plague throughout the army, destroying the people …

So we look to the gods first, and we find Apollo. Still, that is not going back far enough, as we also need to know why he sent that plague, and this means returning to the human level (*Il.* 1.11–16):

> … because the son of Atreus dishonoured the priest Chryses: for he had come to the swift ships of the Achaeans to ransom his daughter, bringing a boundless ransom and carrying in his hands the fillets of far-darting Apollo on a golden sceptre, and he made his plea to all the Achaeans, and particularly the two sons of Atreus, commanders of the people …

Human level and divine level are intersecting closely. And we have swiftly reached the point where, on the face of it, no further explanation is needed:[14] there is no difficulty in understanding why Chryses wants his daughter back, nor why Apollo responds so decisively to the insult to his priest who has served him well in the past (1.37–42). Perhaps we might, with another person, have needed something to explain why Agamemnon rejected the plea when 'all the other Achaeans' (1.22) spoke up for accepting it; but if the initial hearers did not know their Agamemnon already from other songs, they are quickly given enough information here by the brutal dismissiveness with which he speaks—get out of here, old man, and don't come back, as your priestly garlands won't save you next time; your daughter will grow old with me in Argos, far from her home (note the twisting of the knife[15]), working at the loom and serving my bed (1.26–32). Character-explanation, then, and 'shown' (rather than 'told') through the narrative. Agamemnon is just that sort of man.[16]

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[14] Cf. *HQY* ch. 1[f].

[15] The scholiast notes that 'he wounds the old man by gradually increasing her separation from him': Griffin (1980a) 107. Cf. also Kakridis (1971) 130–1.

[16] It requires an excess of goodwill to accept, as some (e.g. Alden (2000) 211–2 and in a way also Dodds (1951) 1–27, esp. 2–3) have done, Agamemnon's own later claim that he was blinded by *atē* (19.87), and therefore acting abnormally: cf. below, p. 7 and n. 29. At least, the narrative here and elsewhere suggests that he is the sort of man likely to suffer from this particular sort of (in Dodds' phrase) 'psychic intervention'.

What does need further explanation is why and how this escalates to the degree it does, and inspires that deathly 'wrath': again we might compare the rhythm of Herodotus' first few chapters, where a crucial point comes when the Greeks are 'greatly to blame' for escalating the exchanges so bloodily (1.4.1). In the *Iliad* this requires the account of the assembly (1.53–305),[17] which so marvellously conveys that this was a quarrel waiting to happen, that the story does *not* in fact start here, despite that implication that it was now that 'they first stood divided in strife' (1.6). This comes partly from the dynamic of the exchanges (another feature that the historians will often reproduce in their interest in how people speak): these include the way that Achilles leaps in, first taking the initiative to call the assembly at all (1.54)—should that not have been Agamemnon's job?—then being unnecessarily provocative when he promises to defend Calchas if he causes offence to a man of power: 'not even if you mean Agamemnon, with his claim to be by far the best of the Achaeans' (1.85–91). Of course Calchas means Agamemnon, and everyone knows it: but it did not need to be said out loud. Then there are several other points when an Odysseus, say, might have responded differently, or a Nestor had he got a word in earlier:[18] once Agamemnon has calmed down sufficiently to agree to give the girl back provided he gets another in exchange, it was not tactful to point out the practical difficulties in such detail (122–9), nor then to ignore the semi-diplomatic 'but we can sort this out later …' (140). Soon both are trading high-grade insults, culminating in the magnificent 'heavy with wine, with the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer' (225, cf. 122, 146, 149, 158). The 'always' of quarrels[19] keeps coming too—I always do all the work, and you always get the pick of the prizes (162–8); you're always one for strife and fighting and battles (177); you never have the guts to come into battle or lie in ambush yourself (226–8). And what of Agamemnon's 'don't try to deceive me, as you won't get away with it' (132)? Why should Agamemnon suspect deceit, unless there is some back-story here? Achilles will respond with similar suspicions in Book 9 (345, 371, 375). This is clearly a simmering antagonism, just waiting to burst out. The dynamic of spoken exchange reveals the deeper factors at play—and here too we shall find the historians to be masters of the same technique, whether we think of Herodotus' council of Xerxes, Thucydides' Nicias and Alcibiades, or Xenophon's Critias and Theramenes.

Another feature that will recur in the historians is the light cast not just on the individuals but also on the societal structure in which they operate. Here it is one of the Greek camp, with its uncomfortable coalition of kings and princes; in Herodotus it will often be that of the Persian court, though

[17] For a recent analysis see Barker (2009) 40–52, with references to earlier literature.

[18] Cf. Redfield (1975) 12–14.

[19] Thus Macleod (1982) 96 on *Il.* 24.62: 'αἰέν as used here is the typical "you always …" of quarrels, which Homer as a keen student of life, reproduces …'. Cf. de Jong (2001) 552 on *Od.* 23.103; Kullmann (2001) 396 and n. 32.

we will see a fragile Greek coalition as well; in Thucydides and Xenophon it will be, among other things, the nature of Athenian democracy and its difficulties in dealing with its big men; in Polybius the discomfort of Greece as it learns to live with Roman domination. It does not take much to sense the fundamental tension that comes because Agamemnon is not the best warrior and the best warrior is not in command. That insight will be reinforced towards the end of Book 1, when we see the divine world in which Zeus does have the power to impose his will, and authority and physical might are united.[20] It is exactly that contrast between authority and might that is pointed by those early words 'the son of Atreus, lord of men, and divine-blooded Achilles' (1.7),[21] where the striking quality of the expression is accentuated through the move of the phrase 'lord of men', ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, to sit in an unaccustomed position in the line, thus defamiliarising what was doubtless already a familiar formula.[22] In this world of massive male egos, that sort of unease can be relied upon to cause problems, sooner or later, and the trigger has now been pulled.

There is no shortage of blame, then, as Achilles and Agamemnon pile up the reasons why the other one is in the wrong; nor will there be any shortage when we move to the divine level, with Hera and Zeus each finding fault with the other (1.540–3, 561–7, with another quarrelling 'always' in each case). And blame there will be in plenty later in the poem as well, on the Trojan side as well as the Greek. The Trojans blame Paris (3.38–57, 3.453–4, 6.280–5, 6.525, even the herald Idaeus at 7.385–97). They blame Helen too, so Helen herself tells us (24.768–75). Helen blames herself, though not without a touch of manipulation—she is especially good with older or more powerful men (3.171–80, 6.344–59). Hector blames himself too, for the mistake of camping one night too many in the plain (22.104). On the Greek side, Thersites' blame is uncompromising, and directed at Agamemnon (2.225–42). The god Poseidon blames Agamemnon too (13.108, 111–3); so does Patroclus (16.273–4); so, by implication, does Odysseus, picking the right moment to say it to Agamemnon's face (19.181–2). Phoenix tells Achilles himself that his anger would be reasonable, but for the fact that Agamemnon was now making his offer of recompense (9.515–23): on that view it is in Book 9, not Book 1, that Achilles is going too far.[23] No such fine distinctions, though, for Achilles himself, especially once Patroclus is dead: he just blames himself, deeply (18.97–126).

Nor is blameworthiness without its explanatory force: it doubtless matters that Paris was in the wrong, and that goes towards explaining the outcome

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[20] Again a parallel that comes back in the historians, though more rarely: cf. Zali (2015) 121–3 on Zeus' authority in the *Iliad* as a *comparandum* with that of Persian monarchs.

[21] Parry (1972) 2–6; Griffin (1980a) 11, 52–3.

[22] Parry (1972) 5–6. Elsewhere always in the *sedes* of ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (or -ον), 44x; 5x with other figures, but always in that same *sedes*.

[23] That view can still attract: it is firmly espoused by Apfel (2011) 226–7.

of the war,[24] just as Pandarus' oath-breaking transgression of the truce in Book 4 allows Agamemnon to express his conviction that Troy will fall (4.158–68, 234–9). Others agree with him, Trojan (7.351–3) as well as Greek (4.269–71, 13.624–5). Still, for the plot-developments that absorb the reader or listener most, the deeper significance of blame is in the light it casts on the blamers and their interaction.[25] In understanding how the quarrel escalates, it does not matter how much *we* blame Achilles or Agamemnon, it matters how much they are blaming each other. In the terrible tirade which Achilles launches against himself in Book 18 (98–126), blaming himself for his wrath and for letting Patroclus and his Myrmidons down, it similarly does not matter whether he is right: it matters that he feels that way, throwing blame at himself as he is so ready to throw it at others (11.654, 21.275–8), and that his feelings are now driving him back furiously to the fight. That again will come back in Herodotus and later: despite the 'blame' and 'grievance' connotations of αἰτίη-language, it is the human dynamics of the blaming itself that help us most to understand.[26] Thucydides can then certainly ascribe blame: the allies were themselves to blame for their subjection to Athens (1.99.2). But it may eventually be more important that 'the majority' of Greeks were angry with the Athenians, blaming them for their behaviour, and favoured the Spartan 'liberators' (2.8.4–5); just as for Xenophon the speeches of the Theban ambassadors and of the Athenian Autocles reveal the widespread bitterness against imperial Sparta a generation or so later (*Hell.* 3.5.8–15, also acknowledging at §10 that Athens in its heyday aroused the same response, and 6.3.7–9).

In the *Iliad* even those questions of war-guilt are complicated, because—once again—of the gods. When they meet on the walls Priam tells Helen (*Il.* 3.164–5)

> I don't hold you to blame, I blame the gods, who launched on me this dreadful war with the Achaeans …

Of course, this is characterising[27] (just as it characterises Croesus when he echoes Priam's words with Adrastus, Hdt. 1.45.2). 'If a human being finds it useful, the gods can be to blame for everything,'[28] but not everyone would

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[24] As is emphasised by Lloyd-Jones (1971) 7–8 and others, e.g. Allan (2006).

[25] This therefore relates to the remark of Kullmann (2001) 390 that 'past and future are emphasized far more in the epic characters' direct speech than in narrative'. The past becomes relevant through what people think and say about it.

[26] *HQΥ* chs. 1[b], 2, and 8[c].

[27] A point elaborated by Roisman (2005) 108–9, who builds a broader psychological picture of the old men who are trying to make themselves agreeable to the beautiful young woman.

[28] Lesky (2001) 195.

let Helen off so lightly; not everyone did (24.768–75). Priam is being as soft
on Helen as Agamemnon is soft on himself when he claims (*Il.* 19.86–8)

> I am not to blame: it is Zeus and Moira and the Erinys who walks in
> mist, who cast fierce *atē* [craziness, delusion] into my mind in the
> assembly …

What a contrast with Achilles in the previous book! Agamemnon will do
what he can to let himself off blame,[29] Achilles takes all the blame possible
on to himself. Once again blame-throwing is most relevant for what it tells
us about humans and their relationship.[30] But both moves, Priam's and
Agamemnon's, are possible because of that complex interaction of human
and divine levels. That is a theme that will return often enough in the
historians,[31] and deserves a fuller (though still fleeting) discussion in the next
section. For the moment, let us just note that, if we wish to explain the most
absorbing events in Homer and make them intelligible, then those
explanations may *draw on* the blame that is in the air, but will typically do so
in the interest of exploring human psychology and the dynamic of human
interchange. Again, the historians will not be very different.

2. Gods and Humans

Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή, 'and the plan of Zeus was being accomplished' (1.5):
we have already seen that, however ambiguous and enigmatic the wording,
the phrase points to the importance of both levels, human and divine. *How*
the two combine is another question, and the answer may not always be the
same; indeed, they may not always be combining at all. It always makes sense
to look for explanations on both the human and divine level, but it does not
follow that both explanations are always there, or always equally valid. This
is what makes it possible for Priam or Agamemnon to deflect blame in the
way we have just seen; and, even in a less charged and less characterising
setting, Idomeneus can judge, on the whole accurately, that a Greek reverse

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[29] I here find myself in sympathy with Versnel (2011) 169–74. In more depressed mood,
Agamemnon struck a different note the day before when talking to the elders (9.119). Cf.
esp. Lesky (2001) 195–8. Perhaps, it is true, we ought to distinguish blame from (something
like) 'responsibility'. Agamemnon does not deny that it was his action and he must bear the
consequences for it, in this case by paying recompense (19.137–8): cf. Dodds (1951) 3, and
Lesky (2001) 193: 'the divine impetus to an action or a god's collaboration with the human
being does not reduce the latter's responsibility in the slightest'. So there is a further sense
in which 'who started it' is already dissociated from 'who is to blame'.

[30] And not just human: Hephaestus claims not to be so much *aitios* himself for what is
happening when he fights the river; it is more the other gods that are helping the Trojans,
21.370–1. The blame game is as natural for gods to play as humans.

[31] For Herodotus, see *HQY* ch. 10.

is to be explained by the wishes of Zeus rather than by any slacking on the human level (13.221–7).

Even when both levels are present, their interaction can take different forms.[32] Sometimes they seem to be largely independent ways of looking at things, with no identifiable physical interaction at all; sometimes a god may intervene directly to lure or to slap or just to inject some μένος (what the Welsh would call *hwyl*); sometimes he or she will take human form, and give verbal encouragement in a strikingly successful way; sometimes the effect is more indirect, with Zeus simply giving victory to one side or another without apparently needing any physical action. It can be hard to tell. If Zeus raises his scales and they come down one way (8.69–77, 16.658, 19.223, 22.209–13), is that to *cause* what is to happen (like a cook weighing out ingredients) or just to *gauge* it (like a human apprehensively checking his or her own weight)? Sometimes it seems more the one, sometimes the other;[33] and if we as readers cannot always tell how or how far the gods are active, the effect is partly mimetic, plunging us into the same sort of uncertainty as the characters in the poem. All we know is that the gods cannot be ignored, and this is often all the human characters know too (Achilles, with his special access to the gods through Thetis, is here a partial exception); and that if we need a full explanation of events, we need to work on the gods' level as well as our own.

That is also true on the macro-level of the war itself. Why do the Greeks win? On one level, because the more powerful gods are on their side, and because Hera and Athena are still implacably offended by the judgement of Paris (24.25–30, interestingly delayed until very late in the poem: see below, p. 15). On another, it is because the Greeks have the bigger numbers (2.126–8, cf. 799–801) and the better warriors. When the two sides swing into action at the beginning of the poem's fighting, the Trojans are chattering bird-like while the Greeks move in grim silence (3.1–9). We can already see who look like the winners.

When the two levels do interact, sometimes it is human decisions that trigger divine debate and action in response, and sometimes it is the other way round. Either way, though, it is usually the human level that is the more interesting. When Athena intervenes mid-quarrel in Book 1 to check Achilles as he is drawing his sword, in one way this is simply an essential narrative

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[32] The classic exposition of Lesky (2001; first published 1961) is still basic reading on 'the wealth of variations' (188) with which this 'fusion' (184) is conceived. Versnel (2011) 163–78 is also right to object to the scholarly tradition of seeking too neat and systematic a synthesis.

[33] More as cause: 16.658, where the imagery is continued in Zeus 'stretching' (τανύω, just as τιταίνω is often used of the holding up of the scales and letting each side of the balance stretch down) 'a mighty strife', and at 656, 662, and 688 Zeus does seem to be causing what happens. But at 8.69–77 and 22.209–13 matters are more ambivalent and complex. I leave aside the question whether such weighing also evokes the weighing of the fates of Achilles *and Memnon*, a frequent theme of Greek art and later the subject of Aeschylus' *Psychostasia*, as Neoanalyst scholars (below, n. 68) have often claimed (Burgess (2009) 88–9, with further references).

ploy. Achilles cannot be allowed either to strike Agamemnon down (that would make it a rather short poem) or to weigh it all up and decide that on the whole this would be a bad idea, which would be disastrous for his characterisation. But the way Athena does it remains telling (*Il.* 1.207–14):

> 'I have come from Heaven to stop your fury, *if you will obey me*: for white-armed Hera sent me, as she loves and cares for both of you. Come, put the strife aside, and do not draw your sword; instead, insult him, tell him how it is going to be—for I will tell you this, and it will certainly happen: some day he will give you three times as many glorious gifts because of the outrageous way he is treating you now. Hold back, *obey us*.'

'If you will obey us …'—and the Greek word is πείθομαι, as much 'be persuaded' as 'obey'. It is the same phrase as Thetis uses of her hopes that Zeus will be persuaded to do what she and Achilles want (αἴ κε πίθηται, 1.420 ~ αἴ κε πίθηαι, 1.207), and there is no doubt that Zeus has the power to refuse. Like Thetis there, Athena finds arguments that she thinks will be persuasive, as well as in this case providing Achilles with ammunition for his next torrent of abuse. But it is up to him.[34]

This is not a case where we can subtract a piece of divine action from the narrative and think it still makes sense, any more than we can somehow rationalise away the moments when Aphrodite or Poseidon or Apollo whisks a warrior away from the fighting or covers him in mist (3.374–82, 5.311–7, 20.318–29, 443–4, 21.597–8)—or when Apollo sends a shower of rain to save Croesus (Hdt. 1.87.1–2). Still, the main interest falls not on the god's indispensable action—that is easy to understand, for 'Hera sent her, loving both men equally and caring for them' (1.196)—but on the human side, even the human psychology. But how? It is not in the crude sense that Athena's words are somehow an external counterpart or correlative of what is going through Achilles' own head, as some scholars used to claim.[35] She gives him information that he would not otherwise have, and has no reason to guess: if he holds back, he will get 'three times as many gifts'. Yet Achilles, of all people, is not the man to weigh up his self-interest at a moment like this, and decide that if he plays his cards right, he might do rather well out of this. In his reply he does not mention these gifts, simply saying that it is wise to obey the gods if one wants their support (1.216–8); nor does he say anything about them in his next tirade, content to promise Agamemnon in memorable language that he will regret what he has done when many of his men are dying at Hector's hands (1.225–44)—Hector's first mention in the poem,

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[34] As Griffin (1980a) 160 puts it, 'she appeals courteously to his reason'. Cf. Lesky (2001) 188–9; Pulleyn (2000) 185 ad loc.

[35] Notably Dodds (1951) 14 and Kirk (1974) 292. This approach is effectively criticised by Griffin (1980a) 147–8 n. 8 and 158–60; see also Pulleyn (2000) 176–7 and Rutherford (2013) 68–9.

ironically as the potential instrument of Achilles' wrath when he will finally be its target.

No: the interest is not in the way that Athena reflects or understands Achilles' mind, but in the way that she does not. She misreads him: if Achilles were not able even at a time like this to control himself out of respect, he would probably answer 'this is *not* just about gifts', just as in Book 9 Agamemnon's immense catalogue of offered gifts is not enough to win him back while in Book 24 Priam's offer, however kingly, is much less massive than Agamemnon's but is still effective. True honour embraces material wealth as a token of that respect, but is not reducible to it. The dynamic is similar on the human level. Nestor's bland summary—'even if you are a mighty man—a goddess mother bore you—he is still the superior man, because he rules over more men' (1.280–1)—is not likely to impress Achilles, but again Achilles has too much respect here for the peacemaker, this time the human peacemaker Nestor, to burst out 'no, he isn't: he's not the better man at all'—a view with which the Homeric narrator would probably have agreed, to judge from his description of Achilles as φέρτατος ('best') at 2.769, the superlative that trumps the comparative φέρτερος ('superior') here. Nor are these the only times in the early books where generalisations may sound sage but are inadequate to the moral complexities, not unlike the manner of many tragic choruses. Odysseus' defence of kingship in Book 2 is similarly facile, even if it is the right thing to say at the time (2.196–7, 204–6).

What emerges, then, is that even those with most goodwill and most insight—the goddess of wisdom, the man of years—are failing to understand Achilles' mind, and it is this human psychology that is most absorbing. The listener or reader may well understand it better than the characters in the text, even at this early stage when we have known this particular Achilles only for a few hundred lines. This prefigures further features too that we will often see in the historians, whether or not the gods are then involved: the importance of the dynamic of debate in capturing the texture of relationships, how and how well and how badly the society or its leadership is functioning; and the way in which those closest to events may not gauge the crucial aspects of a predicament well, may indeed be too close and too passionate to see what matters most. Take Herodotus again: Candaules will be obsessed with his wife's beauty (1.8–12), the Peloponnesians with the Isthmus wall (9.8.2), the Athenians with their loathing for Aegina (7.144)— and in each case more perceptive observers in the text gauge matters better, and Herodotus helps his readers and hearers to gauge them too. We could say the same about the Athenians' rage against Pericles when they see their land destroyed (Thuc. 2.20–2, 59, 65.2–3) or their anger with the generals after the battle of Arginusae for not doing more to pick up survivors (Xen. *Hell.* 1.7). The external audience—we—have access to various perspectives to help us grasp things better, not least an awareness of where things are heading so that we know what needs explaining. But one of our advantages

is that of emotional distance, which can paradoxically help the understanding even of emotion itself.

Historians will have to explain not merely where wars and conflicts come from, but also why they end in the way that they do. That too is already the case in the *Iliad*, and here again the divine-human interplay is important as Achilles comes to terms with his wrath. The movement in Book 24 reverses that of Book 1, this time first a divine meeting and then a human one. Zeus sends Thetis to tell Achilles that the gods are angry with him, and to see 'if perhaps he might fear me and ransom Hector' (24.116)—a mingle of politeness and threat ('fear me'), certainly, but again emphasising that it is up to him. Meanwhile and symmetrically, he sends Iris to tell Priam to go to the ships and offer gifts (24.117–9), something that closely reflects Priam's own instinctive reaction as soon as Hector dies (22.416–8).

So it is all set up, one might think, and there is not much left for the humans themselves to achieve. And yet there is. Thetis passes on the message to Achilles, and Achilles acknowledges the need to accept (24.139–40):

> So be it: let the man who brings the ransom take the dead body, if this is what Olympian Zeus himself is ordering.

It sounds like a wry, almost black-humoured tweaking of a proverb: 'you pays your money and you takes your … corpse'. But it also brings out what Achilles has *not* been told, that it will be Priam himself who comes. Meanwhile, Iris tells Priam to make the journey: once he gets there,

> he will not kill you himself and he will stop everyone else from doing so. For he is not a mindless or thoughtless or transgressive man, but he will take great care in sparing a suppliant. (24.157–8)

He is not the man to kill a suppliant? Really? We have seen him killing suppliants in plenty in this late phase of the war, most memorably Lycaon at 21.64–119; and the dying Hector too had begged him 'by his soul and his knees and his parents', and been rebuffed (22.338, 345). If this is the best reassurance Iris can give, one can understand why Hecuba (24.206–8) and 'all his friends' (24.327–8) think he is going to his death, and why Priam himself is prepared to accept that (24.224–7). For he too has not been told something crucial: Iris has not told him that the gods have intervened with Achilles too. The only divine role she mentions is that Hermes will see him safe until he gets to the tent (24.153–4). After that, he is on his own.

Yet these two points—that Priam himself will come, that he has no adequate divine guarantee that he will be safe—are going to be vital elements in the human drama in the tent. Priam is no Agamemnon, letting others do his work for him in Book 9; he faces the terrifying man himself. Achilles is dumbstruck as Priam appears; he is lost in θάμβος, wonder, and so are all around (24.482–3). It is as if a murderer has appeared suddenly in a

strange country; yet here it is the bereaved, not the killer, and he is bringing himself to supplicate and kiss these hands,

> terrible hands, man-killing hands, that had slain many of his sons (24.479),

each item of that awe-inspiring triad more specific[36] and each intensifying the extraordinary quality of what Priam has brought himself to do. By now, this is all (or nearly all[37]) on the human level, and the reflections that prove so crucial are unprepared by the gods: they indeed depend on the fact that it is Priam who is here, that he can call on Achilles to look on him and see his own father there, that Achilles can reflect on the common mortality that they share (24.525–6):

> This is what the gods have woven for poor mortals, to live in pain and sorrow: they have no cares themselves.

This is a quintessential 'life is like that' explanation.[38] It is not that it is pointless to ask questions about how things have come to this, why Achilles has by now doomed himself to death and his father to bereavement, why the Trojan War happened and why Hector died. It is just that these are no longer the most important questions to ask. Misery is ubiquitous; it is the human lot; it requires no special explanation to fathom why it should have come their way too. The explaining process need go no further. The gods matter, for it is they who have set up this way of the world. But what matters more is the way these mortals cope with that understanding, and the fraught dynamic of their human encounter.

We can again find parallels in plenty among the historians, especially but not only Herodotus.[39] There are times when the gods cannot be left out of it: Croesus' salvation, the salvation of Greece, Sparta's loss of Thebes (Xen.

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[36] Cf. Richardson (1993) 322–3 ad loc.

[37] Nearly all, because Achilles mentions that Thetis had come from Zeus and that he realises that the gods have guided Priam to the tent (24.560–70), implying without quite saying that this is one of his reasons for releasing the body (560–1). But this comes towards the end of the scene, at a moment when Achilles is at risk of being provoked by Priam's impatience; its relevance is as much in the danger that, if he kills Priam, he will be offending against Zeus' instructions (569–70). The emphasis is on the immense human strain involved in controlling his emotions. So also Macleod (1982) 124: 'Achilles knows his anger could flare up again: that is why he dwells on the divine will, which is to curb himself as much as it is to reassure Priam.'

[38] *HQY* ch. 1[f].

[39] *HQY* ch. 10. Cf. also Baragwanath, below. Ch. 4: the gods have a role to play in Herodotus' treatment of Libya, and the final chapter (4.205) could not make that clearer. But there too the narrative focus rests on the human level, and so does the principal contribution to the work as a whole.

Hell. 5.4.1). Yet even in those cases human interactions are what absorb author and reader. Mortal affairs may not be fully comprehensible on their own terms, but it is still those mortal terms which can be understood most surely, and make the stuff of which historical narrative is made.

3. Generalising and Intertextuality

By Book 24 it is a story about more than Achilles' wrath: generalisations like his about divine carelessness and mortal misery point to universal and repeated human experience. In antiquity Homer was often regarded as a source of philosophical insight, and that is not a nonsensical view, any more than it is nonsensical to find generalisable morals in specific historiographic narratives. One of the paradoxes of the *Iliad* is the way that Achilles, the most special of special cases—the fastest of runners, the fiercest of warriors, the one man who has firm knowledge of his fate—, can be found paradigmatic for life-choices that so many ordinary mortals have had to face.[40] He may *know* that he will win eternal glory if he goes back to the fight, and know that he will die: many humans facing battle may simply hope for a version of the first and fear the reality of the second; but that knowledge of Achilles sharpens the choice, it does not fundamentally change it. In Herodotus too firm contours can give the clarity of extremes—extreme power in the Persian monarch, extreme freedom (at least in one sense of freedom) in Athenian democracy.[41] Thucydides may similarly find clarity about the moral impact of war by exploring intra-city *stasis*, the case where passions are at their most intense (3.80–2), and after portraying Cleon as the demagogue *par excellence* can pass quickly over Athenagoras and Hyperbolus; Xenophon pays particular attention to individuals of extreme ability and character, Cyrus or Agesilaus, and discusses only one narrow oligarchy in depth, the excessively brutal Thirty at Athens;[42] Polybius finds Rome, which managed things so uniquely well, the ideal test-case for his constitutional musings.

There is however a less grand and all-embracing sense in which the story goes beyond that of Achilles' anger and does not end here. Many hints have looked forward to the two great developments that loom in the near future. One is Achilles' own death, presaged in the narrative with increasing detail. By now we know that his death will be certain 'immediately' after Hector's,[43]

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[40] Cf. Pelling in Pelling–Wyke (2014) 6–8. Something similar may be said about the Odysseus of the *Odyssey*: Goldhill (1991) 1–5.

[41] *HQY* chs. 9, 12–13.

[42] Dillery (1995) 138–63; cf. Flower (2017) 305.

[43] A phrase that has often been felt to cause problems, given that in the Epic Cycle several episodes intervened between Hector's death and Achilles': cf. Kelly (2012b) 249–52, deciding that Thetis is mistaken or exaggerating; M. L. West (2003b) 7–8, (2011a) 346, and (2013) 149–50. But what Thetis says is that 'immediately after Hector your fate is ἑτοῖμος' (18.96), and as Edwards (1991) 158 says ad loc., 'ἑτοῖμος = "ready", "certain to be fulfilled"'. It is the

that it will be at the hands of Paris and Apollo in combination, and that it will happen by the Scaean gates and close under the wall; we may also have a sense that Hector's threat will come true and the gods will still be angry (18.96, 19.417, 21.277–8, 22.359–60, 23.80–1, 24.131–2).[44] The other is the fall of Troy 'through Athena's counsel', which will follow 'after' or 'from' Hector's death (ἐκ τοῦ in the words of Zeus himself, 15.69–71); and the delay of the material on the judgement of Paris (24.25–30; above, p. 9) helps us to understand why—that continuing anger of Hera and Poseidon and Athena.[45] This is conveyed too by ways that go beyond explicit prophecy. We know what Hector's death will mean for Troy (22.60–76), and Priam can well reflect on the horror of an old man's death, white hair, white beard, his genitals rent by dogs (22.74–6). The imminent death that they share gives extra point to those musings of Achilles as he speaks to Priam: community, but community in death. Historians too will find ways of making the future beyond their limits important to their interpretation: the Athenian empire for Herodotus and the confusion after Mantinea for Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.5.27), both of them themes that loom some way before the texts reach their conclusion; the verdict of future generations on Polybius' Rome (36.9) once it too has met its end (38.21–22, cf. 6.9.12–14); the catastrophes of the last generation of the Republic and the new dispensation of Augustus for Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[46]

There is even a sense that the death of Hector *is*, emblematically, the death of Troy.[47] As mother, father, and people lament,

> it was if all beetling Troy, down from its height, were to be consumed by fire. (*Il.* 22.410–11)

In a similar way Herodotus' Salamis or Thucydides' Syracuse may suggest and anticipate the end of their respective wars, or by an interesting variation Polybius' Cannae looks as if it might presage a Carthaginian victory but turns out not to do so. Here again we are dealing with cause and effect, but this time looking forward rather than backwards: it captures why the battles

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certainty rather than the death that is immediate; in a broader sense that death may have already been certain for some time, but Hector's killing can still be a trigger for the decisive train of events.

[44] See esp. Burgess (2009) 43–55, and, briefly, Schadewaldt (1965) 260–1 and Griffin (1980a) 163 and n. 39.

[45] Thus, persuasively, Davies (1981); Reinhardt (1997; originally 1938) shows that the judgement lurks inexplicitly in the background of several earlier phases of the narrative. Aristarchus athetised at least some of the passage, probably lines 25–30, but recent commentators give good reasons for keeping it: thus Macleod (1982) 88; Richardson (1993) 276–8; and Brügger (2017) 26.

[46] Pelling (2016).

[47] As many have suggested: cf. esp. Schoeck (1961) 117; Griffin (1980a) 1.

are decisive, and that is because of what they *cause*, even if (both in Hector's case and in the historians') they do not cause it immediately. That is so even with the Cannae twist, as Polybius explains why the expected consequence did not come about for deeper reasons embedded in Roman society. So not just explicit foreshadowing but also narrative shaping can point to what is to come, partly because the same factors will be at play on the larger canvas of the whole war, partly because this event itself—a great victory or defeat, the death of the crucial defender—will make the difference.

So far, though, the point is a fluffy one: it feels 'as if' all Troy is falling, it is 'as if' Priam knows what is ahead. Symmetrically fluffy points can be (and often have been) made about the early books. The catalogue of ships in Book 2 'feels as if' it belongs at the beginning of the war, perhaps at Aulis (otherwise why ships rather than tents? And why begin with those places so close to Aulis, in Boeotia?). The duel of Menelaus and Paris in Book 3 'feels as if' it belongs at the beginning of the war, and so does the *teichoskopia*, with Helen pointing out to Priam all those Greek heroes as if they had not been here already, in full sight, for a full ten years (3.146–244). Pandarus' wounding of Menelaus (4.85–147; above, p. 7) 'feels as if' it is symbolically re-enacting Trojan war-guilt; that comes soon after the lovemaking of Helen and Paris, which may similarly recall its first equivalent on the island of Cranae (Paris has mentioned that during his rather perfunctory foreplay, 3.445–6). All those 'feels as if' are plausible enough, just as it is plausible to take them as one of the ways in which the action of the four days of the poem is made to capture the whole action of the war.[48] In the same way this particular story-line, with a quarrel beginning over a woman but swiftly escalating as masculine pride and aggression take over, can be seen as an equivalent of the whole tale of the war (rather as Herodotus' story of Candaules revisits themes from the initial parade of mythical abductions): for Briseis, read Helen; for Achilles and Agamemnon, read Menelaus and Paris.[49] Much later, Tacitus will do something similar in the first book of the *Annals*, when we all but re-live the catastrophe of Varus six years before (*Ann.* 1.61–2).[50] In all these cases narrative contours suggest something bigger, a sequence that develops with the same rhythm because similar factors, human or divine, are driving it; but we can also notice and reflect on the differences (for Caecina's army contrives *not* to suffer Varus' fate). This is a technique that works intratextually as well, for we often see later events retracing a familiar pattern but with some crucial differences. Thus Odysseus' return shares some, but only some, features with the *nostoi* of others from Troy, and

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[48] As many have pointed out, notably Kullmann (1960) 365–6 and (2001) 388–90; Griffin (1980a) 1; Andersen (1990); Dowden (1996) 55–8 ('*Iliad*, mirror of the whole war'); Currie (2016) 1–2.

[49] Rutherford (2012) 17–22 and (2013) 6–9 and 43–53 has judicious comments on this and on several other issues that are relevant to the next few pages.

[50] Pelling (1990) 49 = (2002) 160.

his experiences at Ithaca replay some of those in Phaeacia;[51] that divine assembly in *Iliad* 24 strikes a more sombre note than that in *Iliad* 1, as even those carefree gods are moved by what they have seen. Such narrative patterning will become a further familiar feature in the historians as well, and one that they exploit with interpretative flair.[52]

Is the Homeric point a less fluffy one, though, a matter less of 'feels as if' and more of intertextuality? Characters within the poem, especially the old and wise Phoenix and Nestor, typically use narratives of past events to cast light on the present,[53] thus embedding a principle—what has happened once can happen again[54]—that is of fundamental importance to later historiography; the light the speakers cast may sometimes shine in directions that they may not be sensing or at least saying themselves,[55] as for instance when Phoenix puts to Achilles the paradigm of Meleager but glosses over the way that Meleager's refusal of gifts led to his own death.[56] Does the Homeric narrator too gesture towards past narratives that the audience would know, and use them to add depth and raise questions? Is he 'logging into a world-wide web' (as Elton Barker puts it)[57] of other stories, playing on his audience's familiarity with the way in which such tales, and even particular tales, have gone? That is not incompatible with an acknowledgement of the importance of oral performance and (in some sense) oral composition, and indeed it chimes well with the widely accepted idea that individual formulae or type-scenes 'reverberate' or 'resonate' with the entire tradition.[58] It is indeed arguable that a hearing audience exploits its awareness of typical patterns even more than a reading one, using that alertness to sense where the story is heading and to recognise what is new and distinctive.[59] If this is so, then

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[51] Rutherford (1985).

[52] *HQY* chs. 1[c], 8–9.

[53] On this see esp. Alden (2000).

[54] Cf. Arist. *Poetics* 1451b16–9 with Alden (2000) 25 and 43, drawing the parallel with Thuc. 1.22.4, and Saïd (2011) 94.

[55] Andersen (1987) 3–7 offers further examples of this '"secondary" function of the paradigm which refers not to the perception of the message by a character in the plot, but to the understanding of the audience'.

[56] So e.g. Andersen (1987) 5; Swain (1988) 375. This reading assumes that his death was already part of the story that Homer and his audience knew, which is undemonstrable but not at all unlikely. For thorough discussion of the whole Meleager paradigm see Alden (2000) ch. 7, with full references to earlier scholarship.

[57] Barker (2008) 50.

[58] Such ideas of 'traditional referentiality' were developed by Foley (1999) and elsewhere, and are illuminatingly applied by Kelly (2007); 'reverberation' is the word used by Lang (1983) and Slatkin (1991), while Graziosi and Haubold (2005) prefer 'epic resonance'.

[59] So, rightly, Kelly (2012a), defending this 'oralist perspective' and insisting that it strengthens rather than weakens the case for applying techniques more familiar in the criticism of written texts; cf. Danek (1998) 25–6, 511–2.

stories are already operating 'in cahoots',[60] depending on other stories to
bring out their full significance.[61]

This leads us to questions of intertextuality and interpretation, another
topic that has become central to historiographic scholarship.[62] There is a
rather unproductive scholarly debate whether one can properly use 'inter-
textuality' in a world before fixed texts, when a poem may be interacting
with other strands in the oral tradition rather than anything that has yet been
textually fixed.[63] That issue is partly semantic, at least for the sort of echoes
we are talking about here: this need not be a matter of specific verbal
similarities (and there is therefore no need to posit anything approaching a
fixed text of any stories that are echoed),[64] but broad points of theme and
plot. I keep 'intertextuality' because that is the best way to formulate the
manner in which the historians' narrative interacts with earlier stories. In the
Homeric case, one useful way of putting it is in terms of 'mythological
intertextuality', the phrase suggested by Jonathan Burgess, provided that we
remember that these myths would normally take (doubtless shifting)
narrative form within oral song or songs.[65]

Might, then, Homer's original audience find the early parts of the poem,
if they heard them in anything like their present version, not merely 'feeling
as if' it was the beginning of the war but recalling other songs that they have

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[60] *HQY* ch. 3[c].

[61] And in that case the same is likely to be true for other early narrative poetry, notably
Hesiod and the Homeric hymns: so Currie (2016), arguing also that such allusiveness may
extend to Near Eastern poetic traditions. These are interesting questions, but not ones for
this chapter.

[62] E.g. Damon (2010); Levene (2010) 84–6; and the papers from APA panels in 2011 and
2013 at http://research.ncl.ac.uk/histos/_Histos__WorkingPapers.html. I had my say at the
2011 panel (= Pelling (2013)), and will have a further say in a forthcoming paper on Plutarch
(Pelling, *forthcoming*).

[63] For the debate cf. the various papers in Montanari–Rengakos–Tsagalis (2012),
together with the thoughtful reflections of Burgess (2006) and (2009) 56–71. The opposite
points of view are clearly put by Kelly (2012b) and Currie (2006), (2011), (2012), and esp.
(2016). Currie finds more specific instances of intertextuality than I would, but I do follow
him, along with the more cautious Burgess (2006), in his defence of the term (though he now
prefers 'allusion': Currie (2016) 34).

[64] Cf. Alden (2000) 9–10; M. L. West (2013) 17. Even Currie, who is prepared to find
more specific echoes, points out that 'something well short of total fixity (exact verbatim
reproduction) should suffice' (Currie (2012) 568, and cf. his full discussion at (2016) 12–22).
But Dowden (1996) is prepared to think in terms of fixed texts.

[65] Burgess (2006), esp. 173, in a very thoughtful discussion. That formulation falls short
of encouraging the verbal intertextuality that some scholars would claim (cf. Currie (2011)
207 n. 117 for a clear statement of the differences between the positions, and Burgess (2011)
for the case—*contra* e.g. Usener (1990) 208—for finding verbal allusiveness even without
fixed texts), but we are here concerned with matters of plot.

heard, on Homer's own lips or on others:[66] songs that relayed a catalogue of ships at the point where they were about to set sail, songs that had Helen give Priam information on newly-arrived heroes rather than those whom he had seen as they steadily aged? Of course such songs would not be identical with the ones in the *Iliad*, and the versions we have fit their present contexts;[67] but they could have been closely similar. Such questions have often been put by 'Neoanalysts'[68] in terms of sources: is the poet of the *Iliad* drawing on those other stories to construct his own? For our purposes, it is more fruitful to follow a more recent phase of Neoanalyst scholarship and put them in terms of reader or hearer response, how an audience might find its understanding of events deepened by such associations.[69]

Once again, we can find counterpart questions to ask about the last third of the poem. The account of Patroclus' *aristeia* in Book 16 shows parallels with what we can reconstruct of Achilles' death-scene, as told in another poem of the epic cycle, the *Aethiopis*:[70] Achilles too will be struck down by a lesser man, in his case Paris and in Patroclus' Euphorbus, with the help of Apollo (cf. 16.849). Achilles' own raging into battle after Patroclus' death may also foreshadow something of that narrative-sequence.[71] Achilles knows his own death is imminent: Patroclus' ashes are to be marked by a small temporary tomb, until his can be added and they can be buried together (23.243–8; cf. 91–2, 126). Now at the funeral he gives away as prizes not

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[66] So, despite their different views of the poem's genesis, Burgess (2009) 65–6 and M. L. West (2011a) 32–6, then esp. 111–3 (catalogue of ships), 127–8 (duel at start of war), 131 (*teichoskopia*), 344 (Thetis' mourning), 399–400 (games).

[67] Thus Menelaus acknowledges 'the many sufferings' that the Achaeans have already undergone (3.99) and that Achaeans and Trojans alike would be delighted to see at an end (111–2). The *teichoskopia* similarly assumes that there has been fighting for 'a long time' (3.157, cf. 132–3).

[68] 'Neoanalysts': so-called as they draw on the traditions of 'Analyst' Homeric scholarship in accepting various strands of earlier poetry that have gone into the making of the poems, but the 'Neo-' reflects a new readiness to see this in terms of a poet drawing on those traditions to make a distinctive creation. As is often remarked, this strand of scholarship therefore typically belongs with the 'Unitarian' approach to which traditional 'Analysis' was opposed.

[69] Burgess (2006) 167–71 is here particularly insightful.

[70] The parallels are conveniently tabulated by Currie (2016) 57. For the fragments see M. L. West (2003a) 108–17 and (2013) 129–62; the summary given by Proclus, supplemented by Apollodorus, is particularly illuminating (M. L. West (2003a) 110–2; id. (2013) 129–30). See also Burgess (2009), esp. 72–92, M. L. West (2003b), and Currie (2011) 192–3, 196–7, with reference to earlier literature. Allan (2005) insists on the need to explain Patroclus' death in terms of its role within the *Iliad* itself, but allows that 'If we imagine that Homer knew of, and may indeed have sung himself, stories which were later promulgated under the title *Aethiopis*, there is no difficulty in the idea that he may be encouraging the audience to think of those future events' (13).

[71] For discussion cf. Willcock (1983); Currie (2016) 126–30; M. L. West (2003b); Burgess (1997) and (2009).

merely the dead man's possessions (23.740–7, 799–800), but also his own (23.560–5, 807–8, 827–9). It is as if he is dead already and he is conducting his own funeral as well as his friend's, just as Thetis' mourning for Patroclus merges into mourning for Achilles himself (18.50–64; cf. 24.84–5).[72] Achilles' funeral was itself to become famous, and in the final scenes of the *Odyssey* the dead Agamemnon refers to it at some length (24.34–94):[73] so the same question arises. Might the audience's awareness of the full implications be enhanced by their memories of another song, this time one covering Achilles' own funeral itself, just as their awareness of where Patroclus' or Achilles' earlier *aristeiai* are leading may draw on the memories of how Achilles himself will die? Is the narrative shape itself again insinuating a pattern of cause and effect as we begin the sequence that will lead to that death?

They are reasonable questions, and the answer is somewhere in the range between 'Very likely' and 'Almost certainly'. It is, after all, clear that the audience of the poems was familiar with the broader story of the war: that is made clear by the allusive way in which earlier and later events at Troy are mentioned, not least those 'ships which started the troubles' of 5.63 (above, p. 3), in contrast to the fuller and more expository style found appropriate for recounting pre-war events.[74] The complication is that much of our knowledge of these earlier and later developments is based on our fragments of the epic cycle, and it is generally[75] thought that those other poems were composed, or at least reached their final form, later than the *Iliad* itself. They may therefore be drawing on the *Iliad* either as a source or for their own allusive purposes, just as the poet of *Odyssey* 24 may well be including echoes of Patroclus' games when describing the funeral of Achilles: that would not be the only way in which the final scenes of the poem can be seen as giving closural echoes not just of the *Odyssey* but of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined.[76] So

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[72] That need not imply that the lament itself recalls a specific lament for Achilles in an earlier poem: see the discussion of Currie (2016) 119–26. I here agree with Kelly (2012b) that 'there is no reason to believe that her first speech of lamentation is poorly motivated or ill-suited to the situation of the *Iliad*, or that it would be better suited to another poem or story' (240).

[73] It is also mentioned in Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopis*: M. L. West (2003a) 112–3. Cf. Burgess (2009) 90–1. The Neoanalyst inference was that the *Iliad* version was based on a *Memnonis* (or *Achilleis*): Kakridis (1949) 83–9; Kullmann (1960) 331–5; Schadewaldt (1965) 170.

[74] Austin (1966).

[75] But not universally: Dowden (1996) 48–9 entertains the possibility that at least the *Aethiopis* may be pre-Homeric, while Ballabriga (1998) 22–32 finds traces in our texts, owed to activities of the Homeridae around the year 600, of written versions of (*inter alia*) the *Telegony*'s treatment of Odysseus' later adventures. The more usual view is that the *Telegony* considerably post-dates the *Odyssey*: thus M. L. West (2011b) 232, 237 and (2013) 288–92.

[76] On such echoes of the *Iliad* in *Od.* 24 cf. Rutherford (1991–3) 45 = (2001) 130 and the notes of Heubeck (1992) on 24.39–40, 50–7, 76–9, 85–92, 95, 178–85, 315–7, 376–82, 472–88, 539–44; Danek (1998) 468–71, 474–5, 495, 498–9. Danek is more cautious than Heubeck, and in some of these passages Danek is probably right in finding echoes of versions in other

there is always a chance that some at least of the similarities are telling a tale not about the technique of the *Iliad*, but about that of (say) the *Aethiopis*.[77] That certainly does not end the discussion; there is no reason why such a poet should not be drawing both on the *Iliad* and on other strands of the tradition, known both to the *Iliad*-poet and to himself. In the case of the *Aethiopis* one frequent move is to posit a lost *Memnonis* on which both *Aethiopis* and *Iliad* draw,[78] but there are other possibilities too.[79]

So some caution has to remain;[80] but it is caution that anyway applies only to the first-generation audience of the poem, those fortunate few who heard a version of the poem on the poet's own lips or on those of his early followers. If we jump forward again to the historians, they were writing for audiences who certainly knew the epic cycle as well as the *Iliad*. Many will indeed have taken those other poems to be Homeric (the question is raised by Herodotus in connection with the *Cypria*, 2.117: he argues against authenticity, but the case needed to be made).[81] However many of these intertextual implications Homer's original audience may have sensed, they were available to later generations to draw. If we find similar techniques in the historians themselves, the model of Homeric patterning can well be in their and their audiences' minds.

What the historians *do* with such intertextuality is another question, but many would now accept that the answers are interesting ones.[82]

poems, perhaps especially a *Memnonis*; but (as Heubeck on 85–92 remarks) that need not preclude an 'indirect reference' as well to Iliadic passages that themselves echo that (?) *Memnonis*. This would be what students of literary intertextuality call a 'window-reference'.

[77] Thus M. L. West (2003b) argues that the role of Antilochus in particular is a post-Iliadic development, constructed especially for a *Memnonis* composed 'not too long after the *Iliad*, perhaps around 630 or 620; the *Iliad* poet might well still have been alive' (12): cf. M. L. West (2013) 129–36 and on Antilochus, 143–4. For doubts whether one can be so certain about the chronology see Currie (2016) 60 n. 130.

[78] Thus, classically, Schadewaldt (1965) 172–6, reconstructing a poem of twenty scenes and about 2000 verses in four books.

[79] E.g., M. L. West (2013) 132–3, 135–6 posits a third poem, an *Amazonis*, which was combined with a *Memnonis* to constitute the *Aethiopis*: not accepted by Davies (2016) 2 n. 2. See the full discussions of Currie (2006) 23–41 and (2016) 55–72, with references to earlier scholarship.

[80] Burgess (2001) 149–57 concludes that 'when similarity is seen between a Cyclic passage and a Homeric passage, it is most likely that the Homeric passage is borrowing from or alluding to traditional material that led to the Epic Cycle' (155; cf. id. (2006) 150). 'Most likely' is right; not 'certain'.

[81] Notice also Herodotus' suspicion about Homer's authorship of the *Epigonoi*, 4.32. See the discussion of Graziosi (2002) 193–5, and more broadly 164–200, on the process whereby, and the reasons why, the text of 'Homer' was narrowed down to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

[82] For Herodotus see Pelling (2006) and *HQY*, index s.v. 'intertextuality'; for one particular test-case in Thucydides see Rood (1999). See also works cited above, n. 62

4. The *Odyssey*

The *Iliad* is richer than the *Odyssey* for the purposes of this inquiry. One wonders why that should be. Perhaps it is because historians are so often concerned with war and suffering;[83] 'bad reality, good copy', as the journalistic cliché goes. Or perhaps it is because those themes so often produce the glorious deeds that historiography commemorates and so often generate bewildering shifts of fortune that invite, even if they sometimes frustrate, the attempt to explain. Still, the *Odyssey* had a great effect on historiography as well, especially when the historians turned from the ways of war to those of peace.[84] In that poem too we find 'intertextuality', if that is the right word, most identifiably intertextuality with the *Iliad*.[85] That background presence draws attention to the different qualities that are now required of an Odysseus. This is a world of peace, and one in which women play a much bigger role; sword-swinging heroics are rarely the total answer when danger looms, and when they do become necessary it is essential to judge the right time and manner; but more often deceit, restraint, caution, and charm are what are required, the art of winning hearts rather than stabbing them through. Caution and prudence were valued in the *Iliad* too,[86] as were Odysseus' diplomatic skills (that is why he was chosen for the embassy in *Iliad* 9); but those qualities have now come to dominate, and Odysseus' diplomacy is also different, now much more a matter of trickery and deceit.[87] And that at bottom is also a causal point: this sort of character

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[83] Macleod (1983) 7–8 = (2001) 301–2 on 'human passion, death, and degradation, with behind it all the will of an all-powerful god' as the subject of epic; 157–8, on the links between epic and historiography. Cf. also Raaflaub (2011) 17–18 on the centrality of war to historiography and to Herodotus in particular.

[84] Marincola (2007), and cf. Barker (2009) ch. 3 ('Herodotus' Odyssean enquiry').

[85] As is analysed exhaustively by Usener (1990), elaborately and with theoretical sophistication by Pucci (1987), and incisively by Rutherford (1991–3) and (2013) 76–80. Cf. Currie (2006) 7–15 and (2016) 39–47, and Danek (1998), Index s.v. 'Ilias, interpretierte Stellen' and 509–11. The possibility of a relation to a pre-Homeric *Argonautica* has also been thoroughly mooted (Danek (1998) esp. 197–201, 213, 250–7, and M. L. West (2005) with earlier bibliography), and so has the question whether the *Odyssey* exploits allusions to alternative versions of Odysseus' own story, especially one in which Penelope herself played a part in the plot against the suitors (Danek (1998); Currie (2016) 47–55). This final possibility has some relevance to questions of 'virtual history' aired in Pelling (2013) and in *HQY* ch. 3.

[86] Schofield (1986).

[87] Odysseus' *reputation* for deceit is there in the *Iliad* too: the Trojan Socus can address him as 'much-famed Odysseus, insatiate of trickery and toil' (δόλων ἆτ' ἠδὲ πόνοιο, 11.430), and this is presumably also what underlies Achilles' suspicious opening at 9.308–14. For other hints, cf. Rutherford (1986) 149 = (2009) 163; Pucci (1987) 144–7 ('the shadow of trickery', 144) and, in his 1995 'Afterword', 225. But clear cases of deceptiveness on his part are seen only in the Doloneia (*Il.* 10.383).

is what is needed to bring success and even survival in awkward situations,[88] the archetype for the 'cunning intelligence' or 'shrewdness' (μῆτις) that later generations of Greeks so prized—and that Herodotus' Themistocles will show in plenty.[89]

There is plenty of blame in the *Odyssey* too, especially blame of human characters,[90] and it is more fundamentally integrated into the plot than in the *Iliad*. The 'it's their fault, they started it' line of reasoning is heard louder: it is pressed home in the first words of Zeus, words that have often been sensed to have a programmatic ring (*Od.* 1.32–43):[91]

> Oh, how mortals blame the gods! They say that their woes come from us, but in fact these are their own fault, and they suffer more than their due share because of their arrogant outrages (σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν). Take Aegisthus now. He went beyond what was due in marrying the wedded wife of Agamemnon and killing the man himself on his return; yet he knew he faced sheer destruction for it, because we sent Hermes, the keen-eyed slayer of Argos, to tell him not to kill Agamemnon nor to marry his wife: 'for vengeance will come from Orestes, of Atreus' line, when he grows up and longs to reclaim his land'. That is what Hermes said, but he did not persuade Aegisthus with his friendly good advice; and now Aegisthus has paid back everything in full.

As on several other occasions in the first half of the poem, it is not difficult to sense that the programme applies to those other aspiring husbands, the suitors besetting Penelope. Aegisthus is even described here with some of the vocabulary that will be familiar with the suitors, especially ἀτασθαλίῃσιν; and everyone blames him, just as most people are blaming the suitors. It is because that parallel is so clear that Orestes can be used as an inspiring model for the young Telemachus (1.298–300, cf. 3.306–8, 4.546). We can still say that, as in the *Iliad*, the greater interest rests in the human characteristics—Odysseus', Penelope's, Telemachus', the suitors'—that are going to ensure that this outcome is reached. But the feeling that it is the *right* outcome remains more basic to the *Odyssey* than anything in the *Iliad*, and one fundamental explanation for the suitors' death is that they deserve it.[92]

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[88] Cf. Griffin (1980b) 49–50, 'Odysseus is a new sort of hero, the survivor. Disguise, deception, endurance—these are the qualities he needs to survive.' Thus also Rutherford (1991–3) 41–2 = (2001) 123–4.

[89] Cf. esp. Detienne–Vernant (1978); and on Themistocles, Blösel (2001) 185–6, (2004) 158–60 and 360; and *HQY* ch. 14(d).

[90] Thus Nagy (1979) ch. 12 ('Poetry of praise, poetry of blame'), giving helpful comparison with Pindar, has much more on the *Odyssey* than the *Iliad*.

[91] E.g., by Dodds (1951) 32; Lloyd-Jones (1971) 29; Fenik (1974) 209–10; Kullmann (1985) 6.

[92] S. R. West (1988) 55–60; Danek (1998) 41–2. It is true that some deserve it more than others, and Allan (2006) 23–5 reasonably stresses that the careful narrative discrimination of

The gods themselves are seen to be steering matters in that direction, and the cry of joy of Odysseus' father Laertes does not seem deluded (24.351–2):

> So, father Zeus, you do still exist after all, you gods on great Olympus, if the suitors have genuinely paid for their outrageous [ἀτάσθαλον] violence.

So when Antinous claims that it is not the suitors who are to blame but Penelope (2.85–128), we are not likely to believe him, even if in a way we see his point. Matters are different, though, with the bard Phemius, so again blameworthiness matters: his plea is accepted that he acted unwillingly and under duress (22.350–3), Telemachus confirms that he is ἀναίτιος (22.356), and he and the herald Medon are spared. Such discriminations of different degrees of guilt are important to Herodotus too,[93] and he also conveys some notion of divine guidance to a conclusion that is—certainly from the Greek perspective, and probably in a broader moral sense—the right one:[94] the second point is even more explicit in Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.4.12, 5.4.1).

Nor is Aegisthus' case the only crime-and-punishment element introduced at the outset. The proem has also explained that Odysseus was unable to bring his comrades to the safety of home, for they too 'died through their own arrogant outrages'—ἀτασθαλίῃσιν again—when they ate the cattle of the Sun (1.7–9, cf. 12.300), and the Sun took his revenge. The *Iliad*, as we saw, looked for a divine explanation—'Which of the gods was it …?'—and then complicated that by bringing out how deeply the human origins of the quarrel were rooted. The movement of the *Odyssey* initially goes in the other direction: there is that initial encouragement to look for human blameworthiness, but we are also swiftly told that Odysseus' suffering is because of Poseidon's unrelenting hostility (1.20–1). That too—to give further complication—goes back to a human's own actions, for Odysseus had killed Poseidon's son Polyphemus (1.68–75): not exactly *crime*-and-punishment, perhaps, given what we will discover of the circumstances in Book 9, but still a case of the important actions starting with the humans, and blame—here Poseidon's blame—playing an important explanatory role. And, as far as the fate of Odysseus' men is concerned, that statement of the prologue is backed up by the narrative of the events themselves (12.324–65): ἀτασθαλίαι may there emerge as a harsh word to have used, but the pattern of blame—divine blame, here that of the Sun—and punishment certainly recurs.[95] And if

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the two 'good' suitors, Amphinomus and Leiodes, does not spare either of them from vengeance.

[93] E.g. 4.200.1, 6.50.1, 7.156.2; *HQΥ* chs. 1, 6[b].

[94] *HQΥ* chs. 10–11.

[95] Fenik (1974) 213–5, drawing the parallel with Poseidon's wrath over the Cyclops: 'both incidents show an angry god avenging a personal affront committed under circumstances that strongly encouraged or even forced the deed'.

Odysseus does escape when everyone else does not, a lot of the explanation rests in the support of Athena: so that takes us back, once again, to the gods.

So there is a to-and-fro between divine and human levels as in the *Iliad*, and both need to be brought in if we are to understand what is going on; disentangling exactly how, and how far, they interact in each case may be more difficult. There is certainly no denial that sufferings come to humans from the gods *as well*, so we are not that distant from Achilles' sombre reflections of *Iliad* 24 (above, p. 13): Zeus' point in that initial tirade is only that it is humans' own fault that they suffer 'more than their due share'.[96] If there is more of an emphasis on divine concern for human morality,[97] that may be a matter of plot requirements: the story *does* end with crime punished.

All those points help to add up to an explanation of why things end up the way they do, happily for Odysseus. There is also the question of why and how they have gone wrong, particularly in Ithaca. The simple answer is one of absence: Odysseus was not there, leaving space for all those bad people to flourish. But the implications are pointed in more specific ways, and as usual it is done through the narrative rather than made clodhoppingly explicit. In particular, there has been no assembly since Odysseus left (2.26–7): no *agorē*, that mark of civilised life[98] (it is a mark of the Cyclopes' lack of civilised community that they have no *agorē* and no system of justice, 9.112). There is an implication now that one of the ways in which Odysseus was 'gentle like a father' was to listen to what others had to say, rather as he held *agorai* of his companions during his travels (9.171, 10.188, 12.319) and rather as 'Zeus the father' is prepared in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to listen to what the other gods want to put to him. The next time we have a meeting in the Ithacan *agorē*, it is a travesty of a proper assembly (16.361), as only the suitors are present, and they acknowledge that the people are against them and are fearful that Telemachus might summon one again (16.375–7). It may then be a sign of returning normality that an impromptu *agorē* is held immediately after their families have buried the suitors (24.420–66), even though it ends in the 'wrong' decision—in this case, to move quickly for vengeance.[99] Assemblies can always go astray, as memories of the assemblies in *Iliad* 1 and 2 (surely in the background of *Odyssey* 2)[100] may already suggest, as Herodotus will point out devastatingly at 5.97.2, and as Thucydides and Xenophon will several times imply—but still, any consultation is better than no consultation. Here in Ithaca, there may be some force in Mentor's point that he blames the

[96] Lesky (2001) 190; Rutherford (1985) 145 and 149 n. 54; Allan (2006) 17 and n. 75.

[97] This should not be overstated: there is some concern for morality in the *Iliad* too. Cf. Lloyd-Jones (1971) ch. 1; Kullmann (1985) 9–10; Allan (2006), with many further references.

[98] Vernant (1982) 125–6. On the *agorē* in Homer see Barker (2009) 31–134, emphasising the varied and shifting form that assemblies take.

[99] It is analysed by Barker (2009) 108–13.

[100] S. R. West (1988) 128; Rutherford (1991–3) 44 = (2001) 128; Griffin (1980a) 12; Barker (2009) 93, 101–2.

dēmos for allowing the suitors to get away with it (2.239–41; cf. Halitherses at 24.454–62), just as there was force in Achilles' similar feeling of outrage at the way that the Achaean army did not restrain Agamemnon (*Il.* 1.231–2), a passage that is probably recalled here. But there was even less procedure for the Ithacan *dēmos* to do anything about it than there was for the army at Troy. The suitors can claim that they fear nobody (Eurymachus at 2.199–200); we can see why. So, as in the *Iliad* and as in the historians, emphasis on individuals and attention to a deficient societal structure both play their explanatory part; so, in particular, does an interest in how *logos* works, and how and when it does not.

5. The Literature of Suffering

'This is what the gods have woven for poor mortals, to live in pain and sorrow': those reflections of Achilles (*Il.* 24.525–6; above, p. 13) might seem unsuitably bleak for the lighter world of the *Odyssey*, but they are echoed here as well. The solemn lecture given by young Nausicaa to Odysseus (6.188–90)—Zeus gives good things and bad things to mortals as he wishes, and you just have to put up with it—is delightfully characterising of her. She is trying to be so very mature.

Not of course that she is wrong;[101] and this is one of several echoes in Phaeacia of the end of the *Iliad*, underlining both how distant that world of real suffering seems in this near-fairyland and how present those memories still are for Odysseus himself.[102] Odysseus has heard Demodocus' song about the Wooden Horse, and he weeps (8.523–31):

> Just as a woman weeps, falling on her dead husband after he has fallen himself in front of his city and his people, trying to ward off the pitiless day from his town and the children; she has seen him as he dies, gasping out his last breath, and clings to him as she lets out her shrill lament; the men behind strike her back and shoulders with their spears as they lead her into slavery, to have toil and misery, and her cheeks are wasted with the most piteous of grief: so piteously did Odysseus weep…

'Not precisely Andromache (for the woman in the simile reaches her husband's body before he draws his last breath), the wife in the simile stands for all the widowed women of Troy, all those who suffered in the sack, and suffered at Odysseus' hands. Now the victor and the victim are united in suffering and grief. … This is the lesson of shared and common suffering,

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[101] Any more than Eumaeus is wrong in the similar passage at 14.444–5; but the thoughts come over differently in the mouth of the older man.

[102] Rutherford (1991–3) 48–9 = (2001) 135–7.

common not just to friends and allies, but to all mankind.'[103] Early in the *Iliad* Greeks and Trojans seemed very different (3.1–9; above, p. 9); the poem ends with an emphasis on what they share. One can again find something similar in Herodotus' portrayal of Greeks and barbarians: west and east may eventually be not so very different after all.[104]

That weeping of Odysseus both disturbs and intrigues Alcinous. For the second time in the day, he is concerned that his unknown guest has found Demodocus' themes distressing, and he stops the bard and tactfully moves things on (8.542–3, cf. 8.93–103). He moves to console Odysseus as well, and he too finds it natural to bring in the gods (8.577–80):

> Tell us why you weep and lament so deep in your heart when you hear of the fates of Argives, Danaans, and Troy. The gods brought about that fate, weaving destruction for mortals, to give future generations too a topic for song.

Alcinous clearly wishes to be consoling. Part of the point is presumably in 'to give future generations *too* a topic for song'—future generations too, as well as us; Demodocus is only doing what bards have to do, and he should not be blamed. It is an equivalent of Telemachus' defence of the Ithacan bard Phemius when Penelope finds his song of the 'painful return of the Achaeans' so objectionable (1.326–7, 346–52), and he also brings in Zeus (not without a touch of the same false sophistication as we see in Nausicaa): 'it is not the bards who are αἴτιοι, it is Zeus, who doles out as he wishes to bread-eating mortals'.[105] It is interesting that both Telemachus and Alcinous feel it appropriate to say that it is all owed to the gods; the expected reaction here is evidently not 'but that only makes it worse, if all this suffering was just to produce a good story', but rather a genuinely comforting 'so in a way it does all make some sense'. This is just the way of mortal existence—a 'life is like that' insight, closing out the need to seek any further explanation—and Achilles knew that we must bear our suffering as best we can. There is some consolation in simply being able to locate, to understand, however painful that understanding may be. With or without the gods and whether or not one can do anything about it, some of the historians' insights into the

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[103] Rutherford (1986) 155–6 = (2009) 173–5; cf. Pucci (1987) 221–3. Usener (1990) 201 remarks that an allusion to the *Iliad* 'is not to be ruled out *a priori*': rather an understatement. There is also a sense in which it continues the implications of Demodocus' song, showing what the Wooden Horse led to and meant for the Trojans (Nagy (1979) 101; Goldhill (1991) 53–4; Danek (1998) 159): cause and effect, once again. As Simon Hornblower reminds me, Odysseus himself did not stop causing such suffering once the war was over: 100 lines later he will calmly relate how shortly after leaving Troy he sacked the city of the Cicones, killing the men and taking the women and property (9.39–42).

[104] Pelling (1997) and *HQY*, esp. chs. 4(e), 5(c), and, with comparison of Thucydides, 14(e).

[105] The passage is echoed in a very different register when Telemachus accepts that the bard is ἀναίτιος for the outrages in the house, 22.356 (above, p. 24).

fundamentals of human behaviour may be equally illuminating and equally stark.

There may be more still to this whole fascinating scene, and may tell on the very nature of the literature of suffering, historiography included. Alcinous stops Demodocus from singing because he is causing Odysseus such grief; that is not the way a convivial evening should develop. Doubtless this is correct behaviour for a solicitous host, but still Odysseus had been the one to request this very song (8.487–98).[106] Perhaps Odysseus had misjudged it: searching for confirmation that his fame has reached so far, he may then have been taken aback by his own response. If so, this may be an early equivalent of what the Athenians found when Phrynichus put on his *Capture of Miletus* (Hdt. 6.21.2). Tales of suffering need to come close to home if they are to be moving, but not as close as this. Yet surely the experienced Odysseus should have been able to foretell how he would react, once that less charged story had generated similar tears only a few hours before (8.73–86). One of the conversations of Plutarch's *Table Talk* (5.1) discusses 'why it gives us pleasure to hear actors pretending to be angry or in pain, when we are distressed when people are genuinely feeling that way', a version of the familiar 'Why does tragedy give pleasure?' It is indeed a paradox that we can gain such aesthetic pleasure in reading and hearing of things that we know will move and sadden us, and actively seek out such an experience; and the more so, when those stories touch the nerve of what one has lived through oneself.[107]

> Let the two of us, here in the hut, drinking and eating, take pleasure in each other's painful troubles as we recall them; for a man takes pleasure in pains too, the sort of man who suffers much and wanders much. (Eumaeus at 15.398–401)

That paradox in its turn is not irrelevant to historiography, so rarely concerned with happiness and tranquillity, so frequently with terror, brutality, and death, and sometimes (especially explicitly in Polybius) written for those who have had, or might face, similar experiences themselves. One explanation that historiography will offer is in terms of usefulness, the capacity of such narratives to teach lessons, maybe practical ones of how to act, maybe just intellectual ones of how to grasp what is going on in one's own life. Such insights may hurt, but they help. But that is only part of the truth, and historians, Herodotus in particular, know that there is pleasure too in the way that stories guide us through the richness of human experience, bad as well as good.

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[106] Cf. Goldhill (1991) 54: the juxtaposition of Demodocus' song and the simile of the widow raise the question why Odysseus should have made this request, but preclude a certain answer.

[107] Macleod (1982) 7–8 and (1983) 7–8 = (2001) 301–3.

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Momigliano knew that 'if I am going to speak about causes of war in ancient historiography I cannot pass over all the nefarious consequences of that great epic model—the *Iliad*'.[108] He also thought that 'Herodotus quietly rebelled against Homer—a rebellion, incidentally, that has made history possible as we understand it'.[109] But not all of the consequences were nefarious; not all was rebellion; and Homer himself went a very long way to making that history possible.

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[108] Momigliano (1966) 114 = (1960) 15.
[109] Momigliano (1966) 115 = (1960) 16.

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2

THUCYDIDES HOMERICUS AND THE EPISODE OF MYCALESSUS (7.29–30): MYTH AND HISTORY, SPACE AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY*

Maria Fragoulaki

Abstract: Mycalessus, a city in Boeotia which Thucydides describes as 'not big', becomes the stage of one of the most atrocious episodes in the *History of the Peloponnesian War*. The question, 'Why does Thucydides pay so much attention to this local incident?' has been dealt with in the bibliography, together with that of the position and role of the episode in the narrative of the Sicilian expedition. This chapter suggests that the mentions of Mycalessus in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* must be viewed as significant intertexts for Thucydides' interaction with epic material, and for the shaping of his historical narrative as a document of panhellenic memory.

Keywords: Thucydides, Homer, intertextuality, audience, Thracians, Euripus, Aulis, Sicilian Expedition

1. Introduction

This chapter examines the intertextual relation between two archetypal figures of Greek literature and war narrative, Thucydides and Homer. It focuses on the episode of Mycalessus (7.29–30), perhaps the most shocking description of death and destruction in Thucydides. The main idea proposed here is that the prominence of the Boeotian city of Mycalessus in Thucydides, as the stage of an atrocious episode of the Peloponnesian War, can be explained by the author's allusive use of Mycalessus' presence in Homer and the city's mytho-religious background. Boeotia as a whole was a region of panhellenic significance, on

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account of not only its early political and military importance, but also its mythological and epic associations and its distinct presence in Homer.

At the centre of this investigation is Thucydides' communication with Homerically informed audiences, that is, audiences culturally familiar with the Homeric text, or better, the Homeric experience.[1] Homer played a key role in panhellenic self-definition and had an immense evocative power for the Greeks of the classical period (and beyond). How did Thucydides use the evocative power of the Homeric text to communicate with panhellenic and local audiences? Fleshing out and understanding aspects of this communication is essential for understanding Mycalessus' function in Thucydides. Literary questions (style, vocabulary, or narrative technique) along with questions of political and cultural history are involved in this discussion, as these two lines of enquiry are closely intertwined in the study of early Greek historiography.

The Mycalessus episode in Thucydides has attracted much attention,[2] but not as an instance of Homeric intertextuality. I will argue that the mentions of Mycalessus in Homer, namely in the *Iliad*'s *Catalogue of Ships* and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, should be viewed as significant intertexts in the process of Thucydides' shaping of a panhellenic historical narrative and collective memory. Fifth-century audiences communicated with Homer with an immediacy and fullness of a collective and co-constructed experience, which escapes modern readers. As has been aptly pointed out, Homer had a 'continuing presence … in the minds of [Thucydides] and [his] audience'.[3] Though Thucydides' influence by, and interaction with, Homer seems to be a scholarly *topos* nowadays,[4] still more work needs to be done on this topic, and on continuities and affinities between early historiography and poetic genres more widely, including tragedy, on which this discussion will also touch; and on the ways in which this relation feeds into our historical interpretations.

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[1] I am paraphrasing Burgess' 'mythologically informed audiences' ((2012) 169). The 'Homeric experience' could involve the study and use of the Homeric text, with Thucydides himself being a prime example (e.g., 1.9.4, 10.3–4), and/or the experience of live performance.

[2] Lateiner (1977); Connor (1984) Appendix 7, and id. (2010); Quinn (1995); Rood (1998a) 185; Kallet (1999) and (2001) 121–46; Stahl (2003) 136–8; Will (2006); Hornblower (2011a) 15–17 with *CT* III.587–600; Pothou (2011) 263, 266; Sears (2013) 250–63.

[3] Howie (1998) 76.

[4] On Thucydides (and historiography) and Homer: Smith (1900); Reinhardt (1961); Davison (1965); Strasburger (1982); Woodman (1988); Nesselrath (1992); Frangoulidis (1993); Hornblower (1994); Mackie (1996); Allison (1997); Marincola (1997), (2001), (2006), and (2007); Rood (1998b); Kallet (2001) 85–120; Nicolai (2001); Graziosi (2002) 111–24; Pallantza (2005) 175–200; Pelling (2006), (2013), and above, Ch. 1; Rengakos (2006a) and (2006b); Grethlein (2010) 205–80; Kim (2010) 22–46; Nagy (2010) 74–8; Funke (2011); Halliwell (2011) 19–24; Hornblower (2011a) 59–99; Rusten (2011); R. B. Rutherford (2012); Joho (2017).

My approach is in dialogue with that strand of scholarship which deals with Thucydides both as a historical source and as 'a great artist'—to use the phrase of F. M. Cornford in his seminal study *Thucydides Mythistoricus* in 1907, to which the title of this chapter alludes. Although 'intertextuality' was not, and could not have been, part of Cornford's critical vocabulary, his study was pioneering in showing Thucydides' deep and subtle connections with poetic tropes, not least epic and tragedy. In the quest for these connections it is not only the words themselves that matter, but mainly their 'life-cycles' and transferable contexts. I do not wish to engage with the various views of what 'intertextuality' is or is not, but I do wish to explain that I will use the term in a broadened sense. This broadened 'intertextuality' involves shared cultural meanings and mytho-religious contexts.[5] My intertextual quest is spurred by the word 'Mycalessus' and its presence in Thucydides and Homer; but beyond the level of verbal resemblance, it aims to explore the life-cycles and contexts of this word. Mikhail Bakhtin (via Julia Kristeva) has been key in this notion of intertextuality in modern (and post-modern) criticism:

> The life of the word is contained in its transfer from one mouth to another, from one context to another context, from one social collective to another, from one generation to another generation. In this process the word does not forget its own path and cannot completely free itself from the power of those concrete contexts into which it has entered.[6]

About the structure of the chapter: I will first present the episode of Mycalessus in Thucydides; then I will discuss selectively some of its themes and aspects in which a direct or indirect relationship with the Homeric text can be detected, often with Herodotus—the 'most Homeric'—being an illuminating intertext.[7] Having prepared the ground in this manner, at the end of my discussion, I will concentrate on Mycalessus' mentions in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, and Thucydides' use of the evocative power of this epic background.

2. The Mycalessus Episode (Thuc. 7.29–30)

In the summer of 413 BCE the inhabitants of Mycalessus, a small community of Boeotia, in central Greece, were slaughtered in a surprise attack by thirteen hundred lightly-armed Thracian mercenaries, who were being

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[5] Cf. Burgess (2006) 172–4 on 'mythological intertextuality' and ancient audience reception; and 'textless intertextuality' (Burgess (2012) 168); and Pelling's perceptive remarks above, Ch. 1, esp. pp. 14–21.

[6] Bakhtin (1984) 201.

[7] [Long.] *Subl.* 13.3: μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο; Στησίχορος ἔτι πρότερον ὅ τε Ἀρχίλοχος, πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων.

escorted home by Diitrephes (7.29.1), an Athenian commander and a Thracian expert, like Thucydides himself.

The episode itself is part of a longer narrative unit which also includes the damaging effects for the Athenians of the fortification of Dekeleia in Attica and its long-term occupation by the Spartans (7.27–8). As we hear at the beginning of this longer unit, the Thracians were peltasts from the dagger-carrying tribe of the Dians from Thrace (7.27.1), who had been called to join the Athenian reinforcements sent to Sicily that summer; but as they arrived late and the Athenians could not afford to pay them 'in view of the war from Dekeleia' (7.27.2), they were sent back to Thrace. (On the connection of the episode with Dekeleia, see Appendix.)

Thucydides describes Mycalessus as a 'not big' city (οὐ μεγάλη, 7.29.3) with a feeble wall, dilapidated in parts or built low in others, and its gates left open because of the inhabitants' lack of fear (διὰ τὴν ἄδειαν, 7.29.3). The Athenian general Diitrephes led the 'bloodthirsty' (φονικώτατος) Thracians (7.29.4–5) against Mycalessus early in the morning, after having spent the night unobserved near the temple of Hermes (7.29.4–5):

> The Thracians poured into the city and began sacking the houses and temples and slaughtering the people. They spared neither old nor young, but automatically killed every person they found, children and women also, and even the very beasts of burden and any other living creature they could see. … They brought total panic and destruction in every form (ἰδέα πᾶσα καθειστήκει ὀλέθρου), including the invasion of the largest school in the place (διδασκαλείῳ παίδων), where the boys had just come in for their lessons: they butchered the entire school (κατέκοψαν πάντας).

Detected by the Thebans, Thucydides continues, the Thracians were chased in flight down to the sea at the Euripus, that is, the channel separating Boeotia from Euboea, in a state of terror, trying to reach the ships waiting for them. The majority of the Thracians who died were killed by the Thebans during embarkation, 'for they did not know how to swim either' (οὔτε ἐπισταμένους νεῖν, 7.30.2), because the crews, when they saw what was happening on the shore, drew the ships back to moor out of Theban bowshot (ἔξω τοξεύματος, 7.30.2).

Thucydides gives the logistics of the losses: 250 out of the 1,300 Thracians (about one fifth), and of the Thebans 20 horsemen and hoplites. Enumerating losses is itself a Homeric feature, which intensifies pathos.[8] As

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[8] Macleod (1982) *ad* Hom. *Il.* 24.495–7; Hornblower (1987) 34–5 ('tragic *akribeia*').

for the anonymous people of Mycalessus, 'a certain [or 'a good'] part lost their lives' (μέρος τι ἀπανηλώθη, 7.30.3).[9]

Thucydides punctuates the description of the horrors perpetrated in the city by the Thracians with two pathetic statements: first, the phrase which rounds off the description of the appalling slaughter of the boys in the school—a climactic moment in the episode and a false closure (7.29.5):

> This was the greatest disaster (ξυμφορά) affecting the whole city which they had ever suffered, more sudden and terrible than any other.

And second, the concluding statement and real closure of the whole episode (7.30.4):

> Such was the fate of Mycalessus, visited by a calamity (πάθει χρησαμένην) which, relative to the size of the city, was more pitiable (ὀλοφύρασθαι ἀξίῳ) than any other in this war.[10]

The episode qualifies for an ancient case of genocide, mainly on account of the brutality and the scale of slaughter and destruction that befell the community, but it has not been discussed as such.[11] It has attracted attention though as a paradigmatic section on the cruelty of the war and Thucydides' pathetic description of it; as an excellent unit for recitation (the two closures are part of the episode's artful construction); as a strong proof of the author's condemnation of 'total' warfare through his own authorial voice, and therefore a blow against those who perceive his work as lacking morality and humaneness; as a brilliant case for exploring historical causation and accountability in typically Thucydidean complexity. Who and what was to

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[9] In the light of the atrocities described most commentators over-translate μέρος τι: e.g., Jowett: 'A large proportion of the Mycalessians perished'; Smith: 'Of the population of Mycalessus a considerable portion lost their lives'; Warner: 'Mycalessus lost a considerable part of its population'; Lattimore: 'A fair number of the Mycalessians were gone'. Hobbes is an exception: 'Of the Mycallesians there perished a part'. But Peter Agócs notes, 'I'm inclined to line up with the over-translators.'

[10] Note the significant similarity between these two closures and the closural statement of the Ambraciots' slaughter in Acarnania (πάθος γὰρ τοῦτο μιᾷ πόλει Ἑλληνίδι ἐν ἴσαις ἡμέραις μέγιστον δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἐγένετο, 3.113.6), with Stahl (2003) 136–7.

[11] For ancient forms of genocide and their motives, see Konstan (2007), concentrating on emotions, such as anger and hatred, and van Wees (2010), on political and material motives. On the question of whether 'genocide' applies to the destruction of a community as small as Mycalessus, van Wees (2010) 244 is apt: 'towns, and even villages, everywhere had sufficiently distinctive identities for their annihilation to constitute a form of genocide'. On the other hand in terms of intent behind genocides, the Thracian attack on Mycalessus is presented as outside the map of human behaviour: neither reason nor raw emotion can explain it. Peter Agócs points out to me: 'the questions surrounding responsibility that the text raises but doesn't answer are paradigmatic for the notion of "war crimes" in Western culture'.

be blamed? The uncouth nature of the Thracian troops? The Athenian general Diitrephes? The Athenians at large? Alcibiades, who instructed and encouraged the Spartans to fortify Dekeleia? The Athenians' financial weakness, aggravated by the fortification of Dekeleia and its moral implications? Mere chance (e.g., geographical position, time of the day)— just being in the wrong place at the wrong time? Questions of narrative and style intertwined with the pragmatic, moral and psychological parameters have also been addressed, and more specifically, the integration of the episode into the narrative of the Sicilian expedition, and resonances with other parts of the *History* and its intertextual relation with Herodotus.[12]

Ultimately, all these questions revolve around a central one: Why did Thucydides pay so much attention to this local incident? Scholars are often perplexed at Thucydides' treatment of a disaster that 'occurred at the obscure little Boeotian city of Mycalessus, a place so distant from the war in every sense—physically as well as psychologically'.[13] I will argue that the tragic fate of Mycalessus was certainly a piece of local history, but the city itself was neither obscure, nor remote from the war, either as a geographical location or as a cultural locus of mytho-spatial significance. Part of the city's significance was due to Homer, as we will see. This piece of local history had all the credentials to find its way into Thucydides' panhellenic narrative and his own shaping of collective memory.

3. Greeks and Barbarians, Impiety and the Sea

i. 'Equal to Any of the Barbarians' (Thuc. 7.29.4)

If Herodotus is a seminal source on foreign cultures and ethnic Otherness from ancient Greece, Thucydides can be viewed as the master of what can be called 'internal ethnic Otherness', as he mainly concentrates on the character of the ethnic sub-divisions of the Greeks and the tensions within the *Hellenikon*.[14] But Thucydides has important material on non-Greeks as well, and the Mycalessus episode is one such case. In this episode ethnically incompatible units (i.e., Thracian troops led by an Athenian general) participate in military operations with disastrous results. It is far from being a unique occurrence in Thucydides and ancient military practice—the Sicilian expedition of 415–413 itself, within which the Mycalessus episode takes place, was the result of a disastrous and misjudged alliance of the Athenians with the 'barbarian' Egestaeans, as Thucydides presents it.[15] But

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[12] For important discussions of the episode from these perspectives, see above, n. 2.

