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*MARTIN P. NILSSON*  
CULTS, MYTHS, ORACLES, AND POLITICS  
IN ANCIENT GREECE



# CULTS, MYTHS, ORACLES, AND POLITICS IN ANCIENT GREECE

WITH TWO APPENDICES:  
THE IONIAN PHYLAE, THE PHRATRIES

BY

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CARL BLOMS BOKTRYCKERI A.-B.



*TO*

*ARTHUR DARBY NOCK*



## PREFACE

**T**his little book is an outcome of some leisure hours, spared from more exacting work. It does not pretend to offer anything new, but as the facts have never been collected and as some unwarranted opinions on the interrelation of Greek mythology and cults and the social and political life of the Greeks have been put forward, a comprehensive survey may be of some use. Oracles were also a part of Greek religion and were extensively used for influencing public opinion. They are treated in a separate chapter. I append a discussion of the Ionian phylae and another of the phratries. They are highly technical and the result is meagre, but they have some importance as throwing light upon the interplay of religion and social life.

I am deeply indebted to Professors A. Wifstrand and Hj. Frisk for valuable and clarifying help in certain difficult problems. My warmest thanks are due to Professor H. J. Rose who, with self-sacrificing kindness, has gone through my manuscript, correcting my English style, and read the first proofs.

Lund, December 1950.

*M. P. N.*

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Athen. Mitt.</i>	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
<i>F. Gr. Hist.</i>	Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, ed. F. Jacoby.
<i>IG</i>	Inscriptiones graecae.
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
<i>OGI</i>	Orientis Graeci inscriptiones, ed. W. Dittenberger.
<i>SEG</i>	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum.
<i>SIG<sup>2</sup></i> or <i><sup>3</sup></i>	Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum, ed. W. Dittenberger, 2nd or 3rd edition respectively.

## INTRODUCTION

When myths of primitive peoples first became known they were judged according to the pattern of Greek mythology which all knew. This was of course erroneous. Nowadays the pendulum has swung over to the other side. Certain anthropologists lay blame on classical scholars because they do not give heed to the use of myths as ritual texts or to their social importance. This too is exaggerated and proves that the said anthropologists have but a superficial knowledge of Greek myths, at most drawn from some textbook. When a prominent anthropologist who seems to be aware that no positive arguments can be adduced for this opinion, says that we know the Greek myths only through literature and not in their real function this is a subterfuge<sup>1</sup>. We know Greek myths also through very many monuments, sculptures, and vase paintings. They present sometimes, but rarely, versions not recorded in literature. We know well the forms and modalities of Greek cult. The meagre remains of Greek liturgical texts were collected by Professor Dieterich<sup>2</sup>, they are in all eighteen and very brief. They belong to a later age, chiefly the mystery religions of Late Antiquity, and moreover some of them are doubtful. Only in two is a reference to a

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<sup>1</sup> Malinowski, *Myth in primitive Psychology*, p. 22. Much more sensible is the attitude of C. Kluckhohn in his paper, *Myths and Ritual, a general Theory*, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XXXV, 1942, pp. 45, in spite of his professed agreement with Malinowski. I agree wholly with his words, p. 56: "Their (viz. ritual and myth) relationship is rather that of intricate mutual interdependence, differently structured in different cultures and probably at different times in the same culture". In regard to the Greek myths it is to be added that they are an extreme case as compared with the myths of primitive peoples and that the word "probably" should be altered to "evidently".

<sup>2</sup> A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie, Anhang*, pp. 213.

myth found. One is the formula which is ascribed to the Eleusinian mysteries by a Christian writer <sup>3</sup>: "The Mighty one has born a holy boy, Brimo Brimos." The other is the verse adduced by another Christian writer from the mysteries of Sabazios <sup>4</sup>: "The bull is the father of the dragon and the dragon of the bull." It refers not to the common Greek mythology but to an Orphic myth, i.e. a fairly late remodelling. The Greeks had not even such fixed prayer forms as the Romans carefully observed. We know that the mysteries comprised acts performed and words said (*dromena* and *legomena*). Of these *legomena* only the above-quoted ascribed to the Eleusinian mysteries, if it is genuine, is extant, but, of course, here the field is open for guesses.

The overwhelming number of Greek myths which refer to rites are aetiological, i.e. they try to explain the origin of a certain rite. The anthropologist quoted contests this fact or, as he puts it, denies "that myth is essentially an explanation, a sort of primitive science". The word "science" is a misnomer. Not every explanation is so to say scientific, even in a primitive sense. Everybody who has heard popular tales explaining the shapes and habits of animals and other phenomena of Nature knows that. The desire of man to find an explanation for everything that strikes his attention is omnipresent and often takes fantastic forms.

It is rare in ancient Greece that a myth affected cult and ritual. Professor Rose, who has drawn attention to this problem and weighed it carefully <sup>5</sup>, adduces but one instance, postulating a reciprocal influence of myth and rite: the myth of the rape of Kore by Pluto remodelled the Eleusinian mysteries. This is likely and I may add another instance from historical times. When the city of Rhodes was founded in 407 B.C. Helios was made the chief god of the new city. Helios had in old Greece but few and insignificant cults, he was chiefly a mythological god. A myth related by Pindar in his seventh Olympic ode tells that Helios was absent and was forgotten when the land was divided among

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytos, *Refutatio omnium haereseon*, V, 8 (No. 2 in Dieterich), ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πόντιν καὶ κοῦρον, Βριμῶν βριμόν.

<sup>4</sup> Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum rel.*, 26, No. 8 in Dieterich.

<sup>5</sup> H. J. Rose, *Modern Methods in Classical Mythology*, 1930, pp. 9.

the gods. Afterwards he asked for the island of Rhodes which was still covered by the sea, and he begat upon the nymph Rhodos seven sons of whom one became the father of the eponyms of the older Rhodian cities, Lindos, Ialysos, Kameiros. The years were counted after the priest of Helios in the city of Rhodes and the games devoted to the mythical founder of Rhodes, Tlepolemos, seem to have been transferred to Helios.

Myths were the chief contents of the hymns and choral odes sung at the festivals of the gods. Not a few such hymns have come down to us, some of them in inscriptions. E.g. we possess in inscriptions a collection of hymns to Asklepios which has been styled a hymnbook of the Asklepios cult <sup>6</sup>. Of course myths of the god in whose honour the festival was celebrated were often related in these poems, but this was not obligatory, also myths not related to the god could find place in them. The relation was as loose as that of the sculptures of a temple to the god to whom the temple was dedicated. On the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia the preliminaries of the race between Pelops and Oinomaos were represented, in the middle is Zeus; but in the west pediment Apollo stands in the middle of the furious battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs and the metopes show the labours of Herakles. These hymns and choral odes were no ritual texts, they were composed by poets for certain occasions. E.g. the author of the oldest extant hymn to Asklepios was the great poet Sophokles. The famous Pythian *nomos* which represented the contest of Apollo with the dragon Python and was still performed — the flute music was its chief feature — in Roman times, was created by Sakadas of Argos in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The high-water mark are the Dionysia. The staging of tragedies was an act in the cult of Dionysos and was always called Dionysia. But for the tragedies the old saying is true with very few exceptions: οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, nothing related to Dionysos.

Myths were not used as ritual texts in Greece. The artistic vein of the Greeks seized the myths and reshaped them freely.

<sup>6</sup> See my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, II, pp. 57.

This is the distinctive feature of Greek mythology as opposed to the myths of primitive peoples.

Classical scholars are reproached for forgetting the social importance of the myths. This is unjust. They have often pointed to the part played by the myths in the dealings of the Greek states with other states and in the social and political life of the states. I have myself repeatedly come back to this topic<sup>7</sup>. The crafts had their special patrons among the gods, the subdivisions of the state their heroes, the peoples, the *gentes*, and the families their gods. Myths played a foremost part in the relations with other peoples, and this to such an extent that a famous scholar, Jacob Burckhardt, was able to say that myth was the ideal foundation of the whole existence of the Greeks<sup>8</sup>.

The Greeks were persuaded that the heroic mythology was their ancient history. Very characteristic of this mind is the introduction to the History of Herodotus in which he states his theme, the primeval struggle between the Greeks and the Orient. The origin is due to the Phenicians who abducted Io from Argos to Egypt. Later Greek men from Crete abducted Europa, the daughter of the king of Tyre, and Greeks became guilty of another wrong, abducting Medea, the daughter of the king of Colchis. Finally Priamos' son Alexandros who heard of this

<sup>7</sup> I have devoted some pages to it in my *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 237; briefer in my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, pp. 673; and in papers quoted in their respective places.

<sup>8</sup> J. Burckhardt, *Griech. Kulturgeschichte*, I, p. 37. I quote some lines written by a great historian, U. Wilcken, *Alexander der Grosse*, pp. 31: *Dem modernen Leser wird an dieser für die praktische Politik bestimmten Schrift* (viz. "Philippos" by Isokrates) *als merkwürdig erscheinen, wie stark sie von Argumenten durchzogen ist, die der Mythengeschichte, namentlich dem Heraklesmythos, entnommen sind. Aber um die Griechen dieser Zeit zu verstehen, muss man sich in diese Eigenheit ihres Wesens hineindenken, dass, wie es Jacob Burckhardt einmal formuliert hat, ihr Mythos "die ideale Grundlage ihres ganzen Daseins war". Es war ganz üblich, auch bei den nüchternsten politischen Fragen sich auf mythische Vorgänge zu beziehen oder gar, wie es auch Isokrates hier zum Teil getan hat, die Mythen nach Massgabe der Interessen der Gegenwart umzugestalten und Anschauungen der Gegenwart, um ihnen mehr Kraft zu geben, in die mythischen Zeilen zu projizieren. Auch im Leben des Alexanders hat dies eine grosse Rolle gespielt.*



wished to abduct a woman from Greece, sure that the rape would not be avenged. But the Greeks collected an army, besieged and took Troy. They were guilty of the beginning of the wars, for although it is unjust to abduct women, wise men do not care for it, for women are not abducted if they are not willing. Herodotus ascribes this version of the myths to the Persians and adduces a few different versions. These are of no account for our subject, mythology as ancient history in which the origins and the causes of the present events and claims are found. After such precedents a myth was created carrying back the struggle between Rome and Carthage to mythical events.

Burckhardt's striking utterance, that myth was the ideal foundation of the whole existence of the Greeks, may be apt to be misunderstood. Myth was of a fundamental importance for their practical and political life. The right of possessing a country may be at stake and when disputed is a burning question. We take it to be self-evident that a people which has inhabited a country for a long time and made its history is its rightful possessor. Historical arguments play their part. It may be permitted to refer to the fact that in our days the Jews found their claims on Palestine on the fact that having immigrated into this country more than three millenia ago they possessed it for somewhat more than a millenium. One of their Arab opponents remarked dryly that if this principle were approved there would be a great recasting of Europe. It cannot be denied. After the Napoleonic wars nationalism came to the fore in Europe. Its maxim is: one country, one people, one language. We know what havoc the absurd application of this principle has wrought in our time, spoiling millions of lives. Speaking the same language the Greeks were happily free from this prejudice, but there was something of the kind in their attitude to foreign peoples. They considered the barbarians to be their natural foes and thought themselves free to occupy their territories and to found colonies. Most of these colonies were carried back to itinerant heroes of the mythical age.

The Greeks, whose history was much shorter than ours, founded their claims on myths. People think that this implies a great difference, for to them myth is fiction, history fact. We

must get rid of this prejudice if we want to understand the attitude of the Greeks rightly. No Greek doubted that the heroic myths were the early history of his people. But he could not fail to observe that the myths contained unbelievable things and contradictions. Such observations did not shake his belief, but caused him to try and expurgate the myths in order to get at a reasonable historical exposition. This work of expurgating and systematizing the various and conflicting myths was undertaken by the logographers of whom the oldest known to us, Hekataios of Miletus, lived about the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Finally a chronology was established counting the years from the fall of Troy but was not generally accepted because this year was calculated variously <sup>9</sup>.

Few Greek tribes had inhabited their country from time immemorial, namely the Athenians and the Arcadians. The former emphasized strongly that they were autochthonous, and the latter asserted that they had lived in Arcadia before the moon was created <sup>10</sup>, Herodotus says that they were autochthonous <sup>11</sup>. We must admit that there was some reason for this belief. For the Ionians were probably the earliest wave of the Greek immigrants and the Arcadians were a remnant of the old inhabitants of the Peloponnese whom the Dorians had driven out or subjugated elsewhere. The Dorians of the Peloponnese were well aware that they had occupied countries which had formerly belonged to others and tried to justify their conquest by myths. They never appealed to mere force, but the war whose result was the conquest must needs be a *justum bellum*, as the Roman expression is, a just war. The conquest once made, the right of possession was inherited by the descendants to the latest age. The historical consciousness of the Greeks was interwoven with heroic myths, but to the Greeks they were not myths in our sense but records of historical events. However, it was

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<sup>9</sup> E.g. Hellanikos and the *Marmor Parium* 1209 B.C.; Eratosthenes 1183 B.C.

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle, fragm. 549 Rose; Apoll. Rhod., IV, v. 264; *Schol. Aristoph. Nub.*, v. 398 etc.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus, VIII, 73; he adds the Cynourians, the Ionian inhabitants of the coastal strip south of Argolis.

possible to improve old myths or to invent new myths to serve certain ends. There are many such inventions in historical times. Myths were used as arguments in controversies concerning territories and concerning the precedence of one people over another. They were particularly fit to arouse patriotic sentiments just as great historical memories are in our time. The Greeks referred of course also to events which were historical in our sense. How often did the Athenians speak of Marathon and Salamis! But they spoke more often of their mythical deeds, embellished them and never forgot to cite them.

In civic policy there was less room for myths though they were not wanting. E.g. we may refer to the myth of Kodros which explains and justifies the abolition of kingship in Athens. The structure of Greek society and the social ideas of the Greeks attributed a foremost place to the ancestral heroes. A people was descended from a common ancestor, likewise every family, and when administrative entities were created these too were given a common ancestor. Many of these are but shadowy figures, called eponyms, because they were said to have given their name to a people or a family or some subdivision of the state. Heroes were extremely numerous and had extremely varying functions, but one group must be mentioned here, the warlike heroes who protected the land in which they were buried. They rose from their tombs to fight in the ranks of the Athenians against the Persians and to protect Delphi against their attack. In this book I leave the heroes aside, they have been treated often and I have set forth my views in another place<sup>12</sup>.

With the heroes we touch upon cult. The heroes had cults as well as myths and more heroes had cults than myths. The cults too must be treated, for they had a primary importance in Greek politics. The cults were that side of the activities of the State in which it took care of the relations with the gods, as it cared for human relations in other activities. State and

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<sup>12</sup> P. Foucart, *Le Culte des héros chez les Grecs*, *Mém. de l'acad. des inscriptions*, XLII, 1918; L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cult*, 1921; F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, *Rel. gesch. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, V, 1909—12; see my *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 233, and my *Gesch. d. griech. Rel.*, I, pp. 170.

religion were one. Further the families and communities had their cults. Greek religion was social, collective, and played a very important part in state politics. This appears especially when a number of independent communities were unified into a state, a synoecism, or when a territory was conquered and incorporated with a state. Not only the men but also the gods were incorporated. Various means were used to this end. Sometimes a cult was moved from an outlying place to the ruling city. If it was too firmly rooted in the soil to be moved, a branch was founded in the ruling city, or a procession established from the one place to the other.

The oracles are also part of the Greek religion. They had an influence upon the politics of the Greek states which is hardly believable to modern man, and especially anonymous oracles, ascribed to some mythical seers, were mighty means of political propaganda and were used as such.

All these things are well-known to classical scholars, but they have not penetrated into the mythological text books and are not known to the general reader, nor even to anthropologists. As they are of great importance to a right understanding of the mythology and of the historical life of the Greeks it seems worth while to expound them comprehensively. Such an account may perhaps contribute to dissipating certain unwarranted ideas. The general lines adumbrated in the preceding pages will be exemplified and developed in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER I

### CULTS AND POLITICS

To understand the things described in the following chapter rightly a clear insight is needed into an aspect of Greek religion which is seldom appreciated in its whole width. It is often spoken of as the religion of the *polis*. We should realize thoroughly that in old times, before the disintegration in the age of the sophistic enlightenment, Greek religion was a collective religion, a religion of a like structure to that of the peasantry in olden times. Birth destined man for a certain religious circle with its gods and cults, duties and views of life. Man was born and bred in its atmosphere. He breathed its air, it was a part of him. This was a religion of simple folk, self-evident and at least unconscious, traditional, and conventional. There were several such circles, families, places, and the *polis* enclosed them all. Many scholars may think this form of religion low, but its importance was great. There was room in it for a sincere piety, a living, unreasoned faith in the gods. Such a piety is the outcome of a long living together of a limited circle of men, such as the Greek *polis* was, and their gods.

This religion was bound to society and kept society together, it united the human and the divine inhabitants of a place, a *polis*, and it united the members of the family, men, deceased ancestors, and gods. In the festivals of the gods and of the dead this union was strongly realized and felt. The participants, gods and men, living and deceased men and heroes, were united at a solemn and often, why not? — merry occasion. Scholars neither heed nor appreciate this kind of religion much. Generally they speak of the religion of individuals, and if they speak of a col-

lective religion this is the religion of a group, a sect, which delimits itself from others, or a religion implying mass-hysteria. The former does not care for society, the latter spreads like wild-fire and dies out. Both lack the self-evident consistency and persistency and the social relations of the true collective religion.

To fuse two cities or to unite a district with another city than that to which it formerly belonged was not so simple a matter as to unite two assemblies or to acquire a piece of land. The circles too which were delimited against each other must be fused into one, the human and divine inhabitants united in one compass.

### 1. SYNOECISM

Shortly after the battle at Leuctra, in consequence of which the Spartan supremacy on the Peloponnese broke down, the Arcadians founded the Great City, Megalopolis, as a rallying point with the help and probably on the advice of Epaminondas <sup>1</sup>. A great number of small townships in western Arcadia were abolished and their inhabitants moved to Megalopolis, not always willingly. This was a synoecism not only of men but also of gods, as some information in Pausanias shows. Pan Skoleitas was transferred to Megalopolis from a hill in the neighbourhood after which he was named, and Pan Sinoeis from his small temple on the hill of Kotilon near the temple of Apollo at Bassae <sup>2</sup>. His temple was situated in the territory of Phigalea and decayed afterwards. The great temple of Apollo, whose columns are still standing, could not be moved, but the Phigaleans brought a bronze statue of its god, Apollo Epikourios, to Megalopolis and the place where it was set up was called Bassae. There were cults so firmly rooted in the soil that they could not be moved. Such was the old-fashioned and famous cult of Zeus Lykaeos on the summit of Mt Lykaion <sup>3</sup>. But, as on Mt Lykaion, a precinct

<sup>1</sup> The most detailed account is given by Pausanias, VIII, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., VIII, 30, 7 and 3 resp. L. Deubner, *Zu den Funden von Kotilon*, *Rhein. Mus.*, LIV, 1904, pp. 473.

<sup>3</sup> This cult is often discussed; see e.g. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 63; my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, pp. 371. Paus., VIII, 30, 2; cp. 38, 7, and the reports of the excavations.



was dedicated at Megalopolis, surrounded by a stone wall, which was not to be trodden by a human foot, and in like manner altars and two columns with eagles on top of them were erected.

On the eastern slope of Mt Lykaion, not too far from Megalopolis, was a temple of Apollo with the epithet Parrhasios — Parrhasia was a district west and south of Megalopolis —, he was also called Pythios. At the yearly festival of this god a boar was sacrificed to Apollo Epikourios in the market place, viz. of Megalopolis, the sacrificed animal was immediately carried to the temple of Apollo Parrhasios in a procession to the tune of flutes, the thigh pieces were burnt and the flesh consumed there <sup>4</sup>. We find here a contrivance, which later on we shall encounter several times, to bring about a relation between the ruling city and an outlying cult; a procession goes on the day of the god's festival from the former to the latter. In this case the connexion is emphasized by slaughtering the sacrificial animal in the ruling city and the performance of the sacrifice in the outlying temple.

There is another important cult which was certainly also introduced into Megalopolis, although Pausanias does not state it and it is not exactly clear from which place it came. But this cult, that of the Great Goddesses, was peculiar to and widespread in western Arcadia. These were a pair of goddesses with characteristic and peculiar traits <sup>5</sup>; they were equated with Demeter and Kore, the latter was often called Despoina. They were called the Great Goddesses at Trapezus <sup>6</sup>, one of the townships which were fused in Megalopolis and in which they had mysteries. They had the same name in Andania in Messenia, not far from the Arcadian border, where famous mysteries were celebrated in their honour. Pausanias describes the sanctuary at Megalopolis at length <sup>7</sup> and attributes the names of Demeter and Kore to these goddesses, adding that the Arcadians call Kore also Soteira. The effort to enhance the importance of and to adorn this sanctuary as richly as possible is evident. The statues of the Goddesses were a work of the famous sculptor Damophon

<sup>4</sup> Paus., VIII, 38, 8.

<sup>5</sup> See my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, pp. 448.

<sup>6</sup> Paus., VIII, 29, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Paus., VIII, 31, 1.

of Messene; before them stood small statues of maidens, there was also a small statue of Herakles and a table with sculptures of two Horae, Pan, and Apollo, also of nymphs, Neda carrying the child Zeus — the Arcadians asserted that Zeus was born in Arcadia —, Anthrakia with a torch, Hagno with a hydria — she is the nymph of the famous well Hagne on Mt Lykaion —, Anchirroe and Myrtoessa, both with hydriae. This was a sculptural review of Arcadian myths. Even if Damophon lived in the beginning of the second century B.C.<sup>8</sup> and his elaborate work is much later than the founding of the city, it is to be presumed with certainty that the sanctuary of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis was founded contemporaneously with the Great City in order to invest it with the prestige of this national cult of western Arcadia.

This being so the question from which place this cult was transferred to Megalopolis is of small importance. If one keeps to the name, the Great Goddesses, this is found in Trapezus, where there were mysteries, as in Megalopolis, and this city was fused with Megalopolis. In the precinct at Megalopolis was a temple of the Great Goddesses and Aphrodite and before its entrance were old *xoana* of Hera, Apollo, and the Muses, said to have been brought from Trapezus<sup>9</sup>. But also Lykosoura which was situated not far from Megalopolis ought to be taken into account. For there was a famous mystery cult of Despoina; at her side was Demeter and here too the statues were the work of Damophon. This cult was so venerated that when the Lycosourians declined to move to Megalopolis, they were spared for the sake of Demeter and Despoina, to whose sanctuary they had betaken themselves<sup>10</sup>. There are interesting fragments of the cult statues. Pausanias mentions in the precinct at Megalopolis the statues of four men who were said to have instituted the mysteries at Megalopolis and adds that the *dromena* were copied

<sup>8</sup> The date of Damophon is contested. G. Dickins, *Damophon of Messene*, BSA, XII, 1905/6, pp. 109, and XIII, 1906/7, pp. 357, assigns his work to about 180 B.C., others to the middle of the fourth century B.C., connecting it with the founding of Megalopolis.

<sup>9</sup> Paus., VIII, 31, 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 27, 6.



after those of the Eleusinian mysteries<sup>11</sup>. This is very probable, for there is evidence proving that the Arcadian mysteries as well as those at Andania were remodelled under Eleusinian influence in the Hellenistic age<sup>12</sup>. We do not know when the constitution of the mysteries of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis took place<sup>13</sup> and they may have been remodelled sometime later, but it is permitted to consider as certain that the cult of the national Great Goddesses of western Arcadia at Megalopolis and probably their mysteries too were instituted at the same time at which the new central city was founded. It could not lack this cult which was common to the inhabitants of its territory, and even if the cult must be allowed to survive in the old places, the Megalopolitan cult might appear as the central one.

So much is related or can be inferred of the concentration of the cults of western Arcadia in Megalopolis. It is sufficient to show that the founders of the city tried to reinforce the synoecism by concentrating cults from various parts of the territory in the newly founded central city.

In passing I may mention a god who, strictly speaking, has nothing to do with our subject, for he was not transferred, but a recent creation, Zeus Philios, who emerges for the first time in the beginning of the fourth century B.C.<sup>14</sup>. This god had a temple in the precinct of the Great Goddesses and a statue which was made by Polykleitos junior<sup>15</sup>. This is the oldest and probably the only cult statue of this god. It may perhaps not be too rash to surmise that Zeus Philios was chosen as a symbol of the

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 31, 7.

<sup>12</sup> See my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, II, pp. 93.

<sup>13</sup> Dickins, *BSA*, XII, p. 129, dates one of the four founders, Sosigenes, in the latter half of the second century B.C., but his arguments are slight. There was a revival of the cults in Arcadia in this century.

<sup>14</sup> In Plato and in a dedication of the same time, *Athen. Mitt.*, I, 1925, pp. 165. See my paper, *Die Götter des Symposion*, *Symbolae philol. O. A. Danielsson dicatae*, 1932, pp. 218. I must apologize for a blunder, at the bottom of p. 220, that "Zeus Philios zuerst im J. 425 erwähnt wird". I had in my mind Aristoph., *Acharn.*, v. 730, where Philios without the addition of Zeus is named. Read: *bei Plato*.

<sup>15</sup> Paus., VIII, 31, 4. Concerning the similarity of Zeus Philios to Dionysos see my above-quoted paper, p. 228.

friendship which ought to unite the inhabitants who were drawn from many different, formerly independent places.

A similar procedure took place at Patrae, but its time and nature are not clear. Pausanias, VII, 18, 7, says that the emperor Augustus founded a colony at Patrae; we know from Strabo, VIII, p. 387, that veterans were settled there. Pausanias relates that the inhabitants, who after a disaster in the war with the Gauls had dispersed themselves among the villages of Mesatis, Antheia, Boline, Argyra, and Arba,<sup>10</sup> were brought back to Patrae and that the inhabitants of the town of Rhypae which had been destroyed were united with them. He seems to suppose that a synoecism had taken place earlier. For he says in another place, VII, 19, 1, that the Ionians who inhabited Aroe, Antheia, and Mesatis had in common the precinct of Artemis Triclaria. The epithet is derived from *χλᾶρος*, lot, allotted piece of land, and denotes her as the goddess of three villages.

Relating the mythical history of Achaea, which evidently is of a rather late date, he says, VII, 18, 5, that Patreus, the eponymous hero of Patrae, was an Achaean who drove out the Ionians, surrounded Aroe with a large wall and forbade the Achaeans to inhabit Antheia and Mesatis. His words are not clear but certainly the eponymous hero Patreus must be thought to be the founder of the city of Patrae. It seems, however, doubtful that a real synoecism, a founding of of a city as a civic centre, took place in early times. The inhabitants of Achaea seem largely to have lived dispersed in villages, as the Greeks did in early times according to Thucydides. Enumerating the cities of Achaea Herodotus, I, 145, often uses not the name of a city but an ethnicon, e.g. precisely *Ἰατρῆες*. On the other hand Polybius II, 41, 8, uses in the like enumeration the names of the cities, *Ἰάτραι* etc., constantly. The earlier synoecism must be left *in suspenso*. The villages of which Patrae was made up may have formed a cult league, just as e.g. the Marathonian Tetrapolis did, and they may also have formed a political and civic league without any city as its political centre, until later the city of Patrae was founded.

<sup>10</sup> Sylburg's correction 'Αρόη is probably right. One expects a mention of this place which was one of the three villages which were fused in Patrae.

It cannot be doubted that the cult of Artemis Triclaria was old <sup>17</sup>. This goddess had a precinct and a temple outside the city of Patrae which was common to the Ionians inhabiting Aroe, Antheia, and Mesatis, where they celebrated an annual festival and a *pannychis*, says Pausanias, VII, 19, 1. He relates further a story of a human sacrifice and its abolition, an ἐρωτικὸν πάθημα in the taste of the Hellenistic age.

Another Artemis with the epithet Limnatis had a precinct and a temple opposite to the market place of the city, but her old *xoanon* was preserved at Mesoa <sup>18</sup>. When her festival was celebrated some servant of the goddess carried the image to the temple in the city <sup>19</sup>. This is a common means of connecting a cult which could not be moved from its place with the city which through a synoecism posed as the centre of the state. There is another example of this. Dionysos too was a god of the synoecism of Patrae. In a precinct near the theatre there were three images of him of the same number and with the same names as those of the old villages: Mesateus, Antheus, Aroeus. At the festival of Dionysos these images were carried to the temple of Dionysos Aisymnetes which was situated at the road leading from the market place to the sea <sup>20</sup>. The epithet, which signifies 'ruler', 'judge', is singular and recorded nowhere else. It seems to designate Dionysos as the god of the city of synoecism. It cannot be said for certain when these ceremonies were instituted, but to me it seems not improbable that they belong to an arrangement of the cults in the age of Augustus, in which old traditions were again honoured.

The like procedure was repeated in transferring cults from Calydon to Patrae. The emperor Augustus evacuated the old city of Calydon and moved its inhabitants to Nicopolis which he founded in memory of his victory near Actium <sup>21</sup> at the same time as he founded the Roman colony of Patrae. While most

<sup>17</sup> The book of J. Herbillon, *Les cultes de Patras*, 1929, is superficial.

<sup>18</sup> The name Μεσόα which Pausanias has here is of course identical with Μεσάτις.

<sup>19</sup> Paus., VII, 20, 8.

<sup>20</sup> Paus., VII, 21, 6.

<sup>21</sup> Paus., VII, 18, 8; cp. X, 38, 4.

statues were brought to Nicopolis the emperor presented to Patrae a statue of Dionysos, who got the epithet Calydonios and a temple in the city, and the image of Artemis Laphria who had a cult on the acropolis of Patrae<sup>22</sup>. This was a most remarkable and savage cult<sup>23</sup>. Pausanias describes at length the pyre which was erected at her festival and into the flames of which living animals were flung. Such festivals were at home in Central Greece. It is hardly believable that these cults were transferred to Patrae without transferring also some of the inhabitants of the city in which they were at home. But on the other hand we ought not to forget that in this age, in which the will of the emperor moved people from one place to another, the meaning and the force of the old forms and measures were weakened.

Things such as these are seldom mentioned by writers, but Pausanias, who took an interest in them, has a few examples more. He has a chapter on divine statues which were moved from one place to another and in this he relates that when the Cyziceni-ans had by a war forced the inhabitants of Proconnesus to a synoecism they carried the image of Meter Dindymene from this city<sup>24</sup>. In another passage he tells that when the inhabitants of Myous because of the mosquito plague were compelled to evacuate their city and to withdraw to Miletus they brought the images of their gods with them<sup>25</sup>.

A synoecism affected the cults and there is at least one instance of it causing a revision and writing down of the rules. In the preamble of the very detailed sacrificial calendar of the island of Myconus<sup>26</sup> we read that at the synoecism of the cities the Myconians resolved to offer the following sacrifices in addition to the old ones and that a revision was undertaken in regard to the latter. The sacrificial calendar of Cos of which large fragments are preserved is still more explicit. Moreover other inscriptions give very detailed and interesting prescriptions for certain cults. A synoecism was carried through on Cos in the

<sup>22</sup> Paus., VII, 18, 9.

<sup>23</sup> References in my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, pp. 26 and 455.

<sup>24</sup> Paus., VIII, 46, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Paus., VII, 12, 2.

<sup>26</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, 1024.

year 366 B.C., the old townships of the island were degraded to demes. Professor Herzog, who has treated and restored these important inscriptions with great learning and sagacity, is of the opinion that the synoecism caused the composition of the sacrificial calendar<sup>27</sup>, but there is no certain evidence for this. It may be added that when king Antigonos the One-eyed ordered a synoecism of the cities of Lebedus and Teos he enjoined the citizens of the two cities to put up tents and celebrate the festival at the Panionion together<sup>28</sup>.

A synoecism was not always carried through in such a strict manner as that described on the foregoing pages. In the treaty concerning the synoecism of Orchomenus in Arcadia and Euaimon, a small town of unknown site, from the middle of the fourth century B.C. it is provided that the cults of Euaimon shall be celebrated there every month as before<sup>29</sup>, and the document concerning the synoecism of the small towns of Stiris and Medeon in Phocis prescribes the appointment of a *hierotamias* in Medeon who shall perform the inherited sacrifices of the town<sup>30</sup>. The synoecism on Rhodes was hinted at in the Introduction p. 10. We know very little of the relations of the old cities to it. But we know that the three old cities, Lindos, Ialysos, and Kameiros, were continually inhabited, that they kept their civil organization and their cults and counted the years after the priests of the chief god.

## 2. THE EXPANSION OF ATHENS

A welding together of two once independent cities into one implied synoecism of the gods as well of the men. The territory was not left uninhabited but the men had to go to the unified city to exercise their rights and fulfil their duties as citizens. The gods too moved to the unified city, but it sometimes happened that a god was so firmly rooted in the soil that he and his cult

<sup>27</sup> R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, Abh. Akad. Berlin, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1928, No. 6. Three of the fragments SIG<sup>3</sup>, 1025—27, where they are ascribed to about 300 B.C.

<sup>28</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup>, 344.

<sup>29</sup> IG, IV: 2, 343, republished by A. Plassart, *BCH*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 98.

<sup>30</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup>, 647, second century B.C.



could not be moved to another place. In this case the unity was marked by instituting a branch in the ruling city or a procession to it or from it. The same means could be used to attach a conquered territory to and to unite it with the city which had won it. The history of Athens offers several examples of this procedure. We begin with the latest ones, those of which the historical circumstances are known.

Eleutherai was a village in the borderland between Attica and Boeotia. It belonged first to Boeotia but was appropriated by Pisistratus or somewhat earlier<sup>1</sup>. The old *xoanon* of its god, Dionysos, was brought to Athens from his temple at Eleutherai and at Eleutherai some rite imitating this was performed<sup>2</sup>. In the precinct of Dionysos Eleuthereus on the southern slope of the Acropolis were two temples of Dionysos, that of Eleuthereus and that for which Alcámenes made a chryselephantine statue<sup>3</sup>. The scanty remains of the older temple show that it was built in the sixth century B.C., in the time of Pisistratus or a little earlier<sup>4</sup>. At the festival of the Great Dionysia the image of the god was brought to a small temple in the Academia<sup>5</sup> from which it was brought back again to the orchestra of the theatre in a great procession<sup>6</sup>. This introduction of the god of Eleutherai into his precinct and his theatre was a reminiscence of his introduction from Eleutherai to Athens. The advent of this god to Athens was momentous, for in his cult tragedy arose, the theatre is built

<sup>1</sup> The attempt of W. Vollgraff, *Dionysos Eleuthereus*, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. 567, to prove that Eleutherai was incorporated about the time of the peace of Nicias is futile; see Wilamowitz, *Eleutherai*, *ibid.*, XXXIII, 1908, pp. 141. Vollgraff's starting point, the identification of Eleutherai with the fortification known under the modern name of Gyphtokastro, is erroneous. See Beloch, *Klio*, XI, 1911, pp. 436, and Kahrstedt, *Die Landgrenzen von Attika*, *Athen. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., I, 38, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Paus., I, 20, 3.

<sup>4</sup> W. Dörpfeld and E. Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, pp. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Paus., I, 29, 2; Philostratus, *vitae sophistarum*, II, 1, 5.

<sup>6</sup> The procession of the ephebes described in inscriptions with the phrase: εὐχόμενον τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας εἰς τὸ θέατρον μετὰ φωτός, was a part of this procession. I keep still to the views put forth in my paper, *Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult*, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXXI, 1916, pp. 336; cp. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 139.

in his precinct, and his priest presided at the performances at the Great Dionysia. Myth relates a duel between Xanthos and Melanthos in which Dionysos Eleuthereus plays a part; it happened in a struggle between the Boeotians and the Athenians. The possible relation of this myth to the origin of tragedy has been much discussed but must be passed over <sup>7</sup>.

After Eleusis and its territory had been incorporated with the Athenian state at the end of the seventh century B.C., an event to which we recur below pp. 36, the possession of the island of Salamis which shut off the bay of Eleusis became vital to the Athenians. Salamis was won after a protracted and fluctuating struggle. Our information is confused but apparently the following facts can be deduced from it<sup>8</sup>. According to Plutarch, ch. 8, Solon was the protagonist in the struggle for Salamis. In a situation when the Athenians despaired of acquiring Salamis, which was in the hands of the Megarians, he exhorted his compatriots to take up the war and won it by various stratagems. But Pisistratus looms in the background. Plutarch says that the Athenians changed their minds especially because of his exhortations and that he accompanied Solon when undertaking an expedition to Cape Kolias. For chronological reasons it is impossible that Solon was leader of a warlike enterprise at the same time when Pisistratus was able to do so and had acquired political influence<sup>9</sup>. Pisistratus died in 525 B.C. and was probably born about the year when Solon was archon, 594 B.C., and when Pisistratus seized the power in 561 B.C. Solon was an old man who was unable to fight. An anecdote told by Plutarch, ch. 30, says that when he did not succeed in dissuading his citizens he put his weapons before his door with the words: "I have helped

<sup>7</sup> See i.a. my remarks in my paper, *Der Ursprung der Tragödie*, *N. Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum.*, XXVII, 1911, pp. 674.

<sup>8</sup> K. J. Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, 2nd ed., I: 2, pp. 309, has on the whole judged the tradition rightly except for his assumption of a reconquest of Salamis by the Megarians about 550 B.C. This date depends on his dating of the coup of Kylon to this time. According to tradition Kylon was victor in the Olympic games 640 B.C. This date cannot be rejected, but I cannot enter into a lengthy discussion. Cp. further below p. 51 n. 5. For another view see Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, II, pp. 645.

<sup>9</sup> This was remarked by Aristotle, *Pol. Athen.*, 17, 2.

my country and the laws as I was able". Not Solon but Pisistratus won Salamis definitely and without doubt this merit helped him to become the ruler of Athens. This is confirmed by Herodotus, I, 59, who says that he first earned fame in the campaign against Megara, took its harbour town Nisaia and performed other great deeds.

Plutarch relates in ch. 12 that during troubles in Athens caused by the *Κυλώνειον ἄγος*, i.e. the blood-guilt which the Alcmaeonidae had contracted in suppressing the revolt of Kylon, the Athenians were attacked by the Megarians, lost Nisaia, and were driven out from Salamis. This situation is apparently that in which Solon composed his elegy exhorting his compatriots not to give up the struggle. His words are strong: "May I be a citizen of Pholegandros or Sikinos, changing my country. For people will soon say: this man is an Athenian, one of those who give up Salamis. Let us go to Salamis to fight for the lovely island and push back the heavy shame!" Even Beloch feels that this vigorous language is incompatible with the extreme old age of Solon, and dates this elegy earlier to some unknown occasion, separating it from the loss of Salamis (about 550 B.C. according to his chronology)<sup>10</sup>. This is improbable. Solon's propaganda was a prelude to the war by which Pisistratus definitely won Salamis for Athens and even regained Nisaia for a while.

The Athenians had conquered Salamis once, of course after the incorporation of Eleusis, lost it at some time in the beginning

<sup>10</sup> Beloch, *loc. cit.*, pp. 302, rejects the trial of the Alcmaeonidae in the time of Solon, holding it for a duplicate of the banishing of the Alcmaeonidae by king Kleomenes at the instigation of Isagoras in 508 B.C.; Thucyd., I, 126; Herodotus, V, 72; Aristotle, *Athen. Pol.*, 20 et seqq. Thucydides says expressly that the Athenians banished them at some earlier time, but not whether this took place after the murder of Kylon's partisans (of which nothing is related) or later, e.g. at the occasion to which Plutarch, *Solon*, 12, refers. Beloch's assertion, *loc. cit.*, p. 304, that there was no reason for Kleomenes to adduce the *Κυλώνειον ἄγος* if it had been contracted a hundred and twenty years earlier is futile. It was produced by the Spartans in the negotiations preceding the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. It is really very understandable if this accusation against a mighty family was produced by its adversaries in the embittered party struggles in the time between Solon's reform and Pisistratus' accession to power, and it is not to be wondered at that the Alcmaeonidae returned. They did so later.



of the sixth century and won it again shortly before Pisistratus became tyrant of Athens. But the Megarians did not desist from their claims. Plutarch, ch. 10, relates that the Megarians worried by the war subjected the controversy to the arbitration of the Spartans. Solon spoke for Athens, he says, and alleged the Homeric verse <sup>11</sup>, according to which Aias led twelve ships from Salamis and placed them where the Athenian ranks stood. It is characteristic of the acknowledged evidence of mythological arguments in such controversies that the Megarians did not deny Homer's authority but riposted by declaring these verses a forgery, interpolated by Solon or Pisistratus into Homer <sup>12</sup>. According to them Homer had said that Aias brought ships from Salamis, Polichne, Aigeirousse, Nisaia, and Tripodes, all places in the territory of Megara. This is evidently a fraud <sup>13</sup>, although the verses we read in the *Iliad* are late too. Solon alleged further that the sons of Aias, Eurysakes and Philaios, received Athenian franchise, gave the island over to the Athenians, and settled, Philaios in Brauron and Eurysakes in Melite, a quarter of Athens where he had a sanctuary to which we come back below (p. 30). Philaios was the eponym of the deme of the Philaidae to which Pisistratus belonged <sup>14</sup>. Solon adduced further that the Megarians buried their dead looking towards the east, the Athenians towards the west <sup>15</sup> and that the Athenians buried a single corpse in each grave, the Megarians three or four. Finally he relied upon some Delphic oracles in which the god styled Salamis Ionian. At the end Plutarch mentions the five Spartan arbitrators, Kritolaidas, Amompharetos, Hysichidas, Anaxilas, and Kleomenes.

Beloch has rightly seen that Kleomenes is the Spartan king who seized Athens in 510 B.C. and drove out the sons of Pisistratus, and Ferguson agrees with him. There was no opportunity for an arbitration in the embittered war in the age of Solon,

<sup>11</sup> *Iliad*, v. 557 et seq.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. also Strabo, IX, p. 394.

<sup>13</sup> Strabo, *loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> On this detail see below p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> This statement is probably inferred from the oracle quoted by Plutarch, *Solon*, 9, advising the Athenians to propitiate with sacrifices the heroes *archegetai* inhabiting the country, those whom Asopias covers in her bosom, the deceased ones who look towards the setting sun.

nor had Sparta at this time, at which it was occupied by severe wars with Argos and with Tegea, attained to such a position that it could be chosen as an arbitrator in a war of outlying cities. But when the Spartans had seized Athens the Megarians who were their allies may have thought that the opportunity was come to vindicate their old claims on the island. But king Kleomenes and the Spartans had probably other reasons than the mythical and cultural, related by Plutarch, for their decision. Their aim was not simply to drive out the tyrants but to join Athens with the Peloponnesian league and they may not have been minded to offend the Athenians by taking Salamis from them who had paid so dearly for it. And other circumstances had come about in the meantime securing the grip of the Athenians on the island. The crowning event was that one of the new *phylae* constituted by the reform of Kleisthenes was named after the hero of Salamis, Aias, the only non-Attic *phyle*-hero, as Herodotus remarks pertinently, V, 66.

Fresh light is thrown upon these events by a recently found inscription, an arbitration of the year 363/2 B.C. between the two parts of the *genos* of the Salaminioi, those from Sounion and those of the seven *phylae* <sup>16</sup>. The *stèle* was found near the sanctuary of Eurysakes in Melite, not far from the so-called Theseion <sup>17</sup>. The Eurysakeion was the assembly place of the Salaminioi and of the members of the *phyle* Aiantis too, for not only two *stelai* referring to them but also another containing a decree of this *phyle* were found there <sup>18</sup>. From this fact Ferguson infers justly that the Eurysakeion was older than the institution of the *phyle* Aiantis in 508/7 B.C. It is to be presupposed that the founding of the sanctuary of Eurysakes was an outcome

<sup>16</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sunion*, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 1, with a full and learned commentary; cp. my paper, *The new inscription of the Salaminioi*, *Amer. Journ. of Philology*, LIX, 1938, pp. 385.