[13] Price (2001) 214–15; cf. Dewald (2005) 224.

[14] Fragoulaki (2013); ead. (forthcoming); on Athenian/Spartan polarity: Pelling (1997).

[15] For the suppression of the Greek character of Egesta's mixed culture by Thucydides and a historiographic interpretation, see Fragoulaki (2013) 298–316. For the ethnic factor

in the Mycalessus episode the brutality of warfare is extreme, and the ethnic factor is inextricably bound with the moral responsibility of those involved in it.

The Thracians are generally presented as barbarians in our sources and Thucydides has a major contribution to this presentation. In the Mycalessus episode the mountain-dwelling Thracians of the Dian tribe from Rhodope are represented as disproportionately and senselessly savage, ignorant of the 'correct' skill, and impious. In fact this is their last appearance in the *History*, but the scene of their savagery has already been set in earlier parts of the work.[16]

In the narrative of the *Pentekontaetia*, we get a first mention of the major disaster the Athenians suffered at Drabeskos, in the area of the river Strymon in Thrace, at the hands of the local Edonians, in their attempt to colonise the area (*c.* 465 BCE; 1.100.3); they lost 10,000 men, we are told.[17] In the context of Atheno-Thracian diplomatic contacts in the 430s, Thucydides inserts an allusive mention of a myth of sexual desecration (2.29.3), with which Sophocles' lost play *Tereus* was occupied (staged between 430s–414 BCE). It is the famous myth of Philomela, who suffered rape and mutilation by the barbarous Thracian king Tereus, who had married her sister, the Athenian princess Procne.[18] But most importantly, Book 2 contains the remarkable ethnographic digression on Thrace (chs 96–8), 'the most detailed account we have of the extent of the Thracian realm in the fifth century'.[19] In catalogic mode, Thucydides gives a description of the peoples living in this vast territory loosely defined in relation to a centre of power, that of the Odrysian kingdom. He records a parade of exotic tribal and place-names (mainly rivers and mountains), and makes an attempt to place these Thracian *ethnē* in what is presented as a vast wilderness. In this spectacular array of peoples, the tribe of the Dians—the Thracians of the Mycalessus episode—stand out among the mountainous Thracians with a double mention, almost in a ring structure: they carry daggers (μαχαιροφόροι, 96.2 and 98.4); they come from the wilderness of the mountain range of Rhodope (96.2 and 98.4), they are described as 'independent' (αὐτόνομοι 98.4, with 98.3) and the fiercest fighters (μαχιμώτατοι, 98.4). Later on, Thucydides reiterates the Athenian disaster of *c.* 465 at the river Strymon, mentioning

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affecting fighting, see 3.112.4, 4.41.2; 7.44.4–6 (Ionian Athenians and Dorians fighting in the same ranks).

[16] The royal house of the Odrysian kingdom of Thrace is an exception, though still exotic in its customs. Sadokos, the son of the Odrysian king Sitalkes, is admitted to Athenian citizenship and phratries (2.29; Ar. *Ach.* 145–6). Final reference to Thrace, as a region (τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης), and indeed Diitrephes: 8.64.2.

[17] Cf. Hdt. 9.75.

[18] On the myth's diplomatic background in the 430s, see Zacharia (2001). On mutilation as a generally barbaric and despotic feature: Munson (2001) 58, 135, 153–4.

[19] Zahrnt (2006) 612.

the settlement of the Athenian colony of Amphipolis on the Strymon in 437 by the Athenian Hagnon (4.102.3). And in the same book, we get another glimpse of female Thracian barbarism and uncouthness in the murder of the king of the Edonians, Pittakos, partially committed by his own queen, Brauro (4.107.3).

So when the dagger-carrying mercenaries from Thrace make their appearance at the opening of the Mycalessus episode (7.27), an ethnic stereotype of barbarism, unruliness, and murderous nature, is evoked. This is affirmed by Thucydides' own comment about the nature of these people, which has a clearly racist flavour in the light of modern discourses of ethnicity: 'For the Thracian race, when they have nothing to fear, are extremely bloodthirsty, equal to any of the barbarians' (7.29.4). Although elsewhere Thucydides has a keen interest in explaining human nature and its behaviour in war, this statement places these Thracian troops almost outside the human species and the dilemmas of moral responsibility and choice, typical of human beings. He explains their crime with the scientific detachment of cause-and-effect, as in the case of a natural phenomenon (e.g. lightning is followed by thunder).[20]

The avid desire for indiscriminate slaughter is central to Thucydides' construction of the barbarian Other and its destructive effects. This construction is shared with important intertexts. There are, for example, striking lexical and stylistic affinities between Thucydides' Thracians and Herodotus' Thracians and Persians.[21] In the Mycalessus episode the phrase '[the Thracians] spared neither old nor young, but ... killed ... even the very beasts of burden and any other living creature' (ἐφόνευον φειδόμενοι οὔτε πρεσβυτέρας οὔτε νεωτέρας ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ ... κτείνοντες ... καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔμψυχα, 7.29.4) is remarkably similar—in style and vocabulary—to Herodotus' description of the Persians' night assault against the baggage train with food supplies coming from the Peloponnese to the Greeks at Plataea (Hdt. 9.39.2): 'they slew avidly, sparing neither man nor beast' (ἀφειδέως ἐφόνευον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου).[22] The verb κατακόπτειν ('butcher') used for the slaughter of the boys in the school in Mycalessus (7.29.5) is also used by Herodotus for another Thracian-

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[20] On the connection between the natural environment and ethnic character (environmental determinism): Lateiner (1986); Thomas (2000), esp. 86–101; Romm (2010) 218–23; Kennedy (2016).

[21] On Herodotus' subtle ethnic representations: Asheri (1990); Pelling (1997); Gruen (2011) 21–52. See also Rood (1999) 141–68 (for parallels between the Athenians in Thucydides and the Persians in Herodotus); Irwin (2007), esp. 71–7 for analogies between the Odrysians and the Athenians in Thucydides, and the Paeonians and Athenians in Herodotus); Munson (2001) and (2012), for Persians in Thucydides and interaction with Herodotus.

[22] Cf. Cobet (1986) 12. Herodotus (9.39.2) also underscores the excess of Persian savagery by the Homeric ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες ('they had their fill of killing'), a *hapax* in his work; Hom. *Il.* 5.203, 13.315, 19.423, with Flower and Marincola (2002) 180. Cf. Hdt. 1.80.3 (μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν) and Hdt. 3.147.

inflicted slaughter: this time the victims were the Persian troops in their quick and frightened return (*nostos*) (cf. ἀπενόστησε, Hdt. 9.90.1) to Asia after the battle of Plataea (κατακοπέντας κατ᾽ ὁδόν, Hdt. 9.89.4).[23]

The Mycalessus episode is in fact a story of disastrous *nostos* ('return home'), in which the returning Thracians both inflicted and suffered death. Although the actual word is not used, the close relationship of *nostos* with suffering and destruction, which is distinctively Homeric, is central to the episode. Thucydides saves the explicit Homeric allusion for the memorable closure of the Sicilian expedition ('few out of many returned home', ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἀπενόστησαν, 7.87.6). But the damage caused by the *nostos* of the Thracians in the Mycalessus episode can be viewed as the harbinger of the disastrous *nostos* of the Athenians from Sicily.[24]

As June Allison has shown, there is a particular concentration of epic forms in the climactic chapters of the Sicilian narrative in Book 7. Building on this idea, I would like to suggest that the Mycalessus episode is an important step in this climax, and that the episode's organic relationship with the surrounding narrative is also shown by its epic vocabulary. Key words in the episode, such as ὄλεθρος ('disaster') and ὀλοφύρεσθαι ('lament', 'weep', 'mourn') are poetic and belong to the epic register of disaster and destruction. ὄλεθρος in the phrase ἰδέα πᾶσα … ὀλέθρου ('every form of disaster', 7.29.5) evokes Homeric contexts of death (e.g., *Il.* 11.441 αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος, 'death and black fate'). As has been pointed out, the cognate πανωλεθρία, with which Thucydides describes the calamity of the failure of the Sicilian expedition (7.87.6), alludes to Herodotus' πανωλεθρίη (2.120.5), used of the fall of Troy. This is the only appearance of πανωλεθρία before Thucydides in our corpus, though both passages might communicate with sources lost to us. In Plutarch's *De Stoicorum repugnantiis*, πανωλεθρία, paired with φθορά ('destruction'), are used to describe the Trojan, Persian, and Peloponnesian Wars.[25]

As for ὀλοφύρασθαι ('mourn') at the closure of the Mycalessus episode (7.30.3), the Homeric overtones of the form are distinctive. In her discussion of the concluding chapters of the Sicilian expedition, Allison has drawn attention to Thucydides' influence by Homer in his creative appropriation

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[23] Cf. *CT* III.599; Flower and Marincola (2002) 261.

[24] For the Homeric allusion of ἀπενόστησαν (7.87.6), see Allison (1997) 513–14. See the Appendix for the emphasis on the route of the Thracian *nostos* to the north. On *nostoi* in Greek historians, see Hornblower (2018).

[25] *Mor.* 1049C: αἱ τοσαῦται φθοραὶ καὶ πανωλεθρίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἵας ὁ Τρωικὸς εἰργάσατο πόλεμος καὶ πάλιν ὁ Μηδικὸς καὶ ὁ Πελοποννησιακός, 'so much destruction and loss of human lives, such as those caused by the Trojan war, and later by the Persian and the Peloponnesian War'. The adjective πανώλεθρος ('utterly destructive') is used by Herodotus (6.37, 85) and evokes tragedy, especially Aeschylus: Aesch. *Suppl.* 414; *Sept.* 71, 932; *Pers.* 562; *Agam.* 535; *Choe.* 934; *Eum.* 552; cf. Soph. *Ph.* 322; *Aj.* 839; *El.* 1009; Eur. *Andr.* 1225. On πανωλεθρία in Thucydides, see *CT* III.745.

of ὀλοφυρ- stems.[26] The use of ὀλοφύρασθαι in the climactic moment of the Mycalessus episode anticipates the noun ὀλοφυρμός in the pathetic description of the final sea battle in the harbour of Syracuse (twice, 7.71.3; 71.4). In a *TLG* search of ὀλοφύρασθαι and cognates, Homer and Thucydides stand out as having the greatest number of uses in the entire corpus of our sources until the fifth century BCE.[27]

It is worth pausing at another episode in Thucydides, in which both disaster and ethnic Otherness have pride of place, and which bears striking similarities with the disaster suffered by the Mycalessians, in language, themes, and epic mode of narrative. It is the description of the *Aitolikon pathos* (τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν πάθος, 4.30.1), a major and unexpected disaster the Athenians suffered in 426 BCE at the hands of the Aetolians, a culturally ambiguous group, with barbaric features, living in this case at the very heart of the Greek mainland, between Akarnania on the west and Phocis on the east.[28] The Aetolian episode (3.94–8) contains the only mention of the poet Hesiod in Thucydides and has attracted attention as a moment of Thucydides' epic interaction.[29] It contains a brief reference to the mythical tradition of the poet's death in the sanctuary of Nemean Zeus in the area, where the Athenian general Demosthenes had pitched camp the night before his defeat (αὐλισάμενος, 3.96.1; the same word is used for Diitrephes' camping near the Hermeion before attacking Mycalessus). This is another instance in the *History* where myth is incorporated into military narrative rather casually and unproblematically, and where a piece of local history is immortalised in Thucydides' narrative. As in the case of the Thracians in the Mycalessus episode, the Aetolians' dangerous nature and ability to harm is underestimated with disastrous consequences: the Athenian army attempted every form of escape and met every form of death. Disaster formulas are a feature of Thucydides' narrative, as noted, but it must be pointed out that the specific formulation πᾶσα ἰδέα ὀλέθρου appears only in these two episodes (3.98.3 and 7.29.5), together with the word πάθος, which is also found in the

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[26] Allison (1997) 503.

[27] Thirty-eight occurrences in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 16.450; *Od.* 11.418, 24.328, in special relation to death and loss); two in the *Homeric Hymns* (both in *Hymn Dem.* 20, 247); and fourteen in Thucydides (1.143.5; 2.34.5; 2.44.1; 2.46.2; 2.51.5; 3.67.2; 6.30.2; 6.78.3; 7.30.3; 7.71.3 and 4; 7.75.4; 8.66.4; 8.81.2). Lyric: one in Tyrtaeus (fr. 12.27 West²), one in Theognis (*Eleg.* 1130), one in Pindar (*Paean*, fr. 52k Maehler ὀλοφύ<ρομαι οὐ>δέν, ὅ τι πάντων μέτα πείσομαι). The word appears to be rare in surviving tragedy: never in Aeschylus; once in Sophocles (*El.* 148, on Itys; a myth mentioned by Thucydides); once in Euripides (*IT* 643, κατολοφύρομαι); one in ps.-Eur. (*Rhes.* 896). Herodotus uses the word only twice (2.141; 5.4.2); once in Pherecydes of Athens (*FGrHist* 3 F 11, p. 62.2); once in Democritus (D–K 68 B 107a). Aesop and the *Aesopica* claim seven uses.

[28] The Aetolians are referred to as part of Greece as early as in the *Archaeology*, where we first hear of the old-fashioned conditions of their way of life, such as carrying weapons (1.5.3).

[29] Scodel (1980); Finglass (2013).

concluding statement of the Mycalessus episode (7.30.3).[30] But there is also a significant difference between the two episodes: the swimming ability of those in flight. In the Aetolian disaster, the Athenians were saved when they reached the sea,[31] whereas for the Thracians in Mycalessus the sea was their watery grave, because they did not know how to swim. Knowledge of the sea and swimming had a place in ethnic assumptions about, and representations of, non-Greek groups, such as the Persians and the Thracians. It was the 'correct' skill which the barbarians lacked.[32]

ii. 'Because They Didn't Know How to Swim' (Thuc. 7.30.2)

Ability to swim is part of a set of sea skills related to a broader conception of knowledge and intelligence, as Plato's famous pairing of 'letters' and 'swimming' suggests in his definition of the ignorant person: 'they know neither letters nor swimming' (μήτε γράμματα μήτε νεῖν ἐπίστωνται, *Laws* 3.689d3). The context of Thucydides' *History* confirms the Greeks' (and especially the Athenians') close relationship with the sea and their mastery of what could be called the 'art of the sea'.[33] The lack of this skill is generally a feature of mountain or inland peoples, who 'do not know the sea' in Homer's words (οἳ οὐ ἴσασι θάλασσαν, *Od.* 23.269), or, in Thucydides' words, people who do not possess an 'intimate knowledge of the sea' (θαλάσσης ἐπιστήμονες, 1.142.6).[34] Death by drowning is viewed in Greek and Roman sources as a barbaric way of dying, often synonymous with lack of manliness and effeminacy, and has also been related to impiousness.[35]

In Thucydides (and Herodotus) the ability to swim is presented as a 'national' characteristic of the Greeks, which draws a line between the Greeks and the non-Greeks, such as the Thracians and the Persians.

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[30] See *CT* III.600, with Rood (2006) 248 about 'pathos statements'; cf. 1.109.1 (πολλαὶ ἰδέαι πολέμων), with *CT* I *ad loc* for this as a possibly medical turn of phrase.

[31] The sea as shelter: ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν … οἱ περιγενόμενοι κατέφυγον 'the survivors … made their way to the sea' (3.98.3).

[32] On Greeks and the sea, see, for example, Lesky (1947); Vryonis (1993); Constantakopoulou (2007).

[33] In addition to the Aetolian disaster, see also 2.90.5: Athenian sailors swim to safety; 8.102.2–3: escape by swimming, with *HCT* V.350. Cf. the Athenian ingenuity (ἐμηχανῶντο, 7.25.5) and use of professional divers and underwater operations in the harbour of Syracuse (7.25.5–8)—just two chapters before the narrative unit of Dekeleia/Mycalessus.

[34] Also: τὸ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστίν, 1.142.9; cf. the emphasis on μελέτη 'practice': μελετῆσαι, 1.142.7; μὴ μελετῶντι ἀξυνετώτεροι ἔσονται, 1.142.8; μελετᾶσθαι, 1.142.9. Cf. 2.83–92, the results of μελέτη put into practice by the Athenian general Phormio with excellent results in 429 BCE.

[35] A famous example is the alleged death of Protagoras on a sea voyage after having been tried and convicted of impiety at Athens: Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 217; but see Pl. *Meno* 91e3–92a2. Cf. Kerferd (1981) 43; Colaiaco (2001); Schiappa (2003) 144–5 (fabricated story). For swimming in Greek, Roman, and later European nationalistic discourse, see Hall (1993); cf. Sanders (1925) 566–8.

Herodotus provides many examples: we may recall the violent storm off Athos in 492 BCE which cost the lives of over 20,000 Persians: some were eaten by sea 'beasts' ($\theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}a$: sharks presumably?), some were hit on the rocks, others died of cold, and others because they did not know how to swim ($\nu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ $o\mathring{\upsilon}\kappa$ $\mathring{\eta}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}a\tau o$, Hdt. 6.44.3). Again after the battle of Salamis (480 BCE), the naval triumph of the Greeks, 'the majority of the barbarians died at sea as they did not know how to swim' ($\nu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ $o\mathring{\upsilon}\kappa$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{a}\mu\epsilon\nu o\iota$, Hdt. 8.89).[36]

The description of the siege of Potidaia, in northern Greece, by the Persians in 480 BCE in Herodotus is another context where water proves to be a treacherous element for the 'ignorant ethnic Other' in close relation with morality, namely the theme of *tisis* (punishment for one's crimes so that balance is restored).[37] After a three months' siege of Potidaia, the Persian Artabazos and his men decide to use an unusual ebb-tide to march against the city, by leading his troops through what was previously water (Hdt. 8.126–9).[38] Potidaia lay on Pallene, the western prong of the Chalkidiki peninsula, and was separated from the land by a channel. When the Persians were less than half-way across and with some distance still to cover, an unexpected flood tide came, the biggest ever, according to the locals, which swept away and drowned 'those of them who did not know how to swim' ($o\mathring{\iota}$ $\mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu$ $\delta\grave{\eta}$ $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ $a\mathring{\upsilon}\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $o\mathring{\upsilon}\kappa$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{a}\mu\epsilon\nu o\iota$, Hdt. 8.129.2). The Persians who lost their lives by the sea, Herodotus continues, were thought by the local people to have been punished by Poseidon himself (the god who had also given his name to Pot(e)idaia), because they had desecrated his sanctuary in the area. This is an explanation on grounds of divine retribution, with which Herodotus unequivocally agrees on this occasion.[39]

It can be suggested that the drowning of the Thracians in the waters of Euripus in the Mycalessus episode is a similar story of barbarian ignorance,

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[36] Cf. Hdt. 6.44.2; 7.188–89; 8.13; also: Aesch. *Pers.* 504–7 (the melting of frozen Strymon); Timotheus (of Miletus, *c.* 450–360 BCE), *PMG* 791.79 'old object of hate' ($\pi a\lambda a\iota o\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta\mu a$), most probably alluding to the chain of sea disasters of the Persians. Timotheus' *Persians* provides the most detailed dramatic description of a drowning person: Hall (1993); Hordern (2002) 152–3, 171–2; more recently LeVen (2014) 178–88, with subtle analysis of Timotheus' creative appropriation and reshaping of Homeric and tragic stylistic features, and late fifth-/early fourth-century audiences' response to this interplay. See Arr. *Anab.* 2.21 on the skill of Tyrian swimmers.

[37] E.g., Hdt. 5.56.1; 7.8β; Lateiner (1989) 140–4. On *tisis* in Herodotus and the fine boundaries between impiety and injustice, see, for example, Harrison (2000) 102–21; Mikalson (2003) 141–50; Scullion (2006); Baragwanath (2008) 244–5; Fowler (2010) 329–30 (on divine punishment).

[38] For a reading of this episode as reaction to Thucydides' description of the siege of the city by the Athenians in 430/29 (1.56, 60–64; 2.70), that is, the reverse intertextual relation than what is more often assumed, see Hornblower (2011a) 277–82.

[39] Scullion (2006) 194–5 dissociates too much Poseidon's punishment here from Xerxes' 'haughtiness and defeat'; cf. Fowler's just objection ((2010) 330 n. 31). In Aeschylus' *Persians* ignorance, impiety, and drowning underlie the death of the Persians in the waters of sacred Strymon ($\mathring{a}\gamma\nu o\hat{\upsilon}$ $\Sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu os$, 497).

impiety, and punishment, which must be viewed in the light of Thucydides' reticence when it comes to religious and metaphysical explanations.[40] The Mycalessus episode contains the only explicit reference in Thucydides to drowning at sea as part of a military operation, all the more so because of lack of swimming skills: as we saw, the ships that were going to transport the Thracians back home were moored in the sea out of Theban bowshot, so the Thracians had to swim to them to embark, and those who could not swim were drowned ('for they could not swim either', οὔτε ἐπισταμένους νεῖν, 7.30.2).[41] It must be noted that there are strong connections in myth between Boeotia and Poseidon, already in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.506).[42]

The use of space is a fascinating and complex problem of Homeric scholarship. Here I would only like to consider the combination of selective detail with non-realistic vagueness as relevant to what can be called Thucydides' 'epic use of space'. A well-known feature of the use of space in the *Iliad*, for example, is the plethora of vivid and detailed battle scenes taking place in the geographically vague 'Trojan plain' that lies between the walls of Troy and the Achaian camp, close to their ships at the sea shore.[43] Thucydides' use of space in the Mycalessus episode is similar. By selective close-ups and dramatic vignettes he creates a powerful and sweeping image of utter disaster, both in the community of the Mycalessians and in the Thracian troops. Within Mycalessus, the massacre of 'every living being' in the city, culminating in the slaughter of the boys in the school (7.29.4–5) is one such vignette. Like many other readers, second-century CE Pausanias (1.23.3; cf. 9.19.4) was influenced by Thucydides' description and—in the light of the relatively depressed state of the area between Thebes and the Euripus in his own time—thought that Mycalessus was uprooted for good,

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[40] For Thucydides' religious silences, see Hornblower (2011a) 25–53.

[41] For death at sea in Thucydides, see also: 8.34 where ἀποθνῄσκουσι probably suggests death by drowning as a result of a storm at sea; 3.89.2, drowning on account of a tsunami, but outside a war setting; a more open-ended statement about Theramenes' disappearance at sea in a cutter (ἐν κέλητι ἀφανίζεται, 8.38.1).

[42] On the precinct of Poseidon in Boeotian Onchestus, see below, p. 56. Cf. Hesiod fr. 219 M–W, connecting Boiotos, the constitutive figure of Boeotia, with Poseidon (though composed in *c.* 580 BCE, the source reflects traditions at least as early as the seventh century BCE); Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4 F 51, Boiotos, son of Poseidon and Arne, with Fragoulaki (2013) 102–3.

[43] Cf. Burgess (2015) 115: 'Troy and its environs may be real … but the Homeric positioning of significant landmarks is poetically functional'. For the uses of space in Homer (and ancient Greek literature), see Purves (2010); Clay (2011); de Jong (2012a); Skempis and Ziogas (2014); Gilhuly and Worman (2014); Barker–Bouzarovski–Pelling–Isaksen (2015); McInerney and Sluiter (2016). See Funke and Haake (2006) 374 for Thucydides' spatial vagueness and his use of geography and topography to 'reinforce the pathos of the description', but without reference to the Homeric background.

apparently wrongly given that the city struck coins from 387 (or earlier) to 374 BCE (or later).[44]

The description of the space outside the city walls up to the channel of Euripus is poetically non-realistic too. The dominant geographical spot outside the city is the channel of Euripus, at the expense of a more pragmatic charting of the city's territory and key locations, such as the harbour(s) where the ships carrying the Thracians were anchored. The day before the massacre in Mycalessus, Diitrephes had made a quick raid in the territory of Tanagra, which is south of the straits of Euripus, and he 'then' Thucydides says, 'sailed across the Euripus in the evening from Chalkis in Euboea and disembarking in Boeotia led them against Mycalessus' (7.29.2). We are not told to which part of Boeotia Diitrephes sailed across and disembarked the Thracians (i.e., south or north of Euripus).[45] Again, after their assault against Mycalessus, we only hear that the Thracians, frightened by the Thebans, were chased 'to the Euripus and the sea' (ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔριπον καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, 7.30.1), but not to which sea or harbour of Boeotia the Thebans were heading to reach the ships which would carry them back home.[46] The combination of topographical specificity ('the Euripus') and vagueness ('the sea') within the phrase ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔριπον καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν makes the Euripus a focal point of action. At the same time, the frightened chase of the Thracians to a narrow stretch of treacherous water brings to mind the chase of the Trojans by Achilles to their watery death in the eddying Scamander (Hom. *Il.* 21.7–11).[47] The theme of retreat to a death involving water—and a river at that—appears magnified in the slow and tortured retreat of the Athenians from Sicily, and in the haunting scene on the banks of the river Assinaros (7.84). Vividness (*enargeia*) and visualisation have been acknowledged as main avenues of emotionality and memory (Arist. *De memoria* 450b20–451a2; Quint. 8.3.61–72), and Thucydides' *enargeia* and epic use of space in the episode of Mycalessus must be seen, I suggest, as a device for imprinting the tragic fate of the city on the minds of his audience and memorialising it. As

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[44] Coins: *IACP*, p. 88. Farinetti (2011) 220 n 64: '[Mycalessus] flourished in the mid-6th c. BC (rich necropolis) and declined in the 5th c. BC. Destroyed during the Peloponnesian War, but was still alive in the 4th c. although under the control of Tanagra'. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 23, on the strategic position of Mycalessus. For Mycalessus in Pausanias' time, see Schachter (2016) 135. Rhitsona, possibly the modern site of Mycalessus, was the theatre of a Second World War crime, when the Germans executed 110 Greek men as a reprisal (*CT* III.597).

[45] ἐκ Χαλκίδος τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀφ' ἑσπέρας διέπλευσε τὸν Εὔριπον καὶ ἀποβιβάσας ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μυκαλησσόν. Fossey (1988) 84 thinks the Thracians were disembarked south of Euripus, somewhere near Chalkis.

[46] Cf. *HCT* IV.409. Strabo (9.2) says that Boeotia had three seas and a number of harbours: Aulis, Oropos (with two harbours), Delion, and north of the channel Salganeus, Anthedon, and Larymna. See also Bakhuizen (1970); Gehrke (1988); Schachter (2016) 97 (on the challenges of locating Mycalessus).

[47] Cf. de Jong (2012a) 30.

has well been shown, *enargeia* bestows the quality of experience, actuality, and present time to Thucydides' narration of the past; simultaneously, it reconfigures the narrated event, re-embedding it, as it were, back into the past as indelible collective memory.[48]

iii. Impiety and the Athenian Diitrephes

An inability to swim is one criterion of ethnic Otherness in the Mycalessus episode. Another distinctive feature closely related to ethnicity is the degree of moral responsibility that seems to fall on the 'barbarian' and Greek perpetrators of the atrocities described. As mentioned, the Thracians are presented as almost void of any human feature, falling upon the city with the violence and unexpectedness of a natural phenomenon.[49] The disastrous outcome of the close contact and cooperation in a military mission between the 'savage' Thracians from Rhodope and the 'civilised' Athenian Diitrephes might be seen to suggest the diachronic contrast between nature and culture, also prominent in the intellectual atmosphere of the fifth century BCE. Although not explicitly, Thucydides seems to point to the Athenian Diitrephes as responsible for the disaster, on account of misjudgement and misuse of this uncontrollable force under his command. Being an Athenian, a Thracian expert, and a military man himself, Thucydides, the ethnic 'insider', would expect Diitrephes to be able to perceive and avert the consequences. One stylistic means by which Diitrephes' moral responsibility might be detected is the number of singulars which describe the actions of the Thracian troops under his leadership (e.g. $\dot{a}\pi\epsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\beta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$ ('disembarked') … $\mathring{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\nu$ ('led') … $a\dot{\iota}\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ ('captures') … $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$ ('falling upon'), 7.29.2); among them the decision to pitch camp for the night close to the sanctuary of Hermes ($\pi\rho\grave{o}s$ $\tau\hat{\omega}$ ῾Ερμαίῳ $\eta\mathring{\upsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\tau o$ 'he camped by the temple of Hermes', 7.29.3) stands out, suggesting impiety. Thucydides might have been able to say something more about Diitrephes, given his familiarity with Thracian matters. The absence of Diitrephes' patronymic and title of office (we are

[48] For visuality and *enargeia* in Homeric poetics, see Clay (2011), esp. 16–17 and 23–30 on the close connection between visual imagery and remembering and the role of visual memory in story telling in oral traditions. For *enargeia* in Thucydides as a means of experientiality and presentism, see Grethlein (2013); cf. Walker (1993). For *mimesis*' equation with *enargeia* and historiography's (and Thucydides') mimetic dimension, see Halliwell (2002), esp. 292–4 with n. 23; cf. id. (2011) 19–24 on Thucydides' attitude to poetic amplification and his own commitment to historiographic truth (as opposed to, and in dialogue with, poetic truth).

[49] A parallel from modern Welsh history, in which both contingency and human mishandling had contributed to a tragedy involving children in a school, is the Aberfan disaster (21 October 1966, 9:00 AM): http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-150d11df-c541-44a9-9332-56 0a19828c47.

never told he was a general) can be viewed as an authorial technique of non-naming, suggesting the condemnation of the man.[50]

Diitrephes' disgraceful conduct at Mycalessus left a mark through the centuries. Pausanias reports having seen a bronze statue of him on the Athenian Acropolis pierced with arrows. But he finds the image puzzling, because, he says, it is mainly the Cretans who use this weapon, and not the Greeks in these areas, and he goes on to name some of the *ethnē* around Mycalessus, such as the Opountian Lokrians, the Malians, or the Boeotians (Paus. 1.23.4). Arrow-shots could be a way of execution: for example, in the concluding phase of the *stasis* in Kerkyra, Thucydides describes the group execution of a number of Kerkyraians by the opposite faction, with arrows and tiles shot at them from the roof of the building (4.48.2–3).[51] As we saw (above, p. 40), the Thracians were chased by the Theban archers all the way down to the Euripus, so Diitrephes could have died indeed pierced by arrows, but apparently he did not: in 411 we find a Diitrephes elected again to a Thracian command, who must be the same man (8.64.2).[52] But I am interested in the artistic imagination behind the statue of Diitrephes on the Athenian Acropolis, which Pausanias saw, and the potential symbolism of death by arrows. This symbolic dimension could point to Diitrephes' punishment not by the human archers operating in the area, that is, the Thebans who chased the Thracians to the sea, but by mythical archers, who were part of the shared and living culture of Thucydides' audience. We would not expect mythical archers and divine retribution to surface in Thucydides, as often happens in Herodotus or tragedy—let alone Homer. But although overt interaction between the divine and human levels is not part of Thucydides' explanatory apparatus, it culturally informs and underlies his and his audience's constructions of meaning.[53]

4. Mycalessus and Euripus: Geography, Myth, and Religion

i. Mythical Archers

In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Boeotia and Mycalessus are places where the god stops on his way to Delphi: from Euboea's Lelantine plain, the 'far-shooter' (ἑκατηβόλος) Apollo crosses Euripus (Εὔριπον διαβάς) and goes up 'the green, holy hills, going on to Mycalessus and grassy-bedded Teumessus'

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[50] Ar. *Birds* 797–800, with Sommerstein (1987) 249; 'shameless beast' in Kratinos (fr. 251 K–A).

[51] Cf. 3.34.3, an Arcadian commander of a mixed body of Arcadians and barbarians is arrested and shot down by Paches (ξυλλαμβάνει καὶ κατατοξεύει), the Athenian general, at the Ionian city of Notion, when he manages to quell a Persian-led stasis in the city.

[52] Cf. *CT* III.941.

[53] For the intersection of divine and human levels in Homer and the historians, see Pelling, above, Ch. 1.

(*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 222–4). Apollo has in fact a conspicuous presence in Thucydides, often named as 'the god', in cases of oracular consultation (e.g. 1.118.3, 1.123.1 *et passim*). One of the god's explicit mentions is in the context of the Athenian campaign against Delion, a coastal area of Boeotia south of Euripus and one of its seven harbours.[54] Thucydides says that in the summer of 424 the Athenians planned to capture the temple of Apollo in the area 'in the district of Tanagra looking towards Euboea' (4.76.4). This operation known as the 'Delion campaign' ended in Athenian disaster, with a part of the Athenian troops running towards the sea chased by the Boeotian cavalry (4.96.7), just like the Thracians in the Mycalessus episode. But unlike the latter, for those Athenians who managed to escape the sea was a route to safety, as in the case of the Aetolian campaign (3.98.3).[55] The Delion narrative is often discussed in the context of international law in ancient Greece, because the Athenians were accused by the Boeotians of desecrating the precinct of Apollo in the area and thus violating panhellenic practices (τὰ νόμιμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων: 4.97.2–4, 98.2).

Apollo was perhaps the most famous divine archer of the Greek world, and his female counterpart was none other than his sister, Artemis. Artemis had a sanctuary at Aulis and her localisation is related to another case of desecration, famous in myth, on account of which the goddess sent adverse winds obstructing the departure of the Achaean army for Troy.[56] Aulis, from where the Trojan expedition sailed, so close to Mycalessus, was a dense locus of collective memory for all the Greeks. 'Rocky Aulis' (Αὐλίδα πετρήεσσαν, *Il.* 2.496) had a prominent place in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* and this illustrious panhellenic background was a major component of the community's identity still in the Roman period: according to Pausanias, in his time the people of Aulis claimed that they preserved in Artemis' temple what survived of the plane-tree mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2.307). In the sanctuary there are two statues of Artemis, Pausanias says: one carrying torches, and the other being 'like to one shooting an arrow' (τὸ δὲ ἔοικε τοξευούσῃ, Paus. 9.19.6).

The sanctuary of Artemis was 'a little further from that of Demeter Mycalessia' Pausanias reports (9.19.6). The precise location of the sanctuary of Demeter Mycalessia is unknown, as the site has not been excavated, but according to Pausanias' description it must have lain outside the urban

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[54] Strabo 9.2.2 (cf. above, n. 46).

[55] On the connection between the two passages (7.30.1 and 3.98.3), see above pp. 46–7.

[56] Neither the sacrilege nor its expiation are found in Homer, though the story possibly underlies Agamemnon's burst against Calchas: 'never have you given me a favourable prophecy', Hom. *Il.* 1.106. The *Cypria* and *Ehoiai* are our first sources for Iphigenia's sacrifice (Gantz (1993) 582); cf. Davies (1989) 44–5 and Burgess (2001) 150–1. Aesch. *Agam.* 146–55, 184ff.; Eur. *IT* 1–27.

centre and on a downward slope 'on the way to the coast' (9.19.5).[57] This might be one of the sanctuaries the Thracians came across in their flight to the sea, in Thucydides' account. According to Pausanias (9.19.5), the cult of Demeter Mycalessia was related to a miracle (θαῦμα), which took place during the *thalysia*, the harvest festival in honour of the goddess: people placed before the feet of her image all the fruits of autumn, and these remained fresh throughout the year. These local *thalysia* must have stood out as particularly notable among the surrounding towns and villages of Boeotia.[58] Interestingly the earliest associations of the festival must have been with Apollo and Artemis rather than Demeter (Hom. *Il.* 9.533–5).[59]

Pausanias himself connects Demeter's sanctuary 'on the way to the coast' with another famous mythical archer, Heracles: 'They say that each night it [Demeter's sanctuary] is shut up and opened again by Heracles, and that Heracles is one of what are called the Idaean Dactyls' (9.19.5). The Idaean Dactyls were minor divinities, inventors of metalwork, associated with Zeus' secret upbringing in a cave on Mount Ida in (most often) Crete (Str. 10.3.22), and they were probably associated also with a mystery cult. 'Dactyl' in Greek means 'finger' and the Dactyls, Heracles and his brothers, were five in number, or multiples of five, also known as Kouretes (Paus. 5.7.6).[60] The gates of Demeter's sanctuary seemed to be opened and closed in a miraculous way by its divine doorkeeper. In the context of the Eleusinian Mysteries, Demeter's association with the figure of Iacchos-Dionysus would be a more expected one, but the goddess' connection with Heracles, though unusual, is not unparalleled (cf. Paus. 8.31.3, for a similar association in Megalopolis).[61] The association of Heracles with the Idaian Dactyls suggests some antiquity in the cult of Demeter Mycalessia. A. D. Ure has made a powerful case for connecting fifth-century iconographic evidence probably from the area of Tanagra with the cult of Demeter Mycalessia. She concludes: 'the vases … suggest that we may find there traces of some sort of

[57] It probably lay along the coast of Euripus, close to the church of Hagios Nikolaos, south-west of the sanctuary of Artemis Aulideia, whose remains have been found along with the fountain construction in it (Moggi and Osanna ((2010) 323); cf. Papahatzis (1981) 128–31. Cf. McAllister (1976) 600: '[P]robably near the modern village of Megalovouno above Aulis'; but Fossey (1998) 81 considers the entry 'very inadequate'. Cf. http://web.uvic.ca/~bburke/EBAP/ (Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP) excavating on the plains surrounding the modern villages of Arma, Eleon, and Tanagra). (Accessed 2 August 2017.)

[58] A. D. Ure (1949); on the *thalysia*: Nilsson (1940) 21; Burkert (1985) 67, 265. Athenian *thalysia* (Haloa): Farnell (1907) 45ff.

[59] J. L. Larson (2007) 72.

[60] A. D. Ure (1949) 23; Schachter (1981–94) I.158; I. Rutherford (2011) 115; Stafford (2012) 161; Fowler (2013) 43–5 and 389; Coldstream (1973); Guettel Cole (2000).

[61] Moggi and Osanna (2010) 323.

the worship of a Mother (*Iliad* 2.498) goddess whose cult goes back to the days when εὐρύχορος Μυκαλησσός sent a contingent to Troy'.[62]

At the same time the local tradition of Heracles the Idaean Dactyl as attendant in the sanctuary of Demeter has also a panhellenic dimension, through the association of Heracles the Idaean Dactyl with the foundation of the Olympic games, as Pausanias explains (5.7.9):

> To the Idaean Heracles, therefore, belongs the glory of having arranged the games at this time and first giving them the name 'Olympics'; he established that they should be held in every fifth year, because he and his brothers were five in number.[63]

The story was supported by 'the most learned antiquaries of Elis' (Paus. 5.7.6), the region of the Peloponnese where Olympia is located, and maps nicely onto myths of long-standing conflicts within the Peloponnese. At the hands of the Eleans, permanently uneasy with the Spartans, Heracles the Idaean Dactyl as the founder of the Olympic games becomes a counter image of Theban Heracles the son of Alcmene (Hom. *Il.* 19.98–9), who was also known as founder of the Olympic games in anti-Eleian versions (Pi. *Ol.* 10.43–60).[64] This Heracles too, therefore, had both a panhellenic and a local dimension, and his local importance was famously connected with Spartan identity. Through the myth of the Return of the Herakleidai (his sons) to the Peloponnese, Heracles the son of Alcmene was the founder of Dorian Sparta and its royal houses, and gave his own name to Spartan foundations across the Greek world.

Idaean Heracles also offers an insight into the ancient Ionian background of Mycalessus and its colonial ties with the eastern side of the Aegean. The link is provided again by Pausanias and concerns Thespiae, another city of Boeotia, where the Idaean Heracles had an old sanctuary. In connection with this Heracles and his sanctuary in Thespiai, we are told that Heracles also had a cult at Erythrai in Ionia and Tyre in Phoenicia (Paus. 9.27.8).[65] It

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[62] A. D. Ure (1949) 24. For cult activity in Boeotia related to the Mycenaean past, see, e.g., Schachter (1981–94) II.50, s.v. 'Hermes (Thebes)': a place in Thebes, east of the Kadmeia, called the Herms, where the so-called Seven Pyres were located; site of cultic activity in the Classical period.

[63] Cf. Diod. 5.64.6, in defence of the story; but cf. Str. 8.3.30.

[64] Hornblower (2004) 113–14; Hubbard (2007) 32, who argues that 'the identification of one of the dactyls as "Heracles" was probably a reaction to the growth of the more famous Heracles' myth as an Olympic etiology'; Fowler (2013) 282.

[65] Cf. Hdt. 2.44 on the sanctuary of Heracles in Tyre. The Phoenician Heracles Melqart looks more related to Heracles the Idaian Dactyl than the son of Alcmene (e.g. Malkin (2011) 126). In Diodorus' version (3.74.4–5) there were three (not two) different Heracleses of different mythological chronologies and partly overlapping life-stories. The youngest of all, Diodorus says, was the son of Zeus and Alcmene, born a little before τὰ Τρωικά, who

is not my purpose to get into the murky area of the different personas and mythological chronologies of Heracles. I am interested in the suggested links between Mycalessus in Boeotia with Erythrai in Ionia, through cultic continuity around the ancient mythical figure of Heracles the Idaean Dactyl (if we accept Pausanias' view that it would be better to relate the sanctuary of Heracles in Thespiai with this Heracles rather than the son of Alcmene). Cultic affinities provide good grounds for cultural politics, and in Mycalessus' case a claimed association with Ionia could be a means of resistance to Theban federal pressures and a useful statement of ethnic and civic individuality within the space of Boeotia.[66]

ii. Mycale-Mycalessus

The name of Mycalessus itself points to the other side of the Aegean and the promontory of Mt. Mycale (facing the island of Samos), site of the Panionion, a sacred place for the Ionians dedicated to Poseidon Heliconius, as Herodotus says (1.148.1). The Panionia, the ancient festival of the Ionians, also took place there.[67] The epithet 'Heliconius' probably derives from Mt Helicon in Boeotia, where Poseidon had deep roots. A precinct of the god in Boeotian Onchestus is mentioned in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.506) and remains of a sixth-century temple have been found.[68] According to tradition the names 'Mycale' and 'Mycalessus' both derived from the verb *μυκάομαι* ('moo'). Boeotian Mycalessus was the spot where the cow that led Cadmus to Thebes stopped and mooed (Paus. 9.19.4). Mycale in Ionia was associated with the angry lamentations of the Gorgons at the beheading of Medusa by Perseus, although this tradition could apply to Mycalessus as well.[69] Recent archaeological work on possible sites for the Panionion has identified the city Mycalessus-Mycale in Ionia as a Boeotian colony founded

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inherited the exploits of the other two. The second in this succession was the Cretan Daktyl and founder of the Olympic Games.

[66] Cf. below pp. 57–8 on Mycalessus' walls. Prominent cases of this resistance to Thebes were Plataea (3.61.2–3, 65.2–66.1, 68) and Thespiai (4.133.1). The Homeric background of Phaiakian Corcyra (Homeric Scheria) (1.25.4, 3.70.4) and Minyan Orchomenus in Boeotia (4.76.3) were used as tools of fifth-century kinship diplomacy (more recently, Fragoulaki (2013) 78–80).

[67] Cf. Diod. 15.49.1. Hornblower (2011a) 170–81. Cf. Erythrai: Hom. *Il.* 2.499; Hdt. 1.142.4; 9.19, 22.

[68] Schachter (1981–94) II.207. Cf. Pind. *I.* 1.32 (Poseidon's sanctuary at Onchestus); Σ Hom. *Il.* 2.508: Ἀνθηδὼν δὲ παρὰ τὰ ἄνθη ἢ Ἄνθιον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος. ἔστι δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὔριπον; a more remote probability (linguistically) is that 'Helikonios' relates to Helike in Achaia in the Peloponnese (J. L. Larson (2007) 58), an ancient centre of the Ionians before their migration to Asia Minor (Hdt. 1.145; Hom. *Il.* 8.203 for Poseidon's cult in Helike; Diod. 15.49.1–2). Hornblower (2011b) 105, on the Dark Age Boeotian emigration to Anatolia and Boeotian-type place names.

[69] Suda, s. v. ᾽Μυκάλη καὶ Μυκαλησός᾽ (M 1390 Adler): ὄνομα πόλεως. παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ μυκᾶσ-θαι τὰς Γοργόνας. Steph. Byz. s.v. ᾽Μυκάλη᾽. Cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Il.* 1.406–8.

in Protogeometric or Geometric times, which gave its name to the Mount Mycale massif, and evolved into a dependency of Miletus, one of the proudest centres of Ionianism, intimately related to Athens (Hdt. 1.142.3, 146; 6.21.2).[70]

The Dark Age Boeotian migration across the Aegean and Mycalessus' representation in this movement reveals an Ionian aspect in the kinship profile of this Boeotian community, which helps us explore further the impact of the massacre on the Athenians, who had seen themselves as the cradle of Ionia already in the sixth century BCE (Solon F 4a W²). Seen in this light, Mycalessus appears to be close to Athens not only in geographical but also in emotional and moral terms, and the slaughter that took place in the city in 413 BCE could have been perceived by the communities involved as an almost self-inflicted calamity; for the Athenians it could have felt as disaster 'near at home', to recall Herodotus' famous statement about the sack of Miletus by the Persians in 494 BCE (οἰκήια κακά, 6.21.2).

To take this point further, the case of Mycalessus affords some comparisons with Plataea, with which the Athenians had a quasi-colonial relationship, well-attested in our sources, although the city was allegedly a Theban settlement (3.61.2; cf. Hdt. 6.108.1). Plataea too had a pitiable fate in the Peloponnesian War (427 BCE), being razed to the ground by Theban-led Spartans (3.68). Here too Thucydides' pathetic description creates the feeling of permanent annihilation of the community, though the city continued to live on in the fourth century, like Mycalessus. Last but not least, both the Plataean and the Mycalessian drama involve the reader in a questioning about the Athenians' moral responsibility (if not condemnation) for the tragic end of both communities.[71]

iii. 'Because of Lack of Fear' (7.29.3): Thucydides' Religious Silences

Thucydides describes the disaster that befell Mycalessus on that summer morning of 413 as a unexpected calamity, and disproportionate to the small size of the city and its general inconspicuousness (7.29.3):

> The assault took the inhabitants off guard as they had never expected that people would come up so far inland to attack them; furthermore their wall was weak, and at some points had even fallen down, while elsewhere it had been built low, and at the same time the gates [sc. of

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[70] Herda (2006) (Melia, Thebes, and Kadme-Priene were also Boeotian settlements on mount Mycale).

[71] Pelling (2000) 67–72; S. West (2003); Hornblower (2007); Fragoulaki (2016).

the city wall] were open because of their feeling of security' (or 'lack of fear') (πυλῶν ἅμα διὰ τὴν ἄδειαν ἀνεῳγμένων).[72]

As has been suggested, the walls of Mycalessus could have been deliberately dilapidated to facilitate Theban control.[73] For the smaller communities of the plain towards Thebes, such as Mycalessus, Eleon, and Harma, massive defensive walls, in many cases dating from the Archaic period, have been viewed as efforts of these communities 'to demonstrate their autonomy and their pursuit of *polis* status in front of both Tanagra and Thebes. Mycalessus, for instance, retained limited autonomy at least as far as control over its small territory was concerned'.[74] With these considerations in mind and Boeotia's central position on the map of Greece and the war route, Thucydides' confident reporting of the Mycalessians' feeling of security and their expectation that an attack against their city was unlikely deserves a rethinking.

In addition, though Thucydides says Mycalessus was 'not big', at the same time he mentions houses and sanctuaries (in the plural) and more than one school: the Thracians attacked the *largest* of the schools in the area (7.29.4–5). The material record testifies to a city which was not that small (50–100 sq. km), and can be traced back to the third millennium BCE (EH II), with remains of the Archaic and Classical periods, including massive walls, as we saw, and a large cemetery that indicates a peak of population in the sixth century BCE.[75]

Boeotia as a whole was geographically focal and well connected, with much mobility in its population. Citing Ephorus, Strabo says (9.2.2) that Boeotia is superior to its bordering *ethnē* because 'it alone has three seas (μόνη τριθάλαττός ἐστι) and a greater number of good harbours'—it is in one of these harbours that the Athenian ships were moored waiting for the Athenian-led Thracians to embark after their raid and slaughter.[76] Epaminondas' calling Boeotia the 'dancing-floor' (ὀρχήστρα) of Ares, the god of war (Plut. *Marc.* 21.3), might reflect a more traditional idea about the region. Thucydides himself points out that Boeotia was one of the 'best lands' (1.2.3), and in the description of the Dark Age migrations presents the Boeotians playing a pioneering role in these movements (1.12.3);[77] as for the period of the *Pentekontaetia* and the Peloponnesian War itself, he offers ample

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[72] This long sentence in Greek (part of a longer eight-line period in the OCT) is an excellent example of the interdependence of causal statements in Thucydides, or multiple causality.

[73] Buck (1994) 19, with Hornblower (2011a) 118 n. 5.

[74] Farinetti (2011) 218 n. 53.

[75] *IACP*, p. 446; P. N. Ure (1940); Hansen (1995); *CT* III.597.

[76] Bakhuizen (1985) 118; cf. above, n. 46.

[77] S. L. Larson (2007) 56–64.

evidence that Boeotia was a hot area.[78] So there was not such a thing as a safe city in Boeotia, which was politically and economically important,[79] busy and coveted. It was also closely connected with Euboea, another busy area, with intense traffic and commercial activity, especially in the straits and in Chalkis, a major Euboean harbour.[80] A good early example of Boeotia's centrality and traffic is Herodotus' casual mention of the presence of Spartan troops under Cleomenes in the area around Plataea towards the end of the sixth century: 'they happened to be nearby' ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\upsilon\chi\upsilon\hat{\upsilon}\sigma\iota$, 6.108.2).

It should not be a cause of surprise if a body of armed men marching along the Boeotian coast on the Euboean gulf went out of their way inland for the purpose of raiding. The day before the massacre of Mycalessus, following Athenian instructions, Diitrephes had disembarked the Thracians in the territory of Tanagra and made a hasty raid (7.29.1–2). Sudden attacks or raids were standard practice in ancient warfare, already known in the *Iliad*, and in Thucydides' account we see them happening even in areas that were much more off the beaten track and difficult to access: for example, Demosthenes made a hasty attack in 426 on Aigition (called a $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$), in a mountainous area of Aetolia, about 80 stades (*c.* 15 km) inland from the sea (3.97).[81] Mycalessus was just 6.5 km from the coast/Euripus and about halfway between was the sanctuary of Hermes, near which, we are told, Diitrephes and the Thracians had camped for the night before their morning attack.[82] So these light-armed Thracians would need no more than an hour to march 3–4 km from the Hermaion to Mycalessus. If there is anything to cause consternation in the Mycalessus episode it is the scale and the brutality of the attack, rather than the fact that an attack did take place. So what are we to make of Thucydides' statement about the Mycalessians' 'lack of fear' ($\mathring{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$)?

Let us pursue further the analogies between Mycalessus and Plataea, this time comparing the attack against Mycalessus with that of the Thebans against the Plataeans in 431, because of the latter's pro-Athenian allegiances, which is placed at the opening of the main war narrative (2.2–6). They are both surprise attacks which take place in the summer, at a quiet time (night

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[78] Oropos (on the border with Attica), Tanagra, and Delion are only some key spots that receive much attention (Oropos: 2.23; 4.99; Tanagra: 1.108.1; 3.91; 4.97; Delion: 4.89–101.2). Cf. *CT* I.279; Rusten (1989) 130; Hornblower (2011b) 32–3. Thucydides presents as a motive for Demosthenes' operations in Aetolia in 426 his intention to make an overland attack on Boeotia without using Athenian forces (3.95.1), resulting in the *Aitolikon pathos*, mentioned above.

[79] Hornblower (2011a) 118–19 and (2011b) 104–5.

[80] Bakhuizen (1985) 15.

[81] Hornblower (2007) 44–6; Aigition: *IACP*, p. 382.

[82] According to Thucydides, the Hermaion was 3.5 km away from the city (sixteen stades, 7.29.3). Livy 35.50.9 (with Briscoe (1981) ad loc.); but see Fossey (1988) 84. Schachter (1981–94) I.42: 'not certain that Thucydides' Hermaion is the same with that of Livy'.

or early morning), and take the inhabitants off guard. Like Mycalessus, Plataea too is described by Thucydides as 'not big' (οὐ μεγάλη, 2.77.2) and, according to Heraclides Criticus (third century BCE), it deserved to be called a *polis* only during the celebration of the Eleutheria (the 'Freedom festival' commemorating the victorious outcome of the battle of Plataea).[83] But as in the case of Mycalessus, Plataea's archaeological record indicates a territory of about 170 km², that is, about double the size of Mycalessus. Like Mycalessus and Aulis, Plataea too had an entry in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.504), and, together with Delion (4.89–101), attracts a fair amount of Thucydides' attention regarding its cults and festivals.[84]

So the analogy with Mycalessus is that the Plataeans too were caught by surprise and had not set a guard to protect their city (2.2.3), just as in Mycalessus the gates of the dilapidated city wall were left open. But the difference is that in Plataea's case we are told later in the narrative that when the Thebans invaded the city, it was a time of truce and a day of a sacred festival (ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ ἱερομηνίᾳ, 3.56.2). Narrative displacement might be a means of downplaying a piece of information, and on this occasion this piece of delayed information tones down the religious background of the night assault against Plataea—not a surprising technique in Thucydides, who is generally reluctant to provide details about religion.[85] We can also think of the metaphysical aura of an unexpected rain that saved Plataea from fire (2.77.6),[86] or the suggestive reporting of a seer leading the perilous night-time escape of the Plataeans from their city, without further religious details or any visible connection with the practice of *monosandalism* in the same operation, which is attributed to purely practical reasons (3.22.2).[87] In the light of these analogies and also considering the time of the year, there might be a religious dimension to the Mycalessians' 'lack of fear'. A summer celebration of Demeter, the goddess of grain, would not be improbable (such as the local harvest festival of the *thalysia* or something similar) and would justify a low security level, such as the open gates of the city walls and the community's lack of fear.

iv. Euripus and Aulis

Euripus is the channel separating Boeotia from Euboea through which the Thracians sailed into, and out of, Attica (see Appendix). Although it is men-

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[83] Pfister (1951) 78; cf. Austin (2006) 198–201. On the festival, see Plut. *Arist.* 21.2; Boedeker (2001) 151–2, on date and evolution.

[84] Hornblower (2011a) 132–4.

[85] Oost (1975); Marinatos (1981); Jordan (1986); Furley (2006) ; Hornblower (2011a).

[86] The resonance with the rescue of pious Croesus from the pyre by Apollo-sent rain in Herodotus (1.87.2) reinforces the point. For different takes on Thucydides' handling of the allegation of the Plataeans' perjury (2.5.6), see S. West (2003) and Hornblower (2011a).

[87] Hornblower (2011a) 28–9.

tioned thrice in the Mycalessus episode (7.29.1, 29.2, 30.1), and in the *History* as a whole, nowhere is there a mention of its famous current; commentators of these passages are also silent about it. Euripus is 40 m. wide at its narrowest point, about 8 m. deep, and its waters are in almost constant movement, as its own name also indicates (< εὖ + ῥίπτω/ῥιπή, meaning something like 'good/quick flow'). Apparently hinting at existing debate about the causes of the phenomenon, Strabo says that 'not much can be said about the tide of Euripus except for the fact that it changes its course seven times each day and night; let others think of the reason' (9.2.8).[88] Livy stresses the military dangers of the straits (28.6):

> A more dangerous station for a fleet can hardly be found. Apart from the fact that the winds rush down suddenly and with great fury from the high mountains on either side, the strait itself of the Euripus does not ebb and flow seven times a day, at stated hours, as report says; but the current, changing irregularly, like the wind, from one point to another, is hurried along like a torrent tumbling from a steep mountain; so that night and day ships can never lie quiet.[89]

'The phenomenon was celebrated in antiquity; … the reasons for it have only been explained in modern times'.[90] From the fourth century onwards the word εὔριπος is used both for the specific location between Euboea and Boeotia and for any narrow stretch of sea (e.g., Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.23; Str. 17.1.25), or, metaphorically, to denote the opposite of steadfastness and stability (Plat. *Phaedo* 90c; Aeschin. *Ctes.* 90; Arist. *EN* 1167b). Aristotle himself seems to have been occupied with the observation of Euripus' current in his final years in Chalkis.[91]

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[88] Wallace (1979). Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 190–95; Eur. *IT* 6ff.; metaphorically: Pl. *Phaedo* 90c; Aesch. *Against Ctes.* 90; Arist. *EN* 1167b.

[89] Roman sources: Lucan 5.234–5; Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 779–80; Cic. *Mur.* 35.1 (metaphorically). Currents and tides were for the Greeks an everyday phenomenon, as Herodotus characteristically says (7.198.1), and for the whole of the Mediterranean too (cf. Hdt. 2.11.2); cf. Constantakopoulou (2007) 4, 25. Although they had been the subject of critical examination and scientific analysis since the sixth century, natural phenomena were often related to the supernatural and the divine in the collective consciousness of the ancient Greeks: winds, earthquakes, sudden storms, eruptions and of course currents: e.g., 2.8.2–3, 3.89.1, 7.50.4. Cf. Plut. *Per.* 6.1. Thucydides either takes pains to offer a scientific explanation of the phenomenon in question (the tsunami off Euboea, 3.89; the flooding of river because of heavy rain, 4.75.2), or detaches himself from the *communis opinio* (e.g. 3.88.3, νομίζουσι ('people think') for volcanic activity), or refrains from relating the phenomenon to supernatural causes (e.g., Aetna at 3.116), even in cases with some metaphysical potential (e.g., 2.8.3, 77.6; 3.87.4).

[90] Fraenkel (1950) 116 ad Aesch. *Agam.* 191.

[91] Some false traditions, in which the conditions of Aristotle's death are associated with his failure to solve the riddle of Euripus, probably reflect his interest in the current; Chroust (1973) I.177–8.

In the regular phases (about 22–3 days every month) the water in Euripus normally changes direction from north to south and vice-versa four times in 24 hours, with a break of stillness of about 8 minutes between the changes. In the irregular and most enigmatic phase (i.e., the remaining 6–7 days of the month) the current behaves unforeseeably and may change direction from once up to 14 times per 24 hours.[92] The speed of the water may reach a maximum of 9 knots, and, like today, in antiquity it would also have been extremely dangerous for a ship to sail against the current, or for anyone, even able swimmers, to fall in these waters. Today port authorities are extremely cautious in the opening and the closing of the bridge, checking not only the timetable with the expected times of the change of the current but also the water itself, because the 'mad waters', as they are called by the locals, might also change at whim. The rare instances when the waters stay still for longer than usual are taken by the locals as a sure sign of a coming violent storm or an earthquake.[93]

The current of Euripus is often matched in modern studies with that of the straits of Messina (mod. 'Messene'), between Rhegion in Italy and Messene (former Zancle) in Sicily. This is a considerably broader passage, although in our sources the fierceness of its current is generally more pronounced than Euripus'. The Straits of Messina is the only explicit reference to currents in Thucydides. In this passage he uses Homer's mythical geography in order to locate this largely unknown and exotic place: 'it is the so-called Charybdis, where Odysseus too is said to have travelled' (4.24.5).[94] Thucydides reports that in the Straits of Messene the waters form currents and are dangerous, because of the narrowness of the passage and the quantity of the water falling into it from two great seas, the Tyrrhenian and the Sicilian (4.24.5).[95] In the dangerous current of these straits so far from

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[92] Morton (2001) 44–5, 86–7; also, Passas (1975–), s.v. 'Εὔριπος'.

[93] I thank the Port Authorities of Chalkis for information provided. Morton (2001) 5–6 notes that the meteorological and sea conditions in the Mediterranean, particularly waves and currents, have remained unchanged since antiquity; cf. Morton (2001) 149, where it is pointed out that although tides in the Mediterranean are generally negligible when one travels in the open sea, navigation in coastal waters, such as in the straits of Euripus and Messina, can be challenging owing to tides, and safe passage is possible only at certain times. The bridge was constructed for the first time in 411/10 BCE (Diod. 13.47.3–6); 'Negroponte' (its Venetian name), with Bakhuizen (1985).

[94] In Homer (*Od.* 12.73–126) Charybdis (a destructive whirlpool) and Scylla (a monster), opposite Charybdis, are almost in the same location with the 'Wandering Rocks' (πλαγκταί) in NW Asia Minor, at the Bosporus, the entrance of the Black Sea (Pontus) (*Od.* 12.55–72; 23.327–8); the Rocks also known as Συμπληγάδες (e.g., Eur. *Medea* 2; Str. 1.2.10). Herodotus too (4.85.1) locates the Wandering Rocks at the Bosporus; but Thucydides—subtly correcting Herodotus—locates Charybdis and Scylla (and presumably the Rocks themselves) in the West, a tradition well established in Polybius (34.2–4); for the problem of location, see Heubeck on *Od.* 12.55–72; *CT* II.180–2.

[95] Cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.73–112, 230–59; Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.920ff.; Theophr. *Vent.* 29 (generally on the phenomenon). A strong refluent Mediterranean current: Morton (2001) 44–5, 86–7.

home, and with fewer ships than those of the Syracusans and their allies, the Athenians forced their enemy into an evening naval battle and won (4.25.1–2). The narrative of the Sicilian expedition opens with the famous statement that most Athenians were ignorant (ἄπειροι οἱ πολλοί) of the size of Sicily and its population (6.1.1). This is in line with the tradition of early poetry and geography, in which Sicily and Italy (and landmarks such as the river Eridanos or Etna) are placed in the western extremities of the world, shrouded in myth.[96] At the opening of his Sicilian books Thucydides advertises his authority, by providing the width of the Straits of Messene, as a piece of information beyond the grasp of the average Athenian and a token of his superior knowledge: the strait, he says, is about twenty stades of sea (6.1.2), that is about 3.5 km, a generally correct number.[97] In contrast to his description of the Sicilian straits and current, Thucydides has nothing to say, as we saw, about the dangers of the more familiar waters of Euripus, and neither has Herodotus, despite the traffic in the channel in his narrative of the Persian Wars.[98]

The silence about the current of Euripus in early historians is consistent with the treatment of Euripus in epic poetry. Hesiod (*WD* 650–5) says nothing about the current in his reference to his crossing over to Chalkis in Euboea on a boat for the games of Amphidamas. The Boeotian location named in Hesiod is Aulis in Boeotia, as the place 'where the Achaeans once stayed through much storm when they had gathered a great host from divine Hellas for Troy' (*WD* 651–3). There is nothing about Euripus in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* either. But there is a mention of Euripus in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, cheek by jowl with Mycalessus, as two stopping-places of the god on his way to Delphi in search of his oracle, as we saw in our discussion of divine archers in the area. This is the first and earliest mention of Euripus in our

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[96] Keyser (2011) 39–40; cf. Hdt. 3.115.

[97] In the narrowest point; or perhaps about 2.8 km. For the problem of calculation and Thucydides' stade measurements, see *CT* III.261–2. His account of the Greek colonization of Sicily is another conspicuous tour de force of (antiquarian) knowledge.

[98] Hdt. 5.77; 7.173, 183; 8.7.5, 15.8 (Euripus as the counterpart of Thermopylae at sea), 66.4. But see tides in Hdt. 2.11.2 (Egypt) and 7.198.1 (Maliac gulf). Thucydides is silent also about the current of the Hellespont, another narrow stretch of sea with a huge role in the mythical imagination of the Greeks, although in the description of the battle of Kynossema he mentions the narrowness of the passage (8.106.1); but see Diod. 13.39.4–5, 40.3, for the role of the current at Kynossema. Diodorus' description of the battle is easily dismissed as confused, but the current of the Hellespont should have affected the battle and its outcome, *pace* Lazenby (2004) 197–98. On the current of the Hellespont, Hdt. 7.36.1 with Macan (1908) 50–2, pointing out the many puzzles of the narrative. On the role of the current in later times, see Polyaen. 4.6.8, on the defeat of Nicanor, the admiral of Antigonus, by Kleitos, because of the stream of the Hellespont, 317 BCE (not in Diod. 18.72.4); Lenski (2011) 75–6 (Crispus, Constantine's son, outmanoeuvring Licinius' armada off Elaious (Seddülbahir) using the swift current at the point).

sources.[99] But even here there is no reference to the current of Euripus. Strabo (1.2.30) says of Homer's silences: 'In general, silence is no sign of ignorance; for neither does Homer mention the refluent currents of the Euripus, nor Thermopylae, nor yet other things in Greece that are well known, though assuredly he was not ignorant of them'.

In the collective memory of the Greeks, Euripus, and Aulis in particular, are localities loaded with mythical and poetic connotations. Throughout Greek literature Aulis often appears as the mythical locus of the mustering of the Greek armada under Agamemnon, its delayed departure for Troy, and Iphigenia's sacrifice (e.g. Eur. *IT* 26; *IA* 87–8; Paus. 1.35.3; 3.9.3). Famously, Aulis' own name was thought to derive from the verb αὐλίζεσθαι ('to gather').[100] As expected, in a number of passages in Euripides' two *Iphigenias*, Aulis and Euripus are mentioned almost paired (e.g. *IT* 6–9; *IA* 11–14; 165–6), as in *IA* 1320–3, where Aulis is the harbour in which the ships are moored and Euripus is the place on which Zeus blows contrary winds, at times favouring mortal plans for sail, at times obstructing them—a case in which the natural element is explicitly the agent of divine will. There are also cases where the two places are used interchangeably: for example, in Pindar (*Pyth.* 11.22), it is Euripus, and not Aulis, which is mentioned as the place where Iphigenia was slaughtered (Ἰφιγένει' ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ | σφαχθεῖσα τῆλε πάτρας); or, in Aesch. *Ag.* 190–1 the whimsical waters of the straits and their metaphysical connection with *tuchē* ('fortune', Sommerstein's trans.) are evoked simply by the mention of Aulis: 'opposite Chalkis, in the place where the waters surge back and forth, at Aulis'.

I would like to suggest that Thucydides' silence about the current of Euripus and its dangerous waters is consistent with the poetic function of the word and its evocative power. Operating like a poet, Thucydides did not need to explain or remind his audience of the dangers of the place, or rather held off from doing so, in this highly dramatic episode. The simple mention of Euripus as a focal point of action conjured up the mythopoetic geography of this telling space in Greek literature, in which nature, human transgression and retribution are so closely intertwined. Aulis is never mentioned in Thucydides, whilst Euripus appears three times, all in the Mycalessus episode. Both are powerful and interchangeable *loci* of collective memory for the Greeks of the classical period and beyond, and certainly for Thucydides' audience. The poetic background of the place enables Thucydides to refer his audience to a whole nexus of moral dilemmas related to crime, expiation, and human responsibility, recurrent in tragedy and real life, and especially in war, in the most unmediated way.

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[99] Mycalessus' presence in the *Hymn* has been seen as an indication of some form of the city's religious association with Delphi: Richardson (2010) 115–16. Cf. below, p. 67 for Delphic influences on the Homeric Catalogue.

[100] ἐκ τοῦ αὐλίζω αὐλίσω Αὐλίς, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, s.v. 'Αὐλίδα' (de Stefani I.233).

5. Thucydides *Homericus*: Pulling the Threads Together

In line with his criticism of oral tradition and the stories of poets and mythographers, Thucydides expressed some mistrust towards the credibility of the poets. At the same time though, as is well acknowledged, like most of his contemporaries he drew on Homer both for historical knowledge and for pleasure. In what follows, I will pull the threads together, focusing on Thucydides' explicit engagement with Homer and more precisely the presence of the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in his work. A point of special significance, which has escaped attention so far, is that in the totality of the Greek literature available to us the *Catalogue of Ships* and the *Hymn to Apollo* are the only two texts before Thucydides in which Mycalessus gets a mention.

i. The Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* in Thucydides

The Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, a long section of two hundred and sixty-six hexameters in Book 2 of the *Iliad* (494–759) recording the Achaean forces and their leaders that had sailed to fight at Troy, is one of the most famous units of Homer. But at the same time, at least for a modern audience, it is arguably a dry and technical piece, also obscure in its compilation of place- and personal names. Many of these place-names remain unlocated today, while some of those names apply to leaders who play minor or moderate roles in the rest of the poem. This is so, because the *Catalogue of Ships* is considered to be older than the *Iliad* and to belong to 'a more complete view of the Trojan myth'.[101] As M. L. West has argued, the poet of the *Iliad* adapted his *Catalogue of Ships* from an earlier poem which must have dealt with the mustering of the Achaean forces in Aulis and early battles.[102] Entries are often accompanied by minimal descriptive material, and, occasionally, by mini-narratives, related to the lives and careers of people and places mentioned. This feature has been viewed as a morphological proof of the familiarity of Homeric audiences with these stories, which made most (though not all) of these names more intelligible to them than they are to us.[103]

Boeotia has a prominent presence in the *Catalogue*. The Boeotian entry opens the *Catalogue* and is the longest one dedicated to a single contingent (twenty-two lines). Here are the first lines, where among the Boeotian

[101] Kullmann (2012) 214.

[102] M. L. West (2011) 32–3, 112, and id. (2013) 4.

[103] On Homer, performance, and collective memory: Minchin (1996), (2001), and (2017); Sammons (2010); Pucci (1996), on catalogue as memory and ritual in a private context. On the *Catalogue of Ships*: Allen (1921), Giovannini (1969); Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970); Marcozzi–Sinatra–Vannicelli (1994); Visser (1997); Marks (2012). Arist. *Poet.* 1459a36 (as an artful device for narrating the Trojan War).

localities 'rocky Aulis' appears early on, unsurprisingly given the city's importance in the Trojan myth, and Mycalessus features as εὐρύχορος ('with broad dancing places') (*Il.* 2.494–502):

> The Boeotians were led by Peneleos and Leitos and Arkesilaos and Prothoenor and Klonios. These were men who lived in Hyria and rocky Aulis, Schoinos and Skolos, and the mountain spurs of Eteonos, Thespia, and Graia and **Mycalessus** with the broad spaces for the dance (εὐρύχορος); those who lived about Harma and Eilesion and Erythrai; those who held Eleon and Hyle and Peteon, Okalea and the well-founded citadel of Medeon, Kopai and Eutresis and Thisbe where the doves abound …

Boeotia's prominence in the *Catalogue* is incongruent with the small importance of the region in the rest of the *Iliad*; this has been a central question in the bibliography. Some of the suggested answers are pertinent to my inquiry. Firstly, Boeotia's prominence in the *Catalogue* might be seen as a sort of homage to the vein of catalogic poetry, which has a special localisation in Boeotia. Hesiod, a Boeotian himself, provides the best example of Boeotia's association with the genre of catalogic poetry and the antiquarian strand of compilers, genealogists, and mythographers. Secondly, Boeotia's prominence in the *Catalogue* is probably a homage to 'rocky Aulis', the second of the twenty-nine localities mentioned in the Boeotian entry.[104] Aulis' prominent position in the *Catalogue*, and the very presence of the *Catalogue* itself in the *Iliad*, have been viewed as compensations for the absence of naval battles from the Iliadic narrative. Battles in the *Iliad* take place on the plain between the Trojan walls and the Achaean camp and ships, and never at sea. The simple mention of Aulis conjures up the mustering of the Achaean fleet before departure, while the position of the *Catalogue* so early in the *Iliad* creates a sense of beginning where the naval aspect has a dominant role. Thirdly, as repository of collective memory and a collective cultural possession, the *Catalogue* was a chart of Greek ethnicity, where local and panhellenic identities coexisted and interacted, and a favourite piece for performance throughout antiquity.[105] Cult is a major criterion for tying heroes with certain localities, and the Homeric *Catalogue* has been seen 'as a roll-call of the Homeric heroes on a Panhellenic scale', in which the heroes

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[104] Giovannini (1969) 24.

[105] 'Ancient audiences and readers must have been fascinated in different ways by the document's coverage': Kirk (1985) 169. 'Panhellenes' (Πανέλληνες, *Il.* 2.530): a *hapax* in Homer and 'a slightly more urgent expression than "Hellenes"', Fowler (1998) 10; *ibid.* 10–11, on the extended meaning of Ἑλλάς in the *Odyssey* to encompass the whole Greek world; Kirk (1985) 202, Mitchell (2007) 44–5, on the impact of the term *Panhellenes* on later audiences as symbol of ethnic distinctiveness and collective Greek identity.

are 'assigned to homelands in line with the site of their primary cult'.[106] Scholars have gone even further to see Delphic traditions behind the systematisation of the *Catalogue* and its geographic distribution of heroes on the map of Greece.[107] If we accept the possibility that Delphi, this major panhellenic centre with a remarkably long life, had a decisive influence on this archaic map of ethnic claims that the Homeric *Catalogue* was, then Boeotia's prominence in it looks more intelligible. The region's ethnic identity was crystallised already in the archaic period, and its early ethnogenesis is congruent with its historical importance from the archaic period onwards.

Thucydides includes catalogues in his work and draws on antiquarian material; these are, of course, typical features of the historiographic genre. So his engagement with the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* is not unexpected. What is perhaps less expected and deserves a comment is that his 'most Homeric' predecessor, Herodotus, never engages explicitly with the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, although he engages closely with the catalogic genre.[108] By contrast, Thucydides in the *Archaeology*, acting as a Homeric commentator, uses the *Catalogue* to make inferences about the numbers of the Achaian forces, based on the *Catalogue* (1.10.3–5); and he cites a line from the Homeric scene of the delivery of the sceptre (1.9.4, citing *Il.* 2.108). He also alludes to the *Catalogue* by using Homeric city-epithets found in it. In the first mention of Corinth, Thucydides introduces the city as powerful and rich in the past, reminding that the early poets called the place 'wealthy' (ἀφνειόν, 1.13.5; cf. *Il.* 2.570).[109] And he refers to Orchomenus in Boeotia as 'Minyan Orchomenus' (4.76.3), the same epithet as that used in the *Catalogue* for the city (*Il.* 2.511; cf. Hdt. 1.146.1). All this leaves no doubt that Thucydides possessed, and took for granted in his readers, a high degree of familiarity with Homer, and certainly with the *Catalogue of Ships*.

This degree of familiarity is felt even more powerfully in Thucydides' comment about the settlement of Boeotia in the so-called Dark Ages in his *Archaeology*: 'There was a portion of them [= the Boeotian group] in that land [= Boeotia of the classical period] before, which took part in the Trojan expedition' (ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ

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[106] Howie (1998) 120.

[107] Nagy (1979) 120. Kullmann (2012) 221 on the political strategy and interstate dynamics behind the *Catalogue of Ships*, drawing on Giovannini (1969) 57–8, 60, who argues for a correspondence between the longest list of *theōrodokoi* from Delphi we possess (late third century BCE) and the order of the cities in the *Catalogue of Ships*.

[108] E.g., Xerxes' army, 7.61–99; the Greek fleet before the battle of Salamis, 8.43–8 (for the figure 1,207 for the ships at Salamis (Hdt. 7.89.1) and its mythological connotations, perhaps going back to the Homeric *Catalogue*: see, e.g., Briant (2002) 527). Homer's few explicit mentions in Herodotus should not be taken to mean lack of engagement with the poet; quite the opposite: Pelling (2006) and above, Ch. 1; R. B. Rutherford (2012).

[109] Cf. Pi. *Enc.* fr. 122.2.

ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν, 1.12.3). This has been viewed as another moment of Homeric exegesis and an attempt to reconcile his own version of date and geography of Boeotian migration with those emerging from the Homeric *Catalogue*, with special reference to Arne.[110] Stephanie Larson's comment is apt:

> This parenthesis undoubtedly refers to epic tradition, specifically to the *Catalogue of Ships*. … Its presence in Thucydides' split-second account of early Boeotian history implies that the historian simply could not have omitted reference to the *Catalogue*: its hold was too strong in the tradition and thus also in the minds of his audience.[111]

Within this web of intertexts, it could be argued that the simple reference to 'small' Mycalessus in Thucydides would be enough to evoke in the mind of his audience the reference to εὐρύχορος Μυκαλησσός ('Mycalessus with broad dancing-places', *Il.* 2.498) in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*. In addition, if we take into consideration the question of recitation, not only of the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* but also of certain parts of Thucydides, such as the *Archaeology* and the Mycalessus episode itself, then the relationship between these two Thucydidean sections and the *Catalogue of Ships* emerges more powerfully.[112]

ii. The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in Thucydides

Another major Homeric link in Thucydides' narrative, also relevant to performance and oral tradition, is the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. Delos was an epicentre of Athenian identity and imperialist politics of increasing importance in the fifth century. Thucydides describes the Athenian purification of Delos and the re-establishment of the Delian festival in 426 BCE, also quoting two passages from the *Hymn to Apollo* (3.104). The *Homeric Hymns* were songs in which gods were invoked and praised. They were thought to have been composed probably within the archaic period, but both authorship and time of composition are contested matters; but on this occasion, we have Thucydides' assertive attribution of the *Hymn* to 'the blind man of Chios'.[113] Thucydides also provides details about the Delian festival:

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[110] *CT* I.38–9; Nicolai (2001) 271–2.

[111] S. L. Larson (2007) 58; Cf. *HCT* I.118; Schachter (2016) 101, noting that of the Boeotian cities in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* only Aulis and Mycalessus survived into the classical period and beyond.

[112] For possible recitation units in Thucydides (including the episode of Mycalessus), see Hornblower (2011a) 283 with *CT* III.31.

[113] The question of the authorship and unity of the *Homeric Hymn* is irrelevant to this discussion; cf. *CT* I.530, also quoting M. L. West (1984) 166: 'if other people said it was by Homer, there was nothing to make [Thucydides] suspect otherwise'. On the *Homeric Hymns*

'a competition was held … both athletic and musical and the cities brought song-and-dance groups (χοροί)' (3.104.3). Thucydides' quotation from the *Homeric Hymn* is his longest direct quotation from any literary source, also constituting the 'primary external evidence of the performance of the *Homeric Hymns* at festivals' and 'the most valuable piece of evidence about ancient ideas of Homer'.[114]

Unsurprisingly, given his focus on Delos, Thucydides quotes from the (first) Delian part of the *Hymn to Apollo*, and not from the (second) Pythian part, in which Mycalessus (together with Euripus) appears as a stopping place of Apollo on his way to Delphi, as we saw. One potential reason for Thucydides giving us this uniquely long quote from the Delian part was that it might have been less performed and thus less well known; such a motive would have been consistent with the historian's claim to superior knowledge and to the shaping of panhellenic memory.[115] The Athenian initiative on the island at the time had both a domestic and a panhellenic aspect and the *Hymn* was certainly the best vehicle for the rhetoric of panhellenism ('an all-encompassing vision that surpasses the perspective of any one place of cult or any one song, [tying] them all together in one general picture of common significance').[116] And surely the absence of Mycalessus and Euripus from the lines of the *Hymn* quoted by Thucydides should not have prevented his audience from making the connection between the episode of Mycalessus and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.

iii. Local and Panhellenic Histories:
Homer as Living Experience

The focal moment of the Thracian war crime in Mycalessus, and one that creates the feeling of total annihilation and *olethros* in the city (cf. above, p. 52 on Paus. 1.23.3), is the moment of the slaughter of all the boys who had just come into the school (7.29.5). A comparable disaster we find in Herodotus, when a roof in Chios collapses on a group of 'boys learning their letters' (παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένοισι, 6.27.2) killing all of them, one hundred and twenty, except for one. In line with Herodotus' openness to religious explanations, and in contrast with Thucydides on this matter, this unex-

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(and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* more specifically), see Förstel (1979); Miller (1986); Malkin (2000); Clay (2006); Chappell (2006) and (2011); Athanassaki–Martin–Miller (2009).

[114] See Nagy (2011) 282 and 322; Graziosi (2002) 222–6; Nagy (2010) 74–5; Hornblower *CT* I.523. See also Calame (2001) 104–6; Kowalzig (2007), esp. 69–72.

[115] There are many questions about the relationship between the two parts of the *Hymn*, such as the meaning of the word προοίμιον ('prelude') used by Thucydides for the Delian part (3.104.4); e.g., *CT* I.529–30; more recently, Vergados (2016) 177–9 (in relation to Aelius Aristides' use of Thucydides).