<sup>17</sup> It was a precinct with an altar. Harpokration, s. v. *ζζλωνέτας* and *Μελίτη*. Paus., I, 35, 3; Plutarch says that Eurysakes settled at Melite, see above p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 18. The second inscription of the Salaminioi, another arbitration of c. 250 B.C., shows that they had at that time split up in two *gene*.

of the struggle for Salamis. The Athenians wished to transfer the Salaminian hero to Athens to win him for themselves and through his favour to get hold of the island. A like counsel was given them by the oracle in their war with Aegina, to found a sanctuary of the Aeginetan hero Aiakos. There was also a shrine of the Salaminian hero Kychreus at Athens<sup>19</sup>. It may be that, as Ferguson thinks, p. 16, an old nameless hero cult at Melite was baptized with the name of Eurysakes, but it may also have been newly created. The reason why the Eurysakeion was founded is evident.

The Salaminioi were a pseudo-*genos* to which the care of certain cults was entrusted, an organization of a well-known kind and the only available method to keep them together. Their name proves that they came from Salamis. Now, it is inferred from the oldest known Attic inscription on stone that farms on Salamis were allotted to Athenian klerouchs<sup>20</sup>. The inscription is badly mutilated and not dated but assigned to the end of the sixth century. One of these klerouchs was Timodemus in whose honour Pindar composed the second Nemean ode<sup>21</sup>. It appears that the Athenians did not simply expel the old inhabitants, as they did when founding klerouchies in the hey-day of their power, but resorted to less violent means, an interchange of inhabitants. Some of the old inhabitants were, as the quoted inscription proves, allowed to remain on their island; it was not incorporated with the Athenian state but subjoined to it<sup>22</sup>; others were transferred to Attica and given Athenian citizenship. In these early days the Athenians did not guard their citizenship as jealously as they did in the hey-day of democracy. By some chance a vast tract of land could be assigned to the Salaminians

<sup>19</sup> Herodotus, V, 89, and Plut., *Theseus*, 10, respectively.

<sup>20</sup> *IG*<sup>2</sup>, I = *SJG*<sup>2</sup>, 13; a new fragment confirming the supplement of the last line, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 264. See *SEG*, X, 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Schol. Pind. Nem.*, II, v. 19. If Pausanias, I, 40, 5, is to be trusted Athenian klerouchs must have been settled on Salamis before the reconquest of the island by the Megarians.

<sup>22</sup> The old paper by U. Köhler, *Die Münzen von Salamis, Eleusis und Oropos*, *Athen. Mitt.*, IV, 1879, pp. 253, is still valuable, although corrections are needed because of subsequent research. A correction was made as early as 1880 by Wilamowitz, *Aus Kydathen*, p. 227; cp. p. 35 n. 65.

near Sounion where a large part of them settled, the others were dispersed in several places which after the reform of Kleisthenes belonged to seven *phylae*.

The Athenians did much to attach the Salaminians to the Athenian state. This appears from the above-mentioned inscription, which is a cult regulation including a sacrificial calendar. Cults were transferred from Salamis to Attica. That of Eurysakes was mentioned above. The Salaminioi assembled in his sanctuary at Melite, set up inscriptions concerning their organization there, appointed his priest, and sacrificed to him on the 18 Munychion (ll. 11; 34; 88). They appointed the priestess of Athena Skiras, had care of her temple and cult, and sacrificed to the Salaminian hero Skiros (ll. 10; 41 et seqq.; 93); Skiros was said to have founded the ancient shrine of Athena Skiras<sup>23</sup>. Their archon appointed the *oschophoroi* and *deipnophoroi* who officiated at the festival of the Oschophoria, in collaboration with the priestess and the herald according to ancestral custom, it is said (ll. 47 et seqq.) Scholars are unanimous that Athena Skiras and Skiros were transferred from Salamis to Phaleron where their temples were situated. There was a sanctuary of Athena Skiras on Salamis, probably situated on the *ἄρχον τὸ Σκιράδιον*<sup>24</sup>. The vintage festival of the Oschophoria was perhaps of old connected with Dionysos, but the care of the ceremonies was entrusted to the Salaminioi, because the temple of Athena Skiras was erected in the Oschophorion where the procession ended<sup>25</sup>. Here there is no need of discussing the problems connected with it. In the month of Boedromion the Salaminioi sacrificed to Poseidon Hippodromios and to the Salaminian heroes Phaiax, Teukros, and Nauseiros (l. 91). The shrine of Poseidon Hippodromios was situated in Phaleron but did not belong to the Salaminioi; it was a subject of a *diadikasia* between the Phalerians and the *genos* of the Phoinikes<sup>26</sup>. Teukros was the brother of Aias,

<sup>23</sup> Paus., I, 36, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Herodotus, VIII, 94; Plut., *Solon*, 9; for further references see Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 142, and against Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 36, *Das attische Weinlesefest*, *Abhandl. Akad. Berlin*, 1943, No. 12.

<sup>26</sup> Dionysius Halic., *de Din.*, 10; see Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 25.

Plutarch, *Theseus*, 17, informs us concerning the two others: "Philochoros says that Theseus got Skiros from Salamis, Nausithoos for his pilot (κυβερνήτης), and Phaiax for his look-out man (πρωρεύς) . . . And there is evidence for this in the memorial chapels (ἡρώα) of Nausithoos and Phaiax which Theseus built near the temple (ἱερῶν, deleted by Wilamowitz) of Skiros, and they say that the festival of the Kybernesia (the pilot's festival) is celebrated in their honour". As Ferguson suggests, the original name Nauseiros was changed into Nausithoos through the influence of Homer in whom Nausithoos is the father of the Phaeacian king Alkinoos. Phaiax, a son of Poseidon, was the eponym of the Phaeacians<sup>27</sup>, a convenient name for a pilot. Plutarch says that according to Simonides Theseus' pilot was Phereklos Amarsyadas (probably a patronymic). Homer says (*Iliad*, VI, vv. 59 et seqq.) that Phereklos built the ship on which Helen was carried away. Apparently there was no old tradition and names were borrowed to provide Theseus with followers. That they were connected with Salamis is a further proof of the concern of the Athenians to attach the island to Athens<sup>28</sup>.

The transference of cults is a well-known expedient to unite an incorporated district with the ruling city. The Salaminians were settled in Attica and they were connected with the Athenian state also through the entrusting of Attic cults to them. As a matter of course they took over the local cults of the district at Sounion where they settled. The most important of these was that of Herakles at Porthmos, who possessed a tract of land from the revenues of which the costs of the sacrifices and probably other costs too were defrayed (l. 84). A sacrifice was made to him and a festival was celebrated in his honour. There were also some of the nameless heroes with whom Attica abounded, the hero at Hale, the hero at Antisara, and the hero at Pyrgilion,

<sup>27</sup> Hellanicus, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 4, 77 Jacoby, with commentary p. 456.

<sup>28</sup> I cannot share the opinion of Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 225, that these were old heroes with shrines at Phaleron who were attached to the Theseus-myth before the conquest of Salamis by the Athenians. At most the names may have been imposed on sanctuaries of nameless heroes at Phaleron.



to whom sacrifices were made (ll. 86); the sacrifice to the hero at Hale was performed by the priest of Eurysakes who received the hide and the leg of the sacrificed sheep (ll. 34), to the other two heroes pigs were sacrificed <sup>29</sup>.

The Salaminioi showed their loyalty to Athens by sacrificing to Athenian gods and heroes and by taking part in Athenian festivals. They sacrificed a sow to Athena at the Panathenaia (ll. 88), the most glorious state festival of Athens, at which it displayed its power. We remember that the towns of Attica and the colonies sent cattle and the allies cattle and panoplies to the Panathenaia <sup>30</sup>. In Metageitnion the Salaminioi sacrificed a pig to Athena Agelaa (l. 90), a hitherto unknown epithet of the goddess <sup>31</sup>, and another to the national hero of Athens, Theseus, on the sixth day of Pyanopsion, two days before his great festival in Athens. The sacrifices to Apollon Patroos and Zeus Phratrios are most important because of their social bearing. On the seventh day of Metageitnion the Salaminioi sacrificed a boar (or sow) to Apollo Patroos, a pig to Leto, another to Artemis, and, as mentioned, a third to Athena Agelaa. Apollo is accompanied by his mother and his twin sister. A sow was sacrificed to Zeus Phratrios at the Apatouria, the festival at which children, ephebes, and newly married wives were introduced into the phratries. These two gods protected and certified the Athenian citizenship which the Salaminioi had received <sup>32</sup>. Further a biennial sacrifice of a sheep was offered to Ion in Metageitnion. This is significant, for Ion was the eponymous ancestor of the Ionians,

<sup>29</sup> J. H. Young, *The Salaminioi at Porthmos, Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 163, has with a thorough knowledge of the district undertaken to identify the localities mentioned in the inscription. He reminds us also of the fact that during the Aeginetan wars the Athenians offered refuge at Sounion to the democrats from Aegina. The Herakleia are mentioned in the second inscription, which is an arbitration concerning the temenos of Herakles and other property of the Salaminians; see Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 9.

<sup>30</sup> See Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 34.

<sup>31</sup> Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 29, who thinks that her cult was associated with the cult of Apollo Patroos, mentioned below, because the sacrifices to both were offered on the same day. It is to be noted that Athena too has the epithet Phratria.

<sup>32</sup> On these gods see my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, pp. 524, my paper, *loc. cit.*, pp. 390, and Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30.

but the Megarians, who formerly had possessed Salamis, were Dorians, and Ion was, at least in a later age, said to be the son of Apollo Patroos<sup>33</sup>.

The most significant fact is, however, that the Athenian state contributed to the sacrifices of the Salaminioi. We read (Il. 20): "such victims as the state furnishes from the treasury or the Salaminioi happen to receive from the *oschophoroi* or the *deiphnophoroi*, these both parties shall sacrifice in common and each shall receive half of the flesh". This is, as far as my knowledge goes, unexampled. The state paid for the public sacrifices offered by the priests and procured by the magistrates. Many cults belonging to certain *gene* had been made public; the state did not pay for these but allowed the priests, taken from the *gene*, certain emoluments deriving from the sacrifices. In every case it is a striking exception for the state to pay for sacrifices offered by a *genos*. The greatest sacrifice of the Salaminioi was brought at Porthmos to Herakles in the month of Munychion (Il. 85). To him were added Kourotrophos, his true friend Iolaos, his mother Alkmene, Maia<sup>34</sup>, and the local heroes mentioned above, and finally every second year a sacrifice to Ion. To these words is added: "wood for the sacrifices and for those sacrifices which the state gives in accordance with the laws (νόρβεις)". I misunderstood these words in my paper, p. 388. They imply that the Salaminioi had to pay for fuel when sacrificing at Athenian state festivals, e.g. the Panathenaia.

Most astonishing is that the Salaminioi furnished the priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos and of Kourotrophos<sup>35</sup>. These two

<sup>33</sup> In Euripides Ion's father is Apollo ὑπὸ μακρᾶις, and this god was since the end of the last century B.C. venerated as Patroos; see my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, II, p. 312.

<sup>34</sup> On this sacrifice see Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 65, and my paper, pp. 391.

<sup>35</sup> Ferguson, p. 21, is not right saying that the priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos was at the same time the priestess of Kourotrophos. Even if Il. 11, τὴν (ἱερωσύνην) τῆς Ἀγλαύρο καὶ Πανδρόσο καὶ τῆς Κοροτρόφο, can be understood so, Il. 45, Πανδρόσο καὶ Ἀγλαύρο ἱέρειαι ἔρπον, Κοροτρόφο καὶ καλαθοφόρῳ ἄρπον, prove that they were distinguished. We have to understand the word τὴν before τῆς Κοροτρόφο in l. 12. Moreover the sacrifice was offered to Kourotrophos at the festival of Herakles at Porthmos, l. 85. Kourotrophos was a local goddess at Porthmos as she was at

cults appear in an ephebic inscription also <sup>36</sup>. Both cults are located on the slopes of the Acropolis. Kourotrophos usually appears alone, her identification with Ge is late. Aglauros and Pandrosos belong to the native stratum of Athenian cults and myths. Their myth is connected with the old-fashioned rites of the Arrephoria. In the sanctuary of Pandrosos which joined the Erechtheum grew the holy olive tree. The ephebes took the oath of loyalty to the state in the sanctuary of Aglauros <sup>37</sup>. It is really astonishing that the priestess of this old cult was taken from the Salaminioi which had only recently immigrated and it shows the great price set upon their allegiance <sup>38</sup>.

It was probably well-to-do families which were transferred from Salamis to Attica, there are many known men among the Salaminians in a later age. The common people were allowed to remain but had to do military service and to pay taxes to Athens, a strategos was sent to the island. The Athenians succeeded in attaching Salamis firmly to their state <sup>39</sup>, and the cults were, as we have seen, a very important mean to this end.

Not very long before the conquest of Salamis Eleusis had

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other places, e.g. at Marathon according to the Tetrapolis fasti, *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1933 = von Prott, *Fasti sacri*, 26, B, l. 6.

<sup>36</sup> *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, l. 58.

<sup>37</sup> Demosthenes, XIX, 303, and the scholia.

<sup>38</sup> M. Guarducci, *L'origine e le vicende del γένος attico dei Salaminii*, *Rivista di filologia classica*, LXXVI, 1948, pp. 223, advances another hypothesis, namely that Athenians, settled on Salamis after the first conquest of the island, formed a *genos*, were driven out when the Megarians occupied the island again, and went over to Attica. The examples adduced p. 228 for the naming of a *genos* from a locality are not convincing. They are two glosses in Hesychius: Κηφισιαιῆς and Κολλῖθαι resp. who are said to be γένος ὠαγενῶν. The Cephisians may have their name from the river god from whom they claimed to be descended. Cp. the inscription quoted below p. 162 n. 43. As to the latter gloss M. Guarducci, says "Coliesi", i.e. she corrects tacitly Κολλῖθαι into Κωλιᾶδαι. Does the gloss not refer to Plutarch, *qu. graecae*, 14, p. 294: τινες οἱ παρ' Ἰθακησίοις Κολιᾶδαι? The explanation given shows that they were the noble families of the suitors. Moreover, one may ask why the Salaminians did not return to their properties after the Athenian reconquest of Salamis.

<sup>39</sup> On the defection of Salamis in the war with Cassander see Köhler, *loc. cit.*, p. 257; Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, 2nd ed., IV:1, pp. 159, who dates it in 304 B.C.



been incorporated with Athens, at some time in the late seventh century B.C. It was formerly independent. There is no hint of Athens in the Homeric hymn to Demeter which was composed in that century. Some signs of the autonomy remained. The phyle named after the Eleusinian hero Hippothoon had his sanctuary at Eleusis <sup>40</sup>. The Eleusinians struck coins, showing on one side Triptolemos in his car drawn by snakes and on the other a pig, the holy animal of Demeter <sup>41</sup>. This is unique, for Salamis and Oropos, which also struck coins, were administratively not Athenian territory, and it is probably a remnant of the old sovereignty. This was not forgotten in a later age. It looks like a reminiscence that in 403 B.C. Eleusis was made a state independent of Athens, in which the thirty tyrants and their adherents took refuge. Old walls are found on the watershed which separates the Thriasian plain from the plain of Athens, near Epáno Liosia; they were never used nor mentioned in the historical age and belong probably to an earlier time when war was waged between Athens and Eleusis <sup>42</sup>. The memory of these wars lingered on in popular tales. Herodotus' relation of Tellos (I, 30) who fell in a war between Athens and Eleusis is such a one. In myth they were projected into the early mythical history of Athens <sup>43</sup>. Many authors mention the war in which Eumolpos, the eponymous ancestor of the Eumolpidae, the priestly family which furnished the highest officials of the mysteries, the hierophants, marched against Athens, some say, at the head of Thracian hosts <sup>44</sup>, and was slain by the king of Athens, whose daughter sacrificed herself to save the city.

<sup>40</sup> Paus., I, 38, 4; decrees of the phyle, found at Eleusis, *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1149; 1153. On Hippothoon see below p. 55.

<sup>41</sup> Köhler in the paper quoted p. 31 n. 22.

<sup>42</sup> Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, 2nd ed., I: 1, p. 207 n. 3; Lilian Chandler, *JHS*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 19, figs. 13 and 14.

<sup>43</sup> These myths are taken for historical facts by Ch. Picard, *Les luttes primitives d'Athènes et d'Éleusis*, *Revue historique*, CLXVI, 1931, pp. 1. His view is so fundamentally different from that proposed here that a discussion would be vain.

<sup>44</sup> Hiller von Gaertringen, *De Graecorum fabulis ad Thracas pertinentibus*, Diss. Berlin, 1886, pp. 11. Euripides is the first author to make Eumolpos a Thracian. This must be an innovation, and the alleged fact that the founder

The mysteries, which probably come down from the Mycenaean age, were rooted in the soil and could not be transferred to another place. Their celebration was left to the old Eleusinian priestly families but they were made a cult of the Athenian state which was extremely honoured. The Archon Basileus had care of them and a special jury of initiated persons was appointed in trials concerning their profanation. The Athenians resorted to other means too to attach the famous cult to the ruling city. A branch cult was founded in Athens, the Eleusinion north of the Areopagus, where theoxenia were brought to Plouton and Persephone under the supervision of the hierophant<sup>45</sup>. Of course the Athenians adopted the usual means of instituting a procession from the ruling city to the cult place, but this procession is singular in so far as there was also a procession from Eleusis to Athens. On the 14 Boedromion the holy things were carried from Eleusis to Athens — in a later age they were escorted by the ephebes — and deposited in the Eleusinion in Athens. There they remained during the following few days. On one of these a solemn proclamation was made excluding man-slayers and those who spoke a foreign language from the mysteries. The procession to Eleusis took place on the 19 Boedromion, the solemn and famous Iacchos procession. There was absolutely no need of bringing the holy things which were used and shown in the ceremonies at Eleusis to Athens. Because of this and because the chief day of a festival usually is the full moon day, viz. the fourteenth<sup>46</sup>, I once supposed that the purpose of the

of the Eleusinian mysteries was a Thracian involved the mythographers in serious difficulties. There are not a few myths of Thracians in Greece (see *loc. cit.*, pp. 50) and it seems not impossible that there may be a kernel of truth in them. For it is only natural that Thracian hosts made their way down into Greece in the early age in which many of them settled in north western Asia Minor.

<sup>45</sup> *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1933 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, 1022; cp. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1934; 1935. The site, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447 and n. 5; V, 1936, p. 183. Eleusinia are recorded at three places in Attica, the Marathonian Tetrapolis, Brauron, and Paiania, but they seem not to be branches of the Eleusinian cult; their character is decidedly that of a fertility cult; see my paper, *Die eleusinischen Kulte der attischen Deme und das neue Sakralgesetz aus Paiania*, *Eranos*, XLII, 1944, pp. 70.

<sup>46</sup> See my *Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griech. Kalenders*,

institution of the transference of the holy things to Athens was to transfer the mysteries to Athens <sup>47</sup>. This is but a guess. At all events it appears how much care the Athenians took to connect the important Eleusinian cult with the city. The mysteries at Agrai, a suburb of Athens, which were celebrated in Anthesterion, were attached to the Eleusinian mysteries as a preliminary initiation.

When we go further back historical information fails even in a mythical guise — the war of the sons of Pallas with Athens to which we come below (p. 53) is not connected with any facts of cult. We infer solely from certain details of the cult that a unification of certain towns in Attica had taken place. In the background is of course the conviction that the small towns of Attica were originally independent and that the Athenian state was created by a unification of these under the rule of Athens. The Athenians themselves had a like persuasion, they schematized the synoecism and attributed it to Theseus <sup>48</sup>. It is probable that something of this kind did take place. There are many Mycenaean sites in Attica and among these Athens is not at all especially prominent.

Long ago Professor Wide pointed out that the cult of Apollo had its chief seat in north-eastern Attica. Philochoros relates that an embassy to Delphi started from the altar of Apollo Pythios at Marathon and that a seer sacrificed every day when this event took place in the Pythion at Oinoe, a place which is situated in the Marathonian plain. Another embassy went from Marathon to Delos and the seer sacrificed at this occasion in the Delion at Marathon <sup>49</sup>. The embassy to Delos sailed from Prasiai, farther towards the south on the eastern coast of Attica,

*Lunds universitets Årsskrift*, XIV: 21, 1918, pp. 32, and also *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XIV, 1911, p. 441.

<sup>47</sup> In my paper, *Die Prozessionstypen im griech. Kult*, *Archäol. Jahrbuch*, XXXI, 1916, p. 314.

<sup>48</sup> A discussion of the ancient synoecism is beyond my scope; I refer to the comments by H. Herter, *Theseus der Jonier*, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXXV, 1936, pp. 177.

<sup>49</sup> Philochoros in *schol. Soph. Oed. Col.*, v. 1047. See A. Boethius, *Die Pythais*, Diss. Uppsala, 1918, pp. 38; this embassy is mentioned in inscriptions at the end of the third century B.C., *loc. cit.*, pp. 44.

a not unimportant Mycenaean site. Pausanias, I, 31, 2, says that there was a temple of Apollo at Prasiai and that the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans came thither and that Erysichthon, who died there on his way back from an embassy to Delos, had a monument at Prasiai. Marathon together with Trikorythos, Oinoe, and Probalinthos constituted a sacral entity, the Tetrapolis. Its sacral calendar, preserved for a great part in an inscription<sup>50</sup>, is very detailed. In the first column the sacrifices common to the Tetrapolis are enumerated, in the second those of the different demes. It has been supposed that this sacral league came down from a time when Marathon with the surrounding plain was an independent state. This cannot be considered as certain, nor do the embassies sent to Delphi and Delos from Marathon prove its independence, at most it may be said to be likely.

There were more such leagues in Attica. About the Trikomoi we have but a brief notice in Stephanus Byzantinus s. v. It comprised Piraeus, Phaleron, Xypete, and Thymoitadai, i.e. the coast of the Athenian plain. An assumption that it constituted an independent state seems hardly likely, for it would have completely shut off Athens, which was only three or four miles inland, from the sea<sup>51</sup>. Therefore it is not necessary to speak of the many cult connexions between Athens and Phaleron and Piraeus, including Mounychia.

Some other instances seem to be more reliable. Brauron on the eastern coast of Attica a little north of Prasiai had a famous cult of Artemis called Brauronia after the place. Girls from five to ten years of age, clad in saffron-coloured garbs and called bears, did some service at her festival<sup>52</sup>. At this a she-goat was sacrificed and a joyous procession went every fourth year from Athens to Brauron<sup>53</sup>. The goddess had a branch cult on the

<sup>50</sup> IG, II: 1<sup>2</sup>, 1358 = von Prott, *Fasti sacri*, 26.

<sup>51</sup> See S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, Diss. Lund, 1931, p. 113. After Loeper Solders has collected the materials carefully but the conclusions are not brought out well.

<sup>52</sup> Aristoph., *Lysistr.*, v. 465 and scholia. See Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 207, and my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, p. 456.

<sup>53</sup> Hesych, s. ν. Βραυρωνία; Aristoph., *Pax*, v. 873 resp.

Acropolis of Athens just behind the right wing of the Propylaea. Euripides says that garments of women who had died in child-bed were dedicated to her. Many inscriptions mention clothes dedicated by women to her <sup>54</sup>.

The Thesmophoria were celebrated in many places, not only in Athens but, among other places, at Halimous also, which was situated on the coast a little south of Phaleron and had a temple of Demeter Thesmophoros <sup>55</sup>. The Thesmophoria comprised four subsequent days in Pyanopsion, each of them had a different name: the 10th was called the Thesmophoria at Halimous, the 11th ἄνοδος, "the way up", the 12th νηστεία, the fast, and the 13th καλλιγένεα, "the bearing of fair offspring" <sup>56</sup>. But Aristophanes says of a certain day that it is the third of the Thesmophoria, the middle day; this day was that of the fast, says Athenaeus <sup>57</sup>. The Thesmophoria comprised four days and that the third of these was called the middle day was a problem to the ancients who asked why it could be said at one time to be the third and the middle day of the Thesmophoria when the festival had four days <sup>58</sup>. The solution of this dilemma is simple. The Thesmophoria of Halimous were added to the three days of the Athenian Thesmophoria and before them; when this day was reckoned in the festival became four days. Another trace of this is the name of the second day, "the way up" or "inland". The women went from Halimous on the coast up to the city. So the Thesmophoria of Halimous were joined with those of Athens.

### 3. CULTS AND FOREIGN POLITICS

In the fifth century B.C. when Athens did not acquire new territories in Greece the cults were still used for political ends, but in a different manner, to emphasize the supremacy of Athens over its empire and to further connexions with foreign states.

<sup>54</sup> Euripides, *Iphig. Taur.*, vv. 1464; *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1517—1531; also at Brauron, *BCH*, LXIII, 1949, p. 527.

<sup>55</sup> Strabo, IX, p. 398; Paus., I, 31, 1, resp.

<sup>56</sup> *Schol. Aristoph. Thesmoph.*, v. 80; Photius s. v.; Alciphron, II, 37, 1.

<sup>57</sup> Aristoph., *Thesmoph.*, v. 80, τρίτη ᾧτι Θεσμοφορίων ἡ μέση; cp. v. 375; Athen., VII, p. 307 F.

<sup>58</sup> Hesychius, s. v. τρίτη Θεσμοφορίων.



On the initiative of Perikles the Athenians invited the Greeks to go to Athens to a congress in which they should deliberate concerning the re-erection of the temples, burnt down by the Persians, and the sacrifices, which they owed to the gods, having promised them in the war with the barbarians, and finally take counsel in order that all might sail the sea without fear and keep peace <sup>1</sup>. The plan came to naught and Plutarch says that the Spartans opposed it, quite understandably, for the last item of the programme implied an acknowledgement of Athens' sea empire. The memory of the glorious fight against the Persians could not overcome the political dissensions. The Athenians carried through the programme on their own; they began to erect the Parthenon and about the same time the temple of Hephaistos in the Kerameikos, the so-called Theseion, and the temple of Poseidon on Sounion. They paid their debts to the gods and made at the same time a display of their power and glory.

In the years intervening between the two parts of the Peloponnesian war the Athenians made another attempt. A decree of the people which regulated the delivering of tithes to the Eleusinian goddesses <sup>2</sup> prescribes that the hierophant and the dadouchos shall at the mysteries bid the Hellenes pay tithes of the fruit (corn) according to the custom of the forefathers and the oracle of Delphi. Moreover the council is charged with informing all Hellenic cities about the tithes paid by the Athenians and their allies and with exhorting them to do the same if they wish. The Eleusinian mysteries were certainly the cult which aroused the deepest feelings and, if any, would appeal to all Greeks, but religion had not the force to overcome the clashing interests.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Perikles*, 17. The year was probably 448/7 B.C.; see Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, IV, p. 7 note, between the peace of Kallias and the commencement of the erection of the Parthenon.

<sup>2</sup> *IG*, I<sup>2</sup> 76 = *SIG<sup>3</sup>*, 83. The date is controversial, according to A. Körte 418 B.C., according to Ziehen 423/2 B.C.; see *SIG<sup>3</sup>*, 83, note, according to E. Will, *Sur le décret athénien visant l'attribution des prémices des récoltes aux déesses d'Éleusis*, *Rev. des études grecques*, LXI, 1948, pp. 1, the proposal was initiated by Perikles in 448 B.C. to keep Athens' allies together, because the league threatened to disintegrate at that time, and was taken up again by Lampon after the peace of Nikias.

A few years later the war began anew and even years afterwards the exhortation of the Pythia to pay tithes to Eleusis had not very much effect <sup>3</sup>.

At the great festival of the gods the citizens and sometimes foreigners too assembled. These festivals were accordingly used for public announcements and shows. It is well-known that honours bestowed upon citizens and foreigners were announced at the great festivals, especially the Dionysia. They were also used for international affairs. In the decree of the Athenian people concerning Methone <sup>4</sup> is said that if there is a disagreement between Methone and the Macedonian king Perdiccas which the envoys cannot settle both parties shall send an embassy to the Dionysia authorized to settle the dispute. In the alliance treaty between Athens and Sparta of the year 421 B.C. is prescribed that it shall be renewed every year by the Lacedaemonians going to the Dionysia in Athens and by the Athenians going to the Hyakinthia at Sparta <sup>5</sup>.

The Athenians used their great festivals too for arousing patriotic feelings and showing their power. Aeschines says that in better days a herald before the performance of tragedies presented the sons of those who had fallen in war, equipped with full armour, and uttered a proclamation which was most beautiful and apt to encourage to virtue, namely that the people had educated these young men, whose fathers had been brave men and had fallen in the war, until their manhood, and having provided them with a full suit of armour it lets them go about their business with good luck and invites them to the front seats <sup>6</sup>. At the same festival, the Great Dionysia, the surplus of the state treasury was carried over the orchestra, talent by talent, when the audience was full, in the sight of the allies who had paid most of it. For they assembled at the Great Dionysia paying their tributes <sup>7</sup>. The taxation period ran from the

<sup>3</sup> This results from the words of Isocrates in his *Panegyricus*, IV, 31, of the year 380 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> IG, I<sup>2</sup>, 57 = SIG<sup>3</sup>, 75, of the year 428/7 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Thucydides, V, 23.

<sup>6</sup> Aeschines, c. *Ctesiph.*, 154.

<sup>7</sup> Isocrates, VIII, 82; *Schol. Aristoph., Ach.*, v. 504 and 378.



Panathenaia to the following. The Athenians used participation in their national festivals for expressing the relations of their colonies and allies to the ruling city. In the decree by which democracy was constituted at Erythrae the inhabitants are ordered to bring animals, worth not less than three minae, to the Great Panathenaia; the flesh shall be divided among the Erythraeans present <sup>8</sup>. This was a means to compel them to go to the great festival at Athens. The decree concerning the constitution of the colony of Brea prescribes that the colonists shall send an oxen to the Great Panathenaia and a phallos to the Dionysia <sup>9</sup>. This reminds us a little of the manner in which at a synoecism cults of outlying places were incorporated with the ruling city but the great difference is that here partaking in the great festivals of Athens was a means of emphasizing the loyalty of its colonists and the dependence of its subjects.

Sometimes the admission to a festival and a sacrifice was used as a token of special relations between two cities. The Hypocnemidian Locrians permitted whosoever was present from their colony Naupactus to sacrifice <sup>10</sup>. In the arbitration of the Argives concerning the Cretan cities of Cnossus and Tylissus is stated that a cow common to both shall be sacrificed to Hera at the Heraeum <sup>11</sup>. Finally an inscription from Hermione in Argolis contains a reply to envoys from Asine in Messenia, a city where Dryopians, driven out from Asine in Argolis, had settled in a bygone age. The Asinaeans promised to take part in the festival of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione and to sacrifice a cow to emphasize their relationship and friendship and the Hermionensians accepted this offer with good will <sup>12</sup>.

Festivals founded in historical times have generally the aim of celebrating some historical event, e.g. the Eleutheria at Plataeae commemorating the victory over the Persians, the Basileia at Lebadea commemorating the battle at Leuctra, and the Soteria at Delphi which the Aetolians founded in memory of the defeat

<sup>8</sup> IG, I<sup>2</sup>, 10 = SIG<sup>3</sup>, 41, about 465 B.C.

<sup>9</sup> IG, I<sup>2</sup>, 45 = SIG<sup>3</sup>, 67, a little before 441 B.C.

<sup>10</sup> IG, IX: 1, 334 = SIG<sup>3</sup>, 47, before 454 B.C.

<sup>11</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup>, 56, probably from the middle of the fifth century B.C.

<sup>12</sup> IG, IV, 679 = SIG<sup>3</sup>, 1051, second century B.C.

of the Gauls <sup>13</sup>. Nor do I enter upon the fairs and merry-making at the international festivals, the *panegyreis*, of which I have said something in another place <sup>14</sup>.

Athens used cults also to cement relations with barbarian peoples. A most outstanding instance is the introduction of the cult of the Thracian goddess Bendis <sup>15</sup>. Athens had in the time of its great empire important interests in Thrace. Greek cities, their allies, were situated on the Thracian coast and the Thracians bordered eastwards on the important waterway through the Hellespont and Bosphorus and westwards to Macedonia. The first mention of Bendis is found in a lost comedy, "The Thracian Women", by Kratinos, whose last play was staged in 423 B.C. Then she is mentioned by Aristophanes, and Xenophon mentions a temple of Bendis at the Piraeus near the temple of Artemis Mounychia in his description of the fights with the Thirty Tyrants in the winter of 404/3. The picture of the procession of the Thracians and the *pannychis* in the introduction of Plato's Republic is best known. The dialogue takes place in the house of the old Kephalos who died before the régime of the Thirty and it is said that the festival was celebrated for the first time. We shall see that this is no anachronism. Bendis was received into the Athenian state cult before the year 429/8 B.C., for her name occurs in the accounts of the treasurers of the other gods of this year <sup>16</sup>. An inscription, recently found on the south-western slope of the Mounychia hill, i.e. in the neighbourhood of the temple mentioned by Xenophon which, however, has not been found, throws fresh light on the introduction of the cult <sup>17</sup> in spite of its sorely mutilated state. Three fragments of a large

<sup>13</sup> An enumeration to which now much can be added in my *Griech. Feste*, pp. 34.

<sup>14</sup> In my *Greek Popular Religion*, pp. 97, and in my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, pp. 778.

<sup>15</sup> I treated this subject exhaustively in my paper, *Bendis in Athen*, *From the Collections of Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, III, 1942, pp. 169, and relate here only the relevant points.

<sup>16</sup> *IG*, I<sup>2</sup>, 310, l. 208. Only the letters BE are left, but as no other divine name beginning with these letters is available the supplement is certain.

<sup>17</sup> Ν. Παππαδάκης, 'Ἐρὸς νόμος Βενδιδαίων, 'Αρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, 1937 (printed in 1941), pp. 808.

*stele* are preserved. The inscription is a decree of the people regulating the cult of Bendis. The decree speaks of sacrifices, a *pannychis*, the distribution of the hides of the sacrificed animals, a procession, an *agalma*, etc. Unfortunately the date of the secretary Pasiphon is unknown, but the inscription must be earlier than the above-mentioned of 429/28 B.C.; the editor dates it in 431 B.C., and this is made almost certain by the political circumstances. The Peloponnesian war had begun, the Athenians were beleaguering Potidaea, which cost much money, and they were at war with the king of Macedonia, Perdiccas.

Some time after the Persian war the Odrysian king Teres had brought together a vast kingdom in Thrace which was enlarged by his son Sitalkes. The Athenians seem to have made considerable concessions to be on good terms with these mighty kings<sup>18</sup>, and according to a custom which will be discussed below (pp. 96 et seqq.) they ennobled the founder of the kingdom by introducing him into Greek mythology. Teres was identified with the Tereus of the myth of Prokne and Philomele<sup>19</sup>, an identification against which Thucydides protests violently.

In the summer of 431 the Athenians concluded a treaty with the Thracian king Sitalkes and as a consequence of this peace with the king of Macedonia. The Thracian king helped Athens in the following years also and the people put still greater hopes in his help. The importance of friendly relations to the Thracians is apparent and it was sealed by the alliance treaty of 431 B.C. The reception of the Thracian goddess into the Athenian state cult has its appropriate place precisely in connection with this highly political event<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, IV, p. 74.

<sup>19</sup> Thucydides, II, 29. The scene of this myth is Daulis in Phocis but the mythographers and Latin poets make it take place in Thrace. This is secondary, for the metamorphosis takes place at Daulis even according to them. It may be supposed that Tereus was one of the Thracians who appear in certain myths of Central Greece (see p. 37), but it is also very possible that he was made a Thracian because of his identification with the Thracian king Teres.

<sup>20</sup> After this was written the acute treatment of this inscription by Professor Ferguson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. vol. VIII, 1949, pp. 131, came into my hands. With the help of the calendrical computations of Merrit and

Although Athens resumed its activities in Thrace in the eighties and forties of the fourth century B.C. we hear nothing of Bendis, but her cult continued. Another group of inscriptions belongs to the thirties and twenties of this century. They are: a honorary decree of the *orgeones* of Bendis of the year 337/6 in which a procession is mentioned; another of the year 329/8 with a relief representing Bendis etc.; an undated cult regulation, and finally a relief in British Museum representing youths who took part in the torch race in honour of Bendis<sup>21</sup>. Most important, however, is that the Bendideia appear in the accounts of the revenues of the sale of the hides of the sacrificed animals in 334/3 with the high amount of 457 drachmas<sup>22</sup>. This is much, and is surpassed only by the Great Dionysia with 858 drachmas and the Olympia with 671 drachmas, while the Dionysia in Piraeus yielded 311 and the Asclepiea 291 drachmas. There must be some reason why such great expenses were made precisely for the festival of the Thracian goddess at this time. A remarkable circumstance is further that the greatest amount was yielded by the festival of the Goddess of Peace, Eirene, a newly created cult. The sum of the year 334/3 is not preserved but in the following year the revenue from the hides was 874 drachmas and in the next year 713 drachmas.

The time is that of Alexander the Great and that in which Lykourgos was the leading politician of Athens, at the same time so to say minister of finances and of the cult. He was

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Dinsmoor he dates the decree in the year 430/29 B.C. and the first festival of Bendis in the 19th of Thargelion in 429 B.C. The decree must have been passed after the beginning of the Attic year 430/29 in the summer 430 and some time before Thargelion, the embassy to Dodona intervening (pp. 145). This dating agrees well with the views expressed here. In late summer 430 Sitalkes' son Sadokos had proved his adherence to the treaty by delivering to the Athenians the Spartan and Corinthian envoys who were on their way to the Persian court (Thukydides, II, 67). By instituting the splendid festival of Bendis and her cult the Athenians showed what value they set upon the alliance with the Thracians. I am less convinced by his attempt (pp. 157) to find the reason for the official institution of the cult of Bendis in a desire to find means of averting the plague which had broken out in 430 B.C. Bendis was not a healing goddess.

<sup>21</sup> IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1255; 1256; 1361, resp.; the relief in my above-quoted paper.

<sup>22</sup> IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496 A a, l. 117 = SIG<sup>3</sup>, 1029, l. 22.

strongly anti-Macedonian but his politics were to keep peace, to repair the finances, to strengthen the military forces, hoping that a favourable time would come for shaking off the Macedonian yoke. He regulated the sale of the hides of the sacrificed animals and very probably he regulated the extent of the various state sacrifices too. They reflect his political aims. Athens wisely kept its hands off the uprisings in the Peloponnese and in Thrace; in Thrace there were two, one in 330 B.C. and another at an undetermined date. The desire for freedom of the Thracian peoples was not yet quenched. It cost but little to show the Thracians the sympathies of Athens, they might in the future be valuable allies in the fight for regaining freedom.

It turned out otherwise. The naval battle at Amorgos in 322 B.C. sealed the fate of Athens, it was no longer a city of political account. Consequently the cult of Bendis had no longer any importance for the state. It sank to a cult of slaves and small people and soon vanished completely. There is no need to speak of the cult association of Bendis here, the inscriptions end about 200 B.C. One of these is, however, important because referring to earlier favours, i.e. that the procession started from the hearth in the prytaneum<sup>23</sup>. This is really exceptional and shows the great value set by Athens upon the cult of the Thracian goddess and by implication upon the friendship of the Thracians.

<sup>23</sup> IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1283, of the year 261/0 (?).

## CHAPTER II

### MYTHS AND POLITICS

In the introduction I dwelt at some length on the importance of myths for political propaganda. Myths served to justify the possession of a country or a district, they served to assert claims on some territory which a city wanted to win, and to impress the righteousness of these claims upon public opinion. Their importance is in some measure comparable to the claims which in our days are founded upon the principle of nationality and language. We proceed to adduce instances.

#### 1. ATHENIAN MYTHS

We have seen what abundant evidence is forthcoming of the use of cults for welding together the territory of Athens. The foundation of its greatness was laid in the age of Pisistratus and its expansion was accompanied by a wealth of myths, some intended to justify the possession of conquered territories, others making propaganda for further expansion, claims of which arose at this time. This age had still a living belief in myths and the faculty of creating new ones had not vanished. We begin with this century, proceeding backwards to myths of an earlier age, in which historical information is lacking and we must argue from inferences.

Pisistratus founded the Athenian sea power, and before we turn to the myths related to the claims of the Athenians on neighbouring lands we may refer to two which aim at justifying oversea conquests. The Thracian Chersonnesus which was seized by Miltiades senior is to be considered as one of these, for this



enterprise cannot have been undertaken without the consent of Pisistratus <sup>1</sup>. It has left traces in mythology. Thucydides' words, I, 11, that some of the Greeks who besieged Troy turned to agriculture on the Chersonnesus, is no myth, but the scholion refers to an expedition which was conducted by Antimachos and Akamas, the son of Theseus; the latter is also said to have received the land about Ἐννέα ὄδοι (Amphipolis) as the dowry of his wife, a daughter of a Thracian king <sup>2</sup>. Further the town of Elaious on the Chersonnesus is said to be an Athenian colony founded by the Athenian hero Phorbas <sup>3</sup>.

Herodotus, VI, 137 seqq., relates a long mythical tale how the ruler of the Chersonnesus, Miltiades senior, seized the island of Lemnos <sup>4</sup>. Pelasgians who lived in Attica were driven out — Hekataios of Miletus and the Athenians were at variance whether this was done justly or not — and settled on Lemnos. On some occasion they abducted Athenian women who were celebrating the festival of Artemis at Brauron and made them their concubines. But as their children were overbearing they killed both them and their mothers. Attacked by famine, they asked the oracle at Delphi for counsel and it advised them to give the Athenians the satisfaction they wanted. When the Athenians asked them to deliver their island to them, the Lemnians replied: when you travel from your country to ours in one day with the north wind. This Miltiades did sailing from the Chersonnesus, and took Lemnos. This popular tale is one of the many stories invented in the age of Pisistratus to justify the expansion of Athens.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, VI, 35, says that Miltiades emigrated because he was uneasy under the rule of Pisistratus and his opinion is shared by modern scholars. Against this view rightly H. Bengtson, *Einzelpersönlichkeit und athenischer Staat zur Zeit des Peisistratos*, Sitz.-ber., Akad., München, 1939, No. 1, pp. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Aeschines, *de falsa leg.*, 31; cp. Tzetzes, *comm. in Lycophr.*, v. 495; Toepffer, *Quaestiones Pisistrateae*, pp. 71 = *Beiträge z. griech. Altertums-wissenschaft*, pp. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Pseudo-Scymnus, v. 707; on Phorbas see the article in Roscher's *Lex. d. Mythologie*, III, p. 2428.

<sup>4</sup> On the importance of this event see Diels, *Über Epimenides von Kreta*, Sitz.-ber., Akad., Berlin, 1891, pp. 396, and Bengtson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26.

In another place Herodotus tells how the Mytilenaeans and the Athenians for a long time carried on a war for the possession of Sigeion near old Troy. The former claimed it as an old possession, the latter retorted that the Aeolians had no greater right to the scene of the Iliad than themselves and other Greeks who had helped Menelaos to avenge the rape of Helen <sup>5</sup>.

Theseus was the national hero of Athens. The political implications of his myths and their development have been so often and so exhaustively treated <sup>6</sup> that a lengthy discussion is not needed. Moreover there is not a little uncertain matter. The

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<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, V, 94. He says that Pisistratus took the place with armed forces from the Mytilenaeans and gave it over to his bastard son Hegesistratus. Then he adds, ch. 95, that the poet Alkaios lost his shield in one of the battles and that an arbitration of Periandros, the tyrant of Corinth, assigned Sigeion to the Athenians. Others add that the Athenian Phrynon, a victor at the Olympic games of 636 B.C., seized Sigeion and was killed by Pittakos, the *aesymnetes* of Mitylene, in a single combat. All these events and persons belong to the seventh century B.C. These complicated stories gave place to a protracted discussion fifty years ago. They were first treated at length by Toepffer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 61 and 45 resp. Then Beloch, *Wann lebten Alkaios und Sappho?*, *Rhein. Mus.*, XLV, 1890, pp. 465, and polemizing against Toepffer, *Die Kämpfe der Athener in der Aiolis*, *ibid.* XLIX, 1894, pp. 230 = *Beiträge etc.*, pp. 234, again in the paper, *Alkaios und der Krieg um Sigeion*, *ibid.*, L, 1895, pp. 255, tried to prove that the seizure of Sigeion at the end of the seventh century B.C. was a fiction. But Toepffer and Crusius, *Literaturgesch. Parerga*, *Philologus*, LV, 1896, pp. 11, have proved that Herodotus adds to his records about Pisistratus a relation of an earlier war without remarking that Sigeion had been lost in the meantime. Beloch repeated his opinion, *Griech. Geschichte*, I: 2<sup>2</sup>, pp. 314; it is connected with his low dating of Kylon (see above p. 27 n. 8) and the Corinthian tyrants. In spite of his confident words it cannot be denied that a band of Athenian emigrants seized Sigeion at the end of the seventh century B.C. and kept it for a while until the Mytilenaeans, not content with Periandros' arbitration, succeeded in reconquering it. Of course it is impossible to say when the above-quoted argument was put forward.

<sup>6</sup> I quote only a few works. C. Robert, *Die griech. Heldensage*, I, pp. 621; Wilamowitz, *Die griech. Heldensage*, II, *Sitz.-ber., Akad., Berlin*, 1925: 17, pp. 234; my book, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 163; L. Radermacher, *Mythus und Sage bei den Griechen*, pp. 217; H. Herter, *Theseus, der Jonier*, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXXV, 1936, pp. 177 and 193; and *Theseus, der Athener*, *ibid.*, LXXXVIII, 1939, pp. 244 and 289, a circumspect paper with very full references to the copious literature.

source of this uncertainty is that we do not know at which time the various myths were created but must rely upon inferences from the agreement of the political situation at a certain time with a certain myth. Theseus was finally made the representative of that humanity of which the Athenians prided themselves and the originator of the democratic institutions of Athens.

Theseus' original home was not Athens, it is commonly agreed that he was at home in north-eastern Attica, Aphidna and Marathon. I need not review the well-known evidence, the myths of the rape of Helen at Aphidna and the capture of the Marathonian bull, I remark only that a trace betraying that Theseus was not originally an Athenian is found in the list of the mythical kings of Athens. In the *Iliad* Menestheus is the leader of the Athenians, i.e. the legitimate king. He could not be passed over. So the myth was invented that Menestheus drove out Theseus who went to Scyrus where he met his death. These events were pictured in colours borrowed from the full-fledged democracy<sup>7</sup>. Theseus was inserted into the genealogy of the Athenian kings, his father Aigeus being said to be a son of Pandion, a son or grandson of Erechtheus, but according to others Aigeus was only an adopted son of Pandion<sup>8</sup>. However, Erechtheus had another son Metion whose sons exiled Pandion. I do not enter upon the myths of Aigeus and of the birth of Theseus at Troizen, which present difficult problems, for this is not needed to show that Aigeus and his son are intruders in the list of the Athenian kings.

Pandion is said to have had four sons between whom he divided his kingdom. Genealogies are often but late attempts to bring some order into the myths and so it is here too. The four were Aigeus, Nisos, king of Megara, to whom we come back below, Lykos, who appears sometimes as the accuser of Theseus — this may be due to the fact that he was the patron of the Athenian courts —, and finally Pallas. Pallas is the hero of Pallene, an inland demos south-east of Athens with a famous

<sup>7</sup> See Herter, *Theseus, der Athener*, pp. 310.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch, *Theseus*, 13; cf. Herter, *loc. cit.*, p. 267. E. Kjellberg, *Entwicklung der attischen Theseussage, Strena philol. Upsal. (Festschrift till Per Persson)*, 1922, pp. 240, considers Pandion as an intruder. The name of Theseus' father is variously indicated.

temple of Athena Pallenis<sup>9</sup>. The myth tells that Pallas and his sons marched against Athens, that his sons laid an ambush for the Athenians but that this was betrayed to Theseus by the herald of Pallas, Leos of Hagnous, so that the men were attacked and killed by the Athenians. Because of this intermarrying was prohibited between the demes of Pallene and of Hagnous. Some scholars suppose that this myth is a reflex of the battle at the temple of Athena Pallenis in which Pisistratus vanquished the Athenians, making his way back to power for a second time<sup>10</sup>. But the discrepancy is insurmountable. In the myth the Athenians win the day, in the historical battle they were vanquished. The prohibition of intermarrying between the demes of Pallene and of Hagnous is but loosely attached to the story and must needs be a fact, deriving from olden times when the two places were independent. Hence it is probable that a reminiscence from the early age when the small cities of Attica were united by force is preserved in this myth<sup>11</sup>.

We turn to times from which historical information is forthcoming. Herakles was from of old much more popular in Attica than Theseus. He had many cult places<sup>12</sup>, while Theseus had only four. This is born out by the monumental evidence and this shows too when Theseus came into the foreground. Herakles appears e.g. on a pediment of the old, so-called Solonian temple and in early vase paintings, Theseus emerges in the latest black-figured and in the red-figured vases, i.e. in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.<sup>13</sup>. His deeds were made parallel with

<sup>9</sup> Its situation is disputed, see A. Brückner, *Das Reich des Pallas, Athen. Mitt.*, XVI, 1891, pp. 200, and on the other side Loeper, *ibid.*, XVII, 1892, pp. 422.

<sup>10</sup> Herodotus, I, 62 et seqq.

<sup>11</sup> There are also other foes vanquished by Theseus in Attica, Timalkos, Alykos, Titakos, Dekelos, Marathos. These tales are apparently late and of no importance to us. They are treated superficially by F. H. Wolgensinger, *Theseus*, Diss. Zürich, 1935, pp. 40.

<sup>12</sup> H. Dettmer, *De Hercule Attico*, Diss. Bonn, 1869.

<sup>13</sup> Buschor in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, Text, III, pp. 117, gives an enumeration of the vase pictures. See the summary in K. Friis Johansen, *Thésée et la danse à Délos, Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Arkæologisk-kunsthist. Meddelelser*, III: 3, 1945, pp. 55. Others have said the same earlier, nobody expounded it so lucidly. Cp. below p. 59.

those of Herakles, e.g. the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, which was erected a little after the battle at Marathon, show the deeds of Theseus on the south side and those of Herakles on the north side. On vase paintings Theseus became increasingly popular. This age made him the national hero of Athens.

His deeds on his way from Troizen to Athens are very often figured at this time. They are: the slaying of Sinis, of the sow of Krommyon, of Skiron, of Kerkyon, and of Prokroustes. They are all enacted on the Isthmus or in the territory of Eleusis. Only these five are represented on the vases and mentioned by Bacchylides, a younger rival of Pindar's, in his eighteenth ode. The sixth, the slaying of Periphetes at Epidaurus, is wanting, but one of the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi is supposed to represent this feat <sup>14</sup>. This deed was added to the cycle in the early part of the fifth century B.C., perhaps to make up the number of six exploits. We can leave it out of account here. The other myths are so well-known that there is no need of relating them. Sinis was slain on the Isthmus, not far from the place where the Isthmian games were celebrated. Hence the institution of these games was attributed to Theseus <sup>15</sup> and the Athenians had the honour of *proedria* <sup>16</sup>. Krommyon or Kremmyon where the wild sow dwelt was a fortified place in the borderland between Megara and Corinth. Skiron was localized at a very difficult pass, which was called the Skironian rocks and nowadays *κακαὶ σκάλαι*. Skiron seems not to have been a highwayman from the beginning, the Athenians made him one. It is not very reliable that the Megarians called him a punisher of robbers and a friend of righteous and good men, and said that he was killed in a battle when Theseus seized Eleusis which the Megarians once possessed <sup>17</sup>, for the Megarians were always bound to vie with the Athenian myths which referred to Megara. It is more relevant that the various genea-

<sup>14</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pls. 46; 47, 5. The sculptures are very fragmentary and the interpretation is not at all evident.

<sup>15</sup> See the article *Sinis* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*.

<sup>16</sup> Andocides, I, 132; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 25.

<sup>17</sup> Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10.



logies of Skiron connect him with known heroes. He is said to be a son or grandson of Pelops, or a son of Kanethos, a son of Lykaon and Henioche, a daughter of Pittheus of Troizen, viz. a cousin of Theseus, or finally a son of Pylas, the king of Megara, and to have married a daughter of the Athenian king Pandion. According to the Megarian version related by Plutarch he was a brother-in-law of the Salaminian hero Kychreus, father-in-law of Aiakos, ancestor of Peleus and Telamon. It is not likely that a very bad man is akin to the best men, Plutarch adds. We cannot discern the complications of these genealogies, but at least they aim at disculpating Skiron. The palaestra of Kerkyon was at Eleusis. Nor was Kerkyon simply a malefactor. According to the genealogies he was a son of Poseidon and a half-brother of Triptolemos and father of Alope, the mother of Hippothoon, after whom a phyle was named. He is even said to be an ancestor of Musaios. The place where Prokroustes dwelt is indicated variously. Ovid says it was at the river Cephissus near Eleusis, Diodorus Mt Corydallus<sup>18</sup>, which according to Strabo was the mountain which rises beside the strait of Salamis, i.e. the southern spur of Mt Aigaleos which separates the Eleusinian and the Athenian plain<sup>19</sup>. He is perhaps more trustworthy than the Latin poet. If so the place was in the borderland between Eleusis and Athens.

These myths originate in the century in which Athens was at war with Megara and the conquest of Eleusis was still forgotten; it took place only half a century, or a little more, earlier. They bear the stamp of that age which the Athenians praised as the Golden Age. While Herakles only too often represents brute force, Theseus is the Athenian youth educated in the palaestra. While the deeds of Herakles are those of an old mythical hero who slays ferocious beasts, Theseus puts down highwaymen and robbers, enemies of a peaceful and civilized life. E.g. we may read the long eulogy of Theseus in Isokrates beginning with a characteristic comparison between him and Herakles: Herakles performed more famous and greater deeds,

<sup>18</sup> Ovid., *Metamorph.*, VII, v. 438; Diodorus, IV, 59, resp.

<sup>19</sup> Strabo, IX, p. 395.



Theseus more useful deeds, more suitable to the Greeks <sup>20</sup>. This testifies to the Athenian spirit of the same age, the spirit which created the idea of Athens as the cradle of a peaceful and civilized life, worthy of human beings, an idea represented by the Eleusinian hero Triptolemos who also appears in vase painting in the end of the sixth century B.C. and becomes increasingly popular <sup>21</sup>. Being a champion of civilization Athens justified its conquest of Eleusis, developing the germs contained in the Eleusinian religion into full bloom. The same claims were extended to Megara, whose possession would be very important to Athens because of its geographical situation. Pisistratus seized its harbour town for a while, the policy of democratic Athens did not forget the plan and in the middle of the fifth century B.C. Megara was for a little more than a decade subject to Athens.

The Athenians adduced, however, stronger arguments for their claims on the Megaris. They were firmly persuaded that it had been part of the Ionian country in olden times; the frontier between the Ionian land and the Peloponnese was once the Isthmus <sup>22</sup>. An inscribed stone was said to have been erected there; on the side facing the Megaris was read: "this is not the Peloponnese but Ionia", and on the other: "this is the Peloponnese and not Ionia" <sup>23</sup>. The Megaris had been lost through the invasion of the Dorians in which the last king of Athens sacrificed himself to save his city <sup>24</sup>. Whether this opinion preserved a reminiscence of the state of things before the Dorian invasion or not, it was admirably adapted to the desire of Athenian politics of acquiring the territory of Megara.

The mythical representatives of these claims of Athens on the Megaris are Pandion and Nisos. Nisos is of course a Megarian hero, the eponym of the harbour town Nisaia; he had some

<sup>20</sup> Isocrates, *Helena*, 23 et seqq.

<sup>21</sup> I pointed to this similarity in my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, p. 630. Triptolemos in vase painting see Buschor in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, Text, III, p. 259.

<sup>22</sup> Plato, *Critias*, p. 110 D.

<sup>23</sup> Strabo, III, p. 171; IX, p. 392; according to Plutarch, *Theseus*, 25, it was erected by Theseus when he had united the Megaris with Attica.

<sup>24</sup> Herodotus, V, 76; Paus., I, 39, 4.

monument at Nisaia<sup>25</sup>. Pandion is in the myths a Megarian as well as an Athenian king<sup>26</sup>. We begin with Nisos. He was made an Athenian, a son of Pandion who divided his kingdom among his four sons. The earliest literary testimony is a fragment of Sophocles<sup>27</sup> according to which the father, i.e. Pandion, gave the promontories of this country to Aigeus, the garden opposite to Euboea to Lykos, the land neighbouring the rock of Skiron to Nisos, and the land towards the south of Attica to Pallas. But the myth is older. A krater found in the rubbish on the Acropolis left by the devastation of the Persians shows on one side the fight of Theseus with the Minotaur and on the other Orneus, Pallas, Nisos, and Lykos<sup>28</sup>. It is remarkable that Orneus appears instead of Aigeus<sup>29</sup>. The invention of this myth, at the back of which is the opinion that Attica was in olden time divided in small kingdoms, is certainly, as Brückner says<sup>30</sup>, to be attributed to the age of the man who took possession of Nisaia, Pisistratus. Pandion is doubled in the enlarged list of the kings of Athens. We have here to do with the second of this name, a son of the second Kekrops or of Erechtheus. According to Pausanias, I, 5, 3, he with his sons was exiled by the sons of Metion, went to Megara, the king of which, Pylas, had given him his daughter to wife. Apollodorus, III, 15, 5, calls her Pylia and says that Pandion married her only after his arrival to Megara and begat his sons there. These marched against Athens after the death of Pandion, drove out the Metionidae, and divided the realm into four parts. It is very remarkable that Bacchylides in his ode on Theseus, XVII, v. 15, calls the wife of Pandion by the indifferent name Kreousa, for it

<sup>25</sup> Thucyd., IV, 118.

<sup>26</sup> His myths are treated ingeniously by K. Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, Diss. Lund, 1934, pp. 18 and 35. Hanell is of the opinion that Pandion is originally a Megarian hero, but Blass' supplement of Hesiod, *Catalogue*, fragm. 245 Rzach<sup>3</sup>, which makes Nisos a son of Pandion, on which Hanell relies, p. 19 n. 1, is no trustworthy evidence.

<sup>27</sup> Sophocles, fragm. 24 Pearson, 872 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, in Strabo, IX, p. 392.

<sup>28</sup> *Ephemeris archaeol.*, 1885, pls. 11 and 12; B. Graef, *Antike Vasen von der Akropolis*, II, pl. 61; see also Brückner, *Athen. Mitt.*, XVI, 1891, pp. 200.

<sup>29</sup> Orneus appears in the list of the kings of Athens as a son of Erechtheus.

<sup>30</sup> Brückner, *loc. cit.*, p. 202.

proves that the tradition of Pandion's marriage with the Megarian princess was not firmly established in the early half of the fifth century B.C. Pandion is said to be a Megarian hero and this opinion is seemingly supported by strong arguments. Pausanias says that that he died of sickness at Megara, that his tomb is in the Megaris near the sea at the rock of Athena Aithya and that he had a shrine in the town <sup>31</sup>. I am not sure that these arguments are reliable. For, just as the Athenians founded a sanctuary of the Salaminian hero Eurysakes and were advised to found another for the Aeginetan hero Aiakos, so the Megarians may have founded one of the Athenian hero Pandion in order to thwart the claims of the Athenians. Many examples prove that a nameless tomb was easily baptized with the name of some hero. Pandion must have been a hero of some renown at Athens, for one of the phylae created in 508 B.C. was named after him. It is not possible that it was named after a foreigner, a Megarian. It cannot be objected that the Salaminian hero Aias gave his name to another phyle, for Salamis was in the firm possession of Athens at that time. It is less important that Pandion had a sanctuary on the Acropolis <sup>32</sup>. It seems most likely that Nisos was made a son of Pandion in order to connect him and the Megaris with Athens and that in consequence of this affiliation his father Pandion too was transferred to Megara. However this may be, the myths of Pandion and Nisos aim clearly at justifying the Athenian claims on the Megaris. It is impossible that they were invented at the time, in the middle of the fifth century B.C. in which Megara was subject to Athens, as once Niese would have it <sup>33</sup>. His opinion is refuted by the vase mentioned above. They originated at the time in which Athens was involved in a lengthy war with Megara and Pisistratus seized Nisaia. It is possible that, as Herter surmises, these myths were related in some completely vanished

<sup>31</sup> Paus., I, 5, 3; 39, 4; 41, 6; Hesych, ἐν ᾧ Ἀθήνη. says that Athena, transformed into a sea-gull, carried Kekrops beneath her wings to Megara; this is an attempt to transfer Kekrops also to Megara, but he is undoubtedly an Athenian.

<sup>32</sup> IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1138 (of the year 403/2 B.C.); 1144; 1148; 1152; 1157.

<sup>33</sup> Niese in *Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, p. 91.

poems. The Pisistratidae were devoted to poetry, but we do not know how the myths were propagated, we see only the age in which and the purpose why they were invented.

Pisistratus extended his power to the Hellespont and the islands of the Aegean. He had very close relations with the tyrant of Naxos, Lygdamis, and he posed as a protector of the sacred island of Delos, the old assembling place of the Ionians. Herodotus, I, 64, 2, and Thucydides, III, 104, relate that he purified the island, removing all graves which could be seen from the temple. The oldest temple, the so-called poros temple, was rebuilt in the sixth century B.C. by Athenian artisans and the inference is probable, almost certain, that this was due to the initiative of Pisistratus <sup>34</sup>. Professor Friis Johansen has proved that myth too was called upon to reinforce the Athenian claims on Delos <sup>35</sup>. The dance figured on the François vase about 560 B.C. refers to the old myth that after the slaying of the Minotaur a triumphal dance was performed on the spot, in Crete. Afterwards this dance, led by the national hero of Athens, Theseus, was transferred to Delos and identified with the *geranos* dance which was part of the Delian cult.

As Attica was the only country of the mainland which in historical times was inhabited by Ionians, it would seem simple and natural that the Ionians who colonized the western shore of Asia Minor were derived from Athens. But it was not so. We shall see that according to the tradition they came from a very far-off country, Pylos or Messenia on the western coast of the Peloponnese, and that the Athenians had much ado to associate this tradition with their own claims that Athens was the Ionians' mother city. The colonists had to make a round-about journey to Athens <sup>36</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> F. Courby, *Les temples d'Apollon, Délos*, XII, pp. 213.

<sup>35</sup> Friis Johansen in the paper quoted above p. 53 n. 13.

<sup>36</sup> H. T. Wade-Gery, *What happened at Pylos?*, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeology*, LII, 1948, pp. 114, supposes that the old kingdom of Pylos was split up by the attacks of the Dorians and says that there seems to be no cogent reason for doubting, and some goodish reasons for believing, that Attica was one important assembly place for the Mycenaean remnants, and that from Attica, in course of time, one stream of emigration went to Asia. This agrees, he says, with the tradition of Kodros, a refugee from Pylos

We begin with the Athenian refashioning of the tales of the Ionian colonization<sup>37</sup>. They are related at length by Strabo and Pausanias<sup>38</sup>. For the question of the age of the Athenian version it is important that Strabo begins with a quotation from Pherekydes<sup>39</sup>, a composer of genealogies in Athens whose *floruit* is said to have been about the middle of the fifth century B.C. According to him the colonization of Ionia was begun by Androklos, a son of Kodros, king of Athens; he founded Ephesus, and because of this the kingdom of the Ionians was in this city. Pausanias, VII, 2, 8, adds that his tomb was shown at Ephesus. Miletus was founded by Neleus, whose tomb according to Pausanias, VII, 2, 6, was on the road to Didyma. Both authors agree saying that these people were Messenians from Pylos and went with Melanthos, the father of Kodros, to Athens. Quoting the poet Mimnermos Strabo says that the Pylia Andraimon founded Kolophon; according to Pausanias, VII, 3, 5, he was a son of Kodros and his tomb was near this city. Kydrellos, a bastard son of Kodros, founded Myous; in Pausanias the name is corrupt, Kyaretos. Andropompos, who is not mentioned by Pausanias, founded Lebedos, Aipylos, Neleus' son, Priene. A bastard son of Kodros, Nauklos, founded the Ionian colony of Teos; after him came the Athenians Apoikos and Damasos and the Boeotian Geres<sup>40</sup>. Pausanias differs a little. According to him Apoikos, who was a descendant of Melanthos in the fourth generation, brought Ionians to Teos. A little later Damasos and Nauklos,

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who belongs to the early eleventh century B.C. Against this opinion stands the testimony of Mimnermos which will be discussed below p. 62. Even if there were some old foundation, it is evident that the myth of Athens' part in the Ionian colonization was amplified and worked out in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

<sup>37</sup> I have discussed these myths briefly from another point of view in my *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 157. They are excellently treated by J. Töpffer, *Attische Genalogie*, pp. 225. Cp. B. Schmid, *Studien zu griech. Ktisissagen*, Diss. Fribourg in Switzerland, 1947, pp. 36.

<sup>38</sup> Strabo, XIV, p. 632 et seq.; Paus., VII, 2 et seq.; ep. II, 18, 8.

<sup>39</sup> Pherekydes in *F. Gr. Hist.*, 3, 155 Jacoby.

<sup>40</sup> Paus., III, 3, 6. It appears from these myths that the colonists were a mixed lot, drawn from various peoples; see also Herodotus, I, 146. This is probably historically true but can be passed over here.



sons of Kodros, came thither with Athenians. Knopos, another bastard son of Kodros, founded Erythrai; in Pausanias, VII, 3, 7, he is called Kleopos and said to be a son of Kodros.

There is no need to dwell on the fact that Kodros is an intruder in the list of the Athenian kings. The real riddle is his father Melanthos, if he has anything to do with the Melanthos who appears in the single combat at Eleutherai (see above p. 27). Nor is it needed to show the artificiality of the genealogies by which certain noble Athenian houses were said to be descended from Pylian heroes; Toepffer has treated this topic well. But it is important to us that the Athenian version of the myths of the Ionian colonization was current as early as in the middle of the fifth century B.C. A notice in Suidas informs us that Panyassis wrote *Ionica*, in 7000 verses, comprising the deeds of Kodros and Neleus and the Ionian colonies. Probably this uncle of Herodotus, who fell in a battle with the tyrant of Halicarnassus, Lygdamis, sided with the Athenians and related the myths accordingly. Although Herodotus, I, 146, knows that the colonists were a very mixed lot, he yields so much to the Athenian claims as to say that those who started from the prytaneum of Athens were the most genuine Ionians.

Pherekydes was quoted above p. 60. The prolific logographer Hellanikos of Lesbus has a very long genealogy<sup>41</sup> in which he says that Melanthos, a descendant of Neleus, fled to Athens when the Heraclidae invaded Messenia and became king of Athens because he slew Xanthos, that his son Kodros sacrificed himself for his city and left his kingdom to his son Medon and that his junior son Neleus founded the twelve cities of Ionia. In his *Atthis* he said that Erythrai was one of the cities founded in Ionia by Neleus, the son of Kodros<sup>42</sup>. Herodotus, V, 65, speaking of the house of the tyrants of Athens, says that the Pisistratidae were by origin Pylians and Nelidae, descended from the same stock as that of Kodros and Melanthos, who were foreigners formerly but became kings of Athens. Hence Hippokrates re-

<sup>41</sup> *F. Gr. Hist.*, 4, 125 Jacoby.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 48.



membered to give the name of Peisistratos to his son, attributing to him the name of Peisistratos, the son of Nestor <sup>43</sup>.

There is monumental evidence too. A kylix at Bologna from the Periclean age <sup>44</sup> shows Kodros in its interior and some Attic heroes on the outer face. A statue of Kodros made by Phidias was among those erected by the Athenians at Delphi in memory of the battle at Marathon <sup>45</sup>. Finally an inscription of the year 418/7 B.C. concerns a sanctuary of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile south of the Acropolis <sup>46</sup>.

Happily we have much earlier evidence, independent of the Athenian tradition. The poet Mimnermos of Kolophon, who lived at the time when the Lydian kings attacked the Ionian cities, in the early part of the sixth century B.C., says <sup>47</sup>: "we left Neleus' city, the steep Pylos, and came on ships to the longed-for Asia. We settled in lovely Kolophon etc." Athens is out of account, the colonists come directly from Pylos. We quoted above (p. 60) his statement that the Pylian hero Andraimon founded Kolophon. An altar of Neleus was erected in the Poseidion <sup>48</sup>. The Codridae were the royal house of Ionia <sup>49</sup>. This is not of great importance and is variously judged, the words of Mimnermos are decisive. The old Ionian myth did not know of the digression of the Pylians to Athens. This is an invention of the Athenians to prove their claims that Athens was the mother city of the Ionian colonies.

<sup>43</sup> This is contradicted by Pausanias' statement, II. 18, 9, that Peisistratos did not come to Athens and that he does not know where he went. The Athenians belittled the tyrants and were unwilling to give them a noble descent.

<sup>44</sup> *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, I, 4; E. Pfuhl, *Zeichnung und Malerei der Griechen*, III, Fig. 563.

<sup>45</sup> Paus., X, 10, 1.

<sup>46</sup> *IG*, I<sup>2</sup>, 94 = *SIG<sup>3</sup>*, 93. The relief representing Echelos and Basile (see my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, p. 425 n. 4) cannot be discussed here. Scherling in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, XI, p. 991, thinks that an old cult of Neleus who was understood as the Lord of the Underworld was transferred to the Pylian hero.

<sup>47</sup> Mimnermos, fragm. 9 Bergk<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Strabo, XIV, p. 633.

<sup>49</sup> See above p. 60. Herodotus, I, 147, says that some Ionians took for kings Pylian Caucones descending from Melanthos' son Kodros.

The question remains of the age when the Athenians reshaped the myths of the colonization of Ionia by the Pyliaans. We have seen that they were firmly established in the middle of the fifth century B.C. In the seventh century B.C. Athens had hardly such a political position as to make the rise of such myths probable, but of course its people were conscious of their kinship with the Ionians. Solon says he is filled with sorrow seeing the oldest land of Ionia devastated<sup>50</sup>. Very important is Herodotus' statement that the Pisistratidae were Pyliaans descended from the same stock as Kodros and Melanthos, for it shows an attempt to ennoble their pedigree by carrying it back to the last Athenian kings and ancestors of the colonists in Asia Minor. If his following words are to be trusted, that this was the reason why Hippokrates gave his son the name of Nestor's son Peisistratos, this interest was there about 600 B.C. The name is rare, but not so rare as to make his opinion entirely reliable.

The tale is of course invented to provide Pisistratus with a noble pedigree. There is another tale to the same effect which contradicts the former and seems to be more genuine. We mentioned above (p. 29) the myth that the sons of Aias settled in Attica, Eurysakes at Melite and Philaios at Brauron. Now Plato says that the family of Pisistratus was "of the Philaïdae"<sup>51</sup>. He cannot mean the house of Miltiades, for the custom of calling it Philaïdae is not ancient, but he must mean the deme of that name near Brauron from which Pisistratus originated. It seemed of course very appropriate to carry the descent of Pisistratus back to the hero of the island which he had won for Athens.

We mentioned that Pisistratus extended his power to the Hellespont and the islands of the Aegean<sup>52</sup>. It was impossible for him to interfere with the Ionian cities in Asia Minor, for the Persians were lords of them, but it is possible that he did not forget them and tried to establish relations with them.

<sup>50</sup> In Aristotle, *Pol. Athen.*, 5, where this poem is ascribed to the time before Solon became law-giver.

<sup>51</sup> Plato, *Hipparchos*, p. 224 B, Πεισιστράτου δὲ υἱεῖ, τοῦ ἐκ τῶν Φιλαῖδων, Ἰππάρχῳ; Plutarch, *Solon*, 10, ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν Φιλαίων τῶν Φιλαῖδων ἔχουσιν, ὅθεν ἦν Πεισιστράτος.

<sup>52</sup> See above p. 59.

When the Ionians in 500 B.C. rose against Persia they turned to Athens for help and it sent twenty ships. It seems likely that the myths about the Ionian colonization were remodelled in Athens in the sixth century B.C. but that the Athenian version acquired real importance and became firmly established after the institution of the Delian league in 477 B.C., in the time when the Ionian cities were allies of, and finally became wholly dependent on Athens, or a little earlier. Herodotus, IX, 106, relates that after the battle at Mycale the Greeks sailed to Samos and deliberated upon what to do with the Ionians. When the Spartans proposed to evacuate the trading places (ἐμπορία), belonging to those who had medized, and to give their territory over to the Ionians, the Athenians replied that it was not right that Ionia should be evacuated nor that the Peloponnesians should take counsel concerning their (viz. the Athenians') colonists (ἄποικοι). The Athenian version of the mythical history of the colonization of Ionia is an expression of Athens' political claims <sup>53</sup>.

A new myth of similiar character was perhaps created as late as in the fifth century B.C. Professor Gjerstad has tried to prove that the myth of Teukros is influenced by Athenian politics <sup>54</sup>. Teukros and the Teukrians, whose eponym he is, are at home in the Troad, Teukros is the ancestor of the kingly house of Troy. Originally he has nothing to do with Athens or Salamis, he was not worshipped on Salamis, but the atthidographer Phanodemos asserted in the fourth century B.C. that he lived in Attica and was a chief of the deme of Xypete, which earlier was called Troy, he says, and emigrated from there to the Troad <sup>55</sup>. Being the brother or half-brother of Aias Teukros was drawn into connexions with Salamis when after the Persian wars

<sup>53</sup> Cp. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 238, and Scherling in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*, XI, pp. 991.

<sup>54</sup> I cannot reproduce Gjerstad's complicated argumentation, but refer to his paper, *The Colonization of Cyprus in Greek Legend*, *Opusc. archaeol.*, III, 1944, *Acta Inst. Romani Sueciae*, X, pp. 107.

<sup>55</sup> Toepffer, *Quaest. Pisistrateae*, pp. 78 = *Beiträge z. griech. Altertums-wiss.*, pp. 57, referred this legend to the Athenian colonial enterprises at the Hellespont in the reign of Pisistratus, as founding a mythical vindication of the Athenian claims on Trojan land.

Athens entered into the sphere of great power politics. Teukros and the Teukrians at Salamis on Cyprus in fact immigrated from Asia Minor, as archaeology proves. Teukros was useful for the Athenian activity on Cyprus which began in 478 B.C. Teukros, who never had been on the island of Salamis was said to have been expelled by his father when returning and sailed to Cyprus where he founded the city which had the same name as the island. This legend appears soon after the Persian wars in Aeschylus and Pindar.

## 2. ANCESTORS AND EPONYMS

Greek society and the Greek State were founded on the family, on groups of men who were supposed to have a common descent, and this idea was deeply ingrained in the Greek mind, self-evident to it, and pervaded their whole life. The new demes of the reform of Kleisthenes were, when founded, constituted locally, but in the future their membership depended on birth<sup>1</sup>. The idea that a people, a tribe, a subdivision of the State were descended from a common ancestor was paramount, and if there was no old tradition of a common ancestor, or even if he could not possibly have existed, e.g. when new artificial subdivisions were created by an administrative reform, he was simply invented. We call such fictitious ancestors eponyms because they give their names to the people or tribe etc., in fact the relation is the inverse, the name of the eponym is abstracted from that of the people. The ancients themselves felt sometimes the vaingloriousness of such inventions, we may remember the *Διὸς Κόρινθος* ridiculed by Pindar and Aristophanes and said proverbially of those who always repeated the same slogan. We will, however, also find instances when the name of the eponym is created arbitrarily, e.g. those of the ten new phylae in Athens. The political importance of this idea should not be underestimated. A common ancestor of different peoples was an expression of their relationship and interdependence, he gave religious sanction to newly created administrative entities.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. below p. 162 n. 40.

This phenomenon is a piece of the web of heroic genealogies and it appears early. There is very much of it in the "Catalogue of Women", also called *Eoiai*, which is attributed to Hesiod. It was not composed by him but is not very much later, it is a continuation of his work. The Theogony expounded the genealogies of the gods, the Catalogue the genealogies of the heroes. This implied a certain systematization and not a few inventions, but the difference between this work and that of the logographers is that rationalism is absent in the former.

A fragment of the Catalogue<sup>2</sup> shows that this systematization was extended to all Greek tribes and peoples. Hellen, the eponym of the Hellenes, is said to be the father of Doros, Xouthos, and Aiolos, and the descendants of Aiolos to be the well-known heroes Kretheus, Athamas, Sisypheus, Salmoneus, and Perieres. Aiolos is the eponym of the Aeolian tribe, Doros of the Dorian, but as the third appears Xouthos whose son Ion is the eponym of the Ionian tribe. We are unable to guess at the reason of this irregularity. Probably the tradition of Xouthos as the father of Ion was at that time so firm that it must be accepted. Hellen was localized in Thessaly, for the small district of Hellas was situated there; it was inhabited by the Hellenes who for unknown reasons gave their name to all Greeks.

The division of Greece between the sons of Hellen, as related by Apollodorus, I, 7, 3, presents certain difficulties. Aiolos received Thessaly and gave the name of Aeolians to its inhabitants, but some of his sons mentioned in the "Catalogue", to whom Apollodorus adds Deion and Magnes, have nothing to do with Thessaly. Kretheus is the father of Thessalian heroes, but his wife Tyro is a daughter of Salmoneus, the eponymous hero of the town of Salmone in the Alpheus valley. Neleus, king of Pylos, is sometimes said to be his son. Athamas belongs to Thessaly and Boeotia, Sisypheus to Corinth, and Perieres to Messenia, although the Lacedaemonians made him a son of Kynortas, and grandson of Amyklas<sup>3</sup>. This bewildering state of

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, fragm. 7 Rzsch<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Perieres was king of Messenia, he married Perseus' daughter Gorgophone who bore him Aphareus, the father of the Messenian Dioscuri, and Leukippos, the father of their brides, the Leukippids. The attempt of the



things is explained by the mythical relations between Thessaly and the western coast of the Peloponnese, especially apparent in the Minyan myths <sup>4</sup>.

According to Apollodorus Xouthos got part of the Peloponnese and begat on Kreousa, a daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus, Ion and Achaïos who gave their names to the Ionians and Achaeans, while Doros received the part of the Peloponnese on the other side of this, i.e. of that which Xouthos received. Being the eponym of the Ionians Ion must be put into relations with Attica, the only country of the mainland of Greece which was inhabited by Ionians, but this met with some difficulty because of the persuasion of the Athenians that they were autochthonous, i.e. native inhabitants of their country <sup>5</sup>. It was solved by making Ion's father Xouthos marry Kreousa, a daughter of king Erechtheus who belonged to the native stratum of Attic mythology. But Ion had no firm footing in Athens. Pausanias, VII, 1, and Strabo, VII, p. 383, relate his myth very differently. The former makes Ion king of the town of Aigialos in Achaea and he gave his name to its inhabitants who were called Ionians. Strabo's relation that the Athenians sent a colony to Aigialos at the time of Ion refers to the same opinion, namely that Achaea once was inhabited by Ionians. It appears in Herodotus, I, 145, who says that the Achaeans drove out the Ionians from Achaea and that the Ionians emigrated to Asia Minor, where they founded twelve cities after the pattern of the twelve cities of Achaea. That the second son of Xouthos and brother of Ion is named Achaïos, the eponym of the Achaeans, is but another expression of the same belief that this district once belonged to the Ionians <sup>6</sup>. If there is some fact behind this current opinion is difficult to say; we know, however, for certain

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Spartans to appropriate for themselves Messenian heroes has left traces in the myths of Perieres and Oibalos too.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 133.

<sup>5</sup> E. Ermatinger, *Die attische Autochthonensage bis auf Euripides*, Diss. Berlin, 1897.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Ed. Meyer, *Herodot über die Ionier*, *Philologus*, XLVIII, 1889, pp. 268; reproduced in *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, I, 1892, pp. 125, where the title is: *Die Herkunft der Ionier und die Ionsage*.



that Ionians were settled in some parts of the Peloponnese before the invasion of the Dorians.

The mythical story of the Dorians is much more complicated and comprises in fact three different myths. First there is the shadowy eponym Doros, to whom according to Apollodorus his father Hellen gave the Peloponnese on the other side (viz. of the Ionian district), secondly Aigimios, and thirdly Herakles and his descendants. Aigimios was evidently a mythical hero so closely connected with the Dorians that he could not be put on one side. He was king of Doris, a small Dorian enclave south-west of the Malian gulf near Mt Oeta with four small towns or rather villages. A fraction of the tribe remained in this secluded country, whilst the majority made its way southwards. Hence it was called the Dorian Tetrapolis and acknowledged as the metropolis of all Dorians<sup>7</sup>. Aigimios' three sons, Hyllos, Dymas, and Pamphylos, are eponyms of the three Dorian phylae. The localization of Aigimios in Thessaly in Apollodorus and Diodorus<sup>8</sup> is a consequence of the opinion that the Hellens were originally settled in Thessaly<sup>9</sup>. The tradition referring him to Doris is the better one. His fame appears from the mentions in Pindar who says in one place that Apollo settled the descendants of Herakles and Aigimios in Lacedaemon, Argos, and Pylos, in another that the Dorian army of Hyllos and Aigimios conquered Aegina, and finally that Hieron founded the town of Aetna according to the laws of Hyllos' rule and that the descendants of the Heraclidae always keep the laws of Aigimios<sup>10</sup>.

Evidently Aigimios was the old national hero of the Dorians. He was easily brought together with Doros who was inserted by the systematizing mythographers. Aigimios and Tektamos, who colonized Crete, were made sons of Doros. It was more difficult to associate him with the opinion according to which Herakles was the *heros archegetes* of the Dorians. The mythographers resorted to the device of making him be expelled

<sup>7</sup> Ephorus in Steph. Byz. s. v. Δυμῶνες; Strabo, IX, p. 427.

<sup>8</sup> Apollodorus, II, 7, 2, 2; Diodorus, IV, 37, 3.

<sup>9</sup> There is a trace in Diodorus: the country is called ἡ Δωρὶς χώρα, although it is said to be Hestiacotis.

<sup>10</sup> Pindar, *Pyth.*, V, vv. 70; fragm. 1; *Pyth.*, I, vv. 61, resp.

from Doris and reinstated by Herakles or alleging that Herakles helped him in a war with the Lapiths in Thessaly. In gratitude Aigimios adopted Herakles' son Hyllos; he had himself two sons, Dymas and Pamphylos, of whom nothing is told but that they both fell in a battle with Orestes' son Tisamenos. The three eponyms of the Dorian phylae cannot be separated. Probably Hyllos too was originally a son of Aigimios<sup>11</sup> but was made a son of Herakles and Deianeira in order to link up the differing myths of Aigimios and Herakles as the *heroes archegetai* of the Dorians. The Deianeira myth is fairly late.

A great scholar has eloquently described Herakles as the ideal representative of the Dorians. But Herakles is originally no Dorian, the most important of his myths come down from the Mycenaean age<sup>12</sup>, in which there were as yet no Dorians in Greece. It may be worth while to try and find a more concrete reason why Herakles was made the champion of the Dorians, why the Dorians appropriated him for themselves. Herakles never did take any land for himself; in the so-called *praxeis*, myths which are later than the labours and the *parerga*, he helped others and gave land to them. He was at home at Tiryns and was a vassal of the king of Mycenae, Eurystheus, and he performed his earliest and oldest labours in the north-eastern Peloponnese. It might seem that he, much more than his cowardly suzerain, could lay claim to the country which he freed from wild and dangerous beasts and monsters. Maybe the warring Dorians felt sympathetic to the valiant hero.<sup>13</sup> But Herakles himself, who was extremely popular and venerated all over Greece, e.g. in Attica, could not be made a Dorian hero, the connection with him was established by making the eponym of a Dorian phyle, Hyllos, his son. The Herakles myth was associated with the native Dorian myth of Aigimios by making Hyllos an adoptive brother of the two sons of Aigimios, Dymas and Pamphylos, the eponyms of the two other phylae. Moreover, Herakles and Deianeira were given three sons more who are mere shadows<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, II, pp. 251.

<sup>12</sup> See my *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 187.

<sup>13</sup> Glenos, Ktesippos, and Hodites, Hesiod, *Catalogue*, fragm. 135, v. 19

The task of conquering the Peloponnese for the Dorians fell to Hyllos and his descendants. An older version made Hyllos himself conquer the peninsula <sup>14</sup>. Apollodorus relates, II, 8, that the sons of Herakles fled to Athens, that when the Athenians declined to deliver them to Eurystheus a war ensued in which Eurystheus was killed, and that they conquered the Peloponnese but were forced to evacuate it because of a plague which the oracle referred to their having occupied the country before the time. They settled at Marathon. This is a very perspicuous makeshift to consociate the old version with the current one. It may be added that according to Pausanias, II, 28, 6, Orsobia, a daughter of Deiphontes, married Pamphylos, who according to the genealogy just quoted was the step-brother of Deiphontes' great-grandfather. The Heraclidae were settled at Marathon because there was a famous temple of Herakles, games, and a well named after his daughter Makaria <sup>15</sup>. It is related that because of this the Spartans did not devastate the Marathonian Tetrapolis in the Peloponnesian war <sup>16</sup>. The Athenians prided themselves on having helped the Heraclidae against their oppressor Eurystheus and used this topic pathetically in their conflicts with Sparta, accusing the Dorians of black ingratitude. Best known is the "Heraclidae" of Euripides. The myth is late, intended to enhance the pride of the Athenians in their humanity

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Rzach<sup>3</sup>, supplemented from Diodorus, IV, 37, 2, who does not mention Ktesippos, and Apollodorus, II, 7, 8, 8, where the reading is Oneites. According to Pherekydes, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 3, 24, Jacoby, in *Schol. Pind. Isthm.*, v. 104 g, Glenos was a son of Megara. These genealogies are late inventions which were not stabilized. Pausanias, IV, 30, 1, says that the town Abia in Messenia was named from the nurse of Glenos, and II, 19, 1 (ep. III, 16, 6), that Ktesippos was the great-grandfather of Deiphontes who became king of Argos and of whom a complicated story is told (see below p. 73). These genealogies do not add anything of importance.

<sup>14</sup> Cp. P. Friedländer, *Herakles*, pp. 146. His arguments are partly dubious but can be reinforced. The matter was already pointed out by Ed. Meyer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> The testimonies in S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte Attikas*, Diss. Lund, 1931, pp. 76. The games are mentioned by Pindar, *Ol.*, IX, v. 89, and *Pyth.*, VIII, v. 79.

<sup>16</sup> Diodorus, XII, 45; *Schol. Soph. Oed. Col.*, v. 701.

and well fitted to stir up the minds of the people against their foes.

The current myth was that the oracle promised success to the Heraclidae if they waited to return until after the third harvest. Relying on this oracle Hyllos made an attempt after three years but failed. He was slain in single combat with the king of Tegea, Echemos. He had misunderstood the oracle whose word "harvest" referred not to three crops but to three generations. We need not dwell upon the myth that Hyllos' son Kleodaios and his grandson Aristomachos made unsuccessful attempts<sup>17</sup>. They had misunderstood another word of the oracle, for when it ordered them to go by "the narrow place" they took this to be the Isthmus but the god meant the strait at Naupactus. The great-grandsons of Hyllos, Temenos, Kresphontes, and Aristodemos made a renewed attempt, crossing at Naupactus, and succeeded. Then they took as leader the "three-eyed man", Oxylos, who was rewarded with Elis. Here is apparently a confusion with the occupation of Elis by the north-western Greeks who were akin to the Dorians and came after them. This myth cannot but express Sparta's claims to overlordship over Elis, which very early, probably before the second Messenian war, became an ally of Sparta. The myth says that Aristodemos was killed by a thunderbolt at Naupactus, leaving two small sons behind him, Eurysthenes and Prokles, but the Spartans themselves asserted that Aristodemos led them to Sparta and that the mother of the twins was Argeie, a granddaughter of Teisamenos<sup>18</sup>. This Teisamenos is not said to be a son of Orestes, as usually, but a son of Thersandros and a grandson of Polyneikes, but both his name as well as that of Argeie seem to express Spartan claims of supremacy over Argos. It is to be noted that this genealogy is early, belonging to the fifth century B.C., and was especially Spartan. After the conquest the Heraclidae cast lots for the conquered countries. This was done in the old manner, by which every participant threw an object into a vessel which was shaken. It is said that

<sup>17</sup> Apollodorus, II, 8, 2, 4. *οἱ Κλεοδαίου παῖδες* is a blunder; the name is bracketed by Frazer in his edition.