[116] Gagné (2015) 92.

pected evil that takes the lives of innocent children is interpreted as a portent of more disasters to come.[117]

But what letters should we imagine the boys studying at the school in Mycalessus when the Thracians burst in, or the boys on the island of Chios in Herodotus, or other, less unfortunate, boys across the Greek world? The poems of Homer, 'the blind man from Chios', were not only a repository of collective memory for the Greeks, but also the source of every kind of knowledge: historical, geographical, ethnographical, medical, theological, ethical, and so on. In Xenophon's *Symposium* (3.5–6; 4.6) we hear Nikeratos, the son of the Athenian general Nikias, boasting that he was made to learn by heart the whole of Homer's poetry and that this qualifies him to teach a number of subjects.[118] Iconographic evidence from the classical period has been interpreted to suggest that the *Homeric Hymns*, or at least some of them, were also used as school texts at this period.[119] The first two books of the *Iliad*, and the *Catalogue of Ships* in particular, were staples and favourites throughout antiquity.[120] The entry of εὐρύχορος Mycalessus in the Homeric *Catalogue* was, like every entry, a cause for national pride and a major node of collective memory and self-definition for this Boeotian community within a panhellenic frame.[121]

It is in this light that we can even imagine the boys in the school of 'not big' Mycalessus preparing to sing and read from the *Hymn to Apollo* about the god who passed through Euripus and their own city on his way to Delphi, or about the heroes of Boeotia in the *Catalogue of Ships*, among them heroes from their own city, when disaster struck. Even if the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* was not regularly performed at the festival of the Panathenaia in the fifth century BCE, which might have been one reason why Thucydides gives us such a long quote from the *Hymn*,[122] it was the sort of performance piece with a strong local appeal, especially to the communities mentioned in it, such as Boeotian Mycalessus. Another such area is Phocis in central Greece, which has an important representation in the *Hymn* and in the *Catalogue of Ships*, coming immediately after Boeotia. The placing of the Phocian contingent next to

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[117] *CT* III.599.

[118] See Richardson (2006) 63. See Plat. *Rep.* 10.606e (with Halliwell (2011) 7 with n. 15) 'with a possible echo of Xenophanes B 10 DK, "from the start everyone has learnt according to Homer", ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθ᾽ Ὅμηρον ἐπεὶ μεμαθήκασι πάντες'.

[119] Beazley (1948) on an Attic lekythos (*c.* 470 BCE) showing a boy holding an open roll, bearing the inscription Ἑρμῆν ἀείδω, from the *Hymn to Hermes* (no. 18), a formulaic opening; cf. *Hymn to Hera* (no. 12) and *Hymn to Artemis* (no. 27): Richardson (2010) 153 and Clay (2016) 30–1.

[120] Cribiore (2001) 194–5.

[121] Kirk (1985) 166–240; S. L. Larson (2007) 32–40.

[122] See above, pp. 68–9.

the Boeotian (*Iliad* 2.525–6) is 'probably a political interpolation … in any case an addition to the Aulis catalogue'.[123]

Analogies have been drawn between the entries on Boeotia and Phocis in the Iliadic *Catalogue*, and Panopeus in Phocis is a case in point. Panopeus is mentioned a few lines after Mycalessus in the *Catalogue*, though without an epithet (*Il.* 2.520). But it is called καλλίχορος in the *Odyssey* (11.581 καλλιχόρου Πανοπῆος), whose meaning ('with beautiful dancing places') closely resembles εὐρύχορος.[124] In the case of Panopeus we get a valuable glimpse of the lasting legacy of epic background in a community's process of ethnic self-definition. Pausanias says (10.4.1–4) that Panopeus hardly deserved to be called a *polis* in his time, but was the site of an ancient choral ritual by women in honour of Dionysus—hence the well-deserved καλλίχορος.[125] Surely the people of εὐρύχορος Mycalessus told similar stories about themselves.

iv. Cities in Time: from εὐρύχορος to 'not big Mycalessus'

The epithet εὐρύχορος used in the Homeric *Catalogue* for Mycalessus is spelled with an omicron and is not specific to Mycalessus. We find it in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* for other cities as well, and quite significant ones, such as Sparta or Thebes.[126] It means, as we saw, 'with broad dancing-places' and its component χορός points to public religious ceremonies. But we know that by Pindar's time its meaning came to be conflated with that of εὐρύχωρος ('with broad spaces', 'spacious'), that is, the opposite of Thucydides' οὐ μεγάλη.[127]

But 'smallness' or 'bigness' of cities are relevant notions and are also dependent on time and narratives of the past. As Herodotus famously notes at the beginning of his work, cities change sizes and fortunes in the course of their life (Hdt. 1.5.3–4). Thucydides too has a word about this: Mycenae in the Peloponnese is presented in Homer as 'rich in gold' and 'broad-wayed'

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[123] M. L. West (2011) 115.

[124] Like Mycalessus, Panopeus too gets a mention in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, not in its name, but as 'the city of the Phlegyae, arrogant men, who have no regard for Zeus' (*Hymn Ap.* 278–9), with Paus. 10.4.1 and Richardson (2010) 122. See McInerney (1999) 120–53 for the rich mythology associated with Panopeus; at 128–9 there is a good discussion of the political use of the Phlegyan origin by the people of Panopeus to negotiate their identity within the Phocian *ethnos*. The city appears as Φανοτεύς in Thuc. 4.89.1, 76.3; Πανοπεύς: Hdt. 8.35.1, in connection with Xerxes' invasion of Phocis in 480, when the town was burnt to the ground.

[125] Cf. κλειτῷ Πανοπῆϊ, *Il.* 17.307 (κλέος, famous Panopeus). Eustath. *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, p. 435, ll. 42–3: ἔοικε δὲ καὶ καλὸς εἶναι τόπος ὁ Πανοπεύς, διὸ εὐηρέστηται τῷ ποιητῇ μὴ εὐρύχορον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἀλλὰ καλλίχορον (Vers. 581).

[126] E.g., *Od.* 15.1; cf. 13.414 (Sparta); *Od.* 11.265 (Thebes). Also for Sikyon (*Il.* 23.299), and Iolkos (*Il.* 11.256); cf. Hypereie, *Od.* 6.4. (Cf. *Il.* 9.478 for Hellas, close to Phthia). This does not mean that it is pure poetic convention: Kirk (1985) 173ff. Cf. Pol. 34.4.

[127] Cf. Pi. *O.* 7.18: Ἀσίας εὐρυχόρου. See Agócs, below, Ch. 3, pp. 106–7 for εὐρύχορος Λιβύα in Pi. *P.* 4.

(πολύχρυσος, *Il.* 7.180; 11.46; *Od.* 3.305; εὐρυάγυια, *Il.* 4.52; like Troy, *Il.* 2.141, 9.28),[128] where Agamemnon the leader of the Trojan expedition had his palace. Thucydides says that Mycenae was certainly a small place (μικρὸν ἦν, 1.10.1) and that many of these Mycenean centres might seem small and insignificant in the fifth-century BCE, but this, he says, in not enough evidence for rejecting what the poets and tradition have to say about the size of the expedition.[129] By the same token, Mycalessus could be both the οὐ μεγάλη Boeotian city of the classical period and the εὐρύχο/ωρος city of the epic past.

6. Conclusion: Collective Memory, Poetry and Historiography

Works on the relationship between Thucydides and Homer, and more generally on the relationship between early historiography and poetic genres, have made modern readers more alert to Thucydides' dense and subtle interplay with his literary and cultural context. At times this interplay remains invisible to us, because of our cultural distance and the problem of our sources. In this chapter I have tried to show that the episode of Mycalessus is an instance of Thucydides' interaction with epic material as attested in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. I have argued for the cultural resonance of this epic material with fifth-century audiences, and for Thucydides' use of the Homeric background in his construction of the Mycalessus episode, as part of his panhellenic historical narrative. I suggested that fifth-century audiences in Athens and elsewhere were readier to recognise and communicate with the historian's interaction with the Homeric references to Mycalessus, on account of these audiences' familiarity with the Homeric text as shared cultural experience and possession.

The section on Mycalessus is one of the most tantalizing moments of authorial intentionality and selectivity in the whole of Thucydides. In the course of my discussion, I explored the web of mytho-religious meanings that underlie the episode, which involve the local and panhellenic significance of the area in myth and cult, and Mycalessus' closeness to Athens. The theme of closeness to Athens has also been connected in my discussion with: moral questions, in particular the accountability of Athens as a whole and Diitrephes as a key individual; Plataea as a more conspicuous doppelgänger city, and the construction of barbarian/Thracian 'Otherness' in Thucydides. Moral questions are closely related to Thucydides' claim of a unique and

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[128] A small place itself at the start: Str. 12.8.7; Σ Lyc. 1341.

[129] Thucydides' argument is complex: it is partly the standard idea about the exaggeration (but not necessarily falseness) of the poets, but also a more elaborate argument about what makes a city significant; the answer is certainly not its appearance (ὄψεις, 1.10.3); *CT* II.138, on the Herodotean resonance.

distinctive way of explaining history in the tradition of his genre, and at the same time to his dealing with metaphysical anxiety and the role of the gods in human affairs.

There is no reason to deny the historicity of the tragic fate of Mycalessus in the summer of 413; nor should we fail to take into consideration the role of currents in naval warfare, such as Euripus, even if they do not surface in early historians. But as this chapter argues, this piece of historical narrative is a powerful token of Thucydides' own aspiration to immortality, his antagonistic dialogue with the epic tradition, and Homer in particular as the great archetype of war narrative, and Thucydides' answer to the commemorative function of historiography.

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APPENDIX

A Note on the Translation of Thuc. 7.27.2:
διενοοῦντο αὐτοὺς <u>πάλιν ὅθεν ἦλθον ἐς Θρᾴκην</u> ἀποπέμπειν

This Appendix proposes a new interpretation and translation of the underlined phrase. The whole phrase is usually translated ʹ[the Athenians] decided to send them back to Thrace, <u>where they had come from</u>ʹ. Word-arrangement and style have justifiably attracted attention; especially the cluster πάλιν ὅθεν ἦλθον ἐς Θρᾴκην creates a feeling of redundancy, stylistically enacting the feeling of urgency of the Athenians to get rid of these costly and unwanted Thracian mercenaries.[130] There is no doubt that the pleonastic style creates a powerful emotional effect on the reader or hearer. Yet I would like to suggest that there is also a very pragmatic meaning in the phrase, according to which the translation should be as follows:

> [the Athenians] decided to send them back to Thrace, <u>taking the same route from which they had come</u>.

If my reading is correct, ὅθεν indicates the actual itinerary of the Thracians out of Attica, which must be understood as being precisely the same with that taken into it. This pragmatic geographical meaning has escaped attention precisely because the emotional effect of the phrase tends to take over. In order to illustrate my explanation, I will provide some context on the structure of the whole section 7.27–30.

Nowadays there is a consensus that the whole set of chapters containing both the Mycalessus episode and the preceding digression on the financial harm the Athenians suffered from the fortification of Dekeleia by the Spartans in 413 form a narrative unit. The interrelated sections are:

Thracians I: First instalment of the section on the Thracians:

> *a.* 7.27.1–2: ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Θρᾳκῶν … **διενοοῦντο αὐτοὺς πάλιν ὅθεν ἦλθον ἐς Θρᾴκην ἀποπέμπειν**: The dagger-carrying Dians from Thrace came late (ὕστερον ἧκον) and must be sent back home because the Athenians cannot afford to pay them in their present conditions. Why? Because of ʻthe war from Dekeleiaʼ:

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[130] The phrase ʻ"back, where they had come from" is strictly pleonastic, and "to Thrace" hardly necessary in view of Θρᾷκας *above*ʼ: *CT* III.589.

b. 7.27.2–28: τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας πόλεμον … αἱ δὲ πρόσοδοι ἀπώλλυντο: The damaging effects of 'the war from Dekeleia' for the Athenians.

Thracians II: Resuming the Thracian narrative (The Mycalessus episode):

c. 7.29–30: τοὺς οὖν Θρᾶκας τοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει ὑστερήσαντας … τοιαῦτα ξυνέβη

The pragmatic geographical meaning of ὅθεν ἦλθον is reinforced by the fact that geography plays a crucial role in the whole narrative section to which the Mycalessus episode belongs. In the chapters on Dekeleia in particular (27–8), the description of space and the land- and sea-routes are vital for the reader's understanding of the damaging effects of the fortification of Dekeleia for the Athenians. Thucydides takes pains to explain that the importation of goods into Attica by land via Oropos was quicker, and was the one followed in the past. But since the fortification of Dekeleia took place, this route had been no longer tenable and supplies had to be carried now by sea, that is, on boats sailing round Sounion, which was expensive (πολυτελής, 7.28.1).[131] The same word is used at the opening of the section of Dekeleia for the Thracians, whose daily payment of one drachma also seemed expensive to the Athenians: τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας πόλεμον αὐτοὺς πολυτελὲς ἐφαίνετο (7.27.2). The γάρ-clause opens the narrative 'window' for the Dekeleia section, which functions not only as the reason for which the Thracians had to be returned home, but also as the reason for which they had to be returned home *through a certain route*, if we take ὅθεν ἦλθον to mean 'the same route from which they had come', as I suggest.

The route of the Thracians out of Athens is provided later in the narrative, at the beginning of the Mycalessus episode, which is a further indication of the significance of geography and war routes in this episode. It was going to be a coastal march 'through Euripus' (ἐπορεύοντο γὰρ δι' Εὐρίπου, 7.29.1). Routes of armies into and out of territories were matters of consequence, and historians of all times have an eye for them. In Thucydides, for example, we might also recall the description of the Peloponnesians' first invasion into Attica under Arkhidamos (431 BCE): Oenoe–Eleusis and the Thriasian plain–up to Acharnai through Kropiai and Mt Aigaleos (2.18.1, 19; cf. 2.21.1). Then, Thucydides says, the Spartans returned through Boeotia, and not from where they had entered (ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν, οὐχ

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[131] The route via Dekeleia (one of the major routes to and out of Attica for armies; see Ober (1985) 115) was no longer available, since the fortification had already taken place (sometime in or after March of 413, 7.19.1). Cf. Hdt. 8.34, 50, for Xerxes' route into Attica through Boeotia (Orchomenus, Thespiae, Plataea) and Hdt. 8.113.1, for taking the same route out of Attica after his defeat (ἐξήλαυνον ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν); cf. Mardonius' route out of Athens, 9.15 (through Dekeleia).

ᾗπερ ἐσέβαλον, 2.23.3), passing by Oropos and laying waste the surrounding area (Graiki).

So if ὅθεν ἦλθον indicates that the return-journey of the Thracians out of Attica to the north was going to be the same as that taken during their coming *into* Attica, then we could surmise that this latter route was exactly the reverse. That is, they must have marched south up to a point, from where they would have been picked up by Athenian boats, probably from a harbour north of Euripus, and they would have sailed through the channel to Athens (again δι᾽ Εὐρίπου), following the sea-route round Sounion and being imported into the city like disastrous goods, since the land via Oropos and through Boeotia was blocked. This longer route might also have been the reason for the Thracians' delayed arrival in Athens. The text's arrangement encourages such a possibility, since the double statement about the Thracians' delayed arrival frames the statement about the delayed importation of goods from Euboea in an ABA pattern:

> **A**: ὡς ὕστεροι ἦκον (7.27.2; the Thracians)
>
> **B**: ἥ τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρακομιδὴ ... διὰ τῆς Δεκελείας θάσσων οὖσα (7.28.1; imported goods from Euboea)
>
> **A**: ὑστερήσαντας (7.29.1; the Thracians).

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3

PINDAR'S PYTHIAN 4:
INTERPRETING HISTORY IN SONG*

Peter Agócs

Abstract: This chapter comprises a narratological analysis of Pindar's longest victory-ode, *Pythian* 4, composed to celebrate a chariot victory at Delphi of Arcesilas IV, the Battiad king of Cyrene. Through a close reading of the ode as a colonisation story, and through comparison with the traditions set out by Herodotus in his Libyan *logos*, it examines Pindar's handling of oral and poetic tradition, and the connection between poetic form and political/social ideology.

Keywords: Pindar, *Pythian* 4, collective/social memory, ideological meaning of poetry, time and narrative, Cyrene, Herodotus.

1. Introduction

I
n the late summer or early autumn of 462 BCE, Arcesilas IV, the eighth Battiad king of Cyrene in line from the Founder Battos I, won the chariot-race at the Pythian Games. His victory was celebrated by Pindar in two epinician odes (*Pythians* 4 and 5). Together with *Pythian* 9, composed twelve years earlier for the victory of Telesicrates in the Delphic race in armour, and the Libyan *logos* that Herodotus composed a few decades later, these songs form our largest textual dossier on how the Hellenes of North Africa understood their early history, particularly with respect to the foundation (*ktisis*) of Cyrene.[1]

[1] For historical surveys of the *poleis* of Greek Cyrenaica, see Austin (2004) 1233–7, 1240–7 (Cyrene and Apollonia: no. 1028; Barke-Ptolemais: no. 1025; Euhesperides-Berenike: no.

Each of these sources enacts a unique 'set' on that tale of origins. *Pythian* 9 concentrates on the Thessalian nymph Cyrene's abduction by Apollo.[2] This myth, primordial, symbolic, and enjoying a certain Panhellenic reach because of its inclusion in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* tradition,[3] remained the dominant charter-myth of Hellenic Libya down to Roman times. *Pythians* 4 and 5 each focus in different ways on the human *ktisis*, which happened on the initiative of the Delphic god Apollo (identified at Cyrene with 'Dorian' Apollo Carneius), and involved the arrival of Dorian-speaking settlers from Thera (Santorini) led by Battos (also known as Aristoteles),[4] Arcesilas' ancestor. The fifth *Pythian* concentrates on Battos himself, whose myth—as a charter for the city's relationship with Apollo, for the Cyrenaeans' possession of the land, and for the parasitical symbiosis of ruling family and people—survives as a 'sacred identity' conveyed not only through oral tradition and in performed and written song, but also through ritual practices (the Carneia-festival, ancestor-worship, and the oikist cult) and even the physical fabric of the city itself.[5] *Pythian* 4, with its thirteen triads and intricate narrative structure that culminates in its central Argonautic myth, is the longest extant non-dramatic Greek choral ode.[6] It weaves two stories—the god's apparently random selection of Battos as king, and the tale of how Battos' distant ancestor Euphemus the Argonaut happened to receive a clod of earth from a stranger on the shores of Lake Triton—into a legitimation of the Battiads' predestined right to rule. In an example of what Assmann has called the 'alliance between power and memory', Pindar's odes for Arcesilas thus place history and myth, and a particular idea of a divinely

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1026; Taucheira-Arsinoe: no. 1029; see also Reger (2004) on Thera: no. 527); also Chamoux (1953) and Mitchell (2000). I cannot here present an overview of the theory of collective or social memory: for useful introductions see Giangiulio (2010) 13–43, Assmann (2011) 15–141 and Fentress and Wickham (1992).

[2] See Dougherty (1993) 136–56.

[3] For the Cyrene-*ehoie*: [Hes.] fr. 215–17 M–W = 101–2 Hirschberger (2004) with Giangiulio (2001) 122. D'Alessio (2005a) 206–7 ascribes the passage tentatively to *Megalai Ehoiai*, West (1985) 85–9 firmly to the *Catalogue of Women*.

[4] On Battos' two names ('Stutterer' vs 'Aristoteles') see Corcella (2007) 681–2; Vannicelli (1993) 137–8 and Braswell (1988) 147–8. Sources: Pind. *P.* 5.87 (with Σ *P.* 5, 117 (II.187 Dr.)), *P.* 4.59–63 (on which see below, pp. 119–20); and Acesander, *FGrHist* 469 F 5a. Hdt. 4.155.2–3, though apparently unaware of 'Aristoteles', believed 'Battos' was the Libyan for 'king' (*contra*, see, e.g., Masson (1976)), and was not, therefore, the Founder's original name.

[5] For 'sacred identity' (in the context of Herodotus' *logoi*) see Giangiulio (2001) 116–20, esp. 118 nn. 9–10; on ritual and the built environment as 'carriers' of social memory, see Assmann (2011) 23–8 and 34–50. *P.* 5 has been intensely studied from the point of view of social memory: Krummen (2014) 117–18; Lefkowitz (1991) 169–90; Dougherty (1993) 103–19; Calame (2003) 79–86; Currie (2005) 226–57; and the indices in Chamoux (1953) and Malkin (1994).

[6] Stesichorus' songs were longer: his influence may make itself felt particularly in elements in *P.* 4's myth of Jason which this essay treats as 'epic' (see below, pp. 112–26).

predestined Cyrenaean *mission civilisatrice*, at the service of Battiad hegemony.[7]

Pindar's odes cannot, however, be properly understood without Herodotus. In his Libyan *logos* (4.145–205, the subject of Emily Baragwanath's chapter in this volume), the 'father of history' presents an account of this same *ktisis* story (145–58) more circumstantial than Pindar's. Drawing, as he claims, on local traditions of Lacedaimon, Thera, and Cyrene, he traces a chain of interrelated migrations beginning with those Minyans, descendants of Jason's Argonauts, who, after settling at Sparta following their expulsion from Lemnos, accompanied Theras (a descendant of Polynices and Cadmus and the ancestor, through his son Oiolycus, of the Spartan Aegeidae)[8] to the island that would bear his name (4.145–9). In the following chapters (150–8), as he narrates the *ktisis* of Cyrene under Battos eight generations after Theras, Herodotus first gives a 'Theraean' account of Battos' origins and the islanders' decision to colonise Libya (150–3), before reverting back to a second, Cyrenaean version of the same events which he follows up to the point (roughly the Theraean colonists' definitive arrival in their Libyan home) where his two epichoric traditions coalesce into a single *logos*.[9] The Theraeans camp first on a coastal island called Plataea; then, after some Delphic prompting, they settle the mainland at a place called Aziris before moving finally to Cyrene (153, 156–9.1).

Herodotus is important for understanding Pindar's odes for Arcesilas, not least because his account arguably reflects the changed political conditions of Cyrene after the collapse (*c.* 440 BCE) of the Battiad monarchy and the establishment of a limited democracy. Pindar's odes, on the other hand, composed two decades earlier, are best read as expressions of monarchical ideology. Together these Cyrenaean stories thus provide, as Maurizio Giangiulio writes, a test-case for examining Greek social memory traditions in a 'colonial' context: how foundation-traditions were creatively adapted, 'reinvented', or adjusted to reflect constant changes of socio-political context, or, alternatively, allowed to persist as markers of a shared past.[10] Giangiulio has unpicked the likely very complicated mixture of poetic, oral, and written sources, as well as local and 'Panhellenic' story-variants, which fed into the traditions mined by Pindar and Herodotus.

[7] Assmann (2011) 53–4.

[8] See Baragwanath, below, Ch. 4, pp. 158–64 on the wider connections of this Phoenician motif in the *logos* and the *Histories*. On the Aegeidae and Sparta, see below, pp. 112–13.

[9] Cf. Hdt. 4.154.1, where Herodotus seems to say that the Theraeans' story joins the Cyrenaeans' either with the sailing of the settlers or their arrival at Plataea. On the question where the 'Cyrenaean' version ends, which has bothered commentators since at least Jacoby, see Corcella (2007) 669–70 and Giangiulio (2001) 117 n. 4 (with further references); cf. Malkin (2003) 157–9.

[10] Giangiulio (2001). I use 'colonial' euphemistically, aware of the difficulties surrounding the concept: see esp. Osborne (1998).

Here I am less concerned with these probable sources (although, continuing earlier precedents, I will have some suggestions to make about them). Rather, what concerns me most are the patterns of structure and signification created by Pindar's organisation of his story into poetic narrative. The interpretation that follows, which is strongly indebted to other historical and literary readings of Pindar's text, will procede through the ode in a linear fashion from beginning to end, making constant comparative digressions into Herodotean territory. Such comparisons, whether to Herodotus, to other pre- and post-Pindaric sources, or to modern anthropological work on oral traditions, enable one to consider questions of contextualisation that are often taken for granted by ancient historians, and even more so in Pindaric criticism as it exists today—questions implicit in any attempt to make literature, as a form or 'figure' of a given society's engagement with its past,[11] fit into the wider culture of memory and commemoration (that diverse, endlessly creative web of interacting 'social frames of memory') that creates and sustains it: how poetry reflects political reality, and if it does, what 'reality' it reflects.

The chapter is thus an essay in what has been called 'the politics of form'. It uses a close formal reading (in this case: a narratological analysis built mostly around concepts pioneered by Gérard Genette)[12] of a poetic structure to reveal the deeper ideological construction of political and historical meaning, and finally of mythical and historical time, that underlies and determines the form. *Pythian* 4, my focus of attention here, is a text that, through the poet's handling of time in narrative, performs a certain 'intentional' interpretation of history focused on group identity and institutions.[13]

After an introductory paragraph on the relation of 'myth' to 'frame' in Pindar, I will begin my reading of *Pythian* 4, analysing its formal and temporal structure, but digressing to consider particular themes that emerge in the course of reading.[14] The ode, I will argue, enacts in its form certain styles of temporality typical of Greek oral traditions. I will examine its use of temporal themes and narrative effects—anachrony, chronology, genealogy, counterfactual memory, tradition, and so on—to understand the way in which its concrete literary form enacts a certain ideological perspective. I will also examine how Pindar integrates multiple traditional tales into a

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[11] See below, n. 15.

[12] Genette (1980); Ricoeur (1984–88) is another important, if here largely unacknowledged, influence.

[13] On 'intentional history', see Giangiulio (2001) 116–20; Gehrke (1994) and (2001), and the articles in Foxhall–Luraghi–Gehrke (2010). Grethlein (2010) presents a different, less satisfactory development of Greek historical consciousness from Pindar to Herodotus and beyond. On time in Greek historiography, see also the relevant contributions in Grethlein and Krebs (2012), especially those by Boedeker and Baragwanath.

[14] My approach has affinities with Most's (1985) 42 notion of 'compositional form'.

single poetic structure. Having reached the ode's concluding triad (the 'coda'), the argument takes a methodological and theoretical turn, to consider first the general problem of contextualising myth in our readings of Greek poetic texts, and then Pindar's own vision of history. On its most general level—that is to say, the level on which the ode's historical present relates to a paradigmatic time of origins—we find that the poet's chosen form pulls the disparate mythistorical strata of his song together into a single hegemonic pattern from which the divine intention that underlies the whole development of Cyrene's history springs suddenly into view: a historical vision, I will argue, that shows some affinities to the concept of 'typology' familiar from biblical hermeneutics. This theoretical turn is not intended as a key to unlock Pindar's narrative; rather, it is a suggestion that you can take or leave. Whatever view you take of it, the chapter will, I hope, make clear that *Pythian* 4, as a commemorative song within a wider Cyrenaean and Panhellenic 'culture of memory', performs ideology through its form, inferring from society's beginnings a vision of the stability of its divinely-ordained and supposedly eternal institutions.

2. Myth as a Problem of Epinician Form

Our journey through Pindar's ode begins by invoking the general question of how 'present' and 'past', 'frame' and 'myth', relate in epinician. Pindar locates his victory odes in the dominant Homeric tradition of *kleos*-song. Both he and his older contemporary Simonides were conscious of the variety of cultural technologies, genres, or 'figures' of social memory available in their culture: ways—from song to inscribed epigram, folktale, ritual, or commemorative statue—of giving meaningful concrete form to the present's engagement with the past. They assert song's privileged place, in competition with these other genres, within what we might call the larger Greek 'culture of memory'.[15]

The relationship of 'present' to 'past' is indeed central to epinician. Apart from a few that are too short to accommodate a narrative, these odes are almost always built around a shift from 'occasion' or 'frame' to 'myth',[16]

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[15] On 'figures' and 'sites' of social/collective memory, see Assmann (2011) 23–8, whose discussion is strongly dependent on Halbwachs (1925), (1941), and (1950). For analysis of the fifth-century Greek culture of memory and epinician's place within it, see Agócs (2009) and Thomas (2007).

[16] In Pindaric scholarship, 'the myth' refers to an ode's central narrative: I also use it loosely in the sense of a traditional tale. The bibliography on the relevance (or irrelevance) of myth to frame in Pindar is overwhelming: for a few stages in that ongoing debate, see Young (1968) and (1970); Köhnken (1971); Most (1985); Segal (1986); Pfeijffer (2004); Burnett (2005); Nünlist (2007); Krummen (2014); Morgan (2015); Sigelman (2016). On Pindar's use of time in narrative, see Hurst (1985) and—with the most recent bibliography—Sigelman (2016).

'praise' to 'narrative', and back again. *Pythian* 4 comprises two such mythical digressions, one of which (the Jason story) is by far the longest such inset-narrative in extant Pindar. But this movement from praise to myth, although a fundamental formal structure of the genre, has all too often been regarded as problematic. Beginning with the *scholia vetera*, critics have treated epinician myths—much like Herodotus' stories within stories—as unmotivated 'digressions'.[17] The roots of this attitude can be traced back to the language employed by Pindar's own lyric voice in the so-called 'break-offs' (*Abbruchsformeln*) or 'returns' with which he often ends his myths. In these, he tends to claim that he is straying from his real subject of praise.[18] Break-offs help to maintain an illusion of spontaneity in a poetic form whose success depends greatly on immediacy, sincerity, and presence. But when the lyric voice claims to be wandering from his contracted purpose, it is hardly surprising that epinician myths have long been read as arbitrary digressions. Perhaps the earliest extant Greek reflection on this problem outside the odes themselves is the familiar (perhaps fourth-century?) tale of Simonides' invention of the *ars memoriae* (Cic. *De orat.* 2.86).[19] Here, the punishment of Simonides' patron Scopas by the gods for his refusal to pay the poet his full fee for a song that had praised the Dioscuri equally with himself evokes the relative priority of 'myth' (divinity and the collective) over 'praise' (and the individual *laudandus*) in epinician. As Lowrie writes: 'One could argue that society produces victors in order to get the national myth told'.[20]

3. Poetic Form, Time, and Geography in *Pythian* 4 Proem

By its very form, epinician song thus connects an individual's athletic triumph to tradition—in Arcesilas' case, to the collective history of society. This (and the genre's consequent power to 'integrate' individual achievement into shared cultural *kleos*)[21] helps to explain its outstanding success—at least in the conditions of the early fifth century BCE—as a technology of social memory. But it also turns each ode into an ideological statement packaged as a hermeneutic enigma, since the connection between victory and 'myth' is never very explicit.

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[17] See, e.g., Σ inscr. a (II.92 Dr.), which describes the myth of *P.* 4 as a ἱστορικὴ παρέκβασις (= 'historical digression').

[18] On break-offs (for an example, see pp. below, pp. 119–21; 126–9), see Schadewaldt (1928); Race (1989) 189–209; and Fuhrer (1988).

[19] Simonides fr. 510 *PMG* = T 80 Poltera; Yates (1966) 1–4; Rawles (2018) 191–3.

[20] Lowrie (1997) 34–5.

[21] For the idea of epinician as (re)integrating individual aristocratic achievement into the collective culture, see Kurke (1991) 1–11 and (1993).

The victory fixes the song in historical time, logging a 'debt' the *laudator* must requite.[22] But Pindar's epinicians almost always inhabit a present time of celebration posterior to the victory.[23] This is the 'epinician moment': the ode's discursive frame, from which it digresses into 'myth'. As a movement *away* from this 'epinician moment', myth takes shape in relation to the 'now' and 'here' of praise. As the ode moves into its myth, the lyric voice becomes a narrator, and the deictic cues which constitute the frame are erased.[24] The *Fourth Pythian*'s proem shows how this works (1–13):

triad 1, strophe 1

Σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ
στᾶμεν, εὐίππου βασιλῆϊ Κυράνας, ὄφρα κωμάζοντι σὺν Ἀρκεσίλᾳ,
Μοῖσα, Λατοίδαισιν ὀφειλόμενον Πυθῶνί τ' αὔξῃς οὖρον ὕμνων,
ἔνθα ποτὲ χρυσέων Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος
οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος ἱέρεα   5
χρῆσεν οἰκιστῆρα Βάττον καρποφόρου Λιβύας, ἱεράν
νᾶσον ὡς ἤδη λιπὼν κτίσσειεν εὐάρματον
πόλιν ἐν ἀργεννόεντι μαστῷ,

triad 1, antistrophe 1

καὶ τὸ Μηδείας ἔπος ἀγκομίσαι
ἑβδόμᾳ καὶ σὺν δεκάτᾳ γενεᾷ Θήραιον, Αἰήτα **τό ποτε** ζαμενής   10
παῖς ἀπέπνευσ' ἀθανάτου στόματος, δέσποινα Κόλχων. εἶπε δ' οὕτως
ἡμιθέοισιν Ἰάσονος αἰχματᾶο ναύταις·
'Κέκλυτε, παῖδες ὑπερθύμων τε φωτῶν καὶ θεῶν· […]'

Today, my Muse, you must stand by a friend, the King of horse-famed Cyrene, so that, joining Arcesilas' *komos*, you may bring increase to the sailing-wind of songs we owe to Leto's children and to Pytho, **where once upon a time** the priestess who sits beside Zeus' golden eagles, at a time when Apollo was not away in another country, prophesied Battos to be the founder of harvest-rich Libya, and that he should immediately leave the holy island and found a city of fine chariots on the silvery-white breast [of a hill], and [thereby] bring home the Theraean word of Medea in the seventeenth generation, **which once** the great-minded child of Aietes breathed from an immortal mouth, the Lady of the Colchians. And she spoke thus to the demigods, the sailors of Jason Spearman: 'Hark, you children of valiant humans and of gods! …'

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[22] On this '*chreos*' motif, see, e.g., Schadewaldt (1928) 278 n. 1 and Kurke (1991), index.

[23] In *Pythians* 4 and 5, a celebration in the victor's home city: on a song's 'descriptive context' in relation to the 'original' context of performance, see Yatromanolakis (2004).

[24] Cf. Calame (2003), esp. 35–60; on 'shifting-in' and 'shifting out', Calame (1996), esp. 20–4; also Felson (1999).

The ode opens in the midst of a victory-*komos*: a traditional term for epinician celebration that covers a complex range of social behaviours.[25] Its first word is 'today': a moment in time (a 'now') that rapidly becomes a setting (a 'here') with multiple figures—speaker, Muse, and Arcesilas (the object of celebration)—who stand in various relations to one another. As almost always in Pindar's victory odes, there is no sign of an audience. Arcesilas is leading his own *komos*; 'I' (the speaker's position is marked only by reference to his addressee) am in Cyrene; 'you', the Muse (the addressee), are to come 'here' and join 'us' (Arcesilas and 'me'). Who is this 'I': this 'lyric speaker', 'lyric voice', or *laudator*?[26] Clearly, he too is somehow a *kōmastēs*: a description equally relevant to the composing poet and the performing chorus. Speaker, Muse, and Arcesilas all have parts to play in the komastic moment established as the 'frame' or occasion of the ode.[27] Arcesilas, since he himself is performing the *komos* rather than receiving it in august detachment as royal *laudandi* sometimes do in Pindar,[28] is brought closer to the singer in a relationship defined by the bonds of *philia* ('friendship', or at least 'loyalty'). The speaker's μέν '*solitarium*' (1) opens a frame of utterance[29] which he later describes (3) as a 'propitious sailing-wind of songs' (οὖρος ὕμνων). This 'wind', he adds, is 'owed' to Apollo, Artemis, and Delphi: the Muse must make it grow. The metaphor has been explained as an allusion to *Pythian* 4's supplementary role in a panegyric program inaugurated by the fifth.[30] But 'song as journey' is a well-attested Greek poetic motif, particularly in reference to the idea of a 'song-path' (an οἴμη).[31] Drawing on the image of the 'ship of state', it can also describe historical contingency.[32] The *laudandus*' 'voyage out' to Delphi, returning with glory that will increase the fame of his city and house (a quasi-narrative structure described by Kurke as the '*nostos* loop'), can also be understood as a quest.[33] Sailing and the quest-metaphor

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[25] On *komos*-terminology as a genre-marker in epinician song, and a way of describing the epinician occasion, see e.g. Harvey (1955) 163–4; Heath (1988); Morgan (1993); Eckerman (2010); Agócs (2012); and Maslov (2015) 279–94.

[26] On the ambiguity of the epinician 'I', see D'Alessio (1994), Felson (1999) 9–13, and Currie (2013).

[27] On occasion and frame, see Agócs (2012) 193–4, 218–21.

[28] Arcesilas 'receives' the *komos* at *P.* 5.20–3; cf., e.g., *P.* 2.67–72.

[29] Braswell (1988) *ad loc.* and Denniston (1954) 382–4.

[30] Giannini (1995) 104 n. 2, cf. *ad loc.*; id. (1979). Wilamowitz (1922) 376 suggested the Carneia festival of 461 BCE as the likeliest context for the first performance of both odes.

[31] See on the theme of 'song as journey' Sigelman (2016), esp. 53–5 and 111ff.; on *oimai*, see below, nn. 185, 187. On the motif in *P.* 4, esp. Felson (1999).

[32] For a Pindaric example, see *P.* 8.98–100; cf. Alc. frr. 6, 73, 208, 249 Campbell with Gentili (1988) 197–215.

[33] Kurke (1991) 15–34.

are thus a *leitmotiv* relevant on several levels of Pindar's text (myth, song, and frame alike), whose meanings are enriched as we travel through it.

Barely is this 'epinician moment' sketched out when the myth takes over (l. 4). Through a relative clause (ἔνθα, 'where') dependent on its antecedent ('Pytho/Delphi'), the speaker glides back to when the Pythia appointed Battos founder of Cyrene. Such almost unmarked transitions to narrative are typically Pindaric.[34] At this point, the myth is still only an overextended ornamental epithet qualifying 'Delphi'; the temporal shift is registered, however, with ποτέ ('once upon a time').[35] With this, we have arrived at what the Pythia said to Battos. The deictic markers of the initial komastic context are withdrawn, and the *laudator* becomes a more neutral *narrator*. The next stop on this journey is Medea: mention of whom (again in a relative clause) introduces a third, still earlier temporal stratum nested inside the second.[36]

Pindar's shift from his 'occasion' to his 'myth' thus unfolds over multiple temporal and narrative horizons embedded one inside the other: from the 'now' of the ode to Battos' experiences in Delphi, and onward to the 'Theraean word' of Medea. This complex structure demands from the reader (and presumably from the original audience too) an ability to divine the meaning of its implicit temporal order. To paraphrase Gérard Genette's fundamental study *Narrative Discourse*, time manifests itself in narrative under three main aspects: *order*, *frequency*, and *duration*.[37] *Order* involves studying how narrative (as a realised utterance or artistic object) rearranges the putative syntagmatic order of an underlying chronology of events (the *story*).[38] Pindar's myth-opening permits a simple analysis of this kind. In the poem's myth-historical time, Battos follows Medea, just as Arcesilas is descended from Battos: here, their positions are reversed. This is *retrograde narration*.[39] Pindar's opening sentence incorporates two such retrospective movements (one nested within the other, each introduced by a relative clause and each

[34] See Pfeijffer (2004) 214–16, Nünlist (2007) 233–4, and Sigelman (2016) 26–8, 117–18.

[35] ποτέ, which signals 'time of the narrative' (Calame (1996) 37) as opposed to 'epinician moment', normally marks analepsis in Pindar; for a proleptic use see l. 14 (discussed below, p. 102).

[36] See the analysis of Calame (2003) 43–8 and Sigelman (2016) 113–20. For general introductory discussions of temporality and narrative in Pindar, see Hurst (1985) and Nünlist (2007).

[37] Effects of *frequency* (an event can take place once or many times) play almost no role in the *P.* 4. myth, which concentrates on analogies between historical singularities: cf. Nünlist (2007) 245–6. *Duration* dominates my analysis of the central myth (see below, pp. 123–6).

[38] Cf. Genette (1980) 35–47, where 'story' translates *histoire*, and 'narrative' translates *récit* in the original French (cf. *fabula* vs. *sjuzhet* in Russian formalist theory).

[39] Genette (1980) calls any modification of the 'natural' order of the *story* 'anachrony'. Backward narration is 'retrospection' or *analepsis* (a term used by Genette in reference to flashbacks achieved against the background of a generally progressive narrative, rather than of a narrative that, as here, unrolls itself *backwards* from effects to causes). Movement forward in the timeline ('anticipation') is *prolepsis*. Cf. Nünlist (2007) 240–3.

marked by ποτέ). This retrogressive drift is familiar from epic 'dispatching narratives' like the proems of Homer's *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, where the narrator progresses backwards through the story until he reaches a chosen (perhaps quite arbitrary) starting-point. The narrative then begins to move progressively.[40] In Pindar's song, this point is Medea's 'Theraean word' (ἔπος … Θήραιον, 9–10). The song-wind's projected votive journey as a gift or dedication from Arcesilas to Apollo is thus reconfigured as time-travel. The narrator thus moves through two tableaux, each involving a prophecy. The Pythia addresses Battos; Medea speaks to the Argonauts.

The Pythia's words are presented in *oratio obliqua*. She enjoined Battos to leave the 'sacred island'.[41] Her impatient ἤδη ('already', 7) implies the existence of a providential plan, since it takes Battos' foundation of the city in Libya for granted.[42] The *ktisis* is also defined, by *hendiadys*, as a 'bringing home' or a 'redeeming' (ἀνακομίζειν)[43] of an utterance or 'word' (ἔπος ἀγκομίσαι … τό ποτε …: the *ipsissima verba*!) spoken by Medea while the Argonauts were at Thera.[44] The *hendiadys* thus expresses both a programme of action for Battos and a hidden meaning unknown either to him or the Pythia, whose oracle happily coincided with the content of a prophecy Medea had made sixteen generations earlier. By this point, the myth has almost pulled away from its frame: what follows are Medea's own words, distinguished from the narrator's by an epic-style speech formula (εἶπε δ' οὕτως, 11).

Pindar's opening thus sets out a chronological framework for the ode,[45] each of whose strata stand at an almost unimaginable temporal distance, in human terms, from one another. (At this juncture it is not yet clear that Battos and his settlers were themselves descended, as Minyans, from the Argonauts who listened to Medea's speech.)[46] The strata do, however, share a common geography. The nested episodes unfold into one another on a mental map that takes Apollo's oracle as its centre. Arcesilas' horses travel to Delphi, confirming the favour the god has always shown the Battiads.[47]

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[40] E.g., the *Iliad* proem (ll. 8–12); cf. Hurst (1983) 160 n. 13 and Genette (1980) 45–6. Such movement is also generally typical of Homeric embedded narratives, and has an important role to play in lyric narrative forms: below, p. 103.

[41] See Braswell (1988) 66 *ad* l. 5(a). Apollo's presence (or rather non-absence) marks the fact that it is his *thought* (if not his words) the Pythia speaks.

[42] Braswell (1988) 70 *ad* 7(c). ἤδη can be taken as an instance of 'free indirect speech' or 'hybrid discourse'.

[43] Braswell (1988) 73 *ad* ll. 9–10.

[44] In Apollonius' later version of the myth (below, p.107) the Argonauts do not stop at Thera, and it is unclear if Pindar imagines them there or at sea—but Medea's *epos* is *Theraion* in a deeper sense in any case.

[45] Calame (2003) 45–8 and Segal (1986) 182–3.

[46] See *P.* 4.43–56 and 251–62 (below, pp. 119–21; 126–9).

[47] The victory itself receives more attention in the sister-ode, *P.* 5.

Battos goes there to receive the prophecy that sends him and his Theraeans to Libya. Later, it will become apparent that Jason's quest, too (the subject of the ode's great central myth), was motivated by a Delphic oracle.[48] Pindar recognises the centrality of the oracular sanctuary not just in the ode, but in the cosmos: his narrator later (*P.* 4.74) calls it 'the central navel (*omphalos*) of the tree-rich mother [Earth]'. On each of its temporal strata (Arcesilas', Battos', and Medea's), the ode thus describes a circular, quest-like movement centred on, or even emanating from, Delphi. Connections between them are reinforced by similar situations and motifs, and by the poet's diction.[49] Delphi, with its oracle as a spatial centre (and, in Halbwachs' terms, a *lieu de mémoire*, a place where tradition finds a fixed form in a spatial setting with its monuments and rituals)[50] corresponds, on the temporal plane, to the divine perspective that pulls the disparate events of history into a single meaningful narrative: a foundational memory aligned with the interests of power.

4. Pindar, Oral Tradition, and Genealogy

This movement from 'present' to 'deep time' enacted in epinician form is not a rhetorical device: rather, it reflects certain aspects of temporality in an oral culture. The first is 'telescoping' or the 'hourglass effect'. Oral traditions tend to 'telescope' recent events, and the living 'communicative memory' of families and communities, into the time of mythical origins or heroic/divine ancestry ('cultural memory'): the two are distinguished by a horizon of forgetting that moves 'forward', as it were, with each passing generation.[51] The results of this process are visible, if differently so, in Hesiod, Homer, and Herodotus; Thomas speaks of the way Pindar's odes move 'effortlessly' from praise to 'a mythical origin, or heroic ancestor'.[52] The 'telescoping' is not, of course, evident from inside the tradition, but only to an outsider who is able (like Hecataeus, Pherecydes, or indeed Herodotus) to compare multiple and often inconsistent oral traditions, or like a modern anthropologist or

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[48] See Calame (1990) 298–300, who notes this quest theme applies also to Damophilus (see below, p. 130–1) and Sigelman (2016) 113.

[49] Segal (1986) 180–1. On Apollo: Athanassaki (2009) 436–9; on Delphi, Eckerman (2014); on 'foundational memory': Assmann (2011) 62–9. On the ode's multiple, Delphi-centred 'cycles', see Sigelman (2016) 113–28.

[50] On the idea of a *lieu de mémoire* (*Erinnerungsort*; 'memory-site') see Assmann (2011) 24–5, 44–5; Nora (1997); Halbwachs (1941); Hölkeskamp and Stein-Hölkeskamp (2011), which explains the rationale behind Hölkeskamp and Stein-Hölkeskamp (2006) and (2010).

[51] On 'telescoping' (i.e., the 'hourglass effect'/'floating gap'): see Vansina (1985), esp. 23–4; Thomas (2001); Cobet (2002) 405–11. For 'communicative' vs. 'cultural memory': Assmann (2011) 34–41.

[52] Thomas (2001) 199.

historian who can impose her own abstract universal time-scheme on the living temporality of an oral tradition.[53]

Normally, epinician specifies no exact time-duration between 'present' and 'past'.[54] In Homeric and Hesiodic *epos*, the break between 'then' and 'now' basically corresponded to the end of the 'heroic age'. Pindar alludes to this in his narrative, when he describes the Argonauts as 'demi-gods' or 'heroes'. This boundary, for him, is not however impermeable. Rather, the 'heroic' age stands in fruitful contact with the present, mediated not least by continuity of inheritance.[55] Whatever is great or powerful is so by virtue of its ties to the famous figures of the past. This aetiological drive will prove important in our ode as well. But *Pythian* 4 does something unusual in epinician: it defines precise chronologies through genealogical means. 'In the seventeenth generation' (ἑβδόμα καὶ σὺν δεκάτα γενεᾷ, 10) hints at a linear continuity through descent, which theme will become progressively more emphatic as Medea's 'word' unfolds: sixteen generations from Medea and the Argonauts to Battos, and eight from Battos the founder to Arcesilas IV, for a total of twenty-four.[56]

Fifth-century Greeks possessed no universal chronology. *Chronos* was not an abstract, divisible duration so much as a personification of memory enduring beyond the limits of a mortal life.[57] Time-reckoning systems (month-names and calendars, lists of kings, magistrates, or priestesses) reflected different communal or institutional frameworks.[58] Generational time measured as distance from a given present was perhaps the most generally applicable reckoning available,[59] and it is unsurprising that Panhellenic mythical time was understood mostly in genealogical terms. In Herodotus, generational computation is most at home the further he gets from the present, where it provides the only temporal ordering principle at the historian's disposal.[60] Indeed, his use of genealogical time-reckoning has at least a superficial similarity to Pindar's here.

The precision of Pindar's count of generations contrasts sharply and rhetorically with his simple method (ποτέ) of marking the relative earliness

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[53] Thomas (1989) 183, 203–5 and (2001), with important bibliography.

[54] See Pavlou (2012) 97–8 for an excellent discussion of Pindar's methods and the uniqueness of *P.* 4.

[55] *P.* 4.12, 13, 57–8. Cf. Thomas (2001) 206–7 on Homer, with Cobet (2002) 387–90 and Thomas (2001) 200–10 on Herodotus (she shows that it corresponds—if somewhat imperfectly—to the distinction in modern historiography between *spatium mythicum* and *spatium historicum*). On the age of heroes as real, see Calame (2003) 1–34.

[56] *P.* 4.9–10 and 64–7 and Pavlou (2012) 98–101.

[57] Cf. Cobet (2002) 395–6 n. 20; Hurst (1983) 166 on *chronos* in Pindar; also Segal (1986) 188–93 and *passim*.

[58] Cobet (2002) 402–5.

[59] Cobet (2002) 397–8.

[60] Calame (2003) 96.

or lateness of his story-strata. It certainly reads like an authority-claim. Does it imply a claim about how the poem's sense of genealogical continuity can be translated into chronological time? Pavlou has shown that the sixteen generations from Euphemus to Battos (and the four from Euphemus to the Return of the Heraclidae)[61] can be made to cohere disconcertingly with the pseudo-historical synchronies established by Herodotus and later authors for events like the Trojan War. But there is little evidence that even Herodotus used genealogical dead-reckoning to reconcile the dates of mythical events into a coherent Panhellenic chronology; while the once-influential idea that his predecessor Hecataeus developed a universal myth-chronology based on the Spartan king-lists is largely discredited.[62] Claims of descent from a god or hero were a trope of aristocratic and royal self-fashioning in Pindar's lifetime and after, but where any genealogical evidence is presented, they tend to telescope the generations closer to the present, with greater detail in the legendary part.[63]

Certainly, Hecataeus' genealogical methods (whatever they were) were for Herodotus a constant subject of interest and invective, most famously in that paradigmatic scene set in Egyptian Thebes (2.143–6), where the Milesian, in an allegory of the fragility of the Hellenes' grip on their own past, proudly recites his 'full' genealogy of ancestors (16, in fact, back to a god), only to find himself confronted with the vastly superior genealogical and chronological knowledge of the local priests.[64] At the very least, the episode brings out just how conscious Herodotus is of the existence of a Greek cultural obsession with genealogy as a means of organising the past.[65] Although 'full' genealogies (complete lists of names extending back to a heroic ancestor) are rare even in the fifth century, some, still, are attested.[66] Pindar himself in *Olympian 2* implies the existence of just such a document

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[61] Pavlou (2012) 100–1. On the 'four generations', see *P.* 4.43–9.

[62] Cobet (2002) 390–4, 410–11, and Varto (2015). On the impossibility of bringing local 'heroic' genealogies into a unified order: Thomas (1989) 184, 186. On Hecataeus and genealogical chronology: Mitchel (1956); Bertelli (2001), esp. 89–94 (who notes that Hecataeus constructed at least one 'full' genealogy: his own); and Vannicelli (2001). On dating the Trojan War: Giovannini (1995) and Burkert (1995). Mitchel (1956) 61 notes the discontinuity of Herodotus' genealogical testimonials and the fact they rarely seem to cohere, if at all: 'Herodotus seems to have recorded the chronology of each story just as it came to him as an integral part of the story itself'. This certainly seems to be the case in his Theran/Cyrenaean traditions.

[63] Thomas (1989) 157–8.

[64] Genealogy, and methods of creating and interpreting genealogies, play a key (and still quite poorly understood) role in Herodotus' relationship of 'agonistic intertextuality' with his influential Milesian predecessor: see Bertelli (2001), Moyer (2013), and Condilo (2017), esp. 258–73. Thanks to Jess Lightfoot for help with this.

[65] See Moyer (2013) 313–19.

[66] See Thomas (1989) 157, to whom the term 'full genealogy' (i.e., in writing; as opposed to a family oral genealogy) can be ascribed; also Wade-Gery (1952).

for the tyrant Theron of Acragas, who traced his ancestry back eight generations to Thersander, the son of Polyneices son of Oedipus, and so on back to Cadmus. In fact, Pindar is supposed in one of his lost *Encomia* to have traced Theron's descent also, over 15 generations, to Polyneices' estranged brother Eteocles![67] The scholiasts present two complete lists gleaned perhaps from an early Hellenistic source. Who, however, would have concocted such lists after the fall of the Acragantine tyranny? As Schneider has demonstrated, the upper 'heroic' sections of these genealogies rely on well-established Panhellenic lore, while the more recent parts that relate the movements of Theron's historical ancestors between Greece and Sicily show the 'telescoping' one would expect in an oral tradition.[68]

Pindar's implication that a 'full' genealogy from Euphemus to Battos I existed is thus *prima facie* possible: it could have been produced by an intellectual based at the Battiad court, or possibly a prose genealogist like Hecataeus.[69] But the mere claim of such continuity was as useful as a fully-realised genealogy. Since it extended beyond the scope of verifiable memory, such a claim could not be falsified. If such a list ever existed, it had lost its interest by Herodotus' time, since he shows no knowledge of it.[70] What Arcesilas hoped to gain from such a genealogical claim is obvious. More than a way to order time, Greek genealogy was a charter for social relationships in the present. Once attached to a skeleton narrative of significant events and embedded in a Hellenic discourse of kinship relations, 'heroic' genealogies, constantly reworked in the light of present needs, sustained relationships, obligations, alliances, and even enmities, including between states.[71] Such effects can be suspected for Pindar's spuriously precise Euphemid genealogy. Combined with *Pythian* 5's claim (in lines 63–88) that Cyrene belongs to a community of Dorian peoples who derive their customs

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[67] Theron's ancestors, like Theras' in Herodotus 4.147, on which see Malkin (1994) 89–111, Vannicelli (1993) 126–31, and Mitchel (1956) 58–61, were Cadmeans. Theras and Thera indeed figure in the 'Polyneices' version, for which see *O.* 2.41–7 with Σ 82d (I.81–2 Dr.). For Eteokles, see Pind. fr. 118 SM and Σ 7of (I.78–9 Dr.) (and Σ 16c (I.64 Dr.), citing as source Menecrates, a Homeric critic active probably in the second half of the 2nd c. BCE. See also Schneider (2000), Broggiato (2011) 547–8, Catenacci in Gentili et al. (2013) 49, and most recently (with full bibliography) Tibletti (2018).

[68] Schneider (2000). These gaps are particularly present, though unrecognised in the 'Polyneices-Thersander' genealogy (the 'Eteocles' variant clearly marks the gaps in the family tree), which may in fact be an argument for its antiquity.

[69] On these writers, see Thomas (1989), esp. 173–95, and Wade-Gery (1952) 90–1. Giangiulio (2001) 124–5 (with useful bibliography) considers such a written genealogy (or at least a similar tradition) possible, excluding however a common source for Herodotus and Pindar's variant genealogies.

[70] See below, p. 115 n. 135.

[71] Thomas (1989) 173–9 and Varto (2015); also Gould (1989) 46–7.

and political order from Sparta and the will of Apollo Carneius, it becomes a statement of Panhellenic political, cultural, and religious affiliation.[72]

So much, then, for Medea's 'sixteen generations'. The Battiad royal genealogy, eight generations long, is another matter. Battos I himself was too ancient to be an object of communicative memory. Eight generations is too long for an oral genealogy to survive without any interpolation or change, and as Herodotus and Pindar present it, the Cyrenaean tradition, with its stuttering, marginalised hero (who in Herodotus' version suffers also from illegitimacy), shows extensive signs of folkloric reshaping.[73] But royal genealogies are special. In Cyrene, whose political institutions and cults drew their legitimacy from the heroised founder, and where the Battiad genealogy's centrality was surely reinforced by the closed society of the court and its household traditions, time itself, measured from the foundation and linked to the biological rhythms of the ruling house, with each of four Battoi succeeded by an Arcesilas, must have helped to stabilise the monarchy. This tendency may have been heightened by contact with the older states of the Near East and especially Egypt, the stability of whose royal genealogies, supported by an accretion of writing associated with governance, repression, and propaganda, plays an important role in the Herodotean system of synchronicities that helps the historian partly to overcome the otherwise unfathomable chronological plurality of Greek oral and poetic tradition.[74] There is evidence for the importance of the Battiad genealogy as a temporal framework for early Cyrenaean history centuries after the monarchy's collapse.[75] With such a framework in place, Cyrenaean memory had a framework different from that of mainland states dependent on archon-lists or registers of priestesses. At the very least, monarchical reigns provided a structure of longer temporal articulations (the alternation of 'good' and 'bad', successful and unsuccessful kings in Herodotus' post-settlement narrative (4.159–67) proves this). But for Pindar, as for both of Herodotus' sources, Battos' genealogy can be traced only as far as his father Polymnestus. For Cyrenaeans, history stopped in the generation before the conquest. The figure of the Founder marked a watershed between the 'before' and the 'now' of their existence as a people.[76]

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[72] On Cyrene and Sparta, see below, pp. 112–14.

[73] Giangiulio (2001) 121 n. 15. Physical disability and illegitimacy (cf. Herodotus' 'Cyrenaean' tale, 4.154–6) are frequent markers of chosenness in *ktisis*-traditions—see Giangiulio (1981), Calame (2003) 59–60, 94–5 and 98, and Malkin (1994) 115–42—as they are in stories of tyranny: Vernant (1982).

[74] Cobet (2002) 399–401; Vannicelli (1993) 14–15; Thomas (1989) 103–28. On Egyptian king-lists in the Saïte period and later, see Moyer (2013) 300–1.

[75] The genealogy of Clearchus of Cyrene (*SGDI* 4859, 1st–2nd c. AD) goes back eight generations to a 'Battos': Thomas (1989) 159 n. 9; Hornblower and Morgan (2007) 13–17. Callimachus, too, seems to have claimed Battiad descent: see Call. epigr. 35.

[76] Malkin (2003) 158–9.

5. Medea's 'Theraean Word': Euphemus at Lake Triton

Let us return to Pindar's *Fourth Pythian*, and the 'Theraean ἔπος' (13–56) of Medea. Her speech is both a prophecy and a narrative. The first section (13–20) is cryptic and prophetic in tone; the second clearer. 'Hear me, O sons of valiant heroes and of gods! For I affirm that out of this sea-pounded land the daughter of Epaphus, a root of cities famous among mortals, will one day (ποτέ) be planted amid the foundations (θέμεθλα) of Zeus Ammon (13–16)'. This 'daughter of Epaphus' is Libya. The Theraeans, in a metaphor ('a root of cities') that reverses the relationship of settler to land in a way that recalls the perennial colonist's discourse of 'virgin soil', will fill her with settlements. The planting metaphor, whose connotations of agricultural fertility, sexual reproduction, and the fixation of territory are felt through the whole myth, is a recurrent trope in Greek colonial discourse.[77] Medea's language also hints at a manifest destiny. Cyrene's god-given borders, coterminous with the sacred 'precinct of Zeus Ammon' (Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθλοις, 16) defined at its furthest extent by that god's sanctuary at Siwa oasis 500 kilometres from the city, extend far beyond the Greek zone of settlement in coastal Cyrenaica.[78] The Theraeans will 'swap swift horses for short-winged dolphins, and steer reins and storm-footed chariots instead of oars' (17–18).[79] Thera's emergence as a metropolis of great cities will be 'brought to pass' by an 'augury' or omen 'once' (ποτέ) received in the shallows of Lake Tritonis (19–20) by Euphemus, who leapt from *Argo*'s stern to meet a mysterious 'god disguised as a man who was trying to give them earth (or 'the land') as a guest-present' (θεῷ ἀνέρι εἰδομένῳ γαίαν διδόντι | **ξείνια** … Εὔφαμος καταβαὶς | δέξατ[ο], 21–3). He was rewarded with a thunderclap from Father Zeus (23) that assigned his action the status of a portent.[80]

Medea thus prophesies Battos' foundation of Cyrene (from her perspective a giant step into the future), before expounding the sign that foretold it (a brief *analepsis* into the Argonauts' own past). Her narrative of

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[77] Calame (2003), esp. 52–5 and Nicholson (2001) 191–2; Dougherty (1993) 62–76; Sigelman (2016) 121. For parallels see Braswell (1988) 155; in Herodotus, see Baragwanath, Ch. 4, below, pp. 180–1. On vegetal growth (the 'family tree') as a symbol for the survival, prosperity and 'inherited excellence' or *pha* = *physis* of a house across generations, see Rose (1992) 161.

[78] See Malkin (1994) 158–68 and also 169–74: ἐν θεμέθλοις could refer to a 'dwelling place', but clearly extends to the furthest borders of Libya (Africa west of the Nile: cf. *P.* 4.56, *P.* 9.6–8, 51–8). On Zeus Ammon at Cyrene: Chamoux (1953) 320–39; Austin (2008) 213–14 (Pindar is associated with Ammon's cult at Thebes and composed a hymn to that god for the Cyrenaeans: Paus. 9.16.1, cf. *Vit. Amb.* (I.2.18–21 Dr.)). Calame (1990) 282 notes that Libya, first a mythical person, becomes a place by the end of Medea's monologue.

[79] Segal (1986) 81 and Sigelman (2016) 114–16 note a pervasive pattern of 'interchange between land and sea'.

[80] Malkin (1994) 163–4. Zeus here is also Zeus Ammon.

events at Lake Tritonis duplicates, from an inverted historical perspective, the structure of its own frame. Bypassing the moment of Euphemus' leap, Medea explains its precedents in two further steps (24–8). The first of these is descriptive ('*when* he [the god] chanced upon us hanging the bronze-cheeked anchor, swift *Argo*'s curb, from the ship', 24–5),[81] and the second another *analepsis* ('for we had been bearing the seafaring wood [= *Argo*] on our backs for twelve days previous over the land's desert back from Okeanos, having beached her in accordance with my wise plans', 25–7). Medea's narrative thus regresses until she reaches its point of departure: the Argonauts' arrival, on their return from Colchis, at the rim of Ocean. From here, she recapitulates Euphemus' dive, this time as progressive narrative (ll. 28–37). Then, in a series of δέ-clauses, each of which enacts a step forward in the story, she continues *past* the initial tableau, explaining its consequences (ll. 38–56). This chiastic narrative form (Slater has called it 'lyric narrative'), in which the story, first condensed into a single tableau-like moment, is developed once as retrograde movement and then reiterated, often with different emphasis and somewhat greater circumstantial detail as progressive narrative, is familiar from other Pindaric and Bacchylidean myths and also from Homer's 'inset-stories' (reminiscences or moral *exempla* embedded in character-speech or narrative). It is a structure that suits the oral storyteller, since it clarifies the order of events in the story, allowing her to end her digression where it began.[82] Often, the closing part of such a narrative adopts a rapid summary form which, especially in tales of heroic action, can in its abbreviation and compression resemble the 'kill-catalogues' of Homeric epic.[83] Medea's monologue, however, differs from other such embedded narratives in its length and complexity. It is also one of the longest episodes of direct speech in extant Pindar.

After twelve days' desert march,[84] the Argonauts arrived at Lake Tritonis: a strange mythical lagoon half-way between earth and sea, which is sacred to Poseidon, Triton, and Athene.[85] 'It was *then* (τουτάκι δέ, 28) that the solitary god (οἰοπόλος δαίμων) approached us, donning the bright visage of a reverential man' (29–37):

tr. 2, str. 6

$$... \phi\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \; \delta' \; \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$$
$$\ddot{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\tau o, \; \xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu o\iota\varsigma \; \ddot{\alpha} \; \tau' \; \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu \; \epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota \qquad\qquad 30$$

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[81] **ἀνίκ'** ... ἐπέτοσσε, another relative clause.

[82] See Illig (1932); Slater (1983); Pfeijffer (2004); Sigelman (2016) 23–45.

[83] Young (1968) 4 and Slater (1983) with Sigelman (2016) 31, call these closing summaries 'terminal exploits': see, e.g., *P.* 4.249–54 (below, pp. 126–9).

[84] As Ian Rutherford commented to me, Pindar's geography throughout Medea's narrative is preposterous and contradicts knowledge available at the time.

[85] Calame (2003) 55–6.

δεῖπν’ ἐπαγγέλλοντι πρῶτον.

tr. 2, ant. 1

ἀλλὰ γὰρ νόστου πρόφασις γλυκεροῦ
κώλυεν μεῖναι. φάτο δ’ Εὐρύπυλος Γαιαόχου παῖς ἀφθίτου Ἐννοσίδα
ἔμμεναι· γίνωσκε δ’ ἐπειγομένους· ἂν δ’ εὐθὺς ἁρπάξαις ἀρούρας
δεξιτερᾷ προτυχὸν ξένιον μάστευσε δοῦναι.   35
οὐδ’ ἀπίθησέ νιν, ἀλλ’ ἥρως ἐπ’ ἀκταῖσιν θορών,
χειρί οἱ χεῖρ’ ἀντερείσαις δέξατο βώλακα δαιμονίαν.   37

He began with friendly words—[those] with which givers of kindness
first offer a meal to strangers arriving from afar. But the excuse of a
sweet homecoming kept [us] from staying. He said he was Eurypylus,
the son of immortal [Poseidon] Gaiaochos Ennosida; he saw that [we]
were hurrying; and immediately he, seizing some with his right hand,
tried to give it as the first guest-gift to hand. And he [the god] did not
fail to persuade him [Euphemus], but the hero, having leapt into the
surf and fixed hand mutually in hand, accepted the divine clod.

This bizarre scene, rich in the language of Homeric *xenia* ('guest-friendship')
and gift-giving,[86] leaves much unexplained. It involves three conspicuous
failures. The first is a failure of hospitality; then there is a deception; finally,
there is an apparently valueless 'gift' (ξένιον, 35). The mysterious 'god in the
form of a man' behaves as an epic host should. His guests, however, choose
not to accept his offer of hospitality, citing their *nostos* as an excuse. The 'god'
then lies about his name. Cognate later versions identify him as Triton: here,
however, he claims to be Eurypylus ('he of the wide gates'; 'the Welcomer').[87]
Pindar does not explain the name, but Eurypylus was later identified by
Acesander (a local historian of Cyrene)[88] with a human 'brother' of Triton
who ruled Libya when Apollo abducted Cyrene, the Thessalian girl hunter.
In the variant of Cyrene's story told in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (90–2),[89]
it is Eurypylus who grants the Thessalian maiden title to the land in
exchange for killing a lion which was ravaging the Libyans' herds. If the
mystery-god were in fact Eurypylus, he and Euphemus (as sons of Poseidon)

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[86] On *xenia* here, compare Potamiti (2015); Gottesman (2010) 297; and Malkin (1994) 177.
Athanassaki (1997) presents a more optimistic reading of the motif (noting that Pindar
represents his ties to his *laudandi* in *xenia* terms).

[87] Σ 42ab (II.102–3 Dr.) names the god as Triton, as does A.R. 4.1554–61.

[88] Possibly 4th–2nd c. BCE: see Σ 57 (II.105 Dr.) = *FGrHist* 469 FF 1, 3, 4. Note that
Phylarchus (3rd c. BCE: *FGrHist* 81 F 15) apparently called the king 'Eurytus', a variant
Braswell (1988) 110 implies may be older than Pindar's; Malten (1911) 115 n. 1 calls it a
'wertlose Variant'.

[89] Cf. Σ ad Call. *Hy.* 2.90–2 and see Stephens (2011) 194–5.

would not be *xenoi* at all, but half-brothers![90] But this is all a ruse: this trickster-host never betrays his real identity, thus preventing a lasting *xenia*-relationship from forming between himself and the Greek stranger. 'Eurypylus' nevertheless gives Euphemus what Medea defines, again in paradoxical terms, as a *random* guest-gift (**προτυχὸν ξένιον**, 'the first thing to hand'). The 'divine clod' is not a *κειμήλιον* to be treasured over generations—it is a lump of earth.[91]

The clod-motif has affinities to other mythical situations in which a gift (often unintended) of earth produces, as a symbolic synecdoche, a lasting charter to an entire territory. These stories always combine the clod-motif with elements of prophecy, misjudgement, and deception.[92] The 'clod' also recalls the 'earth and water' motif familiar from Herodotus' accounts of the decades before 480/479 BCE.[93] Its frequency attests an obvious cultural context for Pindar's story. It also helps us to clarify a difference between the synchronic and paradigmatic levels of the narrative—that is to say, between the characters' understanding of themselves and the subsequent significance of their actions when viewed within a wider historical frame. On the synchronic level, Euphemus' dive is tragicomedy; on the paradigmatic, it symbolises things to come. His acceptance of the 'gift' inadvertently constitutes a portent recognised in the thunderclap. By playing along and accepting the clod *as though* it were a gift, Euphemus creates a bond not between himself and the disguised god, but rather with the land itself. The clod's transfer turns 'stranger' into 'native'. It symbolises a relation to the land that reflects simultaneous displacement and belonging: a central paradox of settler identity.[94] The logic is the same as the charter that drives

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[90] Pindar's (*P.* 4.45–6) version of Euphemus' parentage differs from that attested for the *Megalai Ehoiai* (fr. 253 M–W) and in Σ Lycophr. 886, but Poseidon is always the father.

[91] Malkin (1994) 179–80; Athanassaki (1997), esp. 211–16; cf. also Currie (2012) 293–4.

[92] The closest parallels seem to be Aletes at Corinth, on whom see Σ Pind. *N.* 7.155a (III.137–8 Dr.), and the story of Temon (Plut. *QG* no. 13, 293F–294C), a man of the Ainianes who is given a clod of earth in insult that becomes a claim to the territory his people will settle (cf. the very similar *QG* no. 22, 296D–E). Both involve a conscious deception inspired by an oracle (the divine sanction is therefore provided in advance rather than retroactively, as in Euphemus' tale, which is unique among these myths for the way it emphasises a lack of conscious agency on the part of the 'gift's' recipient). Cf. also: (1) Ne(i)leus son of Codrus, the founder of Miletus—Hornblower (2015) *ad* Lycophr. *Alex.* 1380–1 (citing Σ Lycophr. 1379 (II.382 Scheer)); (2) Cresphontes in Messene (Paus. 4.3.3–8 and Luraghi (2008) 46–67); and (3) Perdiccas of Macedon at Hdt. 8.137 (similar in its structure, even if the 'payment' involves a symbolic appropriation of sunlight = royal power). For detailed discussion, see esp. Gottesman (2010) and West (2011), with Malkin (1994) 174–81. I thank Alan Griffiths for help with this motif.

[93] Herodotus (for a list, see Powell (1938) 67, s.v. *γῆ*, 2) mentions Persian demands for gifts from Greek states of 'earth and water' (a motif often explained as Zoroastrian in origin, but present in Greek tradition: see, e.g., Neileus and Cresphontes, previous n.). Cf. Kuhrt (1988) and Gottesman (2010) 294 with S. West (2011).

[94] Athanassaki (2003).

the Dorians' 'Return of the Heraclidae': the Theraean settlers were always already autochthonous Libyans.[95] It is important that neither the divine imposter nor the Libyan *indigènes* gain anything from this pact: no cult is established, no human relationship founded, nor is there any demand of reciprocal service.[96] Nor does Euphemus gain anything, at least not personally. His descendants' good fortune is also undeserved and therefore all the more miraculous.[97] Battos, as we shall learn below (*P.* 4.59–63), went to Delphi not to ask about founding a colony, but rather to ask the god to cure his stutter. The Pythia did not answer his original question, instead proclaiming him three times 'Cyrene's destined king'.

The bond that Euphemus inadvertently creates between himself and the land of Libya must wait for several generations before reasserting itself. How is this to be achieved? The following verses (38–43) again begin with total failure. Near Thera, the clod was inadvertently lost at sea:

tr. 2, ant. 7

πεύθομαι δ' αὐτὰν κατακλυσθεῖσαν ἐκ δούρατος   38
ἐναλίαν βᾶμεν σὺν ἅλμᾳ

tr. 2. ep. 1

ἑσπέρας ὑγρῷ πελάγει σπομέναν. ἦ μάν νιν ὤτρυνον θαμά   40
λυσιπόνοις θεραπόντεσσιν φυλάξαι· τῶν δ' ἐλάθοντο φρένες
καί νυν ἐν τᾷδ' ἄφθιτον νάσῳ κέχυται Λιβύας
εὐρυχόρου σπέρμα πρὶν ὥρας.   43

But I hear that it [the clod] has been washed from the ship into the sea at evening and goes with the salt wave, following the watery deep. Oh yes, how I warned him to guard it safe with his labour-saving servants! But their minds forgot, and now the deathless seed of broad Libya is poured out on this island *before its time*'.

Medea warned him, but Euphemus' men have lost the dubious heirloom, which is dissolved in the alien element. Medea herself seems to feel some uncertainty about how it was lost or where it went.[98] In the next clause,

[95] See Vannicelli (1992) 67–8: '… un ritorno dei Eufemidi'; Calame (2003) 57–9.

[96] Another variant enacts a less one-sided 'exchange': below, p. 107.

[97] Cf., e.g., Σ 36c (II.61 Dr.).

[98] πεύθομαι (like the, in the context of a *pentekonter*, somewhat absurd reference to the 'labour-saving servants') reinforces the sense that no one was in control or watching the clod; it absolves Euphemus partially, and Medea totally, of blame for the disaster. Jess Lightfoot points out to me the close similarity of the loss-episode to certain adventures in Odysseus' *Apologoi*, especially the 'Aeolus' tale (Hom. *Od.* 10.1–79) where Odysseus' achievement of an easy *nostos* is thwarted by the 'madness' (βουλὴ … κακή, 46) of his crewmen. There is indeed much work to be done on Pindar's reception of the *Odyssey* in this ode.

however, the clod, now described as 'the seed of *Libya* of the broad dancing floor', is said to have been poured out prematurely over the soil of Thera.[99] Pindar's version, which emphasises human failure and frailty, differs from what we find in the corresponding passage of Apollonius' *Argonautica* (4.1731–64). There, Euphemus, on Jason's advice, deliberately throws Triton's gift overboard, in response to a dream in which he had sex with the clod, which had metamorphosed into a nubile girl.[100] Overcome with shame as though he has raped his own daughter, he is comforted by the clod-woman, who says that she is Triton's child and Libya's. If he entrusts her to the sea off Anaphe, she will lie there in readiness for his future offspring. Thrown into the sea, she rises again as an island (4.1757–64), known first as Calliste ('Fairest'), and then as Thera.[101] Although Medea's version lacks this cosmogonic birth of Thera from the waves, her language likewise locates the relationship between Euphemus and Libya in the nexus of agricultural wealth, sexual reproduction, and territorial claim laid out in her earlier planting-metaphor.[102] The two things coalesce, for this 'seed of Libya' planted on Thera will in turn cause Libya to be planted as a 'root of cities' by the Theraeans—a 'root' destined to flourish both as a realm of cities and a line of kings. There thus remains a sense of cosmogonic potentiality in the subtext.[103] In calling the clod 'the seed of Libya of the broad dancing-floor', Medea again demonstrates the coloniser's sense of place. For her, Libya is not primarily a nymph, a geographical designation, nor the kingdom of Eurypylus mentioned by Callimachus: she is an emptiness, a *potential* territory.[104] Wherever it lands, the synecdochic clod transforms that place into a promise of abundant wealth and populous cities. Battos will receive the task of bringing this divine promise home to Libya from Thera.

What brings all this to fruition is not human action but the will of an unknown providence able to link the actions of ignorant people far-removed in time from one another into a single story. The myth's devious failure

[99] On *eurychoros* and its commemorative power, see Fragoulaki, above, Ch. 2, pp. 66–72). The 'slipperiness' of the clod, and its ability to create different realities through its presence or absence, can be taken as a symbol of the power of contingency in Pindar's historical scheme: one splash, and you're in an alternative reality (thanks to Jess Lightfoot).

[100] Calame (2003) 61–2; Vian (1981) 144 n. 5 comments that this type of dream is recognised in later *oneirokritika* as implying some future profit.

[101] Apollonius' myth is in a sense much more literal as a charter (clod creates land). His paradoxical failure to mention Cyrene is thus surprising: it is sometimes explained as 'intentional history'—a rejection, by the Ptolemies, of a potential Battiad claim: see, however, Hunter (1993) 153 n. 7 and (2015) 312–13; Stephens (2008) 98–103, 111–13 and (2011), esp. 196–8.

[102] In assuming that Pindar's sources may have been closer to Apollonius I follow Schroeder (1922) 37–8; cf. Braswell (1988) 121. On 'land' vs. 'territory' see Malkin (1994) 6–7.

[103] These themes are corroborated in the lyric speaker's words in the third epode (64ff.) after the break-off that ends Medea's speech. See also Athanassaki (1997).

[104] Malkin (1994) 174–5.

marks the creation of a land-charter under which the supposed giver's people will be displaced by the recipient's descendants, who must become Euphemids, Minyans, and Theraeans before they become Cyrenaeans.[105] The failure is 'devious', because, in a logic reminiscent of Adam's *felix culpa*, Euphemus must fail if the providential plan is to succeed.[106] He provides a pretext for divine redemption: 'O goodness infinite … that all this good of evil shall produce'.[107] Episodes of disaster, hard luck, loss, personal failure, or crime followed by incomprehensible blessings and success are a trope of colonial settlement narratives and also tales of mythical founders.[108] What marks this episode, however, is the way it pits human weakness and incomprehension against an inscrutable providence. The Pythia sends Battos to 'redeem' (ἀνακομίζειν) Medea's 'word' (a kind of promissory note?) which is also the story of Euphemus' failure. Euphemus may have spilt Libya's metonymic seed too soon, but it has not fallen on barren ground (*P.* 4.43–56). Why 'too soon'?

tr. 2, ep. 4

'… **πρὶν ὥρας.** εἰ γὰρ οἴκοι νιν βάλε πὰρ χθόνιον   43
Ἀίδα στόμα, Ταίναρον εἰς ἱερὰν Εὔφαμος ἐλθών,
υἱὸς ἱππάρχου Ποσειδάωνος ἄναξ,   45
τόν ποτ' Εὐρώπα Τιτυοῦ θυγάτηρ τίκτε Καφισοῦ παρ' ὄχθαις,   46

tr. 3, str. 1

τετράτων παίδων κ' ἐπιγεινομένων
αἷμά οἱ κείναν λάβε [sc. ἄν] **σὺν Δαναοῖς εὐρεῖαν ἄπειρον. τότε γὰρ** μεγάλας
ἐξανίστανται Λακεδαίμονος Ἀργείου τε κόλπου καὶ Μυκηνᾶν.
νῦν γε μὲν ἀλλοδαπᾶν **κριτὸν εὑρήσει** γυναικῶν   50
ἐν λέχεσιν **γένος**, οἵ κεν τάνδε σὺν τιμᾷ θεῶν
νᾶσον ἐλθόντες **τέκωνται φῶτα κελαινεφέων πεδίων**
δεσπόταν· τὸν μὲν πολυχρύσῳ ποτ' ἐν δώματι
Φοῖβος **ἀμνάσει θέμισσιν**

tr. 3, ant. 1

Πύθιον ναὸν καταβάντα **χρόνῳ**   55
ὑστέρῳ, νάεσσι πολεῖς ἀγαγὲν Νείλοιο πρὸς **πῖον τέμενος** Κρονίδα.'

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[105] Malkin (1994) 178; on autochthony, Calame (1990) 281–90 and (2003); also Athanassaki (1997).

[106] Segal (1986) 150–2. On a similar motif in *O.* 7.30–53, where the primitive Rhodians, the sons of Helios, fail to perform a proper foundational sacrifice to Athena, see Athanassaki (2009) 432–6.

[107] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 12.469–70.

[108] On 'crisis' in colonisation-narratives: Dougherty (1993) 16–17, 31–44.

'… **before its time.** For if he (Euphamus, horse-commanding Poseidon's son, whom Europa, daughter of Tityos, bore by the banks of Kaphisos) had come to holy Tainaros and, at home, had thrown it [the clod of earth] down near the chthonic mouth of Hades, then, **when the fourth generation of his offspring had come to be, his blood would have seized that wide continent with the Danaans**. **For then** they are [i.e. 'will be'] **driven out of** great Lacedaemon and the Argive gulf and Mycenae. **But now the situation is that** he will find a **chosen lineage** in the beds of foreign women, which, when they have come to this island with the favour of the gods, **will beget a man to be master over raincloud-blackened plains**: him will Phoebus in the gold-rich house **remind with prophecies**, when **in later days** he has entered the Pythian temple, to lead many [men] in ships to the **rich precinct** of the son of Cronus by the Nile'.

In one of the ode's most extraordinary moments, as her prophecy, inadvertently retracing the steps of its own framing discourse, brushes past the moment of its own enunciation to connect with Battos' foundation sixteen generations in the future, Medea defines two possible outcomes of Euphemus' guardianship of the clod, which are also mutually exclusive colonisation scenarios for Cyrene.

If Euphemus, the son of Poseidon who has his sanctuary at Cape Tainaron, had managed to bring the clod back there and deposit it next to the mouth of Hades, thus consecrating it to the powers of death and the earth in a gesture reminiscent of the fertility-sacrifices at the Thesmophoria,[109] then his descendants, four generations later, would invade Libya with the remnants of the Achaeans who will (the 'prophetic' present tense of ἐξανίστανται leaves little doubt)[110] be driven from their homes by the invading Dorians and Heraclidae. The deposition of the clod thus marks the start-line for a *reconquista* of Libya by Euphemus' immediate descendants. But his failure in this mission changes everything. The clod has been scattered in the sea off Thera: its magical fertility will realise itself from there. Euphemus will meet the women of Lemnos and beget a line of offspring who in time will settle the island. From these men will rise eventually a man destined to rule Libya. He will visit Delphi, and Phoebus will 'remind him' to lead the Theraean people to the 'rich precinct of Zeus by the Nile'.[111] 'Remind' is a strong word, since Battos was no more aware of Medea's 'Theraean word' than Euphemus was of the meaning of his own actions. This too is an aspect of the *felix culpa* motif that governs Medea's prophetic tale. All the human

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[109] See Calame (2003) 56–7. On cults at Tainaron, see Giannini (1995) 440–1.