<sup>18</sup> Herodotus, VI, 52.

the vessel was filled with water. The man whose lot came out first should have Argos, the second Laconia, and the third Messenia. The stone of Temenos came out first, secondly that of the twins of Aristodemos, but Kresphontes, who wanted the rich Messenia, had cunningly put in a clod of earth which was dissolved in the water. This story is evidently a Spartan invention, intended to justify their occupying Messenia through the deceit of Kresphontes.

These myths aim at justifying the possession of conquered territories or claims on others; we meet such myths again in civic politics. Eponyms were invented or artificially construed. The four old Ionian phylae, Aigikoreis, Argadeis, Hopletes, Geleontes, known from Athens and other Ionian cities, are certainly not derived from personal names. Some ancient authors were of the opinion that they designated the classes of the people: shepherds, workers, warriors or guards, farmers<sup>19</sup>. This seems likely, although the words cannot be interpreted with certainty. But as early as in the time of Herodotus, V, 66, eponyms had been abstracted from them: Aigikoreus, Argades, Hoples, Geleon, and they were said to be sons of Ion who had given Athens its first constitution. When ten new phylae were created through the democratic reform of Kleisthenes they were given names of Attic heroes, except for the Salaminian hero Aias, and these names, it is said, were chosen by the Pythia from a hundred proposed<sup>20</sup>. They are well-known. Aias and Hippothoon were mentioned above (pp. 30 and 55 respectively). Erechtheus, Aigeus, Pandion, Kekrops need no comment. Oineus was a son of Pandion, Akamas a son of Theseus, Antiochos a son of Herakles and Meda, a daughter of Phylas, king of the Dryopes; it is difficult to see what connection he had with Athens. Leon finally is unknown, but the name is said to be derived from Leos who sacrificed his daughters in a famine.

The three Dorian phylae are found almost everywhere where

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 143.

<sup>20</sup> Aristotle, *Athen. Pol.*, 21, 6. The eponyms had cults. Some phylae had appropriated old gentile cults, see Ph. Schlaifer, *Notes on Athenian public cults*, *Harvard Class. Studies*, LI, 1940, pp. 251.



Dorians settled but underwent many local changes <sup>21</sup>. Only those of them of which eponyms are known will be mentioned here. I begin with a late example, the phylae which were created at Messene after the country had become independent of Sparta: Kresphontis, Daiphontis, Aristomachis, Hyllis, Kleolaia <sup>22</sup>. Only Hyllis remains of the old Dorian phylae. Kresphontes, who got Messenia through deceit according to the Spartans, is a son of Aristomachos, Kleodaios <sup>23</sup> the father of Aristomachos and a son of Hyllos. The Messenians simply appropriated the genealogy of the Heraclidae when they constituted their state anew.

Other examples go back in a time so old that only mythical, not historical tradition is preserved. At Argos a fourth phyle, the Hyrnathioi, was added to the three Dorian phylae. Scholars agree that it was created to yield a place to the non-Dorian population. Argos took part in the democratic movement and was from of old at variance with Sparta. The eponym of this phyle is a woman, Hyrnetho. A pathetic story is told of her. Temenos, whose lot was Argos, put his confidence in Deiphontes, a great-grandson of Herakles' son Ktesippos, and married him to his daughter Hyrnetho. Temenos' sons feared that their father would give over the kingdom to Deiphontes and killed him. Dying he designated Deiphontes and Hyrnetho as rulers. As the sons of Temenos denied their guilt Deiphontes caused the inhabitants of Troizen, Asine, and Hermione, who were Dryopes and feared to be driven out by the Dorians, to fall off from Argos. The eldest son of Temenos, Keisos, appears as king of Argos and Deiphontes took refuge in Epidaurus, whose king Pitireus, a descendant of Ion, gave over the city to him willingly and went to Athens, — his son Prokles colonized Samos. The sons of Temenos marched to Epidaurus and tried to abduct Hyrnetho from her mate. A skirmish ensued in which Hyrnetho was killed. She was buried at Epidaurus in a place called Hyrnethion, where she had a hero-shrine in which she was venerated and a grove so sacred that not even a fallen tree might be

<sup>21</sup> See Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*, s. v. *Phyle*. It is to be regretted that this article is incomplete.

<sup>22</sup> *JG*, V: 1, 1433; cp. 1425; 1386.

<sup>23</sup> The change of Δ to Λ may simply be due to a misspelling.



touched. She had a tomb at Argos too whose genuineness Pausanias, II, 23, 3, doubts. These doubts are not unfounded, for Hyrnetho belongs to Epidaurus. Thus, it appears puzzling that an Argive phyle was named after her, but it is perhaps possible to find a plausible solution. Scholars are of the opinion that this story is a mythical reflex of some historical events, contests between the Dorians and the older inhabitants who especially were settled in the Argive peninsula where the towns mentioned are situated. Deiphontes is their representative<sup>24</sup>. Asine was inhabited by Dryopes, it was laid waste by the Argives about 700 B.C. and the Spartans settled the inhabitants at Asine in Messenia<sup>25</sup>. The other cities mentioned were independent in the historical age. It seems very likely that the myth contains reminiscences of struggles between the Dorians of Argos and the old population which was dominant in the cities of the Argive peninsula but certainly existed all over the country, and that finally the Dorians so far yielded to their claims as to create a phyle for them which was named after the Epidaurian heroine Hyrnetho.

The Dorians had settled at Epidaurus too, for there two of their phylae recur, Dymanes and Hylleis, the Pamphyloi are absent and instead of them two others are mentioned: Hysminiatai and Azantioi<sup>26</sup>. Nor do the Hyrnathioi appear. But in the early age the Epidaurians had all three Dorian phylae, for they are found on Calymnus and Cos and both these islands were colonized by Epidaurians according to Herodotus, VII, 99. The Azantioi recall an Arcadian people, the Azanes; ὁσμίνῃ, battle, is a Homeric word. The Elean Hysmon whose statue Pausanias, VI, 3, 9, saw at Olympia is not relevant. We are at a loss to know why these names were given to the new Epidaurian phylae, but they testify to some revolution in the constitution.

<sup>24</sup> Δαίφοντες in a list of freedmen, found in the Argive Heraeum refers probably to the Argive phratry, mentioned below, p. 75. *IG*, IV: 1, 529, l. 18.

<sup>25</sup> This tradition is confirmed by the Swedish excavations of Asine, see Frödin and Persson, *Asine*.

<sup>26</sup> *IG*, IV: 12, 28; cp. Latte in *Gnomon*, VII, 1931, pp. 115, and Wackernagel in my *Homer and Mycenae*, p. 178 n. 1.

Inscriptions inform us of phratries at Argos which probably were created by some democratic revolution <sup>27</sup>. The list is long: Τημενίδαι, Κλεοδαίδαι, Δαιφροντές refer to descendants of Herakles, Ναυπλιάδαι, Δαμοιτιάδαι to heroes of Nauplia and Troizen respectively, 'Ασινάδαι to the town of Asine, 'Αραχναίδαι to Mt Arachnaeum, Αἰθωνίδαι to a Thessalian hero commonly called Erysichthon, Λυκοφρονίδαι to a hero of the island of Cythera, Παιονίδαι to the Messenian hero Paion, Φανίδαι to someone named Anios, the only known personage who has this name is a priest-king of Delos. 'Αμφιαρητίδαι recall Amphiaraios, Αἰθαλῆες recur in Crete. Ἰάδαι, Κερκιάδαι, Σφυρήδαι, Δωριάδαι, Πωλαθέες, Σμυρεῖδαι, Φολλιάδαι, Μέγλαι, 'Αναϊτίδαι we are at a loss to explain. Most astonishing are the 'Ολισσεῖδαι, 'Αρκεῖδαι, Δραήπιπιδαι. The editor compares Arke(i)sios, the father of Laertes, and Damasippos, a son of Ikarios and brother of Penelope. These comparisons seem certainly to be right, but we do not understand what the house of Odysseus had to do at Argos.

We come back to the Heraclidae and to Kresphontes who was said to have acquired Messenia by deceit. His myth is told variously. The earliest version is found in a speech which Isokrates puts into the mouth of the Spartan crown prince Archidamos <sup>28</sup>, expounding the claims of the Dorians, derived from the deeds of Herakles and exhorting his people to oppose the Messenians who had been liberated by Epaminondas recently. He says that the Heraclidae claimed Argos because they were the sole descendants of Perseus, Laconia because Tyndareos had given it to Herakles who had reinstated him and was akin to his sons, and Messenia because Herakles had taken it in war from Neleus and his sons who had stolen the cattle of Geryones but entrusted it as a deposit to Nestor who had not taken part in the outrage. We see how the myths are varied and adapted according to the circumstance to political propaganda. The situation fits about 365 B.C. This version must be judged accordingly.

Archidamos says further that the Messenians went so far in impiety that they plotted against and killed Kresphontes, that his sons escaped to Sparta, implored the Spartans for help, and

<sup>27</sup> W. Vollgraff in *BCH*, XXXIII, 1909, p. 171, second century B.C.

<sup>28</sup> Isocrates, *Archidamus*, 22 et

gave over their country to them. The Spartans helped them on the advice of the gods, besieged the Messenians, forced them to surrender and thus acquired the country. This is a nice example how a myth can be remodelled to serve political propaganda, in this case to justify the Spartan occupation of Messenia. The other versions are quite different but the fixed point is the murder of Kresphontes. Apollodorus, II, 8, 4 et seq., relates briefly that he with two of his sons was murdered, that the kingship passed to Polyphontes, another of the Heraclidae, who took Kresphontes' widow Merope to wife against her will. The third son Aipytos had escaped, returned, killed Polyphontes, and recovered the kingdom. Pausanias, IV, 3, 7 et seqq. adds interesting details. The old inhabitants of Messenia yielded to the request of the Dorians to make Kresphontes their king and to divide the country, because they were suspicious of their old kings who belonged to the house of Neleus from Iolkos. Kresphontes' wife Merope was a daughter of the king of Arcadia, Kypselos, the youngest of her sons was Aipytos. As Kresphontes governed on the whole in the interest of the common people the men of property revolted and murdered him and his sons except for Aipytos who was being brought up by Kypselos. When he had grown up to manhood the Arcadians restored him to Messenia, supported by the sons of Aristodemos and Isthmios, a son of Temenos. He punished the murderers and won the Messenian nobles by blandishments and the common people by bounty. He rose so high that his descendants were called Aepytidae instead of Heraclidae. His son Glaukos imitated his public policy and private behaviour. He was succeeded by Isthmios, Dotades, Sybotas, and finally Phintas under whose reign the war with Sparta began. This is a consistent exposition drawn up by some historian whose work Pausanias excerpted, but this man drew of course upon earlier traditions. One of these seems to be that the old inhabitants of Messenia were not made slaves but in a certain degree were protected by the kings. It may be guessed that the Dorians who considered themselves as masters became discontented and because of this murdered Kresphontes. It may be noted that later the Messenians cherished the memory of Kresphontes and Aipytos. Pausanias, IV, 27, 6, says that at

the re-institution of the mysteries at Andania through Epaminondas they sacrificed to Kresphontes and Aipylos among the Heraclidae. At this time the Messenians and the Arcadians were allied against Sparta. If this is right we have here, as in Argolis, a reminiscence of controversies between the conquerors and the old inhabitants, following upon the Dorian conquest. In these two countries they led to a certain equalizing, not to an enslaving of the old inhabitants as at Sparta.

The relations of Messenia to Arcadia are more certain and relevant. Aipylos is the national hero of Arcadia whose tomb beneath Mt Cyllene is mentioned as early as the "Catalogue of the Ships"<sup>29</sup>. The mythographers split him up in three, this is of course secondary. The historical background of this myth is the alliance between the Messenians and the Arcadians against the common Spartan foe, the Arcadians helped the Messenians in their second war with Sparta. The unknown historian has brought in a contradiction in his exposition by adding from the other version that the Arcadians were supported by the Argive and Spartan kings. Sparta and Arcadia were never on good terms in the archaic age.

We need not dwell on the great mass of eponyms whose names are simply abstracted from those of the places or tribes and who have but insignificant myths, but finally we may notice a few myths from a time in which the historical circumstances are known. The Iamidae were a famous family of seers at home at Olympia. A scion of this house, Teisamenos, was so highly appreciated by the Spartans that they gave him and his brother the quite exceptional favour of Spartan citizenship, a little before the Persian war. Teisamenos served them as seer in five great battles, at Plataeae, Tegea, Dipaea, Ithome, and Tanagra<sup>30</sup>. Pindar relates the genealogical myth of the Iamidae in his sixth Olympic ode<sup>31</sup>, which is composed for another scion of the house who won a prize at Olympia, probably in 468 or 464 B.C. According to Pindar Pitane, the eponym of the Laconian place Pitane,

<sup>29</sup> *Iliad*, II, v. 603.

<sup>30</sup> Herodotus, IX, 33 et seqq.

<sup>31</sup> Wilamowitz, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, analyzes this myth in the excursus 'Ιάμων γοναί, pp. 162.

bore to Poseidon a daughter Euadne whom she carried to Aipytos, the Arcadian king, who ruled at Phaisana. This place is unknown but must have been situated on the upper part of the river Alpheus. Euadne bore to Apollo Iamos, the seer, the ancestor and eponym of the house of the Iamidae. The rôle of Pitane is curious, she does nothing but bear Euadne, and it is still more curious that she carries the child to Aipytos in the far-off north-western part of Arcadia<sup>32</sup>. This is but a makeshift to connect Euadne with Sparta, she was certainly in origin the full daughter of Aipytos, not his foster-daughter. This makeshift depends on the wish, caused by Teisamenos' Spartan citizenship, to connect his genealogy with Sparta. It was invented between 480 and 468 B.C. Pindar's ode was sung at a festival celebrated at Stymphalus, where another descendant of Iamos was at home, Aineias. In that decade the Spartans fought two great battles with the Arcadians. The political complications arising from this fact cannot be entered upon<sup>33</sup>.

Pausanias, X, 9, 5, describes a monument at Delphi with many statues, erected by the Tegeates because of a victory over the Spartans. The statues were: Apollo, Nike, the Arcadian heroes Kallisto, a daughter of Lykaon, her son, the eponymous hero Arkas, his sons by Erato, Elatos, Apheidas and Azan, to these was added Triphylos, a son of Laodameia, who was a daughter of the Lacedaemonian king Amyklas, and Erasos, a son of Triphylos. The inscription of this monument has been found<sup>34</sup> and shows that Pausanias made some mistakes. It states that the Arcadians, not only the Tegeates, erected the monument after having devastated Lacedaemon, adds that Zeus united himself with Kallisto, and that Erasos was a son of Gongylos' daughter Amilo.

The historical event which this monument commemorates is the devastation of Laconia by Epaminondas and the Arcadians in the winter 370/69 B.C. and perhaps a raid of the Arcadians

<sup>32</sup> The scholiast, *Pindar, Ol.*, VI, v. 52, felt this, saying that Aipytos found the child exposed when on a visit to Sparta.

<sup>33</sup> They are set forth tentatively by Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 182.

<sup>34</sup> H. Pomtow, *Ein arkadisches Weihgeschenk zu Delphi, Athen. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 15; Th. Homolle, *BCH*, XXI, 1897, pp. 276.



shortly afterwards. About the same time the unified Arcadian state was created; this new state erected the monument to show its glory. The three Arcadian heroes are well-known: Elatos was the father of Aipyros, Apheidas is at home at Tegea, and Azan is the éponym of the tribe of the Azanes. Triphylos is new and not recorded elsewhere except in Polybius, IV, 77, who says that he was a son of Arkas. Polybius was an Arcadian. Triphyliā is the country at the coast between the rivers of Alpheus and Neda <sup>35</sup>. This name too is new, it appears for the first time in Xenophon <sup>36</sup>. The name is rightly explained in Strabo, VIII, p. 337, as meaning that three tribes were united, but the ancients were at variance as to which these three tribes were. They agree concerning the Minyans who were settled here in the Mycenaean age, and as Herodotus, IV, 148, in his relation of the colonization of Thera, says that the Minyans, who were conducted by Teisamenos, a son of Thersandros <sup>37</sup>, turned on the Paroreatae and the Caucones, drove them out, and founded six towns, which later are those of Triphyliā, we have probably to suppose that the three tribes were the Minyans, the Paroreatae, and the Caucones. Paroreia was an Arcadian town which was incorporated in Megalopolis <sup>38</sup>, the Paroreatae were said to inhabit the mountains in Triphyliā near Lepreon and Makistos <sup>39</sup>. The Caucones are mentioned by Homer in his description of Telemachos' visit to Pylus <sup>40</sup>. Herodotus, I, 147, calls the kings of the Ionians Caucones from Pylus. Their eponym Kaukon had a tomb at Lepreon and has a great place in the history of the mysteries at Andania, having brought the mysteries from Eleusis. At their re-institution the priests sacrificed to the Great Goddesses and to Kaukon. Andania is near the Arcadian frontier and the Great Goddesses are specifically Arcadian. Thus both tribes seem to be related to the Arcadians. The towns of

<sup>35</sup> On the history of Triphyliā see B. Niese, *Drei Kapitel eleischer Geschichte*, in *Genethliakon C. Robert*, 1910, pp. 1, and Bölle's article *Triphyliā* in *Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyklopädie*.

<sup>36</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 5, 2, τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις.

<sup>37</sup> Cp. above p. 71.

<sup>38</sup> Paus., VIII, 27, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Strabo, VIII, p. 346.

<sup>40</sup> *Odyssey*, III, v. 366.



Triphylians were subject to the Eleans as their perioeci, but were discontented, and Lepreon turned to Sparta for help. King Agis marched against Elis in 402 B.C. and liberated the perioeci. The Eleans tried to reoccupy the district, but the Triphylians favoured the Arcadians. After the battle of Leuctra the Lepreates as well as some Arcadians sent troops to the Spartans, but as soon as Epaminondas appeared in the Peloponnese they attached themselves to the Arcadians and took part in the campaign against Sparta. This is the background of the creation of the eponymous hero Triphylos. Because of the friendship of the Triphylians with the Arcadians he was made a son of Arkas, but the Triphylians guarded their independence so far as to make him only a half-brother of the Arcadian heroes. They had reason for some gratitude to Sparta which had protected them earlier and showed this by making his mother a daughter of the Spartan king Amyklas. Erastos, his mother Amilo, and her father Gongylos are unknown, but Amilos is mentioned by Pausanias, VIII, 13, 5, as a village, earlier a town, north of Orchomenus in Arcadia.

Contemporaneous events<sup>41</sup> created Pisos, the eponym of Pisa in whose territory Olympia is situated. He is first mentioned in Pausanias. The Arcadians constituted Pisa as an independent city in 365 B.C., but its independence was brief. Pisos symbolizes this claim. He is said to be a son of the Messenian hero Aphareus or Perieres and to have married an Arcadian woman with the name of Olympias. The reason why she was so called needs no comments. This myth is a thread of the same web to which Triphylos belongs, the eponymous hero of Pisa was connected genealogically with the newly created states of Messenia and Arcadia.

Still in this time, the early part of the fourth century B.C., eponyms were created, with the intention of emphasizing and symbolizing the independence of a state and of impressing it upon public opinion. The newly created unified state of western Arcadia gave expression to its feeling of importance and power by erecting the gorgeous monument at Delphi which testified to its mythical glory to all Greeks.

<sup>41</sup> Niese, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26.

## CHAPTER III

### MYTHS IN POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

#### 1. THE GREEK CITY-STATE

Our survey has often touched upon the use of myths and genealogies for political propaganda, but this subject is so important and so characteristic of the Greek mind as to deserve to be expounded more fully. Because the literature of the age is almost exclusively Athenian sources referring to the democracy of Athens are abundant — even the speech of the Spartan crown prince Archidamos, related above p. 75, is written by an Athenian rhetor —, but it is sure that a like propaganda was used everywhere and extensively in the Greek cities. There was less place for myths in civic policy because of their intrinsic character, they could be used to inflame patriotic feelings, just as great historical deeds are nowadays, they are more prominent in dealings with other states.

However, an outstanding instance of the use of myths to impress sentiments of veneration for an old institution of the state is the tale of the institution of the Areopagus and the high praise bestowed upon it by Aeschylus in the end of his tragedy "The Eumenides". He solves the insoluble dilemma of the guilt of Orestes by making Athena create the court of the Aeropagus and refer the judgment to it. When we remember that this play was staged in 458 B.C. and that the Areopagus was deprived of its political influence a few years earlier, in 462/1, the opinion seems well founded that Aeschylus intended to exalt the authority of the Areopagus. It has been objected that Aeschylus speaks solely of the Areopagus as a court, not of its

abolished political rights, but when he calls it a safeguard of the land:

And if you honour this high ordinance,  
Then shall you have for land and common weal  
A stronghold of salvation, such as none  
Hath elsewhere in the world,

(Thomson)

his words are at least equivocal<sup>1</sup>, and the stressing of its integrity, v. 706, calls to the mind the accusations of dishonesty by which Ephialtes opened his campaign against the Areopagus. At all events Aeschylus was intensely interested in exalting the venerableness of this time-honoured body whose place in common opinion was at stake in those years, and he used to this purpose the myth of Orestes, the hardest problem of justice. The myth that Orestes was tried by the Areopagus seems to be an invention of Aeschylus, even if he drew upon some earlier traditions<sup>2</sup>.

This myth is echoed in the speech of Demosthenes against Aristokrates in the year 352 B.C. This man had proposed a decree conferring certain privileges on the condottiere Charidemus. The hypothesis of the speech adduces the clause: "that if anyone kills Charidemus he may be seized everywhere among the allies of Athens". Demosthenes argues that this clause infringes the rights of the Areopagus, which he exalts accordingly<sup>3</sup>. Ares was tried there, he says, for killing Halirrothios, a son of Poseidon, and Orestes was tried by the twelve gods.

<sup>1</sup> Aeschylus, *Eumen.*, v. 700,

τοῖόνθ' εἰ τοὶ ταρβοῦντες ἐνθίκως σέβας  
ἔρουμ' αὖ χῶρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον  
ἔχουσ' ἂν οἶον οὕτως ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι.

<sup>2</sup> An attempt has been made to prove that the Attic house of the Eupatridae was descended from Orestes, see J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 179; cp. Wilamowitz, *Aischylos, Interpretationen*, p. 189. Orestes appears also in the aetiological myth of the institution of the festival of the Choës. In the days of Aristophanes he had no good repute in Athens; *Acharn.*, v. 1167; *Aves*, vv. 712; 1490 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth., XXIII, 66; cp. 74.

In this he differs from Aeschylus who makes the Athenians give the verdict <sup>4</sup>.

Motives like this are on the whole rare, there was not much use for myths in domestic affairs. It can be added that Theseus is praised as the creator of the Athenian democracy, but he is also said to have been exiled by democratic intrigues <sup>5</sup>, an invention which can be ascribed to the anti-democratic party.

The tragedians knew that the public enjoyed it when they appealed to its patriotic feelings, and, perhaps, that it contributed to the success of their plays. Especially Theseus is presented as the representative of Athenian friendliness, humanity, and justice against the unhappy, the weak, and the pursued, as compared with the brutality of foreigners. Theseus was the ideal Athenian. Certain plays of Euripides, which are commonly attributed to the first part of the Peloponnesian war or a little later, are conspicuous for their political allusions. In the "Andromache" they consist chiefly in the picture of Menelaos and Hermione, a denunciation of Spartan perfidy and evil wives. The reference to the Molossian kingly house in the concluding speech of Theseus points perhaps to hopes of an alliance with the Molossians. The "Heraclidae" is devoted to the praise of Athens. When the herald of Eurystheus requires that the children of Herakles who have taken refuge to the altar of the gods shall be delivered up, the Athenian king Demophon protects them and, moreover, engages in a battle with the Argive king. Old Iolaos refers, vv. 740, to the time when he and Herakles devastated Sparta. Eurystheus is made captive and brought to Alkmene who has him killed. But before this he is so moved by the generosity of the Athenians that he asks to be buried in the soil of Attica and promises to protect it against its foes. His tomb was said to be at Gargettus not far from Pallene <sup>6</sup>. The play of "Herakles" begins with the arrival of

<sup>4</sup> Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, seems to infer that this version of the myth is older than that of Aeschylus. This is by no means certain. The earliest testimony in which the twelve gods appear in Athens is an altar dedicated by Pisistratus junior, Thucyd., VI, 54.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, VIII, p. 377; his head was buried at Trikorythos near Mara-

Herakles who saves his wife Megara and their children from the threats of the usurper Lykos, but Herakles is seized by madness and kills his children. Theseus who has heard of the attempt of Lykos comes with an army to protect the distressed, but he arrives too late after the terrible deed of Herakles. Thus, his rôle is to soothe and to comfort the unfortunate hero. The "Hiketides" is characterized in the *hypothesis* as a eulogy of Athens and this is true. The hate of Thebes is as conspicuous as in the "Herakles". The subject is the myth which was used by Aeschylus in his lost play, the "Eleusinians" <sup>7</sup>, and is mentioned by Herodotus (below pp. 89 et seq.), that Theseus braved the cruelty of the Thebans and had the Argive heroes who had fallen in the war of the Seven buried in spite of the attempt of the Thebans to prohibit it. Euripides makes Theseus vanquish the Thebans in a battle in front of the walls of Thebes; according to Aeschylus he carried his intention through by persuasion and treaties. The tombs of the fallen heroes were in the territory of Eleusis and the scene of the drama of Euripides is laid at Eleusis. Perhaps they were thought of as protectors of the country. Euripides says nothing of this, but Athena appears at the end of the play as *dea ex machina* and exhorts Theseus to make Adrastus, before he brings the bones of the dead to Argolis, swear that the Argives shall never wage war against Athens but help it if it is attacked. The ceremonies are described graphically and at last she refers to the vengeance taken on Thebes by the sons of the fallen heroes, the Epigonoi. Moreover, in a long passage, vv. 403—464, Theseus exalts the democratic institutions of Athens as opposed to monarchy. Finally attention may be called to two brief passages in the "Phoenissae". The seer Teiresias says, vv. 852, that he comes from Athens where he has made the Athenians victorious in the war with Eumolpos, i.e. the attack of the Thracians. No reason is conceivable for this passage except the wish to make the famous Theban

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than, but Pausanias, I, 44, 4, says that his tomb was in the Megarid near the Scironian rock where Iolaos had overtaken him; Eurip., *Heraklidae*, v. 860.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch, *Theseus*, 29.



seer favour Athens. At the end, vv. 1705, Oedipus says that his destiny is to die at Athens at Kolonos.

This myth was developed further by Sophocles in his "Oedipus Coloneus", a play which according to ancient information was staged after his death in the last years of the Peloponnesian war. In this play too Theseus is the representative of kindness and humanity and protects the unhappy blind old man against the Theban king Kreon who wants to abduct him by force to Thebes, because an oracle said that he would protect the country in which he was buried. But Oedipus knows that the gods have destined him to disappear at Kolonos, he walks himself to his tomb with all good wishes for Athens and promises that his tomb will be a defence against the attacks of foreign peoples. He implores Theseus to let the place be hidden from all. At the back of this request is the old custom of exhuming the bones of the heroes and transferring them to another country in which they were buried and the protectors of which they would be in the future<sup>8</sup>. Oedipus had, in addition to that at Kolonos, three more tombs of which none is genuine. Hints of his power of bringing disaster to those who drove him out and luck to those who received him are made in several passages, and in one passage a reference to a battle in which the Athenians vanquished the Theban cavalry under the walls of the city, perhaps near Kolonos. My aim is not to expound the influence of patriotic feelings upon the tragedians, only to adduce instances of their use of myths to this purpose. We see they drew largely upon them.

Myths belong to the inventory of a certain kind of oratory, intended to excite patriotic sentiments, the speeches delivered at the state funeral of those who had fallen in a war. They are composed according to a general pattern, surveying the glorious deeds of the Athenians, historical as well as mythical, except for one which has eclipsed them all, the famous speech delivered by Perikles which Thucydides records. In this myths are conspicuous by their absence. Plato wrote such a speech about 386 B.C., the "Menexenos". It is most bewildering and some scholars

<sup>8</sup> See my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, pp. 174.

<sup>9</sup> Sophocles, *Oed. Col.*, vv. 92; 411; 604; 621; Diodorus, XIII, 72.



tried to solve the riddle by declaring it to be a falsification, others by taking it as throughout ironical. These problems need not be discussed here, it is certainly a work of Plato<sup>10</sup>. He follows the pattern but mentions myths very briefly hinting at the mythical wars of the Athenians with Eumolpos, i.e. the Thracians, the Amazons, their defending the Argives, i.e. those fallen in the war of the Seven, against the Thebans, and the Heraclidæ against the Argives (p. 239 B). By far the largest part of its contents is a description of historical events. In this a passage is inserted praising the autochthony of the Athenians, mentioning the Pelopes, the Kadmoi, the Aigyptioi, the Danaoi who are by nature barbarians (p. 245 D); this refers to the Dorians, the Thebans, and the Argives who are said to be mixed with barbarians in contrast to the pure Greeks, the Athenians.

The funeral speech of Lysias was written about the same time. It relates precisely the same common places, but in more detail, the disastrous attack of the Amazons on Athens, the enterprise by which the Athenians forced the Thebans to deliver the corpses of the fallen Seven heroes which were buried at Eleusis, the help which the Athenians gave to the refugees, the children of Herakles, when Eurystheus requested that they should be surrendered, finally the myth that the Athenians were not a concourse of people from various countries but autochthons and that they had not expelled others from the country in which they lived.

The funeral speech which is preserved among the works of Demosthenes is not his. It mentions the same myths briefly and adds a comparison between the Trojan and the Persian wars. Heroes collected from all Greece needed ten years to take a single city, the deed of the Athenians was much more glorious, they not only vanquished the conquerors of a continent but also took vengeance for their ill-doings. The recounting of these topics is monotonous and so it seemed probably to the ancients themselves who heard them repeatedly. Therefore they are passed over with a brief mention, they could not be absent. The author of this speech has tried to vary it by an innovation, he introduces

<sup>10</sup> I refer to the analysis of Wilamowitz, *Platon*, II, pp. 126.

the eponymous heroes of the phylae exhorting their members to prowess and recounts their myths as examples of patriotism. Erechtheus sacrificed his daughters to save the country. The son of Aigeus, Theseus, instituted freedom of speech. The daughters of Pandion took vengeance on Tereus. The daughters of Leos sacrificed themselves in the interest of their country. Akamas went to Troy to liberate Theseus' mother Aithra. Oineus was the son of a god whom it is not becoming to mention on this occasion, viz. the son of Semele, Dionysos. Here a reference to the alliance of Athens and Thebes against king Philip is inserted. Kekrops is represented as half man, half dragon because his intellect was that of a man, his strength that of a dragon. Hippothoon was the son of Alope, Aias preferred death when he was deprived of the prize of prowess. Antiochos was a son of Herakles. Although the patriotism of these heroes is praised this enumeration is frigid. The phylae and their eponyms were artificially created. But as the army was divided into *taxeis* according to the phylae the eponyms may have become symbols of the feeling of unity among these bodies. We should, however, not forget that at this time wars were mostly waged by hired mercenary troupes.

It is wellknown how often later rhetors praise the mythical and historical deeds of the Athenians. I pass over them only mentioning that in an exhortative speech of a leader of the ephebes about 200 A.D.<sup>11</sup> the deeds of Theseus are presented as examples to the young people.

The funeral speeches were a rhetorical display which did not affect the audience deeply. They enjoyed them and they felt pride in the deeds of their forefathers; having heard them they turned to their business. These speeches are comparable to the grand speeches of our days at jubilee celebrations of great historical events. Their importance in political life is but small. Mythological arguments were of quite another weight when used in debates concerning foreign affairs. We do not grasp things rightly if we approach them with our prejudice that myths are fiction, not historical facts. To the Greeks heroic

<sup>11</sup> IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 2291 a, very mutilated.

mythology was their early history. Hekataios, Pherekydes, Hellanikos, and others worked it up in the fifth century B.C. They took the myths to be history, their concern was to expurgate and to coordinate the various myths. The occupation of the provinces of Greece by the peoples and tribes which lived there in the historical age had taken place in prehistoric times. If any reminiscences of these events survived they were clad in a mythical garb. But these myths were history to the Greeks and their right to hold the country which they inhabited was founded on them. The occupation of the Peloponnese by the Heraclidae was a historical fact to the Greeks and it justified the possession of the peninsula by the Dorians. We call it a myth, a fiction, but we must liberate ourselves from this modern prejudice if we would understand the importance of mythological arguments in the political controversies of the Greeks.

Mythological arguments were current and time-honoured in debates on foreign affairs. They appear in Herodotus who relates several instances from the time of the Persian wars. He mentions an answer of the oracle at Delphi in which they are adduced. When the Persians attacked Greece the Cretans asked at Delphi whether they should help the Greeks to defend their country. The Pythia answered "you cast blame upon the tears of the wrathful Minos, for the Greeks did not help to avenge his death at Kamikos, but you helped them to take vengeance for the woman whom a barbarian had abducted from Sparta" (VII, 169). Herodotus explains that Minos met his death in Sicily and that the Cretans besieged Kamikos, a town in that island, without success. This oracle is one of those which are treated below (pp. 125), showing that Delphi favoured the Persians, and is probably genuine. The Cretans refrained from taking part in the war against the Persians.

Dorieus, a brother of the famous Leonidas, was considered to be the best man of his age, but was passed over when a king at Sparta was appointed. He went abroad and tried to found a colony in Libya. As this attempt failed a seer, referring to the oracles of Laios, advised him to go to Sicily, for the whole tract around Mt Eryx belonged to the Heraclidae, Herakles having acquired it (V, 43). But this attempt also failed.

The story went that Xerxes in preparing his campaign against Greece sent heralds to the Argives to dissuade them from taking part in the war. The heralds reminded them that Perses, their ancestor, was a son of Perseus, the son of Danae, by Andromede, the daughter of Kepheus. Consequently the Persians were related to the Argives, being descended from them (VII 149). Herodotus comes back to this genealogy in another place (VII, 61). It may be doubted whether the envoys of Xerxes knew so much of recondite Greek genealogy — perhaps the Greek refugees had instructed them —, or the Argives used it as a subterfuge to avoid taking part in the war under the command of their old enemies, the Spartans. Herodotus adds that the Argives sent envoys to the court at Susa at the same time as that in which Kallias negotiated about peace, asking whether the friendship which they had made with Xerxes still subsisted or the king considered them as enemies. Artaxerxes affirmed that he considered no city to be a greater friend to him than Argos.

Mythological arguments play a great part in the debates concerning important decisions related by Herodotus. The Greeks sent messengers to the tyrant of Syracuse, Gelon, to ask for his assistance. He promised it on the condition that he should be chosen as the leader of the war. The Spartan envoy replied that the descendant of Pelops, Agamemnon, would lament if he heard that the Spartans had been deprived of the leadership by Gelon and the Syracusans. The Athenian envoy added that his people deserved the leadership next after the Spartans, while they were the oldest people of Greece and no immigrants — this is the time-honoured claim of the Athenians to be autochthons — while Homer says that the best man to arrange a battle-line was from Athens. The negotiations came to nothing (VII, 158 et seqq.).

An outstanding example is the oratorical debate between the Tegeates and the Athenians which preceded the battle at Plataeae (IX, 26 et seqq.). Each of them claimed the place of honour on the left wing. The Tegeates adduced the fact that their king Echemos had slain Hyllos in a single combat and prevented the Heraclidae from returning to the Peloponnese for a hundred years, the Athenians retorted that they had marched against

Thebes and buried the heroes who had fallen in the war of the Seven and were left unburied, that they had given protection to the Heraclidae, vanquished Eurystheus, that they had thrown the Amazons back and taken part in the Trojan war. We meet again, and in the earliest testimony, the current, time-honoured mythical deeds of the Athenians. Of course both parties referred, but more briefly, to historical events too, the Tegeates to their warfare against Sparta and others, the Athenians to the battle at Marathon.

Mythical arguments have a considerable place in speeches or pamphlets, written to influence public opinion on political questions of the day. For these speeches were not delivered but copies circulated among the public. The great man in this kind of propaganda was the rhetor Isokrates and his most famous work is the "Panegyricus", written to be read to the Greeks assembled at the Olympic games in 386 B.C. and said to be a programme of the second naval league of Athens. Referring to this speech Isokrates says in the beginning of another speech, the "Panathenaicus", that he preferred to write about that which was useful to his city and to the other Greeks to expounding mythical and miraculous tales, full of lies. This is not quite incorrect if the allusions to myths in the "Panegyricus" are compared with the bulk of this extensive speech, but he could not pass over the myths, mention of them was imposed by a binding tradition. However, he inserts them in his exposition in a more ingenious manner than others. He begins with the praise of the Athenians as autochthons, they have not driven out others and they are not a people mixed of many (23 et seqq.). Then he takes up very skilfully a topic which did not meet us in the authors mentioned previously, the Eleusinian mysteries, but we remember that about 418 B.C. the Athenians invited all Greeks to pay tithes to the Eleusinian goddesses. Demeter and Kore, he says, gave the two greatest gifts to humanity, the corn which made men live a civilized life and not in the manner of wild beasts, and the mysteries, the initiates of which have better hopes in regard to the end of life and the whole of eternity. Athens did not envy others such good things but made them



partakers of them <sup>12</sup>. This topic had become popular at the time. In the negotiations for peace at Sparta in 371 B.C. the dadouchos Kallias reminded the Spartans that Herakles, the ancestor of the Spartans, had been initiated by Triptolemos and after him the Dioscuri, and that Triptolemos had first given the fruit of Demeter to the Peloponnese <sup>13</sup>. How can it then be right, he asks, that you devastate their crops and that we are not willing to let them to whom we have given these keep plenty of food? This myth had a singular success. The claim of Athens to be the cradle of human civilization was founded on this myth not less than on its achievements in literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. It depended on the persuasion of the ancients that agriculture was the foundation of a lawful, social intercourse of human beings. Isokrates comes back to this idea a little later (39) saying that Athens was the first to institute laws and society, after mentioning that the Athenians, seeing that the Greeks were restricted to a small space, colonized the islands and Asia Minor after having vanquished the barbarians (35). This looks like a justification of the Athenian empire.

The same note is struck in the following. The Athenians always made their city common to all and protected those to whom wrong was done (52). This is exemplified by relating the myths of the suppliants who turned to Athens, the children of Herakles and Adrastos, the only survivor of the Seven heroes who attacked Thebes. We know them as unavoidable topics in the praise of Athens. To this he adds the services done by Athens to Sparta. When the Athenians had saved the Heraclidae, the ancestors of the Spartan kings, these were able to invade the Peloponnese, to acquire Argos, Laconia, and Messenia and to settle at Sparta (61). He concludes (64 et seq.): our ancestors surpassed all in so far as they imposed commands on the arrogant Thebans to protect the Argives and vanquished the Argives in war protecting the children of Herakles and saved the settlers and leaders of Sparta when in peril. The conclusion is obvious, the black ingratitude of the Spartans in carrying on war with Athens. In this part of his speech Isokrates dwells at length

<sup>12</sup> Cp. my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, p. 630.

<sup>13</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 3, 6.



on the myths and proceeds to mention the Scythians, the Thracians, and the Persians. The two first well-known myths are related at length, Eumolpos at the head of Thracian hosts and the Scythians in company of the Amazons attacked Athens. The Persians and the prowess of the Athenians in the war against them belong to the history which he expounds at length in the following parts of his speech. He emphasizes the hatred of the Athenians against the barbarians, quoting the proclamation of the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes at the begin of the mysteries which excludes the barbarians "as other manslayers", he adds (157). In the impressive conclusion (186) finally he asks: "when those who waged war against Alexandros, viz. Troy, earned so much praise, what praise should be bestowed upon those who vanquished all Asia?" This is the way to exalt historical events by comparing them with mythical deeds, a manner which is at the back of many passages quoted and which was applied to monuments of art in the Hellenistic age, e.g. the groups of statues, Titans, Amazons, Persians, and Gauls, dedicated by the Pergamene king on the Acropolis of Athens.

The "Panathenaicus" is a re-worked and much inferior version of the "Panegyricus", written when Isokrates was ninety four years old of age, a little before the battle at Chaeronea. The same topics recur: the colonization of the Cyclades after the expulsion of the Carians (43), the division of the Peloponnese between the Heraclidae (42; 177), Adrastus supplicating Theseus to have the fallen heroes buried (168 et seqq.), Eumolpos and the Thracians, the Scythians, the Amazons (193), the children of Herakles pursued by Eurystheus and saved by the Athenians (194), the autochthony of the Athenians, to which is added that Athens was ruled by kings of the same house from Erechtheus to Theseus (126), and finally that Theseus abdicated his kingship and gave over the power to the people (128). But he has some new points. The hatred against the Spartans, which he had reason to conceal when in the "Panegyricus" he exhorted the Greeks to unanimous action against the Persians, appears unveiled. To some objections of friends of Sparta who praise the Spartan institutions he replies by asking whether those who ruled Sparta many centuries earlier had no part in their creation,

the contemporaries of Theseus, Minos, Rhadamanthys, or Aiakos, who are praised because of such virtues (205). He stigmatizes the rapacity of the Spartans who subjugated important cities on the Peloponnese, illustrating it by the fame of these cities in olden times. These cities participated in the Trojan war, he says, Messenia sent Nestor who was the wisest man at that time, Lacedaemon Menelaos, who because of his prudence and justice was a favourite of the gods, Argos Agamemnon who possessed all virtues (70 et seqq.). The war which he led was not waged for himself nor because of the rape of Helen, but for averting the barbarians from Greece, that it might not be afflicted by such catastrophes as befell it earlier, the occupation of the Peloponnese by Pelops, of Argos by Danaos, of Thebes by Kadmos. It is intimated that the peoples of these cities were of barbarian origin: Pelops came from Asia Minor, Danaos was an Egyptian, Kadmos a Phoenician. The same topic was hinted at in the "Panegyricus" and mentioned in Plato's "Menexenus"<sup>14</sup>. In another place he enumerates the horrors related in myths (122), murders of brothers, fathers, mothers, and guests, unlawful intercourse, cannibal meals, exposure of children, murder by throwing into the water, blinding. The list is long and can be verified, and what he says in honour of Athens, that these horrors do not occur in its myths, is true. Finally it may be added that Isokrates here and in another place in regard to the myth of the Seven refers to the fact that these myths were known from the theatre. It shows the influence of tragedy upon the public.

The prevailing idea of Isokrates was the union of the Greeks for common action against the Persians. This hope proved to be an illusion and at the end of his life he turned his eyes to the king of Macedonia, Philip. We come back to this remarkable piece in another place (below pp. 101). Before this time he turned to the Cypriote kings. He wrote a eulogy of Euagoras some time after the death of this king in 374 B.C. and two speeches to his son Nikokles. He praises them as descendants of Aiakos, relating the deeds of their ancestors fully in the

<sup>14</sup> Isokrates, *Panegyricus*, 24; Plato, *Menexenus*, see above p. 86.

"Euagoras" (12 et seqq.). Teukros was the founder of Salamis in Cyprus. He hints at the subject in the "Nikokles" (42). It was natural for Greek thinking to carry the genealogies of royal houses back to a divine origin, the Spartan kings were from old said to be descendants of Herakles and Zeus. It became of greater importance when a little later monarchs established themselves as the mightiest men in politics.

The speech which Isokrates puts in the mouth of the Spartan crown prince Archidamos was mentioned above (p. 75). Some other allusions to mythology in other speeches may be added here. In the speech on the peace of the year 357 B.C. he again praises the Athenians as autochthonous (49). In the speech which he puts in the mouth of the Plataeans, who expelled by the Thebans, asked the Athenians for protection, he comes very properly back to the protection given by the Athenians to the Seven who fell at Thebes (53). It is a little astonishing that references to myths are very scarce in the speech in which he recommends the re-establishing of the power of the Areopagus as a means of correcting the faults of the Athenian democracy. He refers only very briefly to the prowess of the Athenians in their wars with the Amazons, the Thracians, the Peloponnesians, and the Persians as proofs of their innate virtues (75). But the myths in which the Areopagus played a part concerned its standing as a court, not its place in political affairs.