[110] Braswell (1988) 129 on line 49 (a), with Giannini (1995) 442.

[111] Reference to Zeus Ammon's precinct (cf. above, n. 78) is implied however we translate the double genitive. On the translation of Νείλοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα, compare Braswell (1988) 137–8 and Giannini (1995) 125, 443–4.

protagonists act in a fog of ignorance. Only a god can make something viable from humanity's crooked timber.

6. Pindar's Two Foundations of Cyrene

What are we to make of Medea's counterfactual history? There was much confusion in the later, post-Herodotean literary tradition about when Cyrene was founded. St Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Chronological Canons* gives three dates (1336, 761, and 631 BCE). The last, though perhaps a bit low, seems to fit archaeological material dating the Greeks' arrival more or less to the third quarter of the sixth century.[112] While the main early Panhellenic literary tradition about the colony established in Pindar and Herodotus ascribes the first Greek settlement in Libya to Battos' Theraeans, the story of an earlier sojourn at or near the site of Cyrene by the Trojan sons of Antenor was known already to the Theban poet (*P.* 5.77–88). They arrived, he says, with Menelaus and Helen on their *nostos* after the destruction of their homeland: they, the 'horse-driving men' of Troy, are 'welcomed' and 'approached' (in the cultic sense), presumably as epichoric heroes, with sacrifices and gifts by the men of Cyrene, 'whom Aristoteles [Battos] brought in swift ships when he opened a deep path through the salt sea' (τὸ δ' ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος ἐνδυκέως | δέκονται θυσίαισιν ἄνδρες οἰχνέοντές σφε δωροφόροι | τοὺς ᾿Αριστοτέλης ἄγαγε ναυσὶ θοαῖς | ἁλὸς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων, *P.* 5.85–8), during the Carneia festival.[113]

On the assumption that Eusebius' earliest foundation-date of 1336 must reflect a grain of historical truth, modern scholars, many active before or just around the beginning of serious archaeological exploration in Libya towards

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[112] Cf. Chamoux (1953) 70–1, 120–3, who notes that 761 appears to be an earlier traditional date for Battos' foundation, and Malkin (1994) 66. The archaeology seems to indicate Greek settlement at a site identified with Herodotus' Aziris after 650 BCE (the earliest occupation of Cyrene, Taucheira, and Barke seems to date to perhaps 620: for recent views of the chronology, see below, n. 131).

[113] Homer's Trojans, like Pindar's Cyrenaeans, are horsemen: Giannini (1995) 534 *ad loc.* Σ *P.* 5.113a-c (II.186–7 Dr.) applies τὸ ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος to the Cyrenaeans. Krummen (2014) 146 suggests a possible connection to Libyan horsemanship. On the passage and its difficulties, see Defradas (1952); Giannini (1990) 84–7; Calame (2003) 79–86; Krummen (2014) 138–53; Brillante (1989); and Malkin (1987) 209–12 and (1994) 52–6, 64–6. A 'Hill of the Antenoridae between Cyrene and the sea' is mentioned by Σ *P.* 5.110 (II.186 Dr.), which cites the Hellenistic mythographer Lysimachus (*FGrHist* 382 F 6 with Jacoby's commentary, IIIb, nn. 43–51 (p. 170): *Nostoi*? perhaps late 2nd–early 1st c. BCE? see *NP*, s.v. and *RE* XIV (1928), s.v. 'Lysimachus [20]', cols 32–9 with Krummen (2014) 139. Lysimachus also links the Antenoridae to Amnax, a Libyan king. Braccesi (1987) claims the myth emerged in connection with Athenian interests around the time of the Inaros revolt in Egypt (*c.* 460 BCE). In fact, as Pindar attests, it is likely older and Cyrenaean. Krummen (2014) 142–6 plausibly envisages a ritual of theoxenic/heroxenic type.

the turn of the twentieth century, understood Medea's counterfactual narrative, along with Pindar's traditions about the Antenoridae and the 'harbour of Menelaus' mentioned in Herodotus,[114] as implying a historical settlement from the Peloponnese by pre-Dorian 'Danaans' at the close of the 'heroic age'—or at least Pindar's knowledge of some such oral tradition.[115] Both interpretations have been defended recently,[116] despite Chamoux's refutation of the first,[117] and the inherent implausibility of the second. It has been argued that Medea's narrative engages with two distinct myth-variants, one 'pro-' (the colonisation after sixteen generations), and the other (the four generations) 'anti-Battiad', with the latter possibly rooted in an early sixth-century conflict (during the reign of Battos III, 'the Lame', the fifth king of his line) attested in Herodotus between the descendants of the Theraean settlers and more recent immigrants from the Peloponnese that led to a temporary redrawing of Cyrene's political institutions and some reduction of royal prerogatives.[118]

Pindar, it is argued, alludes to this 'anti-Battiad' tradition in a way that implies its rejection (as ahistorical) in favour of the other Euphemid/Battiad account. But the weak retentive capability of oral traditions unreinforced by writing, and their tendency to reconstruct the past to suit present interests, combined with a lack in Cyrenaica of archaeological material from the early Greek Iron Age that could indicate an earlier and lasting phase of Greek settlement before the arrival of the Therans,[119] clearly place Medea's double-settlement story in the realm of myth. The presence in Cyrene of mythical precedents like the sojourn of Menelaus and the Antenoridae is likewise easily paralleled in Western Greek colonial traditions, where settlers traced their land-charters back to an earlier visit by Heracles, Odysseus, or another Trojan-war *nostos*-hero, and where even the Antenoridae and other Trojans

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[114] Hdt. 4.169 (Harbour of Menelaus): see Malkin (1994) 48–57; Boardman (1966) 150–1.

[115] Malten (1911) argued for late Bronze- or early Iron-Age colonisation from Lakonia; Gercke (1906) and Studniczka (1890) 60–1, followed by Pasquali (1986), from Thessaly. The Lindian Chronicle (*FGrHist* 532 F 17 and Chamoux (1953) 72–3) may reflect a variant that dates Battos' arrival to the aftermath of the Trojan War; Silius Italicus (8.57–8, cf. Chamoux (1953) 73 n. 1) makes him a contemporary of Aeneas. These variants, as Malkin (1994) 66 shows, are irrelevant to Pindar.

[116] See Corcella (2007) 671, citing Stucchi (1967) and (1976), and Marinatos (1974) 54–7, who argue that the Pindaric and Herodotean myths contain a folk-memory of settlement from Minoan Thera and Crete; *contra*, see, e.g., Boardman (1968).

[117] Chamoux (1953) 69–91.

[118] Hdt. 4.159–61, with Studniczka (1890) 108–9; Chamoux (1953) 86–91; Huxley (1975) 37–8; Giannini (1990) 75–7; Mitchell (2000) 86–9; Hornblower (2004) 113. Malten (1911) 109–10 argued that the Euphemus legend, which applied originally to pre-Dorian settlers (see above, n. 115), was appropriated by Pindar for the Battiads.

[119] A small amount of Minoan and Mycenaean material has been explained as the residue of trade: see Corcella (2007) 671 and below, n. 131.

(not least Aeneas) play a role in such pre-settlement traditions.[120] Nor, as Malkin has shown, is there any strong reason to identify strongly 'pro-' and 'anti-Battiad' biases even within the Herodotean material, let alone in Pindar; or to assume that traditional stories of the first settlement changed so rapidly to reflect political developments.[121]

To understand the double colonisation, we do not, therefore, need to posit conflicting, politically-charged variants. The motif fits the logic of Pindar's Euphemid account too well: I believe he must have invented it. Medea's reference to the mythical Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese— the 'Return of the Heraclidae'—pins the earlier, abortive Euphemid colonisation of Libya to the phase of disruption and population-movements that for Thucydides (1.12.3–4) followed on the upheavals caused by the Trojan War. The 'Return' marked the end of the 'heroic age', and the beginning of a different sort of time-reckoning in which he dates events relative to one another in increments of decades.[122] As *Pythian* 5 (60–81) shows, the 'Return' had by Pindar's time become central to the way at least some Cyrenaeans (and surely the régime itself) defined their political and cultural identity, as well as their political and religious institutions (e.g., the monarchy and the Carneia), through the links of both to Sparta; Pindar's reference to it thus grounds Medea's counterfactual story in what, for him, was authentic history, alluding to the position of Euphemus' line, and the Cyrenaeans more generally, within a larger community of 'Dorian' peoples who—so the story went—had derived a decisive part of their culture and their *nomima* from Sparta.[123]

Herodotus seems to refer to similar traditions and cultural links, at least when, in the first part of his Cyrenaean *logos*, he explains the ties of blood and custom, including a monarchical system, that bind the Therans to Sparta. If we accept, with all modern editors, the conjecture at 4.150.2 that

[120] For *nostoi* (Menelaos) in the West: Malkin (1994) 57–64; Hornblower (2015) 327–35. On the lost tragedy of Sophocles that sent the Antenoridae to the Veneto (Str. 13.1.53), see Malkin (1998) 198–9, Krummen (2014) 139, and Braccesi (1987) who argues—like Brillante (1989)—that they were seen as ancestors of the Libyans (the Elymians of Sicily, and the Choni near Siris in Italy, were also remembered as of Trojan origin). At Siris Trojans appear again together with a Greek *nostos*-hero (Philoctetes): see Malkin (1998) 226–31. For the Antenoridae as symbolic mediators between settlers and 'Libyan' *Ureinwohner*, see Krummen (2014) 149–53.

[121] Malkin (2003). On the circumstances in which the 'anti-Battiad' narrative is supposed to have become dominant by Herodotus' time, below, pp. 133–4.

[122] See Gomme (1945) 116–20, and Hornblower (1991) 37–41 and (2011) 120–1.

[123] How old or generalised this tradition was in Pindar's time cannot be discussed here. The interpretation of this lengthy passage of *P.* 5 which links Apollo and the Carneia to the foundation-narrative of Cyrene is especially vexed: for bibliography, see below, pp. 126–7. This sense of a wider 'Spartan Mediterranean', explored by Malkin (1994) and so strongly present to Pindar, was not so evident to Thucydides—on which problem see Fragoulaki (2020).

makes Battos a 'Euphemid' (and not, as in all the manuscripts, a 'Euthymid'), the Euphemid *genos* (if they existed) belonged (at least for Herodotus' 'Theran' source) among the Minyans who participated with Theras in the colonisation of Thera, and then (in Battos' person) of Cyrene.[124] Through his son Oiolycus (who remained behind in Lacedaemon), Theras became the ancestor of the Spartan Aegeidae: a famous clan with deep links to traditions of the Return and early Sparta.[125] Pindar, speaking most likely in the voice of the Cyrenaean chorus, describes the Aegeidae as 'my fathers' in *Pythian* 5.[126] Pindar draws even the Cyrenaean cult of the Antenoridae into his broader Dorian discourse, since it is during the Carneia that Battos' people receive the heroes with offerings.[127] The Trojan heroes' 'arrival', in the recurring, cyclical time of the yearly ritual, seems to presage that of the Cyrenaeans themselves in their new (now old) homeland. But there is no trace, either here or in *Pythian* 4, of any earlier colonisation. If it had existed, Pindar surely would have polished such an explicit and recognised Peloponnesian connection into an exemplary myth, but it was not possible in the traditions at his disposal. Indeed, the very Dorian emphasis of his discourse logically requires the sequence of unrelated migrations that he paints.

Pindar's counterfactual history is thus probably a recent invention (perhaps even his own) designed to call attention to the workings of providence in history. Here too, the *felix culpa* motif structures the argument. The fact that the earlier colonisation after four generations did not happen is not in the end a problem. The god, it seems, had envisaged long before Battos a relationship between Cyrene and the Peloponnese: the aborted Peloponnesian line of Medea's narrative thus duplicates the 'historical' Theraean one. The founding voyage *must* happen: fortuitous failure and sixteen generations were, however, needed to transform Minyan Argonauts, through multiple expulsions and misfortunes, into proper Dorians: men who, as we learn from *Pythian* 5, acquired their institutions and culture through their ties to Sparta, and whose claim to the Libyan land is buttressed not only by Euphemus' claim, but by the conquering energies of the

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[124] See Corcella (2007) 677; Chamoux (1953) 83–91.

[125] Cf. Hdt. 4.147 and 149.

[126] *P.* 5.72–6: one of the most notorious *cruces* in Pindar. On the passage, see Lefkowitz (1991) 179–82 (it refers to Pindar's Aegeid ancestry and to the relationship, through Sparta, between Cyrene and Thebes); cf. Krummen (2014) 153–66 (ascribed to the Cyrenaean chorus); D'Alessio (1994) 122–4; Giannini (1995) 532 (the same); and finally Currie (2005) 227–8 (with extensive earlier bibliography). On the Aegeidae here and in Herodotus: Malkin (1994) 98–106; Nafissi (1985); Giannini (1990) 81–4; Vannicelli (1992) and (1993).

[127] Calame (2003) 79–86; Dougherty (1993) 103–19. 'Return of Heraclidae' as a charter-myth: Malkin (1994) 33–43 and (1998); Carneia: Malkin (1998) 143–58. Vannicelli (1992) and De Vido (1998) on the importance of Sparta for Cyrenaean royal ideology.

'Return'.[128] Although human beings' lamentable freedom to fail explains history's surface contingencies, it is the god who patiently determines their general direction of movement.[129] In this way, little Thera, as Cyrene's metropolis, mediates between the powerful kingdom of the Hellenes in Libya and the hegemonic state of the Dorian Peloponnese, and Battos' settlement becomes in turn a 'Return of the Euphemidai'.[130]

The early Greek archaeology of Cyrenaica seems to point to a first settler population and a network of sites more diverse than the places mentioned in the early literary tradition: Platea, Aziris, and Cyrene. The Battiadai and Theraeans clearly established their hegemonic narrative of the settlement period, including a claim to metropolitan hegemony over the other cities of Greek Libya (Taucheira, Barke, Euhesperides), early in the colony's history (cf. the 'root of cities' at *P.* 4.15–16; 'metropolis of great cities', vv. 19–20). The 'single ship' (or in the case of Cyrene, 'two fifty-oared ships') narrative, like the American myth of the *Mayflower,* probably obscured a more complicated and pluralistic process of settlement and exploitation.[131] But even this tradition (or set of traditions) must have comprised many local variants overlooked in Pindar's framing of his narrative.

We can begin to imagine these by comparing his odes with the double tradition of Herodotus' Libyan *logos.* The historiographer entirely excludes, perhaps as too primordial and legendary, the tale of Cyrene and Apollo familiar from *Pythian* 9.[132] Also neglected (perhaps as an uninteresting cultic *aetion*) are the Antenorids (although, as we have seen, he does mention a 'Harbour of Menelaus'). Herodotus' *logos* begins with the misrule of the sixth Battiad king Arcesilas III, whose reign coincided with Cambyses' conquest of Egypt, and whose murder provoked the Persian invasion of Libya that is the historian's point of connection to his wider narrative of Achaemenid expansion; it ends with the revenge of Pheretime, Arcesilas' mother, on her

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[128] Vannicelli (1992) 56; Giannini (1995) 107 n. 3; Malkin (1994) 179.

[129] Giannini (1995) 105 n. 3. Baragwanath (below, Ch. 4, pp. 170–2) discusses the same theme in reference to Herodotean modes of historical explanation.

[130] Vannicelli (1993) 128–9. Arcesilas can thus 'have it both ways': it is a striking example of Pindar's ability to force multiple, often somewhat conflictual thematic strands into a single authoritative discourse.

[131] Boardman (1999) 153–9 and (1994) 142–7, and Gill (2006) demonstrate that other Greek settlements were founded almost simultaneously with Cyrene; for a more radically pluralistic interpretation see Osborne (1996) 15–17 and (1998), and Austin (2008), esp. 192–4, with the reflections on 'mixed colonial realities' in Hornblower (2004) 119–23. The 'two pentekonters' motif is present in both of Herodotus' 'traditions': cf. 4.153 ('Theran') and 156.2 (apparently 'Cyrenaean'). For a defence of the literary evidence, see Malkin (2003), to whom I owe the *Mayflower* analogy.

[132] Unless the oracle at 4.157.2 alludes ironically to Apollo's having been to Libya before, perhaps in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (see Hirschberger (2004) 389; Giangiulio (2001) 122–4) with the nymph Cyrene.

son's Barcaean foes.[133] He says nothing about the tyrant's successors Battos IV and Arcesilas IV. Herodotus' first 'Spartan and Theraean' variant of the Battos-story narrates the Minyans' move from Lemnos to Sparta and their role in the colonisation of Thera. It then skips forward to Battos' generation. Minyans, Dorians, and others coalesce into a new people on Thera.[134] While the text with emendation can be made to support the claim that Battos was both a Minyan of Thera and a Euphemid, it does not corroborate a 'full' Battiad genealogy. Indeed, Herodotus never explains the significance of the connection between Euphemus and Battos.[135] Likewise, the 'Cyrenaean' version he presents of Battos' origins makes him the son of Theran Polymnestus and Phronime, a princess from Axos on Crete (4.154–5), but does not mention the Euphemids at all.[136] The next section will show that the Argonauts' visit to Libya has a different function in Herodotus' narrative.

With respect to the colonisation itself, Herodotus' 'Theraean' version emphasises the planned constitutionality of the enterprise, and thus the links between metropolis and colony; while that of the Cyrenaeans' focuses more on the experience of rupture and the colonists' rejection by Thera.[137] The 'Cyrenaean' version certainly emphasises the fact that Battos was divinely chosen; it is also closer to Pindar's tale in its details, particularly in the section that narrates the first of Battos' two visits to the Delphic oracle (*P.* 4.59–63).[138] Herodotus' Battos-narratives are distinguished from Pindar's by their wealth of circumstantial detail and by their rationalising, demystifying tendency. Unlike Pindar, he fills the space between Battos and the story of Arcesilas III, his mother, and the Persians with a history of personalities and events. Both, however, share a perception, familiar from other colonial traditions, that both the settlement and subsequent events were the work of providence

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[133] Hdt. 4.145.1, 162–7, 200–5 with Mitchell (2000) 89–93; see also Baragwanath, below, Ch. 4, pp. 162–7, 173–6.

[134] Calame (1990) 313–14 n. 98.

[135] See Vannicelli (1992) 69–73 on the silence about Euphemus in Herodotus and the narrative of Jason's sojourn in Libya (on which see the next section). Later historians of Cyrene (Acesander, *FGrHist* 469 F 5, cf. Theochrestos, *FGrHist* 761 F 1a) mention a certain Samos as the link between Euphemus and Battos, who Σ 88b (II.109–10 Dr.) says accompanied Theras to the island. Cf. Malkin (1994) 100 n. 155.

[136] Perhaps the historian's description of Battos as ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἐὼν γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μινυέων ('the son of Polymnestus, being with respect to his lineage a Euphemid of the Minyans') at 4.150.2 (see above, n. 124) is meant to apply here as well. But the 'Cyrenaean' version, while over-emphasising Battos' Cretan connections, ignores his family links to the 'Minyans'.

[137] Osborne (1996) 12–13; Giangiulio (2001), esp. 134–6.

[138] Giangiulio (2001) 125–7 speculates interestingly on the possibility that Herodotus may have used a collection of colonisation-oracles—perhaps Pindar as well? For comparison of Pindar with Herodotus, with emphasis on his monarchical links, see his pp. 134–7 (cf. Athanassaki (2009) 436–9; for the two versions of Battos' Delphic scene in Herodotus, see below, 120 n. 152).

in the form of the Delphic oracle.[139] Greek 'colonisation' traditions constantly emphasise the importance of the oracle, and through it the city's special relationship with the god; but Pindar's story does something more.

7. Herodotus on the Argonauts in Libya

Perhaps the most striking difference between Herodotus' colonisation account and Pindar's lies in the historian's handling (4.179) of the events at Lake Triton that form the narrative kernel of Medea's 'Theraean word'. Something similar takes place in Herodotus, but both the story's details and its meaning are transformed. Herodotus' version, clearly marked as a dubious oral tradition (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, 179.1; λόγος ἐστι, 179.2), is buried as a digression in the historian's survey of the Lotophagoi and the Machlyes, Libyan tribes who live around Lake Tritonis. Before her Colchian adventure, he says, *Argo* set sail from Iolcus to Delphi with a hecatomb and a bronze tripod for Apollo as cargo. Blown off course at Cape Malea, she finds herself trapped in the sandbanks of the Tritonian Lake (localised here not in Cyrenaica, but in the shallows of the Lesser Syrtis). Triton appears and promises help in exchange for the tripod. He puts it in his own temple, but before the Argonauts depart, he sits on it like the Pythia and prophesies to them, saying that if any descendant of *Argo*'s crew returns to Libya and reclaims (κομίσηται, 4.179.3) the tripod, a hundred Greek cities will sprout on the shores of Lake Tritonis. 'Hearing this, the native Libyans of the country hid the tripod.' Jason sails away: the Argonauts and their descendants play no part in Libya's history. Euphemus goes unmentioned, and no connection is made to the Battiads or to Cyrene.

The similarities and differences are stark. Both tales are clearly charter-myths. Beyond that, Pindar's narrative treats Lake Tritonis as part of the Battiads' Libyan realm; Herodotus places it further west towards Carthage, beyond the conventional western border of the 'precinct of Ammonian Zeus' at the Arae Philaenorum. Herodotus brings the Argonauts to Libya before they go to Colchis; Pindar, like Apollonius after him, brings them there on the return. In Pindar's version, Eurypylus/Triton does not prophesy and there is no tripod. Instead of a gift from Greeks to Libyans (the tripod being both a symbol of victory and a votive dedication in cult) which remains in Libya as a marker or 'symbol of possession' after the Argonauts depart, there is the clod and the gift of Libya to the Theraeans. For Pindar, the prophecy of Medea is fulfilled and exhausted by the Theraean settlement under Battos; in Herodotus' version, Triton's prophecy remains an unfulfilled potential

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[139] See Calame (1996) 36 and (2003) 95–6. The central role of Apollo and Delphi in Cyrenaean institutions and ideology persisted into the fourth century, as is attested on the so-called 'Founders' agreement (see below, n. 152) and a sacred law cited by Malkin (2003) 169.

charter for aggressive Greek expansion.[140] Still later, Apollonius Rhodius synthesises the two versions into a single story ending in a swap: Euphemus gets the clod, and Triton takes the tripod.[141]

As Corcella notes, it is difficult to pinpoint a date for Herodotus' story. Is it earlier or later than Pindar's? If it is later, does it consciously rework the poet's tale of Euphemus and the clod in an 'anti-Battiad' mode?[142] An earlier (perhaps even an earlier Cyrenaean) epic version of the Lake Tritonis story may have existed on which both accounts were separately based. The Hesiodic *Megalai Ehoiai* is reported to have brought the *Argo* to Libya via Oceanus on her return voyage, but the context of this fact, its place in the larger Argonautic story, and the part played by Euphemus remain unclear, as does the possible role of Cyrenaean local tradition, and even poetic tradition, in generating it.[143] Malkin provides the likeliest solution to the problem, finding a *terminus ante quem* for the Herodotean tradition about fifty years before Pindar (*c.* 513 BCE), in the mission of the Spartan Dorieus (with Theraean but no Cyrenaean help) to colonise Kinyps, 'the most beautiful place in Libya next to a river',[144] on the coast of the Greater Syrtis far to the west of the Cyrenaean border at Euhesperides.[145] The collapse of this expedition due to resistance from the Makai, Libyans, and Carthaginians

[140] Loss or concealment plays a role in both stories, but the tripod, as trophy, is very concrete and spatially fixed, while the clod more malleable, able to diffuse itself despite loss, and to change state (it shifts from metonymy for the land to one for the people in their connection to the land) in order to make its effects felt. Paradoxically, however, the claim articulated through the clod is fixed (since realised in generations of Cyrenaeans) while the tripod's claim is open-ended and projected into the future. The one explains a finished process, the other, on the model of apocalyptic predictions put forward by Kermode (2000), must potentially explain successive failures to realise the prophecy. (One can imagine people saying, for example, that Dorieus must have failed to locate the tripod!) As a motif, the clod also implies that whatever happened to Thera and the Euphemids has necessarily happened to Libya as well: it is a source of growth and human as well as chthonic fertility. There is thus no intrinsic pro- or anti-Battiad content in either myth: the two stories simply use similar tropes to accomplish very different things. Cf. Currie (2012) 293–4.

[141] A.R. 4.1537–619. See Corcella (2007) 701–2 ('symbol') and Hunter (2015) 8–9, 290. See also Lycophron 885–96, with S. West (2007b) 208 and Hornblower (2015) 337–40, in which the tripod becomes a 'golden *krater*'.

[142] Huxley (1969) 80–1 has ascribed it (groundlessly) to Epimenides of Crete; cf. also Jackson (1987).

[143] The Argonauts' *nostos* through Libya was apparently described (fr. 241 M–W) in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*; Euphemus (fr. 253 M–W) figured in the *Megalai Ehoiai*: D'Alessio (2005a) 196–9 and (2005b) 232; cf. Braswell (1988) 8–10. M. L. West (1985) 87–8, following Malten (1911) 158, suggests that it may have reached the Hesiodic corpus from the 6th-century epic poets around Eugammon (the supposed author of the *Telegony* and contemporary of Arcesilas II, *c.* 565–550), on whom see also Giangiulio (2001) 123–4 nn. 21–3 (with bibliography). Lasserre (1976) 122–3 argued that Eugammon may have been the common source for the *ktisis* story and prophecies in Pindar and Herodotus as well.

[144] Hdt. 5.41–2.

[145] Malkin (1994) 192–218.

prompted an even more disastrous venture at Eryx in Sicily, where Dorieus'
men were wiped out by the Segestans and their Carthaginian allies.[146] The
Sicilian expedition of Dorieus, a Spartan Agiad and a Heraclid, and brother
of the Leonidas who fell at Thermopylae, was justified by appeal to a
'Heraclid charter':[147] an oracle of Laius which claimed that Heracles had
acquired the land of Eryx for the Heraclidae in perpetuity. Throughout his
narrative of Dorieus' Sicilian career, Herodotus highlights the Spartan's
reliance on dodgy oracle collections, implying that his failure to consult the
Pythia or 'to do any of the prescribed actions' (νομιζόμενα, 5.42.2), explains
the disaster. Dorieus may have chosen his Libyan settlement-site on a similar
basis.

Immediately before his narrative of Jason, Triton, and the tripod, He-
rodotus (4.178) mentions a tradition in Libya that claimed the Spartans were
fated to found a colony on the island of Phla near Lake Tritonis (actually
well to the west of Dorieus' failed colony at Kinyps).[148] For Dorieus, then,
the myth of the Argonauts at Lake Tritonis may have served as an 'open'
charter (a claim of expansion) for land west of Cyrenaica proper, just as
Euphemus' clod, in Pindar, explains the Battiads' ownership of the 'precinct
of Ammonian Zeus'. Diodorus (4.56.6), probably following Timaeus of
Tauromenium (*c.* 350–260 BCE, *FGrHist* 566), says that the tripod Jason left,
'inscribed with ancient characters', was displayed 'until rather recent times'
in Euhesperides. When we turn in the following pages to examine the
historical context of Pindar's ode, we will find that there is a tradition, well-
attested in the scholia, that Arcesilas IV chose Euhesperides as the place at
which he would establish a new colony of his own, a military settlement
intended to serve as a private power-base and refuge from the political
struggles of Cyrene.[149] This may imply that a version of the same tripod
story, in Arcesilas' time or later, provided a 'closed' charter (or mythical
border-claim) for the western frontier of Cyrenaica; where Pindar, or at least
his later readers, may have imagined the transfer of the clod.

If Malkin's contextualisation of the story is correct, then the Herodotean
variant of the Lake Tritonis tale is older by a half-century than Pindar's.
While it is possible that Pindar based his account on a lost older tradition,

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[146] Hdt. 5.39–48 (and Asheri in *CAH²* IV.751–3). Affinities between the Dorieus story and
that of Theras are also illuminating: Baragwanath (2008) 165–7.

[147] See Hornblower (2013) 155–6 and Malkin (1994) 203–18.

[148] For Malten (1911) 132 n. 2 this is grounds for rejecting the connection, proposed before
Malkin by Niese (1907), between Dorieus and Herodotus' Jason-narrative: cf. Hornblower
(2013) 148. Hornblower (2004) 107–13 argues that Pindar's clod-myth (specifically the
counter-factual 'four generations' discussed above) has Dorieus in mind, and that this
element of his narrative was known already to the Spartan. On how Herodotus' proem
(1.2.2) integrates the Argonaut-myth into his wider tale of East-West conflict, see
Baragwanath, below, Ch. 4, pp. 161–2.

[149] See below, pp. 132–4.

and perhaps even on the *Megalai Ehoiai*, it is equally likely that he and Arcesilas IV hijacked whatever original Argonautic myth existed to their private ends. The persistence in Apollonius of elements such as Triton and the tripod may point to the pre-Pindaric, epic version of the story being much closer to Herodotus than to Pindar. There is in any case no *prima facie* reason to assume that Herodotus relates an anti-Battiad tradition that developed after the fall of the monarchy, or that his version is in any way connected to Pindar's. It seems that the motif of Euphemus and the clod, which forms the centrepiece of Pindar's account of Cyrenaean history, may represent the poet's creative adaptation of a story known, possibly in several variant forms, in both Cyrene and Hellas, one that provoked Dorieus to attempt his own κτίσις at Kinyps—a revision of tradition, then, that is hardly out of step with other changes Pindar makes to the Argonaut story in the following part of his poem.

8. Summary and Scene: The Contest of Lyric and Epic Form in the Argonaut Myth (ll. 57–246)

Let us return, then, to Pindar's text. Medea's 'word' has retraced its steps, inadvertently sanctioning its own framing narrative. The rest of the journey—the transition from Battos to the present, or from 'myth' to 'frame', 'narrative' to 'celebration'—is left to the lyric voice, who in a 'break-off' or 'return' reframes Medea's speech as part of his own discourse (57–8):

tr. 3, ant. 3
ἦ ῥα Μηδείας ἐπέων στίχες. ἔπταξαν δ' ἀκίνητοι σιωπᾷ   57
ἥροες ἀντίθεοι πυκινὰν μῆτιν κλύοντες.

So spoke Medea's serried ranks of words, and they, the demigod heroes, shrank down unmoving, as they heard her astute counsel.

The following lines (59–69) re-introduce the contextual cues (the deictic markers of 'here', 'now', 'I', and 'you') lost when the narrator turned from celebration to myth and invoked Medea's 'Theraean word' some fifty lines before.[150] The speaker addresses the long-dead founder Battos:

tr. 3, ant. 5
ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου, σὲ δ' ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ
χρησμὸς ὤρθωσεν μελίσσας Δελφίδος **αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ·**   60
ἅ σε χαίρειν ἐστρὶς αὐδάσαισα πεπρωμένον
βασιλέ' ἄμφανεν Κυράνᾳ,

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[150] On 'shifting in' and 'shifting out' see above, p. 93 n. 24, and also Felson (1999) 18–20.

tr. 3, ep. 1

δυσθρόου φωνᾶς ἀνακρινόμενον ποινὰ τίς ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν.   63

O blessed son of Polymnastus, [it was] you in that speech whom the prophetic voice of the Delphic bee set upright[151] with **spontaneous shout** [60]; [she] who crying 'Hail!' three times revealed you to be the destined king of Cyrene, when you were coming to ask what requital there might be from the gods for your ill-sounding voice.

This refers back to ll. 4–6, recapitulating the 'Battos in Delphi' story for the third time and adding further motifs—Battos' stammer and the Pythia's spontaneous salutation of him as 'King'—which feature also in Herodotus' 'Cyrenaean' variant of the same scene (4.155).[152] The temporal viewpoint is the lyric speaker's, but the irony of unintended consequences applies here as well. The Pythia's words created a political reality that persists to the present day: her words' intention (the god's, not the Pythia's) thus coincided with the promise of Medea's 'Theraean word', which Battos 'brought home' (cf. ἀγκόμισαι, 9):

tr. 3. ep. 2

ἦ μάλα δὴ μετὰ καὶ νῦν, ὥτε φοινικανθέμου ἦρος ἀκμᾷ,   64
παισὶ τούτοις ὄγδοον θάλλει μέρος Ἀρκεσίλας   65
τῷ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ἄ τε Πυθὼ κῦδος ἐξ ἀμφικτιόνων ἔπορεν
ἱπποδρομίας. [...]   67

'**As at the height of spring** with its brilliant flowers, so Arcesilas, as the eighth part of Battos' descendants **even now** in this later time flourishes and blooms, to whom Apollo and Pytho granted from the Amphictyons glorious victory in the chariot-race'.

The preposterous particle-collocation ἦ μάλα δὴ μετὰ καὶ νῦν ('yes—really!—so—later—even now/still'), with its combination of clarification, asseveration, and shift from past to present, avers that Cyrene's 'now' is a consequence of Battos' 'then', heightening the continuity between myth and frame. Pindar thus glides easily back to the ode's opening situation and to

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[151] The verb ὀρθόω often implies a change from misfortune to happiness; as Giannini (1995) 445 notes, to 'lie on the ground' is to remain in unhappiness and obscurity.

[152] On a possible reference to the tradition that Battos = 'king' in Libyan, see above, n. 4. The motif of oracular spontaneity, differently attested in Herodotus' 'Theran' version (4.150.3) as an unintended *kledon* by the Theran king Grinnos, recurs in the Cyrenaean 'Agreement of the Founders' inscription (*SEG* IX 3.24–7): ἐπεὶ Ἀπόλλων αὐτομάτιξεν Β[άτ]τῳ | καὶ Θηραίοις ἀποι[κίξαι] Κυράναν. See Giannini (1979) 42 n. 36; for extreme positions in the debate surrounding the authenticity of this document, see, e.g., Osborne (1996) 13–15 and Malkin (2003) 166–7; for bibliography and discussion Ager (2008).

Arcesilas' epinician *komos*.[153] The essential political point is that Cyrene has been a divinely-ordained polity since the foundation: her monarchical order is stable; divine favour in the present re-energises a history of providential will that legitimates and sanctions hegemony.[154] The city's success is a kind of genetic inheritance in the male line of the ruling house.[155] The epinician programme of the ode is also complete: Arcesilas has been named and his victory proclaimed. There is little to add: many of Pindar's finest epinicians are shorter than this three-triad composition.[156]

What follows is therefore one of the most deviously constructed examples of false closure in pre-tragic Greek literature. At triad-end, instead of ending the song, the lyric voice makes two additional statements that set another, longer narrative in train. 'I will', he says, 'render him [Arcesilas] up to the Muses, and the all-golden fleece of the ram (… ἀπὸ δ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼ Μοίσαισι δώσω | καὶ τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ): for when they, the Minyans, sailed in search of it, divinely-sent honours were planted for them (θεόπομποί σφισιν τιμαὶ φύτευθεν, 67–9)'. Here for the first time, the lyric speaker approximates a 'poet's voice': the verbal expression of a mind preoccupied with formal, aesthetic, or thematic choices.[157] The Muses here stand for the tradition of *kleos*-song. Pindar's speaker suggests that making Arcesilas a theme for song is somehow the same as remembering the Golden Fleece. This is because 'heaven-sent honour' was 'planted' for the Minyans as a consequence of their quest. The 'planting' metaphor shifts the ruling metaphor of Medea's prophecy and the poet's praise of the Battiads to the sphere of evergreen fame.

The lyric voice thus sets out a programme for an Argonautic narrative, demoting Medea's 'Theraean word', which until now seemed to occupy the centre of a complete ode, to the status of a prologue (*Vormythos*) to something much larger.[158] But how are we to interpret the connection he establishes

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[153] Cf. vv. 1–3, and above, pp. 93–5.

[154] Cf. Segal (1986) 160. *Pythian* 5 approaches the same themes through its invocation of Apollo's Carneia-festival and Spartan/Doric tradition, as well as by defining the song itself (94–103) as a libation offered by Arcesilas to his heroised royal ancestors: the long-dead 'sacred kings' whose presence near the city ensures its continued prosperity. On ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δωμάτων, *P.* 5.96, I follow Σ *P.* 5.129 (II.189 Dr.) and Giannini (1995) 536–7 *ad loc.*: for discussion and full bibliography see Currie (2005) 241–4. On the importance of oikist cult, see Dougherty (1993) 24–7; Malkin (1994) 127–33; Currie (2005) 226–57.

[155] Herodotus by contrast emphasises an 'ancestral predisposition' in the Battiads towards violence and ill-rule: see Baragwanath, below, Ch. 4, p. 171. On vegetal imagery and 'inherited excellence', see above, n. 77.

[156] Sigelman (2016) 120.

[157] On metapoetic 'pseudo-spontaneity' and invocations (with bibliography), see Morrison (2007) 67–90.

[158] See Carey (1980a) 143; Wüst (1967); Longley-Cook (1989); Sigelman (2016) 113–21.

between Arcesilas and the Argonauts?[159] Two solutions present themselves. First, Jason sailed to Colchis at the prompting of the Delphic oracle; so too did Apollo prompt Battos' voyage from Thera to Cyrene, and Arcesilas' *theoria* to Delphi. Like the Argonauts, these two, ancestor and descendant, have both earned 'god-sent honours'. Second, Medea's *Vormythos* has already demonstrated the importance of this myth for the Cyrenaeans, since their history is a bastard child of Jason's quest. As Euphemids, the Battiadai are also Minyans in a sense, and they thus get their share of Argonautic *kleos*.[160] If the first of these strikes one as superficial, and the second too diffuse to justify the scale of the impending narrative, such uncertainty about motivation is not uncommon in Pindar.[161] As the coming sections of this chapter will show, however hard one looks for a symbolic or exemplary connection between Arcesilas and the Argonauts, the two themes float largely free of one another, even as they are linked by the loose metonymy implied in the parataxis.[162] The transition from Arcesilas to Jason thus poses questions of relevance and meaning that the audience (or reader) struggles to answer. But once the new theme is introduced, the ode is committed to what will be Pindar's most extensive and 'epic' epinician myth.[163]

The shift of topic has implications for genre and style. At the start of the fourth strophe, the ode makes a new beginning with a 'proem in the middle'.[164] The lyric voice ducks behind his Muse. This is the most tradition-ally 'epic' invocation in Pindar:[165]

tr. 4. str. 1

τίς γὰρ ἀρχὰ δέξατο ναυτιλίας,   70
τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατεροῖς ἀδάμαντος δῆσεν ἅλοις;

What beginning, then, of ship-journeying received [them]? What danger was it that bound them with mighty nails of adamant?

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[159] Gildersleeve (1885) *ad loc.* tried to get around the obvious problem of relevance by making Euphemus the subject of αὐτόν; Σ 119 (II.115 Dr.) argues for reference to Arcesilas.

[160] See Σ 119 and 123 (II.115, 116 Dr.), with the former bringing out the genealogical tie and the latter the ambiguity in σφισίν ('for them'), which could mean either the Minyans or their Theraean descendants.

[161] Pfeijffer (2004) 223–6; Sigelman (2016) 123–9.

[162] For a similar instance of vague linking of victor with mythical precedents, see *Isth.* 1.13–16 with Bundy (1986) 46.

[163] The 'epic' quality of Pindar's narrative is noted particularly by Pinsent (1985), Braswell (1988) 26, and Sigelman (2016).

[164] Conte (1992). It is perhaps worthwhile noting that Conte regards the device as pre-eminently Hellenistic: on ways in which Pindar and other 'archaic' singers 'anticipate' the self-consciousness of later poets, see Morrison (2007).

[165] cf. Σ 124ab (II.116 Dr.) for the Muse-address and the Homeric imitation, and Giannini (1995) 448.

The Muse is not named, but she is the obvious recipient of the speaker's questions. The apostrophe, the introductory/explanatory γάρ, and the emphasis on *Themenstellung* (the ἀρχά from which the sea-journey began; the demand for a cause), all point to another epic-style 'dispatching narrative'.[166] The lyric voice has again become a narrator: the occasion of celebration again vanishes from view. The myth opens with another prophecy. Pelias received an oracle from Delphi that the Aiolidai were fated to kill him: he should avoid the 'one-sandaled man … whenever he should come down out of the mountains to the sunlit lowlands of famous Iolcus, whether [he be] a stranger or a citizen. And so in time he came …' The 'man' is Jason: his arrival in Iolcus initiates the narrative's forward movement. The mention of Delphi is the first of several connections established between myth and frame.[167]

This ode's engagement with epic is intense: reflected in diction, themes, plotting, characterisation, and use of formal devices. It is especially evident in the overall structure of the Jason myth (70–246). If Pindar's epinician myths usually generate effects of temporal order like the ones we saw in the Medea passage above, here the story's events are presented in linear progression, but with radical changes in narrative pace or rhythm (Genette's 'duration'): that is to say, the relative balance of *summary* and *scene*.[168] In its most 'epic' initial sections, anachrony is limited to places where characters reminisce. The myth falls into three sections, each of which adopts a different approach to the problem of pace. The first and longest runs from Jason's arrival in Iolcus to the beginning of the quest for the Golden Fleece (78–167): it consists of two confrontations between Jason and Pelias (78–120: 43 verses; 138–67: 30 verses) ending with Jason's agreement to undertake the quest (again motivated by a Delphic oracle: 163–4). Excepting the epic-style speech-formulae and the narrator-summary (120–38) that links the two confrontations, most of this part consists of direct speech, and conforms to epic rather than lyric expectations about rhythm of summary and scene.[169]

The myth's second section (168–211) begins after Jason undertakes the quest. It shifts from a rhythm of direct-speech exchanges interspersed with

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[166] See above, pp. 95–6.

[167] Note, e.g., the use of the verb κομίζω in the sense 'reclaim' or 'bring home' of Jason's restoration (106) of the usurped kingdom of Aeson and his repatriation (159) of Phrixus' ghost and the Fleece, and the use of the epithet βωλακία (228) with γᾶ, 'earth', which recalls the βῶλαξ of Lake Tritonis.

[168] Genette (1980) 86–112 defines a 'scene' as a moment in a narrative in which the internal time of the evolving story coincides exactly with the external time of the narration; in a 'summary', narrative time abbreviates *story*-time. Cf. also Nünlist (2007) 234–9 on changes of pace in epinician narrative.

[169] From the prophecy to the agreement of Jason and Pelias (73–168) we have 96 verses, about 32% of the ode. Of this, 59 (61%) are direct character speech, and 37 (39%) are narrator description, summary, and formulae introducing or concluding speech. There is nothing like this anywhere else in Pindar.

narrator's commentary to a narrator-driven style of story-presentation that arbitrarily expands some things and abbreviates or excludes others. There is no character-speech here: the rhythm of scene and summary is irregular. It opens with the gathering of the Argonauts, conveyed through the epic device of the catalogue (171–87).[170] After praising the heroism of these youths and the lust for glory inspired in them by Hera—which, it transpires, is the dire necessity that drove them to seek danger mentioned in the 'second proem' (70–1)—the narrative jumps forward to *Argo*'s departure (188–201). This is richly described in a scene that (both in its diction and situation) recalls Medea's narrative of the events at Lake Tritonis.[171] After *Argo*'s sailing, the myth is increasingly attenuated, with summary replacing detailed scenes although the story's events are still presented in linear, progressive style without anachronies. To compare relative scales, the first confrontation between Jason and Pelias filled 42 verses and *Argo*'s departure 15 (188–202), while the entire journey to Colchis fills 9 (203–11). *Ellipsis* becomes an important structuring principle here,[172] as the narrator relies on audience knowledge (any version of the myth will do) to complete omissions made in the narrative. Familiar episodes like the Lemnian Women, the Argonauts' tragic battle at Cyzicus, Hylas, the boxer-king Amycus, or Phineas and the Harpies are all missing.[173] Only the episode of the Clashing Rocks is mentioned (208–11). The Argonauts build an altar to Poseidon at the mouth of the 'Inhospitable' (Black) Sea and pray to pass the Rocks in safety. From here, they arrive at the river Phasis 'in less than a sentence'.[174]

With *Argo*'s arrival in Colchis, the narrative enters a third phase (211–46, 36 verses) marked by a sudden efflorescence of overtly poetic imagery, surprising diction, and even wilder oscillations of tone and tempo. Here diction and form become a stylistic enactment of genre, as the poet prepares for his shift back from epic to lyric, and from the Jason myth to the stanzas about Arcesilas and Cyrene which close the ode. The *Argo* lands, and her crew seem to fight a battle (or perhaps engage in athletic contests?) against the black-skinned Colchians 'in Aietes' presence' (211–13). The seduction of Medea (213–23) follows immediately. The story is presented almost

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[170] The heroes' names are arranged according to the precedence of their divine fathers in the pantheon: Euphemus (his only mention in the myth) is named as one of two sons of Poseidon.

[171] One thinks particularly of the portentous thunderclap of Zeus that sends the heroes on their way (197–200); the heroes' response to which (199–200) contrasts with their reaction to Medea's 'Theraean word' (57–8).

[172] Genette (1980) 43, 106–9: by ellipsis I mean simple omission of an episode of the traditional story. Cf. Nünlist (2007) 245–6.

[173] Braswell (1988) 16–19 shows that these episodes are also attested for Pherecydes' prose narrative of the Argonauts (which should probably be dated closer to 480/470 than to 450): Pindar was certainly aware of them.

[174] Braswell (1988) 293: it takes Apollonius 643 hexameters (2.619–1261) to cover the same ground.

impersonally, through the goddess Aphrodite's intention to suborn Medea by the dark power of erotic Persuasion (*Peitho*). The diction evokes the sadistic imagery of love-spells.[175] In speaking of the desire for Hellas that strips Medea of her social standing and filial respect (218–19), the narrator, beyond his bland assertion of Hellenic superiority, alludes to a part of the story (Medea's life in Greece) outside his myth's temporal ambit. Whether we import the eventual destruction of this love-bond into Pindar's narrative is a matter of temperament and our knowledge of extra-Pindaric variants.[176] Medea gives Jason the antidote he needs to survive his impending contest with Aietes, and they agree to sleep together in a 'sweet marriage of mutual consent' (κοινὸς γάμος γλυκύς, 221–3).

Here too, it is the audience's knowledge of the story that sustains comprehension, since in Pindar's narrative Aietes has not challenged Jason to a test. The ploughing-contest (224–43), in a formal recapitulation of the first section's extended scenes, is again more circumstantial and shows certain epic devices: direct speech, focalisation, and simile. But the language and imagery are markedly heightened in comparison with the corresponding scenes between Pelias and Jason.[177] When Jason performs the whole trial without flinching (232–7), Aietes makes a silent inward cry of jealous rage (ἴυξεν δ' ἀφωνήτῳ περ ἔμπας ἄχει | δύνασιν Αἰήτας ἀγασθείς, 237–8). This description of the secret thoughts of a character as speech reads quite Homerically, despite the elaborate strangeness of the diction.[178] Jason's accomplishment of his deadly task moves us, however, out of epic and into epinician territory again. The Argonauts' reaction to their leader's success ('and they stretched out their dear hands to the mighty man …': πρὸς δ' ἑταῖροι καρτερὸν **ἄνδρα φίλας** | ὤρεγον χεῖρας, 239–40) creates another link to the ode's opening *komos* (σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ' **ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ**, 1).

The embraces, the *phyllobolia* and *stephanēphoria* (στέφανοισι τέ νιν ποίας ἔρεπτον), the 'welcoming with gentle words' (μειλιχίοις τε λόγοις | ἀγαπάζοντ', 240–1) are all tropes of victory-celebration in the epinicians.[179]

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[175] See Faraone (1993) and (1999).

[176] Despite debate about whether the story of Medea's revenge on Jason existed in pre-Euripidean tradition (see Gantz (1993) 365–73 and Mastronarde (2002) 44–64), there is no reason to assume their love will end happily: see Johnston (1997). *P.* 4.250 hints at Medea's murder of Pelias.

[177] Segal (1986) 39–40 brings out the difference between the language used by Pelias (156b–167) and the heightened diction of Aietes in his short speech inviting Jason to the contest (229–31), the final instance of direct character-speech in the ode. This is true, however, of the entire third section of the myth.

[178] Focalisation, on which see Genette (1980) 189–98 and de Jong (2004) with Genette (1988) 72–8, is common in Homer but exceptionally rare in epinician narrative: perhaps the only other instance is *N.* 1.56–9. An example of deviant focalisation in Homer is *Il.* 22.465 ἀκηδέστως; de Jong (2004) ch. 4.

[179] See Braswell (1988) 327–8 for the practice of *phyllobolia* (cf. Σ 427b (II.156 Dr.), with *P.* 9.121–5, Bacch. 11.17–21, and *P.* 8.56–7).

Jason's *komos* thus becomes a primordial model for Arcesilas'. From here, we cut to the hero's confrontation with the Fleece's guardian serpent (241–6). Aietes tells him where the treasure lies: the description of the serpent, 'which surpassed in breadth and length a ship of fifty oars, which strokes of iron have built', is again focalised through the Colchian king, who is confident Jason will not return alive. The little simile (similes are rare in epinician narrative)[180] is Pindar's final 'epic' touch in his myth. The actual winning of the Fleece is then forgotten, as the narrator rushes into the break-off (see below, §9).[181]

This narrative scheme based on the manipulation of tempo and pace along an extended storyline differs from Pindar's anachronic narrative of events at Lake Tritonis. From the invocation that defines it as 'epic' utterance, Jason's myth proceeds from a rhythm of dialogue-scenes interspersed with narrator-summary (the closest imitation of epic style in Pindar) through catalogue to pure summary and *ellipsis*, until, just before the break-off, poetic devices like focalisation and simile help to re-establish a hint of 'epic' tone even as narrative breaks down, diction is radically heightened and defamiliarised, and thematic allusions to epinician multiply.[182] The form of Pindar's longest myth thus enacts a formal struggle between two related forms of Panhellenic poetic memory: hexameter epic and Pindaric commemorative 'lyric', which ends in the victory of 'lyric'.

9. The Return, the 'Riddle of Oedipus', and Damophilus (ll. 247–99)

As Jason prepares to undergo his final trial, the epinician speaker reasserts himself in a break-off (or 'return') that abrogates the myth in a 'lyric' summary style, re-establishing for a final time the ode's connection with Cyrene, Arcesilas, and the moment of celebration (247–62):

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[180] Segal (1986) 7 n. 7 notes the allusion here to Hom. *Od.* 9.319–24 (cf. esp. *P.* 4.245 πάχει μάκει τε with *Od.* 9.324, where the stick used to put out Polyphemus' eye τόσσον ἔην μῆκος, τόσσον πάχος ἐσοράασθαι, and now cf. the dedicatory inscription *CEG* 394 = Colvin (2007) no. 62, from Sybaris (Francavilla Maritima, late 6th c.), which compares the size of the Olympic victor's statue to the man's: μᾶκός τε πάχος τε, 2). For the association of 'blows' (πλαγαί, 246) and killing: Silk (1974) 156.

[181] Nünlist (2007) 246.

[182] On 'epic' vs. 'lyric' in the Jason-myth, see Sigelman (2016) 112, 124–8, 133–6; see also Nünlist (2007) 245–7.

tr. 11, ep. 1

μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμαξιτόν· ὥρα γὰρ συνάπτει καί τινα   247
οἶμον ἴσαμι βραχύν· πολλοῖσι δ' ἅγημαι σοφίας ἑτέροις.
κτεῖνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχναις ποικιλόνωτον ὄφιν,
ὦ Ἀρκεσίλα, κλέψεν τε Μήδειαν σὺν αὐτᾷ, τὰν Πελιαοφόνον·   250
ἔν τ' Ὠκεανοῦ πελάγεσσι μίγεν πόντῳ τ' ἐρυθρῷ
Λαμνιᾶν τ' ἔθνει γυναικῶν ἀνδροφόνων·
ἔνθα καὶ γυίων ἀέθλοις ἐπεδείξαντο κρίσιν ἐσθᾶτος ἀμφίς,

tr. 12, str. 1

καὶ συνεύνασθεν. καὶ ἐν ἀλλοδαπαῖς
σπέρμ' ἀρούραις τουτάκις ὑμετέρας ἀκτῖνος ὄλβου δέξατο μοιρίδιον 255
ἆμαρ ἢ νύκτες· τόθι γὰρ γένος Εὐφάμου φυτευθὲν λοιπὸν αἰεί
τέλλετο· καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μιχθέντες ἀνδρῶν
ἤθεσιν ἔν ποτε Καλλίσταν ἀπῴκησαν χρόνῳ
νᾶσον· ἔνθεν δ' ὔμμι Λατοίδας ἔπορεν Λιβύας πεδίον
σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς ὀφέλλειν, ἄστυ χρυσοθρόνου   260
διανέμειν θεῖον Κυράνας

ant. 1

ὀρθόβουλον μῆτιν ἐφευρομένοις.

But it is too far for me to return home on the broad highway: because the hour is pressing and I know a short-cut, and I lead the way for many others in wise skill. He slew with cunning plans the grey-eyed snake with dappled back, O Arcesilas, and on her initiative abducted Medea, the Pelias-Slayer: and in the broad seas of Oceanus they were mixed and with the (250) Red Sea and the race of man-slaying Lemnian women; where they also performed the strength of their limbs in games for the sake of a cloak, and they slept with the women. Then it was, in those outland furrows, that the destined days or nights received the seed of your (pl.) happiness'/wealth's splendour, for there the race of Euphemus was planted and rose for ever after (255): and after mixing with the ways/dwelling-places of Lacedaemonian men,[183] they settled in time (ποτε … χρόνῳ) the island of Kallista [= Thera]; whence (ἔνθεν) the Son of Leto gave you [pl.] the plain of Libya to foster with the favours of the gods, and the godly city of gold-throned Cyrene to govern (260–1) as you have devised right-counselling wisdom.

Disrupting the climax of Jason's tale, this break-off resolves the tension between narrative ('epic') and praise ('lyric') in favour of praise. Jason's story

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[183] On ἤθεσιν here, cf. Braswell (1988) 355 and Giannini (1995) 500 *ad* 257–9, with Slater (1969), s.v., and Race's Loeb translation.

is now a digression that must be abbreviated and ended. Pindar's language here (νεῖσθαι, 247) evokes a *nostos*. The 'cart-road'—a path of storytelling used by many[184]—and the 'shortcut' (οἶμος βραχύς) of artful abbreviation,[185] which only the speaker in his incomparable poetic craft can use, stand for different types of sung narrative (epic is slow and straight; praise-poetry can compress its material or flit between themes and times),[186] and also for different 'paths' through the topography of tradition.[187] The speaker addresses Arcesilas (ὦ Ἀρκεσίλα, 250), anchoring his closing summary in a deictic *hic et nunc*.[188] From this point, the Cyrenaean perspective and the corresponding time of celebration (the occasional 'here and now') dominate.

This is rapid elliptical summary. Jason kills the snake 'cunningly'[189] and abducts (with her own help) Medea, 'the slayer of Pelias';[190] the Argonauts come to Oceanus and the Red Sea, brushing past Medea's 'Theraean word' before reaching Lemnos, where they participate in the games of Hypsipyle and sleep with the 'race of husband-slaying women'. The Fleece, the original target of Jason's mission, is replaced by Medea, who in the structure of the ode has already played a crucial role in elucidating the consequences of Euphemus' actions at Lake Triton. This, as Köhnken comments, is a 'remarkable change of direction'.[191] Pindar's 'shortcut' requires a literal change of direction in the story itself. All other *Argonauticas* place the Lemnian episode on the outward voyage: Pindar, implausibly, moves it to the *nostos*,[192] since this alone can create a straight line from the Argonauts to

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[184] Cf. *Pae.* 7b (fr. 52h SM = C2 Rutherford), 11–12 with Rutherford (2001) 246–9.

[185] Cf. *O.* 9.47. οἶμος seems to allude to a false but living etymological connection with οἴμη, a rare Homeric word that seems to designate the narrative element in song (what Lord (1960) 68–98 calls a 'theme': see Hom. *Od.* 8.73ff., 481, with Hainsworth (1988) 351 and Ford (1992) 42–3, 112–13).

[186] Cf., e.g., *P.* 9.76–9, 10.51–4.

[187] See Ford (1992) 44 on what he, after Ong (1977) 224, calls the 'topical poetic' of hexameter song.

[188] Felson (1999) 23–7.

[189] τέχναις, perhaps hinting at Medea's lethal arts: see Braswell (1988), Giannini (1995) *ad loc.*

[190] τὰν Πελιαόφονον again incorporates an event from outside the limits of the narrative.

[191] Köhnken (1993) 32–5.

[192] See Σ 447b and 448 (II.159 Dr.) οὐκ ἀκολούθως (Σ 447a adds that Pindar was the first to bring the Argonauts to Oceanus and the Red Sea); cf. Braswell (1988) 347; Gantz (1993) 345–7. Σ 88 (II.109–10 Dr.) gives the familiar account. Pindar's route is implausible for a voyage from Libya to Greece (Farnell (1932) 165) and also rules out Jason's romance with Hypsipyle (mentioned already at Hom. *Il.* 7.467–71 and surely known to Pindar). Giannini (1995) 498, following an opinion of Schmidt (1980) and Rizzo and Martelli (1988–9), argues that Pindar's version pre-existed him. Myrsilus of Lesbos (*FGrHist* 477 F 1) told of a visit by Medea to Lemnos on the *nostos* voyage, but the reference to her 'jealousy' there requires the Hypsipyle affair. As for the vases brought into the frame by Schmidt (1980) and Rizzo and Martelli (1988–9)—these are the seventh-century Etruscan bucchero olpe Villa Giulia inv.

Arcesilas. The ode's narrative drive, blown off-course into epic like Odysseus' fleet was at Cape Malea (Hom. *Od.* 9.80), is now restored in the achievement of the poet's planned *nostos*. The entire richness of the Jason-myth is itself forcibly diverted into an *aition* for the Battiads.[193] The seed of their *olbos* was 'planted', as Medea predicted, on Lemnos. This 'seed', the Minyan *genos* of Euphemus (the other Argonauts go unmentioned here) came first to Sparta and then to Thera, where they received Apollo's gift of Libya, which they (now addressed collectively as 'you') rule.

With narrative closure achieved, the ode has returned to its beginning, and to the plot of its *Vormythos* (the Cyrenaean colonisation-narrative), retracing the timeline from Euphemus to Battos and Arcesilas to plant itself one final time in the moment of komastic celebration and praise. Now in its closing section (262–99), it embarks on yet another series of surprising thematic turns.[194] It is a kind of coda to the song's main theme: the continuity of the Battiads' line and their special relationship with Apollo. The speaker first asks Arcesilas to 'know the wisdom of Oedipus' (263). A story follows about a mighty oak tree which, though stripped of its boughs and ruined in its 'splendid appearance' ($\theta\alpha\eta\tau\grave{o}\nu$ $\epsilon\hat{i}\delta os$) can, although it bears no fruit, still give an account of itself, 'if ever it comes at last to a winter's fire, or if, supported by upright pillars of a master,[195] it performs a wretched labour within others' walls, having left its own place desolate' (263–9). Arcesilas, he adds, is 'a most suitable healer ($\hat{\imath}\alpha\tau\grave{\eta}\rho$ $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{o}\tau\alpha\tau os$)'. 'Paian' (= Apollo), he says, 'honours your saving light' (270). He continues (271–6):

tr. 12, ep. 2

χρὴ μαλακὰν χέρα προσβάλλοντα τρώμαν ἕλκεος ἀμφιπολεῖν.　　271
ῥᾴδιον μὲν γὰρ πόλιν σεῖσαι καὶ ἀφαυροτέροις·
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας αὖτις ἕσσαι δυσπαλὲς δὴ γίνεται, ἐξαπίνας
εἰ μὴ θεὸς ἀγεμόνεσσι κυβερνατὴρ γένηται.
τὶν δὲ τούτων ἐξυφαίνονται χάριτες.　　275
τλᾶθι τᾶς εὐδαίμονος ἀμφὶ Κυράνας θέμεν σπουδὰν ἅπασαν.

One must apply a gentle hand to care for the injury of a wound; for it is easy, even for feeble men, to shake a city, but to set it back in its place is a difficult wrestling-match, unless all of a sudden the god becomes a steersman for the leaders. But for you the gifts of such things are being

00825 from Cerveteri, and a late fifth-century Apulian volute krater ascribed to the Gravina Painter: Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978–82 = *RVAp*) I.30–1, pl. 8, 1–2)—their interpretation is hardly settled and their connection to Pindar's myth is still (to my mind) unproven. For other possible reasons for the shift, see Athanassaki (1997) 232.

[193] Stephens (2011) 192–3.

[194] On the element of false closure at 260–2: Gildersleeve (1885) 279. In what follows I have relied extensively on Carey (1980b).

[195] For another paraphrase of δεσποσύναισιν: Carey (1980b) 145.

> woven through to the end: dare to devote all your serious effort to the
> cause of happy Cyrene.

Whatever the meaning of the oak story, this at least is reasonably
transparent. Cyrene is a sick polity as well as a happy one: her king, as a
healer (confident in Apollo's favour expressed in the Delphic victory) must
devote himself to fixing it—not, it is implied, through authoritarian violence,
but the arts of peace.[196] This voice of a wise counsellor finds clear parallels
as a device of understated praise in Pindar's victory odes for Sicilian
tyrants.[197] The city, meanwhile, is 'εὐδαίμων Cyrene': a realised state of
collective peace and joy. The myth has already inculcated the idea that with
the god's help any failure can be redeemed. Those who seek to overthrow
the divinely-established order are weaker than those who fight for it.[198]

The next triad (277–99), though addressed to Arcesilas, is not about him.
The *laudator* intercedes on behalf of Damophilus, an exile from Cyrene
whose virtues and vicissitudes are implicitly connected to the city's
sickness.[199] Pindar begins with a *gnome* ascribed to Homer ('an honest
messenger brings the greatest honour to every affair'),[200] which he tells
Arcesilas to 'understand and heed', adding that 'the Muse, too, gains with
accurate reporting' (279): praise-poetry is more powerful for being a true
account of the facts.[201] The focus shifts here to the speaker's sincerity:
appropriately, considering the delicacy of the moment. Damophilus may be
the king's enemy, but 'Cyrene and the most famous house of Battos' have
learned to know the justice of his mind. Pindar's praise follows epinician
tropes—Damophilus is 'a youth among boys, but in counsels an elder who
has attained a life of a hundred years'; he hates slander and has learned to
hate violent men (ὑβρίζοντα μισεῖν, 284)—before identifying a set of virtues
more appropriate to a courtier: he does not struggle 'against the great and
good' (ἀντία τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, 285); he does not delay the accomplishment of
anything, 'for opportunity (καιρός) in human affairs has a brief span' (286);
'he waits on it not as a slave, but as a henchman' (θεράπων δὲ οἱ, οὐ δράστας
ὀπαδεῖ, 287).[202] In short, Damophilus is someone Arcesilas can use: a man
who sticks to the social middle ground and will not challenge his authority.[203]

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[196] See Braswell (1988) 371 and Robbins (1975) 210–13.

[197] Giannini (1995) 109 n. 1 refers to traditions where poets advise kings.

[198] Carey (1980b) 146; on *phthonos*, see Morgan (2008); on Damophilus, ibid. 48–9).

[199] This is the interpretation offered by the scholia; cf. Carey (1980b) 143 n. 3, 151.

[200] A paraphrase of Hom. *Il.* 15.207? See Braswell (1988) 378 and Carey (1980b) 147–8.

[201] So Braswell (1988) 379–80 and Giannini (1995) 505–6 *ad loc.*; cf. Carey (1980b) 147–8
who argues that the 'messenger' is Damophilus himself.

[202] Cf. Braswell (1988) 385–7 and Carey (1980b) 151.

[203] That the best place for a man who lacks the resources of a king or tyrant to be is
somewhere 'in the middle'—neither too fortunate or unfortunate—and to keep his

To know what is right and be forced to abstain from it is, they say, the most painful thing of all (287–9). Damophilus, like Atlas, wrestles with the weight of the sky 'away from his home (πατρῴας … γᾶς, 290) and his possessions',[204] but he does not lose hope. Zeus released even the Titans from Tartaros (291);[205] when the wind dies, we change the sails (291–3). The exile prays that 'having drained his accursed disease to the end, he may someday see his home', joining the symposia at Apollo's fountain in Cyrene.[206] Here, giving himself up to joy and taking up the lyre to sing among his own cultured (σοφοί) citizens, he will 'attain peace' (ἡσυχίᾳ θιγέμεν), harming nobody and suffering nothing from his townsmen (293–7). This musical setting for an image of concord (*hesychia*) among the élite of a city evokes powerful utopian cultural associations.[207] 'Then, Arcesilas, might he tell you of the spring of ambrosial utterance he found when, recently, he was a guest (ξενωθείς) at Thebes' (298–9). *Pythian* 4 ends with a *sphragis* whose real-world verbal performance is set in an indefinite future in the city's ritual centre, in which the reintegrated exile commemorates the ode itself and the immortality it brought.[208] If the ode in its opening defines itself as a gift to Apollo Pythios, and weaves, in the course of its multiple but interlinked story-arcs a web of historical significance from tales that—in their constant coming-and-going between old Hellas and the wider world—all seem to come together at Delphi, its ending invokes the familiar ambience of the god's sanctuary at Cyrene: another Apollonian *lieu de mémoire*, but one fixed in the heart of the city—the spring after which, on one account, the place was named. Arcesilas, Battos, Damophilus, and Pindar's narrative itself have all completed their successful real or metaphorical *nostoi* under the watchful, protecting eye of the archegetic god.

aspirations within those limits, is a recurrent sentiment in Pindar: cf., e.g., *P.* 11.52–3 and *I.* 7.39–42, and esp. *P.* 2.88–96. On Damophilus see Sigelman (2016) 134–6.

[204] Note how, as in the 'Riddle of Oedipus' (see below, pp. 134–5), the simile's tenor invades the vehicle.

[205] See Braswell (1988) 390–1; Gantz (1993) 46–8; and Giannini (1995) 109. While the myth to which Pindar refers is unclear, it hints at Damophilus' guilt and Arcesilas' magnanimity.

[206] See Σ 523 (II.169 Dr.), citing Call. *Hy.* 2.88.

[207] Cf., e.g., *P.* 8.1–2 and esp. Bacch. fr. 22+4 Maehler, with Maehler (2004) 225–7.

[208] The *sphragis* not only identifies the ode as Pindar's work (as always, the poet is described in the third person), but has been read (as, e.g., by Σ inscr. (II.92–3 Dr.) and Σ 467 (II.163 Dr.)) as evidence that the ode was commissioned by Damophilus. It also establishes the song's future survival and the *kleos* it brings. Is this an imagined re-performance of *P.* 4 itself? Felson (1999) 30–1 thinks so.

10. Problems of Contextualisation

The ambiguities of the ode's last two and a half triads (lines 247–99) foreground two questions, both of which are about contextualisation. First, while the relevance of the foundation-myth is clear, how does the Argonautic myth relate to the historical circumstances in which the ode was commissioned and performed? Second, what is the coda's relevance to the rest of the poem?

Let us begin with the historical context.[209] Pindar's picture of a society recovering from *stasis* might be confirmed in *Pythian* 5, where Arcesilas' victory brightens his happy hearth like sunshine after a winter tempest (χειμέριον ὄμβρον, 10–11).[210] The scholia add that Arcesilas' rule was threatened by rebellion; one note explicitly mentions the *demos*. Damophilus belonged to a group of rebels who found themselves refugees after they failed to 'change the regime'.[211] Quoting from Didymus' citation of 'the first book of the *On Cyrene* by Theotimus' (*FGrHist* 470 F 1 = Σ *P* 5.34 (II.175–76 Dr.)), a historian probably of Hellenistic date (2nd–1st c. BCE?),[212] a scholiast to *Pythian* 5 adds that Arcesilas, worried about the stability of his regime, used his successful Pythian *theōria* not only for propaganda,[213] but also to recruit a military force (στρατιωτικόν) of settlers (ἔποικοι) who would settle at Euhesperides (modern Benghazi) and establish a base from which to suppress uprisings. While the Theotimus fragment is open to the objections levelled at all such contextualising material in the Pindar scholia, the information he gives us about Arcesilas' mission to Delphi seems sound.[214] The king may have been young.[215] His father's death and the weakness of

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[209] On Cyrene's politics see Chamoux (1953); Mitchell (2000); de Vido (1998); Vannicelli (1993); Giannini (1990) and (1995); Laronde (1990a), and Hornblower (2004) 243–7.

[210] For a depoliticised reading of these lines, see Lefkowitz (1991) 170–1; for the scholia, see the next n. For 'calm after storm' imagery see, e.g., *I*. 4.18a–19, *I*. 7.37–9 with Privitera (1982) *ad loc*.

[211] See Σ inscr. a (II.92–3 Dr.), Σ 467 (II.162–3 Dr.) (μεταστῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς) and Σ *P*. 5, 12a (στάσις γὰρ ἐνέπεσεν αὐτῷ [sc. Ἀρκεσιλάῳ] πρὸς τὸν δῆμον) and c (II.173–4 Dr.); also Giannini (1979) 42ff., (1990) 77–8, and (1995). Wilamowitz (1922) 376 argues Damophilus' name may imply democratic sympathies.

[212] See Giannini (1995) 518–19 and Higbie and Horster (2007). Theotimus may have been Rhodian.

[213] Theotimus' text suggests a 'tour' of the major πανηγύρεις.

[214] Lefkowitz (1991) 169–90, esp. 175 and 72–88 argued influentially that scholiasts' comments are extrapolations from the text. On a possible contradiction in Σ *P*. 5.34 (II.175–6 Dr.) between Theotimus and Didymus—the former claiming the mission was first led by a certain Euphemus [!], after whose death Carrhotus with Pindar's help took credit for the victory; and Didymus ascribing the latter to Carrhotus alone—see Nicholson (2005) 46–7 and Hornblower (2004) 245–6, who argue for Theotimus' authority.

[215] Chamoux's (1953) 173 arguments based on Pindar's tone of address are hardly decisive.

Persia in Egypt possibly multiplied his problems,[216] compounded, perhaps, by absolutist tendencies of his own. His position as a hereditary monarch was almost unique, at least in comparison with the city-states of the Greek heartland, with the Spartan double monarchy, where the kings were largely reduced to military command, the other main example.[217] Despite the single reference to a democratic revolution in the scholia, his opponents may have included old aristocratic families, and perhaps even Battiads.[218] But Arcesilas' policy seems to have been modelled on the modern, centralised Sicilian autocracies (Acragas and Syracuse) that in 462 BCE had only just collapsed. His entry of chariot teams into the Greek crown games (Arcesilas won a second victory two years later at Olympia),[219] like the epinicians themselves, resembles the tyrants' propagandistic efforts,[220] even as his transformation of Euhesperides into a military camp recalls Hieron's dynastic 'refoundation' of Catane as 'Dorian' Aetna.[221] It is likely, then, that Pindar's intervention on behalf of Damophilus was a political act not unsolicited by Arcesilas himself, and connected to the king's internal safety.[222]

Sometime later (perhaps around 440) Arcesilas was killed and a limited democracy established at Cyrene.[223] This may also have led to changes in

[216] Mitchell (2000) 93–7.

[217] Mitchell (2000) 82–3 notes the prevalence of monarchy in 'ethnos states on the fringes of the polis societies of Greece'. This may help to explain the 'Dorian' and Spartan emphasis in *P.* 5.

[218] Σ 467 (II.163–4 Dr.) makes Damophilus Arcesilas' relative ($\hat{\eta}\nu$ δὲ αὐτῷ [sc. Ἀρκεσιλάῳ] πρὸς γένους). But the Battiadai were a *genos* rather than a royal family in the narrow sense (see above, n. 75). Chamoux (1953) 195–8 notes 'tyrannical' aspects of Arcesilas' policy, and the probable 'aristocratic' character of the opposition. Cf. also Giannini (1995) 105–6, 108.

[219] Σ inscr. a (II.92 Dr.).

[220] There is also evidence for a bronze statue-group (Paus. 10.15.6–7) erected by the Cyrenaeans at Delphi, with Battos standing in a chariot driven by Cyrene and crowned by Libya; this, however (*pace* Chamoux (1953) 199–201, followed by *LIMC*, sv. 'Kyrene') is unlikely to be Arcesilas', since the active life of its creator Amphion of Knossos (Amorelli, s.v. in *EAA* I.325 and Maddoli–Nafissi–Saladino (1999) 188 *ad* Paus. 3.6.5) seems to fall well after 450 BCE. There is no reason why an image of Battos could not have been erected later by 'the Cyrenaeans'. The problem is complicated by the lack of a date for the Battiads' fall (estimates vary from *c.* 454 to the late 440s). On the bronze head from the Apollo-sanctuary at Cyrene, supposed to be a portrait of Arcesilas IV and perhaps subjected to *damnatio memoriae* after his fall, see Fabbricotti (2003) 123–4.

[221] On Aetna and Gelon's similar forced 'reconstitution' of Syracuse, see Demand (1990) 47–50 and 51–52 with Hdt. 7.156, Diod. 11.72.3 (Gelon) and 11.49 (Hieron).

[222] See Gildersleeve (1885) 144, Wilamowitz (1922) 376–8, Carey (1980b) 148, and Braswell (1988) 5 on the ode as a planned political intervention; Duchemin (1967) 91–2 argues it was unsuccessful.

[223] The only sources (Chamoux (1953) 205–9; Mitchell (2000) 95–6, who dates the collapse to 'before *c.* 454') are the *ex-eventu* prophecy at Hdt. 4.163 (on which see Baragwanath, below, ch. 4, pp. 168–9), a brief mention in Σ inscr. b (II.93 Dr.) (the regime lasted two hundred years), and a passage from Aristotle (fr. 611, 17: p. 375 Rose) which, adding the evil

how Cyrenaeans interpreted their past.[224] With this hindsight, one might see Pindar's epinicians as desperate moves in the endgame of a doomed regime. Still, in our ignorance of when and how the Battiad *archē* fell, we cannot assume Arcesilas' prospects were bad when *Pythian* 4 was composed. Perhaps Damophilus' return was intended to crown his revived authoritarian government. The Damophilus-coda, at least, imposes a new element of conflict—politics in the real sense—on the slick triumphalism of the Euphemus and Battos narratives.

So much for the historical setting. Our next two questions are the argument of the coda and its connection to the myth. Why, first, does Pindar incite Arcesilas to 'learn/ recognise/take to heart the wisdom/cleverness/art of Oedipus' (γνῶθι τὰν Οἰδίποδα σοφίαν, 263)? Is he asking the king to learn: (a) a proverb (a concrete piece of 'wisdom' ascribed to the son of Laios, to which the text alludes but does not quote); (b) a moral lesson inferrable from Oedipus' fate; or (c) is he (since the simile of the oak that follows corresponds to nothing in any extant tradition about the hero) simply pointing to the practical skill needed to solve an *ainos*: a fable with a point to be decoded?[225] Oedipus, after all, was famous for solving riddles, and Pindar has only just referred to the principled cunning (ὀρθόβουλος μῆτις, 262) of the Battiads.[226] The speaker thus challenges Arcesilas to use his inherited mental excellence on a story that is less a riddle than an extended simile that is all vehicle and no tenor.[227] With whom are we to identify the oak? The final verses of the passage, which hint at loss of status and economic independence, and the emptiness of an οἶκος, can apply only to the exile. The 'oak' is Damophilus.[228] If this is true, then we have found a structure very similar to Medea's 'Theraean word'. The lyric speaker first presents Damophilus' riddling claim on Arcesilas: he then suggests, with greater explicitness, that Arcesilas has the power to 'heal' both the oak and his city.

portent of a white raven, says that one Battos (probably Arcesilas' son) was decapitated at Euhesperides and his head thrown into the sea.

[224] The topic is considered especially clearly in Giangiulio (2001) and Malkin (2003).

[225] See, alongside the usual commentaries, the excellent discussion in Geuss (2013). The first solution (Gildersleeve (1885) 301 took the 'riddle' in reference to an otherwise unattested 'parable' uttered by the exiled Oedipus) is implausible. The second solution to the 'riddle' (the moral lesson), like the sphinx's, might be the person of the expounder: Arcesilas should 'recognise' in himself the need to repatriate Damophilus. For a fine interpretation that sets Oedipus' exile, and the plot of Sophocles' *OC*, in juxtaposition to Damophilus', see Adorjáni (2015). The third is defended by Σ 467 (II.162–3 Dr.), Braswell (1988) 361–2, and Giannini (1995) 108, as well as many others. Trees can symbolise rootedness, genealogical ties, honours, and tradition: all elements important to Pindar's argument.

[226] Herodotus' catalogue of Battiad misfortunes might lead us to think differently.

[227] Carey (1980b) 144–5 (on *mētis*) and 145–6 (comparison of Pindar's *ainos* with Homeric similes).

[228] See Σ 468ab (II.163 Dr.) and Carey (1980b) 143–6, who emphasises the 'deliberate ambiguity' of the riddle-anecdote.

The 'riddle' enacts the tension, fundamental to all epinician narrative, between symbol and referent, myth and frame. This is also reflected in the Jason myth, whose opening *hendiadys* (67–9) asserts but does not define a correlation between Arcesilas and the Argonauts. All through the myth, symbolic contiguities (metonymies) were hinted at between the story of Jason and the events at Lake Tritonis; or between Jason himself and Arcesilas; or Jason's quest and the ode itself as 'journeys'. Precise correlations between the characters of the myth and the real-world people mentioned in the coda have been sought, but none have been found, despite numerous partial similarities.[229] Both the myth (particularly the long scenes between Jason and Pelias) and the coda present variations on the theme of autocracy in crisis.[230] Compromise and civility are needed if the social fabric (in Arcesilas' case, the city; in Jason's, the still more exemplary unit of the royal *oikos*) is to survive. Jason and Arcesilas are 'healers'[231] and 'kings':[232] they share traits of courtesy, restraint, and willingness to compromise; both also rely on the gods.[233] But any identification of Arcesilas with Jason is undercut by the fact that he is a reigning monarch and thus naturally aligned with Pelias, while Damophilus is the exile.[234] Nor did the conflict of Jason and Pelias end well.[235] Their myth thus stands in an open exemplary relation to Cyrene.[236] One possible reading (in tune with the speaker's persona as 'wise adviser') might say: 'you, my king, must avoid the paranoid crimes of Pelias and realise Jason's conciliatory policy (hopefully, of course, to more salubrious ends)'.[237] A Cyrenaean audience, with its contextual knowledge, may have noticed other possibilities.[238]

This openness of reference is essential to the exemplary function of Pindaric myths within their respective odes. Almost all these myths illustrate

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[229] See, e.g., Robbins (1975) 207ff.; Carey (1980b) 144–5.

[230] On Herodotus and the inherent weakness of autocracies, see Baragwanath, below, ch. 4, pp. 171–2.

[231] Not least in Arcesilas' identification (270) as an ἰατήρ ἐπικαιρότατος (see Σ 211a (II.127 Dr.), which argues that Chiron named Jason after his own medical skill, παρὸ ἰατρὸς ἦν ['Ἰάσων]). As Braswell (1988) 370–2 notes, the etymology can only be false, but it is fundamental. Cf. also Segal (1986) 18–19 and Nicholson (2000) 197–8; and Sigelman (2016) 128–9, 132 n. 37. For name-etymologies in early song: Braswell (1988) 254.

[232] Nicholson (2000) 197–8. On the pacific, un-epic qualities of Pindar's Jason: Carey (1980b) 146.

[233] Carey (1980b) 147 (citing ll. 272–4, esp. κυβερνατήρ).

[234] Hurst (1983) 166 n. 17.

[235] Gildersleeve (1885) 301–2; Robbins (1975) 207. Carey (1980b) 149–50 does not press the potential negative associations of Pelias and his fate for Arcesilas.

[236] Chamoux (1953) 190; Robbins (1975) 208–9; Carey (1980b) 144 n. 9.

[237] Cf. Carey (1980b) 151.

[238] Carey (1980b) 144. On possible self-referential overtones in the oak-passage: Felson (1999) 27–31.

certain moral concepts: the interdependency of heroic action, fame, and poetic speech; the destiny or inherited excellence of the *laudandus* or his family or wider community; or the ideals society or its competitor-class hold dear. These links, and the mirroring effects they create, remain, however, unstable and partial. Pindar's use of the Argonaut *mythos* is not allegorical in the sense of a narrative whose every element points to something fixed outside it—a discourse, a moral code, a person, or another story. There are no unmistakeable correspondences here between frame and myth, but the verbal, formal, and thematic repetitions, analogies, or echoes they generate force us to reflect on the relation of the 'parts' to one another and the whole, within the wider dialogue of two genres (epic and lyric epinician), each of which understands itself as a vehicle of immortal memory (*kleos*).

11. Conclusions: The Political Meaning of a Poetic Form

Contemporary Pindaric criticism, saturated perhaps more than at any other time in the history of the field with historicist readings and premises, is exploring these connections between text and historical reality, sometimes badly and sometimes well.[239] The general lack in Pindar's epinician myths of strict correspondences between myth and frame means that, when we look for politics in Pindar, we should not look primarily for reflections or allegories of historical situations and events. By establishing a narrative structure that integrates present and past in a particular way, the epinician creates an *emplotment*—a meaningful structure of causality, process, closure, and, yes, morality that underlies the story's raw events and is reflected less in anything explicitly said than implied in the form.[240] In the words of Hayden White, 'just as there can be no explanation in history without a story, so too there can be no story without a plot to make of it a story of a particular kind'.[241] *Pythian* 4 presents the past of Cyrene through the hegemonic interpretation of the ruling family: a discourse focused above all on ideas of continuity, stability, legitimacy, and success. Transforming praise of an individual's success into aetiology, it envisions the city as an 'imaginary community' founded in common origins and a shared destiny.[242] The most

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[239] Morgan (2015) is to my mind one of the best recent examples.

[240] On narrativisation as a feature of any historical explanation, see Danto (1965); the notion of 'explanation by emplotment' ('providing the "meaning" of a story by identifying the *kind of story* that has been told') as fundamental to much historical narrative and the ideas of explanation and historical development that it enacts, was articulated by Hayden White—see White (1973) 5–11 and 7 for the passage cited in this note—also (1978) 51–80, 81–100, and (1980) on closure, morality, and meaning, and (1987) on tropes; on the connection between endings (closure) and meaning in literature and life, see Kermode (2000).

[241] White (1978) 62.

[242] On 'imaginary communities', see Anderson (1991); cf. Agócs (2009) 47.

powerful tool at the poet's disposal—bequeathed to him by the collective memories of the cultures, polities, and families for whom he worked—was the political resonance of mythical narrative, with its special power to articulate an ideologically-charged vision of things. Discourses of origins, in a society like Pindar's, take on a particular authority and power—even in the contestation of historical truth.[243] This ode shows us a Pindar who was, among other things, a consummate master-craftsman of ideological myth and social memory.

Pythian 4 both inherits from collective memory and strives to shape it. In this sense, it is different from Herodotean *logos*, which is mainly concerned with recording, comparing, interpreting, and establishing the truth (or at least a plausible construction) of the past in all its complexity. In its use of emplotment to rationalise and conquer historical contingency, and to stabilise a sense of political reality sanctioned by tradition and endorsed by power, Pindar's epinician betrays clear affinities to more familiar forms of Greek memory-politics and 'intentional history'.[244] In fact, it presents us with a poet who, if not engaged in the historiographer's interrogation of causes, has at least, as a historical thinker, something to tell us about the ways in which he and his contemporaries used and understood their collective past.

Our analysis began by arguing that the myth, far from a digression, is in fact the essential feature of the ode. Epinician works by relating individual *kleos* to collective experience and history: the transitions from frame or 'occasion' to myth and back from myth to 'occasion' are thus particularly important and fraught. We saw that the epinician's form resembled certain typical features, claims, and forms of thought that characterised the oral (including poetic) traditions on which Pindar, like Herodotus, based his narratives. We also saw that it manipulates those structures and claims to produce certain artistic effects which are themselves implied ideological statements. Through use of space and genealogy Pindar projects what at first glance seems to be essentially a 'local' Cyrenaean story into a Panhellenic field of poetic and other tradition, anchoring both the people and their myth of origins in a wider Greek past.[245] Neither Herodotus nor Pindar give us anything like a truly epichoric Cyrenaean tradition: rather, the epichoric and the Panhellenic are inextricably mixed on the level both of motifs and individual details. Pindar's version of the colonisation-story, even more than Herodotus', focuses on the settlers—it is a Greek story, and there is no room in it for the native Libyans. Even if it creates a charter for the Cyrenaeans' possession of the soil, the connections and relationships that it enables

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[243] See Baragwanath, below, Ch. 4, p. 156 n. 8.

[244] See Grethlein (2010), esp. 19–46; 'intentional history' see above, n. 13.

[245] On the possibility that Herodotus saw Cyrene as a quasi-oriental 'other' see Baragwanath, below, Ch. 4, pp. 177–81.

pertain exclusively to Greek societies overseas.[246] In this sense, too, *Pythian* 4 is a Panhellenic poem. But it is also rigorously concise in its attitude to its source-traditions. Variants are eliminated, discontinuities rejected, and at least once—the case of Jason's sojourn on Lemnos—the usual order of events is changed to heighten the poem's *post hoc ergo propter hoc* sense of continuity and causation.[247]

Comparing Pindar's account of the Cyrene *ktisis* with Herodotus' not only enables us to perceive significant similarities and differences, and to understand the particular constraints and pressures that helped to structure the poet's response to his material; but also, more generally, to appreciate the importance of contextualisation for understanding these stories. The differences between Pindar's account and Herodotus' are often explained in terms of a shift, with the fall of the monarchical regime, from a 'pro-Battiad' to an 'anti-Battiad' interpretation of the *ktisis* story. While some such effect is perhaps possible, especially in the immediate aftermath of Cyrene's democratic turn, we have shown that it is probably not a major theme, and that there is no compelling reason to interpret the evidence in this way. The differences in the use of certain motifs and themes shared between Pindar and Herodotus' sources can be accounted for entirely by the use, in each particular myth-variant, to which the traditional stories were put. The two differing treatments of the events at Lake Triton provide an especially rich field in which to study the effect of context on the narrative meaning and form of social memory traditions.[248] Where Herodotus' version emphasises an open-ended territorial charter, Pindar's is about revealing the power of origins as they manifest themselves in the present. Herodotus' synthesis, in his colonisation account, of two different, supposedly 'local' variants shares several story-elements and motifs with Pindar's two victory odes; he also narrates variants of stories familiar from Pindar—without once referring to the Theban poet's work.[249] Here too, however, the aims and emplotment of the narrative are different. Pindar's narrative construction of Cyrene's collective past, realised in a literary form that, in its discontinuities, anachronies, and poetic allusivity differs radically from the style of Herodotean *logos*, finds paradigmatic symmetries and structures of causation in its source-material to which the Herodotean narrator or his Theraean and Cyrenaean sources remain (perhaps wilfully) blind. It is above all Pindar's integration of

[246] On the Libyan element in Cyrene's culture, see esp. Laronde (1987) and (1990b) and Austin (2008) 205–10. Baragwanath's discussion below, Ch. 4 (esp. 159–64 and 177–81), brings out the ethnographic richness of Herodotus' *logos*.

[247] See above, pp. 128–9 on Pindar's transposition of the Lemnian episode from the outward to the return voyage.

[248] I thank Jess Lightfoot for help with formulating this thought.

[249] S. West (2007a) 127–8 has argued the opposite. Herodotus shares with Pindar an interest in prophecy and human ignorance: see Baragwanath, below Ch. 4, pp. 168–73.

the story into a larger (and largely implied) explanatory frame that allowed him to create his own unique Battiad perspective on Cyrenaean tradition.

Much epinician strives to establish exemplary parallels between the past and the present, asserting the continuity of institutions and bloodlines. *Pythian* 4, however, in its teleology, its complex structure composed of distinct but connected temporal strata belonging to the same implied narrative, its use of spatial geography (particularly the twin *lieux de mémoire* of Apollo's temples at Delphi and Cyrene), and in the emphasis it places on those inadvertent, ironical patterns of signification associated particularly with prophecy that it shares (like the *felix culpa* motif in which misfortune and failure is crowned by eventual success) with many Greek 'colonisation' traditions, but which it highlights to excess at almost every point in the narrative, deviates from certain other Pindaric myths in the tight connection it establishes between narrative form and meaning. In Pindar, prophecy, as a plot-element in myths, normally allows the narrator to integrate the future destiny of a hero, or to present an aetiology for some present institution. But in *Pythian* 4, prophecy and history are revealed to be two ways of looking at the same events.[250] Through its use of multiple, overlapping voices and temporal perspectives, the ode welds a series of separate stories into a single account, presenting the resulting story once as prophecy (13–56) and again (1–11; 57–67; 247–62) as historical fact unquestioned in its continuity with (and causal ties to) the present day. In this way, and by *ostinato*-repetition of a few key themes—the notion of 'bringing home' or 'reclaiming' something lost (κομίζειν/ἀνακομίζειν); the '*nostos* loop' structure; the themes of prophecy, kingship, the conquest or 'planting' of the land—*Pythian* 4 creates a hegemonic discourse that construes the relationship of 'past' to 'present' as a single unified intention. From the human viewpoint, the divine plan unfolds in time as a chain of unintended effects whose pattern, invisible to the historical actors themselves, is evident only to an observer positioned at the end of the story, who is able to relate it to the *telos* embodied in the society he praises.[251] Whatever the human actors hope to achieve, it is the divine plan that will be fulfilled.[252]

Pindar's achievement in *Pythian* 4 is unique in the corpus of his poetry; nor can I find any real parallels in earlier Greek song. In its insistence on a rational yet elusive meaning that underlies events, his narrative of Euphemus, Battos, and Arcesilas resembles most of all a typological interpretation of history. Typology is a concept familiar from Christian biblical exegesis, where an Old Testament person or event is treated as a prefiguration of something in the New, which as its 'antitype' both

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[250] Cf. Athanassaki (1997) 232: 'a nontraditional and unique story'.

[251] See esp. Segal (1986) 51, 152, 180–93 (whose analysis inspired the present one).

[252] Stephens (2011) 191 suggests a similar intention in relation to Damophilus' return: 'Arcesilas can comply or obstruct, but in the latter case can only delay its inevitability'.

overwrites the model (the 'type' or 'figure') and preserves it with altered meaning. Isaac and Moses thus each become types of Christ as teacher and as sacrificial lamb of God; Jonah's three days in the belly of the whale become a type of Christ's three days in the tomb. In typological interpretation, the historical distance between events is neutralised by a higher symbolic relevance, motivic parallel, or structural regularity revealed through interpretation.[253] In a broader and less theological sense, the term 'typology' might be applied to any reading of history in which the *telos,* since it determines the meaning of the rest, completes and overwrites the events that—from the hegemonic perspective of the end—serve as its prefigurations; in such a sense, it can be applied to any similar understanding of the structural relationships between parts of a work, or a work and its tradition. Nothing like formalised typological exegesis existed in Pindar's culture; it nevertheless shows a certain structural similarity to what he is doing. In Pindar's redemptive emplotment of the city's colonisation tradition, the gift of the clod at Lake Triton prefigures Battos' colonisation of Cyrene, which in turn carries within it the prospect of Arcesilas' rule over a flourishing kingdom. Just so, Medea's 'Theraean word' prefigures the Pythia's nomination of Battos, which itself prefigures the poet's praise of the Founder's descendant. That present voice, by integrating the past into a ruthlessly present-orientated narrative, explains and celebrates its revealed meaning. Understanding this focus on the end throws a metapoetic light on the ode's formal games—'false closure' and 'counterfactual storytelling'; 'song as quest', with its concomitant theme of divagation and 'return'; wild oscillations between genres marked by changes in the narrative form; and, finally, that constant hovering, particularly evident in the Jason-narrative and 'coda', on the edge of a certain meaningful pattern of identifications which remains just out of reach—as if the poem itself were struggling under the burden of a conflict between its own deterministic pattern and the human freedom to act and fail.

The closest ancient parallel, I think, is Vergil's *Aeneid*; not least in the scene where Aeneas, as he examines the divine shield crafted for him by Hephaestus,

> miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
> attolens umero famamque et fata nepotum.[254]

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[253] On typology: Auerbach (1959) esp. 28–49 (on the difference between typology and allegory, p. 54); Gransden (1973–4) 19–22; Miner (1977); Kermode (1979); Young (1997) 152–4; Kennedy (1997), esp. 49–50; Mohnhaupt (2000) 13–36; Hall (2002). Cf. also Grethlein (2010) 40, on the formal structure of *O. 2.*

[254] Verg. *Aen.* 8. 730–1: Aeneas 'is filled with wonder, and—though ignorant—rejoices in the image, lifting onto his shoulder the glory and destined deeds of his progeny in days to come'. Although extensively addressed in older German scholarship (e.g. Knauer (1964) 345–59; von Albrecht (1967) 157–62), 'typology' in the *Aeneid* received less attention from scholars in English: see however Thompson (1970); Gransden (1973–4) and (1976); Horsfall

One of that epic's most remarkable features is the line of prophecy developed on both the divine and human levels of the narrative, which relates the epic plot and the characters' actions and words to a future located in the narrator's present. Horsfall has shown how the *Aeneid* exploits the tropes of Greek foundation-traditions (examining such myths, and comparing them to Vergil, to determine whether such a thing as 'colonial time' existed in the Greek mythical tradition would be a fruitful endeavour).[255] It shares with *Pythian* 4 the ironic clash of perspectives, backward- and forward-looking perspectives, and also an underlying sense of history as suffering and failure overwritten by divinely-assured success. 'The past carries with it a temporal index by which it is referred to redemption';[256] but in each case the eschatological moment has already happened, and the meaning-giving endpoint coincides with the narrator's present. Vergil explores the ideological and moral implications of typology more richly and objectively than Pindar, since his understanding of the individual's place in history takes full account of human suffering, and what is lost when the present must wade through the blood of innocent and guilty alike to build the promised future. But as Auden said famously in 'Secondary Epic', typological history ('hindsight as foresight') has an essential weakness. It tends to freeze time at the fulfillment of the prophecy. Rather than being thrown forward into a future still just out of view, and thus immune to demystification, the apocalyptic moment sticks rigidly in the present.[257] Such constructions rarely survive for long, for they cannot adapt to social change. So it happened in Cyrene, where the monarchy's fall falsified Pindar's ideological fabrications, reducing his odes to the status of literary texts. Despite their Panhellenic reach, entextualised longevity, and jubilant virtuosity of style, *Pythians* 4 and 5 hardly influenced the collective memory of Cyrene itself.

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(1976), (1989), (1991) and (1995) 162–7; and Franke (2005). Griffin's (1982) invective doesn't seem to me to disqualify the idea, but only some of its absurder uses.

[255] Horsfall (1989).

[256] Benjamin (1968) 254.

[257] See Kermode (2000), esp. ch. 1.

APPENDIX

An Outline of Pindar, *Pythian* 4

LINE(S)	SECTION/THEME/TOPIC	COMMENT
1–11	**Opening section**	11 verses, 3.67% of the total length.
1–3	Proem: address to the Muse	**PRAISE/OCCASION**. Setting: *komos* at Cyrene; speaker: the *laudator*; Arcesilas present.
4–11	Movement into narrative	**NARRATIVE.** From line 4, the speaker moves ('present' > 'past') back in time (retrograde narration), first to 'Battos at Delphi'; then to Medea's 'Theraean word' (vv. 4–11). *Laudator* becomes narrator. Opening of first myth (*Vormythos*).
11–57	**First myth (*Vormythos*)**	**NARRATIVE**: direct character-speech: 47 verses: 15.71% of total length.
11	Speech-formula	εἶπε δ' οὕτως introduces Medea's speech
12–56	Medea's 'Theran word'	12–20: Introductory prophecy 20–37: Euphemus and the clod (Lake Triton): 20–5: *tableau vivant* 25–7: retrograde narration 28–37: progressive narration 38–56: Loss of clod; prophecy (counterfactual and real).
57–69	**Praise of Battos and Arcesilas**	**PRAISE/OCCASION**. *Laudator* takes over. 13 verses: 4.34% of total length. Break-off ('past' > 'present'). 'Battos at Delphi': Address to Battos. Connection between origins and present; praise of Arcesilas; Arcesilas and Jason.
70–246	**Second (epic) myth: Jason**	**NARRATIVE** (in three movements: **see below**). 177 verses: 59% of total length.
70–1	Epic invocation	Beginning of Jason-narrative ('present' > 'past')

71–167 Part I: 'pure' epic narrative (balance of summary and scene). 96 verses: 32.11% of total length. Contains about 59 verses of character-speech = 61.45% character-speech vs. 38.54% narrator-speech (description/summary/speech-formulae).

71–86	Epic narrative	Narrator-speech. Pelias' prophecy (summary: back-story); Jason's arrival in Iolcus (description; scene).
87–92	Character-speech (scene)	Response of unnamed people in the marketplace to Jason's appearance.
93–8	Epic narrative (scene)	Pelias arrives (narrator-speech)
98–100	Character-speech (scene)	Pelias addresses Jason (note speech-formulae).

101–19	Character-speech (scene)	Jason responds to Pelias (note speech-formulae).
120–38	Epic narrative (summary)	Jason meets his father Aeson; his relatives come to support him; Jason and his friends go to confront Pelias; Jason addresses Pelias (note the speech-formula).
138–55	Character-speech (scene)	Jason speaks to Pelias.
156–67	Character-speech (scene)	Pelias addresses Jason (note speech-formulae).

168–211	**Part II: 'attenuated' epic narrative mode (summary dominates; catalogue; all narrator-speech). 44 verses: 14.71% of total length.**	
168–71	Narrator-speech (summary)	Jason sends messengers to call together the Argonauts.
171–87	Catalogue of Argonauts	A formal epic-style catalogue.
187–201	Departure of Argo (scene)	Jason musters the men, Mopsus prophesies; Jason sacrifices; Zeus' thunderbolt; *Argo* sails.
202–11	Voyage of Argo	(extremely rapid summary with ellipsis)

211–46	**Part III: 'lyric' narrative with epic elements (character-speech; focalisation; simile: all narrator-speech except where noted). 36 verses: 12.04% of total length (3 verses of character-speech at 229–231).**	
211–13	Argo arrives at Colchis	Fight with Colchians (summary)
213–23	Jason and Medea	Lyric narrative
224–38	Jason's trial of the bulls	Lyric narrative. Note character speech at 229–31 (Aietes); note focalisation at 237–8 (Aietes).
239–41	Jason's epinician *komos*	
241–6	Jason is about to steal the Fleece	Note the simile (245–6).

247–99	**Return; coda; final movement**	**PRAISE/OCCASION. Spoken by the *laudator*. 53 verses: 17.72% of total length.**
247–62	Break-off/Return	Rapid summary; rapid movement back ('past' > 'present') up the timeline past Battos to Arcesilas; address to Arcesilas (250).
263–9	'Riddle of Oedipus'	
270–6	Situation at Cyrene	*Laudator* addresses Arcesilas.
277–99	Damophilus	*Laudator* addresses Arcesilas (ends on imagined 'future' celebration at the Kyra-spring: 293–9)

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4

HISTORY, ETHNOGRAPHY, AND AETIOLOGY IN HERODOTUS' LIBYAN *LOGOS* *

Emily Baragwanath

Abstract: This chapter examines how Herodotus' narratives of Cyrene's foundation and of Persia's more recent imperial interest in Libya hark back to the proem and combine with the Libyan ethnography to produce an account that is essential to the *Histories*' overall design and to shaping one area of Greek cultural memory. These narratives probe cause and responsibility in relation to the war between Greeks and *barbaroi*, carrying further the *Histories*' dialogic program by exposing the distinctly Greek identities and assumptions readers bring to bear in explaining the past. Beyond preserving wondrous material, the Libyan *logos* illustrates how ethnographical awareness complicates and enriches historical interpretation.

Keywords: Herodotus, causation, explanation, responsibility, Greek identity, ethnography, Libyan *logos*

1. Introduction

Cyrene, on the North coast of Africa, was one of the earliest Greek colonies, sent out from Thera in around 630 BCE and led (so tradition held) by Battus the First. Tradition also held that Thera had been founded centuries earlier from Sparta, a tradition expressed in the founding stories preserved for us in various literary sources including three of Pindar's Pythian odes, in Callimachus, and in the 'Libyan *logos*'[1] of the fourth book of Herodotus' *Histories* (4.145–205).[2] Before the middle of

[1] Herodotus at 2.161 looks ahead to the 'Libyan *logoi*' plural; but as the narrative forms a unity I employ '*logos*'. Translations are my own or adapted from Waterfield's Oxford World's Classics edition or Godley's Loeb.

[2] On the colonisation of Cyrene and whether the traditions reflect semi-accurately the early historical background, see (answering in the affirmative) B. Mitchell (2002); Malkin (1994) 67–114 and (2003); and (sceptical) Osborne (2002) 506–8 and (2009) 8–17; also, Chamoux (1953) 93–127; Calame (1988); and esp. Giangiulio (2001). ML no. 5 (Cyrene's

the sixth century BCE Cyrene itself went on to found Barca, a settlement around the coast of Libya to the West. The twin foci of Herodotus' narrative are the foundation of Cyrene and its more recent history under King Arcesilaus III and his mother Pheretime, under whose rule Libya joined the succession of places that Persia eyed covetously as it expanded westwards. The account of more recent history includes a survey of the land and peoples of Libya. The last ruler of this unusually long-lasting Greek royal dynasty, Arcesilaus IV, would be killed in the middle of the fifth century BCE in a democratic revolution (scholiast on Pindar's *Pythian Four*). Herodotus does not mention this event, but his account of an earlier democratic reform at the hands of the significantly-named 'Demonax' ('ruler of the people', 4.161) and the royal resistance that followed (4.162.2) invites readers to look ahead to it.[3]

The Libyan *logos* is one of Herodotus' most perplexing, and most maligned. It has been judged muddled and overly abbreviated;[4] as having a merely transitional function in the wider work;[5] as including material not entirely relevant to the history of Persian expansion, since Herodotus insisted on incorporating the results of his ethnographical inquiries in Libya;[6] as representing a 'fraud on history' in depicting the Cyrenaeans, whose view the account must simply propagate, in conflict with the Persians rather than as the medisers they were.[7] Scholars have been tempted to subject it to the composition question, pronouncing it unfinished or assuming that Herodotus would have wished completely to excise it from his *Histories*.

And yet the voices raised in its support are growing stronger. Pietro Vannicelli appreciates the valuable contribution it makes to the work's chronological structure and emphasises Herodotus' discernment in determining what to include. The *logos* might have earned so much airtime thanks to its rich nucleus of traditions relating to Cyrene's foundation and the privileged status of origins in the evaluation of historical facts.[8] Carolyn Dewald observes the implicit contrast generated between the Scythians' union against the Persians, and the Greeks' ruinous dissension in Libya; as 'a foretaste of what Persian imperial power can do to a Greek population',

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foundation decree, preserved in a fourth-century inscription). On the prior foundation of Thera: Malkin (1994) 89–95, 106–11. The nature of Greek colonisation is subject to debate: Osborne (1998).

[3] The dynasty and its end: Chamoux (1953) 128–68; B. Mitchell (2002). Demonax and his reforms: Chamoux (1953) 139–42; B. Mitchell (2002) 87–9. Demonax was not a local activist, but brought in on Delphic advice from Mantinea: Hdt. 4.161.

[4] E.g., Corcella (2007) 566–7, 569.

[5] E.g., Wood (1972) 111.

[6] Corcella (2007) 567, cp. Malten (1911) 95.

[7] Macan (1895) *ad* 4.203.3.

[8] Vannicelli (1993) 134–5, 147.

the *logos* provides a fitting transition between the Scythian narrative and the Ionian revolt.[9] Pascal Payen reads the Libyan ethnography alongside other Herodotean ethnographies as representing the perspective and resistance of would-be victims of Persian imperialism.[10] Rosaria Munson observes that Barca, like Troy (at 1.5), is a city shown becoming small, and Herodotus' remark in the Libyan *logos* about divine retribution (4.205) is one of the work's only two authorial generalisations (cp. 2.120.5) that explain why *eudaimoniē* shifts from one place to another.[11] The Barca narrative thus responds to the *Histories*' global program and represents a key explanatory site.[12]

This chapter aims to bring out further how the narratives of Cyrene's foundation and of Persia's more recent imperial interest in Libya combine with the ethnography of Libya to produce an account that is essential to the *Histories*' overall design and to shaping one area of Greek cultural memory. Together these narratives carry further the work's dialogic and culturally relativistic program, by challenging readers to recognise and interrogate the distinctly Greek identities and assumptions they bring to bear in explaining the past. Like other episodes of the *Histories*, the Libyan *logos* glances back to and invites qualification of the opposition between 'Greeks' and 'barbarians' set forth in the work's opening sentence and ensuing account of alleged rapes, which culminates in the Persian view of the Greeks as being inimical to them and Europe as 'having been cut off' from Asia (1.4.4).[13] Thus beyond preserving for posterity fascinating and wondrous material (in keeping with the *Histories*' first sentence), the Libyan *logos* illustrates how ethnographical awareness complicates and enriches interpretations of past events.

After examining ways in which the *logos* is heralded by the proem and contributes to embedding the *Histories* into the wider Greek collective memory, I will focus on how the historical narratives and ethnography together carry further the work's expressed aim of probing cause and responsibility in relation to the war between Greeks and *barbaroi* (1.1.1): for Barca would be the first Greek community to be attacked and enslaved by

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[9] Dewald (1998) 658 *ad* 4.145–205.

[10] Payen (1997) 337. The subjection of Libya would represent the extension of Persian rule to a region which had not been part of one of the great ancient empires, habituated to record keeping and regular taxation, as Stephanie West reminds me. The empire was expanding eastwards as well: 4.44.

[11] See Munson (2001b) 183 (and 183–94 on divine retribution more broadly in the *Histories*). The other generalisation is 2.120.5. On the historical city of Barca, which was 'certainly large and second in size only to… Kyrene', see Hansen and Nielsen (2004) no. 1025 (quotation at p. 1241).

[12] Munson (2001b) 183 for 'global program', described at 181–2.

[13] Herodotus' undermining of Greek/barbarian polarity: Dewald (1990); Pelling (1997); Munson (1988) and (2001a); Gruen (2011) 21–39; Skinner (2012) 250; of the notion of the *Hellenikon*: Baragwanath (2008) 160–2, 171–8.

King Darius, and, together with Euesperidae, marks the westernmost extent of Persian expansionism (4.204).

2. Unity and Integration: The Libyan *Logos* and the Proem of the *Histories*

Far from being extraneous, the Libyan *logos* is carefully integrated into the wider work, where its themes are answered. The Phoenicians, who step onto the opening pages of the *Histories* as the first colonisers of the ancient Mediterranean, thus reappear in this same colonising guise:[14] for the Greek founders of Thera and subsequently Cyrene follow in their colonisers' footsteps, joining the Phoenician community already established in Thera (4.147.4), and even boasting some Phoenician ancestry (4.147.1). The depiction of broad movements across the Mediterranean—Minyans sailing from Lemnos westwards to the Peloponnese, the oikist Theras and followers from Lacedaimon south to Kalliste (then renamed Thera), and eventually on to Libya—and the depiction of flexible, shifting identities (with the melding of Spartans and Phoenicians) recalls the sense of cross-continental movement and shifting identities of the proem. Theras himself is Cadmean, and thus Phoenician by descent. In each case there follows a hardening into communities with more separate identities (Europe cut off from Asia, Cyrene gaining a more distinctly Greek identity).[15] In the ascription of motivation—Theras 'intended to settle among these people, **not to drive them out** but to claim them as his own (κάρτα οἰκηιεύμενος)' (4.148.1)—the negative presentation draws attention to a contrast with what readers might expect, with what happened later (when Greeks and Phoenicians fought on opposite sides in the Persian Wars), and perhaps also with the situation that results at the end of the proem (where the Persians have come to regard the Greeks as cut off from themselves, and claim as their own (οἰκηιεῦνται) the barbarian races that dwell within Asia: 1.4.4).

The proem's motif of abducted women, followed by petitions for justice and reparation (1.2.3; 1.3.1; 1.3.2), gets fleshed out in the Libyan *logos*: thus after a passing mention of female abduction (the Minyans have been expelled 'by the Pelasgians who stole the Athenian women from Brauron',

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[14] Phoenicians in Herodotus: Bondì (1990); Mavrogiannis (2004).

[15] The group that will go on to settle Cyrene is thus labelled οἱ Ἕλληνες (4.158.2) (perhaps from the perspective of the Libyans leading them, who address them as ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες: 4.158.3). In a battle at Cyrene the Egyptians have no experience of Greeks (Ἑλλήνων), view them with contempt, and are defeated (4.159.6). We hear no more of the group's more complex ethnic composition (Herodotus' description of Demonax' division of the Cyrenaeans into three tribes (4.161) mentions only Greeks, though some take περιοίκων to refer to native Libyans: Corcella (2007) *ad* 4.161.3). Stephanie West points out to me that historically intermarriage between Greeks and Libyan women must have been commonplace (cf. 4.186), at the highest level (cf. 4.164).

4.145.2; at the end of Book 6 Herodotus returns to elaborate on this event, in connection with Miltiades' conquest of Lemnos, 6.138), Herodotus narrates the Minyans' petition to the Spartans to accept them into their land (the indirect discourse again recalling the proem) (4.145.4):

> οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες ἥκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας· **δικαιότατον γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι·** δέεσθαι δὲ οἰκέειν ἅμα τούτοισι μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες.

> They said that having been expelled by the Pelasgians they have come to the land of their fathers: **and for this to happen is most just**; they wanted to live with them and have a share of their privileges and obtain a portion of land.

In accepting the petition the Lacedaemonians are persuaded especially by the fact that the Tyndarids, brothers of Helen, had accompanied the Minyans' ancestors on the Argo—a reminder of Helen that recalls the proem; they make their only other appearance in the work defending Helen after her abduction by Theseus (9.73). There follows a sketch of the exchange of women cementing connections between far-flung places (4.145.5; 4.146), which again evokes the cross-continental connections produced by females in the proem, where Asian Europa gives her name to Europe.[16]

In the view of the learned Persians, the Phoenicians bear initial responsibility for the Graeco-Persian conflict because they abducted the Greek princess Io from Argos to Egypt (1.1), after which the Greeks reciprocated with their abduction of the Phoenician princess Europa from Tyre (1.2). The score now even, the Greeks became responsible for the second injustice, for 'after sailing in a long ship to Colchian Aea and the river Phasis, from there, once they had completely finished the other business for which they had come' (a mischievously elliptic reference to Jason's retrieval of the Golden Fleece), 'they seized the king's daughter Medea' (1.2.2). Paris next abducted Helen from Sparta, after which the Greeks escalated the violence (so becoming 'greatly responsible/to blame', μεγάλως αἰτίους, 1.4.1) by making war on Asia and destroying Priam's empire. Herodotus appends the learned Phoenicians' qualification of one part of this story: their insistence that Io was not abducted but accompanied the Phoenician merchants willingly after getting pregnant.

A second rejoinder to the learned Persians' accusations about the Phoenicians occurs in the Libyan ethnography, in the account given by Carthaginians (colonists from Phoenicia) about their transactions with a people beyond the Pillars of Heracles (4.196). The scenario of international

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[16] See Dewald (1990).

interchange reported in indirect discourse recalls the proem's depiction of Phoenician traders of mythical times; and beyond this appear some possible resonances in detail (emboldened) (4.196):

λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι, εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης χῶρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους, ἐς τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἀπίκωνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται **τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς παρὰ τὴν κυματωγήν** [cp. διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον, 1.1.2], ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν καπνόν· τοὺς δ' ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ **τῶν φορτίων** χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἐξαναχωρέειν πρόσω ἀπὸ **τῶν φορτίων**· τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνηταί σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς **τῶν φορτίων**, ἀνελόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ πλοῖα κατέαται, οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὧν ἔθηκαν χρυσόν, ἐς οὗ ἂν πείθωσι. **ἀδικέειν δὲ οὐδετέρους**· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἅπτεσθαι πρὶν ἄν σφι ἀπισωθῇ τῇ ἀξίῃ **τῶν φορτίων**, οὔτ' ἐκείνους **τῶν φορτίων** ἅπτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτοὶ τὸ χρυσίον λάβωσι.

And the Carthaginians also tell the following story. They say that there is a land in Libya and men who dwell beyond the pillars of Heracles. When they arrive there and unload **their cargo, after setting it out in orderly fashion along the beach**, boarding their ships they light a smoking fire; and at seeing the smoke the locals come to the seashore and set out gold in exchange for **the cargo**, and then withdraw far from the cargo. And the Carthaginians disembark and have a look, and if the gold seems worth the value of **the cargo**, taking it they sail away; but if it does not seem worth its value, boarding their ships again they wait, while the others come back and set out more gold, until they are persuaded. **Neither side commits injustices**; for they (the Carthaginians) do not touch the gold before it is made **equal** to the value of **the cargo**, nor do the others touch **the cargo** before the Carthaginians have taken the gold.

Thus, in implicit contrast to the picture of their forebears painted by the Persian *logioi*, the Carthaginians depict themselves avoiding the sort of intermingling that there led to conflict, and—so far from seizing the local women—as withdrawing in civilised fashion while potential buyers assess the fairness of the exchange. In contrast to the proem's depiction of successive injustices by both sides, here 'neither side acts unjustly'. The Carthaginians wait until the gold 'has been made equal to' (ἀπισωθῇ) the value of the cargo; here there is no progression as in the proem from a state of 'being equal for equal' (ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα) to a state of inequality ('*but afterwards* …', 1.2.1). Contemporary Carthaginians—Herodotus' informants—thus defend the actions of their Phoenician forebears, and their defence high-

lights again how closely this ethnography is woven into the wider work. This glance back to the *Histories'* beginning contributes to the closural movement that marks the end of the Libyan ethnography, as does the ensuing reference back to the ethnography's beginning: for Herodotus notes that still in his time most of these tribes cared nothing for the Persian King (4.197.1). There follow summarising observations about the ethnic groups that inhabit Libya and the quality of the land in relation to Europe and Asia, before the resumption of the main trunk narrative (prepared for by mention of the Persian king) with the arrival at Barca of the Persians sent by the satrap Aryandes (4.200).

The proem's stories relate obliquely to the historical narrative that ensues: Herodotus underscores their unverifiable nature in contrast to the events of more recent history that will be his main focus (1.5.3). Nonetheless they glance ahead to and cleverly introduce themes that will recur in the *Histories* and that are concentrated within the Libyan *logos*: female agency; reciprocity; international communication and exchange; change of name and identity; the tension between free will and external constraints. So too the proem's implied warning about the partial and partisan nature of narrative remains relevant to the Libyan *logos* in both its narrative histories and ethnography.[17] The proem's exposure of superficial explanatory patterning advertises Herodotus' broader concern to establish historical causation.[18] The Persian and Phoenician accounts also preview the 'point de vue décentré' that will be a prominent feature especially of the ethnographic narratives.[19]

By planting seeds for the remainder of the *Histories* in its references to mythical traditions that resurface later on, the proem also helps to anchor the work in the broader Greek imagination. Thus Book 2 will return to the Trojan cycle, with an account of the Trojan War and of Helen's séjour in Egypt, while the Libyan *logos* returns to the two other major complexes of Greek myth to which the proem refers, the Theban Cycle and the Argonautica. Phoenician Cadmus, founder of Thebes, appears on the search for his daughter Europa (4.147, cp. 5.57–9), and the Minyans, having been expelled from Lemnos, are received at Sparta by reason of their Argonaut heritage (4.145.3; the 'long ship' (1.2.2) is finally referred to by name, as again at 4.179.3); their descent from the abductors of the proem perhaps helps explain their *hybris* (4.146). Finally, some Minyans join in settling Thera and Cyrene (4.148). Further details about Jason and his

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[17] Dewald (1999). Note e.g. 4.154.1 (inclusion of alternative traditions about Cyrene's foundation) with Giangiulio (2001), esp. 135–7; 4.173: 'I recount these things as the Libyans recount them'; 4.195.2: 'I don't know if these things are true, but I write what is said' (τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω); 4.197.2: only four nations inhabit Libya 'so far as we know'.

[18] Węcowski (2004), cp. 154. See Krischer (1965) 160–2 for the formal importance here of αἰτίη.

[19] Sauge (1992) 272; Payen (1997) 338; Węcowski (2004) 151 n. 45 with text.

expedition are woven into the Libyan ethnography: how after the Argo had been built and Jason had dedicated a bronze tripod on the site, he was blown off his course to Libya, gifted the tripod to the river Triton, and received in return a prophecy of future Greek city foundations (4.179).

The Libyan *logos* also carries on from the proem, not only in its interest in both the Greeks and Greek achievements and the *barbaroi* and theirs (opening sentence), but also in introducing another variation on the theme of Greek/barbarian conflict and the reasons that lie behind it:[20] the Persian interaction with the Greek colonies in Libya represents a precursor and parallel to the account of the Persian incursion against Greece, as in the person of the brutal and medising Pheretime, another Greek who *invites in* the Persians.[21] Barca's enslavement and submission to Persian rule stages a spectacle of what was on the cards for Greece. Like the account of the Scythians' defence against Darius' invasion and of the Ionian revolt, it thereby supplies comparative material to be borne in mind as readers contemplate the Persian campaign against the Greek mainland. It both equips them to grasp how close it came to falling under Persian rule, and encourages reflection on possible explanatory factors for the different outcome there: the Athenians' democratic government, with free-thinking, creative, independent individuals like Themistocles, which made them 'saviours of Greece' (7.139.5); the absence of corrosive and self-interested autocracy; divine will; even an element of pure chance.

The opening of the Libyan *logos* appears, then, to recall the proem, much as did the Samian *logos*,[22] with the connection in each case high-lighting the possibility that themes within the *logos* may illuminate the wider work. It also provides examples of motifs which recur in other episodes as well (for instance, the *hybris* of the Minyans, 4.146.1), and the themes as a whole culminate in its final sequence, where a Greek queen, Pheretime, pronounces guilt and personally exacts a terrible vengeance that includes the mutilation of women and impaling of men (4.162–5, 200–5). Among its other resonances the episode looks ahead to the mutilation of the wife of Masistes by the Persian Queen Amestris, near the *Histories'* close, where Amestris' refusal of an army (in lieu of her demand for Masistes' innocent wife), 'a distinctly Persian gift', might recall Pheretime's successive failed requests for an army from (Greek) Euelthon (4.162) and success in making the same request of (Persian) Aryandes. Like Lydian Sardis, the setting of Xerxes' first illicit lust (and of Candaules' lust and conjugal misconduct, 1.8–12),[23] from the mainland Greek perspective North African Cyrene was

[20] Cp. Payen (1997) 88–91.

[21] E.g., Syloson (3.139–49), the Argives (7.152.3). The motif of Greeks inviting in the Persians: Pelling (2000) 95–6; Baragwanath (2008) 190–1, 243.

[22] Cp. Baragwanath (2008) 86–7.

[23] See Wolff (1964) for the parallel between the story of Candaules and his wife and Xerxes and Masistes' wife.

perhaps liminal territory—in between 'Greek' and 'other'—that was conducive to transgressive deeds. Pheretime's violent and barbarous revenge looks ahead also to Hermotimus' exacting, in the marginal territory of Atarneus, of 'a greater vengeance for wrong done to him than had any man whom we know'.[24] Pheretime's son, on the other hand—the barbaric, impious, and tyrannical Greek monarch Arcesilaus III—finds not a reflection but a reverse-image in another non-Greek occupant of liminal Sardis, the pious and philhellenic Lydian Croesus.[25]

The account of Theras' foundation also finds an intriguing shadow in a later narrative of a failed attempt to colonise Libya, that of the Spartan royal Dorieus, who 'on account of his manly excellence' (5.42.1) expected to become king. The Spartans instead followed custom and crowned by right of age his half-brother, the mad Cleomenes. 'Thinking it a dreadful thing [δεινόν τε ποιεύμενος] and not deeming it right to be ruled by Cleomenes' (5.42.2), Dorieus asks for a company of men (λεών), whom he takes to found a colony, settling first in the 'fairest spot' (χῶρον κάλλιστον, 5.42.3) of Libya. The resonances between the two narratives are clear: Theras, after serving as Spartan regent for some time, left Sparta 'thinking it a terrible thing (δεινὸν ποιεύμενος) to be ruled by others after tasting power' (4.147.3), and sailed away with a company of people (λεών, 4.148.1) to *Kalliste* (4.147.5). In a negative mirror image, however, Dorieus 'neither consulted the Delphic oracle about which land to settle in, nor did anything else customary' (5.42.2), but angrily set sail for Libya, taking Theran men as his guides. Eventually driven out, he returned to the Peloponnese, from where, with Delphic assistance, he attempted to plant a colony in Sicily (5.43–6), only to be slain in battle (5.46). This more recent historical parallel of Theras' story is perhaps included as a moral tale and example of the vagaries of human fortune—for, Herodotus observes (5.48), 'had Dorieus endured Cleomenes' rule and stayed at Sparta, he would have been king of Lacedaemon', since Cleomenes soon died, leaving behind no male heir.

We have seen how the opening of Herodotus' narrative prepares for the appearance of the Libyan *logos*, while the Libyan *logos* in turn invites readers to reflect on the proem. In two further dimensions, each with metatextual implications (offering insight into historical processes and their interpretation), this *logos* looks back to the proem, and these will be our focus in the rest of this paper. First, it fulfils the promise of the opening

[24] 8.104–6 with Hornblower (2003), esp. 44–5 on Atarneus as marginal territory by virtue of being *peraia*. On Lydia as a country in-between East and West see Pelling (1997) 56. Impaling as associated with barbarity: Hdt. 9.78–9, L. G. Mitchell (2012) 11 n. 41. Gray (1995) 208 describes Pheretime as 'barbarised by proximity to barbaric lands'. L. G. Mitchell (2012) 20–1 observes the remote location of most transgressive females in Archaic and Classical Greek sources. Herodotus does not by and large expose distinctly *female* transgression: Dewald (1980) and (1981); Gray (1995).

[25] Antonis Tsakmakis drew my attention to this parallel.

sentence to focus in on the *aitiē*: the cause of, or responsibility for, Greco-Persian hostility; and second, it promotes divergent, unfamiliar and foreign narratives and perspectives (like those of the Persian and Phoenician *logioi* ('learned men'), with their defamiliarising perspective on Greek mythology). We shall address in turn the historical narratives and the Libyan ethnography.

3. The Mythical/Historical Narrative

In his opening sentence Herodotus signals that an important aspect of his project will be the analysis of causation or responsibility: his display of *historiē*, which aims to preserve Greek and barbarian collective memory, will consider 'other matters and especially through what cause (δι' ἣν αἰτίην)' the Greeks and Persians warred. Part and parcel of the interest in historical causation is the exposure of its tentative character.[26] Explanations also are of their nature as partial and partisan as the stories that contain them. Informants and actors alike tend to ask 'who's to blame' or 'who started it', and so to reduce explanation down to narrow questions of personal responsibility.

The profusion of such claims, with subsequent actions viewed by participants in terms of *counter*-actions (negative reciprocity), has promoted emphasis on the key explanatory importance of vengeance in the *Histories*, since ideas of vengeance surface readily in contexts of blame.[27] But the assigning of responsibility and explanation can be quite separate matters in the historian's inquiry. The proem stages this distinction in the contrast it draws between the accusations made by Persians and Phoenicians about cause and responsibility, and a genuine cause that the historian identifies (in the actions of Croesus). Tim Rood has critiqued readings of the proem as a programmatic statement about the importance of reciprocal justice between Greeks and non-Greeks on the grounds that what Herodotus there stages are shifting *claims* about justice and reciprocity.[28] Christopher Pelling has underscored how the *Histories* deflects the reflex that assumes that the aggressor in a defensive war—here the Persians—must be to blame, as by

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[26] Baragwanath (2008) esp. 3–4 (main narrative); Mezzadri (2013) (ethnographies).

[27] Pagel (1927) and de Romilly (1971) understood vengeance in the *Histories* simply in terms of personal motivation, an assumption Gould (1989) and (1991) rightly contested, revealing reciprocity, positive and negative, to be a deep structuring and explanatory device. Immerwahr (1956) had already pointed to the complex and multiple nature of causation in Herodotus, of which vengeance is just one aspect. On the natural connection of *aitiē* and blame: Immerwahr (1956) 244–5; Pelling (2000) 88. See also Lateiner (1989) 189–210; Munson (2001b) 187–8; Fisher (2002) 217–24; Baragwanath (2008) 15 n. 39 with text, and now the magisterial Pelling (2019).

[28] Rood (2010); cp. Węcowski (2004) 152 (Herodotus humorously exposing the superficial causality that the chain of abductions assumes).

exposing how one party's blame of another may mask an ulterior motive.[29] Herodotus routinely complicates questions of moral and legal responsibility by emphasising the role of rhetoric and persuasion, and presenting a picture in which explanations proliferate. His frequent posture of staying above the fray, and avoiding attributions of responsibility, helps to establish his historiographical authority as impartial judge.

In its complex intertwining with the narrative of Persian intervention in Libyan affairs, Herodotus turns his narrative of the careers and demise of one of the last kings in the line of Greek colonial rulers of Cyrene and his mother into an instructive illumination of the complications of historical aetiology. The Persian expedition is initially explained as motivated by a desire for subjugation (ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταστροφῇ, 4.167.3). But this grandiose original objective soon fizzles out, and a stark contrast surfaces between the huge forces initially sent and the eventual outcome. What results is the conquest of the Greek settlement Barca (not the larger Cyrene) and the transportation of its surviving citizens, enslaved, to King Darius, who settles them in a town in Bactria that they also name Barca—which Herodotus observes 'was still an inhabited town up to my time' (4.204).[30] In a sense this entire section of the narrative turns out then to be an aetiology for the existence of a tiny Greek settlement in Bactria, a situation that highlights the potential dissonance between intentions or explanation, and historical outcomes. The relocation to Bactria also anticipates the fate of the Ionians in Book 6, taken off to Bactra (the threat made at 6.9 is partially fulfilled at 6.32).[31] As already noted (above, p. 157), Barca takes us back to the beginning of Herodotus by supplying an example of a city becoming small: an example of change over time, in accordance with a basic principle of the human condition (cp. 1.5.4; 1.32). Earlier in the *logos* Herodotus exposed the care required in constructing valid aetiological arguments in correcting a tradition that had grown up from a name given later: it is because the Pythia referred to the would-be king as 'Battus' that he gained that name, not that his stuttering as a child explains the name (4.155); a false aetiology (since 'Battus' = 'the Stutterer' in Greek) generated the notion of a speech impediment.

Herodotus exposes the challenging nature of the task of understanding causation in this *logos* in other ways. It is the Persian attempt at, and

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[29] Pelling (2000) 96. On the complexities of Herodotus' ascriptions of blame see now Pelling (2019) 34–8, 123–8, with nuanced discussion of vengeance, reciprocity, and blame specifically in the Libyan *logos* at 125–8.

[30] Stephanie West observes that deportation from the Persian empire's most westerly point almost to its eastern limit has a symbolic quality, as if demonstrating the Great King's claim to be lord of all men from the sun's rising to its setting (Aeschines 3.132), but she raises practical objections to such a distant move, and suspects that linguistic confusion is involved in the destination.

[31] As Simon Hornblower points out to me.

ultimate failure to effect, conquest in Libya that connects this story to the *Histories*' wider narrative arc. The first specific anticipation of this *logos* and its interest in explanation was in Book 2 (2.161), where Herodotus promised to relate 'in the Libyan *logoi*' more about a *prophasis*, explanation (one to do with the demise of the Egyptian Pharaoh Apries; cp. 4.159). When he reaches the Libyan *logos* he immediately draws attention to the red thread of Persian conquest, and he raises the question of the *prophasis*[32] for Persian interest in Libya, but only to delay addressing it (4.145.1):

> τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος στρατιῆς μέγας στόλος, **διὰ πρόφασιν** τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε.

> Around about the same time another great expedition of an army occurred, against Libya, **because of a *prophasis* [explanation, justification]** that I will narrate fully once I have first recounted the following.

Preserving the mystery invites readers to keep in mind this question about the reason for the expedition, as Herodotus delves eight generations back in time to recount the history of Greek involvement in Cyrene, in an account that has links still further back into the mythical past. When this colonial back-story catches up with the moment of Persian contemplation of Libya, Herodotus returns to explaining the attempt.[33]

One strand of explanation offers multiple contributory causes for Persian imperial interest in Libya. The immediate cause or occasion of this interest is Pheretime's invitation to Aryandes, the Persian satrap of Egypt. She seeks his help in avenging the murder of her son Arcesilaus by the citizens of Barca, holding out as a reason why the satrap should help her the allegation that he was killed for his medism (4.165.3):

> ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἡ Φερετίμη Ἀρυάνδεω ἱκέτις ἕζετο, τιμωρῆσαι ἑωυτῇ κελεύουσα, **προϊσχομένη πρόφασιν** ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδισμὸν ὁ παῖς οἱ τέθνηκε.

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[32] On *prophasis*: Sealey (1957) 5–6; Pelling (2000) 87–8 with 268 n. 9; Baragwanath (2008) 135.

[33] On the historical relationship of the Battiad dynasty to Persia and the nature of Cyrene's submission to Persian rule: B. Mitchell (2002) 90–4. Giangiulio (2011) regards Herodotus' account as an example of traditions' *construction* of events, preferring as more historically accurate that of Menecles of Barca (*FGrHist* 270 F 5). As Stephanie West observes, Pheretime's response to her son's assassination well illustrates the assumption that submission to Persian rule implied support for the local rulers who acted as the Empire's agents (cf. 4.137–8); but it was no mean feat for the satrap of Egypt to control affairs at such a distance. The journey from the Delta to Cyrene was difficult, whether by land or sea.

> Arriving in Egypt Pheretime threw herself before Aryandes as a suppliant, asking him to avenge her, **claiming [lit. 'holding out as a *prophasis*']** that her son had been killed because he was pro-Persian.

To explain Aryandes' decision to respond to her request, Herodotus paints a picture of complex personal motivation, with various factors in play, including pity: Aryandes 'took pity on' (4.167.1) the suppliant Pheretime, granting her his Egyptian forces. Her charge that her son was killed for medising opens up the possibility that another contributing factor was Aryandes' sense of Persia's obligation to return the favour. Aryandes' response also maps on to the wider pattern of subjects eager to favour the Great King so as to gain favour in return (e.g., Zopyrus, 3.154–60). The question Aryandes poses the people of Barca, *via* a herald—'who killed Arcesilaus?' (4.167.2)—and his later demand that the Barcaeans 'hand over those who are guilty of Arcesilaus' murder' (τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου, 4.200.1), frames the campaign in its public aspect as motivated by concerns for justice: as exacting punishment on those responsible for murder. Accordingly, Aryandes despatches his forces with Pheretime only once the Barcaeans have admitted joint responsibility. But finally Herodotus discloses what in his opinion is the ultimate, underlying, cause of the expedition, the desire to subject Libya (4.167.3):

> αὕτη μέν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα τοῦ λόγου ἐγίνετο, ἐπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύων καταστροφῇ. Λιβύων γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖά ἐστι, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλέος ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω ἐφρόντιζε Δαρείου οὐδέν.

> This *aitiē* [reason/accusation], then, was the *proschēma* [pretext, ostensible objective; 'that which is held before'] in word, but the army was sent, it seems to me, for the subjugation of Libya. For the tribes of the Libyans are many and varied, and only a few of them were subject to the King, whereas most paid no heed at all to Darius.

The observation provides Herodotus with a convenient occasion for a lengthy ethnographic discursus on these Libyan tribes. Its placement immediately after the great armament embarks with Pheretime reproduces in narrative form the temporal delay generated by the troops' advance from Egypt to Barca (they arrive at 4.199) and generates suspense on the part of the reader as to what will be the outcome of this first Persian attack on a Greek city.

Herodotus' presentation keeps elegantly vague the question of whether
the campaign is motivated by *Darius'* desire for conquest of Libya, or rather
by Aryandes' anticipation of such desire for expansion in this direction.
The sense that the underlying explanation is a desire for subjugation on the
part of Persia and her Kings—Darius included—finds support in the
narrative pattern of Persia's expansionist tendency: the *Histories* up to this
point has created an impression of her inexorable imperialist drive.
Herodotus has described the Persian conquest of Media, Lydia, and Egypt,
and attempt to conquer Scythia. A further narrative and historical pattern
is Persia's exploitation of others' self-seeking invitations to further her own
imperialist design. And yet the second possibility—that Aryandes more
than Darius is thinking in terms of the conquest of the whole of Libya
(himself aware of the trajectory of Persian imperialism, and assuming
motives on Darius' part)—remains in play as well: it gains force from the
wider pattern of the Persian King's subjects acting independently on his
behalf, in hope of benefits in return, and also from Darius' non-
involvement in the campaign as it unfolds (right up until the moment when
the Barcaean slaves are presented to him at the end of the Libyan *logos*,
4.204). The chance invitation that leads to a major policy objective also
maps on to the pervasive Herodotean motif examined in detail by van der
Veen of the significance of the (apparently) insignificant.[34]

The explanatory texture becomes even richer when we shift from
considering the beginnings (of Persian imperial interest in Libya) to *ends*—
also privileged moments for historical interpretation[35]—to examine the
cause of the end of the Cyrenaean dynasty and of the earlier death of
Arcesilaus III (which provoked his mother's vengeance). Delphic oracles
have conveyed the workings of divine agency throughout the narrative of
Cyrene's early history, and now described is the oracle received by
Arcesilaus upon his inquiry 'about his return' (from exile) (4.163.1). This
oracle articulates the over-arching trajectory of the dynasty's end and offers
specific advice to the king, partly clear, partly obscure (4.163.2–3):

> ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ τάδε· ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως
> τέσσερας, ὀκτὼ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοῖ ὑμῖν Λοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης·
> πλέον μέντοι τούτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινέει. σὺ μέντοι ἥσυχος εἶναι
> κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωυτοῦ. ἢν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὕρῃς πλέην ἀμφορέων, μὴ
> ἐξοπτήσῃς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οὖρον· εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσεις
> τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθῃς ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποθανέαι καὶ
> αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων.

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[34] van der Veen (1996).

[35] Cp. Solon's advice 'look to the end': 1.32.9; Artabanus': 7.51.3; Marincola (2005).

The Pythia replied as follows: 'For four Battuses and four Arcesilauses, eight generations of men, Loxias gives to you to rule Cyrene; more than this he advises you not even to try. Do you rather return to your country and be peaceful. If you should find an oven full of amphorae, do not fire the amphorae but send them off with a fair wind; but if you fire the oven, don't go to the sea-girt place, otherwise, you will perish, you and the bull that is most beautiful'.[36]

Arcesilaus ignores the advice to tread gently and employs his army to return to power. 'Obtaining power, he forgot the oracle', and sets about exacting harsh justice for his exile (4.164.1–2). Only after burning opponents to death in a tower does the meaning of the oracle dawn on him (4.164.3). Fearing the prophesied death, he avoids Cyrene, which he supposes to be the 'sea-girt' place, only to be slain in Barca together with his father-in-law, king of the Barcaeans (and presumably the 'most beautiful bull' of the oracle). Herodotus' later summary—'he worked his own destruction' (4.165.1)—reiterates the notion of Arcesilaus' personal responsibility. Presumably he could instead have 'kept quiet' (cp. 4.163.3), treating the Cyrenaeans mildly or even abandoning power, and so evaded death. Arcesilaus has also proved unreceptive to divine commands in other ways, as in attempting to claw back the people's divinely ordained privileges (4.162.1); and to this extent he seems responsible for his own demise.

But implicit in the oracle delivered to Arcesilaus (as in that delivered to Gyges, 1.13.2) are also notions of limits to, and the inherent instability of, autocratic rule.[37] There is the explicit statement that the reign will end after eight generations, but also the Pythia's expression with **πλέον … τούτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι** ('more than this … not even to try') where the infinitive resembles πεῖραρ (denoting 'end' or 'limit' in Ionic),[38] and οὖρον, which beyond 'fair wind' (its meaning here) can denote 'limit, range' (and is used in this sense by Solon, of the limit of a man's life: 1.32.2). The remark that 'obtaining power (Aryandes) forgot the oracle' (ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντηίου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, with the causal connection implicit in the participial construction) encapsulates an explanatory idea familiar in the *Histories*, of rulers' vulnerability to the delusion that power brings in its

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[36] On the oracle and its interpretation: Corcella (2007) *ad loc.*; Hollmann (2011) 115–16.

[37] Cp. Corcella (2007) *ad* 4.163.2–3.

[38] The two words are semantically different (*peirasthai*, 'to try', cognate with πεῖρα, ἡ v. πεῖραρ), yet there seems to be a semantic convergence too, as Maria Fragoulaki points out to me: see Chantraine (2009) *s.v.* πεῖρα (ἡ) (cognate of πειρᾶσθαι): ἀπείρων ('endless' from α + πεῖραρ, τό) is a homonymous doublet of ἄπειρος (α + πεῖρα, 'inexperienced, not knowing'—i.e., having not tried). Compare Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1088 with Jebb (1887) ad loc.: 'περά-ω, to go through, πεῖρα (περία), a going-through…, are closely akin to πέρα, beyond, πέρας, πεῖραρ a limit…: in poetical usage, then, their derivatives might easily pass into each other's meanings'.

train, implicit in the trajectories of Cyrus, Croesus, Cambyses, Polycrates, and Maiandrios (and expressed in the abstract by Otanes: 3.80.3). These rulers 'learned too late', if at all: Croesus, for instance, gained insight about Solon's advice only as he burned on the pyre (1.86.3), while Cambyses only on his deathbed recognised his self-destructive paranoia (3.65).[39] The way Arcesilaus' conduct and trajectory maps on to that of other such powerful figures suggests its near inevitability; to hold power and retain insight (like Sabacos: see below, p. 172) is unusual. It looks ahead to Xerxes' increasing inability to interpret his situation, which compromises his ability to make decisions and to act (e.g., at 7.209.1, 8.87–8). Arcesilaus' interpretative failure is partly also that of 'the despot, acting by himself, [who] fails to comprehend the potential for polysemy':[40] communities in the *Histories* prove more capable, through group debate, of interpreting oracles. Yet the pattern is not confined to rulers: also recalled is the Lydians' forgetting of the original Gyges oracle, which becomes crucial at the end of the Croesus *logos*.[41]

Indeed, the emphasis on limits also pertains to the limits more generally of *human* knowledge, which the Delphic oracles underscore throughout the Libyan *logos*. Julia Kindt has brought out in relation to Croesus how Herodotus employs the oracle to stage the limits of human knowledge in contrast to divine omniscience.[42] The same dynamic helps explain Arcesilaus' failed oracular interpretation and demise. The narratives of oracular consultation followed by inaction or misguided action accentuate the Greeks' ignorance of Libya and lack of awareness about the future (as at 4.150.4: the Greeks are ignorant of Libya and fear sending a colony to an uncertain goal, ἀφανὲς χρῆμα). In his pointed declaration after the Greeks' failure to found a colony in Libya itself, the Delphic god emphasised the limits of human knowledge and reasserted his own wisdom and authority (4.157):

> Ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι πρὸς ταῦτα χρᾷ τάδε·
> αἰ τὺ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον,
> μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σευ.

> The Pythia replied to them as follows:
> 'If you know better than I sheep-breeding Libya,
> when you have not been there and I have, I greatly admire your wisdom'.

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[39] Similar vocabulary (with ἐξεργασ-) recurs, e.g., Cambyses ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου (3.65.3), τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξέργασταί μοι (3.65.5) ~ Herodotus on Arcesilaus: ἐξεργασμένος ἑωυτῷ κακόν (4.165.1).

[40] Barker (2006) 27, with primary reference to Croesus.

[41] See Pelling (2006), esp. 162–3.

[42] Kindt (2006).

General human inadequacy is then available as a further explanation for Arcesilaus' too-slow understanding of the advice about the amphorae found in the oven and failure correctly to interpret the place 'surrounded by water' (which turns out to be not Cyrene but Barca, 4.154). Details of the Battiad dynasty's starkly varied fortunes recall Solon's description of the human condition: the picture of human beings as 'altogether accident/misfortune' (1.32.4: πᾶν ἐστι ἄνθρωπος συμφορή), and the definition of the happy individual (ὄλβιος/εὐδαίμων) as the one who is 'unmaimed, not sick, without experience of evils, blessed with fine children and good looks' (ἄπηρος …, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὔπαις, εὐειδής), and in addition 'ends his life well' (τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὖ). Thus the forty year reign of 'Battus **the Fortunate**' (Βάττου **τοῦ εὐδαίμονος**, 4.159.2) is juxtaposed with the tumultuous reign of his son Arcesilaus, who after a major defeat in war suffers **illness** and is strangled by his brother; followed by the reign of **lame** Battus, under whose rule the Cyrenaeans suffer **misfortune** (συμφορήν); followed by the turbulent reign and violent death of Arcesilaus III; and Pheretime's even more ghastly end (see below). Herodotus omits reference to surviving children.

A further strand of explanation is suggested by the violence, *hybris*, and stasis that have peppered the dynasty over generations, and previously marked the Minyans, some of whom were ancestors of the Cyrenaean royal line. Ancestral predisposition is another factor, then, that lends intelligibility to Arcesilaus' conduct (as it did to Croesus'). The idea of inherited guilt and the corruption of the family line recalls myth and its expression in tragedy, for instance in relation to the Labdacids.[43] Herodotus (significantly?) included the detail that Battus the First was a descendant of Polynices (4.147.1).

The complications of aetiology in Arcesilaus' case are encapsulated in Herodotus' stark summary of the interpretative possibilities: Ἀρκεσίλεως μέν νυν εἴτε ἑκὼν εἴτε ἀέκων ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ('Arcesilaus then, whether willingly or unwillingly, missed the meaning of the oracle and fulfilled his own destiny/fate', 4.164.4), where suggestions of personal responsibility (ἑκών, 'willingly'; ἁμαρτών, 'mistaking'; **ἐξέπλησε** μοῖραν **τὴν ἑωυτοῦ**, '**he fulfilled his own** fate') accompany suggestions of external constraint and divine agency (ἀέκων, ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ). Hollmann usefully draws attention to the root ἁμαρτ– describing the involuntary error in interpretation here and in the parallel cases involving Croesus and Cambyses (4.164.4, cp. 1.71.1, 3.65.4), and to Croesus' assessment of 'the role of personal responsibility borne by humans for the interpretation of signs' (1.96.1);[44] and yet in the cases of both

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[43] See Gantz (1982); Sewell-Rutter (2007) 9–11, 15–48; Gagné (2013) 344–93.

[44] Hollmann (2011) 117.

Croesus[45] and Arcesilaus (in the mention of Moira), the Pythia's message nonetheless complicates a straightforward judgment of human responsibility.

'Moira' as 'fate' rarely occurs elsewhere in the *Histories*, and never in the authorial voice as here.[46] The perplexing mix of self-determination and fate invites recollection of the programmatic account of Croesus,[47] with Apollo's startlingly detailed description of the inescapable role of the Moirai (1.91). That narrative revealed complex determination,[48] with personal responsibility playing a role alongside external constraints including divine agency, even as those strands did not run entirely in parallel: the divine strand was revealed at the beginning and end. Croesus' reign was scheduled to come to its end (1.13.2, 1.91), but the trigger or occasion was his decision to attack Persia. Likewise Arcesilaus' actions perhaps precipitated what on the divine level was also set to occur, though not necessarily at that particular point in time. The Croesus *logos* brought out the possibility of flexibility in the details: the end of the Mermnad dynasty had been foretold generations earlier, but Apollo (according to the Lydians) was able to delay the sack of Sardis by three years. Croesus' misreading of the oracle (1.54, cp. 1.91.4) and decision to attack Persia supplied the occasion for his loss of power. The same distinction between general trajectory and trigger came out in the account of the Ethiopian ruler of Egypt: recognising that the god's instruction to murder the Egyptian priests was designed to supply an occasion (*prophasis*, 2.139.2) for them to punish him and so fulfil the fated end of his reign, Sabacos abdicated and left Egypt of his own accord (ἑκών). Earlier in the Libyan *logos* we saw the potential for humans to take responsibility in the face of a divine directive when King Grinnos redirected the divine command by asking Apollo to ask a younger man to lead the colony and pointing to Battus (4.150). So the presence of metaphysical agency need not cancel out all potential for self-determination.[49]

The statement of unresolved alternatives—with Arcesilaus meeting his end 'either willingly or unwillingly' (4.164.4)—in fact crystallises a key theme of the Libyan *logos* and the work as a whole, the tension between free will and divine determination, inner and external causation, already prominent in the question of the work's opening sequence of whether Io left of her free will or constrained by the sailors (with the traditional story of

[45] Cp. Harrison (2000) 224.

[46] Hdt. 1.121: Astyages speaking of Cyrus' fate; 3.142.3: Maeandrius of Polycrates fulfilling his fate. Cp. the Lydians' report of Apollo's reply about human fate (1.91.1) and personified Moirai (1.91.2). See also below, n. 49. Harrison (2000) 241 explains *moira* here as 'a 'theological term … be[ing] used in a loose, "proverbial" sense'.

[47] The Croesus *logos* as programmatic: *inter alia* Kindt (2006) 4–5; Pelling (2006) 142–3, 172–3; Grethlein (2010) 188 n. 125 with text.

[48] Pelling (2006); Sewell-Rutter (2007), esp. 11; Gagné (2013) 325–43.

[49] Fate and human responsibility in Herodotus: Gould (1989) 70–8; Harrison (2000) 223–42; Kindt (2006) 46 n. 61 with text; Grethlein (2010) 190.

Zeus' agency conspicuously suppressed). The complicated conception of responsibility we find here exposes the presence of not only dual determination (divine/human), but also other factors that circumscribe action. An active participant in the contemporary debate on responsibility and determination (reflected, for instance, in Gorgias' scandalous treatise exculpating Helen, Antiphon's soundings on personal responsibility in the *Tetralogies*, or tragedy's complicating of responsibility and blame), Herodotus injects this sensibility into his probing and shaping of Greek collective memory.

The remainder of the Libyan *logos*, recounting the grim twinned fates of Barca and Pheretime, uncovers further complications of historical aetiology. Pheretime claims to be exacting just revenge in cruelly punishing the people of Barca; but the god in turn takes horrific revenge on her.[50] The preceding narrative has presented justice and righteous action as a genuine motivating force but also shown that justice may be manipulated toward selfish ends: with the result that charges of legal responsibility cannot reveal where human responsibility lies. Thus the Minyans convinced the Spartans by holding out 'justice' as the reason they should provide land and privileges to descendants of sailors who accompanied Spartan Tyndaridae on the Argo (4.145.4)—so highlighting the explanatory power of kindred ties even in the mythical period to explain the recent past. The concern of Themison ('the man who does right') piously to fulfil the terms of his oath (4.154.4) though not Etearchus' brutal intention, painted justice as genuinely motivating virtuous individuals. But charges of legal responsibility have equally proved to be misdirected or disproportionate, with individuals blaming others to justify their own response, with claims of legal and moral responsibility obscuring what is really at stake. Thus Aryandes framed his response to Pheretime's plea in terms of justice, but Herodotus promoted an explanation more to do with (Aryandes' imagining of) Persian politico-military objectives. According to a story included between the account of Pheretime's plea and Aryandes' response, Darius would later execute the latter 'for making himself equal to Darius' (4.166.1) by minting a pure silver coinage on the model of Darius' gold; but Herodotus remarked that Darius chose a different (more publicly acceptable?) charge on which to put him to death: that he had rebelled (4.166.2).

The account of Barca showcases outright perversions of justice and the law. Unable to defeat their courageous opposition to the siege, the Persian commander entraps the Barcaeans through a deceptive perversion of oath-taking. The Persians have booby-trapped the earth outside so that their oath—set to last 'as long as the earth remains as it is'—immediately dissolves (4.201.3). The legalistic yet fraudulent application of the oath has

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[50] The punishment of Pheretime: Munson (2001b) 186–8; Fisher (2002) 214–15.

disquieting implications.[51] The complete trust of the Barcaeans (πιστεύ-σαντες, 'trusting'; τὰς πάσας πύλας ἀνοίξαντες, 'opening all the gates') pointedly contrasts with the Persians' self-justifications of their conduct on the ground that it complies with the literal words of the oaths: Herodotus' exhaustive, repetitive account (4.201.3) conveys their self-justifying focalisation. The queen's claim to be exacting justice for her son's murder has been problematised by Herodotus' depiction of his tyrannical qualities, which supports the Barcaeans' view that they were justified in putting him to death (4.167.2). The Barcaeans' physical responsibility for the deed does not then straightforwardly map on to legal or moral responsibility, for in determining that—as their reply intimates: 'Before sending his army, Aryandes sent a herald to Barca to inquire who killed Arcesilaus. The Barcaeans unanimously claimed responsibility (αὐτοὶ ὑπεδέκοντο πάντες); **for they had suffered many wrongs at his hands**' (4.167.2)—one ought to consider the wider picture, and the possibility that their act was just.

Claims of justice are also exposed as deluded or disproportionate. Thus Arcesilaus 'demanded justice for his banishment' (4.164.1) and consequently sent citizens to Cyprus to be slain and burnt others to death in a great tower—punishments far severer than the crime. Pheretime's claim to be exacting just revenge is problematised by Herodotus' depiction of the disproportionate nature of that revenge. She impales those 'most guilty' of her son's murder (τοὺς … αἰτιωτάτους) around the top of the city wall, cuts off their wives' breasts and plants them around the wall too, and gives the rest of the Barcaeans to the Persians as booty. Finally she turns the city over to 'those who were of the House of Battus and did not share in the murder' (τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι, 4.202). The dissonance generated between the Barcaeans' prior admission of joint guilt and Pheretime's punishment of a mere segment of the community suggests again that the punishment does not directly fit the crime, but has been fuelled by her desire to be avenged and to keep power within the family.

Immediately upon her return to Egypt Pheretime 'dies horribly', eaten alive by worms, and Herodotus infers divine agency (4.205):

> … ὡς ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται. ἡ μὲν δὴ Φερετίμης τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτη τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρίη ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

> … so far it would seem are excessive acts of vengeance by humans abominated by the gods. Such and so great was the vengeance wrought against the Barcaeans by Pheretime the daughter of Battus.

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[51] Cp. Hollmann (2011) 221 on Amasis; Lateiner (2012) 162–3 on this and other 'extraordinary examples of cleverness and trickery, in and by oath' in the *Histories*.

Thus he closes the Libyan *logos* by underscoring the dissonance between vengeance and justice, and the distance that separates the judgments of mortals and gods: human perversions of notions of legal responsibility, efforts to blur the difference between justice and vengeance, and meting out of unwarranted punishments for vengeance's sake, over against divine enactment of retribution that is indeed just (albeit harsh). The gods' severe punishment of Pheretime makes clear that they regard her excessive vengeance as unjust. The same contrast surfaced at the beginning of the *Histories* between the accusations of injustice made by Persian and Phoenician *logioi* (which the historian neither corroborates nor refutes) and the enactment of divine justice to punish the true offenders in relation to the Trojan War (which Herodotus corroborates in Book 2: 2.120.5). Elsewhere too divine justice may be implicitly making up for inadequate human mechanisms for punishing legal responsibility, as when Ephialtes, the traitor who betrayed the Thermopylae pass, was killed later in time 'through another cause' (7.213), unrelated to the betrayal (though the Spartans honour his killer no less for that).

The story of Barca also opens up the possibility of an explanation in terms of the transgression of gender norms. The potential of women to influence events is visible throughout the *Histories*, right from the opening abductions,[52] and also in the Libyan *logos* in the account of Cyrene's foundation. In an example of positive female influence, the wives of the Minyans retrieved their husbands from jail and so saved their lives (4.146). A wicked stepmother (in one version: 4.154) persuaded her husband, King of Crete, to drown his daughter, but she was saved and went on to become a royal concubine and ultimately the mother of the first Battus. The narrative of more recent times has exposed the pernicious influence exercised by (Greek) Pheretime and highlighted more generally the issue of female agency. When Arcesilaus fled to Samos, 'his mother fled to Cyprian Salamis' (4.162.2). Her active initiative was underscored through its narration prior even to the account of Arcesilaus' response to his exile: Pheretime approached Euelthon, ruler of Cyprian Salamis, to demand an army with which she and her son could return to power. Euelthon would give her anything but that, and finally sent a golden spindle, distaff, and wool, with the message that 'women should be given such gifts as these, and not an army' (4.162.5).[53] After her son's relocation to Barca, Pheretime 'held his privileges in Cyrene and administered other things and sat in the council' (4.165.1), before learning of his death and heading to Egypt to exact revenge. Pheretime's transgressive otherness is thus partly that of the

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[52] Dewald (1980) and (1981); Bichler (2000) 15–27; Blok (2002); Hazewindus (2004); Boedeker (2011).

[53] The gesture is Homeric (cp. *Iliad* 6.490–3) and symbolises decorous female activity: Bichler (2000) 23, L. G. Mitchell (2012) 10–11.

barbarian, partly that of the tyrant or royal (standing alongside her tyrannical son Arcesilaus),[54] but also (like Artemisia, whose 'manly courage' drove her to war: 7.99.1; cp. 8.93) partly that of the manly woman.[55]

Herodotus' presentation points also to the explanatory potential of culture in Greek Euelthon's resistance to Pheretime's repeated requests (4.162), in contrast to Persian Aryandes' immediate compliance in granting forces (4.167.1). In a parallel later episode Xerxes gives in with disastrous results to two successive requests by women (9.109, 110). In the case of Artaÿnte's (which follows his mistaken assumption that she will ask for 'everything other' ($\pi\hat{a}\nu$ $\mu\hat{a}\lambda\lambda o\nu$) than what she does: 9.109.2), 'Xerxes was offering her cities and abundant gold and an army ($\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota s$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\grave{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\delta o\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}$ $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\grave{o}\nu$ $\acute{a}\pi\lambda\epsilon\tau o\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}$ $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu$) of which she would have sole command; for an army is a typically Persian gift' (9.109.3; cp. Euelthon in 4.162.4: **$\pi\hat{a}\nu$** **$\mu\hat{a}\lambda\lambda o\nu$ $\mathring{\eta}$ $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ $o\acute{\iota}$ $\grave{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\delta o\upsilon$**). The ethnographic gloss underscores the relevance of culture and by drawing attention to the concept of armies as gifts recalls the memorable interaction of Pheretime and Euelthon. The parallel retrospectively emphasises further the explanatory role of culture, especially perhaps in (too-lenient) Persian cultural attitudes to women. In turn, the episode in the Libyan *logos* qualifies readers' interpretations of that later narrative: Pheretime's action intimates that the polarities of Greek and non-Greek are inadequate for explaining Amestris' shocking behaviour, for a Greek queen was capable of something similar, only worse: the death and mutilation of many citizens.

After enslaving the Barcaeans the Persians set off on their journey back east, at which point dissent between the commanders results in a significant consequence: the failure to take Cyrene when the opportunity arises. This again sets a pattern for later, where the dispute between Megabates and Aristagoras has as its upshot the Persians' failure to take Naxos (5.33), which in turn will move Aristagoras to change sides and plot the Ionian Revolt (5.35).[56] Before they finally reach Egypt, Persian stragglers are slain by some Libyans 'for the sake of their clothes and equipment' (4.203.4)—a random event that suggests carelessness on the Persians' part: a failure to guard against the unpredictable agency of those not subject to Persian rule.

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[54] Cp. Gray (1995).

[55] L. G. Mitchell (2012) 10–11 sets Pheretime—a Greek royal woman who is 'prepared to push at the boundaries of acceptable [womanly] behaviour' in becoming actively involved in war—against the background of the panhellenic phenomenon of *basileia*, whereby already in Archaic and Classical periods women of ruling families exercised considerable influence. On the historical Pheretime, see also B. Mitchell (2002) 92.

[56] There will be command disagreements on the Greek side as well; polarities are again qualified. I thank Christopher Pelling for his insights here.

4. The Libyan Ethnography

Enclosed within the historical/mythical narratives of the Libyan *logos* is an extensive survey of the Libyan land, peoples, and customs.[57] Its placement (sandwiched between historical narratives) and the resulting juxtaposition of discourses and explanatory modes—historical discourse and narrative explanation, on the one hand, ethnographical discourse and explanation through the depiction of culture and the collective, on the other[58]—spurs readers to compare history and ethnography, thereby further enriching the picture of historical aetiology in general and explanations for the *aitiē* of Greco-Persian conflict in particular. The process of comparison is encouraged by the polemical remarks about the shape of the world that were nested within the preceding Scythian *logos*: Herodotus' criticism of simplistic contemporary notions of continental division (4.36–45) included a pointed challenge to the narratives of the proem (1.1–5), which in accounting for the origins of Greco-Persian hostility assumed a binary cultural and geographical division of the world and a model wherein female abductions led to the naming of continents.[59] Within the Libyan *logos*, Herodotus has identified ethnographical awareness as a crucial ingredient for accurate historical understanding: his knowledge that 'Battus' was the Libyan word for king equipped him to expose a flaw in the reported tradition (the same superior knowledge as that possessed by the Pythia, who 'called [the would-be Battus] by a Libyan name, knowing (εἰδυῖαν) that he would be king in Libya', 4.155.2.).

The Libyan ethnography's complications of aetiology are occasionally explicit, as where Herodotus corroborates the Libyans' extreme health, but beyond the correlation refuses to affirm a *causal* connection with their

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[57] On the Libyan ethnography, see Lloyd (1990) 236–44 and Corcella (2007) 668–721, each with further references.

[58] To use a distinction of convenience: throughout his work Herodotus engages in '*historiē*', inquiry, which is also the term he employs for the published form of his research, and in his wake ethnographical practices came to be viewed in antiquity as 'quintessentially historical': Dench (2007) 493, cp. 499. On the close intertwining in Herodotus of ethnography and history: Payen (1997); Skinner (2012) 244–8. The distinction may be framed as (sequential) 'narrative' versus (descriptive) 'non-narrative': Marincola (1999) 302–3: '[b]oth can be historical, although pursuing different ends, and both can be concerned with causes and explanations' (302); cp. Lateiner (1989) 145–62; Baron (2013) 210–18. Munson (2001b) 45–133 highlights differences between diachronic historical narrative and synchronic geography/ethnography.

[59] Hdt. 4.42 (with Thomas (2000) 81–3), 4.45: Herodotus cannot guess why the earth, which is one, has three names, all of women, and why rivers are set as its boundary lines; nor from where the continental names actually derive; Europa 'was clearly from Asia and never came to this land which the Greeks now call Europe, but only from Phoenicia to Crete and from Crete to Lycia'; but he will employ the names established by custom (4.45.5). Cp. Munson (2001b) 84–7.

practice of cauterising their children's heads. (Challenging a possible aetiology in this case appears to involve challenging contemporary medical explanations: 4.187.3).[60] More often, the complications surface implicitly, through the comparison of historical narrative and ethnography. Whereas the diachronic historical discourse had Greek Delphi as its centre of gravity and emphasised individuals and the personal, the ethnographical discourse emphasises the collective,[61] and through its diffusion across space and time creates further layers of historical aetiology. Thus while the historical narrative highlighted changes of identity on the level of the individual—a boy (in the version Herodotus believes) adopted the name Battus, which reflects his new status as king (4.155); an island adopted the name of its individual founder (Kalliste becoming Thera); an individual king (Darius) will be the agent of the Barcaeans' relocation from Greece to Bactria—the ethnography depicts such change from a more distanced vantage point and from the perspective of the collective. In this way, after an ecological disaster, the Psylloi march south and are buried in a sandstorm and the Nasamones take over their country (4.173).

The ethnographical narrative offers different perspectives on explanation and historical change in relation to factors that include the divine, Greek/non-Greek exchange and identity, *nomos*, war, and agricultural fertility. In place of the depiction in the historical narrative of oracular consultations (individual or communal) that occur on defined occasions and seek to shape the future in specific ways, in the ethnography Herodotus describes communities' on-going religious festivals (e.g., 4.180: the Auseans' yearly festival in honour of Athene; 4.188: the nomads' sacrificing to sun and moon) and divination practices (4.172.3), without indicating specific objectives (beyond the presumed aim of securing divine favour). Exchanges between Greeks and non-Greeks within the historical narrative are intimate and personal (marriages for example), but those of the ethnography present a distanced perspective that emphasises the collective.[62] Thus the Adrymachidae, who dwell closest to Egypt, use for the most part Egyptian *nomoi*, but wear clothes like the other Libyans (4.168); whereas the Asbystae, who dwell inland of Cyrene, imitate most of the Cyrenaean *nomoi* (4.171, cp. also 4.189). In this way the historical narrative paints a specific, personal picture, while the ethnographic clarifies the broader implications of that picture, bringing out for example how colonisation leads to adoptions of *nomoi*. Conversely, the depiction within the historical narrative of interconnections between Greek and Other is reinforced by the plurality of exchange

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[60] With Thomas (2000) 35–7. Cp. Węcowski (2004) 152–3 on the proem as exposing superficial explanatory patterning.

[61] Cp. Bichler (2000) 14: in Herodotus' historical narrative women appear as individuals, in the ethnography 'only in the collectivity of their sex'.

[62] Immerwahr (1966) 113 points to 'the idea of the relations between Greeks and natives in Africa' as joining thematically the history of Cyrene and the Libyan ethnography.

(between Greeks and non-Greeks and also between the different communities of non-Greeks) described in the ethnographical narrative. With respect to the explanatory polarity of Greek/non-Greek, the terminology of the historical narrative—the denomination of 'Libyans' (also used by Herodotus himself of his informants in the ethnography)[63]—is shown to be inadequate by the ethnography's revelation of multiple and diverse Libyan peoples. In this way ethnographic knowledge enables the historian to challenge the ethnic labelling of *barbaroi* that occurred within the historical narrative. The way the Phoenicians and Greeks at the end of the ethnography stand side by side as ἐπήλυδες ('settlers', 'foreigners', 4.197.2), in contrast to the autochthonous Libyans and Ethiopians, qualifies once again the earlier explanatory principle of 'Greek versus Other'. The extensive description within the ethnography of communities' *nomoi* stands in tension with the historical narrative's usual emphasis on exceptions that challenge *nomos* as a key explanatory tool: as when Pheretime's behaviour transgresses Greek *nomoi* regarding women.[64] Similarly the ethnographical narrative describes the Nasamones' practice in oath taking (3.172.3–4), whereas the main narrative detailed instances of oaths compromised or contravened.