Isokrates is the most famous representative of political propaganda. We shall come back to him when speaking of king Philip (p. 101). The importance of the myths and the copious use of them in political discussions may meanwhile be illustrated by some other instances <sup>15</sup>.

When the Athenians sent Kallistratos to Arcadia in 366 B.C. to try to lead the Arcadians away from an alliance with Thebes and Argos the envoy laid blame upon Orestes and Oedipus because of their misdeeds, but Epaminondas replied strikingly: we grant that there is a murderer of his father in our city and

<sup>15</sup> They are found in the paper by Bickermann quoted below p. 101 n. 14, in p. 43 et seq.

a murderer of his mother at Argos, but the Athenians received them both <sup>16</sup>.

When Alexander marched through Thessaly against the rebellious Thebans he reminded the Thessalians of his and their relationship with the house of Aiakos. After Thebes had been taken there was a great oratorical fight. The Greek enemies of Thebes craved that it should be destroyed, recounting all the wrongs which the Thebans had done and adding the mythical horrors which filled the stage. Kleadas, one of the Theban captives, replied *inter alia* that Herakles from whom the Aeacidae were descended was born at Thebes and that even gods (Dionysos) were born there <sup>17</sup>.

In the year 343 B.C. Hyperides delivered a speech to the Amphictyons concerning Athens' rights of administering the island of Delos. It is lost but it is said that, wishing to prove that the sanctuaries of Delos (τὰ ἱερά) belonged to the Athenians, he made great use of myths <sup>18</sup>. In his speech on the faithless embassy Aeschines (31) relates briefly what he had adduced from the old myths in the negotiations with king Philip concerning the old ownership of the country and the so-called Nine Roads (Amphipolis), and the sons of Theseus of whom Akamas was said to have received the country as his wife's dowry.

Such mythical rights of possession were construed even in a later age. When the Pergamene king Attalos I in 209 B.C. had acquired the island of Aegina in a not quite honest manner, the Athenians discovered suddenly that through Herakles he was related to the hero of the island, Aias <sup>19</sup>.

Myths could be used for justifying hostilities too. The Syracusan tyrant Agathokles replied to the Corcyraeans complaining that he devastated their island: "because your forbears received Odysseus", and when the Ithacans complained that his soldiers had taken their sheep he retorted: "your king came to us and moreover blinded the shepherd" <sup>20</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Plutarch, *Apophthegm. reg.*, p. 193 C; *de reip. ger.*, p. 810 F; cp. Nepos, *Epam.*, 6.

<sup>17</sup> Justinus, XI, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Maxim. Planudes, *Rhetores graeci*, V, 481, ed. Walz.

<sup>19</sup> *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 885.

<sup>20</sup> Plutarch, *de sera num. vind.*, p. 557 B et seq.

## 2. FOREIGN PEOPLES AND KINGS

The propensity of the Greeks to connect the origins of foreign peoples with their own myths and to invent eponymous ancestors of them was old. In the very last lines of Hesiod's "Theogony" we read that Kirke bore to Odysseus Agrios and Latinos, the eponym of the Latins, and in a fragment of the "Catalogue of Women"<sup>1</sup> we hear of Arabs, a son of Hermes, and of Thronie, a daughter of Belos. Aigyptos appears in the old myth of the Danaids which perhaps goes back in the Mycenaean age<sup>2</sup>. Aigyptos is an eponym, not so Belos, a word which probably is a Greek form of the Semitic name of the god Baal. His genealogy is very varying. The earliest is found in Aeschylus' "Suppliants": Io — Epaphos — Libye — Belos — Danaos and Aigyptos. Belos is brought together with Egyptian mythical heroes, but other genealogies give him Phoinix, Kilix, Kadmos and others as sons. We find him further as founder of the Babylonian kingdom and of Babylon and as ancestor of the Persian kings. He had no fixed place in Greek mythology except that he belonged to the Orient. First he was connected with the country which was best known to the Greeks, but the just opinion that he was at home in the Semitic Orient added eponyms from this as his sons, and finally, as the Persians were lords of Babylon, he was made ancestor of the Achaemenids.

Hesiod tells us that Medea bore to Iason Medeios whom Chiron educated<sup>3</sup>. There is no hint that Medeios was considered as an eponym of the Medes, the name of the son of Medea is simply derived from that of the mother. This rôle fell to Medos, a son of Medea and Aigeus, with whom she fled to Asia where Medos founded an empire. Another version tells that, helped by his mother, Medos killed the brother of Aietes, Perses, who had possessed himself of Aietes' kingdom, and re-instated Aietes. These various versions are of no importance for our subject, we note only the fact that the similarity of a name of a foreign

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, fragm. 23 Rzach<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, v. 1001.



people to that of some figure of Greek mythology gave the clue to inventing an eponym and to connecting him and his people with Greek mythology. The same fact is evident in regard to the Persians. Their eponym Perses is first found in a book of Hellanikos with the title "Persica"<sup>4</sup> as a son of Perseus and Andromede, a daughter of Kepheus, who was a son of Belos. This genealogy led to the figment that the Chaldaeans were called Kephenes. In another fragment it is said that Perses founded Artaia, a Persian country, and that the Persians give the old inhabitants the name of Artaioi. Herodotus (VII, 61) knows the same myth. He says that the Persians were called Kephenes by the Greeks in an earlier time but by themselves and their neighbours Artaioi, and that Perseus and the daughter of Kepheus, Andromede, had a son Perses who remained with his grandfather<sup>5</sup>.

The Greeks took from early times a keen interest in foreign peoples and following their accustomed lines of thought they provided them with eponyms whom they connected with figures of their myths who had similar names. Thus, they were able to provide the foreign peoples which they knew with the early history like their own, which was needed. Such myths were used for political purposes as early as at the time of the Persian wars, if we trust the tale of the Argives quoted above (p. 89), and another which Diodorus, X, 61, has taken from Ephorus. The Persian general Datis, who was a Mede by birth and had heard from his forbears that the Athenians were descendants of Medos who had founded Media, sent a messenger to Athens and asked for the rule by right of inheritance. For Datis, who was older than the Medes, his own ancestors, had been deprived of the kingdom by the Athenians, went to Asia, and founded Media. Datis invented a myth and invented a founder with his own name, or, if the story is reliable, the Athenian refugees may be guilty of the figment; they were not unexperienced in such fiction. Miltiades corrected this, replying that an Athenian had

<sup>4</sup> *F. Gr. Hist.*, 4, 59 and 60 Jacoby, resp.

<sup>5</sup> On the interrelation of these tales see Jacoby, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 453.





certain starting point in the name of Odysseus' grandfather Arkeisios <sup>6</sup>.

The Thracian empire was soon dissolved and the new myth had no consequence for the future except for the localization of the old one in Thrace in certain later authors. The myths attached to the royal house of Macedonia which bordered on Thrace to the west gained a great and real importance because of the ascendancy of Macedonia. The Macedonians were a Greek tribe which had remained in backward conditions and were reckoned among barbarians by the Greeks. But Greek myth derived their royal house from Argos. Herodotus, VIII, 137, relates that Perdikkas, the seventh ancestor of king Alexandros who ruled at the time of the Persian wars, acquired the kingdom of Macedonia. He and his two brothers, descendants of the Heraclid Temenos, fled from Argos and arrived to Macedonia where they served the king as shepherds. The loaf baked for Perdikkas became always twice as great as that of the others. This seemed to be a miracle and the king dismissed the brothers. But they said that they ought to have their wages. The king pointed to a spot of sun which fell down through the smoke-hole in the roof and asked them to take it from there. The youngest of the brothers, Perdikkas, drew a line around the sun spot with his knife and put it into his bosom. The horsemen of the king who pursued them were prevented from reaching them by the rising of a river. They settled near the so-called Gardens of Midas and starting from there they conquered the rest of Macedonia. This is in the main outlines evidently an old folk-tale, but only the descent of the Macedonian royal house from the Heraclidae is of interest here. The reason why it could be carried back to Argos and the Heraclidae seems to be that there was a town with the name of Argos in the Macedonian territory, sometimes called Argos Orestikon to distinguish it from other towns with the same name, for it was situated in the district inhabited by the tribe of the Orestai. From the name of this town the family name of the royal house, the Argeadae,

<sup>6</sup> Eustathius *ad Iliad.*, XVI, v. 118; Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, pp. 182.

was derived <sup>7</sup>. This name would be a considerable help for connecting the dynasty of the Argeadae with Argos, although Orestes himself is not mentioned in the myth as related here <sup>8</sup>. There is, however, a difficulty. The territory of the Orestai <sup>9</sup> is in north-western Macedonia, bordering on Epirus, and the Orestai are sometimes said to be Epirotes, and Molossians by Hekataios of Miletus <sup>10</sup>. It seems doubtful whether they were Macedonians or Illyrians, viz. Epirotes. At all events their country was incorporated in Macedonia. Even if this took place at a later time than the invention of the myth, Argos Orestikon was well-known, and the geographical knowledge of the ancients was not much distinguished by exactitude. The myth did its service to the Macedonians and their kings. When king Alexandros wished to take part at the Olympic games the competitors wanted to exclude him as being a barbarian, but after he had proved that he was an Argive the Hellenodikai decided that he was a Greek and allowed him to take part. Herodotus, V, 22, who relates this adds that according to his opinion the claim of the descendants of Perdikkas to be Greeks is just.

Another version is probably due to Euripides who wrote a play "Archelaos" during his stay at the court of this king. He makes Archelaos a son of Temenos who fled and went to Macedonia (*sic!*) where king Kisseus was nearly overwhelmed by his enemies. Archelaos vanquished them but instead of remunerating him the king laid an ambush for him. He was saved and the king was killed through his own device. According to an oracle Archelaos fled to Macedonia and founded the city of Aigai, the residence of the Macedonian kings, led to the place by a goat <sup>11</sup>. This freely invented version was not accepted, the old version

<sup>7</sup> Appianus, *Syr.*, 63.

<sup>8</sup> Theagenes who composed a book on old Macedonia said that Orestes went with Hermione to this country and had a son Orestes, after whom the tribe was called Orestai, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, 1, 107, Jacoby, but as far as the fragment goes Orestes is not connected with the royal house of Macedonia. It would have been a simple consequence if the story continued with this.

<sup>9</sup> See the article *Orestai* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*.

<sup>10</sup> *Fr. gr. Hist.*, I, 107, Jacoby.

<sup>11</sup> Diodorus, VII, 15; see C. Robert, *Die griech. Heldensage*, II, pp. 669.

was favoured, but it was said that not Perdikkas but his father Karanos, a son of Pheidon, came to Macedonia.

The full importance of this myth appeared when the great king Philip extended his power to Greece. His enemies reviled him as a barbarian, but in fact the Greeks acknowledged him as a descendant of Herakles. As such he was able to get two votes in the venerable assembly of the Amphictyons when it was reorganized in 346 B.C. after his victory over the Phocians. These votes were given to him personally and his heirs<sup>12</sup>, not to the Macedonians. His descent from Herakles may have justified the erection of the Philippeum at Olympia after 338 B.C., in which statues of himself, his father Amyntas, his son Alexandros, his queens Olympias and Eurydike made by Leochares were placed<sup>13</sup>. It is rightly said that Philip's descent from the Heraclidae was the given foundation of the Macedonian propaganda in his time and that the ideas set forth in Isokrates' letter to Philip are founded upon it<sup>14</sup>. The great idea of Isokrates was the union of the Greeks for a common attack upon Persia, the hereditary foe. His words stirred some sensation, his speeches were read, commented on, and moved perhaps some educated people, but he spoke to deaf ears of the politicians and the mass of the popular assembly. Finally he put his hope in the mighty king who established his preponderance in Greek politics. Soon after the peace of Philokrates he wrote a speech in the form of a letter to Philip, exhorting him to be the leader of a united Greece and of the war against the barbarians (16). The right to be so is justified by his descent from Herakles. His fatherland is Argos and it is just that he should take the same care of it as his ancestors. The Thebans venerate the founder of his house by processions and sacrifices more than any others. The Lacedaemonians gave the kingship and the leadership to his descendants for ever. Athens helped to invest Herakles with immortality and saved his children from the threats of Eurystheus.

<sup>12</sup> P. Cloché, *BCH*, LX, 1916, pp. 83.

<sup>13</sup> Paus., V, 20, 10.

<sup>14</sup> E. Bickermann und J. Sykutris, *Speusipps Brief an König Philipp*, *Berichte, Akad. Leipzig, phil.-hist. Kl.*, LXXX: 3, 1928, p. 23, a most important paper for our problem especially in respect to our following exposition.

Because of this their descendants have a heavy debt of gratitude to Athens (32 et seqq.). It appears that Philip is linked up with the principal Greek states.

In another place Isokrates comes back to Herakles and promises to call attention to something which people have not yet heeded. Philip's ancestor was prominent more because of his wisdom, ambition, and justice than because of his corporeal strength. When he saw that Greece was filled with wars, discord, and other disasters he put an end to it, reconciled the cities with each another and showed to posterity with whom and against whom war ought to be waged. For he undertook a campaign against Troy, at that time the mightiest city of Asia, and he distinguished himself so much in comparison with those who later besieged Troy, that he took the city in fewer days than the years which these needed for the same purpose. After this he killed the kings on both continents and erected the so-called pillars of Herakles as monuments of his victories over the barbarians and records of his virtue and the perils which he had encountered and as marks of the frontiers of the Greek land (109 et seqq.). Somewhat gratuitously Isokrates pictures Herakles as the prototype of the achievements which he hoped Philip would perform, exhorting him to emulate his ancestor. He projects his programme back into the mythical age.

References to Herakles are dispersed throughout the speech. In a passage Isokrates says that if someone accused the Persian king of preparing an attack on the Greeks this would not imply any blame on him, but if someone directed the same accusation against one of the descendants of Herakles, who was the benefactor of all Greece, this would imply the greatest shame (76). He polemizes against those many who represented Philip as the foe of the Greeks. After having expounded the reasons why it would be useful to Philip to be the leader of the war against the Persian king he says that other descendants of Herakles who are bound to a certain state and certain laws ought to love the city in which they live, but Philip ought to consider all Greece as his fatherland, precisely as his ancestor did, and to take risks on its account (127). In the end he appeals to Philip's desire of honour. He asks him to remember that no



writer, no poet has praised the riches of Tantalos, the kingdom of Pelops, the power of Eurystheus, but that all praise those who, after the superiority of Herakles and the virtue of Theseus, undertook the campaign against Troy. Although the best and most famous men lived in small towns and islands, they left a god-like fame among all. For all do not love those who have acquired the greatest dominions for themselves, but those who have conferred the greatest benefits on Greece (144 et seq.). In fact Isokrates promises Philip that his praise will be sung by another Homer.

This speech has been judged variously, and certainly the hopes which Isokrates put in the generosity of Philip were somewhat naïve. I refrain from a discussion but remark that the programme proposed by Isokrates was carried through by Philip and his son, though with more violent means than Isokrates had hoped. The discord of the Greeks could not be soothed by beautiful periods and impressive words or by references to the old myths. But as stated, the latter were the ideal foundation of the propaganda for king Philip.

There were men in Athens who were more pro-Macedonian than Isokrates. One of them was Speusippos, Plato's nephew and successor as head of the Academy. A letter of his to Philip is preserved. Its authenticity is proved and it is dated exactly in the winter 343/2 B.C. in the paper mentioned above (p. 101 n. 14), in which the text is printed and a valuable commentary is added. It is a letter of recommendation for a certain Antipatros from Magnesia who lived in Athens writing a Greek history. Speusippos relates his views and endorses them. The criticism is directed against Isokrates' letter to Philip, just related above. Speusippos' letter begins with the statement that Isokrates has not related the benefits which Philip and his ancestors have done to Greece, nor refuted the calumnies put about by certain persons. He ought to have done this because of Philip's relationship to Athens. For when a law prohibited the initiation of foreigners in the Eleusinian mysteries, Herakles was adopted by Pylios for this purpose. Consequently Herakles was an Athenian citizen and Isokrates might have addressed Philip as a fellow-citizen. Then he exalts the services which the Mace-



donian king Alexandros had done to the Greeks in the Persian war. Further he objects to the blame laid on Philip because of the destruction of Olynthus. People have suppressed it, he says, but it will be useful to Philip to know that in origin the district of Olynthus belonged not to the Chalcidians but to the Heraclidae. In the same manner Neleus in Messene and Syleus in Amphipolis, being villains, were slain by Herakles, and Messene was given in trust to Nestor, Neleus' son, and the district of Phyllis, viz. Amphipolis, to Dikaïos, Syleus' brother. Much later Kresphontes received Messene, but Athenians and Chalcidians possessed themselves of the district of Amphipolis in spite of the fact that it belonged to the Heraclidae. Likewise Herakles slew the tyrant of Sparta, Hippokoon, and Alkyoneus of Pallene, both being villains and lawless men, and entrusted Sparta to Tyn-dareos and Potidaea and the rest of Pallene to Sithon. The sons of Aristodemos received Laconia when the Heraclidae came back, Pallene was occupied by Eretrians and Corinthians and Achaeans returning from Troy, although it belonged to the Heraclidae. Antipatros related further that Herakles likewise killed the tyrants Tmolos and Telegonos, the sons of Proteus, in the district of Torone and Kleides and his sons near Ambracia and that he entrusted the district of Torone to Aristomachos, a son of Sithon, and that of Ambracia to Ladikes and Charattes. He deems it to be just that these deposits be given back to the descendants of Herakles. By these myths, which are skillfully interwoven with old myths of the Heraclidae but which Isokrates did not mention, Antipatros and Speusippos are able to justify the conquests of king Philip and his claims of overlordship over the Greek states. The story of Ambracia is not recorded elsewhere and is in so far remarkable as it refers to an unsuccessful enterprise of Philip. He marched against Ambracia in the winter 343/2 B.C. but was prevented by a diplomatic and military intervention of the Athenians from carrying out his plan. Antipatros tried to justify it in advance; the date of Speusippos' letter is given by this fact. Further precedents are adduced for Philip's reception among the Amphictyons. The Phlegyans were vanquished by Apollo, the Dryopians by Herakles, and the Crisaeans by the Amphictyons, all

these peoples lost their votes which were given to others who became members of the Amphictyony. Likewise Philip received the two votes of the Phocians as a reward for his military intervention, protecting Delphi. These tales are certainly invented by Antipatros, for they are not mentioned elsewhere.

This letter is unusually full of references to myths, some of them are bold inventions, one invented for the purpose of giving reasons for an enterprise which failed. This is an extreme and most flagrant instance of the use and abuse of mythology for political propaganda. The author knew it, for finishing his account of the myths he says that they may be useful for Philip's power. This was needed to overcome the reluctance of the Greeks to Philip's plans. Philip himself appreciated the propaganda, Polybius (III, 6, 13) speaks of his plan to attack Persia as a means of gaining the sympathies of the Greeks.

Epirus bordered on Macedonia in the west. The inhabitants were not Greeks<sup>15</sup> and the chief tribes were the Thesprotians, the Chaonians, and the Molossians. Epirus never played any part in history except for the reign of king Pyrrhos, a condottiere who simply used his inherited kingdom as a starting point for his ambitious enterprises. The knowledge of the country reached the Greeks from the sea side where the Thesprotians were settled; they are mentioned in the Odyssey. The Chaonians lived north of them. Certain myths were attached to these two tribes but they are not of importance here, for both tribes were subjugated by the Molossians, probably before the fifth century B.C. The Molossian kingdom comprised the whole of Epirus. The Molossians were an inland tribe, and it is to be noted that their territory reached down on the eastern slopes of the mountain range which separates their country from Thessaly.

During the fifth century B.C. the Epirotes were drawn into Greek politics and began to be hellenized<sup>16</sup>. This brought it about that the genealogy of their royal house was carried back into the Greek mythical age. The starting point must be earlier,

<sup>15</sup> See in the last instance my remarks, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1914, p. 546, n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> I treated this subject fully in my *Studien z. Gesch. des alten Epeiros*, *Lunds univ. Årsskrift*, N.F., I, vi: 4, 1909.

the emigration to Epirus of Achilles' son Neoptolemos with Andromache, who fell to his lot when the spoil of Troy was divided<sup>17</sup>; some say that they were accompanied by the seer Helenos. The Molossian royal house had a glorious origin. Pindar and Pausanias say that Neoptolemos came over sea, others make him travel by land and they are probably right, for we shall presently see that the royal house is derived from Pielos or Piales, who was the eponym of the Molossian sub-tribe of the Pialeis, and their town Pialeia, which was situated near the Thessalian frontier, is called a Thessalian town in Stephanus Byzantinus. It seems to be most likely that the Molossians appropriated the myth of the wanderings of Neoptolemos from Thessaly and made him an ancestor of their royal house. This is the first example which meets us of the wide-spread use of the myths of the wanderings of the heroes returning from the Trojan war in order to connect foreign and far-off cities and peoples with Greek myths.

The genealogies of the royal house of the Molossians are divided in two classes, the difference being whether Lanassa appears as Neoptolemos' queen or not. We shall presently see that the genealogy in which she appears must be later than the other. This older genealogy is mentioned only in Pausanias, I, 11, 1 et seq. He draws upon the historian Teukros of Kyzikos who probably lived in the last century B.C. According to him Pyrrhos, which is another name of Neoptolemos, and Andromache had three sons, Molossos, Pielos, and Pergamos. Pergamos is not the eponym of the capital of the Attalids in Asia Minor, but of a tribe or town in Epirus<sup>18</sup>, but perhaps Teukros who was a citizen of Kyzikos, a city which had many connections with Pergamon — the famous queen of Attalos I was a Cyzicene by birth — was casting a side long glance at the glorious city of the Attalids. The eponym Molossos is an empty name, the royal house is said to be descended from Pielos. This name recurs in Justin in the form Piales. Evidently Pielos was the ancestor of the royal house according to the traditions of

<sup>17</sup> It is first mentioned by Pindar, *Nem.*, VII, v. 37.

<sup>18</sup> This is shown from an inscription by Louis Robert, *Pergame d'Épire, Hellenica*, I, 1940, pp. 95.

the Molossians themselves, and because of this the eponym Molossos could not find room beside him. Achilles too was identified with a Molossian hero, Aspetos<sup>19</sup>. Greek and Molossian traditions were fused.

In the other class of genealogies Lanassa, a daughter of the Heraclid Kleodaios, a son of Hyllos, is said to be the queen of Neoptolemos-Pyrrhos, Andromache is degraded to a concubine and her children by Neoptolemos to bastards<sup>20</sup>. The cause of this innovation is clear. The famous king Pyrrhos married a daughter of the Syracusan tyrant Agathokles with this name and the remodelling of the genealogy is made in her honour. It goes back to a historiographer Proxenos who probably was a contemporary of this king and wrote a book with the title "Epirotica". Justin says that the mythical Pyrrhos and Lanassa had eight children, among whom was Piales, and that some of their daughters married neighbouring kings. The latter notice is of course intended to give a reason for the supremacy of the Molossian king over the chiefs of these tribes. The scholion on Euripides is more interesting but unfortunately corrupt. According to it the children of Neoptolemos by Andromache were: Pyrrhos, Molossos, Aiakides, Troas — we come back to these names below — and his children by Leonassa (this is simply the Attic form of Lanassa): Argos, Pergamos, Pandaros, Dorieus, *εραος*, Danae, Eurylochos, seven in stead of eight, we must add Piales from Justin. These names are remarkable. The father of king Pyrrhos was called Aiakides, his grandmother and one of his daughters Troas. This is invented to glorify the family of king Pyrrhos. Some names of the children of Lanassa are explained by the political aims of this king. His legitimate wife is a descendant of Herakles. A son is called Argos, another Dorieus; Pyrrhos tried to possess himself of Argos as well as of Sparta. Danae was famous in Argive mythology. Why the Homeric heroes Eurylochos and Pandaros are added escapes our knowledge. *εραος* is corrupt, in the scholion to v. 32 is read *γενυον*. No correction can be made with any certainty.

<sup>19</sup> Aristotle in Hesych. s. v.; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 1.

<sup>20</sup> Plutarch, *loc. cit.*; Justin, XVII, 3; *Schol. Eurip. Androm.*, v. 24.

These bold inventions are certainly due to Proxenos who made them to flatter the mighty king. They show an unsurpassedly excessive abuse of mythology. The Molossian royal house was eager for a charter of Greek nobility. The first known kings have native names, Tharyps and Arrybas, all other male members of the house have names taken from the Trojan myth: Neoptolemos, Pyrrhos, Alexandros, Teukros, Helenos, Aiakides, Nisos, but the names of the princesses are, except for Andromache, not Homeric. But Troas refers to Troy, Olympias to the famous games of Olympia, Kadmeia to Thebes. Deidameia has the name of the beloved of Achilles, Nereis refers probably to the mother of Achilles, the Nereid Thetis. This plundering of mythical names is contrary to the principles of Greek nomenclature in the classical age in which heroic names were not given to living men. The whole story shows the overdone eagerness of a barbarian house to appear as heroic Greeks <sup>21</sup>.



The ruler cult was from the age of the Epigoni the state religion of the Hellenistic monarchies in the East, but not in Macedonia, where old traditions prevented it, and the Pergamene kings, who are said to be the most Greek of the Hellenistic monarchs, were divinised only after their death <sup>22</sup>. The Diadochs, the successors of Alexander, did not impose their cult, they accepted it, when offered by the Greek cities, as a tribute due to their power. Ptolemy II Philadelphus was the first to make the ruler cult a state institution. The Diadochs tried, however, to find means to legitimize their position. They attached themselves to Alexander whose head they put on their coins, and to the royal Macedonian house which was descended from Herakles. In the beginning of his career Alexander himself emphasized his descent from Herakles. He sacrificed to him

<sup>21</sup> See my paper, pp. 8 (quoted above p. 105 n. 16).

<sup>22</sup> See my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, II, pp. 137.



when he succeeded in crossing the Danube and the Hellespont, and when the Tyrians refused to let him enter their city to sacrifice to Herakles, with whom the Greeks identified the god of Tyre, Melkart, he besieged and took the city. It is said that he dreamed that Herakles bade him welcome and introduced him into the city. But after his visit to the oracle of Zeus Ammon in the great oasis he claimed to be a son of Zeus. Popular fancy took hold of his divine nature and told legends of his birth. His mother was said to have dreamed that a thunderbolt struck her belly and that a great fire sprang forth and spread everywhere, or it was told that a dragon was seen lying beside her. He was of course the incarnation of a god. A similar legend was told of the birth of Plato by his nephew and successor Speusippos, Apollo being said to be his father<sup>23</sup>. Myths tell of many children begotten by gods in animal shape with mortal women; it is significant that these old tales were revived in the fourth century B.C., enhancing the divine nature of great men. Mythology served still to exalt them above the sphere of common mortals.

The Hellenistic kings attached themselves to the Argeadae, the royal house of Macedonia, and by this device they were considered to be descendants of Herakles. According to Satyros, a writer of biographies who lived in Egypt in the third century B.C., the mother of Ptolemy I, the son of Lagos, Arsinoe, belonged to a side branch of the Macedonian royal house, being a great-granddaughter of king Amyntas I<sup>24</sup>. But this genealogy was improved. In his eulogy on Ptolemy II Theocritus says that Zeus gave to Ptolemy, Lagos' son, the like honour as to the gods and a golden house in his palace and introduces him and Alexander seated alongside each other vis-à-vis Herakles. He is divinised as Alexander was. Both are descended from the strong Heraclid and both count in the last instance Herakles as their ancestor, he says. Theocritus does not relate the genealogy nor does he give any hints who the strong Heraclid is, it may be Karanos or Temenos. The divinity of Ptolemy, Lagos'

<sup>23</sup> Plutarch, *Alex.*, 2; Diog. La., III, 2, respectively.

<sup>24</sup> References in H. Berve, *Prosopographie des Alexanderreiches*, II, p. 330; W. W. Tarn, *The Lineage of Ptolemy I*, *JHS*, LIII, 1933, pp. 57.



son, is strongly emphasized, his cult had been instituted. Arsinoë's descent from the Macedonian royal house was denied by others. Ptolemy I was said to be a son of the great king Philip and Arsinoë, who had been the mistress of Philip before she married Lagos, surely a gratuitous invention <sup>25</sup>.

The Antigonids too posed as Argeadae. Demetrius Poliorcetes had for a brief time ruled Macedonia, his son Antigonus Gonatas acquired the Macedonian kingdom and left it to his descendants. Polybius, V, 10, 10, says that Philip V strove to prove himself a relative of the great king Philip and of Alexander, and Plutarch that Perseus claimed to be related to them by blood <sup>26</sup>. According to Livy this was acknowledged by the Greeks. The people of Argos choose Philip V to take care of the Heraean and the Nemean games because the Macedonian kings were descended from their city, and when the assembly of the Achaean League was about to vote for the alliance with Rome against Philip V in 198 B.C. the Megalopolitans, the Dymaeans, and some of the Argives withdrew, the Argives because many were bound with private friendship with Philip <sup>27</sup>. Mythology still did service for political ends. But the claims of the Antigonids to be descendants of the Argeadae certainly go further back, probably to Demetrius Poliorcetes, as Edson shows in his paper quoted below.

We know much less about the Seleucids, but when some inscriptions and a parchment from Doura mention priests of their ancestors the question is raised who these ancestors were, and when Antiochos I (or II) says in a letter to the Erythraeans <sup>28</sup> that his ancestors always took care of the city, it seems likely that he refers to the Argeadae. It may be added that the kinglet Antiochus of Commagene who imitated the Seleucids starts his maternal lineage with Alexander <sup>29</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> C. F. Edson jr., *The Antigonids, Heracles, and Beroea*, *Harvard Studies in Class. Philology*, XLV, 1934, p. 222, n. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Plutarch, *Aem. Paullus*, 12.

<sup>27</sup> Livy, XXVII, 30, 9; XXXII, 22, 11 respectively.

<sup>28</sup> *OGI*, 223, 1. 23.

<sup>29</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Ἱστορία*, *JHS*, LV, 1935, pp. 56; cp. my *Gesch. d. griech. Rel.*, II, pp. 156.

As Professor Rostovtzeff admits, these considerations are uncertain. Perhaps the Seleucids attached less value to the descent from the Argeadae because they claimed a still more illustrious origin, from Apollo himself. Apollo is said to be the archegetes of the house in a decree of the Ilrians for Antiochus I<sup>30</sup>, and this phrase is often repeated in inscriptions. Below a hymn to Asklepios from Erythrai is added in good lettering of the third century B.C.: "at the libations praise Seleukos, the son of the dark-haired Apollo, whom the god with the golden lyre himself begat"<sup>31</sup>. Justin, XV, 4, relates the legend. The mother of Seleukos, Laodike, was married to Antiochos, a general of Philip's. She dreamed that she conceived a child by Apollo, that she received a ring from the god, on which an anchor was engraved, and was enjoined to give this ring to the son whom she should bear. The ring was found in the bed the day after and the figure of an anchor appeared on the thigh of the child Seleukos. Laodike gave the ring to Seleukos when he started with Alexander for Persia and informed him of its origin. When he had founded his empire he gave to his capital Antiochia the name of his human father and consecrated the neighbouring fields to Apollo, — the author has the famous temple of Apollo at Daphne in view —. His descendants too bear a mark of their origin, for his sons and grandsons had on their thighs an anchor, a testimony to their origin. This is another instance of the legend telling how a famous man was begotten by a god, such as were told of Plato and Alexander. But this legend is hardly popular, it is more similar to the former legend than to the latter, and it is embellished by a motif, well-known from the New Comedy, the sign of recognition, the ring which the lover gives to the maiden with whom he has intercourse. In view of the persistent mention of the origin of the Seleucids from Apollo it seems that this legend was accepted officially or at least was sanctioned by the Seleucids themselves.

Still in the age of the Diadochs mythology was called in to create a legitimate basis for their kingship. But it appealed

<sup>30</sup> *OGI*, 219, l. 26.

<sup>31</sup> Wilamowitz, *Nordjonische Steine*, *Abh. Akad. Berlin*, 1909, p. 47.

solely to the Greeks, for their Oriental subjects it was of no importance. As time went on the Epigoni found in the ruler cult an ideal foundation for their power which comprised all the inhabitants of their State. But it was unknown in Macedonia where the old Greek ideas and traditions lingered on. And there only we find the people really attached to their royal house, the descendants of the Argeadae and of Herakles.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE USE OF MYTHS IN THE LATE AGE

Even after the Greek cities were compelled to bow down to the Great Powers of the Hellenistic Age and finally to Rome, they did not forget their mythical claims. They were useful as arguments when contests concerning territories were to be decided by the rulers, for these too had a reverence for old myths and cults, and the local patriotism, which was very active, took a pride in and collected old myths. Sometimes new myths were invented to enhance the glory of a city.

In the borderland between Messenia and Laconia a temple of Artemis Limnatis was situated: from of old this temple with its surrounding territory was a bone of contention between the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians<sup>1</sup>. Pausanias tells the story, or more correctly, two differing versions of the story, at length<sup>2</sup>. Both peoples had part in the sanctuary and celebrated a festival there<sup>3</sup>. The Lacedaemonians said that the Messenians had violated Laconian virgins who had come to the festival and killed the Spartan king Teleklos who tried to prevent their deed; the violated virgins had committed suicide for shame. The Messenians said on the contrary that, because of the fertility of the land, Teleklos had plotted against the foremost men

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the site see W. Kolbe, *Die Grenzen Messeniens*, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, pp. 364, and *Bericht über eine Reise in Messenien*, *Sitz.-ber. Akad. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 60; N. Valmin, *Études topographiques sur la Messénie ancienne*, Diss. Lund, 1930, pp. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., IV, 4, 2 et seqq.; brief references IV, 31, 3, and III, 7, 4; Strabo, VIII, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Griech. Feste*, p. 211.

of the Messenians who had come to the sanctuary, laid an ambush for them, selecting unbearded Spartan youths whom he dressed in women's clothes and fell upon the Messenians when these were resting. In defending themselves, the Messenians killed the youths as well as king Teleklos. Having a bad conscience the Lacedaemonians did not ask for satisfaction. Strabo refers briefly to the Spartan version. Clearly, in olden times the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis was visited by Lacedaemonians as well as Messenians and became an object of contest between them. Once upon a time some skirmish with deeds of violence may have taken place which, later on, each people described differently according to its interests.

The controversy was brought before the Roman senate in the year 25 A.D.<sup>4</sup> The Spartans appealed to old annals and poems: the place had been taken from them by king Philip of Macedonia with whom they had been at war — this refers to Philip's campaign against Sparta in 338 B.C., when he took the border districts from the Spartans and assigned them to their neighbours<sup>5</sup>. However, it had been given back to them by a decision of C. Caesar and M. Antonius; this was in 44 B.C. when these both were consuls<sup>6</sup>. The Messenians refuted the arguments of the Spartans referring to the old division of the Peloponnese by Herakles between his heirs, through which the *ager Dentheliatas*, where the sanctuary was situated, had been assigned to the Messenians. Records of this fact, incised in stone and bronze from olden times, were still preserved, and the Messenians were able to appeal to more historical records than the Spartans. King Philip had not made his division on the grounds of his power but on grounds of justice. King Antigonos<sup>7</sup> and the emperor Mummius had given the same verdict, the Milesians who had

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, IV, 43, has a detailed account of the affair.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, 2 ed., III: 1, pp. 574.

<sup>6</sup> Kolbe, *Athen. Mitt.*, loc. cit., pp. 376.

<sup>7</sup> This is of course Antigonos Doson who defeated the Spartans at Selasia 222 B.C. Ehrenberg's query in his well documented article on Sparta's history in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*, 2 Reihe, III, pp. 1422 and pp. 1434, when the Spartans had regained the territory is superfluous. They had not regained the *ager Dentheliatas* and king Antigonos simply confirmed king Philip's decision.



been officially called in as arbitrators and the praetor of Achaëa, Atidius Geminus, had agreed with them. Mummius is the consul who defeated the Achaeans and destroyed Corinth in 146 B.C. The arbitration of the Milesians is recorded in a lengthy inscription found at Olympia<sup>8</sup>. The verdict of the Milesians is given thus, that the district was in the possession of the Messenians when Lucius Mummius was consul or proconsul in the province and that they should possess it as it was then. We have seen that the Spartans recovered the district in 44 B.C. Unhappily the date of the praetor Atidius Geminus' verdict by which he gave the district back to the Messenians is not known. During the reign of the emperor Augustus the Spartans had reason to hope for a secure possession of the district, for they had fought for him in the battle at Actium, while the Messenians had taken the party of M. Antonius, and Sparta was ruled by the favourite of Augustus, C. Julius Eurykles. Augustus visited Sparta in 21 B.C. and regulated its frontiers, but, as Kolbe remarks<sup>9</sup>, there is no mention of the *ager Dentheletes*. It seems probable that the Messenians revived their old claims only when the memory of the civil wars began to fade and after Augustus' death Eurykles lost the favour of his successor and was exiled<sup>10</sup>, for then the opportunity seemed to be at hand for the Messenians to renew their old claims. They succeeded. For it seems most likely to place the verdict of Atidius Geminus in such a connexion. The Spartans made an attempt to regain the district by appealing to the highest authority, the Roman Senate, but the Senate's decision was adverse. An inscription of 78 A.D. describing the border line between the two provinces and some boundary stones<sup>11</sup> show that the *ager Dentheletes* remained in the possession of the Messenians. The lengthy history of this contest about a piece of territory has been expounded so fully to show what importance was attributed to

<sup>8</sup> *Inscripfien von Olympia*, 80 = SIG<sup>3</sup>, 683.

<sup>9</sup> Kolbe, *loc. cit.*, p. 377.

<sup>10</sup> Dittenberger proved in the note to SIG<sup>3</sup>, 787, that Strabo's words concerning Eurykles, VIII, p. 366, are to be understood as said above.

<sup>11</sup> Published and treated by Kolbe, *Athen. Mitt.*, *loc. cit.*

mythical arguments even in an age when the Romans decided the affairs of Greek cities.

Tacitus relates in another place, III, 60 et seqq., the contention in 22 A.D. concerning the right of certain temples to be asyla. There were many such temples and the right had been misused so that the Roman government decided to limit it. The decision was referred to the Senate and before it embassies from various cities appeared speaking for their rights. They brought forward mythical as well as political arguments. First came the Ephesians. They asserted that Apollo and Diana had not been born on Delos, as was commonly said, but in their country — we shall come back to this myth at length below — which had the famous temple of Artemis Ephesia, that Liber, victorious in a war, had pardoned the Amazons who had taken refuge to the altar, that after having conquered Lydia Herakles had increased the sanctity of the temple, the Persians had not diminished it and the Macedonians and the Romans had preserved it. As other embassies did not tell anything of specifically mythical interest they can be passed over here. It may only be remarked that the Smyrnaeans referred to an oracle of Apollo's bidding them consecrate a temple to Venus Stratonice<sup>12</sup>, and the Tenians to another bidding them consecrate a temple and a statue of Neptune.

The Ephesians brought forward quite a number of myths most of which are less important and not known elsewhere, not so the new invention that Apollo and Artemis were born at Ephesus. They alleged that there was in their country the river Kenchrios, the grove Ortygia, and a still existing olive tree against which Leto leaned when bearing the twins; the grove was sanctified by the warning of the gods. Strabo, XIV, p. 639, refers to the same myth saying that Ortygia, a beautiful grove, is near Ephesus, and through it flows the river Kenchrios in which Leto was said to have washed herself after childbirth. He adds that the myth spoke of the childbirth there, of the

<sup>12</sup> This is the temple founded by the Smyrnaeans in honour of the grandmother of Seleukos II, divinised as Aphrodite Stratonike. The king applied to the oracle at Delphi for an acknowledgment of its right to be an asylum and the Delphians agreed, *OGI*, 229 and 228.

nurse Ortygia there, of the sanctuary in which the childbed was, and of the olive tree nearby, at which the goddess was said to have rested after the childbirth.

The fame of the temple of Artemis Ephesia induced the Ephesians to invent a myth rivalling the older and well-known one that Apollo and Artemis were born on the island of Delos. There were certain presuppositions. Delos' claims to be the birthplace of Apollo were not universally acknowledged, quite a number of places claimed to be so <sup>13</sup>. Further it seemed that Apollo and Artemis were born in different places, for the Homeric Hymn to Apollo says that Leto bore Artemis in Ortygia, Apollo on the rocky Delos, leaning against the high mountain and the hill of Kynthos near the palm-tree by the river Inopos. Later it was told that Artemis was born on the sixth of Thargelion, a day before Apollo, and assisted at his birth. The festivals of Artemis were celebrated on the sixth and those of Apollo on the seventh of Thargelion. It seems probable that, to begin with, the Ephesians claimed only the birth of Artemis for themselves, relying upon the fame of their temple, and that Apollo who was inseparable from his twin sister was added later <sup>14</sup>. The Ephesians borrowed from the old myth. Ortygia, the place of the quails, was localized in various places <sup>15</sup>. They exchanged the palm-tree for the olive tree, perhaps there was no palm-tree in their sacred grove, but an olive tree is also mentioned on Delos <sup>16</sup>. The Ephesian myth cannot be earlier than the Hel-

<sup>13</sup> They are enumerated in the second edition of the Homeric Hymns by Allen and Halliday in a note to III, v. 16, p. 202, which is very relevant for the question treated here.

<sup>14</sup> See also the lengthy reasonings of Ch. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros*, pp. 392. A poem on the birth of Artemis is mentioned in an inscription from Ephesus of the Augustan age published by J. Keil, *Die zwei Lebenswege in einem ephesischen Epigramm*, *Serta Kazarowiana*, I, *Bull. de l'Institut archéol. bulgare*, XVI, Sofia, 1950, pp. 213.

<sup>15</sup> See Allen and Halliday, *loc. cit.*, p. 201, and the article *Ortygia* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*. J. Tréheux, *Ortygia*, *BCH*, LXX, 1946, pp. 560, has refuted the claims of the Ephesians and proved that the island of Rheneia is the Ortygia where the Homeric hymn localizes the birth of Artemis.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. by Euripides; see Allen and Halliday, *loc. cit.*, p. 219 in a note to v. 117.

lenistic age in which local myths and legends were eagerly sought for and recorded.

Apollo and Artemis were venerated in many cities of Asia Minor, but they were generally content telling that the twin-gods had been conceived in their country; the myth of their birth on Delos was commonly received; of the conception the old myth did not tell anything, and here was an opportunity for new inventions. Claims that Apollo and Artemis were conceived in their country were raised by the Milesians<sup>17</sup> and for the city of Araxa in Lycia. This myth, in which Wilamowitz trusted too confidently, wishing to prove the Lycian origin of Apollo<sup>18</sup>, is found in a speech which was composed in the first century B.C., delivered to the inhabitants of the city of Sidyma, and incised in stone in the second century A.D.<sup>19</sup>. The style is

<sup>17</sup> Decree published by R. Herzog, *Sitz. ber. Akad. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 981, II. 8. Herzog's date in 245—240 B.C. is much too early, see B. Hausoullier, *Rev. de philologie*, XLIV, 1920, p. 265, and agreeing with him A. Rehm in *Milet*, III, p. 337, n. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Wilamowitz, *Apollon, Hermes*, XXXVIII, 1903, p. 585; cp. *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I, pp. 324.