The way the ethnography punctures Greek assumptions is especially striking in how Herodotus offhandedly notes things that are 'spectacularly at variance with Greek custom'.[65] The alternative, ethnographical perspectives on gender and female agency thus defamiliarise and thereby highlight the distinctly Greek assumptions of the surrounding narrative.[66] The false accusation of lewdness against Phronime (4.154.2)—which plays a crucial explanatory role (on the Cyrenaeans' account prompting her father to arrange her drowning, but ultimately securing her future as mother of Battus)—could have no purchase in the society of the Gindanes, where a woman dons an ankle-bracelet for every man she sleeps with and 'she who has the most is deemed to be the best since she has been loved by the most men' (4.176).[67] Greek norms about women and war and the danger of mixing the two (nicely crystallised in Euelthon's gift of the spindle to

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[63] Hdt. 4.158: *bis*, 4.160: *ter*, 4.160.2: τοὺς ἡοίους τῶν Λιβύων. 'Libyans' used of Herodotus' informants: e.g., 4.173 (Λίβυες).

[64] *Nomos* in the *Histories*: 3.38.4 ('*nomos* is king of all') with Thomas (2000) 125–6; Munson (2001b) 167–72; Rood (2006) 298–300; Demont (2013); Mezzadri (2013). Baragwanath (2008) 107–20 highlights Herodotus' interest in *transgressions* of *nomos* and its limits as determinant of human behaviour.

[65] Lloyd (1990) 241; cp. Rosellini and Saïd (1978); Dewald (1981) 101–4; Bichler (2000).

[66] See more generally Bichler (2000) 13. Depiction of women in the Libyan ethnography: Rosellini and Saïd (1978) 975–85.

[67] Cp. the Nasamones' custom for a man to have many wives, for sexual intercourse to be promiscuous, and for a bride on the first night of marriage to have sex with all the wedding guests, each of whom gives her a gift (4.172).

Pheretime) are contextualised as distinctively Greek by the observation that the women of the Zauekes drive their chariots to war (4.193). The ethnography's numerous glimpses of women in relationships with their husbands and communities that are unexceptional and regulated by *nomos* also present a perspective that counters the explanatory value of women as suggested by the story of Pheretime. So far from being transgressive females, we find Cyrenaean and Barcaean women singled out in the ethnography as arbiters of correct custom (**οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες δικαιοῦσι πατέεσθαι...**, 4.186).[68]

The very assumption of war as a key agent of historical change (*Histories passim*, cp. Heraclitus, DK 22 B 80) is put to the test by the account of the Garamantes, who flee other human beings and possess neither weapons nor knowledge of self-defence (4.174). The observation that most of the many Libyan tribes care nothing for Darius represents a wholly different perspective on Persian power from the Greeks' (4.167, amplified at 4.197.1), and again prompts the reader to ask how the Persians could be so careless (see above, p. 176).

The initial historical narrative evoked the unfamiliar landscape of former times, including the difficulty even of finding Libya: thus the Samians encountered Tartessus, which 'was at this time an untouched port' (4.152)—a distinctly Greek perspective (untouched, *by Greeks*). Enigmatic oracles and the depiction of anxieties on the part of those receiving them created a sense of uncertainty about the physical space of Libya as well as future time. The ethnography instead displays the more comprehensive mapping of the continent in more recent times, assuming the exploration of parts of Libya by Greeks. Cyrene has become so familiar that it can serve as a touchstone for communicating the character of a less familiar site (4.156.3). The contrast points to the possibility of evolving perspectives and motivations over time: in the absence of detailed geospatial knowledge the early Greek settlers were dependent on the god's instruction, whereas their later counterparts alight upon a land whose advantages have become familiar—and familiar doubtless to the *Persians* as well. The 'historical' narrative had already hinted at changing motivations over time in the oracle from Delphi in the time of Battus the Fortunate that urged 'all Greeks' to head to 'lovely Libya' (Λιβύην πολυήρατον—an adjective deriving from ἐράω, used among other things of weddings and marriage-beds, presenting Libya as an object of desire), and not to wait until the land has already been divided up (4.159.3)—which indeed precipitated land-grabbing conducted by a 'great crowd' of new settlers.

The ethnography's description of the fertility of certain places in Libya, and especially Cyrene's triple harvest seasons (4.198–9), likewise raises the possibility of positive motivations, characterising the settlers as economic

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[68] Cp. Dewald (1981) 104 on women in Herodotus' ethnographic descriptions as guarantors of the survival of their cultures.

migrants as much as individuals compelled by divine constraint. The picture of agricultural abundance also recalls earlier hints in the narrative of more positive drives: as in Thera's former name 'Kalliste', and in the possibility that Cadmus put in there 'because the land pleased him' (4.147).[69] Delphi's oracles too hinted at the land's riches.[70] All this also helps explain *Darius'* interest, feeding in to the text's explanations for Persian imperialism in this part of the world.

5. Conclusion

The Libyan *logos* as a whole reveals how seriously Herodotus is interrogating causation, in keeping with his announcement in the proem, and subjects the Greek collective memory to rigorous analysis in this regard. A key challenge was to construct a narrative of the past that preserved its complexities. What the Libyan *logos* presents is not inexplicable or unintelligible, but a complicated, multi-stranded variety of explanation. The over-determination of explanation does not obliterate the narrative's truth-value; instead it allows for the presentation of a richer, more complex, and more truthful account.

Herodotus was constrained by the material available to him, plentiful in relation to Barca and especially Cyrene, scarce on Libya's desert interior and the Carthaginian-controlled west.[71] And yet so far from being at the mercy of informants keen to distort their role in history, we find him in full control,[72] selecting what to narrate of the material available and how to do so, in accordance with his announced aims and especially his desire to enrich and illuminate the broader work and to emphasise the slipperiness of stories told about the past.

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[69] Note also the mention of the 'fairest [κάλλισται] of groves' that enclose Aziris (4.157.3); how the locals led the Greeks past Irasa, 'the fairest place in their country' (τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων), by night so that its charms would not tempt them to stay (4.158.2); the locals' reference to how at Cyrene 'the heaven has holes in it' (indicating the abundance of rain) (4.158.3). On Cyrene's fertility: Cawkwell (2011) 11–32. See RO 96, 330–326 BCE, for the importation of grain from Cyrene to the Greek mainland and the islands.

[70] E.g., Λιβύην … μηλοτρόφον, 'sheep-breeding Libya' (4.155.3, 4.157.2); Λιβύην πολυ-ήρατον (4.159.3).

[71] Herodotus provides no description at all of Carthage, though Carthaginians do number among his informants. On Herodotus' sources of information on Libya: Corcella (2007) 568–9.

[72] Malten (1911) 96 already underscored the purposeful structure of Herodotus' Libyan *logos*, countering the notion that the account ended with Arcesilaus' death because of Herodotus' dependence on a source that ended there; the history of Cyrene is not an end in itself, but helps one appreciate the 'Hauptthema', the punitive expedition of the Persians against Barca.

Embroilment in a long-term, major conflict in the late fifth-century likely sparked heightened awareness of, and reflection on, *prophasis* and *aitiē*, explanation on a spectrum ranging from allegation to genuine cause—a development that Thucydides' unexpected and purposeful use of *prophasis* perhaps reflects (Thuc. 1.23.5–6 and 6.6.1, with n. 32 above). In the *Histories* the discourse of *prophasis* (as 'pretext') and *aitiē* (as 'accusation') underscores the distance between allegations and likely explanations, while the semantics of *aitiē* encodes this possibility for slippage between *aitiē* as objective 'explanation' and *aitiē* as subjective 'accusation' (much as *prophasis* can denote either 'pretext' or neutral 'reason given'). *Aitios* (denoting 'guilty' or 'responsible') and *aitiē* (where it denotes 'charge' or 'accusation') occur frequently on the lips of the *Histories'* actors, but Herodotus refrains from endorsing such charges except in cases of unmistakable guilt. The prevalence of the expression δίκας διδόναι is perhaps likewise to be ex-plained in part by its productive ambivalence: *dike/dikas* draws one into pondering the disjunction between these things.[73] Even if false or misguided explanations (in the form of rhetorical claims and justifications) do not map on to the primary underlying reasons, they may still have an indirect explanatory function, since they are available to be grasped by others as motives (as in the *prophasis* of medism that Pheretime held out to Aryandes). Herodotus' lengthy account of Theraean and Cyrenaean traditions about the founding of Cyrene was indeed a story of manifold allegations—true or false—that induced persuasion and motivated behaviour. Even as *prophaseis* are brought into question (as being too narrow, or as problematic in other ways as direct explanations), they give a sense of the arguments that entered the rhetorical discourse and could thereby become real causes. Thus instead of simply offering *ex eventu* judgments, Herodotus' text performs complex possibilities that seemed to be present at the time.

Joseph Skinner has observed in relation to Herodotus that ethno-graphical discourse, defined as 'thinking about culture from the point of view of the outsider', is 'intrinsically bound up in explaining past events—and, by extension, the present … Ethnographic enquiries can be detected at every level of Herodotean analysis …'.[74] The Libyan *logos* offers further support for this position, and points in addition to Herodotus' use of ethnography to invite readers to engage in self-aware metahistorical reflection on historical explanation. It encourages (Greek) readers to take stock and be mindful of their distinctive world-views, and to bear in mind

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[73] See Lateiner (1980) on how *dikas didonai* in Herodotus invariably represents a subjective judgment.

[74] Skinner (2012) 245, cp. 248; and Dench (2007) 500: '[Herodotus'] observations on customs and environment are directly linked to the patterning of imperial growth, success, and ultimate failure in the work as a whole'. See also Pelling (1997); Gruen (2011) 21–39. Immerwahr (1966) already brought out how far Herodotean ethnography engages with themes of the wider work.

different possible ways of explaining the past (and also the present). Thus the ethnographical narrative inserted within the historical account reinforces the dialogism of the work, especially in terms of the richness of its explanatory paradigms. Munson has noted how frequently Herodotus' descriptions of foreign cultures 'imply a context of Greek ignorance and prejudice and thereby signal the ethnographer's corrective aims'.[75] Our analysis points to the way in which these corrective aims may relate not only to the ethnographical account, or to notions about the role of culture in explaining action, but also more generally (on a more theoretical level) to readers' conceptions of historical aetiology.

The Greeks of Cyrene in North Africa under their newly democratic regime were perhaps especially appreciative of the dialogic, even democratic, qualities of the *Histories*, and of this *logos* in particular—and indeed the Libyan *logos* perhaps offers us some insight into this audience of Greeks residing in North Africa. They will have been crucial informants for Herodotus; and the vibrancy and detail of his account may in part reflect their concern to better understand Cyrene's early history and its more recent entanglements with Persia, as well as Libya as a physical space. The theme of 'Libya the unknown' surfaces at the continent's first major appearance in the *Histories* (in Book 2), in the high-spirited Nasamonian adventurers' determination to travel to the unknown Libyan deserts and find out 'if they might see more than those who had seen the most remote parts' (τὰ μακρότατα, 2.32); Herodotus' own enquiries in Libya likewise lead him 'to the most remote' (ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον … ἐξικέσθαι, 4.192), while the reports of others require him to separate what is plausible from what is fantasy.[76] In describing the continent he makes a clear effort to trace human knowledge as far as it goes (as in describing the chain of oases that stretch across the continent from east to west: 4.181–5), even as a powerful sense of the unknown remains.[77] The inclusion of the Libyan *logos* also implies curiosity on the part of Greeks more generally in this area of the world. Athens' covetous imperialistic gaze alighted upon Libya too, and this doubtless sparked increased interest in the region in the second part of the fifth century, especially on the part of Athenian audiences.[78] For readers

[75] Munson (2001b) 141.

[76] Note, e.g., 4.192: In eastern Libya 'are the huge snakes and the lions and the elephants and the bears and asps and donkeys with horns and the headless with eyes in their breasts (at least, that is what the Libyans say), and wild men and women, and many other creatures that are not fabulous'.

[77] I thank Rosalind Thomas for her guidance here.

[78] Carthage as potential object of Athenian imperialism (according to Alcibiades): Thuc. 6.90, cp. 6.15. See also Thuc. 6.34 (Hermocrates attributes to Carthage a fear of Athenian attack); Hermippus, *Porters* F 63.23 (*PCG* V.594) (performed before 424 BCE: Rusten (2011) 170): mention of 'rugs and fancy pillows' coming to Athens from Carthage, Ar. *Knights* 1300–15: triremes assemble to discuss their concern about Hyperbolus' plans to send a hundred ships against Carthage.

more generally, Athens' behaviour and rhetoric likely provoked comparisons between past and present, between the imperial superpowers of Persia and Athens. The *Histories* invites comparisons between Persia and other powers, including Athens; and Carthage could be figured as Persia's Western counterpart.[79] What our discussion has sought to clarify are ways in which Herodotus in his Libyan *logos*, in selecting, preserving, and shaping the traditions available to him, builds upon and filters this contemporary interest, thereby making readers' understanding of Libya contribute to their broader understanding of the past. Far from being at the mercy of distinct strands of collective memory, we have seen Herodotus carefully moulding and critiquing it, and thereby producing a valuable reflection, among other things, on the complexity of historical explanation and the shortcomings of the stories people tell about themselves.

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[79] Comparisons invited between Persia and other powers: Stadter (1992); emphasis on Athens in particular: Moles (1996); Blösel (2004). We glimpse the relevance of Carthage to the struggle of Greece against Persia, and Carthage as symbolic counterpart to Persia, at 7.165–7. Herodotus' depiction of the Carthaginians: Bondì (1990) 278–86. Greek-Carthaginian relations too were a charged issue in the late fifth century, and one that perhaps provoked reflection on whether in-fighting within the Greek colonies of Libya a century earlier had compromised Greece's strength *vis-à-vis* the Carthaginian colonial power, much as Hellenic intra-polis conflict threatened to compromise the effort against Persia.

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5

WRITING CULTURE: HISTORIOGRAPHY, HYBRIDITY, AND THE SHAPING OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY [*]

Joseph E. Skinner

Abstract: This chapter explores the relationship between early historiographical enquiry and identity, using theoretical frameworks developed by Homi K. Bhabha and Stuart Hall. In doing so it argues that historiographical enquiry formed part of an ongoing process that was constitutive of identity. 'Culture work' of this nature needs to be fully integrated into scholarly consideration of both the manner and the means by which a sense of Hellenic self-consciousness and, by extension, collective memory came into being. The enquiries of the fragmentary Greek Historians are shown to be intimately bound up in wider discourses of identity and difference: coins, elegiac poetry, painted pottery, epigraphy, sculpture and historiographical prose were equally tied up in the 'making' of Greek identity.

1. Introduction

Attempts to explain precisely how, when, and why an 'imagined community' of Greeks came into being typically place greatest stress upon the experience of intercultural contact, whether as a result of Archaic mobility/trade/overseas settlement or the Persian Wars.[1] The pre-

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[1] For imagined communities, see Anderson (1991). The significance of factors such as Homeric epic and the emergence of Panhellenic games and sanctuaries are also acknowledged.

cise circumstances surrounding the emergence of this shared sense of identity (or *identities*) cannot be fully understood unless we also take account of the mechanisms through which these experiences were translated and enshrined within collective memory. Recent research charting the relationship between localism and globalism in the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean has greatly advanced this endeavour by directing our attention towards the 'cultural work' that helped create a sense of 'difference yet connectedness', citing cults and festivals held in common by way of examples, but also geography, mythography, and ethnography, together with local and universal histories.[2] Unfortunately, only a very small percentage of this historiographical writing survives, whether as fragments or testimonia supplied by later authors. It is worth remembering, therefore, that this material represents merely the tip of the iceberg when compared to the amount of ideas and information in circulation overall at any one time.[3]

In order to fully appreciate the nature and significance of this 'cultural work' we need to look some way beyond written prose to the interests and ideas that lie at the root of treatises labelled 'historical' or 'ethnographic'. These found expression in other media long before they were incorporated into prose and continued to circulate in a wide variety of non-literary formats thereafter.[4] This makes it difficult—perhaps even inadvisable—to consider any aspect of Greek historiography in isolation (e.g. treatises on mythographical or genealogical themes) even if the precise relationship between these and the stories, songs, material objects, and (now mostly lost) prose works that made up their wider intellectual and cultural milieu remains largely a matter of conjecture.[5] Far from being mere epiphenomena, these enquiries into (often local) topics and concerns were equally tied up in the 'making' of Greek identity.

It is with these points in mind that this chapter sets out to explore the relationship between early historiographical enquiry and identity, drawing upon theoretical frameworks developed by Homi K. Bhabha and Stuart Hall. In doing so it ventures some way beyond conventional approaches to Greek identity and historiography by suggesting that historiographical enquiry formed part of an ongoing process that was itself *constitutive* of identity and that 'culture work' of this nature needs to be fully integrated into scholarly consideration of both the manner and the means by which a sense of Hellenic self-consciousness came into being. The enquiries of the fragmentary Greek prose authors were intimately bound up in wider

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[2] See Woolf (2010) 191. For the application of globalisation theory to the study of the ancient world, see Vlassopoulos (2013a) 19–25, 226–34.

[3] Woolf (2010) 191.

[4] On this see Grethlein (2010) 3. Grethlein's book considers the representation of the past in 'non-historiographical Media of Memory'. The term encompasses a range of literary genres including epinicia, elegiac poetry, tragedy, and oratory.

[5] For comprehensive treatment, see Fowler (2000–13).

discourses of identity and difference that transcended media and genre.[6] Coins, elegiac poetry, painted pottery, epigraphy, sculpture and historiographical prose all played an active role in identity-construction—both at a local or regional level and throughout the length and breadth of the 'Greek' Mediterranean.

Certain sub-sections of Greek historiography are, of course, already widely associated with matters of identity. It has become commonplace, for example, to view the description of foreign manners and customs as a discrete mode of enquiry predicated upon the juxtaposition of 'Self' and 'Other', reinforcing a sense of (Greek) connectedness in the face of the difference of 'Others'.[7] However, there's also Great Historiography (i.e., narrative history), whose purpose, as conceived by Herodotus, was 'to preserve the fame and remarkable achievements of both Greeks and Barbarians' (Hdt. 1 *praef.*)—who of course break down into a kaleidoscope of peoples and nations, each of them with a distinctive set of *nomoi* (i.e., customs, practices, or laws), way of life, and material culture that distinguishes them from their neighbours—whether Greek or non-Greek.[8] Local or polis histories have also been placed under the spotlight thanks to studies such as Clarke's exploration of the way in which shared notions of time and shared histories were variously negotiated and constructed in a manner that both reflected and helped constitute a collective sense of Hellenic identity.[9]

This chapter seeks to both build and significantly expand upon recent work on this topic by examining historiographical enquiry 'in the round'—as opposed to homing in on one body of inquiry in particular. My point of departure will be ethnography—described as an intrinsically etic practice by the anthropologist James Clifford. My only reason for doing so, however, is to illustrate the problems inherent in imposing such categories on early Greek prose. I have argued elsewhere that James Clifford's definition of ethnography as 'thinking and writing about culture from the point of view of an outsider' can reasonably be applied to a far greater range of material than that which has in the past been referred to as the ancient 'ethnographic tradition'.[10] However, even this broad-brush formulation fails to capture the diverse ways in which cultural difference can be represented or described—

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[6] For discourses of identity and difference, see J. Skinner (2012).

[7] Almagor and Skinner (2013a) 2. For *Nostoi* as another form of cultural work through which a sense of difference yet connectedness was created, see Malkin (1998); Hornblower and Biffis (2018).

[8] For adroit analysis of the proem and its relationship to Herodotus' *Histories* as a whole, see Vasunia (2012), together with Rood (2010). For Herodotus' treatment of foreign peoples, see Redfield (1985); Nenci and Reverdin (1990); Munson (2001); Rood (2006); Baragwanath above, ch. 4.

[9] Clarke (2008). See also Porciani (1991); Orsi (1994); Schepens (2001); Harding (2007); Thomas (2014a) and (2014b); Tober (2010) and (2017).

[10] Clifford (1988) 9.

a fact borne out in the work of twenty-first century ethnographers for whom the formulaic description of a particular group or set of cultural practices from an 'etic' perspective now represents just one option amongst many.[11] Images too, can play a role, in what is now referred to by practitioners as 'aesthetic' or 'visual ethnography', but also transcripts of interviews that place the dialogical nature of ethnographic enquiry centre-stage.[12] A similar diversity of formats and representational modes is arguably apparent where Greek historiography is concerned.[13] Although some indication as to how this might work in practice will be found below, such a vast topic can only be dealt with summarily in a book chapter (this is something that I will return to elsewhere). My goal in what follows is not to chart the rise to prominence of a particular Greek author, mode of enquiry, or even the development of the Greek historical consciousness *per se* but a history of knowledge and ideas that explores the relationship *between* historiography (writing culture), hybrid identities and the shaping of collective memory.

In order to prepare the ground for what is to follow I will first offer a brief (and unashamedly partial) summary of where we stand with regards to modern approaches towards ancient Greek identity.[14] I will then attempt something similar for Greek historiography, highlighting the extent to which classical scholarship remains tightly wedded to the theories and paradigms expounded by Felix Jacoby despite the at least partial dismantling of his model of the origins of Greek historiography. I will then introduce an alternative approach to the study of ancient Greek identity, one that is grounded in Culture theory (Hybridity). The second half of this chapter will be devoted to testing how such ideas might be applied in practice. In doing so I will suggest that the writing, reception, and wider circulation of historical prose was intimately bound up with, and at times impossible to disentangle from, that of ethnographic knowledge, mythographical works, and epinicia, not to mention coins, inscriptions, and other aspects of material culture, and that all of this helped create a sense of what it meant to be Greek in the first place.

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[11] See J. Skinner (2012); Almagor and Skinner (2013a) 2–9.

[12] See contributions to Clair (2003); Pink (2013); Vlassopoulos (2013b) 49–75.

[13] This is not, by any means, an original point: see Grethlein (2010) 2–4. However, whilst reference is made to a variety of media that might act as 'bearers of memory' (2)—e.g., dance or material artefacts including votives—the analysis that follows remains tightly focused on literary materials and a phenomenological approach to the 'idea of history'.

[14] The broad contours of the debate on how Greek identity came into being have been widely rehearsed so I will aim be to be as brief as possible. See J. Skinner (2012) for more detailed treatment together with Siapkas (2003).

2. Modern Approaches Towards Ancient Greek Identity

Mainstream Classics has only recently begun to grapple with the fact that ancient 'Greekness' constituted a bewildering variety of identities that were at once socially constructed and historically contingent. Modern notions of ancient 'Greekness' can therefore appear loosely articulated and imprecise in contrast to those encountered in specialist literature where questions of context or chronology are the primary focus. This reticence can be further exacerbated by institutional and/or cultural factors that privilege the acquisition of specialist knowledge in a relatively narrow subject-area, iconographic analysis, for example, or textual criticism. Whilst in many ways unsurprising and/or understandable, the net result has been a steady divergence between scholarship of a more traditional nature and those works committed to pursuing more theoretically informed approaches that result in new lines of enquiry.[15]

The last decade or so has nonetheless witnessed a pronounced shift in the way in which some—but by no means all—classicists and archaeologists think about Greek identity (by which I mean those thinking and writing about Greek identity itself). Now increasingly described in terms that emphasise its inherent complexity, Greek identity has gone from being conceived as a primarily static, homogenous and monolithic entity whose existence could be taken largely for granted to: 'an extremely complex and fluid construction, or rather a system of constructions, [that] included multivocalities and ambiguities'.[16] Such views were initially tabled in work with a western Mediterranean focus, most notably Magna Graecia and Sicily, leading many to believe that the region's long back-history of inter-cultural contact and interaction made it somehow unique. The idea that other areas of the Greek world might not have experienced similar levels of interaction is, on one level, understandable; Sicily and Magna Graecia certainly provided a backdrop for sustained contacts between Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, and groups variously labelled as Elymaean, Sicel, etc., from at least the eighth century BCE onwards.[17] We should, however, be

[15] See Moyer (2011); Vlassopoulos (2013a); Mac Sweeney (2013); Demetriou (2012); Fragoulaki (2013). This attempt to provide a concise summary of scholarly trends is not intentionally polemical; however, frank discussion of such matters is both important and necessary since they have a clear impact on the way we think and write about the past. For detailed and thought-provoking analysis of the discursive structures underpinning Classics, together with their implications, see Vlassopoulos (2007); Siapkas (2014). For wider discussion of disciplinary frameworks, see Humphreys (1978) and (2004).

[16] Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 140. Cf. Lomas (2004) 2 for the view that Greek ethnicity/ Hellenicity were: 'multi-layered, constantly changing, and culturally constructed, concepts'. See also Malkin (2001) and Fearn (2011) 3 stressing the diversity of fifth-century culture.

[17] This in part may be explained by ideas about the western Greeks in general. See Ceserani (2012). The apparent singularity of western Mediterranean cosmopolitanism was arguably something of a mirage: the result of a surge of publications detailing the results of

wary of the assumption that other parts of the Greek world were comparatively insulated from contact with foreign peoples prior to what has traditionally been regarded as the watershed moment in Greek-barbarian interactions: the Persian Wars. Whilst it may be true that the polyglot host that descended on Greece was exceptional in terms of both its size and diversity, high levels of contact and interaction between a wide variety of groups can in fact be demonstrated in numerous locations across the Greek world prior to the Persian invasions—albeit to varying levels and degrees—together with the discourses of identity and difference that these engendered.[18]

In fact, it is now increasingly common for region-based studies to downplay the significance of the barbarian paradigm where their particular part of the Greek world is concerned.[19] Such arguments feature prominently in Naoise Mac Sweeney's ground-breaking study of Ionian foundation myths but also recent work on interaction between Scythians and Greeks in and around Olbia.[20] This, coupled with critique of the Greek-barbarian paradigm offered by Kostas Vlassopoulos, raises the question as to whether similarly detailed probing of the foundation myths and early settlement history of other parts of the *oikoumenē* would tell much the same story.[21] Further work is undoubtedly required for such hypothesising is to have any degree of credibility. For the time being we must remain open to the fact that such complexities were in fact the norm and that it is discrete, inward-looking communities which should be regarded as exceptional. Paradigmatic examples of insularity were already familiar to Greek audiences: the Libyan tribes who purportedly conducted mute exchanges with Herodotus' Carthaginian traders or the Cyclopes are two notable examples of groups that were represented as standing outside both the normal ebb and flow of history and the accepted norms of civilised society in which culture-contact was the norm, whether this came in the form of an encounter with someone

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problem-based fieldwork at a time when similar data for elsewhere in the Mediterranean was largely unavailable.

[18] See Hdt. 7.60 with due allowance for inflated numbers. The evidence for an early interest in and engagement with foreign peoples prior to the Persian Wars is entirely compelling: see J. Skinner (2012).

[19] Crude stereotyping is, in such cases, invariably disavowed in favour of more positive/inclusive attitudes towards those of different outlook and culture, e.g., Guldager Bilde and Petersen (2008) 10. For a far more positive reappraisal of ancient attitudes in general, see Gruen (2010).

[20] Mac Sweeney (2013) 202 (and *passim*) demonstrates that the meticulous scrutiny of the material record and literary sources combined reveals a complexity that has previously been overlooked or ignored entirely; but see also Thomas (2000) who draws contrasts between the world of Ionian science and 'official' attitudes of Athens (e.g., Thomas (2000) 29, 95, 113, 273). For earlier work stressing links with Anatolia, see Greaves (2010). For discussion of ethnic constructs, see Crielaard (2009). For Olbia see e.g. Petersen (2010).

[21] Vlassopoulos (2013a).

from the adjacent deme, island, or somewhere further afield.[22] It should, however, be pointed out that the existence of ideologies and stereotypes predicated upon the perceived inferiorities of various types of 'foreigners' is not/cannot be disproved by studies which draw attention to the complexity and long back-history of intercultural contact and interaction. The recent tendency to either downplay the overall salience of the barbarian paradigm or disavow negative stereotyping more generally is something of which we should be wary if we want to avoid a rose-tinted perspective on antiquity.[23]

For better or for worse, the encounter with the Barbarian (the Persian Wars) is still widely perceived as marking a watershed between the hazy and ill-defined Greek identities of the Archaic period and a more clear-cut sense of cultural identity predicated upon the juxtaposition of two antithetical categories: Greek and Barbarian. This argument was initially championed by Edith Hall in a hugely influential study that saw the barbarian stereotype as a specifically Athenian invention that found its first coherent expression in Attic drama (i.e., Aeschylus' *Persians*).[24] This model of a transition from loosely-defined identity to an oppositional identity based on a polarity of opposites was effectively duplicated by Jonathan Hall, when he argued that the mid-sixth century BCE saw the emergence of an ethnic or 'aggregative' Hellenic identity, articulated via fictive claims to kinship,[25] which then gave way to an identity predicated upon the Greek-barbarian dichotomy fol-lowing the clash with Persia.[26] Hyun Jin Kim and Lynette Mitchell have since argued that shared notions of collective panhellenic identity are more likely to have emerged somewhat earlier and in a slightly different context, directing our attention towards the late sixth and fifth centuries BCE when

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[22] Hdt. 4.94 (Carthaginians); cf. Hdt. 1.65 (Sparta). For discussion see Harrison (2007) 59–60. For Homer's Cyclopes, see Hom. *Od.* 9.105–15, 131–9. For discussion and references see Dougherty (2001); Hartog (2001). Examples such as these suggest that insularity was one of the most abiding characteristics of alterity in ancient Greek thought. For comprehensive treatment of the related concept of island insularity, see Constantakopoulou (2007).

[23] The need for a 'warts and all' approach to such matters is convincingly argued by Harrison (2002) 14.

[24] E. Hall (1989), which drew upon two seminal texts: Said (1978) and Hartog (1988). Although the latter was originally published in French in 1980, it was the translated edition, combined with Hall's study, that prompted what was effectively a paradigm shift within the Anglo-American academy.

[25] J. Hall (2002). This took the form of 'putative subscription to a myth of common descent and kinship, an association with a specific territory and a sense of shared history': J. Hall (2002) 9. This is in contrast to both previous broad-based definitions of ethnicity and arguments that saw the initial flowering of Hellenic identity as having occurred either in opposition to the threat posed by Achaemenid Persia in the fifth century BCE, or as a result of the experience of colonisation from the eighth century BCE onwards. For detailed analysis of ideas surrounding kinship, see Fragoulaki (2013).

[26] J. Hall (2002) 12. For responses, see Dench (2005); Sourvinou-Inwood (2005); Gruen (2010); Demetriou (2012); Fragoulaki (2013); and the contributions to McInerney (2014).

the Greek city-states of Ionia were coming under increasing pressure from Achaemenid Persia.[27]

The emergence of a sense of Hellenic self-consciousness has equally been linked to the increase in population mobility, trade, and settlement overseas during the early Archaic period. However, aside from Irad Malkin's work on network theory, the precise mechanisms by which this came to pass have received comparatively little attention.[28] Those arguing for the early emergence of a collective sense of Greek identity, whether through 'definition through difference' or some other mechanism, are faced with the problem of explaining the chronological gap that separates the initial encounters with foreign peoples that resulted from steadily increasing levels of mobility from the eighth century onwards and the first evidence for ethnogenesis in the mid-sixth century BCE.[29] Perhaps the most abiding problem from a methodological point of view, however, is the tendency to see Greek identity as a fixed point towards which Archaic Greek society was moving inexorably—something that happened in spite of cultural and political disunities, not because of them: an end point as opposed to a process that was essentially ongoing and would have meant different things at different times to different people.[30]

Scholarly discussion of the extent to which historiographical enquiry might have played a role in this process of ethnogenesis has focused primarily on narrative accounts of the Persian Wars or—in the case of Edith Hall—the provenance of the raw data from which the tragedians fashioned their 'Oriental' stereotypes.[31] By either reckoning, it provides a start-point for the systematic juxtaposition of binary oppositions between Greeks and foreigners—deemed largely absent from the Homeric epics.[32] The fact that Greek identity already existed as a stable and coherent entity by the time

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[27] Both adhere to the established orthodoxy of a radical shift between fuzzy 'archaic' and 'classical' identities: see Kim (2009); Mitchell (2007).

[28] See Malkin (2011); Collar (2014) deals with this only in passing.

[29] Celebrated examples include the institutionalisation of the circuit of Panhellenic crowned games, the founding of the Hellenion, a shrine dedicated to 'the gods of the Hellenes' at Naucratis in Egypt, and the construction of Hellenic genealogies. See Malkin (2003) and (2011). On Panhellenic games, see Hornblower and Morgan (2007a). On the Hellenion see Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 52–6; J. Hall (2002) 130; Möller (2000); Höckmann and Möller (2006); Demetriou (2012). On the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, see West (1985); Fowler (1998); Hunter (2005).

[30] J. Skinner (2018). Cf. Frank Walbank's (1951) classic exploration of the Greeks' failure to achieve lasting unity.

[31] See E. Hall (1989). Note, however, Woolf (2010) 200: 'But as soon as history, ethnography and other prose genres began to emerge, so too did a sense of the local and the universal. Local knowledge grows with the expansion of Greek intellectual activity …'. Cf. Pelling (1997); Luraghi (2008).

[32] See E. Hall (1989) 14. For barbarian stereotypes in Homer, see Winter (1995); Mackie (1996); Ross (2005); Kim (2013). For overall discussion see J. Skinner (2012).

Greek prose came into being, i.e. late sixth/early fifth century BCE, is also taken for granted. The assumption being—perhaps not unreasonably—that reference to τὸ Ἑλληνικόν ('the Greek thing') by Herodotus (8.144.2) is indicative of this shared sense of identity, albeit one formulated amidst the internecine strife of the Peloponnesian War when the leading Greek states were locked in combat.

Although now problematised and questioned to some extent, the Athenian ambassadors' declaration of loyalty to the Greek cause in Herodotus (8.144.2) is still widely regarded as providing the definitive statement of what it meant to be Greek,[33] the bases upon which a comparatively small number of Greeks united against the Persian juggernaut are enumerated in succession: blood, language, temples, and gods all held in common—and a shared obligation to avenge the desecration of temples and statues.[34] In fact, there are other ways of looking at this as we shall see. Greek identity is by no means as stable or fixed in the *Histories* as is commonly assumed. Instead, there is a general problematising of Athenian claims to autochthony with tales of Pelasgian origins (1.57–8), hints that Athens could indeed collaborate with Persia or was at least ready to contemplate such things (8.136; 9.7–8), gloomy signs of tyranny to come as the captured Persian commander Artaÿctes is nailed to a tree overlooking the Hellespont (9.120), or reports of Greeks who went native in Scythia but still worship Greek gods in the Greek manner and speak a mixture of Scythian and Greek (4.108). Ionian claims to pure-blood ancestry are skewered and dismissed (1.146), whilst the proem juxtaposes the Greek-barbarian binaries of Herodotus' opening statement with a series of tales that show such distinctions to be largely arbitrary (1.1–5).[35] In short, there is a sense that Greeks are more than capable of changing their customs (*nomoi*) and that everything is in a state of flux.

Herodotus' apparent 'playfulness' when it comes to identity matters has been attributed by Tom Harrison to the fact that Herodotus consciously set out to *evoke* a wider sense of Greek community through his writing in response to a fractured, bitter, and bloody present.[36] Although the Peloponnesian War must have imposed restrictions upon the freedom with which goods and

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[33] See Zacharia (2008). The recent tendency to see this as something approaching a statement of methodology should be resisted: see, e.g., Knapp (2014) 35.

[34] Zacharia (2008). See Polinskaya (2010) but with caveats: the distinction drawn between the gods that Greeks appealed on a day-to-day basis and the 'abstract' deities they encountered in myth and poetry is perhaps a little too rigid to be convincing (*ibid.* 61). It is hard to square the mythographical enquiries of Hecataeus and others with the assertion that 'there is little indication in our textual sources that ancient Greeks perceived that they constituted one religious group by virtue of acknowledging the same undifferentiated group of any and all Greek gods' (*ibid.* 67).

[35] See Vasunia (2012).

[36] Harrison (2008). I am grateful for permission to cite this material.

individuals circulated throughout the Greek world, Herodotus persists in making asides directed at an imagined panhellenic audience who will in all likelihood be familiar with the layout of the territory of the Iapygians on Italy's heel if the topography of Cape Sunion is beyond their ken (4.99.4–5).[37] The idea of a wider sense of solidarity uniting fellow Greeks may well have appeared something of a forlorn dream to Herodotean audiences; however, Harrison's argument that Herodotus' statement of cultural unity (8.144.2) needs to be seen in the context of both a wider emphasis on unity and disunity, and their at times momentous consequences, is undoubtedly correct. The invention of a wider Greek identity that transcended the internecine rivalries and jealous hatreds of the present may well have provided the platform for a new 'style' of imagining both Greek historiography and identity combined.[38]

3. Approaches to Greek Historiography and Felix Jacoby

It is now time to tease out some of the implications which ensue from this shift in perspective. A willingness to take such allusions to the fluid and contested nature of identity at face value and to then factor them into our analyses places one on a somewhat different trajectory from scholars who do not subscribe to such views but have nonetheless played a pivotal role in shaping the study of Classical antiquity. One such example can be found in a scholar now regarded as 'the undisputed master of Greek historiography of our time', Felix Jacoby.[39] Although both Jacoby's scholarly method and overarching thesis have been subject to (increasingly) critical scrutiny in recent years, this has in many cases served merely to illustrate both his extraordinary command of the sources and the magnitude of his achievement.[40] Jacoby devoted himself to resolving a problem that bedevilled scholarship of his day, namely how best to catalogue and analyse the fragmentary Greek historians—it being widely acknowledged that the most recent attempt by Carl and Theodore Müller possessed numerous shortcomings.[41] Seemingly undeterred by the vast nature of this undertaking, the precocious young Jacoby tabled a new schema for organizing and classifying the fragmentary Greek authors based on the evolution of literary and stylistic forms which was subsequently published in *Klio* in 1909.[42]

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[37] Ibid. See also J. Skinner (2018).

[38] Harrison (2008). Cf. Anderson (1991) 6: '*Imagined Communities* are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined'.

[39] Fowler (2000–13) I.v–vii.

[40] See Fowler (1996); Schepens (1997); Clarke (1999) and (2008); J. Skinner (2012).

[41] Müller and Müller (1841–70).

[42] Jacoby (1909/2015). Further elaboration upon this idea can be found in Jacoby's (1913) magisterial entry on Herodotus for *RE*. See Fornara (1971) 4. This section was re-worked in

Jacoby's model placed him at odds with a *communis opinio* variously predicated upon Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *de Thuc.* 5.1 and Cicero's *de Orat.* 2.52 in which the great historical works of Herodotus and Thucydides were seen to be preceded by local histories that owed much to priestly chronicles when it came to both their content and style of delivery. Jacoby posited instead that 'Great Historiography' evolved out of earlier genres of historical writing by a different process altogether.[43] Stand-alone treatises devoted to a single land or people were thought to have evolved 'naturally' from the ethnographic excursuses embedded in Hecataeus' *Periodos Gês*. Meanwhile, Herodotus' monumental excursus on Egypt encouraged the perfectly logical supposition that this was an earlier piece of work composed according to an already well-established set of conventions.[44] The catalyst for Herodotus' transformation from virtuoso ethnographer to the world's first historian was his encounter with the intellectual ferment of Athens and the Persian Wars. Jacoby's developmental schema for the emergence of historiographical enquiry required that the 'undifferentiated sphere of early Greek prose' be sub-divided and ordered into discrete sequentially-ordered genres—all viewed as sub-species of historical enquiry.[45] The start-point was a volume containing testimonia to Hecataeus' *Genealogies* and *Description of the World* (vol. I), followed by:

> Genealogy/mythography (vol. II)
> Ethnography (vol. III)
> Contemporary history (*Zeitgeschichte des Griechischen Volkes*) (vol. IV)
> Chronography (vol. V)
> Horography (vol. VI)
> Biography/Literary History (vol. VII)
> Geography (vol. VIII)[46]

The combined impact of Jacoby's work on the study of Greek historiography was nothing short of colossal; however, there were significant costs in terms of both the overall rigidity of the framework that he devised and the

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the light of helpful comments by Simon Hornblower stressing the logic underpinning the developmental hypothesis. See now Rood (forthcoming).

[43] See Jacoby (1909/2015) and (1913).

[44] See Jacoby (1913) 330. The region's geography, customs, wonders, and political history were to be presented in succession; in cases where these were found to be paltry or lacking, a note would be made lest the audience think that something had been omitted, e.g. Hdt. 1.93, 4.82.

[45] Murray (2000) 330.

[46] The monumental task of organising and classifying the fragmentary Greek authors was undertaken in the face of great adversity. For full details of Jacoby's life and career, see Chambers (2006). For discussion of subsequent amendments to this plan and their implications, see Zambrini (2006); Schepens (2010); J. Skinner (2012) 30–4.

extraordinary resilience of the various categories and genres that he identified—largely as a matter of convenience.[47]

Although predicated in part upon Polybius' critique of 'parochial' local histories, Jacoby's work also bears all the hallmarks of his wider intellectual and cultural milieu. With the benefit of hindsight we can also see that Jacoby's thesis came with a lot of cultural baggage: a set of shared assumptions regarding both the way identities might be approached and/or conceptualised and the history of ideas. The latter would prove instrumental not only in defining the categories into which the fragmentary Greek historians were ordered but also in governing the way in which these were in turn received by contemporary audiences.[48] Language, culture, society, and state had by this time been subsumed into a mystical and unassailable unity, the nation state, whilst humanity's evolution and history were seen increasingly in terms of developmental sequences of racially differentiated categories.[49] The magnificent range and scope of Jacoby's work is itself symptomatic of a contemporary penchant for organising and classifying vast bodies of materials and knowledge whilst Greek identity and civilisation were conceived as both homogenous and distinct. This made it possible to distinguish between the genres of horography (local history) and ethnography (the study of foreign people) purely on the basis of their subject matter alone: one pertained to Greeks and the other did not.[50] The extent to which Jacoby's conception of 'Greekness' played a significant role in structuring his analyses can be clearly discerned in his discussion of the origins of Athens' local history:

> The statement that the *Atthides* contain the history of Athens is of course a truism (though the statement that they give that history in a certain form may not be such). The name (not differing from Ἀττικά as to its sense) expresses the fact, and it is the nature of local history and of

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[47] Jacoby himself noted—on more than one occasion (see Jacoby (1949) 289 n. 110; 305 n. 22)—that the relationship between genres such as history and ethnography was 'not clearly distinguished in ancient terminology'. For additional evidence of the internal wrangling concerning the ordering and classification of materials see Schepens (2006a) and (2006b) and now Tober (2017).

[48] The late nineteenth-early twentieth century was not only an age of empire that witnessed widespread enthusiasm and interest in foreign lands and peoples, but also one in which nationalist sentiment was becoming increasingly dominant. See Penny and Bunzl (2003); Qureshi (2011).

[49] See Wolf (1982) 13–19, stressing the role of anthropology in demarcating culture groups as bounded systems.

[50] Cf. Lloyd (2002) 17. The point is made explicit by Prontera (1984) 194, as noted by Clarke (2008) 152 n. 222.

ethnography (which is related to it) to give history: Περσικά tell the history of Persia, and Λαμψακηνῶν Ὧροι the story of Lampsakos.[51]

Whereas the nature and significance of local history has attracted considerable comment, the distinction between local history and ethnography has gone largely unquestioned in subsequent scholarship debating the origins of the local histories of Athens and horography more broadly.[52] Arnaldo Momigliano's sweeping assertion that local histories fell outside the historical mainstream due to the parochiality of their antiquarian interests, together with chronography, genealogy, and ethnography,[53] has been successfully refuted by first Schepens and then Clarke. Schepens demonstrated the degree to which supposedly antiquarian topics such as a polis' foundations story and cult aetiologies could play an important role in inter-state diplomacy,[54] whilst Clarke argued that city histories are anything but parochial in outlook, since they invariably presuppose a high degree of interconnectedness between *poleis* and interest on behalf of outsiders.[55] The question as to how we should approach Greek local histories in general has been further developed and problematised in recent discussion of the way in which the authors of local histories sought to position themselves vis-à-vis their audiences.[56] These are important points to which we will return below; however, it is worth emphasising for the meantime that the authors of such polis histories[57] were often outsiders and that external audiences were eager consumers of knowledge regarding what are effectively the habits and customs of fellow Greeks.

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[51] Jacoby (1949) 100. Fornara (1983) 21 argued that local histories such as the *Atthis* were a result of annalistic records being augmented with antiquarian material. For related discussion, see Clarke (2008) 175–86.

[52] See, however, Clarke (2008) 152–3 and now Tober (2017).

[53] Momigliano (1990) 59. Attention has focused primarily on the relationship between 'Great Historiography' and local history and whether these works and their authors were as detached as some have suggested.

[54] Schepens (2001). For the historical importance of intercommunal kinship, see Jones (1999) and now Fragoulaki (2013) on Thucydides.

[55] Clarke (2008) 181–2 and *passim*. As well as drawing attention to the way in which cut-down versions of local histories might have circulated—public performances but also more intimate settings, e.g., symposia—Clarke also highlights the fact that many of these individuals were working on commission, although much of the material is of a later date and intended primarily (but not exclusively) for local audiences.

[56] Tober (2017).

[57] For honours paid to these individuals see Chaniotis (1988) 365–82; Clarke (2008).

4. Hybridity Theory and Greek Identity

Having discussed the factors that helped shape Jacoby's intellectual and cultural milieu and the impact this had upon his analyses, it is now time to explore the implications of a new approach to the study of identity and culture to which students of antiquity are increasingly turning.[58] Theoretical studies of identity from outside the discipline have, over the years, enriched our analyses by demonstrating the manifest complexities of social identities together with the processes by which they are variously constructed and find expression. The work of the cultural theorist Homi K. Bhabha on hybridity is a notable—if not uncontroversial—example of this phenomenon. Bhabha has defined hybridity as the 'Third Space' of enunciation, translation, and negotiation that exists between coloniser and colonised.[59] It goes without saying that both Bhabha's arguments and the circumstances that he set out to both document and theorise are historically situated and that we should therefore be extremely cautious when it comes to applying such concepts to the ancient world. It should be noted, however, that both Bhabha and S. Hall, another cultural critic, are explicit when it comes to articulating the 'situatedness' of their writings.[60] The elaborate framework of ideas that they have developed in response to a particular set of power relationships can still serve as a useful model for thinking about identity matters more broadly.

Whilst notions of cultural hybridity have recently come to the fore in material culture-based studies of the ancient Mediterranean, the manner in which they are applied varies markedly. A particularly effective and insightful example can be found in Grant Parker's study of 'Hellenism' in Afghanistan; however, this is not the way in which the term is typically applied in archaeological studies.[61] This may in part be attributed to the fact that Bhabha's writings possess a complexity that makes them difficult to fathom, leaving the way open for divergent opinions as to both the potential remit and wider implications of hybridity theory *as formulated by Bhabha*. In order to circumvent at least some of these problems I will also be drawing

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[58] Bhabha (1994); S. Hall (1990). Cf. Mitchell (2007); Antonaccio (2003); van Dommelen (2002); Jiménez (2011); van Dommelen and Knapp (2011); Reger (2014).

[59] Bhabha (1994) 55–6.

[60] Bhabha (1994) 56: 'It is significant that the productive capacities of this Third Space have a colonial or postcolonial provenance.' See also S. Hall (1990). Cf. White (1991) 52: 'The middle ground depended on the inability of both sides to gain their ends through force …' Matters changed, however, as these new systems of meaning and exchange were entirely predicated upon the huge profits to be made from the European fur trade. A dramatic escalation in trapping ultimately sent wildlife populations into irreversible decline, whereupon the middle ground 'withered and died' (*ibid.* 523).

[61] E.g., Parker (2007).

upon ideas expounded (with, it must be said, far greater clarity) by the theorist Stuart Hall.[62]

If we return to the archaeological mainstream, allusions to hybrid objects, identities and cultures are typically accompanied by a nod in the direction of authorities such as Bhabha and discussion of the various contexts in which 'hybridity' might function as either a term of analysis (e.g., biological sciences, in which genetic hybrids are routinely described) or abuse ('half-caste', 'mongrel', etc.). In fact, far more attention is paid to drawing a line between discourses of race prevalent during the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries and an intellectual environment in which biological descent, language, and culture are no longer perceived as immutable characteristics than assessing the broader implications which notions of cultural hybridity pose for the study of antiquity.[63] Such uses of hybridity theory have (rightly) been singled out for critique, whether because of their lack of scholarly rigour[64] or ethical considerations.[65] But what if we pursue the idea that hybridity theory might be applicable to any or all identities in general, as opposed to a rather more limited range of contexts that might loosely be called 'colonial'? If one is prepared to accept this premise then the heuristic value of the concept is, I would argue, greatly enhanced.

If this is to become a reality then we need to lay aside any lingering doubts and insecurities and simply take this distinction between 'old' and 'new' hybridities as read. Having done so, we need to spend some time 'thinking through' the wider implications of cultural analysis. Bhabha's hybridity represents a significant advance on earlier usage of the term/concept, insofar as it is posited not on ideas of multiculturalism nor the diversity of cultures, but on the fact that all cultures are *intrinsically* hybrid.[66] This makes it

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[62] For limited use of S. Hall's work, see Mitchell (2007).

[63] E.g., Shapiro (2007) 216. For a rather more detailed overview, see Young (1995) (although with reservations). For the destabilisation of biological criteria in constructions of kinship and relatedness, and the anthropological framework, see Fragoulaki (2013) 22–5.

[64] This cannot, however, be said of van Dommelen (2002) or Parker (2007). For critique of hybridity's application in archaeological scholarship see Meyer (2013) 306–7: 'The focus on agency and cultural perceptions presents serious problems for the term's application in archaeological studies of cultural interaction. In such non-literate contexts, the identification of hybrid creations more often than not rests on simplistic morphological distinctions between the supposed archaeological cultures of the colonists and the natives'.

[65] See Malkin (2014) 289–90. Cf. the assertion that use of the term is methodologically unsound by virtue of its perceived ahistoricity—and that the application of biological metaphors associated with domesticated plants and animals to human cultures and societies is something that should be resisted. See Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 7; Malkin (2008). For an alternative view, see Parker (2007) 184.

[66] Bhabha (1994) 56: 'For a willingness to descend into that alien territory where I have led you—may reveal that the theoretical recognition of the split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an *international* culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's

inappropriate to use 'hybridity' as a convenient shorthand for a 'mix of cultures' that can implicitly exist in a 'virgin' or 'pure' state at other times and in other places.[67]

If we turn to the work of S. Hall matters are rather more straightforward. Hall sees identity as a *production* as opposed to an already accomplished fact, as such, it is never complete, indeed, it is 'always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation'.[68] In problematising 'the very authority and authenticity to which the term, "cultural identity", lays claim',[69] Hall's arguments are highly significant for the way in which we study ancient identities, shifting the emphasis from preconceived notions of unitary cultures to identity as a 'work in progress'—always changing in focus and subject to an ongoing play of culture, power, and knowledge.[70] Talk of a sense of Greek cultural identity becoming somehow 'fixed' in the fifth century BCE, or indeed at any other time, sounds a lot less convincing in this light.

Having briefly introduced hybridity theory, I will now outline how this can be applied to Greek identity. S. Hall is keen to stress the 'play' of difference—a metaphor suggestive of instability and a lack of any final resolution discernible in all fields of cultural production, in his case the varieties of Caribbean musics, in ours the various spheres in which Greek difference is deemed to be self-evident: silver coinage, praise poetry, vase painting, etc. This cultural play cannot be represented in terms of simple binaries (which is not to say that dichotomies between 'Greek' and 'Barbarian' do not abound). Time and space do not allow for a detailed account of the way in which S. Hall appropriates and modifies the work of Jacques Derrida, in order to pinpoint the relationship between what is termed the play of signification and identity.[71] The basic gist of it is that representation/signification—so, in short, everything from Aeschylus' *Persae* to vase painting and temple sculpture—is necessarily a 'cut' of identity, part of a wider (and ongoing) process of positioning, rather than something that can be fixed in anything other than an arbitrary or contingent manner. A

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hybridity'. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 12 and Gosden (2004) 69: 'Hybridity and creolisation imply, to me at least, that there were relatively fixed forms of identity that met and mixed'.

[67] Cf. Young (1995) 23: 'without the emphasis on the active, disjunctive moments or movements of homogenization and diasporization, it can easily be objected that hybridization assumes, as was often the case with the nineteenth-century theorists of race, the prior existence of pure, fixed and separate antecedents'. Meyer (2013) 307–8 follows Curtis (1986) in tracing the intellectual genealogy of the term back to Nietzschean thought as communicated to Mikhail Bakhtin when studying in St Petersburg under Zieliński.

[68] S. Hall (1990) 222.

[69] Ibid.

[70] S. Hall (1990) 225. Cf. Clifford (1988) 344: 'what if identity is conceived not as a boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject? The story or stories of interaction must then be more complex, less linear and teleological'.

[71] S. Hall (1990) 230.

token example can be found in the two figures depicted in the tondo of a red-figure cup attributed to Douris (see Fig. 1).[72] In the foreground, a young (i.e., unbearded) hoplite is shown running barefoot right to left bearing a shield carrying a lion's head blazon. The helmeted youth wears a cuirass over his tunic. He is equipped with greaves and carries a spear. His pose is mimicked by another figure which is shown running at his side. Whilst partially obscured by the hoplite some details of the latter's costume are nonetheless visible: a floppy pointed hat with long lappets characteristic of Scythian or Amazon riders, rider costume (a long-sleeved jerkin and trousers decorated with horizontal bands), and a gorytus (bow case/quiver). In truth, this image could be read in a wide variety of ways depending on the viewer, time or context.[73] It is part of that cultural 'play' rather than an accurate reflection of how Greek identity actually worked in practice.

Fig. 1. Kylix attributed to Douris, Greek, 500–490 BCE, The Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, JHUAM B8. Image courtesy of the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum.

http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/the-collection/object-stories/attic-red-figure-vases-in-the-johns-hopkins-archaeological-museum/attic-red-figure-kylix-attributed-to-douris-jhuam-b8-500-490-bce/

[72] The fact that both figures are clean-shaven means that this could equally be interpreted as a scene depicting two Amazons. For discussion of 'Scythian' imagery and its wider significance, see Vos (1963); Lissarrague (1990) and (2002); Miller (1991); Ivantchik (2005); Osborne (2004); Bäbler (2005); J. Skinner (2012).

[73] This may, in all fairness, have been at least implicit in the views espoused by members of the 'Paris School', but the manner in which these were taken up by the Anglo-American academy rapidly descended into tired cliché. See Davidson (2002).

On one level such arguments are relatively uncontroversial—perhaps just plain common sense. We are all accustomed to the idea that ancient Greeks were all manifestly different and yet the same; that difference exists within identity. The question is, how can classicists and historians best put such ideas into practice? For if we combine it with S. Hall's broader conception of identity as 'the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past' we are presented with a unique vantage point from which to survey the fragmentary Greek historians—and much else besides.[74] In what remains of this chapter, I will attempt to illustrate how such a shift in perspective and approach might allow us to say new and interesting things about the role that historiography played in the dissemination of knowledge and ideas concerning the histories, manners, and customs of Athenians, Aitolians, Chians, and Thasians against the backdrop of a world defined by fluctuating levels of mobility and exchange. This is a world in which connectedness was the norm and attempts at isolationism a bizarre trait, associated with the most alien/eccentric of polities (e.g., Sparta).[75]

The link between historiography, other forms of literary (not to mention non-literary) materials, and material culture is something that deserves to be reiterated; my interest is in tracing the wider circulation of knowledge and ideas as opposed to what is simply 'fixed' in texts. This approach builds upon earlier work tracing the way in which knowledge concerning people of different outlook or culture (real or imagined) was relayed via passing quips, epic poems, vase painting, and temple sculpture both prior to and following the earliest prose descriptions of foreign peoples. This information was both 'out there' *and* on the move or, to use Irad Malkin's formulation, people carried it 'in their heads'.[76] A history of ethnographic knowledge must somehow seek to incorporate material such as the statue of Paris in 'Scythian' costume from the Aphaia temple pediment[77] or the grave stele of 'Getas' from the Athenian Ceramicus (Kerameikos) which depicts the image of a quiver (γωρυτός), or be considered incomplete.[78] The same must surely be

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[74] S. Hall (1990) 225.

[75] The movement of goods and people has as much a role to play in this, as we shall see; a point already made, to some extent, by Clarke (2008), esp. ch. 6, when commenting on the peripatetic wanderings of local historians.

[76] Malkin (1998) 33 and *passim*.

[77] Trojan archer ('Paris') from the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, Marble, ca. 505–500 BCE (Munich, Glyptothek W–XI).

[78] Grave stele, Pentelic marble, from the area of the Ceramicus ca. 450–425 BCE (Athens National Museum 2611). The gorytus is depicted immediately below the name of the deceased (presumably a 'Scythian' archer, whether slave or free, or someone who wished to be identified and remembered as such). The traditional interpretation is that the individual named beneath, one Aristomedes, was responsible for freeing the deceased (… Γέτο. Ἀριστομήδης ἐπέθηκεν): *IG* I³ 1376; *SEG* 53.2194; cf. *SEG* 55.79, *SEG* 51.15. *LGPN* II.92, s.v. Γέτας. See Bäbler (1998) 180–1, cat. 90. Full description of the image can be found in Bäbler

said for historiography as a whole. It is only by allowing the (modern) epistemological boundaries to collapse that we will gain some limited impression of the sea of knowledge and ideas into which poets, artists, logographers, and sculptors all dipped for ideas and information. I will now offer some examples as to how this might work in practice emphasising the extent to which *historiê*—enquiries—form part of a wider whole. As such, they should be neither studied in isolation nor omitted from any wider discussion of the origins and nature of Greek identity.

5. Theory into Practice: Memory and Identity in 'Cultural Works'

i. Epinicia

First, I would like to turn to lyric poetry and epinicia in particular. Epinicia provided an important mechanism for thinking about people and place, but also the past more generally.[79] Likened by Pindar to the choice commodities of the sort commonly traded by Phoenician merchantmen, songs commemorating the exploits of wealthy aristocrats or their ancestors were a highly mobile medium that circulated widely in quantities that bear no relation to the pitifully small number that have survived from antiquity.[80] Avidly consumed by contemporary audiences and commissioned at great expense, their primary function was to celebrate the *laudandus*, his *oikos*, and the community from which they originated. This invariably involved an elaborate process of positioning in relation to both the narratives of the past and other people—to use S. Hall's formulation. Poets such as Pindar and Bacchylides composed odes that tied their subjects into the foundation stories and charter myths of their native poleis (Pindar's odes celebrating victors from Cyrene are perhaps the most celebrated example; however, one might also cite those relating to the tyrants of Syracuse and Rhegion who famously depicted victorious charioteers on their coinage).[81] Their songs of praise

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(2005) 119–20 (but here thought to be fourth-century in date). For discussion of the significance that can be attributed to the name 'Getas', see the multi-period study by Dana (2004); Tsetskhladze (2008).

[79] References to the curve-bowed Medes (Persia), Carthaginians, and Etruscans are fairly transparent allusions to contemporary politics: P. *P.* 1.72; 75–9; *N.* 9.28; *I.* 5.49. Cf. *Paean* 2.59–70 for campaigns against the Paeonians in Thrace and an allusion to the re-foundation of Teos by Abdera following its destruction by the armies of Darius in 499 BCE (29–30). For further links between epinician and identity, see Hornblower (2004); Burnett (2005); Fearn (2007). For the role of epinicia as 'non-historiographical media of memory', see Grethlein (2010).

[80] P. *P.* 2.67; Hornblower and Morgan (2007a) 1. For the circumstances surrounding performance/re-performance of Pindaric odes, see Currie (2005) 16–18; Carey (2007).

[81] P. *P.* 4; 5; 9. For coins see below, but also K. Morgan (2015) 61–7 for detailed discussion of Deinomenid coinage including the observation that the aristocratic *gamoroi* who had

exhibit a palpable concern for the preservation of memory, drawing analogies to either fabled or historical events from the past such as Sparta's conquest of Amyklae.[82] The latter features in a list of events in which 'blessed Thebe' might have taken delight in an ode celebrating a victory in the pancratium by Strepsiades of Thebes. There follows an injunction to celebrate Strepsiades' success in song for:

> … ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γὰρ
> εὕδει χάρις, ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί,
> ὅ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον
> κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν ἐξίκηται ζυγέν.

> … for the ancient
> splendour sleeps; and mortals forget
> what does not attain poetic wisdom's choice pinnacle
> yoked to glorious streams of verses.[83]

Within the first twenty or so lines of *Isthmian* 7 we find references to wars of conquest and colonisation, genealogical links connecting Thebes and Sparta (the Aegeidae), but also atypical cultic practices (Demeter of the ringing bronze, as opposed to Cybele) and myths of origin (Spartoi of the unwearied spears). The 'glorious stream of verses' evidently carried a rich variety of information: a cascade of knowledge that was often organised in terms of an opposition between the known or familiar (*oikeion*) and the foreign (*allotrion*), as Simon Hornblower has pointed out.[84] Another example of what might reasonably be described as 'cultural work' can perhaps be found in *Isthmian* 5, in which Pindar describes Theban festivals and cult in the light of those performed at Argos, Sparta, and Aegina. In this instance, the differences between Aetolia, Sparta, and Argos are surveyed from a Theban viewpoint in verses that evoke a (common) mytho-heroic past with which the audience is assumed to be conversant:

> ἐν μὲν Αἰτωλῶν θυσίαισι φαενναῖς
> Οἰνεΐδαι κρατεροί,
> ἐν δὲ Θήβαις ἱπποσόας Ἰόλαος

previously held sway in Syracuse had likewise favoured images of chariot racing (61–2). When viewed more broadly Morgan's book offers detailed and illuminating commentary on Pindar's efforts to present Deinomenid monarchy favourably to Panhellenic audiences.

[82] P. *I.* 7.13–15.

[83] P. *I.* 7.16–19. Trans. W. H. Race.

[84] Hornblower (2004) 117. The spatial characteristics of epinician poetry and the manner in which it is structured around the *oikos* and an attendant theme of homecoming have been greatly elucidated by Leslie Kurke (and others). See Kurke (1991) and now Grethlein (2010) emphasising human fragility.

γέρας ἔχει, Περσεὺς δ᾽ ἐν ῎Αργει, Κάστορος δ᾽ αἰχμὰ
Πολυδεύκεός τ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Εὐρώτα ῥεέθροις.
ἀλλ᾽ ἐν Οἰνώνᾳ μεγαλήτορες ὀργαὶ
Αἰακοῦ παίδων τε …

In the splendid sacrifices of the Aetolians
the mighty sons of Oineus have their honour
while in Thebes it is the horse-driving Iolaos;
it is Perseus in Argos, and the spearmen Castor and
Polydeuces by the streams of the Eurotas;
but in Oenona it is the great-hearted spirits
of Aeacus and his sons …[85]

References designed to 'speak' to an imagined community of Hellenes must, however, be considered in the light of the ubiquity of the term ξένος, used throughout the odes to denote 'foreigners'—who are nonetheless Greek.[86] Material of this nature is likely to have played an equally important role when it came to creating a sense of difference yet connectedness. It also raises interesting questions concerning the extent to which prose authors might have drawn upon poets other than Homer for information.[87]

Perhaps one of the most celebrated (and enigmatic) cases in which the worlds of poetry and historiography can be seen to collide occurs during an anecdote recounted by Herodotus in order to demonstrate that Cambyses' alleged abuses of Egyptian religion were the actions of a madman.[88] Herodotus describes an incident in which another Great King, this time Darius, attempted to persuade two peoples from the opposing ends of his empire to adopt each other's funerary customs: the Greeks, who customarily cremated their dead, were asked to practice anthropophagy whilst the Calliatae, an Indian tribe, were asked to dispose of their dead in the Greek

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[85] P. *I.* 5.30–5, trans. W. H. Race. In other cases we have references to little known local deities centre-stage such as Theia of many names, Mother of the Sun (P. *I.* 5.1), and Apollo Derenus (P. *Paean* 2.5), for which see von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1922) 319–21; Rutherford (2001) 257–75. I am very grateful to Simon Hornblower for pointing me in the direction of both the Derenus reference and the related scholarship.

[86] See: *O.* 8.29; 9.67; *I.* 6.70 and *passim*; cf. Zeus Xenios: *O.* 8.21; *N.* 11.8; cf. *O.* 10.14 for strictness at Locri.

[87] Cf. Hornblower (2004). Elsewhere, Theban cult, myths of origin (Σπαρτοί) and cult buildings are all variously alluded to, although Pindar appears to refrain from direct comment on forms of government or constitution. See *P.* 9.82; *I.* 1.30, 7.10; fr. 29 (Thebes, Cadmus, and the Spartoi); *N.* 4.24; *I.* 4.61–2 (cult buildings), and Hornblower and Morgan (2007a) 5, 39. The reliance of Herodotus and others on Homer is well-documented.

[88] E.g., by flogging priests, desecrating tombs, and stabbing the Apis calf (Hdt. 3.16, 27–9). For adroit discussion and further references, see Harrison (2010). For Herodotus' interaction with poetry and the literary tradition, see Marincola (1997); id. (2006); Pelling (2006).

manner rather than eating them. The experiment did not get very far, however, as the king's query as to how much money it would take before they were willing to swap customs was met with outright refusal.[89] As if to ram home the point the historian then cites a passage from Pindar which appears to have been so well-known as to have attained the status of an aphorism:

> Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς
> θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
> ἄγει δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον
> ὑπερτάτᾳ χειρί.

> Law, the king of all,
> of mortals and immortals,
> guides them as it justifies utmost violence
> with a sovereign hand.[90]

This not only supports the idea that epinicia may have acted as a mine of information relating to custom (νόμος) but also suggests that Herodotus and Pindar had far more in common in terms of shared interests and sources than we had hitherto imagined.

Discussion of both the fragment and its narrative context primarily focuses on the extent to which it reflects a relativistic view of custom, as formulated by the sophists and fifth-century luminaries, whether on the part of Pindar or Herodotus, and exactly how νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς should be interpreted.[91] Whilst it is essentially unclear whether Herodotus' citation refers to Pindar Fr. 169a 1–4, a fragment from an otherwise lost paean, or another fragment in which similar sentiments are expressed (ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοισιν νόμιμα, σφετέραν δ' αἰνεῖ δίκαν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος, 'Customs vary among men, and each man praises his own way', fr. 215a), it is surely significant that Pindar chose to make such an utterance, and that this became sufficiently

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[89] Hdt. 3.38; Christ (1994).

[90] Fr. 169a 1–4; cf. Hdt. 3.38.4. See Hornblower (2004) 56–8 and *passim*. For knowledge of Pindar amongst fifth-century authors, see Irigoin (1952) 11–20. Cf. Pindar's apparent assertion that Ephesus celebrated cult to Artemis (we have it on Pausanias' (7.2.7) good authority that the poet attributed its foundation to the Amazons, although the Pindaric text itself is lost). For discussion of the wider significance of the passage, see Mac Sweeney (2013) 137–56. The name 'Calliatae' may derive from the Sanskrit kala ('black'). They were already known to Hecataeus (*BNJ* 1 F 298), perhaps via the enquiries of Scylax of Caryanda.

[91] For divergent views, see Heinimann (1945); Rutherford (2001) 387–9, esp. 388: 'Prima facie, this is a statement of a relativistic theory of νόμος of the sort that one would associate with the sophists'. Cf. Thomas (2000) 124–9, whilst Romm (1998) 98–9 discusses some of the problems associated with divining Herodotus' views. For further discussion and references, see J. Skinner (2012) 15–16.

well known as to assume the status of a proverb.[92] We are left none the wiser as to how Herodotus' Pindar garnered such knowledge as he had concerning other peoples and their customs, whether Greek or non-Greek, but his status as a cultural critic is clearly implied in much the same way as Hecataeus' appearances in the *Histories* constitute tacit acknowledgment of his status as an authority on matters both genealogical and geographical.[93]

Another particularly notable—if puzzling—case in which the worlds of the praise poet and the historian can be seen to intersect results in a different outcome altogether. Herodotus' account of the Lydian king Croesus' fall from grace following his ill-fated attempt to neutralise the threat posed by an increasingly restless Persia constitutes an equally famous case of *non-citation* of a poetic source. The latter is all the more surprising given Herodotus' willingness to incorporate conflicting accounts of a particular episode at other points in his narrative. On this occasion, however, his account of the fall of Sardis in 547 BCE sticks closely to a version of events attributed to the Lydians without making any allusion to others known to have been current at the time or whose existence might reasonably be inferred (e.g., that king Croesus was in fact burnt alive, whether in an act of self-immolation or at the hands of his Persian captors). One version at least must have been relatively well-known since it featured in Bacchylides' *Olympian Ode* of 468/7 BCE; here the Lydian monarch and his daughters meet with the (equally improbable but far happier) fate of being spirited away by Apollo to dwell amongst the Hyperboreans as a reward for Croesus' piety. Instead, Herodotus (1.87) relates that a miraculous rainstorm extinguished the flames, thereby allowing the once proud monarch to assume the role of advisor to the Great King rather than being burnt alive along with the fourteen Lydian boys destined to meet the same fate (what happened to them is unclear). The relationship between these tales and the scene depicted on a celebrated red-figure amphora attributed to Myson in which an attendant (named in a graffito as Eutymos) stoops to ignite a pyre upon which the lone figure of Croesus is depicted enthroned and in full (Greek) regalia—crowned, bearing a sceptre, and in the very act of pouring a libation—remains a matter of conjecture (Fig. 2).[94] Although the scene is unique from an iconographic

[92] Ferrari (1992) 77 asserts that Herodotus was mistaken and meant to cite fr. 125a instead. The fragment appears to have attained the status of a proverb regardless; allusions, direct quotes, and occasional paraphrasing of Pindar's statement regarding *nomos* appear sporadically throughout Plato's oeuvre, e.g., *Gorg.* 484b–c 3, 488b 2–6; *Laws* 690c 1–3, 714e 6–715a 2; *Prot.* 337c 5–d2 and *Epist.* VIII 354c 1–2. The full extent of Plato's engagement with Pindar's—by then—gnomic pronouncement was brought to my attention by Theodora Hadjimichael in a Classics Seminar delivered at Newcastle University on 26th February 2014: 'The Platonic Dialogues and the Canonical Nine: Positioning the Lyric Poet'.

[93] See Hdt. 2.143 (his encounter with the Egyptian priests); 5.36.2–3 (advice offered to Ionians at the outset of their doomed revolt against Persia).

[94] See Hdt. 1.84–8; Bacch. *Olymp.* 3.21–62; Attic red-figure amphora attributed to Myson, *c*. 500 BCE from Vulci. Louvre (G 197). Cf. passing reference to Croesus at P. *P.* 1.94. For

Fig. 2. Athenian Red-figure amphora attributed to Myson, c.500–490 BCE. Paris, musée du Louvre G197. Photo (C) RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Tony Querrec.

further discussion and references, see Asheri (2007) 141–2 together with Annalisa Paradiso's (2011) discussion of *BNJ* 768 F 7c.

point of view, the fact that only Croesus and a servant feature as protagonists means that this may well depict an act of self-immolation (there being no sign of coercion—although the pouring of a libation may well signal divine intervention of some sort). Either way, the existence of alternative traditions concerning the events following Croesus' capture is readily apparent. This makes it all but inevitable that a significant portion of Herodotus' audience(s) would have been aware of these also and that the *Histories* were composed with precisely this in mind.[95]

If we look beyond the world of Pindar and epinicia, it is now widely acknowledged that elegiac poetry could also be used to commemorate historical events, as argued by Ewen Bowie and then amply demonstrated by the now not-so-New Simonides.[96] Here too the worlds of the poet and the historian can be seen to overlap—even if we lack sufficient evidence to chart this in detail. The poems recited at public festivals or symposia touched on topics ranging from battles between gods and giants to feats of valour that see their perpetrators elevated to the status of heroes.[97] They undoubtedly had a variety of uses but it is their importance as a repository of ideas and information that is perhaps most pertinent in this context. Far from being a value-free exercise, the exchange of such ideas and information was actually constitutive of both collective memory and identity.[98]

ii. Inscriptions

Inscriptions provided another important mechanism for thinking about community and place, but also the past more generally. Although far less mobile than epinicia (it being in the nature of public inscriptions to remain static, at least during their primary phase of use), their position in (typically) prominent locations within the urban city-scape meant they could be viewed and read by relatively large numbers of passers-by. As such, the information they conveyed can equally be described as something contemporaries would have carried in their heads.

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[95] See J. Skinner (2018).

[96] Bowie (1986) and (2001). The commemoration of wars and conquests can also be discerned in earlier references to the conquest of Messenia, for example, or the seizure of Smyrna from the Aeolians 'by god's will'. See Tyrtaeus fr. 5 (Messenia); Mimnermus fr. 9 (Smyrna), and Luraghi (2008). See Grethlein (2010) for the importance of elegiac poetry in the preservation of historical memory.

[97] See Grethlein (2010) for discussion and further references relating to the tendency to organise elegy into two sub-genres, the 'sympotic' and 'narrative/historical', but also Clarke (2008) 342–3.

[98] Following Irwin's (2005) study of early Greek poetry, the performance of exhortative elegy is now increasingly seen as a form of positioning on behalf of members of *polis* communities seeking to bolster their social standing and further consolidate their sense of group identity.

The relationship between inscriptions and historiography is now well-documented;[99] however, scholarship has focused on what Chaniotis has termed 'monumental historiography' dating from the Hellenistic era (the period in which the most famous examples of this genre appear to cluster).[100] When seeking to access the overall significance of epigraphy in this wider 'play' of identities and difference we should try to account for the experience of encountering and engaging with such material on a day-to-day basis—an exchange of such ideas and information was actually constitutive of both collective memory and identity. Inscriptions set up in an agora, sanctuary, or burial ground could provide a point of reference which could help cement a community's sense of self by anchoring it in a common locale or an event which took place at a known point during a polis' history.[101] They might equally attest to links connecting the community to other places via ties of kinship, perhaps in *nomima* shared in common,[102] supposed hegemony, or both,[103] or prompt further reflection of a group's place within a wider community of Hellenes by virtue of their physical proximity to other stelae/monuments referencing other Greek poleis. One further factor to consider is the countless votive inscriptions that one might encounter in sanctuaries. Dedicatory inscriptions of this nature are often fairly sparing when it comes to the level of detail supplied; however, these were also construed—whether correctly or no—as tangible links to particular groups or events.[104]

iii. Coinage

A similar blurring of boundaries is also apparent if we turn to coinage. By way of a token example, let us take the coins of Croton which depict the image of a tripod from the earliest issues. The tripod is most commonly understood to be that upon which the Pythia sat to deliver prophecies and, as such, a visual allusion to the foundation story of Croton, in which

[99] Key studies include Boffo (1988); Chaniotis (1988).

[100] Chaniotis (2005) 221.

[101] E.g., Athenian casualty lists relating to the Sicilian debacle (*SEG* 52.60). For related discussions see also Low and Shear, below, Chh. 6 and 7.

[102] E.g., *SEG* 18.722 (a decree from Euesperides which reference *ephors* and *gerontes*, thereby signalling its cultural ties to Cyrene and, ultimately, Sparta). See Fragoulaki (2013) 187 noting the absence of a *gerousia* on Thera. For *nomima* in general see Malkin (2003) and (2011).

[103] E.g., a gold phiale recovered from Olympia dating from the sixth/seventh century BCE carrying the inscription 'The Cypselids dedicated this from Heracleia' (*SEG* 1.94). For discussion and further references, see Fragoulaki (2013) 74 n. 118.

[104] See Thonemann (2016) for a case in which such links were misconstrued (Hdt. 1.49): an inscribed dedication from the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes dated to ca. 500 BCE (Papazarkadas (2014)).

Myscellus of Rhypes eventually acted on the god's instructions to the Achaeans after some prevarication as to whether it would be better to settle the site of Sybaris, which was already inhabited by that time (the traditional date for Croton's foundation being 709/8 BCE).[105] The link conferred prestige but also legitimacy on both the city and its inhabitants in the eyes of neighbouring communities, whether Greek or non-Greek, and perhaps some claim to divine protection. It has been suggested that the image of a tripod could also be read as a veiled allusion to the mineral wealth to which Croton had access, or alternatively that it referenced Bronze Age notions of value associated with a shared mythical-heroic past that the Achaean cities of southern Italy held in common.[106] Such attempts to actively recall the past via symbolic imagery are a timely reminder of the role that non-literary materials could play in shaping collective memory, whether through reference to a foundation story, shared heritage and values (rooted in Homeric epic if not a shared Bronze Age heritage per se), or a combination of the same.

Coins bear more than a passing similarity to historiographical enquiry, when it comes to their monumentality and links to shared notions of identity, ideas about the past, together with possible links to the world of lyric poetry.[107] They are also just as difficult to classify when it comes to the information they convey: elements of local history, mythography, geography, and ethnography are all arguably apparent.[108] The link between non-literary media, such as Greek coins and historiographical enquiry, might at first sight appear altogether tenuous; however, in a world where knowledge and ideas moved freely, 'texts' of this nature were every bit as important as what got 'fixed' in prose—not least because direct engagement with the latter was in all likelihood an elite activity from which members of the lower orders were largely excluded.[109] If we compare coins to other media—texts but also

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[105] *BNJ* 555 F 10. Ephorus (*BNJ* 70 F 140) alleges that Croton was originally inhabited by Iapygians. See also *BNJ* 554 F 1; Pseudo-Skymnus 323–5; Diod. 8.17; D. Hal. *A.R.* 2.59.3 for the date of 710 BCE. The tradition that Heracles was in some way involved in the city's foundation is equally compatible with tripod-imagery. See Diod. 4.24, Iamb. *Vita Pythagorae* 50, Ov. *Met.* 15.12–59. Giangiulio (2010) 130 argues that the oracle which provided the Crotonians with a divine mandate to found their *polis* was in all likelihood part of a local tradition developed 'in the context of the network of relations between the *poleis* [*sic*] and Delphi'. It is now widely accepted that the 'colonial' foundations of the so-called New World were sufficiently sensitive to their humble origins in comparison to *poleis* in the 'Old World' that they went on to adopt foundation stories involving gods and heroes.

[106] Papadopoulos (2002).

[107] For interconnections between the coins of Cyrene and praise poetry, see J. Skinner (2012) 136–9.

[108] Cf. Murray (2000) 330.

[109] That said, we envisage numerous circumstances in which what appear, to all intents and purposes, to have been highly literate audiences might have encountered such works via public recitation at festivals, symposia, etc. See Clarke (2008). Jibes at Herodotus embedded in Attic comedy imply a far wider 'readership'. Rupestral inscriptions recorded

painted pottery or sculpture—it might at first seem a little peculiar to argue that an image stamped upon a piece of weighed silver had the potential to tell stories since Greek coins rarely bear anything more than a genitive ethnic naming the community for whom they were minted together with, in highly exceptional cases, an artist's signature or moneyer's mark.[110] It is important to bear in mind other factors, however, such as the high degree of continuity in designs when it came to the coin type—a point of which contemporaries must have been aware—creating a sense of tradition and collective identity. A change in coin type might equally reflect a political or historical event; take, for example, the sudden influx of refugees from Messene which is commonly linked to the appearance of a front-facing lion's head on the coins of Rhegium.[111] The change itself told a story. How far this would have travelled beyond the minting community is of course a matter of speculation but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the widespread awareness of the deep-seated cultural significance of such images would have meant that the switch from an earlier type depicting a man-headed bull would have prompted enquiries into its meaning.

Coins minted by the polis of Thasos present us with an intriguing example of the intersections between individual coin types and wider discourses of identity and difference. From approximately the end of the fifth century onwards Thasos minted a series of coins depicting the head of Dionysus with an image of Heracles loosing an arrow on the reverse.[112] The pairing is widely interpreted as a reference to the Near Eastern-style door-jamb reliefs that flanked the city gates where the two 'guardians of the polis' stood watch—alongside their human counterparts—from ca. 510–500 BCE on the road linking the Sanctuary of Heracles (located south of the agora) to that of

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by Langdon on Mt. Hymettus point to an astonishing level of literacy, e.g., *SEG* 49.2; Langdon (2005).

[110] The possessive element of the genitive ethnic ('of the *x* people/polis') anticipates the possibility that people who needed some reminder of this fact might also view the coin. Butcher (2005) 145 draws attention to the use of genitive ethnics as a means of marking out different communities as well as more technical differences such as the size and shape of flan, generating 'a feeling of distinction among the users'. For general discussion relating to coinage and identity, see J. Skinner (2010) and (2012) 134, 139. For ethnics on coins, see Fraser (2009) 69 and Appendix 2. See, however, Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 9: 'Structurally and mechanically it is possible for the visual arts to present stories. Understanding how an ancient viewer might have participated and understood a pictorial narrative, however, is a difficult task'.

[111] The whole question of 'ancient history from coins' is of course highly problematic, but this does not mean to say that some changes cannot be linked to historical events.

[112] See Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 306–13, figs. 271–83. Later issues depict the hero standing, e.g., a copper alloy coin of ca. 200–100 BCE depicting a bust of Artemis (crowned) (on the obverse) and on the reverse Heracles draped in a lion skin advancing right with bow drawn (BM 1926, 0422.5).

Dionysus.[113] Thasos was famous for its wines so the Dionysian imagery was already well established and requires little by way of explanation; however, the image of a bearded Heracles is rather more complicated. The (somewhat atypical) civic cult focussed on the god-hero Heracles played a key role in defining what it meant to be Thasian as well as providing an important point of contact between people of different outlook and culture.[114] Contemporary audiences would have been all too aware not only of the central role that Heracles played in the life of the *polis* but also the strong cultic ties that connected Thasos with the city of Tyre.[115] The figure depicted on the coins was just one of the many representations of Heracles-Melqart that were in circulation at the time: that same sea of ideas and images through which Herodotus had navigated whilst making his enquiries (see Hdt. 2.43–4). Any attempt to reconstruct the thought world of local historians and mythographers needs to take into account the increasingly compelling evidence for cultural interaction between Phoenicians, indigenes, Parian settlers, and others during the earliest phases of settlement on Thasos, whether in the form of toponyms, onomastics, cult practice, or material culture. The images of the archer Heracles are as much a part of this as the fragmentary literary references suggestive of Levantine connections, past or present.[116]

6. Between Myth and History: Origins, Returns, Foundations

Although preserved only in fragments, early logographers present vivid insights into the interests and concerns of their day—not to mention those of later authors who quoted their work, however loosely, and thus preserved it for posterity. A cursory glance will reveal that the vast bulk of the material is mythical in nature and, as such, arguably bound up in a wider continuum of thought encompassing Homeric genealogies, tales relating to the returning heroes (*Nostoi*), aetiologies, and foundation stories. Attempting to divide these fragments into prose genres considered either rational or 'scientific' (i.e., geography or ethnography) or 'mythological' (mythography) is unlikely to

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[113] Only the relief depicting Heracles survives. Clothed in a chiton and wearing a lion skin, the hero is depicted drawing a bow whilst in a kneeling position (ca. 71 cm x 100 cm, Istanbul Archaeological Museum 718). An associated inscription reads: 'The sons of Zeus, of the long-veiled Semele and Alcmene, stand as guardians to the city' (*IG* XII 8.356). See Walsh (2009).

[114] The Thasians advertised their devotion to the hero by dedicating a monumental bronze statue of him at Olympia (Paus. 5.25.12). For the Sanctuary of Heracles on Thasos, together with associated evidence for ritual feasting from which women were excluded, see Grandjean and Salviat (2000); *SEG* 41.720; *IG* XII Suppl. 414. The name Ἡρακλείδης was not uncommon amongst the island's inhabitants whilst wine stamps of the mid-6th century depict Heracles (e.g., Thasos 1703). See Stafford (2012) together with Garlan (1999).

[115] See Malkin (2005).

[116] For contact/interaction on Thasos, see important work by Sarah Owen (2000) and (2006).

produce anything other than a false dichotomy since distinguishing between
mythic and historical pasts appears to have been little more than a rhetorical
strategy for early writers.[117] Such material is better approached holistically if
we are to gauge its nature and significance in relation to wider discourses of
identity and difference.

The diverse (and often inherently contradictory) range of opinions that
ancient authors express as to what constituted *mythos* and what the term itself
implied has left modern scholarship struggling to arrive at a workable
definition of Greek myth.[118] That supplied by a recent discussion of
Herodotus' treatment of myth will, however, more than suffice for the
purposes of this study: Greek myth is essentially a broad category defined in
terms of its divine or heroic subject matter, traditional nature, and collective
significance.[119] This collective significance derives in no small part from its
explanatory value.[120] The study of Greek myth should not on any account be
seen as an abstract or obscure mode of enquiry. These stories had direct
implications for the lives of groups and individuals: the festivals they chose to
celebrate and the rituals they performed on a day-by-day basis, the images
they saw on their coins, and the gods and heroes to whom they offered cult.

Whilst we should perhaps resign ourselves to the lack of a secure and
universally applicable definition of myth, a fascination for aetiology, etymol-
ogy, and 'origins' in general is readily apparent throughout the sources.[121]
The question of origins is addressed in works recounting the founding of
cities such as those attributed to Hellanicus of Lesbos and Charon of
Lampsacus.[122] The myths and aetiologies upon which Charon and others

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[117] For the argument that whilst insisting that the modern tendency to see the relationship
between *mythos* and history in dichotomous terms should be resisted, see Baragwanath and
de Bakker (2012) 40.

[118] For discussion, see important work by Kirk, e.g. (1970) or (1974) 13–29. Cf. Buxton
(1994); Harrison (2000) 196–8, 206–7; Csapo (2005) 1–9. Attempts to arrive at a blanket
definition include a 'traditional tale' that carries relevance in the present, e.g., Bremmer
(1987) 1; Burkert (1979a) 23 and (1979b).

[119] Baragwanath and de Bakker (2012) 40. Attention is drawn to Herodotus' explicit
awareness and conscious manipulation of a 'spectrum of certainty' (ibid.) when dealing with
his sources.

[120] In Herodotus' case, myth 'helps contextualise the historical narrative and convey its
importance and meaning to readers' providing 'a tool to engage readers in thinking more
deeply and reflectively about past history but also the present' (*ibid.* 46). For Herodotus'
engagement with myth in the Libyan logos, see Baragwanath, above, ch. 4.

[121] Cf. Charon of Lampsacus' note that Phobus was the first to throw himself into the sea
from the Leucadian Rocks (*FGrHist* 262 F 7a); Acusilaus' assertion that rites in Samothrace
were initiated in honour of the Cabeiri (*FGrHist* 2 F 20). For discussion of 'firsts' in
Herodotus, see Harrison (2000) 182–207. Against a developmental approach of Herodotus'
work in relation to his intellectual and literary environment, Fowler (1996) and (2006).

[122] Pearson (1939) 150 noted that Charon 'liked to present parallel legends and for that
reason might be classed as an elementary student of folk-lore'. Most scholars have followed
the traditional approach of viewing Charon and his contemporaries according to a

drew were viewed by Pearson as a significant departure from both Homeric and Hesiodic traditions insofar as they were explicitly local in origin. In terms of their content they are not dissimilar to those surrounding the so-called 'colonial' foundations such as Syracuse or Cyrene. These commonly invoke elements of local topography and landscape in the form of river gods and nymphs, with the seduction or rape of the latter providing a mythical analogue for power relationships between indigenous populations and Greek colonists. Such tales need to be seen alongside stories concerning the expulsion of the Pelasgian Doliones from the land later occupied by Cyzicus (*FGrHist* 471 F 8a) or the treatment meted out to the prior inhabitants of Lampsacus, the Bebryces (*FGrHist* 262 FF 7a, 7b, 8).[123]

If one surveys the work of the fragmentary Greek historians, an interest in identity and origins per se is widely apparent: explaining the link between people and place was obviously important to both them and their audiences. The hitherto marginal nature of many of these authors meant that such debates have been largely overlooked. In certain cases we can point to individuals who, far from being dry antiquarians or parochially-minded scribblers, appear to have been held in high esteem within their communities; Ion of Chios being perhaps the most notable example.[124] The fragmentary remnants of their writings are surely indicative of wider debates and concerns and even if much of the material we possess represents educated hypothesising as opposed to 'genuine' local traditions, they are nonetheless the product of the same intellectual milieu, the same desire to investigate and explain difference. The extent to which such tales figured prominently in everyday discourse is impossible to establish with any degree of certainty; however, they are unlikely to represent idle speculation for its own sake and would in many cases have referenced, or at the very least resonated with, stories associated with local cults, statues, images on coins, etc.[125]

The interest in establishing the origins or 'First Finder' ($\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau o\varsigma$ $\varepsilon\dot{v}\rho\varepsilon\tau\dot{\eta}\varsigma$) of various cults and institutions, apparent in Hecataeus' work and elsewhere, raises inevitable questions as to what, if anything, such interests imply. Robert Fowler asserted that, at the time of Hecataeus' researches, myth

developmental framework: 'His fragments, such as they are, suggest that his method resembled that of Herodotus …; they exhibit … a love of digression …, a taste for the curious tale and aetiology, combined with a desire to write serious history' (*ibid.*). Cf. now Thomas (2014a) 242–3.

[123] Cf. on colonial myth: Pherecydes of Athens on the population of Ionia prior to Ionian colonisation under Androclus, founder of Ephesus (*FGrHist* 3 F 155).

[124] For related discussion, see Chaniotis (1988) and, more recently, id. (2009); Clarke (2008); Thomas (2014a) 239–40. For Ion, see Jennings and Katsaros (2007).

[125] The manner in which tales told about the past—invented traditions—could form the basis of a shared sense of identity is now widely acknowledged. See Gehrke (2001) and Flower (2002). Hdt. 1.24 with its reference to a bronze man on a dolphin is a tempting example.

constituted 'the currency of cultural debate'.[126] Whose culture? And to what end? In fact, enquiries into matters such as the origins of cults and rituals arguably played an important role in explaining difference.[127] As such, they played an important role in creating this growing sense of 'difference yet connectedness'—a new 'style' of imagining an imagined community of Greeks.

Aetiology, in particular, offers an important bridge into the world of objects, monuments and the memories that they both evoked and helped constitute, as Kowalzig has argued:

> Aetiology creates a religious world that is tied to visible localities and lived local customs. It is always engrained in the physical world, linked with the tangible reality of cults and rituals, shrines and objects of cult … [It] … has a share in everyday religious practice; and it creates social explanations of items in use by a community of myth-tellers.[128]

It is in no way surprising therefore that aetiological myths attached to objects and monuments should make their way into the prose enquiries of the fragmentary Greek authors whose awareness of the past was forever being reaffirmed or prompted by, to take a few well-known examples, the conscious archaising of Athenian silver coinage or panathenaic amphorae, or the self-conscious display of 'Cyclopean' masonry below the bastion supporting the Athena Nike temple on the Periclean acropolis.

The tattered remnants of the fragmentary Greek historians also preserve tantalising evidence of the complex processes of positioning that went into the 'making' of Greek identities.[129] The aetiologies, myths, and fables of the sort that Hecataeus introduces for 'Mycenae' and 'Oineus' (*BNJ* 1 FF 22, 15) are an important mechanism for understanding both local identities and the past. These stories come from somewhere. They were devised, we must assume, with a specific purpose in mind and as such are shot through with politics.[130] Hecataeus' apparent assertion that the wealthy *polis* of Chios was

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[126] Fowler (2001) 97. Cf. Malkin (1998) and (2005).

[127] For the relationship between aetiological myth, ritual, and the creation of imagined pasts and identities, see Kowalzig (2007) 25: 'aetiology is the narrated form of diversity in Greek religion. In accounting for diversity, giving an identity to a place and a community of myth-tellers, lies aetiology's greatest potential for acting as a tale of social relevance'.

[128] Kowalzig (2007) 25. See ibid. for related discussion of the view that aetiology functioned as a form of primitive scientific explanation.

[129] Cf. S. Hall's (1990) 225 description of identities as 'the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past'. For the significance of names in particular, see Fraser (2009).

[130] Cf. Ion of Chios on 'Chios' (*FGrHist* 392 F 1) or the tale relayed by Charon of Lampsacus concerning Arcas and the hamadryad nymph which provides an aetiological myth for the Arcadians (complete with oak trees) and could easily be read as an account explaining the origins of Arcadia and Arcadians (*FGrHist* 262 F 12b). For whether one can reasonably

an Erythraean foundation (*BNJ* 1 F 141) is an excellent case in point. It is not altogether clear how much should be read into Hecataeus' telegraphic reference; however, it has recently been asserted that it reflects a Chian source and that the link to Erythrae places the city outside the web of myths linking Ionian cities to Athens.[131] Since relations between Chios and Erythrae appear to have been less than cordial (control of both territory on the mainland and the straits dominated by the Oenussae islands were a popular bone of contention)[132] it seems equally possible that the 'source' came from Erythrae as it would place Chios in a subordinate position to her neighbour.[133]

Chios appears to have promulgated its own version of its foundation myth from circa the mid-sixth century onwards asserting its independence from the other Ionian cities by stressing links with Euboea and Crete.[134] Evidence for the latter comes in part from Pausanias who appears to paraphrase a sizeable chunk of 'On the Foundation of Chios'—just one of the large number of works with which the polymath Ion is credited.[135] Ion maintains that the eponymous hero Chios was born during a snowstorm after Poseidon had his way with a nymph. After this initial 'foundation' Chios was then settled by a Cretan culture hero, Oinopion, the bringer of wine, together with his sons, after which reference is made to a further one or two waves of settlers. These were Carians and Abantes from Euboea together with Amphiclus of Histiaea who subsequently became king having been prompted to make the original journey to Chios by an oracle from Delphi.[136] Amphiclus' descendant, king Hector, is then credited by Ion with the decision to align Chios with the city-states of Ionia by joining them in their sacrifices to the god at the Panionion. Persuasive analysis of the story by Mac Sweeney has stressed the degree to which this tale stresses the agency of the

distinguish between etymology as a scientific method and popular etymology, see Fowler (1996) 72 n. 77; Immerwahr (1966). Kowalzig (2007) 26 takes an alternative approach in arguing that aetiology abolishes history by denying change through time. For the enduring interest in myths of origin in fourth-century Ionia see now Thomas (2014a) 250–8.

[131] For comprehensive discussion, see Katsaros' (2009) erudite commentary on *BNJ* 392 F 1 (= *FGrHist* 392 F 1). No mention is made of Erythrae's origins but we know from Hellanicus that Erythrae's foundation was attributed to Neleus son of Codrus (*FGrHist* 4 F 48). Cf. *BNJ* 1 F 228.

[132] Hdt. 1.18 mentions a war in which Chios was aided by Miletus.

[133] For the importance of war in relations between Ionian city-states, see Mac Sweeney (2013) 78, 194–7.

[134] See *I. Délos* 9.3: Μέλα[ν]ος Πατρώιον ἄστυ. Cf. *SEG* 19.510; 33.633.

[135] Paus. 7.4.8–10 (*FGrHist* 392 F 1).

[136] Ibid. It is tempting to infer that the link between Athens and Chios was tentatively acknowledged when Oinopion was made a son of Theseus; however, this would not be enough to have compromised Chian independence: see Olding (2007).

Chians.[137] Ion's claims for his city appear to go somewhat further, however, by claiming that Athamas, the founder of a fellow Ionian city, Teos, was actually Oinopion's son.[138] The (highly plausible) suggestion that Oinopion could easily have been a gloss for another hero, Oineus, raises the possibility that Ion's writings also advanced similar claims regarding Samos since Oineus was already acknowledged as both great-grandfather of the eponymous hero Samos and father-in-law of Samia by the epic poet Asius of Samos in the sixth/early fifth century BCE.[139]

Stories surrounding Chios' foundation demonstrate the importance of fictive kinship and genealogy in ancient identity-construction. Genealogical thinking was an effective mechanism for thinking about collective identities and, as such, all-pervasive.[140] The latter is now widely acknowledged following the work of Jonathan Hall who famously linked the emergence of a wider sense of Hellenic identity to the *Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, or *Ehoiai*, listing the descendants of the mythical king Hellen. It is surely no coincidence that a concern for descent and genealogy is readily apparent throughout Greek historiography more generally, whether in tracing the origins of various mythological races, for example Phaeacians and Giants in Acusilaus, or the lineage of various aristocratic or priestly clans such as the Homeridae on Chios.[141]

The invention of prose writing is rightly viewed as a new form of technology that facilitated critical self-reflection on behalf of both author and audience. It is now clear, however, that this invention was not the abrupt rupture previously envisaged—a point also made by Clarke in her work on chronography and local history: the boundaries separating different forms of discourse were every bit as permeable and our distinctions between different modes of enquiry are ultimately somewhat arbitrary. One thing is certain: the relationship between historiography (writing culture), hybrid identities, and the shaping of collective memory is both nuanced and complex. The tattered remnants that have been handed down to us in the form of the fragmentary Greek historians are not mere epiphenomena that can be neatly parcelled up into discrete realms of enquiry—some of which relate to identity and some not—subject to intense scrutiny in some cases, but languishing in comparative neglect in others. Instead, what we are presented with forms part of a wider whole: discourses of identity and difference, knowledge and

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[137] Later authors found fault with this tale, e.g., Pausanias (7.4.10) who notes that no reason is given as to why the Chians should be considered Ionian.

[138] Cf. Pherekydes for 'Teos' (*FGrHist* 3 F 102). See Mac Sweeney (2013) 85–90.

[139] Mac Sweeney (2013) 91–102. For dating Asius, see Bowra (1957) 391–401.

[140] Mythical heroes provide the eponyms for both Greeks and barbarians, creating considerable confusion, as we have already seen. Woolf (2010) 198 has recently questioned whether such thinking reflects the concerns and preoccupations of communities or merely those of an aristocratic elite, from which the vast majority of our authors hailed.

[141] *FGrHist* 2 FF 4, 35, 2.

ideas that played an active role in deciding what it meant to be Greek in the first place.

7. Conclusions

This paper began with the argument that historiographical enquiry was not only inextricably tied up in wider processes of identity-construction but also constitutive of identity.[142] Its 'embeddedness' means that it cannot be studied in isolation as to do so would be to divorce it artificially from the other forms of 'cultural work' of which it formed a part. Discussion of both Greek historiography in general and the fragmentary Greek historians in particular would be greatly enhanced if we took modern debates surrounding the nature and origins of Greek identity into account from the very outset. Whilst the study of the latter continues to be dogged by a 'mythology of coherence',[143] to use Quentin Skinner's formulation, the study of Greek historiography has been equally constrained by the tendency to divide it up into the various sub-genres devised by Jacoby. The knock-on effect of these categories becoming progressively institutionalised was that vast swathes of information were relegated almost entirely to the sidelines, the preserve of a small band of dedicated experts. Whilst the questions that we pose are still in many ways a response to the framework devised either by Jacoby or the ancient critics which he set out to refute,[144] the advent of Brill's *New Jacoby*, has made it far easier to navigate between hitherto inaccessible material and to work across genres, generating fresh and interesting perspectives in the process.[145]

My aim in embarking on this discussion was to demonstrate the importance of studying historiography 'in the round'. If culture is best understood, in the words of Bhabha, as an intrinsically hybrid entity,[146] then the discursive interplay of ideas of identity and difference emerges as a

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[142] See now Thomas (2014a) 240: 'surely it is a fact … that writing down a history of a particular *polis* was a major step in cementing or crystallizing a particular vision of that *polis*, its past and therefore its present character, its "identity". Whatever memories and local knowledge had existed before in people's minds, traditions and memories vaguely passed down, and everyday habits, the sheer fact of having a written *polis* history will have done something to create a new entity'.

[143] Q. Skinner (1969) 18.

[144] Scholarly consideration of the fragmentary Greek authors has largely followed the path laid down by Jacoby, at times creating the impression that these fields of enquiry were somehow divorced from the bigger picture or that what really matters is where they fit in the grand narrative describing how Great Historiography came into being: e.g., Clarke's case (2008) for re-jigging the chronology so that local histories can return to their rightful place in the chronological schema: no longer an offshoot of Great Historiography, but part of a wider intellectual and cultural milieu (although this in no way does justice to the scope of Clarke's book).

[145] See now Thomas (2014a) and (2014b); Tober (2017).

[146] Bhabha (1994) 56.

thoroughly mundane activity: a reflexive positioning that could find expression in any area of cultural production, as opposed to one that was restricted solely to prose or, indeed, specific genres. The richness and diversity of Greek historiography reflects the complexities of the socio-cultural milieu from which it emerged: knowledge of all kinds was inextricably bound up with understanding the past, the construction of identities, and the process of enshrining both within collective memory.

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6

REMEMBERING, FORGETTING, AND
REWRITING THE PAST: ATHENIAN
INSCRIPTIONS AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY*

Polly Low

Abstract: This chapter explores the ways in which the Athenians responded to inscriptions after their creation, and in particular their approaches to the emendation, destruction, and recreation of inscribed public texts. It argues that these approaches reveal an ongoing interaction between individual initiative and collective authority in the treatment of inscribed monuments; and it suggests that this interaction, in turn, offers an important insight into the role played by inscribed texts in the shaping and reshaping of Athenian collective memory.

1. Introduction

T he claim that the inscribed decrees of Classical Athens have some sort of commemorative function is, these days, probably not so much uncontroversial as positively mundane.[1] There is, however, less universal agreement about the precise ways in which these inscriptions functioned as sites or sources of memory, and it is this issue which I aim to

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[1] See (as well as Shear's chapter in this volume), Osborne (1999); Luraghi (2010); Lambert (2011); Shear (2012). More generally on the symbolic functions of inscribed texts, see Thomas (1989) 45–60.

address here. My focus is on the treatment of inscribed monuments after their creation: that is, the reasons for which (and ways in which) they were destroyed, emended, and occasionally reconstructed. My intention, in part, is simply to sketch out the range of things that the Athenians did to their inscriptions, and to consider the reasons for their (sometimes apparently arbitrary) behaviour. The wider purpose of this chapter, though, is to explore what these practices of destruction, erasure, and reconstruction can reveal about the role played by inscribed texts in the shaping and reshaping of Athenian collective memory. This (collective memory) is a phenomenon for which I want to claim two distinguishing features. First, it should be seen as an aggregation of individual memories and memory-acts, rather than (as 'commemoration' might imply) something more top-down or centrally controlled.[2] Second (and as a consequence of the first point): collective memory is fluid, and potentially contested, rather than absolutely stable.[3] My suggestion is that thinking about inscriptions in terms of 'collective memory' rather than (or as well as) the products of single acts of 'commemoration' might add to our understanding both of the role of inscriptions in Athenian life, and of the nature of collective memory in the ancient city.[4]

Two more specific questions about the mnemonic role of inscriptions run through this study. The first relates to the theme—very prominent in recent epigraphic scholarship—of the part played by inscriptions (particularly inscribed decrees) in shaping a distinctively collective version of the city's past, and above all of its past political decisions.[5] Inscribed decrees are essentially and necessarily collective, in that their existence depends on an act of collective agreement: a decree cannot be inscribed unless it is passed by the assembly, and it cannot be passed unless the Athenians, as a group, are willing to assent to it. The text of an inscribed decree commemorates a particular moment of democratic decision-making, and also marks a point at which an individual version of the events which led to the decree being passed (preserved in a decree in the form of the proposer's words, or at least

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[2] The theory that individual and collective memories are inextricably linked was most influentially formulated by Halbwachs (1992 [1925]); see further Assman (2011) 21–69. On collective memory in Athenian culture, see now Steinbock (2013).

[3] Helpfully emphasised by Cubbitt (2007) ch. 3.

[4] I have restricted the focus of discussion to Classical Athens partly for reasons of space and partly because the density of epigraphic and literary evidence for this period allows (at times) for the creation of a fuller picture of the memory landscape of the city than is possible for other periods and places. I should emphasise that this focus should not be taken to imply a claim that Classical Athenian behaviour was necessarily unique. In what follows, I note some non-Athenian examples which are especially useful as comparanda for Athenian practice, and which, in general, point to broad similarity between Athenian and non-Athenian commemorative habits. (Detailed consideration of how these general habits influence specific practice, especially in relation to the formation of collective memory, would be a subject for one, or several, other papers.)

[5] For examples of this approach, see the works cited above, n. 1.

a clause presented as if it were the words of the proposer)[6] receives the endorsement of the collective. To put this another way: an inscribed decree marks the moment where an individual account of the past becomes a part of a collectively-agreed narrative. In that respect, these decrees illuminate a centrally important, but often extremely elusive, aspect of the formation of collective memory: that is, the process by which individual accounts of the past become incorporated into a wider, shared version of a community's history.[7] Focussing on the moment of an inscribed decree's creation, however, can give the impression that this movement from individual to collective was a relatively straightforward process, and one which operated in only one direction. I hope to show that the fate of inscribed monuments after their creation points to a more complex situation, and that these collectively-agreed monuments could continue to influence, and be influenced by, individuals' changing views of the past.

This argument will require some consideration of a second theme: how do inscribed records (and the 'collective memory' which they represent) relate to other, particularly unwritten, forms of shared memory? Unwritten memories are, of course, by their very nature hard to locate in our sources, but it is sometimes possible to identify their traces.[8] An epigraphic example reported in a literary text can illustrate the point. In his *Third Philippic*, Demosthenes (9.41–5) appeals to the inscription setting out Athenian actions against the (alleged) traitor Arthmius of Zeleia, who had been accused of conveying Persian gold to Greece during the Persian War, and does so, he says, because he wants to provide his audience with 'not my [Demosthenes'] words but the written record of your ancestors' (οὐ λόγους ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων, 9.41). The second-person plural is important: the actions which are recorded on the *stele* can be asserted to represent the shared ideology of the whole Athenian people. This is—or Demosthenes hopes it can be presented as—a collective record, and it is deployed in order to trigger a collective memory of shared actions and shared ideals, which in turn can shape the behaviour of the contemporary Athenian community.[9] This same example, however, serves as a warning against assuming that the meaning of monuments was entirely fixed, or that there is

[6] On the appearance of verbatim reportage, see Plat. *Phaed.* 258a4–9; on the gap between this and reality, Osborne (1999).

[7] On the methodological challenge of pinning down exactly how the relationship between individual and collective memory operates, see (for example) Olick (1999); Crane (1997); Green (2004).

[8] For further discussion of the interplay between oral and written records in Athens, see Thomas (1989) 45–59.

[9] The question of the commemorative function of the monument is further complicated by the fact that both decree and *stele* might have been fourth-century fabrications: for brief discussion (and an argument in favour of authenticity), see Meiggs (1972) 508–12. More generally on the phenomenon of collective memory leading to the fabrication of inscriptions (the opposite process, in effect, to the one under discussion here), see Habicht (1961).

necessarily a direct correlation between the words written on a *stele* and the collective memories which that *stele* might evoke. The existence of the monument is an essential part of Demosthenes' argument, but it is not sufficient in itself. The words quoted by Demosthenes record only the actions of the people involved: the treachery of Arthmius; the response of the Athenians. The reason for that response—the 'intention' of the Athenians—is (according to Demosthenes) preserved not in the written text, but in the shared memory of the audience (9.43):

> ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίς ἦν ποθ᾽ ἡ διάνοια τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε, ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα.

> Those are the words. Consider, by the gods, what was the intention of the Athenians of that time, or what was their decision?

Admittedly, this is a memory which requires some excavation (and, almost certainly, reshaping) by Demosthenes before it re-emerges at the surface of Athenian collective consciousness, but it remains the case that it is possible for Demosthenes to assert the existence of shared memories which lie outside the inscribed text.

That inscribed monuments might be used to shape memory but do not absolutely determine it is apparent, too, in the fact that this *stele* is put to rather different uses in other contexts. For Demosthenes in the *False Embassy* (19.271–2) the text is evidence not (as it is in the *Philippics*) of the Athenians' traditional commitment to acting as protectors of the Greek world, but rather of their long-standing objection to all forms of corruption or treachery, wherever committed. Dinarchus (in his *Against Aristogeiton*, 2.24–5) uses the inscription for a similar purpose, that is, to contrast the strong anti-corruption stance of fifth-century Athenians with the more lax approach of his contemporaries; but he puts a much greater focus on the specific problem of bribery (δωροδοκία) than on the all-encompassing charges of treachery emphasised by Demosthenes. All three speeches use the inscription to validate a version of the past, and to claim that it represents something that all Athenians must surely know (even though the event it recorded took place long before the lifetime of any member of their audience), but in each speech, the version of the past which the inscription is claimed to preserve is subtly but crucially different.

What this example suggests is that although inscribed monuments might have been set up with the intention of fixing a specific, collectively-authorised version of the past in the minds of their viewers, this act of collective commemoration still allowed space for a wide penumbra of associated memories. In what follows, I aim to show that this phenomenon is also visible in the epigraphic record itself, and that it can help us to analyse and

understand the Athenian approach to destroying, emending, and, occasionally, reconstructing their inscribed public monuments.

2. Destruction and its Avoidance

The underlying principles which guided the Athenian treatment of inscribed decrees after their creation seem, at first glance, clear and logical: when a monument became outdated, it should be either amended (by additions or deletions) or destroyed.[10] It is this second option, complete removal of a monument, which will be considered first.

An apparently clear-cut example of this approach is visible in an alliance between Athens and Thessaly of 361/0 (RO 44), which includes as one of its conditions the stipulation that a previous treaty between Athens and Alexander of Pherae (an enemy of Thessaly) should be removed (lines 39–40).[11] The logic which underpins this action seems to be this: the treaty is no longer valid; therefore the stone which records it should be destroyed. This approach can be seen elsewhere too. Demosthenes, for example, in his speech *For the Megalopolitans* asserts that the Megalopolitans should destroy the *stelae* marking their alliance with Thebes, and by doing so repudiate the treaty (16.27–8). According to Philochorus, Demosthenes himself persuaded the Athenian assembly to pass a decree authorising preparations for war with Macedon, part of which included the provision to 'take down the *stele* which established peace and alliance with Philip' (*BNJ* 328 F 55a: τὴν μὲν στήλην καθελεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας σταθεῖσαν). Plutarch (*Per.* 30.1) makes a Spartan ambassador to Athens, told by Pericles that revocation (and destruction) of the Megarian decrees was prevented by law (*nomos*), suggest the alternative strategy of simply turning the inscribed *stele* to face the wall.[12]

Physical evidence for complete destruction of inscriptions is hard to pin down, for obvious reasons: almost all extant inscriptions were either taken down or simply fell down at some point between their erection and their

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[10] The fullest discussion of the question (focussing on the treatment of inscribed treaties) is Bolmarcich (2007), who also lists some earlier studies (477 n. 2). See, in addition, Rhodes (2001) 136–9 and (2019); Pébarthe (2006) 261–3; Culasso Gastaldi (2003) and (2010).

[11] The verb used is here καθαιρέω, which appears to be the regular term for removal of an inscribed *stele*, used in both epigraphic and literary sources, and in non-Athenian as well as Athenian texts (e.g., from early fourth-century Thasos, *IG* XII.8 264, lines 12–13). Less common is ἀναιρέω (e.g., Andoc. 1.103; RO 83, γ, lines 24–5).

[12] The nature of this alleged *nomos* is unclear: Bolmarcich (2007) 479–80, suggests that it might indicate the existence of a general law forbidding the removal of inscriptions (except under certain specified circumstances). It is perhaps more likely that Plutarch is referring (imprecisely) to a specific regulation, possibly an entrenchment clause, prohibiting the revocation of this particular decree: compare the clauses in ML 49/OR 142, lines 20–5; RO 22, lines 51–63; see Stadter (1989) *ad loc.*

modern rediscovery; only rarely can we establish whether an inscription was deliberately removed, still less pinpoint the precise moment of its destruction. One possible (albeit non-Athenian) example is the Delphian decree which records honours for Aristotle and Callisthenes (RO 80). This was passed in a fit of Macedon-pleasing enthusiasm some time between 337 and 327; we know that these honours were rescinded after Alexander's death (Ael. *VH* 14.1), and we also know that the surviving fragment of this inscription was found in a well. The context in which it was found is not securely dated, but the temptation to assume that the annulment of the honour and the destruction of the inscription go together is almost irresistible.[13] Returning to Athens (although also to a slightly later period), we could note the case of *Agora* 16.114, a decree praising the activities of Demetrius Poliorcetes, which seems to have fallen victim to the widespread *damnatio memoriae* carried out by the Athenians against the Antigonids in 200 or 199 BCE.[14] Livy (31.44.4–5) reports that the Athenians decreed that all references to Philip V and his ancestors were to be removed; this inscription was discovered in a cistern, in a context which can be fairly safely dated to *c*. 200 BCE.[15]

This pattern of evidence seems to fit quite comfortably with the views (outlined above) of the purpose of inscriptions. If an inscribed monument functions as the physical embodiment of the collective decision of the Athenians, then it logically follows that a reversal of that decision should entail the removal of the monument. It might even be argued that the process of cause and effect should be seen as operating in the opposite direction: that is, it is not revoking an agreement that requires the removal of a monument, but the removal of the monument that formalises the annulment of an agreement. Or perhaps the two processes are incapable of being disentangled, something suggested by Demosthenes' comments in the *Against Leptines* (20.36–7). It would be disgraceful, according to Demosthenes, for the Athenians to leave standing inscriptions (στήλας) whose terms they no longer intended to keep; and it would be disgraceful for them to breach an agreement (συνθήκας) which was still in force: αὗται γὰρ οὑτωσὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις κατὰ τῆς πόλεως βλασφημεῖν τεκμήριον ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν ἑστήξουσιν ('for when people wish to bad-mouth our city, there those things will stand, as proof that they speak the truth', 20.37). It is hard to tell whether Demosthenes is referring (in αὗται) to the *stelae* or to the *sunthekai* (both are feminine plural). My suspicion is that this ambiguity would be unproblematic for Demosthenes; indeed that it is positively helpful for his argument here.

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[13] RO, p. 395. *FD* III.1 400 (at pp. 240–1) notes in addition that the same well also contained fragments of a bronze plaque, listing names of some individuals expelled from Delphi during the Third Sacred War (*CID* 2.73), and speculates that this inscription too might have been disposed of once these men were able to return to Delphi after 346 BCE.

[14] See below, p. 245.

[15] Young (1951) 226. See Shear, below, Ch. 7, for detailed discussion of the erasure made by the Athenians in the decree of Phaedrus of Sphettus (*IG* II² 682) in 200 BCE.

The inscribed monument should be a physical manifestation both of Athenian ideals and of Athenian practice, and no gap should be allowed to develop between monument and reality.

But this picture of neat correlation between Athens' commemorative epigraphic landscape and its practical political commitments is both incomplete and misleadingly tidy. In fact, a closer look at one of the examples already mentioned reveals this: that is, the Athenian alliance with Thessaly, and the clause stipulating the removal of the *stele* recording the treaty with Alexander of Pherae. The alliance, as noted above, was decreed in 361/0, but by this point Athens had already been fighting Alexander for some time: the alliance between Alexander and Athens was made in 368; in 364 Alexander shifted his allegiance to Thebes; by 362 and 361 he was attacking Athenian allies and Athenian ships, and even staged a raid on Piraeus.[16] It was not, however, until the treaty with Thessaly was made in 361/0 that the Athenians got round to removing the treaty with Alexander, even though that treaty cannot have had any formal force for several years.

It is, though, possible to see the logic behind this approach too. Since (according to our sources, at least) it was Alexander who had broken the treaty, and since there was generally a diplomatic benefit to be had from claiming to be the victim, rather than the instigator, of any interstate quarrel, it would presumably have been quite helpful for the Athenians to be able to point to a tangible marker of the disloyalty of their (former) ally. Demosthenes' comments in the *Against Leptines*, noted above, point to an awareness of the potential embarrassment which could arise if too great a disjunction was allowed to emerge between monument and action, and a desire to exploit that potential for embarrassment, and to focus it on a foreign-policy rival, might well underlie the Athenian treatment of this treaty *stele*.

A similar approach is clearly visible in the case of the *stele* recording the Peace of Nicias, where Thucydides reports that the Athenians, learning that the Spartans had violated a clause of the agreement, 'were persuaded by Alcibiades to inscribe at the bottom of the Laconian pillar that the Lacedaemonians had not kept their oaths' (Ἀλκιβιάδου πείσαντος τῇ μὲν Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ ὑπέγραψαν ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ὅρκοις, 5.56.3). It is worth noting here not only Athens' (Alcibiades-inspired) eagerness to memorialise Spartan duplicity, but also the fact that (in Thucydides' narration at least) the Athenians, as soon as they have accused the Spartans of breaking their oaths, go on to do exactly the same thing themselves by assisting the helots in an anti-Spartan action. Their (unilateral) addition to the text of the treaty seems to be an implicit statement that the whole agreement is now void. Nevertheless, the whole monument was left standing, not because it was a forgotten irrelevance, but precisely because its

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[16] Theban alliance: Diod. 15.80.6; attacks on Athens and her allies: Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.35, [Dem.] 50.4, Diod. 15.95.

lack of formal validity gave it greater symbolic power, symbolism which could then (we might reasonably imagine) be deployed to help justify future hostility to Sparta.[17]

These two examples seem to reflect two rather different approaches to marking a treaty violation, with correspondingly different implications for our understanding of the commemorative function of the inscribed monuments and, more particularly, the relationship between written commemoration and other forms of collective memory. If the Athenians were making a deliberate point by leaving the Alexander treaty standing after it had been broken (by Alexander), then the fact that this was not noted on the stone must suggest a wider (unwritten) awareness of the diplomatic history of the two states. (That is: this would not be much of an insult if the average viewer of this inscription in, say, 361, had no idea what Alexander had been up to in the past few years). This seems similar to the view of inscriptions implied by Demosthenes' use of the decree condemning Arthmius of Zeleia: the inscribed monument provides a springboard for the collective memory of an event, or series of events, but it does not tell the complete story. However, the decision in the case of the Peace of Nicias to mark in writing the treaty-breaching behaviour of the Spartans suggests the possibility of a rather different approach to the commemoration of such behaviour, an approach which gives greater priority to fixing, if not the full story, then the significant parts of it, in public, written, and collectively-agreed form.

The element of collective agreement deserves emphasis, in this case and in the other examples discussed so far. Thucydides credits Alcibiades with the original idea of emending the text, but also makes it clear that he had to persuade the Athenians to agree to it; in Aristophanes' brief allusion to the same story (*Lysistrata* 513–14), all the credit—or blame—for the decision to emend the treaty is given to the *ecclesia*. In the same way, the *stele* recording the treaty with Alexander was removed once the Athenian assembly has agreed that this could, and should, be done (RO 44, lines 39–40); it was a decree of the assembly (rather than the unilateral decision of Demosthenes) which led to the removal of the *stele* of the Peace of Philocrates.[18] If, therefore, creating an inscribed monument required that the whole community (as

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[17] Maria Fragoulaki has observed (*pers. com.*) that Spartan duplicity recurs as a theme of (Thucydides' picture) of Athenian policy-making in the claims which the Athenian generals make in the Melian Dialogue: 'of all the people we know, the Spartans are most blatant at equating comfort with honour, and self-interest with justice' (5.105).

[18] Noted by Bolmarcich (2007) 485, who argues that such a decision should be seen as exceptional (and that treaty-*stelae* would usually be considered inviolable, and left standing even when entirely outdated). Bolmarcich is quite right to note that it is hard to find parallel examples of explicit instructions for removal of treaty-*stelae*; however, Athenian practice in emending and erasing parts of these documents (discussed below) suggests to me that they were more willing than Bolmarcich allows to tamper with existing monuments. That is, I suspect that the practice of removing treaty-*stelae* after a decision of the assembly was more widespread than the extant evidence reveals.

embodied by the *ecclesia*) was prepared to endorse the version of the past which it represented, these examples indicate that this element of consensus continued to be important during the monument's afterlife. The fate of the Nicias *stele* suggests that acts of emendation operated in the same way, although consideration of some other examples of emendation and erasure will show that Athenian behaviour is not always quite so easy to explain or understand.

3. Erasure and Emendation

Two problems complicate any attempt to understand Athenian attitudes to emending inscribed monuments. First: Athenian habits seem to be not entirely consistent. Second, it is not completely clear what the intention of such acts of erasure was. Some emendations or erasures are quite obviously entirely pragmatic, designed to correct an error in either the drafting or cutting of a document;[19] other examples might be best explained as resulting from a desire to save money (and perhaps time) by updating existing documents rather than constructing a new monument from scratch.[20] But in other cases, particularly where a text is emended some time after its original creation, it becomes harder to establish how far Athenian behaviour is driven by a practical desire to ensure the accuracy of the monumental record, and how great a role might be played by other, more symbolic, aspects of commemorative practice.

These problems can be illustrated by a well-known example: the 'Prospectus' of the Second Athenian League (RO 22), a monument which has a notoriously complex epigraphic afterlife. The text, which was set up in

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[19] E.g., RO 31 (Athenian decrees for Mytilene; 369/8–368/7): the first decree on the stone (lines 8–34) has been re-inscribed over an erasure, probably in order to include an amendment (lines 31–4) which had been mistakenly omitted from the first version (RO comm. *ad loc*; Nolan (1981) 126–8). Compare also RO 48 (Athenian alliance with Carystus, 357/6); the name of the general Chabrias has been erased from the list of generals charged with swearing the treaty oath (line 20), perhaps because he died or was deposed before he could swear; perhaps because his name was inscribed twice in error (another man, whose name also began Xa…, was listed in the incomplete line 20). Discussion of the possibilities, and further bibliography, in RO, pp. 240–1.

[20] E.g., the treaties for Rhegion (ML 63/OR 149A) and Leontini (ML 64/OR 149B). In both these cases, the original prescript has been erased and re-inscribed; the extant prescripts are firmly dated to 433/2, but the exact nature of their relationship to the substantive text below remains unclear. ML (commentary *ad locc.*) sets out the conventional view that the main text of the decree records the original treaty (agreed in perhaps the 440s); when the treaty was renewed or reaffirmed in 433/2, the prescript was amended to reflect this. An alternative view dates the main text to 433/2, and suggests that the prescript was re-inscribed (but not substantially updated) at a later point (Mattingly (1963) 272; Papazarkadas (2009) 75). Whichever interpretation is correct, the motivation for the erasure and re-inscription seems to be driven by practicality (and perhaps also a desire to minimise the cost of stone and labour) rather than any wider commemorative agenda (cf. Raviola (1993) 96).

378/7, includes an explicit provision that it should be kept up to date by the addition of new members to the stone (lines 69–72), and this surely suggests that the initial intention (at least) was that the stone act as an accurate record of Athens' diplomatic obligations.[21] That impression is reinforced by the fact that the text was updated not only by additions but also by deletions: the name of one ally seems to have been removed from the list (at line 111);[22] more strikingly, so too was a clause (lines 12–15) which made it clear that the new alliance would operate within the framework of the King's Peace. This latter deletion should probably be dated to 367 (or later): this is when Athenian policy shifted towards hostility to Persia, and it makes sense that a public expression of tolerance of Persian authority might be seen as misleading, not to mention unhelpful, after this date.[23]

But the problem in understanding the afterlife of this monument lies not so much in what the Athenians did to the stone, as in what they failed to do, in terms both of additions and deletions. At some point in the late 370s (before the stone was full) names of allies were no longer added to the list.[24]

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[21] Compare ML 87/OR 185 (Athenian treaty with Selymbria, *c.* 408/7), which includes (at lines 38–41) an instruction to delete names of hostages from a list (the hostages presumably having been taken to ensure Selymbrian co-operation until the treaty was agreed, and now having served their purpose). The verb used is ἐξαλείφω, 'wipe out', which might suggest that the list was on wood, or some other temporary medium, rather than stone (compare the examples given by Fischer (2003) 247). ἐκκολάπτω, 'carve out', is more commonly used of emendations to inscribed texts: e.g., *IG* I³ 106, lines 21–3: τὰ δὲ περὶ Τιμάνθος γεγρα |[μμένα] ἐν πόλει ἐκκολαφ[σ]άντον hοι ταμίαι hοι τῆς θεô ἐκ τῆς στ |[έλες· ('the Treasurers of the Goddess should carve out from the *stele* on the Acropolis those things which are written about Timanthes'); the nature of what was written, or why it now needed to be erased, is unclear: for brief discussion, see Walbank (1978) 432.

[22] The name erased has often been thought to be Ἰάσων: see, e.g., *IG* II² 43, following a suggestion made by Fabricius (1891) 594, and followed by many since: notably Accame (1941) 91–3; Tod 123. Epigraphic objections to the restoration are stated most influentially by Woodhead (1957), and accepted by (e.g.) Cargill (1981) 43–4; Baron (2006) (the latter arguing that the erasure is most likely to be a correction of a stone-cutter's error rather than the result of defection from the League; Mitchel (1984) takes a similar view on the reasons for the erasure, though a different one on the question of what was erased).

[23] Xen. *HG* 7.1.33–40; Ryder (1965) 81–2; Cargill (1981) 31–2. Accame (1941) 149–50 and Cawkwell (1973) 60 n. 1 both suggest that the erasure should be dated to 375; Marshall (1905) 16–17 argues that the clause was removed in 369. (Accame's argument was based on a belief that the erasure contained a reference to the King's Peace, which became embarrassing when, in 375, Athens made peace without reference to the King; both Cawkwell and Marshall believed that the erasure contained a critical reference to the Spartans, which became inappropriate when the Athenian policy to Sparta became more friendly, whether in 375/4 or 369.)

[24] The last name on the list (lines 131–4, on the left face of the *stele*: the *demos* of Zacynthus at Nellos) might not have been the last entry inscribed on the stone: it has been noted that this entry, which is separated from, and in a different hand than, those above the last names on the list, is aligned with the start of the list of league members on the front face of the stone (at lines 79ff.), and was probably originally intended to be grouped with it (Woodhead (1957) 371 n. 15, developed by Cawkwell (1963) 88; see most recently Baron (2006) 381–2). The cities

Even harder to explain is the approach taken to deletions from the stone, and in particular the fact that a reference to Athenian (and allied) hostility to Sparta was not erased, even though Athens and Sparta entered into an alliance in 369 BCE.[25] This change in policy pre-dates the shift in attitude to Persia which is thought to provoke the erasure from lines 12–15, which makes it extremely hard to argue that the failure to update the inscribed text indicates nothing more than that the *stele* had been completely forgotten by the early 360s. If the stone was still prominent enough to be worth altering in 367, it is hard to claim that it was irrelevant in 369. Nor does it seem likely that the shift in policy was thought too trivial to be worth noting (or rather, in this instance, concealing), since there is good evidence (again in inscribed form: RO 31) that Athens' policy of détente with Sparta had indeed caused considerable annoyance among the allies, and required Athens to produce some (not entirely convincing) diplomatic special pleading. What, then, is going on?

In attempting to answer that question, it is useful to pause to think more carefully about both the practicalities and the implications of these acts of erasure. This subject has most commonly been addressed in the context of *damnatio memoriae*; studies of the memory politics of this practice have, rightly, emphasised that this sort of (large-scale) obliteration should be seen not so much as an attempt to obliterate memory entirely as to transform honorific commemoration into a form of visible denigration. That is: the power of an act of *damnatio* relies, at least in part, on the viewer of a monument being able to supplement the gaps in an inscription with their own knowledge of what those gaps had once contained, and the reasons why the text had been removed.[26] This approach does work very well in explaining some Athenian erasures, most notably the case (already briefly mentioned) of the Hellenistic *damnatio* of the Antigonids. As has been seen,[27] one inscription (*Agora* 16.114, an honorific decree) was taken down completely as part of this process (presumably because deleting all the Antigonid references on it would have left an almost entirely empty stone). In other cases, though, the Athenians carefully removed only the specific references to the Antigonids; the process was systematic, targeted, and (as Byrne has shown) almost certainly carried out by only two or three stone-cutters (each, it seems, assigned to work in a specific area of the city).[28] In this case, the explanation of erasure-as-

listed in lines 112–30, most likely to be the last inscribed on the stone, probably joined the League (and were therefore, presumably, added to the inscription) in either 375 (suggested by, e.g., RO 22; Cawkwell (1981) 42–5) or 373 (Tod 123; Baron (2006) 388–90). *c.* 58 states were listed on the *stele*; Diod. 15.30.2 says that 70 states joined the League; Aeschin. 2.70 claims 75.

[25] Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.1–14, Diod. 15.67.1; on the date, see Jehne (1994) 79, n. 190.

[26] See, generally, Flower (2006), esp. 17–34 on memory sanctions in the Greek world.

[27] Above, p. 240.

[28] Byrne (2010).

conspicuous-insult works well, and is neatly supported by the fact that references to the Antigonids which were already hostile were left in place, most notably in the honours for Callias of Sphettus (*IG* II³ 1, 911) and for the comic poet Philippides (*IG* II³ 1, 857).[29]

If we move back to the Classical period, such clear-cut examples of *damnatio* become harder to find, although two possible candidates are worth considering. First, and more briefly: *IG* II² 1606, a naval catalogue of 374/3, which includes six mentions of the Athenian commander Timotheus (lines 12, 25, 30, 70, 75, 87). When the list was initially inscribed, Timotheus had been elected General, and this title followed each mention of his name. In the late summer or autumn of 373, however, Timotheus was charged with treason, impeached, and dismissed from his post; presumably in response to this, all six mentions of his being general have been excised from the inscription, although his name remains untouched.[30] Timotheus' disgrace is, then, visibly (and repeatedly) marked in this text, although the Athenians' desire to maintain a comprehensive record of their naval operations seems to have prevented them from removing all trace of his original presence from the stone.[31]

A second, more complicated, example is the *stele* which records two honorific decrees for the people of Neapolis (ML 89/OR 187). The first decree (passed in 409, and first both chronologically and in its position on the stone) praised the Neapolitans for their loyalty to Athens, and originally noted (in line 7) that they remained allies although they were colonists of the Thasians (who were then in revolt against Athens). The second decree (probably passed in 407) includes, among other things, a request that this description be removed (lines 58–60); the amendment has duly—and quite visibly—been carried out in the first decree. Even the most absent-minded reader of the text would, I think, be hard-pressed to miss the fact that the reference to Thasos as the mother-city of the Neapolitans had been deliberately suppressed in the first decree, since this fact is made absolutely clear in the second decree. What is much harder to tell, though, is whether this visible act of erasure was intended to emphasise the Neapolitans' hostility to the Thasians, or was just a result of an Athenian secretary failing to think through the consequences of his actions. The interpretation of the significance of the erasure depends at least in part on the equally uncertain question of the exact implications of advertising (or suppressing) this mother-city/colony connection. Is the colonial relationship to be thought of as something oppressive, from which the Neapolitans could celebrate their

[29] For Callias of Sphettus (*IG* II³ 1, 911), see Shear, below, ch. 7.

[30] For details of the charges and outcome, see Hansen (1975) no. 80. I am grateful to P. J. Rhodes to drawing this example to my attention.

[31] It is worth noting that impeachment was no bar to being held to account in other respects too: Dem. 49.25 indicates that Timotheus would still have been liable to *euthuna* at the end of the year.

liberation? If so, the visibility of the removal of the Thasians could reasonably be seen as a good thing: this would be a tangible symbol of the emancipation of the Neapolitans from Thasian control.[32] Or is it more likely that the Neapolitans might be slightly uneasy at being commemorated as an ungrateful daughter-city, a state which had betrayed its conventional obligations to its metropolis?[33] In that case, it would become harder to argue that viewers of the stone were intended to read too much into the conspicuous erasure of the Neapolitans' mother city: their removal from the stone will have created, or have been intended to create, not an absent presence, but simply and straightforwardly an absence.

With these (admittedly inconclusive) examples in mind, it is possible to return to the problem of the erasure (and absence of erasure) in the Prospectus of the Second Athenian League. It would certainly be possible to construct an argument which claimed that viewing and explaining erasures in terms of deliberate 'memory sanction' (rather than simply pragmatic acts of record keeping) might help explain why the Persians were expunged from this inscription while the Spartans were left in place: there might be no particular harm in viewers of this monument being reminded of Athens' extrication of the League from Persian influence; but removing, and thereby emphasising the absence of, a policy of hostility to Sparta might have been a less obviously desirable move. But I would not want to push this argument too far: not every act of erasure was so loaded in its intention; indeed, as has already been seen, it is possible that RO 22 itself includes an erasure which simply removed the name of a state which had somehow ended up being included twice in the list of allies.[34] Whatever is driving the Athenian treatment of this stone (and of other inscribed monuments), it is not, in my view, a coherent, consistent, commemorative agenda.

Athenian behaviour may have been inconsistent, but it was not necessarily illogical. Once more, the role of collective consensus deserves attention; not because it provides a single key to understanding Athenian erasing habits, but because it might explain why it is hard to find one. I have already suggested, when looking at examples of destruction of inscriptions, that Athenian behaviour seems most often to be reactive rather than systematic, triggered by specific developments which, first, remind the Athenians—or perhaps better, one Athenian (the process starts with an individual proposer)—of the existence of certain (or a certain set of)

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[32] Suggested by Wilhelm (1903) 777, and more recently by Smarczyk (1986) 34; Brunet (1997) 237.

[33] The more generally held view, suggested by (e.g.) Graham (1971) 86–7. Graham follows Pouilloux (1954) 178–92, in suggesting that *IG* XII.5 109 is an agreement between Thasos and Neapolis and should be dated sometime between 411 and 407; if this is correct then it would make it even more likely that the Neapolitans would, in 407, wish to downplay any record of their brief burst of hostility to their mother-city.

[34] See above, n. 22.

inscriptions, and then prompt them (or him) to realise that the things recorded in those monuments would be best removed from the collective record. Furthermore, that action is itself collectively endorsed: each act of destruction, and each act of emendation or deletion, required the approval of the *demos*. To the examples of the treaty with Alexander, the Peace of Philocrates, and the Peace of Nicias we can now add the ones considered here: the Prospectus of the Second Athenian League authorised its own emendation (in certain cases); the honours for the Neapolitans were altered only after the approval of a specific request from the honorands.[35] Conversely, unauthorised alteration of inscriptions can be presented as highly problematic, as can be seen in Demosthenes' outrage at Androtion's (allegedly) illicit decision to melt down some inscribed dedications from the Acropolis (Dem. 22.70, 72):

τὰ μὲν οὖν πόλλ' ὧν λέγων ὑμᾶς ἐφενάκιζεν παραλείψω· φήσας δ' ἀπορρεῖν τὰ φύλλα τῶν στεφάνων καὶ σαπροὺς εἶναι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἴων ἢ ῥόδων ὄντας, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσίου, συγχωνεύειν ἔπεισεν. … καὶ μήν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου σκέψασθ' ὡς καλὰ καὶ ζηλώτ' ἐπιγράμματα τῆς πόλεως ἀνελὼν ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ δείν' ἀντεπιγέγραφεν.

I will pass over most of what he said to deceive you; but, by alleging that the leaves of the crowns were rotten with age and falling off—as though they were violet leaves or rose leaves, not made of gold—he persuaded you to melt them down … Again, men of Athens, consider those fine and enviable inscriptions that he has wiped out forever, and the strange and impious inscriptions that he has written in their place.

At least part of Androtion's crime, according to Demosthenes, lies in the fact that he acted without the informed consent of the Athenian people: the agreement of the community was secured for the act of erasure and re-inscription, but under false pretences; Androtion has therefore in effect acted unilaterally, and this is what makes his behaviour unacceptable. Similarly, Euxitheus (the speaker of Demosthenes 57, *Against Eubulides*) complains that a group of his enemies have (unilaterally, he implies) 'chiselled out the decree (τὸ ψήφισμ' ἐκκολάψαντες) which the demesmen passed in my honour' in an attempt to undermine his claim to be an Athenian citizen; meanwhile, Euxitheus claims, his enemies have argued that he was responsible for

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[35] Cf. also ML 87/OR 185, *IG* I³ 106 (above, n. 21). This process of authorised emendation is visible outside Athens too: compare, for example, *IG* XII.2 1, a treaty establishing a monetary union between Mytilene and Phocaea; the text includes (at lines 1–4) a clause which allows both parties to amend the agreement, by amending (by addition or deletion) the *stele*: ὄττι][[δέ κε αἰ] πόλις [ἀμ]φότ[εραι . . . .]][[. . . . .] γράφωισι εἰς τὰ[ν στάλαν ἢ ἐκκ]][ολάπ]τωισι, κύ[ρ]ιον ἔστω ('whatever each *polis* [*sc.* by mutual agreement] writes on or removes from the *stele*, let it be valid'.

vandalising the inscription himself. The one possibility that Euxitheus does not want to entertain is that the emendation to the decree might have been properly authorised by the deme as a whole, because that, in turn, might suggest that the deme had already endorsed a version of history which Euxitheus is arguing against in this speech: one in which he was not a true member of the deme, and therefore not an Athenian citizen.[36]

Legitimate changes to a monument relied, therefore, on a combination of individual initiative and collective agreement, and bearing that in mind might make it easier to explain why the outcomes of that process might sometimes appear inconsistent. To return (for the last time) to the troublesome Spartans of RO 22: we might want to explain their persistence with reference either to a lack of individual interest (that is: for whatever reason, no Athenian thought it worth standing up in the assembly to suggest chiselling out this clause) or lack of collective agreement about the merits (practical or symbolic) of re-writing the past in this way. We can only speculate about the reasons why the Athenians decided to act, or to fail to act, as they did: did the political context not call for it? Or were they influenced by the realisation that removing this clause—and with it a large chunk of the motivation formula—might have made the decree simply too lacunose to make sense? Our speculations are further hampered by the fact that we cannot be sure at which point the process stalled (was a proposal never made, or was a proposal made but rejected?). What we should probably be careful about doing, though, is assuming that our inability to reconstruct the logic behind the treatment of a text necessarily means that such a logic never existed.

4. Reconstruction

This final section will consider a third way in which the Athenians reshaped the epigraphic record of their past: the re-creation of destroyed monuments. It will focus on a set of examples which are all connected with the oligarchic revolution (and democratic counter-revolution) of 404/3, and the after-effects of those events.[37] This material provides some of the best epigraphic evidence for the ways in which the commemorative function of an inscribed

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[36] The case of the Serpent Column is also worth considering as a non-Athenian example which demonstrates (at least an Athenian assumption of) similar attitudes to licit and illicit emendation of inscriptions: in this case, accounts of the monument's history report both unauthorised (and problematic) inscription (Pausanias' addition of an epigram praising his own achievements) and subsequent 'official' erasures and additions, authorised by the Spartans (in Thucydides' version: 1.132) or the Delphic Amphictiony (according to [Dem.] 59.98; note that, in [Demosthenes'] account, the initiative came from the Plataeans, who then persuaded the Amphictiony to take action: a similar process, that is, to the one we have seen in Athenian contexts). On the nature (and authorship) of the (real) inscriptions on the Serpent Column, see Steinhart (1997) 53–69.

[37] Thoroughly discussed by Shear (2011).

decree might shift over time and in different contexts. It also illustrates once more the ways in which inscriptions can be viewed as records of a set of individual responses to past events, set in a collectively-endorsed commemorative context. Where this material differs from that considered so far is that it reveals much more clearly the extent to which individuals could shape both the process of commemoration and its monumental outcome.

The story starts with a flurry of epigraphic destruction, carried out by the oligarchic regime of the Thirty Tyrants (404/3 BCE). The Thirty's inscription-destroying tendencies are quite well known: as will be seen, they are attested in the epigraphic record, and they are also alluded to in the Aristoteleian *Athenaion Politeia*'s account of their constitutional and legislative reforms (*Ath. Pol.* 35.2):

τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον μέτριοι τοῖς πολίταις ἦσαν καὶ προσεποιοῦντο διώκειν τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν, καὶ τούς τ' Ἐφιάλτου καὶ Ἀρχεστράτου νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν καθεῖλον ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, καὶ τῶν Σόλωνος θεσμῶν ὅσοι διαμφισβητήσεις ἔσχον, καὶ τὸ κῦρος ὃ ἦν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλυσαν, ὡς ἐπανορθοῦντες καὶ ποιοῦντες ἀναμφισβήτητον τὴν πολιτείαν.

At first, therefore, they were moderate to the citizens and pretended to be implementing the ancestral constitution, and they removed from the Areopagus the laws of Ephialtes and Archestratus about the Areopagites, and also those regulations of Solon which were disputed, and they abolished the sovereignty of the jurymen, claiming to be rectifying the constitution and making it unambiguous.

The author suggests that the Thirty represented their removal of the inscribed laws as a purely administrative move,[38] but it is hard to imagine that this act of destruction was not also intended to have a wider, symbolic function: by removing these monuments of (a certain version of) the Athenian past, the Thirty cleared the way for the development of a version of that past which better suited their own ideological agenda. The same motivation can be ascribed to the Thirty's other significant act of epigraphic destruction: the removal of a number of inscriptions which recorded awards of *proxenia* to favoured non-Athenians.[39] The removal of these inscriptions

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[38] Osborne (2003) 264–5 makes the case for taking seriously the Thirty's claim to be implementing a serious programme of legislative reform (on the specifics of which, see Rhodes (1993) *ad loc.*; Wallace (1989) 131–44); but a practical purpose and a wider symbolic intention are not mutually exclusive.

[39] Six examples are relatively secure: *IG* I³ 229 (≈ *IG* II² 9); *IG* II² 6, 52, 66c; *Agora* 16.37 and 39. (Further details of these inscriptions can conveniently be found in Lambert (2012) 266–7). *IG* I³ 227 (≈ *IG* II² 8), *IG* I³ 228 (≈ *IG* II² 32), and perhaps ML 80/OR 173 (see below, n. 46) were also re-inscribed in the early fourth century, but in these cases it is not clear from the extant text whether the original decrees were destroyed by the Thirty or were being replaced for some other reason (see below, p. 253).

might have symbolised the abnegation of the privileges which they conferred,[40] but what is more certain is that their destruction contributes to a reshaping of the Athenian commemorative landscape. We should note not only the content of these decrees (markers of Athens' interventionist, and imperialist, foreign policy),[41] but also their location: Lambert has suggested that the placement of honorific decrees on the Acropolis should be seen as a deliberate attempt to make them part of the landscape of power, wealth, and prestige created by the building projects of the mid-fifth century; their removal from that landscape might be seen as an equally loaded move.[42]

Perhaps the most interesting thing about the Thirty's attempt to reshape the record of Athens' past, however, is the fact that it seems not to have worked. One reason that we know that some decrees were taken down in 404/3 is because some later decrees allude to this fact. The acts of destruction were, in other words, doubly unsuccessful: the destroyed decrees were restored, and all the Thirty managed to do was find themselves inscribed into Athenian (and modern scholarly) collective memory as epigraphic vandals.[43] But it is possible to do more with these monuments than simply to use them as evidence for the ineptitude of oligarchs. First, it is worth exploring the reasons for (and consequences of) the commemoration of the Thirty's actions in the later inscriptions. The material is frustratingly fragmentary, but some patterns do emerge. It is worth emphasising the plural—pattern*s*—here: although these restored proxeny decrees are sometimes piled together into a single commemorative heap, in fact, they show considerable diversity in what they record, what they omit, and how they represent their relationship with their destroyed original.

Some fourth-century proxeny decrees include the destruction of an earlier award in their list of factors which justify the creation of a new award. *IG* II[2] 52, for example, awards *proxenia* to the grandsons of Xanthippos: the Thirty had done something to the inscription recording the proxeny of the grandfather (destruction seems a plausible restoration); the function of this decree is not to reactivate the grandfather's status, but rather to reward his grandsons.[44] Likewise, *Agora* 16.37 awards proxeny to some citizens of Ialysos

[40] See further below, p. 253.

[41] For *proxenia* as a tool of imperialism, see Meiggs (1949). Mack (2015) 94–5 notes that instances of destruction of inscribed proxeny decrees appear to have been relatively rare, and restricted to contexts of political revolution (as in the Athenian examples discussed here, and a comparable case in Hellenistic Priene, reinscribed as *I.Priene*[2] 27).

[42] Lambert (2011) 201. Evidence for the Thirty's more general awareness of the importance of monuments to political messages comes in the story that they changed the orientation of the Pnyx to encourage speakers to pay less attention to the sea (and, by extension, the navy, the empire and democracy): Plut. *Them.* 19.4. See further Shear (2011) 175–80.

[43] As, e.g., in Walbank (1978) 8–9; Wolpert (2002) 87–8.

[44] It is possible that the original decree is the one recorded on *IG* I[3] 177 (Walbank (1978) no. 63; cautiously followed by Lambert (2012) 266), although the relative dates of the two

in Rhodes, and again notes in doing so that the decree which awarded the same status to their father had been destroyed (in this case the reference to destruction is definitely on the stone; the reference to the Thirty is restored, though not implausibly).[45] The connection between contemporary concerns and the shaping (or re-shaping) of the record of the past is not hard to spot here: in order to justify the claim to honours by the new generation of *proxenoi*, the new decrees must remind the Athenians of the previous services performed by the honorands' families; that they are able to do so by flagging up the oligarchs' hostility to the honorands' ancestors (and therefore, by implication, the ancestors' loyalty to the Athenian *demos*) might be considered an additional bonus.

How important is the original decree, and the original monument, to the creation of these stories of sustained loyalty to Athens? The short answer to this question is that, at times, it seems to be absolutely central; at others, entirely disposable. A longer answer requires a closer look at two subsets of this material.

The first set is a group of *stelae* which include (at least) two decrees on each stone.[46] Each example contains a fourth-century decree which (it is inferred: the relevant part of the decree is missing in each case) authorised the re-publication of a fifth-century decree; that older text is inscribed on the same stone, either above or below the fourth century decree.[47] In one case, *IG* I[3] 229, enough survives of the fourth-century decree to make it reasonably safe

decrees might argue against this: *IG* I[3] 177 is dated to the late 410s; the revived decree, presumably passed shortly after 403, transfers the honour to the grandsons of Xanthippus (line 4) rather than his sons: it is not impossible that a man honoured in the 410s might have adult grandsons but no adult sons *c.* ten years later, but not overwhelmingly likely either.

[45] The exact date of the decree is unclear (it is usually placed some time in the first decade of the fourth century), and it is therefore also impossible to know what particular factors might have inspired the reactivation of the proxeny relationship (for discussion, see Funke (1983) 169–74). The context for the award of proxeny to the honorands' father is also unclear: Ialysos was a tribute-paying member of the Athenian Empire (for brief details: Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1199), and Rhodian forces were present (on the Athenian side) in the Sicilian Expedition (Thuc. 7.57.6); Ialysos defected from the Empire in 411 (Thuc. 8.44.1–2).

[46] There are three (relatively) safe examples of this type: *IG* I[3] 227 (≈ *IG* II[2] 8; for Herakleides of Clazomenae); *IG* I[3] 228 (≈ *IG* II[2] 32; for the Sicels Archonides and Demon); and *IG* I[3] 229 (≈ *IG* ii[2] 9; the names and origin of the honorands are not preserved). Possibly to be included in this group is ML 80/OR 173 (for Pythophanes, probably of Carystos): two decrees, one of *c.* 411 and one of 399/8, are inscribed on the same *stele*, but it is unclear whether these were inscribed at the same time (in 399/8, in which case the monument serves as a republication of the earlier decree) or whether the later decree was added as a supplement to an existing monument (D. M. Lewis (*ap.* de Ste. Croix (1956) 19) suggested that it might be possible to detect a change in letter-cutter between the two decrees; for discussion of the implications of this, see Mack (2015) 96).

[47] Below the fourth-century decree in three cases (*IG* I[3] 227, 228, and [probably] 229); above it in ML 80/OR 173.

to reconstruct a reference to the destruction of the previous monument by the Thirty.

A notable feature of some, and perhaps all, of this set of decrees is that they were passed not by the *demos* but by the *boule* (the questionable example is *IG* I³ 227, where the relevant part of the prescript is not extant). Various explanations for this oddity have been proposed, but the most likely is that that the *boule*'s approval is sufficient here because what is being enacted is not a whole new decree, but simply the process for creating a replacement monument for a decree which had been properly approved on a previous occasion and—a necessary inference, if this line of reasoning is correct— whose validity had never lapsed.[48] It is worth digressing briefly to consider the significance of this point, particularly because it seems to contradict the theory (outlined earlier) that removing a monument was seen as equivalent to invalidating the decree which it recorded (a logic which, we could note, also seems to have underpinned the Thirty's destructive acts, at least according to the *Ath. Pol.*). I would suggest that the best way to explain this apparent exception to the general rule is by emphasising the exceptional nature both of the Thirty's regime, and of the Athenians' response to it. Demosthenes (24.56) claims that all acts carried out by the Thirty were deemed invalid by the restored democracy, and it is quite possible (although admittedly not made explicit by Demosthenes) that this ruling would have applied not just to creative acts (new laws, for example), but also to destructive ones (that is: attempts to repeal existing decrees). And it is possible too, given what we have seen so far about the importance of collective (and democratic) approval for the destruction of decrees, that the destructions of the Thirty (who would, necessarily, lack that approval) were thought to have no formal force. In this case, therefore, the destruction of the monument did not entail the annulment of the decree.

If this line of argument is correct, then it would follow that these fourth century bouleutic decrees are not creating new regulations, but simply re-establishing a physical record of a decree of the *demos* which was still in force. This interpretation seems to fit with what is done (or—more to the point— not done) with the re-created texts of the fifth-century decrees, which, as far as it is possible to tell, are repeated absolutely verbatim: amendments in the fifth-century parts of *IG* I³ 227 and 228 are preserved in the re-inscribed versions (lines 14–25 and lines 19–25 respectively); anachronistic references to the 'cities over which the Athenians have *kratos*' are retained (*IG* I³ 228, lines 10–11). Although the move to recreate these decrees is clearly driven by contemporary needs, the focus on the present goes only so far. In particular, it does not allow the originally (and collectively) authorised version of past events to be amended, even though some of these fifth-century views of the

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[48] For discussion of this and other possibilities, see Rhodes (1985) 82–4.

world (and Athens' role in it) might look rather out of place in their new fourth-century context.

How, then, should we read these monuments? Or—more to the point—how should we assume that the Athenians read them? We cannot, certainly, ignore the practical function of the inscriptions, not least from the point of view of the honorands: an award of proxeny did not require an inscribed monument, but an inscription did form an important part of the honour.[49] It is very likely that the initiative for creating these new monuments came (at least initially) not from the Athenians but from the honorands: this is implied by the variation of the form of the monuments;[50] the fact that funding for the restored monument might from the honorands rather than the Athenian state;[51] and, above all, the fact that the dates of reconstruction seem to cover a period of around two decades.[52] It would, in other words, be a mistake to imagine the restored democracy engaging in a systematic (or even sustained) programme of re-establishing the record of their past actions, or of championing their victory over the oligarchic challenge to those actions.[53] Nevertheless, the part played by the Athenians cannot be ignored: they might not have taken the lead in restoring the monuments, but they surely had a say in their form. The verbatim repetition of the earlier decree is a deliberate choice (and not an inevitable one);[54] and the same applies to the reference to the Thirty.[55]

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[49] Walbank (1978) 3–4; Lambert (2011) 199–200.

[50] See above, n. 47, for variations in the content and layout of the inscriptions. All the examples in this set are extremely fragmentary, so it is not possible to say how much about their overall physical form; the only fully preserved revived proxeny decree is *IG* II² 6, discussed below.

[51] This is explicit in *Agora* 16.37 (lines 13–14). Walbank (1978) 261, suggests that *IG* I³ 227 was also funded by the honorand (but concedes that the payment clause would have to be entirely restored). The funding formula in the other examples is either missing or not preserved.

[52] Only one example is both a certain case of reconstruction and has a certain date: *IG* I³ 228, dated to 385/4. The later decree on ML 80/OR 173 is securely dated to 399/8, but (as noted above, n. 46), it is not clear whether the earlier decree on the stone was also inscribed at this point. Plausible dates for the other examples range from shortly after 403 to the 380s.

[53] Cf. the more systematic democratic re-appropriation of other aspects of monumental and epigraphic space, particularly in the Agora, argued for by Shear (2011), esp. chs. 8 and 9.

[54] See below, pp. 254–7.

[55] A counterexample: the honours for loyal Samians (*IG* II² 1) were almost certainly destroyed by the Thirty and re-inscribed by the democracy, on a similar pattern to these proxeny decrees (that is, verbatim repetition of a fifth-century original, supplemented with [in this case] two new fourth-century decrees), but the monument makes no reference to either its reconstruction or its destruction. Another counterexample (this time illustrating the possibility of a more detailed account of the destruction of a monument as part of the justification for its reconstruction) comes in the honours for Euphron of Sicyon (*IG* II² 448) which were passed (and originally inscribed) in 323/2, removed by the oligarchy some time between 321/0 and 319/18, and re-inscribed, together with a new decree, by the restored

Overall, this set of restored proxeny decrees seem to fit quite well into the wider pattern of the Athenian response to the rule of the Thirty: that is, an approach (to borrow Wolpert's term) of 'mindful forgetfulness'.[56] On the one hand, there is an urge (reflected in, though not completely determined by, the terms of the amnesty) to write the episode out of Athenian memory altogether, and to create a seamless join between the democracy of the fifth century and that of the fourth.[57] Such a move has the advantage of emphasising continuity, and the solidarity of the Athenian *demos*: what seemed good to the Athenians in the fifth century still seemed good in the fourth; so much so that the renewed authorisation of the *demos* for these acts is not even required. But this approach has the disadvantage of letting the Thirty off the hook; it is a reluctance to allow this which might explain the reference to the actions of the Thirty in (at least some of) these texts. The reference, when it appears, is brief and plain, in contrast to some other memorials of this period. Aeschines reports a much more charged description of the Thirty which (allegedly) was inscribed on the honours for the heroes of Phyle (3.190):

> τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων
> 　　δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἵ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκοις
> θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλιος πρῶτοι καταπαύειν
> 　　ἦρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

> These men, noble of heart, hath the ancient Athenian people / Crowned with an olive crown. First were they to oppose / Tyrants who knew not the laws, whose rule was the rule of injustice. / Danger they met unafraid, pledging their lives to the cause. (Trans. Adams.)

If the Theozotides decree (*SEG* 28.46) can still be dated to 403/2, then this would also provide an example of a characterisation of the Thirty's actions which did not avoid spelling out the nature of their atrocities (in its talk, at lines 4–5, of the [β]ιαί|ωι θανάτωι, 'violent death', suffered by the democrats).[58] In these proxeny decrees, by contrast, we hear just enough about the Thirty to remind us of their existence (and their actions); the focus of attention remains on the unbroken authority of the Athenian people.

Once again, however, it is clear that the Athenian approach is not completely consistent, and a second set of evidence—a set with only one

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democracy in 318/17 (lines 60–73 describe the process of destruction and reconstruction in some detail).

[56] Wolpert (2002) 87–98.

[57] Loraux (1996) 88–9; Shear (2011) 257–9.

[58] The decree refers (line 5) to the ὀλιγαρχία, but it is unclear whether this is a reference to the regime of 404/3 (suggested in the *ed. pr.* by Stroud (1971) 286–7, and widely accepted since) or that of 411 (the case for which has most recently been made by Matthaiou (2011) 71–81).

definite member—points to the possibility of handling things rather differently. The inscription relates to the claims to proxeny of five brothers, sons of a certain Apemantos, probably from Thasos (OR 177B, *IG* II² 6):[59]

θεοί
[Ἀμύντο]ρος, Εὐρυπύλο, vac.
[Ἀργεί]ο, Λόκρο, Ἀλκίμο. vac.
[ἔδοξ]εν τῆι βολῆι· Οἰνηὶς
[ἐπρυ]τάνευε, Δεξίθεος ἐγ-
[ραμ]μάτευε, Δημοκλῆς ἐπε-
[σ]τάτε· Μονιππίδης εἶπε· Ἀ-
μύντορι καὶ Εὐρυπύλωι κ-
αὶ Ἀργείωι καὶ Λόκρωι κα-
ὶ Ἀλκίμωι τοῖς Ἀπημάντο
παισί, ἐπειδὴ καθηιρέθη
ἡ στήλη [ἐ]πὶ τῶν τριάκοντ-
α ἐν ἧι ἦ[ν α]ὐτοῖς ἡ προξεν-
ία, ἀναγράψ[αι] τὴν στήλην
τὸγ γραμμα[τ]έα τῆς βολῆς
τέλεσι τοῖς Εὐρυπύλο· κα-
λέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια Εὐ-
ρύπυλον ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖο-
ν ἐς αὔριον vac.

Gods. Of Amyntor, Eurypylos, Argeios, Lokros, Alkimos. It seemed good to the Boule. Oineis held the prytany, Dexitheos was Secretary, Demokles presided, Monippides made the proposal. For Amyntor, Eurypylos, Argeios, Lokros, Alkimos, the sons of Apemantos, since the stele was taken down in the time of the Thirty, in which their proxeny (was recorded), let the Secretary of the Boule write up the stele at the expense of Eurypylos; and let Eurypylos be invited to dinner at the prytaneion tomorrow.

This is the best-preserved of all the examples of this type of monument, a fact which allows us to see a striking gap in what is recorded. The monument

[59] The Thasian identity of the honorands is not stated in the text, but is inferred from the fact that one (and perhaps two) of the men named in the inscription can reasonably securely be identified with known Thasians: Apemantus (line 10) is named in *IG* XII.8 263, line 8 as having had his property confiscated by the Thasian oligarchic regime in 411; a son of Apemantus (restored, on the basis of a surviving final rho, as Amyntor) appears in *IG* II² 33, line 26, in a list of men exiled from Thasos for *attikismos* (Walbank (1978) no. 61; Pouilloux (1954) 145; Avery (1979) 240–1 adds the appealing if speculative suggestion that the family's well-known pro-democratic/anti-oligarchic stance was the reason that their *stele* was earmarked for destruction by the Thirty).

reports a decree of the *boule*, noting the destruction (by the Thirty) of an earlier monument, and authorising the creation of a new *stele*, to be set up at the expense of one of the brothers, Eurypylos. But the decree does not do either of the other things which we might (on the basis of the examples seen so far) expect: unlike *IG* II² 52 or *Agora* 16.37, there is no explicitly-stated new (or renewed) award of proxeny (although the invitation to dinner at the prytaneion does, implicitly, place Eurypylos, at least, in the position of a *euergetes* to the city).[60] Nor, unlike in *IG* I³ 227 or 228, is there any sign of the original, fifth-century text. The stone is broken at the top, but the fact that the first extant line (preceded by 9 cm of vacant space) is the invocation to the gods (θεοί) suggests that no preceding text has been lost; the end of the text is also followed by uninscribed space (of 33 cm). There is no obvious sign that another monument (bearing the other decree) was attached to the stone which we have. The most economical interpretation would therefore seem to be that the fifth-century decree was never re-inscribed: the restored *stele* to which this text refers (in line 14) is (precisely, and only) this *stele*. It seems, therefore, that these five Thasians (who, after all, were funding the inscription (line 16), and so might have expected to have some influence over its form) considered that this level of recognition was sufficient for their purposes: the existence of a monument seems to have been more important to them than the public display of a complete, and fully-authorised decree.

It is impossible to know what prompted the Thasians to make this choice (or the Athenians to accept it), though here too it must be important to remember the series of negotiations which must lie behind the creation of the stone, and its creation in this form: the initiative for the recreation must have come from the Thasians; they presumably found a way to persuade Monippides to make the proposal to the Council;[61] the Council was prepared to accept the suggestion; the secretary to put the plan into action. All of this combines to produce something which might, to modern eyes, seem quite arbitrary or capricious, but is in fact likely to be the logical result of the specific intentions and requirements of the various parties involved in creating this monument.

It might, though, be possible to get a bit further in speculating about the consequences of this commemorative action. This *stele* produces a picture of the recent past which is significantly different in its emphasis from the other restored proxeny decrees which have been discussed. Two things are missing. First (obviously) we lack the earlier decree, and with it that sense of unbroken continuity with the past which was a feature of at least some of the other restored decrees. The second absence is any explicit function for the

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[60] Henry (1983) 262 observes that benefactors are one of two categories to whom the honour of a (single) invitation to dinner is regularly (although not universally) awarded (the other being ambassadors and envoys).

[61] Monippides is otherwise unknown, other than as the (highly, and speculatively, restored) proposer of another honorific decree, *IG* II² 7.

demos in creating or authorising this monument, or even (in contrast to the normal pattern of proxeny decrees) in serving as the beneficiaries of the honorands' actions. By removing the Athenians (or at least the Athenian *demos*) from the picture, the monument creates a direct link between the Thirty and the Thasians—or, more accurately, between the Thirty and these five individuals. Whatever the actual role of these Thasians in the events of 404/3, the form of this monument allows them to insert themselves directly into the story, and the communally agreed memory, of the oligarchic coup and its aftermath.

5. Conclusion

When looking at Athenian inscribed decrees *en masse*, or even as individual examples, it can be tempting to see them as very fixed, authoritative (even authoritarian) symbols of commemoration, created, endorsed, and set up by the Athenian state. The collective aspect of Athenian inscribed decrees is, of course, a central part of their function, but, as I have tried to show, these monuments are also fundamentally informed, both in their creation and in their subsequent use, by the commemorative intentions of individuals and groups of individuals. The role of the individual—as decree proposer—in prompting the creation of an inscribed monument, and (to some extent) in shaping its content is clearly visible in the inscribed text itself. What the treatment of inscriptions after their creation reveals is that this interaction between individual and community was not a one-off, nor a one-way, action, but rather a process which continued throughout the life of an inscribed monument. Moreover, this approach is visible not only in the treatment of inscribed decrees, but also in relation to other forms of inscribed public text (catalogues, for example, and dedications). Athenian treatment of their inscriptions reveals not only the (not particularly striking, though not entirely uncontested) fact that individual Athenians did see and respond to these monuments, but also, more importantly, that these individual responses could in turn lead to reshaping of the collectively-agreed record: an inscription could be removed, emended, reconstructed, or entirely replaced; in the process, the picture of the city's past which the inscription implicitly or explicitly recorded was reshaped. What we can glimpse in the treatment of these monuments, in other words, is something of the dynamism of collective memory.