<sup>19</sup> O. Benndorf und G. Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, p. 77, No. 53 B, II. 11 seqq. = *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, 174: ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενεᾶς ἀναφύουσης τῆς θιερῶτος γῆς λαϊνέους μορφῶς ὁμοτυπεῖς τῆς Λατοῦς διδύμοις φωστῆραι ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Ἀλράξοις κυηθεῖσιν, Ἄρτεμιν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα. As to the date and style of this document Professor Wifstrand has kindly put the following note at my disposal: "The editors call this inscription a document of *die Blütezeit der zweiten Sophistik*, and Norden, *Kunstprosa*, I, p. 445, has taken it to be so too. The inscription was evidently engraved in the end of the second century A.D., but there are many indications that it is copied from an older inscription which by that time had become a little damaged and difficult to read. Because of this mistakes have been made in regard to some letters and even a gap left in one place where the original was probably especially damaged, τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενεᾶς has become τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν γ. Behind the unintelligible letters κροτεινασεπασματι there lurks an original κρατεῖν ἄσπασμά τι, 'a salutation has come into use'. The impossible form τετευχομεν was in the original τετεύχαμεν. Nothing in the style indicates the age of the so-called second sophists; there are no traces of classicism, on the contrary many unclassical words, forms (τετεύχαμεν), and meanings: τὰ μετὰξὺ, 'afterwards', 'from this time', σεβάζομαι passive, even such as the classicists expressly rejected, e.g. καθῶς. Some of the unclassical words are typically hellenistic: ὑπεράνω, ἀδιάλειπτος, ἐπιζήτησις; others are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, e.g. ὁμοοτυπῆς, δυσεῖς-

insupportably florid. It relates certain local myths. The pertinent passage reads: "when the god-bearing earth made to grow stone figures, similar to Leto's twins, the heavenly lights which were begotten at Araxa, Apollo and Artemis, but at Pinara etc.", another miraculous story follows. Sidyma is situated on a mountain not far from the sea and the river of Xanthos, Pinara a little more northwards, and Araxa still farther off at the upper course of the same river. Now, Apollo was called *λυκηγενής* by Homer, an epithet which was interpreted as "born in Lycia" and another epithet of his, *Λύκιος*, was understood as "the Lycian" <sup>20</sup>. The Lycians seemed to have good reasons to appropriate the birth of the god for themselves, and this is recorded by Semos of Delos in the middle of the Hellenistic age <sup>21</sup>. No wonder that the conception of the twin gods was localized in a Lycian town in this laudatory speech. It may have happened earlier than the time in which this speech was composed.

We touched above on the *asylia* in its sense of an acknowledged divine protection of a sacred place. The origin of the

*οδος, θηλύτεκνος*. The style is strongly rhythmical and mixed up with poetical quotations and reminiscences, e.g. *λαϊνέους μορφάς, λαίνεας* being found elsewhere in poetry only, *διθύμοις φωστήρσιν ἐπουρανίοις*, of which both scan like parts of hexameters and perhaps come from some local epic, or the asclepiadic *κεῖται πῶμα φοβῶ δειγμα κατασκόπων*. The complicated and formless periods and the bold modern style fit the first century B.C.; some features remind one of the famous great inscription of Antiochus of Commagene from the same age. The inscription is probably an official letter, written by some priest or local antiquarian to some sacral board in one of the cities of the Lycian league in the first century B.C. The historian Polycharmus who is quoted may have lived earlier in the Hellenistic age."

<sup>20</sup> The significance of these epithets is a difficult problem, see my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, pp. 506.

<sup>21</sup> Hagnon, a pupil of Carneades, enumerates in Stephanus Byz. s. v. *Τέγυρα* various birth-places of Apollo, and according to *Schol. in Iliad*. IV, v. 101 (I, p. 173 Dindorf) he said that Leto went away to Lycia to hide from Hera's jealousy. Anton. Liberalis, 35, says that wolves accompanied Leto to Lycia.



asylia is profane as well as sacral. From time immemorial a man who had taken refuge to the altar of a god was inviolable and this inviolability was extended to the temple and the sacred precinct. They were asyla. On the other hand a state might by a decree warrant safety for a citizen of another state against arrest or robbery. This is very often read in the decrees in which a city confers the honour of *proxenia* upon someone and is sometimes extended to all members of a people. Such decrees are numerous in the troubled times of the middle Hellenistic age in which wars were incessantly going on and piracy and brigandage were deplorably common. The Aetolians and the Cretans were famous for their piracy. The cities tried to get some protection against these evils and it was but natural that they had recourse to divine protection also, the sacral asylia, even if people heeded the gods but little at this time. The Aetolians had a bad name as temple-robbers. Thus the cities which wished to be asyla not only asked the oracle for its consent but also sent embassies or letters to other cities asking for their acknowledgment. That they very often turned to the Amphictyons at Delphi is explained by the well-known fact that at this time this body was dominated by the Aetolians, who were much feared. The sacredness of a temple or a city was the reason because of which asylia could be claimed, but in this age it was hardly more than a pretext. Another reason of a more practical order was the establishment of games, especially an *agon stephanites*, common to all Greeks<sup>22</sup>. For in regard to such events a truce was proclaimed, as is known in regard to the Olympic games. The religious importance being but small we are content with briefly reviewing the instances<sup>23</sup>.

The most comprehensive documents come from Magnesia on the Maeander, a city which in the end of the third century B.C. claimed asylia on ground of an epiphany of the city goddess Artemis Leukophryene and games instituted in her honour. The inscriptions referring to this event filled the wall of a great

<sup>22</sup> At Magnesia on Maeander, and probably at Tenos and at Acraephia (the Ptoia).

<sup>23</sup> For references to inscriptional evidence see the list in E. Schlesinger, *Die griech. Asylie*, 1933, pp. 71.



stoa. There are not less than sixty six replies on their application from kings and cities, some of them far off, e.g. Antiochia in Persis. It shows what elaborate machinery was needed for this purpose, for embassies were sent out. Many documents are also forthcoming from Teos in Asia Minor, a city which had special reasons to ask for asyilia for itself and its citizens, for it was the seat of the Dionysiac *technitai*, the actors who travelled about performing plays. There are twenty replies from the year 201 B.C. and seven decrees of Cretan cities which are about half a century later. Even kings made such applications. We referred above (p. 116) to the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis at Smyrna for the asyilia of which Antiochos II solicited the oracle at Delphi. Eumenes II of Pergamon did the same in 182/1 B.C. in regard to the temple of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon; his letters to Cos and Iasos and the decrees of the Aetolians and the Amphictyony are preserved. The Tenians asked asyilia for their sanctuary of Poseidon, probably in connection with the institution of games, sometime in the end of the third century B.C.; replies from the Phocians, the Aetolians, and two Cretan towns are preserved. The Coans made the same request for their famous temple of Asklepios in the second half of the third century B.C.; we have replies from four kings, among others. Elsewhere only one or a few documents are preserved. The sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios at Akraiphia was granted asyilia by a decree of the Amphictyony about 180 B.C., that of Apollo and Artemis at Amyzon in a letter from Antiochos III, the city and the island of Anaphe by a decree of the Cretan league in the second half of the third century B.C., the city and the sanctuary of Antiochia in Caria by a decree of the Amphictyony at the same time, the sanctuary of Apollo at Chalkedon by a decree of the Delphians in accordance with an oracle from Delphi between 213 and 203 B.C. Cyzicus was declared holy by an oracle from Delphi about the same time. The claims of Miletus in regard to the temple at Didymeion were founded on the myth mentioned above (p. 118). Some Cretan decrees of the second century B.C. refer to the asyilia of Mylasa in Caria, and an inscription of the last century B.C. speaks of the asyilia of the temple at Nysa. Finally there is a

letter from an unknown king touching upon the asyilia of the Persian goddess at Hierocaesarea, but as there were several towns with this name it is dubious which it is.

Almost all these inscriptions belong to the latter half of the third or the earlier half of the second century B.C., they are characteristic of this time which was the most turbulent of the Hellenistic age. When the Romans began to dominate in the East the requests for asyilia were of course directed to them too, first to the commanding officers and finally, after the establishment of Roman rule, to the Senate. The sanctuary at Colophon was granted asyilia in a letter of Lucius and Publius Scipio who defeated Antiochos III in 190 B.C., and a letter of the *praetor peregrinus* M. Valerius Mesalla in 193 B.C. guarantees the asyilia of Teos. The sanctuary at Stratonicea was granted asyilia by a decree of the Senate transmitted by Sulla and the asyilia of Delphi was also acknowledged in a decree of the Senate in 190 and probably in a letter of M' Acilius in 189 B.C., and that of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Oropos by another decree of 73 B.C. Finally a decree of the Senate between 39 and 35 B.C. shows that the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Plarasa and Aphrodisias was inviolable. This is the latest document. It appears that asking for asyilia was dependent on the political circumstances, it ceased when the Roman rule was firmly established, for then it was no longer needed for political reasons, but the asyilia remained because it conferred certain privileges on a city in civil life too.

## CHAPTER V

### ORACLES AND POLITICS

Our survey has shown that the politically coloured myths or remodellings of myths by which the Athenians strove to assert their claims originated in the sixth century B.C. In this age myth was a living reality in which people believed earnestly, and because of this it might be used as an effective weapon in the political propaganda. A great change took place in the century following upon the Persian wars. The logographers began their work, extracting the early history of Greece from the myths which they systematized and rationalized to this end. Rationalizing always implies some criticism, at least tacit. The tragedians reshaped the myths according to their aims, and the forms which they gave the myths often became decisive for the future. The myths no longer depended on oral tradition, living in the minds of common people; they became on one hand learned and on the other poetical fictions. The use of myths for political ends did not cease, for we have seen very many instances from later ages, but they appealed more to educated people, less to the masses.

There was another means of propaganda which was of the greatest importance and deeply impressed the man in the street, a means extensively used especially in civic politics, namely oracles. I have touched upon this matter in another place<sup>1</sup>, but it is so important as to deserve to be expounded at greater length

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<sup>1</sup> In my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, pp. 750 and 683, and in a paper, *Political propaganda in sixth-century Athens*, in an honorary volume presented to David M. Robinson.

and, moreover, so foreign to our ways of thinking that it has been too little noticed by scholars <sup>2</sup>.

We have to distinguish between the oracles emanating from Delphi and the anonymous oracles, ascribed to some mythical seer, which circulated among the people. The Delphic oracle was jealous of its reputation among all the Greeks and could not openly take the part of one of the warring cities, and when it did so in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. its fame was waning. Delphi did not take the lead politically. If it favoured some power, e.g. the Persians or the Spartans, its responses were so dark and ambiguous as to be capable of interpretation so as to fit the event. More important was the interpretation given to its responses, for this could be used with great effect to promote certain interests, if someone succeeded in giving a skilful explanation which imposed itself on public opinion.

The anonymous oracles were, at least for some part, invented to promote certain interests. They too were expressed in dark and ambiguous words and their interpretation was the crucial point. They were subject to a lively debate which continually promoted their popularity. They were mighty weapons of propaganda to which they were better adapted than the Delphic oracles. This is the reason why oracles were much more prominent than myths in the political combats of fifth century Athens.

## 1. THE DELPHIC ORACLES

The Greek states asked an oracle for advice even in foreign affairs, e.g. when they were to begin or to be involved in a war <sup>3</sup>. The *floruit* of the oracular shrines was the age shortly before the Persian wars, as appears in Herodotus who pays great attention to oracles. However, we have detailed information only of the most famous of them all, the Delphic oracle <sup>4</sup>. The

<sup>2</sup> A little is found in L. Radermacher, *Euripides und die Mantik*, Rhein. Museum, LIII, 1898, pp. 497.

<sup>3</sup> The versified oracles, found in literature, are collected by R. Hendess, *Oracula graeca*, Diss. Halle, 1887.

<sup>4</sup> I do not intend to exhaust the materials but select only such instances as are historically important. For more see H. W. Parke, *A History*

oracle was in a difficult situation when asked concerning the issue of a war and took recourse to the famous ambiguity of its responses. The Pythian oracle foretelling that king Croesus would destroy a great empire if he took the field against the Persians, was after his defeat interpreted as referring to his own kingdom<sup>5</sup>. But the oracle did not always succeed in saving its face so well. When the Spartans wanted to conquer Arcadia, as they had conquered Messenia, the Pythia denied them the whole of Arcadia but promised Tegea to them: "I will give you Tegea, struck with the feet, to dance in and a fair plain to mete out with the measuring-rod"<sup>6</sup>. However, the Spartans were defeated and Herodotus interprets the oracle to mean, that the captives bound in fetters measured the fields on which they laboured. This is too farfetched; apparently the oracle is genuine, for the issue did not correspond to it.

When the war with the Persians was imminent the cities sent envoys to Delphi asking for advice. It appears that the Pythia took up an attitude friendly to the Persians. She advised the Athenians to flee to the farthest ends of the world and ordered them to leave the temple and to accustom themselves to bad fortune. When they insisted on asking for grace, she told them that the whole countryside would be conquered but that

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*of the Delphic Oracle.* I have borrowed some translations of oracles from this book. — I do not refer to instances when some state consulted the oracle at Delphi or elsewhere in regard to political matters, for these can hardly be said to be propaganda. Instances are collected by A. D. Nock, *Religious Attitudes of the Greeks, Proceedings of the Amer. Philosoph. Society* (in Philadelphia), LXXXV, 1942, p. 472 n. 1. Most remarkable is that, according to an inscription published by D. M. Robinson, *Transact. of the Amer. Philol. Ass.*, LXV, 1934, pp. 103, containing a treaty between king Philip and the Chalcidians of the year 356 B.C., a Delphic oracle approved of the friendship between the two parties. Another late instance about 180 B.C. is that the oracle at Didyma was consulted and approved of the treaty concluded between the Milesians and the Heraeletes, *SIG<sup>3</sup>*, 633, ll. 16. Such consultations were means of giving a sanction to political measures as did the application to Apollo to sanction reformed laws of a state, and this Philip and the Chalcidians knew.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, I, 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 66.



only the wooden walls would be spared <sup>7</sup>, a reply which was very welcome for Themistokles' plan to evacuate the countryside and to rely upon the fleet for defence.

Herodotus' subsequent relation is a nice instance of the shrewdness exhibited in interpreting oracles. Some old men proffered the opinion that the Acropolis would be spared, for it had earlier been surrounded by a wattled fence (ῥηχός). A few people trusted in this interpretation and remained there, but the Persians set fire to the fence with burning arrows and took the Acropolis, as he relates, VIII, 51. Others thought that the wooden walls were the ships. But they were embarrassed by the verse:

ὦ θεΐη Σάλαμις, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν.

For the *chresmologoi* understood it as foretelling a defeat in a naval battle at Salamis. But Themistokles outwitted them saying that they understood the verse wrongly, for as it was directed to the Athenians the oracle should not have read: "Oh, divine Salamis", but "Oh, cruel (σχελίστη) Salamis", if a defeat of the Athenians was meant. His opinion prevailed.

To the Spartans the Pythia prophesied that either their town would be sacked or their king killed <sup>8</sup>. Herodotus relates this when speaking of the death of king Leonidas at Thermopylae.

The Argives to whom the Spartan king Kleomenes just had dealt a very severe blow wanted to take no part in the war, not the least from hatred of Sparta to which the leadership fell <sup>9</sup>. The Pythia advised them: "to stay on guard, keeping your spearpoint within, and guard your head; your head will save your body". The Cretans sent also envoys to Delphi asking if it would be better for them to help Greece. The oracle referred to the myth that the Greeks had not assisted them in avenging the death of Minos <sup>10</sup>. Consequently there was no reason for the Cretans to help the Greeks against the Persians.

The attitude of the Delphic oracle in the great struggle which

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 140 and 141 respectively.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 220.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 148.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 169 et seqq.; see above p. 88.

saved Greece and the nascent European culture is perhaps understandable. It was honestly convinced that the Persians were irresistible, the events since the fall of the Lydian empire seemed to prove it. The Pythia had prophesied to the Milesians that their wives would wash the feet of long-haired men and that the care of the temple at Didyma would be taken over by others<sup>11</sup>, and such was the issue. The oracle found it wise to submit to the inevitable<sup>12</sup>. Of course the oracles were not outspoken. Some cities, Argos and the small Cretan towns found a subterfuge in the responses and abstained from partaking in the national war, Sparta and Athens had no choice. It is, however, characteristic of the respect which the Delphic oracle enjoyed that the Greeks did not mind its ambiguous attitude but erected the great monuments of their victory at Delphi.

After the Persian war we hear little of the Greek states seeking advice at Delphi with one exception: Sparta. The authority of the oracle was waning and finally it took part openly in the political dissensions. When preparing for war with Athens the Spartans asked the god at Delphi if it was better for them to undertake the war, to which he replied that they would be victorious if they carried on the war with all their might, and that he would help them whether called for or not called for<sup>13</sup>.

Plutarch tells, if it is reliable, that when the Athenians asked the oracle concerning the expedition to Sicily, it ordered them to bring the priestess of Athena from Erythrai. Her name turned out to be Hesychia, "quiet"<sup>14</sup>. There are a number of oracles referring to this disastrous expedition to which we shall return later (p. 134).

When in the middle of the fourth century B.C. Delphi was a centre of political intrigues Demosthenes accused the Pythia of siding with king Philip<sup>15</sup>. The reason why a certain Ameiniades

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 19.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, II, p. 370.

<sup>13</sup> Thucydides, I, 118; II, 54; cp. I, 123.

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch, *de Pythiae oraculis*, p. 403 B. ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν can mean 'bring Hesychia' or 'keep quiet'.

<sup>15</sup> Aeschines, in *Ctes.*, 130, Δημοσθένης ἀντέλεγε φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων.

had proposed to take counsel of the oracle was not of a political order but was caused by the bad omen that a mystes had died during the celebration of the mysteries <sup>16</sup>. Demosthenes opposed, however, because he suspected that the response of the Pythia would contain something favourable to the plans of Philip.

Sparta had long had intimate and regular communications with the Delphic oracle. Each of the kings had at his side two messengers, called *Pythioi*, who had the care of them. The kings preserved the responses of the oracle but the Pythii too knew them <sup>17</sup>. Plutarch relates that the ephors observed the heavens every ninth year on a clear and moonless night <sup>18</sup>. If they saw a shooting star, this was deemed to be a sign that the kings had failed in their duties towards deity, and they were suspended until a response came from Delphi or Olympia in their favour.

The Spartans applied to the Delphic oracle for advice in internal affairs too. An instance belonging to the time shortly before the Persian war is told at length <sup>19</sup>. The energetic king Kleomenes had quarrelled with the other king Damaretos, a son of Ariston, and wanted to depose him and appoint his foe Leotychides king in his stead. To this end he used the current rumour that Damaretos was a bastard. The Spartans sent messengers to Delphi asking whether Damaretos in fact was a son of Ariston and the Pythia answered that he was not. Damaretos was deposed and ultimately took refuge with the Persians. But afterwards, says Herodotus, it was discovered that Kleomenes had approached an influential man at Delphi, Kobon, and that this man had induced the Pythia Periallos to say what Kleomenes wanted. Then Kobon was exiled and the Pythia deposed. This relation seems to be inconsistent, for even the mother of Damaretos dared not assert that Ariston was his father. We may suspect some meshes of intrigues which we cannot see through. The reasons for exiling Kobon and deposing the Pythia may have been other than the alleged; we remember

<sup>16</sup> On the incident see the scholion *ad loc.*

<sup>17</sup> Herodotus, VI, 57.

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch, *Agessilaus*, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Herodotus, VI, 61 et seqq.

that later Kleomenes was said to have plotted against Sparta, was imprisoned, and committed suicide in an incredible manner<sup>20</sup>.

This same king carried on war with the chief adversary of Sparta in the Peloponnese, Argos, and had received an oracle at Delphi that he would take Argos<sup>21</sup>. He defeated the Argives who took refuge in a holy grove. When Kleomenes asked for the name of its god and heard that he was Argos, he went away back to Sparta, accusing Apollo of having deceived him. When he was accused because he had not taken the city of Argos, though it would have been easy, he replied that the oracle of the god seemed to have been fulfilled and that because of this he had not judged it right to try to take the city until through some sacrifices (πρὶν γὰρ δὴ ἱερότα: χρήσῃται) he had learnt to know whether the god conceded it or forbade it. Herodotus adds that this seemed likely to the Spartans and that Kleomenes was acquitted. In this case too we cannot know the factual reasons for the action of Kleomenes, but the story is significant for the attitude of the Spartans to oracles at this time.

The story told by Ephorus of Lysander's machinations to attain to the highest power at Sparta<sup>22</sup> seems hardly believable. Lysander tried to bribe the Pythia, the oracle at Dodona, and that of Zeus Ammon in Libya, but was repulsed. The Libyans even sent envoys to Sparta to denounce him but he was acquitted. Then he hit upon another device. A woman in Pontus was said to have conceived a child by Apollo; some people believed it, others not. The name of the boy was Seilenos. Lysander's helpers circulated an oracle of Delphi, that there were some very old oracles, preserved by the priests among their secret writings; it was not allowed to deliver the tablets containing them except to a son of Apollo, if he was able to prove his birth. The plan of Lysander was that Seilenos should go to Delphi, ask for the tablets, and that his helpers among the priests should let themselves be convinced of his birth and deliver the tablets to him. He should then in the presence of many read other oracles as

<sup>20</sup> Herodotus, VI, 74 et seq.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 76 et seqq.

<sup>22</sup> Plutarch, *Lysander*, 25 et seq. Diodorus, XIV, 13, tells the same story at length but does not mention the plot for which Seilenos was used.

well as the one because of which the fraud was contrived, namely that it would be better for Sparta to choose its kings among its best citizens. The scheme came to naught, for one of Lysander's helpers failed at the last moment, but it was not discovered until after Lysander's death.

This plot would fit the situation after the death of king Agis about 401 B.C., to which we return later (p. 140 et seq.). Ephorus was born about 408 B.C. He is not a very trustworthy historian and we know how legends cluster about famous men even in their life-time. However, the story is symptomatic of what at this time was believed of the influence of oracles on politics. It was still great at Sparta.

## 2. ANONYMOUS ORACLES

The relations of the Greek states to the Delphic oracle in the early age are well-known, especially because of their exposition by Herodotus; the instances quoted may be sufficient to show their importance for politics. I pass over to another kind of oracles which was much more important for propaganda in civic politics and the influence of which has been much less noted: the anonymous oracles which passed from mouth to mouth among the people. They were attributed to mythical seers, of whom the Sibyl and Bakis are famous. Herodotus mentions Bakis, to whom he pays great respect, several times and beside him Musaios<sup>1</sup>. There were many Sibyls and there were also several Bakides, one Attic, another Arcadian, and a third, a Boeotian, Bakis being mentioned<sup>2</sup>. Certain persons were busy collecting, uttering, and propagating such oracles, the *chresmologoi*<sup>3</sup>, oracle-mongers, who in Aristophanes appear as a real

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, VIII, 20; 77; 96; IX, 43.

<sup>2</sup> See Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*, s. v. Bakis.

<sup>3</sup> Compound words in -λόγος signify "one who collects" or "one who proffers something in words, recites". The *χρησμολόγοι* are not to mixed up with the *μάντιες*, as does J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, 1950, ch. I. Pausanias, I, 34, 4 says: *χωρίς δὲ πλὴν ὅσους ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος μανῆναι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον μάντων γ' οὐδεὶς χρησμολόγος ἦν, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ὄνειράτα ἐξηγήσασθαι καὶ διαγινῶναι πτήσεις ὀρνίθων καὶ*



nuisance. They had, however, a great influence on public opinion; we shall meet some such influential men later on. These oracles were sometimes collected in books. We shall speak below of a collection attributed to Musaios. Others circulated under the name of the Sibyl <sup>4</sup>. The famous Sibylline books which came to Rome, it is said, during the reign of its last king, probably from the Greek colony of Cumae, were such a collection.

Such a soothsayer, Amphilytos of Acarnania, accompanied Pisistratus when he marched against Athens to re-establish his power and met the Athenian forces near the temple of Athena Pallenis. The soothsayer quoted: "the cast is made, the net is unfolded, the tunny-fish dart along in the moonlit night" <sup>5</sup>. Relying upon this oracle Pisistratus attacked the Athenians, won the day, and became again ruler of Athens. Pisistratus was surnamed Bakis, for he was an oracle-monger, we are told <sup>6</sup>. We have seen how well he understood the use of myths in making propaganda for his political aims. He was a very clever man, the greatest statesman Athens ever produced, and laid the foundation of its greatness. If he was busy with oracles the reason was that he knew what they were good for in promoting his plans.

Herodotus gives us detailed information concerning the attitude of his sons in this respect, and this is very valuable because we see how these anonymous oracles were used for political ends. He says that Hippias knew oracles more thoroughly than other men <sup>7</sup>. One of the *literati* who lived at the court of Hipparchos was Onomakritos whom Herodotus styles an oracle-monger and collector of the oracles of Musaios <sup>8</sup>. Hipparchos expelled him because Lasos of Hermione had detected him inserting in the collection attributed to Musaios an oracle which predicted that the islands in the neighbourhood of Lem-

σπλάγχων ἱερῶν. See my review of Oliver's book in *American Journal of Philology*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 420.

<sup>4</sup> There were other collections too; Herodotus, V, 43, mentions the oracles of Laios.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, I, 62.

<sup>6</sup> Suidas, s. v. Βάκις· ἐπ' ἔθρον Πεισιστράτου ἦν δὲ χρησιμολόγος.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus, V, 93.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 6 et seq.

nos would disappear in the sea. The reason, that the oracle was falsely attributed to Mūsaios, is in fact curious, for all such oracles were anonymous. This was but a pretext. From a political point of view the reason for the disgrace of Onomakritos is apparent, for such an oracle was high treason in regard to the political aims and position of the Pisistratidae. One of their chief interests was to secure the sea route to and through the Hellespont. Pisistratus seized Sigeion on the eastern shore of the Hellespont and helped Miltiades senior to establish himself as ruler of the Chersonnesus on its western shore, and Miltiades possessed himself also of the island of Lemnos<sup>9</sup>. Lemnos was situated on the sea route from Athens to the Hellespont and if the neighbouring islands disappeared it was a serious blow to the power of the Pisistratidae. Symbolically the oracle was fulfilled when about 513 B.C. the Persian general Otanes took possession of Lemnos and Imbros.

When expelled from Athens Onomakritos went to the Persian court, and the Pisistratidae being exiled took also refuge with the Persian king and became reconciled to Onomakritos, for they had now the same purpose, to induce the king to march against Greece. They exalted the merits of the soothsayer and he made a choice among his oracles, says Herodotus. If an oracle predicted a defeat to the barbarians he did not mention it, but choosing the most favourable he read them, prophesying that the Hellespont would be bridged by a Persian man, and explaining the march. One sees what oracles were good for.

In another place Herodotus, V, 90, relates that the Spartan king Kleomenes, who drove out the sons of Pisistratus and seized the Acropolis of Athens, found in the temple the oracles which the Pisistratidae had possessed but had left behind when they were expelled. Kleomenes brought them to Sparta and informed the Spartans who did not know them earlier. These oracles predicted that many hostile deeds would be done to them by the Athenians. The purpose of these oracles is evident. The Pisistratidae knew that the Spartans were their enemies, they foresaw a war with them, and they wished to prepare and to encourage

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<sup>9</sup> Cp. above pp. 49.

the people to a struggle with this formidable foe. But the discovery of these oracles by the Spartans had a sequel, an unexpected change in Spartan politics. After the expulsion of the tyrants the new Athenian democracy under the leadership of Kleisthenes went its own way, not steering in the wake of Sparta. Of course the Spartans referred the oracles to coming events, suspecting that Athens would make trouble for them in the future. Consequently they thought that the tyrants, if reinstated, would be easier to manage than the democrats and proposed to their allies to bring Hippias back, but this plan came to naught because of the opposition of the Corinthians.

During the fifty years following upon the Persian war we hear nothing of anonymous oracles and oracle-mongers, but our information about this time is regrettably meagre and there is no doubt that they still existed, for during the Peloponnesian war they emerge again. The testimonies are abundant.

Thucydides mentions them only to show their influence upon public opinion and their falsity. When the Athenians saw their countryside devastated some wanted to take the field and a great dissension arose, the oracle-mongers proffering various oracles which every one was eager to hear, he says <sup>10</sup>. When the tremendous plague broke out there was a great dispute concerning an oracle, whether it read: "The Dorian war will come and with it plague" or "dearth" <sup>11</sup>. Thucydides remarks that if ever there should come a war with the Dorians and a famine happen they would certainly understand the oracle accordingly.

When the people crowded in the city they settled even in the holy precinct of the Pelargikon, although the settling there was forbidden by the Delphic oracle and laid under a curse. The oracle said that it was better to leave the Pelargikon uninhabited <sup>12</sup>. The people attributed the disasters to the neglect of this interdiction, but Thucydides remarks that the oracle was fulfilled in a manner contrary to what was expected. For the city

<sup>10</sup> Thucydides, II, 21.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 54, ἤξει Δωριανὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς or λιμός ἄμ' αὐτῷ.

<sup>12</sup> Thucydides, II, 17, τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἀμεινον, with a pun which is impossible to translate.

was not hit by the disasters because of the neglect of the prohibition to settle in the Pelargikon but the war made this settling necessary and the oracle knew, although it did not say it, that no good would come of inhabiting the precinct. However, this oracle emanated from Delphi, we do not know when. It was one of the numerous sacral regulations which was actualized by the present circumstances. It seems that Thucydides had a little more respect for Delphi than for the oracle-mongers, though I am not certain if we should understand his remark in this sense.

The sending of the expedition to Sicily which met so disastrous an end was hotly debated in the streets and workshops of Athens. What is related is especially interesting for our subject because it sets in a glaring light the use of oracles as means of working upon the public opinion. Plutarch has a succinct but graphic account<sup>13</sup>. He says that even the priests made objections. That priests here are to be understood as interpreters of omens and oracles is proved by the following words that Alkibiades had other soothsayers who brought forward some old oracles that the Athenians would earn great fame in Sicily. Some messengers came to him from the oracle of Ammon in Libya bringing an oracle that the Athenians would capture all the Syracusans. If anything was to the contrary they concealed it, fearing to use words of ill omen. We see that both parties fought using oracles as weapons<sup>14</sup>. Apparently they were the most effective means to influence the man in the street who voted in the popular assembly. Pausanias, VIII, 11, 12, relates that an oracle from Dodona, prophesying that the Athenians would settle in Sikelia, induced the Athenians to send off the expedition to Sicily, but they misunderstood it, for Sikelia was a hill a little outside Athens. This is obviously an interpretation given after the disastrous end of the enterprise. The disaster was so crushing that the Athenians were unable to

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch, *Nicias*, 13; cp. *Alcib.*, 17.

<sup>14</sup> Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*, pp. 226, attributes to this time an oracle in Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24, in which the verse saying that a skin-bag will not sink is ascribed to the Delphic oracle as well as to the Sibyl.

believe the first messages, but when they realized it they were furious with the politicians who had promoted the plan, just as if they had not themselves voted for it, and they were angry with the oracle-mongers and soothsayers and all who by divinations had made them hope to acquire Sicily, says Thucydides, VIII, 1, being fully aware of the fatal part played by oracles in a decision which led to so great a disaster.

Diodorus, XV, 53 et seq., relates at length how Epaminondas encouraged his soldiers who were low-spirited because of some bad omens before the battle at Leuctra (372 B.C.). He persuaded some men to announce that the weapons of Herakles had disappeared from his temple and that a rumour current in Thebes said that the heroes had equipped themselves with them and would help the Thebans. He induced another man to say that he came from the oracle of Trophonios and that the god had enjoined him to say that he ordered them to institute games in the honour of Zeus Basileus when they had won the day at Leuctra. A Spartan Leandrias who had fled from Sparta and now served in the ranks of the Thebans announced publicly that there was an old oracle among the Spartans that they would loose their supremacy when defeated by the Thebans at Leuctra. And some oracle-mongers of the country said that a great disaster would smite the Spartans at the tomb of Leuktros and Skedastos. For their daughters had been violated by Spartan envoys and had committed suicide for shame, cursing the country which had sent the licentious men. At this time oracles were still able to impress the minds of soldiers. Plutarch in his Life of Demosthenes ch. 20 makes Demosthenes say that neither Perikles nor Epaminondas had any regard to oracles but considered such regards to be pretexts of cowardice.

The same author tells in the foregoing chapter that many omens predicted the fateful issue of the battle at Chaeronea, among these dire oracles of the Pythia, and he quotes two oracles, one of which is said to be Sibylline. The Sibyl wishes to be absent from the battle at Thermodon, being an *αἰετός ἐν νεφέεσσιν* (a wellknown tag in the oracles), for the vanquished will weep and the victor perish. Apparently this oracle refers to some other event and people were at a loss to identify the river



of Thermodon. The historian Douris said that Thermodon was not a river but a statuette discovered in erecting the tents and adduced another oracle, in which the black bird is invited to wait for the battle at Thermodon, he will find much human flesh. As Douris lived about 300 B.C. these stories circulated evidently at the end of the fourth century B.C. and were probably invented not long after the battle of Chaeronea. The first one reflects not only the sorrow at the defeat but also the hope of vengeance on the victor.

We come back to another source which proves how great the belief in oracles was in Athens at the end of the fifth century B.C. and how extensively they were used for political propaganda, the comedies of Aristophanes. They are too little appreciated in this respect because they seem to us to be mere jests and often grotesque jests, but the instances adduced from the historians in the foregoing pages prove that these jests have a very serious background. Aristophanes speaks of oracles, oracle-mongers, or dreams in all his comedies, here I relate only those passages in which a political background is evident<sup>15</sup>.

There is bitter satire in the dream told by the slave Sosias in "The Wasps", staged in 422 B.C., vv. 31 et seqq. He dreamed that he saw sheep with staves and cloaks seated in the assembly on the Pnyx and that a monster ready to take all in made a speech to them with the voice of a bloated sow. Of course this does not pertain to our argument, but it shows how Aristophanes estimated the voters of Athens at that time. In "The Peace", staged in 421 B.C., a soothsayer appears, Hierokles from Oreos, a famous oracle-monger<sup>16</sup>, and tries to prohibit the sacrifice to the Peace Goddess, quoting several oracles; he is styled Bakis vv. 1119. He begins: "you miserable and senseless mortals who because of your thoughtlessness do not listen to the mind of the gods, men who make conventions with bright-eyed apes, timorous

<sup>15</sup> The passages are collected by F. Staehlin, *Das Motiv der Mantik im antiken Drama, Religionswiss. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, XII:1, pp. 172, who p. 184 gives a brief and striking account of their fatal influence.

<sup>16</sup> Aristoph., *Pax*, vv. 1046; the scholium *ad loc.* styles him μάντις καὶ χρησιμολόγος and quotes a line from a comedy of Kratinos, "The Cities", Ἱερὸν λᾶες, βέλτιστε χρησιμωθῶν ἄνθρωποι. See my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, p. 751.

petrels which confide in foxes' cubs, the minds of which are deceitful". Trygaios interrupts him and scoffs at him, but he continues: "For if the Nymphs did not deceive Bakis nor Bakis mortals, nor the Nymphs Bakis himself, it is not ordained by the gods to untie the bonds of Peace"; "for it is not dear to the blessed gods to cease from the terrible war until the wolf marries the sheep". "As the beetle stinks most horribly when fleeing and the goldfinch in eager haste bears blind chickens, so peace ought not to be made yet". "You will never be able to make the rugged urchin (or hedgehog) smooth". Hierokles refuses a cup of wine, for the Sibyl did not say so, and finally he wants to partake in the sacrificial meal, but Trygaios advises him to eat the Sibyl and drives the "Bakis" away with blows. We recognize the arguments of the adversaries of the peace, especially the perfidy of the Spartans which made a peace treaty with them unreliable. To enforce his opinion Hierokles refers to the pronouncements of Bakis and the Sibyl, announcing the will of the gods, clothing them in the best oracular style, mixed up with proverbs which were current among the people, not foreign to the oracles, and contained some drastic wisdom. In view of what we know from other sources I dare say that Aristophanes pictures the propaganda against the peace with the Spartans in a manner which is not too far from reality. The oracular language is of course made to appear comic, but the comic colouring appears more in the situation, in the manner in which Trygaios rebuffs the soothsayer and makes a jest of his oracles.

The most ingenious comedy of Aristophanes, "The Birds", was staged in 414 B.C. and it cannot be than as a satire directed against the unfortunate the Athenians for fantastic projects which was especially apparent in the years of the expedition to Sicily. is performing the foundation-sacrifice of the new city of Nephelokokkygia, several worthies present themselves to these is an oracle-monger who offers a book, of course containing oracles (vv. 960). He exhorts Peisthetairos not to divine" lightly, for there is an oracle of Bakis' to Nephelokokkygia. When Peisthetairos asks him why

not prophesy to him before he founded the city, he answers that "the divine" prevented him, a stricture on the subterfuges of the soothsayers. Then he proffers an oracle: "When the wolves and the grey crows settle in the same place between Corinth and Sicyon", and says that Bakis refers to the air in a riddle. He gives the counsel to sacrifice a white ram to Pandora and asks for a new cloak and sandals, offering the book to Peisthetairos, but the latter will not listen to him, whether he be Lampon or the great Diopeithes, but drives him away mercilessly. Lampon was a very influential soothsayer and politician, Diopeithes another, to whom we shall return later (p. 141). The great influence in politics of such men shows what an importance oracles and soothsaying had in politics at this time. That Aristophanes mentions them so scornfully shows his judgment of the interference of seers in politics, and this is also the issue of this scene in which the oracle-monger is driven away with hard words at the solemn occasion of the founding of a new city. For we know, that seers were called in in such cases, e.g. Lampon at the founding of the colony of Athens in Magna Graecia, Thurii.

The "Lysistrata", staged in 411 B.C., is again a vigorous appeal for peace. The plot is well-known; to compel the men to accept peace the womanfolk occupy the Acropolis and refuse intercourse with their men. But some of them long for their men and are minded to desert. Lysistrata exhorts them with strong words not to do so and to stress them she adds an oracle (vv. 770): "When the swallows crouch in one place, fleeing the hoopoes, and abstain from the phalloi, the high-thundering Zeus will make the lower the higher". A jest follows which it is hardly possible to translate in a modern language. The passage is interesting in so far as it shows the use of oracles to influence public opinion in a critical situation.

The chief testimony to the incredible credulity towards oracles of the Athenian voters is "The Knights", staged in 424 B.C. The plot is built upon oracles and the belief in oracles. The two slaves of old Demos, who represents the Athenian electorate, Nikias and Demosthenes, have been ousted from the favour of their master by a newly acquired Paphlagonian slave, viz. Kleon. The Paphlagonian recites oracles to the old man who is crazed

by the Sibyl (σιβυλλῆς, v. 61). The two are at their wits' end how to match the Paphlagonian, but finally one of them hits upon a device: Nikias steals his oracles (vv. 109), and they find a "holy" oracle which he watched carefully; Demosthenes invokes Bakis. This oracle says that a dealer in oakum will first have care of the city's affairs, then a sheep-dealer, and he will rule until another still more shameless man appears, a Paphlagonian leather-seller, who will destroy the sheep-dealer, but he will be slain by a sausage-seller. This is a review of the demagogues of the time. The sausage-seller appears in the nick of time and by reciting an oracle he is induced to take up the match against the Paphlagonian. This oracle reads: "When the leather-eagle, having crooked claws, catches the blood-sucking, booby dragon with his beak, then the pickle of the Paphlagonians will be destroyed and a god will allot great honour to the tripe-sellers, if they do not prefer to sell sausages". This too is very transparent but laid down in the best oracular style. Demosthenes assures the sausage-seller that the oracles and the Pythia coincide and the match begins.

In the quarrel of Kleon and the sausage-seller in the presence of Demos an oracle is again mentioned, saying that Demos will sit in court in Arcadia, earning a fee of five obols (v. 797), and the sausage-seller accuses Kleon of making his compatriots little Athenians, walling in them and reciting oracles (v. 818). The climax is the agon in reciting oracles, provoked by Kleon (v. 960). Both bring forth their oracles, but Kleon says he has still a chest full of oracles, the sausage-seller has more, the upper storey and two chambers. Kleon's oracles are due to Bakis, but the sausage-seller's are better: they are due to Glanis, an elder brother of Bakis. The match begins, fought out with oracles. This passage is too long to be related and the oracles are coined by the poet with very transparent allusions to Kleon; the reader is asked to look up the verses<sup>17</sup>. But it is to be observed that when

<sup>17</sup> I note only that an oracle promising that Athens shall become an eagle in the clouds (v. 1013) is alluded to in "The Birds", v. 979, and quoted in full in the scholium *ad loc.* It is not cited by the rivals but mentioned with pleasure by Demos himself. It may be one of those which were generally known. Cp. p. 135.

Kleon reads oracles in his own favour the sausage-seller is always able to turn them upside down by his interpretation. This feature is certainly taken from life. The oracles circulating among the people were vigorously discussed in the streets and workshops and barbers' shops of Athens; various interpretations of their dark and enigmatical words were proposed. The final act comes when Kleon himself says that there is an oracle foretelling by whom he will be vanquished (v. 1230). To enhance its importance it is said to be Pythian, although elsewhere only Bakis and Glanis are spoken of. Kleon examines the sausage-seller and finds that it agrees. He is outmatched.

This is fun, great fun, but the background is very serious and the fun should not induce us to forget the fateful rôle of the oracles in the political propaganda. Certain obvious deductions made "The Knights" give a true picture of it. It did not help. A few years later oracles played a baneful part in the political struggle which preceded the sending of the expedition to Sicily. A comedy which depicted the voters in such a manner would certainly not be a success in our times. The voters are nowadays more enlightened, they do not believe in oracles, they do not even understand that the Athenians did so. Perhaps the second part of the agon between Kleon and the sausage-seller, in which they try to win the favour of Demos by promising various advantages to him, is not so absolutely out of date. To understand the ways of political propaganda in democratic Athens we ought not to forget the anonymous oracles. Who coined them we do not know. New oracles may have been composed, just as new myths were invented for political ends.

We hear so much of Athens because literature has so much to tell of this city, but we cannot doubt that oracles had a like importance in other Greek cities. We know something of Sparta. When king Agis died c. 401 B.C. he left a son Leotychides who, however, was commonly supposed to be a son of Alkibiades who, during his stay at Sparta, had seduced the queen Timaiia <sup>18</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> The story is told by Xenophon, *Hellenica*, III, 3, 3, and by Plutarch repeatedly, *Alcib.*, 23; and with the oracle, *Lysand.*, 22; *Ages.*, 3. A lengthy account of the discussion of these passages in I. Bos, *Plutarchus' Leven van Agesilaus*, Diss. Amsterdam, 1947, pp. 37.



Agis had also a half-brother Agesilaos who in spite of a lame leg had gained great reputation. Lysander who at that time was at the height of his fame was a friend of Agesilaos and wanted to make him king in stead of Leotychides. The supporters of Leotychides referred to an oracle warning against a 'lame monarchy', proffered by a certain Diopeithes, who according to Xenophon was an oracle-monger and of whom Plutarch says that he was full of old oracles and supposed to be wise and curious in regard to "the divine"<sup>19</sup>. But Lysander outwitted him saying that the god did not care if a man who had hurt his leg became king, but on the contrary if a bastard who was not descended from Herakles became king the kingship would be lame. Agesilaos was elected king. We have heard of the relations of the Spartans to the Delphic oracle, here we see that anonymous oracles too played a decisive part in their political affairs.

The belief in oracles declined in the fourth century B.C. but the desire to know the future was lasting. There were other means than oracles. The Greeks always believed firmly that dreams foretold the future, but it is in the nature of things that oracles given in dreams belonged to private life. There is, however, an instance showing that even the state resorted to this means. Hyperides tells that a certain Euxenippos was ordered by the people to sleep in the temple, he did so and related his dream to the people<sup>20</sup>. He was accused of having lied to the people and Hyperides defended him saying that one ought not to write a proposal against the dream but to send to Delphi and ask the god for the truth. The affair had, however, a sacral bearing; it concerned a lawsuit in regard to a certain mountain district at Oropus which it had been proposed to give over to Amphiaraios. The incubation probably took place in his temple

<sup>19</sup> In my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, p. 750, I advanced the opinion that this Diopeithes was another than the man with the same name who initiated the trials for impiety in Athens (*loc. cit.*, p. 726) and is mentioned by Aristophanes (above p. 138). However, it may have been the same man, for the oracle-mongers were a wandering people, just as the soothsayers were. Cp. Latte in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*, XVIII, p. 851.

<sup>20</sup> Hyperides, *pro Euxenippo*, 14.

at Oropus, for he was concerned in the affair. Thus, there is a special reason why the people applied to incubation in this case.

As far as I know we do not hear anything explicit of anonymous oracles in the fourth century as means of political propaganda, but from the contemptuous words of Demosthenes about the belief in oracles (quoted above p. 135) it may be inferred that his adversaries used them against his politics. Probably the enlightenment of the age of the sophists had had some effect, or he would not have dared to utter such a criticism. But oracles did good service in stimulating the Thebans before the battle at Leuctra and they were cited to explain the crushing defeat at Chaeronea. In some measure the oracles had lost their credit. But they survived, no doubt, for in the Hellenistic age they emerge again vigorously. Athenion used them when inciting the Athenians to side with Mithradates <sup>21</sup>. Some oracles are connected with portentuous miracle-stories. Well known are the Sibylline oracles which have come down to us. The third book has incorporated some oracles pertaining to the Hellenistic age, but the collection is Jewish and Christian and preaches hatred against Rome and foretells its fall. The oracles were in this age not used to impress certain opinions upon the man in the street who voted in the popular assembly — democracy was gone — or upon the authorities. They were now a means of expression of the hatred of the underdog, the oppressed and the disinherited, of their hate of the ruling state and society. They contributed not a little to the dissolution of the Roman state. The importance of the old myths which told of a glorious past vanished in political and practical life. Instead of them new myths, picturing the future in glowing colours, were created and told in the oracle-books, the campaign of the resuscitated Nero, the Last Judgment, the cruel punishments of the adversaries, and the bliss of the faithful in a land of Cockaigne.

I do not dwell upon the oracles of the Roman and the Hellenistic age for I have treated them at some length in another place <sup>22</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Athen., V, p. 213 B.

<sup>22</sup> In my *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II, pp. 103 and 461 resp.

## APPENDIX I: THE IONIAN PHYLAE

The Greek word φυλή is commonly translated "tribe" and this translation has coloured our notion of what a phyle is. This is questionable and to avoid any prejudice I use the Greek word throughout.

The names of the Dorian phylae, Ὑλλεῖς, Δυμᾶνες, Πάμφυλοι, cannot be explained etymologically except for the last one, "all kinds of phylae". Compare the name of the province of Pamphylia, the dialect of which shows a mixture of Cypriote, Aeolic, and Doric elements. This phyle may have been constituted by people who associated themselves with the Dorians. The Dorian phylae may be or may not be tribes in the common sense of the word. I put them on one side.

The Ionian phylae were called: Ὀπλητεῖς, Ἀργαδεῖς, Γελέοντες, Αἰγικορεῖς. They are found in Attica as well as in the Ionian colonies in Asia Minor and there in addition to them others too. In the inscription of the Molpoi from Miletus <sup>1</sup> Ὀπληθεῖς, Οἰνωπεῖς, Βωρεῖς are mentioned and in another Milesian inscription <sup>2</sup> Ἀργαδεῖς. In Cyzicus and Tomis which were Milesian colonies these four appear and with them Γελέοντες and Αἰγικορεῖς. The remark of Dittenberger on the above-mentioned inscription of the Molpoi that the three phylae in question officiated half a year and that it may be presupposed that the other three officiated the other half of the year is certainly right. Thus we have probably to suppose that the four phylae found in Attica existed also in Miletus and in addition to them the Οἰνωπεῖς and Βωρεῖς.

<sup>1</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup>, 57; decree of the year 450/49, but most of it goes back in the sixth century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Sitz.-ber. Akad. Berlin, 1904, p. 85.

The names of the phylae of Ephesus are different and most of them local: Ἐφεσείζ, Καρηναῖοι, Εὐώνυμοι, Τήιοι, Βεμβιναῖοι, but among the six so-called chiliastyes of the Ἐφεσείζ, the Ἀργαδεῖζ and the Γελέοντες recur as well as the Βωρεῖζ and Οἰνωπεζ, the two remaining chiliastyes are called Λεβέδιοι and Σαλαμίνιοι. Evidently the phylae have been degraded to chiliastyes by some later reform. On Samos we find the phylae Χησιεῖζ and Ἀστυπαλαεῖζ, again local names, but also the Οἰνωπεζ as a chiliastys. In the Samian colony Perinthus the phylae are: Γελεῦντες, Βωρεῖζ, Αἰγικορεῖζ, Ποδαργοί, Κασταλιεῖζ, Εὐανθεῖζ. Finally in Phocaea the names are different: Τευθαδεῖζ, Ἀβαρνεῖζ, [Περικ]λεῖδαι.

Herodotus' words that Kleisthenes constituted ten phylae in Athens in order that the Athenians should not have the same phylae as the Ionians is a sweeping statement which cannot be taken as contradicting the inscriptional evidence. It implies, not that the Ionians had *only* the four Athenian phylae, but that these names were characteristic of the Ionian phylae.

The common opinion that the four phylae known from Athens are the original Ionian phylae is rejected by some scholars, e.g. Professor Latte, on the ground of the evidence from the Ionian cities of Asia Minor<sup>3</sup>. The question needs investigation.

It is certain and not denied by Professor Latte that certain names of the phylae go back in an era anterior to the immigration of the Ionians to Asia Minor at the end of the Mycenaean age<sup>4</sup>. The varying names of the phylae in these cities show that there the phylae have been remodelled. This happened in other places too. E.g. at Argos a fourth phyle, the Hyrnathioi, named after an Epidaurian heroine, was added to afford a place for the non-Dorian population. At Epidaurus there were in addition to the Hylleis and Dymanes the Hysminiatai and Azantioi, the Pamphyloï are absent, but Epidaurus must once have had the three Dorian phylae, for they are found on Cos and Calymnus which were colonized from Epidaurus (above pp. 73 et seq.).

The settlers of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor were a very

<sup>3</sup> Latte in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencykl.*, XX, p. 1000.

<sup>4</sup> This was proved by H. Bolkestein, *Zur Entstehung der "ionischen Phylen"*, *Klio*, XIII, 1913, pp. 424, although his archaeological materials must be supplemented and modified by subsequent discoveries.

mixed lot, as Herodotus, II, 146, and the foundation legends<sup>5</sup> say, and Homer says that Carians speaking a barbarian language inhabited Miletus<sup>6</sup>. Conditions such as these make it probable and practically certain that the phylae of the Ionian cities were thoroughly remodelled in order to afford places for those parts of the population which were not of Ionian origin, the same phenomenon which is known elsewhere. The many local names of the phylae and the degradation of the phylae to chiliasties point also to such a reform. On the contrary Attica was spared great immigrations; there is a certain truth in the Athenians' boast of being autochthonous. Here there was no reason for remodelling the old phylae. Latte's objection is not valid. What we know testifies to the correctness of the old view that the four phylae found in Athens were the old original Ionian phylae.

This is important. For as the Ionians brought their phylae with them when immigrating to Asia Minor at the end of the Mycenaean age it allows a glimpse into the organization of the people in that age. This would be still more valuable if it were possible to interpret the names of the four old phylae, but such an attempt is beset with difficulties.

These names are not local nor are they names of tribes. Relying upon their interpretation of these names ancient scholars supposed that they denoted classes of the population. Plutarch interprets<sup>7</sup>: Hopletes as warriors, Argadeis as craftsmen, Teleontes as agriculturalists, and Aigikoreis as shepherds. Strabo does not mention the names of the phylae but his four classes: agriculturalists, craftsmen, priests, and guards correspond to them<sup>8</sup>. His interpretation is undoubtedly dependent on a passage in Plato's *Timaeus*<sup>9</sup>, but it is not certain that Plato had the phylae

<sup>5</sup> See above pp. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Iliad*, ii, vv. 866.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 23, τὸ μὲν μέγχιμον Ὀπλητῶν, τὸ δ' ἐργατικὸν Ἀργαδεῶν, θυεῖν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Τελόντων μὲν τοὺς γεωργοὺς, Αἰγικορεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ νομᾶς καὶ προβατείας θιατρίβοντας.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, IX, p. 383, ὁ δὲ (Ion) πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τέτταρας φυλάς διεῖλε τὸ πλῆθος, εἶτα εἰς τέτταρας βίους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γεωργοὺς ἀπέθειξε, τοὺς δὲ θεμιουργοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς, τετάρτους δὲ τοὺς φύλακας.

<sup>9</sup> Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 A, πολλὰ γὰρ παραβείγματα τῶν τότε παρ' ὑμῖν ὄντων ἐνόηδε νῦν ἀνευρήσεις, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων χωρὶς



in his mind, he may simply enumerate the classes whose existence in an early society he presupposed. The craftsmen are reckoned as a class from the point of view of the industrialized fifth and fourth century Athens. In the Mycenaean age there were of course crafts. The name of the smith χαλκεύς, bronze-smith, was coined in the Bronze age. There were potters who fabricated the masses of Mycenaean vases found <sup>10</sup>. But the different crafts were not comprised in a gild or class of craftsmen. The word in Plutarch, τὸ ἐργατικόν is vague. The form Τελέοντες in Plutarch is corrupt, inscriptional evidence testifying to the correct form, Γελέοντες. The interpretations of the ancients are guesses, and for a great part dubious guesses; we must try and see if something more reliable can be made out.

The interpretation of the "Οπλητες as "armed men" seems to be fairly certain. But Professor Latte has rejected it referring to the form with θ, "Οπληθες, in the inscription of the Milesian Molpoi. He says <sup>11</sup>: "ὁ-πληθες from πλῆθος with the prefix ο as in ὁ-πάτωρ, ὅτρυχες". This is unlikely. Professor Ernst Fraenkel is right in saying that the form with θ arose through a popular etymology associating the word with πλῆθος <sup>12</sup>. Such an association is easily understood. It would be much more difficult to suppose that ὁπληθες was changed into ἑπλητες with spiritus asper, perhaps because of an association with ὀπλῖται, but itacism is half a millennium later than the inscription of the Molpoi. ἑπλητες is from ἑπλον as κούρητες from κοῦρος. <sup>13</sup> The word designates the "armed men", the indiscriminate background of the combats

ἀφωρισμένον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν θημιουργῶν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ ἕκαστον, ἄλλῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιμειγνύμενον θημιουργεῖ, τὸ τε τῶν νομέων καὶ τὸ τῶν θηρευτῶν, τὸ τε τῶν γεωργῶν. καὶ θῆ καὶ τὸ μάχιμον γένος ἤσθησαι που τῇδε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν γενῶν κεχωρισμένον, οἷς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου προσετέχθη μέλειν. A trace of this dependency is the word φύλακας in Strabo (Plutarch: τὸ μάχιμον), although the warriors are not mentioned in the passage quoted from Plato.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. Wace, *Mycenae*, pp. 109. Potter's ovens were discovered in the excavations of Professor Persson at Berbati in Argolis, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1938, pp. 552.

<sup>11</sup> Latte, *loc. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> E. Fraenkel, *Gesch. d. griech. Nomina agentis (Untersuchungen z. indogerman. Sprach- u. Kulturwiss.)*, H. 4; II, p. 156 n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> In the difficult etymological questions I have asked Professor H. J. Frisk for his expert advice. He has kindly replied in a lengthy and clarifying

of the champions, which we know from Homer and which could not be absent even in an age of heroic warfare. We find them in the Hittite empire, where the armed men received a plot of land with the obligation of doing military service, a system known from many countries, e.g. from Babylonia in the age of Hammurabi. How it was in the Mycenaean age we do not know, but the existence of "armed men" in the service of the chiefs must be presupposed in that warring time.

Less clear is the word αἰγικορεῖς. The first element of the compound is αἰξ as in αἰγινόμος etc., but the second is doubtful. That Strabo understands them as priests is due to Plato's authority; he may have interpreted the word as "slaughterers of goats", viz. sacrificers. Modern scholars have referred this element to κορέννυμι<sup>14</sup> or supposed a change of λ to ρ, comparing βουκόλος. This is not probable, though it would give an excellent sense. This much can be stated, that the αἰγικορεῖς had something to do with goats, and thus it is probable that the ancient interpretation "shepherds" is right<sup>15</sup>.

The γελέοντες may be understood if we trust in a gloss in Hesychius: γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν. "The bright ones", "the brilliant ones" would be a suitable name for the noblemen, and so the word is understood by some scholars<sup>16</sup>.

The remaining name ἀργαδεῖς is most difficult and a satisfactory etymology seems impossible to find. It is of course tempting to refer it to ἔργον, but the α is a stumbling block<sup>17</sup>.

letter which I quote in abstracts. "Ὀπλητες is, evidently, he says, derived from ὀπλον, he compares further: πλάνητες — πλάνος, γυμνήτες — γυμνός, γόητες — γόος.

<sup>14</sup> Toepffer in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie* s. v. Aigikoreis.

<sup>15</sup> According to Professor Frisk αἰγικορεῖς is perhaps formed from \*αἰγι-κόρος, cp. βουκόλος, δημοβόρος. The first element is clearly αἰξ. There is no objection against the connection of the second element with κορέννυμι, it may also be connected with κείρειν, "to cut, to shear" (cp. Pap. Cair. Zen., 176, 54: τῷ κείραντι τὰς αἰγας). Consequently: "goat-feeders" or "goat-shearers".

<sup>16</sup> Professor Frisk is of the opinion that the gloss in Hesychius cannot reasonably be suspected, for the significance ἀνθεῖν cannot have been abstracted from the name of the phyle in order to explain it. He compares moreover Armenian *caḥr*, "laughter", γέλως, *caḥik*, "flower".

<sup>17</sup> According to Professor Frisk ἀργαδεῖς presupposes \*ἀργαδες or ἀργάς

If there is a phyle of common warriors, another of the champions is a natural complement. If there is a phyle of shepherds, the tillers of the soil cannot be wanting. Of course the evidence is slender, but if we accept it we have the four classes of an early warring society of heroic age, the champions, the common warriors, the tillers of the soil, the herders of the flocks. The two last were necessary for the sustenance of the people, not so the craftsmen, thus both had their phyle <sup>18</sup>.

If this is considered to be probable we get a little more insight in the society of the Mycenaean age. No doubt these four classes existed in that age, but the important thing is that they were organized as phylae. This has been denied by Bolkestein <sup>19</sup>. According to him this is a classification which was not created by men but, originating by itself, comes down from the earliest times. This is only partially true. Such differences arise in a progressive early social and economical development, but it is another thing that they are acknowledged as organized parts of the state or society, for this is implied in their standing as phylae.

The phylae had their heads, called φυλοβασίλεις. They are known only from Athens. It is not possible to decide how old they are. If anyone says that they were created after the end

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(Hesychius: ἀργῆδες εἶδος φυτοῦ κτλ.). The significance is extremely dubious. There are two adjectives ἀργός: 1. in Homer "bright", "glistening" (?), 2. ἄ-εργός, "not working", "untilled". He asks: did the word designate people who worked in unfruitful soil? To derive the word directly from ἔργον involves great difficulties.

<sup>18</sup> E. Maass, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1889, p. 806, advanced the opinion that the names of the Ionian phylae are derived from gods of the tribes. G. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, 2 ed., II, p. 103 n. 2 assented, but in his *Griech. Staatskunde*, 3 ed., p. 770, he says rightly that the etymologies of Maass are very dubious, although he sticks to the connexion of the names of the phylae with gods of the tribes. This opinion is founded on the inscription, *IG*, 2 ed., No. 1072: ἱερεῖς Ἀρεως καὶ Ἐνυαλλου καὶ Ἐνυοῦς καὶ Διὸς Γελέοντος ἱεροκῆρυξ, from the time of the emperor Hadrian. B. Loewe, *Griech. theopore Ortsnamen*, Diss. Tübingen, 1936, p. 32, rightly rejects this opinion stating that Zeus Geleon is a late fictive eponymous creation. The opinions of W. M. Ramsay, *Pisidian Wolf Priests and Old Ionian Tribes*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, I, 1920, pp. 197, which are accepted by H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes*, 1939, pp. 119, are too slightly founded to need a discussion.

<sup>19</sup> Bolkestein, *loc. cit.*, p. 450.

of the Mycenaean age in the first centuries of the last millenium B.C., he cannot be refuted. Nor can the opinion be refuted which attributes them to the Mycenaean age. The word βασιλεύς is old, probably pre-Greek. Nor can this opinion be proved, but I may be excused if in view of what has been set forth in these pages I am inclined to it.

If our considerations are well-founded there existed in the Mycenaean age an organization of the people, founded on the differentiation brought about by the social and economical development and the special conditions of a warring society. This is only what might be expected in a time of that character which is known from other sources. But as the membership of every subdivision of the people was according to the principles of the ancients hereditary, the class character of these phylae was liable to vanish and it vanished still more in the turmoil of the emigration of the Ionians and their settling amidst a foreign and mixed population. The phylae lost their character of social classes. If, as is probable, φύλον associated with φρήτρη in Homer <sup>20</sup> is to be taken as φυλή, this procedure was completed in his time. In the historical age the phylae are subdivisions of the citizens, not classes.

<sup>20</sup> *Iliad*, ii, vv. 362:

κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον.  
ὥς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἑρώγη, φύλα θεὸς φύλοις.

*Additional note to p. 142.* Lagercrantz, *Die dorischen Phylennamen, Streitberg-Festgabe* (1924) pp. 218, explains the name of the Δυμᾶνες by a supposed Greek word δῦμα, 'birth', 'tribe' and attributes the significance φυλάται to it. He compares Ὑλλεῖς with a Sanskrit word *stṛiṣ*, 'he who causes a sacrifice to be done'. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XV, 1927, p. 194, accepts the former etymology but rejects the latter as unlikely; he refers to Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung*, (1924), II, p. 177 n. 1, who compares the name with that of an Illyrian tribe Ὑλλεῖς, which later had vanished. v. Blumenthal, *ibid.*, XVIII, 1930, pp. 151, adds the now current hypothesis of an Illyrian element among the Dorians. — I owe these references to Professor Frisk.

## APPENDIX II: THE PHRATRIES.

The reason why I have undertaken a discussion of the phratries was the wish to inquire into the problem of their rôle in religion, or to express it more exactly, in the collective piety of early times. The result is meagre but not without its interest for the relations of social life to religion. However, as no agreement has been reached in regard to the history of the phratries it will be necessary to discuss their development. They are the darkest problem among the social institutions<sup>1</sup>. We know something of it almost exclusively from Athens.

The phratries come down from olden times. They are mentioned in Homer and they are found in all Greek tribes. As the old Indo-european word for "brother", *frater*, φράτηρ, in the Greek language passed over to signify a member of a phratry it was replaced by ἀδελφός. The name of the festival of the phratries, ἀπατούρια, is derived etymologically from *a copulativum* and πατήρ in spite of certain difficulties<sup>2</sup>. This festival was

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<sup>1</sup> Since the draft of this article was written a comprehensive treatment on the phratries has appeared: M. Guarducci, *L'istituzione della fratria nella Grecia antica e nelle colonie greche d'Italia, Memorie dell' accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali etc.*, Ser. VI, vol. vi: 1, 1937, and vol. viii: 2, 1938. It is welcome that all inscriptions referring to the phratries are reprinted. This treatise pursues another aim than that of my small article. In certain points I agree, in others I disagree with the learned authoress, but I do not, save here and there, encumber my text with references to her treatise. I subjoin only a general remark. I cannot believe that the *gene* were, as is asserted, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24 and 44, commonly dispersed among various localities and various phratries. This is downright contrary to the gentilician origin of the *gene* as well as of the phratries.

<sup>2</sup> W. Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae*, p. 79, n. 3; Ehrlich in *Zeitschrift f. vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, XXXIX, 1906, p. 560.



common to all Ionians except for Ephesus and Colophon<sup>3</sup>, and the name of the month Apatoureon proves how wide-spread it was. In the Aeolis the month-name Phratrrios occurs. At Delphi the festival of the phratries was called ἀπέλλα. This word signifies among the Dorians the popular assembly, but as this met several times in the year it is to be presumed that the month-name Apellaios which is common in Dorian districts refers to the assembly of the phraters which took place at a certain time of the year in a fixed month.

Evidently the phratries were originally founded on blood-relationship and it is also evident that to some extent at least they must have given up this character when they were adapted to a democratic state organization<sup>4</sup>, but we are able to follow this development only at Athens<sup>5</sup>.

According to an inscription found recently the Medontidae were a phratry<sup>6</sup>. But Pausanias, VII, 2, 1, tells us that Medon

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, I, 147.

<sup>4</sup> In general see Latte in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie s. v.*, add the phratries at Argos the names of which are taken from mythical persons, evidently a late figment, see above p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> On Chios the development seems to have been different. The inscription of the Clytidae (SIG<sup>3</sup>, 987; Homolle, *BCH*, III, 1879, pp. 47) ll. 29, φατρῖαν δὲ μηδὲ ἰδιώτην μηδένα τῶι οἴκῳ τούτῳ χορήσθαι κτλ. proves against the opinion of Schoell, *Saturae H. Sauppio oblatae*, p. 168 (I have not been able to see this paper) that there the phratries were subdivisions of the Clytidae. For if the Clytidae were a phratry they would forbid themselves the use of the house. Consequently the six groups enumerated in another Chian inscription, *BCH*, III, 1879, pp. 323: Τοττειδῶν (title with larger letters), Δημογενεῖς, Θρακίδαι, οἱ Τηλέαγρου, οἱ Ἑρμοῦ, οἱ Διονυσιοῦ καὶ Ποσειδῶντος, are also subdivisions of the phratry of the Totteidae. Cp. the two inscriptions of the Χαλᾶζων, reprinted by Guarducci, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 98, Nos. xxii and xxiii. It is understandable that if groups which were not consanguineous with it were associated with a *genos* they were considered as phratries. However, it is doubtful if the Clytidae or the Totteidae can be taken as *gene*, they may be pseudo-gentilician bodies, as e.g. the Salaminians were (see above p. 31).

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Crosby, *A Polelai Record of the year 367/6 B.C., Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 14, ll. 16, κοινόν φρατέρων Μεδοντιδῶν. The authoress says, p. 22, that the orgeones mentioned in ll. 30 are almost certainly a part of the Medontidae, but although their name is not added, this is doubtful, for in the intervening lines 25—30 another claim raised by one Isarchos is recorded. The Medontidae are known by three inscriptions, a very fragmentary hono-

and Neileus were the eldest sons of Kodros and quarrelled for the kingship of Athens. When the Pythia attributed it to Medon Neileus and the other brothers emigrated. In another place, IV, 13, 7, he says that the Medontidae kept the decennary archonship in Athens still at the end of the second Messenian war. The Medontidae are never explicitly called a *genos*, but that they were one is implied in a gloss in Hesychius, *Μεδοντίδαι· οἱ ἀπὸ Μέδοντος Ἀθήνησι*: and as they were descended from the old kingly house of Athens they must evidently have been such. Later they had become a phratry, perhaps having received some new members.

In the age of the Athenian public speakers a *genos* was still the kernel of certain phratries. Aeschines boasts that his father Atrometos in regard to his *genos* belonged to that phratry which had part of the same altars as the Eteoboutadae<sup>7</sup>. Apollodoros who had adopted the son of his sister, Thrasyllus, introduced him at the festival of the Thargelia to the altars among the *gennetai* and the phraters<sup>8</sup>. Phrastor introduced his son by Neaira to the phraters and the Brytidae, to whom he belonged as a *gennetes*; the latter rejected the child<sup>9</sup>. Euxitheos appeals to the phraters and the *gennetai* as witnesses of his status<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand Menekles appeals only to the orgeones as witnesses<sup>11</sup>. In the case of Phrastor the child was rejected by the *gennetai* and the affair was referred to an arbitrator. Consequently a preliminary trial by the *gennetai* is to be supposed. In other cases only the decision of the phraters is mentioned. As regards the Eleusinian *genos* of the Kerykes the oath of the father sufficed<sup>12</sup>.

The above supposition is founded on the prescription of a preliminary trial in the statute of the Demotionidae<sup>13</sup>. According

rary decree of the fourth century B.C., *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1233, and two boundary stones, *IG*, I<sup>2</sup>, 871 and 872; see below p. 165; the latter may be a base for a dedicated object.

<sup>7</sup> Aeschines, II, 14.

<sup>8</sup> Isaeus, VII, 15.

<sup>9</sup> (Demosth.), LIX, 59.

<sup>10</sup> Demosthen., LVII, 23.

<sup>11</sup> Isaeus, II, 16.

<sup>12</sup> Andocides, I, 126.

<sup>13</sup> *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 123; *StG*<sup>3</sup>, 921. I agree with the treatment of Wilamowitz,

to the amendment of Nikodemos this preliminary trial was to be undertaken by the *thiasoi*. A *genos* is not mentioned in this inscription, perhaps it had died out, but it is also possible that from the beginning there was no *genos*. The inscription contains three amendments to the statute of the phratry, two earlier of Hierokles and of Nikodemos, probably contemporaneous, and a third and later of Menexenos with which we are not concerned here. The statute is presumed to be known by the phraters and referred to l. 14: κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῶν Δημοσιονιδῶν, and ll. 71 et seqq., where there is a haplology; we must of course understand: τὸς δὲ μάρτυρας τρεῖς, ὅς εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακρίσει (παρέχεσθαι), παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῷ θιασωτῶν. The difficulty is contained in the amendment of Hierokles, prescribing firstly that the phraters shall undertake a scrutiny of those introduced and secondly that if someone is rejected he is allowed to appeal to the Demotionidae. These must be a court of superior instance, for an appeal to the same body for the second time is senseless.

Against the prevailing opinion that the Demotionidae are the name of the phratry H. Wade-Gery directed an acute criticism<sup>14</sup>, advancing the opinion that the name of the phratry was Δεξελεῖης or οἶκος τῶν Δεξελεῖων (concerning the sense of this word see below p. 170) and that the Demotionidae were a small aristocratic group which from olden times had had the privilege of keeping the statute and the archive of the phratry and of acting as a court of supreme instance in questions of admitting members. I cannot share this opinion. It would certainly be curious that the statute valid for the whole phratry is called νόμος ὁ Δημοσιονιδῶν, l. 14, but I proceed to set forth my reasons.

I start from the amendment of Nikodemos which is more explicit. He prescribes that the three witnesses required in the introduction of a new member shall be taken from the *thiasos* and that the members of the *thiasos* shall undertake a preliminary scrutiny and voting (ἀνάκρισις) before all the phraters do the final voting. The words ll. 71 et seqq., quoted above, imply that this proposal is an amendment of a preliminary scrutiny which

*Aristoteles und Athen*, II, pp. 259, except for two points to which I come back below, pp. 159 and 170 respectively.

<sup>14</sup> H. Wade-Gery, *The Demotionidae*, *Classical Quarterly*, XXV, 1931, pp. 129.

was prescribed by the statute, which has not come down to us. Consequently we must reckon with this preliminary scrutiny in regard to the amendment of Hierokles also who assumed that the prescription of the statute was known and did not need to be mentioned explicitly. Thus, the problem reduces to this: who are the phraters who undertake the preliminary scrutiny according to Hierokles? Wade-Gery understands them tacitly and without question as ἅπαντες οἱ φράτρες, as is read (l. 81) in the amendment of Nikodemos. Precisely this is his error. Hierokles means the phraters who undertake the preliminary scrutiny, viz. certain groups of phraters, corresponding to the *thiasoi* in the amendment of Nikodemos. This preliminary scrutiny by the appropriate group took place in the assembly of the phratry before the final voting. Hierokles prescribes that the phraters, sc. of this group, shall swear by Zeus Phratrios and take the voting pebbles from the altar; Nikodemos the same still more solemnly and adds that this voting shall take place before the final voting of all the phraters. According to him ἅπαντες οἱ φράτρες are the court of last appeal, and so it must be also according to Hierokles, for both presuppose the same old statute, viz. the Demotionidae are the phratry. Because of the better safeguarding implied in his amendment Nikodemos thought reasonable to reduce the fine of 1,000 drachmae, if the appeal was rejected, prescribed by Hierokles, to 100 drachmae.

We should not overlook that this statute dates from the year 396 B.C., a new arrangement decreed after the turmoils of the Peloponnesian war, during which Decelea itself had been occupied by the enemy. Radical changes may therefore be likely. Evidently Decelea was the chief seat of the Demotionidae<sup>15</sup>. Consequently it seemed to the purpose that the preliminary trial should take place in the assembly of the phratry at Decelea. The *thiasoi* to which the amendment of Nikodemos attributed it were so small that it was presumed that they were not always able to furnish the three witnesses required<sup>16</sup>. They are supposed to be cult associations but this seems not to be warranted. The members of the phratry lived dispersed on the country side of Attica; a

<sup>15</sup> Cp. *loc. cit.*, ll. 52 et seqq. and 123.

<sup>16</sup> *Loc. cit.*, ll. 71 et seqq.

*thiasos* comprised probably such members as lived on the same place. They knew each other well; it seemed convenient to entrust the preliminary trial to them.

Attention must be paid to a mortgage stone from the time of about 350 B.C.<sup>17</sup> The text runs: ὅρος χωρίου πεπραμμένου ἐπὶ λύσει Κηφισοδώρῳ Λευκον(οσεῖ) ΧΓ<sup>Η</sup> καὶ φράτερσι τοῖς μετὰ Ἐρασιστράτῳ Ἀναφλυ(στίῳ) ΗΗ καὶ Γλαυκίδαις Γ<sup>Η</sup>Η καὶ Ἐπικλείδαις ΗΙ<sup>Δ</sup> καὶ φράτερσι τοῖς μετὰ Νίκωνος Ἀναφλ(υστίῳ) Η. The remarkable thing is that at the side of two *gentes* two groups appear named after individuals. Such a designation is well-known from the associations of the Hellenistic age, e.g. on Rhodes, and a few inscriptions of the Roman age from Asia Minor speak of a *phratra* or *phratores* associated with an individual<sup>18</sup>. These are late and of no importance, for as Poland rightly remarks, these phratries have nothing to do with the old phratries, they are but associations of friends which have borrowed the old name. More relevant is the Chian inscription<sup>19</sup>, in which at the side of the *gentes* such associations appear as phratries.

However, in our inscription the phraters associated with Erasistratos and with Nikon are equated with *gentes*, they are not phratries but groups within a phratry as the *gentes* are. The inscription of the Demotionidae shows that there were *thiasoi* within the phratry and the above-mentioned groups may be named *thiasoi*. In an inscription from about the same time as that here discussed, enumerating contributions, five groups are discernable<sup>20</sup>, the headings of three of these groups are preserved: Ἀντιφάνος θίασος, Ἀγνολέο θίασος, Διογένος θίασος. If this inscription is rightly referred to a phratry there is inscriptional evidence for this name<sup>21</sup>. The remarkable fact is that these associations within the phratry are grouped around and named

<sup>17</sup> Published and commented on by D. M. Robinson, *American Journal of Philology*, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 430 No. 4, and by A. v. Premerstein, *Phratrienverbände auf einem attischen Hypothekenstein*, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 103.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. φράτρων τὴν περὶ Θεόδοτον Διογενειανόν καὶ Γλαύκωνα Διοδώρου ἀγνολέτην. See F. Poland, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, pp. 52.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted above p. 151, n. 5.

<sup>20</sup> *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2345.

<sup>21</sup> See v. Premerstein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 112.



after an individual. This man must needs have kept his position for a long time, while the officials of the phratry were elected and changed annually, as were all officials of the Athenian democracy. The forming of these associations must have depended on private initiative.

Another inscription from the beginning of the fourth century is helpful to our knowledge of these *thiasoi*<sup>22</sup>. The first lines read: Διὸς Φρατρίου, Ἀθηναῖς Φρατρίας. οἷδε γράττερες. A list comprising twenty names follows. It was justly remarked that this number is too small to comprise all the members of a phratry. This is confirmed if we apply the rule of Attic nomenclature that an element of the compound name recurs commonly, almost regularly in the names of a family; for it appears that this *thiasos* is composed of family groups<sup>23</sup>. The largest one may be called the family of Mnesikleides, it has nine members: Mnesikleides and Mnesitheides, sons of Epichares, Mnesarchos and Epichares, sons of Mnesikleides, another Mnesikleides, son of Mnesarchos, Mnesiphilos, son of Mnesitheos, Mnesitheos and Mnesos, sons of Mnesiphilos, Mnesigenes, son of Mnesigenes. Next comes the family group of Sosippos, comprising six members: Sosippos, son of Sosipolis, Sosippos, son of Sosistratos, Sosipolis, Sosistratos, Sostratos and Philon, sons of Sosippos. The third group comprises three members: Poseidippos, son of Xenotimos, Lysias and Xenotimos, sons of Poseidippos. Finally two members cannot with certainty be referred to a family group: Menekleides, son of Xenokleides and Philodemos, son of Philodemos. At the side is written: Σώσιππος Σωσιπόλιδος ἀνέγραψεν. As this man took care of registering the members of the group, it may perhaps be presumed that he was the headman. We may perhaps call this group the *thiasos* of Sosipolis.

The phratries were composed of the old *gentes*, which had certain inherited organization of their own, and of the originally indiscriminate mass of the orgeones. It is but understandable that these too felt the desire and need of an organization. The creation of associations, which is well-known from a little later,

<sup>22</sup> IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 2344, A. Körte, *Hermes*, XXXVII, 1902, pp. 582; cp. v. Premerstein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 113.

<sup>23</sup> Körte, *loc. cit.*, tried to make up genealogies.

began certainly in the fourth century B.C. But there is a difference between these *thiasoi* within the phratries and the associations of the Hellenistic age the members of which came from all quarters. In fourth century Athens family ties were still strong and were kept alive precisely in the phratries. No wonder that families of some standing and belonging to the phratries conceived the idea of forming associations which in a certain manner corresponded to the old *gentes*. Probably some influential and well-to-do man who was able to promote the interests of an association took the initiative, the *thiasos* was grouped around him and was named after him. Such an association was private, but like all associations had the right of possessing property. Our inscription informs us that the *thiasos* had funds which were lent out. A well-to-do member may have made a gift, as they often did in the Hellenistic associations.

We suggested above that the *thiasoi* of the phratry of the Demotionidae were local groups. That of Sosipolis was evidently a family group living in the same district, and because both the headmen of the two *thiasoi* in the mortgage inscription were members of the demos Anaphlystos v. Premierstein presumes that they were settled in this demos and had their cult-place there<sup>24</sup>. This is not unlikely although not certain. In regard to the *thiasos* of Sosipolis we should remember that Athenian citizens, especially if they had landed property, were still rather sedentary in the fourth century B.C. This seems to be in contradiction to our suggestion that the *thiasoi* of the Demotionidae were local groups, but there is a distinction which should not be overlooked. The *thiasoi* of the mortgage inscription and of Sosipolis were due to private initiative, the *thiasoi* of the Demotionidae prescribed by the decree of the phratry; all members of the phratry must needs belong to a *thiasos*, and this inscription is about half a century earlier than the other inscriptions discussed, and comes moreover from a place which had been exceptionally severely hit by the war.

There may be some interrelation between the two types of *thiasoi* in a manner which we cannot discern. It is interesting to see how the propensity to form associations occurred freely

<sup>24</sup> v. Premierstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 110.

in an organization over which the democratic State held control. It was possible because the State did not prescribe anything concerning the organization of the phratries and acknowledged the formation of private associations.

This much concerning conditions in the fourth century B.C. The organization of the phratries was not uniform, the phratries constituted statutes for themselves at their own choice. On the other hand a duty of the highest importance for the State was incumbent upon them, to watch over the introducing of new citizens. The interest of the State in them was great. No Athenian was in this time able to stand outside a phratry. So we are brought to discuss the development of the phratries.

To begin with we must reject a fragment from the lost beginning of Aristotle's tractate on the Athenian Constitution<sup>25</sup>. It speaks of 4 *phylai*, each of 3 phratries or *trittyes* of which each is said to comprise 30 *gene*, and each *genos* 30 men. This scheme is compared with the four seasons, the twelve months, and the 360 days of a year. The artificial fiction is evident. That it is found in Aristotle makes it no more authoritative, for he, in the same tractate, accepts the constitution of Drakon. It proves only that it was invented before his time<sup>26</sup>. The man who constructed it did not understand that the phratries were unconnected with the other subdivisions of the State and wanted to adapt them to a scheme. He had recourse to equating the phratries with the *trittyes*, which is obviously wrong. A *genos* was sometimes the kernel of a phratry, but here we are told that thirty *gene* were comprehended in each phratry. This is a fiction without any value.

It was shown above that in the fourth century B.C. a *genos* was the kernel of certain phratries and occupied a privileged position, and that on the other hand all citizens must be members of a phratry. The question arises: what was the status of "the

<sup>25</sup> Aristotle, *Pol. Athen.*, fragm. 3; most fully in the *Lexicon Palmiense*, p. 152; fragm. 385 Rose. The attempt to defend it of D. P. Costello, *Notes on the Athenian γένη*, *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, LVIII, 1939, pp. 171, is not successful.

<sup>26</sup> See Latte, *loc. cit.*, p. 748; U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörigkeit*, p. 230.

people without fathers" in the early age? The phrase is of course not to be taken quite literally, but means that some people could not look back to a line of forefathers, and certainly felt the bonds of blood-relationship less and knew their ancestors less.

The answer is found in a much discussed fragment of the Athidographer Philochoros<sup>27</sup>: "The phraters shall necessarily receive the orgeones and the *homogalaktoi*, whom we call *genetai*". The opinion of Wilamowitz and Latte that Philochoros has taken this notice from some statute of a phratry, comparable to that of the Demotionidae, is impossible. We read "necessarily" (ἐπ'ἀναγκης). An assembly which writes statutes for itself does not use such a word; it is on the contrary fitting for a higher authority which uses compulsion against an inferior organization which is in its power<sup>28</sup>. Some scholars have attributed this law to Kleisthenes<sup>29</sup>, for my part I have attributed it to Solon<sup>30</sup>, and this opinion has been confirmed when considering the problem anew.

We must realize the situation of "the people without fathers" in regard to religion in the time before Solon's legislation, but to begin with we must define the significance of the words used by Philochoros. The etymology of the word ὁμογάλακτες is perspicuous. Two translations are possible. It signifies either "those who have drunk the milk of the same mother", viz. those born of the same mother, or "those who have drunk the milk of the same woman", viz. a nurse who in addition to her own child nursed the child of another. Wilamowitz understands it in the latter sense<sup>31</sup>, but Aristotle explains<sup>32</sup>: οὓς καλοῦσι τινες ὁμογάλακτας παῖδός τε καὶ παίδων παίδας, and Philochoros: γεννηται. I confide more in the ancient authors than in Wilamowitz, they knew how the word was understood in their times. One should

<sup>27</sup> Photius, s. v. ὀργεῶνες; Harpokration, s. v. γεννηται; *Lexicon Palmiense*.

<sup>28</sup> The objection that this fragment was found in the fourth book of Philochoros, while the third had come down at least to Solon, is not valid. One cannot deny that in a later book he could come back to earlier times.

<sup>29</sup> Busolt, *Griech. Staatskunde*, 3 ed., p. 252.

<sup>30</sup> See my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, p. 672.

<sup>31</sup> Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 273.

<sup>32</sup> Aristotle, *Polit.*, p. 1252 B.

not forget that a word may deviate considerably from the sense indicated by its etymology; an example is the word *φράτηρ* itself in Greek. The interpretation of Wilamowitz implies that the children of the nurses who had nursed children of the nobles had in the phratries a preferential rank which was denied to the commoners; they ranked certainly not equal with the members of the nobility. There is absolutely no trace of such a division of the phratries.

The word *orgeones* (*ὀργεῶνες*) signifies men who took part in a cult, in a later age it is used of the members of a cult association. Professor Ferguson has made the striking observation that no corporate noun corresponds to this word as does *γένος* to *γεννῆται* and *θίασος* to *θιασῶται*.<sup>33</sup> The explanations of ancient authors agree with this. They say that *orgeones* are people who assemble around some gods or heroes<sup>34</sup>, or those who assemble in honour of gods or heroes<sup>35</sup>, or those in the demes who make some sacrifices on fixed days<sup>36</sup>. They do not designate the *orgeones* as a cult association, a *thiasos* or *koinon*, etc., but simply as participants in a cult, and we have to trust them. Consequently we have no right to postulate that in the early age the *orgeones* formed cult associations.

These preliminaries done we come back to the situation of "the people without fathers" in regard to religion in the time of the supremacy of the nobility. There is no direct information, but it can with a high degree of probability be inferred from the structure of society in this time. The noble families had their cults which were attached to the *genos*, but also others. They were landed proprietors and if some cult within their estates was so important as to be celebrated with sacrifices and festivals to which people assembled they took this too into their hands. Whether they let the "people without fathers" who lived in or near their estates take part in such a festival depended on their

<sup>33</sup> Ferguson, *The Attic Orgeones*, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XXXVII, 1944, pp. 61.

<sup>34</sup> Photius, s. v., Σέλευκος θεὸν ἐν τῇ ὑπομνήματι τῶν Σόλωνος ἀξίων ὀργεῶνες φησι καλεῖσθαι τοὺς συνόδους ἔχοντας περὶ τινος ἡρώας ἢ θεοῦς.

<sup>35</sup> Harpokration, s. v., ὀργεῶνες θ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων συνιόντων.

<sup>36</sup> Pollux, VIII, 107, ὀργεῶνες οἱ κατὰ δῆμους ἐν ταχταῖς ἡμέραις θύοντας θυσίας τινάς.



benevolence. These people who participated in the cult were orgeones but did not form any cult association.

Solon assigned people without property, the *thetes*, to his fourth class and gave them certain political rights. For this reason it became necessary to make sure that they were Athenians, born of freeborn Athenian parents. There was no other means to this than to make sure that they were members of a phratry. Consequently it could not be tolerated that an Athenian did not belong to a phratry or that the reception into a phratry was left to the whims of the *gene*. As to religion the "people without fathers" were so to say clients of the noble families, the *gene*, which permitted those who lived on or near their estates to take part in cults and festivals as orgeones. This provided Solon with a starting point. He compelled the phratries, which at that time, at least for a great part, were associations within the *gene*, to receive the orgeones of necessity. The law related by Philochoros was a corollary of the constitution of the Athenian society which Solon created. It may be added that Solon took note of the orgeones in other laws also <sup>37</sup>.

That this reform of the phratries was effectuated before the democratic reform of Kleisthenes is confirmed by a passage in Aristotle in which he says that Kleisthenes let everyone keep the *gene* and the phratries and the priesthoods in accordance with the custom of the fathers <sup>38</sup>. This seemed, however, to conflict with another statement of his that it is useful for a democratic reform to institute new and more numerous *phylai* and phratries and to bring private cults together into a few common ones, as Kleisthenes did in Athens and the democratic reformers in Cyrene <sup>39</sup>. A vigorous dispute concerning these

<sup>37</sup> See the quotation from Seleukos above p. 160, n. 34. *Digesta*, XLVII, 22, 4, the word is introduced by a conjecture; see Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 64, n. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Aristotle, *Athen. pol.*, 21, 6, τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίδας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας εἶχεν ἔχειν ἐκαστοὺς κατὰ τὰ πατρία.

<sup>39</sup> Aristotle, *Polit.*, 1319 B, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν τοιαύτην, οἷς Κλεισθένης τε Ἀθηναίων ἐχρήσατο βουλόμενος αὐξῆσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ περὶ Κυρήνην οἱ τὸν Θήμον κατιστάτες. φυλαί τε γὰρ ἔσονται ποιητέαι πλείους καὶ φρατρίαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὅλγα καὶ κοινά.

seemingly conflicting statements was carried on some fifty years ago<sup>40</sup>. It is in fact useless. K. Niemeyer is quite right when stating that Aristotle could use precisely these words which he has written in the *Politics*, if a reform and multiplying of the *phylai* took place in Athens and the reform of the phratries and the cults only in Cyrene<sup>41</sup>. In regard to the cults we know that the Athenian state, which in the age before Kleisthenes had already taken care of some great cults, left the priesthoods to the *gene* which possessed them from of old. Kleisthenes did not need to remodel the phratries, for Solon had before him effectuated the reform which was needed.