   More elusive, but also important, is the insight this material provides into the relationship between inscriptions and other sources of collective (and indeed individual) memory. Some of these other sources might have been written, but were written in forms no longer available to us. (It seems quite likely, for example, that the honorands of the inscriptions destroyed by the Thirty had access to alternative copies of the original decrees, whether in the Athenian archive or in their own collections.) But the overall pattern of

behaviour described here makes sense only if the Athenians could also draw on a wider body of shared, but unwritten, beliefs about their recent, or even (as in the case of Arthmius of Zeleia) quite distant past. Inscribed monuments were not always the definitive source of accurate information about the collectively-agreed version of the past, and seem in at least some cases (for example, the *stele* of the Athenian treaty with Alexander) to have derived some of their symbolic importance from the fact that they provided a picture of the past which contradicted an agreed, but unwritten alternative. Even when monuments were less obviously out of step with the 'reality' of Athenian views, their depiction of the past is often comprehensible only if it can be assumed that the viewer was able to fill in the gaps in what is recorded—literally in the case of some acts of erasure; metaphorically in the case of the highly compressed references to the behaviour of the Thirty.

Inscribed decrees, without doubt, played an important part in the formation of Athenian collective memory, but we should be wary of assuming that the memories which they produced were at all stable: as we have seen, the same monument could be deployed to justify quite different versions of the past. We should also be wary of assuming that the movement from individual memory to collective commemoration was either smooth or absolute. What we can see in these monuments, and particularly in their destruction and reconstruction, is the flexibility not just of Athenian views of their past, but also of Athenian ways of representing, reshaping, and, at times, deliberately concealing those views.

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Appendix: Destroyed, Amended and Restored Inscriptions Discussed in this Chapter

Note: all inscriptions are Athenian, except where stated otherwise;
each list is ordered (as far as possible) by the date of the creation of the inscribed monument.

1. Destruction or Removal

Inscription	Description	Date of Creation	Evidence for Destruction
Not extant	Laws of Solon, Ephialtes, Archestratus	Laws: C6th/C5th. Inscribed monument: not known.	'Taken down' by the Thirty Tyrants: *Ath. Pol.* 35.2.
Not extant	Inscribed (gold) dedications on the Athenian Acropolis	Not specified	Dem. 22.70, 72: alleges that the dedications were destroyed by Androtion.
Not extant	Proxeny (?) decree (names of honorands not preserved)	Before 403	*IG* I³ 229 (≈ *IG* II² 9): refers to the destruction by the Thirty Tyrants of an earlier *stele*.
Not extant	Proxeny decree for the sons of Apemantos	Before 403	*IG* II² 6 (OR 177B): refers to the destruction by the Thirty Tyrants of an earlier *stele* recording a proxeny.
Perhaps *IG* I³ 177?	Proxeny decree for Xanthippos	Before 403	*IG* II² 52 (proxeny decree for grandson of Xanthippos): refers to destruction by the Thirty Tyrants of the grandfather's proxeny as motivation for this decree.
Not extant	Proxeny decree for Anon. of Kaphyai (Arcadia)	Before 403	*IG* II² 66c: very fragmentary decree referring to destruction of a *stele* by the Thirty Tyrants.

Not extant	Proxeny decree for Anon. of Ialysos	Before 403	*Agora* 16.37: renewal of a proxeny held by the honorand's father; the earlier *stele* was destroyed by the Thirty Tyrants.
Not extant	Proxeny decree?	Before 403	*Agora* 16.39: very fragmentary, but seems to preserve a reference to destruction of a previous decree.
Not extant	Thasos: decree relating to exile/civil war	Late C5th	*IG* XII.8 264: reconciliation decree, including (fragmentary) reference to the removal of (an earlier?) decree.
Not extant	Athenian alliance with Alexander of Pherae	368	RO 44, lines 39–40 (361/0): orders removal of the treaty *stele*.
Not extant	Peace of Philocrates	346	Philochorus, *BNJ* 328 F 55a: removal ordered in decree of Demosthenes (340/39).
Not extant (postulated as a lost part of RO 83)	Eresos: law concerning tyranny.	*c.* 356–336	RO 83, γ, lines 24–6: refers to a law prohibiting removal of a *stele* (RO 83, α?) recording decisions made about the tyrants and their descendants.
CID 2.73	Delphi: list of those expelled from the city during the 3rd Sacred War	Mid C4th	Found in an archaeological context which suggests that the monument was destroyed *c.* 322.
Not extant	Megalopolitan alliance with Thebes	Mid C4th	Dem. 16.27–8 urges the destruction of the treaty *stele*.
RO 80	Delphi: honours for Aristotle and Callisthenes	337–327	Ael. *VH* 14.1: honours rescinded 322 (or later); destruction inferred from findspot.
Agora 16.114	Honours for Demetrius Poliorcetes	304/3	Livy 31.44.4–5 reports *damnatio* of Antigonids, 200/199; destruction of this *stele* inferred from findspot.

Not extant	Priene: proxeny decree for Euandros of Larisa	Late C4th/early C3rd?	*I.Priene²* 27, lines 1–2: implies that an original *stele* recording the award of proxeny had been destroyed.

2. Emendations and Alterations

Inscription	Description	Date of creation	Notes
ML 27	Delphi: Serpent Column	479/8	Illicit addition of epigram by Pausanias; removal of epigram (and addition of names of states who fought Persia) by Spartans (Thuc. 1.132) or Delphic Amphictyony ([Dem.] 59.98).
ML 63/OR 149A	Alliance with Rhegion	433/2	Original prescript erased.
ML 64/OR 149B	Alliance with Leontini	433/2	Original prescript erased.
Not extant	Peace of Nicias	421	Thuc. 5.56.3: amended to note Spartan breach of terms, 419.
Not extant	Inscription (perhaps financial and/or religious?) relating to/ mentioning Timanthes	Before 409/8	*IG* I³ 106, lines 21–3, orders that a section of inscription relating to Timanthes be erased.
Not extant	List of Selymbrian hostages	*c.* 408/7	ML 87/OR 185, lines 38–41 orders the removal of names from the list.
ML 89/OR 187	Honours for Neapolis	Monument: *c.* 407 (containing decrees of 410/9 and *c.* 407).	Erasure of description of Neapolitans as colonists of the Thasians (authorised at lines 58–60).
RO 22	Prospectus of the Second Athenian League	378/7	Multiple additions and deletions, between 378/7 and *c.* 367.

RO 31	Decrees for Mytilene	369/8–368/7	First decree is inscribed over an erasure.
IG II² 1606	Naval catalogue	374/3	Timotheus' office (*strategos*) erased (but not his name).
RO 48	Alliance with Carystus	357/6	Chabrias' (?) name erased.
Not extant	Honorific deme decree for Euxitheus	Mid-C4th	Dem. 57.64 (delivered *c.* 345) implies that the entire decree has been erased (but not that the *stele* has been removed).
IG XII.2 1	Mytilene: monetary union between Mytilene and Phocaea	Mid-C4th?	Provision to supplement/erase the text, if either side wishes to amend the agreement.

3. Re-inscription

Inscription	Description	Date(s) of creation	Notes
IG II² 1	Honours for Samos	Monument: 404/3 (containing two decrees of 404/3 and one of 405/4)	A dossier of decrees; the decree of 405/4 had perhaps been destroyed by the Thirty Tyrants (but this is not stated explicitly).
IG I³ 229 (≈ *IG* II² 9)	Proxeny (?) decree (names of honorands not preserved)	Monument: early C4th (containing two decrees; date and relationship unclear)	Refers to the destruction by the Thirty Tyrants of an earlier *stele*.
IG I³ 227 (≈ *IG* II² 8)	Proxeny decrees for Heracleides of Clazomenae	Monument: *c.* 399–386 (containing decrees of *c.* 424/3 and *c.* 399–386)	The stone contains two decrees: one decree (the lower on the stone) is a fourth-century re-inscription of a fifth-century decree; the other is almost entirely lost, but might have been the C4th decree authorising the re-inscription of the earlier text.

ML 80/OR 173	Proxeny decree for Pythophanes	Monument: 411/10–399/8 **or** 399/8 (containing decrees of 411/10 and 399/8)	Unclear if this is a re-inscription or supplement. The stone contains two decrees: the first on the stone is a fifth-century decree; only the heading of the second is preserved. It is not clear if the decrees were inscribed separately (at the time each one was passed), or together (in 399/8).
IG I³ 228 (≈ *IG* II² 32)	Proxeny decree for Archonides and Demon, Sicels	Monument: 385/4 (containing decrees of *c.* 435–410 and 385/4)	C4th decree of the *Boule* (or *probouleuma*?): only its heading is extant. In the lower part of the monument, a re-inscription of an earlier (C5th?) proxeny decree.
IG II² 448	Honours for Euphron of Sicyon	Monument: 318/17 (containing decrees of 323/2 and 318/7)	The decree of 318/17 notes that the decree of 323/2 (re-inscribed here) had been destroyed by the oligarchic regime in Sicyon.
*I.Priene*² 27	Priene: proxeny decree for Euandros of Larisa	Monument: first half of C3rd (containing decrees of late C4th/early C3rd and first half of C3rd)	The first decree on the stone re-authorises (and extends) the honours previously awarded; the original proxeny decree is re-inscribed beneath.

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7

AN INCONVENIENT PAST IN HELLENISTIC ATHENS: THE CASE OF PHAIDROS OF SPHETTOS[*]

Julia L. Shear

Abstract: This essay focuses on Athens after the Chremonidean War and asks how at that time the Athenians remembered the revolution from Demetrios Poliorketes in 286 BCE. As the honours for Phaidros of Sphettos show, the past could not simply be ignored. Since Phaidros' earlier actions were not consistent with the dominant narrative of the revolution, the past had to be reconfigured to make it suitable for the city's current circumstances, as I argue. Despite the initial success marked by the passing of the honours, this rewriting was inherently unstable. How the monument might be interpreted in the middle of the third century was very different from how it would be understood in 200 BCE.

Keywords: Phaidros of Sphettos, Athens, honours, inscription, Agora, statue, Demetrios Poliorketes, Antigonos Gonatas

1. Introduction

When the revolution by the *demos* took place against the men who were occupying the city and they expelled the soldiers from city, but the fort on the Mouseion was still occupied and the countryside was in a state of war at the hands of the forces in Piraeus,

and while Demetrios with his army was approaching against the city from the Peloponnese, Kallias learned of the danger to the city and, choosing a thousand soldiers from the forces stationed with him on Andros and paying their wages and providing rations of grain, he came at once to the city to aid the *demos*, acting according to the good will of King Ptolemy toward the *demos*; and leading out his soldiers into the countryside and making every effort, he protected the harvest of grain in order that as much grain as possible might be brought into the city … when Demetrios had arrived and was encamped to besiege the city, Kallias fought on behalf of the *demos* and, attacking with his soldiers, although he was wounded, he did not at any moment shrink from any danger on behalf of the safety of the *demos* …[1]

So, Kallias, the son of Thymochares, of the deme Sphettos aided the Athenians in their revolution from King Demetrios Poliorketes in 286 BCE.[2] When the Athenians had successfully regained their freedom, they re-established democracy, rather than oligarchy, as the appropriate political regime for the city. Despite the internal dissent and strife which had occurred,[3] the Athenians chose to remember these events as the restoration of democracy and freedom after a successful external war, as we can see from Kallias' honorary decree. In the public, commemorative sphere, this decision was visible in the burial of the dead from the assault on the Mouseion in the Demosion Sema, in the dedication of at least one monument to Zeus

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[1] *SEG* XXVIII 60.11–32 = *IG* II³.1 911.11–32. The inscription dates to the archonship of Sostratos in 270/69 BCE; date of the archonship: Osborne (2009) 88.

[2] I have argued for this date in Shear (2010). Habicht's and Osborne's placement of the revolution one year earlier in 287 still forms the scholarly consensus; Habicht (1979) 45–67; Osborne (1979); Habicht (1997) 95–7. As I have shown, the letter traces in *SEG* XXVIII 60.64–5 indicate that the Panathenaea of 286 was cancelled and the festival of 282 must have been the one celebrated 'then [for the] fir[st] t[im]e a[f]te[r t]he city had been recovered'; *SEG* XXVIII 60.64–6; cf. *IG* II³.1 911.64–6. As we shall see below, there were two *agonothetai* in 282/1, a fact which should indicate that the Panathenaea of 282 was, indeed, celebrated; cf. Oliver (2007b) 243 n. 72. This celebration in 282 is confirmed by the dating evidence for the first Ptolemaea; Bennett (2011) 118–24. Scholars wishing to place the revolution in 287 need to explain the unusual cancellation of the festival in 286. The letter traces of the initial pi of τότε πρ[ῶ]τ[ο]ν preclude the restoration [τρίτο]ν; Shear (2010) 139; *contra*: Osborne (2012) 162–3; id. (2015) 59–65; id. (2016) 92–3 n. 34. Anyone advocating the phrase τότε [τρίτο]ν here must provide an exact parallel: I have found no such example, but τότε πρῶτον is common in our literary sources; cf. also the comments of *SEG* XLIX 113.

[3] On which see Shear (2012) 278–81; cf. Bayliss (2011) 64–5. For the oligarchic regimes between 322 and 307, see Bayliss (2011) 61–93. That Phaidros of Sphettos was elected hoplite general 'first' in 287/6 further points to unrest before 286 because the designation 'first' indicates that Phaidros was subsequently removed and replaced by another general, as Paschidis and Shear have noted; *IG* II² 682.44–5 = *IG* II³.1 985.44–5; Paschidis (2008) 141–2; Shear, Jr (1978) 66–7 with further references. I find it hard to understand how Phaidros' removal from office does not mark the start of the revolution proper (as opposed to the unrest and confusion preceding it).

Eleutherios, in narratives presented to the council and the assembly in honorary decrees, in the subsequent inscribed texts of those documents, and in honorary statues. Some twenty years after the revolution, the Athenians were still using these strategies and (re)creating these memories, and this history had visibly been written onto the cityscape, as we shall see in more detail below.

The Athenians, however, did not remain independent from the Macedonians indefinitely. After playing a leading role in the Chremonidean War, the city found herself under tight siege by King Antigonos Gonatas, the son of Demetrios Poliorketes, and capitulated to him in the summer of 262.[4] Now under close Macedonian control, the Athenians needed to ask how they were to remember the revolution from Demetrios, an issue not considered in the existing scholarship, hence this essay. In some cases, they could potentially ignore the past, but this tactic would not always work, as we shall see with the great honorary decree for Phaidros of Sphettos, Kallias' brother and a leading Athenian in the 290s and 280s.[5] Phaidros' past actions on behalf of the city were integral to the larger project of gaining him the highest honours which the city could bestow because he had to demonstrate that his services to Athens really merited such an award.[6] Scholars, accordingly, have seen his document as a typical decree granting highest honours to a citizen, as well as an unbiased source for elucidating the city's complicated history and the archon list in the early Hellenistic period.[7] These approaches have removed the decree from its context in the 250s in the aftermath of the Chremonidean War and so we must ask how it worked in its original setting. At that time, Phaidros' actions in the 290s and 280s were not consistent with the dominant collective narrative of the revolution, now instantiated in Kallias' decree and an event in which Phaidros, too, had taken part; therefore, the past had to be reconfigured to make it suitable for the city's current circumstances, as I shall argue. In so doing, Phaidros and Lyander

[4] On the Chremonidean War, see Habicht (1997) 142–9 and Oliver (2007b) 127–31, both with further references. The war began in the archonship of Peithidemos, now dated to 269/8, and the city capitulated late in the archonship of Antipatros, now located in 263/2; *IG* II² 686 + 687 = *IG* II³.1 912; Osborne (2009) 89; id. (2012) 127–9; Byrne (2006/7) 175–9; Apollodoros, *FGrHist* 244 F 44 with Dorandi (1990) 130; Osborne (2009) 90.

[5] Potentially ignored: e.g., *SEG* LIII 130B = *IG* II³.1 989, honours for the *proxenos* [Aisch]ias; cf. the honours for two different *agonothetai*: *IG* II² 780 = *IG* II³.1 995 with *SEG* XXXIX 125 = *IG* II³.1 991. Phaidros: *IG* II² 682 = *IG* II³.1 985. On the date of this inscription, see the discussion below.

[6] Compare Luraghi (2010) 252; Culasso Gastaldi (2007) 134; Bayliss (2006) 123.

[7] Honours: e.g., Gauthier (1985) 77–92; Kralli (1999–2000). History: e.g., Shear, Jr (1978) 63–73; Osborne (1979); Habicht (1979) 52–62; Dreyer (1996); id. (1999) 200–23; Paschidis (2008) 136–8, 140–5; Osborne (2012) 35–43. Archon list: e.g., Osborne (1985) 275–82; Henry (1988) 215–22; Osborne (1989) 227–8, 239–42; id. (2000) 511–15; id. (2004) 207–10; id. (2012) 116, 129–30, 141. The decree has also figured in larger discussions of intentional history and the past in Hellenistic Athens; Luraghi (2010) 247–63; Culasso Gastaldi (2007) 115–38. The post-Chremonidean War context does not play a large role in either of these last two studies.

of Anaphylstos, who proposed the decree,[8] did not have a blank slate on which to write. As Arjun Appadurai has demonstrated, the past is always a finite and limited resource governed by formal constraints.[9] Requiring cultural consensus, these four constraints concern: the authority of the sources of information about the past; continuity with these sources; depth or 'the relative values of different time-depths'; and the interdependence between different versions of the past.[10] In Phaidros' case, the success of the rewriting would be determined by the interdependence of Lyander's and his past with the city's other and competing versions: if the interdependence was close enough, their account would have the necessary credibility to succeed.[11] When the decree was successfully passed, inscribed, and erected in the Agora, its setting particularly emphasised the importance of its interdependence because it brought the monument into contact with other, earlier versions of the city's past, as we shall see. Despite Phaidros' and Lyander's initial success, this context was inherently unstable and subject to change. How the monument and its history might be interpreted in the middle of the third century was very different from how it would be understood in 200 BCE, as the later history of the inscription demonstrates. At this time, Phaidros' and Lyander's rewriting was no longer interdependent enough with other versions to maintain its credibility and so it was amended by the Athenians. For us, these changing fortunes bring out the complications and difficulties of rewriting the past in the service of the present.

2. Remembering the Revolution against Demetrios

In order to understand how Phaidros' decree reconfigured the past and the complications which arose from this process, we need to look more closely at the ways in which the Athenians publicly remembered the revolution against Demetrios in the years immediately after 286. I have discussed this process in more detail elsewhere;[12] here, it suffices to summarise the Athenians' strategies because they formed an important collective narrative with which Phaidros' and Lyander's version had to be interdependent, if it were to succeed. Despite the internal strife and division which clearly occurred during the revolution, the Athenians chose to present these events as external war and as the restoration of freedom and democracy. Doing so also provided a very uncompromising image of the good Athenian.

The account of the revolution in Kallias' great honorary decree (fig. 1)

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[8] As *IG* II² 682.92–6 = *IG* II³.1 985.92–6 makes clear.

[9] Appadurai (1981).

[10] Appadurai (1981) 203.

[11] The constraints of authority, continuity, and depth are the same for both the past of Phaidros' inscription and the version created after the revolution.
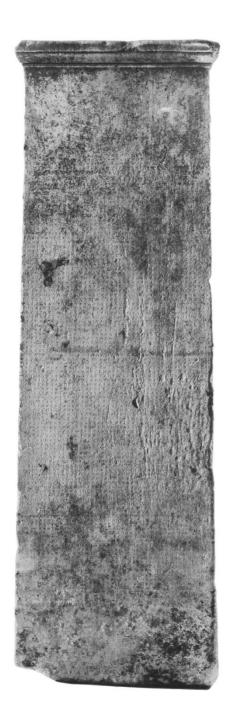
[12] Shear (2012).

Fig. 1: *SEG* XXVIII 60 = *IG* II³.1 911: the decree in honour of Kallias of Sphettos. Dimensions: 1.655 m. x 0.536 m. x 0.122 m. (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).

 stresses military action: the expulsion of the (Macedonian) soldiers from the city; war in the countryside; Demetrios' approach to the city; Kallias' forces and actions, to the point that he was even wounded.[13] The overall narrative also brings out the ways in which Kallias continuously acted on behalf of the *demos*.[14] We see this image of the fighting as external war in other monuments in the city. After the Athenians had successfully assaulted the Macedonian garrison in the fort on the Mouseion Hill, the dead Athenians were buried in the Demosion Sema with the war-dead from earlier campaigns.[15] After the death of Leokritos in this assault, the Athenians then dedicated his shield to Zeus Eleutherios, Zeus of freedom, who protected the city against external enemies.[16] In 266/5, this image appears very clearly in an honorary decree granting a certain Strombichos citizenship in return for his various services to the city: this Macedonian officer was persuaded to take up arms on behalf of the *demos*, he helped in the city's deliverance, and he joined the *demos* in besieging the Mouseion.[17] These events, consequently, were repeatedly remembered and memorialised as external war against the Macedonians, and internal division was conspicuously forgotten.[18]

After describing Kallias' subsequent services to the city and at the end of the narrative of his career, the text returns to the events of the revolution. Kallias evidently did something on behalf of the fatherland when the *demos* had been overthrown and he allowed his property to be confiscated under the oligarchy 'so as no[t] to do [anything a]gainst either the laws or the democ[rac]y of all the Athenians'.[19] The overall decree presents a very specific image of Kallias: he is democrat who fights for the *demos* in war and works on its behalf in peace. When the democracy has been overthrown and the oligarchy confiscates his property, he himself is in exile and so he cannot support a regime other than democracy.[20] This uncompromising image is not limited to Kallias' document. The decree granting Philippides of Kephale highest honours specifies that he, too, 'never [d]i[d] anything agains[t the d]emocracy [e]ith[er by word or] by deed'.[21] This phrase also appears in the request for highest honours for Demochares of Leukonoe,

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[13] Above n. 1.

[14] *SEG* XXVIII 60.21–2, 28–9, 31–2, 36–9, 41–3, 50–2, 58–9, 72–8 = *IG* II³.1 911. 21–2, 28–9, 31–2, 36–9, 41–3, 50–2, 58–9, 72–8; Shear (2012) 284.

[15] Paus. 1.29.13 with 1.26.1–2; Shear (2012) 294.

[16] Paus. 1.26.1–2; Shear (2012) 294.

[17] *IG* II² 666.7–17 = *IG* II³.1 918.7–17; *IG* II² 667.1–6 = *IG* II³.1 919.1–7; Shear (2012) 293. Date (archonship of Nikias of Otryne): Osborne (2009) 89.

[18] Shear (2012) 292–5.

[19] *SEG* XXVIII 60.78–83 = *IG* II³.1 911.78–83.

[20] Shear (2012) 286.

[21] *IG* II² 657.48–50 = *IG* II³.1 877.48–50; for the restoration of $[\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\alpha\chi]\epsilon[\nu]$ in line 49, see Gauthier (1982) 222 n. 28; cf. Shear (2012) 287–8.

another important Athenian leader.[22] In this document, Demochares is portrayed as very active on behalf of the *demos*. His early activities led to his banishment by 'the men who overthrew the *demos*' and his recall by the *demos* in 286/5 in the archonship of Diokles inaugurates the second phase of his career.[23] Later, we are told that he was exiled on behalf of the democracy, that he had no part in the oligarchy, and that he held no office after the *demos* was overthrown. Nor did he plot to change the democratic constitution. He also made the laws and the courts and their judgements 'safe for all Athenians'. As with Kallias, Demochares, too, is depicted as a democrat who goes into exile when democracy is overthrown. Since Demochares was not a military man, martial exploits do not feature in this narrative.

This imagery is very uncompromising and it presents a very specific view of what it means to be an exemplary Athenian: to be a democrat and to go into exile when democracy is overthrown.[24] In both Kallias' decree and Demochares' request, democracy is contrasted with oligarchy, and it is clear that not all Athenians supported the democracy at the crucial moment.[25] For those men, the imagery promulgated here will have been very cold comfort because it excluded them. Kallias explicitly fought against Macedonian forces and thus the exemplary Athenian must also be ready to fight on behalf of the democratic city against external foes. The revolution itself was remembered as fighting against Macedonians, an external enemy, and, as in 403, it was connected with the return of the democrats from exile. Internal discord, in contrast, was allowed to slip into the gaps of forgetfulness.

3. Phaidros' Decree and the Politics of the Text

When Phaidros decided to make his request for highest honours, both he and Lyander, the son of Lysiades, of Anaphylstos, who proposed the decree,[26] had to work against the city's dominant public narrative of the revolution which was well established both in the city's collective memory and in her monuments. They could not simply ignore the past because Phaidros' earlier deeds had to be recounted in order to demonstrate that he really was worthy of the honours being requested. Lyander particularly had to show that Phaidros actually was an exemplary Athenian and both men

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[22] [Plut.] *Mor.* 851F; Shear (2012) 287. This request and the two others associated with it in *The Lives of the Ten Orators* are usually accepted as authentic; see, e.g., Gauthier (1985) 83 with n. 20; Faraguna (2003) 483–91; MacDowell (2009) 424–5; Luraghi (2010) 258; Roisman and Worthington (2015) 23.

[23] [Plut.] *Mor.* 851D–F; Shear (2012) 283–4. Date of Diokles' archonship: Osborne (2009) 86.

[24] Shear (2012) 283–4, 286.

[25] *SEG* XXVIII 60.79–83 = *IG* II³.1 911.79–83; [Plut.] *Mor.* 851F; Shear (2012) 289.

[26] See above, n. 8. On requests for highest honours, see Gauthier (1985) 83–8.

had to hope that the presentation would be convincing enough for the decree to be passed in the assembly. In order to bolster his case, Lyander enlisted Phaidros' other relatives, as we know from the extant remains of the decree, and their careers were also carefully presented.

The beginning of the inscription is now destroyed so that we do not have the prescript and the opening section of the text (fig. 2). The first eighteen lines preserve the end of the deeds of Phaidros' grandfather, also called Phaidros, and the exploits of his father Thymochares.[27] The narrative of Phaidros' own activities begins in line 18 and continues to line 64. This section is then followed by the award of the honours (*sitesis*, gold crown, bronze statue, and front-row seats at the games), the publication clause, Lyander's amendment, and the names of the men elected to oversee the statue given to Phaidros.[28] Below the text is a sculpted representation of the gold crown awarded by the *boule* and the *demos*; originally it must have been painted gold.[29] Some of the information originally in the prescript can be determined from the existing text. The amendment indicates that Lyander was the orator who proposed the original decree after Phaidros himself had requested the honours. Since Phaidros' gold crown is to be announced at both the City Dionysia and the athletic games of the Great Panathenaea, the decree ought to have been passed in the year immediately before the Great Panathenaea, which was celebrated every four years.[30] References to the single officer of administration, rather than the plural board of administration, strongly point towards the period after the Chremonidean War when the city was not under democratic rule.[31] Lyander also proposed an honorary decree for the councillors of the tribe Aegeis in the archonship of Philinos, when he was *bouleutes*; it seems most economical, therefore, to place our decree also in Philinus' archonship which is now dated to 259/8, soon after the end of Chremonidean War and the year immediately before the Great Panathenaea of 258/7.[32]

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[27] Grandfather: *IG* II² 682.1–3 = *IG* II³.1 985.1–3; father: *IG* II² 682.3–18 = *IG* II³.1 985.3–18. The elder Phaidros is attested by other sources and was general at least three times; see Aeschin. 1.43, 50; Str. 10.1.6; *IG* II² 1623.174–5, 238–41; 1632.329, 342; II³.1 299.6–9.

[28] Award: *IG* II² 682.64–87 = *IG* II³.1 985.64–87; publication: *IG* II² 682.87–91 = *IG* II³.1 985.87–91; amendment: *IG* II² 682.92–8 = *IG* II³.1 985.92–8; statue: *IG* II² 682.98–101 = *IG* II³.1 985.98–101.

[29] *IG* II² 682.102–3 = *IG* II³.1 985.102–3.

[30] *IG* II² 682.75–88 = *IG* II³.1 985.75–88.

[31] *IG* II² 682.79–80, 90–1 = *IG* II³.1 985.79–80, 90–1. The plural board of administration first appears after the revolution from Demetrios; on these matters, see Osborne (2010) 123–8 with further bibliography.

[32] See e.g. Osborne (2012) 141; Paschidis (2008) 140 with n. 6; on the date, see also Osborne (2004) 207–10; id. (2000) 511–15; Bringmann and von Steuben (1995) 38 (by Ameling); Henry (1992); Osborne (1989) 230–3; Henry (1988) 222–4; Rhodes (1984) 201–2. Philinos: Osborne (2009) 90. Decree: *Agora* XV 89.1–22 = *IG* II³.1 983.1–22.
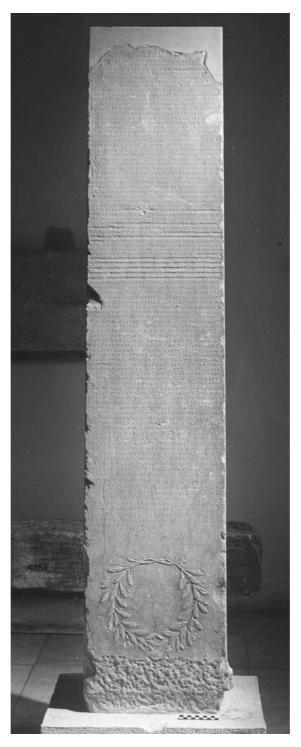
Fig. 2: *IG* II² 682 = *IG* II³.1 985: the decree in honour of Phaidros of Sphettos (EM 10546). Preserved dimensions: 1.827 m. x 0.371 m. x 0.246 m. The erased sections were removed in 200 BCE. (Courtesy of the photographic archive of the Epigraphical Museum, Athens).

As presented in this inscription, the narratives about Phaidros the grandfather, Thymochares, and Phaidros himself all proceed in chronological order and by generation.[33] Initially, we might take both Thymochares and the honorand himself as good Athenians who fought for the city, but the situation is not, in fact, so simple. Instead, the detailed accounts have been carefully constructed to create this view and only some actions are closely dated so that the text deemphasises the political nature of the regime when their service took place. Phaidros' father Thymochares as general of the fleet served in Asia, he fought on Cyprus, he captured the city of Kythnos and the pirate Glauketes and his ships, and, as general of the ships, he led the Athenian contingent involved with Kassandros's (unsuccessful) siege at Oreos on Euboia.[34] Of these events, only the actions against Glauketes are closely dated to the archonship of Praxiboulos in 315/4 and the rest are placed either before or after this occasion.[35] If we follow Andrew Bayliss' arguments, the events in Asia and on Cyprus belong in 321/0, while the siege of Oreos is dated by Diodorus to 313.[36] Thymochares' service, consequently, was first under the oligarchy imposed by Antipatros and then under the tyranny of Demetrios of Phaleron, but the inclusion of only one date obscures these circumstances.[37] Instead, the references to the *demos* in lines 5 and 6 and to the archon in lines 9–10 bring out the orderly nature of the regime ruling the city; together with the statement about Thymochares' election in lines 4–5, they suggest that the city's ancestral traditions were being followed at this time. In the section about Oreos, the focus on Thymochares' actions on behalf of his fellow citizens diverts attention from Kassandros's lack of success in his siege, while it also keeps the emphasis on Athenians, rather than the Macedonian dynast. Thymochares' credentials as a good Athenian who fights on behalf of the city are particularly stressed by the actions in which he took part: they all involved expeditions abroad and the enemies are also named.

The narrative of Phaidros' deeds is also carefully constructed to present a particular view of the honorand. For modern scholars, what stands out is the series of archon dates which begin in line 30, but the early years of his career

[33] Compare Shear, Jr (1978) 66; Osborne (2012) 35; Kralli (1999–2000) 158 n. 58; Oliver (2007b) 160–1, 249–51; *contra*: Paschidis (2008) 141, 143–4.

[34] See above, n. 27.

[35] Date of Praxiboulos: Meritt (1977) 170.

[36] Asia and Cyprus: Bayliss (2006) with earlier bibliography; cf. O'Sullivan (2009) 254–7. The traditional date is just before 315/4. While I find Bayliss' arguments persuasive, his restoration for the erased text in line 6 is unlikely. Having measured the space on the stone, I agree with him that there is only room for 18–19 letters: as he rightly states, the restoration in *IG* II² is not possible. Antigonos, however, did not take the title of king until 306 and I know of no epigraphic parallel for retrojecting the title back before this year. Perhaps we should restore ⟦[ταῖς Ἀντιγόνου ναυσί]⟧. For Antigonos and the title, see Billows (1990) 155–60. Oreos: Diod. 19.75.7–8.

[37] For an introduction to these regimes, see Habicht (1997) 40–9, 53–66 and above, n. 3.

are less specific. The initial entry records that he was elected general for supply twice by the *demos* in 296/5 in the archonship of Nikias, but he is then described as carrying out his duties with great zeal 'both when he was elected many times general over the countryside and when he when he was three times general for the mercenaries'.[38] Behind these apparently innocuous phrases lurk several important details. The generalship held twice in 296/5 must have been held first at the end of Lachares' tyranny and then again after the city was made democratic by Demetrios Poliorketes.[39] The important differences between the nature of these two regimes, however, is obscured by attributing both elections to 'the *demos*'. The other offices are undated, but, like the embassy to Ptolemy I which follows,[40] they must have taken place before the next dated office: Phaidros' tenure as hoplite general in 288/7. Most probably, they were also held after 296/5 because the order seems to be chronological.[41] Thus, Athens was again under oligarchy when Phaidros held these offices, but, as with his father, the nature of the regime is not clear in the text. Furthermore, if he held only one generalship at a time, then the 'many times' that he was elected general over the countryside actually turn out to be at most four occasions and only one more time than he was general for mercenaries! In contrast to the section describing his father's career, here there is no indication of the enemies against whom he led the Athenian forces.

Line 30 marks the beginning of a new and more detailed section about Phaidros' career and his two hoplite generalships.[42] Immediately noticeable here is the theatre of conflict: not abroad, but at home in Athens and Attica. Unlike his father, who captured named individuals, the town of Kythnos, and ships, Phaidros 'continued fighting on behalf of the common safety and, when difficult times encompassed the city … he preserved the peace in the countryside'.[43] Otherwise, his exploits were not martial: he advised the *demos*, 'he handed over both the city, free, democratic, and autonomous, and the laws sovereign to his successors', 'he continued both saying and doing as much good as possible on behalf of the *demos*'; when he was hoplite general in 287/6, 'he continued to do everything according to both the laws an[d] the decrees of the *boule* and the *demos*'.[44] Despite all this apparent detail, what exactly was going on in Athens is obscure. Some of this obscurity is due to

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[38] *IG* II² 682.21–8 = *IG* II³.1 985.21–8. On the date of the archonship of Nikias (*Hysteros*), see Osborne (1985); id. (2006) 69–76.

[39] For these regimes and the oligarchy which followed, see Habicht (1997) 81–95; Osborne (2012) 25–36; above, n. 3.

[40] *IG* II² 682.28–30 = *IG* II³.1 985.28–30.

[41] See above, n. 33.

[42] *IG* II² 682.30–52 = *IG* II³.1 985.30–52. The generalships are dated by the archons Kimon (288/7) and Xenophon (287/6): Osborne (2009) 86.

[43] *IG* II² 682.32–5 = *IG* II³.1 985.32–5.

[44] *IG* II² 682.36–7, 38–40, 41–2, 46–7 = *IG* II³.1 985.36–7, 38–40, 41–2, 46–7.

the large amount of text which was erased in 200 BCE when the Athenians, in declaring war on the Macedonians, ordered the erasure of references to their kings, an episode to which we shall return (fig. 2).[45] As Sean Byrne has shown, such erased passages fall into three categories: references to the Macedonian tribes Antigonis and Demetrias; members of the Macedonian royal family included among the beneficiaries of the city's sacrifices; and Macedonian kings in positive (or neutral) contexts.[46] These erased lines, consequently, will have concerned Demetrios and his name will originally have featured prominently and positively. In lines 37–8, the Athenians were probably urged to complete or accomplish something which Demetrios wanted done and, in lines 42–4, the person to whom Phaidros 'continued both saying and doing as much good as possible on behalf of the *demos*' should also be the king.[47] Lines 47–52 very likely recorded Phaidros' activities in 286/5, hence their separation from what preceded them by a vacant space, actually the same textual layout which was used in line 44 for the entry for 287/6.[48] Here, too, Demetrios must have been mentioned by name prominently and positively: Phaidros cannot have been described as fighting against the king.[49]

Whatever exactly was taking place in Athens in 288/7 and 287/6, all was certainly not well: the phrases 'fighting on behalf of the common safety', 'when difficult times encompassed the city', preserving 'the peace in the countryside' are both unusual and loaded. They are also surprisingly vague: 'difficult times' can mean many things and the individuals against whom Phaidros was fighting are never identified. Instead, the narrative focuses on Phaidros, who is described as 'always giving the best possible account of himself',[50] and his actions, especially his activities on behalf of the city. Stressing his deeds done for the city, and especially for the *demos*, brings out his status as a good Athenian, as does the phrase 'he continued doing everything according to both the laws an[d] the decrees of the *boule* and the

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[45] Livy 31.44.4–9; Habicht (1997) 196–7; id. (1982) 142–50; Flower (2006) 34–40; Byrne (2010) with the addition of *IG* II³.1 1023; cf. Traill (1986) 64–74. On erasing and amending inscriptions more generally, see Low, above, ch. 6.

[46] Byrne (2010) 161–2. Inscriptions with hostile contexts, such as Kallias' decree, were not erased; cf. Byrne (2010) 172.

[47] Lines 37–8: cf. Osborne (1979) 187; Habicht (1979) 56–7; Paschidis (2008) 141 and 142 n. 6; note also Bringmann and von Steuben (1995) (Ameling's text, no. 15 [E]). Of course, how one restores the erased text in this part of the inscription depends directly on how one understands the date and course of the revolution.

[48] On the mason's use of *vacats* in this inscription, see the helpful remarks of Bayliss (2006) 125.

[49] Hence the absence of honours for him in the years soon after the revolution. With his career and his contacts with Demetrios, honours only became possible after the Chremonidean War; cf. Kralli (1999–2000) 159; Luraghi (2010) 255. In turn, this delay must be factored into our understanding of Phaidros' actions in the 280s.

[50] *IG* II² 682.34–5 = *IG* II³.1 985.34–5.

demos'. The reference to the free, democratic, and autonomous city suggests that Phaidros played some role in bringing Athens to this state, as we might well expect from the hoplite general.

This image of Phaidros as the good Athenian who holds important offices and is active on behalf of the city continues in the final section about his career.[51] He served as *agonothetes* in the archonship of Nikias in 282/1 and, later, he aided his son Thymochares when he was *agonothetes* in the archonship of Euboulos, probably in 265/4.[52] As *agonothetes*, he took care 'of the games so that they [migh]t be the best possible and worthy of the munificence of the *demos*', while, in helping his son, he displayed 'in all things his conspicuous good will which he had towards the *demos*'.[53] More vaguely, he also undertook all the other financial contributions to the city 'zealously' 'and, for all this, he was crowned by both the *boule* and the *demos*'.[54] Particularly noticeable in this final section are the repeated references to the *demos* and Phaidros' actions in relation to it. They also serve to obscure the actual situation: Phaidros only held one office after the revolution and the return of the democracy. Helping out his son is not really something to brag about,[55] but it increases his visibility after 286, as does all the emphasis on his financial contributions to the city.

In this section of the decree, accordingly, Lyander has carefully constructed the careers of Phaidros and his father Thymochares to present them as exemplary Athenians and to bring out Phaidros' worthiness for highest honours. The narrative about Thymochares stresses his military deeds and his activities abroad against the city's external enemies; the career of his own father Phaidros in lines 1–3 seems to have been presented in similar terms. The remaining text reports that he besieged some (originally named) city 'which was in the allianc[e] of the enemies'.[56] This episode is usually associated with the destruction of Styra in Euboia by forces under the senior Phaidros' command as general in 323 and it certainly fits with the

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[51] *IG* II² 682.53–64 = *IG* II³.1 985.53–64.

[52] Archonship of Nikias: Osborne (2009) 87. The identity of this archon named Euboulos is disputed. One man named Euboulos was certainly archon in 274/3, but this date seems too early to fit with the rest of Thymochares' career. Another man of this name appears to have held this office in 265/4, but he is not well attested to say the least: this entry provides the best evidence for his existence. On the problems, see Henry (1988) 215–22; Osborne (1989) 227–8 with n. 90; id. (2004) 207–10; id. (2012) 129–30.

[53] *IG* II² 682.54–6, 59–60 = *IG* II³.1 985.54–6, 59–60.

[54] *IG* II² 682.61–2, 63–4 = *IG* II³.1 985.61–2, 63–4.

[55] Compare Osborne (1989) 228 n. 90. Given all his military experience, the absence of such offices in the years after 286 is both particularly striking and suggestive.

[56] *IG* II² 682.2–3 = *IG* II³.1 985.2–3.

inscribed text.[57] The tenure in military office of Phaidros the honorand is also stressed and he did, indeed, do some fighting. Phaidros is particularly shown to have been active on behalf of the *demos* and to have abided by the laws and decrees of the city. As in the narrative for his father Thymochares, the text suggests that the city's ancestral practices were being followed and they are specifically invoked in line 55 in connection with Phaidros' sacrifices as *agonothetes*. In the careers of both men, Lyander has successfully obscured the nature of the regimes ruling the city, hence the different chronologies of the revolution and scholars' various interpretations of Phaidros' role in it.[58] Of course, such details were irrelevant to Lyander who needed to ensure that Phaidros was deemed worthy of the highest honours which he desired.

4. (Re)constructing the Past

As presented in this decree, accordingly, Phaidros served the city with distinction and he is worthy of the proposed honours. Creating this image, however, involved not just the careful crafting of his biography, but also the (re)construction of the past. This process is particularly evident in the narrative about the revolution against Demetrios because, as we have already seen, Kallias' own inscription presents a different version of the events. It particularly stresses martial actions and especially those undertaken by the honorand on behalf of the Athenian *demos*. Kallias himself is configured as a democrat who fights on behalf of the city against external enemies. This presentation of the events conforms to the city's dominant collective version in the years immediately after the revolution. Comparison between the narratives in Kallias' and Phaidros' decrees brings out the very different treatment of the same events and lets us see how Lyander has (re)presented them.

Lyander's (re)construction of the past is not limited to this section of Phaidros' career: his *agonothesia* in 282/1 has also been rewritten. According to the text, 'he took care both of the sacrifices, in order that they might *all* be celebrated according to ancestral custom, and also of the games, so that they might be the best possible and worthy of the munificence of the *demos*'.[59] The emphasis here on 'all' the sacrifices suggests that Phaidros was the only *agonothetes* in this year. In fact, there was a second *agonothetes*, Glaukon, the son of Eteokles, of Aithalidai, as we know from the choregic monument commemorating his *agonothesia* and the victory of the tribe Leontis in the men's

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[57] Str. 10.1.6; Davies (1971) 525; Develin (1989) 408; Bringmann and von Steuben (1995) 38 (by Ameling). Perhaps one or more of his other generalships also appeared before lines 2–3; above, n. 27.

[58] See above nn. 2 and 7.

[59] *IG* II² 682.54–6 = *IG* II³.1 985.54–6.

dithyramb.[60] Since only one tribe was victorious in the men's event, the festival in question must be the City Dionysia.[61] Phaidros, consequently, was certainly not involved with this celebration and his only significant office held after the revolution was actually rather less important than Lyander has presented it. Furthermore, unlike his contemporary Philippides of Kephale and some other *agonothetai*, Phaidros does not seem to have spent large amounts of his own money in the process.[62] These details, however, are not evident in Phaidros' decree.

Lyander has also presented a very different version of the revolution from Demetrios than we see in Kallias' earlier honorary decree (see Table 1, below, p. 284). As we have already observed, in Kallias' decree, military action is stressed and Kallias is presented as continually acting on behalf of

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[60] *IG* II² 3079 = *IG* II³.4 528. As the inscription records, Glaukon's *agonothesia* was performed in the archonship of Nikias. Traditionally, this archon has been identified as Nikias who was in office in 282/1; e.g., Shear, Jr (1978) 38; Tracy (2003) 86; Kirchner in *IG* II² (when the archon was dated to 280/79); cf. Humphreys (2007) 70. The archon ought not be Nikias of Otryne, who held office in 266/5, because his name is normally given with the demotic in order to differentiate him from the archon of 282/1; Shear, Jr (1978) 38 n. 94; Osborne (2006) 73; Paschidis (2008) 511. If there is any validity to the categorisation of this monument as a public one, as, for example in *IG* II³.4, then we should expect the text to follow the same rules as other public inscriptions: if the archon were Nikias of Otryne, his deme would have been indicated. A date in 282/1 also accommodates the history of the team tribal events at the Great Panathenaea and the *anthippasia* more generally, all of which I discuss elsewhere, but a date in 266/5 does not. Furthermore, in the archonship of Nikias of Otryne, Deinias of Erchia was [- - 9–10 - - Παν]αθηναίων, as we know from a list of officials of this year; *SEG* LI 144.3 and cf. Osborne (2015) 71–2. As a single official, he cannot have been part of the board of *athlothetai* nor can he have been the treasurer of the Panathenaea because this office is not attested until the third quarter of the century and the title is too short to fill the space; *IG* II³.1 1023.13, 39; cf. *SEG* XXXII 169.2 where the office should be restored, as Osborne has rightly seen; Osborne (2015) 73; id. (2016) 91. Deinias' title must, therefore, have been [ἀγωνοθέτης Παν]αθηναίων, as it has traditionally been restored; e.g. Meritt (1968) 284–5; Oliver (2007b) 243 n. 72; Paschidis (2008) 512; *contra*: Osborne (2015) 72; id. (2016) 91. If there was an *agonothetes* for Athena's festival, there must also have been a second *agonothetes* for the other festivals, probably Lysimachos of Athmonon who is recorded immediately after Deinias; *SEG* LI 144.4; cf. Meritt (1968) 285; Oliver (2007b) 243 n. 72; *contra*: Osborne (2015) 71–2. Glaukon himself seems to have been hoplite general in this year; *SEG* LI 144.5–6; cf. Osborne (2015) 71–2. Consequently, two *agonothetai* are clearly attested in a Great Panathenaic year in this period and Glaukon is also unlikely to have been both hoplite general and *agonothetes* in the year of Nikias of Otryne; cf. Paschidis (2008) 512. Further discussion of the complications of the Great Panathenaea and the *agonothesia*, which can never have worked well together, lie beyond the scope of this essay and I discuss them elsewhere. Nevertheless, Osborne and Humphreys date the archon Nikias of *IG* II² 3079 = *IG* II³.4 528 to 266/5; Osborne (2009) 89; Humphreys (2007) 70–2; Osborne (2015) 66; *contra*: Paschidis (2008) 510–13, although I do not share his certainty that Glaukon's crowns were presented in chronological order.

[61] At the Thargelia, pairs of tribes competed; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.3; Antiph. 6.11; Wilson (2007) 156–7. That the fragments of *IG* II² 3079 = *IG* II³.4 528 were found in the Theatre of Dionysos also points to the City Dionysia; Kirchner in *IG* II².

[62] *IG* II² 956.17–19; 958.15–16; 968.43–5, 54–5; *SEG* XXXIX 125.18–19 = *IG* II³.1 991.

Table 1: Actions in the Revolution from Demetrios

Phaidros	Kallias
elected hoplite general in 288/7 • 'continued fighting on behalf of common safety and, when difficult times encompassed the city, he, always giving the best possible account of himself, preserved the peace in the countryside' • brought in the harvest of grain and other crops • advised the *demos* to complete [[- - -]] • 'handed over both the city, free, democratic, and autonomous, and the laws sovereign to his successors' • [[-]] • 'he continued both saying and doing as much good as possible on behalf of the *demos*' • [[-]] elected hoplite general in 287/6 • 'he continued to do everything according to both the laws and decrees of the *boule* and the *demos*' [[- - - events in 286/5 erased? - - -]]	when the revolution took place and before the expulsion of the Macedonians from the Mouseion and the arrival of Demetrios and his army • came to the aid of the *demos* with 1,000 soldiers paid at his expense • acted according to the good will of King Ptolemy toward the *demos* • 'making every effort', with his soldiers protected the harvest to bring as much grain as possible into the city when Demetrios was besieging the city • fought on behalf of the *demos* • 'attacking with his soldiers, although he was wounded, he did not any moment shrink from any danger on behalf of the safety of the *demos*' when King Ptolemy sent Sostratos to make peace on behalf of the city • yielded to the generals and the *boule* and served as envoy on behalf of the *demos* • 'did [ev]erything in the interests of the city' • 'remai[n]ed in the city with his soldiers until peace w[a]s concluded' 'A[nd - - 15–16 - -] on behalf of the fatherland Kallias could not at any time endure [- 8 -] when the *demos* [ha]d been overthrown, but h[is own] property he also allowed to be confiscated in the oligarchy so as no[t] to do [anything a]gainst either the laws or the democ[rac]y of all the Athenians'
Source: *IG* II² 682.30–52 = *IG* II³.1 985.30–52	Source: *SEG* XXVIII 60.11–40, 78–83 = *IG* II³.1 911.11–40, 78–83

the *demos*.[63] He is the good Athenian democrat who fights for the city and goes into exile when the democracy has been overthrown. Phaidros' decree, in contrast, presents quite a different picture of the events. The narrative clearly covers a longer period of time and a more complicated situation.[64] Oligarchy is neither mentioned nor juxtaposed with democracy and Phaidros fought 'on behalf of the common safety' rather than democracy.[65] He was also not concerned with 'all the Athenians', as Kallias was.[66] Instead, we hear about keeping the peace, conforming to the laws and decrees, continuing to do and say as much good as possible, and giving the best possible account of himself. Although Phaidros was hoplite general, military actions play a very small role in this account and the enemy is both conspicuously unnamed and not clearly external. The version presented here is quite different from the narrative of Kallias' decree, and, despite the references to the *demos*, the *boule*, the laws, and the decrees, it suggests a much more complicated situation. There is also an element of justification here, as if Lyander was aware that some Athenians might say that Phaidros really had not acted properly or had not done enough to warrant highest honours. In writing this account, Lyander had to push against the city's dominant collective tradition of the revolution with its stress both on fighting against Macedonians, an external enemy, and the return of the exiled democrats who had had no part in the oligarchy. This version was inappropriate for Phaidros, not least because he had clearly not been in exile, and so Lyander had to construct another version which would help to secure highest honours for Phaidros.

5. The Competition of Traditions

The city's dominant story about how the Athenians came to be freed from the Macedonians was not simply embedded in a few decrees which perhaps no one read. Instead, it had become part of the city's collective memories through the very process of approving these decrees, perhaps some eleven to twelve years before Lyander proposed the decree for Phaidros.[67] These memories were reinforced by the honours awarded: bronze statues of the honorands in the Agora and inscribed decrees. In this setting, these rewards interacted both with Leokritos' shield, another monument connected with the revolution from Demetrios, and with the Agora itself, which had been reconfigured as the space of the democratic citizen at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries BCE. Phaidros' own decree and his

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[63] *SEG* XXVIII 60.11–43 = *IG* II³.1 911.11–43.

[64] See above, n. 42.

[65] *IG* II² 682.32 = *IG* II³.1 985.32.

[66] *SEG* XXVIII 60.82–3 = *IG* II³.1 911.82–3.

[67] Laches' request for Demochares is dated to 271/0 (archonship of Pytharatos), while Kallias' decree belongs in 270/69 (archonship of Sostratos); [Plut.] *Mor.* 851D; *SEG* XXVIII 60.5 = *IG* II³.1 911.5; Shear, Jr (1978) 12–14; Osborne (2009) 88; id. (2012) 114.

bronze statue were also erected in the marketplace so that the competition between the city's dominant collective tradition and Lyander's alternative version, which took place during the approval of Phaidros' honours, continued to be played out in the city's topography. In this way, the setting made explicit the issue of the interdependence between Lyander's version of events and the city's dominant tradition, so that viewers could not avoid it.

The honorary decrees for Kallias, Demochares, and Phaidros will all have gone through the same process of approval.[68] First, a request had to be submitted to the *boule*.[69] For Demochares' honours, we have the request and not the decree, although we know the award was, in fact, granted. As this document shows, the request explains in detail why the honorand was worthy of the proposed honours. After discussion and, potentially, debate, if the council was in favour of the award, as in the case of our three honorands, it voted to make the award and drafted a resolution to be brought to the *demos*, as Phaidros' decree among others makes clear.[70] After the legally mandated time had elapsed, the decree was presented and discussed in the assembly before it came up for vote. On each of these occasions, the request or draft decree would have been read out in public and so the history encapsulated in the documents will have been rehearsed twice in the case of highest honours. The subsequent and mandatory scrutiny will have added a third such opportunity. A citizenship decree like that for Strombichos will have first been presented to the *boule* which, on approval, will have recommended it to the *demos*; it, too, required subsequent scrutiny.[71] The history which it narrated will have been read in both the council and the assembly. Decrees concerning other matters will also have been brought first to the *boule* and then to the *demos*. The decisions to bury the dead from the assault on the Mouseion in the Demosion Sema and to dedicate Leokritos' shield to Zeus will have needed such authorisation and this process will have provided further opportunities for rehearsing how the Athenians came to be free from Demetrios.[72] Consequently, when Phaidros made his original request and Lyander presented the necessary decree,[73] their (re)constructed history of the revolution will have been read more than once to men who will have heard the standard public version many times before and must have recognised the rewriting which was going on. Evidently, presenting quite a different version of an event still in living memory did not pose an insurmountable problem and it did not prevent the award from being recom-

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[68] For the process, see Osborne (2012) 71–4; Gauthier (1985) 83–9.

[69] On the important role of the *boule*, see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 45.4; Rhodes (1981) 543; Osborne (2012) 67–70.

[70] *IG* II² 682.66–71 = *IG* II³.1 985.66–71.

[71] Strombichos: above, n. 17.

[72] Burial of dead: above, n. 15; Leokritos: above, n. 16.

[73] See above, n. 8.

mended and approved. At this time, it successfully met enough of the formal constraints to which the past is subject. The vagueness of the text, its periphrases and economies, and its emphasis on Phaidros as an exemplary Athenian will all have made this process easier.[74] At the same time, the decree also brings out the malleability of memory and the ways in which memory can accommodate competing versions of events.[75]

The competition between these different versions of the revolution did not cease when Phaidros' honours were approved. Instead, it was continued through the rewards themselves and it played itself out in the Agora (fig. 3). Phaidros' decree specifies that his bronze statue was to be set up in the Agora with the inscribed decree next to it.[76] Together, they formed a composite monument. In this location, Phaidros' statue and decree joined a number of other monuments, including the bronze statues of Kallias and Demochares. Kallias' decree was certainly erected next to his statue and it is very likely that Demochares' inscribed document was also placed beside his figure.[77] In the early 250s, Phaidros' statue came into a particularly loaded setting because, at the end of the fifth century, as part of the public, collective responses to the oligarchies of 411 and 404/3, the Athenians changed the Agora from multi-use space into an area now focused on the democratic citizen.[78] After the revolution from Demetrios, the Athenians reused many of the strategies from the responses to the fifth-century oligarchies: among other things, they set up the statues of Demochares and Kallias in the Agora. In 269, when Kallias' figure was new, these two statues and their accompanying inscriptions will have presented the two men as good democrats and exemplary Athenians; in so doing, they will have repeated some of the dynamics, although probably not the appearance, of the figures of Konon and Euagoras which were erected in front of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios to commemorate their military victory over the Spartans at Knidos in 394/3.[79] In that year, the setting up of these statues marked the end of the process of turning the Agora into the space of the democratic citizen and the beginning of its life as a location for statues of good generals, as Lykourgos identified it in 330 BCE.[80]

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[74] As will the political situation immediately after the Chremonidean War; see briefly the discussion below.

[75] Malleability of memory: e.g. Young (1993) 29; Alcock (2002) 17; Cubitt (2007) 158–9, 202–3, 214.

[76] *IG* II² 682.80–1, 87–9 = *IG* II³.1 985.80–1, 87–9.

[77] Kallias: *SEG* XXVIII 60.95–6, 104–7 = *IG* II³.1 911.95–6, 104–7; Demochares: [Plut.] *Mor.* 847E, 851D; Shear (2012) 290–1. Compare more generally Oliver (2007a) 196; Ma (2013) 59, 120.

[78] Shear (2007); ead. (2011) 112–22, 132–3, 263–85.

[79] Isoc. 9.56–7; Dem. 20.69–70; Paus. 1.3.2–3; Shear (2007) 107–9; ead. (2011) 274–81; ead. (2012) 291.

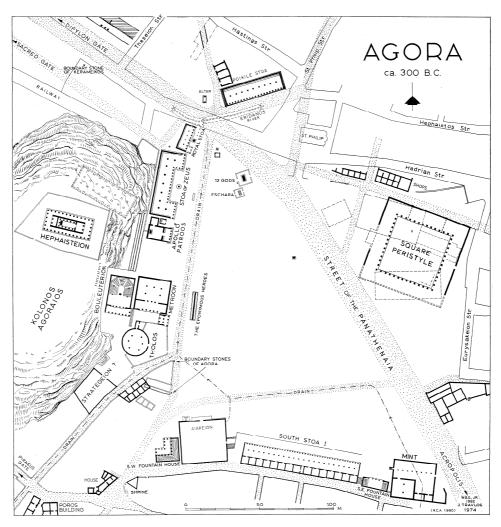[80] Lycurg. *Leoc.* 51; Shear (2007) 113–15; ead. (2011) 283–5.

Fig. 3: Plan of the Agora in ca. 300 BCE. (Courtesy of the American School of Classical
Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).

We know that Demochares' statue showed him wearing a himation and
a sword, the attire which he wore as he addressed the *demos* when Antipatros
was demanding the surrender of the orators in 322.[81] Since the himation was
'civic dress', as it were, it emphasised Demochares' actions as a statesman,
the same image as his decree, but the sword was decidedly martial.[82] It
connected him with the various military monuments in the Agora,
particularly the Stoa Poikile, which commemorated the battle of Marathon
among other engagements, and the memorials in and around the Stoa of

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[81] [Plut.] *Mor.* 847D; for the date, see Dillon (2006) 104.

[82] Shear (2012) 291. Civic dress: Dillon (2006) 74, 110–12. As Dillon notes, in the Hellenistic period, the himation was typically worn with tunic or chiton beneath it.

Zeus, where Leokritos' shield was also dedicated (fig. 3).[83] This sword further suggested that Demochares had contributed to the revolution against Demetrios by acting in some martial capacity.[84] We know less about Kallias' bronze statue, but it cannot have shown him on horseback because, in such cases, the decrees are explicit;[85] he must have stood upright, like the vast number of honorific figures. His decree configures him not only as a democrat, but also as a man active on behalf of the safety of the *demos* and his actions make him into a saviour of the people.[86] This strategy was borrowed from the early fourth-century statues of Konon and Euagoras who were presented as saviours of the city through their location in front of the Stoa of Zeus Soter (fig. 3).[87] The parallels between their statues and Kallias' figure may have been reinforced by the setting: Kallias' decree was found reused as a cover slab over the Great Drain in front of the Stoa Basileios.[88] This repair dates to the fifth century CE; before that time, the *stele*, together with the figure, may have been erected not far away.[89] Such a location would have placed it near both the Stoa of Zeus and the statues of Konon and Euagoras so that the relationships between the three figures were clearly visible.[90] Since Kallias' most important services were military, it is likely that he was shown in armour or with a short tunic and short cloak, the two options for 'military dress', as it were, and this choice will have reinforced the connections with the military monuments in the area and the statues of earlier generals.[91]

In the early 250s, Phaidros' statue and decree were erected in this potent space. Both the alternative history of the revolution in his decree and the statue itself will have been superimposed on the existing structures and memorials. How exactly Phaidros' statue will have fitted into this setting will have depended on its appearance, which is not specified in the decree. If he was shown in a himation and chiton, then the statue will have emphasised his political contributions and it would have reinforced the decree's image of him as particularly active on behalf of the *demos* and as doing 'everything according to both the laws an[d] the decrees of the *boule* and the *demos*'.[92] The composite monument would have brought out his status as an exemplary

[83] Shear (2012) 291. Military monuments: Shear (2007) 105–6, 111–12 with further references.

[84] Shear (2012) 291.

[85] *IG* II² 450.7–10; 654.57–8 = *IG* II³.1 871.57–8; *IG* II² 983.5–6; *ISE* 7.13–14.

[86] Shear (2012) 292.

[87] Shear (2012) 292; ead. (2007) 107–8, 110; ead. (2011) 277–8.

[88] Shear, Jr (1978) 2.

[89] Location: Shear, Jr (1978) 1–2 n. 1; Shear (2012) 292. The date is provided by the coin BΓ 405 and the pottery (lots BΓ 285, 286) is consistent with this date.

[90] Shear (2012) 292.

[91] Military dress: Dillon (2006) 107–9, 110.

[92] *IG* II² 682.46–7 = *IG* II³.1 985.46–7.

Athenian who was worthy of the honours awarded, particularly the bronze figure, which viewers saw, and the gold crown now permanently represented by the sculpted version below the text of the decree. A statue of Phaidros in military dress would have complemented the generalships which he held in the earlier parts of his career. Such a figure, however, would have conflicted with the decree's narrative which does not stress Phaidros' military exploits and, indeed, suggests that he actually saw relatively little combat despite all those generalships. Since generals remained the exemplary Athenians in the middle of the third century and figures of them were well represented in the Agora at this time,[93] such an image of Phaidros would still have presented him as a good Athenian who deserved his honours.

His image would have been reinforced by the larger setting of the Agora. In the years after 403, the reconfiguration of the market square particularly made it into a place where large numbers of Athenian citizens came to do their civic duty, especially in the courts.[94] This focus continued in the third century when the Square Peristyle, constructed about 300 BCE, remained in use as a facility for the courts (fig. 3).[95] The overall setting of Phaidros' monument, accordingly, will have reinforced his image as an Athenian who supported the rule of the *demos* and it will have picked up on specific clauses in the narrative of the revolution which explicitly report his support. In this way, Phaidros, like the Athenian citizens coming to the Agora, did his duty on behalf of the city and, like them, he followed the laws and decrees of the city. The stress on following the laws and decrees which we see in the inscription will have been further reinforced by the physical presence of the laws in the great display installed in the Stoa Basileios at the end of the fifth century and in the city's archives in the Metroon which also housed the city's decrees.[96] Furthermore, as Graham Oliver has shown, the Agora in the early Hellenistic period was space explicitly controlled by the *demos* and the *boule* and that control, in turn, reinforced the identity of the *boule* and the *demos* as the principal authorities of the city.[97] This aspect of the square will have worked together with the references to the *demos* and the *boule* in Phaidros' inscription to emphasise further the honorand's status as an exemplary Athenian.

When Phaidros' statue was erected in the middle of the third century, the Agora had become the primary spot in the city for erecting honorary statues.[98] Consequently, Phaidros' monument became one more element in the series of exemplary Athenians. Both generals and statesmen were repre-

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[93] As the relevant section of the list of honorary statues in Oliver (2007a) 184–8 suggests.

[94] Shear (2012) 264–8, 270–4.

[95] Although not as originally designed; Townsend (1995) 90–103.

[96] Shear (2011) 85–96, 117–18, 240–5; Sickinger (1999) 114–38.

[97] Oliver (2007a) 197–8.

[98] Oliver (2007a) 196, 197 with 184–6.

sented: among others, Konon, Iphikrates, Chabrias, and Timotheos had all been honoured for their military exploits,[99] while Demades, Lykourgos, and Demosthenes were rewarded for their political contributions.[100] Thus, irrespective of the attire of Phaidros' figure, its relationship to these earlier statues will have been clear and the juxtaposition will have reinforced Phaidros' identity as a good Athenian worthy of the honours instantiated in part in the composite monument.

In the space of the Agora, Phaidros' ensemble will have stood out from these other, earlier monuments because of the unusual shape of the block on which his decree was inscribed: it was very tall and thin and especially thick. As now preserved, the *stele* is 0.371 m. wide and 0.246 m. thick with a preserved height of 1.827 m. (fig. 2). Since the preamble and the beginning of the entry for Phaidros' grandfather are not preserved, we may estimate that a minimum of nine lines are now lost and thus the original inscription stood at least 1.88 m. tall.[101] It was hardly a standard Attic *stele*, such as the inscribed decree for his brother Kallias, which measures overall 1.655 m. x 0.536 m. x 0.122 m. (fig. 1).[102] Such an unusual *stele* did not come about by chance; rather, it represents a conscious decision to make Phaidros' inscription especially noticeable. While his overall monument will have located him in relationship to the earlier exemplary Athenians, the shape of his inscribed block will have ensured that he did not simply blend in with them and their memorials. Instead, the unusual shape will have forced viewers to notice Phaidros' structure in particular and it will have drawn their eyes to the text which documented the honorand's achievements on behalf of the city. The texts for other honorands, in contrast, will not have been so noticeable because they would all have been about the same size and shape. Set apart in this way, Phaidros' *stele* will have looked both new and different,

[99] Konon: above, n. 79; Iphikrates: Dem. 23.130; cf. schol. Dem. 21.62; Aeschin. 3.243; Chabrias: Nepos, *Chab.* 1.2–3; *SEG* XIX 204 = *Agora* XVIII C148; cf. Aeschin. 3.243; Timotheos: Paus. 1.3.2–3; Nepos, *Timoth.* 2.3; cf. Aeschin. 3.243; Shear (2007) 110–11.

[100] Demades: Dein. 1.101; Lykourgos: [Plut.] *Mor.* 843C, 852E; Paus. 1.8.2; *IG* II² 3776; Demosthenes: Plut. *Dem.* 30.5–31.3; [Plut.] 847A, D, 850F; Paus. 1.8.2, 4; on the archon date, see Byrne (2006/7) 172–3.

[101] On the basis of *Agora* XV 89.1–6 = *IG* II³.1 983.1–6, I would restore the text as follows:

ἐπὶ Φιλίνου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [tribe = 8–12] [prytany number = 5–8]   37–44 letters
πρυτανείας ἧι Θεότιμος Στρατοκλέους Θοραιεὺς ἐ-   41 letters
γραμμάτευεν· [month = 10–14] [day of month = 9–18]   30–43 letters
[day of prytany = 5–19] τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία·   31–45 letters
τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν [name of president = ca. 20]   ca. 41 letters
[name con. = *ca.* 10–14] καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ   ca. 39–43 letters
καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Λύανδρος Λυσιάδου Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν·   43 letters
ἐπειδὴ Φαῖδρος μὲν ὁ πάππος Φαίδρου [- - - - - - -]   30 letters
[-]
[. . . .⁷. . .]ιειαν[. .³.]ασε[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] = *IG* II² 682.1; cf. *IG* II³.1 985.1

[102] Shear, Jr (1978) 2.

just as his honours had been awarded by a political regime which was new and different from those which made the grants to the earlier honorands. It was a modern *stele* for the current political situation. Since other Athenians do not seem to have been so honoured at this time in the Agora, the inscription will have also have suggested that Phaidros was particularly worthy of his honours.

While these comparisons between Phaidros' figure and the other honorary statues in the Agora emphasised his status as a good Athenian, the same would not have been true with Demochares' and Kallias' statues, the two most recently erected monuments in this area. If Phaidros was shown in a himation, then Demochares was the obvious point of comparison. If he was in armour, the obvious reference point was his brother Kallias, who is pointedly *not* mentioned in Phaidros' decree. Another comparison was provided by the shield of Leokritos in the Stoa of Zeus, a location and context which emphasised that Leokritos had actually died fighting against the Macedonians and so helped in a most concrete fashion to make the city free and democratic.[103] In all three of these cases, comparison will have brought out the (re)construction of the revolution which was going on in Phaidros' decree and monument. These juxtapositions undermined the positive images of Phaidros' composite memorial. Readers of the text and viewers, especially those who remembered the debates in the assembly, will have been encouraged to ask what exactly Phaidros had been doing in the 280s. They may have wondered whether his actions had really been exemplary and if he really did deserve the highest honours bestowed upon him. If Phaidros was shown in armour, then these viewers and readers may also have compared him again with the other generals and linked him to the other military monuments commemorating the city's successes in war: was he really in the same class as the earlier Athenians commemorated in these ways, they may have asked themselves. At the same time, the overall setting of the Agora with its focus on the good citizen suggested that he actually was an exemplary Athenian, the image of Lyander's decree with its sculpted (gold) crown, and, perhaps, even a democrat.[104]

Awarding highest honours to Phaidros, consequently, was not a simple process; rather, it required the repeated (re)construction of the city's past. This rewriting was competitive and, therefore, open to contestation. This competition was not limited to the *boule* and the assembly where men hostile to Phaidros and/or Lyander may have asked difficult questions or refused to conform to their rewritten version of the city's past. Instead, it continued after the rewards had been made because the relationship of Phaidros' statue to its setting in the Agora required readers and viewers repeatedly to play one version of the revolution against the other. In effect, they continually had

[103] See above, n. 16.

[104] Phaidros' political orientation has been the subject of much (heated) scholarly discussion; see, e.g., the bibliography in n. 115, below.

to (re)construct the city's history for themselves as they moved from one memorial to another. At the same time, the monumental landscape brings out what the decree carefully ignores: that Phaidros' brother Kallias played an important role in the revolution and his actions were perhaps more significant than those of the honorand.

6. The Past and the Future

In order to secure highest honours for Phaidros, accordingly, Lyander had to rewrite the city's past. In the decree, this process is clearest in his description of Phaidros' tenure as *agonothetes* in 282/1, but it is also present in the narrative of Phaidros' services to the city in the period of the revolution from Demetrios. The text presents the honorand as an exemplary Athenian worthy of the highest honours requested and it focuses on his deeds, rather than on events in the city. At the moment of writing first the request and then the draft of the decree, Phaidros and Lyander had to push against the city's dominant collective version of the events and the texts and monuments in which it was instantiated. They were also constrained by the actualities of Phaidros' career: he had been very active in the city in the years before the revolution and he had not been in exile, unlike Demochares, Kallias, and other ardent democrats. The political circumstances in the years immediately after the Chremonidean War will also have influenced how the past could and could not be rewritten. The city had just been defeated by Antigonos Gonatas, the son of Demetrios Poliorketes, and she seems to have been under close Macedonian control.[105] The king's power would have been made particularly explicit at each meeting of the assembly when the *prytaneis* announced the (good) outcome of the sacrifices which they had made before the meeting: now they offered not only 'for the health and safety of the *boule* and the *demos*', but also 'on behalf of King Antigonos and Queen Phila and their children'.[106] This formula made the king (verbally) present at the meeting, as if he, too, had the opportunity to approve of the Athenians' decisions. Under these circumstances, dissenters might have thought twice before expressing contrary views and opinions. Certainly, the city's dominant version of the revolution was not going to be popular with the king! Rewriting the past was, therefore, a complicated business and neither Phaidros nor Lyander had a clean slate on which to write. Instead, they had

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[105] Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 44 with Dorandi (1990) 130; Habicht (1997) 150–7 with id. (2003) 53–4; Tracy (2003) 15–25; cf. Oliver (2001) 50: 'after the Chremonidean war, Gonatas was the most potent force in Athens. He chose to exert that power'.

[106] E.g., *Agora* XV 89.6–13, 27–9 = *IG* II³.1 983.6–13, 27–9 with Mikalson (1998) 161 n. 73; id. (1998) 113–16, 160–1; Meritt and Traill (1974) 4–5. In this period, public sacrifices were regularly also made on behalf of both the Macedonian royal family and the Athenians: e.g., *IG* II² 776.6–10 = *IG* II³.1 1026.6–10; 780.7–12 = *IG* II³.1 995.7–12; *IG* II³.1 1023.8–11, 32–4; *SEG* XXXIII 115.19–25 = *IG* II³.1 1002.19–25; Mikalson (1998) 160–1.

to produce a narrative of the events which coincided with (some of) Phaidros' deeds, presented him as an exemplary citizen, brought out his good relations with the father of the present king, and was interdependent enough with the dominant tradition to be credible to the men who would vote on it.

Writing the request, however, was merely the first step in the process. The proposal and then the decree had to be approved by men who will have been very familiar with the city's dominant collective version. In at least their memories, if not those of the assembly itself, the different versions will have competed with each other. That contestation played itself out clearly in the topography of the Agora as the different texts and monuments were juxtaposed with each other and with other structures. Now, the interplay involved called into question Lyander's new version of the past and it showed that the earlier texts and monuments, and therefore the past which they presented, could not be overwritten with impunity. Indeed, the setting forced viewers and readers continually to (re)construct the city's past for themselves and to decide which Athenians were really exemplary and worthy of highest honours.

These dynamics will not have remained stable indefinitely. While the city remained under Macedonian control, Phaidros' and Lyander's rewriting of events provided the city with a history which included the revolution and other difficult periods in the early third century, but now it did so within a framework which saw the Macedonians in a positive light. That the episodes reflected the personal experiences of the honorand who had requested the award himself will have endowed this version with an authority which was reinforced by the decision of the *boule* and the *demos* to approve the decree. At the same time, the elisions and periphrases of the text made this (rewritten) history interdependent enough with other versions visible elsewhere in the city so that it was accepted as a way, perhaps even *the* way, of understanding what had happened in the 290s and 280s.

Early in 229 BCE, however, the Athenians' relationship with Macedon changed when the king, Demetrios II, died and left a young son as his successor. The city was able to persuade the royal governor Diogenes to surrender the Piraeus, Salamis, and the forts at Mounichia and Sounion to the Athenians and to accept 150 talents to pay off his troops.[107] In this way, the Athenians regained their freedom, but without either a revolution or internal strife. In light of recent events, the details about the revolution from Demetrios in 286 may no longer have been especially important, except when the oldest descendants of men honoured for their actions in it wished to claim their free meals in the Prytaneion.[108] Since the Agora became an

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[107] Plut. *Arat.* 34.5–6; Paus. 2.8.6; *IG* II² 834.10–14; Habicht (1997) 173–4, 179–80 with id. (2003) 52–3; id. (1982) 79–84; Osborne (1983) 187–8.

[108] Phaidros' family still seems to have existed at this time: his grandson Phaidros, the son of his son Thymochares, was an ephebe in the archonship of Menekrates in 219/8; *IG*

increasingly popular place for the erection of inscriptions in the years after 229, the earlier decrees now had further competition for readers and viewers and they may not have been as noticeable as they had been earlier in the century.[109]

For the memory of Phaidros' deeds, a more dramatic turn of events took place in 200 BCE. In that year, the Athenians declared war on Philip V and the Macedonians. As part of the process, they voted to abolish the two tribes Antigonis and Demetrias, which had been named after the Macedonian kings in 307, to destroy the royal monuments, and to expunge the names of the kings from their public documents.[110] Now, the extensive favourable references to Demetrios and his father were erased from Phaidros' inscription (fig. 2), while the negative references in Kallias' decree were allowed to remain (fig. 1).[111] With a few strokes of a chisel, Phaidros' text was irrevocably changed, so much so that we no longer know exactly how he and Lyander presented his actions during the revolution. At a time when good Athenians were again fighting Macedonians, their version was no longer interdependent enough to maintain credibility in the face of other narratives, particularly the dominant collective tradition of the period between 286 and 262, which was still presented in Kallias' decree and other monuments. Instead, Phaidros appeared to have been entirely too cosy with the Macedonians and their kings, while Kallias had behaved in an appropriately martial fashion, to the extent that he was even wounded during the fighting.[112]

At the same time, the extensive erasures marked an absence of text which, because of its content, could not be allowed to remain (fig. 2). Visually, the now empty spaces emphasised the Athenians were deliberately expunging from memory the deeds once recorded here. As the inscription in the Agora most heavily affected by this process of removal,[113] it now became visible in a way in which it had not previously been. Readers and viewers could easily see that, in contrast to other *stelai* in the area, quite a lot of text was now noticeably missing. They may have wondered what exactly Phaidros had been doing in those archonships in the 280s. Evidently, his actions were not those of an exemplary Athenian and they had not been so beneficial to the city after all. Had they been the deeds of a good Athenian, they would have recorded fighting against the Macedonians and so the text would have been allowed to remain. Indeed, the erasure of so much text suggested that

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II[3].1 1158.13; Davies (1971) 528; cf. Perrin-Saminadayar (2007) 79–80, 96. On the date of the archon, see Osborne (2008) 85–9.

[109] Popularity of Agora: Liddel (2003) 81, 88–90.

[110] See above, n. 45.

[111] Phaidros: *IG* II[2] 682.6, 37–8, 40–1, 42–4, 47–52 = *IG* II[3].1 985. 6, 37–8, 40–1, 42–4, 47–52; Kallias: *SEG* XXVIII 60.16–18, 27–8, 34–6 = *IG* II[3].1 911. 16–18, 27–8, 34–6.

[112] See above, n. 1.

[113] Byrne (2010) 162–3.

Phaidros had now become a model of how an Athenian should *not* act.[114] In this way, the erasures deconstructed the image presented in the rest of the decree, that the honorand had deserved his honours which were in part instantiated in the composite monument. Now, the overall structure with its text asked readers and viewers to make a judgement about the honorand without any reference to other memorials or the larger setting in the Agora,[115] while previously the different elements had worked together to present him as worthy of the honours awarded by the Athenians and thus also as a model of good behaviour.

In contrast, Kallias' decree remained unamended so that the absence of erasures marked the approval of the contents and their image: the honorand as fighter of Macedonians (fig. 1). While, in the years after the Chremonidean War, he may not have seemed like the most exemplary Athenian, his actions now fit the changed political circumstances. The lack of erasures brings out his role as a particularly exemplary citizen who set the model for how Athenians should react to the current war against an external enemy. This status would have been enhanced by the overall composite monument which included not only the bronze statue with its arms, but also, on the *stele*, a representation in gold paint of the crown awarded to Kallias by the grateful *boule* and *demos*.[116] Comparison between his structure and others in the Agora will further have brought out just how good a model Kallias was. Demochares, for example, had not actually fought in the revolution, while the generals of the early fourth century had engaged with other enemies, who were not particularly relevant to the current war. Comparison with his brother will have made viewers acutely aware of the erasures to Phaidros' text and the new and negative image of the honorand will have been especially brought to their attention. Clearly, the good Athenian should model himself on Kallias and, like him, fight against Macedonians.

The actions of the Athenians in 200, accordingly, had consequences which went well beyond the present venting of their anger against the

[114] This image is the (unintentional) by-product of the decision to remove the names of the Macedonian kings, a process officially decreed by the *demos*, as Livy's narrative makes clear: above, n. 45. For some similar examples from other political circumstances, see Ma (2013) 49. Taking Phaidros' *stele* down would have indicated that the honours had been annulled and it would have required a separate decree of the people; Low, above, ch. 6. Such a proposal would undoubtedly have elicited objections from the descendants, at least one of whom was very likely still alive in 200: above, n. 108. Since one of the functions of honorary decrees was to encourage others to emulate the honorand and so benefit the city, it was not in the city's interests to annul honours; cf., e.g., *IG* II² 657.50–2 = *IG* II³.1 877.50–2; *IG* II² 682.64–6 = *IG* II³.1 985.64–6; and especially *SEG* XXVIII 60.83–6 = *IG* II³.1 911.83–6; see also Ma (2013) 58–9; Miller (2016) with further bibliography.

[115] As modern scholars have not hesitated to do! E.g., Shear, Jr (1978) 10–11, 67; Habicht (1979) 58–62; Gauthier (1982) 225; Dreyer (1996) 66–7; Habicht (1997) 155–6; Dreyer (1999) 105–7; Paschidis (2008) 144–5; Luraghi (2010) 255; Bayliss (2011) 15, 43, 55–6, 127, 220–1 n. 51 with further references; Osborne (2012) 23, 42.

[116] Crown on the *stele*: Shear, Jr (1978) 7. It will have surrounded lines 1–4.

Macedonians and their king. The city's pasts were also brought into play and their credibilities called into question. Previously, the two different versions of the revolution from Demetrios Poliorketes had been able to co-exist both in the setting in the Agora and in the minds of Athenians. Phaidros' and Lyander's rewriting of the events continued to be interdependent enough with the other and earlier collective tradition to maintain its credibility. In 200, however, the erasures highlighted text which had been removed and so was absent. They demonstrated that the rewritten version had to be rewritten yet again, but they also stressed that the Athenians were deliberately forgetting the narrative which had been presented by Phaidros and Lyander in the early 250s. Now, the events in 286 could only be remembered as a successful war against the Macedonian king and only fighters of Macedonians were exemplary Athenians. Not surprisingly, when Plutarch and Pausanias later came to write about the events and the participants, they found a history focused on fighting Demetrios and without mention of internal strife.[117] By the second century CE, Phaidros' and Lyander's version had disappeared completely from the city's traditions as if they had never rewritten the events. Meanwhile, in the Agora, some sharp-eyed reader or viewer may have wondered exactly what Phaidros had done and why so much text had been erased. So difficult was it for Lyander to rewrite the inconvenient past.

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[117] Plut. *Demetr.* 46.1–4; *Pyrr.* 12.6–8; Paus. 1.26.1–3, 29.13.

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