Having explained what is known or can be inferred about the history of the phratries in Athens we turn to the cults of the phratries<sup>42</sup>. We begin with the special cults. The phratry Gleontis had a cult of the river god Kephisos, evidently a local cult<sup>43</sup>. The Demotionidae had, perhaps, a sanctuary of Leto, for it is ordered that the list of the children shall be posted up in her temple<sup>44</sup>, but it may also be a sanctuary not pertaining to the

<sup>40</sup> I treated this question in my first paper written more than fifty years ago: *De republica Atheniensium a Clisthene constituta* in the volume, *Från filologiska föreningen i Lund, Språkliga uppsatser*, I, 1897, pp. 61 et seqq. (P. 65, l. 16 from below is a bad printer's error: *idem est ac demi*, read: *idem est ac gentis*.) I still hold to the opinion advanced here that the Attic demes were pseudo-gentilician. It is proved by the fact that if someone moved from his deme and settled in another he had to pay ἐγκατετίζον, a tax imposed upon foreigners. The demes were constituted locally, comprising the inhabitants of a certain district, but afterwards the membership was hereditary. All have read in the gospel of St Luke that Joseph with his bride went to the city of his fathers, Bethlehem, to be taxed, but hardly anybody has asked why he could not be taxed at Nazareth, where he lived. This is the ancient principle that the membership in a state or in one of its subdivisions is determined by birth. The ancients were not able to think otherwise. In the late Roman empire this principle was used to bind people to hereditary classes.

<sup>41</sup> Niemeyer in *Jahrbücher der class. Philologie*, CXLIII, 1891, p. 409.

<sup>42</sup> Latte, s. v. Φράτριοι θεοί in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklop.*

<sup>43</sup> Boundary stone from c. 400 B.C.: [ἐρόν] Κηφισῷ Γλεωντίδος [φ]ρατρίας. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 35, No. 18.

<sup>44</sup> *StG*<sup>3</sup>, 921, l. 125.

phratry which its members were wont to visit. Inscriptions speak sometimes of sanctuaries belonging to a *genos* <sup>45</sup>.

Athens: *hóro[s] chó[r]as Mεδ[ον]τιδῶν*, *IG*, I<sup>2</sup>, 871.

*hierón Mεδοντιδῶν* *ibid.*, 872 (cp. above p. 151, n. 6).

*ὄρος τεμένους Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῶιου Ἐλασιδῶν*, *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2602.

*ὄρος ἱεροῦ Τριτοπατρέων Ζακυαδῶν*, *ibid.*, 2615.

*hóros hieroῦ Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθωσίας Δημοκλειδῶν*, *Athen. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, pp. 15.

Erythrai: *ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Νεφελιδέων*, Wilamowitz, *Nord-jonische Steine*, *Abh. Akad. Berlin*, 1909: II, No. 2.

Chios: *ἱερὸν Ἀχελώιου Πρεσβώνων*, *ibid.*, No. 3.

Delos: *Νύμφαι Πυρρακιδῶν*, *BCH*, LIII, 1929, pp. 171.

*Τριτοπάτωρ Πυρρακιδῶν Αἰγυλιῶν*.

To these a number of inscriptions from the precinct of Asklepios on the island of Cos is to be added <sup>46</sup>: a. *Διὸς ἱεσίου Σιμωνιδᾶν* b. *Διὸς ἱεσίου Λαιστραπιδᾶν*, c. *Διὸς ἱεσίου Νεστοριδᾶν*, g. *Ζηνὸς Πατρῶιο Καλλινιδᾶν*, h. *Διὸς Πατρῶιου Ἐτυμοβυσιαδᾶν*, k. *Πραξιδᾶν Διός*, p. *Πασθεμιαδᾶν καὶ Νοττιδᾶν Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου*, r. *Ἀστυκλειδᾶν Μοιρᾶν*, s. *Μοιρᾶν Λαιστραπιδᾶν*. These stones cannot, as Professor Herzog says, be boundary markers of the asylum precinct, for if they were it is hard to understand why they are inscribed with the names of gods of *gene* or phratries, which these gods undoubtedly are. We come back to them below, p. 165. It is more probable that they mark the place where the members assembled at festivals, as do the Bokopia inscriptions from Lindos <sup>47</sup>.

This opinion is confirmed by inscriptions from Paros which a recent find allows us to understand rightly. Kontoleon publishes a boundary stone of the fifth century B.C., *Διὸς Ἐλκαστέρου*. <sup>48</sup> This

<sup>45</sup> Some are collected by K. Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, Diss. Lund, 1934, p. 178, n. 4.

<sup>46</sup> Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, *Abh. Akad. Berlin*, 1928: VI, p. 35.

<sup>47</sup> *Lindos*, II, Nos. 581—614.

<sup>48</sup> *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1948—49, pp. 1 (printed in 1950). The epithet is new and unique. Kontoleon's derivation from *ἐλαύνω* and *ἑστῆρ* is improbable. I have asked for the expert advice of Professor Frisk. His explanation seems convincing. In view of the importance of the problem I quote his letter at length: "Ἐλάστερος must be a form developed from *ἐλατήρ* or a parallel formation. *ἐλατήρ* is an epithet of Zeus in Pindar, *Ol.*, IV, 1: *ἐλατήρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς ἀκαμιντόποδος*, Ζεῦ. [Professor Rose adds Callim.,

find helps us to supplement two other fragmentary Parian inscriptions, one Διὸς [Ἐλ]αστέρο Πατρώιο<sup>40</sup>, and the other βωμὸς Διὸς Ἐ[λ]αστέρο τῶν ἀπὸ Μ[αν]δροθέμιος· μέλιτι σπένδεται<sup>50</sup>. Associations depending on kinship seem to have had their altars in the precinct of Zeus Elasteros.

These examples are sufficient to show how extensive the cults of the *gene* were, even those of *gene* of which we do not know anything else. The cults mentioned in these inscriptions have sometimes been ascribed to phratries, e.g. the phratry of the Zakyadae. For it seems natural that a phratry took over and continued the cult of the *genos* which was its kernel<sup>51</sup>, but this

in *Jovem*, v. 3, Πηλαγόνων ἐλατήρα, Θ:κασπόλον Οὐρανίῳ. In Homer the word signifies "driver of horses, charioteer".] The suffix -τήρ is in the Ionic-Attic dialect to a great extent replaced by -της and beside ἐλατήρ there occurs ἐλάτης. This suffix belongs originally to compound nouns, e.g. ἱππηλάτης, and spread to non-compound nouns, e.g. ψάλτης (but fem. ψάλτρια). *Etym. magnum*, p. 325, 28, mentions ἐλαστής as synonymous with ἐλατήρ. The -σ- in ἐλαστής has been added by analogy; cp. θυνά-σ-της from θύναι as ἐθύνασθην, ἄφρο-σ-τής from ἀφίημι, ἄρυσ-τήρ beside ἄρυτήρ. The starting point was words in which -σ- was dropped for phonetic reasons, e.g. ζώννυμι for ζωσ-νυ-μι, cp. ζωσ-τήρ, which was taken for ζω-στήρ. Thus we are entitled to presuppose an Ionic-Attic form ἐλάστης or ἐλαστής. (The accent varies, e.g. τοξότης but ἀσπιστής). This is evident but then the difficulties begin. I think the following explanation may be possible. Beside ὄρεσ-της, 'he from the mountains', there is ὀρέστερος, beside πενέστης πενέστερος. Similarly it is possible to presume, beside ἐλάστης, ἐλάστερος, the word occurring in the Parian inscription. As for the significance, the suffix -τερος originally denotes simply contrast, e.g. ὀρέστερος as opposed to ἄγρότερος (both words occur in Homer). From the notion of contrast an intensifying sense was developed and such a sense is to be presumed in ἐλάστερος. Words such as ὑπέρτερος may have been the pattern. This explanation may be judged at its own merit, but ἐλάστερος has evidently the same sense as the Pindaric epithet ἐλατήρ (βροντῆς). Moreover Zeus is called ὑπέρτατος in the passage quoted from Pindar. The epithet ἐλάστερος has nothing to do with ἀστήρ. In another letter Professor Frisk adds: "The epithet ἐλάστερος is evidently primarily connected with the epic and Ionic verb ἐλαστρέω, which has the same significance as ἐλαύνω. The formation is not clear but is found in βωστρέω—βωάω and in καλίστρέω—καλέω. The connexion is evident but cannot be made out exactly".

<sup>40</sup> *Archaiologikon Deltion*, XIV, 1931—32, Appendix p. 49.

<sup>50</sup> *IG*, XII, 5, 1027.

<sup>51</sup> A Σημαχεῖον is mentioned, *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1582, ll. 52. Σημαχεῖον is a deme (see Stephanus Byz. and Hesych s. v.). However, the cult belonged not to

may be questioned. For even if the phratry comprised members not pertaining to the *genos* the cult remained in the possession of the *genos*. This agrees with the ordinance of Kleisthenes that the *gene* and the phratries should keep their cults according to the custom of their fathers <sup>52</sup>.

The phratries had cults common to them all. When a child was introduced a sacrifice was made and the voting pebbles were taken from the altar, as is prescribed in the statute of the Demotionidae. The altar was that of Zeus Phratrios <sup>53</sup>. The *pseudo-genos* of the Salaminioi sacrificed a sow to Zeus Phratrios at the Apatouria and another to Apollo Patroos and pigs to Leto and Artemis on the seventh day of Metageitnion <sup>54</sup>. At the side of Zeus Phratrios stood Athena Phratia. Plato mentions them both <sup>55</sup>. The children were introduced at the Apatouria at which a sacrifice was brought to Zeus Phratrios and Athena <sup>56</sup>. A decree of a phratry speaks of a temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia <sup>57</sup>. The two appear in inscriptions and beside them Apollo, they have sometimes other epitheta:

the deme but to a *genos* which gave its name to the deme. This appears from the myth that the priestesses were descended from Semachos who had received Dionysos.

<sup>52</sup> It is well-known that the priests and priestesses of several cults were taken from certain *gene* even after the State had taken over the cult, e.g. the priestess of Athena Polias from the *genos* of the Eteoboutadae; cp. the passage in Aeschines quoted above p. 152. What Herodotus, V, 66, says of Isagoras, the adversary of Kleisthenes, is illuminating, namely that he cannot relate anything of his ancestors but that his *genos* sacrifices to Zeus Karios. The cult was distinctive of the *genos*.

<sup>53</sup> Demosth., XLIII, 13.

<sup>54</sup> See above p. 34. At the festival of the Metageitnia sacrifices were offered to Apollo Metageitnios, see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 202. The day is not known but was certainly the seventh, for all other festivals of Apollo fall on this day of the month.

<sup>55</sup> Plato, *Euthydem.*, p. 302 B.

<sup>56</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Ach.*, v. 146.

<sup>57</sup> SEG, III, 121; Kyparissis and Peck, *Attische Urkunden, Athenische Mitteilungen*, LXVI, 1941, p. 220, No. 2. The decree was found at Paiania and speaks of two men who had given 200 drachmae and seem to have had care of the temple. Middle of the fourth century B.C. τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τῆς Φρατρίας καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνῆς τῆς Φρατρίας; cp. IG, II<sup>2</sup> 4975, ἱερὰ Διὸς Φρατρίου.



Athens: Διὸς Ξενίο Θυμαϊτίδος φρατρίας, *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 886.

ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλων[ος πατρ]ώιου φ[ρατρία]ς Θερρικ[λειδ]ῶν,  
*ibid.*, 4973.

ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐβδομείου φρατρίας Ἀχνιαδῶν, *ibid.*, 4974  
cp. 2621. ὄρος φρατρίας Ἀχνιαδῶν.

Cos: Διὸς Φρατρίου Ἀθηναίας Εὐρυξανκτιδᾶν, Herzog, *loc. cit.*, n.  
Ἀθηναῖς Φρατρίας, *ibid.*, o.

Lindos: Ἰρηνναδᾶν Ἀθάνας Φρατρίας, *Lindos*, II, No. 615.

These epithets are not specific but of a general character; Apollo Hebdomaios was so called because all his festivals fell on the seventh day of the month. The epithets quoted from Cos above p. 163 are also of a general kind, and therefore it is possible to refer these inscriptions to phratries, which appear in some of them. The epithet Xenios in the inscription of the Thymaitadae depends on a cult legend<sup>58</sup> and is the only case in which a phratry certainly has taken over the cult of a *genos*. Apollo had become a general god of the *gene*; in the old oath-form used when the elected archons were tested he appears beside Zeus Herkeios and the tombs of the ancestors<sup>59</sup>. He had a temple at the western side of the Agora in Athens<sup>60</sup>, but that he shared it with Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría is a hypothesis of Thompson's which seems to be but slightly founded. More interesting is the inscription quoted by him in support of his hypothesis, a fragment of a sacrificial calendar, which is a re-edition of Solon's laws prepared by Nikomachos and others shortly after 403/2 B.C. on the proposal of Teisamenos. It prescribes a sacrifice of two oxen to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría on the sixteenth day of Boedromion, i.e. the festival of the Synoikia<sup>61</sup>. That the amount was paid from the funds of the *phyllobasileis* to the pre-Cleisthenic tribe of the Geleontes does not warrant that it had come down from of old. It is cha-

<sup>58</sup> Related by the Atthidographer Demon in Athenaeus, III, p. 96 D, recognized by Hiller von Gaertringen, *Sitz.-ber. Akad. Berlin*, 1921, p. 442.

<sup>59</sup> See my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I, p. 525.

<sup>60</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 77. Three temples were built successively, the oldest is dated in the sixth century B.C.

<sup>61</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 21, ll. 48, ἐκτεῖ ἐπὶ ὅσκα ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν Ἰλζόντων φυλῇ Διὶ Φρατρίῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίᾳ Φρατρίᾳ βόε δύο λειτουργήσονται.

racteristic that it was offered on the day of the Synoikia, the festival which was made to celebrate the synoecism of Attica. Being the ancestor of all the Athenians Apollo was in a certain measure akin to the gods of the phratries and was added to them.

Other gods are found in the phratry of the Labyadae at Delphi<sup>62</sup>: Apollo, Poteidan Phratrion, and Zeus Patroos were invoked in voting and in the oath only Zeus Patroos. We do not know the earlier history of this phratry and cannot say anything of its development. This is possible only in Athens.

The festival of the phratries, the Apaturia<sup>63</sup> is one of the very few festivals the names of which are not derived from a god or a rite of the cult. The first day was named *δορπία* from a meal served late in the evening; it was a vigil, the eve of the festival<sup>64</sup>. The second was called *ἀνάρρυσις*, a name taken from the sacrificial act, and the third *κουρεῶτις*. On this day three different sacrifices were brought, the *μεζον* on behalf of the children, the *κοῦρειον*, so called because it was offered when the ephebes shorn their locks, and the *γαμήλια* on behalf of the newly wedded wives<sup>65</sup>, and the new members were registered in the list of the phratry.

<sup>62</sup> *SIG*<sup>2</sup>, 438, ll. 70 and 14 resp. I pass over Zeus Patrios and Athena Patria, mentioned in an inscription from the island of Anaphe (*IG*, XII: 3, 262) and Artemis Patriotis at Sparta (*IG*, V: 1, 559, l. 19). They are adduced by Latte, *loc. cit.*, but it is doubtful if they are gods of phratries. Latte refers also to the phraters at Naples, but these are mentioned as late as in the Roman age only and may a product of an archaizing reform.

<sup>63</sup> See Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 232.

<sup>64</sup> *Schol. Aristoph. Ach.*, v. 176. Philyllios, fragm. 784 in Athen., IV, p. 171 D, ἡ τῶν προτενθῶν δορπία καλουμένη, προτενθῆς is explained as προγεύστις.

<sup>65</sup> The passage in the inscription of the Labyadae, *SIG*<sup>2</sup>, 438, ll. 23, τοὺς δὲ ταγούς μὴ δέκεσθαι μήτε θάρατων γάμελα μήτε παιδῆα μὴτ' ἀπελλαῖα, αἱ μὴ τὰς πατρίας ἐπαινεύουσας, is not clear and its sense is disputed. Dittenberger in his note *ad loc.* takes γάμελα and παιδῆα to be two kinds of θάραται and notes that elsewhere θάραται and ἀπελλαῖα comprise all offerings. But in this case what are the ἀπελλαῖα? However, a vote concerning the θάραται is prescribed at the Eukleia (l. 64, a certain supplement) and concerning the ἀπελλαῖα at the festival of the Apellaia (ll. 60). θάραται as well as ἀπελλαῖα must be brought in a certain year of age of the persons concerned (ll. 46). Eukleia was a goddess protecting marriage (Plutarch, *Arist.*, 20). Consequently it must be presumed that the newly wedded wives were introduced at the Eukleia and the children at the Apellaia, just as in Athens these

It is impossible to estimate the number of the members of the phratries, certainly it varied considerably, but as sacrifices were to be offered for every child introduced, every ephēbe who attained to manhood, and every newly wedded wife, there were many occasions for sacrifices and sacrificial meals. We may imagine something of the feasting from a passage in Pollux, III, 51 et seq., which it is hopeless to try to translate. *δημότης, φρατῆρ, μετ' ἐμοῦ φρατριάζων, καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ δημοτευόμενος, καὶ θεοὺς φρατρίους καὶ φιλίους νέμω. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν εἰς ὃ συνήεσαν φράτριον ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸ σύστημα φρατρία, οἱ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον φράτορες. καὶ οἷς φρατῆρ καὶ φράτρις αἴξ ἢ θυομένη τοῖς φράτορσιν.* Then the artificial scheme found in Aristotle (above p. 158) is related. *ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τοὺς φράτορας εἰσαγομένων παίδων οἴνου ἐπίδοσις οἰνιστήρια ἐκαλεῖτο, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μετὼν, καὶ μειζωγεῖν τὸ εἰσάγειν ἱερεῖον. κέκληται δὲ ἡ ὅτι ἔσχωπτον ὥς μετὼν τοῦ δέοντος.* Then similar jests are related. Wine was not lacking. The ephēbes whose hair was shorn offered a big vessel filled with wine to Herakles and then they gave the assembled members of the phratry to drink <sup>66</sup>.

The phratries assembled also to celebrate other festivals than the Apatouria or the Apellaia. Apollodorus introduced the son of his sister at the Thargelia <sup>67</sup>, an exception explained by the fact that the Thargelia were a festival of Apollo and that Apollo was one of the gods of the phratries. The Labyadae at Delphi were a great phratry which evidently was important. It celebrated a great number of festivals with meals, besides their special festival, the Apellaia: Boukatia, Heraia, Dadaphoria, Poitropia, the seventh and the ninth day of the month of Bysios, Eukleia, Artamitia Laphria, Theoxenia, Trachinia, Dioskoureia, Megalartia, Herakleia <sup>68</sup>. Most of these are known as public festivals and it can with certainty be presumed that the few not known

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were introduced at the Apatouria. The quoted passage is not logical but the difficulty involved in my interpretation is not greater than in that of Dittenberger and it is recommended because the introduction of the children is placed on the chief festival of the phratry as in Athens.

<sup>66</sup> Pamphilos in Athen., XI, p. 494 F.

<sup>67</sup> Isaios, VII, 15; cp. above p. 152.

<sup>68</sup> *SGG*<sup>2</sup>, 438, ll. 168.

elsewhere were so too. The Labyadae took part in them as a united body. It is too little noticed that associations took part corporately in public festivals. An example are the Boukopia at Lindos and others are found on the island of Cos <sup>69</sup>.

The purpose of the Apatouria was in itself not of a religious kind, viz. the introduction of new members into the phratry, although it was invested with a religious sanction. The lavish meals for which occasion was often given were the chief interest. The word *φρατριάζειν* deviated into the significance *ἐν τῇ φρατρίᾳ εὖωχεῖσθαι*, to be entertained lavishly in the phratry <sup>70</sup>. This was very enticing. No wonder that a decree was voted permitting a vacation of five days from the *δορυπία* onwards to the councillors and magistrates <sup>71</sup>, that they might not be prevented from taking part at the Apatouria. Of course sacrifices were offered, the slaughtering of an animal was always a sacrifice. The voting pebbles were solemnly taken from the altar <sup>72</sup>, just as nowadays witnesses when swearing lay their fingers on the holy Bible. A sacrifice must have a god to whom it is offered. It was natural that Zeus who protected the order of society was credited with it. Zeus Phratrios is of the like character as Zeus Polieus, Zeus Metoikios, Zeus Xenios. At his side was Athena. Zeus Phratrios and Athena PhratRIA protected the phratries as Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias the State. Apollo was sometimes added because he was the ancestor of all Athenians <sup>73</sup>.

Like every association a phratry was able to possess a piece of ground <sup>74</sup>, a temple <sup>75</sup>, a house <sup>76</sup>. This is generally speaking testified in the notices quoted from Pollux and Stephanus Byzantinus. The Clytidae on Chios built a common house in

<sup>69</sup> See my *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, II, p. 72.

<sup>70</sup> Stephanus Byz., p. 671, 6, Meineke.

<sup>71</sup> Athen., III, p. 171 E.

<sup>72</sup> *SGS*, 921, II, 16 and 29; Demosthenes, XLIII, 14, λαβόντες τὸν ψῆφον καομένων τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ φρατρίου.

<sup>73</sup> Cp. above pp. 165.

<sup>74</sup> The Dyaleis possessed a farm which was leased out under detailed conditions, *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1241.

<sup>75</sup> The Achmiadae, *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4974; 2621; the Therrikleidae, *ibid.*, 4793; an unknown phratry, *SEG*, III, 121; all quoted above pp. 165 et seq.

<sup>76</sup> *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2622, ὅρος οἰκίας φρατέρων.

which their holy things should be preserved<sup>77</sup>. The house of the Deceleans mentioned in the decree of the Demotionidae was accordingly their assembly house which was situated in Decelea<sup>78</sup>. The priest, viz. of Zeus Phratrios, is called "the priest of the house of the Deceleans"<sup>79</sup> because he officiated in this house. In the amendment of Hierokles, if someone who has been rejected in the preliminary scrutiny of the proposed new members and appeals to the Demotionidae, it is prescribed that the "house of the Deceleans" shall elect five assessors<sup>80</sup>. The phraters who lived at Decelea and formed the largest part of the phratry and often met in this house took up a principal position and could be called "the house of those living at Decelea" after their assembly house.

As to religion the issue of our inquiry is rather meagre. The purpose of the phratries was in itself not of a religious order, although the act of receiving new members was given a religious sanction. Members of a phratry lived in various places dispersed over all Attica. There was no place for the collective piety which is founded on old tradition of families or on those of the place; such a piety is an outcome of a lengthy living together of men and gods. The phratries had in origin no gods of their own, the *gene* which were parts of some phratries kept their old gods. The phratries obtained such gods, common to them all, as maintained the social and civic order, Zeus and Athena. The phratries give an example of the diluting and secularising of religion when the State lays its dead hand upon it.

<sup>77</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup>, 987, see above p. 151 n. 5.

<sup>78</sup> This is contrary to the opinion of Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 266, who says that the words οἶκος τῶν Δεκελειῶν can be understood only as a gentilician concept. A house of the phraters is mentioned in the inscription quoted p. 169 n. 76.

<sup>79</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup>, 921, ll. 41.

<sup>80</sup> *Loc. cit.*, ll. 30.



## INDEX

- Achaea 22, 67  
 Achaïos 67  
 Acropolis 126  
 Aegina 95  
 Aeschines 95, 152  
 Aeschylus, Eleusinians 84  
 — Eumenides 82 f.  
 Agathokles 95  
 Agesilaos 141  
 Aglauros 35 f.  
 Agrai, Mysteries 39  
 Agrios 96  
 Aiakos 31, 58, 95  
 Aias 30, 58  
 Aietes 96  
 Aigeus 52, 57  
 Aigialeis 143 f., 147  
 Aigialos 67  
 Aigikoreis 143 f., 147  
 Aigikoreus 72  
 Aigimios 68 f.  
 Aigyptos 96  
 Aipyros 60, 76 f., 78  
 Akamas 50, 95  
 Alemaeonidae 28 n. 10  
 Alexander, the Great 108 f.  
 — Macedonian king 100  
 — Paris 12  
 Alkibiades 134, 140  
 Alkmene 35  
 Alkyoneus 104  
 Ambracia 104  
 Ameiniades 127 f.  
 Amilos 80  
 Amphictyons 104 f., 120  
 Amphilytos 131  
 Amphipolis 50, 95, 104  
 Amyzon 121  
 Anaphe 121  
 Andania 19, 21, 79  
 Andraimon 60, 62  
 Androklos 61  
 Andromache 106, 107  
 Andropompos 60  
 Antheia 22 f.  
 Antigonidae 110  
 Antigonos 114 f.  
 Antimachos 50  
 Antiochia in Caria 121  
 Antipatros 103  
 Antonius, M. 114 f.  
 Apatoureon 151  
 Apatouria 151, 167 ff.  
 — etymology 150  
 Apellai 151  
 Apellaios 151  
 Apheidas 79  
 Aphidna 52  
 Aphrodite Stratonikis 116, 121  
 Apollo 111, 165, 166, 169  
 — birth of 116 ff.  
 — Epikourios 18, 19  
 — Hebdomaios 166  
 — Lykegenes, Lykios 119  
 — Parrhasios 19  
 — Patroos 34, 35

- Ptoios 121
- Pythios 39
- Arabs 96
- Araxa 118 f.
- Archelaos 100
- Areopagus 81 f.
- Argadeis 143 f., 147 f.
- Argeadae 99 f., 109 f.
- Argie 71
- Argos 126, 129
- Orestikon 99
- Aristodemos 71
- Aristomachos 71
- Aristophanes 136 ff.
- The Birds 137 f.
- The Knights 138 ff.
- Lysistrata 138
- The Peace 136 f.
- The Wasps 136
- Aristotle, Pol. Athen., fr. 3 158
- Polit., 1319 B 161 f.
- Arkesilaos 98 f.
- Aroe 22
- Arsinoe 109, 110
- Artaioi 97
- Artemis, birth of 116 f.
- Brauronia 40 f.
- Laphria 24
- Leukophryene 120
- Limnatis 23, 113
- Patriotis 167 n. 62
- Triclaria 22 f.
- Asine 44, 74
- Asklepios 11
- Aspetos 107
- Asyia 116, 119 ff.
- Athamas 66
- Athena Agelaa 34
- Aithyia 38
- Nikephoros 120
- Pallenis 53, 131
- Patria 167 n. 62
- Phratiria 165 f., 169
- Skiras 32
- Athens 25 ff., 49 ff., 125 f.
- Atidius Geminus 115
- Attalos I 95
- Augustus 22, 23, 115
- Autochthony 14, 86, 89, 90
- Azantioi 74
- Bakis 130, 131, 137 f.
- Beloch, K. J., 27 n. 8, 28 and n. 10, 29, 51 n. 5
- Belos 96
- Bendis 45 ff.
- Bolkestein, H. 148
- Boreis 143 f.
- Brauron 40
- Brea 44
- Brückner, A. 57
- Brytidae 152
- Burckhardt, J. 12
- Caesar, C. 114
- Calydon 23 f.
- Caucones 79
- Chaeronea, battle at 135 f.
- Chalkedon 121
- Charattes 104
- Charidemos 82
- Chersonnesus thracica 49 f.
- Chiliastyes 144 f.
- Clytidae 151 n. 5, 169
- Cnossus 44
- Corydallos Mt 55
- Cos 24 f., 121, 163
- Croesus 125
- Crosby, M. 151 n. 6
- Cults 15 f.
- Cyzicus 121
- Damaretos 128
- Damasos 60
- Damophon 19 f.
- Datis 97
- Declea 154
- Decleans, house of 170
- Deianaira 69
- Deiphontes 70, 73
- Delion at Marathon 39

- Delos 59, 95, 117  
 Delphi 122  
   — oracles of 88, 124 ff.  
 Demes 162 n. 40  
 Demosthenes 127 f., 135  
   — c. Aristokrates 82  
   — funeral speech 86 f.  
   —, the general 138 f.  
 Demotionidae 162  
   — statute of 152 ff.  
 Dentheliate age 114 f.  
 Despoina 19, 20  
 Diadochs 108 ff.  
 Dikaioi 104  
 Dionysia, the Great 43  
 Dionysos Aisymnetes 23  
   — Calydonios 24  
   — Eleuthereus 26 f.  
 Diopceithes 138, 141 and n. 19  
 Dittenberger, W. 167 n. 65  
 Dorians 68 ff.  
 Doricus 88  
 Doros 66 f., 68  
 Dreams 141 f.  
 Dymanes 143, 149 note  
 Dymas 68 f.
- Echemos 89  
 Eirene 47  
 Elaious 50  
 Elatos 78, 79  
 Eleusinia in the demes 38 n. 45  
 Eleusinian decree 42  
   — mysteries 38 f., 90 f.  
 Eleusinion 38  
 Eleusis 27 f., 36 ff., 56  
 Eleutherai 26 f.  
 Elis 71  
 Epaminondas 135  
 Ephesus 60, 116 f., 144  
 Epidauros 73 f.  
 Epirus 105 ff.  
 Eponyms 65 ff., 77, 97  
 Erysichthon 40  
 Erythrai 44, 61
- Eteobutadae 152, 165 n. 52  
 Euadne 78  
 Euaimon 25  
 Eukleia 167 n. 65  
 Eumolpos 37  
 Euripides 83 ff.  
   — Andromache 83  
   — Archelaos 100  
   — Heracles 83 f.  
   — Heraclidae 70, 83  
   — Hiketides 84  
   — Phoenissae 84  
 Europa 12  
 Eurykles, C. Julius 115  
 Eurysakes 29, 30 f., 58  
 Eurysthenes 71  
 Eurystheus 70, 83  
 Euxenippos 141  
 Euxitheos 152
- Ferguson, W. S. 30 f., 35 n. 35, 46  
   n. 20, 160  
 Fraenkel, E. 146  
 Friis Johansen, K. 59  
 Frisk, H. 148 ff., 163 n. 48  
 Funeral speeches 85 ff., 163 n. 48
- Games 120  
 Geleon 72  
 Geleontes 143 f., 147, 166  
 Gelon 88  
 Gennetai 152  
 Genos, gens 152, 155 f., 158, 160 f.  
   — cults 163 f.  
   — temple 163  
 Geranos dance 59  
 Geres 60  
 Gjerstad, E. 64  
 Glanis 139  
 Glaukos 76  
 Gleontis 162  
 Great Goddesses 19 f.  
 Guarducci, M. 36 n. 38, 150 n. 1
- Hagnous 53  
 Halimous 41

- Halirrhotos 82  
 Hekataios 14  
 Helios 10 f.  
 Hellen 66  
 Heraclidae 68 ff.  
 Herakles 53 f., 68 f., 102, 109  
 — at Porthmos 33, 35  
 Hermione 44  
 Herodotus 12 f.  
 Heroes 15  
 Herter, H. 58  
 Herzog, R. 25, 163  
 Hesychia 127  
 Hierocaesarea 122  
 Hierokles 153 f., 170  
 — seer 136 f.  
 Hipparchos 131  
 Hippias 131  
 Hippokrates 61, 63  
 Hippothoon 37, 55  
 Homogalaktes 159 f.  
 Hoples 72  
 Hopletes 143, 146 f.  
 Hylleis 143, 149 note  
 Hyllos 68 ff.  
 Hymus 11  
 Hyperides 95  
 Hyrnathioi 73 f.  
 Hyrnetho 73 f.  
 Hysminiatai 74  
  
 Iacchos 38  
 Iamidae 77 f.  
 Iamos 78  
 Io 12  
 Iolaos 35  
 Ion 34, 35, 66 f., 72  
 Ionia, colonization of 59 ff.  
 Isokrates 12 n. 8, 75 f.  
 — Archidamos 75, 94  
 — Areopagus 94  
 — Euagoras 93  
 — Nikokles 93 f.  
 — Panathenaicus 92 f.  
 — Panegyricus 90 ff.  
  
 — on the peace 94  
 — letter to king Philip 101 f.  
 — on the Plataeans 94  
  
 Kadmos 96  
 Kallias 91  
 Kallistratos 94 f.  
 Kamikos 88  
 Karanos 101  
 Kaukon 79  
 Kephenes 97  
 Kepheus 97  
 Kerkyon 54, 55  
 Kerykes 152  
 Kilix 96  
 Kirke 96  
 Kleadas 95  
 Kleides 104  
 Kleisthenes 161, 165  
 Kleodaios 71, 73  
 Kleomenes 29 f., 128 f., 132  
 Kleon 138 ff.  
 Knopos 61  
 Kobon 128  
 Kodros 15, 56, 61, 62  
 Kolbe, W. 115  
 Kolophon 60, 62, 122  
 Kourotraphos 35 f. and n. 35  
 Kresphontes 71, 72, 73, 75 f., 104  
 Kretheus 66  
 Krommyon, sow of 54  
 Ktesippos 69 n. 13  
 Kybernesia 33  
 Kychreus 31  
 Kydrellos 60  
 Kylon 27 n. 8, 28, 51 n. 5  
 Kypselos 76  
  
 Labyadae 167 and n. 65, 168 f.  
 Ladikes 104  
 Laios, oracles of 88, 131 n. 4  
 Lampon 138  
 Lanassa 106 f.  
 Laodike 111  
 Lasos 131

- Latinos 96  
 Latte, K. 144, 146, 159, 167 n. 62  
 Leandrias 135  
 Lebedos 25, 60  
 Lemnos 50, 131 f.  
 Leos 53, 72  
 Leotychides, king of Sparta 128  
 —, son of Agis, 140 f.  
 Lepreon 80  
 Leto 34, 162  
 Leuctra, battle at 135  
 Leuktros 135  
 Liturgical texts 9 f.  
 Logographers 14, 88, 123  
 Lygdamis of Halicarnassus 61  
 — Naxos 59  
 Lykourgos 47 f.  
 Lykos 52, 57  
 Lykosoura 20  
 Lysander 129 f., 141  
 Lysias 86  
  
 Magnesia on M. 120 f.  
 Maia 35  
 Malinowsky, B. 9 n. 1  
 Marathon 70  
 Medea 12, 96  
 Medeios 96  
 Medeon 25  
 Medontidae 151 f. and n. 6, 163  
 Medos 96, 97 f.  
 Megara 56  
 Megarians 29 f., 54  
 Megalopolis 18 ff.  
 Melanthos 27, 60, 61  
 Menekles 152  
 Menestheus 52  
 Menexenos 153  
 Merope 76  
 Mesatis 22 f.  
 Mesoa 23  
 Meter Dindymene 24  
 Methone 43  
 Metion 52, 57  
 Miletus 60, 118, 121, 127, 143  
  
 Miltiades sen. 49 f.  
 Minos 88, 126  
 Minyans 79  
 Molossos 106  
 Mummius, L. 114 f.  
 Musaios 131  
 Mylasa 121  
 Myous 24, 60  
 Myths, aetiological 10  
 — Greek and other 9 ff.  
 — heroic 12 ff., 87 f.  
 — social importance 12  
  
 Nationalism 13  
 Nauklos 60  
 Naupactus 44, 71  
 Nauseiros 32 f.  
 Nausithoos 33  
 Neileus 152  
 Neleus 60, 61, 62, 66, 152  
 Neoptolemos 106  
 Niemeyer, K. 162  
 Nikias 138 f.  
 Nikodemos 152 ff.  
 Nikopolis 23 f.  
 Nisaia 28, 56 f., 58  
 Nisos 52, 56 f., 58  
 Nysa 121  
  
 Oedipus 85  
 Oinopes 143 f.  
 Olympia, temple at 11  
 Olynthus 104  
 Onomakritos 131 f.  
 Oracles 16  
 — anonymous 124, 130 ff.  
 — see Delphi  
 — Sibylline 131, 142  
 Orestai 100  
 Orestes 81 f., 100  
 Orgeones 159 f.  
 Orneus 57  
 Oropos 122, 141  
 Ortygia 116 f.  
 Oschophoria 32



- Otanes 132  
 Oxylos 71  
  
 Pallas 39, 52 f., 57  
 Pallene 52 f.  
 Pamphyloi 143  
 Pamphylos 68 f.  
 Pan Sinocis 18  
   — Skoleitas 18  
 Panathenaia 34, 44  
 Pandion 52, 57 and n. 26, 58  
 Pandrosos 35 f.  
 Panionion 25  
 Panyassis 61  
 Paroreatae 79  
 Patrae 22 f.  
 Patreus 22  
 Pelargikon 133 f.  
 Perdikkas 99, 101  
 Pergamon 106  
 Periallos 128  
 Perieres 66 and n. 3  
 Perikles 42  
 Perinthus 144  
 Periphetes 54  
 Perses 89, 96, 97  
 Perseus 75, 89  
 Phaiax 32  
 Phereklos 33  
 Pherekydes 60  
 Philaidae 29, 63  
 Philaios 29, 63  
 Philip, II 101, 104  
   — V 110  
 Philochoros 159  
 Phintas 76  
 Phocaeans 144  
 Phoinix 96  
 Phorbas 50  
 Phrastor 152  
 Phratra 155  
 Phratries 150 ff.  
   — at Argos 75  
   — cults 165 ff.  
   — property 169 f.  
  
 Phratris 151  
 Phrynon 51 n. 5  
 Phylae, Dorian 72 f., 143, 149 note  
   — Ionian 72, 143 ff.  
 Phylobasileis 148 f., 166  
 Piales, Pielos 106 f.  
 Pisa 80  
 Pisistratus 27 f., 49 ff., 131  
   — house of 61 f., 63  
 Pisos 80  
 Pitane 77 f.  
 Pitireus 73  
 Plarasa 122  
 Platon, birth of 109  
   — Menexenos 85 f.  
 Poland, F. 155  
 Polyphontes 76  
 Poseidon Hippodromios 32  
 Poteidan Patroos 167  
 Prasiai 39  
 Priene 60  
 Processions 19, 23, 26, 32, 38 f.,  
   40, 45  
 Proconnesos 24  
 Proklos 71  
 Prokroustes 54, 55  
 Proxenos 107  
 Ptolemy I 109  
 Pylas 57  
 Pylos 59 and n. 36, 62  
 Pyrrhos 106  
 Pythian nomos 11  
 Pythioi 128  
 Pythion at Oinoe 39  
  
 Radermacher, L. 134 n. 14  
 Rhodes 10 f., 25  
 Rose, H. J. 10  
 Rostovtzeff, M. 111  
  
 Sadokos 46 n. 20  
 Salaminioi 30 ff.  
 Salamis 27 ff., 64, 126  
   — on Cyprus 65  
 Salmoncus 66

- Samos 144  
 Seyrus 52  
 Seilenos 129  
 Seleucids 110 f.  
 Semacheion 164 n. 51  
 Sihyl 130 f.  
 Sicily, expedition to 134  
 Sigeion 51  
 Sikelia 134  
 Sinis 54  
 Sisypchos 66  
 Sitalkes 46  
 Sithon 104  
 Skedasos 135  
 Skiron 54 f.  
 Skiros 32 f.  
 Smyrna 116  
 Solon 27 ff., 159 ff.  
 Sophokles, Oedipus Col. 85  
 Sparta 127 ff., 140  
 Speusippos, letter to Philip 103 ff.  
 Stiris 25  
 Stratonicea 122  
 Syleus 104  
 Synoecism 18 ff.  
 Synoikia 166 f.  
  
 Tegea 125  
 Teisamenos 71, 79  
 — the seer 77  
 Tektamos 68  
 Telegonos 104  
 Teleklos 113 f.  
 Temenos 71, 72, 73  
 Tenos 116, 121  
 Teos 25, 60, 121, 122  
 Tereus 46, 98  
 Tereus 46, 98  
 Tetrapolis, Doric 68  
 — Marathonian 40, 70  
 Teukros 32, 64 f., 94  
 Thargelia 152, 168  
 Thermodon 135 f.  
 Theseus 34, 39, 51 f., 53 ff., 83  
  
 Thesmophoria 41  
 Thiasoi 153 ff.  
 Thracians 37 n. 44, 46  
 Thrasyllus 152  
 Thronie 96  
 Thucydides 133  
 Timodemos 31  
 Tithes, Eleusinian 42  
 Tmolos 104  
 Toepffer, J. 61, 64 n. 55  
 Totteidae 151 n. 5  
 Tragedy 11  
 Trapezus 19, 20  
 Tréheux, J. 117 n. 15  
 Trikomoi 40  
 Triphylia 79  
 Triphylos 78 f.  
 Triptolemos 37, 56, 91  
 Trophonios 135  
 Tyllissus 44  
 Tyndareos 75  
  
 Wade-Gery, H. T. 59 n. 36, 153 f.  
 Wide, S. 39  
 Wifstrand, A. 118 n. 19  
 Wilamowitz, U. v. 118, 153 n. 12,  
 159, 170 n. 78  
 Wilcken, U. 12 n. 8  
 Vollgraff, W. 26 n. 1  
  
 Xanthos 27, 61, 66 f.  
 Xypete 64  
  
 Young, J. H. 34 n. 29  
  
 Zeus Basileus 135  
 — Elasteros 163 f.  
 — Lykaos 18  
 — Patrios 167 n. 62  
 — Patroos 167  
 — Philios 21 f.  
 — Phratris 34, 154, 165, 169  
 — Xenios 166

## CONTENTS

Preface .....	7
Abbreviations .....	8
Introduction .....	9
Myths of primitive peoples and Greek myths, p. 9. Myth and ritual, p. 10. Hymns, p. 11. Political importance of myths, p. 12. The cult, p. 15. Oracles, p. 16.	
Ch. I. Cults and Politics .....	17
Collective religion, p. 17.	
1. Synoecism .....	18
Megalopolis, p. 18. Patrae, p. 22. Other cities, p. 24.	
2. The Expansion of Athens .....	25
Eleutherai, p. 26. Salamis, p. 27. Eleusis, p. 36. The Marathonian Tetrapolis etc., p. 39. Brauron, p. 40. Halimous, p. 41.	
3. Cults and Foreign Politics .....	41
Athenian decrees, p. 42. The Festivals, p. 43. Bendis, p. 45.	
Ch. II. Myths and Politics .....	49
1. Athenian Myths .....	49
The Thracian Chersonnesus, p. 49. Sigeion, 51. Theseus, p. 51. Pallas, 52. The deeds of Theseus, p. 54. Nisos and Pandion, p. 56. Delos, p. 59. The Ionian colonization, p. 59. The Pisistratidae, p. 62. Teukros, p. 64.	
2. Ancestors and Eponyms .....	65
Hellen and his sons, p. 66. Aigimios, p. 68. Herakles and the Heraclidae, p. 69. Eponyms of phylae, p. 72. The Hyrnathioi, p. 73. Epidaurus, p. 74. Argive phratries, p. 75. Messenian myths, p. 75. The Iamidæ, p. 77. Triphylos, p. 78. Pisos, p. 80.	

Ch. III. Myths in Political propaganda .....	81
1. The Greek City-State .....	81
The Areopagus, p. 81. The tragedians, p. 82. The Funeral Speeches, p. 85. The time of the Persian war, p. 88. Isokrates, p. 90. Various examples, p. 94.	
2. Foreign Peoples and Kings .....	96
Oriental peoples, p. 96. Teres, p. 98. Arkesilaos, p. 98. The Macedonian royal house, p. 99. King Philip, p. 101. Speusippos' letter, p. 103. The Epirote royal house, p. 105. The lineage of the Diadochs, p. 108.	
Ch. IV. The use of Myths in the Late Age .....	113
The ager Dentheliatas, p. 113. The birth of Apollo and Artemis, p. 116. The asylos, p. 119.	
Ch. V. Oracles and Politics .....	123
1. The Delphic Oracle .....	124
Relations in Herodotus, p. 125. The Persian war, p. 125. Sparta, p. 127.	
2. Anonymous Oracles .....	130
Pisistratus and his sons, p. 131. The Peloponnesian war, p. 133. The battles at Leuctra, p. 135, and at Chaeronea, p. 135. Aristophanes, p. 136. Sparta, p. 140. Dreams, p. 141. The late age, p. 142.	
Appendix I. The Ionian Phylae .....	143
Their age, p. 144. Etymologies, p. 145.	
Appendix II. The Phratries .....	150
Phratries and <i>gene</i> , p. 150. Statute of the Demotionidae, p. 152. Thiasoi, p. 153. History of the phratries, p. 158. Cults, p. 162. The Apatouria, p. 167. Property, p. 169. Conclusion, p. 170.	